Civic Education as a Potential for Developing Civil Society and Democracy (The Case of Serbia)

Branka Vasiljević

Master Thesis
Master Degree Program in Peace and Conflict Transformation
Centre for Peace Studies
Faculty of Social Science
University of Tromsø, Norway
Spring 2009

Centre for Peace Studies

Acknowledgements

Abstract

This study aims at analyzing the potential of the school subject "Civic Education" for the creation of democratic and civil society in Serbia, and its implications for building a sustainable peace in the region. Civic Education is discussed in the framework of Democracy and Civil society, and its aims and goals are analyzed from the perspective of its stakeholders (teachers and pupils). The results show there is a partial congruence between the stated objectives in the Civic Education curriculum and pupils' and teacher's perspective on it. The possible outcomes of this program, competences hypothesized to be relevant for democratic behavior, are accessed through pupils' attitudes expressed on the Ethnic distance scale and the scale of Authoritarianism, where two groups of pupils are compared (those who attend Civic Education and those who attend Religious Education). A statistically significant, although moderate difference between these groups is found on the later scale, implying that the Civic Education program can decrease authoritarianism/traditionalism. However, strong traditional structures in family and society, as well as visible illiberal tendencies in the Serbian politics are undermining the real potential of the Civic Education for further democratization and developing of civil society in Serbia.

Key words: *civic education, civil society, democracy, peace, ethnic distance, and authoritarianism*

Acronyms

CE   Civic Education

RE   Religious Education

PE   Peace education

MoES   Ministry of Education and Sports (Today it is called: Ministry of Education)

UNDP   United Nations Development Program

ICTY   International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

NGO   Nongovernmental Organization

CS   Civil society

CSO   Civil society organization

ED Ethnic distance

AUT Authoritarianism

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction

1.1. Why This Study?

The purpose of this study is to examine the relevance of an educational program called "Civic Education", for the development of democracy and civil society in the Republic of Serbia. This was accomplished through the exploration of the program curricula and pupils' and teachers' perspectives on this program (in terms of knowledge, attitudes and values). One part of the possible effectiveness of this program was questioned through the investigation of pupils' attitudes (ethnic distance and authoritarianism/traditionalism), which were hypothesized to be relevant in the sphere of democratic behavior and civil engagement. The relevance of this research for Peace studies is embedded in the hypothesis that democratic societies have a greater potential for establishing stable peace, within themselves, as well between states.

The process of democratization is not a straightforward line, and to change the whole structure of a society is a long and difficult task. The current political situation in Serbia is colored with the constant illiberal tendencies, both from the right wing nationalist political parties and from the part of a civil sector too. To name just some of them: The last year's violent protests and riots on the streets of Belgrade, with burning of the American embassy, boycotting and attacks on the Albanian bakeries in several towns etc. as a "protest on Kosovo's independence", where mostly young people participated; This spring riots, again on the same issue; The problem of cooperation with the ICTY on prosecuting the war criminals (one recent study on public opinion in Serbia showed that 65% of the population questioned would not report Ratko Mladić, wanted by the Hague Tribunal for war crimes in Bosnia, to the governmental authorities, besides the award of 1 million Euros offered for any information on his residence (B92-a), not that it should be a crucial motivation factor!). All this imposes some urging questions: Have Serbian people learned anything from its recent past? Does school learning of CE have any impact on shaping young people's values and behavior? This study will try to explore one small part of this educational program and its usefulness for the development of Serbian society.

1.2. Background to the Study

1.2.1. What is Civic Education?

Civic Education is a term used to describe various educational programs, with different names, such as: Citizenship Education and Ethics, Civic Culture, Civic, legal and social education (Kuhn 2006:4, 5), Civic engagement (United Nations Development Program 2004:5), Education for Democratic Citizenship (Smith, Fountain, McLean 2002: 16) etc. One international study from 1999 (Kerr 1999 in Maksić 2008: 4) on comparison of CE in 16 countries showed great variability not only in their organization and implementation, but also in their names. For example in Australia it is referred as "Human society and environment", in Canada: "Social studies", in Hungary: "People and society" etc. CE is sometimes being studied as a separate subject in elementary and secondary schools, and sometimes it is a distinct subject area, integrated in several subjects (Kuhn 2006:8). There is no international consent on the content of curricula of CE and its goals, so it is not easy to define it. However, the broadest possible description of CE would be that it is aimed to "make good citizens", equipped with appropriate knowledge, skills and traits of character (Galston 2001: 217). Of course, the concept of "good citizen" is relative to the regime type and the political system of one's society, which have been discussed since Plato and Aristotle (ibid.). Democratic societies require democratic citizens, whose specific knowledge and competences would not be as well suited to other regimes. The situation of defining CE is even more complex if we consider that there are multiple conceptions of democracy, which are a matter of considerable debate (ibid: 218).

CE was first implemented in the educational system of the United States of America in the beginning of the 20th century. It was character oriented toward producing a "model" citizens properly indoctrinated with religious and spiritual thinking and it was also referred to as citizenship education (Malone 1968: 110). Interest in CE grew in the second half of the last century, characterized by a growing interest in the place of man in our society (ibid.), and became seen as an essential purpose of education (Branson 2003: 2). In the International Encyclopedia of Education, CE is defined as a "development of citizenship or civic competence through conveying the unique meaning, obligation, and virtue of citizenship in a particular society or the acquisition of values, dispositions and skills appropriate to the society" (2nd ed., Vol. 7 p. 767 cited in Finkel et al. 2000: 1852). Since CE originated and developed in countries with a democratic political system, it was tightly associated with democratic values and notions that are to be adopted by its citizens. The following definition

accepted by the UN is adopted in this study too: CE is a way of learning for effective participation in a democratic and development processes, and it is an important way for capacity development in the society by empowering people for effective civic engagement (UNDP 2004: 5).

To understand CE and its purpose in one's society it has to be related to the notions of civil society and democracy.

1.2.2. Background to the Development of Peace Education and Civic Education in the Republic of Serbia

Peace education programs were introduced in Serbia shortly after the violent breakup of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1991. A group of Serbian psychologists and educators created them in order to ameliorate the deprivation effect of wartime conditions on children (social, emotional, moral and intellectual). Although no war was actually waged on the territory of Serbia (until the Kosovo crisis and bombing in 1999), the consequences of the wars in Croatia and Bosnia were evident in the Serbian society too. Thousands of refugees came to Serbia, a state with a high level of political violence, human rights violations and economic instability. The process of former Yugoslavia dissolution and conflict escalation is understandable in the context of the failure of communism, which was related to the process of democratization, capitalization and nationalization. This was companioned by the lack of strength and legitimacy of the government to ensure a minimum level of order and the rule of law (Rosandić 2000: 23-32).

Peace education programs conducted in Serbia during 1992-1998, such as "Hi Neighbor", "Smile Keepers", "The Goodwill Classroom" etc. aimed at developing the individual (understanding the individual needs and encouraging self-expression, self-esteem, self-confidence and personal accountability), and to develop constructive understanding and assertive relationships with others, appreciating individual and group differences as well as social responsibility. The key values of these programs were: action, dialogue, involvement, cooperation and participation. They were implemented through the workshops led by trained professionals from different NGOs supported by the UNICEF, and from 1996 they were also included in the curriculum of some schools (ibid.). These early peace education programs were the bases for the creation of the new program "Civic Education" in Serbian schools in 2001.

There are three important international reference points, which can be considered to affect the development of CE in the Republic of Serbia. These are: The UN Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004), Civic Education in a European Context, The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) and International Study on Civic Education (Smith, Fountain, McLean 2002: 14). The interest in Civic and Citizenship Education considerably increased in Europe during 1990s, as the number of formal democracies in the world has increased from 76 (46.1%) to 117 (61.3%). It is seen as an important mean for countries to educate citizens about their rights and responsibilities. Increasing pluralism within states created the need to go beyond simple "patriotic" models of citizenship requiring uncritical loyalty to the nation state, and offered a concept of citizenship based on human rights and responsibilities, to prevent mobilization of political conflict around identity issues. The basic principle of modern civic education programs is to have a strong human rights values base, to make a specific reference to the children's rights and address issues related to diversity and the rights of minorities within a society (ibid: 16).

1.2.3. The Socio-Political Context

For understanding the process of democratization in Serbia and the role of civil society and civic education in it, it is necessary to consider some key points from its socio-political context in the last 60 years.

From 1945 till 1991 Serbia was one of the six republics constituting Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a country developed out of a broad communist-led liberation movement after the WWII. The political system in that time could be characterized as an authoritarian regime, ruled by the communist leader and state president Josip Broz Tito, with limited societal pluralism, in which power was divided between the constituent republics and federal government (Zakošek 2008: 590). After Tito's death (1980) the system started to show its weaknesses more openly, especially in the economic dysfunctions, and the need for decentralization and democratization was evident. This was accompanied by the strengthening of nationalism and territorial aspirations, especially from the Serbian part, which took control over the Yugoslav People's Army. All this escalated in the outrageous civil war that was led on the territory of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1991 till 1995 (ibid.). "In spite of the specific situation in Serbia (Yugoslavia), it wasn't the nationalism that destroyed multinational East European communist states…. it was the victory of liberalism. The crucial

problem for Eastern and Central European countries after 1989 was implementing democracy (free elections), human rights, sovereignty of nations and modern economy." (Muršič 2000:71).

In 1990 the hardliner communist party (later named the Socialist Party of Serbia) president Slobodan Milosević won the first multiparty presidential and parliamentary elections in Serbia. After Slovenia's and Croatia's declaration of independence in 1991 Milosević started the "state building programme" by violent military means, mobilizing the Serbian nationalism and gaining populist legitimacy using an old nationalist slogan: 'all Serbs living in one state' (Zakošek 2008: 593). The regime change in the post-communist Serbia didn't bring a favourable democratization, what was present during the 90s can be characterized as a "competitive authoritarianism" (Levitsky and Way 2002: 52, 53), a regime where formal democratic institutions are widely viewed as the principal means of obtaining and exercising political authority. Incumbents violate state rules so often and to such an extent, however, that the regime fails to meet conventional minimum standards for democracy. Democratic rules were not openly violated (for example by banning and repressing the opposition and media, or forging the elections, although Milosević did all these in the last part of his rule), but in a more subtle way, by use of bribery, co-optation, and more subtle forms of persecution, such as the use of tax authorities, compliant judiciaries, and other state agencies to "legally" harass, persecute, or extort cooperative behavior from critics. This period, Serbia under Milosević, led to the criminalization of the state, drawing on the Yugoslav tradition of clientelism and informality in politics as well as new opportunities offered by the wartime gray and black economies, enabling the regime and its elites to profit hugely from apparent economic chaos and international isolation (Edmunds 2009: 130).

The transition to democracy in Serbia only started in 2000, when 11 days mass protesting in most big towns in the country, as a reaction on a fraudulent national election, culminated in a mostly peaceful "revolution" on the 5th of October. That day several hundred thousands protesters came to Belgrade, mobilized by the united opposition, supported by the NGOs and independent media, gathered in front of the parliament building demanding from Milosević to declare his defeat on election, which he did 2 days later. The student organization "Otpor" played the crucial role and the Center for Free Elections and Democracy previously provided independent electoral-monitoring. This regime change was only the first step to the consolidation of democracy, which is still threatened by the persistence of semi-legal and illegal anti-democratic structures of the old regime, strong radical nationalist

opposition, as demonstrated by the assassination of Prime Minister Đinđić in March 2003 (Zakošek 2008: 605).

This "retarded democratization" is partly due to the fact that after the year 2000 some necessary legislative and judicial actions towards transitional justice were not taken, such as lustration, screening and disqualification from public positions of all members of the old regime (Bednarczyk 1999: 217). Although some leaders of the old regime (including Milošević) were prosecuted for past human rights violations and other illegal acts, a significant number of them retained important positions in the military, police and bureaucracy (for example the former Milosević's party SPS is now governing the Ministry of Education). From 2000 till now Serbian politics and society were characterized by high level of corruption and criminality and numerous high-profile scandals in the government, business, the custom service and the police (Edmunds 2009: 135, 136).

The Stabilization and Association Agreement talks between the EU and Serbia were a stimulating force for the positive transformation of the state structures, and since 2000 the government has introduced a number of measures, including special anticorruption and organized crime legislation, but serious questions remain on their implementation (Pontis Foundation 2007; Edmunds 2009: 136). There is an ongoing internal debate about modern democratic Serbia and its place in Europe, shaped by various interrelated issues and political challenges such as the Kosovo independence issue and cooperation with the ICTY (Pontis Foundation 2007). The illiberal forces are still strong in Serbia, but luckily, now they are limited by the democratic state structure. They can argue for their policy in the parliament (as it is visible right now when they are obstructing the pass of the Antidiscrimination Law), and unfortunately have a significant support among Serbian population, even youth.

Serbia has still not reached that level of "substantive" democracy, which is to incorporate a participatory political culture committed to the liberal-democratic principles and rooted in an active civil society (Edmunds 2009: 137). But is it on the right way? According to the Freedom House evaluation from 2004 the democratization score for Serbia was 3.83 (domains researched were: election process, civil society, independent media, governing; the rule of law-constitutional, legal and juridical framework; corruption), and thus it was in the zone of "semi-consolidated democracy" (Komšić 2005: 39, 40). Considering that the war as a political mean is finally dismissed from the Serbian politics, and that the "high standards of statehood" are now being tailored by more sophisticated, negotiable-strategy, Serbia is moving into the right direction, despite the "ethno-democratic" confusion on the concept of "unitary state", which is still present (ibid: 35).

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Democracy

2.1.1. Operational Definition

John S. Mill (1975: 247) defined the pure idea of democracy to be the government of the whole people by the whole people, equally represented. He also pointed that democracy is commonly conceived-practiced as it is the government of the whole people by mere majority of the people, exclusively represented. Democracy belongs to the sphere of collective decision-making and it includes two interconnected principles: public control over the collective decision-making and equal rights on that control (Beetham and Boyle 1995: 1). Democracy does not refer only to the state or government (as it is usually thought) and its principles are relevant for decision-making in any kind of community in a society. It can be said that there is a significant relationship between democracy on the sate level and democracy in other institutions in society (ibid.).

Democracy is considered to be a relative concept, as it can be present in different degrees, which means that it is not perceived in "all or nothing" categories (ibid.). The meaning of democracy in the models of transformation can be defined with the following: "A democratic transition is complete when sufficient agreements have been reached about political procedures to produce an elected government, when government comes to power as a direct result of a free and popular vote, when this government de facto has the authority to generate new policies, and when the executive, legislative and judicial power generated by the new democracy does not have to share power with bodies de jure" (Linz and Stepan 1996: 3 in Goll 2006: 1).

There is also one more essential element, concerning the type of democracy appreciated in the Western world, and that is *liberalism*. This notion refers "to the tradition, deep in Western history, that seeks to protect an individual's autonomy and dignity against coercion, whatever the source- state, church or society" (Zakaria 1997 in Edmunds 2009: 130). There is nothing inherently liberal about democracy as such, and to go beyond simple "electoralism" it has to develop measures (checks and balances on various branches of government, the guarantee of equality under the law, and the protection of basic freedoms) to protect the rights of the individual and constrain the power of the state (Edmunds 2009: 130).

2.1.2. Democratic and Civil Society

Liberal democracy is sometimes called "embedded" democracy, and it is viewed as a final level on the democratic spectrum, when the conditions are created for the development of a free and lively civil society (Linz and Stepan 1996: 7 in Goll 2006: 2). However a civil society is not necessarily only the outcome of the transformation to democracy, but can be a stimulus of the transformation itself (Croissant et al. 2000: 33 in ibid.) as it was also seen in the case of Serbian regime change in 2000.

One possible way of defining civil society, which emphasizes its intermediary character, would be the following: "Civil society represents a sphere of dynamic and responsive public discourse between the state, the public sphere consisting of voluntary organizations, and the market sphere concerning private firms and unions" (Janoski 1998: 12 in Goll 2006: 1). The concept of civil society can be also viewed from two different aspects. Negative: It represents an idea that a state power has to be limited and prevented from controlling all social activities, contaminating the whole public sphere and social initiatives. Positive: It is an idea, which promotes many independent sources of self-engagement in the society, and facilitates initiatives from people outside the state and market power to make common actions, pursue their goals and solve problems. In that way it serves as a network of public opinion channels and pressure on government, or protection from the possible abuse of state power (Beetham and Boyle 1995).

Basic elements of civil society include: market economy; independent media and communication; independent expert sources about all aspects of government politics; and a broad network of voluntary organizations in all spheres of society (ibid.). Civil society springs from people's understanding about the necessity for collective action. It includes a wide spectrum of NGOs, from unions, professional groups, women organizations, human rights organizations, minority groups, to self-help groups and others, which can contribute to the improvement of democracy, by playing the role of the counselor to the government. Of course, civil society organizations' inner structure is not necessarily democratic, some of them can have rather authoritarian leaders and they can also argue for some illiberal ideas; or they can corrupt the government through their rich-influential and powerful representatives (ibid.). This is especially visible in new developing democracies (in Central end Eastern Europe), where antidemocratic, illiberal and nationalistic movements build the "dark side of civil society" (Goll 2006: 7).

Maybe we can conclude that democratic society is not inherently civil and vice versa. The same as both of them are not inherently liberal either. Only interaction of these three: democracy, civil society and liberalism can offer a social structure that will enable development of a state.

2.1.3. Democratic Peace

"Democratic peace is historically specific- what democracy is and what it means to be democratic are human constructs that have to be understood in terms of their historical context" (Ericson 2000: 147). To introduce another "relative construct" in this study (after civic education, civil society and democracy) is maybe not scientifically viable, but this one is essential for relating this research to the field of Peace studies.

A proposition that liberal (or republican, or democratic) states do not fight one another formulated by Kant in 1795 (Kant 1991 in Ericson 2000: 148) was tested in numeral studies. One of them conducted by Michael W. Doyle (ibid.), where he used data collected by Small and Singer (covering the period 1816-1980) showed that there was no single case where two liberal states went to war with one another. This proposition or hypothesis is regarded as "probabilistic generalization", as there will be exceptions to the rule (ibid.). A proposition that democracies ought to be more pacific generally (and not just towards other democracies) is much harder to defend, however, some scholars, such as Rummel 1983 (ibid.) support it strongly. As we can see, USA and Great Britain are examples in the current politics that refute this second proposition.

There are several arguments in the democracies' preference for peace, which can be classified in two models: structural-institutional and cultural-normative. The first implies that peace results from mutual perceptions of constrained leadership that minimize fears of surprise attack, making room for international process of conflict resolution to operate; the later sees peace as a result of mutual perception of mutual adherence to a shared set of norms of peaceful conflict resolution (Russet 1993 in Ericson 2000:137). Whether liberalism is inherently pacifistic or its pacifism is contingent on the absence of a just cause, is still a subject of discussions (ibid: 138), but whatever the "cause" is (utilitarian or ethical), the outcome is the same: peace. Maybe democracies are still far from the state of being when a war is "unthinkable", as it should be in the stable peace (ibid: 132), but at least it is disqualified.

2.1.4. Why Democracy?

Democracy, as the "top-level value" of this study (Jordan 1979: 323), needs to be justified beyond the concept of Democratic peace, by explaining the general appreciation for it in a nowadays world. First of all, democracy produces some desirable consequences: avoiding tyranny, essential rights, general freedom, self determination, moral autonomy, human development, protecting essential personal interests, political equality. In addition, empirically seen, modern democracies produce: peace and prosperity (Dahl 1998: 45). To achieve all this, large –scale democracy requires the following political institutions: elected officials; free, fair and frequent elections; freedom of expression; alternative sources of information; associational autonomy; inclusive citizenship (ibid: 85). These institutions are providing opportunities for citizens to gain an enlightened understanding of public matters and thus become competent enough for self-governance (ibid: 79).

There are also certain conditions, which favor the democratic institutions listed above: control of military and police by elected officials; democratic beliefs and political culture; no strong foreign control hostile to democracy; a modern market economy and society; weak subcultural pluralism (ibid: 147). Democratic culture could be essential for overcoming crises (political, ideological, economic, military etc.), which all countries encounter, sooner or later, and it is embedded in citizens' beliefs that democracy and political equality are desirable goals; control over military and police should be fully in the hands of elected leaders; the basic democratic institutions should be maintained; and political differences and disagreements among citizens should be tolerated and protected (ibid: 156, 157). The question: "How do democratic ideas and practices become an intrinsic part of the country's culture?" needs to be answered for each case individually, and, as Dahl half-optimistically described it: "Lucky is the country whose history has led to these happy results!" (Ibid: 158)

Market-capitalism, as one of the conditions for democracy, from one point of view favors its development, by enabling economic growth and creating middle classes who are, as Aristotle pointed out, the natural allies of democratic ideas and institutions (ibid: 166, 168). From the other point of view, it harms democracy, by creating "free-market victims" that seek protection and regulation from the government side, and generating inequalities in the distribution of political resources (ibid: 173, 177). Macpherson (1965: 44, 45) criticized the Western liberal democracy model as a system of power, the capitalist market society with a "democratic franchise added". He expressed optimism for the possibility of a new system in which high productivity would not require the transfer of powers from non-owners, and he

saw that potential in the socialist third world. Although all concepts of democracy seem to share the same ultimate goal: to provide the conditions for a full and free development of the essential human capacities of all members of a society (ibid: 36, 37), somehow its completion kept slipping away.

Developing liberal democracy today maybe can be justified as an "evolutionary necessity", as a level in development which can not be skipped over, even though it is determined to fail, as "injustice", where outcomes are unequal irrespective of equal starting chances (Biro 2006: 23, 24). From this hypothesis a society of truly equal possibilities can be built only on highly developed productivity and economy, and this to be obtained requests inequality, to stimulate individuals for realizing their capacities and personal achievement, which then can contribute to the whole society (ibid.). The inconsistence between a country's democratic political system and its nondemocratic economic system stays as a persistent challenge to democratic goals and practices (Dahl 1998: 179).

Today, while Serbia is making its first steps into the liberal democracy and free market, experiencing great challenges with this rough primitive capitalism, the same system, developed in the West centuries ago is threatened with a great economic crisis. We are facing one of the biggest breakdowns of liberal economies ever seen in a modern world, which is questioning the whole existing socio-political system. This global context is making the Serbian democratization and capitalization process even more complicated, when outcomes are uncertain and no clear vision of some future goals can be shaped.

2.1.5. Civil Society in Serbia

During the 90s the real civil society started developing in Serbia (it is questionable to what extent it existed before in the socialist regime), but under rather difficult political and economic circumstances. For the whole decade they were constrained by war, international isolation and sanctions, political repression, and rapidly falling living standard. Milosević's regime was performing the number of restrictive measures against civil society organizations, because of their persistent opposition to antidemocratic and pro-war Government policies. But, as years of Milosević's rule went by, his popularity and public support from masses decreased, and the number of independent media and civil society organizations was growing, despite, or due to the oppression (Reforms-Updated statement 2003: 3, 4).

Since NGOs in Serbia were (are) highly dependant on Western aid, they were often referred to, from the regime, as foreign spies and traitors. They had a negative image among a

significant number of people because of this, but it was also due to the fact that some of them were actually corrupted. This was one of the reasons for their slow stride in gaining the majority of anti-regime support from people, which did not culminate until the year 2000, when the student NGO "Otpor" played the crucial part in a peaceful regime change. There were several other big protests for regime change during the 90s, but the policy of opposition, their fragmentation, lack of internal democracy and political power, lack of distance from the regime and commitment to ethnicity and "national question", were partly responsible for their failure (Bieber 2003: 79-81).

The real civil society needs to have a strong normative dimension, including the opposition to militarism, safeguarding tolerance and difference, secularization and equality for all citizens irrespective of their background. From this perspective Ernest Gellner distinguishes between a civil society and a society containing civil society. This was (is) the case in Serbia also, where a democratic sub-sphere coexisted within a semi-authoritarian system (ibid: 82). After the year 2000 there was a visible growth in the number, influence and professionalism of NGOs and related organizations which played an active and progressive role in Serbian politics, serving as agents of liberal advocacy, public discussion, and reform in such areas as the campaign for war criminals accountability. To name just few: The Humanitarian Law Center, Civic Initiatives, Women in Black, Youth Initiative for Human Rights, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights etc.

Despite all this, Serbian civil society also exhibits many of the illiberal tendencies visible elsewhere in the Serbian polity. Some of NGOs have been accused of corruption or nepotism in their dealings with government or business; and there are other civil society groups, radical and nationalist, that advocate extreme nationalist positions on issues such as Kosovo and the ICTY (Edmunds 2009: 138). One recent example of activities from these illiberal groups were this spring's demonstration and riots in Belgrade, on the 10th years anniversary of NATO bombing 1999, where "sport-hooligans like" youth were shouting "Give us weapon!" referring on the Kosovo issue (B92-b). This illiberalism among significant numbers of Serbian voters is in part a legacy of Milosevic's nationalist regime, but it also reflects a wider disquiet about the losses of the war years, as well as some Serbs' belief that they have been victimized by the international community in general and the West in particular (Edmunds 2009: 138).

The current liberal civil society scene in Serbia is focused on the Serbia-EU relations and further process of democratization, where a sort of "pragmatists vs. essentialists" clash of views among NGOs is perceivable. Essentialists advocating for fulfillment of all EU

preconditions from the Serbian government part (including the finding and delivering of general Mladić to Hague) before further EU talks on integration; while pragmatists demanding the inclusion of non-state actors, NGOs and youth representatives into the wider dialogue between Brussels and Belgrade (Pontis Foundation 2007: 2, 3). Unfortunately, with the time passing by, the conditioning from EU, transition side effects and global economic crisis, the general "EUro-skepticism" among Serbian population is growing.

The process of economic degradation and increased poverty in Serbian population during the years of transition was considerably stopped after the year 2000, but the further semi-legal privatization increased social inequalities (Savić in Pobulić 2006: 293). There is also a visible discrepancy between the rich, developed towns and regions (Belgrade, Novi Sad) and the poor South (ibid.). All these inequalities are producing a sort of "self-victimized transition-losers" self-images among majority of population, which is a good foundation for illiberal tendencies in the civil society that support the nationalist parties (Mihailović 2006: 48). Inequality by itself is not something inherently bad for CS, as it can be a source of hope and progress in an environment that is sufficiently open to enable people to make good and improve their life chances by their own efforts (Dahrendorf 1995: 24). But what is present here, as well in many other countries as a consequence of economic globalization, is "inequalization", a systematic divergence of the life chances of large social groups (it builds paths to the top for some and dig holes for others, creating cleavages), and that is incompatible with CS (ibid.)

We could say that in the socialist Yugoslavia the lack of "healthy inequality" was preventing creation of the real CS, while in the transition period this "inequalization" (produced by war economies, black market, semi-legal capitalization/privatization and weak state) is obstructing it again.

2.1.6. Democratization of Education and Education for Democratic Citizenship in the Republic of Serbia

Education in the former Yugoslavia was to a large extent shaped by communist ideology and the state polity of preservation of the revolutionary heritage from WWII. When the country broke up and self-managed socialism failed, ethnic and national constructs became highly valued among a significant number of academics, which affected the educational system in Serbia too. One study from a 1990 about textbooks in Serbian schools showed that they supported the value system similar to fascistic ideology: apotheosis of

18

absolute authority, emphasizing of warrior tradition, xenophobic, submission of individuality to collectivity etc. (Biro 2006: 167). Notions such as: individuality, privacy, personal freedoms and initiatives, autonomy and assertiveness were hardly mentioned (ibid.).

"We know that revolutions do not originate from education, but neither they occur without it" (Mendoza 2006: 176). The change of government in the Republic of Serbia in October 2000 paved the way for the initiation of wide-ranging educational reform, needed to counter the decline in student achievement, and rising dropout rates, both of which have been linked to increases in juvenile delinquency and violence (Smith, Fountain, McLean 2002: 23). In July 2001, the MoES produced a strategy and action plan that established a comprehensive framework for educational reform. This also included the establishment of Expert Groups, from one of which was The Expert Group on Democratization of Education and Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC). They produced a report affirming that democracy implies respect for basic values (freedom, responsibility, equality, solidarity, personal dignity, and respect for diversity), and the observance of basic principles and procedures (participation, tolerance, dialogue, debate, negotiation, peaceful resolution of conflicts). It also states that democracy in education is based on equality (equal rights for all) and participation (freedom of expression, choice, participation in decision-making) (Ministry of Education and Sports, Republic of Serbia, 2001: 4). The Expert Group's vision was that EDC's issues should be dealt with not only in Civic Education, but also in education for human rights, multi- and inter-cultural education, education for peace and development, and global education (ibid.).

Many things have changed since that year 2001, both in the educational system and in the politics of Serbia, but certain clerical, traditionalistic, nationalistic and rigid illiberal concepts are still present in Serbian everyday politics and educational system too. Education for democracy is continued in schools in the form of elective subject, Civic Education, while the process of Democratization of education is less visible. There is a certain improvement visible in schools' decentralization towards more initiative in the local community projects and changes in the part of school curricula, while the presence of new democratic methods and procedures in teachers' everyday work, opposite to old authoritarian style, still has to be examined. Unfortunately there is also a lack of broader government's support for this process of democratization, especially in the last three years, when the funding for teachers' specialization was cut down, and the training for CE teachers was terminated.

2.2. Civic Education

2.2.1. Aims, Objectives and Contents of Civic Education Programs

It is hard to find a unique, shared goal of CE, as there is such a variety of programs and theories, but it can be said that they are all directed to the formation of some "imaginary citizen" in a (preferably) democratic society. CE's aim can be understand, in a more narrow sense, as an acquisition of knowledge about a constitution and the basic democratic institutions and regulations; while in a broader understanding the focus is more on the acquisition of competences that enables participation and democratic action, and it includes social learning and political socialization (Oesterreich 2003: 1). Many CE programs stress this "*about* and *through"* perspective, which describes CE as teaching about democracy and training for democratic citizenship, through democracy (for example student's participation in class council) (Kuhn 2006: 9).

CE is sometimes referred as education for democratic citizenship, as it is democratically oriented. From this perspective CE includes three areas, or essential components as Finkel (2003: 138) described it. 1. *Civic competence* (political knowledge, civic skills, and perceptions of one's own political influence that support democratic participation). 2. *Adherence to democratic values and norms* (tolerance, meaning the extent to which citizens are willing to extend procedural democratic liberties to individuals and groups with whom they may disagree; institutional trust, meaning the willingness to critically support basic social and political institutions; and support for democracy as a form of government preferable to other political systems). 3. *Democratic participation* (seen as a final outcome of the program, especially local participation).

We should also mention that some scholars are criticizing CE for being an "ideological tool" as it argues just for the one form of citizenship, a democratic society (Avramović 2004). For this reason some CE programs, in their intention to avoid politics, refer to this subject as a general knowledge about a society and participation in a community, rather than a more specific political system or government. This is for example present in some post-communist states (Slovenia) that have a historical background in the ideological indoctrination through education (Kuhn 2006: 4).

It is notable to differentiate between some "ideal", intended aim of CE, and the one that is "perceived" by the stakeholders of the program, teachers and pupils especially. This is understandable from the perspective of the five domains of the curriculum theory by Goodlad (1979). One study on CE in Germany (part of IEA CE Project, Oesterreich 2003), which

included nearly 100 experts from 16 federal states, came to one such "perceived" or empirical aim, which was defined as a "creation of autonomous citizen which is understood to be an individual who is politically well informed, who understands and accepts the values and legal norms within the constitution, who respects human dignity, who is actively tolerant, and who has developed the ability and readiness to participate in he political and civil affairs" (Trommer 1999 in Oesterreich 2003: 1).

One possible presentation of the elements in the CE program is presented in the following table, and it is based on The Council of Europe documentation on strategies for learning of education for democratic citizenship. CE is here put into a framework, where activities are classified in five operational dimensions, and three learning areas (based on Smith, Fountain, McLean 2002: 17).

		LEARNING		
		COGNITIVE	SOCIAL	AFFECTIVE
DIMENSIONS	POLITICAL	Knowledge about law, system and democratic institutions, citizens rights and duties, critical thinking; role of media; international relations, "global-citizenship", peace	Skills for democratic dialog, negotiation; antiauthoritarian attitudes and behavior; decision making; practice of rights and responsibilities, problem solving, critical thinking	Stimulating an awareness of rights and responsibilities, norms of behavior and values, ethical and moral issues (freedom, equality, fairness, honesty)
	SOCIAL	Knowledge about relations between individuals within society and how these operate within a framework of social and civic institutions	Non-violent communication, different social skills necessary in everyday life (rules, order, fairness, cooperation in a community, planning an action for change, ability to listen, compromises)	Myself and Others (emotions, communication, similarities and differences, friendship); Assertive expression of emotions and needs; empathetic listening; solidarity, social responsibility
	ECONOMIC	Understanding of the world of work, economy and issues to do with the production and consumption of goods and services.	Skills necessary for functioning in a world of work, such as carrier planning-professional orientation, job searching etc.	Values related to the sphere of work ethic, moral issues etc.
	CULTURAL	Collective representations and expressions of shared values and traditions within and between groups in society, with the respect of their historical basis; understanding diversity	Intercultural dialog, understanding; tolerance; braking the prejudices and stereotyping towards minorities	Respect for others and diversity; developing positive emotions and interest for other cultures and groups

2.2.2. Civic Education in the Context of Peace Education

We could say that CE is connected to peace in two ways: in one it includes activities and aim to develop skills which are essential for peaceful coexistence, such as non-violent communication, tolerance, braking of prejudices etc; in another way it is oriented to the creation of democratic citizenship, and the link between democracy and peace is already explained earlier in this chapter. Before going further into the intersection of these two areas (CE and PE), some explanation on the concept of peace itself should be given here.

Peace has different meanings within different cultures and it can also be applied in different spheres: "inner" and "outer" peace. The first concerns the state of being and thinking about others (such as holding them in reverence), the later apply to the natural environment, the culture, international relations, civic communities, families and individuals (Harris 2002: 17). Whether there is a correlation between these spheres of peace is a disputable question. It is hard to describe a quality such as "inner peace", although there are some programmes which intend to address that individual level of peace. One of them is the Swedish-based educational project "The dream of the good", which addresses student ability to deal with negative thoughts and emotions (Sommerfelt and Vambheim 2008). Research shows that this program has some influence on psychological distress and self esteem of students, but it is still questionable if these qualities could address kindness and cooperation (ibid). When it comes to the notion of "outer" peace it can also have various meanings. One definition, proposed by Galtung, makes a distinction between negative and positive peace. *"Negative peace"* can be defined simply as the absence of war or direct violence. This definition is rather limited as it refers to many social conditions and societies through history where this kind of peace was maintained through social and political repression of the people (Barash and Webel 2002:6). *"Positive peace"* is more than just absence of war, it is a social condition in which exploitation is minimised or eliminated, and in which there is neither overt violence nor the so called "structural violence" –denying people rights on economic well-being, social, political and sexual equality, sense of personal fulfilment and self-worth, and so on (ibid: 7).

Peace education usually refers to teachers teaching about peace: what it is, why it does not exist and how to achieve it. This includes challenges of achieving peace, promoting peaceful attitudes and developing non-violent skills (Harris 2004: 6). Sometimes it is a matter of changing mindsets, sometimes a matter of cultivating a set of skills or promoting human rights, and sometimes a matter of environmentalism and disarmament (Salomon 2002).There are different classifications of peace education programs, but they are mainly for clarification

purposes, as in the real world they are not so well distinguished from each other. One of them is based on the socio-political context in which it takes place: 1) Peace education in regions of intractable conflicts, 2) Peace education in regions of inter-ethnic tension, 3) Peace education in regions of experienced tranquillity (ibid). Another classification by Harris (2004) differentiates five types of programs, according to forms of violence they address in a particular social context: 1) International education, 2) Human rights education, 3) Development education, 4) Environmental education, and 5) Conflict resolution education. They all have different theoretical assumptions about the problems of violence they address, different peace strategies they recommend and different goals they hope to achieve. But they (hopefully) also have something in common which could be most generally described as: agency for better life of all living beings on this planet. They can also be seen as different levels of peace education, which are interconnected and mutually dependent.

We can conclude that CE and PE share some common elements, especially on the advocacy for human rights protection, developing conflict resolution skills and non-violent communication. Although some CE programs have concrete topic on peace in their curricula, like "violence and peace", they are mostly indirectly affecting this issue, with a content related to diminishing structural violence. CE is a broader category than PE, but none of them is clearly defined, and they show great variability in their expression all over the world. This should not be considered as a shortcoming, since flexibility and fitness to a specific social context are much more needed.

2.2.3. Civic Education Program in Serbian Schools Today

In November 2001, CE and RE were offered as optional subjects to pupils in the first grade of primary school (7-8 year-olds) and first year of secondary school (14-15 year-olds) in the Republic of Serbia. Classes operated outside the normal timetable and the syllabi for CE were developed from existing NGO programs supported by organizations such as The Fund for an Open Society-Serbia, Save the Children UK, Save the Children Norway and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Teachers of CE were selected from existing staff within schools, and received extensive training through two (4-6 day) workshops provided by the MoES (Smith, Fountain, McLean 2002: 7).

In December 2001, MoES requested the collaboration of UNESCO, UNICEF, and the Open Society Institute in carrying out an evaluation of the first year of the CE programme.

Some of the recommendations for the further development of CE in Serbian schools, which aroused from this study, were the following:

- Do not introduce a compulsory choice between CE and RE (to dispel the perception among some stakeholder groups that CE is an alternative to RE).

Unfortunately this was not done, and CE is still perceived in this way among a number of populations. The only thing that changed was the status of both subjects, as now they are mandatory electives, which means that pupils (parents) are obliged to choose one of them and study it till the end of the 4th grade (for 1st grade pupils) and 8th grade (for 5th graders). This kind of "rivalry" between CE and RE is partly due to the fact that decision to introduce RE in schools was made first, after the democratic change of the regime (and this was seen as a "big comeback" of the church into society, which was in some way suppressed under the communistic regime);

- Maintain and extend the quality of the CE curriculum.

Curriculums were developed for each grade (1-8) of primary and secondary (1-4) school together with the teachers' manuals. There are also some textbooks for 1-6 grades of primary school, from different publishers. Their quality will not be discussed in this paper, and I do not have data from the previous studies done on this issue (an evaluation study on the CE outcomes is currently in progress and it is being conducted by the Civic Initiatives, a NGO from Serbia (Civic Initiatives 2009).

- Improve the information about the CE, and outreach to all stakeholder groups.

During those first two years there were more campaigns in schools and media on promoting CE, but now it seems that it is not such a popular topic. Still, in every school at the beginning of the school year there should be a meeting and an open day with pupils and parents, when they can get more information on the elective courses before they make a choice. There was also one campaign in 2008 by the NGO Civic Initiatives, to inform and break some prejudices on the CE. For example, one of them is that the CE is for pupils who live in towns, since the word "civic" in Serbian language derives from the word "town", and their meanings are therefore confused (B92-c). The other word in the name of this subject "education" is in the Serbian language translated as "upbringing", which leaves space for some speculations, as one political leader of the populist-nationalist party New Serbia stated: "It is not so clear to me what is this CE all about, and what does it mean to be civically up brought. Upbringing is, as I see it, done by a family" (Kurir 2008).

- Ensure that participation in CE is possible for all students, particularly those who are members of the minority language groups.

This is still a great problem, especially for small schools in villages because of the lack of qualified teachers. Another problem is related to the situation of "confrontation between CE and RE". It should be mention that program of RE in Serbia implies a teaching of only one religion doctrine- a similar to the lessons they would get in their church commune. All main religion groups-teachings are theoretically offered in schools, but it depends on the school and the local community's capacities to provide a teacher-priest for that religious group, if it is a choice of a small number of pupils. So, RE is not about history of religion, as some would suppose, it is something specific, a religious teaching of one church, which is for many ethnic minorities often considered to be an important part of their identity. That is sometimes the reason why they prefer RE to CE (as in this sample of my study is also the case), and sometimes their choice is conditioned by the church commune, as it is the case in some villages, when they consider these lessons of RE in school as a substitute for those in the church. Practically, in this way children/parents are forced to make a (false) choice between CE and their "ethnic identity", which is not good.

- Maintain and extend the current quality of the teacher training. It was mentioned earlier that all trainings in CE as well as the other seminars were reduced 3 years ago, due to the economic reasons and change in the Government policy. There were no new trainings for the CE teachers in the last three years.

- Put into place effective and systematic mechanisms for assessing the outcomes of the CE. Attendance at CE classes is recorded officially in school diaries and assessment of pupils' participation in CE is included in the official school report. Descriptive grading was accepted as the most suitable way of assessing CE, as the subject deals largely with the development of skills and attitudes that are difficult to assess quantitatively (Smith, Fountain, McLean 2002: 9-11).

The current position of the CE in Serbian society, (how is it valued, what is general attitude toward this subject and possible influence on pupils' behaviour and future participation in the civil society etc.), still lack a sufficient empirical exploration, but, as it was mentioned, some research are in progress. There is only some unofficial public opinion, expressed on different web forums, and media, which show that more pupils prefer CE to RE, because they consider it to be "easier", despite the vague and rather ambiguous picture on this subject in population (B92-c; e-novine 2008). Some (non official) data also show that CE is

preferred in schools in Belgrade, while RE is more popular in the Central Serbia. It is interesting to mention what is the politicians' attitude toward these subjects, or which one did they choose for their children. According to one news interview, leaders (and some of the representatives) of the major right wing nationalist parties chose RE while those from more leftist chose CE, what was, of course expected (Kurir 2008).

2.3. Ethnic Distance

2.3.1. Operational Definition

The notion of ethnic distance, as a level of acceptance of different social relations toward other ethnic groups, derived from the construct of *social distance*. Emory Bogardus, American psychologist, first developed it in 1928, and it was based on the theory of R. Park, American sociologist, who defined social distance as a level of understanding and intimacy, which characterize pre-social and social relations in general (Havelka et al. 1998). It is accepted among scholars today that the social distance is closest to the conative component of an attitude, which doesn't necessarily have to be in consonance with other two: emotional and cognitive (ibid).   Bogardus developed a scale with seven such social relations, in order to measure a level of social distance, which was modified many time since then, and he focused his research mainly on the distance towards Afro-Americans in the USA during the 60's (Mihić and Mihić 2003: 2). One form of this scale is also used in this research.

2.3.2. Ethnic Distance in the Context of Civic Education and Democracy

CE aims at the acquisition of both democratic knowledge and competences, as it was mentioned earlier (Oesterreich 2003: 1), and the later can include some personality factors also, such as the ability to participate, cooperate, to compromise and to be tolerant (ibid: 2). One study on the perceived goals of CE showed that 99 percent of the experts believed that "tolerance and respect for other human beings" is an important or one of the most important learning goals of CE (Oesterreich et al. 1999 in ibid.). From this perspective, being tolerant toward other ethnic groups, (or to formulate this negatively: showing a low ethnic distance), could be an important characteristic of a "good democratic citizen". Relations between ethnicity and citizenship can be also explained with the following. The concept of civil society promotes historic, territorial and legally political community with the equality of all

26

its citizens, sharing common civic culture and values. These citizens also have the rights to nurture their ethnic culture, language, right on information and education etc. This is completely different from the ethnic model of the state, which stresses the community by origin, only the origin-ethnic culture, national genealogy and populist mobilization (Đorđević and Kovačević 2006: 172).

Since in the Eastern-bloc countries and South-Eastern and the Balkans' countries the "era of nation-states" came rather late, in 90s, and where it emphasized the ethnic belonging in a place where multi-ethnicity was inevitable, the question of ethnic distance is still a rather sensitive issue here. To understand why the ethnic identities became so important in the conflicts on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, we should bear in mind that difficult life conditions (which were present in post-communist states) can weaken people's identity and make them ineffective to comprehend the reality in a meaningful way (Staub 2001: 290). If they are not able to change them, psychological and social processes tend to arise that provide destructive satisfaction of people's needs (ibid). Sometimes people are not aware of their needs in a difficult and conflict situation and they are asserting their identity as a response to a problem. Turning to some group for identity is not inherently destructive, but it easily becomes so as the group scapegoats some other group for life problems. This provides an illusion of understanding the reasons for life problems, and also reduces feeling of responsibility and strengthens the identity (ibid.). In the case of the war on the territory of former Yugoslavia we could see, once again, how the raise of national identification often goes hand in hand with the strengthening of ethnic distance toward "others" (Stjepanović-Zaharijevski 2006: 36).

Educational system, with its "liberalizing effect", has been considered to be the most important socializing agent by which to transmit liberal values aimed at reducing ethnic intolerance and ethnic prejudice, and many studies have proven this (Selznick and Steinberg 1969 in Hello et al. 2004: 253). However, this positive educational effect on decreasing the ethnic distance is not universal, and it is crucial what kind of values particular educational system promotes in one society. It was shown that in long-standing democracies and in religiously heterogeneous countries, the effect of education on ethnic prejudice was stronger than in countries with a short democratic tradition or in religiously homogeneous countries (Hello et al., 2002 in Hello et al., 2004: 254).

On the other hand, this correlation between the knowledge and the attitudes is not so clear and is hard to find, which was shown in a Norwegian study, done by Anders Todal Jenssen and Heidi Engesback (Brock-Utne 2000: 134, 135). Their results suggest that

education in itself does not seem to break down stereotypic beliefs about immigrants or make youngsters less racist. The explanation for the less racist attitudes of highly educated people lies in the facts that their social status and better jobs protect them from direct competition with immigrants; that they have greater abilities to master potentially conflict situations, also feel more "expected" to demonstrate tolerance; and their knowledge and verbal aptitude make it easier for them to disguise hostility (ibid.).

It can be said that our relations towards other ethnic groups include knowledge, attitudes and behavior, which sometimes are not so well connected or consistent. Maybe education is not strong enough to break prejudices, but at least it can control their expression and shape the behavior into constructive and more tolerant model. Considering this, it is beneficial to have a specific program in the educational system to transmit tolerant values and conflict resolution skills, such as the CE, especially in a country like Serbia. Of course, school is not omnipotent, and it takes decades and a full support of a society and other governmental institutions to produce sustained results among new generations.

2.3.3. Ethnic Distance among the Serbian Population

There are several studies on ethnic distance in Serbia and in other neighboring countries as well (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia), and I will just briefly mention some findings from the recent studies here. According to the Report of Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, strong ethnic distance is an important feature of Serbian society (OSCE 2003 in Stjepanović-Zaharijevski 2006: 36). Public opinion research of the Federal Ministry of National Minorities showed that the distance toward ethnic minorities is extreme in 3.3% of the population, pronounced in 28%, and moderate in 54.8%, while only 10.3% subjects do not report any distance towards others. Over 70% of the surveyed population in central Serbia, Belgrade and Vojvodina believe one should be cautious when dealing with Albanians. In South Serbia even 96% Albanians and 95% Serbs would not allow their child to marry a member of the other ethnic community (ibid).

When it comes to the ethnic distance among children, there are not so many studies on this subject. Some studies show that even very young children, in primary and even preschool, have a tendency to perceive certain ethnic groups as close and others as distant and to reject them. People, adults and children specially, have a tendency to adjust their attitudes towards certain groups in accordance to the general attitudes in one society towards those groups (Rutland 2002; Arsenović-Pavlović et al. 2002 in Mihić and Mihić 2003: 3). The influence of

family, parents and school is crucial for the attitudes formation among children, but there are also some other factors that can make some ethnic distance expressed even stronger among children than among their parents, as it was found in the study of Mihić and Mihić 2003. One explanation for this is that children's cognitive development is still not finished at this level, and that their approach to the world is more emotional, their expressions are stronger and more unrestrained, but their attitudes toward other ethnic groups are still not real prejudices, as they are not really built up in their cognitive system (Tajfel 1986 in Mihić and Mihić 2003: 177,178).

2.4. Authoritarianism

2.4.1. Operational Definition

The concept of authoritarianism was introduced by Erich Fromm in 1930s with his hypothesis on the "fear of freedom", describing it as one of the psychological mechanisms (the other two are destructiveness and conformism) that a person uses to escape the isolation and lonelines produced by the modern life and emancipation from the restrictions placed on humanity by other people or institutions (Petrović 2001: 19, 20). The concept was later developed by Theodor Adorno and associates in 1950s (Adorno et al. 1950). It refers to the combination of attitudes and behavior such as submissiveness, aggressiveness, rigidity and conservatism (ibid.). Altemeyer (1996: 6) is talking about the "right wing authoritarianism" as a combination of three attitudinal clusters: authoritarian submission (a high degree of submission to the authorities who are perceived to be established and legitimate in the society in which one lives), authoritarian aggression (a general aggressiveness, directed against various persons, that are perceived to be sanctioned by established authorities), and conventionalism (a high degree of adherence to the social conventions that are perceived to be endorsed by society and its established authorities). In contrast to Berklian theory (Adorno and assosiates), explanation of origins of authoritarianism and connection of cited attitudinal clusters, Altemeyer has not found in psychodinamic theory but in Bandura's theory of social learning. His approach belongs to american empiristic and positivistic tradition and concerns with personal disposition which is responsible for inclination for acceptance of fascist ideology (Petrović 2001: 8).

2.4.2. Authoritarianism in the Context of Civic Education and Democracy

Democratic competencies can be referred to as basic personality characteristics closely associated with individual autonomy, and in this respect it can be substituted negatively by the concept of authoritarianism. Unfortunately, this approach of relating authoritarian personality to antidemocratic behavior (accepted by Adorno and Altemeyer) was only partly successful as it experienced many methodological problems in measuring authoritarianism (Oesterreich 2003: 2). This empirical failure did not discourage further research (as they moved from the previous psychoanalytic approach), nor it disqualified the starting supposition. One study on CE in Germany, measuring democratic knowledge and competences (based on the authoritarian personality characteristics) showed that political knowledge in contrast to democratic competence hardly contributes anything to the aims of socially committed participation- in school as well as in society (ibid: 10). It also showed that political knowledge neither contributes to supporting equal rights and an unprejudiced contact with immigrants, while democratic competences (in the form of autonomous/non-authoritarian personality) are of great importance for this form of political behavior and attitudes (ibid.).

There are many examples in history which show that in the time of political and economic change, people seek security in black and white valuations, group identity and strong leader, looking at the same time for a socially acceptable object of transferred aggression and accumulated frustrations (Vujadinović 2006: 187). This argument is based on the frustration- aggression hypothesis proposed by Dollard (1939, in Dollard et al. 1998: 1) to explain that aggression is always caused by some form of frustration. It is argued that people are motivated to reach goals, but if these goals are blocked then frustration occurs. In this hypothesis frustration always leads to aggression. A Social learning model of authoritarian personality development (Altemeyer 1996:78) emphasizes the role of education in creating autonomous and "thinking" individuals, opposite to the inconsistency and blindness of the authoritarian mind. These individuals will be able to resist the manipulation, even in the time of a great social threat and crisis, such as high inflation, strikes, terrorist bombing etc., and avoid that frustration-aggression path. We can propose that CE relies on this model, as it advocates for educating autonomous and participatory citizens, who are able to recognize their needs, satisfy them in a socially constructive way, and compromise on possible frustrations.

2.4.3. Authoritarianism among the Serbian Population

Serbia has a long history of authoritarian leadership and regimes, which was partly presented in the Introduction of this paper. These facts raise some questions about the authoritarian personality traits among Serbian population, how prevalent they are, and if they could be in some way related to the political behavior of people and the whole socio-political situation in this region. In one study from 1973 on the authoritarianism among secondary school pupils in Yugoslavia, findings showed that some scores were among the highest in the world (Biro 2006a: 106). Such results were justified with the fact that the instrument used was not suitable for our population (it was the Adorno's F-scale), as it was more tapping traditionalism than a genuine authoritarianism. Explanation for the high authoritarianism/traditionalism among the population on the Balkans is found in the patriarchal upbringing and the military-tribal tradition in this region, and we should also not disregard the contribution of the communism-socialism to this too (ibid: 108).

One recent research which examines whether the socio-political changes in Serbia changed the level of authoritarianism and ethnocentrism of its citizens, showed that the average scores of authoritarianism and ethnic distance in 2001(during the first year of democracy rule, after the failure of Milosević's regime) were significantly lower than the scores obtained on these scales in 2000, but they were still very high, comparing to those from the pre-war years (Biro et al. 2002:43). We have to admit that a number of generations grew up in this region in a rather authoritarian atmosphere (both in a family, as an elementary unit of a society, and in the state, as a political organization of a society), which makes it difficult to expect them to change, practically "over the night", and redirect to the dialogical, or so called democratic way of thinking, believing and acting. It is a long and difficult road from the rule of leaders to the rule of law (Šušnjić 1997).

Another study on attitudes to democratic, legal state, done by the same author in 1997 (Biro et al. 2002: 45), showed that authoritarian subjects zealously accepted democratic attitudes if they were convinced that they were regulated by valid laws. This supports the finding of Altemeyer (1996), on how democracy doesn't exclude authoritarianism. The question remains: Are these changes actually changes in a value orientation, or only a change in a perception of social desirability of a particular value system? Thinking about the CE in this context, the conclusion could be that if we expect it to build up non-authoritarian personalities, it should go beyond promoting only democratic knowledge and values, as that is

not sufficient to make a nation resistant to manipulation from authorities. Democratic competences are much more valued, as was mentioned before (Oesterreich 2003)

2.5. A Scheme of the Hypothesized Relations of the Constructs

```
                    ┌──────────────────┐
                    │   SUSTAINABLE    │
                    │      PEACE       │
                    └──────────────────┘

┌──────────────────┐                      ┌──────────────────┐
│   DEMOCRATIC     │                      │  CIVIL SOCIETY   │
│   STRUCTURE      │                      │                  │
│      AND         │                      │                  │
│    CULTURE       │                      │                  │
└──────────────────┘                      └──────────────────┘

               ╭──────────────────────╮
               │   CIVIC EDUCATION    │
               ╰──────────────────────╯

┌──────────────────┐                      ┌──────────────────┐
│ Lower            │                      │ Lower            │
│ ETHNIC DISTANCE  │                      │ AUTHORITARIANISM │
└──────────────────┘                      └──────────────────┘
```
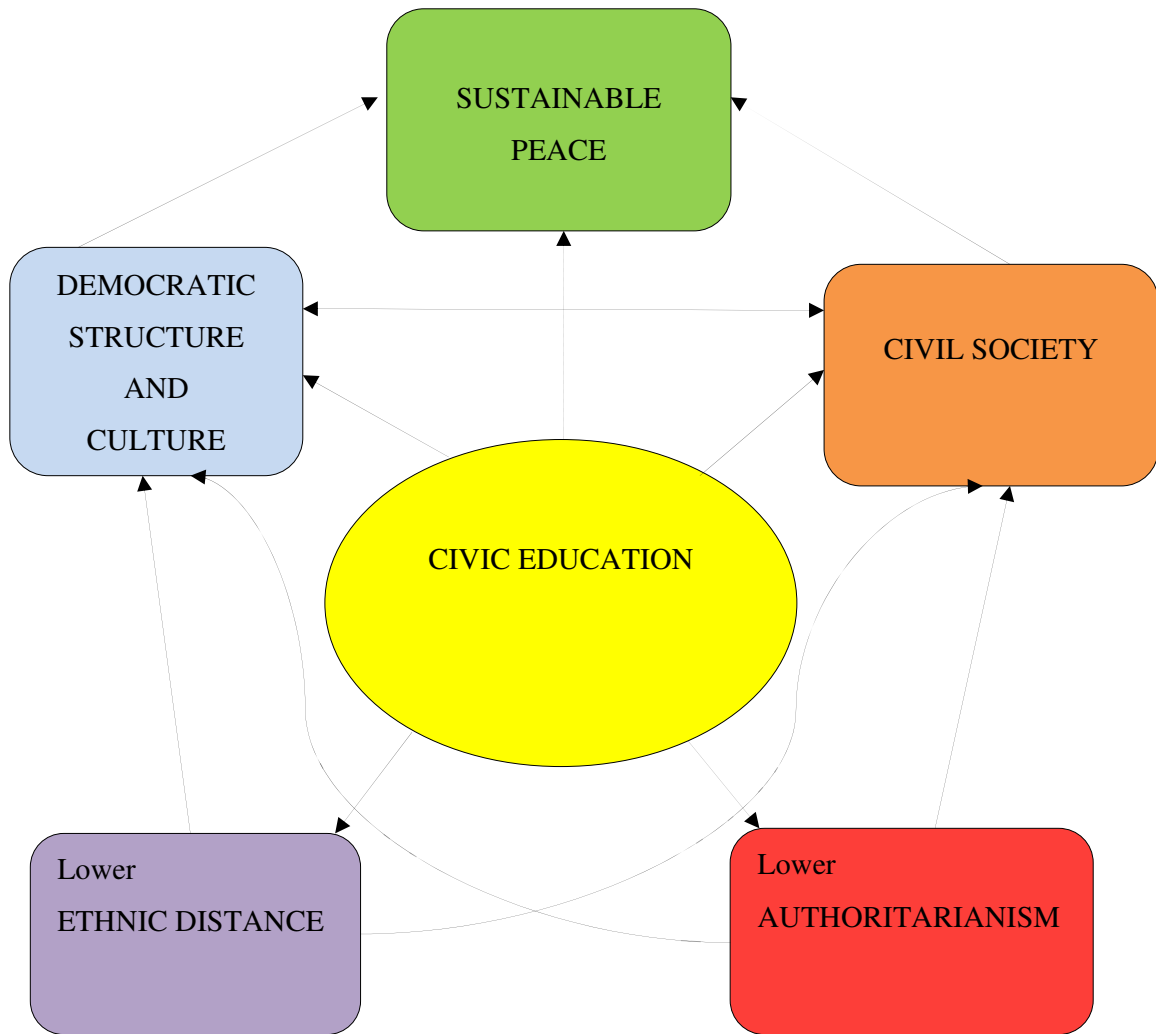
3. Methodological Framework

3.1. Stages in the Planning of Research (Based on Cohen et al. 2003:170)

3.1.1. Defining Objectives and Research Questions

The main objective of this study is to determine the key elements (aim, objectives and content) of the program Civic Education in Serbia, and to explore its contribution for the developing democracy and civil society in this country. Another important objective is to compare the stated objectives in the curriculum with the pupils' and teachers' perspective (attitudes and opinions) on this program, to see how compatible they are, if there is a consistency between the "formal" and "perceived/experienced" level of the program (Goodlad et al. 1979: 61, 63). Third objective is to explore some of the possible effects of this program on pupils' attitudes and behavioral dispositions (ethnic distance and authoritarianism/traditionalism), which could be essential for civic engagement in a democratic society.

I have chosen (partly deliberately and partly because I did not have access to the program curricula before I started my fieldwork) not to test pupils' and teachers' knowledge on this subject, nor their familiarity with democratic principles. I did this because of two reasons: one is that I did not want to be instructional with my questionnaires, and thus I left to respondents to formulate their own "picture" of this program of CE; the other was that I considered competencies more valued than knowledge, which rely on my theory assumptions on CE.

Considering the stated objectives of my study, I have formulated the following four research questions:

1.   What are the objectives of the CE in Serbia? (Identifying how objectives, content, methods and assessment procedures are defined in curriculums);

2.   What are teachers' and pupils' perspectives on the program? How do they perceive program goals, and what is their experience on it? How satisfied are they with the program? How do their views correspond to the stated goals in the curriculum? (Comparison of "formal" and "perceived/experiential" curricula, Goodlad et al. 1979: 61, 63);

3.   Could learning of the CE in schools have any impact on pupils' competences? (Attitudes and behavioral dispositions: ethnic distance and authoritarianism/traditionalism);

4.   How are these objectives of the CE (formal and perceived) and pupils' competences related to the creation of democratic and civil society in Serbia?

I have also formulated the following hypothesis, based on the previous questions: The stated objectives of the CE program in Serbia, formulated in the curriculum, can be related to the democratization process and development of civil society, and they correspond to the pupils' and teachers' perspectives on the program. It is also possible to evaluate their accomplishment, by assessing pupils' attitudes and behaviour, which are hypothesised to be relevant democratic competences. I assume that the outcomes of the program have impact on pupils' attitudes and personal characteristics, and that they can contribute to the lower ethnic distance and authoritarianism. This can be verified through the comparison of 2 groups of the pupils, those who have CE and those who have RE.

3.1.2. Choosing Research Methods

My approach in this research corresponds both to positivist and interpretive paradigms, as I am striving for objectivity, measurability, predictability, patterning and ascription of causality, as well as understanding and interpretation of the subject in terms of its actors-pupils and teachers (Cohen et al. 2003:28). Observed phenomena, interpretations and meanings attributed are equally valued in this study. The four questions in my research, which I mentioned earlier, were determining my choice of methods. They included:

- Examining of the curriculums

I have studied the CE curriculum for all 8 grades of primary and 4 grades of secondary school, its structure, content and objectives. Since this makes a vast material in my results I will have to present them in the form of a short summary, where I will classify them in three categories: curriculum for 1st - 4th grades of primary school, curriculum for 5th - 8th grades of primary school and curriculum for 1st - 4th grades of secondary school. I will identify four main dimensions in each: aims and objectives, content-subject matter, methods-procedures and evaluation-assessment (Based on Scott and Lawson 2002).

- Self reported questionnaires (for pupils and teachers)

They were constructed for this survey and partly based on the instruments used in the previous research (Smith, Fountain, and McLean 2002). I used them for the exploration of teachers' and pupils' attitudes towards CE, including cognitive, emotional and conative components in the questions-answers. I will write more about the instruments I have used in my study in the following section of this chapter.

• Assessment of the pupils' attitudes using the Bogardus' scale of ethnic distance and the Scale of authoritarianism.

These instruments are taken from some other studies: the modified "Bogardus' scale of ethnic distance" (Mihić and Mihić 2003), and the Scale of authoritarianism (based on the Adorno's F-scale 1954 and developed by Todosijević 1998). The Scale of authoritarianism was used only on the secondary school pupils as it is constructed for that population, not younger. I will also explain it more in the Instruments section.

3.1.3. Deciding the Sample

Survey area: This study has been conducted in primary and secondary schools in 2 different towns and 1 village (Novi Sad, Zrenjanin and Belo Blato), situated in the Northern province of Serbia, called Vojvodina (Appendix 1.). This region is, due to its geographic position and historical heritage, characterized by greater diversity of ethnic groups than the rest of Serbia. But we should also mention that this has been somewhat changed in the last 15 years, as during the Milosević's regime the autonomous status for both Vojvodina and Kosovo was revoked, and multiculturalism and internationalism were subordinated to the Serbian nationalism. Members of many national minorities were either forced to or chose to leave this region, while the Serbian refugees from Bosnia and Croatia arrived in large numbers. This certainly helped to create an environment which is conducive to the rise of cultural intolerance and multiethnic tensions, however compared to the other parts of Serbia and the former Yugoslavia, the incidence of physical violence and the overt types of ethnic hatred have been relatively low (Milojević and Markov 2008:190).

Subjects-participants: I have managed to gather data from 251 pupils and 15 teachers. The detail structure of my sample is given in the Appendix 2. I have chosen 7th grade primary school pupils to be my main participants in the study, since that is the first generation which started learning the CE, and I would expect them to be the most influenced by the program. Respectively 3rd grade secondary school pupils were chosen. I could not access the pupils in 4th grade, because by the time I arrived they were finished with the classes. However, I have also included some of them in my sample, as they were questioned and tested by the one of my colleagues in one secondary school, before I came to Serbia. My sample presents only about 0.1% of the whole population, as there are approx. 250 000 pupils in Serbia (The Statistic Institute, Republic of Serbia 2008), which makes it rather small and limits the generalizability of this study. Also my sampling strategy was more convenience than random,

as I had to choose the schools where I had access, mostly those where I had previous contacts with the authorities and colleagues.

3.1.4. Instrumentations

Questionnaires

Self reported questionnaire for pupils (Appendix 3.) is constructed for this survey and it is intended to capture both qualitative and quantitative data. It is focused on the pupils' underlying attitudes towards CE, with an intention to explore: how pupils perceive the purpose and the goals of this subject; what they generally like/dislike about it and how is it connected with their "real life" (this is all tapped with the open-ended questions). Even though questions are short and simple, there is always an issue of respondents' ability to understand them, to articulate their impressions and to express their opinion. Quantitative data are obtained on some general social-demographic questions (sex, age, education level etc.) and questions related to pupils' satisfaction and activity on classes (this is measured with a 5 point Likert type of a scale).

Self reported questionnaire for teachers (Appendix 4.) is also constructed for the purposes of this study. Questions are similar to those on the questionnaire for pupils, and they are also intended to gather both quantitative and qualitative data. Open-ended questions here are more focused on the very programme, and teachers' perspectives on its content, comprehensiveness and overall goals. Teachers were also asked to estimate their own satisfaction by the classes as well as the pupils' activity on them (this was also measured with the Likert 5 point scale).

The Bogardus' scale of ethnic distance (Appendix 5.)

The scale used here is a modified scale from one previous research (Mihić and Mihić 2003) conducted in Serbian primary schools. It is an attitudinal scale consisting of 7 items, which represent different levels of intimacy related to different social situations (first presents the lowest level and the last the highest level of intimacy) that are associated with 11 ethnic groups. For each item a pupil has to put an X in the square under the ethnic group(s) for which he/she would not accept this kind of relation, if so. Putting an X for the first item would represent the highest level of social distance, since that is the situation of the lowest intimacy ("Living in your country"), and the intimacy increases with items, while distance decreases, which means if a person put X only on the last item, "To be my boyfriend/girlfriend" he/she

shows lower ethnic distance than the person who puts X on the previous items. I will explain later how I administered scores on this scale and what kind of problems I've faced here. It is also important to mention that there are usually fewer ethnic groups in this scale (in the referencing study there were only 5 dominant ethnic groups: Serb, Hungarian, Croat, Roma, Albanian), but here I also wanted to examine what is the general ethnic distance of the pupils in Serbian schools on the international level, toward those groups which do not live in their country. I considered this important because it gives us some perspective on the general international policy of Serbian state and its implications on the Serbian youth population. I also wanted to test some of my personal hypothesis about the xenophobia towards "The West" among Serbian population.

The Scale of Authoritarianism (Appendix 6.)

This is an attitudinal 5-point Likert scale, with 22 items. For each item pupil has to estimate what is his/her level of acceptance/agreement, and to put a thick in the appropriate box. This scale is based on the AUT Scale used in one previous study from 1992 on the high-school pupils' population in Vojvodina and it is designed on the basis of Adorno's F scale (Todosijević 1998). I needed an instrument that was already used on the population of Serbian pupils, and therefore I did not want to use some from the foreign academics, which are not translated nor standardized for the Serbian population. Since I was not in Serbia at the time when I was looking for an appropriate instrument, I have contacted some colleagues by e-mail, and this was the only published instrument that I could find (there are also some other studies published on the topic of authoritarianism, but they don't include the instrument section with all the items). Items on the scale generally express request for obedience, discipline, and respect for family and political leaders. They are also tapping something that can be explained as "traditionalism", as I mention in the Theory chapter, so I decided not to interpret the scores obtained on this scale as a genuine authoritarianism, but rather to analyze single items answers.

3.2. Procedures

As soon as I was up with my Project design I have contacted the Serbian Ministry of Education to ask for the permission to conduct my study in Serbian schools, which I obtained in the end of April 2008 (Appendix 7.) Then, I have started contacting schools, by e-mail, sending them official letters of invitation-application to participate in my study (Appendix 8.) together with all the instruments I was to use. I have sent these applications to some 25 schools in 6 different towns, which I have chosen randomly from the contact list I could found on an unofficial web-site (there is still no official data base with e-mail contacts for all schools in Serbia). Unfortunately I did not get any reply from most of the schools (later I've sent some more applications to different schools, but with the same outcome). Therefore, I had to modify and limit my sample only to those schools that were willing to give me access to gather all the necessary data (mostly in my hometown, Zrenjanin).

Data collection was conducted in the period May-June 2008. The schools that I have visited (4 primary and 2 secondary) had obtained the parents' consent prior to my arrival and testing, and it was done by their administration, as they also needed it for their official affair. The administration of the questionnaires and testing of pupils was done in one class (approx. 20 pupils per class) per time, usually at the time when they were supposed to have the class with the class-leader, with the presence of their class-leader teacher, and it took 45 minutes. It usually took me one day per school, to do both the questioning of pupils and teachers, with an exception of one secondary school, which I've visited twice in order to collect all the data. The questioning procedure was the following: first I was shortly presented to the pupils and I gave them some information on my project, then I gave them oral instructions how to fill in the questionnaires and also read them the written instruction when I delivered them the questionnaire sheets. They were free to ask me what ever they did not understand in the questions. My impression was that the pupils were encouraged to share their experiences on this subject, and that they were pleased to be in a position of "being asked", believing that their opinion counts and that they can "make a difference" and influence on this subject.

The questionnaires for teachers (15 of them in my sample) were administered by the school psychologist/pedagogue prior to my arrival and I had interviews with only 5 of them (unfortunately because of the limitations of this paper I will not present them fully, I will only use some key points).

3.3. Choosing a Data Processing and Analysis Methods

Quantitative data collected with the questionnaires and attitudinal scales (Bogardus' and Authoritarianism) were analyzed with the computer program SPSS 15.0 (Statistical Package for the Social Science), performing frequency, correlation and t-test analysis on the chosen variables (satisfaction by classes, pupils activity, ED scores, AUT scores). ED (ethnic distance) score was calculated for each ethnic group and summed up (one X is 1 point) for every participant. So, theoretically the minimum score is 0 and the maximum is 77.The statements in the scale are graduated and the first one presents the highest ethnic distance, as I've already explained in the Instruments section. Logically, it is expected that if someone put an X on the first statement he will also put X-s on the rest of statements for that ethnic group. Unfortunately my data showed to be illogical to some point. A significant amount of pupils seemed not to have understood these questions, and they used to put an X at the first statement but not on the following. I have decided (consulting my supervisor) to make corrections on these results, and for each "illogical answer" (where they didn't put X on a lower ED statement but did on the higher) I marked as they did. This increased the mean ED score for both groups of pupils but didn't affect the result on statistical testing of differences between groups. AD (authoritarianism scale) score was obtained for each pupil by summing up his answers on each item on the scale (theoretically min=22, max=110).

The hypothesis that two groups of the pupils (the one who had CE and the one who had RE) will differ in the average scores obtained on the ED scale was tested with a non-parametric test, Mann-Whitney test. It is used to compare means of two groups on some variable when data collected do not meet the distribution assumptions of normality, as it was the case with my data, or data obtained are not measured on the interval/ratio level (Cohen 1996). Although a Likert scale, as the one used in the AUT scale, is not measuring variable on the interval level, the scores obtained on it were treated as they are interval, and so they were compared, in terms of means, for two groups of pupils with a parametric t-test (which is usually used for this scale, also in the previous studies even data obtained on ED were treated with parametric test: Mihić and Mihić 2003; Todosijević 1998). Data obtained in this study, on AUT scale meet the general criteria for the use of t-test: the population from which the sample is drawn is normally distributed; there is homogeneity in variances and no extreme scores (Dancey and Reidy 2002).

Qualitative data obtained on open-ended questions on pupils and teachers questionnaires were classified in the way that first I have generated a frequency tally of the range of responses, and than clustered similar answers together in one group (Cohen et al. 2003). My criteria for the classification of answers were maybe rather arbitrary here, but I believe systematical enough. This kind of data reduction certainly has its limitation, as some information is lost, but it also prevents redundancy in my results. I also have to say that I left many answers as "singles", and I will try to give a qualitative analysis for as many of them as I can, or as my space and time limitation of this study allow.

3.4. Validity, Reliability and Ethical Considerations in My Research

Internal *validity* in my study, aimed to demonstrate that the explanation of my research issue can actually be sustained with data, is addressed with the use of multiple survey methods, low-inference descriptors and authenticity of data, reporting a situation through the eyes of the participants (Le Compte and Preissle 1993 in Cohen et al. 2002:108). External validity is threatened by the limited generalizability of this study, due to the selection effects. Yet, there is a possibility for comparison with other studies, and transferability of the design used to some future research on a wider population. Content validity is reflected, among others, in the instruments used, and here I tried to ensure its representativeness by the careful sampling of items in the questionnaires. They pretend to fairly and comprehensively cover all the relevant issues on the programme of Civic education in Serbian schools, and the predominant use of open-ended questions here has both its good and bad sides that affect the validity. I have obtained a significant number of "No", "I don't know" or "with out an answer" answers on certain questions, which can be an indication of pupils' indifference towards this subject, not understanding of the question, limited ability of literary expression, or just "respondents' laziness". When it comes to content validity of the tests used, ED scale and AUT scale, I have to mention that their validity can be questioned, in the means of pupils' understanding of the ED scale (the problem I've experienced in the answer coding, which I've already mentioned), and in terms of "what does the AUT scale really measure?" (Therefore, the single-item qualitative analysis in the results could be more preferable). There is also a potential for catalytic validity, with an agenda intended to help participants to understand their worlds in order to transform them, striving to ensure that a research leads to an action (McLaven 1994 in Cohen et al. 2003: 111).

Reliability in quantitative research is defined as consistency and replicability over time, over instruments and over groups of respondents; it is concerned with precision and accuracy. In qualitative research it is addressed by the stability and parallel forms of observations, context and situation specificity, authenticity and meaningfulness to the respondents (Cohen et al. 2003: 117-119). In this study it is acquired by the organization of the structured and semi-controlled questioning-test situation, and reflected in the similar results among sub-groups of the sample. It can be also verified through the carefully planned process of data collection, with the steps clearly stated and methods explained which gives the possibility for replicability of this study on a wider sample. Reliability as internal consistency can also be quantified in some tests used. The reliability of the AUT scale measured with Cronbach's alpha was 0.80, which is moderate high (in the previous research by Todosijević 1998 on a bigger sample, it was around 0.86).

The *ethical* code, which I have accepted in my research, was the following: I presented myself fully, with my identity and background in all the stages of the study and data collecting (contacting authorities, schools, teachers and pupils); the purpose and procedures of my study were fully explained to the subjects at the outset; the research and its ethical consequences have been analyzed both from the subjects' and institutions' point of view; I tried to ascertain whether the research benefits the subjects in any way; it was ensured that the research does not harm the subjects in any way; possible controversial findings were anticipated and handled with great sensitivity; I tried to keep my objectivity as high as possible, considering my background; informed consent was sought from all participant, for children they were also obtained in writing; subject had the option to refuse to take part in the research and to terminate their involvement at any time; non-formal arrangements were made to provide feedback (written resume of findings) for those requesting it; the dignity, privacy and interests of the participants were respected, also non-traceability afterwards was guaranteed; no kind of deceit was used it this research; all the ethical dilemmas arisen (such as whether I should mention the name of schools in my sample) I have discussed with my supervisor (Adapted from Reynolds 1979 in Cohen et al. 2003: 71).

3.5. Discussing the Limitations of My Research

There are several limitations in the study over which I didn't have control, such as the narrow segment of the total population and timing and accessibility constraint. There are also limitations on which I have had control, such as the method limitations, whether my methods/data fit the stated objectives-question. Instead of focusing on just one segment of this issue, for example curriculums, and exploring it in more depth, analyzing it from different theoretical perspectives, I have chosen to search through several levels of this educational program, in order to gain more complete and broader perspective on its implementation.

An objection to this study can be for not asking teachers and pupils to what extent they estimate these perceived goals of the CE to be achieved, or how they see them to be related to the civil society and democratization at all. I can justify my choice with the argument that I did not prefer to use this subjective (perceived/experienced) method as a mean for evaluation, neither was this study completely evaluative in nature. Not mentioning and not testing the knowledge on the concepts of democracy, civil society etc. in my questions was due to avoidance of any implications and suggestibility regarding the conception of CE among teachers and pupils. Another reason was also my cautiousness on involving any political issues into schools; therefore I made my study mostly explorative and free of preconceptions.

I was also in a doubt which method and what instrument I could use to check the influence of this program on the pupils' behavior. Concepts of ethnic distance and authoritarianism seemed to be a good choice (as they were related to CE in some previous studies, Oesterreich 2003), and the curriculum contains topics on this issues. It was a lucky occurrence that I had a control group (RE pupils), unfortunately this is not a guarantee that the differences I have found can lead to certain correlation or causation. It can be also questioned whether this kind of attitudinal exploration and testing can "reveal the truth" about the pupils values and behavior in the real life situations.

One more important objection to this study is that it does not include parents' attitudes on this issue, neither have I tested what the level of ethnic distance and authoritarianism they tend to express. Family influence, as a primary socialization factor, is crucial, but it is also combined with the school, peer and other social factors. It was not accessed here because of the limitations in time and the general limited scope of this study; however its possible effects were considered in the analysis of the findings.

4. Results

4.1. Presentation of the CE Curriculum[1]

4.1.1. Primary School Curriculum

1st - 4th Grades Curriculum ("Civic education-Knowledge of Oneself and Others")

- Aims and Objectives

The general goal of the CE for the 1st - 4th grades of primary school, defined in the MoES Regulation is: "To promote the development of personality and the social awareness of primary school pupils. The program should provide children with opportunities to become active participants in the education process, to build knowledge, acquire skills, capabilities and values necessary for the development of autonomous, competent, responsible and creative personality open to agreement and co-operation, respecting the self and others."

Objectives: Facilitation of the process of adaptation to the school environment and encouragement of the social integration; Stimulation of the development of self-awareness, awareness about one's needs and feelings, personal identity, self-respect and self-confidence; Broadening the knowledge and skills for individual problems resolution, learning of techniques for overcoming of unpleasant emotional states, learning of self-asserting skills with the respect for others and absence of aggression; Encouragement of social cognition, understanding and accepting of individual differences; Developing awareness of the need for the respect for differences and individuality, perceiving and overcoming of stereotypes related to gender, age, appearance, behavior and origin; Encouragement of group-work, understanding and cooperation; Development of communication skills and constructive conflict resolution, both with friends and adults; Development of both verbal and non-verbal communication skills and nonviolent communication; Development of creative expression; Becoming familiar with the Children's rights; Encouraging and qualifying for the active participation in the school activities, based on the inner positive motivation, and not on obedience or fear; qualifying pupils for being able to get to know their surrounding, social

---

[1] Because of the limitations of this paper, I will present just the short listing of the curriculum elements, while their comparison with pupils' and teachers' perspectives on CE goals, and relation to the democratization will be discussed in the next chapter. It is based on the secondary resources, the official school plane and program from one primary and one secondary school in Zrenjanin, which is based on the curriculum prescribed by the Serbian Ministry of Education, and published in an official bulletin of the MoES Regulations "Službeni Glasnik", numerous issues from 2000-2009 (as there has been some changes in the program curricula during the years).

environment and their place in it, and how they can actively participate in school life and creation of a "Child-friendly school"; Qualification for understanding of the necessity of rules in a society and to be able to contribute to its implementation and changing according to their needs; Active participation in implementation of Children's rights; Development and cherishing of basic human values; Development of ecological consciences; Development of moral judging; Understanding of notions on human rights and freedoms, democracy, peace and development and relationship between them; understanding the concepts of identity, social responsibility, cultural differences, equality; Developing abilities and skills necessary for adequate use of notions in communication, critical thinking, clear and articulate expression of attitudes, independency in decision and conclusion making, responsibility in judging and interpretation, empathic communication, researching, team work, non violent conflict resolution, management, participation in decision making in community.

- • Content-Subject matter[2]
- • Methods-Procedures[3]

The methodological approach in this subject is based on interactive workshops, with the focus on symbolic expression and sharing in the circle, which enables pupils to become aware of their inner experiences. The main principles in these classes are: experiential learning, which means shaping and processing of pupils personal, authentic experiences and their sharing in the group, and not transferring of "ready-knowledge" and others insights. A teacher has to point out that there are no right or wrong answers, and that the accent is on the process of discovering and learning about yourself and others through sharing; The playing-context, which enables pupils to relax and feel free to try new ways of self-expression, and to discover through play a new divergent solution to problems they are facing. The important characteristic of the learning environment is that it should be in the zone of so-called "next developmental level", where certain mental functions are still in the process of origination (basic methods here are interaction and exploration). The role of teacher is to be an organizer of pupil's interaction which will enable stimulation for the social cognition, self-awareness, moral and critical thinking. The aim is to offer a possibility for every child to restructure his own thinking and action on the basis of conflict, created between his and others' point of view. Methods of participation, interaction and reflection are crucial here and they can be

---

[2] The content and topics stated in the curriculum correspond to the objectives listed above, as they are more or less the same formulations. Because of the limitation of this paper they will not be presented here.

[3] The following methods and procedures are valid for the realization of the CE program throughout all grades of primary and secondary schooling. This is just a short summary adapted to fit the limitation of my study.

combined with exploration, discussion, dialogue, interview, simulation, dramatization/role playing and other methods and techniques.

There are also some basic preconditions to be fulfilled for these classes in order to enable the high-quality of development encouraging sharing: a clear articulation of the activities' goals and the agreement on common rules for the participants of workshops, especially upon listening to each other; the seating arrangement: in the circle so the pupils can see each other and hear each other well; the conception of the activities sequences should be dynamic enough in order to keep the interest and cognitive motivation of the pupils (the combination of different forms of expressive activities and playing and sharing activities); the optimal number of pupils in the group should be 10-15, it can be bigger, though not larger than 20, not to decrease the attention and sharing motivation; classes should follow the teacher's manual with the recommended workshops scenarios.

- Evaluation-Assessment

Assessment of pupils is descriptive, i.e. not graded. The criteria for evaluation are: attendance, interest and active participation in classes, but should also include the assessment of achievement, in terms of knowledge and skills, and the recommendation for further achievement. In the end of school term a final grade given to pupil can be "successful" or "very successful". The purpose of this kind of evaluation is not to compare pupils; the role of teacher is to help pupils to gain a positive self-perception, self-confidence, and to feel that through the process of sharing and interaction with others they can enrich their personality and knowledge.

5th – 8th Grades Curriculum

- Aims and Objectives

General aim: raising the competence of pupils for active participation in the school life and life in the local community, broadening the knowledge on democracy, its principles and values through practical action.

Objectives: developing pupils' skills which will enable them to actively participate in the school life; learning about school rules and procedures; understanding the process of school management; learning about rights and responsibilities of all school actors; developing communication skills necessary for cooperative behavior and argumentation in expression of perspectives and opinions; training for group work; developing abilities for critical thinking and responsible decision making and acting; developing competences for the active

participation in the life of local community; understanding how the authority levels and organs function; becoming familiar with the authority activities and jurisdiction; learning about rights and responsibilities of citizens on the community level; understanding the position and the role of a child as a citizen in society; understanding the relation between the citizens rights, individual and common good; knowing the possible ways for developing civil responsibility; understanding the notion and importance of volunteering projects; encouraging pupils to become involved in different initiatives and actions; understanding the importance of initiatives for social change; understanding the necessity of authority; becoming familiar with the institution of Pupils' Council; understanding the concept of universality of Children's Rights, reasons and conditions of different levels of Children's Rights accomplishment; promoting critical approach towards Children's Rights violation; becoming familiar with institutions and organizations (international and in Serbia) which take care of Children's Rights; understanding the role of media in a society and its contribution for the creation of child's image in a society; development of skills necessary for critical analysis of information gained through media.

- Content-Subject Matter

Getting to know the basic principles of the program; Analysis of school (community) life conditions; Choosing the problem to work on it; Collecting the data on the chosen problem; Activism and participation-the action plan; Public presentation of the action plan; Learning reflections-evaluation; Citizen and politics in past-present; Responsible and active citizen; Child as a citizen; Family, school, local community, state- communities we live in; Rights, Responsibilities; Volunteerism movement; Practicing volunteer action; State and Authority; Pupils Council and initiative; Children in nowadays society; Media in nowadays society.

4.1.2. Secondary School Curriculum

1st – 4th Grades Curriculum

- Aims and Objectives

General aim: Pupils in secondary school should build knowledge, acquire capabilities, skills and values which are precondition for a holistic personal development and competent, responsible and participatory life in modern civil society, in the spirit of respect for human rights and freedoms, peace, tolerance, gender equality, understanding and friendship among nations, ethnic, national and religious groups.

Objectives: Development of: pupils' self-respect, personal and group identity; capabilities for understanding, respect and tolerance of interpersonal differences; communication skills necessary for cooperative behavior and constructive problem resolution (argumentative debating, active listening and negotiation); capabilities for critical thinking responsible decision making and action, in school and community; understanding the nature and possible causes of conflicts and promoting non violent and peaceful conflict resolution; understanding the nature and constitution of social, ethical and legal norms and rules and their importance for community life; learning of group work and group decision making techniques; understanding the notion of the Human and Children's rights conventions, to understand relationship between them and mutual interdependence of rights and responsibilities; building knowledge, sensitivity and readiness to act on Human-Children's rights violation, learning techniques on protecting personal and other people's rights, how to pursue them; stimulating and training pupils for active participation in the school and community life; training for effective joint action planning; pupils becoming familiar with the basic concepts on democracy, civil society, politics and human rights; pupils to build knowledge on institutions and the role of citizen in democratic society; acquisition of skills necessary for implementation of gained knowledge in every day life, for starting civic initiatives and concrete actions; understanding the importance of information as a precondition for responsible and engaged life in modern civil society; becoming familiar with the possibilities for human rights and freedoms realization guaranteed by the Law on free access to information; gaining knowledge on the role of media in a society and their influence on the perception of reality; developing critical relation towards credibility of information; gaining knowledge about importance of carrier planning and setting professional goals; becoming familiar with rights and responsibilities, and developing skills important for professional orientation, development and job searching; stimulating pupils for acceptance of change and constant accommodation, as an important factors of professional development; empowering pupils to recognize and present personal qualities (interests, capabilities, talents knowledge, skills) important for professional education and job searching; stimulating pupils' responsibility and initiatives for further professional development. The general working methods and selection of the contents in this subject should respect and practices basic democratic values and stimulate its acquisition.

• Content-Subject Matter

I, We and Others; Group communication; Group/Community relations; Cooperation and Communality; Conflict resolution; Violence and Peace; Rights and Responsibilities (basic notions; different types of rights and their relationship; rights violation and protection; planning and realization of human/children's rights related action); Democracy and politics; Citizen and society; Civic and political rights and the right on civil initiative; Concrete action planning; Rights and freedoms; The world of information; The world of professional education and work.

4.2. Self Reported Questionnaires

4.2.1. Primary School Pupils' Answers (Appendix 9.)[4]

On the question "*Why are you attending this subject?"* majority of the pupils (about 42%) answered: "Because I think it is interesting and amusing" or that it suits them better (than RE), as they explained. Also a significant number of the pupils (about 21%) see this as something out from their will and choice (since it is obligatory, and because their parents chose it for them). A certain number of them (4 pupils) mentioned that they attend CE because they are not religious.

About 40% of the pupils answered on "*What you think is the purpose/goal of CE?*" that it is: "Bon ton, general culture and proper behaving". A significant number of the pupils (some 18 %) said they did not know. Also about 33% of the pupils perceived the goal to be related to one of these issues: citizens' rights and duties, being a good citizen, developing civic awareness, learning about life in a community and modern world, politics, democracy, government and social world.

Question "*What do you like most about that subject?"* was answered with "nothing" by 17% of the pupils. The following answers were also frequent: everything; conversation/communication; we can socialize more with friends; freedom of thought and speech; some games we play.

Some 35% of the pupils answered the question "*What you don't like about that subject?"* again: "nothing" (it is noticeable that mostly the same pupils gave this answer on

---

[4] The full report of classified answers is given in the Appendices, while only key points will be presented here, due to the limits of this paper.

the previous question too, so it cannot really be considered as valid). About 17% mentioned that they are bored. Also a certain number of the pupils (about 9%) said: "when we learn about politics", and 4 pupils mentioned they do not like their teacher (they were from the same class). Other single answers are related to specific issues, such as not doing "anything serious about some topics", or unorganised classes, broad discussions and working on the same subject for too long.

Topics from the CE classes, which they consider important, are: How to behave ourselves (bon ton), School violence, Democracy and Politics. It is notable that the first one was most frequently listed (about 32%). Several pupils also mentioned topics on School problems, Violence/non-violence and Drug prevention.

A majority of the pupils reported they had never *used something they learned in CE classes outside of these classes.* Other answers (by several -up to 4 pupils) were: To behave myself; Not to be violent/ How to avoid conflicts and Active listening.

Asked, "*Is there any topic that you would like to discuss on these classes, and you haven't done that before?*" the majority of them answered: "No". Other frequent answers were: they talked about everything so far, or they can't remember. Some concrete topics, mentioned by more than 1 (up to 3) pupils were: Drug abuse and How to get better grades.

On the question: *"Would you change anything about CE classes, and if, what?"* some 63% answered "No" or did not give any answer. 5 of pupils would like to change teacher (3 from same class) and 3 would cancel these classes.

4.2.2. Secondary School Pupils' Answers (Appendix 10.)

For about 28% of the pupils the reason *why are they attending CE* is because they see it as a sort of alternative to RE, as they said: "Because I'm not religious", "It suits me better than RE" or "It's more interesting and useful than RE". Only 11% of the pupils mentioned the reason is to learn civic duties, citizens' rights and political behaviour.

The *goal and purpose of this subject* is perceived to be "Learning about civic rights and duties, politics" by around 35% of the pupils, while about 12% of them think it is (just) about "duties, proper behaving and helping one self and others". 6 pupils mentioned: "teaching about pupils' rights and duties". The goal was somewhat negatively perceived by 12% of the pupils, who think either it does not have a purpose at all, and it is boring, or that it was not explained to them.

On the question "*What do you like most about that subject?"* 23% said that it is the freedom of speech and expression of your opinion. Some 18% favoured workshops, while 14% liked "relaxed atmosphere on the class". About 11% mentioned some specific CE related issues, such as: team problem solving, social activism, human rights protection and tolerance.

What they don't like about that subject is "nothing, or without an answer" for about 14% of the pupils. 12% complained about the topics (bad choice, not suitable etc.). About 10% think it is putting too much stress on the politics, and some 7% said it is not practical and that it is useless and out of the real life.

Topics, which they consider important, are: Children's rights (36%) and Human rights (28%). Other most frequently named topics were: Democracy, Violence, Tolerance, State/ government etc.

About 47% of the pupils stated *they have never used anything they have learned on CE classes, outside these classes*; about 8% mentioned they became more tolerant and reduced prejudices toward others; Other situations listed, which can be considered relevant to the CE were: 2 pupils mentioned it stimulated them on discussions on politics, and raised the ecological awareness; voting, civil engagement in youth project and writing a CV were mentioned by 1 pupil each.

On the question: "Is there any other topic that you would like to discuss on these classes?" Majority (41%) said "No". About 5% are not sure, and 4% think that everything is covered so far. Potential topics suggested by pupils (1 per pupil) that could be considered in the framework of CE were: School problems, Family violence, Women's rights, Homosexuals' rights, Parliament simulation, Globalization, Political organizations etc.

30% of the pupils questioned *would not change anything about the CE classes*. About 11% of the pupils mentioned teacher's related issues (either they want a new/old teacher back or different teaching methods). 6 pupils mentioned a lack of practical actions initiated by the pupils, and 5 think classes should be more interesting. Other classes' related issues mentioned were: more workshops, more group work, smaller groups, more discussions, and more /less classes.

4.2.3. Teachers' Answers (Appendix 11.)

For most of the teachers questioned (around 55%) *reason to choose to teach CE* was "to supplement the teaching hours (to fulfil the working hour's quota)". Other reasons (single answers) which could be more related to the "CE mission" were: "To affect the

democratization of the youth, developing new values", "Because of the reforms in education", "Because of the topics in the curriculum and modern teaching methods". One teacher chose it because of the content of the program, but said it was not very clear and explicit to him/her.

The most important goal of the CE in Serbia from their perspective is: "Education for life in a democratic society" (13%), "Enabling/empowering of pupils for active participation in school and their environment" (again 13%, or 2 teachers, to be more specific) and "Preparing for team work" stated by the same number of teachers. Other key points from single answers were related to developing: human values, social skills, communitarianism, civil society, respect for difference, citizens' initiatives, self-awareness, responsibility, and self-expression.

Topics that teachers consider to be most important in the CE curriculum are: Tolerance, Civic initiatives, NGO, Prejudice and Children's rights. 33% of teachers think the *curriculum includes all the relevant topics,* and that *it is adjusted to the pupils' development level;* some suggested (single answers) it should also include: more lessons on tolerance, cooperation, stereotypes, and group dynamics. Some also mentioned: political systems, workers' rights, and reproductive health.

Asked if they *would change anything related to the program of CE in Serbian schools*, teachers gave various responses, all single answers, to mention just most relevant: 2 teachers think it should have equal status with other subjects, mandatory and graded, while also 2 teachers think it is unnecessary overloading the school curricula, and should be facultative; the third solution/perspective offered is CE to be integrative part of other humanistic subjects, since it has interdisciplinary character. Complains were related to the lack of: training and adequate support for teachers, literature and other teaching material, and also the working conditions (in terms of need for a specialized classroom).

4.2.4. Quantitative Data (Appendix 12.)

Graph 1. Pupils' Satisfaction by Classes (comparison of CE and RE groups)
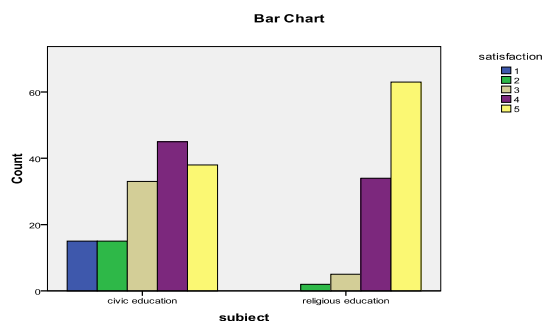
Difference between CE and RE pupil's satisfaction is statistically significant on the level p<0.01, z=-6.727 (Table 1.2. Appendix 12.) RE pupils are more satisfied with classes.

Table 1. Comparison of the CE Teachers' and Pupils' Satisfaction by Classes

	1	2	3	4	5
T	0	0	9 (60%)	6 (40%)	0
P	15 (10.3%)	15 (10.3%)	33 (22.6%)	45 (30.8%)	38 (26.0%)

Graph 2. Pupils' Self-estimated Activity on Classes (Comparison of CE and RE groups)
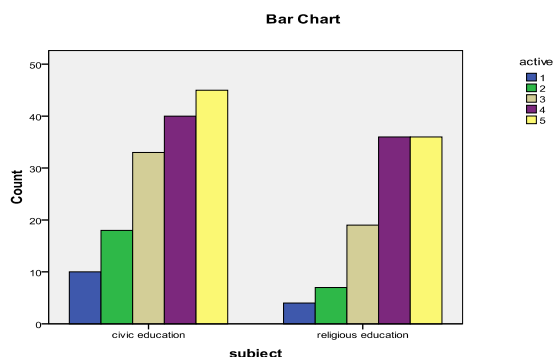
There is no statistically significant difference in the level of self-estimated activity between CE and RE groups of pupils. (Table 2.1. Appendix 12.)

Table 2. Comparison of the CE Teachers' and Pupils' Estimation of "Pupils' Activity on Classes"

	1	2	3	4	5
Teachers	0	0	9 (60%)	5 (33.3%)	0
Pupils	10 (6.8%)	18 (12.3%)	33 (22.6%)	40 (27.4%)	45 (30.8%)

4.3. Ethnic Distance

Table 3. ED scores obtained for each ethnic group on the whole sample of pupils

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Serb	249	0	7	,06	,554
Montenegrian	249	0	7	,37	1,356
Hungarian	249	0	7	,73	1,910
Roma	249	0	7	**1,49**	2,359
Albanian	249	0	7	**2,57**	3,074
Bosnjak	249	0	7	,75	1,938
Croat	249	0	7	**1,20**	2,425
Slovenian	249	0	7	,49	1,514
Russian	249	0	7	,29	1,197
German	249	0	7	,97	2,201
American	249	0	7	,94	2,252
EDskor2	249	0	28	6,00	7,750
EDskor	249	0	70	9,87	14,499
AUTskor	127	35	92	66,38	12,546
Valid N (listwise)	126				

The highest ED (M- average score) is expressed towards the following ethnic groups: Albanian, Roma and Croat. The following table gives the percentages of pupils who expressed different levels of ED (0-7) toward all 11 ethnic groups:

Table 3.1 ED percentages on Bogardus' scale items

Ethnic groups	Albanian	Roma	Croat	American	German	Bosniak	Hungarian	Slovenian	Montenegrian	Russian	Serbian
0	**48.2**	55.8	73.7	80.5	76.9	80.5	79.3	84.1	86.9	89.6	97.2
1	11.6	**18.7**	6.8	4.8	7.2	7.2	8.4	8.0	6.8	5.2	1.2
2	0.8	**2.4**	0.8	0.4	1.2	0.4	1.6	-	1.6	0.4	-
3	1.6	**3.2**	0.4	0.4	0.8	0.8	1.2	0.4	-	0.4	-
4	**4.8**	3.2	3.6	1.2	1.6	2.8	0.8	2.4	0.4	0.8	-
5	**1.2**	0.8	0.4	-	**1.2**	-	0.4	0.4	-	0.4	0.4
6	5.2	**7.6**	1.6	2.0	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.4	-	-	-
7	**26.1**	7.6	12.0	10	9.6	7.2	7.2	3.6	3.6	2.4	0.4

Do not accept: 1-being your boyfriend/girlfriend; 2-being your best friend; 3-sharing a desk in class; 4-being your teacher; 5-going into your school; 6-living in your neighborhood; 7-living in your country.

Graph 3. Distribution of the ED scores among the whole sample of pupils
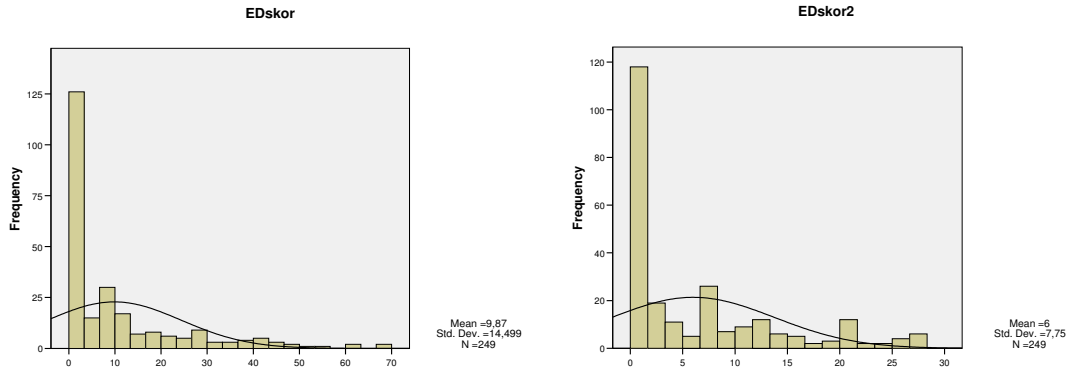
Since there is no "normal distribution" in the ED scores a Mann-Whitney non-parametric test was used to test the difference between CE and RE groups:

Ranks

	subject	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
EDskor2	civic education	146	124,15	18126,50
	religious education	103	126,20	12998,50
	Total	249		
EDskor	civic education	146	121,99	17810,00
	religious education	103	129,27	13315,00
	Total	249		

Test Statistics[a]

	EDskor2	EDskor
Mann-Whitney U	7395,500	7079,000
Wilcoxon W	18126,500	17810,000
Z	-,228	-,810
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,819	,418

a. Grouping Variable: subject

Difference between groups in ED scores is not statistically significant, which means that CE and RE pupils show the similar level of ethnic distance in this sample.

4.4. Authoritarianism (Traditionalism)

Graph 4. Distribution of the AUT scores among all the pupils in the sample

AUTskor

Mean =66,38
Std. Dev. =12,546
N =127
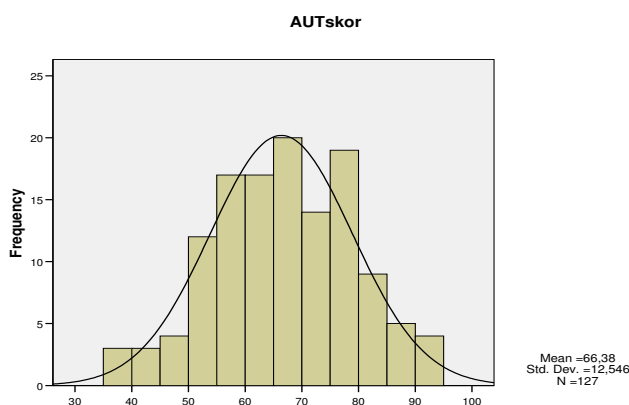
The highest scores (above 3.5) were obtained on the following items on the AUT scale (Appendix 12. Tables 4.1.):

	ITEM	M	Percentages of answers				
			1	2	3	4	5
3.	There is nothing worse than a man who does not feel a great love, gratitude and respect towards his parents.	4.39	2.1	1.4	7.1	33.6	55.7
4.	Creation of a harmonious and strong family should be the main goal of one's life and work.	4.27	2.1	2.8	9.2	38	47.9
5.	Children should be educated in the spirit of obedience.	4.06	2.8	7	13.4	34.5	42.3
2.	What this country needs more than laws and political programs are few courageous, tireless and devoted leaders whom people can trust.	3.94	9.2	6.4	16.3	17	51.1
1.	I am obedient and disciplined.	3.92	2.1	6.3	14.8	50.7	26.1
6.	Nowadays, when people of different kinds are moving all around and mix, one has to be careful not to get some infectious disease.	3.62	7.8	13.5	23.4	19.1	36.2

Tables 4. T-test (difference between CE and RE pupils in AUT scores)

Group Statistics

	subject	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
AUTskor	civic education	79	64,23	12,417	1,397
	religious education	48	69,92	12,065	1,741

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
AUTskor	Equal variances assumed	,130	,719	-2,530	125	,013	-5,689	2,248	-10,139	-1,239
	Equal variances not assumed			-2,548	101,603	,012	-5,689	2,233	-10,117	-1,260

The difference between these two groups of pupils in AUT scores was tested with the T-test (since it has near normal distribution) and it is statistically significant (p<0.05, t=-2.53). Pupils who attend CE have lower scores on the scale of authoritarianism.

Comparison of CE and RE pupils' average points on the single items on the AUT scale shows that there is significant difference on only two of them (Appendix 12. Table 4.2.):

6. Nowadays, when people of different kinds are moving all around and mix, one has to be careful not to get some infectious disease. p=0.00 (t=-3.061) M for CE=3.38 and for RE=4.06

13. Woman should enter the marriage as a virgin, because it is the only warranty that she will devote all of her love to her husband. p=0.002 (t=-2.069) M for CE=1.47 and for RE=1.83

4.5. Correlations of the Variables (Appendix 12. Table 5.1.)

Table 5. Mann-Whitney Test (difference between boys (M) and girls (F) in ED scores)

Ranks

	sex	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
EDskor	M	109	139,06	15157,00
	F	140	114,06	15968,00
	Total	249		
EDskor2	M	109	138,40	15086,00
	F	140	114,56	16039,00
	Total	249		

Test Statistics[a]

	EDskor	EDskor2
Mann-Whitney U	6098,000	6169,000
Wilcoxon W	15968,000	16039,000
Z	-2,799	-2,682
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,005	,007

a. Grouping Variable: sex

There is a statistically significant difference ($p<0.01$) between M and F in ED scores (boys have higher scores).

Table 6. T-test (difference between boys (M) and girls (F) in AUT scores)

Group Statistics

	sex	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
AUTskor	M	44	69,77	12,490	1,883
	F	83	64,58	12,272	1,347

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
AUTskor	Equal variances assumed	,002	,968	2,256	125	,026	5,194	2,303	,637	9,752
	Equal variances not assumed			2,244	86,412	,027	5,194	2,315	,592	9,796

Difference between M and F in AUT scores is statistically significant on the level $p<0.05$ (t=2.256), boys have higher scores. Difference found between M and F is statistically significant on the following AUT items:

	ITEM	M	F	t	p<
1	I am obedient and disciplined.	3.57	4.14	-3.68	0.01
3	There is nothing worse than a man who does not feel a great love, gratitude and respect towards his parents.	4.13	4.55	-2.82	0.01
7	In every moment I am ready to defend the honor of my state and people, even using the force.	3.15	2.21	4.07	0.01
8	If the interest of the people is endangered, even life should be sacrificed.	2.98	1.84	5.38	0.01
14	Homosexuals are nothing better than criminals and should be severely punished.	3.46	1.56	9.56	0.001
17	Most jobs in household by their nature are more suited to women.	3.00	2.18	3.40	0.01
18	Most probably, one day it will be proved that astrology can explain many things.	2.44	2.99	-2.63	0.01

Table 7. Partial correlation (AUT*Subject)

Correlations

Control Variables			subject	AUTskor
sex	subject	Correlation	1,000	,252
		Significance (2-tailed)	.	,004
		df	0	124
	AUTskor	Correlation	,252	1,000
		Significance (2-tailed)	,004	.
		df	124	0

Correlation between the variable Subject and the AUT scores is still statistically significant, even stronger ($p<0.01$) when keeping the variable Sex constant. This confirms the difference between CE and RE groups in the AUT scores detected with T-test (Tables 4. above).

Table 8. Partial correlation (ED*AUT)

Control Variables			EDskor2	ED score	AUT score
sex	EDskor2	Correlation	1.000	.935	.151
		Significance (2-tailed)	.	.000	.093
		df	0	123	123
	ED score	Correlation	.935	1.000	.129
		Significance (2-tailed)	.000	.	.153
		df	123	0	123
	AUT score	Correlation	.151	.129	1.000
		Significance (2-tailed)	.093	.153	.
		df	123	123	0

There is a certain positive correlation between ED and AUT scores (ED2*AUT: $r=0.209$, $p<0.05$; ED*AUT: $r=0.184$, $p<0.05$). However, when keeping the variable Sex constant, there is no statistically significant correlation between ED and AUT scores.

There is also a correlation found between the variable Educational level (mother) and Subject, showing that children, whose mothers have higher education, tend to choose CE. (Tables 5.2. in Appendix 12.) The same results were found in the previous study from 2001 (Joksimović 2003: 49). The influence of mothers' education on AUT scores, between CE and RE groups, was also tested and it proved not to be significant (Tables 5.3. in Appendix 12.).

5. Analysis and Discussion of Findings

5.1. Meaning of the Civic Education in Serbia

"The curriculum is in the eye of the beholder." (Goodlad 1979: 30) For this reason the meaning of the CE in Serbian schools will be discussed through the formal and perceived/experiential curricula's interplay, by analyzing their congruencies and discrepancies.

It could be said that the essential point in the "making of a meaning" is placed in a sort of "black box", in between the formal and perceived curricula. That is what goes on day after day in a classroom: processes and methodology that are being conducted in a teacher-pupils interaction or the so-called "operational curricula" (Goodlad et al. 1979: 61, 63). Unfortunately, that is out of the scope in this study (though I have visited and observed a couple of CE classes, these data are not representative and thus not included in my results). But still, we can get some clue of what is going on in classes, from this output here: teachers' and pupils' answers on the questionnaires.

Aims, objectives and the content of CE curricula in Serbia are related to the developing of civil society and democracy, which is more directly stated in the higher grades' curricula of the program, while in the lower grades they are more directed to the developing of autonomous individuals, or so to say, building "democratic capacities". Also the teachers' perspective on its aims, goals and content correspond in a great amount to those in the formal curricula. Teachers in this sample are divided on the perspective of the status of CE, as some think it should be mandatory while some think it is unnecessary overloading classes. They lack a genuine motivation for teaching this subject, a real interest for its values (not just a way to "fulfill the norm"), although they seem to recognize its significance for the Serbian civil society. They generally complained on the lack of adequate support (more training, supervision, material etc.) from the authorities.

There is a certain discrepancy between the teachers' and primary school pupils' conception on the CE goals in the form of pupils' misconception of the CE ideal "being a good citizen" with the "being a good kid"-bon ton, good behaving. Such perception of the CE seriously undermines its main idea of "making autonomous individuals". Instead, CE seems to be reasserting the same authoritarian pattern of behavior, which exists in society. It should be mentioned that majority of pupils with this perspective belong to the same school (they have the same teacher), but this was also present in other schools, though not so dominant. The importance of teacher quality for the effectiveness of CE was stressed in many studies, as

Branson (2003: 12) described: "Students learn when teachers know their stuff." Knowing stuff does not mean only to have a clear and accurate perception of the program goals, to understand them in a right way, nor even the commitment to the CE values, as I could observe in the case of this particular teacher (I had an interview with that teacher, as well as with 4 others, but that was not included in my report, because of the limitations of this study). They (teachers) seem to "get the point", but somehow were not able to "send the message".

Another reason for this misconception is the very term that is used for the name of this subject in Serbia (it was partly explained in the Theory chapter). The word "education" is in Serbian CE translated as "upbringing", since in the whole school curricula education and upbringing are stressed as simultaneous processes that are conducted in school. Therefore CE is considered to be more as a "third parent", than something of civil or citizenship affairs. The same could be said about the school and its perceived role in the Serbian society in general. Parents often expect it to succeed on the parenting issues and problems where they failed, and demand a stronger support in "disciplining" children.

Understanding of the CE goals among secondary school pupils seems to be better, in terms that they related it to the learning about civic rights, duties and politics. However, civic initiatives, activism and participation, which were stressed unconditionally in the curriculums, were explicitly mentioned only by few. Though a certain number of the pupils mentioned "how to help ourselves and others" as a perceived goal of CE. The problem of participation and insufficient implementation of CE skills is also visible when the majority said that they had never used anything from the CE classes in the real life.

 I will also comment briefly on the discrepancy observed here, regarding the perceived pupils' activity on classes, between teachers and pupils. Pupils think they are much more active than teachers think they are. Of course this could have been expected, as we are usually more critical in evaluating others than ourselves. But teachers also expressed less satisfaction by the classes than pupils, which could be considered as they possess more self-awareness than children and they are more critical as adults. It is interesting how pupils' self-estimated activity on classes differs from the one observed in the real life, as they reported to rarely use CE knowledge and skills outside the classroom. Interpretation for this could be that teachers are more critical when it comes to the expected achievement in classes, while pupils are more critical when it comes to the utility of things they learn in classes.

Things pupils appreciated most on these classes where the freedom of speech and expression, as well as communication modes and workshops. This is still considered to be something rather different from usual classes in other subjects and therefore it is so valued by

the pupils. On the other hand, there were also lots of No/nothing answers on all questions, and comments on boring classes and topics (from pupils' part). This can be a typical problem of open-ended questionnaires, and reasons for this are various: inability to literary express ones opinion, lack of motivation for cooperation (which is usual if respondents don't care about their answers, as they perceive it is not going to affect their lives anyway) or a genuine attitude on the issue. My opinion is that here it was the mixture of all these factors.

Looking at the difference in pupils' satisfaction by classes, (RE group reported to be more satisfied than CE group), explanation could be found in the fundamental differences between these programs, their aims and methodology. RE is conducted by religious leaders (priests or educated theologians), who are very proficient on the program content they are delivering, and we can assume with a greater integrity that is consistent with the "real viewpoint of their controlling agency" (Jordan 1979: 336). All this can be essential for their teaching methodology and operation of classes, that create more structured and thus more conceivable, and meaningful learning context for pupils. In other words, RE requires "only faith" to be efficient, it is not questioned that much as CE, which is also challenged with a greater freedom.

Back to the misconceptions on the CE goals, observed among significant number of the pupils in primary school, a certain analogy can be made between the level of pedagogic discourses (regulative and instructional, Bernstein 1994: 124), and political-historical level, when in the former Yugoslavia self-managed socialism, an ideology, that actually originated from democratic foundations, was in praxis carried in an authoritarian and totalitarian way (Petrović 2001: 36). On both levels (CE program conduction and Ideology implementation) there is (was) a discrepancy between content and methodology. Another sphere of contradiction is embedded in the very educational system, which in modern societies have become an essential device for social stratification (Bourdieu in Felsenthal and Rubinstein 1991: 91), while at the same time it uses CE in schools to address the societal goals of solidarity and integration (Felsenthal and Rubinstein 1991: 92). All these "double messages" can't be productive and they create a double schizophrenic situation. First, sent by teacher, is: "You should listen and obey/ You should think and do"; second, sent by school/society, is: "You should do nothing and stay in the system- as passive participator/ You should participate and step out from the system". Loaded with all these dilemmas CE does not have much chance to succeed, from this perspective.

Peace education is also burdened with the same dilemma. Johan Galtung (in Brock-Utne 2000: 136) asks if it not merely sound hypocritical to educate for peace in a competitive

school setting, where all these peace endeavors would remain empty words that are nullified through the much stronger message of verticality and dominance conveyed through the structure itself. The true resolving of these dilemmas is yet to be explored on a broader societal level.

I would like to conclude this discussion with the following quote, which gets to the point of this problematic: " If language is not correct, then what is said is not what is meant; if what is said is not what is meant, then what must be done remains undone; if this remains undone, morals and art will deteriorate; if justice goes astray, the people will stand about in helpless confusion. Hence there must be no arbitrariness in what is said. This matters above everything." (Confucius in Biro 2006a: 94)

This "language" of CE is not contained only in the words of its name ("civic education"), but in everyday words and sentences, behavior and expressions that take place in these classes. The "social grammar" (Bernstein 1994: 116) of CE needs to be revised, in order to send the message. Right now, it seems that there is no coherent official knowledge (intellectual, practical, expressive) on CE to be pedagogised, that language and pedagogic devices are dysfunctional and therefore not recontextualising "the ideal universe of potential pedagogic meaning" inherent in the CE programs (ibid: 118).

5.2. Ethnic Distance and Authoritarianism among the Pupils in Serbia (Determined by or Determining CE?)

Ethnic distance among the pupils in this sample, in terms of the scores obtained on the ED scale, can be considered as "mid-low", comparing to another research done on a similar sample of primary school pupils in Novi Sad (Mihić and Mihić 2003), where the average score obtained was M=12.97 (the scale had 6 statements for 4 ethnic groups, so the maximum score was 24). We should bear in mind that this region is considered to be multiethnic and with greater inter-ethnic tolerance among people (unfortunately this multi-ethnicity used to be much greater before the war, and it is also not evenly distributed among urban and rural areas; in this sample a majority of the pupils declared as Serbs, 73.3%). Therefore these scores would probably have been higher if I had included other regions in Serbia too (as some previous research, mentioned earlier in this paper, have showed). If we analyze these scores for three ethnic groups (towards whom the highest ED was expressed), in more detail, we see

that for Albanians the majority of pupils have score 0 (48.2% which means that they would accept them to be their girlfriend/boyfriend), but still there is a significant number of pupils (25.9%) with score 7, which means they would not even accept them living in Serbia. For Roma that extreme distance (7) is expressed by 7.5% of pupils and for Croats by 12%.

Explanation for extraction (discrimination) of these three ethnic groups particularly, is related to the issue of outcast groups and recent/distant Serbian history (Kosovo conflicts, civil wars on the territory of former Yugoslavia, as well as WWII). A certain "cultural-racism" towards Albanians existed in the former Yugoslavia too, where this ethnic group was discriminated, living in the underdeveloped Southern part of the country, regarded as primitive and intrusive. And today, after the war and Kosova independence, to all these existed hatreds and disdain, a dark anger of loss and feelings of victimization and some "pseudo-mystical righteousness" are just added among Serbian population (Arsenijević 2007). Roma population in Serbia is the outcast population. Unfortunately this is the case within all countries in the region, and also some other developed European countries find it very challenging. Just to mention some statistics in Serbia: less than 40% of Roma children start schooling and only 60% of them finish the primary school, and from that group just half of them continue education! There are 197 Roma slum-settlements in Belgrade only (B92-d). A recent unspeakable, inhuman act, illustrates some of the antidemocratic, illiberal, and we could even say fascist "solutions" that Serbian government tends to express on this issue. The major of the capital (Belgrade) ordered the demolition of illegal Roma settlement, (because it was an obstacle for building of the road, as part of the preparations for some international sport event), without any previous preparation or providing adequate place for living for those people! And all this happened just a week after the pass of an Antidiscrimination Law, and a day before International Roma Day, not to mention that Serbia is representative for the Roma Decade this year (B92-e).

Once again, ethnic distance towards these groups (Roma and Albanians especially but also Croat) is a system problem, and decreasing prejudice and building tolerance through some workshops, though these could have some positive effect, is just a symptom treatment. We have to deal with the cause! As long as the Serbian Minister of foreign affairs is traveling around the world, counting countries that didn't recognize the independent Kosova, as Serbia's "friends"; as long as Roma people don't gain the same social status and living conditions as other citizens in Serbia; and until Serbia and Croatia find another way to reconcile and face the past, that exclude reciprocal law suits on genocide… these ethnic distances are going to stay, among children too.

To return to one of the questions in this study, whether CE has any influence on ED, we should analyze the fact that there was no difference found between CE and RE groups of pupils, regarding ED scores. This could be explained from the perspective that CE didn't affect pupils' ED at all, or it could be also said that both CE and RE had some influence on ED. Considering that scores in this study were lower than those obtained in the previous research, it could be argued for the latter proposal. Or it could also be the case that the general socio-political climate in society, and family, rather than school, influenced pupils' attitudes on this issue.

Authoritarianism scale showed to be measuring something that might be partly overlapping with "Traditionalism", as was also concluded in some previous research (Biro 2006a: 108). The cluster of items that received highest scores seems to present a "patriarchal family values", which is considered to be the core of traditionalism, and one of the obstacles for developing CS in Serbia (Vujadinović 2006: 184). Some could argue that there is nothing wrong or bad (for development and democratization) if people/children agree that: "Creation of a harmonious and strong family should be the main goal of one's life and work." (Item 4.), and that is true, but, stressing obedience, and insisting on respect and discipline in family relations (which is often related to violence and human rights violation) is.

In this sample of high school pupils almost 77% of them mostly to strongly agree that they are "obedient and disciplined", and the same number of them think that children "should be educated in the spirit of obedience". One would not expect these kind of attitudes from a 17 years old pupils, and it could be the case that they are not really "so obedient", but nevertheless, this is something they consider to be socially desirable. Such attitudes can be particularly problematic when they are accompanied with the authoritarian and violent context of upbringing. These findings are certainly to be taken with great notice, as they are pointing to the serious problem in the family structure, values and socialization of children in the Serbian society. This is also consistent with the primary school pupils' attitudes on the aim of CE, and their insistence on the "good behaving".

When it comes to the item (6.) from this cluster: "Nowadays, when people of different kinds are moving all around and mix, one has to be careful not to get some infectious disease." Its interpretation could be disputable. It can be interpreted as a racist attitude, but also can be seen as an expression of health conscience (awareness of HIV/AIDS).

Even though CE and RE groups of the pupils differ in the AUT scores (CE have lower scores, even when the variable Sex is controlled), item analysis showed that difference was statistically significant on only two of them, (and on one the score is very low for both

groups). These items are more related to sexual behavior (where RE pupils expressed greater conservatism) than to authoritarian family structure (as was the case in the high-score-items cluster mentioned above). Of course, it can be argued that sexual behavior is also determined by the traditional family values. The fact that difference exist, even when keeping the variable Sex constant, which could be a certain control on the variable family too (as gender roles are shaped mostly there), gives us some hope that CE does educate for less traditional-authoritarian attitudes.

On the other hand, is there a real reason for "hope"? If a person shows less respect for authorities, if he consider himself not to be obedient, or think that "Creation of a harmonious and strong family should *not* be the main goal of one's life and work", this is not inherently positive and progressive attitude. Non-authoritarianism has to be related with the humanistic values and respect for human rights also. If not, then you get 16 years old children on the streets, yelling "Give us weapon!", as we could see in Belgrade this spring. But again, if we consider answers on the following items (numbers given are percentages of the pupils' choices on the 1-5 scale), the number of "militaristically inclined" is not so prevalent.

	ITEM	1	2	3	4	5
7	In every moment I am ready to defend the honour of my family, even using the force.	31.9	19.9	21.3	13.5	13.5
8	If the interest of the people is endangered, even life should be sacrificed.	42.1	16.4	22.1	10.7	8.6

Roots for the sex differences regarding ED and AUT found on this sample, can be also looked for in the traditional family and patriarchal conception of gender roles in Serbia. The patriarchal structure of family relations is reproducing itself in the authoritarian structure of government and authority, in education, culture and political culture too (Vujadinović 2006: 197). This is visible through item analysis of differences between boys and girls answers. Girls have higher scores on items related to obedience and patriarchy, and also greater confidence in astrology, while boys expressed greater military-protection concern. The most significant difference shown was on the rights of homosexuals, where girls showed much greater tolerance. It is important to say that during the 90s the revival of traditionalism and ethnicity obstructed the emancipatory processes in family and gender roles, which started during the socialist period in the former Yugoslavia (ibid.).

Considering results presented here, democratic competences, in the form of ethnic tolerance and autonomous individuals (non-authoritarian) are only partly developed among the Serbian pupils. Ethnic distance expressed in this sample is lower than those in previous studies, but still present in the extreme, non-tolerant sub-groups of the sample.

Authoritarianism/traditionalism, although showed to be lower among the CE pupils, is still very visible in the attitudes expressed. These attitudes are resiliently embedded in the patriarchal family values that are generally very strong among the population in this region, and present a basis for authoritarian behaviour in the society.

5.3. Civic Education in Schools for Civil Society and Democracy in Serbia

There are several factors that undermine the value of CE and weaken its potential power for influencing CS and further democratization in Serbia:

1.	CE is not something that originated from the school and teachers genuinely. It has a certain grass-root characteristics (developed from Serbian NGOs peace programs during 90s), but mostly created on the basis of International NGOs and UNICEF programs. Therefore it is perceived from that "top-down" perspective, and *not as a "home-grown"* in schools/educational system;

2.	*Competence* of the CE teachers. They received only a short-term training, not adequately motivated, lack of a broader support from school authorities and government and from the whole society. Not to forget that they grew up in completely different social and political system from the one they are to teach pupils about now!

3.	CE originally conceived as a *link* between a real life and a school, almost does not exist here, as pupils are not using it in everyday life. On the contrary it lacks even a link with the school, as it is not a "serious" subject (not graded and valued in the same way);

4.	The *meaning* of CE and its goals seems not to be very clear and valued by the majority of pupils;

5.	It could also be questioned whether the *methodology* of teaching correspond to the formal curricula and program ideas, or is it still being carried in a traditional- authoritarian way;

6.	CE tends to be perceived by the significant number of the pupils and in public as something *alternative* to RE. This is creating a bad image of CE, as it is opposing traditional values in society;

If it could be of any comfort to the CE in Serbia, an international study from 90s (IEA in Branson 2000: 8) on CE curricula in 24 countries revealed similar problems. There is a perceived gap between the goals for democracy expressed in the curriculum and the reality of

the society and school. Another problem was that students themselves often showed a general disdain for politics, especially at the national level, but responded enthusiastically to programs which challenge them to identify and act upon needs in their own communities. Therefore the "local initiatives" could be something that should be more valorized in the CE program. The same study stressed the following key points for effective CE: cross-disciplinary, participative, interactive, related to life, conducted in a non-authoritarian environment, cognizant of the challenges of social diversity, and co-constructed by schools, parents, the community and NGOs (ibid.).

From all these mentioned above it is possible to formulate the following *recommendations* in the case of CE in Serbia:

1.	Consider revoking both CE and RE as separate subjects from schools, since their current position is only deepening the cleavages in society and not really contributing for CS in Serbia; it is also making the current school curricula overloaded. (Ministry of education is already looking into this option, according to some unofficial information);

2.	When it comes to CE, 50% of the program can be realized through the classes with the class leader (2 times per month for example) and by the psychologist/pedagogy service in school, and another 50% could be implemented into curriculums of all other humanistic subjects (mainly history and language, but also in biology, geography, arts…);

3.	Introduce a mandatory "Project" work in each subject, where pupils will have to do one group- project per semester, where they will work on some chosen problem, related to the subject they are studying and school and local community;

4.	Continue the process of "democratization of education" in Serbia (started in 2001), by training teachers for new active teaching-learning methods and teaching through democracy; decentralization of the school system and strengthening the connection with informal education organizations and local community. In this way the relationship between school and life will be improved, as well as education for participatory citizenship.

Regarding RE, the way it is conceived now, as a religious learning of one specific religious group, it should bee maintained in the realm of church organizations, as it was before. We should also not undermine the potential of religious organizations in Serbia for contributing in building of CS. To make themselves capable of this (especially the Serbian Orthodox Church) they need to change their policy, adjusting it to democratic principles and CS means of functioning, softening the hard traditional-patriarchal imperative, building a modern relations with politics, advocating for civilized and human approach towards all

minority groups, declaring itself toward the ecological and sustainable model of society and by formulating clear social policy plan (Đorđević 2006: 250).

To understand why it was (and still is) so difficult to implement democracy into republics of the ex Yugoslavia/ Serbia, it would be interesting to compare differences in key political concepts perception between citizens of Serbia and citizens in democratic countries (Zdravković 1993 in Biro 2006a: 40):

concept	"In Serbia"	"In the World"
People	A community which interests are defined by authority	A community which define its interests by itself
Authority (Power)	Has power to decide on people's life	Has power to carry out people's will
Parties	Groups fighting for power	Groups representing political programs
Parliament	Institution for confirmation of authority's behaviour	Institution that control authority's behaviour
State	Mechanism for carrying out and protection of authority	Mechanism for protection of people's interests
Judicial system	Carries out justice by serving the authority	Carries out justice independent from authority

This interesting taxonomy, even though unscientific, goes deep into the psychology of "the post-communist personality", and can explain many phenomena and behaviours of people in Serbia and some former Yugoslav republics too. We could also regard these two groups of citizens' perspectives on the key political terms as fundamental differences between the "collective psychology" of authoritarian and democratic societies. In Serbia not so much have changed so far towards the more democratic culture, even in the minds of young generations, which can be seen in my data on the AUT scale item no. 2 where 68% of the pupils mostly to strongly agreed that " What this country needs more than laws and political programs are few courageous, tireless and devoted leaders whom people can trust."

Here we come to the question from the beginning of this study: What are the implications of CE, developing democracy and CS in Serbia for the peace in the region? Considering that the percentage of pupils (at least in this sample) extremely "militaristically inclined" (as it was tapped with items 7 and 8 on AUT scale) is not prevalent, and that Serbian government openly dismissed any use of force from its international politics (especially regarding Kosovo issue) we can be optimistic. However, the expressed preference for leaders over laws and political programs makes the true democratic culture still a distant area. Democratic culture is essential for overcoming the crisis, as it was mentioned before (Dahl 1998: 156), and its lack in the Serbian case presents a great risk, especially today when this global economic crisis is ramping up. Uncritical trust in leaders, who are now against war (maybe just because they do not have necessary capacities!), can in some near future bring a new dictatorship and authoritarian regimes.

Ralf Dahrendorf (Biro 2006a: 14) gave a discerning observation on this issue: "Eastern European countries have changed their government in six days, their laws in six months, institutions in six years, but to change the way of thinking and behaving of their citizens they will need sixty years!" CE has a potential for that most difficult part of the democratization process: changing mindsets, building autonomous and critically-thinking individuals able to incorporate democratic beliefs necessary for the creation of democratic culture. But, to achieve this, it has to use appropriate methodology and show a genuine interest and will for its values, expressed by all stakeholders. For CE to be a driving force for creating democratic culture in Serbia three key elements should be considered: persistence, consistence and practice.

5.4. A Scheme of the Hypothesized Relations of the Constructs (Revised)

SUSTAINABLE PEACE
can be indirectly affected/enhanced by the CE, but only if it enables the creation of a true Democratic Culture with a liberal CS.

DDEMOCRATIC STRUCTURE
necessary, but not sufficient for creating DEMOCRATIC CULTURE, CS and Sustainable Peace.

CIVIL SOCIETY
necessary, but not sufficient for developing Democracy and reaching Sustainable Peace.

CIVIC EDUCATION
neither necessary nor sufficient for emergence of CS and Democracy, though it can be considered as an important factor for their consolidation.

ETHNIC DISTANCE
Not proven to be affected by the CE

AUTHORITARIANISM
(Traditionalism)- CE might lower AUT, but high AUT also influences the conduction of the CE program.

6. Conclusion

The "hidden value decisions" in a curriculum are foundation that determines its (program's) goals, course and implementation. There is a certain paradox in the curriculum making which implies that first you need to have the top-level decision made, so that your lower-level decisions will have some foundations (Jordan 1979: 323). Unfortunately, Serbian society suffers from a chronic lack of consensus on the key values that are to be consolidated in its "development plan". This is due to a certain state of decades/centuries-lasting "cleavages" which are visible throughout four dimensions: socio-economic (socio-demographic differences); historically-ethnic (nationalist vs. civic); cultural-value (traditionalism vs. modernism, authoritarian vs. tolerant, egalitarianism vs. non-egalitarianism etc.); ideological-political (socialism vs. capitalism, statism vs. liberalism) (Komšić et al. 2003 in Ristić 2006: 137). These cleavages are interwoven and can be considered to produce the history of "unsuccessful modernizations" in Serbia, as they exist on this ground for centuries (ibid.).

The present government is reflecting this historical pattern of cleavages, repeatedly sending the same schizoid messages. Formally, declaring for democracy, the rule of law and civil society, introducing the CE into schools, while on the other side sabotaging the same modernization. The last example in a row was when the government enabled the church to object the passing of the Law on Antidiscrimination (the controversial issue was the homosexual rights), notwithstanding it was late and out from formal procedures and institutions (B92-f). Luckily the church's objection was not accepted and the law was passed in the parliament a week later, though with a lot of discussion among deputies, where illiberal, nationalist parties voted strongly against. And what is present on the state-societal level is also present in education and schools, with that false alternative "CE vs. RE".

Of course these kinds of cleavages exist in every society, maybe not so salient, but in the form of different political orientations. The problem in Serbia is that none of them has a firm majority (it is about 50/50), so that they are constantly fighting over the voices of the masses. And the group (ideology) which succeeds to mobilize them for a "fight against…" and who promises them "a better future", at a certain point in time, will win their hearts. Masses are "easy targets", as long as they are (self) victimized, (relatively) deprived and ignorant (chronically misinformed), and the "losers of transition" in Serbia today are those targets (Mihailović 2006). Opposition to the government, once personified in "Otpor" and

pro-European currents in 2000, now is gathered around nationalist, right wing populist parties and pro-fascistic organizations. And what is most scary, it involves youth, youth that grew up in isolation, uncertainty and fear.

Could this kind of opposing power in the Serbian society be considered as the one crucial for development, a critical "other side" which moves society forward, so that the single-mindedness of the majority will not lead towards collective mediocrity and decay? As Mill (1975:259, 262) proposed. Luckily, this nationalistic opposition is not the only "other side" of Serbia. There is a solid healthy core of Serbian civil society, which was often referred to as the "Other Serbia" during the 90s, a term used to describe a group of NGOs and intellectual circles that sought to formulate a non-nationalist alternative to the regime and courageously oppose the war (Bieber 2003: 83). This opposition is still "watchmen" for this new "democratic" government also, and has its channels of influence in the Serbian society, through independent media and civil initiatives and actions. They may be limited in scope, being too liberal and urban for the mainstream, but their role in the process of democratization is crucial.

Democracy, as it was mentioned before, is not something static that can be achieved completely. It is rather a process, developing gradually in a society, concerning both political-state and civil sector. In the case of Serbia it is being conquered step by step, weakening the level of authoritarian government gradually. We could say that Tito's totalitarianism was replaced by Milosević's competitive authoritarianism (Levitsky and Way 2002: 52), which was in 2000 replaced by semi-liberal democracy. Unfortunately a sombre leitmotiv tends to occur throughout these historical shifts: each new government begins as a reformatory, but tends to turn into its antecedents, focused only on how to stay in power, dismissing an essential part of democracy, "the voice of minorities", and in this way becomes a closed, rigid system, determined to fail (Mill 1975: 262). How closed and rigid Serbian political and social system is today is a disputable question, but some objective indicators (new laws, organs, increase in the number of CSOs and civic initiatives) are telling that there is much more space for the "other side" than it was some 10 or 20 years ago.

And where is the CE in all this "regime-opposition story" and what is its role? It certainly has a potential for changing mindsets and building autonomous individuals for some future political culture, when Serbia will get over all these "children's diseases" of the early democracy. But its (CE) influence, with a current position in schools and society, is not so visible today. It should not be an "alternative", or a formality to please the EU standards; it

should be a way of teaching, an accepted model and a method for the whole education in Serbia.

The process of developing democracy is a long and difficult, where certain intermittence (as was for example the assassination of the reformist prime minister in 2003), could be expected and accepted as something natural and maybe analogous to the individual development. According to this development tendency (intermittence), new behavioral forms (psycho-physiological functions, such as walking, talking) are not developing at once, and completely, but rather tend to appear for some interval, then to disappear again, and appear again, till these intervals between appearance-disappearance become shorter and shorter, and behavior finally establishes as solid and continuous (Valentine 1942 in Smiljanić 1999: 48). From this perspective the process of democratization could be explained with a "reversed" Haeckel's hypothesis, saying that "phylogeny recapitulates ontogeny" (Costall 1985: 34). It can be also hypothesised that analogous developmental tendencies can be observed both on the individual and societal-humanity level. Of course, this is just a philosophical proposition, rather than scientific explanation of a democratization process.

Yet, another, rather fantastic idea is also coming in sight here. What if there is just "one discourse", as Bernstein (1994: 124) did propose, no double messages? Maybe the Serbian government is "sabotaging" the CE because it knows that the system, which is to develop, is corrupt and decadent, thus it wants to prevent us (future generations) from participating in it. What if they discerned that democratization is actually not a development, but a "matrix"?! Our egalitarian minds, nurtured through 50 years of communist attempt, resilient on the free-market philosophy, saw through the shortcomings of democracy and its fallacy, and therefore decided just to pretend to be in the game, formally accepting CE, but secretly stepping out from the system.

From this "nebulous" perspective, Serbian traditionalism and euro-skepticism is sometimes considered equivalent to the broader "antiglobalization" perspective, as something positive, like a form of resistance to the corporationism and the "big powers' play". Membership in NATO or EU is regarded as something negative for sustainable development of a country from this antiglobalizationist's view, which is advocated from many international civil movements in developed countries. The question is: can Serbia afford itself to "fight the globalization" now, by staying isolated? Another question is whether its traditionalism actually is in the spirit of this antiglobalizationism, as it is illiberal, oppressive and nationalistic. Serbian columnist Pančić T. (2009) wittily described this Serbian "dilemma" with the following: "The only thing which is more stupid than being a member of NATO is

not to be a member of NATO, especially if you are nothing like Switzerland or Sweden. The same goes for EU, especially if you are nothing like Norway."

If modernization (nonnationalism, human rights protection, war crime conviction, declericalization etc.) is the "top level value" decided in the Serbian society, then it should be advocated for in all public affairs, all state business and official institutions, in every place and time, so the message would be the same: prosperity and peace. Serbia is still an "unfinished" state and it has to declare itself, once and for all: Is it a secular or a theocratic state; is it a civic or a nation (ethnic) state (Marković 2006: 225)? There are many sideways on this transition path to democracy, as this rough and primitive capitalism we are experiencing now is, creating social inequalities and increasing frustration of "transition losers". It is not too late to change the course from that neoliberal capitalism to the more human social-democratic model, as some suggested (Vidojević 2006: 19). All we need, again, is a consensus.

From all the information concerned here, on the case of Serbia, and its process of democratization, we could broaden the earlier mentioned statement of Galston (2001: 217) that "Good citizens are made but not born" with the "Good life makes good citizens!" And vice versa?

7. Future Research

Nearly one century old (or even longer if we trace its roots in the ancient philosophy), CE is still balancing its discourse: "between representation and direct participation; between self-interest and public spirit; between rights and responsibilities; between liberty and equality; between reasoned deliberation and passionate mobilization; between secular and faith-based foundations of civic discourse and action; between unity and diversity; between civic loyalty and civic dissent" (Galston 2001: 218). These fundamental theoretical debates stay as everlasting challenges, until the very perspective on the present socio-political-economical system in the world changes.

My considerations on some potential field for the future research are maybe not directly related to the CE program, but are inspired by this study. They rely on the concepts of Authoritarianism and Ethnic distance and their role in the society's development process. The following questions could be important:

1.　　　How to resist the "temptations of authoritarianism"? (Dahrendorf 1995: 28). How to carry the "burden of freedom"? (Fromm 1941, 1986). These questions derived from the key challenges for development: balance between economic growth, political freedom and social cohesion (Dahrendorf 1995: 29). Some of the fields to research on this are:

- *In schools*: What are effective non-authoritarian models of education? (Moving from the "Ex cathedra" to the "Socratic dialogical" style; they are challenging and more difficult from the classical teaching-learning methods, but better in the long run.)

- *In society* (some proposals by Dahrendorf 1995: 35-38): Linking school and work; Reaching out to the underclass; Sustaining local communities; A positive role for the state.

2.　　　How to overcome the fear and hatreds towards "otherness"? (Re-imaging of: "primitive, dirty, intrusive, nomadic, uncivilized, aggressive" conceptions; Decreasing the distance; "There is no THEY, only US", Joseph 2008).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Adorno, T. W. in collaboration with Aron, Betty (et al.) (1950). *The Authoritarian personality.* New York: Harper & Row

Altemeyer, Bob (1996). *The Authoritarian Specter.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

Barash, David P. and Webel, Charles P. (2002). *Peace and Conflict Studies.* London: Sage Publication

Bednarczyk, Boguslawa (1999). "Dealing with the Former Authoritarian Regimes: Legal and Political Issues in Southern and Eastern European Transition to Democracy" in Hauser, Ewa and Wasilewski, Jacek (eds.): *Lessons in Democracy.* Jagiellonian University Press. University of Rochester Press.

Beetham, David and Boyle, Kevin (1995). *Introducing Democracy.* UNESCO Publishing: Polity Press

Biro, Mikloš (2006a). *Homo Postcommunisticus.* Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek.

Cohen Louis, Manion Lawrence and Morrison Keith (2003). *Research Methods in Education.* Routledge Falmer. London and New York.

Cohen Barry (1996). *Explaining Psychological Statistics.* Brooks/Cole Publishing Company. USA

Costall, Alan (1985). "Specious origins? Darwinism and Developmental Theory" in George Butterworth, Julie Rutkowska and Michael Scaife (eds.): *Evolution and Developmental Psychology.* Sussex: The Harrester Press

Dahl, Robert A. (1998). *On Democracy.* New Haven&London: Yale University Press

Dancey P. Christine and Reidy John (2002). *Statistics Without Maths for Psychology Using SPSS for Windows.* Prentice Hall, Pearson Education, Harlow, England.

Dollard, John, Miller, Neal E., Doob, Leonard W. (1998). *Frustration and Aggression.* Routledge. E-book: http://site.ebrary.com/lib/tromsoub/docDetail.action?docID=2003450

Ericson, Magnus (2000). "Birds of a feather? On the Intersections of stable Peace and Democratic Research Programs" in Kacowicz, Arie M., bar-Siman-Tor, Yaacov, Elgström, Ole and Jerneck, Magnus (eds.): *Stable Peace Among Nations.* Lanham-Boulder-New York-Oxford: Rowman&Littlefield Publishers, INC

Felsenthal, Ilana and Rubinstein, Israelit (1991). "Democracy, School and Curriculum Reform: The Rules of the Game in Israel" in Sigel, Roberta S. and Hoskin, Marilyn (eds.): *Education for Democratic Citizenship: A Challenge for Multi-Ethnic Societies.* Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers INC

Fromm, Erich (1986). *Bekstvo od slobode.* Zagreb: Naprijed, Beograd: Nolit.

Goodlad, John I. (1979). "The Scope of the Curriculum Field" Page17-43 in Goodlad, John I. and Associates: *Curriculum Inquiry. The Study of Curriculum Practice*, McGraw-Hill book Company.

Goodlad, John I., Klein, Frances, M. and Tye, Kenneth, A. (1979). "The Domains of Curriculum and Their Study" Page43-77 in Goodlad, John I. and Associates: *Curriculum Inquiry. The Study of Curriculum Practice*. McGraw-Hill book Company.

Jordan, James, A. (1979). "Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Curriculum Worker" Page303-343 in Goodlad, John I. and Associates: *Curriculum Inquiry. The Study of Curriculum Practice*. McGraw-Hill book Company.

Joksimović, Snežana (2003). *Verska Nastava i Gradjansko Vaspitanje u Školama u Srbiji.* Beograd: Institut za Pedagoška Istraživanja

Harris, Ian M. (2002). "Conceptual Underpinnings of Peace Education" Page 15-25 in Salomon, Gavriel and Nevo, Baruch (eds.): *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles and Practices Around the World*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates

Havelka, N., Kuzmanović, B., Popadić, D. (1998). *Metode i tehnike socijalnopsiholoških istraživanja*. Beograd, Centar za primenjenu psihologiju.

Macpherson C. B. (1965). *The Reald World of Democracy*. A CBC Publication, The Massey Lectures, Fourth series, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

Mendoza, Carlos Aldana (2006). "Globalization and Citizenship. Is there a Room for Pedagogy?" in Roy Elveton (ed.): *Education for Participatory Democracy. Paradoxes in Globalizing Logic.* Gresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, INC

Mill, John, Stuart (1975). *Three Essays. On Liberty, Representative Government, The Subjection of Women*. Oxford: University Press

Muršič, Rajko (2000). "The Yugoslav Dark Side of Humanity: A View from a Slovene Blind Spot" Page56-77 in Joel M. Halpern and David A. Kideckel (eds.): *Neighbors at War, Anthropological Perspectives on Yugoslav Ethnicity, Culture and History*, The Pensylvania State University Press: University Park

Salomon, Gavriel (2002). "The Nature of Peace Education: Not all programs are created equal" Ch. 1. In Salomon, Gavriel and Nevo, Baruch (eds.): *Peace Education: The Concept,*

Principles and Practices around the World. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates

Scott, David and Lawson, Helen (eds.) (2002). *Citizenship education and the curriculum.* Westport, Conn. : Ablex Pub.E-bok tilgjengelig for eierbibliotek via Internett

Smiljanić, Vera (1999). Razvojna Psihologija. Beograd: Centar za primenjenu psihologiju Društva psihologa Srbije

Staub, Ervin (1989). *The Roots of Evil, The origins of genocide and other group violence.* Cambridge: University Press

Šušnjić, Đuro (1997). *Dijalog i Tolerancija*. Beograd: Čigoja

Journals and Articles

Avramović, Zoran (2004) "Obrazovanje za Gradjansko Društvo-Ideološko Sredstvo Tranzicije" *Sociološki pregled*, vol. XXXVIII, no. 1–2, 175–187

Bieber, Florian (2003) "The Serbian Opposition and Civil Society" *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society,* Vol. 17, No. 1, Fall 2003, 73-90

Biro, Mikloš, Mihić Vladimir, Milin Petar and Logar Svetlana (2002) "Did Socio-political Changes in Serbia Changed the Level of Authoritarianism and Ethnocentrism of Citizens?" *Pshologija*, Vol. 35 (1-2), 37-47

Brock-Utne, Birgit (2000) "Peace Education in an Era of Globalization" *Peace Review* 12:1, 131-138

Dahrendorf, Ralf (1995) "A Precarious Balance: Economic Opportunity, Civil Society, and Political Liberty" *The Responsive Community* Vol. 5 Issue 3, Summer 1995, 13-39

Edmunds, Timothy (2009) "Illiberal Resilience in Serbia" *Journal of Democracy* Vol.20, No. 1, January 2009, 128-142

Finkel, S. E., Sabatini, A. Christopher and Gwendolyn, G. Bevis (2000) "Civic Education, Civil Society and Political Mistrust in a Developing Democracy: The Case of Dominican Republic" *World Development* Vol. 28, No. 11, 1851-1854

Finkel, Steven E. (2003) "Can Democracy be Taught?" *Journal for Democracy* Vol.14, No.4, October 2003, 137-151

Galston, W. A. (2001) "Political Knowledge, Political Engagement and Civic Education" *Annual Review of Political Science* Volume 4 2001, 217-234

Harris, Ian M. (2004) "Peace Education Theory" *Journal of Peace Education* Vol. 1, No.1,5-20

Hello,Evelyn, Scheepers Peer, Vermulst, Ad and Gerris, Jan R.M. (2004) "Association between Educational Attainment and Ethnic Distance in Young Adults. Socialization by schools or parents?" *Acta Sociologica*. Vol. 47 (3): 253-275

Levitsky, Steven and Way, A. Lucan (2002) "Elections without Democracy. The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism" *Journal of Democracy* Volume 13, Number 2 April 2002, 51-65

Maksić, Slavica (2008) "Rezultati tematske studije o gradjanskom obrazovanju" *Demokratsko Gradjanstvo*. Gradjanske Inicijative br.3-4, septembar 2008, 3-5

Malone, C. W. (1968) "Civic Education" *Peabody Journal of Education* Vol. 46, No 2, 110-114

Mihić, Vladimir and Mihić, Ivana (2003) "Poznajem, Prihvatam, Poštujem - Istraživanje etničke distance kod dece i njihovih roditelja" *PSIHOLOGIJA* Vol. 36 (2), 167-182 UDC 159.9.072-053.5-052:316.347

Milojević, Ivana and Markov, Slobodanka (2008) "Gender, militarism and the view of the future: students' views on the introduction of the civilian service in Serbia" *Journal of Peace Education* Vol. 5, No. 2, September 2008, 175-191

Rosandić, Ružica (2000) "Grappling with Peace Education in Serbia" *Peace works* No. 33. Washington DC: United State Institute for Peace

Sommerfelt, Ole Henning, Vambheim, Vidar (2008). "The Dream of the Good – a Peace Education Project Exploring the Potential to Educate for Peace at an Individual Level" *Journal of Peace Education* 5 (1), pp. 79-95

Stjepanović-Zaharijevski, Dragana (2006) "From Ethnic Isolationism to Openness: The Prevailing Model of Development" *Facta Universitatis, Series: Philosophy, Sociology and Psychology* Vol. 5, No. 1, 35-46.

Zakošek, Nenad (2008) "Democratization, State Building and War: The Cases of Serbia and Croatia" Democratization, Vol.15, No.3, June 2008, 588-610

Conference Papers, Reports and Unpublished Manuscripts

Bernstein, B. (1994). "Pedagogizing Knowledge. A Social Grammar" Page115-139 in Amundsen I. (ed): Knowledge and Development, NFU Conference Proceedings, UiT

Biro, Mikloš (2006b) "Stavovo prema zakonitosti u tranzicionoj Srbiji" Page228-239 in Mihailović, Srećko (ed.): Pet Godina Tranzicije u Srbiji II. Socijaldemokratski klub. Fondacija Friedrich Ebert. Beograd 2006

Branson, Margaret (2000). "Critical Issues in Civic Education" Presented at the "We the People.." National Conference for State and District Coordinators, June 24-27 2000, Washington, DC. Conference paper

Branson, Margaret (2003). "The Importance of Promoting Civic Education". An Address to the 2nd Annual Scholars Conference sponsored by the Center for Civic Education, Pasadena, California, January 31, 2003. Conference paper

Đorđević, Dragoljub B. (2006). "Religijsko-crkveni kompleks u postoktobarskom period" Page239-254 in Mihailović, Srećko (ed.): Pet Godina Tranzicije u Srbiji II. Socijaldemokratski klub. Fondacija Friedrich Ebert. Beograd 2006

Goll, Thomas (2006). "The Role of Civil Society in Transformation and Democratization in Post-Communist Europe". Speech delivered at the Conference on Democracy-Promotion and International Cooperation Denver, Colorado September 25 –29, 2006. Conference paper

Komšić, Jovan (2005). "Država i njeno socijalno-političko okruženje" Page25-51 in Mihailović, Srećko et al. (eds.): Pet Godina Tranzicije u Srbiji. Socijaldemokratski klub. Fondacija Friedrich Ebert. Beograd 2005

Kovačević, Boško and Đorđević, Ljubo (2006). "Etničko (ne)poverenje" Page164-178 in Mihailović, Srećko (ed.): Pet Godina Tranzicije u Srbiji II. Socijaldemokratski klub. Fondacija Friedrich Ebert. Beograd 2006

Kuhn, Hans-Werner (2006). "European Approaches to Civic Education for Promotion of Democracy". Paper presented at the German-American Conference "Democracy Promotion and International Cooperation", cosponsored by the Center of Civic Education and the Bundeszentrale fur politische Bildung, September 24-29, 2006, Denver, Colorado, USA. Conference paper

Marković, Vera (2006). "Promene vrednosnih orjentacija" Page219-228 in Mihailović, Srećko (ed.): Pet Godina Tranzicije u Srbiji II. Socijaldemokratski klub. Fondacija Friedrich Ebert. Beograd 2006

Mihailović, Srećko (2006). "Dugo putovanje u kapitalizam" pages43-67 in Mihailović, Srećko (ed.): Pet Godina Tranzicije u Srbiji II. Socijaldemokratski klub. Fondacija Friedrich Ebert. Beograd 2006

Ministry of Education and Sports, Republic of Serbia (2001). "Democratization of Education and Education for Democratic Citizenship", Report of the Expert Team, Belgrade, Republic of Serbia, 2001. Available at www.min.edu.yu. Working paper

Oesterreich, Detlef (2003). "The Impact of Political Knowledge and Democratic Competencies on Desirable Aims of Civic Education" Results from the German contribution to the IEA Civic Education Project. Report available online at: http://www.sowi-online.de/journal/2003-1/project-oesterreich.htm

Petrović, Nebojša B. (2001). "Putevi istraživanja autoritarnosti" Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski Fakultet, Odsek za psihologiju. Master thesis

Pobulić, Simeon (2006). "Peti oktobar i pravci socijalno-ekonomskog razvoja" Page286-300 in Mihailović, Srećko (ed.): Pet Godina Tranzicije u Srbiji II. Socijaldemokratski klub. Fondacija Friedrich Ebert. Beograd 2006

Podunavac, Milan (2005). "Srbija izmedju diktature i demokratije" Page11-25 in Mihailović, Srećko et al. (eds.): Pet Godina Tranzicije u Srbiji. Socijaldemokratski klub. Fondacija Friedrich Ebert. Beograd 2005

Pontis Foundation (2007). "Serbian Civil Society Brief. Stalemate in Serbia: The spiral of Radicalism or a Foundation of a New Serbia?" Working paper, available at: http://www.nadaciapontis.sk/en/index.php?s-cv-contentID=12011&s-search-query=serbian+civil+society&s-search-pager-pindex=2&s-cv-assign=link

Reforms- Updated Statement (2003). "The Civil society, Media and Democratization of Serbia" prepared by the Government of the Republic of Serbia for the Donor Co-ordination Meeting, Brussels, November 2003. Working paper

Ristić, Irena (2006). "Povratak Srpske radikalne stranke nakon 5. Oktobra" Page134-144 in Mihailović, Srećko (ed.): Pet Godina Tranzicije u Srbiji II. Socijaldemokratski klub. Fondacija Friedrich Ebert. Beograd 2006

Smith Alan, Fountain Susan, McLean Hugh (2002). *Civic Education in Primary and Secondary Schools of Serbia. An evaluation of the first year, 2001-2002, and recommendations.* UNICEF Belgrade Office, UNESCO, Fund for an Open Society Serbia, Open Society Institute. Report

Todosijević, Bojan (1998). "Relationship between Authoritarianism and Nationalist Attitudes" Paper presented at symposium: Authoritarianism and Prejudices in an International and Inter-Generational Perspective, CEU, Budapest, June, 1998. Conference paper

Vidojević, Zoran (2006). "Restauracija i inovacija" Page9-34 in Mihailović, Srećko (ed.): Pet Godina Tranzicije u Srbiji II. Socijaldemokratski klub. Fondacija Friedrich Ebert. Beograd 2006

Vujadinović, Dragica (2006). "Tranzicijski procesi, politička kultura i civilno društvo" Page178-200 in Mihailović, Srećko (ed.): Pet Godina Tranzicije u Srbiji II. Socijaldemokratski klub. Fondacija Friedrich Ebert. Beograd 2006

United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (2004). "Civic Education, Practical Guidance Note". Bureau for Development Policy. Working paper

Internet Based Documents

Arsenijević, Vladimir (2007, February 18). "Naše Crnje" Peščanik.net (online) http://www.pescanik.net/content/view/39/114/

B92-a (2009, January 22). Većina ne bi prijavila Mladića (Based on the research by Strategic marketing, Serbian agency), B92webmedia (online) available at:

http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2009&mm=01&dd=22&nav_category=64; http://www.b92.net/tv/dokumenti.php?nav_category=785&nav_id=340696

B92-b (2009, March 24). Sukobi u centru Beograda. B92webmedia, FoNet, Beta (online) available at:
http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2009&mm=03&dd=24&nav_id=351926&nav_category=11

B92-c (2008, August 30). Gradjansko vaspitanje ili veronauka? B92webmedia (online) available at: http://www.vesti.rs/exit/Gradjansko-vaspitanje-ili-veronauka.html

B92-d (2009, April 8) Svetski dan Roma. source: B92webmedia, Beta, Institute for open society (online) available at:
http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2009&mm=04&dd=08&nav_category=12&nav_id=354499

B92-e (2009, April 8) Protest zbog raseljavanja Roma. B92webmedia, Fonet, Tanjug (online) available at:
http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2009&mm=04&dd=08&nav_category=11&nav_id=354502

B92-f (2009, March 5) Povlačenje zakona o diskriminaciji. B92webmedia (online) http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2009&mm=03&dd=05&nav_category=11&nav_id=348332

Civil Initiatives (2009, April) (online) available at:
http://www.gradjanske.org/page/civicEducationProgram/sr/Evaluacija.html).

e-novine (2008, December 21) Gradjansko vaspitanje interesantnije. Webnews (online) available at: http://www.e-novine.com/sr/srbija/clanak.php?id=20392

Joseph, Peter (2008). "Zeitgeist: Addendum" film (online) available on: http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=7065205277695921912; http://www.zeitgeistmovie.com/

Kurir (2008, December 24). Gradjani vernici. Webnews (online) available at: http://www.vesti.rs/exit/Gradjani-vernici.html

Pančić, Teofil (2009, April 4). "Beogradski fantomi 2009" Peščanik.net (online) http://www.pescanik.net/content/view/2950/74/

The Statistic Institute, Republic of Serbia (2008, November 11) Education and other communal activities/tables (online) http://webrzs.statserb.sr.gov.yu/axd/drugastrana.php?Sifra=0011&izbor=tabela

The Society for Development of Civic Education and Education for Democracy (2008, May 25) (online) http://www.gvnastavnici.org.yu/

Appendix 1. Map of Serbia

(http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/cia07/serbia_sm_2007.gif)

Appendix 2. Sample

Frequencies for pupils

place

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Zrenjanin	180	71,7	71,7	71,7
	Novi Sad	38	15,1	15,1	86,9
	Belo Blato	33	13,1	13,1	100,0
	Total	251	100,0	100,0	

schooling

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	primary	109	43,4	43,4	43,4
	secondary	142	56,6	56,6	100,0
	Total	251	100,0	100,0	

school

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	A	123	49,0	49,0	49,0
	B	19	7,6	7,6	56,6
	C	21	8,4	8,4	64,9
	D	18	7,2	7,2	72,1
	F	37	14,7	14,7	86,9
	E	33	13,1	13,1	100,0
	Total	251	100,0	100,0	

grade

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	3	98	39,0	39,0	39,0
	4	44	17,5	17,5	56,6
	5	16	6,4	6,4	62,9
	6	17	6,8	6,8	69,7
	7	76	30,3	30,3	100,0
	Total	251	100,0	100,0	

sex

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	M	111	44,2	44,2	44,2
	F	140	55,8	55,8	100,0
	Total	251	100,0	100,0	

subject

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	civic education	147	58,6	58,6	58,6
	religious education	104	41,4	41,4	100,0
	Total	251	100,0	100,0	

nationality

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Serb	184	73,3	78,6	78,6
	Montenegrian	1	,4	,4	79,1
	Hungarian	11	4,4	4,7	83,8
	Roma	1	,4	,4	84,2
	Slovenian	1	,4	,4	84,6
	Slovakian	6	2,4	2,6	87,2
	Bulgarian	2	,8	,9	88,0
	Romanian	1	,4	,4	88,5
	mixed	21	8,4	9,0	97,4
	Bosnian	2	,8	,9	98,3
	Vojvodinian	1	,4	,4	98,7
	Russinian	1	,4	,4	99,1
	Koreanian	1	,4	,4	99,6
	Yugoslav	1	,4	,4	100,0
	Total	234	93,2	100,0	
Missing	System	17	6,8		
Total		251	100,0		

subject * sex Crosstabulation

			sex		
			M	F	Total
subject	civic education	Count	65	82	147
		% within sub	44,2%	55,8%	100,0%
	religious educ	Count	46	58	104
		% within sub	44,2%	55,8%	100,0%
Total		Count	111	140	251
		% within sub	44,2%	55,8%	100,0%

place * subject Crosstabulation

			subject		
			civic education	religious education	Total
place	Zrenjanin	Count	117	63	180
		% within place	65,0%	35,0%	100,0%
	Novi Sad	Count	24	14	38
		% within place	63,2%	36,8%	100,0%
	Belo Blato	Count	6	27	33
		% within place	18,2%	81,8%	100,0%
Total		Count	147	104	251
		% within place	58,6%	41,4%	100,0%

schooling * subject Crosstabulation

			subject		
			civic education	religious education	Total
schooling	primary	Count	57	52	109
		% within schooli	52,3%	47,7%	100,0%
	secondary	Count	90	52	142
		% within schooli	63,4%	36,6%	100,0%
Total		Count	147	104	251
		% within schooli	58,6%	41,4%	100,0%

Comments:

The number of pupils, who attend CE in this sample, is bigger than those who attend RE (58.6%: 41.4%) I have no official data if this reflects the current proportion of the subjects in the whole country (some unofficial information for our county is that it is like this, the slightly advantage of CE), but in the first research from 2001 (Joksimović 2003), when these subjects were facultative only about 12% of pupils chose CE. It is interesting that in this sample there is the same proportion of male and female pupils in both groups, CE and RE, which is opposite to the previous research (Joksimovic 2003) which showed that 2/3 of the pupils in secondary schools who attended CE that year were females.

Nationality and Subject preferences

In this sample majority of pupils declared as Serbs (184=73.3%) – (Vojvodina is more ethnically heterogeneous than the rest of Serbia, but national minorities are not present in equal number in all towns and places, so this sample represents just the population from these towns). 63% of pupils declared as Serb(s) attend CE while among other ethnic groups, 13 groups=50 pupils (if we look them as one group) only 40% of them attend CE.

nationality * subject Crosstabulation

nationality			subject civic education	subject religious education	Total
nationality	Serb	Count	116	68	184
		% within nationality	63,0%	37,0%	100,0%
	Montenegrian	Count	0	1	1
		% within nationality	,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	Hungarian	Count	6	5	11
		% within nationality	54,5%	45,5%	100,0%
	Roma	Count	1	0	1
		% within nationality	100,0%	,0%	100,0%
	Slovenian	Count	1	0	1
		% within nationality	100,0%	,0%	100,0%
	Slovakian	Count	1	5	6
		% within nationality	16,7%	83,3%	100,0%
	Bulgarian	Count	0	2	2
		% within nationality	,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	Romanian	Count	1	0	1
		% within nationality	100,0%	,0%	100,0%
	mixed	Count	6	15	21
		% within nationality	28,6%	71,4%	100,0%
	Bosnian	Count	2	0	2
		% within nationality	100,0%	,0%	100,0%
	Vojvodinian	Count	1	0	1
		% within nationality	100,0%	,0%	100,0%
	Russinian	Count	0	1	1
		% within nationality	,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	Koreanian	Count	0	1	1
		% within nationality	,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	Yugoslav	Count	1	0	1
		% within nationality	100,0%	,0%	100,0%
Total		Count	136	98	234
		% within nationality	58,1%	41,9%	100,0%

Frequencies for teachers

town	Frequency	Percent
Zrenjanin	13	86,7
Novi Sad	2	13,3
Total	15	100,0

school	Frequency	Percent
A	5	33,3
B	1	6,7
C	1	6,7
F	2	13,3
D	6	40,0
∑	15	100,0

education		Frequency	Percent
Valid	higher	6	40,0
	histprof	1	6,7
	langprof	1	6,7
	pedagog	1	6,7
	philosop	3	20,0
	sociolog	1	6,7
	teacher	2	13,3
	Total	15	100,0

Teaching years	Frequency	Percent
Valid 1	4	26,7
2	5	33,3
3	1	6,7
5	3	20,0
6	1	6,7
7	1	6,7
Total	15	100,0

Appendix 3.

<div align="center">QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUPILS</div>

Instruction: Please read each question carefully and answer honestly, what you really think. There are no right or wrong answers here and all the information you give will be used just for the research purposes (your teachers/professors will not read your answers and it will not affect your grades and school achievement).

Class _____ Sex: M F   Town: _____   School: _____
Parent education level:
Mother a) primary school   b) secondary school c) higher education and university
Father a) primary school   b) secondary school c) higher education and university
Ethnicity: _____
Which subject do you attend? a) Civic education   b) Religious education
How long have you been attending classes in that subject? _____
Why are you attending this subject? _____
_____
What you think is the purpose/goal of that subject? What is that you are learning about?
_____
_____
Are you satisfied with the classes in that subject? (Circle one of numbers: 1= not satisfied, 5=completely satisfied)
1 2 3 4 5

What	do	you	like	most	about	that	subject?

_____
_____

What	you	don't	like	about	that	subject?

_____
_____

How much active/participatory you are in these classes (do you participate in discussions, cooperate with others etc.)?
1 2 3 4 5
Name at least 3 topics which you consider important and that you have discussed in these classes
1._____
2._____
3._____
Have you ever used something you learned in civic education/religious education outside of class? If so,   what   was   it?
_____
_____
Is there any topic that you would like to discuss on these classes, and you haven't done that before?
_____
_____
Would you change anything about civic education/religious education classes? What?
_____
Is there anything else that is not mentioned and you would like to say about these classes?
_____
_____

<div align="center">THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION!☺</div>

Appendix 4.

QUESTIONNARIE FOR CIVIC EDUCATION TEACHERS

Town: _____ School: _____
Finished educational level: _____
Years of working in school: _____   How long have you been teaching civic education? _____
Why did you choose to teach this subject? _____
_____
Are you generally satisfied with your classes? (Circle one of numbers: 1= not satisfied, 5=completely satisfied)
1 2 3 4 5
How much are pupils interested and active in your classes? 1 2 3 4 5
What is, from your perspective, the most important goal of civic education in Serbia?
_____
_____
Name at least 3 topics you consider to be most important in the curriculum of civic education:
1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
Do you think the curriculum includes all the relevant topics? If not, what would you add more?
_____
_____
Is the program, from your perspective, adjusted to the development level of pupils?
_____
_____
Would you change anything related to program of civic education in Serbian schools? If yes, what?
_____
_____
Is there anything else you would like to say related to this issue?
_____
_____

Appendix 5.

The Bogardus' scale of ethnic distance

Please mark with "X" in appropriate box if you agree with the following statements:

Would you mind a......

	Serb	Montenegrian	Hungarian	Roma person	Albanian	Bosnjak	Croatian	Slovenian	Russian	German	American
Living in your country											
Living in your neighborhood (street, building)											
Going into your school											
Being your teacher											
Sharing a desk in class											
Being your best friend											
Being your boyfriend/girlfriend											

Appendix 6.

The Scale of Authoritarianism

For each statement mark X in a square under the number according to your level of agreement.

1-disagree completely   3-not sure

2- mostly disagree   4-mostly agree   5-strongly agree

No	STATEMENT	1	2	3	4	5
1.	I am obedient and disciplined.					
2.	What this country needs more than laws and political programs are few courageous, tireless and devoted leaders to whom people can trust.					
3.	There is nothing worse than a man who does not feel a great love, gratitude and respect towards his parents.					
4.	Creation of a harmonious and strong family should be the main goal of one's life and work.					
5.	Children should be educated in the spirit of obedience.					
6.	Nowadays, when people of different kinds are moving all around and mix, one has to be careful not to get some infectious disease.					
7.	In every moment I am ready to defend the honor of my state and people, even using the force.					
8.	If the interest of the people is endangered, even life should be sacrificed.					
9.	Everything that is worth is earned by suffering.					
10.	Love towards God is the basis for all other loves.					
11.	Every man should believe in some supernatural power to which he will submerge.					
12.	Abortion is a shameful act which should be prohibited by law.					
13.	Woman should enter the marriage as a virgin, because it is the only warranty that she will devote all of her love to her husband.					
14.	Homosexuals are nothing better than criminals and should be severely punished.					
15.	That what is the most necessary for the youth is strong discipline, in order to be determined and have strong will, to be able to fight for the homeland and family.					
16.	Death penalty is the best solution for punishment of notorious criminals.					
17.	Most jobs in household by their nature are more suited to women.					
18.	Most probably, one day it will be proved that astrology can explain many things.					
19.	All wars and social crises could be one day finished by an earthquake of flood which will destroy the world.					
20.	After every change in society things become worse than they used to be.					
21.	Obedience and respect of authorities is what all children should learn.					
22.	Wisdom of our ancestors overcomes today's way of thinking.					

Appendix 7. Permission from the MoE R. Serbia

Republic of Serbia
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
The Department for Education Development
And International Cooperation in Education
Department for strategy and development of education
No: 601-00-00048/2008-06
Date: 16.04.2008.
Belgrade
Nemanjina 22-26

<div align="center">BRANKA VASILJEVIĆ</div>

<div align="right">Address: 23000 Zrenjanin
4. jul 7/21</div>

<div align="center">SUBJECT: Permission for the conduction of the scientific research in primary and secondary schools
in the Republic of Serbia</div>

Apropos your application to the Ministry of Education for obtaining the permission for the scientific research in the primary and secondary schools in Serbia, we inform you on the following:

The Ministry of Education is giving the permission for the conduction of the scientific research under the working title "Civic education in Serbian schools from the perspective of Peace education-Evaluation of the programme", which is organized and going to be conducted by you. Considering your methodology, which also includes psychological testing of pupils, we obliged you to obtain the written consent of the parents that their children can be subjected under this investigation. In this purpose, you are to make a contact with the school authority, which you are planning to include in your sample, and arrange all the necessary pretesting conditions for your research.

<div align="right">THE STATE SECRETARY
Mirjana Jovanović</div>

Република Србија
МИНИСТАРСТВО ПРОСВЕТЕ
Сектор за развој образовања и
међународну просветну сарадњу
Одељење за стратегију и развој
образовања
Број : 601-00-00048/2008-06
Датум: 16.04. 2008.
Б е о г р а д
Немањина 22-26
јђ

БРАНКА ВАСИЉЕВИЋ

23 000 ЗРЕЊАНИН
ул. 4. јула 7/21

ПРЕДМЕТ: Сагласност за спровођење научног истраживања у основним и средњим
школама у Републици Србији

Поводом Вашег обраћања Министарству просвете ради давања сагласности
за спровођење научног истраживања у основним и средњим школама у Републици
Србији, обавештавамо Вас о следећем:

Министарство просвете даје сагласност за спровођење научног истраживања
под радним називом «Грађанско васпитање у школама у Србији из угла мировног
образовања – евалуација програма», чији сте носилац и организатор. Будући да је,
као методолошки поступак, предвиђен индивидуални рад са ученицима, који
подразумева и психолошко тестирање, обавезујемо Вас на прибављање писаних
дозвола родитеља да се њихова деца – ученици, могу подвргнути ситуацији
тестирања. У том смислу, потребно је да остварите контакт са руководством школа,
које су планиране узорком, да бисте се договорили о свим неопходним
припремним радњама за спровођење истраживања.

ДРЖАВНИ СЕКРЕТАР

Мирјана Јовановић

Appendix 8. Letter to Schools

To the Principal of the School

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Branka Vasiljević and I am a Master student in "Peace and Conflict Transformation" at the University of Tromsø, Norway. I was born in Zrenjanin, Serbia 1979. Graduated at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, Department for Psychology, in 2003. And I was working in primary schools in Zrenjanin and Belo Blato from 2004-2007.

I would like to invite your school to participate in the project which I am conducting, related to the implementation of Civic education in Serbian schools, and kindly ask for your permission to collect data in your school during the May-June 2008. I am submitting you the description of my Project design and the Confirmation letter from my academic coordinator in attachment, together with the letter of permission from the Serbian Ministry of Education.

I am kindly asking for your permission to do interviews with the teachers of Civic education in your school, to do the questioning of 2 classes of VII(III) grade pupils, and if it is possible also to visit and observe one class of Civic education in your school. I am also sending you the instruments (questionnaires) which I am planning to use, in the attachment. Questioning of pupils would last 45 min (one school class) and I am planning to question both pupils who attend Civic education and those who attend Religious education (as the questionnaire is constructed in that way that questions can be related to both subjects). I guarantee you that all the obtained data will be used only for the scientific purposes and that the identity of your school will not be traced in my data nor revealed in the results.

I am familiar with the fact that one similar study has been conducted in 2002. (but on a wider level) by the UNESC and UNICEF, Fond for open society and Ministry of Education, which was intended to evaluate that first year of Civic education in Serbian schools. Considering this, my opinion was that it would be really beneficial for the further development of this programme, to conduct again one similar study, now after seven years of its existence. I believe that my research can contribute to the gathering of valuable data in the field of Peace education and that it will also be useful for the development of education in Serbia.

I am aware that the end of a school year is not the best time for data gathering, but unfortunately this is the only available time for me when I am in Serbia for my fieldwork. Therefore, I kindly ask you to help me with my project. I would also like to ask you, if you are in a position to do so, please notify me as soon as possible on your decision about my application, so I could know if and when I could visit your school, or I should apply to other schools also. With a hope that you will accept my application and allow me to do my research in your school, I am thanking you for the consideration.
Please feel free to contact me for any further information you could require on my project or myself.

Sincerely,
Branka Vasiljević

Appendix 9. ANALYSIS OF THE PRIMARY SCHOOL PUPILS' ANSWERS ON THE QUESTIONNARIE

QUESTION/ANSWER	N=57
1. Why are you attending this subject?	
I think it's interesting and amusing, it suits me better	24
Because I'm not religious	4
Because it's obligatory	4
Because I must	4
My parents have chosen for me	4
I don't know / without answer	4
Because we motivate problems	2
I like company, socializing	2
Because there is no religious (orthodox) education in my village	1
Because there are more activities here on civic education	1
We can talk about things that bother us	1
I would rather not to choose any of these, but I had to pick one	1
Because it's related to school	1
I thought it was more interesting, but now I can't sign out	1
It was interesting at the beginning, but know it's becoming boring	1
To learn more	1
I think that every child need civic education to learn how to get around and satisfy its needs and other's needs in nowadays society	1
To learn something more about general culture	1
To learn more about democracy and my rights	1
2. What you think is the purpose/goal of that subject? What is that you are learning about?	
Bon ton, general culture, proper behaving	23
I don't know / without answer	10
Citizens rights and duties, to be a good citizen, to develop civic awareness	10
Learning about life in community, in a modern world	6
That violence is not good, how to prevent it	6
Politics, government, state, democracy	4
How to solve problems	3
To become more educated	2
Friendship	2
To become better persons	1
To express our opinion	1
To be critical and self-critical	1
Providing the proper upbringing for children, learning to think and behave	1
Showing us the way to the adulthood	1
About different forms of social organizing	1
To resolve school problems	1
It doesn't have any sense, I haven't learned anything	1
3. What do you like most about that subject?	
Nothing	10
Everything	8

Conversation/communication	8
We can socialize more with friends	5
Freedom of thought and speech	4
Some games we play	4
Team work	3
Problem solving	3
The goal of this subject- proper behaving	2
When we talk about school	1
Talking about problems and solving them in a casual way, without pressure and with humor	1
When we make panels	1
When we read fairytales	1
Creativity	1
Talking about problems in school	1
No grades	1
Learning about ourselves	1
Teacher	1
That teacher is also our class leader	1
Interesting topics	1
It's interesting	1
When we go outside	1
Socializing with pupils from other classes	1
When we talk about politics and democracy	1
That I don't do anything	1
That I don't have to study it	1
4. What you don't like about that subject?	
Nothing (comment: those who answered "nothing" on the previous question also tend to answer the same on this question!)	20
When I'm bored	5
When we learn about politics	5
Teacher	4
Tasks are sometimes boring	2
It's utterly boring	2
We work on one topic for too long	2
One more class in our schedule	2
When we don't really do anything serious about some topics	2
I don't know	2
Almost every class is the same	1
Unorganized class	1
Too broad discussions	1
Some games which are not interesting	1
When we begin something and don't finish it later	1
Some activities, for example "imitation"	1
Lecturing	1
Studying	1
When I don't do anything (comment: this pupil answered the same on the previous question!)	1
Classes are always longer	1
2 classes every second week	1
When we don't pay enough attention to really important problems	1
Respect for the goal of the subject (proper behavior)	1
It's all very confusing to me, I have no idea what we are doing there	1

5. Name at least 3 topics which you consider important and that you have discussed in these classes	
How to behave ourselves, bon ton	18
School violence	13
Democracy	11
Politics	7
No answer	7
School problems	6
Violence, non violence	6
Addiction disease prevention	6
Teacher – pupil relations	4
Active listening	3
School behavior	3
Friendship	3
General knowledge, culture	3
Authority	2
Pupils relations	2
Trafficking	2
Trips	2
Media	3
Citizens rights	2
Society	2
Children	1
School	1
Communication	1
Sport	1
Health	1
Our community	1
Family violence	1
Steal	1
Fun activities	1
Human relations	1
Our state	1
Anarchy	1
Acting and pantomime	1
Respect and love for others	1
Reading	1
6. Have you ever used something you learned in civic education outside of class? If so, what was it?	
No	28
That you shouldn't be violent	4
Active listening	4
To behave myself	4
How to avoid conflicts	3
No, and I'm not planning either	2
In my behavior	2
I take care about environment and motivate others not to throw garbage on streets	2
Yes, but can't remember of any example	1
To help others	1
Helped my friends to stop fighting	1
I became more considerate towards elders	1
It helped me to better understand teachers and establish better relations with them	1

I don't steal any more	1
About democracy	1
The danger of psychoactive substances	1
Improved my friendships	1
Learned lot of things	1
It's all rubbish	1
7. Is there any topic that you would like to discuss on these classes, and you haven't done that before?	
No	30
We talked about everything so far	5
I can't remember	4
Drug abuse	3
How to get better grades	2
I haven't thought about that	1
No, it's all the same- boring	1
Teacher –pupil relations	1
Studying	1
Putting teachers into pupils shoes	1
More about politics	1
Getting a sport court into our school	1
Sport	1
Friendship and understanding	1
Behavior in public	1
Proper behaving	1
Lots of things, I can't number them	1
I want to sleep on that class	1
How much money do teachers earn	1
8. Would you change anything about civic education classes? What?	
No / no answer	36
Teacher	5
More interesting classes	2
Cancel these classes	2
Cut out topic on democracy	1
Change teaching method	1
I don't know	1
It's utterly boring	1
We should go outside more often	1
We should play more	1
Problem solving	1
Teacher should animate us more	1
Cancel both civic and religious education	1
Classes should be regular	1
There are so many things I would say…	1
Atmosphere	1
Classroom	1
Classes should last longer	1
9. Is there anything else that is not mentioned and you would like to say about these classes?	
No / no answer	35
I like everything we do	3
It's all rubbish and should be canceled	2

Teacher is great	1
I don't know anything	1
It has an important goal	1
All these talking should turn into some action	1
All topics are useful	1
It comprehend all aspects of life	1
It's important to know how to act toward ourselves and others	1
It's important that everyone is open, honest and interested in topics	1
We should learn how to behave ourselves on these classes	1
It is important that we learn all the good things on these classes	1
They should bring our old teacher back	1
Change the topic	1
Should be less games more learning	1
We don't have our classes regularly	1

Appendix 10. ANALYSIS OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL PUPILS' ANSWERS ON THE QUESTIONNARIE

QUESTION/ANSWERS	N=90
1. Why are you attending this subject?	
Because I'm not religious/ it suits me better than religious education	19
I find it interesting and useful	11
To learn civic duties, citizens rights and political behavior	10
I don't know	9
I had to pick one	8
To learn some new things	6
It's more interesting and useful than religious education	6
Because I already have enough knowledge in religious education	6
It helps me to better understand problems of modern society	4
It's attractive/ sounds good	4
Because of my friends/to socialize	3
Because everyone can express their opinion	3
Because I didn't know anything about it	2
Because I like it	1
I thought it was more interesting	1
Out of curiosity	1
Because of workshops	1
Because I think it affects my thinking	1
Because sometimes I don't have to attend the class	1
Because I don't have to do anything on these classes	1
I picked it by chance	1
2. What you think is the purpose/goal of that subject? What is that you are learning about?	
To learn abut civic rights and duties, politics	31
To teach us our duties and how to behave better / how to help ourselves and others	11
How to get around in nowadays society, how to behave in certain situations	10
Basic culture, general education	8
Teaching pupils about their rights and duties	6
Problem solving	6
I don't know	5

To become more tolerant	5
It doesn't have any purpose, it's useless	5
How to express my opinion and how to fight for my ideas	3
Learning about ethics	2
How to become academic citizens	2
Civic education	2
Creation of civic class in society, no matter it's unrealistic	1
About violence, how does it appear, how to prevent it and how does society relate to it	1
To become more active	1
To be informed about life, to realize people's mistakes	1
It doesn't have any purpose, contrarily to religious education	1
Nothing	1
Nothing because it's not graded properly- causing low interest among pupils	1
To get to know each other	1
To be good citizens	1
To develop true values	1
To develop critical thinking	1
To motivate us to become more interested in what's going on in our town and state	1
Developing creativity	1
To learn how to spend 45 min fast	1
Another boring class	1
It was not explained to us	1
3. What do you like most about that subject?	
Freedom of speech, freedom to express our opinion	21
Workshops	16
Relaxed atmosphere on the class	13
Noting special / without answer	8
Interesting topics	7
Debates, discussions	7
That we don't get regular grades	6
Pupil's activity	5
Good relationship between teacher and pupils	4
Team problem solving	3
Visits to museums and galleries	3
Social activism, encouraging of civic initiatives	3
When teacher let us skip the class sometimes	3
Everything	2
That I don't have to study it / don't have to do anything on classes	2
I learned how we can affect on different things in our society	1
I learned what I can do when my rights are violated	1
Human rights	1
It's more informative, I don't have the sense of duty (obligation) towards it	1
That I don't have to study it / don't have to do anything on classes	1
Equality	1
Tolerance attempt	1
Teacher	1
Group work	1
Freedom to choose topic	1
That we talk about general life problems which are important to us	1
Creative freedom	1
I get broader information on my environment and people in it	1
It broaden our horizons	1
Ambient	1

Practical work	1
I use these classes to prepare for other subjects	1
Different interesting things	1
4. What you don't like about that subject?	
Nothing special / without answer	13
Putting too much stress on politics	9
Teacher	8
Some topics / a bad choice of topics	8
Not enough workshops, boring lecturing method	6
It's boring sometimes	3
Boring classes	3
Bad organization of classes	3
It's not practical, can't be implemented	3
It's useless, irrelevant, out of real life	3
That we don't get regular grades	2
Pupils are not always interested to have discussions	2
Improper behavior of some pupils	2
Lack of discipline	2
Classroom	2
Lack of some concrete actions	1
When I have to talk about things I don't like	1
Topics which are not suitable for our age	1
Boring topics on democracy	1
We take too many hours for one topic	1
Some topics are repeating	1
That they replaced our teacher	1
Program doesn't always meet our interests	1
They push us too much sometimes, which is not OK since it's a casual subject	1
Some boring duties	1
Lack of cooperation with other institutions and deeper analysis of problems	1
That I can talk what ever I want, as long as I mention: NGO, multiculturalism, youth activism etc.	1
Everything	1
5. Name at least 3 topics which you consider important and that you have discussed in these classes	
Children's rights	33
Human rights	25
Democracy	21
Violence	15
Tolerance	14
State, government, constitution	11
Education, professional orientation, employment	10
I don't remember / without answer	10
Ecology	9
Discrimination	7
Child abuse	6
Prejudice	5
Media	5
Trafficking	4
Non violent communication	4
Social/civic activism	3
Politics	3

Family violence	3
General culture	3
Debate	3
NGO	3
(anti)fascism	2
Nationalism	2
Workshop "what is happiness"	2
Lobbing	1
Marketing	1
Pupils rights	1
Corruption	1
Death penalty	1
Kitsch in media	1
Aggressiveness among youth	1
Delinquency	1
Conflict resolution	1
Communication	1
Human relations	1
National minorities	1
National belonging	1
Drug abuse	1
Abortion	1
Unemployment	1
Maps of mind	1
Manipulation	1
How and to whom to make complains	1
Social environment	1
The biggest sick minds among politicians	1
The biggest villains in the world and how to fight them	1
6. Have you ever used something you learned in civic education outside of class? If so, what was it?	
No	42
Yes, but can't remember any example	7
I became more tolerant	5
In everyday life, helps me to better understand it	4
In discussions related to current political situation in country	2
Making relations with other subjects	2
It raised my ecological awareness, I take more care about my environment now	2
It helped me to let go some prejudices	2
To go and vote on elections	1
I listen to others more	1
Now I know to whom I can make complains if something bothers me	1
In communication	1
When I was associate on a project "national youth strategy"	1
I learned how to write CV and how to prepare for job interview in the future	1
It's generally applicable but not in a concrete situation	1
Yes, but it's to long to explain here	1
When we had some problems in our neighborhood (with pluming)	1
7. Is there any topic that you would like to discuss on these classes, and you haven't done that before?	
No	37
I'm not sure	5

Everything is included in the program, mostly	4
Sex education, reproductive health	2
Professional orientation	2
Family violence	1
School problems	1
Education	1
Education reform	1
Kosovo independence	1
Current political situation in country	1
Parliament simulation	1
Women's rights	1
Interests of the youth in the world	1
Globalization	1
Right to vote and why it's important to use it	1
Rights of homosexuals	1
Upbringing	1
Sport	1
Constitution, political organization, economic system	1
About exploitation of working class in this retarded capitalistic society	1
Cars, motors	1
Yes	1
8. Would you change anything about civic education classes? What?	
No	27
There is a lack o practical actions initiated by pupils	6
Classes should be more interesting	5
More workshops	5
Teacher	5
Decrease the number of pupils in a group so everyone could get an opportunity to speak	3
More group work (literary and art projects)	2
More visits to specialized institutions and professionals)	2
To become more serious- to be valued and graded as other subjects	1
More discussions	1
Higher discipline	1
More classes per week (at least two)	1
Program, topics	1
Topics on religion	1
Topics on human and children's rights	1
I want our old teacher back	1
Stop replacing our teachers all the time	1
Teacher's approach	1
Some irrelevant topics are present too much	1
Put more interesting topics	1
Pupils should participate more, be more active	1
Group	1
To have specialized classroom for civic education	1
The method of teaching- it's not interesting	1
Pupils who are not interested should not distract others	1
I wish I could learn something useful about things I'm interested in	1
To have less classes (one per month)	1
Cut out this subject	1
Everything	1

9. Is there anything else that is not mentioned and you would like to say about these classes?	
No	44
Cooperation of all pupils	2
It teach us to treat better everyone: people, animals, nature the whole world	1
To be more involved in what's going on in our town, to visit museums and sights and talk about history	1
Bribe and corruption	1
Teacher as an authority should try to activate pupils more and make them participate in classes	1
There should be more interesting workshops	1
There is a lack of concentration because this is considered as relaxation	1
We are aware of our rights, but the one who are violating them are not	1
Teacher makes a difference between pupils, he lets some skip classes, others doesn't	1

Appendix 11. ANALYSIS OF TEACHERS' ANSWERS ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CIVIC EDUCATION TEACHERS

QUESTION/ANSWER	N=15
1. Why did you choose to teach this subject?	
To supplement my teaching hours (to fulfill the working hours quota)	5
Because of the topics in the curriculum and modern teaching methods	1
Because of the content of the program (though not very clear and explicit) which is something new in education	1
I was assigned by the principal of the school, but also partly interested because it was something new	1
Because the reforms in education included civic education into new programs	1
Later I realized how important this subject is	1
It looked interesting to me	1
You can create a more open and close communication with pupils on this classes, you can better understand their problems and help them to resolve them	1
I like this straight, interesting and new way of teaching with interesting topics	1
To affect the democratization of the youth (developing the new values) in order to end the "politics of 90-s"	1
2. What is, from your perspective, the most important goal of civic education in Serbia?	
Teaching pupils about the concept of life in a democratic society, education for life in the democratic society	2
To enable and empower pupils for active participation in the school life and their environment	2
To prepare children for team work	
Nurturing and developing of basic human values, and how to implement them in the real life (learning by doing)	2
Development of social skills and preparation for active life in a civil society	1
Development of the habit to be conscious and take care of yourself and other people in the community	
To develop pupil's attitudes towards the world with the respect for difference	1
Pupils to realize that they are citizens and part of the highly organized system, which they can change and affect by themselves, more then before (through citizens initiatives, and organized activities within NGOs)	1
Raising of self-awareness among children and relaxation from everyday duties	1

To use the upbringing function of this class, to develop responsible and creative persons, who respect themselves and others	1 1
Pupils to become responsible and self-aware citizens	1
Children to get to know each other an to learn to adequately express their emotions	1

3. Name at least 3 topics you consider to be most important in the curriculum of civic education:	
Tolerance	6
Civic activism, NGO, local community initiatives and actions	5
Prejudice	4
Children's rights	4
Communication skills	2
Constructive conflict resolution	2
Human rights	2
Democratic society	2
Media	2
Moral judging	2
Problem spotting and solving	2
State	2
Violence	1
Nonviolent conflict resolution	1
Democratic atmosphere in the class and school	1
Presentation	1
Pupils rights and responsibilities	1
Analysis of school life conditions	1
How does the adult people's world function	1
Pupils parliament	1
Volunteering	1
Children's role in society	1
Team work, cooperation	1

4. Do you think the curriculum includes all the relevant topics? If not, what would you add more?	
Yes (it does)	5
I don't know (don't have enough working experience)	1
It should be supplemented with cultural aspects	1
Add political programs (social democracy, liberalism, conservatism…)	1
Workers rights	1
More topics on group dynamics, class relations	1
More topics about tolerance, cooperation, stereotypes, discrimination	1
Topics should be rearranged, some should be cut down others expanded	1
Yes, but the are not in the right order	1
Add some topics on reproductive health in the second grade curriculum	1
The program for 7th grade is underdeveloped	1

5. Is the program, from your perspective, adjusted to the development level of pupils?	
It is, mostly	5
To certain amount, but sometimes pupils are more mature and the program doesn't follow their possibilities and it's too simple	2
Relatively adjusted, not in all topics	1
It is in a huge amount, and teacher's responsibility is to make it more adjusted	1
I think that the 3rd grade program is most adjusted and comprehensive to children	1
The 7th grade program is not adjusted to pupils	1
It's a little bit to complicated in the 5th grade, but it also depends on teacher's ability for	1

transfer	
I think it exceeds the needs and interests of children of that age	1
6. Would you change anything related to program of civic education in Serbian schools? If yes, what?	
It should be facultative, as it was before. Only pupils who really want should attend these classes, because voluntariness is the precondition for successful workshops.	1
I think that the program of civic education has an interdisciplinary character and it is partly implemented in the curriculums of other humanistic subjects	1
It should has equal status with other subjects, the current position it has is not very favorable, it's regarded as less important	1
The teachers authority shouldn't be the only factor which determine subject's authority	1
It should be obligatory and pupils should be graded with regular grades (1-5)	
More use of films in teaching/classes	1
Put less workshops on children's rights in the 2nd grade	1
Exclude Professional orientation on the 4th year	1
It should contribute to creating a more realistic picture about youth problems and school	1
life (peer violence, lack of tolerance, indifference as a consequence of the social surrounding and the lack of individual activism)	1
The lack of adequate training for teachers	1
The lack of contemporary literature	1
The lack of support from other colleagues	1
The lack of respect for this subject, from pupils, who use these classes for other activities (homework, preparing for next class etc.)	1
Some topics should be adjusted to the type of school (grammar school vs. specialized schools) it would make it more efficient	1
Working conditions	1
Topics for 7th grade (politics, government, state) are too serious/demanding for their age	1
Civic education is an additional load in pupils schedule, which is already overloaded with other subjects and their curriculums	1
Put less activities with painting	1
Exclude some topics from the 4th grade: community, democratic action	1

Appendix 12. Statistical Analysis of Quantitative Data Obtained on the Questionnaires, ED and AUT Scales

1. Satisfaction by classes

Table 1.1. Pupils' Satisfaction by Classes (comparison of CE and RE groups)

subject * satisfaction Crosstabulation

			satisfaction					
			1	2	3	4	5	Total
subject	civic education	Count	15	15	33	45	38	146
		% within subject	10,3%	10,3%	22,6%	30,8%	26,0%	100,0%
	religious education	Count	0	2	5	34	63	104
		% within subject	,0%	1,9%	4,8%	32,7%	60,6%	100,0%
Total		Count	15	17	38	79	101	250
		% within subject	6,0%	6,8%	15,2%	31,6%	40,4%	100,0%

Tables 1.2. Mann-Whitney Test

Ranks

	subject	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
satisfaction	civic education	146	100,89	14729,50
	religious education	104	160,05	16645,50
	Total	250		

Test Statistics[a]

	satisfaction
Mann-Whitney U	3998,500
Wilcoxon W	14729,500
Z	-6,727
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,000

a. Grouping Variable: subject

2. Self estimated activity on classes

(Perceived participation in discussions, group-work etc.)

Table 2.1. Pupils' perceived activity

subject * active Crosstabulation

			active					
			1	2	3	4	5	Total
subject	civic education	Count	10	18	33	40	45	146
		% within subject	6,8%	12,3%	22,6%	27,4%	30,8%	100,0%
	religious education	Count	4	7	19	36	36	102
		% within subject	3,9%	6,9%	18,6%	35,3%	35,3%	100,0%
Total		Count	14	25	52	76	81	248
		% within subject	5,6%	10,1%	21,0%	30,6%	32,7%	100,0%

Tables 2.2. Mann-Whitney Test

Test Statistics[a]

	active
Mann-Whitney U	6531,500
Wilcoxon W	17262,500
Z	-1,710
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,087

a. Grouping Variable: subject

Ranks

	subject	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
active	civic education	146	118,24	17262,50
	religious education	102	133,47	13613,50
	Total	248		

3.   Authoritarianism (AUT)

Tables 4.1. Average scores on single items in the AUT scale & Percentages

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
aut1	142	1	5	3.92	.923
aut2	141	1	5	3.94	1.330
aut3	140	1	5	4.39	.854
aut4	142	1	5	4.27	.899
aut5	142	1	5	4.06	1.047
aut6	141	1	5	3.62	1.307
aut7	141	1	5	2.57	1.406
aut8	140	1	5	2.27	1.335
aut9	141	1	5	2.64	1.470
aut10	139	1	5	3.05	1.406
aut11	141	1	5	2.40	1.383
aut12	142	1	5	2.49	1.515
aut13	142	1	5	1.60	1.011
aut14	142	1	5	2.28	1.480
aut15	140	1	5	2.64	1.235
aut16	142	1	5	2.63	1.550
aut17	142	1	5	2.49	1.443
aut18	139	1	5	2.78	1.208
aut19	139	1	5	3.07	1.463
aut20	138	1	5	2.64	1.151
aut21	138	1	5	3.44	1.307
aut22	139	1	5	3.23	1.385
Valid N (listwise)	127				

Results on the AUT scale (percentages of answers) N=142

No	STATEMENT	1	2	3	4	5
1.	**I am obedient and disciplined.**	**2.1**	**6.3**	**14.8**	**50.7**	**26.1**
2.	**What this country needs more than laws and political programs are few courageous, tireless and devoted leaders to whom people can trust.**	**9.2**	**6.4**	**16.3**	**17**	**51.1**
3.	**There is nothing worse than a man who does not feel a great love, gratitude and respect towards his parents.**	**2.1**	**1.4**	**7.1**	**33.6**	**55.7**
4.	**Creation of a harmonious and strong family should be the main goal of one's life and work.**	**2.1**	**2.8**	**9.2**	**38**	**47.9**
5.	**Children should be educated in the spirit of obedience.**	**2.8**	**7**	**13.4**	**34.5**	**42.3**
6.	**Nowadays, when people of different kinds are moving all around and mix, one has to be careful not to get some infectious disease.**	**7.8**	**13.5**	**23.4**	**19.1**	**36.2**
7.	In every moment I am ready to defend the honour of my family, even using the force.	31.9	19.9	21.3	13.5	13.5
8.	If the interest of the people is endangered, even life should be sacrificed.	42.1	16.4	22.1	10.7	8.6
9.	Everything that is worth is earned by suffering.	32.6	18.4	17	16.3	15.6
10.	Love towards God is the basis for all other loves.	21.6	11.5	26.6	20.9	19.4
11.	Every man should believe in some supernatural power to which he will submerge.	39	16.3	19.1	16.3	9.2
12.	Abortion is a shameful act which should be prohibited by law.	37.3	21.1	15.5	7	19
13.	Woman should enter the marriage as a virgin, because it is the only warranty that she will devote all of her love to her husband.	66.2	17.6	9.2	4.2	2.8
14.	Homosexuals are nothing better than criminals and should be severely punished.	45.1	19.7	12.7	7	15.5
15.	That what is the most necessary for the youth is strong discipline, in order to be determined and have strong will, to be able to fight for the homeland and family.	21.4	27.9	23.6	19.3	7.9
16.	Death penalty is the best solution for punishment of notorious criminals.	35.9	16.9	14.8	12.7	19.7
17.	Most jobs in household by their nature are more suited to women.	35.9	21.8	11.3	19	12
18.	Most probably, one day it will be proved that astrology can explain many things.	19.4	17.3	38.8	14.4	10.1
19.	All wars and social crises could be one day finished by an earthquake of flood which will destroy the world.	22.3	11.5	27.3	14.4	24.5
20.	After every change in society things become worse than they used to be.	20.3	23.2	34.1	16.7	5.8
21.	**Obedience and respect of authorities is what all children should learn.**	**10.1**	**14.5**	**23.9**	**23.9**	**27.5**
22.	Wisdom of our ancestors overcomes today's way of thinking.	18	9.4	27.3	22.3	23

Table 4.2. Difference between CE and RE pupils on single items on AUT scale T-Test

	subject	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
aut1	civic education	90	3.88	.922	.097
	religious education	52	4.00	.929	.129
aut2	civic education	89	3.94	1.335	.141
	religious education	52	3.94	1.335	.185
aut3	civic education	88	4.26	.953	.102
	religious education	52	4.62	.599	.083
aut4	civic education	90	4.23	.949	.100
	religious education	52	4.33	.810	.112
aut5	civic education	90	4.07	1.003	.106
	religious education	52	4.06	1.127	.156
aut6	civic education	90	3.38	1.395	.147
	religious education	51	4.06	1.008	.141
aut7	civic education	89	2.52	1.391	.147
	religious education	52	2.65	1.440	.200
aut8	civic education	88	2.24	1.278	.136
	religious education	52	2.33	1.438	.199
aut9	civic education	89	2.55	1.446	.153
	religious education	52	2.79	1.513	.210
aut10	civic education	89	2.67	1.363	.145
	religious education	50	3.72	1.230	.174
aut11	civic education	89	2.33	1.355	.144
	religious education	52	2.54	1.434	.199
aut12	civic education	90	2.27	1.389	.146
	religious education	52	2.88	1.653	.229
aut13	civic education	90	1.47	.837	.088
	religious education	52	1.83	1.232	.171
aut14	civic education	90	2.33	1.536	.162
	religious education	52	2.19	1.387	.192
aut15	civic education	88	2.49	1.165	.124
	religious education	52	2.90	1.317	.183
aut16	civic education	90	2.70	1.547	.163
	religious education	52	2.52	1.565	.217
aut17	civic education	90	2.48	1.408	.148
	religious education	52	2.52	1.515	.210
aut18	civic education	87	2.68	1.115	.120
	religious education	52	2.96	1.343	.186
aut19	civic education	87	2.98	1.430	.153
	religious education	52	3.23	1.516	.210
aut20	civic education	86	2.63	1.128	.122
	religious education	52	2.67	1.200	.166
aut21	civic education	87	3.31	1.315	.141
	religious education	51	3.67	1.275	.179
aut22	civic education	87	3.14	1.304	.140
	religious education	52	3.38	1.510	.209

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means				
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
aut1	Equal variances assumed	.036	.849	-.759	140	.449	-.122	.161
	Equal variances not assumed			-.757	105.924	.450	-.122	.161
aut2	Equal variances assumed	.035	.852	.006	139	.995	.002	.233
	Equal variances not assumed			.006	106.863	.995	.002	.233
aut3	Equal variances assumed	6.934	.009	-2.410	138	.017	-.354	.147
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.698	137.422	.008	-.354	.131
aut4	Equal variances assumed	.190	.664	-.597	140	.552	-.094	.157
	Equal variances not assumed			-.622	120.526	.535	-.094	.150
aut5	Equal variances assumed	1.078	.301	.049	140	.961	.009	.183
	Equal variances not assumed			.048	96.746	.962	.009	.189
aut6	Equal variances assumed	13.981	.000	-3.061	139	.003	-.681	.222
	Equal variances not assumed			-3.341	130.822	.001	-.681	.204
aut7	Equal variances assumed	.085	.771	-.557	139	.578	-.137	.246
	Equal variances not assumed			-.552	103.857	.582	-.137	.248
aut8	Equal variances assumed	2.028	.157	-.377	138	.707	-.088	.234
	Equal variances not assumed			-.366	97.269	.715	-.088	.241
aut9	Equal variances assumed	.236	.628	-.927	139	.356	-.238	.257
	Equal variances not assumed			-.916	102.996	.362	-.238	.260
aut10	Equal variances assumed	2.118	.148	-4.493	137	.000	-1.046	.233
	Equal variances not assumed			-4.626	110.663	.000	-1.046	.226
aut11	Equal variances assumed	.177	.674	-.880	139	.381	-.213	.242
	Equal variances not assumed			-.867	101.977	.388	-.213	.245
aut12	Equal variances assumed	5.970	.016	-2.381	140	.019	-.618	.260
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.272	92.286	.025	-.618	.272
aut13	Equal variances assumed	10.033	.002	-2.069	140	.040	-.360	.174
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.873	78.634	.065	-.360	.192
aut14	Equal variances assumed	3.199	.076	.546	140	.586	.141	.258
	Equal variances not assumed			.561	115.638	.576	.141	.251
aut15	Equal variances assumed	.512	.476	-1.941	138	.054	-.415	.214
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.880	96.862	.063	-.415	.221
aut16	Equal variances assumed	.111	.739	.668	140	.505	.181	.271
	Equal variances not assumed			.666	105.517	.507	.181	.271
aut17	Equal variances assumed	.746	.389	-.164	140	.870	-.041	.252
	Equal variances not assumed			-.161	100.322	.872	-.041	.257
aut18	Equal variances assumed	1.482	.226	-1.342	137	.182	-.283	.211
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.281	92.430	.204	-.283	.221
aut19	Equal variances assumed	.973	.326	-.990	137	.324	-.254	.256
	Equal variances not assumed			-.975	102.496	.332	-.254	.260
aut20	Equal variances assumed	.912	.341	-.223	136	.824	-.045	.203
	Equal variances not assumed			-.219	102.474	.827	-.045	.206
aut21	Equal variances assumed	.004	.949	-1.554	136	.123	-.356	.229
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.566	107.443	.120	-.356	.228
aut22	Equal variances assumed	4.383	.038	-1.016	137	.311	-.247	.243
	Equal variances not assumed			-.980	95.384	.330	-.247	.252

5. Correlations of Variables

Table 5.1. Correlations of some variables

Correlations

		AUTskor	EDskor	sex	education	education	subject	satisfaction	active	place
AUTskor	Pearson Correlation	1	,184*	-,198*	-,116	-,024	,221*	,012	,035	.a
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,039	,026	,195	,788	,013	,898	,695	,000
	N	127	126	127	126	126	127	127	127	127
EDskor	Pearson Correlation	,184*	1	-,193**	,125	,092	-,022	-,066	-,130*	-,020
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,039		,002	,053	,157	,728	,303	,042	,755
	N	126	249	249	242	240	249	248	246	249
sex	Pearson Correlation	-,198*	-,193**	1	-,054	,069	,000	,061	,180**	-,079
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,026	,002		,397	,282	,998	,334	,004	,212
	N	127	249	251	244	242	251	250	248	251
education	Pearson Correlation	-,116	,125	-,054	1	,539**	-,151*	-,141*	-,087	-,336**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,195	,053	,397		,000	,018	,027	,178	,000
	N	126	242	244	244	241	244	243	241	244
education	Pearson Correlation	-,024	,092	,069	,539**	1	-,036	,046	-,073	-,320**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,788	,157	,282	,000		,573	,479	,258	,000
	N	126	240	242	241	242	242	241	239	242
subject	Pearson Correlation	,221*	-,022	,000	-,151*	-,036	1	,421**	,118	,283**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,013	,728	,998	,018	,573		,000	,064	,000
	N	127	249	251	244	242	251	250	248	251
satisfaction	Pearson Correlation	,012	-,066	,061	-,141*	,046	,421**	1	,312**	,095
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,898	,303	,334	,027	,479	,000		,000	,136
	N	127	248	250	243	241	250	250	247	250
active	Pearson Correlation	,035	-,130*	,180**	-,087	-,073	,118	,312**	1	,173**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,695	,042	,004	,178	,258	,064	,000		,006
	N	127	246	248	241	239	248	247	248	248
place	Pearson Correlation	.a	-,020	-,079	-,336**	-,320**	,283**	,095	,173**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,755	,212	,000	,000	,000	,136	,006	
	N	127	249	251	244	242	251	250	248	251

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

a. Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

Tables 5.2. Correlation of Education of parents and the choice of subject

Mothers' education level

education * subject Crosstabulation

Count

		subject		
		civic education	religious education	Total
education	primary	7	17	24
	secondary	80	53	133
	higher	55	32	87
Total		142	102	244

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.424a	2	.009
Likelihood Ratio	9.382	2	.009
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.553	1	.018
N of Valid Cases	244		

a. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10,03.

Fathers' education level

education * subject Crosstabulation

Count

		subject		Total
		civic education	religious education	
education	primary	7	9	16
	secondary	89	60	149
	higher	45	32	77
Total		141	101	242

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.519[a]	2	.468
Likelihood Ratio	1.494	2	.474
Linear-by-Linear Association	.319	1	.572
N of Valid Cases	242		

a. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6,68.

Tables 5.3. Mothers' education*AUT

Report

AUTskor

education	subject	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
primary	civic education	82.00	1	.
	religious education	70.60	5	7.057
	Total	72.50	6	7.842
secondary	civic education	65.36	45	12.725
	religious education	70.50	20	8.876
	Total	66.94	65	11.850
higher	civic education	62.15	33	11.708
	religious education	69.68	22	15.487
	Total	65.16	55	13.724
Total	civic education	64.23	79	12.417
	religious education	70.13	47	12.106
	Total	66.43	126	12.583

ANOVA Table

			Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
AUTskor * education	Between Groups	(Combined)	326.076	2	163.038	1.030	.360
		Linearity	267.878	1	267.878	1.693	.196
		Deviation from Linearity	58.198	1	58.198	.368	.545
	Within Groups		19466.781	123	158.267		
	Total		19792.857	125			