

**OBRAZOVANJE
ZA DEMOKRATIJU**

21. i 22. septembar, Beograd
Fondacija za otvoreno društvo, Srbija
Fabrika knjiga, Beograd

**EDUCATION
FOR DEMOCRACY**

September, 21-22, Belgrade
Open Society Foundation, Serbia
Fabrika knjiga, Belgrade



FONDACIJA ZA OTVORENO DRUŠTVO, SRBIJA
OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION, SERBIA



Konferenciju organizuju

Fondacija za otvoreno društvo, Srbija
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OBRAZOVANJE ZA DEMOKRATIJU

Obrazovanje je tesno povezano sa opštim interesom i temeljnim potrebama društva. Zato ciljevi i svrha obrazovanja moraju biti stvar ne samo stručnih nego i javnih rasprava. Javna rasprava treba da ponudi odgovore u pogledu svih važnih obrazovnih pitanja koji bi bili prihvatljivi za sve građane. To nije posao koji jedno ministarstvo samo može da uradi. U tom smislu neophodno je uspostaviti stalnu saradnju i razgovor između svih zainteresovanih strana (roditelji, nastavnici, stručnjaci i stručne organizacije, druge organizacije civilnog društva) i donosilaca važnih odluka u oblasti obrazovanja.

Konferencijom "Obrazovanje za demokratiju" i svim dodatnim aktivnostima hoćemo da se uključimo u razgovore o ulozi i značaju obrazovanja za razvoj društva (demokratski, ekonomski, tehnološki, informacioni...). Želja nam je da se uspostavi okvir za javnu raspravu i stalni dijalog koji bi uključivao što veći broj ljudi iz raznih oblasti delovanja. Povod da se pokrene javna rasprava o obrazovanju jeste i objavljeni predlog strategije za obrazovanje u Srbiji od 2012. do 2020. godine.¹

Konferencija će dati i uvid u rezultate do sada definisanih pravaca razvoja obrazovanja i konkretnih reformi u sferi obrazovanja u Srbiji. "Fabrika knjiga" i Fondacija za otvoreno društvo nastoje da doprinesu podizanju svesti u stručnoj javnosti, a pri tom mislimo na sve relevantne struke, kada je reč o dve stvari: 1) potrebi uspostavljanja stalnog dijaloga stručne i šire javnosti sa donosiocima odluka u oblasti obrazovanja, i 2) značaju određenih znanja i kompetencija koje obrazovanje treba da pruži svim (budućim) građanima modernog, globalnog, interkulturalnog i socijalno kohezivnog društva. Razgovor o obrazovanju uvek je i razgovor o tome u kakvom društvu hoćemo da živimo, pa je tema konferencije odnos između obrazovanja i oblikovanja, transformisanja društva.

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

Education is inextricably linked to questions of the public interest and substantial needs of a society. This is one of the reasons why there must be not only expert but also a public debate on education. This debate should provide acceptable answers regarding all important educational issues. Serbian Ministry of Education cannot and should not work on these complex issues and problems by itself. Therefore, it is vital to establish permanent cooperation and dialogue between all parties involved (e.g. parents, teachers, experts and their organizations, various civil society organizations) and education decision makers.

Conference "Education for Democracy" is the result of an attempt to start a dialogue about the role and significance of education for democratic, cultural, economic, technological etc. viability of the Serbian society. The conference goal is to establish a general framework for the public debate, which will foster continuous dialogue between as many as possible people from different areas of expertise. Recently published draft on education strategy in Serbia until 2020 is among key reasons to raise this debate in this particular moment.

The conference aims to provide insights into the current state of the education reform, and to review aims of education and strategies for its development as they have been defined by various education documents and strategies. "Fabrika knjiga" and Open Society Foundation, Serbia, want to raise consciousness in the public sphere about two key questions concerning education, putting forward 1) need for a constant dialogue between scholars in the public sphere, on the one side, and education decision makers, on the other side, and, 2) significance of certain knowledges and competencies that education should provide for all future citizens of a modern, intercultural and socially cohesive society. Debate on education represents debate on a type of a society in which citizens would want to live. Thus, one of the key conference themes is the relationship between education and the transformation of society.

¹ (<http://www.mpn.gov.rs/prosveta/page.php?page=307>).

OBRAZOVANJE ZA DEMOKRATIJU

21. i 22. septembar, Beograd
Hotel "Balkan", Prizrenska 2, Beograd

Fondacija za otvoreno društvo, Srbija
"Fabrika knjiga", Beograd

Radni jezici konferencije: srpski i engleski
(obebeđen simultani prevod)

Prvi dan
21. 9. 2012.

9.30 Okupljanje

10.00–10.30 Otvaranje
Predstavnik Ministarstva prosvete,
nauke i tehnološkog razvoja
Jadranka Jelinčić (Fondacija za otvoreno društvo, Srbija)
Dejan Ilić ("Fabrika knjiga", Beograd)

10.30–11.00 Uvodno izlaganje: Tinde Kovač Cerović
(Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu)
Kratak pregled: obrazovanje u Srbiji,
između prošlosti i budućnosti

11.00–11.30 Uvodna reč o obrazovanju:
Majkl Epl (Univerzitet Viskonsina u Medisonu)

11.30–11.45 Pauza za kafu

11.45 Prvi panel: Obrazovanje i javni interes
(moderatorka: **Ana Kolarić**, Filološki fakultet,
Univerzitet u Beogradu)
Panel treba da ponudi opšti okvir za razgovor o obrazovanju. Govornici će u svojim izlaganjima objasniti zašto obrazovanje mora da se posmatra kao stvar od javnog interesa, što je onda razlog i da se u razgovore o obrazovanju

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

September, 21–22, Belgrade
Hotel "Balkan", Prizrenska 2, Belgrade

Open Society Foundation, Serbia
"Fabrika knjiga", Belgrade

Working languages of the conference: Serbian and English
(simultaneous translation is provided)

Day 1
21 September, 2012.

9.30 Gathering

10.00–10.30 Opening
Representative from the Ministry of Education,
Science and Technological Development
Jadranka Jelinčić (Open Society Foundation, Serbia)
Dejan Ilić ("Fabrika knjiga", Belgrade)

10.30–11.00 Introduction: Tinde Kovacs Cerović
(Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade)
Overview of the educational situation in Serbia:
between the past and the future

11.00–11.30 Introduction: Michael Apple
(University of Wisconsin–Madison)

11.30–11.45 Coffee break

11.45 First panel: Education and the public interest
(Chair: **Ana Kolarić**, Faculty of Philology,
University of Belgrade)
The panel should provide a general framework for the discussion about education. Lecturers will argue that education must be understood as a matter of public interest. If education is seen like this, then all society members have

uključuje svi pripadnici društva. Drugim rečima, razgovor o obrazovanju, kako će se pokazati u ovim izlaganjima, uvek je i razgovor o temeljima društva, pa su stoga razgovori o obrazovanju uvek i pregovori o društvenim aranžmanima.

Patriša Vajt

(Institut za obrazovanje, Londonski Univerzitet)

Građansko obrazovanje u demokratiji: program od javnog interesa

Izlaganje priloženo u brošuri.

11.45–12.15 Nenad Dimitrijević

(Centralnoevropski univerzitet, Budimpešta)

Obrazovanje posle moralnog pada: u odbranu kontekstualno specifičnog perfekcionizma

12.15–12.45 Predrag Brebanović

(Filološki fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu)

Humanistika i "javni interes"

12.45–13.15 Tinde Kovač Cerović

(Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu)

Obrazovanje Roma u Srbiji – začarni krug permanentnih administrativnih prepreka

13.15–14.15 Diskusija

Diskutanti:

Ivana Spasić (Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu)

Đorđe Pavićević (Fakultet političkih nauka,
Univerzitet u Beogradu)

Dejan Ilić ("Fabrika knjiga", Beograd)

14.15–16.00 Ručak

16.00 Drugi panel: Javna sfera kao obrazovni prostor

(Moderator: **Dejan Ilić**, "Fabrika knjiga", Beograd)

Svaki oblik obrazovanja, ma koliko pažljivo planiran da pravično ispuni zajedničke ciljeve i svrhe, uvek sa sobom nosi i vidove potčinjenosti i nepravde. I u tom smislu, javna sfera nije samo sredstvo za preispitivanje postojećih zajedničkih ciljeva i svrha, već i sredstvo za stvaranje novih ciljeva i svrha, a u stalnoj težnji da se ostvari pravednost. Ta uloga javne sfere, kada govorimo o obrazovanju, još je važnija u situaciji u kojoj

to be included in the public debate on the aims of education. Since education is concerned with value systems in a society, educational debate has to involve various negotiations concerning social structure and power relations.

Patricia White

(Institute of Education, University of London)

Civic Education in a Democracy: A policy in the public interest

Presentation included in this brochure.

11.45–12.15 Nenad Dimitrijević

(Central European University, Budapest)

Education after a moral fall: In defense of the context-specific perfectionism

12.15–12.45 Predrag Brebanović

(Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade)

Humanities and "public interest"

12.45–13.15 Tinde Kovacs Cerović

(Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade)

Education of Roma in Serbia – the vicious circle of re-emerging administrative barriers

13.15–14.15 Discussion

Discussants:

Ivana Spasić (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade)

Đorđe Pavićević (Faculty of Political Science,
University of Belgrade)

Dejan Ilić ("Fabrika knjiga", Belgrade)

14.15–16.00 Lunch

16.00 Second panel: Public sphere as an educational space (Chair: Dejan Ilić, "Fabrika knjiga", Belgrade)

Any form of education, no matter how fairly and cautiously designed, includes certain types of subjugations and cruelties. Public sphere may be seen as a tool for questioning the already existing common purposes, and crystalizing new ones, in a constant effort to achieve justice and fairness. This role of public sphere is even more important when we speak about societies

je društvo, uprkos javnim proklamacijama, daleko – nebitno je da li namerno ili ne – i od pomisli na pravedno školovanje.

in which the idea of just and fair schooling is highly questionable.

16.00–16.45 Svetlana Lukić ("Peščanik", Beograd)
i **Viktor Ivančić** (*Novosti*, Zagreb)

16.00–16.45 Svetlana Lukić ("Peščanik", Belgrade)
and **Viktor Ivančić** (*Novosti*, Zagreb)

16.45–17.45 Diskusija

16.45–17.45 Discussion

Drugi dan
22. 9. 2012.

Day 2
22 September, 2012.

9.30 Okupljanje

9.30 Gathering

10.00 Treći panel: Obrazovanje i tržište
(Moderator: **Dejan Ilić**, "Fabrika knjiga", Beograd)
Panel treba da ponudi odgovore na ključna pitanja o odnosu između obrazovanja i tržišta. S jedne strane nalaze se pitanja o tome kako obrazovanje treba da pripremi građane za uspešan izlazak na tržište rada. S druge strane, postavljaju se i pitanja o tome ko oblikuje to tržište i kakav je odnos između društva u celini i tržišta koje je jedan njegov segment.

10.00 Third panel: Education and the market
(Chair: **Dejan Ilić**, "Fabrika knjiga", Belgrade)
The panel should provide some insights about the pressing questions concerning relationship between education and the market. On the one hand, there is a question of how - or even, if - education should prepare citizens for the job market; on the other hand, questions of who shapes the market and what is the relationship between the society in general and the market as its segment, should also be raised.

10.00–10.30 Majkl Epl
(Univerzitet Viskonsina u Medisonu)
Tržišta, znanje i nejednakost u obrazovanju

10.00–10.30 Michael Apple
(University of Wisconsin-Madison)
Markets, knowledge, and inequality in education

10.30–11.00 Aleksandar Baucal
(Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu)
Ne samo za tržište: ka društvenom konsenzusu o ključnim kompetencijama sledeće generacije građana

10.30–11.00 Aleksandar Baucal
(Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade)
**Not only for the market:
Towards a social consensus on key competencies of the next generation of citizens**

11.00–11.45 Diskusija
Diskutanti:
Rastislav Dinić (Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Nišu)
Ana Jovanović (Centralnoevropski univerzitet, Budimpešta)

11.00–11.45 Discussion
Discussants:
Rastislav Dinić (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš)
Ana Jovanović (Central European University, Budapest)

11.45–12.00 Pauza za kafu

11.45–12.00 Coffee break

12.00–12.30 Iskra Maksimović (Fakultet za ekonomiju, finansije i administraciju, Univerzitet Singidunum)
Celoživotno učenje: uloga kompetencija u razvoju obrazovanja

12.30–13.00 Dean Duda (Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu)
Visoko obrazovanje kao javno dobro: primjer iz regije/ primjer za regiju?

13.00–13.45 Diskusija
Diskutanti:
Zoran Dimić (Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Nišu)
Ana Kolarić (Filološki fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu)

13.45–15.15 Ručak

15.15 Četvrti panel: Kohezivna funkcija obrazovanja (Moderatorka: **Tatjana Stojić**, Fondacija za otvoreno društvo, Srbija)
Panel treba da ukaže na značaj obrazovanja za socijalnu koheziju. S obzirom na iskustva i događaje iz devedesetih, panel se bavi pitanjima kohezivne funkcije obrazovanja u multietničkim društvima koja razdiru nedavni sukobi.

15.15–15.45 Volter Fajnberg (Univerzitet Illinois)
Obrazovanje građana za pluralna društva

15.45–16.15 Dubravka Stojanović (Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu)
Nastava istorije kao predvojnička obuka

16.15–16.45 Nenad Veličković (Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Sarajevu)
Nacionalizam u čitankama u Bosni i Hercegovini

12.00–12.30 Iskra Maksimović (Faculty of Economics, Finance and Administration, Singidunum University)
Lifelong learning: the role of competencies in development of education

12.30–13.00 Dean Duda (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb)
Higher education as a public good: an example from the region/for the region?

13.00–13.45 Discussion
Discussants:
Zoran Dimić (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš)
Ana Kolarić (Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade)

13.45–15.15 Lunch

15.15 Fourth panel: The role of education in building and promoting social cohesion (Chair: **Tatjana Stojić**, Open Society Foundation, Serbia)
The panel aims to point out the significant role of education in building social cohesion. Education is central to the inclusion of marginalized groups; it increases their chances of participation in the negotiations concerned with social structure and power relations. Bearing in mind the period of the 1990's in Serbia (and former Yugoslavia), this panel addresses problems related to the role of education in fostering social cohesion in multiethnic societies.

15.15–15.45 Walter Feinberg (College of Education, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)
Educating Citizens for a Pluralistic Society

15.45–16.15 Dubravka Stojanović (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade)
Does Serbian history curriculum prepare pupils and students for war?

16.15–16.45 Nenad Veličković (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo)
Nationalism in literature textbooks in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Džon Vajt (Institut za obrazovanje, Univerzitet u Londonu)
Školski kurikulum zasnovan na ciljevima i promocija društvene kohezije
Izlaganje priloženo u brošuri.

John White (Institute of Education, University of London)
An aims-based school curriculum and the promotion of social cohesion
Presentation included in this brochure.

16.45–17.45 Diskusija

Diskutanti:

Đokica Jovanović

(Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu)

Jasmina Husanović

(Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Tuzli)

Ružica Marjanović (Gimnazija u Užicu,
organizatorka festivala "Na pola puta")

Dinko Kreho (saradnik projekta
"Alternativna književna tumačenja",
Fond Otvoreno društvo BiH)

16.45–17.45 Discussion

Discussants:

Đokica Jovanović

(Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade)

Jasmina Husanović

(Faculty of Philosophy, University of Tuzla)

Ružica Marjanović (High school in Užice,
organizer of literary festival "Na pola puta")

Dinko Kreho (associate on the project
"Alternative literary interpretations",
Open Society Foundation, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Zaključne napomene

Closing words

PRATEĆI PROGRAM KONFERENCIJE

ADDITIONAL CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

20. septembar, Fakultet političkih nauka

12.00 Profesor Volter Fajnberg

14.00 Profesor Majkl Epl

20 September, Faculty of Political Science

12.00 Professor Walter Feinberg

14.00 Professor Michael Apple

24. septembar, Filozofski fakultet

10.00 Profesorka Rima Epl

12.00 Profesor Majkl Epl

24 September, Faculty of Philosophy

10.00 Professor Rima Apple

12.00 Professor Michael Apple

SAŽECI IZLAGANJA

Tinde Kovač Cerović,
Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu

KRATAK PREGLED: OBRAZOVANJE U SRBIJI, IZMEĐU PROŠLOSTI I BUDUĆNOSTI

Ova prezentacija nastoji da pruži detaljan kontekst za diskusiju tako što daje pregled obrazovnih politika i programa u Srbiji iz perspektive poslednjih dvadeset godina razvoja obrazovanja. Biće opisane četiri faze tog razvoja: 1) period devedesetih, sa posebnim fokusom na građanski aktivizam i razvoj žive, dinamične zajednice nevladinih organizacija, 2) počeci reformi koje su sprovedene u periodu 2000-2004, obeleženi poratnim entuzijazmom i željom da se "uhvati korak sa svetom", 3) period konzervativizma u obrazovanju od 2004. do 2008, i 4) period socijalne inkluzije od 2008. do 2012. Da bi se ilustrovao niz prepreka, stanovišta različitih učesnika i međudnos nacionalnih, lokalnih i školskih programskih politika, biće predstavljena i studija slučaja o uvođenju inkluzivnog obrazovanja.

Patriša Vajt, Institut za obrazovanje, Londonski Univerzitet

GRAĐANSKO OBRAZOVANJE U DEMOKRATIJI: PROGRAM OD JAVNOG INTERESA

Za stvari tako različite poput javnih parkova i nacionalnog sistema odbrane često se tvrdi da su od javnog interesa. Šta treba jedan program da ima da bi bio od javnog interesa? Da li eksperti mogu da odrede takve programe? Da li je pružanje građanskog obrazovanja od javnog interesa? U ovoj prezentaciji se tvrdi da jeste.

Ali, o kakvom obliku građanskog obrazovanja je reč? Da bi se to utvrdilo, korisno je razmisliti šta sve čini demokratskog građanina. Od značaja je poznavanje političkog sistema i vrednosti na kojima on počiva, poput pravde, slobode i vladavine prava. Druge vrste znanja su takođe potrebne; bezbrojni su mogući primeri – poznavanje eko-

ABSTRACTS

Tinde Kovacs Cerović,
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

OVERVIEW OF THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION IN SERBIA: BETWEEN PAST AND FUTURE

This presentation aims to provide a rich contextual background for the subsequent discussions. It gives a sketchy account of education policy making in Serbia from the perspective of the last 20 years of its development. Four discrete phases of this development will be described: 1) the nineties, with a special focus on civic activism and the development of a vibrant NGO community, 2) the beginnings of reforms 2000-2004, characterized by post-war enthusiasm and the wish for "catching up with the world", 3) the 2004-2008 period of conservatism in education and 4) the 2008-2012 social inclusion period. The case study of introducing inclusive education will be also presented, to illustrate the variety of barriers, views of diverse stakeholders and the interplay between national, local and school policy.

Patricia White, Institute of Education, University of London

CIVIC EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRACY: A POLICY IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST

Things as different as public parks and a national defence system are often claimed to be in the public interest. What is it for a policy to be in the public interest? Can experts determine such policies? Is the provision of a civic education in the public interest? This presentation argues that it is.

But what form should that civic education take? To help determine such an education it is useful to think about what is involved in being a democratic citizen. Knowledge of the political system and of the values – for instance, justice, freedom and the rule of law – underpinning it are involved. Other kinds of knowledge too are

nomije, finansijskih sistema, statistike, nauke i tako dalje. Biti građanin zahteva i niz političkih veština za učestvovanje u političkom sistemu, od jednostavnih stvari poput glasačkih procedura do znanja o tome kako da se nečiji glas učini vidljivim unutar političke arene. Međutim, najvažnije, građaninu je potreban niz specifično demokratskih dispozicija. Među njima su osećaj za pravičnost, tolerancija, nada, sigurnost, poštenje, poverenje, pristojnost i, povremeno, hrabrost. Ali šta su to dispozicije i kako se one mogu razvijati? U odgovoru na to pitanje u ovoj prezentaciji se tvrdi da javne obrazovne ustanove igraju ključnu ulogu i to od najranijih godina.

Da li postoji građansko obrazovanje koje bi svima odgovaralo? Znamo da postoje različiti oblici demokratije, maksimalni i minimalni: građani mogu biti, verovatno opravdano, manje ili više aktivni. Pored toga, demokratije imaju veoma različite istorije i suočavaju se sa sasvim različitim problemima. Da li u tom slučaju bilo šta visvilo može da se kaže o građanskom obrazovanju? Tvrdim da može.

Nenad Dimitrijević, Centralnoevropski univerzitet, Budimpešta

**OBRAZOVANJE POSLE MORALNOG PADA:
U ODBRANU KONTEKSTUALNO SPECIFIČNOG
PERFEKCIONIZMA**

U fokusu prezentacije je pitanje o odgovarajućim obrazovnim politikama nakon masovnih zločina počinjenih u ime nacije. Polazi se od pretpostavke da je država dužna da sprovodi politike istine u periodu tranzicije sa kriminalnog režima na demokratiju. Primenjena u oblasti obrazovanja, ta pretpostavka znači da bi učenike trebalo podučavati istini u pogledu nedavnih zločina; ovu istinu trebalo bi predstaviti kao obavezujuću distinkciju između dobrog i lošeg. Središnja obrazovna poruka bila bi jednostavna: zločini su bili pogrešni; zbog toga tumačenje čija je svrha opravdanje zločina nikada ne sme biti dozvoljeno. Međutim, čini se da je takva perfekcionista vrednosna orijentacija u raskoraku sa osnovnim liberalnim principima lične autonomije, moralnog pluralizma

needed; potential examples are countless – knowledge of economics, financial systems, statistics, science and more. The citizen also requires a range of political skills to participate in the political system, from simple things like voting procedures to knowing how to make one's voice heard in the political arena. But, most important, the citizen needs a range of specifically democratic dispositions. These include a sense of fairness, tolerance, hope, confidence, trust, honesty, decency and, perhaps on occasion, courage. But what are dispositions and how can they be fostered? The presentation argues that public educational institutions have a crucial role to play and from the earliest years.

But can there be a one-size-fits-all civic education? Democracy, after all can take different forms, maximal and minimal: citizens may, legitimately perhaps, be more or less active. Democracies also have very different histories and have to grapple with very different problems. Can anything useful be said then in general about civic education? I will argue that it can.

**Nenad Dimitrijević,
Central European University**

**EDUCATION AFTER A MORAL FALL:
IN DEFENSE OF THE CONTEXT-SPECIFIC
PERFECTIONISM**

The presentation will focus on the question of the right educational policies after the mass atrocities committed in the name of the nation. The point of departure is the assumption that in the transition from the criminal regime to democracy the state is duty-bound to pursue the politics of truth. Applied to the field of education, the assumption reads that students should be taught the truth about recent crimes; this truth should be presented as the binding distinction between right and wrong. The core educational message would be simple: the crimes were wrong and no interpretation aimed at their justification should ever be allowed. Such a perfectionist value orientation, however, seems to be at odds with the basic liberal tenets of individual autonomy, moral pluralism,

i državne neutralnosti. Uprkos tome, tvrdi se da je kontekstualno specifičan liberalni perfekcionizam i moguć i neophodan.

Predrag Brebanović, Filološki fakultet,
Univerzitet u Beogradu

HUMANISTIKA I "JAVNI INTERES"

U prostoru omeđenom tradicionalnim poimanjima humanistike s jedne, te aktuelnim kritikama bolonjskih reformi s druge strane, autor pokušava da ukaže na društveni značaj proučavanja i podučavanja književnosti danas. Polaznu tačku predstavlja pitanje: jesu li "kulturalni ratovi", koji su poslednjih decenija presudno uticali na naše razumevanje umetnosti, doista dokazali nužnost prevladavanja onih književno-obrazovnih modela uz koje se, neretko sa negativnim konotacijama, vezuje pridev "humanistički"?

Kao ogledna građa u izlaganju je iskorišćena ona koncepcija humanistike koja je polovinom 20. veka bila realizovana pod okriljem tzv. čikaške škole (R. McKeon, R. S. Crane), i koju je na jugoslovenskoj akademskoj sceni u prilagođenoj formi zagovarao književni teoretičar i istoričar Svetozar Petrović. Reč je o nastojanju da se humanistika ne poistovećuje niti sa specifičnim *predmetima* proučavanja, niti sa bilo kakvim apstraktnim *ciljevima*, već sa *metodama* istraživanja i interpretacije za kojima posežemo pri susretu sa "nepredvidivo izvrsnim" ljudskim ostvarenjima.

Ali, može li nam takvo viđenje humanističkih disciplina još uvek poslužiti pri otklanjanju nesporazuma koji prate studij književnosti? U odgovoru na to pitanje najpre se, iz perspektive predočenih Craneovih i Petrovićevih stavova, analiziraju uloge *nastavnika*, *istraživača* i *kritičara*, da bi u zaključku – uz isticanje neophodnosti objedinjavanja tih triju funkcija u obrazovnom procesu – stvarni javni interes bio prepoznat ne samo u zaustavljanju negativnih univerzitetskih trendova, nego i u oplemenjivanju postojećih institucionalnih okvira jednom naročitom vrstom "harizmatičke" pedagogije.

and the state neutrality. Still, it will be argued that the context-specific liberal perfectionism is both possible and necessary.

Predrag Brebanović, Faculty of Philology,
University of Belgrade

HUMANITIES AND "PUBLIC INTEREST"

Positioned within the field which is delineated by traditional humanities, on the one side, and contemporary criticisms of Bologna educational reform, on the other, this paper aims to indicate social significance of studying and teaching literature today. The following question is used as a starting point for analysis: did "culture wars", which significantly influenced our understanding of art and art production in the last decades, indeed prove the necessity of overcoming all those literary-educational models that are often connected, sometimes having a negative connotation, to the adjective "humanist"?

The concept of humanities explored in this paper was defined by the Chicago school (R. McKeon, R. S. Crane) in the mid-twentieth-century; slightly modified, it was advocated among Yugoslav scholars by literary theorist and historian Svetozar Petrović. Instead of identifying humanities with specific *objects* of analysis, or abstract *aims* of analysis, identifying should be made with *methods* of analysis and interpretation, which are used in the encounter with "unusually excellent" works and achievements.

However, one might ask whether such an understanding of humanities can put an end to all misunderstandings and contradictions inherent to the study of literature? In order to answer the question, roles of *teacher*, *researcher*, and *critic* are examined, relying on Crane's and Petrović's points of view. It is then emphasized that those three functions must be integrated in the process of education. In conclusion, concrete public interest is recognized not only in stopping negative university trends and tendencies, but also in enriching existing institutional frameworks with specific type of "charismatic" pedagogy.

Tinde Kovač Cerović, Filozofski fakultet,
Univerzitet u Beogradu

OBRAZOVANJE ROMA U SRBIJI – ZAČARNI KRUG PERMANENTNIH ADMINISTRATIVNIH PREPREKA

U ovoj prezentaciji ću predstaviti studiju slučaja otvaranja i širenja pristupa romskim učenicima u Srbiji u toku implementacije Dekade romske inkluzije. Opisacu sveobuhvatan skup postupaka vezanih za upis, kurikulum i vrednovanje, ali ću se posebno fokusirati na različite vrste administrativnih prepreka sa kojima se Romi suočavaju pri upisu škola, kao i na prepreke sa kojima se suočavaju integrativne programske politike u toku njihove implementacije unutar sistema javnog obrazovanja. Analiza tih prepreka podstiče na promišljanje organizacije i upravljanja obrazovanjem sa stanovišta ljudskih prava.

Tinde Kovacs Cerović, Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Belgrade

EDUCATION OF ROMA IN SERBIA – THE VICIOUS CIRCLE OF RE-EMERGING ADMINISTRATIVE BARRIERS

I will present the case study of expanding access to Roma students in Serbia during the implementation of the Decade of Roma Inclusion. I will describe a comprehensive set of actions in enrolment, curriculum and assessment, but will particularly focus on the different types of administrative barriers Roma face when accessing schools and the barriers integration policies face during implementation through the public education system. The analysis of these barriers lends itself to re-thinking of the setup of education governance from a human rights based perspective.

Majkl Epl, Univerzitet Viskonsina u Medisonu

TRŽIŠTA, ZNANJE I NEJEDNAKOST U OBRAZOVANJU

U mnogim zemaljama obrazovna politika kreće se u specifičnom smeru, koji je najbolje opisan frazom "konzervativna modernizacija". Uspostavljen je novi savez koji kombinuje neoliberalnu veru u tržišta i privatizaciju, neokonzervativnu posvećenost povratku na romantičko viđenje tradicionalnog znanja, i novi menadžerski naglasak na izvršenju, učinku i odgovornosti. Veoma često, posledica kombinovanja ta tri pokreta je izmena osnovnog smisla demokratije, uvećana nejednakost, kao i gubitak nastavničke autonomije i poštovanja. Za takve obrazovne politike postoje alternative koje se zasnivaju na izrazitije kritičkim demokratskim politikama i praksama. Namera mi je da kritički ispitam dominantne reforme čiji uticaj sve više raste, ukažem na njihove brojne negativne efekte, i detaljnije opišem demokratske mogućnosti i pokrete.

Michael W. Apple, University of Wisconsin-Madison

MARKETS, KNOWLEDGE, AND INEQUALITY IN EDUCATION

In many nations of the world, educational policy is moving in specific directions, what can best be described as "conservative modernization." A new alliance has been built that combines a neoliberal faith in markets and privatization, a neoconservative commitment to a return to a romantic view of traditional knowledge, and a new managerial emphases on performance, measurement, and accountability. The result of this combination of movements has often been a transformation in the very meaning of democracy, increased inequality, and a loss of teacher autonomy and respect. There are alternatives to these kinds of policies, ones based on more critically democratic policies and practices. I shall critically examine the dominant reforms that are becoming increasingly influential, demonstrate a number of their negative effects, and describe more thickly democratic possibilities and movements.

Aleksandar Baucal, Filozofski fakultet,
Univerzitet u Beogradu

NE SAMO ZA TRŽIŠTE: KA DRUŠTVENOM KONSENZUSU O KLJUČNIM KOMPETENCIJAMA SLEDEĆE GENERACIJE GRAĐANA

U prvom delu izlaganja razmotriću ulogu ekonomskog sektora u upravljanju budućim razvojem obrazovanja. Tvrdiću da se ovo pitanje često razmatra pojednostavljeno što stvara utisak nerešive podeljenosti između, s jedne strane, onih koji tvrde "očigledno" da su kompetencije sledeće generacije stanovništva ekonomsko pitanje i da prilikom upravljanja obrazovanjem u Srbiji treba voditi računa o ekonomskim aspektima (čuvana pitanja "ko će to da plati", "kako će to da se finansira", "kakav je odnos između cene koštanja i onoga što se dobija u finansijskom smislu", itd.), i s druge strane, onih koji tvrde "još očiglednije" da je obrazovanje javno dobro i da kao takvo ne može biti regulisano na osnovu ekonomskih parametara i "nevidljive ruke" tržišta. U zaključku prvog dela zastupaću tezu da obrazovanje kao javno dobro ne može biti regulisano samo pitanjem "kako da nas obrazovanje manje košta", ali da upravljanje obrazovanjem kao javnim dobrom treba da uključi i ekonomsku dimenziju.

U drugom delu zastupaću ideju da je za dalji razvoj obrazovanja u Srbiji potrebno da se ostvari *društveni konsenzus* o sledećem: koje ključne kompetencije treba da razvije sledeća generacija građana da bi kroz učešće u društvenom životu mogli da ostvare istovremeno i sopstvene interese i da doprinesu daljem razvoju društva? Kao što društveni život ne može da se svede samo na ekonomski život tako ni spisak ključnih kompetencija ne može biti sveden samo na one koje obezbeđuju osobi da savlada izazove pri učešću u ekonomskom životu. Kao dobra ilustracija napora da se ostvari društveni konsenzus o ključnim kompetencijama biće predstavljen OECD projekat DeSeCo (Defining and Selection of Key Competencies). U zaključku drugog dela rada zastupaću tezu da je potrebno da se i u Srbiji realizuje sličan projekat.

Aleksandar Baucal, Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Belgrade

NOT ONLY FOR THE MARKET: TOWARDS A SOCIAL CONSENSUS ON KEY COMPETENCIES OF THE NEXT GENERATION OF CITIZENS

In the first part of the presentation I will examine the role of economics in governing future education development. I will argue that this question has often been simplified, which creates the impression that there is an unresolvable conflict between, on the one side, those who claim that the future generation competencies are undoubtedly matter of economics and, because of that, economic aspects must be considered while governing the education in Serbia (frequently asked questions, "who will pay for that", "how will that be financed", "what is the rational between the investment and the outcome", etc.), and, on the other, those who claim that education is public good and as such cannot be regulated based on economic parameters and "invisible hand" of the market. In conclusion of the first part I will argue that whilst education as public good cannot be regulated solely by the question "how can education cost us less", governing the education as public good should involve economic dimension as well.

In the second part of the presentation I will argue that further development of education in Serbia requires *social consensus* on the following question: what are the key competencies that next generation of citizens should develop in order to simultaneously pursue their own interests and contribute to the society development when they take part in the life of a society? As one's life in a society cannot be boiled down to economic life, similarly, the list of key competencies cannot come down only to those which enable individual to participate in economic life and overcome its challenges. As an example of the tendency to reach social consensus on key competencies I will present OECD project DeSeCo (Defining and Selection of Key Competencies). In the conclusion, I will argue that similar project should be conducted in Serbia.

Iskra Maksimović, Fakultet za ekonomiju,
finansije i administraciju, Univerzitet Singidunum

CELOŽIVOTNO UČENJE: ULOGA KOMPETENCIJA U RAZVOJU OBRAZOVANJA

U prvom delu govoriću o tome koliko ekonomska globalizacija utiče na razvoj obrazovanja posebno u kontekstu razvoja doživotnog obrazovanja. Razvoj visokog obrazovanja se u poslednjoj deceniji posmatra u odnosu na tri bazična elementa koja se moraju uvažiti: a) značaj promena i njihove posledice na obrazovanje, b) uticaj globalizacije na promenu ukupnog cilja razvoja visokog obrazovanja; c) promena sveta rada i tržišta rada što je uticalo da se obrazovanju postavljaju novi zahtevi, odnosno tržište rada traži drugačije osposobljene i pripremljene pojedince koji imaju profesionalnu mobilnost i spremni su da uče tokom čitavog života.

U drugom delu, a s obzirom na obrazovanje u Srbiji, govoriću o ulozi i značaju kompetencija i kakav značaj ima razvoj obrazovanja zasnovan na ishodima. Postizanje kompetencija treba da omogući ostvarivanje tri osnovna zadatka bitna za svakog pojedinca ali i društva u celini: 1) lično ispunjenje i profesionalni razvoj (kulturni kapital): ostvarenje profesionalnih ciljeva i ličnih želja vezanih za kontinuirano učenje; 2) aktivno građanstvo (socijalni kapital): stvaranje mogućnosti svakome da kao aktivan građanin učestvuje u razvoju društva; 3) zapošljavanje (ljudski kapital): sposobnost svakog pojedinca da postigne i ostvari posao na tržištu rada. Primer shvatanja i definisanje kompetencija prikazaću na primeru akademskih i generičkih kompetencija unutar kurikuluma i obrazovnog procesa na Fakultetu za ekonomiju, finansije i administraciju (FEFA).

Dean Duda, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu

VISOKO OBRAZOVANJE KAO JAVNO DOBRO: PRIMJER IZ REGIJE/PRIMJER ZA REGIJU?

Izlaganje obuhvaća pregled i analizu ključnih momenata borbe za besplatno javno visoko obrazovanje u Hrvatskoj, s obzirom na lokalne, regionalne, tranzicijske i šire europ-

Iskra Maksimović, Faculty of Economics, Finance and
Administration, Singidunum University

LIFELONG LEARNING: THE ROLE OF COMPETENCIES IN DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

In the first part of this presentation I will talk about the influence of economic globalization on development of education, particularly in the context of lifelong education development. In the last decade, the development of education has been viewed in relation to three basic elements: a) the significance of changes and their effects on education, b) the influence of globalization on transformation of comprehensive aims of higher education development; c) the transformation of work and job market which resulted in new demands and challenges for education, i.e. job market needs individuals who are able to often change places and learn during their whole life.

In the second part of the presentation I will talk about the role and significance of competencies; and, about the significance of the outcomes-based development of education. Achievement of competencies should secure accomplishment of three basic aims that are important both to individuals and society: 1) personal fulfillment and professional development (cultural capital); 2) active citizenship (social capital); 3) hiring (human capital). I will use the example of academic and generic competencies within the curriculum and educational process at the Faculty of Economics, Finance and Administration (FEFA) in order to illustrate one possible way of understanding and defining competencies.

Dean Duda, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb

HIGHER EDUCATION AS PUBLIC GOOD: AN EXAMPLE FROM REGION/FOR REGION?

This presentation provides both overview and analysis of key elements of a struggle for public higher education free of charge, taking into account local, regional,

ske okolnosti. U fokusu su dvije osnovne razine: praktična (organizacijska, sindikalna, direktnodemokratska) i teorijsko-sadržajna (dokumenti, načela, vrijednosni sistem). Posebna pažnja posvetit će se *Deklaraciji o znanosti i visokom obrazovanju* sindikata "Akademska solidarnost": detektiranim problemima, temeljnim načelima, mogućnosti njezine operacionalizacije, kao i problemima na koje bi se pritom moglo naići – od strukture akademske zajednice do dominantnog sustava društvenih vrijednosti.

transitional and broader European contexts and circumstances. There are two important aspects in the focus of the presentation: practical (concerned with organization, unions, and direct democracy) and theoretical (concerned with documents, principles, value systems). The presentation particularly focuses on *Declaration on science and higher education* written by the union "Academic solidarity". Authors of the *Declaration* have identified various problems regarding the higher educational system and its reforms as well. In order to critically analyse and, ideally, overcome some of those problems, the presentation outlines key principles and ideas from the *Declaration* as well as problems that implementation of the *Declaration* may face: from the structure of the academic community to dominant system of values in the society.

Volter Fajnberg,
Univerzitet Ilinoisa

Walter Feinberg, University of Illinois
at Urbana-Champaign

OBRAZOVANJE GRAĐANA ZA PLURALNA DRUŠTVA

EDUCATING CITIZENS FOR A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

Pluralizam zahteva poštovanje različitih kulturnih i verskih zajednica, međutim, neke od tih zajednica se ne rukovode demokratskim načelima. Jedne su seksističke, druge rasističke, a neke autoritativne. Liberalizam zahteva posvećenost osnovnim idejama demokratije, a to su lična autonomija, sloboda mišljenja, lično usavršavanje, jednake mogućnosti i, za obrazovanje verovatno najvažnija, sposobnost da se zamisli nad sopstvenim usvojenim koncepcijama dobra. Ovaj sukob je najočigledniji na primerima oštih etničkih ili verskih različitosti unutar jednog društva.

Pluralism requires respect for different cultural and religious communities, but not all of these communities are governed by democratic norms. Some are sexist, others are racist while still others are authoritarian. Liberalism requires a commitment to the basic ideas of democracy, individual autonomy, freedom of association, individual growth, equal opportunity and perhaps most important of all for education, the capacity to reflect upon their own inherited conception of the good. This conflict is most apparent in cases of strong ethnic or religious differences within the same society.

Tvrdim da javno obrazovanje ima jedinstvenu ulogu – ulogu permanentnog stvaranja javnosti – i definišem javnost kao učestvovanje stranaca u kreiranju zajedničke sudbine. Imajući u vidu takvu koncepciju, pokazujem zbog čega su neoliberalni pristupi obrazovanju pogrešni i kako koncepcija javnog obrazovanja za koju se zalažem može da obuhvati potrebe različitih verskih i etničkih zajednica.

In this paper I argue that public education has a unique role – that of reproducing a public – and I define a public as an engagement of strangers in the construction of a shared fate. Given this conception I show why neo-liberal approaches to education are misguided and how this conception of public education can address the needs of different religious and ethnic communities.

Dubravka Stojanović, Filozofski fakultet,
Univerzitet u Beogradu

NASTAVA ISTORIJE KAO PREDVOJNIČKA OBUKA

Nastava istorije u Srbiji više liči na predvojničku obuku nego na disciplinu koja bi trebalo da učestvuje u izgradnji kritičkog i analitičkog mišljenja. Nastava se svodi na puko memorisanje, koje reprodukuje autoritarni model obrazovanja: nastavnik i udžbenik iznose istine koje treba bespogovorno prihvatiti. U udžbenicima se često koristi apodiktični jezik, koji pojačava utisak da se radi o nedvojbenim činjenicama i interpretacijama. Štaviše, i veoma sporni trenuci iz prošlosti svode se na jednostavne rečenice koje već svojom formom ne ostavljaju prostor za preispitivanje (na primer: "Prvi Balkanski rat bio je oslobodilački. Drugi Balkanski rat bio je nepravedan.").

Analiza sadržaja udžbenika pokazuje da su udžbenici zasnovani na ratničkom sistemu vrednosti: žrtvovanje sopstvenog života za otadžbinu smatra se najvišim ciljem pojedinca, a tiho trpljenje predstavlja idealni model političkog ponašanja. Korišćenjem citata iz epske poezije u udžbenicima se (p)održava devetnaestovekovni način mišljenja, a pojedinac se u potpunosti potčinjava kolektivu. Nastava istorije predstavlja jedan od osnovnih prostora za proizvodnju i širenje autoritarnih matrica mišljenja, kao i nacionalizma zasnovanog na etnocentrizmu, ksenofobiji i slici prošlosti u kojoj smo "mi" bili žrtva svih okolnih naroda i velikih sila.

Nenad Veličković, Filozofski fakultet,
Univerzitet u Sarajevu

NACIONALIZAM U ČITANKAMA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

U izlaganju ću opisati polje obrazovanja u Bosni i Hercegovini, koje čini prividno dvanaest zasebnih ravnopravnih administrativnih cjelina, a praktično tri, u potpunoj vlasti tri ravnopravna nacionalizma (bošnjačkog, hrvatskog i srp-

Dubravka Stojanović, Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Belgrade

DOES SERBIAN HISTORY CURRICULUM PREPARE PUPILS AND STUDENTS FOR WAR?

Serbian history curriculum and lessons have more in common with military prep schools than with academic discipline that should foster critical and analytical thinking. Teaching history boils down to mere memorization of facts, reinforcing the authoritarian model of education: teachers and textbooks offer "the truth" that ought to be taken for granted. Textbooks are often apodictic, because they aim to represent their contents as unquestionable facts and interpretations. Even the most controversial events from the past come down to simple sentences leaving no room for questioning (for example, "The first Balkan war was liberation war. The second Balkan war was unjust.").

Content analysis shows that history textbooks are based on the warrior morality and ethics: to sacrifice life for one's homeland is the greatest achievement, whereas being passive and inactive is considered to be an ideal form of political behavior. Frequent quotes from epic poetry are used to maintain and reinforce the way of thinking specific to the nineteenth century; these quotes serve to emphasize aims and wishes of the collective instead of individual. History curriculum and lessons provide space for producing and spreading authoritarian way of thinking, ethno-nationalism, xenophobia, and picture of the past in which "we" are represented as victims of all neighboring countries and powerful nations.

Nenad Veličković, Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Sarajevo

NATIONALISM IN LITERATURE TEXTBOOKS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

This paper first briefly describes educational system in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In theory, this system consists of twelve distinct administrations, which have equal rights. In reality, there are only three administrative bodies, which

skog) koji određuju ciljeve i svrhu obrazovanja, i vode ka diskriminaciji, povredama prava djeteta i odustajanju od proklamovanih evropskih vrijednosti. Ukazaću na mjesto u zakonskim odredbama kojima se pribavlja legitimitet za takvu praksu, odnosno mjesto gdje se proklamovana svrha obrazovanja u korist djeteta i pojedinca napušta zarad interesa nacionalizma.

U nastavku, u argumentaciji teze, pokazaću na kojem mjestu i zašto nacionalizam uzurpira resurse školstva, prije svih nastavu književnosti, koja na specifičan način raspravlja o moralnim vrijednostima i koja upravo zbog toga zauzima povlašteno mjesto u školi kao moralnoj ustanovi. (Podesnija je za oblikovanje morala od istorije, geografije, vjeronauke i ostalih, nenacionalnih, predmeta.)

Na kraju ću ukratko predstaviti rezultate istraživanja čitanki za starije razrede osnovne škole u Bosni i Hercegovini, a koji se tiču primjera indoktrinacije putem književnosti, njihovog broja i tipova, kao i neka moguća alternativna rješenja.

are under the rule of three nationalisms (Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian). These nationalisms, which determine aims and purposes of education, cause discrimination, endanger child rights, and disregard publicly promoted European values. I will identify legal regulations which legitimize such discriminatory and oppressive practices within the field of education and thus take care about national(ist) interests rather than human rights in general and child rights in particular.

Second part of the paper examines how nationalism affects school subjects, in particular literary curriculum. I will argue that literature has a privileged place among school subjects, mainly because of its specific way of thinking about moral values. (Storytelling, reader's imagination and empathy are central to literature, which makes literary study more adequate for moral and ethical formation of children than history, geography, religion and other non-national subjects.)

To support my argument, I will present results of the research done on literature textbooks which are used in higher grades in elementary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Not only this research recognized the relationship between ideology and literature, it also explored different types of that relationship. In conclusion, I will present alternative solutions for creation of literature textbooks, regarding their contents as well as critical interpretations.

**Džon Vajt, Institut za obrazovanje,
Londonski Univerzitet**

ŠKOLSKI KURIKULUM ZASNOVAN NA CILJEVIMA I PROMOCIJA DRUŠTVENE KOHEZIJE

U ovoj prezentaciji postavlja se pitanje da li nacionalni školski kurikulum treba da počiva na skupu različitih posebnih predmeta, to jest, da li od početka treba da uzme zdravo za gotovo ideju da kurikulum treba graditi na poznatom setu tradicionalnih školskih predmeta – materijem jeziku i književnosti, matematici, prirodnim naukama, istoriji, geografiji, i tako dalje.

Nakon sažetog istorijskog pregleda o tome kako je došlo do konceptualizacije kurikuluma kakav danas poznajemo, u prezentaciji se ispituje alternativa za kurikulum zasnovan na predmetima, a to je – kurikulum zasnovan na ci-

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AN AIMS-BASED SCHOOL CURRICULUM AND THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL COHESION

This presentation questions whether a national school curriculum should be planned in a subject-based way, that is by taking for granted from the start that the curriculum should be built largely around a familiar set of traditional school subjects – mother tongue and literature, mathematics, science, history, geography etc.

After a brief historical look at how the curriculum came to be conceived in this way, the presentation explores the aims-based alternative to a subject-based curriculum. As things are at present, at least in a country like England, although general, overall aims are laid down nationally for

ljevima. Kako stvari trenutno stoje, barem u zemlji kakva je Engleska, uprkos tome što su načelni ciljevi propisani za školsko obrazovanje na nacionalnom nivou, to ima malo uticaja na ono što škole zaista rade. Pošto su standardni posebni predmeti mesta od kojih planiranje kurikuluma zapravo otpočinje, onda interni ciljevi tih predmeta teže da dominiraju; čak i kada su veze između zahteva određenog predmeta i načelnih, opštih ciljeva uspostavljene, na primer, u zvaničnoj dokumentaciji, one su često problematične.

Predložena alternativa zasnovana na ciljevima polazi od odbranljivog skupa načelnih ciljeva koji su primereni liberalnom demokratskom društvu i obuhvataju ciljeve koji se tiču učenikove lične dobrobiti, njegovih ili njenih moralnih i građanskih dispozicija, i pripreme za rad. Na osnovu ovih načelnih ciljeva izvode se konkretniji ciljevi. Oni se poklapaju sa mnogim postojećim ciljevima kurikuluma zasnovanog na predmetima, ali, istovremeno, nekima od njih umanjuju značaj i pružaju veću fleksibilnost u pogledu školskih aktivnosti koje su ili izvan tradicionalnih predmeta ili podrazumevaju učešće elemenata iz više predmeta.

Na primer, odbranljivi ciljevi koji se tiču društvene kohezije dobro se uklapaju u liberalni demokratski okvir od kog kurikulum zasnovan na ciljevima polazi. Ova prezentacija se osvrće na neke podciljeve u toj oblasti, koji se tiču dispozicija i vrsta razumevanja koje one zahtevaju; i ukazuje na razne oblike učeničkih aktivnosti koje se nalaze i izvan i u okviru rada fokusiranog na posebne predmete.

school education, they have little impact on what schools do. Since familiar discrete subjects are the places where curriculum planning effectively begins, it is their internal aims that tend to dominate; and where links are made, eg in official documentation, between subject requirements and general, overall aims, these are often problematic.

A suggested aims-based alternative begins from a defensible set of general aims appropriate to a liberal democratic society, covering aims to do with the student's own well-being, his or her moral and civic dispositions, and preparation for work. From these general aims, further more specific aims are derived. These overlap many of the subject-based aims we currently have, but downgrade some of the latter and offer more flexibility than at present for school activities that lie outside traditional subjects or involve elements drawn from a number of them.

As an example, defensible aims to do with social cohesion fit well into the liberal-democratic framework from which this aims-based curriculum begins. The presentation looks at some of the sub-aims in this area, to do with dispositions and with the kinds of understanding these require; and points to various kinds of student activity lying outside as well as inside subject-focused work.

BIOGRAFIJE UČESNIKA

Michael W. Apple rođen je 1942. godine. Pre nego što je počeo da predaje na univerzitetu, radio je kao nastavnik u osnovnim i srednjim školama u Njudžersiju; bio je predsednik sindikata nastavnika. Apple je profesor kurikuluma, nastave i studija obrazovnih planova i programa na Univerzitetu Viskonsina, u Medisonu, gde predaje od 1970. godine. Dobio je brojna priznanja i nagrade; između ostalih, i nagradu za životno delo Američke asocijacije za istraživanje u obrazovanju. Među publikacijama koje je napisao i priredio nalaze se *Ideology and Curriculum* (1979) [Michael W. Apple, *Ideologija i kurikulum*, preveo Đorđe Tomić (Beograd: Fabrika knjiga, 2012).]; *Teachers and Texts* (1986); *Cultural Politics and Education* (1996); *Official Knowledge: Democratic Knowledge in a Conservative Age* (2000); *The State and Politics of Education* (2003); *Educating the "Right" Way: Markets, Standards, God and Inequality* (2001); *The Routledge International Handbook of Critical Education* (2009); *The Routledge International Handbook of Sociology of Education* (2010); *Global Crises, Social Justice, and Education* (2010).

Rima Apple je profesorka na Odseku za ženske studije i Odeljenju za interdisciplinarnu studiju životne sredine na Univerzitetu Viskonsina, u Medisonu. Njena knjiga *Perfect Motherhood: Science and childrearing in America* (2006) analizira razvoj i efekte "stručnog materinstva", ideologije kasnog 19. i 20. veka koja je promovisala uverenje da su majkama neophodni naučni i medicinski eksperti da bi uspešno podizale svoju decu. Sada se bavi ulogom medicinskih sestara u razvoju materinske i dečje nege. Zanimaju je i istorija konzumerizma, posebno uloga vitamina u američkoj kulturi i istorija vođenja domaćinstva kao ženske profesije.

NOTES ON PARTICIPANTS

Michael W. Apple was born in 1942. Before completing his doctorate and teaching at the University, Apple taught in elementary and secondary schools in New Jersey; he was also the president of his teachers union. Apple is John Bascom Professor of Curriculum and Instruction and Educational Policy Studies. He teaches courses in curriculum theory and research and in the sociology of curriculum. His current research centers on the limits and possibilities of critical educational policy and practice in a time of conservative restoration. He has received the Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Educational Research Association and the UCLA Medal for Distinguished Academic Achievement. Among his numerous books and articles are *Ideology and Curriculum* (1979); *Teachers and Texts* (1986); *Cultural Politics and Education* (1996); *Official Knowledge: Democratic Knowledge in a Conservative Age* (2000); *The State and Politics of Education* (2003); *Educating the "Right" Way: Markets, Standards, God and Inequality* (2001); *The Routledge International Handbook of Critical Education* (2009); *The Routledge International Handbook of Sociology of Education* (2010); *Global Crises, Social Justice, and Education* (2010).

Rima Apple held joint appointments in the School of Human Ecology Departments of Consumer Science and Interdisciplinary Studies in Human Ecology, Women's Studies Program, Science and Technology Studies Program, and holds the position of Affiliate in the Department of the Medical History and Bioethics. Her book, *Perfect Motherhood: Science and childrearing in America* (2006) is an analysis of the development and influence of "scientific motherhood," the late nineteenth- and twentieth century ideology promoting the belief that mothers require scientific and medical experts in order to successfully raise their children. Her current research focuses on the role of public health nurses in the evolution of maternal and child care. She also studies the history of consumerism, especially the role of vitamins in American culture, and the history of home economics as a profession for women.

Aleksandar Baucal vanredni je profesor razvojne i obrazovne psihologije na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu. Od 2001. do 2004. bio je uključen u reformu obrazovanja u Srbiji. Bio je član Veća za obrazovnu reformu, član Nacionalnog foruma za obrazovanje za sve (UNESCO), koordinator Vladine komisije za razvoj sistema za osiguranje kvaliteta obrazovanja, koordinator stručnog tima za razvoj nacionalnih ispita u obrazovanju, član komisije za razvoj školskog programa i član Republičke upisne komisije. U periodu 2003–2004. bio je direktor Centra za evaluaciju (sadašnji Zavod za vrednovanje kvaliteta obrazovanja i vaspitanja). U poslednjih osam godina intenzivno je angažovan na praćenju i unapređivanju pravednosti obrazovanja, a posebno na unapređivanju kvaliteta obrazovanja za romsku decu kao jednu od najosetljivih i najugroženijih grupa dece.

Aleksandar Baucal is an associate professor of developmental and educational psychology at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade. From 2001 to 2004 he was involved in educational reform in Serbia. He was a member of the Committee for educational reform, National forum on education for all (UNESCO), and coordinator of various educational programs run by the government. In 2003/4 he was a director of the Centre for evaluation. Over the last eight years he has been involved in the programs aimed at fostering just education, especially those concerned with Roma children.

Predrag Brebanović rođen je 1967. godine u Zemunu. Predaje na Katedri za opštu književnost i teoriju književnosti Filološkog fakulteta, Univerziteta u Beogradu. "Fabrika knjiga" objavila je njegove studije *Podrumi Marcipana: čitanje Bore Ćosića* (2006) i *Antitetički kanon Harolda Blooma* (2011). Urednik je u časopisu *Reč*.

Predrag Brebanović was born in 1967. in Zemun. He teaches at the Department of Comparative Literature and Literary Theory, Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade. "Fabrika knjiga" published his books *Podrumi Marcipana: čitanje Bore Ćosića* (2006) [*Marzipan Cellars: a reading of Bora Ćosić*] and *Antitetički kanon Harolda Blooma* (2011) [*Harold Bloom's Antithetical Canon*]. He is the editor of the magazine *Reč*.

Nenad Dimitrijević predaje na Katedri za političke nauke na Centralnoevropskom univerzitetu u Budimpešti od 1994. godine. Bavi se ustavnom teorijom i političkom teorijom (političkim legitimitetom i tranzicionom pravdom). Godine 2001. objavio je knjigu *Slučaj Jugoslavija*. Uprkos neuspehu Jugoslovenske komisije za istinu, uporno i dosledno zagovara da je takva komisija neophodna srpskom društvu. S jednakom ubedljivošću zalaže se i za koncept ustavnog patriotizma nasuprot etnonacionalnom rodoljublju, još uvek preovlađujućem u Srbiji. "Fabrika knjiga" objavila je njegovu knjigu *Ustavna demokratija shvaćena kontekstualno* (2007) i *Dužnost da se odgovori. Masovni zločin, poricanje i kolektivna odgovornost* (2011).

Nenad Dimitrijević is an associate professor at Political Science Department, Central European University. His research interests include constitutional theory (constitutional design, post-communist constitutionalism, minority rights, constitutional patriotism), and political theory (political legitimacy, transformative justice). In spite of the shortcomings of a Yugoslav truth and reconciliation commission, he argues that such a commission must exist in Serbian society. "Fabrika knjiga" published his books *Ustavna demokratija shvaćena kontekstualno* (2007) [*Constitutional Democracy Conceived Contextually*] and *Dužnost da se odgovori* (2011) [*Duty To Respond: Mass Crime, Denial, and Collective Responsibility* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2011)].

Dean Duda rođen je 1963. Na Odseku za komparativnu književnost Filozofskog fakulteta, Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, radi od 1990. Zanima se za književnu teoriju, kulturalne studije, popularnu kulturu, kulturu putovanja, istoriju i teoriju pripovednih žanrova. Objavio je knjige *Priča i putovanje: hrvatski romantičarski putopis kao pripovjedni žanr* (1998), *Kulturalni studiji: ishodišta i problemi* (2002) i *Hrvatski književni bajkomat* (2010); priredio antologiju *Putopisi* (1999) i teorijski zbornik *Politika teorije. Zbornik rasprava iz kulturalnih studija* (2006). Jedan je od autora *Malog leksikona hrvatske književnosti* (1998) i *Lektire na dlanu* (2001–2002).

Dean Duda was born in 1963. Since 1990 he has been teaching at the Department of Comparative Literature, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb. His research interests include literary theory, cultural studies, popular culture, cultural travel, genre history and theory. Among his publications are *Priča i putovanje: hrvatski romantičarski putopis kao pripovjedni žanr* (1998), *Kulturalni studiji: ishodišta i problemi* (2002) [*Cultural Studies: perspectives and problems*] and *Hrvatski književni bajkomat* (2010); he edited anthology *Putopisi* (1999) and selection of theoretical texts *Politika teorije. Zbornik rasprava iz kulturalnih studija* (2006) [*Politics of Theory. Selected Essays from Cultural Studies*]. He is one of the authors of *Malog leksikona hrvatske književnosti* (1998) and *Lektire na dlanu* (2001–2002).

Walter Feinberg je rođen 1937. godine. Feinberg je profesor filozofije obrazovanja na Univerzitetu Illinois, na kom predaje od 1967. godine. Za višedecenijski rad na problemima vezanim za obrazovanje i građanska prava u demokratskom multikulturalnom društvu dobio je brojna priznanja. Autor je i urednik niza publikacija, među kojima su *Understanding Education: Towards a reconstruction of educational inquiry* (1983); *Japan and the Pursuit of A New American Identity: Work and Education in A Multicultural Age* (1993); *On Higher Ground: Education and the Case for Affirmative Action* (1997); *Common Schools/Uncommon Identities: National Unity and Cultural Difference* (1998) [Walter Feinberg, *Zajedničke škole / različiti identiteti. Nacionalno jedinstvo i kulturna razlika*, preveo Dejan Ilić (Beograd: Fabrika knjiga, 2012).]; *Citizenship and Education in Liberal-Democratic Societies: Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities* (2003; kourednik sa Kevinom McDonoughom); *For Goodness Sake: Religious Schools and Education for Democratic Citizenry* (2006).

Walter Feinberg was born in 1937. He is Charles Dunn Hardie Professor of Philosophy of Education at College of Education, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. His research centers on the issue of education for democratic citizenship. He has received a number of important awards and honors. He authored and co-authored many publications, including *Understanding Education: Towards a reconstruction of educational inquiry* (1983); *Japan and the Pursuit of A New American Identity: Work and Education in A Multicultural Age* (1993); *On Higher Ground: Education and the Case for Affirmative Action* (1997); *Common Schools/Uncommon Identities: National Unity and Cultural Difference* (1998); *Citizenship and Education in Liberal-Democratic Societies: Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities* (2003; co-author with Kevin McDonough); *For Goodness Sake: Religious Schools and Education for Democratic Citizenry* (2006).

Viktor Ivančić rođen je 1960. godine u Sarajevu. Živi u Splitu. Bio je jedan od osnivača i dugogodišnji glavni urednik tjednika *Feral Tribune*. Dosad je objavio prozu *Bilježnica Robija K*; studiju *Točka na U*; zbirke ogleđa *Lomača za protuhrvatski blud* i *Šamaranje vjetra*. Od 2005. "Fabrika

Viktor Ivančić was born in 1960. in Sarajevo. He lives in Split. He is one of the founders and the longtime editor-in-chief of a weekly magazine *Feral Tribune*. His publications include *Bilježnica Robija K*; *Točka na U*; *Lomača za protuhrvatski blud* and *Šamaranje vjetra*. "Fabrika knjiga"

knjiga" objavila je sledeće Ivančičeve knjige: *Robi K.*, u tri toma; zbirke ogleđa *Animal Croatica*, *Zašto ne pišem i drugi eseji* i *Jugoslavija živi vječno. Dokumentarne basne*; te romane *Vita activa* i *Planinski zrak*. Trenutno radi kao novinar u zagrebačkom tjedniku *Novosti*.

published his books of essays *Robi K.* (3 volumes); *Animal Croatica*, *Zašto ne pišem i drugi eseji* [*Why I do not write and other essays*] and *Jugoslavija živi vječno. Dokumentarne basne* [*Yugoslavia lives forever. Documentary fables*]; novels *Vita activa* and *Planinski zrak*.

Tinde Kovač Cerović predaje na Odeljenju za psihologiju Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerziteta u Beogradu. U periodu 2008-2012. i 2001-2004. godine radila je kao sekretarka i pomoćnica ministra prosvete u Ministarstvu prosvete. Od 2005. do 2007. godine bila je viša savetnica Romske obrazovnog fonda, međunarodne organizacije čije se predstavništvo nalazi u Budimpešti. Godine 2007/8. bila je savetnica za obrazovne i socijalne politike u Srbiji, anagažovana na programima koji su namenjeni romskoj populaciji. Tokom devedesetih godina u okviru civilnog sektora radila je na promociji ljudskih prava, razrešenju sukoba i mirovnoj psihologiji. Njena interesovanja, brojni projekti u kojima je učestvovala, te publikacije koje je napisala ili priredila, odnose se na školsku psihologiju, psihologiju obrazovanja, obrazovne politike, metakogniciju i mirovnu psihologiju.

Tinde Kovač Cerović teaches educational psychology and education policy at the Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Psychology, University of Belgrade. In the period July 2008 - July 2012 she has been holding the position of State Secretary of the Ministry of Education and Science, and from 2001 to 2004 the position of Deputy Minister in the same ministry. From 2005 to 2007 she worked as Senior Advisor for the Roma Education Fund, an international organization with Headquarters in Budapest. In 2007/8 she was Advisor for Education and Social Policy to the Serbian Deputy Prime Minister, responsible for Roma policy as well. During the nineties she was active in the field of civil society, promoting human rights, and conflict resolution and peace psychology. She authored and co-authored many research projects and publications in the field of education, educational developmental and social psychology, and worked as education consultant for several international organizations.

Svetlana Lukić, novinarka, rođena je u Beogradu 1958. godne. Za vreme ratova 90-ih godina radila je na RTV B92 ratne reportaže iz Hrvatske, Bosne i Hercegovine, Makedonije i sa Kosova. Od 2006. godine radi kao urednica i autorka u nezavisnoj medijskoj kući "Peščanik" (radio emisija, web portal, video produkcija i izdavaštvo). Dobitnica je nagrade "Reporteri bez granica".

Svetlana Lukić, journalist, born in 1958. in Belgrade. As B92 journalist, she covered wars and conflicts in the nineties and did a number of war reportages from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Kosovo. Since 2006. she has been working as the editor and author in the independent media "Peščanik" (radio show, web portal, video production and publishing). She was awarded the Reporters Without Borders Prize.

Iskra Maksimović je rođena 1951. godine. Radi kao docent na Fakultetu za ekonomiju, finansije i administraciju Univerziteta Singidunum u Beogradu, na kom je i doktorirala 2007. u oblasti menadžmenta. Direktorka je Karijernog centra na istom fakultetu. Najveći deo svoje profesionalne

Iskra Maksimović was born in 1951. She works as an assistant professor and director of the Career Centre at the Faculty of Economics, Finance and Administration (FEFA), Singidunum University in Belgrade, where she received PhD Degree in Management in 2007. The largest part of

aktivnosti usmerila je na oblast razvoja i strateškog planiranja u obrazovanju. U okviru svog stručnog i naučnog rada bavi se menadžmentom, posebno veštinama menadžera, a u oblasti razvoja obrazovanja bavi se teorijskim i praktičnim definisanjem i razvojem kompetencija, razvojem kurikuluma, strateškim planiranjem, karijernim vođenjem i savetovanjem.

Dubravka Stojanović rođena je 1963. godine u Beogradu. Predaje na Odeljenju za istoriju Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerziteta u Beogradu. Uređuje *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*. Koordinator je kurseva na Ženskim i Mirovnim studijama, kao i u Alternativnoj obrazovnoj mreži. Bavi se pitanjem demokratije u Srbiji i na Balkanu krajem 19. i početkom 20. veka; evropskim uticajima u Srbiji početkom 20. veka; interpretacijama istorije u novim srpskim udžbenicima (potpredsednik je Balkanskog komiteta za obrazovanje u oblasti istorije); istorijom žena u Srbiji; procesima modernizacije. Objavila je *Iskušavanje načela. Srpska Socijaldemokratska partija i ratni program Srbije 1912-1918* (1994), *Srbija i demokratija 1904-1914* (2003), *Kaldrma i asfalt. Urbanizacija i evropeizacija Beograda 1890-1914* (2008), *Ulje na vodi. Ogledi iz istorije sadašnjosti Srbije* (2010), *Noga u vratima. Prilozi za političku biografiju Biblioteke XX vek* (2011).

Nenad Veličković rođen je 1962. godine u Sarajevu. "Vježba" književnost sa studentima Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu. "Fabrika knjiga" objavila je zbirke Veličkovićevih ogleđa *Viva Sexico!* (2007), *Dijagnoza – patriotizam* (2010) i *Školokrečina. Nacionalizam u bošnjačkim, hrvatskim i srpskim čitankama* (2012).

her professional activity has been directed towards development and strategic planning in education. Within her professional and scientific work, she has focused on management, particularly on managerial skills, and within the area of educational development, she focuses on theoretical and practical definition and development of competences, curriculum development, and strategic planning.

Dubravka Stojanović was born in 1963. in Belgrade. She works as an assistant professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade. She is a co-editor of the *Annual of Social History* and one of the founders of the Association for Social History in Belgrade. She worked on few projects concerning current history textbooks in Serbia. First project was in 1994. organized by the Center for Anti War Actions, Belgrade and the second was coordinated by "Georg Eckert Institut" from Braunschweig, Germany. She serves as a vice-president of the History Education Committee, organized by the Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in South Eastern Europe based in Thessaloniki. Her publications include *Iskušavanje načela. Srpska Socijaldemokratska partija i ratni program Srbije 1912-1918* (1994) [*Temptation of Principles. Serbian Social-Democratic Party and Serbian War Aims 1912-1918*], *Srbija i demokratija 1904-1914* (2003) [*Serbia and Democracy 1903-1914*], *Kaldrma i asfalt. Urbanizacija i evropeizacija Beograda 1890-1914* (2008), *Ulje na vodi. Ogledi iz istorije sadašnjosti Srbije* (2010), *Noga u vratima. Prilozi za političku biografiju Biblioteke XX vek* (2011).

Nenad Veličković was born in 1962. in Sarajevo. He teaches literature at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo. "Fabrika knjiga" published his books of essays *Viva Sexico!* (2007), *Dijagnoza – patriotizam* (2010) [*Diagnosis – Patriotism*] and *Školokrečina. Nacionalizam u bošnjačkim, hrvatskim i srpskim čitankama* (2012) [*Školokrečina. Nationalism in Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian literature textbooks*].

John White je emeritus profesor filozofije obrazovanja na Odseku za humanističke i društvene nauke, Instituta za obrazovanje, Londonskog univerziteta. Njegova interesovanja tiču se veze između ciljeva obrazovanja i njihove konkretne realizacije u školskom kurikulumu. Autor je i urednik mnogih publikacija, među kojima su *Philosophers as Educational Reformers* (1979; koautor sa Peterom Gordonom); *The Aims of Education Restated* (1982); *A National Curriculum for All: Laying the Foundations for Success* (1992, koautor sa P. O'Hearom); *Education and the End of Work: a new philosophy of work and learning* (1997); *The National Curriculum beyond 2000: the QCA and the aims of education* (1998; koautor sa Richardom Aldrichem); *The Curriculum and the Child: The Selected Works of John White* (2005); *Intelligence, Destiny and Education: the Ideological Roots of Intelligence Testing* (2006), *Exploring well-being in schools: a guide to making children's lives more fulfilling* (2011); *The Invention of the Secondary Curriculum* (2011); *An Aims-based Curriculum* (2012; koautor sa Michaelom Reissom).

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GRAĐANSKO OBRAZOVANJE U DEMOKRATIJI

S engleskog prevela Slobodanka Glišić

Građansko obrazovanje i javni interes

Za mnoge programe se tvrdi da su od javnog interesa u demokratiji. Održavanje visokih profesionalnih standarda u policijskim snagama i obezbeđivanje dobrog funkcionisanja sistema vodovoda i kanalizacije dva su takva programa. I svaki građanin ima koristi od takvih službi. Program za uređenje javnih parkova ima za cilj da donese dobrobit koja nikom ne može biti uskraćena i dostupna je svima, mada možda ne žele svi da koriste parkove. I za podršku umetnosti u društvu često se tvrdi da je u javnom interesu. Ali moguće je da bi većina ljudi više volela da se taj novac koristi za sportske terene. Da li to onda znači da finansiranje umetnosti javnim novcem nije u javnom interesu, nego je u interesu manjine?

Iz navedenih primera vidimo da postoje različite vrste programa koji su od javnog interesa. Neki su očigledno na direktan način korisni za sve građane – oni vezani za policiju ili vodovod i kanalizaciju – a drugi – poput onih koji se odnose na parkove i umetnost – mogu biti korisni samo za deo društva. Ovde bismo mogli da se upustimo u opširne i zamršene rasprave o raznim tumačenjima pojma javnog interesa kako bismo ih podržali ili im se suprotstavili (vidi npr. Barry, 1965, 10-15. poglavlje, White, 1973).

Neću pasti u iskušenje da krenem tim putem. Ono što nas ovde zanima nije da li je ovaj ili onaj program u javnom interesu, nego da li je program kojim se obezbeđuje građansko obrazovanje u demokratiji u javnom interesu. A u vezi s tim ne može biti nikakve sumnje. Kakvo god shvatanje dobrog života demokratski građani imali kao pojedinci, svaki od njih mora naučiti da bude građanin i svaki ima koristi od sugrađanina koji je dobar građanin.

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CIVIC EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRACY

Civic education and the public interest

Many policies are claimed to be in the public interest in a democracy. Policies which secure the maintenance of a police force with high professional standards and an efficient public sewage system, are two such policies. In these cases every citizen benefits from the services provided. A policy to construct public parks aims to provide a good from which no one is excluded and which is freely available to all, although in fact not everyone may wish to use them. Public support for the arts in society is also often claimed to be a policy in the public interest. But it could be that most people would prefer public money to be spent on sports facilities. In this case is public money funding the arts not actually in the public interest but supporting the interests of a minority?

From the above examples we can see that there are very different kinds of public interest policies. Some seem clearly to benefit all citizens in a direct way – the police force, the sewage system – others like public parks and support for the arts may, arguably, benefit only a section of society. At this point we could get drawn into lengthy and intricate debates about different interpretations of the notion of the public interest and the claims and counter-claims relating to each (see, e.g. Barry, 1965, chapters X-XV, White, 1973).

I am not going to be tempted down that road. For our concern today is not whether this or that particular policy is in the public interest but whether a policy for the provision of a civic education in a democracy is in the public interest. And about that there can be no doubt. Whatever views democratic citizens as individuals hold about the good life, each and every one has to learn to be a citizen and every-

Svako, od pekara koji gaji paradajz i ne interesuje ga opera do bibliotekara koji voli da peca, jednako je građanin u demokratiji i mora mu biti ponuđeno sredstvo – građansko obrazovanje – koje će mu omogućiti da živi kao demokratski građanin.

Demokratski građanin

Demokratske vrednosti i institucionalna praksa

Kakav oblik treba da ima građansko obrazovanje? Očigledno je da postoje karakteristični delovi demokratske mašinerije koje svaki građanin mora da upozna – na primer, pravilo apsolutne većine, legalna opozicija, vlada s fiksnim mandatom, nezavisno sudstvo, nezavisni sindikati. Ali demokratija se ne može poistovetiti s tim niti bilo kojim drugim delovima mašinerije ili prakse. Ta mašinerija je više pokušaj konkretizovanja temeljnih vrednosti demokratije, kao što su pravda, sloboda i lična autonomija. U svakom datom kontekstu mašinerija ili praksa predstavljaće ono što se trenutno shvata kao najbolja konkretizacija tih vrednosti u toj specifičnoj situaciji. Na primer, pravilo “jedan čovek – jedan glas” može se posmatrati kao konkretizacija pravičnosti i autonomije.

Dakle, vrednosti su temelj demokratske politike, a mašinerija sredstvo kojim se one svakodnevno ostvaruju. Ali stvari nisu baš tako jednostavne. Pravda, sloboda i lična autonomija su pojmovi podložni osporavanju, što jasno pokazuje angloamerička filozofija u poslednjih pedeset godina (vidi šta su o pravdi pisali, na primer, Rawls, Nozick, Ackerman, Walzer, MacIntyre, G. A. Cohen, J. Cohen, Raz).

Kako onda možemo imati valjano demokratsko obrazovanje ako među filozofima i političkim teoretičarima nema saglasnosti u tumačenju njegovih osnovnih vrednosti? Ali takva racionalistička zabrinutost, koja podrazumeva da prvo treba ustanoviti fundamentalnu teoriju a onda tu teoriju primeniti, proističe iz pogrešnog tumačenja prirode demokratskog života. Jer demokratski život se javlja u obliku fragmentarnih pokušaja da se iznova ocene ideali koji leže u osnovi odnosa između tog života i tekuće institucionalne prakse. (Na primer, u Britaniji se trenutno odvija borba vezana za reformu drugog, neizbornog dela

body benefits from fellow citizens being good citizens. Everyone, from a baker growing tomatoes who has no interest in opera to a librarian interested in fishing, is equally a citizen of the democracy and needs to be offered the means – a civic education – to live out a life as a democratic citizen.

The democratic citizen

Democratic values and institutional practices

What form should this civic education take? It seems obvious that there are characteristic pieces of democratic machinery which every citizen needs to be acquainted with – like majority rule, a legal opposition, fixed term governments, an independent judiciary, independent trades unions. But democracy cannot be identified with these, or any other, particular pieces of machinery or practices. The machinery is rather an attempt to embody the fundamental values of democracy like justice, freedom and personal autonomy. In any given context the machinery or practices will represent what is currently conceived as the best embodiment of those values in that specific situation. One person one vote, for instance, can be seen as an embodiment of fairness and autonomy.

So, the values are fundamental and the machinery is the means whereby they are realized in day-to-day democratic politics. But that is a bit too simple. Justice, freedom and personal autonomy are all contested notions, as is apparent from the last fifty years of Anglo-American philosophy (see some of the work on justice alone, for instance, by Rawls, Nozick, Ackerman, Walzer, Macintyre, Cohen G. A., Cohen J., Raz).

So how can we have a robust democratic education if there is no agreement on the interpretation of the underpinning values among philosophers and political theorists? But this rationalistic concern to get the fundamental theory right and then apply it, misreads the nature of democratic political life. For democratic life takes the form of piecemeal attempts to reassess underlying ideals in a mutual relationship with ongoing institutional practices. (For instance, in the UK currently there are struggles over the reform of our second, unelected chamber, the House

parlamenta, Doma lordova). Kao samokritičan politički sistem, demokratija će uvek biti uključena u proces reinterpretacije svojih temeljnih vrednosti, pogotovu kad ih promenjene okolnosti dovedu u pitanje. Da bismo razumeli demokratiju, moramo znati da, između ostalog, možemo biti aktivni agens u tom procesu.

Znanje i umeće

Građanima je potrebno i znatno opšte znanje da bi mogli da donose sudove o mnogim političkim pitanjima. Oni treba na relevantan način da poznaju statistiku, ekonomiju, nauku, a moraju imati i široko opšte obrazovanje. Ali možda ćete reći da je to preteran zahtev. Da li školsko obrazovanje mora sve to da pruži? Ne, to ne bi bilo moguće, pa čak ni razumno, jer veliki deo znanja potrebnog za političko prosuđivanje i delovanje u bilo kojoj prilici neizbežno je specijalizovano i osobeno. Ono se, recimo, može ticati napretka u medicini ili prirodnim naukama. Školsko obrazovanje bez sumnje daje osnovu, pokazuje kako se može doći do pouzdanih podataka i stručnog komentara o političkim pitanjima. Ali potrebno je dobro javno obrazovanje za sve građane, a tu su od ključne važnosti slobodni mediji i, naravno, izvori koje pruža internet.

Građanska umeća takođe su neophodna. Navešćemo samo jedan specifičan primer: građani moraju umeti da slušaju druge u javnim debatama, da ih stvarno slušaju, a ne samo da čuju ono što žele da čuju. Moraju znati i kako da učestvuju u raspravama, kako prikladno da diskutuju s prijateljima, na sastancima, preko Fejsbuka i tako dalje.

Demokratske dispozicije

Ali suština građanskog obrazovanja ne svodi se samo na razumevanje odnosa između vrednosti i demokratske mašinerije i posedovanje odgovarajućeg znanja i umeća. Misaoni eksperiment Ejmona Kalana živopisno ukazuje na element koji tu nedostaje. Ukratko ću opisati taj eksperiment. Zamislimo prilično bogato i mirno društvo s uobičajenim demokratskim pravima. Masovni mediji zanemaruju politiku u korist sporta i afera među poznatim ličnostima. Ljudi su ili ravnodušni prema pitanju dobra i zla ili su opredeljeni za određenu doktrinu i smatraju da je svaki dijalog, osim onaj sa istomišljenicima, nepotreban ili beskoristan.

of Lords.) As a self-critical political system democracy will always be engaged in a process of re-interpreting its fundamental values, not least when changing circumstances call them into question. Coming to understand democracy, involves, in part, coming to see that one can be an active agent in this process.

Knowledge and skills

Citizens also need considerable knowledge of a general sort to make judgements on many political issues. They need relevant knowledge of statistics, economics, science as well as the wide-ranging knowledge provided by a general education. But this is a huge demand, you may say. Does school education have to provide all this? No, that would not be possible, or even sensible, because much of the knowledge needed for political judgement and action on any given occasion is inevitably specialized and particular. It may concern, for instance, medical or scientific advances. School education can certainly lay the foundations, emphasizing how to get reliable information and informed comment on political matters. But good public education for all citizens is needed and here free uncensored media and, not least, the resources of the Internet are crucial.

Citizenly skills are also needed. For instance, to take just one specific example, citizens need the skills involved in listening to others in public debate, really listening and not just hearing what they want to hear. They also need to know how to participate in debate by, as seems appropriate, discussing issues with friends, going to meetings, posting on Facebook and so on.

Democratic dispositions

But civic education is not just a matter of understanding the relationship between values and democratic machinery, and having appropriate knowledge and skills. A thought-experiment by Eamonn Callan brings out vividly the element lacking. Let me briefly sketch it. Let us imagine an enviably wealthy and peaceful society with the usual democratic rights. But few people vote in elections. The mass media ignore politics in favour of sport and celebrity gossip. People are either indifferent to questions of

Građani poštuju zakonska prava svojih sugrađana, ali izbegavaju kontakt s onima koji su, po njihovom mišljenju, drukčiji. Kad su prekoračenja kulturnih podela neizbežna, nastoje da izvuku što veću korist u okviru zakonskih mogućnosti. U tom društvu demokratske institucije su pred raspadom jer nema javnog morala koji bi ih podsticao. Po Kalanovim rečima, u svemu tome nedostaje element "zajedničkog javnog života zasnovanog na međusobnom odnosu stavova, navika i sposobnosti koje ljudi stižu dok odrastaju" (Callan, 1997, str. 3).

Ja bih rekla da tu nedostaju demokratske dispozicije. Imenovaću samo neke: poštovanje prema sugrađanima, osećaj za pravičnost, nada, samopouzdanje, poverenje u institucije i sugrađane, pristojnost i hrabrost. Građansko obrazovanje mora da neguje te kvalitete u ljudima: "Ako želimo da sačuvamo etički život, te dispozicije moraju se sačuvati" (Williams, 1987, str. 64).

Mogućne opasnosti

Međutim, postoji i mišljenje da je formiranje vrlih građana ne samo nepotrebno nego i da je to potpuno pogrešan program za razvoj liberalne demokratije (Holmes, 1995, str. 175, 271).

Tvrđi se da je on nepotreban jer je tokom vekova demokratska mašinerija konstruisana i postepeno prilagođavana tako da obezbedi da politička rasprava bude mudra i usmerena ka budućnosti u meri u kojoj je to moguće s obzirom na dobro poznate ljudske slabosti. Postoje razna sredstva koja sprečavaju donošenje naglih odluka, težnju moćnih privatnih grupa da delovanje u sopstvenom interesu predstave kao delovanje za opšte dobro i na taj način se domognu javnih resursa, i tako dalje. Demokratska mašinerija svakako može umnogome štititi političku stabilnost i podsticati mudre rasprave. Ali demokratske dispozicije nisu nevažne jer građani treba da imaju volju da koriste mašineriju, a ne da stalno nastoje da je izbegnu. Mogu, na primer, postojati dobra osnovna pravila za javnu debatu, ali da bi ona funkcionisala, potrebno je da se ljudi ponašaju na određeni način. Oni se moraju osećati sposobnim da izlože nepopularno stanovište, a sugrađani treba da budu raspoloženi da saslušaju njihov govor. Autocenzura i ravnodušnost javnosti mogu da ograniče javnu debatu efikasno kao i totalitarni sistem.

right and wrong or are committed to a particular doctrine and regard dialogue with anyone, other than like-minded people, as repugnant or futile. Citizens respect one another's legal rights but avoid contact with those they regard as different. If dealings across cultural divisions are unavoidable they seek to extract as much benefit as possible within the law. In this society democratic institutions are poised for collapse because there is no shared public morality animating them. What is lacking, in Callan's words, is: 'a shared way of public life constituted by a constellation of attitudes, habits and abilities that people acquire as they grow up' (Callan, 1997, p.3).

In my terms they lack democratic dispositions. I am thinking – to name just some – of respect for fellow citizens, a sense of fairness, hope, confidence, trust in institutions and fellow citizens, a sense of decency and courage. Civic education needs to foster those qualities in its citizens. 'If ethical life is to be preserved, then these dispositions have to be preserved.' (Williams, 1987, p. 64)

Possible dangers

It has been argued, though, that the formation of virtuous citizens is not only unnecessary but also a seriously misguided policy for a liberal democracy (Holmes, 1995, p. 175, 271).

It is unnecessary, it is argued, because over centuries democratic machinery has been constructed and progressively adjusted to ensure that political deliberation is as wise and foresightful as possible, given well-known human weaknesses. Various devices attempt to prevent overhasty decisions, the tendency of powerful private groups to get public resources by presenting sectional interests for the common good and so on. Certainly democratic machinery can do much to safeguard political stability and encourage wise deliberation. But democratic dispositions are **not** dispensable because citizens have to have the will to use that machinery and not be continually on the lookout for ways to circumvent it. There may well, for instance, be good ground rules for public debate but for these to work they have to be supported by certain attitudes. People need to feel able to put forward an unpopular view and fellow citizens need to be disposed to

Ako je razvoj vrlih građana tako važan, zašto se smatra nepoželjnim? Čini se da iza toga stoji strah da bi to dovelo do "standardizacije karaktera", da bi svi postali isti (Holmes, 1995, str. 175). Ali to je malo verovatno. Ljudi će se sigurno razlikovati po tome kojim vrednostima daju prednost, a imaće i niz nepolitičkih atributa koji će se na različite načine izmešati s njihovim političkim interesovanjima. To znači da će neizbežno biti različiti. Uostalom, ako je 90 odsto građana sklono da brine recimo o pravima manjina, čestitosti zvaničnika, slobodnom govoru itd., tome se teško može nešto prigovoriti (pod uslovom da nije reč o izmanipulisanom konsenzusu).

To je i odgovor na sumnje u poželjnost demokratskih dispozicija. One nisu samo poželjne nego su i nužne za uspešnu demokratiju. Društveni život mora postojati u dispozicijama ljudi (Williams, 1985, str. 201).

Kakve onda građanske dispozicije obrazovanje treba da neguje? Pomenuću samo nekoliko onih kojima su se u prethodnih dvadesetak godina filozofi dosta bavili – tolerancija, hrabrost, milosrđe, poštenje, samopoštovanje i samouvažavanje, opraštanje, zahvalnost.

U ovom kratkom izlaganju nemoguće je detaljnije govoriti o svakoj od njih. Zato ću razmotriti samo dve, koje svaka škola može bez problema da razvija.

Hrabrost

Nema sumnje da je hrabrost ključna dispozicija – potrebna nam je da bismo brinuli o pojedincima i zajednici do kojih nam je stalo (Foot 1981, MacIntyre 1984, White 1996, 3. poglavlje). Hrabrost je i složena tema koja pokreće mnoga pitanja: Kako razlikujemo hrabrost od nesmotrenosti? Ko odlučuje o tome da li je nešto hrabro izvedeno, onaj koji je to izveo ili neko drugi? Može li nešto što je urađeno u zloj nameri – na primer pljačka banke – ipak biti hrabro delo? Ostaviću po strani većinu tih pitanja da bih se usredsredila na nekoliko ključnih tačaka zbog kojih je važno da građansko obrazovanje neguje hrabrost.

Prvo ću napraviti razliku između tradicionalnog i šireg shvatanja hrabrosti (o razlici između tradicionalne i redefinisanje hrabrosti vidi Oksenberg Rorty, 1986). Čovek koji je izrazito sklon tradicionalnoj hrabrosti videće u problematičnim situacijama priliku za sukob i borbu, pobjedu i

hear them when they speak. Self-censorship and public indifference can limit public debate just as effectively as any totalitarian system.

The development of virtuous citizens is then vital, so why is it considered undesirable? The fear seems to be that it will lead to 'character standardisation', everyone being the same (Holmes, 1995, p. 175). First that seems unlikely. People will certainly vary in the relative emphases they put on different values and they will also be possessed of a variety of non-political attributes, which will intermesh in various ways with their political concerns. Thus, they will inevitably be different. But, second, if 90% of citizens were disposed to care about, say, the rights of minorities, the probity of officials, free speech and so on, provided that is not a manipulated consensus, it is hard to see that that would be objectionable.

So doubts about the desirability of democratic dispositions can be answered. They are not only desirable but also necessary for a thriving democracy. Social life must exist in people's dispositions. (Williams, 1985, p. 201)

What civic dispositions, then, should education be fostering? To mention just a few on which there has been much work by philosophers in the last twenty years or so – toleration, courage, mercy, honesty, self-respect and self-esteem, forgiveness, gratitude.

In a brief talk it is impossible to discuss them all. I want to consider two, which any school is in an excellent position to promote.

Courage

There is no doubt that courage is a crucial disposition, which we need to sustain our concern for individuals and communities we care about (Foot 1981, MacIntyre 1984, White, 1996, chapter 3). Courage is also a complex subject, which raises many questions: How do you distinguish courage from recklessness? Who decides whether something is courageous? The doer or someone else? Can a deed done for bad ends, say a daring bank raid, still be courageous?

I am going to sidestep most of these questions to concentrate on a few crucial points important for the fostering of courage in civic education.

poraz, a kompromis će doživljavati kao delimični gubitak. Nema sumnje da su nam potrebni neki *vidovi* tradicionalne hrabrosti. Potrebne su nam, na primer, crte koje nam omogućavaju da istrajno delujemo pod stresom, kad procenjujemo da je ispravan postupak težak ili opasan. Dakle, hrabrost možemo šire redefinisati kao niz crta koje nam omogućavaju da valjano delujemo pod stresom, uprkos prirodnoj potrebi da se zaštitimo. To šire shvatanje bi se odnosilo i na vojnika na bojnopolju i na slučajeve kad, recimo, policajac otkrije korupciju među kolegama, što ima loše posledice za njega (kao u filmu *Serpiko* sa Alom Pacinom u glavnoj ulozi).

Jasno je da, u skladu s tim širim shvatanjem hrabrosti, građansko obrazovanje treba da ima za cilj razvijanje hrabrih građana. Ali kako? Da li treba da navodi *đake* da o sebi razmišljaju kao o nekom ko je hrabar? Nastavnici i roditelji često kažu: "Budi hrabar dečak!" Ali to nije od pomoći jer hrabri ljudi ne posmatraju sebe i svoje čine kao hrabre. Drugi mogu videti u svojim postupcima hrabrost, ali tipično hrabri ljudi govore samo o onome što je trebalo uraditi. Oni su naprosto morali da skoče u vodu i spasu davljenika. Da li to znači da *nastavnici* treba da usredsrede svoju pažnju na prirodu hrabrosti kao takve? Oni mogu želeti da razmišljaju o njoj, ali pažnju svakako ne usredsređuju na nju. Nadaju se da će podstaći učenike da budu hrabri ljudi i moramo imati na umu da hrabri ljudi kažu da su samo uradili ono što bi i svako drugi uradio u sličnoj situaciji. Zato Amelie Rorty tvrdi:

Najbolja priprema za hrabro delovanje jeste priprema za delovanje: sposobnost i uverenost u sposobnost. (Rorty, 1986, str. 161)

Dakle, ako želimo da formiramo hrabre demokratske građane, nećemo od nastavnika tražiti da najveću pažnju posvećuju pitanju šta je hrabrost, nego ćemo ih podsticati da razvijaju ljude koji vole slobodu i pravdu, brinu se za dobrobit drugih ljudi i umeju da zastupaju i brane te vrednosti u svakodnevnom životu demokratskog društva. Drugim rečima, moramo se usredsrediti na elemente građanskog obrazovanja na koje sam ukazala. Razlog je očigledan: da bismo odlučno i inteligentno branili nešto, moramo na

First I am going to distinguish between courage as traditionally conceived and a broader conception of courage (see Oksenberg Rorty's distinction between traditional courage and courage redefined, 1986). The person who has traditional courage as a major disposition will tend to see situations as offering opportunities for confrontation and combat, victory and defeat. Compromise will inevitably be seen as a partial loss.

There is no doubt that we do need *aspects* of traditional courage. We need the traits, for instance, that enable us to persist in acting well under stress, when we judge that the right thing to do is difficult or dangerous. So we could redefine courage, more broadly, as that set of traits that enables us to act well under stress, against our natural inclination towards self-protection. This broader conception of courage would then cover both the soldier on the battlefield and cases like the police officer revealing corruption by his fellow officers, with bad consequences for him, in the Al Pacino film *Serpico*.

Civic education, then, should certainly aim to develop courageous citizens according to this broader conception of courage, but how? Should education try to get *school students* to see themselves as brave? Teachers and parents often say 'Be a brave boy!' But that is really not helpful because brave people don't focus on themselves and their acts as brave. Others may see their actions as brave but typically brave people just talk about what needed to be done. They just had to leap into the pool to save the toddler from drowning.

Do *teachers*, then, need to focus their attention on the nature of courage as such? They may want to think about it but certainly not to focus on it. They are hoping to encourage their students to be courageous people and we have to keep in mind that courageous people say they just did what anyone would have done in the circumstances. Therefore, as Amelie Rorty puts it:

The best preparation for courageous action is the preparation for action: competence and confidence in competence. (Rorty, 1986, p.161)

So if we are interested in the development of courageous democratic citizens we should be encouraging teachers

informisan način biti tome posvećeni i znati kako da iskoristimo odgovarajuća umeća da bismo to odbranili.

Ukratko ću ponoviti dosad rečeno. Mladi ljudi treba da budu oslobođeni zablude da hrabri postupci podrazumevaju samo određenu vrstu ponašanja – uletanje u zgrade u plamenu, bacanje u pobesnele reke i slično. Njima je potrebno građansko obrazovanje koje ih, poput znanja i umeća kao komponenata tog obrazovanja, podstiče da žive životom demokrata u demokratskim obrazovnim institucijama. Veoma specifičan deo tog poslednjeg aspekta pomoći će im da prevaziđu strahove raznih vrsta (kao što su strah od govora u grupi, strah od priznanja da nešto ne znaju, strah od izražavanja nepopularnog mišljenja itd.) koji ih mogu sprečiti da preuzmu demokratsku ulogu.

To će im pružiti neophodne demokratske sposobnosti pa otud i samopouzdanje koje će im pomoći da hrabro postupaju kad situacija to zahteva.

Pristojnost

Drugi primer govori o dispoziciji koja je manje glamurozna od hrabrosti, ali takođe dalekosežno utiče na život škole i društva.

Reč je o pristojnosti. Engleski pisac E. M. Forster je 1941. godine opisao osobine koje će biti potrebne u svetu nakon Drugog svetskog rata:

Najviše će biti potrebne negativne vrline: ne biti uvredljiv, preosetljiv, razdražljiv, osvetoljubiv. Izgubio sam svaku veru u pozitivne militantne ideale: oni veoma retko mogu biti ostvareni a da hiljade ljudi ne bude osakaćeno ili zatvoreno. Fraze kao što su "ja ću očistiti ovu naciju", "očistiću ovaj grad", užasavaju me i gade mi se. (Forster, 1976, str. 61)

Toliko o negativnom. Ali šta je to pozitivno što se može povezati s vrednošću pristojnosti u nečijem ponašanju kao građanina? Prijatne odnose s građanima koji nam *nisu* rođaci i prijatelji ili na neki drugi način bliski omogućuje ponašanje koje je mešavina dobre volje, spremnosti za pružanje pomoći i obzira prema tuđim potrebama i željama. Takvo ponašanje bismo mogli nazvati blagonaklonim odnosom prema onima koji nam nisu bliski.

not to concentrate on what courage is but on developing people who have a love of freedom and justice, a concern for the welfare of others and who know how to promote and defend those values in the day-to day life of a democratic society. In other words we need to concentrate on the elements of a civic education I outlined. The reason is very obvious: to defend something vigorously and intelligently, one must be knowledgeably committed to it and know how to employ relevant skills in its defence.

To sum up. Young people need to be disabused of any beliefs they may have that courageous actions are a narrow class restricted to certain sorts of behaviour – dashing into burning buildings, raging rivers and the like. They also need a civic education which, as well as its knowledge and skills components, encourages them to live as democrats in democratic educational institutions. A very specific part of this last aspect will involve helping them to overcome fears of different kinds that might prevent them from taking a democratic role, such as fear of speaking in groups, fear of admitting ignorance, fear of expressing an unpopular opinion and so on.

This will give them the necessary democratic competences and the resulting confidence to take courageous action when the situation demands it

Decency

For my second example I want to focus on a disposition with rather less glamour attaching to it than courage, but with equally far-reaching consequences for the life of the school and the society.

This is decency. An English writer, E. M. Forster, writing in 1941 about the qualities that would be needed in the post-World War II world said:

What it will most need is the negative virtues: not being huffy, touchy, irritable, revengeful. I have lost all faith in positive militant ideals: they can so seldom be carried out without thousands of human beings getting maimed or imprisoned. Phrases like "I will purge this nation," "I will clean up this city" terrify and disgust me. (Forster, 1976, p.61)

Ovde nije reč o poštovanju pravila lepog ponašanja (poput onog koje određuje kad se upotrebljava nož) ili društvenih rituala, nego o opštem ponašanju. Ipak, ta blagonaklonost prema drugima i briga za njihovu dobrobit često se može *zaista* izraziti u ritualima – pozdravima, oproštajima, izvinjenjima, izrazima simpatije, čestitkama.

Demokratije nemaju monopol na pristojno ponašanje. Nalazimo ga i u hijerarhijskim društvima. Ali je u njima ono umnogome povezano s odgovarajućim priznavanjem statusa drugih i očekivanjem da nam se ukaže poštovanje, uglavnom u skladu s određenim pravilima. Nasuprot tome, demokratska pristojnost je pre svega priznanje da su drugi jednaki nama i podsticanje na prijateljsko društveno opštenje. Pristojnost i prekoračuje pravila, i to na dva važna načina. S jedne strane, podrazumeva da ne insistiramo na svojim pravima, da pretpostavljamo da ljudi govore istinu, da uradimo više nego što se od nas očekuje. S druge strane, podrazumeva da u mnogim slučajevima ljudima damo više od onoga što su njihova prava.

Demokratska pristojnost i škola

Da bismo vaspitali decu da budu pristojni ljudi, ne moramo imati skupu opremu. Ne treba im davati ni *instrukcije* iz pristojnosti, a uglavnom im ne treba ni predavati o njoj. Pristojnost će se ispoljavati u svakodnevnom okruženju. Zaposleni u školi biće pristojni pojedinci. Ali još važnije je to što će pristojnost biti implicitna u organizaciji i etosu škole. Takva škola će neizostavno nastojati da s vremena na vreme preispita svoju praksu i pri tom će se oslanjati i na mišljenje učenika kako bi život svima bio prijatniji. Na primer, važno je da deca učestvuju u onome što se dešava na času, ali prozivanje pojedinačnog deteta da odgovori na pitanja ili nešto pokaže pred razredom može da ga uplaši. Nije teško naći neki drugi način da se svakom učeniku pruži šansa da učestvuje na času.

Verujem da je jasno da dva navedena primera imaju veze jedan s drugim. Uspostavljanje obrazaca pristojnog ponašanja u životu škole, obrazaca koji se uzajamno podržavaju, deo je procesa dinamičnog iskustva demokratskog života. Đaci iz takve škole rado će braniti i štititi vrednost kad je to potrebno. Demokratski život škole pripremiće ih da postupaju hrabro.

So much negatively. But what is it, positively, to be committed to the value of decency in one's behavior as a citizen? It is to have an attitude, which is a mixture of goodwill, helpfulness, and forethought for others' needs and wants, which makes possible agreeable relationships with citizens, who are **not** family, friends or intimates. It is what might be called an attitude of goodwill towards non-intimates.

It is not a matter of mastering rules of a code of etiquette or social rituals, like which knife to use when, but an all-pervasive attitude. This attitude of goodwill towards others and a concern for their welfare may often *in fact* be expressed in rituals – like greetings, farewells and the way apologies, sympathy, congratulations are expressed.

Democracies do not have a monopoly of decent behaviour. It is found too in hierarchical societies. But there, decent behaviour will have much to do with appropriate recognition of others' status and saving face, usually according to certain rules. By contrast, the central focus of democratic decency will be on the recognition of others as equals and the encouragement of friendly social intercourse. Also in two important ways decency will be very much a matter of going beyond the rules. On the one hand it will involve not insisting on one's rights, giving people the benefit of the doubt, going the extra mile. It will also involve on many occasions giving people more than their rights.

Democratic decency and the school

To educate children in school to be decent people does not involve any expensive equipment. It also does not involve *instructing* children in decency or, for the most part, teaching them *about* it. It will rather be manifest in the school's day-to-day arrangements. Staff will be decent individuals. But, more significantly, decency will also be implicit in the school's organisation and ethos. As part and parcel of this the school will want to review its practices from time to time, with input from its school students, with the aim of making life more agreeable for all. For instance, it is important that children participate in class activities but calling on individual children to answer questions or demonstrate something in front of the class

Postoji li jedno građansko obrazovanje za sve?

Ne postoje dve iste demokratije. Razlog je delimično to što, kao što smo videli, ključne demokratske vrednosti mogu biti različito tumačene i ocenjivane. Mašinerije koje ih konkretizuju takođe se razlikuju. A razlog je to što svaka država koja teži demokratiji mora razvijati sopstvenu snagu i izboriti se sa svojim slabostima. Velika Britanija je, na primer, društvo s izrazitom klasnom podelom. Dve nedavno objavljene i veoma dobro prodavane knjige to slikovito ilustruju (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2010; Jones, 2012). Britanija to mora prevazići ako želi u potpunosti da ostvari demokratske ideale autonomije, pravde i slobode.

Na osnovu političke teorije znamo da, pored tih socijalnih razlika, postoje i različiti oblici demokratije – maksimalna i minimalna, reprezentativna i participativna. Svesni smo i da u tim okvirima građani mogu da budu legitimno manje ili više aktivni. Može li onda postojati jedno građansko obrazovanje za sve?

Mislim da može jer, kao što sam istakla, za građansko obrazovanje je od suštinske važnosti razvijanje odgovarajućih demokratskih dispozicija. Ono može početi prvo u školi i podstaći sve obrazovne institucije.

Septembar 2012.

may terrify some children. It is not hard to find other ways of giving every child a chance to participate.

As will be clear now, my two examples of courage and decency are not unconnected. Establishing patterns of decent behaviour in the life of the school, which are mutually reinforcing, is part of the process of living out a dynamic experience of the democratic life. This school students will be keen to defend and protect, should the need arise. The democratic life of the school will have prepared them to act courageously.

Is there one civic education for all?

No two democracies are the same. This is partly because, as we have seen, the core democratic values can be given different interpretations and weightings. Also different machinery is devised to embody them. It is also because each state that aspires to be a democracy has to build on its own strengths and combat its weaknesses. The UK, for instance, is a hugely class-divided society. Two recent, best-selling books graphically illustrate this (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2010; Jones, 2012). This needs to be combated if the UK is to more fully realise the democratic ideals of autonomy, justice and freedom.

Added to these differences in social context, we know from political theory that there are different forms of democracy, maximal and minimal, representative, participatory. Within those frameworks we are aware too that citizens can legitimately be more or less active. Can there, then, be a civic education for all?

I think there can because, as I have stressed, the essential core of civic education is the development of the appropriate democratic dispositions. This can begin in the first school and animate all educational institutions.

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ŠKOLSKI PROGRAM ZASNOVAN NA CILJEVIMA I UNAPREĐIVANJE DRUŠTVENE KOHEZIJE

S engleskog prevela Slavica Miletić

Varijante društvene kohezije

Naša tema je uloga obrazovanja u unapređivanju društvene kohezije. Ovo pitanje u velikoj mjeri zavisi od toga koju vrstu društvene kohezije imamo na umu. Nacisti su koristili obrazovni sistem u Nemačkoj za unapređivanje društvene kohezije; to je radio i Staljin u Sovjetskom Savezu; to danas radi islamska teokratija u Iranu. Za mene se ovde podrazumeva da nas ne zanima ta niti bilo koja druga autoritarna društvena kohezija. Ovde ćemo se usredsrediti na društvenu koheziju koja se slaže s demokratijom.

Ali, šta bi to bilo? U Engleskoj, koja je po svemu sudeći demokratska zemlja, mnogi smatraju da je društveni lepak koji nas sve drži na okupu – i pored velikih razlika u bogatstvu i prihodu – privrženost idealu Engleske kao nacije koja je još uvek velika iako je izgubila imperiju i svetsku moć. Oni bi hteli da nam školska istorija pripoveda njenu slavnu priču, a da se časovi književnosti pre svega usredsrede na slavno nasleđe Šekspira i njegovih velikih sledbenika. Ove godine neki se zalažu za to da se više novca potroši na školske sportove kako bi se osiguralo da naša čudesna zemlja nastavi da osvaja sve više medalja na budućim Olimpijadama.

Mnogi od nas odbacili bi takav ideal društvene kohezije iako on ostaje u okviru demokratskog konteksta. Smatramo da je to prevara, ideološko sredstvo da se pažnja odvрати od vrlo stvarnih sila koje nas dele. Te sile imaju veze sa sve većim razlikama u bogatstvu i prihodu, a ove su skupčane sa zaokupljenošću osvajanjem statusa i omalovažavanjem onih koji se doživljavaju kao niži u društvenoj hijerarhiji.

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AN AIMS-BASED SCHOOL CURRICULUM AND THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL COHESION

Varieties of social cohesion

Our theme is the role of education in promoting social cohesion. A lot turns here on what kind of social cohesion we have in mind. The Nazis used the educational system in Germany to promote social cohesion; so did Stalin in the Soviet Union; so does the Islamic theocracy in Iran today. I take it as read here that we are not interested in social cohesion of these or any other authoritarian types. Our focus, I shall assume, is social cohesion appropriate to a democracy.

But what is this? In England, which is by all accounts a democratic country, there are many who see the social glue that holds us all together, across wide variations in wealth and income, as an attachment to a ideal of England as still a great nation, despite its loss of empire and world power. They would like school history to tell its glorious story; and classes in literature to focus on the outstanding heritage of Shakespeare and his great successors. This year some would like more money spent on school sports to ensure that our amazing country can continue to gain more medals at future Olympic Games.

Many of us would reject this ideal of social cohesion, even though it is within a democratic context. We find it a sham, an ideological device to turn attention away from the very real forces that divide us. These revolve around growing differences in wealth and income connected with a preoccupation with status-seeking, and depreciation of those seen as below one in the social pecking-order.

At the root of this is a failure of equality of respect, of seeing others in the community as essentially like oneself,

U korenu svega toga je nedostatak jednakog poštovanja, shvatanja drugih u zajednici kao suštinski sličnih nama, sa istim osnovnim potrebama – kako materijalnim kao što su prihod i dobro zdravlje, tako i nematerijalnim kao što je priznanje – koje moraju biti zadovoljene da bi se vodio ispunjen život.

Upravo ta jednakost poštovanja nalazi se u jezgru demokratskog ideala. Međutim, u stvarnosti se ona ne može uvek naći u postojećim demokratijama – na primer u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, gde se na crnce i dalje često gleda kao na inferiorna bića. Ili u Engleskoj, gde bogata elita često s visine gleda na pripadnike radničke klase kao na manje inteligentne ljude, neznalice, nesposobne za inicijativu (Jones 2012). Dakle, iako jednakost poštovanja ne postoji uvek, ona je ipak ključna vrednost u demokratskom idealu.

Ona je povezana s drugim takvim vrednostima, na primer s poštovanjem prema ljudima koji žive onako kako su sami izabrali. Možemo poštovati druge tako što ćemo im ostaviti slobodu da tako žive i što ćemo zajednički raditi na tome da svako stekne sredstva koja su za to potrebna – pristojno obrazovanje, krov nad glavom, zdravlje, posao i tako dalje. U korenu demokratske društvene kohezije je građansko bratstvo. Vidimo sebe kao jednake pripadnike iste političke zajednice koji su privrženi njenim glavnim vrednostima i svi posvećeni dobrobiti svakog pojedinca (Healy 2010).

Još mnogo šta bi se moglo i moralo reći o društvenoj koheziji kao demokratskom idealu, ali u daljem toku ovog kratkog izlaganja želim da se okrenem školskom obrazovanju i načinu na koji ono može najbolje da doprinese ostvarivanju tog ideala.

Tradicionalni školski program zasnovan na predmetu

Školsko obrazovanje je tradicionalno organizovano oko poznatih predmeta kao što su maternji jezik, matematika, prirodne nauke, istorija, geografija, strani jezici, likovno i muzičko obrazovanje, fizičko vaspitanje, a u nekim zemljama, među kojima je i Engleska, religija. Među tim predmetima često postoji hijerarhija – na vrhu su oni koji imaju veze s prenošenjem znanja, a ostali su ispod njih. Tako se maternji jezik, matematika, prirodne nauke, istorija, geografija, strani jezici i religija vrednuju kao važniji od likovnog i muzičkog obrazovanja.

with the same basic needs that have to be satisfied in order to lead a flourishing life – both material like income and good health, and non-material like recognition.

This equality of respect is central to the democratic ideal. It may not always be found in actual democracies. In the USA, for instance, where blacks are often still seen as inferior beings. Or in England, where a rich elite often looks down on working class people as less intelligent, ignorant, and lacking in initiative (Jones 2012). Equality of respect does not always exist, but it is a key value in the democratic ideal.

It ties in with other such values. The importance we place, for instance, on people leading a life of their own choosing. We can respect others by leaving them free to do this, and by working together so that everyone acquires the wherewithal for this – a decent education, housing, health, employment etc. At the root of democratic social cohesion is a civic fraternity. We see ourselves as all equal members of the same political community, all attached to its core values, all committed to the flourishing of each (Healy 2010).

There is much more that could and should be said about social cohesion as a democratic ideal, but for the rest of this short talk, I want to turn to school education and how it can best further this ideal.

The traditional subject-based curriculum

The traditional way of organising school education is around familiar subjects like mother tongue, mathematics, science, history, geography, foreign languages, art, music, physical education and in some countries, England included, religion. Among these there is often a pecking order, with subjects concerned with the transmission of knowledge at the top and others below. So mother tongue, mathematics, science, history, geography, foreign languages and religion are rated higher than art and music.

In a subject-based curriculum of this sort, it is hard to see what place there can be for education for social cohesion, at least of a democratic sort. If we were interested in some more nationalistic conception of it, we could draw on history and perhaps on religion to bind

U takvom programu zasnovanom na predmetima teško je videti u koji bi se prostor moglo udenuti obrazovanje za društvenu koheziju, barem onu demokratsku. Da smo zainteresovani za koncepciju koja je nešto više nacionalistički obojena, mogli bismo da koristimo istoriju i možda religiju kao sredstvo za čvršće povezivanje: naša slavna prošlost, naša drevna zajednička vera. Ali kako tradicionalni program može pomoći deci da se uzajamno poštuju kao ravnopravni pripadnici iste zajednice?

Način na koji se tradicionalni program sprovodi u školi često otežava taj zadatak. Ako se uzajamno poštuju kao jednaki, ne vidimo sami sebe kao vrednosno superiorne ili inferiorne u odnosu na druge. Ali tradicionalne škole imaju takvu sklonost prema podelama u krvi. Decu koja su dobra u predmetima koji imaju visok status, kao što su matematika, istorija, prirodne nauke i moderni jezici često i nastavno osoblje i ona sama i druga deca vide kao "uspešnu", a drugu decu kao "neuspešnu". U svakom razredu nalazimo sličan sistem vrednovanja, od onih koji dobijaju najviše ocene do onih na dnu. Testovi i ispiti pojačavaju tu podelu, a to čini i razvrstavanje dece u različite kategorije prema sposobnostima ili u različite vrste škola u zavisnosti od toga koliko su akademski sposobni.

Barem u Engleskoj, teško je razdvojiti naglašavanje intelektualnog statusa od statusnih razlika u širem društvu. Uspešno akademsko obrazovanje je pasoš za univerzitet i posao u slobodnim profesijama; i upravo pripadnici tih profesija, pripadnici srednje klase, tome pridaju najveći značaj.

Dakle, tradicionalni program zasnovan na predmetima – i sve što on sa sobom nosi – slabo je sredstvo za jačanje društvene kohezije. Možemo li uraditi nešto bolje od toga?

Opravdavanje tradicionalnog programa

Mislim da možemo. Širom sveta skloni smo da tu vrstu programa shvatimo kao nešto što se podrazumeva. Polazimo od pretpostavke da će takav program uroditi prvoklasnim obrazovanjem. Potrebno je, međutim, da tu pretpostavku dovedemo u pitanje. Postoji li dobra argumentacija za program koji se sastoji od zasebnih predmeta i koji je uglavnom usmeren na znanje?

Neko bi mogao primetiti da je bavljenje naukom, matematikom, istorijom itd. vredno samo po sebi. Možda je to

us closer together: our glorious past, our ancient common faith. But how can the traditional curriculum help children to respect each other as equal members of the same community?

Very often, the way it operates within the school makes this task *harder*. If we respect each other as equals, we do not see ourselves as superior or inferior in worth to others. But traditional schools have such divisiveness in their bloodstream. Children who are good at high status subjects like maths, history, science, and modern languages are often seen, by the school authorities, by themselves, and by other pupils as 'successes', others as 'failures'. Within each class, you find a similar rating system, from those who get top marks to those at the bottom. Tests and examinations reinforce this divisiveness. So does putting children in different ability streams or in different kinds of school depending on how academically able they are.

In England at least, it is difficult to separate this emphasis on intellectual status from status differences in the larger society. A successful academic education is seen as a passport to university and to a professional job; and it is especially professional, middle class people who put most weight on it.

The traditional subject-based curriculum and all that this brings with it, therefore, is a poor vehicle for social cohesion. Can we do better?

Justifying the traditional curriculum

I think we can. All over the world, we tend to take this kind of curriculum for granted. We assume it yields a high-class education. But we need to question that assumption. Is there a good argument for a curriculum of discrete, largely knowledge-orientated subjects?

Some would say that the pursuit of science, maths, history etc. is something worthwhile for its own sake. Well, it may be for some people, the more academically inclined among us. But there are all sorts of other intrinsically worthwhile activities, from tending one's garden, to foreign travel, playing chess, making things, being a nurse... Why privilege the scholastic?

Others, like the present English education minister, would defend them by saying that schooling is about

tako za neke među nama, one koji su u većoj meri akademski nastrojani. Ali postoje razne vrste drugih, suštinski vrednih aktivnosti, od održavanja bašte do putovanja u inostranstvo, igranja šaha, pravljenja raznih stvari, pružanja medicinske nege... Zašto bi učenjaci bili povlašćeni? Drugi, poput sadašnjeg engleskog ministra obrazovanja, branili bi se tako što bi rekli da je cilj školovanja osposobljavanje ljudi da vode život kakav žele kao autonomne osobe, a ključ za to su akademske discipline jer one otvaraju široke horizonte.

Uočite da ovaj argument nastoji da opravda tradicionalni program pozivanjem na dobrobit samih učenika i studenata: ako uronimo u nauku, istoriju, književnost i druge predmete postoji veća verovatnoća da ćemo voditi uspešan i ispunjen život.

Obratite pažnju na to kako je slabo ovo opravdanje. Nema ničeg lošeg u samom cilju; naprotiv. Škole zaista treba da osposobljavaju ljude da vode ispunjen život, i u modernom društvu – za razliku od nekih ranijih – smatramo da je suštinski uslov za to mogućnost nezavisnog izbora. To možda nije *jedini* cilj kom škola treba da teži – na ovo ću se kasnije vratiti – ali svakako treba da bude jedan od ciljeva.

Argument da tradicionalni program pomaže osposobljavanju učenika za postizanje autonomnog blagostanja vodi engleskog ministra u nevolju. Naime, on pomera žižu s programa na širi cilj koji stoji iza njega. A to nas – ovo je ključna stvar – vodi do pomisli: ako je osposobljavanje učenika za ispunjen život ono čemu u suštini težimo, šta je za to potrebno i koji načini organizovanja onog što se događa u školi najbolje doprinose tom cilju?

Odmah iskrsava skeptičko pitanje o izjavi našeg ministra da je tradicionalni program ključ za buduće autonomno blagostanje. On to kaže. No, da li je on u pravu? Možda postoje delotvorniji načini za ostvarenje tog cilja.

Nema opravdanja za tradicionalni program. Neki ga brane na osnovu toga što on ima duboke istorijske korene i što je izdržao probu vremena. Tačno je da su njegovi koreni duboki. U jednom istorijskom istraživanju o tome, pratio sam te korene unatrag do 16. veka.¹ Međutim, činjenica da

¹ Vidi White (2011).

equipping people to lead a life of their own choosing as autonomous persons, and academic disciplines are the key to this because they open up broad horizons.

Note that this last argument seeks to justify a traditional curriculum by reference to the student's own well-being: we are likely to lead a more flourishing life as of our choice if we are steeped in science, history, literature and other subjects.

Note, too, what a very weak justification this is. There's nothing wrong with the aim. Quite the contrary. Schools should be equipping pupils to lead a fulfilling life, and in a modern society unlike some of those that have come before, we take it that being an autonomous chooser is an essential condition of this. This may not be the *only* thing schools should be aiming at – and I will come back to this later – but it surely has to be one of them.

The English minister's argument that a traditional curriculum helps to equip learners for autonomous well-being lands him in trouble. For it shifts the focus from this curriculum to a wider aim behind it. And this – here is the crucial point – leads to the thought: if equipping students for a flourishing life is fundamentally what we are after, what is involved in this, and what are the best ways of arranging what happens in schools so as to promote it?

This immediately raises a sceptical question about our minister's contention that a traditional curriculum is the key to future autonomous well-being. He says it is. But is he right? There may be more effective ways to the same end.

The traditional curriculum lacks justification. Some defend it on the grounds that it has deep historical roots and has stood the test of time. It is true that its roots go deep. In a piece of historical research on this, I traced these back to the sixteenth century.¹ But the fact that an institution has been there a long time is no argument for continuing it into the future. Until around 1960 it was taken for granted in my country and perhaps in yours that woman's place is in the home, not in work or in public life. This tradition had deep historical roots. But in the last

¹ See White (2011).

je neka institucija postojala tako dugo nije argument za to da ona treba i dalje da postoji. Približno do 1960. godine u mojoj zemlji, a možda i u vašoj, podrazumevalo se da je mesto žene u kući, a ne na poslu ili u javnom životu. Ta tradicija ima duboke istorijske korene, ali je u poslednjih pedeset godina s dobrim razlogom dovedena u pitanje. Trebalo bi da pokažemo istu skeptičnost prema tradicionalnom programu zasnovanom na predmetima.

Program zasnovan na ciljevima

Ali, čime bi on mogao biti zamenjen? Mogao bi biti zamenjen programom zasnovanim na ciljevima. Dakle, ne mislimo da se program izgrađen oko tradicionalnih predmeta podrazumeva, već se vraćamo malo unazad i postavljamo pitanje: čemu školovanje treba da služi? Na neki način engleski ministar nas usmerava na to pitanje kad kaže da škola treba da pomogne učenicima u odluci kakvim životom žele da žive. Opštije rečeno, postoji snažno opravdanje za tvrđenje da škola treba da osposobi učenike (a) da vode uspešan lični život i (b) da pomažu drugima da vode isti takav život. Ovaj drugi, altruistički cilj ima tri dimenzije. Prva je moralna. Pomažemo drugima da napreduju ako imamo neke lične osobine usmerene ka drugima: kooperativnost, ljubaznost, toleranciju, pravednost; ako se prema ljudima odnosimo s poštovanjem i ako im pomažemo da zadovolje svoje potrebe.

Drugo, u okviru ovog širokog moralnog cilja možemo postaviti konkretne građanske ciljeve. Želimo da deca postanu dobri građani koji vode računa o javnom interesu kao i o ličnim stvarima, koji žele da sarađuju s drugima u građanskim pitanjima, koji izjave političara i njihovih grupa za pritisak ne uzimaju zdravo za gotovo, već ih podvrgavaju kritičkom preispitivanju, i koji se bune protiv korupcije u javnom životu.

I treće, u okviru tog građanskog cilja nalazi se i konkretniji cilj osposobljavanja mladih ljudi da doprinose opštem dobru svojim radom, kako plaćenim, tako i neplaćenim. Tu u sliku ulazi obrazovanje za posao.

Mogli biste da postavite pitanje: kako bi se dali opravdati ti posebni ciljevi? Zar oni nisu naprosto odraz mojih ličnih preferencija? Nadam se da oni sežu dublje od toga. Njihovo opravdanje seže unatrag do osnovnih vrednosti

fifty years it has, rightly been challenged. We should show the same scepticism towards the traditional subject-based curriculum.

An aims-based curriculum

But what could replace it? An aims-based curriculum could. This is where you no longer take a curriculum built around traditional subjects for granted, but begin further back, with the question: what should school education be for? In a way, that is where the English minister of education directs us, in saying that schools should be helping pupils to decide what sort of life they want to lead. More generally, there is a strong case for saying that schools should be [a] equipping pupils to lead a personally flourishing life; and [b] equipping them to help others, too, to lead a flourishing life. This second, altruistic, aim has three dimensions. First, a moral one. We help others to flourish by possessing certain other-directed personal qualities: cooperativeness, kindness, tolerance, fairness, treating people with respect, helping them to meet their needs.

Secondly, within this broad moral aim, we can place more specifically civic aims. We want children to become good citizens, concerned for the public interest as well as more private concerns, willing to collaborate with others in civic matters; disposed not to take at their face value the pronouncements of politicians and the pressure groups behind them, but subject them to critical scrutiny; standing up against corruption in public life.

And thirdly, within this civic aim is the more specific aim of equipping young people to contribute to the common good through the work they do, both paid and unpaid. This is where education for employment comes into the picture.

You may ask: what is the justification for these particular aims? Don't they simply reflect my own personal preferences? I hope they go deeper than that. Their justification goes back to the basic values of a liberal democracy. If you take as given that you want an education system in line with those values, these are kind of aims you will favour.

How far can these very general aims – to do with personal well-being, morality, citizenship and work – take us

liberalne demokratije. Ako se za vas podrazumeva da želite obrazovni sistem koji je u skladu s tim vrednostima, davaćete prednost takvim ciljevima.

Dokle nas ti vrlo opšti ciljevi – povezani s ličnom dobrobiti, moralom, građanstvom i radom – mogu odvesti u odlučivanju o tome koje bi programske aktivnosti trebalo sprovesti u školama?²

Neki bi odgovorili: ne baš daleko. Vrlo tradicionalan program zasnovan na predmetima mogao bi se poboljšati jednim ovakvim spiskom ciljeva, ali oni bi mogli ostati visokoparne izjave o misiji koje ne utiču na ono što škole u stvarnosti rade.

Moglo bi biti tako, a često tako i jeste. Ali, ne mora da bude tako. Mogli bismo početi od opštih ciljeva poput ovih i pomoću njih generisati sledeće ciljeve, sve do onog nivoa konkretnosti koji nam odgovara. Dopustite mi da navedem primer. Uzmimo, na primer, jedan građanski cilj – želimo da deca postanu dobri građani. Taj cilj možemo da razradimo i konkretizujemo; da bi neko bio dobar građanin zemlje kao što je, recimo, Srbija ili Engleska, potrebno je da nešto zna o toj zemlji – o njenoj veličini, geografskom položaju, gradskim centrima, klasnom sastavu itd. Tako dobijamo određeniji obrazovni cilj: treba obezbediti da učenici steknu to znanje. Možemo ići i dalje. Ko želi da razume kakva je neka zemlja, treba nešto da zna i o njenoj ekonomskoj bazi, koja obuhvata glavne privredne delatnosti. To pak zahteva izvesno razumevanje naučnih i tehnoloških temelja na kojima počiva ekonomija, i tako stižemo do relevantnih aspekata nauke i matematike.

Kao što pokazuje primer nauke i matematike, program zasnovan na ciljevima može da generiše veliki deo poznatog sadržaja koji nalazimo u programu zasnovanom na zasebnim predmetima. Napuštanje tradicionalnog programa zasnovanog na predmetima ne znači degradiranje naučnog, matematičkog, istorijskog, geografskog i jezičkog znanja u obrazovanju. Takav pristup znači samo da je izabrano znanje na očigledniji način relevantno za šire svrhe. Uzmimo kvadratne jednačine u algebri. U pristupu zasnovanom na predmetu, odgovarajući uvod u matematiku kao

² Iscrpnije o programu zasnovanom na ciljevima vidi u Reiss i White (2013).

in deciding the curriculum activities that should go on in schools?²

Some would answer: not very far at all. A very traditional subject-based curriculum might well be prefaced by a list of aims like these, but these could remain high-sounding mission statements that have no purchase on what schools actually do.

It *could* be like that, and often is. But it doesn't have to be. We could start from general aims like this and use them to generate further aims down to whatever level of detail we like. Let me give an example. Suppose we take the civic aim, of wanting children to become good citizens. However we flesh this out, to be a good citizen, say of a country like Serbia or England, you would need some knowledge of this country – of its size, location, urban centres, political system, class make-up etc. This gives us a more determinate educational aim – to ensure that pupils acquire this knowledge. And we can go further. Part of understanding what one's country is like is having some understanding of its economic basis including its major industries. This in its turn requires some kind of grasp of the scientific and technological basis on which the economy rests. This takes one into relevant aspects of science and mathematics.

As the example of science and maths shows, an aims-based curriculum can generate much of the familiar content found in a curriculum that starts from discrete subjects. Abandoning a traditional, subject-based curriculum does not mean demoting scientific, mathematical, historical, geographical, linguistic knowledge in education. What it means is that the knowledge selected is more obviously relevant to wider purposes. Take quadratic equations in algebra. In a subject-based approach, for a proper induction into mathematics as a specialism, you have to master them. No question. In an aims-based approach, we begin more agnostically. We have yet to see whether the aims point us in their direction. In my civic example just given, where the ordinary citizen needs some understanding of the economy and its scientific/mathematical underpin-

² For a fuller account of an aims-based curriculum, see Reiss and White (2013).

specijalnost podrazumeva da njima treba ovladati. Nema pitanja. U pristupu zasnovanom na ciljevima početak je u većoj meri agnostički. Tek treba da vidimo da li nas ciljevi usmeravaju u tom pravcu. U građanskom primeru koji sam maločas naveo, kada je običnom građaninu potrebno izvesno razumevanje ekonomije i njenih naučno-matematičkih osnova, koliko je tom građaninu važno da shvati kvadratne jednačine? Koliko bi mu one bile korisne u poređenju sa, recimo, elementarnom statistikom?

Pristup zasnovan na ciljevima ne stavlja sav naglasak na sticanje znanja. Daleko od toga. Ciljevi povezani s posedom znanja uvek su podređeni širim ciljevima, koji su pak povezani s konkretnom osobom, s ličnim osobinama koje su potrebne da bi ta osoba vodila ispunjen život, de- lovala u skladu s moralom, bila dobar građanin i radnik.

Školski program zasnovan na ciljevima i društvena kohezija

Takav program projektovan za liberalnu demokratiju bio bi, izgleda, bolje sredstvo za unapređivanje društvene kohezije nego što je to njegov suparnik zasnovan na predmetima. Ovaj drugi, kao što smo videli, uglavnom naglašava *razli- ke* među učenicima koje su posledica njihovog različitog uspeha u ovladavanju posebnostima svakog predmeta. On razmišlja o deci kao "školski sposobnoj", "manje sposobnoj" itd., uz sve veze koje obično postoje između takvih ocenji- vačkih kategorija i širih društvenih podela – na primer, na društvene klase ili etničke grupe – koje mogu da pojačaju pre nego da smanje društvene tenzije.

Po samoj svojoj koncepciji program zasnovan na ciljevi- ma je potencijalna vezivna sila. Središnji ciljevi koji pokreću školovanje svakog učenika su *isti*. Za svakog od njih, *nit vo- dilja* svakog učenja je da se pomogne samom sebi i svakom drugom u zajednici da vodi život autonomnog blagostanja. Od samog početka osnovna ideja je da se dete nalazi među drugim učenicima i da je osnovni pravac za sve isti.

Neko bi mogao primetiti da se iste sile podela, koje se obično povezuju s programom zasnovanim na predmeti- ma, mogu naći i u alternativnom programu zasnovanom na ciljevima. Uvek će, naime, postojati učenici koji uče brže od drugih, što znači da će postojati bezbrojne prilike da se deca ocenjuju kao "sporija", "bistra", "ambiciozna" i

ning, how essential is it for him or her to grasp quadratic equations? How would they rate against, say, elementary statistics?

An aims-based approach does not put all the weight on knowledge acquisition. Far from it. Aims to do with possessing knowledge are always subordinate to wider aims about the kind of person one is, about the personal qualities one needs to lead a fulfilling life, act morally, be a good citizen and worker.

An aims-based curriculum and social cohesion

An aims-based curriculum of this sort, designed for a liberal democracy, would appear to be a better vehicle than its subject-based rival to promote social cohesion. The subject-based curriculum, as we have seen, tends to emphasise the *differences* between learners in how well they succeed in mastering the specialisms of each sub- ject. It lends itself to thinking of children as 'academically able', 'those of less ability', etc. with all the links commonly made between such grading categories and wider social divisions – of social classes or ethnic groups, for instance – that can heighten, rather than reduce, social tension.

An aims-based curriculum, in its very conception, is a potential binding force. The central aims powering every pupil's schooling are *the same*. For each of them, helping themselves and everyone else in the community to lead a life of autonomous well-being is the *leitmotif* behind all their learning. The keynote, from the start, is the child's being among other learners all working in the same overall direction.

Someone may object that the same divisive forces that tend to be associated with a subject-based curriculum can be found in the aims-based alternative. For there will al- ways be students who learn more quickly than others, so there will still be endless opportunities to grade children as 'slower learners', 'bright', 'high fliers' and so on. Take my ex- ample of the civic aim requiring some understanding of the science and mathematics underpinning a modern post-in- dustrial economy. Will not there always be those who grasp such things more quickly and effortlessly than others?

This is undeniable, but everything depends on how a school reacts to this. It could make a point of em-

tako dalje. Uzmimo pomenuti primer nekog građanskog cilja koji iziskuje izvorno razumevanje nauke i matematike u osnovi moderne postindustrijske ekonomije. Zar neće uvek biti onih koji će takve stvari shvatati brže i lakše nego drugi?

To je nesporno, ali sve zavisi od toga kako škola reaguje na takvo stanje. Ona može svesno isticati takve razlike i dovoditi ih u vezu s relativno nepromenljivim osobinama učenikove prirode – baš kao što se često veruje da testovi inteligencije, tesno povezani s razlikama u akademskom statusu, mere uglavnom urođene intelektualne razlike među pojedincima.

Program zasnovan na ciljevima koji ovde imam na umu podsticao bi škole da idu u drugom pravcu. Jedan od njegovih ključnih ciljeva, čvrsto prepleten s tri cilja koja sam pomenuo, jeste da deci pruži široko razumevanje pozadine prirodnog i društvenog sveta u kojem žive. Između ostalog, to bi produbilo njihovo razumevanje naše zajedničke ljudske prirode i upozorilo ih da se čuvaju mnogih mitova u toj sferi. Na primer, mitova o navodnim prirodnim razlikama između muškaraca i žena; ili o superiornosti ili inferiornosti neke nacije u odnosu na druge.

Mit koji je najvažniji za moju poentu jeste verovanje da je intelektualna sposobnost svakog od nas određena i konačna: neki ljudi mogu da razumeju gotovo sve; na drugom kraju spektra su oni koji ne mogu da ovladaju čak ni osnovnim elementima jezika; a svi drugi nalaze se između ovih krajnosti.

Nazivam to verovanje mitom zato što se ono, kao ni tvrđenje da Bog postoji ili da postoji zagrobni život, ne može ni dokazati ni pobiti.³ Kao i kad je reč o drugim mitovima, nema razloga da tvrđenje da svako od nas ima ograničene intelektualne sposobnosti smatramo istinitim. Školski sistem ne bi trebalo da ugrađuje procedure ili da dopušta prakse koje počivaju na toj polaznoj pretpostavci. On ne bi smeo da deli učenike, na primer, na one koji su sposobni da idu u elitne škole i na one koji to nisu. Nastavno osoblje trebalo bi da suzbija prakse koje počivaju na toj pretpostavci. Posebno imam na umu suptilne, često neprimetne

³ O inteligenciji s filozofskog stanovišta vidi više u White 2002, peto poglavlje.

phasising such differences, associating them with relatively unchangeable features of a child's nature – just as intelligence tests, closely connected as they are with differences in academic prowess, are often believed to measure largely innate intellectual differences between individuals.

The aims-based curriculum I have in mind would urge schools in another direction. One of its central aims, closely entwined with the three I have mentioned, is to give children a broad background understanding of the natural and social worlds in which they live.

Among other things, this would deepen their understanding of our common human nature and put them on their guard against the many myths in this area. Myths, for instance, about alleged natural differences between men and women; or about the superiority and inferiority of one nation to another.

The myth most relevant to the point I have just been making is the belief that we all have limits to our intellectual ability: some people can understand almost anything; at the other end of the spectrum there are those who cannot master even the rudiments of language; and others of us at all points in between.

I call this a myth, because, like the claim that God exists or that there is an afterlife, it seems to be both unverifiable and unfalsifiable.³ As with these other myths, we have no reason to think it true that we all have limits of intelligence. A school system should not build in procedures, or allow practices, that assume this. It should not divide pupils, for instance, into those able enough to go to élite schools and those without the capacity for this. Within schools, staff should combat practices that take this as read. I am thinking especially of subtle, often unnoticed, ways of behaving: children's stereotyping, for instance, of immigrants as stupid by nature who do not yet speak the mother tongue well.

More positively, schools will do everything they can to make children believe that they can understand anything to which they turn their mind, that they should not be

³ For more on views about intelligence from a philosophical point of view, see White 2002, Ch. 5.

oblike ponašanja: na primer, način na koji deca grade stereotipe o imigrantima kao prirodno glupim ljudima koji još nisu ovladali maternjim jezikom.

Pozitivnije rečeno, škole će činiti sve što je u njihovoj moći da uvere decu da mogu da razumeju sve na šta usmere svoje mentalne sposobnosti, da ne smeju dozvoliti da ih ometa opažanje samih sebe kao "tupih" ili "sporih", da njihovo razumevanje stvari može neograničeno da se širi.

Usredsredio sam se na verovanja o sposobnosti, ali postoje i drugi načini na koje program zasnovan na ciljevima može biti dobar za društvenu koheziju. Od moralnih ciljeva pomenuo sam kooperativnost. Tačno je da ta lična osobina može biti podsticana u sistemu zasnovanom na predmetima. Na časovima matematike, na primer, učenici mogu biti podeljeni u male grupe tako da u okviru svake grupe sarađuju na zajedničkom zadatku. Ali sam zadatak je zasnovan na predmetu. Sistem zasnovan na cilju je manje restriktivan. Kao moralna i građanska bića u nastajanju, deca mogu da rade zajedno na projektovanju boljih toaleta u svojoj školi; ili na rešavanju problema ograničenog prostora školske biblioteke.

Društvena kohezija kao školski cilj: jedan engleski primer

Ovaj poslednji primer pao mi je na pamet verovatno zato što sam nedavno posetio jednu osnovnu školu u blizini mesta u kom živim, severno od Londona. To je mala škola s jednim odeljenjem od trideset učenika za svaku godinu, koju pohađaju deca od četiri do jedanaest godina. To je i jedina osnovna škola koju ja znam a o kojoj je napisana cela knjiga: nedavno objavljeno *Kreiranje učenja bez granica* (Swann et al., 2012). Ova knjiga nam omogućuje da steknemo predstavu o tome kako škola može biti čudesno sredstvo za unapređivanje društvene kohezije. Doduše, osnovna škola Roksham /Wroxham/ u Poters Baru, u Hertfordširu obavezna je, po zakonu, da radi u okviru postojećeg Nacionalnog programa, koji je zasnovan na predmetima. Ali ona se prema toj obavezi odnosi kao prema sporednim osobinama vizije koja joj je bliža srcu, vizije koja je potpuno u skladu s demokratskim oblikom školovanja zasnovanim na ciljevima za koje se ja zalažem.

held back by thinking of themselves as 'thick' or 'slow', that their grasp of things can keep expanding without limit.

I have focused on beliefs about ability, but there are other ways, too, in which an aims-based curriculum can be good for social cohesion. Among the moral aims I mentioned above is cooperativeness. It is true that this personal quality can be fostered in a subject-based system. Mathematics classes, for instance, can be divided into small groups, each of which is collaborating on a common task. But the task is a subject-based one. An aims-based system is less restrictive. As moral and civic beings in the making, children can work together on designing better toilets for their school; or on cracking the problem of the school's limited library space.

Social cohesion as a school aim: an English example

This last example has come to mind, I suspect, because of a recent visit I made to a primary school near where I live just north of London. It is a small school, of one class of thirty per year, for children aged 4 to 11. It is also the only primary school I know about which a whole book has been written: the recently published *Creating Learning without Limits* (Swann et al. 2012). Reading it, you gain insight into how school can be a wonderful vehicle for promoting social cohesion. True, Wroxham Primary School in Potters Bar, Hertfordshire is obliged by law to work within the subject-based constraints of our present National Curriculum. But it treats these almost as a by-product of a vision closer to its heart, a vision entirely in line with the democratic form of aims-based schooling that I have been advocating.

As evidenced by the book title, Wroxham School is committed to the belief, explored above, that there are no limits to its pupils' intellectual abilities. It constantly reinforces this principle across everything it does, favouring a large measure of collective as well as individual learning, building 'a learning community' and 'encouraging children to support and help one another'.

Making curriculum activities relevant, meaningful and enjoyable encourages children to get caught up in what they are doing and strengthen their belief, bolstered by

Kao što pokazuje ova knjiga, škola Roksham privržena je uverenju, gore opisanom, da intelektualne sposobnosti učenika nisu ograničene. Ona stalno podstiče taj princip u svemu što radi tako što se zalaže da učenje bude kolektivno koliko i pojedinačno, što gradi "zajednicu sticanja znanja" i "podstiče decu da se uzajamno podržavaju i jedno drugom pomažu".

Relevantne, smislene i prijatne programske aktivnosti podstiču decu da se predaju onom što rade i osnažuje njihovo verovanje, poduprto lajtmotivom škole, da mogu naučiti sve što žele. Učenje u saradnji s drugima ne samo što može biti prijatno – ono takođe odražava u mikrokosmosu vrline zajedničkog življenja u liberalnoj demokratskoj zajednici.

U školi Roksham saradnja se proširuje i na druge generacije učenika jer starija deca često učestvuju u aktivnostima koje se tiču mlađih učenika. One obuhvataju nedeljne međugeneracijske sastanke na kojima svi sede u krugu i koji omogućuju svakom detetu da iskaže svoje ideje i da učestvuje u odlukama vezanim za poboljšanje njihovog života u školi. Svako je uključen u krug, ne samo deca već i odrasli koji rade u školi, među njima i pomoćni nastavnici i volonteri.⁴ Jedna zamisao koju su na ovaj način deca ostvarila u Rokshamu bila je to da se nedostatak prostora u školskoj biblioteci reši kupovinom starog autobusa na sprat i njegovog prilagođavanja toj svrsi. Autobus sada stoji na školskom terenu, obojen u žive boje prema dizajnu koji su napravila sama deca, i svima pruža mnogo udobnog prostora za pretraživanje i čitanje.

Ako deca treba da budu odgajana kao aktivni članovi demokratije, društva u kom se svako odnosi prema drugima kao prema sebi jednakima, važno je ukloniti mnoštvo prepreka koje tome stoje na putu, posebno u zemlji koja je opsednuta statusom kao što je to Engleska. Obavljajući svoju vaspitačku ulogu u tesnoj saradnji s kolegama, učitelji mogu, kao na opisanim kružnim sastancima, činiti sve što je u njihovoj moći kako bi istakli da svako može da uči od svakog drugog na prijatan način.

Ovaj primer pokazuje kako škola može svesno težiti jačanju društvene kohezije u sopstvenoj zajednici imajući istovremeno u vidu šire građansko bratstvo. Ako želite da

⁴ *Creating Learning without Limits*, str. 16.

the school's leitmotif, that they can learn whatever they want to. Collaborative learning not only has the potential to make learning enjoyable: it can also mirror in microcosm the virtues of living together in a liberal democratic community.

At Wroxham School, the collaboration extends over age, with older children often involved in activities with younger ones. These include weekly, mixed-age, circle meetings that give every child a voice to express their ideas and participate in decisions to improve their lives in the school. Everybody is included in the circle, not only the children, but also all the adults working in the school, including teaching assistants and volunteers.⁴ One idea that children brought up in this way at Wroxham had was to alleviate the school's shortage of library space by buying an old double-decker bus and converting it for this purpose. It now stands in the school grounds, gaily painted according to a design produced by the children, and with plenty of comfortable spaces for learners to browse and read.

If children are to be brought up as participating members of a democracy, of a society in which everyone treats others as an equal, it is important to break down the many barriers to this, especially in a status-ridden country like England. While keeping their directive role in close collaboration with their colleagues, teachers can, as in the circle meetings just described, do what they can to underline that everybody can learn from everybody else in an enjoyable way.

This is one illustration of how a school can deliberately aim at social cohesion within its own community, with a wider civic fraternity also within its sights. If you wish to find out more about Wroxham School, I encourage you to go on a virtual tour of it via its extensive and impressive website at <http://www.wroxham.herts.sch.uk/Home.html>. As you can see, the very creation of such an inclusive website is itself one of the ways in which the school pursues its ideals of social solidarity.

Wroxham is an example of a school with an aims-based curriculum, obliged to work within a conventional subject-

⁴ *Creating Learning without Limits*, p.16.

saznate više o školi Roksham, predlažem vam da obiđete njen opširan i upečatljiv vebsajt na adresi <http://www.wroxham.herts.sch.uk/Home.html>. Kao što možete videti, i samo stvaranje takvog inkluzivnog vebsajta jedan je od načina na koje ova škola ostvaruje svoje ideale društvene solidarnosti.

Roksham je primer škole sa programom zasnovanim na ciljevima, koja mora da radi u konvencionalnom okviru zasnovanom na predmetima, ali taj program upreže u svoju viziju. Ta škola je shvatila veliku obrazovnu istinu da je negovanje poželjnih stavova i sklonosti važniji cilj nego što je to sticanje znanja. Ovdje nije reč o omalovažavanju znanja već samo o tome da se ukaže na njegovu podređenost prvom cilju. Jedna od poželjnih dispozicija na koje Roksham stavlja naglasak jeste društvena kohezija.

Zaključak

Nije mi poznato da li hrabre škole u Srbiji rade u tom pravcu. Nadam se da rade. Ako je cilj stvoriti društvo ljudi koji se među sobom mogu razlikovati po religijskom (ili neregligijskom) uverenju, bogatstvu, etničkoj pripadnosti, nivou obrazovanja, gradskom ili seoskom poreklu, a koji ipak ne koristiti te razlike da bi proizvodili stavove o društvenoj superiornosti ili inferiornosti već pre da bi poštovali jedni druge kao jednako vredne, ima razloga da mislimo da tradicionalni pristup programu, zasnovan na predmetima, omogućuje, u najboljem slučaju, da se pređe deo tog puta, a u najgorem je kontraproduktivan. Ako želimo da podstaknemo te stavove, moramo ih od samog početka ugraditi među školske ciljeve i moramo smisliti odgovarajuće strukture i odgovarajuće aktivnosti učenja koje doprinose ostvarenju tih ciljeva.

based framework, but taking the latter within its stride. It realises the educational truth that the cultivation of desirable attitudes and dispositions takes precedence as an aim over the acquisition of knowledge. This is not at all to denigrate the latter, but to show its proper subordination to the former. Among the desirable dispositions on which Wroxham places emphasis is social cohesion.

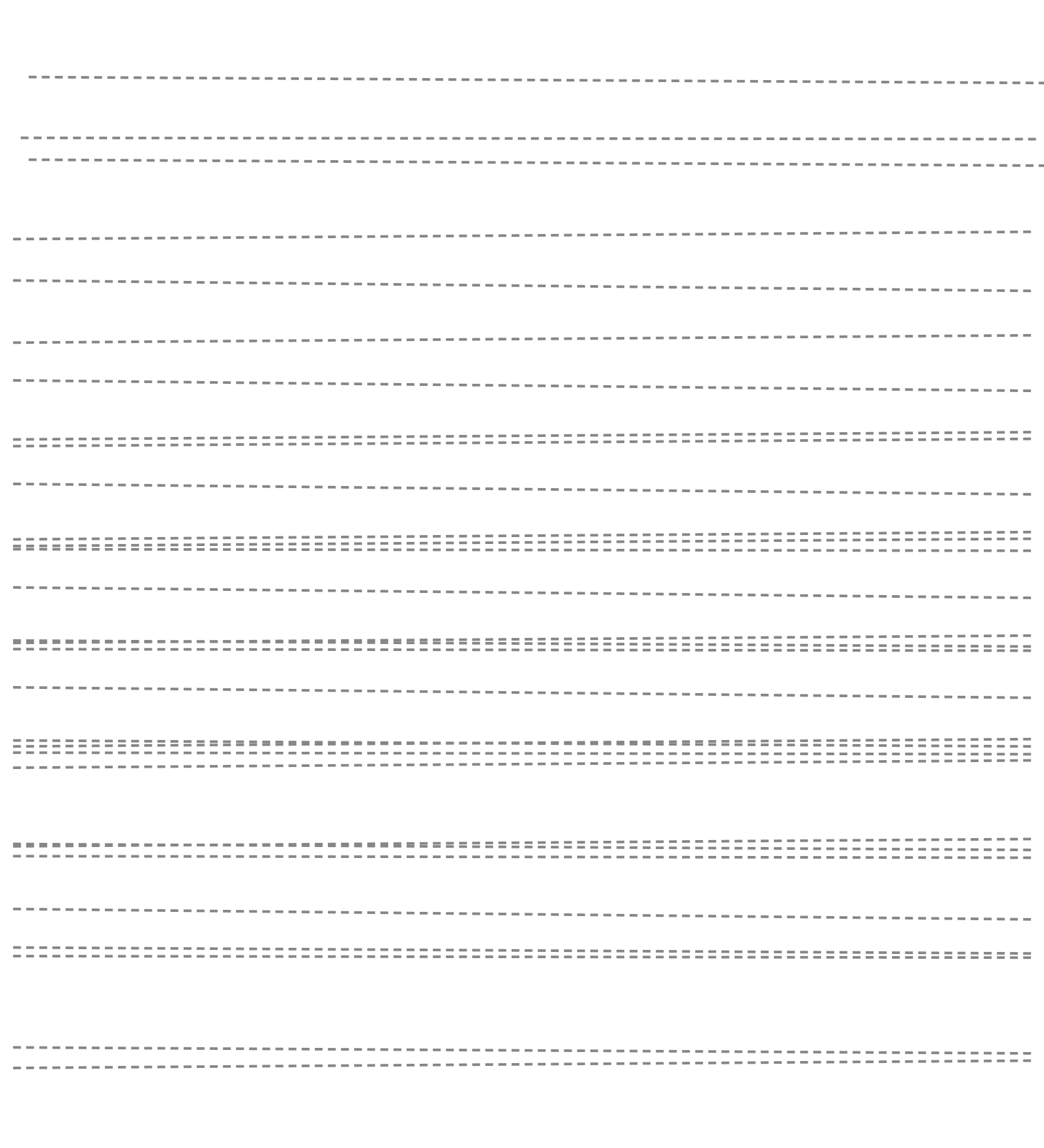
Conclusion

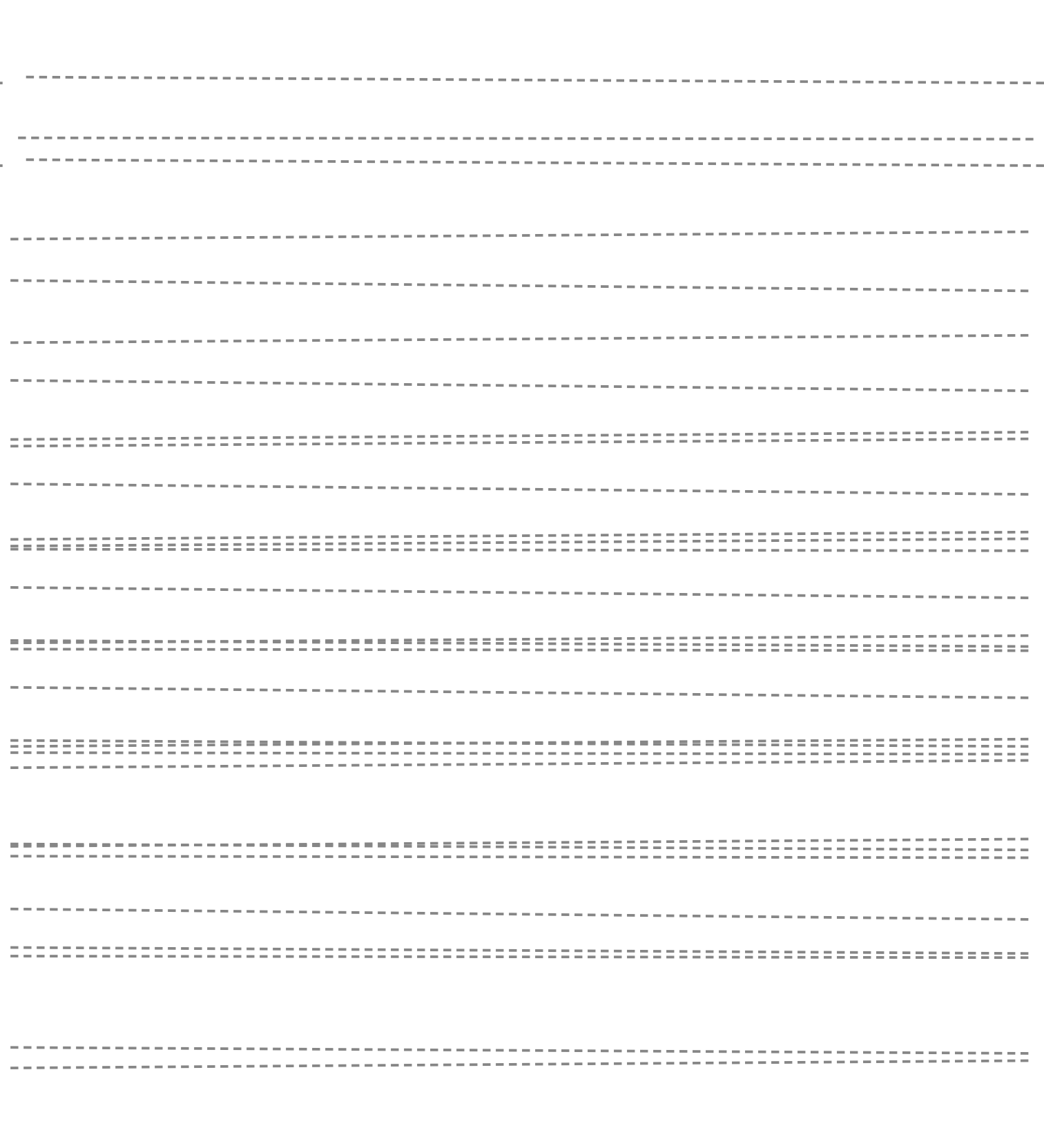
How far brave schools in Serbia are working in the same general direction I do not know. I hope they are. If the aim is to create a society of people who may differ in religious (or non-religious) belief, wealth, ethnicity, educational level, urban or rural background, yet do not use these differences to generate attitudes of social superiority or inferiority, but, rather, celebrate each other as equal in value, there is reason to think that a traditional, subject-based, approach to the curriculum can at best take one a fraction of the way, and at worst be counterproductive. If we want to encourage these attitudes, we must build them into schools' purposes from the start; and devise appropriate structures and appropriate learning activities to help realise them.

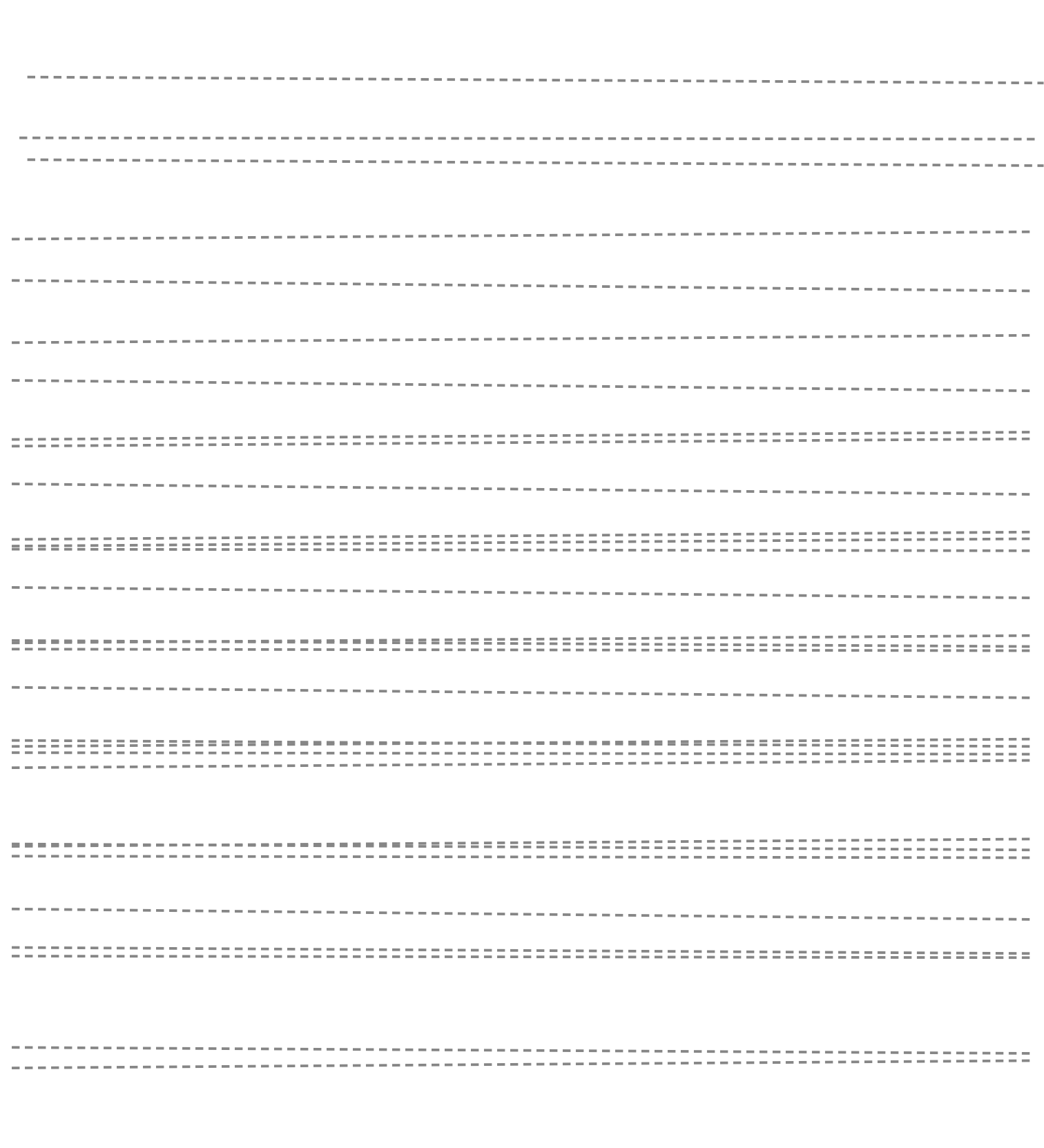
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