

NASTAVA I VASPITANJE



Izvršni izdavač:
Pedagoško društvo Srbije
Terazije 26, 11000 Beograd
tel. 011 268 77 49
www.pedagog.rs
E-mail: casopis@pedagog.rs



Suizdavač:
**Institut za pedagogiju
i andragogiju Filozofskog
fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu**
Čika Ljubina 18-20, 11000 Beograd
tel. 011 3282 985

Za izvršnog izdavača

Maja Vračar

Za suizdavača

Dr Lidija Miškeljin

Glavni i odgovorni urednik

Dr Živka Krnjaja, redovni profesor,
Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu

Uredništvo

Dr Lidija Vujičić (Lidija Vujičić), redovni profesor,
Učiteljski fakultet Sveučilišta u Rijeci,
Hrvatska

Dr Julijana Vučo, redovni profesor u penziji,
Filološki fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu

Dr Pavel Zgaga (Pavel Zgaga), redovni profesor,
Pedagoški fakultet, Univerzitet u Ljubljani,
Slovenija

Dr Saša Milić, vanredni profesor,
Filozofski fakultet u Nikšiću, Univerzitet
Crne Gore

Dr Vladeta Milin, docent,
Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu

Dr Lidija Miškeljin, vanredni profesor,
Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu

Dr Ilke Paršman (Ilke Parchmann),
Lajbnic institut za pedagogiju Prirodno-matematičkog
fakulteta, Univerzitet u Kielu, Nemačka

Dr Jan Peters (Jan Peeters), redovni profesor,
Centar za razvoj na ranom uzrastu Odeljenja za studije
socijalne zaštite, Univerzitet u Gentu, Belgija

Dr Rosica Aleksandrova Penkova, redovni profesor,
Odeljenje za obrazovanje nastavnika, Univerzitet „Kliment
Ohridski“ u Sofiji, Bugarska

Dr Lidija Radulović, vanredni profesor,
Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu

Dr Mirjana Senić Ružić, docent,
Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu

Dr Alla Stepanovna Sidenko, redovni profesor,
Akademija za obrazovanje nastavnika Državnog univerziteta
„Lomonosov“ u Moskvi, Rusija

Dr Milan Stanić, vanredni profesor,
Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu

Dr Jelisaveta Todorović, redovni profesor,
Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Nišu

Međunarodni izdavački savet

dr Ondrej Kaščák (Ondrej Kaščák), redovni profesor,
Pedagoški fakultet, Univerzitet u Trnavi, Slovačka

dr Nataša Lacković (Nataša Lacković), viši predavač,
Odeljenje za istraživanja u obrazovanju, Univerzitet
u Lankasteru, Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo

dr Monika Miler (Monika Miller), redovni profesor,
Institut za likovnu umetnost, muziku i sport, Univerzitet
obrazovanja u Ludwigsburgu, Nemačka

Dr Snežana Lorens (Snezana Lawrence), viši predavač,
Odeljenje za inženjerstvo, dizajn i matematiku,
Midseks Univerzitet London, Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo

dr Goran Bašić (Goran Basic), vanredni profesor,
Fakultet društvenih nauka, Univerzitet Linijus
u Vekšeu, Švedska

Dr Mitja Krajncan (Mitja Krajncan), redovni profesor,
Pedagoški fakultet, Univerzitet Primorska u Kopru,
Slovenija

Dr Sofija Vrcelj (Sofija Vrcelj), redovni profesor,
Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Rijeci, Hrvatska

Sekretari redakcije

Marija Milinković, Pedagoško društvo Srbije
Tamara Injac, Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju
Zorana Pešić, Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju

Lektor

Tatjana Dogdibegović

Lektura tekstova na engleskom jeziku

Mr Ana Popović Pecić

Prevodioci

Za engleski jezik Ljiljana Šobajić i štamparija „Dosije“

Tehnički urednik

Jelena Panić

Štampa

JP „Službeni glasnik“

Tiraž

50

Izdavanje časopisa finansijskim sredstvima pomaže
Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja
Republike Srbije

Indeksiranje časopisa: ERIH PLUS, SCIndex, CEEOL, Redalyc
Na godišnjem nivou objavljuju se tri sveske časopisa.

Obaveštenje za čitaoce časopisa Nastava i vaspitanje

Obaveštavamo uvažene čitaoce časopisa Nastava i vaspitanje, da će broj 3 časopisa za 2024. godinu biti objavljen dvojezično, na srpskom i na engleskom jeziku. Na ovakvo izdanje smo se odlučili u želji da obezbedimo što veću vidljivost radova u časopisu zainteresovanim kako u našoj sredini, tako i van Srbije, a da istovremeno čuvamo i razvijamo naučnu terminologiju na srpskom jeziku.

Uredništvo časopisa

Information for readers of the journal Studies in Teaching and Education

We would like to inform all valued readers of Studies in Teaching and Education that the third and final issue for the year 2024 will be published bilingually, in Serbian and English. This decision is based on our desire to ensure the greatest possible visibility of the articles in the journal for interested parties both in our environment and outside Serbia, while maintaining and further developing scientific terminology in Serbian.

The Editorial board of the journal

NASTAVA I VASPITANJE • SADRŽAJ

283–300	<i>Bojana Dimitrijević Danijela Petrović Blagica Zlatković Jelena Starčević</i>	INTERKULTURNA OSETLJIVOST NASTAVNIKA U KULTURNO HETEROGENOM KONTEKSTU U SRBIJI: PRIHVATANJE KULTURNIH RAZLIKA ILI PRECENJIVANJE SOPSTVENE INTERKULTURNE OSETLJIVOSTI?
301–313	<i>Nena Vasojević Ivana Vučetić Suzana Ignjatović Željka Buturović</i>	ŠKOLSKI PROSTOR KAO „SIGURAN PROSTOR“ I „BEZBEDAN PROSTOR“: OBRAZOVNI I ARHITEKTONSKI IZAZOVI
315–325	<i>Tamara Dragojević Jovana Turudić</i>	UPOTREBA <i>CHATGPT</i> MODELA U VISOKOM OBRAZOVANJU: PERCEPCIJE STUDENATA
327–343	<i>Jelena Stajković</i>	URONJENI U PROSTOR MOGUĆEG: SUSRET S DIGITALNIM TEHNOLOGIJAMA U PREDŠKOLSKOM VASPITANJU I OBRAZOVANJU
345–362	<i>Slobodanka Antić Jelena Stevanović</i>	KAKO UNAPREDITI RAZUMEVANJE PROČITANOG: MAPIRANJE KRITIČNIH ZONA ZA PEDAGOŠKE INTERVENCIJE
363–376	<i>Gabrijela Šimonji Lenke Major</i>	KO LAŽE, A KO GOVORI ISTINU? ULOGA OBRAZOVANJA U RAZVOJU RAZUMEVANJA LAŽI
377–393	<i>Jovan Miljković Neda Čairović Pavlović Kristina Robertson</i>	LEGISLATIVNI OKVIR KARIJERNOG VOĐENJA I SAVETOVANJA U SRBIJI
395–396	<i>SPISAK RECENZENATA KOJI SU RECENZIRALI RADOVE U 2024. GODINI</i>	
397–400	<i>UPUTSTVO ZA AUTORE</i>	

STUDIES IN TEACHING AND EDUCATION • CONTENTS

403–420	<i>Bojana Dimitrijević Danijela Petrović Blagica Zlatković Jelena Starčević</i>	INTERCULTURAL SENSITIVITY OF TEACHERS IN A CULTURALLY HETEROGENEOUS CONTEXT IN SERBIA: ACCEPTING CULTURAL DIFFERENCES OR OVERRATING ONE'S INTERCULTURAL SENSITIVITY?
421–433	<i>Nena Vasojević Ivana Vučetić Suzana Ignjatović Željka Buturović</i>	SCHOOL SPACE AS A "SAFE SPACE" AND "SECURE SPACE": EDUCATIONAL AND ARCHITECTURAL CHALLENGES
435–445	<i>Tamara Dragojević Jovana Turudić</i>	THE USE OF CHATGPT IN HIGHER EDUCATION: STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS
447–462	<i>Jelena Stojković</i>	IMMERSED IN THE REALM OF POSSIBILITY: AN ENCOUNTER WITH DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION
463–480	<i>Slobodanka Antić Jelena Stevanović</i>	HOW TO IMPROVE READING COMPREHENSION: MAPPING CRITICAL AREAS FOR PEDAGOGICAL INTERVENTIONS
481–494	<i>Gabriella Simonyi Lenke Major</i>	WHO IS LYING AND WHO IS TELLING THE TRUTH? THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF UNDERSTANDING OF LIES
495–511	<i>Jovan Miljković Neda Čairović Pavlović Kristina Robertson</i>	LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK OF CAREER GUIDANCE AND COUNSELLING IN SERBIA
513–514	<i>LIST OF REVIEWERS WHO REVIEWED PAPERS IN 2024</i>	
515–518	<i>CONTRIBUTORS' NOTES</i>	

Interkulturalna osetljivost nastavnika u kulturno heterogenom kontekstu u Srbiji: prihvatanje kulturnih razlika ili precenjivanje sopstvene interkulturalne osetljivosti?¹

Bojana Dimitrijević² 

Fakultet pedagoških nauka Univerziteta u Kragujevcu, Jagodina, Srbija

Danijela Petrović 

Odeljenje za psihologiju, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu,
Beograd, Srbija

Blagica Zlatković 

Pedagoški fakultet u Vranju, Univerzitet u Nišu, Vranje, Srbija

Jelena Starčević 

Fakultet pedagoških nauka Univerziteta u Kragujevcu, Jagodina, Srbija

Apstrakt

Predmet ovog rada jeste interkulturalna osetljivost nastavnika u kulturno heterogenom kontekstu u Srbiji, koja je određena u skladu sa razvojnim modelom interkulturalne osetljivosti Milтона Beneta. Osnovni cilj ovog istraživanja je da se ustanovi: a) prosečan skor razvojne i opažene orijentacije nastavnika; b) učestalost ispitanika u različitim razvojnim fazama interkulturalne osetljivosti; c) da li postoje statistički značajne razlike između razvojne i opažene orijentacije ispitanika; d) da li diskrepancija između opažene i razvojne orijentacije varira među različitim razvojnim stadijumima u skladu s pretpostavkom o Daning-Krugerovom efektu. Uzorak je činilo 76 nastavnika razredne nastave iz AP Vojvodine i južne Srbije. Primenjen je instrument zasnovan na teorijskim postavkama razvojnog modela interkulturalne osetljivosti – Inventar interkulturalnog razvoja (u daljem tekstu IDI®)). Rezultati su pokazali da je razvojna orijentacija nastavnika u proseku u okvirima minimizacije, dok oni procenjuju sopstvenu interkulturalnu osetljivost višom, u skladu etnorelativističkom orijentacijom u fazi prihvatanja. Razlike između opažene i razvojne orijentacije su statistički značajne. Diskrepancija između opažene i

1 Realizaciju ovog istraživanja finansiralo je Ministarstvo nauke, tehnološkog razvoja i inovacija Republike Srbije (Ugovor sa Filozofskim fakultetom Univerziteta u Beogradu, br. 451-03-66/2024-03/200163 i Ugovor sa Fakultetom pedagoških nauka Univerziteta u Kragujevcu br. 451-03-65/2024-03/200140).

2 bojana.dimitrijevic@pefja.kg.ac.rs

razvojne orijentacije opada s porastom interkulturalne osetljivosti, odnosno interkulturalno osetljiviji nastavnici objektivnije procenjuju svoju interkulturalnu osetljivost od onih koji su manje interkulturalno osetljivi. Implikacije ovih rezultata kada je reč o profesionalnoj ulozi i razvoju nastavnika kao refleksivnih praktičara su razmotrene u radu.

Ključne reči: *Razvojni model interkulturalne osetljivosti; Nastavnici; Inventar interkulturalnog razvoja – IDI®; Razvojna i opažena orijentacija; Daning-Krugerov efekat.*

Uvod

Učenici iz marginalizovanih kulturnih grupa često doživljavaju školski neuspeh, kao i niz drugih teškoća u obrazovanju. Takve poteškoće su se nekada pripisivale kognitivnim ili nekognitivnim „nedostacima“ (Bernstein, 2003; Hess & Shipman, 1965; Lewis, 1998; Payne, 2005), ili „otporu prema obrazovanju“ (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 2004). Savremena naučna objašnjenja akademskog podbacivanja učenika iz manjinskih grupa zasnovana su na premisi multikulturalnog obrazovanja o neprilagođenosti školskog programa i nastave kulturnim razlikama (Gay, 2013, 2015; Gay & Kirkland, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 2012), ili na pretpostavkama kritičke teorije o sistematskom reprodukovanju nejednakosti kroz obrazovanje (Apple, 2011; Freire, 2014; Gorski, 2008; Skubic Ermenc, 2016). Ove promene u pristupu problemu akademskog podbacivanja dovode do naglašavanja značaja razvoja nastavničkih kompetencija, uključujući razvijanje svesti o etičkim pitanjima u vezi s profesijom (Banks, 2006), kao i kritičke kulturne svesti i samosvesti (Gay & Howard, 2000; Villegas & Lucas, 2007).

Prema popisu stanovništva iz 2022. godine, u Srbiji živi dvadeset jedna etnička grupa, sa više od dve hiljade samoizjašnjenih pripadnika, među kojima su najbrojniji Mađari, Bošnjaci i Romi (Republički zavod za statistiku, 2022). Ovakva raznolikost postavlja različite izazove za obrazovni sistem, posebno u vezi s pitanjima kvaliteta i pravičnosti. Dokazano je da je romska kulturna grupa u nepovoljnom položaju kada je reč o obrazovanju. Nastavnici smatraju da Romi ne vrednuju školu i obrazovanje (Dimitrijević, 2019; Dimitrijević i sar., 2017; Macura-Milovanović & Peček, 2013; Petrović, 2010). Obuhvat ranim, predškolskim i osnovnim obrazovanjem romske dece je nizak (Baucal, 2012), napuštanje obrazovanja je učestalo (Baucal, 2012; Macura-Milovanović, 2008), a kvalitet nastave i obrazovni ishodi romskih učenika su ispod proseka (Baucal, 2006; Macura-Milovanović, 2008). Pored toga, obrazovna inkluzija dece izbeglica s Bliskog istoka i učenika muslimanskog kulturnog porekla postaje sve važnije pitanje poslednjih godina. Postoje indicije da su učenici migranti odbačeni od strane svojih vršnjaka, da nastavnici snižavaju očekivanja i nedovoljno individualizuju nastavu da bi se prilagodili obrazovnim potrebama ovih učenika (Simić & Vranješević, 2019). Imigracija iz Ukrajine i Ruske Federacije kao posledica rata u Ukrajini takođe je naglasila potrebu za preispitivanjem aktuelnih praksa i mogućnosti za uključivanje u obrazovanje učenika iz različitih etničkih grupa, naročito imajući u vidu njihovo nepoznavanje srpskog jezika.

Pitanja u vezi s multikulturalnošću delimično su prepoznata u zakonima i pravilnicima koji regulišu oblast obrazovanja i odgovornosti nastavnika u Srbiji. U članu 8. *Zakona o osnovama sistema obrazovanja i vaspitanja* (2023), među osnovne ciljeve obra-

zovanja i vaspitanja uvršteni su „razvoj i poštovanje rasne, nacionalne, kulturne, jezičke, verske, rodne, polne i uzrasne ravnopravnosti, tolerancije i uvažavanje različitosti“, „razvijanje ličnog i nacionalnog identiteta“ i „razvijanje interkulturalnosti“. Zvanični propis o standardima kompetencija za profesiju nastavnika i njihovog profesionalnog razvoja (*Pravilnik o standardima kompetencija za profesiju nastavnika i njihovog profesionalnog razvoja*, 2011) navodi sposobnost razumevanja kulturnih razlika među učenicima kao jednu od ključnih nastavničkih kompetencija. Prepoznato je, međutim, da nedostaju naponi usmereni ka unapređenju interkulture kompetentnosti, kako tokom inicijalnog obrazovanja nastavnika tako i tokom kasnijeg profesionalnog razvoja (Petrović, 2016; Zlatković i Petrović, 2016).

S obzirom na nekadašnju i sadašnju kulturnu heterogenost Srbije, kao i značajnu ulogu koju nastavnici imaju u redukovanju akademskog neuspeha učenika iz manjinskih zajednica, važno je ispitati nivo kompetentnosti nastavnika u radu s učenicima iz drugih kultura. Ovaj rad se bavi interkulturalnom osetljivošću nastavnika kao ključnih aktera u oblasti obrazovanja. Interkulturalna osetljivost je konceptualizovana u skladu s ubedljivo najpoznatijim modelom – Razvojnim modelom interkulture osetljivosti (Bennett, 1986, 2004).

Teorijske osnove istraživanja

Kompetencije za podučavanje u kulturno heterogenim odeljenjima: Razvojni model interkulture osetljivosti

U polju interkulture interakcije razvijeni su brojni koncepti koji bi trebalo da objasne zbog čega su neke osobe uspešnije u interakciji s pripadnicima drugih kulturnih grupa. Dominiraju heterogena i uopštena određenja teorijski neutemeljenih konstrukata (Deardorff, 2006; Starčević, 2011). Zajednički imenitelj različitih konceptualizacija interkulture kompetentnosti je sposobnost da se prevaziđe etnocentrični pogled na svet i da se „uravnoteži“ sopstvena perspektiva s perspektivama drugih (Starčević, 2018). Postoje, međutim, i upadljive razlike među modelima. Većina modela interkulture kompetentnosti su kompozitni modeli koji su usmereni na identifikaciju konstituentna kompetentnosti (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). „Razvojni“ modeli su ređi i usredsređeni su na objašnjenje transformacije načina na koji ljudi doživljavaju i razumeju kulturne razlike na različitim stadijumima duž pretpostavljenog razvojnog kontinuumu (Hammer, 2015; Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009).

Prema Benetu (Bennett, 1986, 2009), interkulturalna osetljivost predstavlja specifičan oblik opažanja i pripisivanja značenja kulturnim razlikama koji varira na relativno pravilan način kroz stadijume duž kontinuumu od etnocentrizma do etnorelativizma. Etnocentrizam se odnosi na pojavu da pogled na svet i uverenja, usvojeni kroz primarnu socijalizaciju, nisu preispitivani te su tako postali norma i osnova za donošenje sudova o kulturnim razlikama (Bennett, 1986). U najeksplicitnijoj formi etnocentrizam je oličan u *poricanju kulturnih razlika*, viđenju prema kome svi ljudi opažaju svet na isti način, odnosno svi dele iste norme i uverenja. Pogled na svet u fazi *odbrane* odlikuje napredak u uočavanju i

prepoznavanju razlika (Bennett, 1986, 2004). Etnocentričan je svojom prirodom jer osoba preterano ističe opažene međugrupne razlike i naglašava njihove negativne konotacije (Bennett, 1986, 2004). Odbrana može imati formu isticanja superiornosti sopstvene grupe, ili u obrnutoj varijanti, formu veličanja „druge grupe” (Bennett, 1986, 2004; Bennett & Bennett, 2004). Napominjemo da Hamer (Hammer, 2011) koristi termin polarizacija za označavanje ove razvojne faze i uvodi odbranu i obrtanje u suprotnost kao dve forme faze polarizacije. Odbrana u okviru Razvojnog modela (Bennett, 1986, 2004) i polarizacija u Hamerovim razmatranjima (Hammer, 2011) u osnovi imaju isto značenje i razlike su isključivo terminološke. Faza *minimizacije* upućuje na razvoj specifičnijih kategorija za konceptualizaciju razlika, ali uključuje i potcenjivanje značaja razlika i isticanje univerzalne ljudskosti bez obzira na kulturnu pripadnost (Bennett, 1986). Minimizacija se ponekad posmatra kao prelazna faza između etnocentričnog i etnorelativističkog pogleda na svet (Bennett, 2004; Hammer, 2011).

Etnorelativistički pogled na svet karakteriše smeštanje kulture s kojom se čovek identifikuje u kontekst postojanja drugih kultura, koje se smatraju mogućim i podjednako vrednim načinima sagledavanja stvarnosti (Bennett, 1986). U prvoj etnorelativističkoj fazi *prihvatanja*, druge kulture i pogledi na svet (npr. uverenja, vrednosti, norme) vide se podjednako složenim kao i sopstveni, a osoba usvaja samorefleksivan stav (Bennett, 2004). Kompetentnost za interakciju s osobama različitog kulturnog porekla javlja se u fazi *adaptacije* (Bennett, 1986). Konačno, poslednja razvojna faza, *integracija*, ne podrazumeva unapređenje prethodno dostignutog nivoa kompetentnosti (Bennett, 2004), već se odnosi na redefinisane kulturnog identiteta osobe, koji sada uključuje više kulturnih okvira (Bennett, 2004; Bennett & Bennett, 2004).

Odnos između interkulturalne osetljivosti nastavnika i njihovih uverenja o kulturnim razlikama obrađen je u nekoliko studija koje su se zasnivale na kvalitativnim pristupima. Utvrđeno je da su uverenja i percepcije nastavnika uglavnom u skladu s pretpostavkama koje potiču iz Razvojnog modela. Ispitanici u fazama poricanja ili odbrane opažaju razlike isključivo iz perspektive većinske kulturne grupe (Mantel et al., 2012) i anticipiraju konflikte u vezi s pitanjima kulture i kulturnih razlika (Leutwyler et al., 2014; Mahon, 2003, prema Mahon, 2009). Ispitanici u fazi minimizacije pokušavali su da razmotre situaciju iz više uglova (Mantel et al., 2012), izražavajući radoznalost i spremnost da razumeju predmet potencijalnog konflikta iz obe perspektive (Mahon, 2003, prema Mahon, 2009). Takođe su naglasili kulturnu univerzalnost vrednovanja akademskog postignuća i obrazovanja (Leutwyler et al., 2014). Drugim rečima, bili su fokusirani na sličnosti, a ne na razlike među studentima različitog kulturnog porekla (Leutwyler et al., 2014).

Operacionalizacija Razvojnog modela interkulturalne osetljivosti: Inventar interkulturalnog razvoja (IDI®)

Na osnovu teorijskih pretpostavki Razvojnog modela, u saradnji s Miltonom Benetom, razvijen je *IDI*® (Hammer, 2008, 2011; Hammer et al., 2003). Instrument zauzima istaknuto mesto u istraživačkom polju u odnosu na ostale mere interkulturalne kompetentnosti

naročito kada je reč o istraživanjima na velikim uzorcima i kroskulturnim istraživanjima (Hammer, 2011). Pregledne studije metrijskih karakteristika i relacija *IDF* s drugim relevantnim merama završavaju zaključkom da je instrument validan (Matsumoto & Hwang, 2013; Zhang, 2014). Na uzorcima nastavnika ili studenata nastavničkih fakulteta ustanovljena je pozitivna korelacija interkulture osetljivosti sa starošću ispitanika, samoprocenom kompetentnosti za interkulturno obrazovanje i stavovima prema različitim aspektima inicijalnog obrazovanja nastavnika (Jokić & Petrović, 2016), stepenom kooperativnosti (Mahon, 2009), heterogenošću školskog konteksta i vremenom provedenim u drugačijem kulturnom kontekstu (Westrick & Yuen, 2007; Yuen, 2010).

Distribuciju i administraciju inventara, kao i davanje povratne informacije ispitanicima, može da vrši samo kvalifikovani administrator koji je prošao obuku. Prvi i drugi autor rada su kvalifikovani administratori za *IDF*. Stoga su imali licencu da kupe i primenjuju instrument, kao i da pruže povratne informacije učesnicima. *IDF* je dostupan u elektronskoj formi na više jezika, uključujući srpski.

Razvojna i opažena orijentacija

Razvojna orijentacija ukazuje na distinktivan način opažanja i odnošenja prema kulturnim razlikama koji će pojedinac najčešće primenjivati kada je suočen s različitošću. Opažena orijentacija ukazuje na to kako osobe ocenjuju sopstvenu interkulturnu osetljivost (Hammer, 2008, 2011). Izveštaj o individualnom profilu na *IDF* sadrži informacije o skorovima razvojne orijentacije, skorovima opažene orijentacije i o njihovoj razlici (engl. *orientation gap*). Pošto termin nije preveden na srpski jezik, u nastavku ćemo koristiti termine diskrepancija ili razlika. Konstruktori instrumenta su naveli da se supstancijalnom u pogledu toga da li ispitanici precenjuju ili potcenjuju svoju interkulturnu osetljivost može smatrati ona razlika između skora opažene i skora razvojne orijentacije koja je veća ili jednaka od sedam (Hammer, 2009).

Rezultati prethodnih studija pokazuju da je najčešća razvojna orijentacija ili prosečan skor razvojne orijentacije nastavnika i studenata nastavničkih fakulteta u rasponu faze minimizacije (Jokić & Petrović, 2016; Mahon, 2009; Westrick & Yuen, 2007; Yuen & Grossman, 2009). Ista tendencija se može primetiti u istraživanjima usredsređenim na evaluiranje obuka namenjenih razvoju interkulture osetljivosti na malim uzorcima nastavnika i studenata nastavničkih fakulteta (Cushner & Chang, 2015; He et al., 2017). U jednoj studiji prosečna razvojna orijentacija ispitanika je u rasponu orijentacije poricanja/odbrane (Yuen, 2010). U prethodnoj verziji *IDF* koja je korišćena u navedenoj studiji, stavke iz kategorija poricanja i odbrane su imale zasićenja na istom faktoru. Shodno tome, učesnici u fazama poricanja i odbrane nisu diferencirani. S druge strane, opažena orijentacija je u većini studija u rasponu faze prihvatanja (Cushner & Chang, 2015; DeJaeghere & Zhang, 2008; He et al., 2017; Mahon, 2009; Westrick & Yuen, 2007; Yuen, 2010; Yuen & Grossman, 2009). Dostupni istraživački podaci prikazuju upadljive razlike između skorova razvojne i opažene orijentacije i kod nastavnika i kod studenata nastavničkih fakulteta (Westrick & Yuen, 2007; Yuen, 2010; Yuen & Grossman, 2009), ali ne uključuju informacije o statističkoj značajnosti ovih razlika. Istraživanje na nenastavničkom uzorku dokumentuje da

je razlika statistički značajna pri čemu je opažena orijentacija značajno viša od razvojne (Snodgrass et al., 2018). Ipak, nije nam poznata nijedna studija koja je istraživala da li je veličina diskrepancije između razvojne i opažene orijentacije pod uticajem stepena interkulture osetljivosti, kao što je Hamer nedavno sugerisao (Hammer, 2022). Naime, baveći se ograničenjima kvalitativnih istraživanja zasnovanih na samoizjašnjavanju, Hamer skreće pažnju na to da ova istraživanja ne uzimaju u obzir tzv. Daning-Krugerov efekat. Ovaj efekat se opisuje kao tendencija osoba s niskim postignućima ka precenjivanju sopstvenih kompetencija u socijalnom i intelektualnom domenu, moguće usled metakognitivnih ograničenja, dok osobe s višim postignućima imaju realističnije samoprocene (Dunning, 2011). Hamer (Hammer, 2022) je takođe sugerisao da se u slučaju *ID1* Daning-Krugerov efekat može empirijski utvrditi kao razlika između skorova opažene i razvojne orijentacije.

Metod

Predmet i cilj studije

Predmet ovog rada je interkulturalna osetljivost nastavnika u kulturno heterogenim sredinama u Srbiji, određena u skladu sa Razvojnim modelom Milтона Beneta i procenjena instrumentom koji predstavlja operacionalizaciju modela. Prvi cilj istraživanja bio je da se utvrde prosečni skorovi razvojne i opažene orijentacije nastavnika, kao i broj nastavnika u svakoj od faza interkulture osetljivosti. Drugi cilj bio je ispitivanje odnosa između razvojne i opažene orijentacije. Prema dosadašnjim istraživanjima, srednja vrednost razvojne orijentacije nastavnika je u opsegu minimizacije, iako nastavnici imaju tendenciju da procenjuju svoju opaženu orijentaciju kao da se nalazi u opsegu prihvatanja (Westrick & Yuen, 2007; Yuen, 2010; Yuen & Grossman, 2009); tako je naša pretpostavka da postoji značajna razlika između razvojne i opažene orijentacije kod nastavnika u Srbiji, pri čemu je opažena orijentacija viša (H1). Pretpostavljamo takođe da je diskrepancija između opažene i razvojne orijentacije veća kod ispitanika sa nižim nivoima interkulture osetljivosti (H2), što bi bilo u skladu s pretpostavkom o Daning-Krugerovom efektu (Dunning, 2011).

Uzorak

Uzimajući u obzir značaj interkulturalnih kompetencija za nastavnike koji rade u multikulturalnim sredinama, geografske regije Vojvodine i južne Srbije su namerno odabrane za sprovođenje našeg istraživanja. Međutim, izbor pojedinačnih škola bio je prigodan, tj. spremnost direktora škola da olakšaju kontakt između istraživača i nastavnika bio je glavni kriterijum za odabir škola. Neprobabilistički uzorak u ovoj studiji je obuhvatio 76 nastavnika osnovnih škola, od kojih je šest bilo muških, a 70 ženskih. Oni su bili zaposleni u 12 različitih škola: šest škola u Vojvodini i drugih šest u južnoj Srbiji. Nastavnici iz Vojvodine čine 56,6% uzorka (43 nastavnika), dok nastavnici iz južne Srbije čine 43,4% uzorka (33

nastavnika). Reč je o veoma iskusnim nastavnicima čije prosečno trajanje radnog staža u školi iznosi nešto manje od 21 godine ($M = 20.58$, $SD = 7.69$).

Svi nastavnici u odabranim školama bili su obavešteni o svrsi istraživanja i garantovana im je potpuna anonimnost pre nego što su pristali da učestvuju. Takođe im je objašnjena mogućnost da se u bilo kom trenutku povuku iz istraživanja bez posledica. Nastavnicima su bili dostupni elektronski obrasci *IDf* upitnika na srpskom jeziku, koje su mogli da popune individualno, kada im to odgovara. Nakon toga su dobili personalizovani izveštaj o *IDf* profilu u pisanom obliku, praćen povratnim informacijama kvalifikovanog administratora, u individualnoj sesiji u vidu telefonskog poziva ili onlajn sastanka.

Instrument

Inventar interkulturnog razvoja (Hammer, 2008, 2011; Hammer et al., 2003) je prethodno opisan kao operacionalizacija Razvojnog modela interkulture osjetljivosti (Bennett, 1986, 2004). U ovom istraživanju je korišćena treća verzija *IDf*. Instrument obuhvata 50 stavki u okviru sedam petostepenih supskala Likertovog tipa i upitnik u vezi s demografskim karakteristikama ispitanika (Hammer, 2011). Šest supskala predstavlja operacionalizaciju faza Razvojnog modela: Poricanje – sedam stavki ($\alpha = .66$), Polarizacija/Odbrana – šest stavki ($\alpha = 0.72$), polarizacija/Obrtanje u suprotnost – devet stavki ($\alpha = 0.78$), Minimizacija – devet stavki ($\alpha = 0.74$), Prihvatanje – pet stavki ($\alpha = 0.69$) i Adaptacija – devet stavki ($\alpha = 0.71$) (Hammer, 2011). Sedma supskala, Skala izmeštenosti iz sopstvene kulture (engl. *Cultural Disengagement Scale*), ne smatra se operacionalizacijom razvojnog kontinuuma interkulture osjetljivosti pa tako nije predmet ovog istraživanja. Primeri objavljenih stavki *IDf* su: „U svetu bi bilo manje problema ukoliko se kulturološki različite grupe ne bi mešale“ (poricanje); „Ljudi iz drugih kultura nisu toliko bez predrasuda koliko ljudi iz naše kulture“ (polarizacija/odbrana); „Ljudi su u osnovi isti uprkos očiglednim razlikama u izgledu“ (minimizacija); „Prilagodno je da ljudi iz drugih kultura nemaju nužno iste vrednosti i ciljeve kao ljudi iz moje kulture“ (prihvatanje); „Kada dođem u kontakt s ljudima iz druge kulture, primećujem da menjam svoje ponašanje kako bih se prilagodio/la njihovom“ (adaptacija) (Paige et al., 2003).

Skorovi razvojne i opažene orijentacije istraživačima su dostupni u formi standardizovanih skorova ($M = 100$, $SD = 15$), dok je sirov skor nedostupan. Kako je Hamer naveo, skor razvojne orijentacije izračunava se primenom ponderisane formule koja je u skladu s pretpostavkama Razvojnog modela, dok se skor opažene orijentacije izračunava na osnovu neponderisane formule prethodno pomenutih supskala (Hammer, 2011). Kronbahova alfa za skalu razvojne orijentacije u celini iznosila je $\alpha = .83$, dok je za skalu opažene orijentacije u celini $\alpha = .82$ (Hammer, 2011).

Obrada podataka

Za obradu podataka korišćen je SPSS 20.0.

Rezultati

Deskriptivna statistika: Razvojna i opažena orijentacija nastavnika

U Tabeli 1 prikazani su deskriptivni statistički pokazatelji za skale razvojne i opažene orijentacije i njihovu međusobnu diskrepanciju. Prosečan skor razvojne orijentacije na uzorku u celini u opsegu je *minimizacije* ($M = 91.53$, $SD = 13.77$), dok prosečan skor opažene orijentacije ($M = 119.01$, $SD = 4.85$) pripada fazi *prihvatanja* (raspon skorova za svaku od faza je naveden u Tabeli 2). Primenom Man-Vitnjevog U-testa utvrđeno je da između ispitanika iz dva kulturno i geografski različita poduzorka, Vojvodine i južne Srbije, nema statistički značajnih razlika ni u pogledu razvojne orijentacije ($Z = -.36$, $p = .718$, $r = .04$) ni u pogledu opažene orijentacije ($Z = .88$, $p = .382$, $r = .10$).

Distribucije skorova razvojne i opažene orijentacije na uzorku u celini, kao i na poduzorku nastavnika iz Vojvodine, u skladu su s normalnom raspodelom. Distribucije dve vrste skorova na poduzorku nastavnika iz južne Srbije su izdužene i odstupaju od normalne raspodele. Tabela 1 prikazuje vrednosti Kolmogorov-Smirnovljevog testa za uzorak u celini, budući da ima više od 50 ispitanika. Za poduzorke su navedene vrednosti Šapiro-Vilkovog testa.

Tabela 1

Deskriptivni statistički pokazatelji i značajnost razlika između prosečnih skorova razvojne i opažene orijentacije

Skala	N	M	SD	Raspon	Skjunis	Kurtosis	K-S/ S-W	t (df) / z	d/r
ROu	76	91.53	13.77	48.99-120.03	-.697	.833	.064	-25.24** (75)	2.90
OOu	76	119.01	4.85	104.63-130.69	-.247	.350	.051		
Dlu	76	27.66	9.41	10.66 – 55.64	.763	.771	.070		
ROv	43	92.50	12.62	58.95-120.03	-.251	.005	.982	-20.12** (42)	3.07
OOv	43	118.83	4.72	110.31-130.69	.324	-.260	.980		
Dlv	43	26.33	8.58	10.66-51.36	.467	.308	.976		
ROjs	33	90.25	15.26	48.99-110.24	-.974	1.091	.918*	-5.012**	0.62
OOjs	33	119.25	5.08	104.63-126.91	-.890	1.420	.935*		
Dljs	33	29.39	10.28	15.31-55.64	.900	.704	.927*		

Napomena. ROu – Razvojna orijentacija na uzorku u celini; OOu – Opažena orijentacija na uzorku u celini; Dlu – Diskrepancija između OOu i ROu; ROv – Razvojna orijentacija na poduzorku Vojvodina; OOv – Opažena orijentacija na poduzorku Vojvodina; Dlv – Diskrepancija između OOv i ROv; ROjs – Razvojna orijentacija na poduzorku južna Srbija; OOjs – Opažena orijentacija na poduzorku južna Srbija; Dljs – Diskrepancija između OOjs i ROjs; K-S – Kolmogorov-Smirnovljev test; S-W – Šapiro-Vilkov test; t – t test za zavisne uzorke; z – Vilksonov test ekvivalentnih parova; d/r – mera veličine uticaja; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

Deskriptivna statistika: Faze interkulturene osetljivosti nastavnika

Broj nastavnika u svakoj od faza interkulturene osetljivosti može se pročitati u Tabeli 2. U Tabeli je takođe naveden broj nastavnika u „prelaznim“ kategorijama koje neposredno prethode sledećoj fazi (tj. prelaz ka polarizaciji, prelaz ka minimizaciji i prelaz ka prihvatanju). Za ove prelazne kategorije konstruktori ne specifikuju teorijski raspon skorova, ali ih kategorizuju u niži stadijum (na primer, prelaz ka prihvatanju se smatra potfazom minimizacije). Rezultati pokazuju da je većina nastavnika u fazi minimizacije, dok 30.3% ispitanika ostvaruje čak i niže skorove, koji ih smeštaju na etnocentrični kraj spektra. Najviši stadijum u uzorku je prihvatanje i na njemu se nalazi samo jedan ispitanik.

Tabela 2

Učestalost i procenat ispitanika u odnosu na faze interkulturene osetljivosti

	Faza	Teorijski raspon skorova	<i>F</i>	%	Kumulativni %
1	Poricanje	≤ 69	4	5.3	5.3
	Prelaz ka polarizaciji		1	1.3	6.6
2	Polarizacija/Odbrana	70–84	8	10.5	17.1
	Polarizacija/Obrtanje u suprotnost		5	6.6	23.7
	Prelaz ka minimizaciji		5	6.6	30.3
3	Minimizacija	85–114	47	61.8	92.1
	Prelaz ka prihvatanju		5	6.6	98.7
4	Prihvatanje	115–129	1	1.3	100
5	Adaptacija	≥ 130	0	0.0	
	Ukupno <i>N</i>		76	100.0	

Značajnost razlika između razvojne i opažene orijentacije

Vrednosti t-testa za zavisne uzorke, navedene u Tabeli 1 za uzorak u celini i za poduzorak iz Vojvodine, pokazuju da postoji statistički značajna razlika između skorova razvojne orijentacije i opažene orijentacije. Srednje vrednosti prikazane u istoj tabeli pokazuju da ispitanici imaju više skorove na opaženoj orijentaciji, što implicira da precenjuju svoju interkulturnu osetljivost.

S obzirom na to da na poduzorku iz južne Srbije raspodele skorova razvojne i opažene orijentacije odstupaju od normalne krive, korišćen je Vilkoksonov test ekvivalentnih parova za proveru značajnosti razlika između ovih skorova. Test je otkrio da je i na ovom poduzorku razlika značajna. Pored toga, parametri veličine uticaja (*d* ili *r*) pokazuju da se diskrepancija može smatrati velikom i na oba poduzorka i na uzorku u celini (Cohen, 1988). Tabela 3 nas dodatno informiše da svaka osoba precenjuje svoju interkulturnu osetljivost, uzimajući u obzir činjenicu da je minimalna diskrepancija između skorova opažene i razvojne orijentacije bila 10.66. Kao što je prethodno navedeno, da bi se diskrepancija smatrala supstancijalnom, mora biti jednaka ili veća od sedam (Hammer, 2009).

Značajnost razlika prosečne diskrepancije razvojne i opažene orijentacije među ispitanicima u različitim fazama interkulturene osetljivosti

Kako bismo ustanovili da li ispitanici u različitim fazama i potfazama u različitoj meri precenjuju svoju interkulturalnu osetljivost, primenili smo analizu varijanse (ANOVA). Iz analize su isključene potkategorije sa samo jednim ispitanikom (prelaz ka polarizaciji i prihvatanje). Rezultati su pokazali da postoji minimalno jedna statistički značajna razlika među ispitanicima iz različitih potkategorija, $F(5, 68) = 39.22, p < .001$, sa velikim efektom $\eta^2 = .74$.

Tabela 3 pokazuje srednje vrednosti diskrepancije između skorova razvojne i opažene orijentacije koje postepeno opadaju duž razvojnog kontinuuma i rezultate naknadnih poređenja srednjih vrednosti diskrepancije, dobijene primenom Tukijevog HSD testa (pretpostavka homogenosti varijansi nije narušena, Leveneov test homogenosti varijanse je bio neznačajan, $F(5, 68) = 1.92, p = .102$). Tabela 3 prikazuje da s porastom interkulturene osetljivosti ispitanika raste i objektivnost u procenjivanju sopstvene interkulturene osetljivosti, što znači da opada diskrepancija između skorova razvojne i opažene orijentacije. Ispitanici čija je interkulturalna osetljivost u skladu s poricanjem najviše precenjuju svoju osetljivost. Za njima slede ispitanici u fazama polarizacija/odbrana, polarizacija/obrtanje u suprotnost i prelaz ka minimizaciji, među kojima nema statistički značajnih razlika. Ispitanici iz ove tri kategorije precenjuju svoju interkulturalnu osetljivost u manjoj meri u odnosu na ispitanike u fazi poricanja i u većoj meri u odnosu na one koji su u fazama minimizacije i prelaza ka prihvatanju. Konačno, ispitanici iz faza minimizacije i prelaza ka prihvatanju, među kojima nema statistički značajne razlike, najmanje precenjuju svoju interkulturalnu osetljivost, što znači da imaju najmanju prosečnu diskrepanciju između razvojne i opažene orijentacije.

Nalazi u Tabeli 3 takođe pokazuju da se potkategorije koje su teorijski kategorizovane u istu fazu u pogledu prosečne diskrepancije razvojne i opažene orijentacije zaista statistički ne razlikuju (na primer, potkategorije minimizacija i prelaz ka prihvatanju su svrstane u istu kategoriju – fazu minimizacije). Ovi nalazi podržavaju pretpostavku da su faze homogeni supsetovi u pogledu prosečne diskrepancije: poricanje kao zaseban supset; polarizacija u obe forme i prelaz ka minimizaciji kao drugi supset; minimizacija i prelaz ka prihvatanju kao treći supset.

Tabela 3

Prosečna diskrepancija razvojne i opažene orijentacije i značajnost razlika prosečne diskrepancije između ispitanika na različitim stadijumima/podstadijumima

Faza	<i>Md</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Raspon <i>Md</i>	Polarizacija/ Odbrana	Polarizacija/ Obrtanje	Prelaz ka minimizaciji	Minimizacija	Prelaz ka prihvatanju
Poricanje	50.93 (6.55)	41.54-55.64	14.78 **	14.58**	17.58**	27.18**	33.27**
Prelaz ka polarizaciji	44.95 (/)	/					

Polarizacija/ Odbrana	36.15 (3.12)	31.14-39.71	-	-0.20	2.80	12.40**	18.49**
Polarizacija/ Obrtanje	36.35 (3.00)	32.97-39.74		-	3.00	12.60**	18.69**
Prelaz ka minimizaciji	33.35 (2.15)	29.93-34.95			-	9.60**	15.69**
Minimizacija	23.75 (5.13)	13.33-32.86				-	6.09
Prelaz ka prihvatanju	17.66 (4.97)	12.86-26.01					-
Prihvatanje	10.66 (/)	/					-

Napomena. *Md* – srednja vrednost diskrepancije između razvojne i opažene orijentacije; ** $p \leq .001$

Diskusija

Prvi cilj ovog istraživanja ticao se utvrđivanja nivoa interkulturene osetljivosti nastavnika koji rade u školama u kulturno heterogenim sredinama u Srbiji i skoro su svakodnevno u kontaktu s učenicima iz drugih kultura ili njihovim roditeljima. Specifičnost ovog istraživanja u poređenju s prethodnim ogleda se u detaljnom ispitivanju odnosa između razvojne i opažene orijentacije, tj. toga kako nastavnici opažaju kulturne razlike i kako se odnose prema njima (razvojna orijentacija), a kako sebe procenjuju u vezi s tim (opažena orijentacija).

Rezultati ove studije pokazuju da nastavnici imaju prosečan skor razvojne orijentacije u opsegu faze minimizacije, što je takođe najučestalija razvojna orijentacija u našem uzorku. Ovi nalazi su podudarni s rezultatima prethodnih studija na uzorcima nastavnika (Jokić i Petrović, 2016; Mahon, 2009; Westrick & Yuen, 2007). Studija je takođe otkrila da postoji značajan broj ispitanika sa skorom nižim od minimizacije – 23,7% nastavnika u fazi polarizacije i 6,6% u fazi poricanja – više nego što bi bilo očekivano u odnosu na rezultate istraživanja na velikim uzorcima (Hammer, 2011), ali u skladu s prethodnim istraživanjem u Srbiji na uzorku nastavnika (Jokić & Petrović, 2016). Međutim, treba primetiti da prethodno istraživanje nije sprovedeno isključivo u sredinama u Srbiji koje se smatraju kulturno heterogenim.

Koje su moguće karakteristike pogleda na svet i percepcije kulturnih razlika nastavnika u fazama polarizacije i poricanja? Prema pretpostavkama Razvojnog modela, etnocentrična viđenja u njihovom najotvorenijem vidu u fazi poricanja karakteriše neuočavanje kulturnih razlika koje je rezultat ili situacione izolacije od drugih grupa ili namerne separacije. Fazu polarizacije karakteriše hijerarhijsko vrednovanje i stereotipi o kulturnim grupama (Bennett, 1986). Postojeći nalazi sugerišu da nastavnici u fazi polarizacije i odbrane pozicioniraju sebe kao one koji su „izvan” iskustva pripadnika manjinske grupe, bez ispoljavanja namere da uzmu u obzir višestruke perspektive (Mantel et al., 2012). Ovi nastavnici takođe anticipiraju mogućnost konflikta s roditeljima iz manjinskih grupa, ali u znatno manjoj meri sa samim učenicima, za koje misle da su pod uticajem kulturne grupe kojoj pripadaju (Leutwyler et al., 2014). Tako je očekivano da u skladu s pretpostavkama Razvojnog modela i citiranim kvalitativnim istraživanjima opisana etnocentrična uverenja i stavove deli približno trećina uzorka u ovoj studiji. U svetlu

ovih i pređašnjih sličnih nalaza u Srbiji (Jokić i Petrović, 2016), smatramo da je neophodno rešavati pitanje unapređivanja kompetencija nastavnika za rad s učenicima iz drugih kulturnih grupa i njihovim porodicama.

Osobe u fazi minimizacije, u kojoj je većina nastavnika u ovoj studiji, ali i inače, uočavaju razlike među različitim kulturnim grupama, međutim, umanjuju im značaj i smatraju norme sopstvene kulturne grupe univerzalno primenljivim (Bennett, 1986). U svom kasnijem radu Milton Benet (Bennett, 2004) sugerise da faza minimizacije ima elemente prelaza ka etnorelativizmu jer se „drugi” uglavnom ne sagledavaju na stereotipčan način i priznaje se ljudskost pripadnika svih kulturnih grupa. Nastavnici u fazi minimizacije mogu izražavati uverenja da kultura ima mali značaj u poređenju s biološkim sličnostima svih ljudi, kao i da su svi ljudi slični u pogledu svojih potreba, motivacije za postizanjem uspeha, težnje za slobodom i individualnošću, religijskim iskustvima itd. (Bennett, 1986). Univerzalni principi koji se primenjuju na sve ljude bez obzira na njihovo kulturno poreklo potiču iz sopstvenog kulturnog referentnog okvira i nedostaje kulturne samosvesti da bi se poreklo referentnog okvira potpuno razumelo (Bennett, 2004). To implicira da nastavnici koji smatraju da su svi ljudi u suštini isti, što znači da ih pokreću ili bi trebalo da ih pokreću slični motivi i težnje, posledično mogu prenebre-gnuti kulturne razlike ili potceniti njihov značaj u interakciji s učenicima i roditeljima iz raznolikih kulturnih zajednica. Iz istih razloga mogu ređe prilagođavati svoje ponašanje u interakciji s ovim učenicima i roditeljima, kao i svoje instrukcije, aktivnosti namenjene učenju i pristupe ocenjivanju učenika.

Obe istraživačke hipoteze u pogledu odnosa razvojne i opažene orijentacije su potvrđene u ovoj studiji. Naime, razlika između dve orijentacije je značajna i nastavnici su, u proseku, opažali sebe kao da su u fazi prihvatanja (tj. njihova opažena orijentacija je viša, kao što je navedeno u H1). Nastavnici veruju da procenjuju jednako kompleksnim druge kulture i sopstvenu kulturu, da su sposobni da opažaju razlike u suštinskim vrednostima i ponašanjima, kao i da zauzimaju samorefleksivan stav (Bennett, 2004). Drugim rečima, nastavnici opažaju sami sebe kao tolerantne i sposobne da promišljaju pitanja kulturnih razlika. Ovaj nalaz je takođe u skladu s prethodnim istraživanjima (Mahon, 2009; Westrick & Yuen, 2007). Neobjektivna samoprocena može biti dodatna prepreka za razvoj jer se ne uviđa potreba za unapređivanjem kompetencija (Dunning, 2011).

Prema saznanjima koje imamo, jedinstveni doprinos ovog istraživanja postojećem korpusu empirijskih činjenica jeste u nalazu da postoji dosledan obrazac u odnosu između razvojne i opažene orijentacije: ispitanici sa nižim skorovima na razvojnoj orijentaciji imaju veću diskrepanciju između razvojne i opažene orijentacije nego ispitanici sa višim skorovima. U suštini, veća diskrepancija između razvojne i opažene orijentacije znači da se više precenjuje sopstvena interkulturalna osetljivost (Hammer, 2022). Stepem precenjivanja opada sa porastom interkulturalne osetljivosti. Naša druga hipoteza je time takođe potvrđena. Verujemo da ova pravilnost, kao što je nedavno sugerisao konstruktor instrumenta (Hammer, 2022), a za koju postoje jasni pokazatelji u ovim nalazima (u srednjim vrednostima diskrepancija, rezultatima Tukijevog HSD testa), odražava delovanje Daning-Krugerovog efekta.

Praktične implikacije

Sklonost refleksiji nad sopstvenom praksom smatra se važnom i poželjnom karakteristikom nastavnika uopšte (Korthagen, 2014; Radulović, 2011), ali i elementom specifičnijih kompetencija za podučavanje u kulturno heterogenom kontekstu (Banks, 2006; Gay & Howard, 2000; Villegas & Lucas, 2007). Stoga, relativno niska interkulturalna osetljivost nastavnika udružena s tendencijom precenjivanja sopstvene interkulturalne osetljivosti ukazuje na značajnu potrebu za unapređivanjem kompetencija nastavnika. Precenjivanje interkulturalne osetljivosti (najvidljivije kod osoba čija je interkulturalna osetljivost na najnižem nivou) implicira neuspešnu refleksiju nad sopstvenim profesionalnim iskustvom i posledično teškoće u istraživanju i unapređivanju sopstvene nastavne prakse. Verujemo da je ovakvo precenjivanje posebno nepovoljno kada je reč o samorefleksiji u pogledu važnih elemenata u profesionalnom razvoju nastavnika, kao što su samoprocena kompetencija, preispitivanje sopstvenih uverenja, profesionalnog identiteta i profesionalne misije (Korthagen, 2014).

Neuspešnost u tome da se uoči da postoji potreba za promenom (na metakognitivnom nivou) i mogući otpor promeni mogle bi biti glavne prepreke za inicijalno obrazovanje i profesionalni razvoj koji bi imali za cilj unapređenje interkulturalne kompetentnosti nastavnika. Optimalno bi bilo da programi profesionalnog razvoja budu dizajnirani u skladu s trenutnim nivoom interkulturalne osetljivosti nastavnika, umesto da se fokusiraju na učenje specifičnih sadržaja (Bennett, 2004; Dimitrijević i Petrović, 2014; Petrović, 2018). Programi koji su usmereni na redukovanje stereotipa i predrasuda, s posebnim naglaskom na sličnostima među ljudima, bili bi prikladni za nastavnike u etnocentričnim fazama. Za nastavnike u fazi minimizacije neophodno je naglašavati značaj zapostavljenih razlika i njihovih obrazovnih implikacija (Bennett & Bennett, 2004). Bilo bi posebno korisno ako bi nastavnici pohađali obuke prilagođene njihovim specifičnim potrebama, na osnovu procene njihovih trenutnih kompetencija, i sprovedene na podržavajući način.

Ograničenja i preporuke za buduća istraživanja

Osnovno ograničenje ove studije proističe iz činjenice da je *IDJ* zaštićen autorskim pravom i da sirovi podaci nisu dostupni istraživačima. Dodatna ograničenja proizlaze iz prigodnog odabira škola (unutar namerno odabranih multikulturnih sredina) i veličine uzorka nastavnika, što u celini uzev zahteva oprez prilikom generalizacije nalaza. U budućim istraživanjima trebalo bi da se proširi uzorak i da se ciljano odaberu ispitanici s bogatim međunarodnim iskustvom, kako bi se povećala verovatnoća identifikacije i uključivanja ispitanika u fazama prihvatanja i adaptacije. Na taj način bi bilo moguće proveriti pretpostavke o Daning-Krugerovom efektu i kada je reč o ispitanicima u višim fazama interkulturalne osetljivosti.

Zaključci

Ovo istraživanje pružilo je uvid u interkulturalnu osjetljivost, tj. razvojnu orijentaciju iskusnih nastavnika koji rade u multikulturalnim sredinama u Srbiji, kao i njihovu procenu sopstvene interkulturalne osjetljivosti, tj. opaženu orijentaciju. Utvrđena je značajna razlika između razvojne i opažene orijentacije i zaključeno je da nastavnici precenjuju svoju interkulturalnu osjetljivost. Konačno, analiza podataka u vezi s ovom diskrepancijom otkrila je obrazac koji ima kako teorijski tako i praktični značaj.

Literatura

- Apple, M. W. (2011). Global crises, social justice, and teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 62(2), 222–234. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487110385428>
- Banks, J. A. (2006). *Cultural diversity and education, foundations, curriculum, and teaching*. Pearson Education.
- Baucal, A. (2006). Development of mathematical and language literacy among Roma students. *Psihologija*, 39(2), 207–227. <https://doi.org/10.2298/PSI0602207B>
- Baucal, A. (2012). Deca i mladi iz romske zajednice u obrazovnom sistemu Srbije: Marginalizovani u društvu i marginalizovani u obrazovnom sistemu. U T. Varadi i G. Bašić (ur.), *Promene identiteta, kulture i jezika Roma u uslovima planske socijalno-ekonomske integracije* (str. 349–363). SANU.
- Bennett, M. J. (1986). Towards ethnorelativism: A developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. In R. M. Paige (Ed.), *Cross-cultural orientation: New conceptualizations and applications* (pp. 27–70). University Press of America.
- Bennett, M. J. (2004). Becoming intercultural competent. In J. Wurzel (Ed.), *Toward multiculturalism: A reader in multicultural education* (pp. 62–77). Intercultural Resource Corporation.
- Bennett, M. J. (2009). Defining, measuring, and facilitating intercultural learning: A conceptual introduction to the Intercultural Education double supplement. *Intercultural Education*, 20 (sup 1), S1–S13. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980903370763>
- Bennett, J. M., & Bennett, M. J. (2004). Developing intercultural sensitivity: An integrative approach to global and domestic diversity. In D. Landis, J. M. Bennett, & M. J. Bennett (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training*, 3rd ed. (pp.147–165). SAGE Publications.
- Bernstein, B. (2003). *Class, codes and control: Vol. 1. Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language*. Routledge. (Original work published 1971)
- Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences* (2nd ed.). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Cushner, K., & Chang, S. C. (2015). Developing intercultural competence through overseas student teaching: Checking our assumptions. *Intercultural Education*, 26(3), 165–178. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2015.1040326>
- Deardorff, D. K. (2006). Identification and assessment of intercultural competence as a student outcome of internationalization. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 10(3), 241–266. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315306287002>

- DeJaeghere, J. G., & Zhang, Y. (2008). Development of intercultural competence among US American teachers: Professional development factors that enhance competence. *Intercultural Education*, 19(3), 255–268. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980802078624>
- Dimitrijević, B. M. (2019). *Interkulturalna osetljivost i uverenja nastavnika o kulturnim razlikama u školskom kontekstu* (doktorska disertacija). NARDUS (123456789/12225)
- Dimitrijević, B. M., i Petrović, D. S. (2014). Pristupi i strategije za multikulturalno obrazovanje nastavnika – Iskustva Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. *Zbornik Instituta za pedagoška istraživanja*, 46(1), 69–90. <https://doi.org/10.2298/ZIP1401069D>
- Dimitrijević, B. M., Petrović, D. S., i Leutwyler, B. (2017). Implicitna uverenja nastavnika o učenicima romske i mađarske kulturne grupe. *Zbornik Instituta za pedagoška istraživanja*, 49(1), 55–76. <https://doi.org/10.2298/ZIP1701055D>
- Dunning, D. (2011). The Dunning-Kruger effect: On being ignorant of one's own ignorance. In J. M. Olson, & M. P. Zanna (Eds.), *Advances in experimental social psychology*, Vol. 44 (pp. 247–296). Academic Press. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-385522-0.00005-6>
- Fordham, S., & Ogbu, J. U. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the "burden of 'acting white'". *The Urban Review*, 18(3), 176–206. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01112192>
- Freire, P. (2014). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Bloomsbury Academic. (Original work published 1970)
- Gay, G. (2013). Teaching to and through cultural diversity. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 43(1), 48–70. <https://doi.org/10.1111/curi.12002>
- Gay, G. (2015). The what, why, and how of culturally responsive teaching: International mandates, challenges, and opportunities. *Multicultural Education Review*, 7(3), 123–139. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2005615X.2015.1072079>
- Gay, G., & Howard T. C. (2000). Multicultural teacher education for the 21st century. *The Teacher Educator*, 36 (1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08878730009555246>
- Gay, G., & Kirkland, K. (2003). Developing cultural critical consciousness and self-reflection in preservice teacher education. *Theory Into Practice*, 42(3), 181–187. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15430421tip4203_3
- Gorski, P. C. (2008). Good intentions are not enough: A decolonizing intercultural education. *Intercultural Education*, 19(6), 515–525. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980802568319>
- Hammer, M. R. (2008). The Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI): An approach for assessing and building intercultural competence. In M. A. Moodian (Ed.), *Contemporary leadership and intercultural competence: Understanding and utilizing cultural diversity to build successful organizations* (pp. 203–218). Sage.
- Hammer, M. R. (2009). Intercultural Development Inventory v.3 (IDI) individual profile report. Retrieved from http://www.idiinventory.com/pdf/idi_sample.pdf
- Hammer, M. R. (2011). Additional cross-cultural validity testing of the Intercultural Development Inventory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 35(4), 474–487. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2011.02.014>
- Hammer, M. R. (2015). The developmental paradigm for intercultural competence research. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 48, 12–13. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2015.03.004>
- Hammer, M. R. (2022). A Response to Punti and Dingel's Critique of the Validity of the Intercultural Development Inventory for BIPOC Students. Comment on Punti, G.; Dingel, M. Rethinking Race,

- Ethnicity, and the Assessment of Intercultural Competence in Higher Education. *Educ. Sci.* 2021, 11, 110. *Education Science*, 12(3), 176. <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci12030176>
- Hammer, M. R., Bennett, M. J., & Wiseman, R. (2003). Measuring intercultural sensitivity: The Intercultural Development Inventory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27(4), 421–443. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767\(03\)00032-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767(03)00032-4)
- He, Y., Lundgren, K., & Pynes, P. (2017). Impact of short-term study abroad program: Inservice teachers' development of intercultural competence and pedagogical beliefs. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 66, 147–157. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2017.04.012>
- Hess, R. D., & Shipman, V. C. (1965). Early experience and the socialization of cognitive modes in children. *Child Development*, 36(4), 869–886. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1126930>
- Jokić, T. i Petrović, D. S. (2016). Interkulturalna osetljivost nastavnika i činioci uspešnog sprovođenja interkulturalnog obrazovanja u Srbiji. U D. S. Petrović i T. Jokić (ur.), *Interkulturalno obrazovanje u Srbiji – Regulativni okvir, stanje i mogućnosti za razvoj* (str. 128–154). Centar za obrazovne politike.
- Korthagen, F. A. J. (2014). Promoting core reflection in teacher education: Deepening professional growth. *International Teacher Education: Promising Pedagogies (Part A)*, 22, 73–89. <https://doi.org/10.1108/S1479-368720140000022007>
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2012). Through a glass darkly: The persistence of race in education research & scholarship. *Educational Researcher*, 41(4), 115–120. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X12440743>
- Leutwyler, B., Mantel, C., Petrović, D., Dimitrijević, B. M., & Zlatković, B. (2014). Teachers' beliefs about intercultural education: Different levels of intercultural sensitivity in schooling and teaching. *Educational Research*, 5(8), 280–289. <http://dx.doi.org/10.14303/er.2014.196>
- Lewis, O. (1998). The culture of poverty. *Society*, 35, 7–9. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02838122>
- Macura-Milovanović, S. (2008). Specifični problemi u obrazovanju romske dece. *Uzdanica*, 5(2), 177–185.
- Macura-Milovanović, S., & Peček, M. (2013). Attitudes of Serbian and Slovenian student teachers towards causes of learning underachievement amongst Roma pupils. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 17(6), 629–645. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2012.703247>
- Mahon, J. (2009). Conflict style and cultural understanding among teachers in the western United States: Exploring relationships. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 33(1), 46–56. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2008.12.002>
- Mantel, C., Simić, N., Petrović, D., & Leutwyler, B. (2012). Notions of cultural differences amongst teacher education students in the Serbian and Swiss Context. In A. Baucal, & J. Radišić (Eds.), *Patchwork. Learning diversities: Conference proceedings of the EARLI conference* (pp. 183–190). Institute of Psychology.
- Matsumoto, D., & Hwang, H. C. (2013). Assessing cross-cultural competence: A review of available tests. *Journal of cross-cultural psychology*, 44(6), 849–873. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022113492891>
- Ogbu, J. U. (2004). Collective identity and the burden of "acting white" in black history, community, and education. *The Urban Review*, 36(1), 1–35. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:URRE.0000042734.83194.f6>
- Paige, R. M., Jacobs-Cassuto, M., Yershova, Y. A., & DeJaegherea, J. (2003). Assessing intercultural sensitivity: An empirical analysis of the Hammer and Bennett Intercultural Development Inventory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27(4), 467–486. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767\(03\)00034-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767(03)00034-8)

- Payne, R. (2005). *A Framework for Understanding Poverty* (4th rev. ed.). Aha process Inc.
- Petrović, D. S. (2010). To what extent do teachers perceive Roma discrimination in Serbian educational system. In M. Patricia (Ed.), *Intercultural education as project for social transformation – Linking theory and practice towards equity and social justice: Conference proceedings* (pp. 156–172). INTER Network.
- Petrović, D. S. (2016). Pregled akreditovanih programa stručnog usavršavanja nastavnika u oblasti interkulturalnog obrazovanja. U D. S. Petrović & T. Jokić (ur.), *Interkulturalno obrazovanje u Srbiji – Regulativni okvir, stanje i mogućnosti za razvoj* (str. 128–154). Centar za obrazovne politike.
- Petrović, D. S. (2018). Sticanje interkulturalnih kompetencija u svetlu Razvojnog modela interkulturalne osetljivosti Milтона Beneta. *Godišnjak Pedagoškog fakulteta u Vranju*, 9(2), 27–44. <https://doi.org/10.5937/gufv1802027P>
- Pravilnik o standardima kompetencija za profesiju nastavnika i njihovog profesionalnog razvoja* (2011). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, Prosvetni glasnik, br. 5/2011.
- Radulović, L. (2011). *Obrazovanje nastavnika za refleksivnu praksu*. Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu.
- Republički zavod za statistiku (2022). *Nacionalna pripadnost: Podaci po opštinama i gradovima*. Retrieved from <https://publikacije.stat.gov.rs/G2023/Pdf/G20234001.pdf>
- Simić, N., & Vranješević, J. (2019). Refugee children in formal education in Serbia – Multi-perspective views on challenges and good practices. In K. Górak-Sosnowska, M. Pachocka, & J. Misiuna (Eds.), *Muslim minorities and the refugee crisis in Europe* (pp. 135–147). SGH publishing house, SGH Warsaw school of economics.
- Skubic Ermenc, K. (2016). Intercultural dimensions of education. *Nastava i vaspitanje*, 65(1), 7–16. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5937/nasvas16010075>
- Snodgrass, L. L., Morris, P. V., & Acheson, K. (2018). Assessing the intercultural sensitivity of students in an agriculture diversity and social justice course. *Multicultural Education Review*, 10(4), 292–309. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2005615X.2018.1532222>
- Spitzberg, B. H., & Changnon, G. (2009). Conceptualizing intercultural competence. In D. K. Deardorff (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of intercultural competence*, (pp. 2–52). SAGE.
- Starčević, J. S. (2011). Razlike u konceptualizaciji interkulturalne kompetentnosti: problem ili suština pojma. *Uzdanica*, 8(2), 117–125.
- Starčević, J. S. (2018). *U potrazi za suštinom individualnih razlika u interkulturalnoj interakciji*. Fakultet pedagoških nauka Univerziteta u Kragujevcu.
- Villegas, A. M., & Lucas, T. (2007). The culturally responsive teacher. *Educational Leadership*, 64(6), 28–33.
- Westrick, J. M., & Yuen, C. Y. M. (2007). The intercultural sensitivity of secondary teachers in Hong Kong: A comparative study with implications for professional development. *Intercultural Education*, 18(2), 129–145. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980701327247>
- Yuen, C. Y. M. (2010). Dimensions of diversity: Challenges to secondary school teachers with implications for intercultural teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 26(3), 732–741. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2009.10.009>
- Yuen, C. Y. M., & Grossman, D. L. (2009). The intercultural sensitivity of student teachers in three cities. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 39 (3), 349–365. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057920802281571>

Zakon o osnovama sistema obrazovanja i vaspitanja (2023). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, Prosvetni glasnik br. 88/2017, 27/2018 - dr. zakon, 10/2019, 27/2018 - dr. zakon, 6/2020, 129/2021 i 92/2023.

Zhang, J. (2014). Test review: The Intercultural Development Inventory Manual. *Journal of Psychoeducational Assessment*, 32(2), 178–183. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0734282913505075>

Zlatković, B. i Petrović, D. S. (2016). Interkulturalno obrazovanje budućih učitelja u Srbiji. U D. S. Petrović i T. Jokić (ur.), *Interkulturalno obrazovanje u Srbiji – Regulativni okvir, stanje i mogućnosti za razvoj* (pp. 128–154). Centar za obrazovne politike.

Primljeno: 26.03.2024.

Korigovana verzija primljena: 15.05.2024.

Prihvaćeno za štampu: 20.05.2024.

Bojana Dimitrijević

Fakultet pedagoških nauka Univerziteta u Kragujevcu, Jagodina, Srbija
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4599-4005>

Danijela Petrović

Odeljenje za psihologiju, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Beograd, Srbija
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6838-1191>

Blagica Zlatković

Pedagoški fakultet u Vranju, Univerzitet u Nišu, Vranje, Srbija
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3786-2491>

Jelena Starčević

Fakultet pedagoških nauka Univerziteta u Kragujevcu, Jagodina, Srbija
<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7742-992X>

Školski prostor kao „siguran prostor“ i „bezbedan prostor“: obrazovni i arhitektonski izazovi¹

Nena Vasojević² 

Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd, Srbija

Ivana Vučetić 

Inovacioni centar Mašinskog fakulteta, Beograd, Srbija

Suzana Ignjatović 

Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd, Srbija

Željka Buturović 

Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd, Srbija

Apstrakt

U radu se uporedno razmatraju dva koncepta školskog prostora – „siguran prostor“ i „bezbedan prostor“, koristeći obrazovni i arhitektonski pristup. Ukazuje se na razlike ali i preklapanja ova dva pojma. U radu se takođe analiziraju međunarodna iskustva u projektovanju bezbednih školskih prostora i postojeća zakonodavna rešenja za bezbednost u školskim zgradama u Srbiji. Ostvarivanje uslova sigurnog i bezbednog školskog prostora je razmatrano na nivou propisa, preporuka i postojećih mera. Pokazalo se da zakonodavna rešenja mera bezbednosti u školskim zgradama ne uključuju konkretne preventivne mere koje se odnose na bezbednost i sigurnost u pomenutom kontekstu. Konstatovano je da razvijanje koncepta „sigurnog“ i „bezbednog“ prostora u srpskim školama zahteva reviziju postojećih propisa. Da bi se omogućilo efikasno upravljanje bezbednošću uopšte, kao i upravljanje u vanrednim situacijama, prilikom projektovanja školskih zgrada treba voditi računa o arhitektonskoj logici prostora i ljudskom faktoru. Takođe, svaka aktivnost usmerena na donošenje prostorne regulative i organizovanje sistema reagovanja unutar školske zgrade na bezbednosne rizike treba da uzme u obzir specifičnosti pojedinačnih školskih zgrada. Novim propisima treba osigurati

1 Ovaj rad je napisan u okviru Programa istraživanja Instituta društvenih nauka i Inovacionog centra Mašinskog fakulteta za 2024. godinu uz podršku Ministarstva nauke, tehnološkog razvoja i inovacija Republike Srbije, kao i u okviru projektne aktivnosti „Vrednosni aspekti bezbednosti u obrazovno-vaspitnom sistemu“ koju realizuje Institut društvenih nauka, i istraživanja podržanog od strane Ministarstva nauke, tehnološkog razvoja i inovacija Republike Srbije po ugovoru 451-03-66/2024-03/200213 od 05.02.2024. godine.

2 nvasojevic@idn.org.rs

bezbednost za sve subjekte koji su uključeni u vaspitno-obrazovni proces, pri čemu školsko okruženje treba da odgovara potrebama učenika i nastavnika, uz mogućnost menjanja i prilagođavanja obrazovno-kulturnoj zajednici.

Ključne reči: siguran prostor, škola, bezbedan prostor, arhitektura školskih zgrada.

Uvod

Bezbednost je veoma široka tema koju možemo da razmatramo kao fizičku bezbednost i kao kvalitet okruženja u kojem se osoba oseća slobodnom da izražava svoje mišljenje i bude ono što jeste. Usled tragičnog događaja pucnjave u jednoj školi u Beogradu, u domaćoj javnosti je postala dominantna tema bezbednosti u školama, tj. bezbednosti u školskom prostoru. Ni naučna istraživanja na ovom polju nisu izrodila jedinstven teorijski pristup izučavanju bezbednosnih rizika u školama, što predstavlja prepreku za stvaranje naučno zasnovanog i praktično upotrebljivog hipotetičkog okvira za procenu i odgovor na heterogene rizike s kojima se suočava školska omladina (Keković i sar., 2012).

U obrazovanju sve više dolazi do preklapanja pojmova bezbednosti (eng. *security*) i sigurnosti (eng. *safety*), odnosno oni se često povezuju kroz sintagmu „bezbednost i sigurnost u školama“ (Vallinkoski & Koirikivi, 2020: 103). Koncept sigurnosti ima razne dimenzije, od fizičke sigurnosti od zemljotresa, do socijalne sigurnosti od siromaštva i isključenosti. S druge strane, koncept bezbednosti se odnosi pre svega na bezbednost od fizičkih napada na telesni integritet, sa različitim stepenom životnog ugrožavanja. U skladu s prevladavajućim pristupom da se bezbednost/sigurnost posmatra kao jedinstven koncept, predlažu se modeli za rešavanje glavnih problema u školama u vezi s ovim aspektom. U strateškim dokumentima se govori o „sveobuhvatnoj sigurnosti“ (eng. *comprehensive safety*), koja obuhvata veoma širok spektar pitanja sigurnosti/bezbednosti: od psihosocijalne sigurnosti i vršnjačkog nasilja i sadržaja kurikuluma, do kontrole rizika od katastrofa, nasilja i klimatskih promena (GADRRRES, 2022).

U radu ćemo razlikovati dva koncepta koji se odnose na bezbednost, tj. sigurnost. Koncept „sigurnog prostora“ ima pre svega socijalnu i psihološku osnovu, ali takođe i fizičku prostornu komponentu. Drugi koncept koji je tesno vezan za dimenziju fizičkog prostora u obrazovanju odnosi se na bezbednost u užem smislu reči u okviru školske zgrade i prostora izvan zgrade koji joj pripada. Ovde mislimo na zaštitu fizičkog integriteta, kako od opasnosti spolja („amok situacije“) (Vulević, 2019) tako i od opasnosti unutar škole (vršnjačko nasilje).

Prostor škole je prvenstveno društveni prostor koji označava društveno uokviravanje fizičkog, geografskog ili materijalnog supstrata (Reed–Danahay, 2015). On je definisan sociokulturnim obrascima shvatanja škole kao obrazovne institucije i osnovnog instrumenta javnog obrazovanja. Škola kao „društveni prostor“ podrazumeva spoljašnje prostorne granice (koje određuju fizički okvir školskog prostora), i unutrašnje prostorne granice (koje određuju različite funkcije škole, tj. kompartmentalizaciju

prostora unutar datih granica škole). U tako širokom okviru, postavlja se pitanje kako u praksi artikulirati kontrole rizika koji se odnose na fizičku bezbednost, uz poštovanje principa sigurnog prostora kao socijalne i psihološke kategorije. Na koji način se određuju granice „sigurnog prostora“ unutar škole, a na koji način „bezbednog prostora“? Da li postoje određeni delovi škole koji su posebno namenjeni sigurnom prostoru (na primer, kabinet psihološke i pedagoške službe) a neki fizičkoj bezbednosti u slučaju rizika? Da li se norme ponašanja prostorno ograničavaju u realizaciji principa sigurnog i principa bezbednog prostora?

Prostor škole postaje predmet intervencija u skladu sa zahtevima „sveobuhvatne sigurnosti“ i bezbednosti, dakle sigurnost i bezbednost se tretiraju kao celina, a ne pojedinačno. U radu se bavimo fizičkim i prostornim dimenzijama regulisanja dva glavna zahteva koja smo prepoznali kao jezgro savremenih paradigmi: zahtev za „sigurnim prostorom“ (eng. *safe space*) i zahtev za fizičkom bezbednošću. U kombinaciji, ova dva pojma imaju podjednako simboličko i praktično značenje, a u ovom radu nas posebno zanima prostorni i fizički aspekt sigurnosti, odnosno bezbednosti. Kako se ona operativno sprovodi (sistemi bezbednosti unutar prostora škole)? Kako se prostor segmentira prema bezbednosnim rizicima (zgrada, dvorište)? Kako se definišu uloge aktera u školi u kontroli prostorne bezbednosti (roditelji, nastavnici, učenici, uprava) – ko ima nadležnost da proverava prostorije, ko ima pristup kom delu prostora? Kako se prostor bezbednosno kontroliše, koja su arhitektonska rešenja, raspored kontrolnih punktova, evakuacioni izlazi itd. Osim toga, važno pitanje je da li dolazi do kolizije dva koncepta u realnosti školskog okruženja – sigurnog prostora kao društveno tolerantne sredine, s jedne strane, i bezbednosti kao zaštite od rizika fizičkog ugrožavanja, s druge strane, posebno iz perspektive prostorne regulacije i arhitektonskih rešenja. U domaćoj literaturi nema mnogo radova o ovom pitanju (Hebib i Žunić Pavlović, 2018; Tadić, 2022).

„Siguran prostor“ kao školski prostor

Značenje sigurnosti u ovom kontekstu odnosi se na kombinaciju fizičke bezbednosti i slobode da se otvoreno iznose stavovi i govori o sebi. Poslednjih godina ovaj termin je sve više zastupljen u obrazovnim dokumentima, kada se govori o dimenziji „sigurnog prostora“ koji se vezuje za slobodu i prava učenika.³ Važnost ove teme prepoznata je i u zvaničnim dokumentima i preporukama Saveta Evrope, pa se tako u dokumentu Putokazi „siguran prostor“ definiše kao mesto gde su „učenici u mogućnosti da izraze svoje stavove i otvoreno govore, čak i ako se razlikuju od pozicija nastavnika ili vršnjaka“ (Jackson, 2014: 48). Fizička bezbednost tu pada u drugi plan.

3 U relevantnoj literaturi mogu se naći različite definicije koje opisuju koncept „sigurnog prostora“ (eng. „safe space“). Važno je napomenuti da je koncept „bezbednog prostora“ potekao od feminističkog i LGBT pokreta 1970-ih godina prošlog veka, i da je prvobitno korišćen za imenovanje „fizičkih mesta za sastanke gde su istomišljenici mogli da se sretnu i podele svoja iskustva u bezbednom okruženju“ (Flensner & Von der Lippe, 2019: 276).

S druge strane, pojedini autori, kao što su Domalevska i saradnici (Domalewska et al., 2021), ukazuju da „siguran prostor bez rizika predstavlja ‘hrabri prostor’, naime okruženje slobodno od zlostavljanja i podsmeha“ (Domalewska et al., 2021: 36). Siguran prostor je društveni prostor u metaforičkom značenju i podrazumeva okruženje ili sredinu. Takav „prostor“ u školama vezuje se za fizički prostor u kojem učenici borave tokom obrazovno-vaspitnog procesa, a to su učionice, školske prostorije (kancelarije, sale za sport i rekreaciju, trpezarija, školsko dvorište, nastavničke kancelarije i sl.). Taj prostor označava okruženje koje podržava učenje, gde je zastupljeno prosocijalno načelo kojim se obezbeđuje da se pojedinci, tj. učenici poštuju uprkos razlikama. Međutim, u SAD u praksi se pokazalo da koncept „sigurnog prostora“ (safe space) često može izazvati negativan efekat, gde preventivna upozorenja o merama sigurnosti i bezbednosti mogu sama po sebi delovati uznemirujuće na učenike, a predavači i literatura sa potencijalom da izazovu neprijatna osećanja mogu biti odstranjeni iz kurikuluma (Byron, 2017).

Autori Domalevska i sar. (2021) navode da se „učionice bezbednog prostora u obrazovnim ustanovama razlikuju od politike bezbednog prostora u visokoškolskim ustanovama ili radnim mestima jer se pravila i ciljevi kohabitacije razlikuju“ (Flensner et al., 2019, prema: Domalewska et al., 2021: 36). Siguran prostor je prvenstveno prostor za učenje koji treba da obezbedi pozitivnu atmosferu koja podstiče učenike da razbiju svoju izolovanost, i doprinosi formiranju saradnje unutar zajednice tj. učionice (Biegel, 2010; Gawlik-Kobylin-ska, 2021; Kislyakov et al., 2014, prema: Domalewska et al., 2021: 36). Takav prostor podrazumeva „klimu u učionici u kojoj se svi učesnici u vaspitno-obrazovnom procesu osećaju bezbedno, gde pritom svi mogu da iskažu svoje mišljenje i osećanja bez straha da će biti meta nasilja, uznemiravanja ili govora mržnje“ (Domalewska et al., 2021: 36). Takav pristup je podsticajan za interakciju unutar prostora bez straha i podsmevanja, jer se u takvom prostoru „podržava njihovo blagostanje, otpornost i moralni identitet“ (Domalewska et al., 2021: 36; Kislyakov, 2014).

Karakteristikama obrazovnog okruženja mogu se smatrati faktori sredine koji definišu psihosocijalno blagostanje svih subjekata vaspitno-obrazovnog procesa (Kislyakov et al., 2014), i podjednako je važno za učenike i nastavnike. Samo u sigurnom prostoru nastavnik može da primeni individualni pristup svakom učeniku i „stvari prostor za interakciju subjekat-subjekt“ (Antonova, 2013: 286, prema: Kislyakov et al., 2014). Veština nastavnika da formira „tolerantni prostor“ uključuje sinergiju mnogih elemenata kao što su prihvatanje subjekata bez obzira na različitost (starost, rasa, etnička grupa, jezik, materijalni položaj itd.) i administraciju (Pogodina, 2006, prema: Kislyakov et al., 2014).

S druge strane, treba imati u vidu da je kod klime bezbednog prostora kao socijalnog okruženja glavni preduslov međukulturni dijalog, s jedne strane, i istraživanja različitosti mišljenja, vrednosti i stavova, s druge strane (Domalewska et al., 2021; Jackson, 2014). Ovakav ambijent podstiče samootkrivanje kod učenika praćeno različitim izazovima, ali jedino na ovaj način dolazi do kognitivnog, emocionalnog i društvenog razvoja (Vygotsky, 1978) pojedinca, tj. učenika. Međutim, klima bezbednog prostora ne podrazumeva „udobnost“ (Domalewska et al., 2021), pa možemo govoriti o socijalno-psihološkoj sigurnosti u različitim situacijama. Vaspitno-obrazovne institucije moraju da rade

na stvaranju pozitivnog okruženja za učenje koje obuhvata komponente fizičkih resursa (učionice, materijali, tehnologije, i sl.) (Velissaratou & Blyth, 2017).

Treba imati u vidu da intersekcionalni pristup podrazumeva da je bezbedan prostor nemoguć za pripadnike marginalizovanih grupa u kontekstu dominantnih institucija. Iz tog razloga, okvir bezbednog prostora je u nekim kontekstima, suprotno ideji otvorene multikulturalne komunikacije, rezultirao isključivanjem neprijatnih tema i davanjem primata udobnosti učenika i nastavnika. Ovako shvaćen, pojam bezbednog prostora je često kritikovan (Haidt & Lukianoff, 2019).

Sve više se ističe i važnost inkluzivnosti školskog okruženja, koja doprinosi da se učenicima osećaju bezbedno i prijatno (Joseph et al., 2023). Tako je jedan od ključnih elemenata međunarodnih obrazovnih smernica i školskih politika širom sveta upravo izgradnja inkluzivnijih škola, za koje se smatra da podstiču pozitivne odnose između učenika i smanjuju vršnjačko nasilje te unapređuju opštu dobrobit učenika (Margas, 2023). Neka istraživanja (Baeva, 2023; Flynn, 2018) su pokazala da je u cilju prevencije potencijalno ugrožavajućih situacija u školskom okruženju neophodno posvetiti pažnju socijalno-emocionalnom učenju i angažovati se na formiranju pozitivnih vrednosti kod učenika, kao i obučiti nastavnike da prepoznaju i rešavaju probleme koji nisu lako uočljivi (nasilništvo i sl.). Praksa je pokazala da školska zgrada može da ima veliki uticaj na proces učenja, nastavu i odnose učenika i nastavnika (Harber, 2021). Zbog toga bi školske zgrade trebalo projektovati tako da podstiču učenje, u skladu s teorijom i praksom u oblasti obrazovanja i psihologije životne sredine (Dyck & Lippman, 2023).

Ipak, koncept „sigurnog prostora“ kao socijalno bezbednog okruženja u školi sve više pada u drugi plan sa novim rizicima u školskom prostoru. Učestale pojave pucnjava u školama (eng. *school shootings*) stavile su fizičku bezbednost učenika u fokus i otvorile polemiku o načinu projektovanja školskih zgrada kako bi se minimizovale žrtve do kojih dolazi prilikom ovih napada. Preporuke o poželjnim prostornim rešenjima koja treba da podstaknu toleranciju i komunikaciju unutar škole mogu da budu u koliziji sa prioritetom fizičke bezbednosti. Stoga ćemo se u nastavku rada pozabaviti ovim drugim konceptom bezbednosti iz perspektive arhitektonskih rešenja za bezbednosne rizike u školskim zgradama.

Školska zgrada kao bezbedan prostor

Posle Drugog svetskog rata, porast broja dece školskog uzrasta i reforma u pravcu demokratizacije obrazovanja doveli su do promene propisa u projektovanju školskih zgrada i uspostavljanja dinamičnije prostorne veze s okruženjem (Tiškevič, 2023). Ovakva otvorena koncepcija školskih zgrada učinila ih je dostupnijim lokalnoj zajednici. Međutim, otvorenost škole za komunikaciju s okruženjem ujedno je čini podložnom bezbednosnim rizicima. Usled učestalosti ovakvih događaja poslednjih decenija, postalo je neophodno raditi na unapređivanju bezbednosti školskih zgrada. Tako je prilikom projektovanja školskih zgrada pored praktičnih, estetskih i ekonomskih zahteva, potrebno uzeti u obzir i bezbednosne zahteve (Tiškevič, 2023).

Savremena škola treba da kombinuje efektivni dizajn s fizičkim, socijalnim i psihološkim potrebama korisnika (Blue, 1998). To usložnjava proces projektovanja pošto arhitekta moraju da izbegnu štetne efekte preventivnih mera bezbednosti koje mogu izazvati strah i nelagodu kod učenika. Potrebno je pronaći inovativna prostorna rešenja koja mogu da spreče i ograniče nasilje, ali koja ne narušavaju karakter podsticajnog okruženja za učenje. Na ovaj način stvorile bi se povezane, otvorene školske zajednice u skladu s društvenim, psihološkim, ekonomskim faktorima i faktorima životne sredine (AIA, n.d.). Prostorni elementi koji doprinose bezbednosti mogu uključivati različite barijere u kretanju, ograničavanje pristupa ili sigurnosne sisteme. Oni treba da budu što manje primetni i projektovani kao sastavni deo prostornog rešenja. U suprotnom, obrazovni proces, emocionalni razvoj učenika i njihovo društveno ponašanje mogu biti ugroženi (Schneidawind, 2018).

Međutim, jedan od glavnih problema koji se nameće je nedostatak smernica i pristupa adekvatnim informacijama za projektovanje školskih zgrada. Pri tome, ne postoji jedinstveno projektno rešenje koje može biti primenjeno u svakoj školi, već ono mora biti prilagođeno konkretnoj populaciji učenika, zahtevima lokacije, i potrebama lokalne zajednice (Schneidawind, 2018). Kada se govori o unapređivanju bezbednosti školskog okruženja, moraju se uzeti u obzir ne samo vanredne okolnosti, već i uobičajeni problemi koji ugrožavaju bezbednost, s kojima se učenici i nastavnici mogu susresti svakodnevno, kao što je vršnjačko nasilje. Zbog toga je, pored strategija za unapređivanje bezbednosti, neophodno voditi računa i o aspektima koji doprinose „sigurnom prostoru“ u psihosocijalnom smislu. Dobins ističe da treba učiniti pristupačnim prostorije za savetovanje i psihološku podršku tako što će biti locirane u blizini biblioteke ili neke zajedničke prostorije (Dobbins, 2018).

Rasprava o bezbednosti u školskom prostoru mora uzeti u obzir individualni doživljaj javnog prostora različitih aktera u školi – učenika, nastavnika, roditelja. Školski prostor je ujedno i javni prostor. A percepcija bezbednosti u javnom prostoru kod dece školskog uzrasta razlikuje se od razumevanja rizika kod odraslih. Jedno istraživanje o percepciji rizika za decu u javnom prostoru u Srbiji pokazalo je manje oštru podelu javno–privatno nego na Zapadu, kao i veću autonomiju mobilnosti dece u prostoru u odnosu na druge zemlje (Tomanović & Petrović, 2006). Isto istraživanje je pokazalo da je anksioznost u vezi s rizikom u Srbiji relativno niža od očekivane, a roditelji više pribegavaju instruktivnim nego restriktivnim merama u kontroli rizika u prostoru (Tomanović & Petrović, 2006). Naravno, iskustvo takođe utiče na promenu percepcije. Prvo masovno ubistvo u školi u Srbiji možda će promeniti dominantni kulturni skript u reagovanju na opasnosti u javnom prostoru, uključujući i školski prostor.

Ekstremne situacije bezbednosnog rizika i školski prostor

Sjedinjene Američke Države beleže najviše slučajeva ekstremnih situacija sa mogućim teškim posledicama, pre svega onih u vezi s oružanim napadima u školi. Zbog toga su razvijeni posebni protokoli bezbednosti koji se od 2013. godine moraju uvažiti prilikom projektovanja školskih zgrada ili rekonstrukcija većih obima postojećih objekata

(OSPI, 2013; Vulević, 2019). Kada su u pitanju ekstremne situacije gde se predviđa da opasnost dolazi iz spoljašnjeg okruženja, bezbednosne strategije zasnivaju se na otežavanju pristupa unutrašnjem prostoru školske zgrade fizičkim preprekama, posebno projektovanim prostornim elementima i sistemima kontrole ulaska u školski prostor. Istovremeno, radi se na omogućavanju brze evakuacije iz unutrašnjeg prostora školske zgrade u slučaju nužde, planiranjem putanja za bekstvo. Važno je i da se u okviru školske zgrade obezbede sigurna mesta za skrivanje u slučaju nemogućnosti evakuacije. Navedene preventivne mere mogu uključivati različite elemente arhitektonskog i pejzažnog dizajna, kao i upotrebu savremene tehnologije i posebnu prostorno-funkcionalnu organizaciju školske zgrade.

Prostorno-funkcionalna organizacija školske zgrade je polazna osnova za stvaranje sigurnog i bezbednog okruženja. Neki autori ističu da zona glavnog prostora škole sa učionicama i prostorijama sa pratećim sadržajima u kojima borave učenici treba da bude odvojena od ulaznog hola, uz koji treba da budu grupisane prostorije javne namene (uslužni toaleti, sale za sastanke/prijem roditelja i kancelarije za rad sa strankama) kojima nije ograničen pristup (Cassidy, 2014). Takođe, ulazni hol sa prijemnim delom treba da bude i fizički odvojen od glavnog dela škole, i često se preporučuje zastakljivanje staklom otpornim na metke. Međutim, ova preporuka ne važi za sve prostorije, tj. zastakljivanje oko ulaza u učionice treba izbegavati jer se na taj način mogu stvoriti tzv. bezbednosne niše u slepim tačkama koje se ne mogu sagledati iz hodnika (Flynn, 2018). Ulaz treba da bude pozicioniran tako da se kretanje posetilaca može pratiti kako iz glavnog prostora školske zgrade i prijemnog dela, tako i sa partera i javnih površina. Preporučuje se ograničen broj ulaza, sa tehnologijom nadzora i provere, kao što su kamere i detektori metala koji mogu biti locirani unutar prvih dvostrukih vrata. U slučaju da detektori nešto otkriju, druga vrata se ne otvaraju dok ih ne otvori obezbeđenje (Schneider, 1998; 2007). Takođe, poželjno je omogućiti više alternativnih izlaza u slučaju hitne evakuacije (Kirk, 2018). Postojanje jednog ulaza i izlaza može stvoriti efekat uskog grla, čineći učenike posebno ranjivim metama tokom gužve koja se stvara u vreme dolaska i odlaska iz škole. Najzad, preporuka je i da osoblje u prijemnom delu prođe obuku kako bi tačno znalo šta da radi ili koga da pozove ako se otkrije pretnja (Flynn, 2018). Poželjno bi bilo i da postoje sigurne sobe na strateški odabranim lokacijama u celoj zgradi, sa sigurnosnim bravama i metalnim vratima (Kirk, 2018).

Takođe se preporučuju i planska rešenja za školsko dvorište i prilaz školi. Staza kojom se pristupa školskoj zgradi treba da bude projektovana tako da usporava kretanje, upotrebom različitih prostornih prepreka koje su deo parternog rešenja⁴ (Flynn, 2018). Stručnjaci za bezbednost smatraju da dobro razrađena parterna rešenja šalju poruku da je ljudima stalo do škole, i da mogu odvratiti od loših namera. Međutim, zelenilo u parteru treba da bude pažljivo uređeno da ne bi zaklanjalo pogled i da se ne bi moglo iskoristiti kao mesto za skrivanje (Cassidy, 2014). Pristupna staza i pripadajuće površine partera treba da budu lako sagledive iz unutrašnjeg prostora školske zgrade (Flynn, 2018).

4 Parterno rešenje ili pejzažno arhitektonsko rešenje obuhvata popločane površine za okupljanje ili komunikaciju (staze), parking i zelenilo neposredno u zoni školske zgrade, kao pripadajući spoljašnji prostor između školske zgrade i površina javne namene.

„Siguran prostor“ kao koncept nije moguće ostvariti ako fizička organizacija prostora ne podstiče komunikaciju, otvorenost i povezanost u nastavnim i socijalnim aktivnostima u školi. Arhitekta Brotman koji se zalaže za „otvoreni prostor“ u rešavanju bezbednosti školske zgrade, navodi primer „kišne bašte“ oko škole (kao „šanac“) čija je dobra strana to da nije toliko primetna kao deo projektnog rešenja, a ima bezbednosnu funkciju (Schneidawind, 2018). To je primer prostorne organizacije u kojoj su povezani koncepti „sigurnog prostora“, kao pozitivnog socijalnog okruženja, i fizičke bezbednosti.

Pored ovih, primenjuju se i strategije unapređivanja bezbednosti školskih zgrada zasnovane na performansama evakuacije (eng. *performance-oriented*). Pokazalo se da svaki pojedinac sledi tri principa prilikom donošenja odluka u procesu hitne evakuacije: praćenje instinkta, praćenje iskustva i ograničene racionalnosti (Pan et al., 2005, prema: Lian et al., 2023). U kriznoj situaciji, većina ljudi ima tendenciju da napusti zgradu putem koji im je najpoznatiji (Lian et al., 2023). Pored toga, za predviđanje ponašanja prilikom evakuacije u školskim zgradama treba posmatrati i interakcije između evakuisanih i okoline, dakle, uzeti u obzir druge pojedince i prostorne prepreke. Rezultati simulacije evakuacije uz pomoć programskog paketa za modeliranje *AnyLogic platform* u jednoj osnovnoj školi u Hangdžou u Kini pokazali su da način na koji su projektovane komunikacije u školskoj zgradi, dimenzije i pozicije hodnika i stepeništa mogu da utiču na ishod evakuacije (Lian et al., 2023). Simulacija evakuacije u školi „Svetozar Marković“ u Nišu uz pomoć specijalnog softvera *Pathfinder*, pokazala je da je za efikasnost evakuacije važna brzina kretanja, i da ona treba da bude u određenim granicama, kako ne bi došlo do stvaranja čepova na prolazima i izlazima iz školske zgrade, koji bi uzrokovali zastoje (Jevtić, 2023). U SAD, kada je reč o napadima tipa „aktivnog strelca“, većina škola ima protokole o ponašanju u ovakvim situacijama, a veliki broj takođe sprovodi obuke nastavnika i učenika i vežbe evakuacije (Flynn, 2018).

Mere bezbednosti u školskim zgradama u Srbiji

U Srbiji nisu propisani posebni bezbednosni uslovi koje školska zgrada mora da ispuniti, osim onih koji su u vezi s protivpožarnim propisima. U članu 92. *Zakona o osnovama sistema obrazovanja i vaspitanja* (Sl. glasnik RS, br. 88/2017, 27/2018-dr. zakoni i 10/2019) propisani su *Uslovi za početak rada i obavljanje delatnosti ustanove*, koji, između ostalog, obuhvataju i higijensko-tehničke uslove (sanitarne i protivpožarne), u skladu s propisima. Prema *Pravilniku o izmenama i dopunama Pravilnika o bližim uslovima za osnivanje, početak rada i obavljanje delatnosti osnovne škole*, pri projektovanju, izgradnji, dogradnji, rekonstrukciji, adaptaciji i opremanju školskih objekata treba se pridržavati nacionalnih standarda o građenju javnih objekata: standarda pristupačnosti, protivpožarne zaštite, energetske efikasnosti, bezbednosti i drugih standarda iz oblasti projektovanja i izgradnje objekata (Pravilnik o izmenama i dopunama Pravilnika o bližim uslovima za osnivanje, početak rada i obavljanje delatnosti osnovne škole, 2020).

U pogledu preventivnih mera bezbednosti, *Normativi školskog prostora* predviđaju određene mere koje su više vezane za prostorno-funkcionalnu organizaciju, kretanje

i pristupačnost, nego što su konkretno proizvod razmatranja bezbednosti. Izuzetak je propis koji predviđa da školski kompleks (koji uključuje školsku zgradu, školsko dvorište locirano uz školsku zgradu i neposredno povezano s ulazima u školsku zgradu, sportske terene, zelene površine, prilaze za pešake i vozila, dostavno dvorište i parkiralište) bude ograđen zaštitnom ogradom visine do 180-210 cm, kao i propis koji nalaže da se pri izboru uže lokacije školske zgrade, pored tehničkih i ostalih, uzimaju u obzir i uslovi povoljne nosivosti i seizmike, kao i bezbednosti od prirodnih katastrofa. Prilazi za pešake i vozila po pravilu treba da su odvojeni. Kod svih spratnih objekata treba obezbediti lift dimenzija i ostalih karakteristika prema standardima pristupačnosti. Međutim, ne postoje jasne smernice za prostorno-funkcionalnu organizaciju u pogledu bezbednosti, na primer da prostorije za zaposlene i višenamenski prostor u okviru zajedničkih prostorija budu prostorno odvojeni od nastavnih prostorija. Postoji jedino smernica da administrativne prostorije budu grupisane i smeštene što bliže ulazu u školsku zgradu (Pravilnik o izmenama i dopunama Pravilnika o bližim uslovima za osnivanje, početak rada i obavljanje delatnosti osnovne škole, 2020).

Nedavno objavljeni priručnik Ministarstva prosvete o postupanju u kriznim situacijama u školama nedovoljno razmatra prostorne faktore (Vuković i sar., 2024). Priručnik se uglavnom bavi psihološkim aspektima reagovanja tokom i nakon kriznih događaja i daje samo nekoliko smernica vezanih za prostor škole. Ističe se da svaka škola treba da ima plan evakuacije, bezbedna mesta kao skrovišta i mesta ponovnog okupljanja nakon napuštanja objekta, kao i prostor za psihološku pomoć žrtvama nakon određenog događaja (Vuković i sar., 2024). Međutim, preporuke nisu dovoljno specifične prema tipu školske zgrade i okruženja, kao i tipovima ugrožavajućih situacija.

Na osnovu ovako definisanih zakona nameće se zaključak da prostorni faktori bezbednosnih rizika nisu dovoljno prepoznati u obrazovnom sistemu Srbije, pa iz tog razloga nemamo pravne regulative koje se odnose konkretno na segment „sigurnog“ i „bezbednog“ prostora. Domaća literatura još uvek nedovoljno razmatra „problem standarda gradnje škola kao faktor prevencije krize“ (Kešetović i sar., 2012: 207). Recimo, nisu prepoznata načela koja autori definišu kao „koncept prevencije kriminaliteta kroz dizajniranje okruženja“ (eng. *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design – CPTED*) koji je zasnovan na tri temelja: prirodni nadzor (odnosi se na „mogućnost da se vidi šta se u prostoru i objektu događa bez posebnih mera“), prirodna kontrola pristupa („mogućnost da se ograniči ko može da uđe u objekat i kako“) i teritorijalnost („kapacitet da se uspostavi kontrola nad okruženjem, jasnim utvrđivanjem ko je glavni i ko se pita, ko pripada unutra, a ko je stranac“) (Kešetović i sar., 2012: 203). Naravno, odlučivanje o vrsti prostornog prilagođavanja školske zgrade rizicima nije jednostavan zadatak. Izbor bezbednosnih mera zavisi od raznih faktora (veličina škole i lokalne specifičnosti) i potrebno je naći pravu meru mogućih rešenja (Kešetović i sar., 2012). Ovo je posebno složeno pitanje danas kada se javljaju novi rizici koji nisu ranije bili u fokusu bezbednosti (amok situacije).

Diskusija i zaključak

Razvijanje koncepta „bezbednog prostora“ u srpskim školama zahteva da kreatori obrazovnih politika izvrše reviziju postojećih propisa. Njihov cilj treba da bude stvaranje novih normativa, koji će uzeti u obzir potencijalne rizike u implementaciji i kreiranju bezbednosnih standarda, a voditi računa i o očuvanju obrazovne kulture jedne zajednice. Međutim, u donošenje novih nacrti koji se tiču bezbednosti prostora u srpskim školama potrebno je uključiti i stručnjake iz različitih naučnih oblasti, kako bi se uspostavili novi principi koji bi smanjili bezbednosne rizike. Kroz nove propise treba osigurati bezbednost za sve subjekte koji su uključeni u vaspitno-obrazovni proces. Školsko okruženje treba da bude prilagođeno potrebama učenika i nastavnika, uz mogućnost menjanja u skladu s društvenim i vaspitnim promenama. Jedan od izazova s kojima će se suočiti arhitekti koji se budu bavili unapređivanjem bezbednosti prostora školskih zgrada u Srbiji biće implementacija prostornih rešenja i elemenata zasnovanih na preporukama i propisima o preventivnim merama bezbednosti u prostore postojećih školskih zgrada, gde sprovođenje ovakvih mera nije bilo predviđeno na početku. U ovom radu, ostvarivanje uslova sigurnog i bezbednog školskog prostora razmatrano je na nivou propisa, preporuka i postojećih mera. Naše zaključke svakako treba dopuniti analizom postojećeg stanja opremljenosti školskih zgrada i potrebnih infrastrukturnih ulaganja za smanjivanje bezbednosnih rizika. Svaka aktivnost usmerena na donošenje prostorne regulative i organizovanje sistema reagovanja unutar školske zgrade na bezbednosne rizike treba da uzme u obzir specifičnosti svake škole, veličinu (prostorno i po broju učenika), poziciju (gustina urbanog prostora), kao i društvene i kulturološke specifičnosti (percepcija rizika i bezbednosti).

Kako bi se omogućilo efikasno upravljanje bezbednošću uopšte, kao i upravljanje bezbednošću u vanrednim situacijama, prilikom projektovanja školskih zgrada važno je uzeti u obzir dva povezana aspekta – arhitektonsku logiku prostora i ljudski faktor. Prvi faktor se odnosi na optimalno pozicioniranje i dimenzionisanje prostornih elemenata, čime se otklanja bezbednosna pretnja ili se dobija dovoljno vremena za adekvatnu reakciju. Drugi faktor je podjednako važan. U ekstremnim situacijama oružanih napada koji zahtevaju brzu i koordinisanu reakciju svih prisutnih u školskoj zgradi, važno je razumeti da ljudi imaju različit doživljaj prostora i reagovanja na krizne situacije. Stoga je, osim prostorno-funkcionalne organizacije školske zgrade, neophodno i unapređivanje sistema obezbeđenja i tehnoloških rešenja, kao i obuka osoblja, nastavnika i učenika.

Literatura

- AIA. (n.d.). *Where we stand: School design and student safety*. <https://www.aia.org/about-aia/where-we-stand/school-design-student-safety>
- Baeva, L. V. (2023). Existential sources of school shootings and Columbiana. *Journal of Philosophy*, 27(3), 774-792. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2313-2302-2023-27-3-774-792>
- Biegel, S. (2010). *The right to be out: Sexual orientation and gender identity in America's public schools*. University of Minnesota Press.

- Blue, D. (1998). *Safety By Design* [Conference presentation]. The 3rd International CPTED Conference, Washington DC, United States.
- Byron, K. (2017). From infantilizing to world making: Safe spaces and trigger warnings on campus. *Family Relations*, 66(1), 116-125. <https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12233>
- Cassidy, R. (2014, January 9). *Special report: Can design prevent another Sandy Hook?* BDC Network. https://www.bdcnetwork.com/special-report-can-design-prevent-another-sandy-hook?utm_medium=website&utm_source=archdaily.com
- Dobbins, T. (2018, August 25). *Sandy Hook School Architect Testifies in Front of Congress About School Safety*. Archdaily. https://www.archdaily.com/900588/speaking-to-congress-jay-brotman-outlines-how-the-profession-intends-to-improve-school-safety?ad_source=search&ad_medium=projects_tab&ad_source=search&ad_medium=search_result_all
- Domalewska, D., Kobylińska, M. G., Yen, P. H., Webb, R. K., & Thiparasuparat, N. (2021). On safe space in education: A Polish-Vietnamese comparative study. *Journal of Human Security*, 17(1), 35-45. <https://doi.org/10.12924/johs2021.17010035>
- Dyck, J.A., & Lippman, P. (2023). Creating dynamic school buildings that activate the learner and the learning process. In P. C. Lippman, & E. A. Matthews (Eds.), *Creating Dynamic Places for Learning: An Evidence Based Design Approach* (pp. 163-193). Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-19-8749-6_9
- Flensner, K. K., & Von der Lippe, M. (2019). Being safe from what and safe for whom?. A critical discussion of the conceptual metaphor of 'safe space'. *Intercultural Education*, 30(3), 275-288. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2019.1540102>
- Flynn, K. (2018, Jun 20). *Architects prioritize design as a school security solution*. AIA. <https://sites.jla.us.com/files/Sheridan/White%20Papers/architects-prioritize-design-as-a-school-security-solution-aia.pdf?804299a1bd>
- GADRRRES (2022). *Comprehensive School Safety Framework 2022-2030*. https://gadrrres.net/files/cssf_2022-2030_en.pdf
- Gawlik-Kobylińska, M. (2021). Can security and safety education support sustainability? Lessons learned from Poland. *Sustainability*, 13(4), 1-13. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su13041747>
- Harber, C. (2021). School buildings (and grounds). In C. Harber (Ed.), *Post-Covid schooling: Future alternatives to the global normal* (pp. 185-222). Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-87824-5_8
- Haidt, J., & Lukianoff, G. (2019). *The coddling of the American mind*. Penguin Books.
- Hebib, E., i Žunić Pavlović, V. (2018). Školska klima i školska kultura: okvir za izgradnju škole kao bezbedne i podsticajne sredine za učenje i razvoj. *Zbornik Instituta za pedagoška istraživanja*, 50(1), 113-134.
- Jackson, R. (2014). *Signposts: Policy and practice for teaching about religions and non-religious worldviews in intercultural education*. Council of Europe Publishing.
- Jevtić, B. R. (2023). Simulation of a school facility evacuation: The case of the secondary school "Svetozar Marković" in Niš. *Vatrogarstvo i upravljanje požarima*, 1-2(8), 17-29.
- Joseph, J. J., Purser, C. W., Elia, E., & Yelderman, L. A. (2023). The impact of routine activities on the number of school shooting injuries and fatalities. In J. D. Herron, S. R. Sartin, & J. Budd (Eds.), *Addressing violence in the U.S. public school system* (pp. 191-217). Information Science Reference. <https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-6684-8271-1.ch010>

- Keković, Z., Milošević, M., i Putnik, N. (2012). Problemi identifikacije i klasifikacije bezbednosnih rizika u školama. U B. Popović Čitić, S. Đurić, i Ž. Kešetović (ur.), *Bezbednosni rizici u obrazovno-vaspitnim ustanovama* (str. 51–69). Fakultet bezbednosti u Beogradu.
- Kešetović, Ž., Lipovac, M., i Mlađan, D. (2012). Projektovanje školskog prostora kao faktor prevencije bezbednosnih rizika. U B. Kordić, A. Kovačević, i B. Banović (ur.), *Reagovanje na bezbednosne rizike u obrazovno-vaspitnim ustanovama* (197–210). Čigoja.
- Kirk, M. (2018, August 22). *How Architecture and Design Can Hinder Active Shooters*. https://www.architectmagazine.com/aia-architect/aiafeature/how-architecture-and-design-can-hinder-active-shooters_o
- Kislyakov, P., Shmeleva, E., Karaseva, T., & Silaeva, O. (2014). Monitoring of education environment according to the social-psychological safety criterion. *Asian Social Science*, 10(17), 285–293. <https://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v10n17p285>
- Lian, H., Zhang, S., Li, G., & Zhang Y. (2023). Pedestrian simulation on evacuation behavior in teaching building of primary school emergencies and optimized design. *Buildings*, 13, 1747. <https://doi.org/10.3390/buildings13071747>
- Margas, N. (2023). Inclusive classroom climate development as the cornerstone of inclusive school building: review and perspectives. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 14, 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2023.1171204>
- Pravilnik o izmenama i dopunama Pravilnika o bližim uslovima za osnivanje, početak rada i obavljanje delatnosti osnovne škole* (2020). Prosvetni glasnik, Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 16/2020.
- Reed–Danahay, D. (2015) Social space: distance, proximity and thresholds of affinity. In V. Amit (ur.), *Thinking Through Sociality* (pp. 69–96). Berghahn Books.
- Schneidawind, J. (2018, August 16). *AIA architect pushes for school design best practices in testimony to White House Cabinet officials today*. AIA. <https://aeccafe.com/nbc/articles/1/1607286/AIA-Architect-Pushes-School-Design-Best-Practices-Testimony-White-House-Cabinet-Officials-Today>
- Schneider, T. (1998). *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design - School CPTED Basics* [Conference presentation]. The 3rd International CPTED Conference, Washington DC, United States.
- Schneider, T. (2007). *Ensuring quality school facilities and security technologies*. The Hamilton Fish Institute on School and Community Violence & Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory.
- School Facility Design Safety Guidance* (2013). Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI).
- Tadić, V. (2022). O pristupima definisanju i operacionalizaciji pojma bezbednosti u školi. *Nastava i vaspitanje*, 71(2), 249–266.
- Tiškevič, O. (2023). Zakordonnii dosvid formuvannia bagatofunkcional'niih škil'niih budivel'. Sučasni problemi Arhitekturi ta Mistobuduvannia, (66), 252–263. <https://doi.org/10.32347/2077-3455.2023.66.252-263>
- Tomanović, S., i Petrović, M. (2006). *Rizici i bezbednost u susedstvu iz perspektive dece i njihovih roditelja*. U S. Tomanović (ur.), *Društvo u previranju* (str. 139–157). Institut za sociološka istraživanja Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu.
- Velissaratou, J., & Blyth, A. (2017). *Framework for a module on the physical learning environment*. Revised Edition. OECD. <https://www.oecd.org/education/OECD-FRAMEWORK-FOR-A-MODULE-ON-THE-PHYSICAL-LEARNING-ENVIRONMENT.pdf>

- Vallinkoski, K. K., & Koirikivi, P. M. (2020). Enhancing Finnish basic education schools' safety culture through comprehensive safety and security management. *Nordic journal of studies in educational policy*, 6(2), 103-115.
- Vuković, S., Fejzula, M., Petrović, N., Stojanović, N., Panić, Z., Parezanović, J., i Zečević, O. (2024). *Postupanje ustanova obrazovanja i vaspitanja u kriznim događajima. Priručnik za zaposlene u ustanovama obrazovanja i vaspitanja*. Ministarstvo prosvete Republike Srbije, Populacioni fond Ujedinjenih nacija, Kancelarija u Republici Srbiji.
- Vulević, S. (2019). Amok situacije i napadi „aktivnog strelca“ kao oblik ugrožavanja bezbednosti. *Bezbednost*, 61(2), 134-152.
- Vygotsky L. (1978). *Mind in Society*. Harvard University Press.
- Zakon o osnovama sistema obrazovanja i vaspitanja. Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije*, br. 88/2017, 27/2018-dr.zakoni i 10/2019.

Primljeno: 21.02.2024.

Korigovana verzija primljena: 15.06.2024.

Prihvaćeno za štampu: 20.06.2024.

Nena Vasojević

Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd, Srbija
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0131-1831>

Ivana Vučetić

Inovacioni Centar Mašinskog fakulteta, Beograd, Srbija
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4036-7785>

Suzana Ignjatović

Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd, Srbija
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5681-8288>

Željka Buturović

Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd, Srbija
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1826-2362>

Upotreba *ChatGPT* modela u visokom obrazovanju: percepcije studenata

Tamara Dragojević¹ 

Odsek za pedagogiju, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu,
Novi Sad, Srbija

Jovana Turudić 

Odsek za pedagogiju, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu,
Novi Sad, Srbija

Apstrakt

Ubrzani razvoj tehnologije doveo je do kreiranja modela veštačke inteligencije ChatGPT koji omogućava generisanje tekstova na temelju upita korisnika. Premda predstavlja inovaciju u domenu veštačke inteligencije, ovaj model još uvek nije dovoljno istražen kroz empirijske studije. Stoga je sprovedeno istraživanje kako bi se dublje istražile percepcije studenata u vezi sa upotrebom ChatGPT-a u visokom obrazovanju. Uzorkom je obuhvaćeno 200 studenata Univerziteta u Novom Sadu, a podaci su analizirani korišćenjem mera deskriptivne statistike, uz korišćenje programa SPSS. Rezultati istraživanja upućuju na to da studenti u velikoj meri koriste ChatGPT u akademske svrhe, prepoznajući prednosti poput uštede vremena i personalizovanog iskustva učenja. Međutim, rezultati isto tako pokazuju zabrinutost studenata u vezi s mogućim smanjenjem kreativnosti i kritičkog mišljenja, kao i s rizicima po privatnost korisnika. Dodatno, većina studenata nije imala iskustva s obrazovnim radionicama ili kursovima usmerenim na korišćenje ChatGPT-a u akademskom kontekstu. Na osnovu ovih nalaza, zaključuje se da postoji potreba za edukacijom studenata o efikasnijem i odgovornijem korišćenju ChatGPT-a u visokom obrazovanju. Takođe, naglašava se važnost daljeg istraživanja i razvoja resursa kako bi se studentima pružila adekvatna podrška u primeni ovog tehnološkog alata.

Ključne reči: ChatGPT, studenti, veštačka inteligencija, visoko obrazovanje.

Uvod

ChatGPT je model veštačke inteligencije koji je kreiran tako da može da razume jezik i pruži relevantne odgovore na pitanja korisnika. Pitanje obrazovnih potencijala ChatGPT

¹ tamara.dragojevic@ff.uns.ac.rs

modela bilo je predmet različitih istraživanja u poslednje dve godine (Grassini 2023; Ouyang et al., 2022; Rawas, 2023; Sok & Heng, 2024; Tlili et al., 2023; Zawacki et al., 2023). *ChatGPT* nudi mnogobrojne mogućnosti u okviru visokog obrazovanja: podršku u nastavi, inovacije u proceni znanja studenata, pomoć prilikom akademskog pisanja, ali i administrativnu pomoć i produktivnost (Sok & Heng, 2024). Ipak, korišćenje *ChatGPT* modela u visokom obrazovanju može da prouzrokuje i niz izazova u vezi s bezbednošću, privatnošću, tačnošću informacija, kao i s akademskim integritetom nastavnika (Sok & Heng, 2024).

Kada se govori o upotrebi *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju, izuzetno je važno ispitati njegov uticaj na akademsku uspešnost studenata, proces učenja, kao i dugoročne implikacije na obrazovni sistem. S tim u vezi, da bi se ispitala uspešnost ovog modela, neophodno je identifikovati ograničenja prethodnih istraživanja i postaviti temelje za dalja istraživanja koje će doprineti boljem razumevanju njegove upotrebe u visokom obrazovanju. Cilj realizovanog istraživanja odnosio se na ispitivanje percepcije studenata Univerziteta u Novom Sadu o upotrebi *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju. U teorijskom okviru rada, prikazani su rezultati prethodnih istraživanja koja su se bavila ovom temom. Metodologija istraživanja je detaljno opisana, uz prikaz dobijenih rezultata, diskusiju, zaključke i navedene pedagoške implikacije.

Teorijska osnova rada

U skladu s konstruktivističkom teorijom učenja, učenje bi trebalo organizovati kao priliku za konstruisanje znanja. Prema navedenoj teoriji, znanje se ne prenosi pasivno, već ga aktivno konstruišu studenti. Uloga nastavnika u okviru konstruktivističke teorije predstavljena je kroz pružanje podrške studentima u procesu učenja (Makewa, 2019). Tehnološkim razvojem, bar prema rezultatima nekih istraživanja, mentorsku ulogu u procesu učenja mogu preuzeti modeli veštačke inteligencije. Istraživanje Makeve (Makewa, 2019) upućuje na to da tehnologija može ubrzati interaktivna iskustva učenja, jer studentima osigurava eksperimentisanje i istraživanje. Tako, *ChatGPT* omogućava studentima da brže dođu do određenih saznanja (Rasul et al., 2023). Povratne informacije koje im pruža, podsticanje i usmeravanje mogu dovesti do konstrukcije novih znanja. Pored navedenog, konstruktivistička teorija naglašava važnost autentične procene koja ocenjuje osposobljenost studenata da primene znanje i veštine u stvarnim situacijama (Rasul et al., 2023).

Prvo istraživanje grupe autora (Ouyang et al., 2022) koje će biti predstavljeno bilo je usmereno na upotrebu veštačke inteligencije u onlajn visokom obrazovanju. Ouyang i saradnici (Ouyang et al., 2022) su u radu pružili uvid u empirijska istraživanja o primeni veštačke inteligencije. Ovakav pregled literature analizira funkcije veštačke inteligencije, algoritme koji se najčešće koriste, efekte i implikacije koje proizilaze iz ovih istraživanja (Ouyang et al., 2022). Rezultati pokazuju da su funkcije aplikacija veštačke inteligencije u onlajn visokom obrazovanju raznovrsne, uključujući predviđanje statusa učenja, učinka ili zadovoljstva, preporuku resursa, automatsku procenu i poboljšanje iskustva učenja. Efekti koje generišu aplikacije veštačke inteligencije uključuju visok kvalitet predviđanja, visok kvalitet preporuka zasnovanih na karakteristikama studenata, poboljšanje akademskog učinka i poboljšanje onlajn angažovanja i učešća (Ouyang et al., 2022). Ovaj sistematski

pregled literature ukazuje na nekoliko teorijskih, tehnoloških i praktičnih implikacija. Jedna od implikacija je da primena veštačke inteligencije u obrazovanju treba da se osloni na utemeljene teorije učenja i obrazovanja, kao i da koristi napredne tehnologije za prikupljanje i analizu podataka u realnom vremenu (Ouyang et al., 2022).

Relevantno istraživanje usmereno na čit-botove (eng. chatbot) u visokom obrazovanju je istraživanje Demperea i njegovih saradnika (Dempere et al., 2023). U ovom opsežnom istraživanju, autori su koristili različite baze podataka poput Pab-Meda (eng. PubMed-a), IEEE-Iksplora (eng. IEEE Explore), i Gugl-Skolara (eng. Google Scholar), kako bi istražili literaturu koja se bavi uticajem čit-botova (chatbot) veštačke inteligencije u visokom obrazovanju. Autori su identifikovali brojne prednosti *ChatGPT-a*, uključujući podršku u istraživanju, automatizovano ocenjivanje, unapređenu interakciju između korisnika i računara, olakšano prijavljivanje, poboljšane studentske usluge, unapređenje nastave. Međutim, istraživanje je identifikovalo nekoliko problema, kao što su: bezbednost onlajn testiranja, jaz u digitalnoj pismenosti, anksioznost koja je prouzrokovana veštačkom inteligencijom, kršenje privatnosti, zloupotreba, pristrasnost, dezinformacije, smanjena interakcija među ljudima, problemi pristupačnosti i nestanak pojedinih radnih mesta.

Naredno značajno istraživanje obuhvatilo je upotrebu *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju, s posebnim naglaskom na učestalost korišćenja i uticaj na produktivnost nastavnika (Firaina & Sulisworo, 2023). Cilj navedenog istraživanja odnosio se na procenu optimizma nastavnika u vezi s korišćenjem *ChatGPT-a*. Pokazano je da većina nastavnika izražava optimizam u vezi s primenom *ChatGPT-a* u nastavi. Ipak, istraživanjem je takođe utvrđeno da postoji i izvestan broj nastavnika koji su bili manje optimistični. To sugerise da postoji određeni stepen sumnje među nastavnicima u vezi s primenom ovog modela u nastavi (Firaina & Sulisworo, 2023).

Cilj istraživanja autora Ljujića i saradnika (2023) odnosio se na ispitivanje performansi *ChatGPT-a* u pisanju akademskih zadataka i upoređivanje tih performansi s performansama studenata. Glavni izvori podataka uključivali su: predispitne zadatke koje su napisali studenti andragogije na Univerzitetu u Beogradu i eseje generisane od strane *ChatGPT-a*. Naime, i studenti i *ChatGPT* dobili su zadatak da napišu andragošku analizu određenog multimedijalnog sadržaja (Ljujić et al., 2023). Komparativna analiza sadržaja sprovedena je na osnovu kriterijuma koji su se koristili za ocenjivanje pomenutih predispitnih zadataka. Ovi kriterijumi obuhvatali su različite aspekte, uključujući gramatiku, organizaciju i strukturu sadržaja, relevantnost za datu temu, praksu citiranja, dubinu razumevanja i znanja, integraciju teorijskih, istraživačkih i iskustvenih uvida, kvalitet argumentacije i diskusije, nivo refleksije i kritičke analize, kao i originalnost i kreativnost (Ljujić et al., 2023). Rezultati su pokazali da *ChatGPT* poseduje lingvističke i semantičke algoritme koji omogućavaju automatsku evaluaciju, ispravke i povratne informacije u vezi s gramatikom i vokabularom. Međutim, iako prilično strukturirani i logično organizovani, eseji koje je generisao *ChatGPT* sadržali su bazične tekstualne jedinice, dok su eseji studenata bili složenije strukture. Razlika u kvalitetu sadržaja bila je velika, pri čemu su radovi studenata pokazivali veću integraciju teorijskih i iskustvenih uvida. Dakle, rezultati jasno ukazuju na to da su ljudska intervencija i interakcija nezamenljive u sastavljanju iskustvenog pisanog sadržaja (Ljujić et al., 2023).

Istraživanje grupe autora (Huallpa et al., 2023) imalo je za cilj ispitivanje stavova studenata u vezi s integracijom *ChatGPT-a* u njihova obrazovna iskustva. U istraživanju je učestvovalo 220 studenata osnovnih studija na Univerzitetu u Peruu. Upitnik se sastojao od zatvorenih i otvorenih pitanja, kako bi se prikupili kvantitativni i kvalitativni podaci. Rezultati su pokazali da studenti razumeju vrednost *ChatGPT-a* u kreiranju personalizovanih obrazovnih mogućnosti. Takođe, studenti su istakli neophodnost jasnih, institucionalnih standarda u vezi s privatnošću i bezbednošću podataka (Huallpa et al., 2023). Dodatno, rezultati su pokazali da su se stavovi korisnika u vezi sa *ChatGPT-om* menjali pod uticajem različitih faktora, uključujući demografske faktore (kao što su pol, starost i percepcija dostupnosti), društvene stavove, iskustva, kao i brige u vezi s privatnošću i bezbednošću podataka. Kako bi se sačuvala privatnost studenata, institucije bi trebalo da uspostave standarde i etičke okvire za korišćenje *ChatGPT-a* (Huallpa et al., 2023).

Istraživanje Salivana i saradnika (Sullivan et al., 2023) o tome kako *ChatGPT* utiče na visoko obrazovanje je obuhvatilo analizu dve oblasti. Prva se odnosila na istraživanje ključnih tema u novinskim člancima o *ChatGPT-u* u kontekstu visokog obrazovanja, a druga na procenu u kojoj meri ove diskusije percipiraju *ChatGPT* kao potencijalno sredstvo za učenje i podršku različitim studentima, umesto kao rizik po akademski integritet (Sullivan et al., 2023). Kroz analizu sadržaja 100 medijskih članaka, tekst je kodiran kako bi istražio nekoliko ključnih tema u vezi s uticajem *ChatGPT-a* na visoko obrazovanje. Ove teme obuhvataju odgovore zaposlenih na univerzitetu, brige o akademskom integritetu, ograničenja i slabosti alata veštačke inteligencije, kao i mogućnosti za učenje studenata (Sullivan et al., 2023). Analizom sadržaja novinskih članaka, utvrđeno je da su odgovori zaposlenih na univerzitetu o *ChatGPT-u* uglavnom usredsređeni na pitanje akademske ispravnosti i novih pristupa ocenjivanju. Primetno je da je u navedenom istraživanju zanemarena perspektiva studenata na čiji se akademski uspeh reflektuju uticaji modela veštačke inteligencije (Sullivan et al., 2023). Takođe, zanimljivo je uočiti da je podjednako zastupljeno i pitanje koje se tiče načina na koji će se studenti podstaći da izbegavaju *ChatGPT*, dok je u okviru manjeg broja članaka eksplicitno uspostavljena korelacija između upotrebe modela veštačke inteligencije i ishoda učenja. Ova studija sugerise da veći broj ustanova visokog obrazovanja zabranjuje upotrebu *ChatGPT-a*.

Metodologija istraživanja

Cilj istraživanja odnosio se na ispitivanje percepcija studenata u vezi s upotrebom *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju. Na osnovu formulisanoog cilja, postavljeni su sledeći istraživački zadaci:

1. Proceniti informisanost studenata o upotrebi *ChatGPT-a* u obrazovne svrhe;
2. Ispitati percepciju studenata o mogućnostima upotrebe *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju (pitanje promena u obrazovanju, kvaliteta studiranja);
3. Ispitati percepciju studenata o potencijalnim izazovima upotrebe *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju (pitanje „zamene“ profesora, kreativnosti i privatnosti).

Za ispitivanje upotrebe *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju korišćen je upitnik koji je konstruisala grupa autora (Abbas et al., 2023). Originalni upitnik se sastoji od 19 pitanja zatvorenog tipa. Instrument je namenjen za merenje efekata integracije *ChatGPT-a* u

obrazovanju i istraživanju. Za potrebe ovog rada autori su adaptirali i validirali prethodno naveden instrument za srpsko govorno područje. Kao i originalna verzija, instrument je obuhvatao 19 pitanja zatvorenog tipa. Pitanja u originalnom radu se odnose na upotrebu *ChatGPT-a* u obrazovne i istraživačke svrhe, dok su za potrebe ovog rada odabrana samo pitanja usmerena na ispitivanje upotrebe *ChatGPT* modela u obrazovne svrhe.

U ovom istraživanju biće predstavljena pitanja koja se odnose na informisanost studenata o upotrebi *ChatGPT-a* u obrazovne svrhe, njihovo prisustvo na radionicama ili kursevima o upotrebi navedenog modela, pitanja o mogućnostima primene, ali i izazovima upotrebe *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju. Podaci o sociodemografskim karakteristikama ispitanika odnosili su se na: pol, godinu studija, oblast studiranja (prirodne ili društvene nauke) i prosečnu ocenu na studijama. U istraživanju je učestvovalo 200 studenata Univerziteta u Novom Sadu, reč je o prigodnom uzorku. Istraživanje je sprovedeno onlajn, putem Gugl Forms (eng. Google Forms) platforme, u periodu od januara do marta 2024. godine. Podaci dobijeni ovim istraživanjem obrađeni su statističkim programom *IBM SPSS for Windows* (verzija 26). Primenjeni su deskriptivni statistički pokazatelji.

Tabela 1
Struktura ispitanika

	N	%
Pol		
Muški	101	50.5
Ženski	99	49.5
Godina studija		
Druga godina	58	29.0
Treća godina	88	44.0
Četvrta godina	54	27.0
Ukupno	200	100

Napomena: N – broj ispitanika

Prikaz rezultata istraživanja

Informisanost studenata o upotrebi *ChatGPT-a* u obrazovanju. Većina ispitanika, odnosno 77%, izjavila je da im je poznata upotreba *ChatGPT-a* u obrazovanju, dok je 23% ispitanika izjavilo suprotno. Visok stepen znanja o upotrebi *ChatGPT-a* u obrazovanju sugerise da je ovaj model široko prepoznat među studentskom populacijom, što ukazuje na potencijalno značajnu ulogu koju može imati u obrazovnom procesu. Takođe, u okviru istraživanja postavljeno je pitanje koje se odnosilo na pohađanje dodatne obuke za korišćenje *ChatGPT-a* u akademske svrhe. Samo 15,5% ispitanika je učestvovalo ili pohađalo kurs upotrebe *ChatGPT-a* u akademskom kontekstu, dok je većina, tačnije 84,5%, odgovorila da nije. Ovi rezultati ukazuju na to da većina ispitanika nije učestvovala u dodatnoj obuci ili kursu za korišćenje *ChatGPT-a* u akademskom kontekstu. To dalje implicira da su studenti samostalno istraživali ili koristili *ChatGPT* bez formalne obuke. Ova saznanja

mogu biti korisna za obrazovne institucije i akademsku zajednicu kako bi bolje razumeli potrebe studenata i pružili odgovarajuću podršku i resurse za efikasno korišćenje *ChatGPT-a* u obrazovanju.

Percepcija studenata o mogućnostima upotrebe *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju. Većina ispitanika, tačnije 74,5%, smatra da *ChatGPT* ima potencijal da promeni obrazovni proces. S druge strane, 25,5% ispitanika nije saglasno s ovom tvrdnjom. Ovo izraženo uverenje među studentima o potencijalu *ChatGPT-a* da promeni obrazovni proces naglašava značajnu ulogu koju ovaj model može imati u budućnosti visokog obrazovanja i istraživanja. Takođe, većina ispitanika, tačnije 63,5%, smatra da *ChatGPT* može da poboljša kvalitet studiranja. S druge strane, 36,5% ispitanika nije saglasno s ovom tvrdnjom. Pozitivan stav većine studenata o potencijalu *ChatGPT-a* da poboljša kvalitet studiranja naglašava važnost tehnoloških inovacija u obrazovanju. Ispitanici koji podržavaju ovu ideju mogu percipirati *ChatGPT* kao korisan model koji osigurava dodatnu podršku u učenju i istraživanju, doprinoseći produktivnijem obrazovnom iskustvu. Dodatno, ovo otvara mogućnosti za dalje istraživanje i implementaciju *ChatGPT-a* u obrazovnom procesu kako bi se razumelo u čemu studenti vide potencijalno poboljšanje i kako bi se unapredio kvalitet studiranja.

Percepcija studenata o potencijalnim izazovima upotrebe *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju. Ispitivanjem percepcije studenata o tome da li smatraju da *ChatGPT* može da zameni nastavnike, većina ispitanika (82%) istakla je da ne veruje u ovu mogućnost, dok manji procenat (18%) smatra da je moguće da *ChatGPT* zameni nastavnike. Dalje, ovo sugerise da postoji opšti stav među studentima da modeli veštačke inteligencije, poput *ChatGPT-a*, ne mogu u potpunosti zameniti ulogu i kompetencije nastavnika u obrazovnom procesu. Takođe, većina ispitanika (63%) smatra da *ChatGPT* može dovesti do smanjenja kreativnosti i kritičkog mišljenja među studentima, dok je manji procenat (37%) izrazio suprotno mišljenje. Rezultati upućuju na to da postoji zabrinutost među većinom ispitanika da bi korišćenje *ChatGPT-a* moglo dovesti do smanjenja kreativnosti i kritičkog mišljenja. Međutim, važno je napomenuti da manji procenat ispitanika ima suprotno mišljenje, što može ukazivati na različite perspektive i stavove o uticaju *ChatGPT* tehnologije na kreativnost i kritičko razmišljanje. Analizirajući odgovore ispitanika na pitanje o tome da li misle da *ChatGPT* može biti pretnja i opasnost po njihovu privatnost, većina ispitanika (58%) izrazila je zabrinutost, dok je manji broj ispitanika (42%) odgovorio negativno. Ovi rezultati ukazuju na to da većina ispitanika smatra da *ChatGPT* predstavlja pretnju privatnosti. To naglašava važnost pažljivog upravljanja podacima i primene adekvatnih mera zaštite privatnosti prilikom implementacije ove tehnologije u obrazovnom kontekstu.

Diskusija

Cilj ovog istraživanja odnosio se na ispitivanje percepcija studenata u vezi sa upotrebom *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju. Prema našim saznanjima, malo empirijskih istraživanja sprovedeno je na teritoriji Republike Srbije u vezi s upotrebom *ChatGPT-a* u obrazovnom kontekstu. Na osnovu rezultata našeg istraživanja, čak 77% studenata navelo je da su informisani

o upotrebi *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju. Analiza relevantne literature koja se bavi ovom temom, posebno iz perspektive studenata u Srbiji, naglašava da postoji visok nivo upoznatosti s ovim virtuelnim asistentom među studentskom populacijom (Ljujić et al., 2023). Dodatno, rezultati istraživanja su pokazali da većina studenata nije učestvovala u dodatnim obukama za korišćenje *ChatGPT-a* u akademske svrhe. Ovi podaci ukazuju na vrlo zabrinjavajuću situaciju s obzirom na sveprisutnost i rasprostranjenost modela veštačke inteligencije. S ciljem iskoriscavanja svih benefita koje nudi *ChatGPT*, kao i radi anuliranja i izbegavanja njegovih nedostataka koji se često odnose na zloupotrebu i plagijarizam, ključno je uspostaviti sistem obuka za adekvatnu upotrebu *ChatGPT-a* u obrazovne svrhe.

Ispitivanje percepcije studenata o potencijalnim mogućnostima i izazovima u vezi s upotrebom *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju obuhvatilo je pitanje o potencijalu *ChatGPT* u oblasti visokog obrazovanja. Našim istraživanjem utvrđeno je da većina ispitanika smatra da *ChatGPT* ima potencijal da promeni oblast visokog obrazovanja i istraživanja. Navedeni nalazi su u skladu s istraživanjem Oranga u kome se, na osnovu analize relevantne literature, ističe da *ChatGPT* otvara mogućnost za personalizovano učenje, neprekidan pristup velikom broju informacija, instantne povratne informacije i kontinuiranu pomoć prilikom učenja (Oranga, 2023). Individualizovano učenje, fleksibilnost i povratna informacija su uočeni kao benefiti i u drugim istraživanjima (Huallpa et al., 2023). Studija Firata takođe ističe potencijalne mogućnosti upotrebe modela veštačke inteligencije u obrazovanju poput individualizovanog učenja i veće angažovanosti studenata, ali i izazove kao što su nedovoljna digitalna pismenost i problemi s etičnošću korišćenja *ChatGPT-a* (Firat, 2023). Dalje, rezultati istraživanja koji su predstavljeni u ovom radu pokazali su da više od polovine studenata smatra da *ChatGPT* može pozitivno da utiče na kvalitet studija. Navedeni nalazi su u suprotnosti s istraživanjem Hualpa i saradnika koji su istakli dominaciju neutralnog stava studenata prema obrazovnoj ulozi *ChatGPT-a*. Prema ovom istraživanju, studenti smatraju da su podaci koje generiše *ChatGPT* besmisleni i neupotrebljivi bez ljudske konstrukcije konteksta i interpretacije (Huallpa et al., 2023). S druge strane, istraživanje Limne i saradnika (Limna et al., 2023) pokazalo je da profesori i studenti percipiraju *ChatGPT* kao dragoceni dodatak obrazovnom iskustvu, ali i veruju da se kontinuiranom upotrebom navedenog modela može obezbediti poboljšanje ishoda učenja studenata. Dodatno, istraživanje Demperea i saradnika (Dempere et al., 2023) ukazuje na brojne prednosti upotrebe *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju, poput podrške u istraživanju i mogućnosti da se unapredi nastava. U prilog ovom nalazu govore i rezultati drugih istraživanja: profesori izražavaju optimizam u korišćenju *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju, navodeći produktivnost studenata kao ključni element upotrebe navedenog modela (Firaina & Sulisworo, 2023); korišćenje veštačke inteligencije u visokom obrazovanju ima potencijal da poboljša akademski učinak studenata (Ouyang et al., 2022). Ovi nalazi su u saglasnosti i s rezultatima prethodno navedenih istraživanja, ali i s nalazima našeg istraživanja.

Ispitivanje percepcije studenata o potencijalnim izazovima u vezi s upotrebom *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju obuhvatilo je pitanje o mogućnosti da nastavnici budu zamenjeni modelima veštačke inteligencije. Dobijeni nalazi ukazuju na to da većina ispitanika studenata nije saglasna s navedenom tvrdnjom. Ovakvi nalazi su u skladu s istraživanjem Firata, koji naglašava da upotreba modela veštačke inteligencije može osloboditi

profesore rutinskih zadataka i omogućiti im da se posvete mentorstvu i podsticanju razvoja, tzv. veština višeg reda (Firat, 2023). Dalje, to bi podrazumevalo da upotreba *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju može promeniti ulogu nastavnika, ali ne i zameniti nastavnika. Shodno tome, zasad se ne uviđa opasnost da *ChatGPT* može postati zamena za personalizovanu podršku i vođstvo koje pružaju nastavnici.

Neophodno je održati balans između tehnologije i ljudske interakcije u učionici (Limna et al., 2023). Takođe, kada se govori o izazovima upotrebe *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju, navodi se i potencijalni rizik za razvoj kritičkog mišljenja i kreativnosti. Većina studenata smatra da bi ovaj model veštačke inteligencije mogao da dovede do opadanja nivoa kreativnosti i kritičkog razmišljanja među studentskom populacijom. Posebno je važno istaći nedostatke upotrebe *ChatGPT-a*, kao što su potencijalna netačnost i nepouzdanost informacija, nedovoljna razmotrenost, ali i mogućnost kontekstualne neadekvatnosti i pristrasnosti (Oranga, 2023). Iz navedenog proizilazi potreba za podsticanjem razvoja kritičkog mišljenja među studentima. U drugoj studiji Šidik (Shidiq, 2023) ukazuje na potencijalne negativne efekte upotrebe modela veštačke inteligencije na veštine kreativnog pisanja. Ovaj nalaz je u saglasnosti s mišljenjem ispitanih studenata u našem istraživanju, koji takođe veruju da bi *ChatGPT* mogao da smanji kreativnost studenata. Salivan i saradnici (Sullivan et al., 2023) su istakli opasnost od nedostatka razvoja kritičkog mišljenja, upozoravajući na to da studenti mogu izgubiti fokus prilikom razumevanja gradiva.

Kao jedan od izazova upotrebe *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju navodi se i rizik koji se odnosi na privatnost podataka studenata. Analiza rezultata ukazuje da određen broj studenata (58%) smatra da *ChatGPT* može ugroziti privatnost njihovih podataka. Prema studiji Orange (Oranga, 2023), postoji zabrinutost u vezi s privatnošću podataka, s obzirom na to da su razgovori s ovim modelom podložni snimanju i memorisanju. Ova zabrinutost za bezbednost podataka takođe je izražena i u drugim istraživanjima (Dempere et al., 2023; Limna et al., 2023), naglašavajući snažnu potrebu za merama zaštite podataka, kako bi se osiguralo da se lične informacije studenata koriste isključivo u svrhu za koju su namenjene.

Zaključak

Svrha realizovanog istraživanja odnosila se na ispitivanje percepcija studenata u vezi upotrebom *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju. Navedeni cilj je operacionalizovan kroz sledeće istraživačke zadatke: proceniti informisanost studenata o upotrebi *ChatGPT-a* u obrazovne svrhe; ispitati percepciju studenata o mogućnostima upotrebe *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju; ispitati percepciju studenata o potencijalnim izazovima upotrebe *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju. Rezultati realizovanog istraživanja pokazali su da je većina ispitanih studenata navela da je upoznata s upotrebom *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju, kao i da su prepoznali potencijal navedenog modela veštačke inteligencije u unapređenju kvaliteta studiranja. Naime, rezultati našeg istraživanja ukazuju na mogućnosti upotrebe *ChatGPT* modela u visokom obrazovanju koje se ogledaju u podsticanju personalizovanog učenja, pravovremenim povratnim informacijama nastavnika

i bržem pristupu različitim relevantnim izvorima. Dalje, nalazi istraživanja pokazuju da većina ispitanih studenata nije učestvovala na obukama ili kursevima u vezi s navedenim modelom. S obzirom na to da težimo da obezbedimo etički, pouzdan i efikasan kontekst korišćenja *ChatGPT-a*, neophodno je da profesori i studenti budu edukovani u oblasti korišćenja veštačke inteligencije (Rasul et al., 2023). Kursevi ili radionice koje bi organizovale obrazovne institucije omogućile bi stručno vođenje i resurse koji bi pomogli studentima da bolje razumeju funkcije i mogućnosti *ChatGPT-a*, kao i da razviju veštine za efektivno korišćenje alata u svojim akademskim aktivnostima.

Percepcije studenata su prikazane i kroz identifikovanje izazova i mogućnosti upotrebe modela *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju. Rezultati realizovanog istraživanja ukazuju na određene izazove upotrebe *ChatGPT-a* koji se odnose na pitanja ljudske interakcije, razvoja kritičkog mišljenja i kreativnosti, opasnost od akademske nečestitosti, pristrasnosti, ugroženost privatnosti podataka i pitanja etike. S tim u vezi, neupitno je važna uloga obrazovnih institucija u neutralizaciji ili ublažavanju ovih izazova, osiguravajući da veštačka inteligencija služi kao dopuna ljudskoj interakciji, a ne kao njena zamena. Kako bi se sačuvala privatnost podataka studenata, nužno je da obrazovne institucije preuzmu odgovornost i uspostave etičke smernice za korišćenje modela veštačke inteligencije (Huallpa et al., 2023). Takođe, obrazovne institucije bi trebalo da razvijaju strategije kako bi podstakle kritičko razmišljanje među studentima u vezi s korišćenjem modela veštačke inteligencije, kao što je *ChatGPT*. To uključuje podsticanje studenata da analiziraju informacije koje dobijaju putem ovih modela, prepoznaju potencijalne nedostatke ili pristrasnosti i razvijaju sposobnost kritičkog procenjivanja informacija.

Postojeći rad može poslužiti kao osnova za dalja istraživanja koja će se baviti specifičnim aspektima upotrebe *ChatGPT-a* u visokom obrazovanju. To može uključivati istraživanje uticaja dugoročne upotrebe *ChatGPT* modela na akademske performanse studenata ili istraživanje različitih obuka za korišćenje modela veštačke inteligencije. Takođe, važno je istaći da prigodan uzorak ispitanika ograničava generalizaciju dobijenih rezultata istraživanja, kao i da korišćenje samo pitanja zatvorenog tipa može onemogućiti dublje razumevanje percepcija studenata. Osim toga, obuhvaćene su samo percepcije studenata, pa bi uključivanje perspektive nastavnika ili stručnjaka iz oblasti veštačke inteligencije moglo pružiti dodatnu dubinu analize. Uzimajući u obzir navedene pedagoške implikacije i identifikovana ograničenja, buduće istraživanje može dodatno doprineti ispitivanju uticaja *ChatGPT-a* modela na oblast visokog obrazovanja, ali i podržati dalji razvoj pedagoških praksa u digitalnom dobu.

Literatura

- Abbas, S. G., Ehsan, M., Akbar, G., Rehman, A., Bibi, H., & Sian, Z. H. (2023). Effects of ChatGPT Integration as an Artificial Intelligence Tool for Education and Research: An Exploratory Survey at the University Level. *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology*, 20(2), 1993–2017.
- Dempere, J., Modugu, K., Allam, H., & Ramasamy, L. (2023). The impact of ChatGPT on Higher Education. *Frontiers in Education*, 8, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.3389/educ.2023.1206936>.

- Firaina, R., & Sulisworo, D. (2023). Exploring the Usage of ChatGPT in Higher Education: Frequency and Impact on Productivity. *Buletin Edukasi Indonesia*, 2(1), 39–46. <https://doi.org/10.56741/bei.v2i01.310>.
- Firat, M. (2023). What ChatGPT means for universities: Perceptions of scholars and students. *Journal of Applied Learning & Teaching*, 6(1), 57–63. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.37074/jalt.2023.6.1.22>
- Grassini, S. (2023). Shaping the Future of Education: Exploring the Potential and Consequences of AI and ChatGPT in Educational Settings. *Education Sciences*, 13(7), 692–705. <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci13070692>
- Huallpa, J. J., Flores Arocutipa, J. P., Panduro, W. D., Huete, L. C., Flores Limo, F. A., Herrera, E. E., Alba Callacna, R. A., Ariza Flores, V. A., Medina Romero, M. Á., Quispe, I. M., & Hernández Hernández, F. A. (2023). Exploring the ethical considerations of using Chat GPT in university education. *Periodicals of Engineering and Natural Sciences*, 11(4), 105–115. <http://dx.doi.org/10.21533/pen.v11i4.3770>
- Limna, P., Kraiwanit, T., Jangjarat, K., Klayklung, P., & Chocksathaporn, P. (2023). The use of ChatGPT in the digital era: Perspectives on chatbot implementation. *Journal of Applied Learning & Teaching*, 6(1), 64–74. <https://doi.org/10.37074/jalt.2023.6.1.32>
- Ljujić, B., Miljković, J., & Grozdić, V. (2023). ChatGPT and Academic Writing in Higher Education. In M. Radulović, & M. Trajković (Eds.), *Towards a more equitable education: From Research To Change, 29th International Scientific Conference "Educational Research and School Practice"* (pp. 104–109). Institute for Educational Research & Institute for Pedagogy and Andragogy.
- Ma, L. (2021). An immersive context teaching method for college English based on artificial intelligence and machine learning in virtual reality technology. *Mobile Information Systems*, 2021(2), 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.1155/2021/2637439>
- Makewa, L. N. (2019). Constructivist theory in technology-based learning. In L. N. Makewa, B. M. Ngussa, & J. M. Kuboja (Eds.), *Technology-supported teaching and research methods for educators* (pp. 268–287). IGI Global. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4018/978-1-5225-5915-3.ch015>
- Oranga, J. (2023). Benefits of artificial intelligence (ChatGPT) in education and learning: Is ChatGPT helpful? *International Review of Practical Innovation, Technology and Green Energy*, 3(3), 46–50. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.54443/irpitage.v3i3.1250>
- Ouyang, F., Zheng, L., & Jiao, P. (2022). Artificial Intelligence in Online Higher Education: A Systematic Review of Empirical Research from 2011 to 2020. *Education and Information Technologies*, 27(6), 7893–7925. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10639-022-10925-9>
- Rasul, T., Nair, S., Kalendra, D., Robin, M., de Oliveira Santini, F., Ladeira, W. J., Sun, M., Day, I., Rather, R. A., & Heathcote, L. (2023). The role of ChatGPT in higher education: Benefits, challenges, and future research directions. *Journal of Applied Learning and Teaching*, 6(1), 41–56. <https://doi.org/10.37074/jalt.2023.6.1.29>
- Rawas, S. (2023). ChatGPT: Empowering lifelong learning in the digital age of higher education. *Education and Information Technologies*, 29(1), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10639-023-12114-8>
- Shidiq, M. (2023). The use of artificial intelligence-based Chat-GPT and its challenges for the world of education; from the viewpoint of the development of creative writing skills. *Proceeding of International Conference on Education, Society and Humanity*, 1(1), 353–357.
- Sok, S., & Heng, K. (2024). Opportunities, challenges, and strategies for using ChatGPT in higher education: A literature review. *Journal of Digital Educational Technology*, 4(1), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.30935/jdet/14027>

- Sullivan, M., Kelly, A., & McLaughlan, P. (2023). ChatGPT in higher education: Considerations for academic integrity and student learning. *Journal of Applied Learning & Teaching*, 6(1), 31–40. <https://doi.org/10.37074/jalt.2023.6.1.17>.
- Tlili, A., Shehata, B., Adarkwah, M. A., Bozkurt, A., Hickey, D. T., Huang, R., & Agyemang, B. (2023). What if the Devil is My Guardian Angel: ChatGPT as a Case Study of Using Chatbots in Education. *Smart Learning Environments*, 10(1), 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su15075614>
- Zawacki-Richter, O., Marín, V. I., Bond, M., & Gouverneur, F. (2019). Systematic Review of Research on Artificial Intelligence Applications in Higher Education – Where are the Educators? *International Journal of Educational Technology in Higher Education*, 16(1), 1–27. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1186/s41239-019-0171-0>

Primljeno: 29.03.2024.

Korigovana verzija primljena: 14.05.2024.

Prihvaćeno za štampu: 06.06.2024.

Tamara Dragojević

Odsek za pedagogiju, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Novi Sad, Srbija
<https://orcid.org/0009-0003-9363-8969>

Jovana Turudić

Odsek za pedagogiju, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Novi Sad, Srbija
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5939-2238>

Uronjeni u prostor mogućeg: susret s digitalnim tehnologijama u predškolskom vaspitanju i obrazovanju¹

Jelena Stojković² 

Institut za pedagoška istraživanja, Beograd, Srbija

Apstrakt

U kompleksnom i višestrukome svetu u kom živimo, savremene teorije promovišu obrazovanje kao prostor susreta i građenja drugačijih, afirmativnih i konstruktivnih odnosa. U ovom radu polazimo od pitanja kako i koga obrazujemo u trenutku koji živimo, razmatrajući ih kroz poststrukturalističke i posthumanističke ideje i koncepte, uz jedan primer susretanja s digitalnim tehnologijama u vrtiću. Na taj način želimo da razmotrimo obrise predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja, koje materijalno i diskurzivno ispada iz unapred definisanih (i humanističkih) okvira, i potencijale koji bivaju u senci dominantnih razumevanja i praksi upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija. Posthumanističko promišljanje predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja koje predstavlja susret s bićima, procesima, stvarima, idejama, otvara potencijal za drugačije promišljanje bliskosti, osetljivosti i nepredvidivosti kao vrednosti pomenutog procesa. Na njima se, uz smislenost, svrsishodnost i kritički odnos, utemeljuje razumevanje upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija. Istraživanje je pokazalo da slučajni susreti s digitalnim tehnologijama u vrtiću mogu biti nagoveštaj građenja odgovornosti kao zajedničke sposobnosti da odgovorimo. Istovremeno, snažno se afirmiše potreba za kritičkim pozicioniranjem i dodatnim istraživanjem posthumanističkih ideja i koncepata, posebno u svetlu razumevanja obrazovanja kao etičke prakse.

Ključne reči: posthumanizam, poststrukturalizam, predškolsko vaspitanje i obrazovanje, digitalne tehnologije.

¹ Realizaciju ovog istraživanja finansiralo je Ministarstvo nauke, tehnološkog razvoja i inovacija Republike Srbije (br. ugovora 451-03-66/2024-03/ 200018).

² jas29@gmail.com

Uvod

Ovim radom želimo da započnemo razgovor o trenutku koji živimo i obrisima posthumanog obrazovanja. Nazivamo ga trenutkom zato što se interesovanje za posthumano (neopravdano) javlja kao odgovor na određenu, često tehnološku promenu, iako bi smislenije bilo o njemu govoriti kao o saživotu u kom je teško jasno povući granicu gde počinje ljudsko a završava se tehnološko, i obrnuto, gde počinje tehnološko a završava se ljudsko. Drugi razlog za upotrebljeni termin nalazimo u činjenici da je posthumanizam, shvaćen kao neuniformna filozofija (Miah, 2008), uputio na važnost sagledavanja mikroplana, na situaciono, odnosno na slučajnosti i mogućnosti u obrazovanju (Hackett et al., 2020). To je značajan uvid za sve one koji se bave obrazovanjem jer predstavlja poziv da se još jednom preispita ukorenjena potreba za njegovim stavljanjem u unapred definisane, prepoznatljive okvire i za pozicioniranjem onih koji u njemu učestvuju kao konačnih i nepromenljivih, ili bar promenljivih u odnosu na određenu „normu“ (na primer, odraslog). U kontekstu razmatranja upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija u obrazovanju prethodno pomenuto uniformisanje primetno je u istraživanju razvojno primerene perspektive, odnosno sagledavanja upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija kroz moguće efekte (pozitivne i negativne) na razvoj i učenje dece (Parette et al., 2010). Istorijski gledano postojala je, i dalje postoji, izražena težnja da se predškolsko vaspitanje i obrazovanje utemelji na vrednostima individualizma, autonomije i agensnosti pojedinaca. Ta težnja posebno dolazi do izražaja u neoliberalnim nastojanjima za reformom obrazovanja, a ogleda se u zagovaranju učenja koje je vođeno svesnim namerama individue i koje počiva na njihovoj autonomiji, ličnom izboru, efikasnosti (Duhn, 2015: 921). Uzimajući u obzir da „diskurs efekata“ dominira u akademskim krugovima (dominantan u smislu zastupljenosti), ne iznenađuje insistiranje na njihovom istraživanju i davanju preporuka u pogledu načina i vremena korišćenja digitalnih tehnologija, a kao načina da se deca zaštite od rizika i opasnosti. Takvo pozicioniranje upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija doprinelo je stavljanju fokusa na digitalnu pismenost kao očekivani ishod procesa učenja i razvoja, odnosno kao pripremu za život u društvu koja se procenjuje kroz posedovanje seta veština i ponašanja u vezi s korišćenjem digitalnih tehnologija.

Bez namere da posthumanizam afirmišemo kao nužnu promenu ili kao jedinu perspektivu koja je dovela u pitanje pomenutu potrebu, želimo da istražimo mogućnosti koje otvara u konceptualizovanju upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija u predškolskom vaspitanju i obrazovanju kao kulture koja se zasniva na autentičnim i bliskim odnosima, pre nego na razvijanju pojedinačnih veština i ponašanja. Vodeći se poststrukturalističkim i posthumanističkim idejama i konceptima, u ovom radu razmotrićemo šta to drugačije i novo posthumanizam donosi u polje predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja u pogledu razvijanja kulture upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija, svesni da postoje izvesna ograničenja, problemi i kritike koje mu se mogu uputiti. Imajući u vidu specifičnosti, posebno neuniformnost, izabranih teorijsko-vrednosnih polazišta, rad je, uz uvod i metodološki okvir, strukturiran kroz zamišljene pravce kretanja i trajektoriju (putanju) promišljanja:

- *Pravac kretanja: oslobađanje predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja* – želimo da uputimo na posthumanističke ideje i koncepte koji su otvorili prostor za drugačija promišljanja upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija, posebno u odnosu na poststrukturalistička razumevanja kulture upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija.
- *Pravac kretanja: susret s digitalnim tehnologijama u vrtiću* – želimo da „upletemo“ poststrukturalistička i posthumanistička polazišta predstavljena kroz „pravac oslobađanja“ u razmišljanje sa konkretnim primerom susreta s digitalnim tehnologijama u vrtiću.
- *Trajektorija: šta digitalne tehnologije u predškolskom vaspitanju i obrazovanju mogu postati* – želimo da razmotrimo pedagoške implikacije razmišljanja i susretanja s digitalnim tehnologijama u predškolskom vaspitanju i obrazovanju, uz upućivanje na preduzimanje neophodnog opreza kada za teorijsko-vrednosno polazište uzimamo posthumanizam.

Pravac kretanja: oslobađanje predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja

Tokom istorije, obrazovanje je nosilo epitet „humanizujuće prakse“ (eng. practice of humanization), tačnije, one prakse koja omogućava da postanemo ljudi. Međutim, tako shvaćeno obrazovanje bilo je zasnovano na određenoj ideologiji koja je prepoznavala ljude, bele rase, koji pripadaju imućnim društvenim slojevima, izostavljajući sve one koji se ne uklapaju u „univerzalni kalup“ (Snaza, 2013). U predškolskom vaspitanju i obrazovanju ukalupljivanje i kategorisanje ispoljilo se u reprezentacijama deteta kao bića koje je u procesu razvoja, ranjivog, nezrelog, iracionalnog i na putu ka odraslosti. Odrasli, shvaćen kao zreo, racionalan, samostalan, onaj koji poseduje samokontrolu i univerzalna znanja, služio je kao „norma“ po kojoj se dete procenjivalo. Na taj način ono postaje marginalizovano, vlasništvo i odgovornost odraslog, a detinjstvo se razume kao određeni period života (hronološki gledano) tokom kog se dete, uz pomoć uplića odraslih, progresivno kreće ka nezavisnosti, autonomiji i racionalnosti (odraslosti) – poput „...životinje koju treba ukrotiti“ (Murrells, 2018: 57). Oslobađanje predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja od unapred definisanih obrazaca i kartezijanskih binarnosti (kao što su pojedinac–društvo, dete–odrasli, priroda–kultura i slično) započeli su teoretičari i autori priklonjeni poststrukturalizmu, dovodeći u pitanje hijerarhijsku strukturu pozicija i odnosa moći, razumevanje prirode predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja kao tehničke strategije koja se menja na osnovu objektivnih znanja i istina, sagledavanje programa predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja kao gotovog modela koji se implementira u praksi, i tome slično (Pavlović Breneselović i Krnjaja, 2014). Za naša promišljanja upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija u predškolskom vaspitanju i obrazovanju značajni su sledeći poststrukturalistički uvidi:

- Subjektivnost se razume kao kolektivna kreacija koja nastaje u okviru mreže, odnosno ona koja ide od „individualne misli“ (lat. cogito – ja mislim) ka „kolektivnoj misli“ (lat. cogitamus – mi mislimo) (Lévy, 2005: 191).
- Dete se razume kao jedinstveno biće koje je ravnopravni učesnik procesa obrazovanja, kompetentno da komunicira, gradi, pregovara i dogovara znanja i značenja s vršnjacima i odraslima, kroz raznovrsne prilike za učenje i učešće u kojima autentično doživljava obrazovanje (Miškeljin, 2022).
- Odrasli, posebno vaspitač, razume se kao koučnik i koučesnik procesa obrazovanja, spreman da uči zajedno sa decom i drugim odraslima (na primer, kolegama, članovima porodice, lokalne i šire zajednice), osetljiv za iskustva i perspektivu dece, te kompetentan da na različite načine i kroz raznovrsne prilike podrži njihovo ispoljavanje i deljeno razumevanje (Krnjaja, 2010; Lazarević, 2023; Pavlović Breneselović, 2012).
- Digitalne tehnologije se razumeju kao kulturna oruđa situirana u složenoj mreži praksi, odnosa i drugih oruđa koje se u obrazovanju neodvojivo prepliću. U predškolskom vaspitanju i obrazovanju ona se pozicioniraju kao jedan od načina da se različite perspektive čuju i da postanu vidljive, odnosno da se podrži smisao koji se izgrađuje kroz proces zajedničkog učenja i učešća dece i odraslih. Shodno tome, digitalne tehnologije ne mogu biti shvaćene kao vrednosno neutralna sredstva, niti se njihov potencijal može sagledavati izvan ljudskog delovanja i različitih konteksta u koje su uronjene. Ono na čemu se insistira jeste građenje kulture upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija kao kritičke, etičke prakse koja je vođena smislom i svrhom koja se pregovara i izgrađuje u odnosima dece i odraslih (Johnston, 2019; Nikolić, 2020; Pavlović Breneselović, 2021).
- Učenje se ne dešava samo u unapred isplaniranim, već i u autentičnim situacijama koje se dešavaju u vrtiću (Krnjaja i Pavlović Breneselović, 2022; Miškeljin, 2022).
- Granice između „digitalnog“ i „realnog“ deci nisu bitne, jer ona neometano funkcionišu u njihovom preplitanju (Bonilauri & Tedeschi, 2019).
- Predškolsko vaspitanje se razume kao kompleksan i dinamičan sistem koji sadrži mnoštvo „istina“ i puteva promišljanja, u kom se kroz uzajamne interakcije transformišu brojni učesnici (Pavlović Breneselović i Krnjaja, 2014).

Na osnovama poststrukturalističkih promišljanja, koja su napravila važan pomak u uvažavanju dinamičnosti i kompleksnosti obrazovanja utemeljujući ih na razumevanju autentičnih ljudskih odnosa kao srži ovog procesa, posthumanizam je pomenuti proces radikalnije izmestio iz humanističkih okvira. Kao termin, on okuplja raznolika razmišljanja, posebno ona koja dolaze „posle čoveka“, odnosno posle fokusa na ljudsko i zabluda u vezi s tim (Ferrando, 2014). Na primer, Sneza (Snaza, 2013) u posthumanizmu prepoznaje način da se uvaži kompleksnost obrazovanja i njegovo izmeštanje iz unapred definisanih

okvira kroz koncept „drugačijeg obrazovanja“. On o obrazovanju govori kao o onom koje „ne zna kuda se uputilo“, odnosno odustaje od njegovog definisanja i podređivanja unapred ustanovljenim ciljevima. Tako shvaćenim obrazovanjem se ne teži usvajanju znanja i razvijanju veština, već građenju odgovornih odnosa s okruženjem. Stavljanjem fokusa na izgrađivanje odgovornih odnosa u obrazovanju prevazilazi se razumevanje učesnika obrazovanja kao elemenata koji postoje kao izolovani i samodelujući, fokusirani samo na ljudsko. Na primer, Fons (Fawns, 2022: 713-714) utemeljenje nalazi u „pedagogiji preplitanja“ (eng. *entangled pedagogy*) kojom se afirmiše razumevanje obrazovnog procesa kao kompleksnog preplitanja brojnih aktera koji se međusobno oblikuju. Pojedini autori (na primer, Malone et al., 2020: 110) čak govore o „posthumanističkim pedagogijama“ (eng. *posthuman pedagogies*) kojima teže da istaknu specifičnost obrazovnih praksi kroz razmatranje mogućnosti učenja sa i deljene načine saznavanja, bivanja i postajanja u svetu i sa svetom (eng. *shared ways of knowing, being and becoming worldlings*). O specifičnosti pomenutih relacija se u literaturi govori kao o intraakcijama, i za razliku od interakcija, one se utemeljuju na shvatanju da nijedna stvar ili proces ne postoji po sebi već uvek i samo u relaciji sa svetom (Barad, 2003; 2007; Shotter, 2013). To je posebno značajno stanovište za naša promišljanja jer se zasniva na pretpostavci da učenje zahteva osetljivost za dinamiku sveta i otvorenost za ono što će „tek postati“ (Matos Lins, 2021). Razvijanje osetljivosti zahteva podešenost za mikromomente i slučajnosti u kojima se učenje dešava, zapravo življenje kurikuluma pre nego njegovo planiranje (Duobliene & Vaitekaitis, 2021). Odaljavanje od modernističke perspektive i etike, koja je prepoznavala samo čoveka, omogućilo je da se predškolsko vaspitanje i obrazovanje sagleda kao proces zajedničkog pronalaženja šta znači živeti sa i kroz relacije sa svetom (sa ljudima i ne-ljudima, materijalnim i virtuelnim, potencijalnim i stvarnim). Time se teži da uvaži sve ono što je zapadnjačka humanistička filozofija osporavala (ne-ljudsko, ne-hegemonično, autohtono i slično), da se prepoznaju različiti konteksti i različite forme saznavanja koje se u njima dešavaju (Snaza et al., 2014). Kako Brajdotijeva ističe, „posthumanu pometnju razumem kao priliku za osnaženje kroz potragu za alternativnim šemama mišljenja, znanja i samoreprezentacije. Posthumano stanje nas primorava da mislimo kritički i stvaralački o tome ko i šta zapravo jesmo u procesu postajanja“ (Brajdoti, 2013/2016: 41), odnosno ko smo i sa kim u procesu obrazovanja.

Može se reći da, umesto ljudi, posthumanizam u centar obrazovnog procesa stavlja relacije shvaćene kao intraakcije (Ceder, 2019; Duobliene & Vaitekaitis, 2021). U kontekstu uplitanja s digitalnim tehnologijama, ovakva promišljanja otvaraju značajno pitanje: „šta se dešava kada nas naši filteri, fokusirani na humano i odraslog, spreče da se otvorimo za relaciona uplitanja dece sa i u njihovim svetovima?“ (Malone et al., 2020: 207), odnosno šta je to što nam konstantno izmiče u razumevanju, prepoznavanju i uvažavanju kompleksnosti u kojoj deca odrastaju i u kojoj se obrazovanje dešava. Ono u čemu se posebno ogleda vrednost prethodno otvorenog pitanja jeste afirmisanje shvatanja da je svaki učesnik mešavine (čovek, mašina, životinja ili neko/nešto drugo) akter ili aktant (Latour, 2005), odnosno ima moć da utiče na druge i da u složenim među-odnosima sa drugima ostvaruje svoju agensnost. Kako posthumanisti dovode u pitanje duboko ukorenjenu

potrebu za isticanjem individualne autonomije, svesne akcije i namere usmerene ka cilju, i označavaju je kao neadekvatan konceptualni okvir kojim bi se odgovorilo na izazove odrastanja i obrazovanja u savremenom svetu (Duhn, 2015), primećujemo da dete i vaspitač vešto „izbegavaju“ svako definisanje i stavljanje u poznate okvire. Zapravo, oni ne postoje mimo relacija koje uspostavljaju i grade sa svetom, otuda se u najširem smislu mogu označiti kao „više-od-ljudi“ (Murriss, 2020; Murriss & Osgood, 2022; Tesar & Arndt, 2020). Na taj način se prepoznaju i uvažavaju kompleksna postajanja koja dovode u pitanje, oblikuju i menjaju prosvetiteljsku odrednicu „Ja“ (eng. I) koja istrajava kao „kalup“ u koji se smešta ljudska subjektivnost (Taylor, 2016). Drugačija subjektivnost koja teži da se afirmiše može se odrediti kao „nomadska“, odnosno kao ona koja nije fiksirana, nepromenljiva, te ne može biti precizno geografski, istorijski, etnički ili klasno locirana. S tim u vezi, fokus se pomera sa subjekta kao supstance ka subjektu u procesu koji nužno podrazumeva razmatranje kontradiktornosti koje se u tom procesu mogu ispoljiti (Murriss, 2016: 89). Ovakvo razumevanje subjektivnosti značajno je za naša promišljanja kompleksnih uplitanja s digitalnim tehnologijama u predškolskom vaspitanju i obrazovanju, jer je otvorilo prostor za bliske susrete s ovim oruđima kao slučajnostima, kroz koje postaju i menjaju se ne samo deca i odrasli, već i digitalne tehnologije. Dakle, oni koji učestvuju u obrazovanju jedni od drugih kontinuirano pozajmljuju ono što im „nedostaje“ (Lee, 2001). Na primer, digitalne tehnologije mogu biti „produžena memorija“ čoveka, da sačuva ono što ne mora ili ne može da zapamti, istovremeno, kroz datu upotrebu tehnologije ostvaruju svoju funkciju i agensnost. Upućivanjem na dinamične veze koje postoje između čoveka i sveta, napušta se koncept liberalnog humanističkog subjekta koji dominira i kontroliše svet oko sebe. Dakle, ljudsko biće se sagledava kao deo sveta u kom se ne priznaje podeljenost nepomičnog fizičkog tela od bestelesne subjektivnosti. Ovakvo razumevanje subjektivnosti pretpostavlja da dok ljude sagledavamo kao autonomne subjekte jasnih granica, odnosi između čoveka i digitalnih tehnologija svodiće se i razdeljivati na opipljivost stvarnog života, s jedne strane, i na iluziju virtuelne realnosti, s druge strane (Hayles, 1999). I ne samo to, postaje evidentno da trenutna znanja i veštine nisu dovoljna priprema za budućnost. Prema rečima Gibbonsa (Gibbons, 2015), obrazovanje treba da osnažuje za nepredvidivo (bilo da je reč o sadašnjosti ili budućnosti). Razvijanje takvog kapaciteta podrazumeva, između ostalog, i stalnu zapitanost za to na kojim pretpostavkama se zasniva upotreba tehnologija, šta utiče na to kako reagujemo na svoje okruženje shvaćeno kao tehnološko i na koji način se suočavamo s različitim poimanjima tehnologija.

Na taj način se od onih koji se bave predškolskim vaspitanjem i obrazovanjem zahteva izmeštanje iz „prijatnih“ pozicija u okviru kojih delaju (Rautio, 2014) i privilegija, prava, vrednosti koje one nose (Lindgren & Sjöstrand Öhrfelt, 2019), te suočavanje sa strahovima i izazovima izmeštanja obrazovanja iz humanističkih okvira. Ističe se da je pomenuta strepnja naša realnost (na primer, ugrađivanje pejzajmera ili proširivanje memorije kroz upotrebu kompjutera ili pametnih telefona), ujedno i važan podsetnik da u promišljanjima o predškolskom vaspitanju i obrazovanju može

da se ide izvan onoga što je poznato i prijatno, odnosno da kiborge (mešavine ljudi i kibernetičkih delova) ne doživljavamo samo kao naučnu fantastiku, već kao proživljeno iskustvo (Haraway, 2006). Istovremeno, sa strahom dolazi i izvesno olakšanje, jer posthumanizam ne zagovara potpuno odbacivanje ljudskog, već njegovo dekonstruisanje u relaciji sa svetom (Stojković, 2024). Oslanjajući se na takva razumevanja, nalazimo argumentaciju za stav da se dete i detinjstvo mogu razumeti kao deo mešavina koje same sebe stvaraju. Međutim, nisu samo digitalne, već obuhvataju raznovrsne materijalnosti koji se neodvojivo prepliću sa ljudskim (videti Hackett & Rautio, 2019; Rautio, 2013). Dakle, dete se razume kao „klupko“ u kom se prepliće političko, biološko i društveno, digitalno i prirodno, koje se sastoji od koncepata i materijalnih sila koji su neodvojivo povezani. Svaki element pomenutog zapleta je agensan, čime se proširuje dijapazon faktora koji doprinose razumevanju ne samo deteta, već i onoga što se dešava u obrazovnom susretu. Time se zahteva i oslobađanje odraslog pozicije individualnog subjekta koji kontroliše obrazovni proces (vodi, instruiše, trenira, socijalizuje, štiti) i one koji u njemu učestvuju, odnosno prepoznavanja i uvažavanja da je i on taj koji postaje sa svetom (Murris, 2020). A to nam dalje govori da biti vaspitač nikada nije bio niti će biti lak posao, kakva god da se tehnologija „uplela“ u obrazovni proces, kao i da je teško nadomestiti njegovu ulogu. „Odnos saputnika“ (Murris, 2016: 89) koji se datim pozicioniranjem deteta i vaspitača pretpostavlja zahteva prevazilaženje upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija koja se svodi samo na promenjenu (digitalnu) formu sadržaja kojima se deca podučavaju. Kako pojedini autori primećuju (Kuby & Gutshall Rucker, 2020), neophodno je izdvojiti vreme i prostor za uplitanja sa tehnologijama bez određenog cilja i otvoriti se za smisao koji iz ovih susreta izranja. Ovakav pristup blizak je postrukturalističkim stremljenjima koja su usmerena na građenje kulture upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija utemeljene u vrednostima smisla, svrsishodnosti i razvijanja kritičkog odnosa. Međutim, posthumanizam osvetljava jedan drugačiji segment kulture upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija, a to je da se ona može razumeti kao relacioni i afektivni proces, odnosno kao „postajanje sa“ mnogima (koji nisu samo ljudi), odnosno kao događaj ili „pismenost u akciji“ (Burnett, 2017; Collier, 2024; Lenters, 2016). Karen Barad (Barad, 2013) to opisuje kao poziv u zajedničko putovanje, odnosno kao poziv u eksperimentisanje sa mogućnostima pričanja drugačijih priča, koje stavljaju naratora pred rizik, te upućuju na drugačiju osetljivost i sposobnost da se odgovori i bude odgovoran. U tom smislu, (digitalna) pismenost predstavlja multidimenzionalni konstrukt, proces koji pretpostavlja građenje specifičnog odnosa, nipošto razvijanje pojedinačnih i tehničkih veština upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija (Pavlović Breneselović, 2021). Dakle, susreti s digitalnim tehnologijama moraju se razumeti kao odgovorna praksa koje se ogleda u sposobnosti različitih učesnika (ljudi i ne-ljudi) da odgovore (Murris & Peers, 2022: 334). Prethodno predstavljene ideje i koncepti nameću pitanje da li je takvo susretanje moguće, pa čak i potrebno, zbog čega ćemo se u nastavku fokusirati na konkretnu situaciju korišćenja digitalnih tehnologija u vrtiću.

Metodološki okvir

Proučavanje pitanja upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija u ovom radu utemeljujemo na pristupu koji Džekson i Mezei (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012) nazivaju „misлити s teorijom“. Izabrani pristup ne karakteriše primenjivanje određenog metoda prema unapred poznatim obrascima, već spremnost da se pozajme i rekonfigurišu koncepti, da se razviju kreativni pristupi problematici koja se proučava tako da se uvaži nepredvidivost i razvojnost procesa razmišljanja (sa) (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Argumentaciju za oslanjanje na ovaj pristup nalazimo u njegovoj primerenosti i otvorenosti za posthumanistička dekonstruisanja i repozicioniranja koncepta „humanog“, te „postajanja u svetu“ i „sa svetom“ kroz proces obrazovanja. To je značajno jer se omogućava izmeštanje upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija u obrazovanju iz dominantnih okvira njihovog razumevanja samo kao sredstava podređenih unapred zamišljenoj svrsi. S obzirom na to da ne postoji ustaljena forma po kojoj se „misli s teorijom“ (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012) svesni smo da su dometi ovog rada ograničeni na interpretacije autora rada i onih autora čije uvide koristi da argumentuje razmišljanja o digitalnim tehnologijama u predškolskom vaspitanju i obrazovanju. Iz tog razloga nalaze ovog istraživanja ne treba sagledavati kao „istine o fenomenu“, već kao jedan od načina da se razume fenomen i njegova urođenost u kontekst(e), a koji je podložan preispitivanju, kako u procesu pisanja, tako i mimo njega.

Pravac kretanja: susret s digitalnim tehnologijama u vrtiću

Boraveći nekoliko meseci u vrtiću za potrebe izrade doktorske disertacije, primetila sam da su pojedine situacije korišćenja digitalnih tehnologija izlazile izvan granica poststrukturalističkog teorijsko-vrednosnog okvira na kom sam zasnovala svoje istraživanje. Kao istraživača to me je provociralo, tačnije, činilo je da osećam izvesnu nelagodu u susretu s predmetom svog istraživanja. Prepoznala sam da nemam nužno kontrolu nad onim što će proizaći iz susreta s digitalnim, te da kao istraživač ne moram stavljati sebe u „mesijansku poziciju“ – onog koji spasava svet i/ili otkriva „velike“ istine o njemu, već da otvorim svoja promišljanja za drugačije susrete s decom i digitalnim tehnologijama. Istovremeno, osećala sam potrebu da tome kritički pristupim jer prostor koji posthumanizam otvara za digitalne tehnologije u vrtiću nije dovoljno istražen, a može biti i jeste predmet opravdanih strepnji i rasprava. Svakodnevnica vrtića mi je pokazala da digitalne tehnologije po sebi nisu fokus niti jedne situacije u vrtiću, one se zapravo upliću u smisao koji se izgrađuje. Primetila sam da ono što decu „čudi“ u njihovom istraživanju jesu životinje. Deca su vrlo brzo počela da me uključuju u pomenutu potragu – vodila su me u obilaske dvorišta i upućivala na mesta gde su nalazili životinje u projektu koji su razvijali s vaspitačem, donosila su mi životinje (puževe, mušice, različite tvrdokrilce i druge) kako bih osetila njihovo kretanje po ruci, zajedno smo crtali životinje koje nismo pronalazili u dvorištu i tome slično.

Maj je bio mesec traženja puževa, jer je u tom periodu bilo puno padavina. Međutim, posle određenog vremena intenzivnog bavljenja puževima, upali smo u izvesnu rutinu, delovalo je kao da je svaki dan isti, a da se smisao s ostalim životinjama negde sakrio od kiše. Tražeći druge životinje s decom, jačao je osećaj da sam donekle zaboravila na ono čime se bavim u svojoj disertaciji. Međutim, već prvi nekišni dan upleo je novi smisao u potragu, kako za životinjama tako i za načinima korišćenja digitalnih tehnologija. Povod da u potragu uključimo digitalne tehnologije bilo je dečje zamišljanje bazena punog kišnice kao prostora u kom mogu da žive životinje koje su karakteristične za neke druge zemlje i kontinente. To me je navelo na razmišljanje kako bih mogla da dovedem životinje uprkos kiši ili daljini, a podržim smisao koji izranja iz susreta. Upotreba Gugl alata koji prikazuje 3D modele životinja desila se slučajno, kao način da podržim zamišljanje dece i njihovo promišljanje opasnosti susreta s pojedinim životinjama. Ovaj alat, osim prikaza 3D modela, poseduje karakteristike proširene realnosti (eng. augmented reality, AR) jer pruža i projekciju modela životinje u realni prostor. Vrlo je jednostavan za korišćenje jer zahteva samo da ukucate naziv životinje u Gugl pretragu na mobilnom telefonu (na primer, ukucate termin „žirafa“ i kliknete opciju „traži“ na osnovu čega dobijete ključne informacije i fotografije o žirafi, mogućnost da čujete zvuke koje proizvodi, te opciju za 3D prikaz modela i drugo). U nastavku je opisana situacija „Šta iskače iz telefona?“ koja je pronikla drugačiji smisao u vezi sa upotrebom digitalnih tehnologija. Ona će biti podrška našem „razmišljanju sa“ posthumanističkim i poststrukturalističkim idejama i konceptima. Projekcije životinja koje je omogućio Gugl alat ne shvataju se kao objekti opisanog susreta, niti kao reprezentacije onoga što se tada desilo u vremenu i prostoru. Naime, one nisu način da se dublje zagledamo u ljudsko ili da dalje produbimo binarnost u sagledavanju odnosa subjekat–objekat, čovek–tehnologije, već se razumeju kao način da dovedemo u pitanje našu subjektivnost tako što ćemo vizuelno prikazati „...difraktivna angažovanja s fenomenom“ (Murriss & Peers, 2022: 334).

Šta iskače iz telefona?

Zbog kiše koja je danima padala, u dvorištu vrtića su se mogli naći samo puževi. Traganje za puževima je u jednom trenutku za decu postalo zamorna aktivnost. I sama sam se osećala „pokislo“, delovalo mi je kao da mi je nestalo ideja, kao da je istraživanje utihnulo. Međutim, zajednička lutanja po dvorištu koje je pomenuto traganje proizvodilo nisu nužno bila beznačajna i prazna. Grupa dece prilazi bazenu koji je napunjen kišnicom, okupirana dečakom iz druge grupe koji traga za nečim u vodi (izgleda kao da nešto lovi, žurno gazeći čizmama po vodi), i započinju razgovor.

Dečak M.: *Vidite, bazen izgleda kao bara. Zamislite da u njoj ima krokodila ili nekih drugih životinja, na primer, guštera. To bi bilo zabavno. Ali onda Marko ne bi smeo da bude u vodi.*

Grupa dece uzbuđeno uzvikuje: *Da!*

Dečak V. prilazi i vuče me za ruku: *Hajde uključi nam krokodila kao da je u bazenu! Kao juče kad smo videli zmiju (projektovanu).*

Istraživač: *Sad ću da proverim da li aplikacija može da projektuje krokodila u vodi.*

Dečaci se meškolje oko telefona, nestrpljivi da vide virtuelnu projekciju krokodila u svom dvorištu.

Istraživač: *Nažalost, nema krokodila, ali dajte mi predloge nekih drugih životinja, možda njih mogu projektovati.*

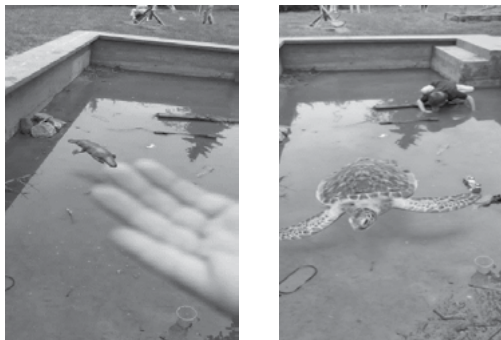
Dečak M. dodaje: *Hajde pokaži nam kljunara!*

Istraživač pretražuje i projektuje kljunara u bazen, a deca pružaju ruke kako bi uhvatila životinju (Fotografija 1).

Deca uzvikuju: *Vau, gledajte imamo kljunara u dvorištu!*

Fotografija 1

Virtuelne projekcije kljunara i kornjače u dvorištu vrtića



Fotografisano 2023. godine. Izvor: arhiva istraživača.

Na uzvik, još nekoliko dece se noseći puževe u ruci pridružuje grupi zainteresovano za dešavanja u bazenu i oko njega.

Dečak V.: *Doći će kljunar do Marka! Pazi, Marko! (uzbuđenje i smeh, pruža ruku da zakloni druga i uzme kljunara).*

Grupa dece uzvikuje: *Spasao si Marka!*

Dečak V.: *Hajde, projektuj nam i kornjaču.*

Grupa dece uzvikuje: *Da, hajde da vidimo!*

Istraživač pretražuje i projektuje kornjaču (Fotografija 1).

Dečak M.: *Hajde sada projektuj kengura, ovde na pesku (pokazuje rukom na mesto pored bazena gde želi da istraživač projektuje kengura). On živi u Australiji, voli pesak.*

Dečak V. uskače u kadar i govori kroz smeh: *Je l' kengur skočio na mene? (Fotografija 2).*

Grupa dece se okuplja oko telefona, posmatraju svog druga i uzvikuju: *Jeste! Veći je mnogo od tebe, vidi se samo tvoja noga! Smešni ste!*

Dečak M.: *Hajde, Vojo, pomeri se da pomazim kengura (Fotografija 2).*

Dečak V.: *Ne smetam ti, slobodno ga pomazi.*

Dečak M.: *Hajde, stavi mi kengura na glavu (smeh).*

Istraživač: *Prevelik je kengur, izlazi iz okvira kamere ako ga postavim na tvoju glavu.*

Dečak M.: *Je l' to znači da će da iskoči iz telefona? (smeh).*

Ostala deca se smeju, a ja sam ostala pod utiskom ovog pitanja.

Devojčica S. *dobacuje: Koliko životinja imamo u dvorištu, i puževe i životinje iz telefona!*

Fotografija 2

Virtuelne projekcije kengura i orla u dvorištu vrtića



Fotografisano 2023. godine. Izvor: arhiva istraživača.

Istraživač: *Nažalost, neće iskočiti iz telefona iako bi bilo super da može. Ali ako želiš da projektujem neku životinju na tvoju glavu, možda to može da bude neka ptica? Imaš li ideju koja?*

Dečak M.: *Može! Hajde projektuj orla ili tako nešto. I napravi sliku, molim te, da možemo da vidimo.*

Dečak V.: *Ja ću da ga poljubim u letu (smeh).*

Dečaci staju ispred kamere telefona i nameštaju se.

Istraživač: *Spremni?*

Dečaci: *Da! Slikaj! (Fotografija 2).*

Okupljaju se oko telefona da bi videli fotografiju.

Deca (uzbuđeno): *Dobra je slika! Hajde ponovo, moramo da vidimo sve životinje i da ih dođirnemo!*

Opisana situacija uputila je na nekoliko značajnih uvida. Prvo, da smisao zahteva bliskost (koja se ne ostvaruje samo sa ljudima). Kao što vidimo u nekoliko navrata, bez obzira na činjenicu što je reč o susretima s virtuelnim projekcijama, deca traže načine da ostvare bliskost sa životinjama (na primer, pokušavaju da drže kljunara ili da pomaze kengura). Istovremeno, ne zanemaruju razvijanje bliskosti sa svojim vršnjacima (na primer, dečak brine za svog druga u bazenu koji bi mogao da bude izložen opasnosti da su umesto pro-

jekcija u bazenu prave životinje). Drugo, pomenuta bliskost ostvaruje se kroz intraakcije, jer virtuelne projekcije „nama nešto čine i mi činimo njima“. To zahteva drugačiju osetljivost za ono što se dešava oko nas i u nama, što je u primeru приметно u delu razgovora u kom dečak otvara prostor za moguće iskakanje kengura iz telefona ili zajedničkog skoka. Zapravo, otvara se jedna drugačija potreba za dolaženjem u susret koji se na drugačiji način materijalizuje. Treće, problem s ovim primerom jeste što je ostao samo slučajnost, ostavljajući za sobom pitanje šta je to što nam nedostaje ili nas koči u promišljanju sa i o digitalnim tehnologijama.

Nismo mogli da planiramo niti da predvidimo da bi bazen pun kišnice mogao da postane „sidro“ koje bi „probilo“ novi, nedovršeni smisao. Pomenuti smisao nije nešto što se voljno izgradilo, zapravo više je stvar deljenog osećaja koji se ustanovljava u relacijama (Purešević & Mitranić, 2023) naših činjenja i otelovljenja (Murriss, 2016). Dakle, nije reč o značenju kao takvom, već o značenju koje se materijalizuje (eng. meaning that matters) (Mazzarella, 2017). Imajući to u vidu, možemo da kažemo da slučajnosti (kakva je prethodno opisana situacija) zahtevaju poigravanja s granicama, vremenom, ulogama i pozicijama iz kojih istupamo, uzrocima i posledicama našeg delanja i tome slično. Zbog toga ćemo na kraju ovog rada razmotriti pedagoške implikacije razmišljanja i susretanja s digitalnim tehnologijama u vrtiću, kao i dileme koje ne smemo da zanemarimo kada upotrebu digitalnih tehnologija sagledavamo iz posthumanističkih okvira.

Trajektorija: šta digitalne tehnologije u predškolskom vaspitanju i obrazovanju mogu postati

Kako Delez i Gatari ističu, ključno pitanje filozofije nije „šta jeste“, već šta „može postati“ (Holland, 2013: 350, prema Lentres, 2016: 284). Otvaranjem ovog pitanja pomenuti autori žele da upute na „ontološki preokret“ kojim se zagovara razumevanje života, ne kao statičnog, već kao procesa kontinuirane promene, odvijanja, pokreta i preokreta. To znači da oni koji su u intraakciji ili koji postaju u mešavinama ne imitiraju, već se kontinuirano menjaju, prožimaju, postaju ne samo drugačiji, nego i drugi (eng. becoming other) (Lenters, 2016). Ovim pitanjem želimo da uputimo na određene pedagoške implikacije koje proizilaze iz pozicioniranja u posthumane okvire. Uvažavanje neočekivanog u procesu postajanja predstavlja važno polazište za obrazovanje jer otvara prostor za građenje drugačijeg kvaliteta odnosa, u kojima se smisao izgrađuje ne kao stvar lične (ljudske) odluke, već situaciono (svih onih koji u njoj učestvuju). Kao što smo mogli da vidimo iz opisane situacije, bliskost s virtuelnim projekcijama životinja nagovestila je kako se odgovornost za drugog izgrađuje kroz zajedničko istraživanje čak i onda kada nema neposrednog kontakta. Na taj način se poststrukturalistička ideja o zajedničkom učenju i učešću dalje otvara za bliskost i brigu koje, iako ljudski kapaciteti, treba da uvažavaju i mnoge druge. Kada o upotrebi digitalnih tehnologija govorimo kao o kulturi koja je utemeljena na smislu, svrsishodnosti i kritičkom odnosu, onda možemo da kažemo da su posthumanističke ideje upletene u situaciju susretanja s digitalnim tehnologijama u vrtiću otvorile

prostor za promišljanje o tome kako možemo da podržimo građenje bliskosti s drugim(a) (koji nisu nužno ljudi) i osetljivost za drugačije (za doživljaj s projekcijama). Dakle, kako možemo da gradimo odgovornost i sposobnost da odgovorimo kroz fino podešavanje u kom se prepliću bliskost i osetljivost. To zahteva, posebno od vaspitača i istraživača, da učimo da razmišljamo „dok smo u pokretu“, takoreći, da tretiramo svoja „razmišljanja“ kao privremene rezultate u okviru procesa postajanja koji traje. Dakle, jedan od preokreta koji moramo da načinimo jeste da se udaljimo od ideje da svemu dajemo objašnjenje koje služi kao reprezentacija „stvari“ koje se mogu identifikovati i imenovati (Shotter, 2013: 33-34) i da se približimo onome što Barad (Barad, 2007) naziva direktnim materijalnim angažovanjem sa svetom. Učiniti ovo nije nimalo lako, posebno kada je reč o susretima s digitalnim tehnologijama i specifičnostima takvog angažovanja sa svetom, što je pokazala i opisana situacija iz vrtića. Posebno želimo da naglasimo da takvo angažovanje ne treba tumačiti kao podsticaj opremanju vrtića robotima, niti kao afirmisanje stava da iskustvo upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija bude ključno i jedino iskustvo u vrtiću. To bi bilo suprotno stavu autora i upućivalo na suštinsko nerazumevanje poststrukturalističkih i posthumanističkih ideja i koncepata.

Naime, kada mislimo sa i u upotrebi digitalnih tehnologija u predškolskom vaspitanju i obrazovanju, ne smemo da zaboravimo da čak i oni koji svoja razmišljanja utemeljuju na posthumanizmu izražavaju dilemu u pogledu toga da li će bliski susreti sa digitalnim tehnologijama biti ispunjavajući ili da će podržati stvaranje pravednijeg sveta: „da li će Fejsbuk, Instagram, Tviter, Tik-tok, Snepčet i druge forme društvenih mreža postati prostori koji podržavaju glas kolektivnog detinjstva, u kojima će postojati deljeno pripadanje i odgovornost kao zajednička sposobnost da odgovorimo na ono što se dešava u svetu“ (Malone et al., 2020: 134). Osim toga, izlišno je misliti da je „beg“ od antropocentrizma (pozicioniranja čoveka u centar sveta i obrazovanja) samo naš izbor ili da će konstrukcije o ljudskom biti izbrisane ili prosto zamenjene nekim drugim konstrukcijama (Mitranić Marinković & Krstić, 2024). Zapravo, možemo da se izgubimo u drugoj krajnosti koja instrumentalizuje čoveka u odnosu na digitalne tehnologije. Na kraju, ne smemo da zaboravimo činjenicu da obrazujemo ljude, kao i da je predškolsko vaspitanje i obrazovanje etička praksa, što zahteva da i upotrebu digitalnih tehnologija razvijamo kao takvu. Ono što možemo jeste da prepoznamo da je (predškolsko) vaspitanje i obrazovanje u procesu postajanja koje je i humano i posthumano (Mitranić Marinković & Krstić, 2024), te da zahteva transformisanje koje je usmereno na uvažavanje, redefinisavanje, osetljivost, a ne na zaboravljanje i odbacivanje nekoga ili nečega. U tom redefinisavanju neke granice ipak moraju da se uvaže, jer bismo bili u riziku da obrazovanje prepustimo potpunoj slučajnosti. Zato situaciju koju smo opisali u radu treba razumeti kao nagoveštaj za nešto što se dalje mora istraživati. Briga je ljudski kapacitet, zbog čega ne iznenađuje kolektivna anksioznost u pogledu sadašnjosti i budućnosti u kojoj roboti tu sposobnost i osećanje „oduzimaju“ ljudima (DeFalco, 2020). Zbog toga se prema posthumanim razmatranjima relacija dece i odraslih sa svetom mora odnositi s određenom rezervom, posebno kada se otvori pitanje upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija u predškolskom vaspitanju i obrazovanju.

Literatura

- Barad, K. (2003). Posthumanist Performativity: Toward an Understanding of How Matter Comes to Matter. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 28(3), 801–831. <http://dx.doi.org/10.14361/9783839403365-008>
- Barad, K. (2007). *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*. Duke University Press.
- Barad, K. (2013). '2 Ma(r)king Time: Material Entanglements and Re-memberings: Cutting Together-Apart1'. In P. R. Carlile, D. Nicolini, A. Langley, & H. Tsoukas (Eds.), *How Matter Matters: Objects, Artifacts, and Materiality in Organization Studies* (pp. 16-31). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199671533.003.0002>
- Bonilauri, S., & Tedeschi, M. (2019). Bordercrossings. In V. Vecchi, S. Bonilauri, I. Meninno, & M. Tedeschi (Eds.), *Bordercrossings: Encounters with Living Things, Digital Landscapes* (pp. 14-16). Reggio Children.
- Brajdoti, R. (2016). *Posthumano* (M. Stošić, prev.). Fakultet za medije i komunikacije (FMK). (Originalno delo objavljeno 2013).
- Burnett, C. (2017). The fluid materiality of tablets: Examining 'the iPad multiple' in a primary classroom. In C. Burnett, G. Merchant, A. Simpson & M. Walsh (Eds.), *The case of the iPad: Mobile literacies in education* (pp. 15-30). Springer.
- Ceder, S. (2019). *Towards a Posthuman Theory of Educational Relationality*. Routledge.
- Collier, D. R. (2024). Disrupting hybrid ethnographic practices in literacies research: A story of shifting digital relations while virtually 'babysitting Diane'. *Digital Culture & Education*, 15(1), 1-20. <https://www.digitalcultureandeducation.com/volume-151>
- DeFalco, A. (2020). Towards a Theory of Posthuman Care: Real Humans and Caring Robots. *Body & Society*, 26(3), 31-60. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X20917450>
- Duhn, I. (2015). Making agency matter: rethinking infant and toddler agency in educational discourse, *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 36(6), 920-931. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2014.918535>
- Duobliene, L., & Vaitekaitis, J. (2021). Posthumanist Approach to Human/Child-Centred Education. *Journal of Futures Studies*, 26(2), 37-50. [https://doi.org/10.6531/JFS.202112_26\(2\).0003](https://doi.org/10.6531/JFS.202112_26(2).0003)
- Fawns, T. (2022). An Entangled Pedagogy: Looking Beyond the Pedagogy-Technology Dichotomy. *Postdigital Science and Education*, 4(3), 711–728. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42438-022-00302-7>
- Ferrando, F. (2014). Is the Post-Human a Post-Woman? Cyborgs, Robots, Artificial Intelligence and the Futures of Gender: A Case Study. *European Journal of Futures Research*, 2(43), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40309-014-0043-8>
- Gibbons, A. (2015). Debating Digital Childhoods: Questions concerning technologies, economies and determinisms. *Open Review of Educational Research*, 2(1), 118-127. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23265507.2015.1015940>
- Hackett, A., & Rautio, P. (2019). Answering the world: young children's running and rolling as more-than-human multimodal meaning making. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 32(8), 1019–1031. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2019.1635282>
- Hackett, A., MacLure, M., & Pahl, K. (2020). Literacy and language as material practices: Re-thinking social inequality in young children's literacies. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy*, 20(1), 3-12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468798420904909>

- Haraway, D. (2006). A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late 20th Century. In J. Weiss, J. Nolan, J. Hunsinger, & P. Trifonas (Eds.), *The International Handbook of Virtual Learning Environments* (pp. 117-158). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-3803-7_4
- Hayles, K. N. (1999). *How we became posthuman: virtual bodies in cybernetics, literature and informatics*. The Chicago University Press.
- Jackson, A. Y., & Mazzei, L. A. (2012). *Thinking with Theory in Qualitative Research: Viewing Data Across Multiple Perspectives*. Routledge.
- Johnston, K. (2019). Digital technology as a tool to support children and educators as co-learners. *Global Studies of Childhood*, 9(4), 306-317. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2043610619871571>
- Krnjaja, Ž. (2010). Igra, stvaralaštvo, otvoreni vaspitni sistem: šta ih povezuje? *Nastava i vaspitanje*, 59(2), 264-277.
- Krnjaja, Ž. i Pavlović Breneselović, D. (2022). Vodič za razvijanje integrisanog pristupa učenju kroz teme/projekte: Integrisani pristup učenju kroz teme/projekte u skladu sa Osnovama programa PVO "Godine uzleta". Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja.
- Kuby, C. R., & Gutshall Rucker, T. (2020). Posthuman theory as a tool to explore literacy desirings Sara-Taylor-iPad-Book becoming in Writers' Studio. In O. Erstad, R. Flewitt, M. Kümmerling-Meibauer, & I. S. Pires Pereira (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Digital Literacies in Early Childhood* (pp. 242-254). Routledge.
- Lazarević, M. (2023). Dečji vrtić kao prostor heterotopije. *Nastava i vaspitanje*, 72(3), 353-368. <https://doi.org/10.5937/nasvas2303445L>
- Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford University Press.
- Lee, N. (2001). *Childhood and Society: Growing in the Age of Uncertainty*. Open University Press.
- Lenters, K. (2016). Riding the Lines and Overwriting in the Margins: Affect and Multimodal Literacy Practices. *Journal of Literacy Research*, 48(3), 280-316. [10.1177/1086296X16658982](https://doi.org/10.1177/1086296X16658982)
- Lindgren, T., & Sjöstrand Öhrfelt, M. (2019). Fabricating The Posthuman Child In Early Childhood Education and Care. *Philosophy of Education*, 2017, 264-276.
- Lévy, P. (2005). Collective Intelligence, a Civilisation: Towards a Method of Positive Interpretation. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 18(3/4), 189-198. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20059682>
- Malone, K., Tesar, M., & Andrt, S. (eds.) (2020). *Theorising Posthuman Childhood Studies*. Springer.
- Matos Lins, H. A. (2021). Lines Of Flight Of A Deaf Baby: Entanglements And Agencies In The Processes Of Subjetification And Education. *Educacao em Revista*, 37, 1-21. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0102-4698235031>
- Mazzarella, W. (2017). *The Mana of Mass Society*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Miah, A. (2008). A Critical History of Posthumanism. In B. Gordijn, & R. Chadwick (Eds.), *Medical Enhancement and Posthumanity* (pp. 71-94). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-8852-0_6
- Mitranić Marinković, N. & Krstić, P. (2024). Should Humans Leave School? In I. Nišavić, N. Mitranić Marinković, & P. Krstić (Eds.), *Posthumanism and Education: Transgression or Interdependence* (pp. 217-234). Transnational Press London.
- Miškeljin, L. (2022). *Detinjstv(a)o – konceptualizacije i kontekstualizacije: implikacije za praksu predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja*. Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu.

- Murris, K. (2016). *The Posthuman Child: Educational transformation through philosophy with picturebooks*. Routledge.
- Murris, K. (2018). Posthumanism, de/colonising education and child(hoods) in South Africa. In K. Murris & J. Haynes (eds.), *Literacies, Literature and Learning* (pp. 52-78). Routledge.
- Murris, K. (2020). Posthuman Child and the Diffractive Teacher: Decolonizing the Nature/Culture Binary. In A. Cutter-Mackenzie-Knowles, K. Malone, & E. Barratt Hacking (Eds.), *Research Handbook on Childhoodnature: Assemblages of Childhood and Nature Research* (pp. 31-55). Springer.
- Murris, K., & Osgood, J. (2022). Risking erasure? Posthumanist research practices and figurations of (the) child. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 23(3), 208-219. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14639491221117761>
- Murris, K., & Peers, J. (2022). GoPro(blem)s and possibilities: Keeping the child human of colour in play in an interview. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 23(3), 332-355. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14639491221117219>
- Nikolić, L. (2020). E-učenje u visokoškolskom obrazovanju iz perspektive kritičke pedagogije Paula Freirea. *Nastava i vaspitanje*, 69(1), 39-50. <https://doi.org/10.5937/nasvas2001039N>
- Parette, H. P., Quesenberry, A. C., & Blum, C. (2010). Missing the Boat with Technology Usage in Early Childhood Settings: A 21st Century View of Developmentally Appropriate Practice. *Early Childhood Education Journal*, 37(5), 335-343. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10643-009-0352-x>
- Pavlović Breneselović, D. (2012). Odnosi na ranim uzrastima. U A. Baucal (ur.), *Standardi za razvoj i učenje dece ranih uzrasta u Srbiji* (str. 133-150). Univerzitet u Beogradu Filozofski fakultet, Institut za psihologiju.
- Pavlović Breneselović, D. (2021). Digitalne tehnologije u programu predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja: šta nam je okvir normalnosti? U I. Jeremić, N. Nikolić i N. Koruga (ur.), *Vaspitanje i obrazovanje u digitalnom okruženju, Zbornik radova sa nacionalnog naučnog skupa Susreti pedagoga* (str. 37-41). Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu i Pedagoško društvo Srbije.
- Pavlović Breneselović, D. i Krnjaja, Ž. (2014). Osnove programa kao dimenzija kvaliteta predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja. *Pedagogija*, 69(2), 212-225.
- Purešević, D., & Mitranić, N. (2023). Making Sense: Digital Kindergarten during COVID-19 Lockdown. *Nastava i vaspitanje*, 72(1), 27-41. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5937/nasvas2301027P>
- Rautio, P. (2013). Children who carry stones in their pockets: on autotelic material practices in everyday life. *Children's Geographies*, 11(4), 394-408. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2013.812278>
- Rautio, P. (2014). Mingling and Imitating in Producing Spaces for Knowing and Being: 4 Insights from a Finnish Study of Child-Matter Intra-Action. *Childhood*, 21(4), 461-474. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568213496653>
- Shotter, J. (2013). Reflections on Sociomateriality and Dialogicality in Organization Studies: From 'Inter-' to 'Intra-Thinking'. In P. R. Carlile, D. Nicolini, A. Langley, & H. Tsoukas (Eds.), *How Matter Matters: Objects, Artifacts, and Materiality in Organization Studies* (pp. 32-57). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199671533.003.0002>
- Snaza, N. (2013). Bewildering Education. *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*, 10(1), 38-54. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15505170.2013.783889>

- Snaza, N., Appelbaum, P., Byne, S., Moris, M., Rotas, N., Sandlin, J., Wallin, J., Carlson, D., & Weaver, J. (2014). Toward a Posthumanist Education. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 30(2), 39-55. <https://journal.jctonline.org/index.php/jct/article/view/501>
- Stojković, J. (2024). Posthuman Quantum: The Case of Childhood *www*es. In I. Nišavić, N. Mitranić Marinković, & P. Krstić (Eds.), *Posthumanism and Education: Transgression or Interdependence* (pp. 181-200). Transnational Press London.
- Taylor, C. A. (2016). Edu-crafting a Cacophonous Ecology: Posthumanist Research Practices for Education. In C. A. Taylor, & C. Hughes (Eds.), *Posthuman Practices in Education Research* (pp. 5-25). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tesar, M., & Arndt, S. (2020). Writing the Human "I": Liminal Spaces of Mundane Abjection. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 26(8-9), 1102-1109. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800419881656>

Primljeno: 05.09.2024.

Korigovana verzija primljena: 09.10.2024.

Prihvaćeno za štampu: 09.10.2024.

Jelena Stojković

Institut za pedagoška istraživanja, Beograd, Srbija

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6121-9597>

Kako unaprediti razumevanje pročitano: mapiranje kritičnih zona za pedagoške intervencije

Slobodanka Antić¹ 

Fakultet za specijalnu edukaciju i rehabilitaciju,
Univerzitet u Beogradu, Beograd, Srbija

Jelena Stevanović 

Institut za pedagoška istraživanja, Beograd, Srbija

Apstrakt

Pismenost je, prema savremenom razumevanju, situaciona, složena kompetencija, integrisana u različite socijalne prakse. Zato je određujemo kao višestruku pismenost koja ima brojne dimenzije - jezičku, matematičku, naučnu, političku, ekonomsku, medijsku i slično. Međutim, višestruka pismenost se može ostvariti samo preko razvoja jezičke pismenosti koja je medijator i moderator svih drugih pismenosti. Najviše istraživani aspekt jezičke pismenosti je razumevanje pročitano na kome počiva svako smisleno učenje. Cilj ovog rada je da predstavi, opiše i analizira kritične činioce koje sadrži pedagoška intervencija usmerena na razvoj razumevanja pročitano. Kada se primeni kriterijum šta je u fokusu, onda se empirijski nalazi, programi podrške i praktični poduhvati za podsticaj razumevanja pročitano grupišu oko nekoliko činioca: modifikacija samog teksta iz koga se čita i uči; podrška razvoju učenikovih kognitivnih kompetencija povezanih sa čitanjem; podrška razvoju ličnosti i afektivnih kompetencija učenika i efikasne aktivnosti čitanja u nastavi, nastavnim situacijama, metodama nastave/učenja. U radu su opisani, analizirani i dati primeri za svaki aspekt efikasne pedagoške intervencije i zaključak da je sinergija svih najefikasniji način za razvoj pismenosti dece i mladih.

Ključne reči:

jezička pismenost, podsticanje čitalačke kompetencije, razumevanje pročitano, pedagoška intervencija, funkcionalna pismenost.

Uvod

Značaj pismenosti u obrazovanju i opštem razvoju jedinke je široko prihvaćen i nalazi se u vrhu političkih agendi svih zainteresovanih za obrazovanje. Obrazovne politike

¹ santic@fasper.bg.ac.rs

mnogih zemalja su u stalnom reformskom preispitivanju postupaka, pristupa i intervencija koji mogu da osiguraju razvoj funkcionalne pismenosti u formalnom i neformalnom kontekstu za učenje. Funkcionalna pismenost označava procenjenu granicu ispod koje pismenost osobe nije dovoljna da razume, koristi i razmišlja o tekstu, da razvije znanja da bi postigla lične ciljeve i da kvalitetno participira u društvu (OECD, 2019).

Važnost jezičke pismenosti za lični razvoj ali i napredak jednog društva su brojne. Povezana je sa akademskim uspehom učenika i sa dužinom i kvalitetom školovanja (Bussiere et al., 2009). Više od toga, pismenost osobe je pozitivno povezana sa njenim fizičkim zdravljem (DeWalt & Pignone, 2005), ali i metalnim zdravljem (Hunn et al., 2023; Lincoln et al., 2017; Maughan & Carroll, 2006; Sentell & Shumway, 2003). Pismenost je u negativnoj korelaciji sa socijalnim problemima jedinke u razvoju. U odeljenjima u kojima se deca „bore“ s čitanjem ima više konflikata, agresije, čak delinkvencije, preranih napuštanja školovanja i slično (Slavin & Madden, 2001). Kada se veština čitanja učenika u odeljenju unapredi, poboljšava se i njihovo mentalno, socijalno i fizičko blagostanje.

Pored istraživanja koja pokazuju važnost čitalačke kompetencije za individualni razvoj, poslednjih decenija na značaju dobijaju i međunarodna istraživanja, kao što su PISA i PIRLS. Prednost ovih istraživanja je što se realizuju ciklično na reprezentativnom uzorku, pa se nalazi mogu generalizovati na celu populaciju dece i mladih u jednom obrazovnom sistemu. Drugo, možemo pratiti trendove promena postignuća a treće, istovremeno učešće mladih iz brojnih zemalja daje podatak o njihovoj poredivosti u odnosu na kompetencije koje se mere (Ivić i sar., 2021; Mullis et al., 2023; Videnović i Čaprić, 2020). U kritikama ovih istraživanja ukazuje se da nacionalni programi i načini rada ne pripremaju učenike na isti način, pa nisu ravnopravni u rešavanju zadataka, da PISA ima svoj „skriveni kurikulum“ (Uljens, 2007) koji promovise neoliberalne ekonomske principe, smanjenu osetljivost na kulturne razlike (Eivers, 2010) i udaljavanje od humanističkih ideala vezanih za obrazovanje (Liessmann, 2008). Ipak, zadaci na testovima su zasnovani na novom određenju pismenosti, pa mogu biti upotrebljivi za planiranje reformi na nivou obrazovnih politika.

Dalje, podučavanje čitalačkim veštinama u savremeno doba nosi možda najveći izazov koji stvara odrastanje uz digitalne medije. Plasticitet mozga će, verovatno vremenom omogućiti da se prilagodimo na učenje „sa ekrana“ koje traži drugačiju funkcionalnu organizaciju. U ovom trenutku sve su brojnija istraživanja koja govore o problemima čitanja teksta a povezana su sa razvojem u digitalnom okruženju: preopterećenost informacijama, „dekoncentrisani um“, otežano održavanje pažnje, laka distrakcija i prekid pažnje, fragmentisano znanje, otežano dublje promišljanje, teško praćenje osnovne ideja dužeg teksta, otežano zadržavanje znanja u dugoročnom pamćenju i slično (Firth et al., 2019; Ivić, 2019; Vaidhyanathan, 2011). Tome treba dodati i karakteristike novih generacija na socio-emocionalnom planu, u domenu interesovanja i motivacije: povišen individualizam, manje brige za druge, smanjeno verovanje da je istrajan i težak rad efikasan, smanjena vera da se nešto može promeniti zajedničkim akcijama i slično (Terkel, 2011; Tvengi, 2019).

Karakteristika savremene kulture u kojoj odrastaju mladi je i eksponencijalni rast svih vrsta štampanih dokumenata koja je bila nezamisliva prethodnim generacijama. Od početka 1960-ih godina, verovatno je štampano i objavljeno više knjiga, novina, časopisa i drugih pisanih dokumenata nego u svim vekovima od Gutenbergovog vremena

(Brockmeier & Olson, 2009). Sada je brzo i lako svima dostupan svaki tekst koji se može umnožiti ili je pohranjen u brojnim virtuelnim ili javnim i privatnim bibliotekama.

Kako se menja sociokulturni kontekst tako se menja i teorijski i istraživački odnos prema pismenosti. Razvilo se više teorijskih modela i empirijskih istraživačkih paradigmi pismenosti i pristupa kako podučavati učenike govornom i pisanom jeziku. Koncept pismenosti je asimilovan u različitim naučnim disciplinama i društvenim pokretima. Nova razumevanja idu ka tome da više nije reč samo o alfabetu već više o fuziji mnogih sistema znakova, simbola, medija, načina komunikacije i odgovarajućih praksi u jednom simboličkom prostoru koji, ponovo, obuhvataju i društvo i um (Brockmeier, 2000). Drugim rečima, danas se pismenost ne vidi kao individualna, kognitivna, alfanumerička veština, već kao situaciona, složena kompetencija, integrisana u različite socijalne prakse (Antić i Stevanović, 2023; Gee, 2000; New London Group, 1996; OECD, 2019). Pismenost se u kompleksnom svetu ispoljava u svojim različitim dimenzijama, kao jezička ali i kao matematička, medijska, naučna, digitalna, ekonomska, politička i tako dalje. Višestruka pismenost, međutim, može se ostvariti samo preko razvoja jezičke pismenosti koja je medijator i moderator svih drugih pismenosti (Antić, 2022; Antić i Stevanović, 2023). Jezička pismenost je ispoljena pre svega kao čitalačka pismenost i razumevanje pročitano i kao takva je u osnovi svakog smislenog učenja verbalnog sadržaja.

Sa novim pogledom na pismenost, otvorilo se pitanje obrazovanja učenika: da li ih podučavati jednoj opštoj transferabilnoj veštini ili specifičnim pismenostima koje su potrebne za različite profesije (Brockmeier & Olson, 2009), kako razvijati pismenost u različitim predmetima i na različitim nivoima obrazovanja, koje bi bile odgovarajuće pedagoške intervencije kao podrška daljem razvoju, koje bi sve aspekte trebalo pokriti, odnosno koje su kritične zone koje bi efikasna pedagoška intervencija trebalo da pokrije?

Za potrebe ovog rada, *pedagoške intervencije* određujemo kao sve planske, osmišljene akcije u formalnom kontekstu za učenje koji uključuje nastavna sredstva, nastavni ambijent, nastavne metode i učešće kompetentnije druge osobe. Dakle, reč je o podučavanju u najširem smislu reči koje se ne odnosi samo na organizovanje časa iz nekog predmeta, nego i na ostala vannastavna, školska i vanškolska iskustva učenika ukoliko su planirana i organizovana, na bilo kom nivou obrazovanja. Termin *intervencija* bi trebalo da naglasi fokusiranost pedagoških aktivnosti. Nalik u drugim kontekstima u kojima se ovaj termin koristi (medicinskom, psihološkom, u specijalnoj edukaciji), i ovde se želi naglasiti da su to, u ovom slučaju, pedagoški naponi ciljano, planski usmereni na razvoj jezičke pismenosti.

Skoro pola veka u nauci i obrazovnoj praksi se akumulira znanje o tome šta je važno za podučavanje u čitanju s razumevanjem. Neka empirijska istraživanja u ovom domenu imaju jasne praktične implikacije i direktne preporuke za nastavnu praksu, drugima je potrebno dodatno „prevođenje“ od teorije ka praksi, u trećim slučajevima reč je o već razrađenim i proveravanim praktičnim postupcima. Raznovrsni programi podrške razvoju čitanja i jezičke pismenosti realizovani su u različitim kontekstima za učenje, različitim predmetima, različitim nivoima obrazovanja. Međutim, kada se kao kriterijum uzme šta je u fokusu ovih poduhvata, možemo izdvojiti nekoliko kritičnih zona efikasne pedagoške intervencije.

Potrebno je reći da su pomenuta istraživanja nastajala u okvirima različitih disciplina, lingvistike, psiholingvistike, kognitivne psihologije i psihologije obrazovanja, pa su i teorijska polazišta bila različita. Ovi teorijski modeli kognicije i razumevanja jezika pripisuju različit značaj kognitivnim, socijalnim i kulturološkim aspektima čitanja. Izdvojićemo dva dominantna teorijska pristupa.

Kognitivističke teorije, pismenost vide kao kognitivnu veštinu koja se razvija direktnim podučavanjem. Čitanje se smatra nizom kognitivnih koraka, koji uključuju dekodiranje, prepoznavanje reči i stvaranje mentalnih slika za razumevanje pročitano, odnosno proces ide od razumevanja površinske forme teksta, njene mikrostrukture do procesa u radnoj memoriji u kojoj se mikrostrukture umrežavaju u makrostrukturu teksta (Lalović, 2012). Proces se odvija kroz interakciju kognitivnih sposobnosti onoga ko čita i samog teksta.

Socio konstruktivističko razumevanje pismenosti, ukazuje da se vaspitavanje jezičke pismenosti odvija kroz situacionu socijalnu praksu (Purcell-Gates et al., 2007). Praksa je uslovljena kulturnim vrednostima, znanjem i očekivanjima zajednice, Pa samim tim onaj ko čita stvara značenje u okviru tog konteksta. U zavisnosti od socijalnih i kulturoloških iskustava, razumevanje istog teksta može biti različito (Gee, 2000).

Svrha ovog rada je da ponudi jedan „pogled odozgo“, odnosno da na jednom mestu prikaže, mapira nezaobilazne različite aspekte koje bi trebalo obuhvatiti pedagoškom intervencijom usmerenom na razvoj jezičke pismenosti, odnosno čitanja s razumevanjem. Drugim rečima, ne zagovara neki konkretni pristup ili određenu pedagošku intervenciju nego ukazuje šta bi sve trebalo da pokrije efikasna podrška razvoju čitalačke pismenosti.

Složena i holistička priroda fenomena zahteva i eklektički odnos prema teorijskim okvirima koja nude važne uvide. Zato će teorijski okvir ovog rada biti heuristički model za istraživanje razumevanja pročitano RRSF (Snow, 2002). U ovom modelu jednako važna su četiri činioca: onaj ko čita (kognitivni, afektivni i motivacioni aspekti), tekst koji se čita (ne samo sadržaj, već i brojni lingvistički aspekti teksta), aktivnosti čitanja (priroda zadatka, svrhe i konteksta u kome se čita) i sociokulturni kontekst u kome se svi prethodni činioci postoje. Granice između ovih elemenata su propusne što jasno ukazuje na dinamičnu prirodu procesa razumevanja pročitano (Snow, 2002). Dakle, cilj ovog rada je da mapira, opiše kritične zone intervencije za efikasni pristup razvoju razumevanja pročitano u formalnom kontekstu učenja. Čitanje u ovom kontekstu je nužno povezano sa aktivnostima smislenog učenja, zato je je u fokusu čitanje u službi učenja. Važno je napomenuti, da rad ne razmatra elementarno, prvo opismenjavanje, već dalji razvoj kompetencije čitanja učenika koji su usvojili početnu pismenost. Isto tako, van ovog rada ostaju specifične intervencije namenjene učenicima sa disleksijom i drugim specifičnim teškoćama u učenju.

Kako do efikasne pedagoške intervencije za razvoj razumevanja pročitano

U nastavku ćemo pojasniti važnost svakog od sledećih činioca koji imaju ulogu u efikasnom čitanju, dati primere koji su primenljivi u praksi i ukazati na potrebe za daljim

istraživanjima. U fokusu će biti: *modifikacija teksta* iz koga se čita/uči; podrška razvoju *kognitivnih veština* učenika povezanih sa čitanjem; podrška razvoju *afektivnih aspekata ličnosti* učenika koji su povezani sa razumevanjem čitanja i efikasne aktivnosti čitanja s razumevanjem u *nastavi, nastavnim situacijama, metodama nastave/učenja*. Bitno je napomenuti da iako će pojedini činioци biti posebno predstavljeni, u svakoj konkretnoj realnoj situaciji oni deluju u dinamičnoj interakciji, pa bi zato efikasna pedagoška intervencija morala da uzme u obzir sve činioce istovremeno.

Modifikacije teksta iz koga se čita/uči

Od prvih udžbenika, autori nastoje da podrže proces učenja didaktičkim oblikovanjem sadržaja nauke. Pored selekcije i organizacije sadržaja, autori tekstova namenjenih čitanju u školskom kontekstu, morali bi biti osetljivi na karakteristike jezika samog teksta. Konkretno mislimo na sledeće:

a. Mikrostruktura teksta. Odnosi se na stilske i lingvističke parametre teksta (na primer, koliko je dugačka i složena rečenica, koliko ima zavisnih rečenica, koliko su reči bliske ili daleke učenicima tog uzrasta i slično). Istraživanja kognitivne psihologije ukazala su na mnoge varijable mikrostrukture samog teksta koje su povezane sa uspešnim učenjem tekstualnog sadržaja (Cunningham & Stanovich, 2001; McNamara et al. 1996; 2007; Otero, 2002; Snow, 2002). Primer ovog tipa istraživanja sa jasnim preporukama za praksu je istraživanje Daniele Maknamara i saradnika pod naslovom „Da li je uvek bolje učiti iz dobrih tekstova?“ (Mcnamara et al., 1996). Eksperimentalno je utvrđeno da učenici koji su dobri čitači i imaju odgovarajuće predznanje, efektivnije uče ukoliko u sintaksi nisu dati svi elementi. Dok čitajući nailazimo na preklapanje reči ili pojmova, jasno je da se govori o jednoj ideji. Ili, kada autor teksta koristi priloge *zato što, stoga*, predloge *usled, zbog*, veznike *pa, takođe, isto*, rečice *dakle, osim, upravo, međutim*, onaj ko čita dobija informaciju da među idejama u tekstu postoji relacija i kakva je pridodate relacije. Ali, ako se pojedini od navedenih elemenata rečenice izostave, učenici su aktivniji u čitanju, moraju samostalno da izgrade razumevanje nedostajućih delova i celine, pokrenu procese samoregulacije, metakognitivnog praćenja vlastitog razumevanja i „popravke rečenice“. Posledično, bolje nauče ono što uče. Međutim, ova pravilnost važi samo za vešte čitače, slabijim treba što više pomoći u samom tekstu da bi konstruisali razumevanje. Istraživanje sugeriše da i autori tekstova koji se koriste u nastavi, ali i nastavnici moraju promišljati i prilagođavati tekstove učenicima i po ovim lingvističkim karakteristikama.

b. Makrostruktura teksta. Filozofska, sociološka i psihološka analiza odnosa jezika i mišljenja (Bernstine, Fuko, Derida, Bachtin, Vigotski, Gee), ukazala je na druge aspekte teksta koji mogu biti važni za razumevanje pročitanoг, kao, kao što su žanr teksta ili njegove diskurzivne karakteristike. Mnoga istraživanja ukazuju na razlike učenja iz različitih tipova tekstova, pre svega narativnog, ekspozitornog i deskriptivnog (Graesser, 2007; Otero, 2002; Purcell-Gates et al., 2007). Nalazi uglavnom pokazuju da upotreba narativne strukture teksta ima pozitivne efekte na učenje: povećava motivaciju i interesovanje, učenici lakše aktiviraju postojeća znanja, bolji je kvalitet prisećanja i slično (Duke & Roberts, 2010; Duke & Cartwright, 2019). Ima i oprečnih nalaza (Golke et al., 2019), koji ukazuju

da se samo kroz susret učenika i ekspozitornog teksta, može ostvariti usvajanje sistema naučnih pojmova i razvoj viših misaonih procesa (Golke et al., 2019; Graesser, 2007; Ivić et al., 2013; Otero, 2002).

Osim tipova i žanrova teksta iz kojih se uči, analiza sadržaja i analiza diskursa ukazuju na potrebu da se u njima utvrđuje i ona interpretativna, vrednosna zona koja često nije očigledna već implicitna (Antić, 2022; 2024; Gee, 2000; 1999). Ova istraživanja su zasnovana na socio konstruktivističkom razumevanju jezika koji je neraskidivo povezan sa socijalnom praksom (Bachtin, 2008; Vigotski, 1983; Gee, 2000). Analiza diskursa (još više kritička analiza diskursa), primenjena na tekstove u nastavi, omogućuje da se identifikuju pogledi na svet i sistemi vrednosti koje učenici neosetno usvajaju (Antić, 2024). Kao primer navešćemo analizu diskursa jedne lekcije iz istorije (Antić i sar., 2008). Skoro da nema udžbenika istorije koji prezentuje sadržaje vezane za Prvi svetski rat, u kome ne postoji lekcija o Sarajevskom atentatu. Reč je o događaju koji se pouzdano desio i za koji nema nedoumica oko toga „kada, ko, kako, gde i šta“. Istraživanje je primenom pristupa *gramatika priče* obuhvatilo dvadeset udžbenika istorije iz devet zemalja i pokazalo je kako se finom manipulacijom elemenata priče (kontekst, zaplet, uloga protagonista i rasplet) može formirati vrednosni sud o događaju i protagonistima, koji nije samo deo istorijskog tumačenja, nego i političke platforme određene zemlje. Učeći istoriju učenici nužno usvajaju i te implicitne vrednosne poruke.

Udžbenici svih predmeta imaju mogućnost da posreduju jasan vrednosni stav (videti analizu diskursa različitih tekstova iz biologije (Gee, 2000)). Zbog toga je važno da se u nastavi otvori i pitanje ovih implicitnih vrednosti, pogleda na svet, ideologija, koje svaki udžbenik dodatno posreduje. Drugim rečima, duboko čitanje kao preduslov dubokom učenju, trebalo bi da ima elemente analize diskursa a zadatak nastavnika bi bio da osigura nastavnu situaciju u kojoj se kroz smislenu aktivnost učenika, dijalog i pregovaranje o smislu i značenju otkriva interpretativni nivo značenja teksta (Antić, 2024; Gee, 2000).

v. Didaktičko prilagođavanje teksta. Istraživanja i praktične primena tih istraživanja su najbrojnija. Predstavljaju deo svesnih napora da se u samu knjigu za učenje uvede što više različitih podrški, potpora, alata za podupiranje procesa razumevanja (Ivić i sar., 2013). U obuhvatnoj sistematizaciji standarda kvaliteta udžbenika, Ivića i saradnika, opisano je 42 standarda kvaliteta udžbenika od kojih se trinaest odnose na didaktičko oblikovanje sadržaja a tri na standarde kvaliteta jezika (Ivić i sar., 2013). Standardi opisuju brojne moguće *strukturne komponente* udžbenika, konstruisane tako da odražavaju pristup „nastave orijentisane na učenika i učenje“. Polazeći od razvojnih, jezičkih, kulturalnih karakteristika učenika, komponente imaju za cilj da olakšaju susret učenika i organizovanog sistema znanja određene naučne discipline. To su na primer, pitanja i zadaci, grafikoni i tabele, rečnik manje poznatih reči i slično.

Ipak, istraživanja sugerišu da nije dovoljno da učenici imaju udžbenik konstruisan po standardima kvaliteta (Antić, 2015; Gurung, 2004). U eksperimentalnom dizajnu jednog istraživanja, učenici, prethodno ujednačeni po predznanjima i veštini čitanja, učili su lekciju o Zakonu održanja mase iz dva tipa teksta: u prvom je sav sadržaj dat kao linearni tekst, dok je drugi konstruisan tako da ima brojne strukturne komponente koje bi trebalo da budu pro drška učenju s razumevanjem. Drugi tekst je koristio sredstva za uključivanje

učenika u interakciju koliko god je to moguće u mediju kao što je štampani tekst. Rezultati su pokazali da nije bilo značajne razlike između dve grupe u efektima učenja. Dodatno, intervju sa učenicima je ukazao da su strukturalne komponente doživeli kao prepreku da pridju osnovnom tekstu koji vide kao linearni niz informacija koje jednostavno treba upamtiti (Antić, 2015). U drugom istraživanju, odnos učenika prema didaktičkim pomagalima u tekstu, nije se menjao bez obzira koliko su bili uspešni na proverama znanja (Gurung, 2004). Nalaz ukazuje da je u praksi neophodno, ne samo da učenici uče iz udžbenika konstruisanog da bude podrška učenju, nego i da udžbenik postane deo nastave, da učenici uče kako da ga koriste i da nastavnici evaluiraju razumevanje a ne puku reprodukciju. Način evaluacije naučenog je najvažniji faktor koji oblikuje ponašanje učenika u učenju.

Podrška razvoju kognitivnih vetina učenika povezanih sa čitanjem

Efikasna pedagoška intervencija svakako mora biti usmerena i na kognitivne veštine učenika. Važna znanja su proistekla iz istraživanja kognitivne psihologije o prirodi čitanja, o tome koliko je to složena veština, koje veštine su ključne, kako su organizovane i slično. Uglavnom postoji saglasnost da je reč hijerarhijski organizovanom setu veština i sposobnosti, što znači da bez većeg dekodiranja slova i reči, što su jednostavnije kognitivne veštine, nije moguće savladati kognitivnu veštinu višeg nivoa (recimo razumevanje žanra i diskursa). Pravac pedagoških intervencija je jasan: treba početi sa uvežbavanjem subspobnosti nižeg reda, preko razvoja predznanja i bogaćenja rečnika do metakognitivne regulacije i upravljanja vlastitim kognitivnim procesima (McNamara et al., 2007; Pressley, 2000). Smagorinski i Majer su prepoznali tri ključna fokusa: a. Podrška opštim i osnovnim kognitivnim sposobnostima; b. Razvoj učeničkih znanja koja su specifična za zadatak (učenje čitanja romana i učenje čitanja recepta zahtevaju različita deklarativna i proceduralna znanja) i c. Razvoj učeničkih znanja o diskurzivnoj prirodi i interpretativnim karakteristikama teksta (Smagorinsky & Mayer, 2018). Izdvojićemo moguće načine podsticanja pojedinih podprocesa razumevanja pročitnog.

a. Razvoj veštine dekodiranja reči. Pretpostavka za to da učenici razumeju tekst jeste da mogu da prepoznaju, pročitaju i razumeju one reči od kojih se rečenica sastoji. Majer prepoznaje četiri komponente kognitivne veštine dekodiranja: prepoznavanje fonema, dekodiranje reči, tečno dekodiranje reči i razumevanje reči (Mayer, 2008). Istraživanja pokazuju da nije dovoljno da učenici mogu da pročitaju i razumeju svaku reč već i da to postane automatizovano, fluentna radnja jer se tako, ograničeni kognitivni resursi u radnoj memoriji, oslobađaju za složenije procese. Postoje značajni dokazi da sistematsko praktikovanje čitanja, u školskim i vanškolskim situacijama doprinosi fluentnom dekodiranju (Cunningham & Stanovich, 2001; Mayer, 2008; Pressley, 2000; Smagorinsky & Smith, 1992; Smagorinsky & Mayer, 2018). Zbog toga su ovi autori osim istraživanja, aktivno uključeni u popularizaciju čitanja među mladima.

b. Razvoj rečnika. Kada se savlada efikasno čitanje reči, drugi procesi postaju značajni za razumevanje pročitnog (Lalović, 2012). Praktikovanje čitanja je i za ovu subspobnost, bogaćenje rečnika, važan podsticaj. Očekuje se da učenici pod uticajem nastave

napreduju po 1000-2000 reči godišnje (Smagorinsky & Smith, 1992). Izloženost novim rečima nije dovoljna (iako se i tako uče nove reči), već je efikasnije kada to postane plan-ski deo nastave (Joshi, 2005; Nagy & Scott, 2000). Recimo, učenici osnovne škole nauče više novih reči iz rečnika kada ih njihov nastavnik uključuje u diskusiju pre, tokom i posle glasnog čitanja knjige, nego kada nastavnik jednostavno čita knjigu bez razgovora u razredu (Greene Brabham & Lynch-Brown, 2002).

v. Sticanje opštih znanja, znanja specifičnih za sadržaj ali i lingvističkih znanja.

Istraživanja potvrđuju da sadržaj dugoročne memorije (on što osoba već zna) presudno utiče na razumevanje pročitano (Lalović, 2012). Posledično, kvalitetna nastava i efektivno učenje svih školskih sadržaja (i šire), istovremeno su intervencije za podsticanje kompetencije čitanja.

Posebna kategorija važnih znanja su metalingvistička znanja o poziciji, odlukama i namerama autora, o strukturi samog teksta i njegovoj diskurzivnoj prirodi. Ova znanja su retko sastavni deo planske nastave iako osim boljeg razumevanja teksta doprinose razvoju decentracije i drugih opštih kognitivnih sposobnosti (Danielson, 2010; Palincsar & Magnusson, 2001). Na toj liniji je program „Pitajte autora“ kome je cilj da u diskusiji učenici uoče da iza svakog teksta stoji autor koji je doneo čitav niz odluka koje su dovele do teksta takav kakav je na kraju (Reichenberg & Axelsson, 2006, prema, Danielson, 2010).

g. Posebna grupa znanja koja bi trebalo usavršavati su znanja o strategijama razumevanja i metakognitivna znanja učenika. Sva ova znanja, zatim epistemološka uverenja učenika ali i razvoj jezika mišljenja doprinose samoregulisano radu na tekstu (Snow, 2002). Vešti čitači umeju da upotrebe sva pomenuta znanja da konstruišu *mentalni model teksta*. Osim znanja, učenici moraju biti osposobljeni **za aktivnu primenu strategija samoregulacije**. Među različitim kognitivnim procesima (izdvajanje bitnog, pravljenje pretpostavki i slično), mnogi autori izdvajaju kao najvažnije osposobljenost za *praćenje* procesa razumevanja i aktivno menjanje strategija kad razumevanje izostane (Mcnamara, 1996; McNamara et al., 2007; Otero, 2002). Razvoj aktivne primene strategija se može podsticati postepenim povećavanjem težine teksta na kome učenici rade (Cunningham & Stanovich, 2001; McNamara et al., 1996; Pressley, 2000). Napori da se tekst razume ne znače nužno problem, ali je jasno da je potrebna budna prisutnost nastavnika da proceni i deluje u zoni narednog razvoja ovih veština učenika.

Podrška razvoju afektivnih aspekata ličnosti učenika koji su povezani sa razumevanjem čitanja

Tradicionalno viđenje čitanja kao isključivo kognitivnog angažovanja osobe, prevaziđeno je dokazima neuropsihologije koji ukazuju na povezanost kognitivne i afektivne sfere. Međutim, i dalje postoje dva bogata, ali često nepovezana polja istraživanja i prakse, prvi ima fokus na lingvističkim a drugi na afektivnim komponentama razumevanja pročitano (Katzir & Lipka, 2017). U novim teorijskim modelima čitanja objašnjava se i uloga brojnih emocija (Beck et al., 2012; Katzir et al., 2018; Liyan et al., 2023; Meer et al., 2016). Međutim, većina programa za podršku čitanja orijentisana je na tehničke aspekte ove veštine a mnogo manje na podizanje interesovanja, uzbuđenja, suočavanja

sa anksioznošću i brigom (Zaccoletti et al., 2023) i dosadom (National Reading Panel & National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, 2000). Osim predznanja i iskustva, svako ko čita ulaže u susret s tekstem i svoje stavove, vrednosti, sliku sveta, socijalno-emocionalne veštine i određeni afektivni odnos prema konkretnom tekstu, od dosade do brige i uznemirenja (Katzir & Lipka, 2017). U zavisnosti od interesovanja, namere (svrhe) i afektivnog odnosa prema tekstu, ista osoba će različito koristiti svoje postojeće strategije i biti različito prijemčiva na podršku u tekstu i podršku iz socijalne okoline. U istraživanju u kome je kombinacija afektivnih i kognitivnih strategija bila deo obuke čitanja sa razumevanjem (ELBRCS), učenici u eksperimentalnoj grupi su bili su značajno bolji na testu razumevanja pročitano i to u višim nivoima razumevanja (zaključivanje, evaluacija i slično) (Yusuf et al., 2013). U drugoj studiji, učenici su pokazali značajno bolji uspeh u razumevanju samo kad su u tekstu iz koga uče, neutralno formulisani pojmovi, na primer „oko“, obogaćeni pridevskom prisvojnom zamenicom „tvoje oko“. Ova personalizacija teksta obezbedila je viši transfer, višu motivaciju za učenje i duže vreme provedeno u čitanju (Dutke et al., 2016).

Empirijski nalazi ukazuju da je važno i da učenici izgrade i *mentalni model sebe kao čitaoca*. Ukoliko učenici imaju identitet uspešnog čitača, primenjujuće drugačije strategije razumevanja, vodiće drugačije diskusije o tekstu za razliku od učenika koji uz svoj identitet vezuju da su loši čitači, nezavisno da li je stvarno tako. Razvoj identiteta uspešnog čitaoca i /ili čitalačko samopoimanje (eng. reading self-concept) je važan faktor koji može osigurati uspeh. Veza je povratna, kada se postiže uspeh u čitanju, učenicima „raste“ osećaj mentalnog blagostanja – doživljaj smisla, svrhovitosti svojih aktivnosti, zajedništva i solidarnosti (Katzir et al., 2018; 2022; Sabag-Shushan & Katzir, 2023; Segal et al., 2023). Dodatno, pojedini autori sugerišu da je osim mentalnog modela sebe, to jest čitalačkog samopoimanja, važna i *teorija uma* onog ko čita. Teorija uma se određuje kao kapacitet osobe za razumevanje da drugi ljudi imaju mentalna stanja koja pokreću njihove postupke i da se ta mentalna stanja mogu razlikovati od naših. Bez razumevanja teorije uma i mogućnosti da zauzmu tuđe perspektive, deci je teško da čitaju i razumeju narativne tekstove. Autori istraživanja, prezentuju teoriju uma kao *skriveni faktor važan za razumevanje pročitano* (Dore et al., 2018).

Aktivnosti čitanja s razumevanjem u nastavi, nastavnim situacijama, metodama nastave/učenja

Do sada opisane uvide o značajnim aspektima podrške učenicima na individualnom planu, trebalo bi integrisati u sam nastavni proces koji se odvija u odeljenju sa tridesetak učenika različitih predznanja i čitalačkih veština. Malo se zna o tome kako se tekstovi/udžbenici koriste u nastavnom procesu (Johnsen, 1993). Više znamo na osnovu izveštaja praktičara i interventnih programa a manje na osnovu istraživanja. Duga tradicija nastave orijentisane na sadržaj predmeta, otežava da se prepoznaju potencijali nastave raznih predmeta i na različitim nivoima za podršku razvoju čitalačke kompetencije.

Brojne studije su utvrdile da neke nastavne situacije (pored drugih obrazovnih ciljeva), imaju potencijal za razvoj jezičkih kompetencija posebno razumevanja pročitano (Block et

al., 2009; Dole et al., 1991; Li et al., 2024; Palincsar & Brown, 1984; Reynolds & Fisher, 2022). Izdvojićemo neke: individualni i grupni rad u radnim sveskama; individualno tiho čitanje koje prati i nadzire nastavnik; tiho individualno čitanje sa prethodno datom instrukcijom nastavnika koju veštinu ili strategiju bi trebalo uvežbavati; pojmovno učenje (ko-konstrukcija- dva učenika čitaju dva izabrana ekspozitorna teksta na istu temu i čitaju jedan drugome i raspravljaju); tiho čitanje koje prati diskusija na nivou razreda; podupiranje – nastavnik pruža uvremenjenu personalizovanu podršku i postepeno povećava složenost tekstova i zadataka; upotreba grafičkih organizatora, postavljanje pitanja pre čitanja; interaktivno čitanje naglas – nastavnik ili učenik čita tekst naglas a zatim sledi diskusija (u kojoj se određuje značaj teksta generalno i značaj za učenike); situacije u kojima se praktikuje sumiranje, izvođenje rezimea i zaključaka nekog teksta ili više različitih izvora; literarni kružoci, gde učenici čitaju istu knjigu ili tekst i diskutuju; nastavne situacije u kojima nastavnik „glasno misli“, verbalizuje misli dok čita tekst i slično. Posebno izdvajamo *recipročno podučavanje*, model nastave koji su osmislile Palincsar i Braun (Palincsar & Brown, 1984). Učenici uče kako se radi na tekstu da bi postigli razumevanje. Kroz interakciju s nastavnikom i međusobno, usvajaju strategije postavljanja pitanja, razjašnjavanja, predviđanja i slično. Vremenom se pomoć nastavnika smanjuje da bi na kraju, konkretnu strategiju primenili samostalno na novom tekstu.

Šta je zajedničko ovim različitim nastavnim situacijama? Možemo prepoznati jednu karakteristiku, a to je *dijalog*: neke situacije podrazumevaju „tiho“ čitanje ili duboko čitanje u kome postoji mogućnost da se ostvari „dijalog“ s tekstem. Druge situacije stavljaju u smisleni kontekst interakciju, pregovaranje o smislu i značenju između učenika i između nastavnika i učenika. Možemo reći da je i na ovaj empirijski način potvrđena Bahtinova ideja o *dijalogizmu* kao ključnom sredstvu pomoću koga nastaje smisao i značenje za onog ko čita (Bachtin, 2008).

Nekada nastavna situacija može uključiti i tekst koji nije standardni udžbenički nego ga nastavnik/ca planski konstruiše. Na primer, može biti „laboratorijska beležnica“ (Palincsar & Magnusson, 2001) ili privatno pismo jednog naučnika drugom (Muždeka, 2005). Efekti ovih primera su višestruki, ne samo na usvajanje znanja i razvoj razumevanja pročitano, nego i na podizanje motivacije, a posebno na razvoj pozitivnog vrednovanja nauke (koja dobija ličnu, personalizovanu dimenziju).

Različiti tekstovi iz nauke (popularna nauke, naučni časopisi, izveštaji) mogu biti dobar izvor za učenje. Struktura tih tekstova i upotrebljeni jezik odražavaju samu prirodu naučne discipline, pa je važno da učenici uče i jezik svake nauke kao jezik discipline ili žanr discipline. Danijelsonova smatra da je usvajanje naučnog žanra od strane učenika vid procesa *akulturacije ka diskursu naučne discipline* u kome deca usvajaju i uče da koriste naučni jezik tako da ga posle mogu koristiti van školskog konteksta (Danielson, 2010). Zato autorka insistira na sledećem: ceo školski kontekst bi trebalo da podržava ovu akulturaciju. Nije dovoljno samo da brinemo o udžbenicima iz kojih učenici uče, već bi trebalo brinuti o stvaranju ambijenta. Važna su sva semiotička sredstva jedne naučne discipline koja su prisutna u okruženju učenika, na tabli, na panoima, u sveskama, u jeziku nastavnika, u hodnicima škole, svi verbalni i neverbalni znakovi. Bitno je i da učenici imaju pristup različitim žanrovima jedne discipline (izveštajima, biografijama, autobiografijama, monografijama, tekstovima iz popularne nauke i slično).

Kao što pokazuju pojedini programi podrške, kada se deca kroz duži vremenski period (bar godinu dana), stave u situaciju da su okružena raznovrsnim tekstovima i da su angažovana relevantnim aktivnostima, obrazovni efekti se višestruko uvećavaju – stižu se znanja iz naučne oblasti ali i povećava funkcionalna pismenost (Danielson, 2010; Vitale & Romance, 2007). S toga, Danijelsova predlaže da svaki nastavnik povremeno preispituje svoj rad i preko sledećih pitanja: Koliko i kako koristi tekst u nastavnom procesu? Koje tipove/žanrove tekstova koristi? Koliko ima eksplicitnog rada u vezi teksta i koliko meta-tekstualnih razgovora (o strukturi, žanru, rečniku discipline i slično)? Kako se izvode ove aktivnosti sa tekstovima? Ko ih inicira? Kako se evaluiuju? (Danielson, 2010).

Kultura škole je takođe važna (Bruner, 2000). Škole su sociokulturne institucije a učenje se dešava i samim boravkom u školi, eksplicitno i implicitno. Među različitim faktorima koji čine i oblikuju kulturu škole često previđamo značaj školskog prostora. Da li dominiraju „slušaonice“ ili „učionice“ (Ivić i sar., 2003; Thomas, 2010)? Prostori u kojima dominiraju slušaonice demotivšu i udaljavaju učenike od praktikovanja koje je nužno za razvoj funkcionalne pismenosti i obrnuto.

Na kraju, prepoznamo još neke specifične oblasti važne za efikasnu podršku razvoju pismenosti kojima se dosadašnja istraživanja nisu dovoljno bavila. Recimo, iako se sve više priznaje važnost socio emocionalnih faktora u čitanju i učenju, oni nisu dovoljno istraživani u poređenju sa konkretnim tehnikama poučavanja ili kognitivnim strategijama. Zatim, istraživanja i intervencije usmerene na specifične grupe učenika, kao što su pripadnici manjinskih socijalnih grupa, učenici sa niskim socioekonomskim statusom ili učenici sa smetnjama u razvoju. Iako se raznolikost učenika sve više priznaje (bar u dokumentima obrazovne politike), istraživanja koja se fokusiraju na uticaj različitih jezičkih i kulturnih konteksta na čitanje nisu toliko brojna.

Zaključak

Pismenost ne utiče samo na pojedince, već i na društvo i čovečanstvo u celini. Čitanje bi trebalo da ostane centralno ljudsko iskustvo u kome su jasne veze između saznanja, emocija i vrednosti i kao takvo ugrađeno u podučavanje svih predmeta na svim nivoima obrazovanja kao eksplicitan i stalan zadatak.

Svaka pedagoška intervencija koja je zapravo metodološki gledano, akciono istraživanje, mora početi od analize problema. U našem obrazovnom sistemu, na PISA istraživanju, petnaestogodišnjaci kontinuirano postižu rezultate ispod proseka zemalja koje učestvuju. Postignuće u čitalačkoj pismenosti u različitim ciklusima razlikuje se u nijnasama, pa se može zaključiti da oko 40% petnaestogodišnjaka nije funkcionalno pismeno (Ivić i sar., 2021; Videnović i Čaprić, 2020). Izraženo na drugi način, naši učenici neće biti konkurentni svojim vršnjacima u Evropi jer su rezultati takvi kao da za njima zaostaju godinu i po dana školovanja. U jednom od retkih istraživanja na velikim uzorcima učenika, ponovljeno testiranje PISA testom čitalačke pismenosti, posle dve godine pohađanja srednje škole, pokazalo je da učenici napreduju u proseku 26 poena, dok na nivou zemalja OECD-a učenici za jednu godinu napreduju, u proseku, 38 poena, što ukazuje da školovanje nije nedovoljno utiče na brzinu napredovanja učenika iz Srbije (Jovanović i Baucal, 2016).

Na individualnom planu, to znači slabu osposobljenost za dalja učenja (uključujući studiranje), ali i sve druge pismenosti, na primer medijsku koja traži kritičko čitanje tekstova, ali i zdravstvenu, mentalnu, političku i slično. Na društvenom planu to znači nedovoljan broj građana koji mogu da participiraju u važnim odlukama, za njih lično kao i za zajednicu, ali i slabu opremljenost za sve pokušaje političke i medijske manipulacije.

U ovom radu smo predložili kritične, nezaobilazne aspekte efikasne pedagoške intervencije koja je usmerena na razvoj jezičke pismenosti. Iz prethodno navedenih važnih aspekata dobre pedagoške intervencije vidi se koliko su međusobno povezani tekst iz koga se čita i uči, karakteristike učenika i priroda zadatka (iza koga stoji nastavnik) koji osmišljava aktivnost čitanja. Mnoga pomenuta istraživanja su realizovana u školskom kontekstu, u njima su učestvovali nastavnici, pa su nužno i faktori sociokulturnog miljea škole ugrađeni u dobijene rezultate. Dodatno, mera razumevanja je često procenjena stepenom naučenog nastavnog sadržaja (na različitim nivoima, od pamćenja podataka do izvođenja predikcije i zaključaka). Drugim rečima, iako smo činioce za potrebe ovog rada privremeno razdvojili, jasno je da je skoro nemoguće izdvojiti stepen doprinosa svakog posebno.

Na nivou prakse, ova lista važnih činioca razvoja razumevanja pročitano, može biti izvor ideja za kratkoročne i dugoročne akcije koje se realizuju u nastavi svakog predmeta, na nivou škole i u vanškolskim aktivnostima. Tri su ključna zaključka. Razvoj razumevanja jezika je pitanje celoživotnog razvoja i sigurno se ne završava početnim opismenjavanjem. Drugo, nema jednog idealnog rešenja niti sigurne pedagoške intervencije. Umesto toga, svaki nastavnik rešava i donosi odluke u odnosu na učenike sa kojima radi i u odnosu na uslove u kojima radi. Iz toga dalje proizilazi da je osmišljavanje pedagoške intervencije, ne samo stručni već i kreativni proces – kako domisliti, pronaći način koji kognitivno i afektivno uključuje učenike u smislene aktivnosti učenja koje doprinose i razvoju pismenosti. Poput veštog dirigenta, u različitim prilikama, za različite obrazovne ciljeve, nastavnik bi mogao da daje prednost nekom od pomenutih faktora: tekstu ili posebnim vežbanjima kognitivnih ili socio afektivnih veština učenika.

Pored nastavnika, odgovornost za efikasnu pedagošku intervenciju leži na različitim akterima, preciznije rečeno različiti akteri bi u timu imali vodeću ulogu. Tim koji sprovodi pedagošku intervenciju trebalo bi da ima: autore udžbenika, izdavače, stručnjake za kvalitet udžbenika, nastavnike, istraživače obrazovanja iz domena pedagogije, psihologije, lingvistike, fakultete koji obrazuju nastavnike i tako dalje. Kada govorimo o našim uslovima, pretpostavka je da obrazovna politika decentralizacijom i depolitizacijom rada škola i nastavnika postavi povoljan ambijent za promene.

Literatura

- Antić, S., Pešikan, A. i Pešić, J. (2008). Kako se kreira tumačenje istorije: primena gramatike priče u analizi udžbenika istorije. XIV naučni skup *Empirijska istraživanja u psihologiji* (34-35), 7-8. Beograd: Filozofski fakultet. <http://empirijskaistrzivanja.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Knjiga-Rezimea-EIP-2008.pdf>
- Antić, S. (2015). The potentials of textbooks to scaffold construction of student's knowledge. In M.H. Martinho and M.do Céu de Melo (Eds.), *LiDEs – A literacia das disciplinas escolares: desafios nas*

- aulas de História e Matemática*. (pp 9-33). Universidade do Minho. Instituto de Educação. Centro de Investigação em Educação (CIEd).
- Antić, S. (2022). Language in the classroom: how to support the development of functional literacy. In J. Stevanović, D. Gundogan & B. Randelović (Eds.), *The State, Problems, and Needs of the Modern Education Community* (pp. 29-35). Institute for Educational Research.
- Antić, S. i Stevanović, J. (2023). Problemi pismenosti: danas i ovde. U A. Kostić i A. Pešikan (Ur.), *Obrazovanje: stanje, perspektive i uloga u razvoju Srbije* (str. 177-194). Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti.
- Antić, S. (2024). Makrostruktura teksta u nastavi: podrška ili prepreka smislenom učenju? *Psihološka istraživanja*, 27(1), 109-129. <https://doi.org/10.5937/PSISTRA0-45268>
- Bakhtin, M. M. (2008). *Speech genres and other late essays*. University of Texas Press.
- Beck, L., Kumschick, I. R., Eid, M., & Klann-Delius, G. (2012). Relationships between language competence and emotional competence in middle childhood. *Emotion*, 12(3), 503-514. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0026320>
- Block, C. C., Parris, S. R., Reed, K. L., Whiteley, C. S., & Cleveland, M. D. (2009). Instructional approaches that significantly increase reading comprehension. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 101(2), 262-281. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014319>
- Brockmeier, J. (2000). Literacy as symbolic space. In J. W. Astington (Ed.), *Minds in the making: Essays in honor of David R. Olson* (pp. 43-61). Blackwell Publishing.
- Brockmeier, J., & Olson, D. (2009). The literacy episteme. In D. Olson., & N. Torrance (Eds.), *Cambridge handbook of literacy* (pp. 3-22). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bruner, Dž. (2000). *Kultura obrazovanja*. Educa.
- Bussiere, P., Hebert, R., & Knighton, T. (2009). Educational outcomes at age 21 associated with reading ability at age 15. Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, *Catalogue No. 81-004-X*, 6(2). Preuzeto sa: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/81-004-x/2009002/article/10896-eng.htm>
- Compton, D. L., Miller, A. C., Gilbert, J. K. & Steacy, L. M. (2013). What can be learned about the reading comprehension of poor readers through the use of advanced statistical modeling techniques? In B. Miller, L. E. Cutting & P. McCardle (Eds.), *Unraveling the behavioral, neurobiological, & genetic components of reading comprehension* (pp. 135-147). Brookes.
- Cunningham, A. E., & Stanovich, K. E. (2001). What reading does for the mind. *Journal of Direct Instruction*, 1(2), 137-149.
- Danielson, K. (2010). Learning Chemistry: Text Use and Text Talk in a Finland - Swedish Chemistry Classroom. *IARTEM e-Journal*, 3(2), 1-28.
- DeWalt, D. & Pignone, M. (2005). Reading Is Fundamental: The Relationship Between Literacy and Health. *Archives of internal medicine*, 165(17), 1943-1944. <https://doi.org/10.1001/archinte.165.17.1943>
- Dole, J. A., Duffy, G. G., Roehler, L. R., & Pearson, P. D. (1991). Moving From the Old to the New: Research on Reading Comprehension Instruction. *Review of Educational Research*, 61(2), 239-264. <https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543061002239>
- Dore, R. A., Amendum, S. J., Golinkoff, R. M., & Hirsh-Pasek, K. (2018). Theory of mind: A hidden factor in reading comprehension? *Educational Psychology Review*, 30(3), 1067-1089. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-018-9443-9>
- Duke, N. K., & Roberts, K. L. (2010). The genre-specific nature of reading comprehension. In D. Wyse, R. Andrews & J. Hoffman (Eds). *The Routledge International Handbook of English, language and literacy teaching* (pp. 74-83). Routledge.

- Duke, N., & Cartwright, K. (2019). The drive model of reading: deploying reading in varied environments. In D. Alvermann, N. Unrau, M. Sailors, and R. Ruddell (Eds.), *Theoretical Models And Processes Of Literacy* (pp. 118-136). Routledge.
- Dutke, S., Grefe, A.C. & Leopold, C. (2016). Learning from scientific texts: personalizing the text increases transfer performance and task involvement. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*, 31(4), 499–513. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10212-015-0281-6>
- Eivers, E. (2010). PISA: Issues in implementation and interpretation. *The Irish Journal of Education*, 38, 94–118.
- Firth, J., Torous, J., Stubbs, B., Firth, J. A., Steiner, G. Z., Smith, L., Alvarez-Jimenez, M., Gleeson, J., Vancampfort, D., Armitage, C. J., & Sarris, J. (2019). The “online brain”: how the Internet may be changing our cognition. *World psychiatry: official journal of the World Psychiatric Association (WPA)*, 18(2), 119–129. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wps.20617>
- Gee, J. P. (1999). Critical Issues: Reading and the new literacy studies: reframing the national academy of sciences report on reading. *Journal of Literacy Research*, 31(3), 355-374. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10862969909548052>
- Gee J. (2000). Discourse and sociocultural studies in reading. In M. Kamil, P. Mosenthal, P.D. Pearson & R. Barr (Eds.), *Handbook of Reading Research*, 3, 195-209. LEA.
- Golke, S., Hagen, R., & Wittwer, J. (2019). Lost in narrative? The effect of informative narratives on text comprehension and metacomprehension accuracy. *Learning and Instruction*, 60, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.learninstruc.2018.11.003>
- Graesser, A. (2007). An introduction to strategic reading comprehension. In D. McNamara (Ed.), *Reading Comprehension Strategies: Theories, Interventions, and Technologies* (pp. 3-27). LEA.
- Greene Brabham, E., & Lynch-Brown, C. (2002). Effects of teachers' reading-aloud styles on vocabulary acquisition and comprehension of students in the early elementary grades. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 94(3), 465–473. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.94.3.465>
- Gurung, R. A. R. (2004). Pedagogical aids: Learning enhancers or dangerous detours? *Teaching of Psychology*, 31(3), 164–166. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15328023top3103_1
- Hunn, L., Teague, B. & Fisher, P. (2023). Literacy and mental health across the globe: a systematic review. *Mental Health and Social Inclusion*, 27(4), 392-406. <https://doi.org/10.1108/MHSI-09-2022-0064>
- Ivić, I. Pešikan, A. i Antić, S. (2003). *Aktivno učenje 2*. Institut za psihologiju.
- Ivić, I., Pešikan, A., & Antić, S. (2013). *Textbook quality: A Guide to textbook standards*. V&R unipress.
- Ivić, I. (2019). Printed and digital media: Printed and digital textbooks. *Center for Educational Policy Studies Journal*, 9(3), 25–49. <https://doi.org/10.26529/cepsj.694>
- Ivić, I., Pešikan, A. i Kostić, A. (2021). *Ključni podaci o obrazovanju u Srbiji*. SANU.
- Johnsen, E. B. (1993). *Textbooks in the kaleidoscope. A critical survey of literature and research on educational texts* (pp. 165-166). Scandinavian University Press.
- Joshi, R. M. (2005). Vocabulary: A Critical Component of Comprehension. *Reading & Writing Quarterly: Overcoming Learning Difficulties*, 21(3), 209–219. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10573560590949278>
- Jovanović, V. i Baucal, A. (2016). Razvoj PISA čitalačke kompetencije u srednjem obrazovanju. *Psihološka istraživanja*, 19(1), 63–82. <https://doi.org/10.5937/PsIstra1601063J>
- Katzir, T., & Lipka, O. (2017). *An island of understanding - Teacher's manual*. University of Haifa.

- Katzir, T., Kim, Y.S., & Dotan, S. (2018). Reading self-concept and reading anxiety in second grade children: The roles of word reading, emergent literacy skills, working memory and gender. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 9, 1180.
- Katzir, T. (2022). The Feeling of reading in a changing world: from neurons to narratives. In M. Suárez-Orozco & C. Suárez-Orozco (Ed.), *Education: A Global Compact for a Time of Crisis* (pp. 301-312). Columbia University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7312/suar20434-020>
- Lalović, D. (2012). *Čitanje: od slova do teksta*. Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski fakultet.
- Li, J.-T., Tong, F., Irby, B. J., Lara-Alecio, R., & Rivera, H. (2024). The effects of four instructional strategies on English learners' English reading comprehension: A meta-analysis. *Language Teaching Research*, 28(1), 231-252. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1362168821994133>
- Liessmann, K. P. (2008). *Teorija neobrazovanosti: Zablude društva znanja*. Naklada Jesenski i Turk.
- Lincoln, A. K., Adams, W., Eyllon, M., Garverich, S., Prener, C. G., Griffith, J., Paasche-Orlow, M. K., & Hopper, K. (2017). The Double Stigma of Limited Literacy and Mental Illness: Examining Barriers to Recovery and Participation among Public Mental Health Service Users. *Society and Mental Health*, 7(3), 121-141. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2156869317707001>
- Liyang, Y., Jie Yu, J., & Tong X. (2023). Social-emotional skills correlate with reading ability among typically developing readers: a meta-analysis. *Education Sciences*, 13(2) 220. <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci13020220>
- Maughan, B., & Carroll, J. (2006). Literacy and mental disorders. *Current opinion in psychiatry*, 19(4), 350-354. <https://doi.org/10.1097/01.yco.0000228752.79990.41>
- Mayer, R. E. (2008). *Learning and instruction*. (2nd ed) Pearson.
- McNamara, D. S., Kintsch, E., Songer, N. B., & Kintsch, W. (1996). Are good texts always better? Interactions of text coherence, background knowledge, and levels of understanding in learning from text. *Cognition and Instruction*, 14(1), 1-43. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532690xci1401_1
- McNamara, D., Ozuru, Y., Best, R. & O'Reilly, T. (2007). The 4-Pronged Comprehension Strategy Framework. In D. McNamara (Ed.), *Reading Comprehension Strategies: Theories, Interventions, and Technologies* (pp. 465- 497). LEA
- Meer, Y., Breznitz, Z., & Katzir, T. (2016). Calibration of Self-Reports of Anxiety and Physiological Measures of Anxiety While Reading in Adults With and Without Reading Disability. *Dyslexia*, 22(3), 267-284. <https://doi.org/10.1002/dys.1532>
- Mullis, I. V. S., Von Davier, M., Foy, P., Fishbein, B., Reynolds, K. A., & Wry, E. (2023). *PIRLS 2021 International Results in Reading*. Boston College, TIMSS & PIRLS International Study Center. <https://doi.org/10.6017/lse.tpisc.tr2103.kb5342>
- Muždeka, V. (2005). Periodni sistem elemenata. U S. Antić, R. Jankov i A. Pešikan. (ur), *Kako približiti deci prirodne nauke kroz aktivno učenje: zbirka scenarija* (str. 36-37). Institut za psihologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu.
- Nagy, W. E., & Scott, J. A. (2000). Vocabulary processes. In M. L. Kamil, P. B. Mosenthal, P. D. Pearson, & R. Barr (Eds.), *Handbook of Reading Research*, 3, 269-284. LEA.
- National Reading Panel (U.S.) & National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (U.S.). (2000). *Report of the National Reading Panel: Teaching children to read: an evidence-based assessment of the scientific research literature on reading and its implications for reading instruction*. U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service, National Institutes of Health, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

- New London Group. (1996). A pedagogy of multiliteracies: Designing social futures. *Harvard Educational Review*, 66(1), 60–93. <https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.66.1.17370n67v22j160u>
- OECD (2019), PISA 2018 Results (Vol. I): *What Students Know and Can Do*, PISA, OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/5f07c754-en>
- Otero, J. (2002). Noticing and Fixing Difficulties While Understanding Science text. In J. Otero, J. León, & A. Graesser (Eds.), *The Psychology of Science Text Comprehension* (pp.281-309). Erlbaum.
- Palincsar, A. S., & Brown, A. L. (1984). Reciprocal teaching of comprehension-fostering and comprehension-monitoring activities. *Cognition and Instruction*, 1(2), 117–175.
- Palincsar, A. S., & Magnusson, S. J. (2001). The interplay of first-hand and second-hand investigations to model and support the development of scientific knowledge and reasoning. In S. M. Carver & D. Klahr (Eds.), *Cognition and Instruction: Twenty-five Years of Progress* (pp. 151-193). LEA.
- Pressley, M. (2000). What should comprehension instruction be the instruction of? In M. Kamil, P. Mosenthal, P. Pearson, & R. Barr (Eds.), *Handbook of Reading Research* (Vol. 3, pp. 545-561). LEA.
- Purcell-Gates, V., Duke, N. K., & Martineau, J. A. (2007). Learning to read and write genre-specific text: roles of authentic experience and explicit teaching. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 42(1), 8–45.
- Reynolds, D., & Fisher, W. (2022). What happens when adolescents meet complex texts? Describing moments of scaffolding textual encounters. *Literacy*, 56(4), 277–287. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lit.12258>
- Sabag-Shushan, T., & Katzir, T. (2023). Emotional understanding in reading comprehension at the text, task, and reader levels: a comparison of diverse struggling readers. *Reading and Writing*, 1-25. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11145-023-10447-x>
- Segal, A., Dotan, S. & Katzir, T., (2023). Development over time of the reading self-concept in fourth- and fifth-grade students. *Current Psychology*, 42(32), 1-12. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12144-022-03871-9>
- Sentell, T. L. & Shumway, M. A. (2003). Low literacy and mental illness in a nationally representative sample. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 191(8), 549-552. <https://doi.org/10.1097/01.nmd.0000082185.26868.dc>
- Slavin, R. E., & Madden, N. A. (2001). *One million children: Success for All*. Corwin Press.
- Smagorinsky, P., & Smith, M. W. (1992). The nature of knowledge in composition and literary understanding: The question of specificity. *Review of Educational Research*, 62, 279–305.
- Smagorinsky, P., & Mayer, R. E. (2018). Learning to be literate. In R. K. Sawyer (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of the learning sciences* (pp. 605–626). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139519526.036>
- Snow, C. (2002). *Reading for understanding: toward a research and development program in reading comprehension*. RAND
- Terkl, Š. (2011). *Sami zajedno: zašto očekujemo više od tehnologije nego jedni od drugih*. Clio.
- Thomas, H. (2010). Learning spaces, learning environments and the dis‘placement’ of learning. *British Journal of Educational Technology* 41(3), 502–511. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8535.2009.00974.x>
- Tvengi, Dž. (2019). *Internet generacija: Dezorijentisanost dece u digitalnom dobu*. Psihopolis.
- Uljets, M. (2007). The hidden curriculum of PISA – the promotion of neo-liberal policy by educational assessment. In S. Hopman, G. Brinek, & M. Retzl (Eds.), *PISA according to PISA: Does PISA keep what it promises?* (pp. 265-294). LIT.
- Vaidhyathan, S. (2011). *The Googlization of everything: (And why we should worry)*. University of California Press.

- Videnović, M. i Čaprić, G. (2020). *PISA izveštaj za Republiku Srbiju, 2018*. Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja.
- Vigotski, L. (1983). *Jezik i mišljenje*. Nolit.
- Vitale, M. & Romance, N. (2007). A knowledge-based framework for unifying content-area reading comprehension and reading comprehension strategies. In D. McNamara (Ed.), *Reading Comprehension Strategies: Theories, Interventions, and Technologies*. (pp. 73-104). LEA.
- Yussof, Y. M., Jamian, A. R., Hamzah, Z. A. Z., & Roslan, S. (2013). Students' Reading Comprehension Performance with Emotional Literacy-Based Strategy Intervention. *International Journal of Education and Literacy Studies*, 1(1), 82-88.
- Zaccoletti, S., Raccanello, D., Burro, R., & Mason, L. (2023). Reading with induced worry: The role of physiological self-regulation and working memory updating in text comprehension. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 93, 26-47. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjep.12491>.

Primljeno: 12.08.2024.

Korigovana verzija primljena: 06.11.2024.

Prihvaćeno za štampu: 13.11.2024.

Slobodanka Antić

Fakultet za specijalnu edukaciju i rehabilitaciju, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Beograd, Srbija
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3116-6850>

Jelena Stevanović

Institut za pedagoška istraživanja, Beograd, Srbija
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9917-4622>

Ko laže, a ko govori istinu? Uloga obrazovanja u razvoju razumevanja laži

Gabrijela Šimonji 

Doktorska škola obrazovanja, Univerzitet u Segedinu,
Segedin, Mađarska

Lenke Major¹ 

Učiteljski fakultet na mađarskom nastavnom jeziku,
Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Subotica, Srbija

Apstrakt

Laganje je česta pojava koja se javlja u određenom trenutku čovekovog individualnog razvoja. U mnogim slučajevima deca uče da lažu zbog loše izabranih obrazovnih metoda. Kada je porodično ili školsko obrazovanje zasnovano na principu kažnjavanja, deca brzo nauče da laganje može pomoći u izbegavanju posledica. Istovremeno, laganje je društveno neprihvatljivo ponašanje. Deca stiču društveno prihvatljiva ponašanja kako razvijaju svoje socijalne kompetencije. Za decu, ono što je dobro i loše ne mora se nužno poklapati sa onim što društvo smatra prihvatljivim. Naše istraživanje ispituje da li deca starijih razreda osnovne škole i adolescenti posmatraju laganje na isti način kao odrasli ili različito doživljavaju različite situacije laganja i elemente laganja. U našem istraživanju smo replicirali eksperiment Kolmana i Kaja o laganju, koristeći njihov instrument za merenje prilagođen na mađarski jezik. Studija je sprovedena među učenicima starijih razreda osnovnih škola u Srbiji čiji je maternji jezik mađarski. Rezultati pokazuju da deca drugačije razmišljaju u odnosu na odrasle kada je u pitanju percepcija laganja i procena složenih elemenata koji čine laž. Naši rezultati istraživanja mogu istaći ključnu ulogu koju škole i adekvatno odabrane obrazovne metode imaju u oblikovanju ispravnog sistema moralnih vrednosti, posebno u razvoju socijalnih kompetencija.

Ključne reči: razvoj socijalnih kompetencija, razumevanje laži, prototipske laži, moralne vrednosti.

¹ major.lenke@magister.uns.ac.rs

Uvod

Kada određujemo da li je neka ljudska aktivnost dobra ili loša za pojedinca ili zajednicu, prosuđujemo prema normama te zajednice. Ova moralna evaluacija i donošenje odluka uvek su situacioni, razlikuju se u zavisnosti od epohe, društva i situacije, a takođe zavise i od starosti pojedinca i nivoa njegovog moralnog razvoja (Füsti-Molnár & Miklós, 2021).

Individualni stavovi prema laganju variraju od osobe do osobe, i ostaje nejasno da li sklonost ili „talenat“ za laganje zavisi od faktora kao što su starost, inteligencija, obrazovanje ili genetsko nasleđe (Tang & Davis-Kean, 2015). Istraživanja pokazuju da laganje obično počinje da se razvija kod dece oko druge do treće godine i naglo se povećava s godinama. Pijažeevo istraživanje (Vincze, 2002) ukazuje na to da deca mlađa od šest godina imaju tendenciju da sve netačne izjave tumače kao laži, uključujući pogrešne pretpostavke i lažne izjave kao što je psovanje (Evans & Lee, 2013). Za decu, dobro i loše ne znače nužno ono što društvo smatra prihvatljivim. U slučaju dece, dobro i loše često su ono što odrasli smatraju da jeste, jer deca još uvek nisu u stanju da prosuđuju o datoj situaciji na osnovu svojih uverenja. Dečija percepcija stvarnosti nije deo stvarnosti odraslih, niti njena minijatura kopija, već specifična predstava koja proističe iz specifične spoznaje. Ako smatramo pretpostavku laganja subjektivnom, problem postaje još akutniji, jer razlika između istine i laži koja proizlazi iz ograničene spoznaje dece ne odgovara uvek onoj odraslih (Dósa, 2020).

Ova perspektiva je takođe podstakla naše istraživačko pitanje, koje ima za cilj da ispita da li adolescenti posmatraju laganje na isti način kao odrasli ili različito doživljavaju različite situacije laganja i elemente laganja. Istraživanje laganja na ovaj način ima obrazovnu relevantnost, jer su, prema dobro utvrđenim nalazima psiholoških studija, laganje u detinjstvu i širok spektar drugih problematičnih ponašanja pozitivno povezani, kao što su ometajuće ponašanje, agresija, poremećaji ponašanja, krađa, bežanje iz škole ili kriminalno ponašanje (Gervais et al., 1998; Gervais et al., 2000). Štaviše, longitudinalne studije pokazuju da laganje u ranom uzrastu ima prediktivnu ulogu u kriminalnom ponašanju ili upotrebi droga u adolescenciji i odraslom dobu (Cauffman et al., 2023).

Teorijske osnove

Uloga obrazovanja u formiranju koncepta laganja i razvoju ličnosti dece

Najranija forma laganja koju učimo da koristimo je izbegavanje kazne (Lync et al., 2020). Ova vrsta laganja obično se razvija oko druge godine i postaje uobičajena do četvrte godine (Peskin, 1992). Kao deca, učimo da ne priznajemo svoja dela nakon kazni za priznanje krivice. Laganje često postaje alat komunikacije za decu koji koriste kada se plaše kazne, žele da izbegnu osećaj srama ili samo žele pažnju (Gordon, 2015; Lynch et al., 2020; Wilson et al., 2003). Razvoj socijalnih kompetencija omogućava pojedincima da osiguraju da njihovo ponašanje bude društveno prihvatljivo i da ne dolazi na račun drugih (Zsolnai

et al., 2007). Razvoj socijalnih kompetencija zavisi od spontane i namerne socijalizacije, kao i od obrazovanja. Centralni zadaci obrazovanja uključuju pomoć u razvoju individualne svesti i socijalne kompetencije (Zsolnai et al., 2012).

Prema principu razvoja tokom celog života, razvoj ličnosti se može tumačiti ne kao uzastopne faze, već kao nivoi koji se nadovezuju jedni na druge, hijerarhiju u kojoj se individualni nivoi razvijaju odražavanjem iz nižih nivoa, dok njihova relativna nezavisnost ostaje (Blair et al., 2015). U okviru razvojnog procesa u kojem deca uče uzročno-posledične odnose, pravilno izražavanje emocija i odgovarajuće socijalne interakcije takođe uče šta je laž (Orza, 2022; Talwar & Lee, 2008; Talwar et al., 2011). Mlađa deca prioritet daju poštenju, čak i ako to može povrediti druge. Međutim, starija deca obično pozitivnije gledaju na prosocijalne laži dok kažnjavaju antisocijalne laži (Talwar et al., 2002). Pored toga, socijalni i kulturni faktori takođe utiču na to kako deca percipiraju laži sa moralnog stanovišta (Lee, 2013). Važno je da roditelji i učitelji poznaju razvojne faze koncepta laganja; kada ih uhvate u laži, važno je poznavati pozadinu i razloge za to ponašanje (Bair et al., 2015; Tang & Davis-Kean, 2015). Prepoznavanje ovih faktora može pomoći u odabiru odgovarajućih obrazovnih metoda koje odgovaraju ličnosti pojedinog deteta. Umesto korišćenja kažnjavajućih pristupa, pristup zasnovan na na-gradama je efikasniji u pomaganju deci da razviju svoje razumevanje laganja na društveno prihvatljive nivoe (Lynch et al., 2020). Dete koje nije kažnjeno za priznanje greške verovatnije je da će biti pošteno (Gordon, 2015).

Istraživanje prototipske laži među manjinskim učenicima mađarskog jezika u starijim razredima osnovne škole

Preduslovi istraživačke metodologije

Kolman i Kaj (1981) predlažu tri konstitutivna elementa prototipske laži: objektivna laž, verovanje u laž i obmanjujuća namera. Objektivna laž znači da se činjenična izjava izražena u tvrdnji ne poklapa sa stvarnošću. Verovanje se odnosi na uverenje govornika da je njegova izjava lažna. Element namere se odnosi na namernu netačnost govornika, što znači da ima za cilj da prevari svog sagovornika. Na osnovu njihovih istraživačkih nalaza, najznačajniji element prototipske laži za izvorne govornike engleskog jezika bio je element verovanja, zatim namera, a na kraju objektivna laž. Eksperiment Kolmana i Kaja ponovljen je s izvornim govornicima nekoliko jezika, pri čemu su rezultati bili delimično slični i delimično različiti u različitim kulturama. Govornici arapskog i ekvadorskog špan-skog jezika ocenjivali su laži slično kao izvorni govornici engleskog jezika, pridržavajući se redosleda snage: verovanja > namera > laž. Međutim, za izvorne govornike indonežanskog jezika, prototipski koncept laganja koji su predložili Kolman i Kaj (1981) ne važi. U indonežanskoj kulturi, najvažniji element laži je činjenična laž, zatim namera, a komponenta verovanja nije nužno prisutna u konceptu laganja (Adha, 2020). Vajtai (Vajtai, 2013) je prvi sproveo eksperiment Kolmana i Kaja (1981) s izvornim govornicima mađarskog jezika. Prema rezultatima studije, primarni element u određivanju da li se izjava u datoj situaciji smatra lažju je namera da se prevari. Nemet i Ada ponovili su eksperiment

2021. godine sa većim uzorkom izvornih govornika mađarskog jezika. Njihova studija je pokazala da je redosled tri prototipska elementa laganja koje su predložili Kolman i Kaj (1981) u upotrebi mađarskog jezika: verovanje u laž > namera da se prevari > objektivna laž. Ovaj redosled odgovara sekvenci koju su uspostavili Kolman i Kaj (1981) na osnovu ocena izvornih govornika engleskog jezika.

Ciljevi i istraživačka pitanja studije

Naša studija je replicirala eksperiment Kolmana i Kaja (1981) o prototipskim lažima među učenicima starijih razreda osnovne škole koji govore mađarski u Vojvodini. Naš uzorak se razlikuje od originalne studije kako u pogledu korišćenja jezika tako i u pogledu starosne grupe. Naš primarni cilj bio je da utvrdimo da li se razumevanje laži među učenicima starijih razreda osnovne škole koji žive u manjinskom kontekstu razlikuje od razumevanja laži kod odraslih, i kako se njihova percepcija prototipskih elemenata laži poredi sa percepcijom odraslih.

(1) Naše prvo istraživačko pitanje je: Kakav je redosled važnosti elemenata prototipske laži, kako ga percipiraju učesnici studije, u poređenju sa redosledom koji su identifikovali Kolman i Kaj (1981) u svojoj studiji o odraslima?

(2) Naše drugo istraživačko pitanje je: Koliko su učenici sigurni u svoje ocene laži, i da li postoje faktori koji utiču na njihove procene?

Razumevanje odgovora na ova pitanja je ključno, jer može informisati obrazovne prakse kako bi se poboljšalo moralno rezonovanje i socijalne kompetencije učenika. Prepoznavanjem načina na koji učenici percipiraju elemente laganja i njihove sigurnosti u tim procenama, nastavnici mogu prilagoditi intervencije i kurikulume koji podstiču kritičko razmišljanje i etičko donošenje odluka, što na kraju pomaže učenicima da se efikasnije snalaze u složenim socijalnim interakcijama.

Metode i tehnike

U našoj studiji koristili smo merni instrument koji su razvili Nemet i Ada (2021), a koji je adaptacija upitnika korišćenog u eksperimentu Kolmana i Kaja (1981) za mađarski jezik. Upitnik sadrži osam moralnih priča koje kombinuju tri elementa prototipskih laži: (a) objektivna laž, (b) verovanje u laž i (v) obmanjujuća namera. Tokom prevođenja originalnog upitnika, autori su osigurali da je jezik priča kulturno prihvatljiva za izvorne govornike mađarskog jezika. Nakon analize priča, zaključili smo da se njihov sadržaj može interpretirati na isti način lingvistički i kulturno među korisnicima mađarskog manjinskog jezika kao što je to slučaj u populaciji izvornih govornika mađarskog jezika.

Tabela 1 prikazuje kombinacije tri elementa prototipske laži u osam priča. U tabeli, znak + označava prisustvo odgovarajućeg elementa u priči, dok znak - označava njegovu odsutnost.

Tabela 1

Prisutnost elemenata prototipske laži u moralnim pričama

Osobine priče	Objektivna laž	Verovanje u laž	Obmanjujuća namera
1. Máté – torta	+	+	+
2. Dávid – golf	–	–	–
3. Patrik – bilijar	+	–	+
4. Katalin – ispit	–	+	+
5. Sándor – večera	+	+	–
6. Mária – bivša prijateljica	–	–	+
7. Betti sestra – apendiks	+	–	–
8. Miklós – bol u stomaku	–	+	–

Metoda evaluacije odgovora

U eksperimentu, nakon čitanja svake priče, učesnici su morali da odgovore na dva pitanja kako bi se utvrdio nivo ocene laži i sigurnosti u svojoj oceni. Prvo pitanje imalo je za cilj da proceni da li je glavni lik u priči lagao ili ne, dok se drugo pitanje fokusiralo na to koliko je učesnik siguran u svoj odgovor na prvo pitanje. Prva i druga priča su služile kao kontrolne priče. Za prvu priču, očekivani odgovor je bio da Mate je lagao, dok je za drugu priču očekivani odgovor bio da Janoš nije lagao. Ako učesnici nisu odgovorili kako se očekivalo na bilo koju od ovih priča, isključeni su iz analize, a njihovi odgovori na ostale priče takođe su zanemareni. Od 191 učesnika u studiji, 125 je dalo validne odgovore za obe kontrolne priče. Njihovi odgovori su uzeti u obzir u daljoj analizi.

Uzorak

Podaci o uzorku prikupljeni su putem anonimne onlajn ankete na platformi Gugl ankete, u junu i julu 2022. godine, pretežno u severnom delu Vojvodine. Istraživanje je sprovedeno onlajn. Učešće je bilo dobrovoljno i anonimno. Prikupljanje podataka je dobilo etičko odobrenje. Predstavljamo pozadinske varijable uzorka učesnika koji su dali validne odgovore na kontrolna pitanja (N=125).

Opšti podaci: Prosečna starost ispitanika je 12,8 godina (učenici viših razreda). 66% validnog uzorka (83 učenika) dolazi iz Čantavira, dok 32% (40 učenika) dolazi iz Feketića (2 učenika nisu odgovorila).

Porodični status: Među ispitanicima, 103 osobe žive s oba roditelja. Dvanaest osoba živi samo s majkom, a jedan ispitanik živi samo s ocem. Pored toga, pet ispitanika živi s hraniteljima, a četiri ispitanika žive sa svojim bakama i dekama. Stotinu četrnaest učesnika ima braću i sestre. Što se tiče obrazovanja roditelja, većina očeva i majki je završila srednju školu. Kod 51% učenika, oba roditelja su zaposlena, 38% ima samo jednog zaposlenog

roditelja, a u devet slučajeva (7%) nijedan roditelj nije zaposlen. Četiri procenta učesnika nije odgovorilo na ovo pitanje. Dvadeset šest procenata porodica ispitanika prima socijalnu pomoć.

Podaci o školskom učinku: Ukupni prosek ocena učenika u uzorku je 4,17, pri čemu 84% učenika ostvaruje rezultate iznad nivoa dobre ocene. Osamdeset jedan procenat učenika je učestvovao na akademskim takmičenjima. Samo 8% uzorka (10 učenika) zahteva pojačanu obrazovnu podršku. Osamdeset devet procenata učenika ima uzorno ponašanje. Osamdeset procenata učenika nije primilo nikakve opomene. Šest procenata je primilo verbalnu opomenu, još 6% je primilo opomenu razrednog starešine, 2% je bilo opomenuto od strane razrednog veća, dok je dodatnih 6% primilo opomenu direktora.

Rezultati vezani za istraživanje prototipičnih laži

Kao što je pomenuto tokom prezentacije metodologije ankete, ispitanici su morali da odgovore na dva pitanja za svaku priču. Prvo pitanje se odnosilo na procenu laži, dok se drugo pitanje ticalo koliko je ispitanik siguran u svoj odgovor. Poeni su određeni kombinovanjem odgovora na ova dva pitanja za svaku priču, posebno za priče 2-8 (pitanja koja funkcionišu kao prava test pitanja, a ne kao kontrolne priče). Uzimajući u obzir sistem ocenjivanja korišćen u eksperimentu Kolmana i Kaja (1981), odgovori na prvo pitanje koji su označeni kao „ne znam“ automatski su dodeljivali 4 poena, dok se odgovor na drugo pitanje nije uzimao u obzir. Ako je odgovor na prvo pitanje bio „lagao“, onda je drugo pitanje „potpuno siguran“ vredelo 7 poena, „prilično siguran“ 6 poena, a „nije baš siguran“ 5 poena. Ako je odgovor na prvo pitanje bio „nije lagao“, tada je drugo pitanje „potpuno siguran“ vredelo 1 poen, „prilično siguran“ 2 poena, a „nije baš siguran“ 3 poena. Proces evaluacije je sažet u Tabelama 2 i 3 kako bi bio ilustrativniji.

Tabela 2

Vrednosti za prvu grupu odgovora

Odgovori	Vrednost
1. laž	7 ili 6 ili 5 poena u zavisnosti od dodatnog odgovora (videti Tabelu 3)
2. nije laž	1 ili 2 ili 3 poena u zavisnosti od dodatnog odgovora poena (videti Tabelu 3)
3. ne znam	4 poena

Tabela 3

Vrednosti za drugu grupu odgovora

Odgovori	Laž	nije laž
1. potpuno siguran:	7 poena	1 poen
2. sasvim siguran:	6 poena	2 poena
3. nisam baš siguran:	5 poena	3 poena

Slično istraživanju Nemeta i Ade (2021), odredili smo prosečnu ocenu za svaku priču zbrajanjem ocena koje su dodelili validni ispitanici i deljenjem s brojem validnih ispitanika. Rezultati su prikazani u Tabeli 4.

Tabela 4

Ocene za osam priča zasnovane na odgovorima 125 ispitanika

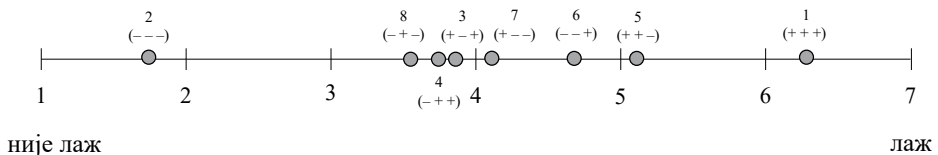
Priča	Ukupan bod	Prosečan bod
1. Máté – torta (+ + +)	798	6,38
2. Dávid – golf (– – –)	227	1,82
3. Patrik – bilijar (+ – +)	491	3,93
4. Katalin – vežba (– + +)	483	3,86
5. Sándor – večera (+ + –)	647	5,18
6. Mária – bivši prijateljica (– – +)	596	4,77
7. Betti nővér – apendiks (+ – –)	515	4,12
8. Miklós – bol u stomaku (– + –)	448	3,58

Prosečni rezultati prikazani u Tabeli 4 ukazuju na to kako su pojedinačne priče ocenjene kao prototipske na osnovu odgovora ispitanika. Ako se prosečna ocena približava 7, ispitanici su ocenjivali da je glavni lik u priči počinio prototipsku laž, dok su, ako se prosečna ocena približava 1, verovali da glavni lik nije počinio prototipsku laž.

U našoj studiji, rezultati za test pitanja ispunjavaju navedene kriterijume. Bodovi za prvu priču (koja uključuje laž) snažno se približavaju vrednosti 7, dok se bodovi za drugu priču (koja ne uključuje laž) približavaju vrednosti 1 (Slika 1). U studiji Nemeta i Ade (2021), ispitanici su ocenjivali da je u četiri priče (priče 1, 4, 5 i 6) lik počinio prototipičnu laž, dok su u četiri priče (priče 2, 3, 7 i 8) tvrdili da nije došlo do prototipične laži. Prema našim rezultatima, ispitanici su takođe odredili prototipične laži u četiri slučaja i nije bilo prototipičnih laži u četiri slučaja, ali se ove priče ne poklapaju potpuno s pričama iz studije Nemeta i Ade (2021). U našoj studiji, ispitanici su smatrali da likovi u pričama 2, 3, 4 i 8 nisu lagali, dok su likovi u pričama 1, 5, 6 i 7 lagali (Slika 1).

Slika 1

Položaj priča na skali laži



Prema Kolmanu i Kaju (1981), ako priča sadrži samo jedan ili dva od tri sastojka laži, smatra se slabijom laži u poređenju sa situacijom kada su prisutna sva tri ili dva elementa. U skladu s tim, u Figuri 1, laž sa manje od tri prototipična elementa trebalo bi da se približi levom kraju skale vrednosti laži, što znači da bi trebalo da se smatra manjom laži.

U našoj studiji ova hipoteza nije potvrđena za pitanja 6 i 7, gde se u svakom slučaju javlja samo jedan prototipičan element laži. Oba pitanja se nalaze na desnoj strani skale laži, što znači da su bliža kraju „laž“. Ispitanici su kategorisali priču 8, gde se kao element laži pojavljuje samo verovanje u neistinu, na odgovarajuću stranu skale laži. Procena ove priče podržava hipotezu Kolmana i Kaja (1981). Upoređujući elemente laži prisutne u pričama, može se odrediti njihova snaga. Na skali laži, pomerajući se ulevo od neutralne vrednosti prema kraju „nije laž“ – u proceni svake priče – objektivna neistina se pojavljuje u jednom slučaju, dok se verovanje u neistinu i obmanjujuća namera pojavljuju u po dva slučaja. Pomerajući se prema kraju „laž“, objektivna neistina se pojavljuje u tri slučaja, dok se verovanje u neistinu i obmanjujuća namera takođe pojavljuju u po dva slučaja (Tabela 5).

Tabela 5

Postavljanje pojave elemenata laži na osnovu rezultata studije

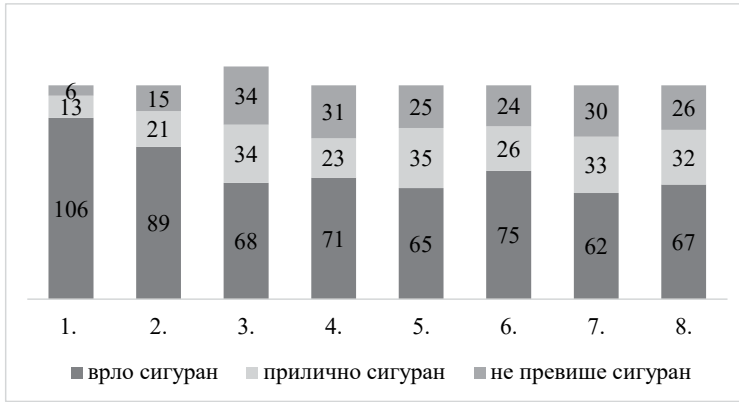
	Objektivna laž	Verovanje u laž	Obmanjujuća namera
Nije laž	1	2	2
Laž	3	2	2

Ovaj rezultat sugerise da među studentima koje smo ispitivali objektivna laž češće ukazuje na percepciju laži u poređenju s druga dva elementa laži. Snaga verovanja u laž i uticaj obmanjujuće namere određeni su poređenjem prosečnih ocena datih pričama, što takođe odražava redosled. Redosled snage među elementima laži je sledeći: objektivna laž > obmanjujuća namera > verovanje u laž. Ovaj rezultat se protivi nalazima Nemeta i Ade (2021), kao i Kolmana i Kaja (1981), gde je objektivna laž najslabija od tri elementa, a redosled je: verovanje u laž > obmanjujuća namera > objektivna laž.

Takođe smo ispitivali stepen poverenja u odgovore koje su dali učenici koristeći podatke iz drugog pitanja vezanog za priče. Za ova pitanja smo pitali učenike koliko su sigurni u svoje odgovore u vezi s procenom pojedinačnih elemenata laži. Tri opcije odgovora bile su: potpuno sigurni, prilično sigurni i ne baš sigurni. Pridružili smo ocene od 3, 2 i 1 poen, redom, na osnovu snage odgovora. Stoga je ocena mišljenja vezana za svaku priču mogla varirati između 1 i 3 poena. Za sve priče, većina ispitanika bila je potpuno sigurna u svoje mišljenje o lažima (Slika 2).

Slika 2

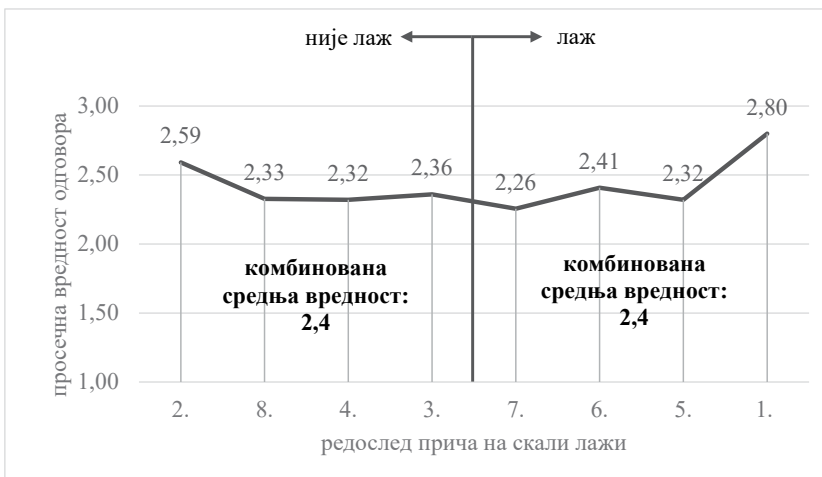
Sigurnost u odgovore date za ocenjivanje priča



Najveća sigurnost zabeležena je u prvoj i drugoj test priči, gde su svi elementi laži bili prisutni ili potpuno odsutni. Ova okolnost takođe podržava tačnost njihovog daljeg ocenjivanja. Da bismo utvrdili da li su ispitanici bili sigurniji u identifikaciji istine ili laži, uporedili smo prosečne ocene dobijene za odgovore na priče koje se nalaze na suprotnim stranama skale laži (Slika 1 i Slika 3). Rezultati pokazuju da su prosečne ocene identične za četiri pitanja sa svake strane skale, sa prosečnom ocenom od 2,4 poena.

Slika 3

Poverenje u date odgovore prilikom ocenjivanja priča



Poverenje učenika u sopstvene odgovore dodatno osnažuje prethodne rezultate hipoteza, koji sugerišu da, prema mišljenju učenika, objektivni element laganja igra najvažniju ulogu u određivanju činjenice laganja.

Analize korelacije zasnovane na pozadinskim faktorima

Rezultati studija u vezi s porodičnom pozadinom

Istraživali smo korelacije između odgovora učenika na pojedinačne priče i relevantnih pozadinskih varijabli. Za porodičnu pozadinu, rezultati su dobijeni za tri faktora u analizama korelacija. Nivo obrazovanja oca, struktura porodice i zanimanja roditelja uticali su na odgovore na pojedinačne priče, posebno na dve kontrolne priče.

Što se tiče obrazovnog nivoa oca, postoji razlika u ocenjivanju prve priče (+ + +). Učenici čiji očevi nisu završili osnovnu školu ređe su prepoznavali nepoštenje u priči u poređenju s decom očeva sa višim nivoima obrazovanja (jednosmerna ANOVA: $F=8,6$ $p=0,001$). U slučaju druge priče (– – –), deca koja žive s oba roditelja ređe su prepoznavala nepoštenje nego učenici iz nekompletnih porodica (t-test za nezavisne uzorke: $t=-2,44$ $p=0,02$).

Faktori da li roditelji rade na radnom mestu, rade od kuće ili su nezaposleni pokazuju razlike u ocenjivanju priča 1, 2 i 5. U prvom slučaju, deca nezaposlenih ili roditelja koji rade od kuće prepoznala su laži ređe nego deca čiji su roditelji zaposleni (jednosmerna ANOVA: $F=9,6$ $p=0,001$). U drugoj priči, deca nezaposlenih roditelja su češće prepoznala laž nego deca zaposlenih roditelja (jednosmerna ANOVA: $F=5,2$ $p=0,001$). U petoj priči (+ + –), gde likovi predstavljaju hijerarhiju zaposleni–šef, deca nezaposlenih roditelja znatno ređe su prepoznavala laži u poređenju s decom zaposlenih roditelja (jednosmerna ANOVA: $F=2,5$ $p=0,03$).

Rezultati istraživanja u vezi sa školskim učinkom

U proceni školskih performansi uzeli smo u obzir faktore kao što su da li je učenik učestvovao na takmičenjima, da li je dobio dodatnu obrazovnu podršku, njegovo ponašanje i njegov prosek ocena. Ove pozadinske varijable su se pokazale povezane s evaluacijom elemenata poštenja u određenim pitanjima. Ovde je razlika pretežno očigledna u slučaju dve kontrolne priče, kao i u korelaciji s određenim varijablama u petoj i osmoj priči.

Što se tiče učešća na takmičenjima, učenici s boljim školskim učinkom češće su prepoznavali nepoštenje u prvoj i petoj priči u poređenju sa učenicima koji su postizali slabije rezultate (prva priča: $t=-2,7$ $p=0,007$; peta priča: $t=-2,27$ $p=0,03$). Prva priča uključuje sva tri elementa nepoštenja, dok peta priča sadrži dva: objektivno nepoštenje i verovanje u laž.

Učenici kojima je potrebna dodatna obrazovna podrška manje su prepoznavali nepoštenje u prvoj priči ($t=4,32$ $p=0,001$), ali više u drugoj priči ($t=-3,17$ $p=0,02$), koja nije sadržala elemente nepoštenja. Ovaj rezultat ukazuje na to da su bili manje sposobni

da procene elemente nepoštenja u kontrolnim pričama. Isti rezultat se primećuje i kod varijable ponašanja. Učenici s uzornim ponašanjem koji nisu primili formalne opomene prepoznali su nepoštenje češće u prvoj priči nego oni koji su primili opomene u školi (razredni učitelj, razredni savet, direktor) ($t=2,98$ $p=0,003$).

Analiza korelacije zasnovana na akademskim prosečnim ocenama pokazuje razlike u mišljenjima učenika u vezi s prvom, drugom i osmom pričom. U slučaju prve priče, učenici sa nižim akademskim prosekom ređe su prepoznavali nepoštenje nego oni sa višim prosekom (jednosmerna ANOVA: $F=10,86$ $p=0,001$). U slučaju druge priče, učenici sa višim akademskim prosekom ređe su prepoznavali nepoštenje nego oni sa nižim prosekom (jednosmerna ANOVA: $F=4,3$ $p=0,03$). Za osmu priču, učenici sa nižim akademskim prosekom ređe su identifikovali nepoštenje nego oni sa višim akademskim prosekom (jednosmerna ANOVA: $F=2,5$ $p=0,04$).

Budući da učenici s nižim akademskim prosekom manje verovatno prepoznaju nepošteno ponašanje, ciljani intervencijski programi mogli bi biti korisni. Programi osmišljeni da poboljšaju kako akademske veštine tako i razumevanje etike mogu podržati ove učenike u prepoznavanju važnosti poštenja i etičkog donošenja odluka. Nastavnici bi trebalo da budu obučeni da prepoznaju ove razlike u percepciji i da olakšavaju diskusije o etici u učionici. Programi profesionalnog razvoja mogu opremiti nastavnike strategijama za uključivanje učenika u razgovore o moralnom rezonovanju, prilagođenim njihovom akademskom nivou.

Sažetak rezultata i zaključaka

U našoj studiji analizirali smo razumevanje laganja među učenicima viših razreda koji govore mađarski jezik u Vojvodini. Naše prvo istraživačko pitanje je bilo da utvrdimo da li se razumevanje laganja kod učenika razlikuje od onog kod odraslih i da li se elementi laganja procenjuju slično u obe grupe. Rezultati pokazuju da učenici smatraju objektivnu neistinu značajnijim faktorom u određivanju laži u poređenju s odraslima. Za učenike, hijerarhija elemenata laganja je sledeća: objektivna neistina > obmanjujuća namera > verovanje u neistinu. Ova saznanja su u suprotnosti sa studijama sprovedenim s odraslima, gde je objektivna neistina smatrana najslabijim od tri elementa, sa hijerarhijom: verovanja u neistinu > obmanjujuća namera > objektivna neistina (Coleman & Kay, 1981; Németh & Adha, 2021). Posledično, razumevanje laganja među decom se razlikuje od razumevanja odraslih.

Ova razlika naglašava važnost fokusiranja na razvoj socijalnih kompetencija i moralnog rasuđivanja među učenicima, posebno u razumevanju i ocenjivanju različitih aspekata laganja. Integracija programa socijalno-emocionalnog učenja (SEL) koji naglašava empatiju, komunikacione veštine i etičko donošenje odluka može umnogome poboljšati svest učenika o uticaju njihovih reči i dela na druge. Pored toga, obuka nastavnika treba da istakne razumevanje razvojnih razlika u moralnom rezonovanju, opremajući nastavnike da se suoče sa zabudama i kreiraju podržavajuće okruženje pogodno za učenje. Ovaj pristup ne samo da podstiče nijansirano razumevanje laganja i poštenja, već i promovise sveukupni razvoj socijalnih kompetencija učenika.

Naše drugo istraživačko pitanje ispitivalo je koje pozadinske varijable karakteristične za uzorak mogu uticati na njihove vrednosne sudove. Identifikovali smo porodične okolnosti i akademske performanse kao ključne faktore. Rezultati su pokazali da određene socijalne i kognitivne karakteristike učenika zaista utiču na njihovu procenu moralnih priča koje se odnose na laganje.

Nalazi naše studije ističu kritičnu važnost institucionalnog obrazovanja u podršci razvoju socijalnih kompetencija i odgovarajućeg socijalnog ponašanja. Korišćenje nekaženih obrazovnih metoda, kao što sugerišu Talvar i saradnici (2011) i Gordon (2015), uz odgovarajući pristup upravljanju laganjem, može podstaći poštenje tokom detinjstva i adolescencije. To doprinosi uspostavljanju zdravih socijalnih odnosa i efikasnom rešavanju konflikata. Pored toga, ovi pristupi mogu pomoći mladima da razviju i učvrste svoje moralne vrednosti.

Međutim, studija ima svoja ograničenja. Na primer, veličina uzorka može ograničiti generalizaciju nalaza, a pošto je bilo prekida u istraživanju, nismo mogli da procenimo promene tokom vremena. Pored toga, oslanjanje na podatke dobijene samoprocenom može da uključuje pristrasnosti u vezi s razumevanjem učenika o poštenju i nepoštenju.

Zaključno, naši nalazi naglašavaju potrebu za ciljanom obrazovnom praksom koja se bavi ovim razvojnim razlikama. Buduća istraživanja bi trebalo da teže proširenju raznolikosti uzorka kako bi istražila kako različite demografske grupe utiču na percepciju laganja. Longitudinalne studije bi bile korisne za procenu dugoročnih efekata obrazovnih intervencija na moralno rezonovanje učenika. Pored toga, razvijanje i evaluacija specifičnih programa socijalno-emocionalnog učenja fokusiranih na poštenje i moralno rezonovanje moglo bi doneti dragocene uvide u njihovu efikasnost. Ulaganje u profesionalni razvoj edukatora je ključno, kao i podsticanje roditeljskog uključivanja u diskusije o etici, stvarajući podržavajuće okruženje koje se proteže izvan učionice. Redovne procene razumevanja etičkih koncepata kod učenika takođe bi trebalo da se sprovode kako bi se informisale i prilagodile obrazovne strategije. Baveći se snagama i slabostima naše studije, dok jasno povezujemo naše zaključke sa nalazima, možemo bolje informisati buduće obrazovne prakse i istraživačke inicijative usmerene na unapređenje moralnog i socijalnog razvoja učenika.

Literatura

- Blair, B. L., Perry, N. B., O'Brien, M., Calkins, S. D., Keane, S. P., & Shanahan, L. (2015). Identifying developmental cascades among differentiated dimensions of social competence and emotion regulation. *Developmental Psychology*, 51(8), 1062–1073. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039472>
- Cauffman E., Gillespie, M. L., Beardslee, J., Davis, F., Hernandez, M., & Williams, T. (2023). Adolescent Contact, Lasting Impact? Lessons Learned From Two Longitudinal Studies Spanning 20 Years of Developmental Science Research With Justice-System-Involved Youths. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, 24(3), 133-161. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15291006231205173>
- Coleman, L., & Kay, P. (1981). Prototype Semantics: The English word LIE. *Language*, 57(1), 26– 44. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.1981.0002>

- Dósa Z. (2020). A gyermeki tanúvallomások és a felnőttek igazsága egy csalfa világban. *Gradus*, 7(1), 167-176. <https://doi.org/10.47833/2020.1.ART.002>
- Evans, A. D., & Lee, K. (2013). Emergence of lying in very young children. *Developmental Psychology*, 49(10), 1958-1963. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0031409>
- Füsti-Molnár Zs., & Miklós P. (2021). Az internethasználat etikai kérdéseinek vizsgálata 9. és 10. évfolyamos gimnazisták körében. *Iskolakultúra*, 31(6), 101-120.
- Gervais J., Tremblay R. E., & Héroux D. (1998). Boys' lying and social adjustment in pre-adolescence: Teachers', peers' and self-reports. *Crim. Behav. Ment. Health*, 8(2), 127-138. <https://doi.org/10.1002/cbm.231>
- Gervais, J., Tremblay, R. E., Desmarais-Gervais, L., & Vitaro, F. (2000). Children's persistent lying, gender differences, and disruptive behaviours: A longitudinal perspective. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 24(2), 213-221. <https://doi.org/10.1080/016502500383340>
- Gordon, L. (2015). Teaching the 'Poor' a Lesson: Beyond Punitive Discipline in Schools. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 50(2), 211-222. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40841-015-0014-z>
- Lee, K. (2013). Little liars: Development of verbal deception in children. *Child Development Perspectives*, 7(2), 91-96. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12023>
- Lynch, S., Schleider, J., & McBean, L. (2020). Restorative Practice in Health and Physical Education: Shifting the Norm from Punitive to Reparative. *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance*, 91(9), 41-47. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07303084.2020.1811624>
- Németh T. E., & Adha, A. (2021). Valóban könnyebb utolérni a hazug embert, mint a sánta kutyát? *Argumentum*, 17(1), 488-510. <https://doi.org/10.34103/ARGUMENTUM/2021/25>
- Orza B. (2022). Szocio-kognitív tényezők és kétnyelvűség kapcsolata kisiskolásoknál. Elméleti megközelítés. In Mészáros Tamás (Ed.): *Annales V. Az ELTE Márton Áron Szakkollégium Évkönyve*. ELTE Márton Áron Szakkollégium.
- Peskin J. (1992). Ruse and representations: On children's ability to conceal information. *Developmental Psychology*, 28(1), 84-89. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.28.1.84>
- Talwar, V., Lee, K., Bala, N., & Lindsay, R. C. L. (2002). Children's conceptual knowledge of lie-telling and its relation to their actual behaviors: Implications for court competence examination. *Law and Human Behavior*, 26(4), 395-415. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1016379104959>
- Talwar, V., & Lee, K. (2008). Social and cognitive correlates of children's lying behavior. *Child Development*, 79(4), 866-881. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2008.01164.x>
- Talwar, V., Carlson S., & Lee, K. (2011). Effects of a Punitive Environment on Children's Executive Functioning: A Natural Experiment. *Social Development*, 20(4), 805-824. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9507.2011.00617.x>
- Tang, S., & Davis-Kean, P. E. (2015). The association of punitive parenting practices and adolescent achievement. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 29(6), 873-883. <https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000137>
- Vajtai A. (2013). *The Hungarian Notion of Lying: A Study Based on the Prototype Approach of Coleman and Kay* (master thesis). University of Szeged.
- Vincze Gy. (2002). Az erkölcsi ítéletalkotás fejlődése és fejlesztési lehetőségei intézményes keretek között. *Gyermeknevelés Tudományos Folyóirat*, 8(3), 72-92. <https://doi.org/10.31074/gyntf.2020.3.72.92>

- Wilson, A. E., Smith, M. D., & Ross, H. S. (2003). The nature and effects of young children's lies. *Social Development*, 12(1), 21–45. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9507.00220>
- Zsolnai A., Kinyó L., & Jámbori Sz. (2012). Szocializáció, szociális viselkedés, személyiségfejlődés. In: Csapó B. (Ed.). *Mérlegen a magyar iskola*. Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó.
- Zsolnai A., Lesznyák M., & Kasik L. (2007). A szociális és az érzelmi kompetencia néhány készségének fejlettsége óvodás korban. *Magyar Pedagógia*, 107(3), 233–270.

Prímljeno: 24.07.2024.

Korigovana verzija prímljena: 10.10. 2024.

Prihvaćeno za štampu: 24.10.2024.

Gabrijela Šimonji

Doktorska škola obrazovanja, Univerzitet u Segedinu, Segedin, Mađarska
<https://orcid.org/0009-0004-9446-4865>

Lenke Major

Učiteljski fakultet na mađarskom nastavnom jeziku, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Subotica, Srbija
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0795-3456>

Legislativni okvir karijernog vođenja i savetovanja u Srbiji¹

Jovan Miljković² 

Odeljenje za pedagogiju i andragogiju, Filozofski fakultet,
Univerzitet u Beogradu, Beograd, Srbija

Neda Čairović Pavlović 

Odeljenje za pedagogiju i andragogiju, Filozofski fakultet,
Univerzitet u Beogradu, Beograd, Srbija

Kristina Robertson 

Odeljenje za pedagogiju i andragogiju, Filozofski fakultet,
Univerzitet u Beogradu, Beograd, Srbija

Apstrakt

Koncept karijere je poslednjih decenija doživeo značajnu transformaciju, u kojoj karijera gubi na linearnosti, a dobija na heterogenosti, višestrukosti, sa čestim oscilacijama i brojnim paralelnim i bočnim linijama. U toj konstelaciji, karijerno vođenje i savetovanje se i u Evropskoj uniji i u Srbiji javlja kao jedan od vodećih koncepata različitih sektorskih politika, koji se nesumnjivo nalazi i u samom vrhu obrazovnih politika. Da bi se karijernim vođenjem i savetovanjem (KViS) adekvatno upravljalo, odnosno da bi se optimizovali efekti koji se očekuju od ovoga fenomena i delatnosti, neophodno je imati konzistentan i pažljivo osmišljen legislativni okvir. Koristeći kvalitativni istraživački pristup, realizovali smo istraživanje s ciljem da saznamo kako se u legislativnim dokumentima Republike Srbije posmatra fenomen karijernog vođenja i savetovanja. Osnovno istraživačko pitanje operacionalizovali smo kroz posmatranje sedam elemenata KViS: razumevanje koncepta, ciljeve, programe, nosioce aktivnosti, karijerne praktičare, ciljne grupe i efekte. Koristili smo deskriptivnu i komparativnu metodu, kao i analizu dokumentacije koja je obuhvatila 19 dokumenata, iz sektora mladih, obrazovanja (od osnovnoškolskog do obrazovanja odraslih) i sektora zapošljavanja, sa ciljem da obuhvatimo sve uzraste i životne uloge

¹ U radu je predstavljen deo rezultata istraživanja sprovedenog u okviru projekta „Implementacija usluge karijernog vođenja i savetovanja (KViS)“ (broj ugovora 404-02-97/2022-08), koji je trajao od početka novembra 2022. godine do kraja novembra 2023. godine, a koji su finansirali Kancelarija za dualno obrazovanje i Nacionalni okvir kvalifikacija Republike Srbije.

² jovan.miljkovic@fbg.ac.rs

u kojima KViS može imati svoje mesto. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da je KViS, kao međuresorna delatnost, nejednako artikulisana u različitim sektorima politika. Dominantna je usmerenost ka mladima, obrazovnom sektoru i karijernom informisanju, od tri oblasti rada KViS. Naglašena je potreba za donošenjem integrativnog dokumenta i uspostavljanjem tela koje bi koordinisalo ovu delatnost, kao i obaveznosti primene postojećih standarda KViS u njoj.

Ključne reči: karijerno vođenje i savetovanje, politike obrazovanja, legislativa obrazovanja, karijerni praktičari, standardi karijernog vođenja i savetovanja.

Uvod

Polje rada i karijere trpi krupne promene u savremenom društvu, čije posledice u najvećoj meri snose pojedinci. Savremeno radno okruženje od pojedinaca očekuje neprekidan i intenzivan napor kako bi održali konkurentnost na tržištu rada (Pejatović i Orlović Lovren, 2014). Koncept jednoznačne, linearne karijere je pluskvamperfekat – danas je karijerni put pun uspona i padova, sa mnoštvom bočnih karijernih linija koje se dalje granaju. Karijera sada traje i nakon penzije, što znači da su pojedinci upleteni u ovu dinamiku ceo svoj životni vek. Karijerno vođenje i savetovanje (KViS) se javlja kao *conditio sine qua non* upravljanja ovim doživotnim procesom. Izazovi savremene karijere, potreba za njenim efikasnim upravljanjem, ali i podrškom u tome, prepoznati su na globalnom planu, čime je KViS postao predmet interesovanja svih značajnijih svetskih institucija povezanih s obrazovanjem. „Govoreći rečnikom politike, karijerno vođenje i savetovanje viđeno je kao moćna alatka, instrument za suočavanje s mnogobrojnim izazovima, ne samo karijere, već i života u 21. veku. To može da se uoči u gotovo svim važnijim dokumentima, strategijama, preporukama u poslednjih nekoliko decenija vezanih za obrazovanje, posmatrano i na globalnom i na evropskom i na nacionalnom nivou” (Mihajlović, 2021: 25-26). Legislative u svakoj oblasti, pa i u oblasti KViS, imaju značajno mesto u definisanju te oblasti, planskom i sistematskom uređivanju i daljem usmeravanju njenog razvoja. Imajući to na umu, treba sagledati kako je KViS uređen legislativnim okvirom u politikama u Srbiji, što smatramo da je važno i za nauke o obrazovanju u našoj zemlji.

Teorijski okvir istraživanja

Terminološki konzistentan okvir je preduslov da bismo se u bilo kojoj oblasti jasno razumeli. „Termini nisu samonikli. Oni su proizvod socijalnih okolnosti i filozofskih razmatranja suštine čoveka i njegovog obrazovanja. Oni imaju ne samo sadržajnu, već i idejnu (ideološku) dimenziju” (Savićević, 2003: 207). Prema analizi koju daje Mihajlović, terminološka džungla nije zaobišla ni oblast KViS u kojoj se koriste brojni termini „bilo da pretenduju da budu sinonimi ili insistiraju na razlikama u odnosu na karijerno vođenje” (Mihajlović, 2021: 13). U želji da se jasno odredimo prema fenomenu o kojem pišemo, pod KViS podrazumevamo uslugu „kojom se pojedincu pomaže da proceni svoje sposobnosti, interesovanja i vrednosti, da dobije informacije o mogućnostima dodatnog obrazovanja

i zaposlenja, pozicionira sebe na tržištu rada – kako u odnosu na zahteve tržišta tako i u odnosu na sopstvene sposobnosti, interesovanja i iskustvo. Rad s pojedincem ne završava se pronalaženjem adekvatnog zaposlenja, već se on prati i dalje radi stalnog ličnog i profesionalnog razvoja, a u skladu sa kretanjima na tržištu” (Šećibović, prema: Branković, 2010: 604). Možemo zaključiti da se radi o celoživotnom procesu, a karijera se često nastavlja i menja i posle penzionisanja individue. Celoživotnost prevazilazi dimenziju starosti i podrazumeva dostupnost i prilagođenost KViS pojedincima različitih obrazovnih i profesionalnih karakteristika, u različitim životnim i karijernim fazama i tranzicijama, što je i nedostatak navedene definicije, koja ne uvažava zahteve vezane za karijeru koji ne dolaze iz sveta rada, a čime bismo je mogli dopuniti.

Važno je da ovako značajan fenomen bude predmet bavljenja politike, pod kojom podrazumevamo „sve aktivnosti za pripremu i donošenje obavezujućih odluka i/ili odluka orijentiranih općem dobru i u korist društva u celini” (Meyer, 2013: 31). Reč je o kompleksnom fenomenu, koji ima tri dimenzije: *polity* (obuhvata ustav, osnovna prava, državu, politički sistem i političku kulturu), *policy* (obuhvata političke probleme, uspeh i programe) i *politics* (obuhvata interese, aktere, konflikt, konsenzus, legitimitet i vlast) (Meyer, 2013). Iako za puno razumevanje politike ne možemo izostaviti nijednu dimenziju, za potrebe ovoga rada ograničićemo se na prvu, u koju bismo mogli svrstati legislativu, koja je alternativna u procesu nastajanja, ali obavezujuća nakon njenog donošenja.

Sudbina KViS je, u pogledu određivanja mesta koje ima u politikama, identična sudbini obrazovanja. „Obrazovanje se javlja kao preduslov ostvarivanja različitih ciljeva (ekonomskih, nacionalnih, ekoloških, bezbednosnih...) i kao takvo može se naći i nalazi se kao sastavni deo drugih politika, a pre svih, kao sastavni deo razvojnih politika” (Alibabić i sar., 2012: 9-10). To zapravo znači da je KViS međuresorna delatnost, koja nije predmet interesovanja jednog ministarstva, već više resora, od kojih svaki ima svoje interese i pokušava da uredi ovu delatnost onako kako to njemu odgovara. To daje širinu u bavljenju KViS na političkom nivou, ali i otežava donošenje i implementaciju odluka. Politika KViS deli još jednu karakteristiku obrazovne politike: „politika obrazovanja predstavlja zbirnu imenicu koja obuhvata više različitih obrazovnih politika” (Alibabić i sar., 2012: 10). To znači da bi se politika KViS mogla sagledavati i u okviru posebnih politika KViS, na primer politika usmerenih na decu, mlade, odrasle, na posebne nivoe formalnog obrazovanja, ili specifične ciljne grupe (osobe s invaliditetom, (ne)zaposleni, stari i sl.). U ovom radu je predmet našeg proučavanja legislativa vezana za KViS u jedini, odnosno integralna politika KViS, koja obuhvata sve pojedinačne politike KViS.

Sigurno je da politike svetskih organizacija imaju uticaja i na politiku KViS u Republici Srbiji (RS), ali s aspekta zvaničnog strateškog političkog opredeljenja Srbije, najinteresantniji je odnos EU prema ovom fenomenu, koja KViS smešta u paradigmu celoživotnog razvoja. Fokusirajući se na obrazovanje odraslih, Ovesni i Pejatović navode da su „u dokumentima Evropske unije (Lisabonska strategija) procesi savetovanje i vođenje obrazovanja odraslih shvaćeni kao preduslov zapošljivosti, koja se ne odnosi samo na kontinuirano osvežavanje znanja i veština, već i na sticanje potpuno novih, kompleksnih kompetencija, neophodnih za nove profesionalne i/ili stručne profile” (Ovesni i Pejatović, 2012: 168). Analizom dokumentacije EU može se zaključiti da KViS predstavlja „značajan aspekt koncepta

doživotnog učenja i obrazovanja, koji treba da budu kontinuirano dostupni, usmereni ka [...] zadovoljavanju obrazovnih potreba pojedinaca, ekonomije i šireg društva" (CEDEFOP, 2009, prema: Ovesni i Pejatović, 2012: 168).

Logično je da se difuzije politika, pod čime smatramo proces u kome se usvajanje politike dešava vođenjem iste politike koju vode neke druge zemlje, ali bez prinude (Holzinger et al., 2008, prema: Popović, 2014), politika EU prema problematici KViS reflektuje na politiku KViS RS. Na osnovu rezultata istraživanja Miljković i Alibabić (2016), u politikama obrazovanja odraslih postoji visok stepen podudarnosti sa sličnim politikama EU, nekada i do nivoa konvergencije, otvara se pitanje da li je to i ovde slučaj. Autori tvrde da „prenosivost obrazovnih ciljeva podrazumeva mogućnost prenošenja okvirne legislative, pa čak i obrazovnih programa" (Miljković & Alibabić, 2016: 176). Analizirajući KViS u Srbiji, Mihajlović ističe da „karijerno vođenje i savetovanje na nacionalnom nivou deli ista usmerenja koja se mogu pronaći i na evropskom nivou" (Mihajlović, 2014: 127). Pitanje je da li su evropska usmerenja samo „prepisana" u nacionalnu politiku, ili je kreiran, na njima baziran, sveobuhvatan, međusobno usklađen legislativni okvir. S obzirom na brojna otvorena pitanja povodom KViS u Srbiji, kao i značaj ovog fenomena na svim nivoima ljudske egzistencije, smatramo potrebnim i nužnim da se pozabavimo aktuelnim stanjem legislative KViS u RS, svesni činjenice da njeno postojanje i usmerenost ne garantuju i njenu implementaciju, koja ostaje u relacijama dimenzija *policy* i *politics*.

Metodološki okvir istraživanja

Kako je predmet našeg istraživanja iz oblasti obrazovne politike, odlučili smo se za kvalitativni pristup koji počiva na teoriji razumevanja (Matović, 2013). Naše osnovno istraživačko pitanje *Kako se u legislativnim dokumentima RS posmatra fenomen KViS* operacionalizovali smo preko niza posebnih istraživačkih pitanja, koja nam služe da sveobuhvatnije, dublje i potpunije sagledamo analizirani fenomen. To su: *Kako je KViS definisan u legislativnim dokumentima RS?*; *Koju svrhu legislativni dokumenti RS namenjuju KViS, odnosno s kojim ciljem se realizuju aktivnosti KViS?*; *Ko su definisani nosioci aktivnosti KViS na makro, mezo i mikro nivou u legislativi RS?*; *Koje ciljne grupe korisnika usluga KViS akcentuje legislativa RS?*; *Koje profesionalne pripadnosti i kakve kompetentnosti bi, prema legislativi RS, trebalo da budu karijerni praktičari?*; *Kako legislativa RS uređuje programe KViS, njihovu orijentaciju i mere kvaliteta?*; *Koje efekte KViS legislativa RS očekuje i kako ih meri?*. Izbor kvalitativnog istraživačkog pristupa, ali i osnovnog istraživačkog pitanja, uslovio je izbor metoda i tehnika. Korišćene su deskriptivna i komparativna metoda, kao i analiza dokumentacije. Deskriptivna metoda nam je neophodna da bismo što je moguće tačnije opisali posmatranu pojavu. Uz to, ekonomska je, jer omogućava da se obuhvati veliki broj činjenica (Bandur i Potkonjak, 1999). Uz pomoć komparativne metode upoređivali smo istorodne pojave u različitim legislativnim dokumentima, a što se tiče analize dokumentacije kao istraživačke metode, naglasimo mišljenje Miljevića koji smatra da je ovo „operativna metoda koja se može naći u istraživanjima u raznim ulogama" (Miljević, 2007: 236), odnosno kao metoda u prikupljanju podataka i kao metoda obrade

podataka, što smo i mi iskoristili. Kao tehnike istraživanja korišćene su analiza sadržaja dokumentacije, analiza narativa i diskursa, jer se radi o specifičnoj vrsti dokumentacije, kako po formi tako i po stilu pisanja. U odabiru dokumenata za analizu vodili smo se načelom da koristimo isključivo primarne izvore, odnosno zvanična dokumenta koja su doneli organi RS. Dokumenta obuhvaćena analizom pripadaju sektoru mladih, sektoru obrazovanja (od osnovnoškolskog do obrazovanja odraslih) i sektoru zapošljavanja, sa ciljem da obuhvatimo sve uzraste i sve životne uloge u kojima KViS može imati svoje mesto (u spisku literature navedena su analizirana dokumenta sa punim nazivima i skraćenicama koje će se koristiti u radu). Važan dokument Pravilnik o standardima usluga karijernog vođenja i savetovanja (Standardi KViS) nije pripao uzorku, već je korišćen kao referentna tačka za analizu ostale legislative. Istraživanje je realizovano tokom 2023. godine, a kao instrument korišćen je posebno konstruisan protokol.

Prikaz i analiza rezultata istraživanja

Analizom 19 dokumenata iz legislativnog opusa RS koji se bave, ili bi trebalo da se bave, tematikom KViS, pokušali smo da mapiramo regulisanost ove oblasti. Analizi smo pristupili tako što smo prethodno izdvojili određene elemente (videti Tabelu 1) koji su važni činioци KViS i razmatrali njihovo prisustvo i određenost u legislativi Srbije. Prvi utisak o potpori koju praksa KViS ima u legislativnom okviru možemo steći pogledom na Tabelu 1. Detaljnijom problematizacijom svakog elementa bavimo se u posebnim poglavljima koja slede.

Određenje KViS u legislativnim dokumentima RS

Podaci iz Tabele 1 pokazuju da je KViS jasno definisan samo u nekolicini dokumenata, prvenstveno u sektoru obrazovanja i na nivou strateških dokumenata. Zakonska regulativa ili ne prepoznaje KViS, ili se o njegovom određenju posredno saznaje kroz tekst zakona. U pojedinim zakonima koji se tiču obrazovanja je situacija nešto bolja, ali precizna definicija ipak izostaje.

Analiza postojećih određenja pokazuje da se na KViS gleda široko, poput definicije date u Članu 7 Zakona OO kojom se pod KViS podrazumeva „pružanje stručne podrške odraslima za lični i profesionalni razvoj i zapošljavanje” ili, pak, definicije date u dokumentima sadrže sažete ciljeve KViS, sužavaju sadržaj KViS ili obuhvataju vrlo specifične ciljne grupe, u odnosu na sektorsku pripadnost ili tematsku orijentaciju dokumenta (na primer Zakon o obrazovanju odraslih, 2020).

Konceptualna nedoslednost praćena je i nedovoljnom terminološkom usklađenosti. U pojedinim dokumentima dosledno je prihvaćena sintagma *karijerno vođenje i savetovanje*, dok se negde govori o *karijernom vođenju, savetovanju u planiranju karijere, profesionalnoj orijentaciji*. Nema jasnog isticanja odnosa ovih termina, a neretko se prećutno posmatraju kao sinonimi. Raznovrsnost u terminologiji postoji ne samo među različitim dokumentima, već i kroz jedinstven dokument (na primer Strategija KViS, 2010).

Tabela 1
Zastupljenost regulisanosti elemenata KV/S u analiziranim dokumentima

	Закон ОСОВ	СРОВРС 2030	Закон ОПШ	Закон СПШ	Закон ДУАЛ	Правилник Тим КВис	Закон УН	Закон ОО	Правилник ЛПОА 1	Правилник ЛПОА 2	Правилник ЛПШ	Извештај ЛПОО 2022	ЛПОО 2023	Закон НОКС	Закон РАД	Стратегија ЗАПОШЉ АВАЊЕ	Закон МЛАДИ	Стратегија МЛАДИ 2015-25	Стратегија КВис 2010
Одређење КВис																			
Циљ и сврха	+/-		+/-																
Носиоци активности	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+				+/+	+
Циљне групе корисника услуга	+		+	+	+	+		+/-				+	+	+	+/-	+		+	+
Професионална припадност каријерних практичара			+	+	+	+					+								+
Компетенције каријерних практичара											+/-								
Вештине управљања каријером	+/-					+/-													+/-
Област рада – информисање			+	+	+	+					+	+	+				+	+	+
Област рада – саветовање				+		+					+	+	+				+	+	+
Област рада – образовање за каријеру	+/-					+						+	+				+		
Програм		+	+	+		+/-						+	+						+
Организација услуга						+/-				+/-	+								
Ефекти	+/-	+/-				+					+/-	+/-	+/-			+/-	+/-	+/-	+

Легенда
Сива боја – елемент је у потпуности, скоро у потпуности, или јасно и непосредно дефинисан и регулисан
Светлосива боја и плус/минус – елемент је делимично или посредно дефинисан и регулисан
Празна поља – у датом документу у потпуности изостаје дефинисање, регулисање, или чак и помињање елемента

Напомена. Извор: Пејатовић i sar. (2023: 16).

Legislatura u sektoru obrazovanja, a posebno obrazovanja odraslih (u kojima je i KViS najviše zastupljen) direktno smešta KViS u aktuelni koncept celoživotnog učenja, posmatrajući ga kao njegov „sastavni deo“ (*Godišnji plan obrazovanja odraslih u Republici Srbiji za 2023. godinu*, 2023: 32). To iziskuje da KViS bude dostupan svim pojedincima, nevezano od njihovog uzrasta, obrazovanja, radnog statusa i slično, čime postaje međuresorna delatnost i predmet različitih sektorskih politika. Ipak, trenutna zakonska i podzakonska regulativa u RS prikazuje drugačiju sliku u kojoj se KViS segmentirano javlja, otežavajući time stvaranje jedinstvene politike KViS. Mnogi aspekti KViS su i dalje na nivou preporuka upravo zbog isuviše prostora u legislativi za različito interpretiranje koncepta KViS.

Svrha i ciljevi KViS u legislativnim dokumentima RS

Odgovor na naše drugo istraživačko pitanje, koju svrhu i ciljeve legislativni dokumenti RS namenjuju KViS, pruža sličnu sliku onoj koju vidimo kod definisanja ovog koncepta. Iako se, za razliku od određenja koncepta, ciljevi KViS mogu pronaći u nešto većem broju dokumenata (videti Tabelu 1), njihovo navođenje i dalje u znatnom broju dokumenata u potpunosti izostaje ili se o njima jedino može zaključiti prateći narativ dokumenta. Često se svrha i ciljevi prepoznaju indirektno – kroz definisanje koncepta, bliže određenje posla karijernih praktičara, rada školskog Tima za KViS itd.

Analizom su izdvojeni sledeći ciljevi KViS:

- lični razvoj;
- upravljanje procesima učenja, rada, karijernim promenama i drugim aspektima ličnog razvoja;
- razumevanje sebe u kontekstu profesionalnog razvoja, donošenje odluka po pitanju obrazovanja, učenja i rada, istraživanje mogućnosti za rad i učenje, upravljanje karijerom – jačanje veština upravljanja karijerom;
- profesionalni razvoj;
- unapređivanje zapošljivosti i zapošljavanja;
- prohodnost kroz nivoe Nacionalnog okvira kvalifikacija Srbije (NOKS), a time i lakša pokretljivost radne snage.

Bilo deciderano ili posredno određena, svrha koju je legislativa RS namenila KViS je pružanje podrške pojedincima da postanu „menadžeri svoje karijere“ (Mihajlović i Popović, 2012: 30; Strategija karijernog vođenja i savetovanja u Republici Srbiji, 2010: 11). U okviru ovog cilja, svaki legislativni dokument u skladu s oblašću koju uređuje daje specifičnije ciljeve. Na primer, Član 10 Zakona NOKS (2023) kao cilj usluge KViS vidi „podršku pojedincu za ostvarivanje prohodnosti kroz nivoe NOKS-a...“; Član 43 Zakona OŠ kao cilj određuje podršku za „izbor srednje škole i zanimanja u skladu sa sklonostima i sposobnostima učenika“ (pri čemu je važno naglasiti da se ovde govori o profesionalnoj orijentaciji, a ne KViS), i slično.

Kroz ciljeve KViS se ukazuje na značaj koje on ima za pojedinca i za društvo, što je posebno vidljivo u legislativi u sektoru zapošljavanja, gde se kao ciljevi KViS ističu unapređivanje zaposlenja, lakša pokretljivost radne snage i sl.

Organizacioni nosioci KViS u legislativi RS

Prema podacima u Tabeli 1 čini se da je ovaj element, u poređenju s ostalima, u većoj meri regulisan. Međutim, ukoliko sagledamo listu nosilaca aktivnosti KViS, može se konstatovati da su i oni u skladu sa preovlađujućim diskursom KViS, a to je „usmerenje koje dominantno ide ka mladima, i ka sektoru obrazovanja, sa blagim pomakom ka sektoru zapošljavanja” (Pejatović i sar., 2023: 20).

Na makronivou se nadležnost razliva na različita ministarstva, zavode i druge organizacije na nacionalnom nivou, shodno prirodi KViS kao međuresorne delatnosti. Podeljena nadležnost narušava kreiranje jedinstvenog sistema KViS njegovim pretvaranjem u set pojedinačnih aktivnosti koje odgovaraju interesima i potrebama određenog resora. Pomak ka efikasnijem upravljanju sistemom KViS napravljen je novim Zakonom NOKS, gde je krovna nadležnost za upravljanje dodeljena Agenciji za kvalifikacije (AZK), i delom Savetu za NOKS. Uzimajući u obzir postojeće organizacione jedinice AZK (RKIPSV centar – Centar za razvoj kvalifikacija i podršku sektorskim većima NOKS-a, ENIC/NARIC centar – organizaciona jedinica Agencije za kvalifikacije koja sprovodi postupak priznavanja strane školske isprave, JPOA centar – Centar za akreditaciju javno priznatih organizatora aktivnosti obrazovanja odraslih), nejasno je kojoj od njih pripada problematika KViS i otvara se pitanje aktuelnih kapaciteta AZK da se time bavi.

Na mezonivou, listu bi trebalo dopuniti organizacijama van sistema obrazovanja i sektora za mlade. Kompanije kao nosioci aktivnosti KViS izostaju, a Zakon o radu ne pominje nikakve nosioce KViS. Mihajlović i Popović ističu da je realizacija KViS u okriljima kompanija važan preduslov za prihvatanje koncepta doživotnog učenja i politiku aktivnog zapošljavanja (Mihajlović i Popović, 2012). Pored privrede, i civilni sektor je potrebno jače uključiti, što je prepoznato novim Zakonom NOKS.

Na mikronivou, pored pojedinaca koji realizuju aktivnosti KViS u okviru školskog sistema, kao nosioci definisani su *karijerni praktičari* (Zakon NOKS, 2023). Čini se da je svim pojedincima otvoren put da budu karijerni praktičari, ali nije definisano kako se to i postaje. Nedostaje jasnije uređenje njihove kvalifikovanosti i kompetentnosti, o čemu će biti reči kasnije.

Mogućnost za efikasnije upravljanje sistemom KViS, na sva tri nivoa, vidi se kroz umrežavanje njegovih nosilaca, koje „može biti put zadovoljavanja različitih potreba za karijernim vođenjem i savetovanjem” (Mihajlović i Popović, 2012: 38-39).

Ciljne grupe usluga KViS u legislativi RS

Određenje KViS koje zastupamo podrazumeva da je to celoživotni proces koji „pomaže pojedincima svih uzrasta u svim periodima njihovog života da donesu odluke relevantne za razvoj karijere, a koje obuhvataju i lični i profesionalni domen” (Pejatović i sar., 2023: 17). Shodno tome, svi bi trebalo da spadaju u ciljnu grupu KViS. Međutim, analiza pokazuje da legislativni okvir RS ipak postavlja granice i da ciljna grupa nije toliko raznovrsna koliko bi se očekivalo da bude.

Tabela 2

Nosioci aktivnosti KViS na makro, mezo i mikro nivou

NIVO	NOSIOCI AKTIVNOSTI
MAKRONIVO (nacionalni)	Ministarstvo nadležno za obrazovanje
	Ministarstvo nadležno za mlade
	Ministarstvo nadležno za zapošljavanje
	Savet za mlade
	Krovna organizacija mladih Srbije
	Nacionalna asocijacija praktičara/ki omladinskog rada
	Nacionalna asocijacija kancelarija za mlade
	Agencija za kvalifikacije
	Zavod za unapređivanje obrazovanja i vaspitanja
	Zavod za vrednovanje kvaliteta obrazovanja i vaspitanja
	Savet za stručno obrazovanje i obrazovanje odraslih
	Savet za NOKS
	Sektorska veća
	Privredna komora Srbije
	Nacionalna služba za zapošljavanje
	Nacionalna akademija za javnu upravu
	Fondacija Tempus
MEZONIVO (lokalni)	Organizacije u lokalnoj zajednici sa kojima škola sarađuje, a koje se bave KViS
	Osnovna i srednja škola ili druga organizacija koje imaju status JPOA za aktivnosti KViS za odrasle
	Centar za karijerno vođenje i savetovanje i podršku studentima
	Udruženja mladih i udruženja za mlade
	Savezi udruženja mladih i udruženja za mlade
	Pokrajinski savet za mlade i savet za mlade jedinice lokalne samouprave
	Kancelarije za mlade
	Organizacije civilnog društva koje se bave KViS
	Agencije za zapošljavanje
	Agencija za mlade
	Druga pravna lica
MIKRONIVO (pojedinci)	Karijerni praktičari
	Roditelji i drugi zakonski zastupnici
	Tim za profesionalnu orijentaciju u osnovnoj školi
	Tim za karijerno vođenje i savetovanje u srednjoj školi
	Tim za karijerno vođenje i savetovanje u dualnom obrazovanju

Napomena 1. Prilagođeno na osnovu Pejatović i sar., 2023: 19-20.

Napomena 2. Nazivi nosilaca aktivnosti su prikazani onako kako su navedeni u analiziranim legislativnim dokumentima.

Ciljne grupe sagledali smo u odnosu na tri kriterijuma (koja su se izdvojila i kroz samu analizu):

- starost;
- obrazovni status;
- radni status – (ne)zaposlenost.

Prema starosti, legislativna dokumenta RS kao korisnike usluga KViS akcentuju mlade i mlade odrasle (15–30 god.). Pri tome se uvažavaju i različite karijerne potrebe mladih, pa je u dokumentima poput Strategije KViS prisutno dalje raščlanjavanje na potkategorije prema uzrastu (do 14 god., 15–18, 19–30, 30+). Iako su u istoj strategiji odrasli preko 45 godina prepoznati kao osetljiva kategorija, nema dalje razrade ponude za njih. Diverzifikacija odraslih kao ciljne grupe izostaje čak i u dokumentima koja uređuju obrazovanje odraslih. Razmatrajući razlike između mladih i odraslih, Mihajlović ističe da one „iziskuju potrebu da se odraslima omoguće dodatne i svakako drugačije aktivnosti karijernog vođenja i savetovanja” (Mihajlović, 2014: 130).

Legislatura RS ne samo da akcentuje mlade, već najčešće mlade koji su u obrazovnom sistemu. U tom smislu se obrazovni status izdvojio kao jedan od kriterijuma po kojem se posebno izdvaja ciljna grupa – učenici. Jedino se u Nacionalnoj strategiji za mlade kao ciljna grupa pominju i *mladi van obrazovnog sistema*.

Kada je reč o radnom statusu, aktivnosti KViS uglavnom su namenjene nezaposlenim licima. Strategija ZAPOSŁJAVANJE među korisnike aktivne mere politike zapošljavanja ubraja i zaposlene, međutim segmenti dokumenta koji se direktno tiču aktivnosti KViS ipak naglašavaju usmerenost usluga ka nezaposlenim mladima i odraslima. Kao i u slučaju nosilaca aktivnosti KViS gde analiza ukazuje na nedostatak prepoznavanja poslodavaca kao bitnih pružalaca usluga, i podaci o ciljnim grupama još jednom ukazuju na potrebu za daljom razradom sistema KViS u sektoru zapošljavanja i privrede.

Kao posebna ciljna grupa ističu se karijerni praktičari. Kada se o njima govori kao o korisnicima aktivnosti KViS, misli se na aktivnosti namenjene razvoju njihove kompetentnosti za obavljanje ove uloge. Među njima se pominju nastavnici i stručni saradnici koji sprovode aktivnosti KViS u školama, karijerni praktičari u NSZ i organizacijama civilnog društva, edukatori, omladinski radnici, socijalni radnici...

Ukrštajući posmatrane kriterijume mogli bismo zaključiti je legislativa KViS usmerena ka mladima kao krajnjim korisnicima, a posebno ka mladima u obrazovnom sistemu, kao i ka nezaposlenim licima. Ovakvo usmerenje u suprotnosti je sa savremenim i promovisanim shvatanjem KViS, svodeći ga na svakako važan, ali samo jedan njegov deo.

Legislativno određenje profesionalne pripadnosti i kompetentnosti karijernih praktičara

U prethodnim poglavljima dotakli smo se karijernih praktičara i nerešenosti pitanja njihove profesionalne pripadnosti i kompetentnosti. Zakon NOKS ne rešava to pitanje, ali jasno navodi da karijerni praktičari mogu biti osobe različitih kvalifikacija, bez ograničavanja vrste ili nivoa kvalifikacije. Profesionalna pripadnost je naizgled bliže definisana u sektoru obrazovanja. Dok s jedne strane dokumenta specifikuju pedagoge i psihologe

kao nosioce, s druge strane otvaraju mogućnost nastavnicima bilo kog predmeta da realizuju aktivnosti KViS, čime brišu granice profesionalne pripadnosti karijernih praktičara.

Mogli bismo reći da je kompetentnost karijernih praktičara nešto definisanija, ali analiza ukazuje na niz nerešenih pitanja. Standardi KViS obuhvataju i standarde kompetencija praktičara koje daju set opštih i specifičnih kompetencija prema oblastima rada. Iako su kompetencije definisane Standardima KViS, druga dokumenta ne referišu na njih (videti Tabelu 1), a vidljiva je i potreba da se definiše način sticanja kompetencija. Dok način nije definisan zakonskom regulativom, ponuda za razvoj kompetencija karijernih praktičara u praksi postoji – u GPOO 2023 planiran je niz različitih aktivnosti s ovim ciljem. Podaci pokazuju da je težnja ka razvoju kompetencija karijernih praktičara vidljiva na nivou strateških dokumenata, ali oni ne pretpostavljaju obaveznost.

Programi KViS u legislativi RS

Dva aspekta programa KViS je neophodno regulisati legislativnim okvirom:

1. ka kome i ka čemu su usmereni programi KViS (programska orijentacija);
2. kako se legislativnim dokumentima obezbeđuje kvalitet programa KViS (kriterijumi kvaliteta).

Polaznu osnovu za regulisanje oba pitanja čine Standardi KViS, čija će primena umnogome zavistiti od podrške obezbeđene kroz druga legislativna dokumenta koja, kako naša analiza ukazuje, najčešće izostaje. Programi KViS se pominju u nekoliko dokumenata, najčešće strateških i, shodno uočenoj tendenciji razvijenosti KViS u sektoru obrazovanja, u zakonima koji se tiču osnovnog i srednjeg obrazovanja (Pejatović i sar., 2023). Dokumenta koja regulišu sektore zapošljavanja i mladih ne obrađuju direktno tematiku programa KViS.

Kada je reč o programskoj orijentaciji, pitanje o ciljnim grupama je već obrađeno, zbog čega ćemo se na ovom mestu koncentrisati na sadržajnu usmerenost programa. Prema Standardima KViS, programi bi trebalo da razvijaju veštine upravljanja karijerom (VUK). U većini analiziranih dokumenata one se uopšte ne pominju (Tabela 1), a samo ponegde se mogu indirektno prepoznati kroz tekst dokumenta. Izuzetak se javlja kod Pravilnika KVIS Tim DUAL gde se eksplicitno navodi da Tim za KViS „organizuje i sprovodi aktivnosti savetovanja, informisanja i obučavanja za veštine upravljanja karijerom u skladu sa Standardima” (Član 4).

Programsku orijentaciju je moguće razmatrati u odnosu na još dva kriterijuma: domen razvoja ličnosti i usmerenost na određene oblasti rada KViS. Orijentacija programa na lični razvoj postoji samo u GPOO 2023, dok se u ostalim dokumentima ostaje u okriljima povećanja zapošljavanja i unapređivanja zapošljivosti.

Fragmentarni pristup zastupljen je i kad je reč o oblastima rada. Usluge KViS se mogu podeliti na informisanje, savetovanje i obrazovanje za karijeru. Najkorisnije je primenjivati ih holistički, kao objedinjen klaster aktivnosti, pa je očekivano da ga tako obrađuje i legislativni korpus. No, pregledom Tabele 1 vidimo ne samo da je neujednačena pokrivenost triju oblasti rada KViS u dokumentima, već se fragmentiranost usložnjava time što se različita dokumenta bave različitim oblastima rada. Jedino Zakon MLADI, mada veoma široko,

i Pravilnik Tim KViS DUAL obrađuju sve tri oblasti. Sva ostala dokumenta izostave po jedan deo slagalice. Prisutan disbalans u orijentaciji programa prema oblastima rada KViS „oslikava nestratično kreiranje regulativnog okvira za KViS, ili pak oslikava upravo strateško planiranje realizacije najjeftinije aktivnosti KViS (informisanja), što indirektno govori o prioritizaciji KViS od strane donosioca odluka” (Pejatović i sar., 2023: 26-27).

Drugo važno pitanje vezano za programe KViS jeste pitanje njihovog kvaliteta – da li i na koji način legislativni okvir RS obezbeđuje mehanizme za postavljanje i praćenje kvaliteta programa KViS.

Standardi KViS propisuju da celovit KViS program ima definisan cilj, ishode, zasnovanost na ispitanim obrazovnim potrebama ciljne grupe, definisan način i vreme trajanja, plan evaluacije programa i merenje njegovih efekata, što su indikatori kvaliteta jednog obrazovnog programa. Stoga smo sagledali koliko legislativni sistem prepoznaje ove elemente i kakvu potporu pruža ostvarenju ovih finih zahteva koje postavljaju Standardi KViS. Rezultati analize ne pružaju povoljnu sliku ni po ovom pitanju – obuhvaćena dokumenta se „izrazito retko, ako i uopšte, potanko dotiču prethodno navedenih elemenata programa” (Pejatović i sar., 2023: 23). Čak i u retkim dokumentima u kojima se eksplicitno pominju programi KViS nema celovite i detaljne razrade programa prema svim elementima.

Postojanje Standarda programa KViS znači postojanje legislative o kvalitetu programa. Ipak, njihova nedovoljna zastupljenost u drugim, a posebno zakonskim dokumentima, ukazuje na nepostojanje obaveze implementacije tog kvaliteta, čime se obesmišljava i postojanje samih Standarda KViS. Legislativni okvir RS propisuje indikatore kvaliteta programa kroz postojeće Standarde KViS, ali nedostaju mehanizmi za obezbeđivanje i praćenje istih, odnosno podrška njegovoj implementaciji. Unapređenje ovog pitanja vidi se kroz usklađivanje legislativnih dokumenata s postojećim Standardima KViS, a posebno onih dokumenata koji propisuju obaveznost u primeni.

Posebno važan element za obezbeđivanje kvaliteta celokupnog sistema KViS jeste praćenje njegovih efekata, zbog čega je ovaj segment razmatran kao posebno istraživačko pitanje.

Efekti KViS

Ako KViS posmatramo kao integrativnu uslugu koja počinje ispitivanjem (obrazovnih) potreba krajnjih korisnika, a završava se procenom uspešnosti realizacije usluge, onda uslugu KViS posmatramo kao obrazovni ciklus. Evaluacija je integralni korak njegovog uspešnog ostvarenja (Pastuović, 1978), i može se odnositi na procenu različitih elemenata i aspekata obrazovnog ciklusa. Jedan od njih koji najviše ukazuje na ostvarenu vrednost obrazovnog ciklusa jesu dugoročni efekti do kojih dovodi. Važnost evaluiranja efekata prepoznata je u Standardima KViS, gde se u Članu 1 navodi da je njihov stub primena „politike obezbeđivanja dokaza za efekte KViS”, a kao poseban indikator Standarda programa KViS je naveden „jasno definisan način merenja efekata” (stavka 7.3) (Strategija karijernog vođenja i savetovanja u Republici Srbiji, 2010).

Kada pogledamo Tabelu 1, možemo videti da se praćenje efekata eksplicitno pominje samo u jednom aktuelnom dokumentu, koji se tiče dualnog sistema obrazovanja. Iako ih vidimo i u Strategiji KViS, ona datira iz 2010. godine, te se ne može uzeti kao pokazatelj aktuelnog stanja u politikama KViS.

Strateška dokumenta pokazuju da je u okviru douniverzitetskog obrazovanja o efektima KViS planirano da se zaključuje na osnovu indikatora kao što su nastavak obrazovanja i zapošljavanje pojedinaca koji su stekli određenu kvalifikaciju (SROVRS 2030, 2020); ili, mada prilično indirektno, na osnovu retencije učenika u obrazovanju ili brzine završetka nivoa obrazovanja (ZOSOV, 2021). U okviru dualnog sistema obrazovanja se usluge KViS uglavnom vrednuju preko postignutosti ishoda VUK, dakle preko *ishoda*, a praćenje *efekata* izostaje. Eventualno se može pretpostaviti da će se meriti zapošljivost učenika, no bez razvijenog mehanizma kako.

Korak ka regulaciji oblasti KViS načinjen je time što je AZK dodeljeno krovno zaduženje evaluacije rada organizacija koje se bave KViS (Zakon NOKS, 2023, prema: Pejatović i sar., 2023). Međutim, u predloženom mehanizmu izveštavanja od strane organizacija o sprovedenim uslugama KViS izostaje izveštavanje o praćenju dugoročnih efekata tih aktivnosti. Uz nedostatke u samoj proceduri, otvoreno je pitanje kapaciteta AZK da studiozno prati kvalitet usluga KViS u svim sektorima. ZOSOV (2021) definiše da je za stručno obrazovanje i obrazovanje odraslih nosilac evaluacije razvoja i sprovođenja KViS Savet za stručno obrazovanje i obrazovanje odraslih. Nedostaje dalja razrada kako će Savet to sprovoditi i da li će sarađivati sa AZK.

Zaključna razmatranja

U uslovima transformacije koncepta karijere, KViS postaje celoživotni proces i instrument podrške pojedincima da postanu i ostanu menadžeri svoje karijere, od najranijeg uzrasta do kraja života, u cilju ličnog i profesionalnog razvoja. S obzirom na kompleksnost KViS kao međuresorne delatnosti, u cilju konstituisanja jedinstvenog efikasnog i efektivnog sistema, neophodna je usaglašena, a u isto vreme diverzifikovana legislativa. Stoga smo u radu pokušali da sagledamo kako je KViS uređen legislativnim okvirom u Srbiji.

Sprovedena analiza ukazuje na fragmentarni i neujednačen pristup politici KViS u našoj zemlji, što je posledica međuresornosti ove delatnosti i nepostojanja jedinstvenog integrativnog tela i dokumenta koji bi objedinili, koordinisali i usmerili različite interese i delatnosti mnogobrojnih interesnih strana u ovom procesu. Legislativnim okvirom jeste postavljena osnova za KViS u Srbiji, ali i dalje važna pitanja vezana za KViS u velikom broju dokumenata izostaju, često se samo pominjući bez jasnih određenja, ili se o njima implicitno zaključuje čitajući između redova. Neretko se uočavaju neusklađenosti u definisanju samog koncepta, preklapanja među dokumentima u vezi s ciljnim grupama, nadležnošću i sl. Iako su identifikovani naponi ka većoj legislativnoj uređenosti ove oblasti, aktuelno stanje govori o nedovoljnoj razvijenosti jedinstvene, integralne politike KViS u našoj zemlji.

U odnosu na tri posmatrana sektora, KViS je najrazrađeniji u dokumentima koja se tiču obrazovanja, a najveća potreba za boljom transparentnošću i integrisanošću vidljiva je u sektoru zapošljavanja i rada. Po pitanju ciljnih grupa, akcentuju se mladi, najčešće u formalnom školskom sistemu, što otvara prostor za dalje proširenje obuhvatnosti ciljnih grupa. Pored toga, u odnosu na oblasti rada, zastupljeno je prevashodno usmerenje ka informisanju (o daljim obrazovnim mogućnostima i prilikama za zaposlenje), dok su druge dve oblasti rada (savetovanje i obrazovanje za karijeru) mestimično pominjane i regulisane. Ovakav pristup, uzak i po pitanju sadržaja i ciljnih grupa, u suprotnosti je sa paradigmom celoživotnog učenja u koju se smešta KViS, kako u EU diskursu tako i u našoj zemlji. Na osnovu rezultata analize, čini se da pre možemo da govorimo o diskursu celoživotnog obrazovanja umesto učenja, s obzirom na to da je politika KViS najintegrisanija kroz nivoe formalnog sistema obrazovanja, i delom neformalnog obrazovanja odraslih (kroz JPOA i PPU koji je trenutno aktuelan u obrazovnoj politici Srbije).

Takođe, uočen je nesklad između aktuelnog i promovisanog modela KViS kao razvojnog, obuhvatajući time holistički razvoj individue (lični i profesionalni) i modela uočenog analizom za koji bismo mogli reći da je više neoliberalni i kompenzacijski (sa prevashodnim ciljem zapošljavanja i kompenzacije obrazovnih i karijernih nedostataka). Dok ciljevi KViS identifikovani analizom jasno ističu i lični razvoj individue, u razradi drugih elemenata (ciljne grupe – mladi, nezaposleni; informisanje kao primarna oblast rada, prevashodna programska orijentacija ka povećanju zapošljivosti) čini se da ovaj segment izostaje. Dalja razrada elemenata KViS u legislativnom okviru RS ne samo da treba da bude detaljnija i usklađenija, već i strateški osmišljena u skladu sa celoživotnom koncepcijom karijernog razvoja.

S aspekta nauka o obrazovanju, značajno je pomenuti i karijerne praktičare kao još jedan važan element koji smo u ovom radu posmatrali. Legislativni okvir Srbije širom otvara vrata po pitanju njihove profesionalne pripadnosti, čime zapravo još jače ističe uočenu potrebu za bližim određenjem njihove kompetentnosti i načina njenog razvoja, posebno u zakonskim dokumentima.

Kako bi uloženi napor u razvoj oblasti KViS imao više smisla, potrebno je da postoji razvijen sistem evaluacije usluga KViS, a posebno njihovih dugoročnih efekata. Suštinski problem zakonskih i podzakonskih akata je što iz svih njih izostaju jasna procedura i indikatori za sprovođenje praćenja i procene efekata usluga KViS, bez čega se ne može očekivati uspešan strateški razvoj KViS u celini. Od celokupne legislative, samo Standardi KViS pozivaju na razradu mehanizama praćenja efekata, a oni su neobavezujući dokument.

Vraćajući se na osnovno istraživačko pitanje, mogli bismo reći da legislativni okvir RS prepoznaje KViS kao fenomen značajan kako za pojedinca tako i za društvo u celini, ali je za kreiranje jedinstvene politike KViS u Srbiji neophodno učiniti niz koraka. Oni se tiču iznalaženja načina da KViS ostane međuresorna delatnost (što ona *de facto* jeste), koja ipak mora do neke mere biti centralizovana u koordinaciji i kontroli, gde se jasno vidi deficit u telu koje bi to realizovalo, kao i u jedinstvenom strateškom dokumentu koji bi objedinio različite interese i tendencije u ovoj oblasti, ali je i jasno orijentisao u pravcu daljeg usmeravanja i razvoja.

Literatura

- Alibabić, Š., Miljković, J. i Ovesni, K. (2012). Obrazovanje odraslih u regionalnim obrazovnim politikama. U N. Vujisić Živković, M. Mitrović i K. Ovesni (ur.), *Posebna pitanja kvaliteta u obrazovanju* (str. 9-24). Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu.
- Bandur, V. i Potkonjak, N. (1999). *Metodologija pedagogije*. Savez pedagoških društava Jugoslavije.
- Branković, N. (2010). Primena modela karijernog vođenja i savetovanja u srednjem stručnom obrazovanju. *Pedagoška stvarnost*, 66 (7-8), 604-616.
- Matović, N. (2013). *Kombinovanje kvantitativnog i kvalitativnog pristupa u pedagoškim istraživanjima*. Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu.
- Mihajlović, D. (2021). *Obrazovanje kao komponenta karijernog vođenja i savetovanja u tranzicionim periodima profesionalnog obrazovanja odraslih* (doktorska disertacija). NaRDUS (123456789/20650).
- Mihajlović, D. (2014). Karijerno vođenje i savetovanje odraslih u Srbiji – od problema do mogućnosti. U B. Knežić, A. Pejatović i Z. Milošević (ur.), *Modeli procenjivanja i strategije unapređivanja kvaliteta obrazovanja odraslih u Srbiji* (str. 125-140). Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu.
- Mihajlović, D. i Popović, A. (2012). Karijerno vođenje i savetovanje u evropskim dokumentima. *Obrazovanje odraslih*, 11(2), 27-46.
- Miljević, M. (2007). *Metodologija naučnog rada*. Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Istočnom Sarajevu.
- Meyer, T. (2013). *Uvod u politiku*. CID, Politička kultura nakladno-istraživački zavod d.o.o.
- Miljković, J., & Alibabić, Š. (2016). Diffusion of Adult Educational Policies in the European Educational Space. In A. Pejatović, R. Egetenmeyer, & M. Slowey (Eds.), *Contribution of Research to Improvement of Adult Education Quality* (pp. 167-182). Institute of Pedagogy and Andragogy & University of Wurtsburg, Dublin City University.
- Ovesni, K. i Pejatović, A. (2012). Savetovanje i vođenje u obrazovanju: potrebe i modeli. U Š. Alibabić, S. Medić i B. Bodroški-Spariosu (ur.), *Kvalitet u obrazovanju: izazovi i perspektive* (str. 167-184). Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu.
- Pastuović, N. (1978). *Obrazovni ciklus: opća metodika obrazovanja zaposlenih*. Andragoški centar.
- Pejatović, A., Orlović Lovren, V., Miljković, J., Mihajlović, D., Robertson, K., Radovanović, B., Čairović Pavlović, N. i Kuzmanović, U. (2023). *Završni izveštaj o sprovedenom istraživanju o implementaciji usluga KViS uključujući i primenu standarda KViS definisanih podzakonskim aktom*. Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filozofski fakultet, IPA.
- Pejatović, A. i Orlović Lovren, V. (2014). *Zaposlenost i obrazovanje posle pedesete*. IPA, DAS. Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu i Društvo andragoga Srbije.
- Popović, K. (2014). *Globalna i evropska politika obrazovanja odraslih – koncepti, paradigme i pristupi*. Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu i Društvo obrazovanja odraslih.
- Pravilnik o standardima usluga karijernog vođenja i savetovanja* (2019). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 43/2019.

Savićević, D. (2003). *Komparativna andragogija*. IPA. Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu.

Dokumenta koja čine uzorak istraživanja

Akcion plan za period od 2021. do 2023. godine za sprovođenje Strategije zapošljavanja u Republici Srbiji za period od 2021. do 2026. godine (2021). Službeni glasnik, br. 30/2021. (analizirano u sklopu Strategije zapošljavanja u Republici Srbiji za period od 2021. do 2026. godine)

Godišnji plan obrazovanja odraslih u Republici Srbiji za 2023. godinu (Predlog). [GPOO 2023]

Izveštaj o realizaciji godišnjeg plana obrazovanja odraslih u Republici Srbiji u 2022. godini. [Izveštaj GPOO 2022]

Nacionalna strategija za mlade za period od 2015. do 2025. godine (2015). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije br. 22/2015.

Pravilnik o bližim uslovima u pogledu programa, kadra, prostora, opreme i nastavnih sredstava za sticanje statusa javno priznatog organizatora aktivnosti obrazovanja odraslih (2021). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 130/2021. [Pravilnik JPOA 1]

Pravilnik o bližim uslovima, načinu rada, aktivnostima i sastavu Tim za karijerno vođenje i savetovanje u srednjoj školi koja realizuje obrazovne profile u dualnom obrazovanju (2019). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 2/2019. [Pravilnik Tim DUAL]

Pravilnik o standardima i načinu sprovođenja postupka priznavanja prethodnog učenja (2020). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije br. 148/2020. [Pravilnik PPU]

Pravilnik o vrsti, nazivu i sadržaju obrazaca i načinu vođenja evidencija i nazivu, sadržaju i izgledu obrazaca javnih isprava i uverenja u obrazovanju odraslih (2022). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 102/2022. [Pravilnik JPOA 2]

Strategija karijernog vođenja i savetovanja u Republici Srbiji (2010). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 16/2010. [Strategija KViS]

Strategija razvoja obrazovanja i vaspitanja u Republici Srbiji do 2030. godine (2021). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 63/2021. [SROVRS 2030]

Strategija zapošljavanja u Republici Srbiji za period od 2021. do 2026. godine (2021). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 18/21 i br. 36/21 - ispravka. [Strategija ZAPOS LJAVANJE]

Zakon o dualnom obrazovanju (2020). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 6/2020. [Zakon DUAL]

Zakon o mladima (2022). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 116/2022. [Zakon MLADI]

Zakon o Nacionalnom okviru kvalifikacija Republike Srbije (2023). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 76/2023. [Zakon NOKS]

Zakon o obrazovanju odraslih (2020). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 6/2020. [Zakon OO]

Zakon o osnovama sistema vaspitanja i obrazovanja u Republici Srbiji (2021). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 129/2021. [ZOSOV]

Zakon o osnovnom obrazovanju i vaspitanju (2021). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 129/2021. [Zakon OŠ]

Zakon o radu (2017). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije , br. 113/2017. [Zakon RAD]

Zakon o srednjem obrazovanju i vaspitanju (2021). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije , br. 129/2021. [Zakon SŠ]

Zakon o visokom obrazovanju (2021). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije , br. 67/2021. [Zakon UN]

Primljeno: 12.07.2024.

Korigovana verzija primljena: 31.08. 2024.

Prihvaćeno za štampu: 08.09.2024.

Jovan Miljković

Odeljenje za pedagogiju i andragogiju, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Beograd, Srbija
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7693-7700>

Neda Čairović Pavlović

Odeljenje za pedagogiju i andragogiju, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Beograd, Srbija
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5758-6979>

Kristina Robertson

Odeljenje za pedagogiju i andragogiju, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Beograd, Srbija
<https://orcid.org/0009-0001-2576-2541>

Uredništvo časopisa „Nastava i vaspitanje“ zahvaljuje recenzentima koji su svojim stručnim uvidima, savetima i konstruktivnim sugestijama doprineli unapređenju kvaliteta radova u 2024. godini:

dr Maja Andrijević, docent Filološko-umetničkog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Kragujevcu
dr Radovan Antonijević, redovan profesor Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Beogradu
dr Dejana Boulet, redovni profesor Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Zagrebu
dr Otilija Velišek Braško, profesor strukovnih studija Visoke škole strukovnih studija za obrazovanje vaspitača u Novom Sadu
dr Marina Videnović, naučni saradnik Instituta za psihologiju Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Beogradu
dr Jelena Vranješević, redovni profesor Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Beogradu
dr Milja Vujačić, naučni savetnik Instituta za pedagoška istraživanja u Beogradu
dr Nataša Lalić-Vučetić, naučni saradnik Instituta za pedagoška istraživanja u Beogradu
dr Hajdana Glomazić, naučni saradnik Instituta za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja u Beogradu
dr Špela Golubović, redovni profesor Medicinskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu
dr Saša Dubljanin, docent Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Beogradu
dr Rajka Đević, naučni saradnik Instituta za pedagoška istraživanja u Beogradu
dr Andrijana Žekić, vanredni profesor Fizičkog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Beogradu
dr Slađana Zuković, redovni profesor Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu
dr Ivana Jeremić, docent Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Beogradu
dr Ana Jovanović, vanredni profesor Filološkog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Beogradu
dr Mojca Jurišević, redovni profesor Pedagoškog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Ljubljani
dr Jasmina Bećirović-Karabegović, vanredni profesor Pedagoškog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Sarajevu
dr Bojan Lazarević, docent na Institutu za napredne obrazovne tehnologije, Univerzitet na Floridi
dr Milijana Lazarević, asistent na Visokoj školi strukovnih studija za vaspitače i poslovne informatičare „Sirmijum“, Sremska Mitrovica
dr Biljana Lungulov, vanredni profesor Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu
dr Bojan Ljujić, docent Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Beogradu
dr Ljiljana Manić, redovni profesor na Akademiji za humani razvoj u Beogradu
dr Nataša Matović, redovni profesor Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Beogradu
dr Nikola Macut, docent Arhitektonskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Beogradu
dr Zorica Milošević, docent Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Beogradu
dr Snežana Mirkov, naučni saradnik Instituta za pedagoška istraživanja u Beogradu
dr Nevena Mitranić Marinković, docent Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Beogradu
dr Jelena Radišić, istraživač na Fakultetu organizacionih nauka, Univerzitet u Oslu
dr Vera Savić, docent Pedagoškog fakulteta u Jagodini, Univerzitet u Kragujevcu
dr Nataša Simić, viši naučni saradnik Instituta za psihologiju Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Beogradu
dr Vera Spasenović, redovni profesor Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Beogradu

dr Zorica Stanisavljević Petrović, redovni profesor Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Nišu
dr Jelena Stanišić, naučni saradnik Instituta za pedagoška istraživanja u Beogradu
dr Emina Hebib, redovni profesor Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Beogradu
dr Andreja Hočevan, vanredni profesor Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Ljubljani
dr Zorica Šaljić, vanredni profesor Filozofskog fakulteta, Univerzitet u Beogradu

Uputstvo za autore

Nastava i vaspitanje je časopis u kojem se objavljuju originalni naučni i pregledni radovi pedagoške tematike.

Dostavljanje radova

Dostavljanje radova

Radovi se dostavljaju isključivo posredstvom SCIndeks Asistent sistema za uređivanje časopisa koji možete pronaći nalinku:

<https://aseestant.ceon.rs/index.php/nasvas/index>

Tekstove je potrebno pripremiti u skladu sa tehničkim uputstvima datim u Uputstvu za autore. Obaveza autora je da na adresu Uredništva šalju isključivo originalne radove koji nisu objavljeni ili istovremeno ponuđeni nekom drugom časopisu. U skladu sa tim autori su dužni da uz rad dostave i popunjenu i potpisanu Izjavu o autorstvu (dokument se nalazi na sajtu časopisa).

Uz rad, potrebno je dostaviti sledeće informacije o autoru (autorima): ime, srednje slovo i prezime, godinu rođenja, ORCID, punu afilijaciju i službeni e-mail adresu. Radne verzije grafikona i tabela se prilažu u excel formatu.

Etičke norme

Dostavljeni radovi moraju biti napisani u skladu sa etičkim standardima koji važe za naučno-istraživačke radove, uz poštovanje principa dobrobiti i dostojanstva učesnika u istraživanju, kao i zaštite njihove privatnosti (za dodatne informacije, konsultovati poslednju verziju *APA Publication Manual*).

Ocenjivanje radova

Nakon prijema radova urednici obavljaju pregled radova i donose odluku o tome koji radovi ulaze u proces recenziranja. Ukoliko se rad tematski ne uklapa u koncepciju časopisa, ne uvažava etičke norme ili nije usklađen sa Uputstvom za autore, autori se obaveštavaju o tome da rad ne može biti prihvaćen.

Radove koji uđu u proces recenziranja, procenjuju dva kompetentna recenzenta. Recenzenti ne znaju identitet autora, niti autori dobijaju podatke o identitetu recenzenata.

Nakon recenziranja, Uredništvo donosi odluku o objavljivanju, korekciji ili odbijanju rada. Autori dobijaju recenzije i informaciju o odluci Uredništva.

Prilikom dostavljanja korigovane verzije rada, autori su dužni da u pisanoj formi Uredništvo upoznaju sa svim izvršenim izmenama (broj stranice na kojoj se nalazi izmena i označavanje mesta na kome je promena izvršena), kao i da u tekstu jasno označe izvršene izmene u skladu sa preporukama recenzenata.

Radovi se nakon prihvatanja za objavljivanje upućuju na softversku proveru na plagijarizam. Ukoliko rezultati provere pokažu da rad sadrži plagirani tekst, rad neće biti objavljen i pored pozitivnih recenzija.

Objavljivanje radova

Ukoliko je rad napisan na srpskom jeziku autori su dužni da dostave prevod apstrakta na engleski jezik.

Autori će na uvid dobiti tekst koji je pripremljen za štampu kako bi se obezbedila konačna verifikacija pre objavljivanja. Ovaj korak ne dozvoljava dodavanje novog teksta ili značajnije promene u radu.

Troškovi objavljivanja radova

Objavljivanje rada u časopisu *Nastava i vaspitanje* se ne naplaćuje. Izdavač časopisa snosi troškove lekture, tehničke pripreme i štampanja radova.

Tehnička uputstva za pisanje rada

Jezik rada

Rad se dostavlja u tekst procesoru Microsoft Word, stranica A4 formata, font Times New Roman, veličina slova 12, prored 1,5.

Rad se dostavlja na srpskom (koristi se ćirilično pismo – Serbian, cyrillic) ili engleskom jeziku. Apstrakt rada se dostavlja i na srpskom i na engleskom jeziku, bez obzira na to da li je jezik rada srpski ili engleski.

Dužina rada

Obim rada obuhvata jedan autorski tabak, odnosno do 30.000 znakova s praznim mestima. Izuzetno, pregledni radovi i radovi koji predstavljaju teorijske analize mogu da budu dužine do 50.000 znakova. U obim nisu uračunati apstrakt i spisak korišćene literature na kraju rada. Urednici zadržavaju pravo da donose odluku o objavljivanju radova dužeg obima od predviđenog ukoliko tematika rada i/ili predmet istraživanja to zahtevaju i ukoliko se radi o naučnim tekstovima visokog nivoa kvaliteta.

Elementi i struktura rada

Naslov rada. Naslov rada treba da bude koncizan, precizno formulisan i formatiran kao rečenica, bold, centrirano, veličina slova 14.

Ukoliko su radovi rezultat rada na naučno-istraživačkim projektima, u fusnoti uz naslov rada navode se osnovni podaci o projektu.

Apstrakt. Apstrakt treba da ima od 150 do 250 reči. Ukoliko je reč o radu koji predstavlja prikaz obavljenog istraživanja, apstrakt treba da sadrži sledeće elemente: značaj problema istraživanja, ciljeve istraživanja, metodologiju istraživanja, ključne rezultate istraživanja, zaključke i pedagoške implikacije. U slučaju preglednog rada ili rada koji predstavlja teorijsku analizu, apstrakt treba da sadrži: problem koji se u radu razmatra, prikaz strukture rada, ključne postavke koje se daju u radu i zaključke. Apstrakt treba da bude napisan u jednom pasusu, bez pozivanja na reference, veličina slova 11, obostrano poravnan.

Ključne reči. Uz apstrakt se navode ključne reči (do pet) na jeziku rada. Ključne reči treba da budu relevantne za problematiku kojom se rad bavi i pogodne za pretraživanje. Preporučujemo korišćenje tezaurusa, kao što je npr. ERIC: <https://eric.ed.gov/?ti=all>

Struktura rada. Rad je potrebno strukturirati na logički uređen način. Rad koji predstavlja prikaz obavljenih istraživanja treba da sadrži sledeće celine: uvod, predstavljanje teorijskih osnova istraživanja, opis metodologije istraživanja, prikaz rezultata istraživanja sa diskusijom (uz navođenje pedagoških implikacija obavljenog istraživanja) i zaključke. Pregledni rad ili rad koji predstavlja teorijsku analizu, pored uvoda i zaključaka treba da bude logički strukturiran u skladu sa osnovnom temom rada.

Naslovi i podnaslovi odeljaka. Naslovi i podnaslovi odeljaka ne označavaju se numerički, potrebno ih je jasno i precizno formulisati i formatirati prema uputstvu prikazanom u Tabeli 1.

Tabela 1

Način formatiranja naslova i podnaslova odeljaka prema nivoima

Nivo	Način formatiranja
1	Centrirano, bold, font 12
2	Levo poravnanje, bold, font 12
3	Levo poravnanje, bold i kurziv, font 12
4	Uvučeno, bold, font 12, tačka na kraju. (tekst u nastavku)
5	Uvučeno, bold i kurziv, font 12, tačka na kraju. (tekst u nastavku)

Napomena. Primeri formata dati su samo za naslove i podnaslove odeljaka i ne odnose se na naslov rada.

Tabele i grafikoni. Svaka tabela, odnosno grafikon označava se odgovarajućim brojem. Jasno i precizno formulisan naslov tabele ili grafikona daje se u novom redu, u kurzivu. Naslov tabela ili grafikona treba da bude pozicioniran iznad tabele ili grafikona (videti Tabelu 1 ovog uputstva). Sve skraćenice navedene u tabelama i grafikonima treba da budu objašnjene. U objašnjenju (legendi), ispod tabele ili grafikona reč napomena piše se kurzivom sa tačkom na kraju reči (*Napomena.* ili *Note.* u zavisnosti od jezika rada, videti primer u Tabeli 1). Tabele ne treba da sadrže vertikalne linije. Horizontalne linije treba koristiti samo između zaglavlja tabele i prikazanih podataka (kao na primeru

u Tabeli 1) i na dnu tabele. Izuzetno, horizontalne linije dozvoljene su i u okviru samog zaglavlja ukoliko to doprinosi preglednosti tabele.

Tabele i grafikone priloži u Microsoft Word formatu, kreirati i dostaviti u programu koji omogućava njihovo dodatno uređivanje. Informacije na grafikonima se ne ističu bojama, već šrafitiranjem. Digitalne fotografije ili slike dostavljaju se u rezoluciji najmanje 300 dpi, grayscale color mode.

Oznake statističkih testova i mera. Sve oznake statističkih testova i mera pisati kurzivom u celom tekstu rada, uključujući i tabele (*M, SD, F, t, p*).

Fusnote i skraćenice. Fusnote i skraćenice trebalo bi izbegavati.

Reference u radu. Pozive na izvore u tekstu i spisak korišćene literature na kraju rada treba dati u skladu sa APA stilom (*APA Citation Style - American Psychological Association 7th Edition*, <https://apastyle.apa.org/instructional-aids/reference-examples.pdf>).

U spisku korišćene literature na kraju rada i u zagradama u tekstu sve reference, uključujući one na srpskom jeziku, navode se latinicom. Prezimana stranih autora u radu pisanom na srpskom jeziku se transkribuju – fonetskim pisanjem prezimena. U zagradi se obavezno navode u originalu, na primer: Skot (Scott, 2004).

Pozive na izvore u tekstu dati u zagradama uz navođenje: prezimena autora, godine izdanja korišćenog izvora i broja stranice ukoliko se radi o citatu. Navođenje više autora u zagradi urediti abecednim redom prema početnom slovu prezimena autora, a ne hronološki. Ako su u pitanju dva autora, u zagradi se navode oba autora. Ukoliko je više od dva autora navodi se prezime prvog autora skraćeno „i sar.“ ili „et al.“ (u zavisnosti od jezika na kom je rad objavljen).

Reference na kraju rada. Spisak korišćene literature obuhvata isključivo izvore na koje se autor poziva u radu. Reference se navode abecednim redom po prezimenima autora. Ako se navodi više radova istog autora, radovi se izlažu hronološkim redom (od najstarijeg ka najnovijem radu). Ukoliko postoji više radova istog autora sa istom godinom objavljivanja, radovi se označavaju slovima a, b, c itd., uz godinu izdanja u zagradi (npr: 2012a, 2012b). Ukoliko ima više autora, referenca se navodi prema prezimenu prvog autora, ali sadrži prezimena i inicijale ostalih autora.

Na spisku korišćene literature na kraju rada ne stavljaju se redni brojevi ispred referenci.

Primeri navođenja referenci na spisku korišćene literature na kraju rada:

Knjiga: Referenca sadrži prezime i inicijale svih autora, godinu izdanja u zagradi, naslov knjige (kurzivom) i naziv izdavača. Ukoliko je knjiga u Web izdanju, neophodno je dodati i internet adresu sa koje je preuzeta.

Apple, M. W. (2012). *Ideologija i kurikulum*. Fabrika knjiga.

Članak u časopisu: Referenca sadrži prezime i inicijale svih autora, godinu izdanja u zagradi, naslov članka, pun naziv časopisa (kurzivom), volumen (kurzivom), broj, stranice i, ukoliko je dostupno, DOI oznaku (u <https://> formi).

Colić, V. (2012). Roditelji i vaspitači o pripremi dece za polazak u školu. *Pedagogija*, 67(2), 252-260.

Emmer, E. T., & Stough, L. M. (2001). Classroom management: A critical part of educational psychology, with implications for teacher education. *Educational Psychology*, 36(2), 103-112. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15326985EP3602_5

Poglavlje u knjizi (tematskom zborniku): Referenca sadrži prezime i inicijale svih autora, godinu izdanja u zagradi, naziv poglavlja, inicijale i prezime svih urednika, naslov knjige (kurzivom), prvu i poslednju stranicu poglavlja u zagradi i naziv izdavača.

Maksić, S. i Pavlović, J. (2013). Nastava koja podržava kreativnost. U R. Nikolić (ur.), *Nastava i učenje, Kvalitet vaspitno-obrazovnog procesa* (str. 53-64). Učiteljski fakultet u Užicu Univerziteta u Kragujevcu.

Cruse, D. A. (2002). Hyponymy and its varieties. In R. Green, C. A. Bean, & S. H. Myaeng (Eds.), *The semantics of relationships: An interdisciplinary perspective* (pp. 3-22). Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Naučni skupovi i konferencije – radovi štampani u celini: Referenca sadrži prezime i inicijale svih autora, godinu izdanja, naslov priloga, inicijale i prezime svih urednika, naslov izdanja (kurzivom), prvu i poslednju stranicu priloga i naziv institucije – organizatora skupa.

Spasenović, V., Vujišić Zivković, N., & Skubic Ermenc, K. (2012). The role of comparative pedagogy in the training of pedagogues in Serbia and Slovenia. In N. Popov, C. Wolhuter, B. Leutwyler, G. Hilton, J. Ogunleye, & P. Almeida (Eds.), *International perspectives on education, BCES Conference* (pp. 36-42). Bulgarian Comparative Education Society.

Doktorske disertacije i magistarske teze: Referenca sadrži ime autora, godinu, naziv dokumenta (kurzivom), naznaku: doktorska disertacija ili magistarska teza, bazu u kojoj je objavljena, broj disertacije u bazi ukoliko je preuzet iz baze.

Stamatović, J. (2013). *Samovrednovanje nastavnika u funkciji unapređivanja vaspitno-obrazovnog rada* (doktorska disertacija). NaRDUS (123456789/3226)

Web izvor (novinski članak, blog, dokument): Referenca sadrži ime autora, godinu, mesec i datum objavljivanja (ukoliko su navedeni), naziv dokumenta (kurzivom), naziv Web stranice i internet adresu sa koje je preuzet.

Hodges, C., Moore, S., Lockee, B., Trust, T., & Bond, A. (2020, March 27). *The difference between emergency remote teaching and online learning*. EDUCASE Review. <https://er.educause.edu/articles/2020/3/the-difference-between-emergency-remote-teaching-and-online-learning>

Zvanična dokumenta: Referenca sadrži naziv dokumenta (kurzivom), godinu objavljivanja, naziv glasila, broj.

Pravilnik o programu svih oblika rada stručnih saradnika (2012). Prosvetni glasnik, Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 5/2012.

Prilozi i dodatni materijali. Uz osnovni tekst autori mogu dostaviti Uredništvu i priloge, odnosno dodatni materijal koji je od značaja za potpunije razumevanje sadržaja rada.

STUDIES IN TEACHING AND EDUCATION

3

Belgrade, 2024.



Publisher:
Pedagogical Society of Serbia
Terazije 26, 11000 Belgrade
Telephone: +381 11 268 77 49
www.pedagog.rs
E-mail: casopis@pedagog.rs



Co-Publisher:
**Institute of Pedagogy
and Andragogy Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Belgrade**
Čika Ljubina 18-20, 11000 Belgrade,
Serbia
Telephone: +381 11 3282 985

Editor-in-chief

Živka Krnjaja, PhD, full professor,
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Serbia

Editorial Board

Lidija Vujičić, PhD, full professor,
Faculty of Teacher Education, University of Rijeka, Croatia

Julijana Vučo, PhD, full professor,
Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, Serbia of
Belgrade, Serbia

Pavel Zgaga, PhD, full professor,
Faculty of Education, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Vladeta Milin, PhD, assistant professor,
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Serbia

Saša Milić, PhD, associate professor,
Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić, University of Montenegro,
Montenegro

Lidija Miškeljin, PhD, associate professor,
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Serbia

Ilka Parchmann, PhD, full professor,
Leibniz Institute of Science and Mathematics Education,
Kiel University, Germany

Jan Peeters, PhD, full professor,
Centre for Innovation in the Early Years, Department
of Social Work and Social Pedagogy, Ghent University,
Belgium

Rosica Aleksandrova Penkova, PhD, full professor,
Department of Teacher Education, University „Kliment
Ohridski“, Sofia, Bulgaria

Lidija Radulović, PhD, associate professor,
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Serbia

Mirjana Senić Ružić, PhD, assistant professor,
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Serbia

Ala Stepanovna Sidenko, PhD, full professor,
Faculty of Educational Studies, Lomonosov Moscow State
University, Russia

Milan Stančić, PhD, associate professor,
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Serbia

Jelisaveta Todorović, PhD, full professor,
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia

International Advisory board

Ondrej Kaščák, PhD, full professor,
Faculty of Education, University of Trnava, Slovakia

Nataša Lacković, PhD, senior lecturer,
Department of Educational Research, University of Lancaster,
United Kingdom

Monika Miller, PhD, full professor,
Institute of Arts, Music and Sport, University of Education
Ludwigsburg, Germany

Snežana Lawrence, PhD, senior lecturer,
Department of Design Engineering and Maths, Middlesex
University London, United Kingdom

Goran Bašić, PhD, associate professor,
Faculty of Social Sciences, Linnaeus University in Växjö, Sweden

Mitja Krajncan, PhD, full professor,
Faculty of Education, University of Primorska, Koper, Slovenia

Sofija Vrcelj, PhD, full professor,
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Rijeka, Croatia

Secretaries

Marija Milinković, Pedagogical Society of Serbia
Tamara Injac, Institute of Pedagogy and Andragogy
Zorana Pešić, Institute of Pedagogy and Andragogy

Proof reader

Tatjana Dogdibegović

English language proof reader

Ana Popović Pecić, MA

Translators

Ljiljana Šobajić & Printing Office “Dosije” (for English
language)

Technical Editor

Jelena Panić

Printed by

„Službeni glasnik“

Number of copies

50

Publishing of the journal is financially supported by
Ministry of Education, Science and Technological
Development of the Republic of Serbia and Faculty of
Philosophy, University of Belgrade
Indexing: ERIH PLUS, SCIndeks, CEEOL, Redalyc
The Journal is issued three times a year.

Intercultural Sensitivity of Teachers in a Culturally Heterogeneous Context in Serbia: Accepting Cultural Differences or Overrating One's Intercultural Sensitivity?¹

Bojana Dimitrijević² 

Faculty of Education, University of Kragujevac, Jagodina, Serbia

Danijela Petrović 

Department of Psychology, Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia

Blagica Zlatković 

Pedagogical Faculty in Vranje, University of Niš, Vranje, Serbia

Jelena Starčević 

Faculty of Education, University of Kragujevac, Jagodina, Serbia

Abstract

This paper looks at the intercultural sensitivity of teachers in a culturally heterogeneous context in Serbia, defined in accordance with Milton Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity. The main objective of this research was to determine the following: a) the average developmental orientation and perceived orientation scores of the teachers; b) the frequency of participants in different stages of developmental orientation; c) whether there are significant differences between the developmental and the perceived orientation of teachers; d) whether the gap between the perceived and the developmental orientation varies across the developmental continuum in line with the supposition of the Dunning–Kruger effect. The sample consisted of 76 primary school teachers from Vojvodina and South Serbia. Furthermore, the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI®), used in this research, is based on the theoretical foundations of the selected model of intercultural sensitivity. The results indicate that the mean developmental orientation of teachers is in the range of minimization, while they perceive themselves as more interculturally sensitive, in alignment with the ethno-relativistic orientation of acceptance. The differences between the perceived and the developmental orientations are significant. The

¹ This work was funded by the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovation of the Republic of Serbia (Contract No. 451-03-66/2024-03/ 200163 with the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade and Contracts No. 451-03-65/2024-03/ 200140 with the Faculty of Education, University of Kragujevac).

² bojana.dimitrijevic@pefja.kg.ac.rs

gap between the perceived and the developmental orientations decreases with higher intercultural sensitivity, meaning that those teachers who are interculturally sensitive are more objective in assessing their own intercultural sensitivity in comparison with those who are less interculturally sensitive. The implications of the obtained results, when it comes to the professional roles of teachers and their development as reflexive practitioners, are further discussed in this article.

Keywords: *Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity, teachers, Intercultural Development Inventory – IDI®, developmental and perceived orientation, Dunning–Kruger effect.*

Introduction

Students from marginalized cultural groups often experience academic underachievement, as well as a number of other difficulties in education. Such difficulties used to be ascribed to cognitive or non-cognitive “deficits” (Bernstein, 2003; Hess & Shipman, 1965; Lewis, 1998; Payne, 2005), or “opposition to education” (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 2004). Contemporary scientific explanations of the academic failure of minority students are founded on the multicultural education premise that schools have not adapted the curriculum and instruction to cultural differences (Gay, 2013, 2015; Gay & Kirkland, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 2012), or on the critical theory assumptions that inequalities have been systematically reproduced through education (Apple, 2011; Freire, 2014; Gorski, 2008; Skubic Ermenc, 2016). These changes in addressing the issue of academic underachievement have led to placing additional emphasis on the importance of developing teacher competencies, including raising their awareness about teaching-related ethical questions (Banks, 2006), as well as enhancing critical cultural awareness and self-awareness (Gay & Howard, 2000; Villegas & Lucas, 2007).

According to the 2022 population census, there are twenty-one ethnic groups with more than two thousands self-declared members in Serbia, with Hungarians, Bosniaks and Roma being the most numerous (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2022). Such diversity poses various challenges to the educational system especially regarding the issues of quality and equity. It is well documented that the Roma cultural group is in a disadvantaged position. Teachers believe that the Roma do not value schools and education (Dimitrijević, 2019; Dimitrijević et al., 2017; Macura-Milovanović & Peček, 2013; Petrović, 2010). The number of Roma children enrolled in kindergarten, preschool, and primary education is low (Baucal, 2012), early school leaving is frequent (Baucal, 2012; Macura-Milovanović, 2008), while the quality of education they receive and the learning outcomes of Roma students are substandard (Baucal, 2006; Macura-Milovanović, 2008).

Additionally, the educational inclusion of Middle Eastern refugee children and students of Muslim cultural backgrounds has become an increasingly important issue in recent years. There are indications that migrant students are rejected by their peers, and that teachers are lowering their expectations and insufficiently individualizing instruction to accommodate the educational needs of these students (Simić & Vranješević, 2019). The immigration from Ukraine and the Russian Federation as a consequence of the war in Ukraine has also emphasized the need for the re-evaluation of current practices and

opportunities for the educational inclusion of students from various ethnic groups, especially considering their lack of Serbian language proficiency.

The issues related to multiculturalism have been partially recognized within the laws and regulations regulating the domain of education and teachers' responsibilities in Serbia. Article 8 of the *Law on the Foundations of the Education System* (2023) of the Republic of Serbia recognizes "the development of and respect for racial, national, cultural, religious, gender, sexual, and age equality, tolerance and appreciation for differences", "development of personal and national identity," and "development of interculturality", among the other primary goals of education. The official regulation on the standards of competence for the teaching profession and teachers' professional development (*Rulebook on the Standards of competencies for the Profession of Teacher and their Professional Development*, 2011) specifies the ability to understand cultural differences among students as a key teacher competence. It has been acknowledged, however, that efforts aimed at improving intercultural competence are lacking, both during initial teacher education and subsequent professional development (Petrović, 2016; Zlatković & Petrović, 2016).

Considering both the former and the current cultural heterogeneity of Serbia, and the significant role that teachers have in mitigating the academic failure of minority students, it is important to examine teachers' level of competence in working with students from other cultures. This paper deals with the intercultural sensitivity of teachers as key actors in the field of education. Intercultural sensitivity is conceptualized within the framework of the arguably most well-known model – Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (hereinafter referred to as DMIS) (Bennett, 1986, 2004).

Theoretical Foundations of the Research

Competencies for Teaching in Culturally Heterogeneous Classrooms: Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS)

In the field of intercultural interaction numerous concepts have been developed to explain why certain individuals are more successful in interacting with members of cultural groups different from one's own. The field is dominated by heterogeneous and general descriptions of the theoretically insufficiently founded constructs (Deardorff, 2006; Starčević, 2011). A common denominator of various conceptualizations of intercultural competence is the ability to overcome the ethnocentric worldview and to "balance" one's own perspective with the perspectives of others (Starčević, 2018). There are, however, some noticeable differences between models. Most models of intercultural competence are composite models and are focused on identifying the constituents of competence (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). "Developmental" models are focused on explaining the transformation of the way people experience and understand cultural differences in different stages of the assumed developmental continuum, and are less common (Hammer, 2015; see also Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009).

According to Bennett (1986, 2009), intercultural sensitivity is a specific form of perceiving and attributing meaning to cultural differences that varies in a relatively regular

manner through the stages along the continuum from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism. Ethnocentrism refers to the phenomenon that views and beliefs adopted through primary socialization have not been questioned, and have thus become a norm and a foundation for making judgments about cultural differences (Bennett, 1986). In its most explicit form, ethnocentrism is reflected in the *denial of cultural differences*, a perception that all people see the world in the same way as them, that is, that everyone shares the same norms and beliefs. The *defense* stage worldview is characterized by progression in the ability to perceive and identify differences (Bennett, 1986, 2004). It is ethnocentric in its nature because a person excessively emphasizes perceived intergroup differences and stresses their negative connotations (Bennett, 1986, 2004). Defense can have the form of asserting the superiority of one's own group, and the reversal form of glorifying the "other group" (Bennett, 1986, 2004; Bennett & Bennett, 2004). It should be noted that Hammer (2011) uses the term polarization for this stage, and introduces defense and reversal as two forms of polarization. Defense in the DMIS and polarization in the IDI² essentially mean the same, and the differences between the two are purely terminological. The *minimization* stage refers to the development of more specific categories for conceptualizing differences, but it also involves the process of underestimating the significance of differences and emphasizing universal humanity regardless of cultural affiliation (Bennett, 1986). The minimization is sometimes seen as a transitional stage between ethnocentric and ethnorelativistic worldviews (Bennett, 2004; Hammer, 2011).

The ethnorelativistic worldview is characterized by placing a culture that a person identifies with into the context of coexistence with other cultures, which are considered to be alternative and equally valuable ways of perceiving reality (Bennett, 1986). In the first ethnorelativistic stage of *acceptance*, other cultures and views (e.g., beliefs, values, norms) are seen as equally complex as one's own, and an individual adopts a self-reflexive attitude (Bennett, 2004). Competence for interaction with individuals with different cultural backgrounds emerges in the *adaptation* stage (Bennett, 1986). Finally, the last developmental stage, *integration*, does not imply the enhancement of the previously reached level of competence (Bennett, 2004), but is related to redefining the cultural identity of a person, which now incorporates multiple cultural frameworks (Bennett, 2004; Bennett & Bennett, 2004).

The relationship between the intercultural sensitivity of teachers and their beliefs about cultural differences have been addressed in several studies that were based on qualitative approaches. It was found that teachers' beliefs and perceptions were mostly in alignment with the assumptions originating from the DMIS. The respondents in the stages of denial or defense perceived differences solely from the perspective of the majority cultural group (Mantel et al., 2012), and anticipated conflicts regarding the issues of culture and cultural differences (Leutwyler et al., 2014; Mahon, 2003, according to Mahon, 2009). The respondents in the minimization stage attempted to consider the situation from multiple standpoints (Mantel et al., 2012), expressing curiosity and willingness to understand the subject of potential conflict from both perspectives (Mahon, 2003, according to Mahon, 2009). They also stressed the cultural commonality of valuing academic achievement and education (Leutwyler et al., 2014). In other words, they were

focused on similarities rather than differences among students of different cultural backgrounds (Leutwyler et al., 2014).

Operationalization of the DMIS: Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI®)

The IDI® was developed and grounded on the theoretical assumptions of the DMIS, and in collaboration with Milton James Bennett (Hammer, 2008, 2011; Hammer et al., 2003). The instrument occupies a prominent position in the research field in comparison with other measures of intercultural competence, especially regarding the use in studies on large samples and cross-cultural studies (see Hammer, 2011). The review studies of the psychometric properties of the IDI® and the relations of IDI® with other relevant measures ended with the conclusion that the instrument is valid (Matsumoto & Hwang, 2013; Zhang, 2014). The studies conducted on samples of teachers or pre-service teachers have found a positive correlation between the intercultural sensitivity and the respondents' age, self-evaluation of competence for intercultural education, and attitudes towards the various aspects of initial teacher education (Jokić & Petrović, 2016), degree of cooperativeness (Mahon, 2009), heterogeneity of the school context, and the time spent in a cultural context different from one's own (Westrick & Yuen, 2007; Yuen, 2010).

The distribution and administration of the inventory, as well as the provision of feedback to the respondents, can only be realized by a qualified administrator who has been certified. The first and the second author of this paper are qualified administrators of the IDI®. They were, therefore, licensed to purchase and administer the instrument, as well as to provide feedback to the respondents. IDI® is available in electronic form in various languages, including Serbian.

Developmental and Perceived Orientations

Developmental orientation refers to the distinctive manner of perceiving cultural differences and engaging with cultural differences an individual is most likely to employ when he or she is being faced with differences. *Perceived orientation* indicates how an individual evaluates one's own intercultural sensitivity (Hammer, 2008, 2011). The individual profile report from the IDI® contains information about the developmental orientation score, perceived orientation score and the discrepancy between the two measures, i.e., *orientation gap*. Constructors of the instrument have stated that an orientation gap equal to or higher than seven can be considered substantial in determining whether respondents underestimate or overestimate their intercultural sensitivity (Hammer, 2009).

Results of previous studies indicate that the most frequent developmental orientation or average developmental orientation score of teachers and pre-service teachers is in the range of the minimization stage (Jokić & Petrović, 2016; Mahon, 2009; Westrick & Yuen, 2007; Yuen & Grossman, 2007). The same tendency can be observed in small sample studies focused on the evaluation of the effects of training courses designed to influence the intercultural sensitivity of teachers or pre-service teachers (e.g., Cushner & Chang, 2015; He et al., 2017). In a study using the previous version of the IDI®, respondents' main

developmental orientation was in the range of denial/defense stage (Yuen, 2010). Participants in the denial and defense stages were not distinguished, as items from both stages saturated a single factor. On the other hand, the perceived orientation in most studies was in the range of the acceptance stage (Cushner & Chang, 2015; DeJaeghere & Zhang, 2008; He et al., 2017; Mahon, 2009; Westrick & Yuen, 2007; Yuen, 2010; Yuen & Grossman, 2007). Available research data present salient differences between the developmental and perceived orientation scores of teachers or pre-service teachers (for example Westrick & Yuen, 2007; Yuen, 2010; Yuen & Grossman, 2007), however, they do not include information about the statistical significance of these differences. A study of a non-teaching sample has documented that the difference is statistically significant, with the perceived orientation significantly higher than the developmental orientation (Snodgrass et al., 2018). Still, we are not aware of any study that investigated whether the discrepancy between the perceived and developmental orientation score (orientation gap) is influenced by the level of intercultural sensitivity of the respondents, as Hammer (2022) recently suggested. Namely, pointing out the limitations of qualitative studies based on self-evaluations, Hammer draws attention to the fact that such studies do not consider the Dunning-Kruger effect. This effect is described as a tendency of individuals with low achievements to overrate their competence in the social or intellectual domain, possibly due to metacognitive limitations, while individuals with higher achievements tend to have more realistic self-evaluations of competence (Dunning, 2011). Hammer (2022) also suggested that in the case of IDI* the Dunning-Kruger effect can be determined empirically as a discrepancy between the scores of the perceived and the developmental orientation.

Method

The Present Study

The subject of this paper is the intercultural sensitivity of teachers in culturally heterogeneous regions in Serbia, defined in accordance with the DMIS of Milton James Bennett and assessed by the instrument representing operationalization of the model. The first aim of the research was to determine the average developmental and perceived orientation scores of the teachers, and additionally to determine the frequency of participants in each of the stages of intercultural sensitivity. The second aim of the research was to explore the relationship between the developmental and the perceived orientation. According to the studies realized thus far, the mean developmental orientation of teachers is in the range of minimization, although teachers tend to assess their perceived orientation as being in the range of acceptance (for example Westrick & Yuen, 2007; Yuen, 2010; Yuen & Grossman, 2007); thus, our assumption was that there is a significant difference between the developmental and perceived orientation of teachers in Serbia, with perceived orientation being higher (H1). It was also anticipated that the discrepancy between the perceived and developmental orientation (i.e., orientation gap) is higher in those respondents who have lower levels of intercultural sensitivity (H2), which would be in line with the supposition of the Dunning-Kruger effect (Dunning, 2011).

Participants

Considering the significance of intercultural competencies for teachers working within multicultural contexts, the geographic regions of Vojvodina and South Serbia have been purposely chosen for conducting our research. However, the selection of particular schools was convenient, i.e., the willingness of school principals to facilitate contact between researchers and teachers was the main criterion of school selection. The non-probability sample in this study included 76 primary school teachers, six of whom were male, and 70 of whom were female. They were employed in 12 different schools: six schools in Vojvodina and another six in South Serbia. Teachers from Vojvodina constituted 56.6% of the sample (43 teachers), while teachers from South Serbia made up 43.4% of the sample (33 teachers). The participants were considered to be very experienced teachers with an average teaching experience of nearly 21 years ($M = 20.58$, $SD = 7.69$).

All the teachers in the selected schools were informed about the general purpose of the study and were guaranteed full anonymity prior to consenting to participate. They were also made aware of the option to withdraw from the research at any time without consequences. The teachers were provided with electronic forms of the IDI[®] inventory in the Serbian language that they could access individually when it was convenient for them. Subsequently they received a personalized IDI[®] profile report in written form followed by an individual feedback session with the qualified administrator in the form of a phone call or an online meeting.

Instrument

The Intercultural Development Inventory (Hammer, 2008, 2011; Hammer et al., 2003) has been previously described as an operationalization of the DMIS (Bennett, 1986, 2004). In this study, the third version of the IDI[®] was utilized. The instrument comprises 50 items across seven 5-point Likert-type sub-scales, and a questionnaire about the demographic characteristics of respondents (Hammer, 2011). Six sub-scales represent the operationalization of the developmental stages of the DMIS: Denial – seven items ($\alpha = .66$), Polarization/Defense – six items ($\alpha = 0.72$), Polarization/Reversal – nine items ($\alpha = 0.78$), Minimization – nine items ($\alpha = 0.74$), Acceptance – five items ($\alpha = 0.69$), and Adaptation – nine items ($\alpha = 0.71$) (Hammer, 2011). The seventh sub-scale, Cultural Disengagement Scale, is not considered to be an operationalization of the developmental continuum of intercultural sensitivity and thus is not the subject of this research. Some examples of the published items from the IDI[®] are as follows: “Society would be better off if culturally different groups kept to themselves” (Denial); “People from other cultures are not as open-minded as people from my own culture” (Polarization/Defense); “People are the same despite outward differences in appearance” (Minimization); “It is appropriate that people from other cultures do not necessarily have the same values and goals as people from my own culture” (Acceptance); “When I come in contact with people from a different culture, I find I change my behavior to adapt to theirs” (Adaptation) (Paige et al., 2003).

Developmental and perceived orientation scores are available to the researchers in the form of standardized scores ($M = 100$, $SD = 15$), while the raw data is unavailable. As Hammer indicated, the developmental orientation score is calculated using a weighted formula that was in accordance with the DMIS suppositions, while the perceived orientation score is calculated based on the unweighted formula of the aforementioned subscales (Hammer, 2011). Cronbach's alpha for the Developmental Orientation Scale was $\alpha = .83$, while for the Perceived Orientation Scale it was $\alpha = .82$ (Hammer, 2011).

Data Analysis

SPSS 20.0 was used for data analysis.

Results

Descriptive Statistics: Developmental and Perceived Orientation of Teachers

Descriptive statistical indicators for developmental and perceived orientation scales and for orientation gap are presented in Table 1. The average developmental orientation score across the entire sample is in the range of the minimization ($M = 91.53$, $SD = 13.77$), while the average perceived orientation score ($M = 119.01$, $SD = 4.85$) belongs to the acceptance stage (ranges of scores for each of the stages are presented in Table 2). By conducting Mann-Whitney U tests it was established that there are no statistically significant differences between the participants from the two culturally and geographically different sub-samples, either in terms of developmental orientation ($Z = -.36$, $p = .718$, $r = .04$) or perceived orientation ($Z = .88$, $p = .382$, $r = .10$).

The distributions of the developmental and perceived orientation scores across the entire sample, as well as the sub-sample of teachers from Vojvodina, follow the normal curve. Distributions of the two types of scores in the sub-sample of teachers from South Serbia are rather peaked and deviate from the normal curve. Table 1 presents the values of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test for the entire sample, given that it exceeds 50 participants. For the sub-samples the values of the Shapiro-Wilk test are listed.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics and significance of differences between mean scores of developmental and perceived orientation

Scale	N	M	SD	Range	Skew	Ku	K-S/ S-W	t(df)/z	d/r
DO	76	91.53	13.77	48.99-120.03	-.697	.833	.064	-25.24**	2.90
PO	76	119.01	4.85	104.63-130.69	-.247	.350	.051	(75)	
Gap	76	27.66	9.41	10.66 – 55.64	.763	.771	.070		

DOv	43	92.50	12.62	58.95-120.03	-.251	.005	.982	-20.12**	3.07
POv	43	118.83	4.72	110.31-130.69	.324	-.260	.980	(42)	
Gapv	43	26.33	8.58	10.66-51.36	.467	.308	.976		
DOss	33	90.25	15.26	48.99-110.24	-.974	1.091	.918*	-5.012**	0.62
POss	33	119.25	5.08	104.63-126.91	-.890	1.420	.935*		
Gapss	33	29.39	10.28	15.31-55.64	.900	.704	.927*		

Note. DO – Developmental Orientation Scale; PO – Perceived Orientation Scale; Gap – orientation gap; DOv – Developmental Orientation Scale in the Vojvodina sub-sample; POv – Perceived Orientation Scale in the Vojvodina sub-sample; Gapv – orientation gap in the Vojvodina sub-sample; DOss – Developmental Orientation Scale in the South Serbia sub-sample; POss – Perceived Orientation Scale in the South Serbia sub-sample; Gapss – orientation gap in the South Serbia sub-sample; K-S – Kolmogorov-Smirnov test; S-W – Shapiro-Wilk test; *t* – paired-samples *t*-test; *z* – Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test; *d/r* – effect size; * *p* < 0.05; ** *p* < 0.01.

Descriptive Statistics: The Stages of Intercultural Sensitivity of Teachers

The frequency of teachers in each stage of intercultural sensitivity can be found in Table 2. The table also lists the frequencies of teachers in “transitional” categories that immediately precede the next stage (i.e., Cusp of polarization, Cusp of minimization, and Cusp of acceptance). For these transitional categories constructors do not specify the theoretical range of scores, but categorize them into the lower stage (for example, cusp of acceptance is considered to be a sub-stage of minimization). The results indicate that the majority of teachers are in the minimization stage, while 30.3% of participants have even lower scores placing them on the ethnocentric end of the spectrum. The highest stage in the sample is acceptance, with only one respondent in that stage.

Table 2
Frequency and percentage of participants in relation to the stages of intercultural sensitivity

	Stage	Theoretical range of scores	<i>F</i>	%	Cumulative %
1.	Denial	≤ 69	4	5.3	5.3
	Cusp of polarization		1	1.3	6.6
2.	Polarization/Defense	70–84	8	10.5	17.1
	Polarization/Reversal		5	6.6	23.7
	Cusp of minimization		5	6.6	30.3
3.	Minimization	85–114	47	61.8	92.1
	Cusp of acceptance		5	6.6	98.7
4.	Acceptance	115–129	1	1.3	100
5.	Adaptation	≥ 130	0	0.0	
	Total <i>N</i>		76	100.0	

Significance of Differences between the Developmental and the Perceived Orientation

The values of the paired-sample t-tests, given in Table 1 for the entire sample and for the sub-sample from Vojvodina, indicate that there is a significant difference between the scores of the developmental orientation and the perceived orientation. The means presented in the same table show that the participants have higher scores of perceived orientation, which implies that they overrate their intercultural sensitivity.

Given the fact that for the sub-sample from South Serbia the distributions of scores of developmental and of perceived orientation deviate from the normal curve, the Wilcoxon signed rank test was used to examine the significance of the difference between these scores. The test revealed that the difference is statistically significant for this sub-sample as well. Besides, the parameters of effect size (d or r) showed that the discrepancy is considered to be large in both sub-samples and in the whole sample (see Cohen, 1988). Table 3 additionally informs us that each individual overrated their own intercultural sensitivity, considering the fact that the minimal orientation gap between the scores of perceived and developmental orientation was 10.66. As previously mentioned, in order for the gap to be marked as substantial, it has to be seven or higher (Hammer, 2009).

Significance of Differences in the Average Orientation Gap between Participants in Different Stages of Intercultural Sensitivity

In order to establish whether participants in different stages and sub-stages overrate their intercultural sensitivity to different degrees, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. Sub-categories with only one participant (cusp of polarization and acceptance) were excluded from the analysis. The results have shown that there was at least one statistically significant difference between participants from different subcategories, $F(5, 68) = 39.22, p < .001$, with a large effect size, $\eta^2 = .74$.

Table 3 shows the values of the orientation gap means that are gradually declining along the developmental continuum, and results of post-hoc comparisons of mean orientation gap values, using the Tukey HSD test (the homogeneity of variance assumption was not violated, i.e., Levene's test for homogeneity of variances was insignificant, $F(5, 68) = 1.92, p = .102$). Table 3 also shows that as the intercultural sensitivity of participants increases, the objectivity in evaluating intercultural sensitivity also increases, meaning that the discrepancy between scores of developmental and perceived orientation (i.e., average orientation gap) decreases. The participants whose intercultural sensitivity is in line with the denial stage tend to overrate their sensitivity the most. They are followed by participants from the polarization–defense, polarization–reversal, and cusp of minimization, among whom there are no statistically significant differences. Participants in these three categories overrate their intercultural sensitivity to a lesser degree in comparison with the participants who are in the denial stage, and to a greater degree than those who are in the minimization and cusp of acceptance categories. Finally, the respondents from the minimization and cusp of acceptance, among whom there are no statistically significant

differences, overrate their intercultural sensitivity the least, meaning that they show the lowest discrepancy between developmental and perceived orientation.

The findings in Table 3 also indicate that sub-categories which are theoretically categorized into the same stage indeed do not statistically differ in the average orientation gap (for instance, minimization and cusp of acceptance are both categorized into the minimization stage). These findings support the assumption that stages are considered to be homogeneous subsets when it comes to the average orientation gap: denial as a separate subset; polarization in both forms and the cusp of minimization as the second subset; minimization and the cusp of acceptance as the third subset.

Table 3

The average orientation gap and the significance of mean differences in the orientation gap between participants in different stages/sub-stages

	Mgap (SD)	Range of Mgap	Polarization – Defense	Polarization – Reversal	Cusp of minimization	Minimization	Cusp of acceptance
Denial	50.93 (6.55)	41.54-55.64	14.78 **	14.58**	17.58**	27.18**	33.27**
Cusp of polarization	44.95 (/)	/	-				
Polarization – Defense	36.15 (3.12)	31.14-39.71	-	-0.20	2.80	12.40**	18.49**
Polarization – Reversal	36.35 (3.00)	32.97-39.74		-	3.00	12.60**	18.69**
Cusp of minimization	33.35 (2.15)	29.93-34.95			-	9.60**	15.69**
Minimization	23.75 (5.13)	13.33-32.86				-	6.09
Cusp of acceptance	17.66 (4.97)	12.86-26.01					-
Acceptance	10.66 (/)	/					-

Note. ** $p \leq .001$

Discussion

The first goal of this research was to determine the level of intercultural sensitivity of teachers who work in schools in culturally heterogeneous regions of Serbia and are in contact with students or parents from other cultures on a daily basis. A distinctive characteristic of this research in comparison to previous studies is reflected in a thorough examination of the relationship between developmental and perceived orientation, that is, how teachers perceive and relate to cultural differences (developmental orientation), and how they evaluate themselves with regard to them (perceived orientation).

The results of this study indicate that teachers have an average developmental orientation score within the range of the minimization stage, which is also the most frequent developmental orientation in our sample. These findings are consistent with the results of previous studies on samples of teachers (Jokić & Petrović, 2016; Mahon, 2009; Westrick & Yuen, 2007). The study has also revealed that there are a number of respondents below minimization – 23.7% of teachers in the polarization stage and 6.6% in the denial stage – more than would be anticipated when compared to the results of research on large samples (Hammer, 2011), but in alignment with previous research on teacher samples in Serbia (Jokić & Petrović, 2016). However, it should be noted that previous research was not conducted exclusively in the regions of Serbia that are considered to be culturally heterogeneous.

What are the possible characteristics of the teachers' worldviews and perceptions of cultural differences in the polarization and denial stages? According to the DMIS, ethnocentric views in their most salient form in the denial stage are distinguished by failing to notice cultural differences, as a result of either situational isolation from other groups or purposeful separation (Bennett, 1986). The polarization stage is characterized by the hierarchical evaluation and stereotyping of other cultural groups (Bennett, 1986). Existing findings suggest that teachers who are in the polarization and denial stages position themselves as being "outside" of the minority experience, with no intention to take into consideration multiple perspectives (Mantel et al., 2012). These teachers also anticipate the possibility of conflicts with minority parents, but to a significantly lesser degree with minority students, who are perceived as being influenced by the cultural group they belong to (Leutwyler et al., 2014). Thus, in line with the DMIS premises and cited qualitative research, the described ethnocentric beliefs and attitudes are expected to be shared by approximately one-third of the sample in this study. Considering these findings alongside prior similar results in Serbia (Jokić & Petrović, 2016), we believe that there is a necessity for addressing the issue of enhancing teacher competencies related to interacting with students from diverse cultural backgrounds and their families.

Individuals in the minimization stage, which encompasses the majority of teachers in this study, as well as in the general population, acknowledge the differences among diverse cultural groups but diminish their importance, and regard the norms of their own cultural group as universally applicable (Bennett, 1986). In his later work, Milton James Bennett (2004) suggested that minimization has elements of transitioning towards ethnorelativism, because "others" are generally not viewed in a stereotypical manner, and the common humanity of all cultural groups is recognized. Teachers in the minimization stage may express the beliefs that cultural differences bear minor significance in comparison to biological similarities of all people, as well as that all people are similar with regard to their needs, motivation to succeed, aspirations to achieve freedom and individuality, religious experiences, etc. (Bennett, 1986). Universal principles applied to all people regardless of their cultural background stem from a person's cultural frame of reference, however, a person lacks cultural self-awareness to fully comprehend the origins of such a frame of reference (Bennett, 2004). This implies that the teachers who think that people are essentially all the same, meaning that they are driven, or should be driven by similar motives

and aspirations, may consequently overlook cultural differences or underestimate their importance in interaction with students and parents from diverse cultural communities. For the same reasons, they may less frequently adapt their behavior in interactions with these students and parents, as well as their instruction, learning activities and approaches to student assessment.

Both research hypotheses regarding the relationship between the developmental and the perceived orientation have been confirmed in this study. Namely, the difference between the two orientations is significant and teachers, on average, perceived themselves to be in the range of the acceptance stage (i.e., their perceived orientation is higher, as stated in H1). Teachers believe that they appraise other cultures as equally complex as their own, and that they are able to perceive differences in core values and behaviors, as well as that they have adopted a self-reflexive stance (Bennett, 2004). In other words, teachers see themselves as tolerant and capable of reflecting on the issues of cultural differences. This finding is also in alignment with previous studies (Mahon, 2009; Westrick & Yuen, 2007). Unobjective self-evaluation may be an additional obstacle to the development of competencies, since the need for improvement is overlooked (see Dunning, 2011).

The unique contribution of this research to the existing corpus of empirical facts, according to our knowledge, lies in the finding that there is a consistent pattern in the relationship between developmental and perceived orientation: the respondents with lower scores on the developmental orientation exhibit a larger orientation gap than respondents with higher scores. Namely, a larger orientation gap means overrating one's own intercultural sensitivity to a greater extent (Hammer, 2009). The degree of overestimation drops with the rise in intercultural sensitivity. Our second research hypothesis is thus also confirmed. We believe that this regularity, as recently suggested by the instrument constructor (Hammer, 2022), and clearly indicated in our findings (mean discrepancy/orientation gap values, results of the Tukey HSD test), reflects the Dunning-Kruger effect.

Practical Implications

The tendency to reflect upon one's own practice is regarded as an important and desirable characteristic of teachers in general (Korthagen, 2014; Radulović, 2011), but also as an element of more specific competencies for teaching in culturally heterogeneous contexts (Banks, 2006; Gay & Howard, 2000; Villegas & Lucas, 2007). Thus, relatively low intercultural sensitivity of teachers, accompanied with the tendency to overrate one's intercultural sensitivity, strongly suggests a need for enhancement of teachers' competencies. Overestimation of one's intercultural sensitivity (the most visible in persons whose intercultural sensitivity is at the lowest level) implies unsuccessful reflection on one's own professional experience, and consequently difficulties in researching and improving one's teaching practice. We believe that such overrating is particularly unfavorable when it comes to self-reflection concerning important elements of the professional development of teachers, such as self-evaluation of competencies, questioning one's own beliefs, professional identity, and professional mission (Korthagen, 2014).

Failure to perceive that there is a need for change (on a metacognitive level), and a possible resistance to change, could be the main obstacles to initial education and professional development aiming to improve the intercultural competence of teachers. Professional development programs should optimally be designed in accordance with the current level of intercultural sensitivity of teachers, instead of focusing on learning of specific content (Bennett, 2004; Dimitrijević & Petrović, 2014; Petrović, 2018). The programs focusing on reduction of stereotypes and prejudice, with special emphasis on similarities between people, would be appropriate in the case of teachers in ethnocentric stages. For those in the minimization stage it is necessary to prioritize the importance of the neglected differences and their educational implications (Bennett & Bennett, 2004). It would be particularly beneficial if teachers would attend training tailored to their specific needs, based on assessment of their current competencies, and conducted in a supportive manner.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The primary limitations of this study stem from the fact that the IDI[®] is protected by copyright and that raw data are not available to researchers. Additional limitations arise from the convenience sampling of schools (within the chosen multicultural regions) and the size of the teachers' sample, all of which necessitate caution when generalizing the findings. For future reference, researchers should broaden the sample, as well as purposefully select respondents with ample international experience in order to increase the probability of identifying and including respondents in the acceptance and adaptation stages. Thus it would be possible to verify the suppositions of the Dunning-Kruger effect when it comes to the respondents in the higher stages of intercultural sensitivity.

Conclusion

This research provided insight into the intercultural sensitivity, i.e., the developmental orientation of experienced teachers working in multicultural regions in Serbia, as well as their evaluations of their own intercultural sensitivity, i.e., perceived orientation. A significant difference was found between the developmental and perceived orientations, and it was concluded that teachers overestimate their intercultural sensitivity. Finally, data analyses revealed the pattern of this discrepancy, which holds both theoretical and practical significance.

References

- Apple, M. W. (2011). Global crises, social justice, and teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 62(2), 222–234. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487110385428>
- Banks, J. A. (2006). *Cultural diversity and education, foundations, curriculum, and teaching*. Pearson Education.

- Baucal, A. (2006). Development of mathematical and language literacy among Roma students. *Psihologija*, 39(2), 207–227. <https://doi.org/10.2298/PSI0602207B>
- Baucal, A. (2012). Deca i mladi iz romske zajednice u obrazovnom sistemu Srbije: Marginalizovani u društvu i marginalizovani u obrazovnom sistemu. U T. Varadi i G. Bašić (ur.), *Promene identiteta, kulture i jezika Roma u uslovima planske socijalno-ekonomske integracije* (str. 349–363). SANU.
- Bennett, M. J. (1986). Towards ethnorelativism: A developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. In R. M. Paige (Ed.), *Cross-cultural orientation: New conceptualizations and applications* (pp. 27–70). University Press of America.
- Bennett, M. J. (2004). Becoming interculturally competent. In J. Wurzel (Ed.), *Toward multiculturalism: A reader in multicultural education* (pp. 62–77). Intercultural Resource Corporation.
- Bennett, M. J. (2009). Defining, measuring, and facilitating intercultural learning: A conceptual introduction to the Intercultural Education double supplement. *Intercultural Education*, 20 (sup 1), S1–S13. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980903370763>
- Bennett, J. M., & Bennett, M. J. (2004). Developing intercultural sensitivity: An integrative approach to global and domestic diversity. In D. Landis, J. M. Bennett, & M. J. Bennett (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training 3rd ed.* (pp.147–165). SAGE Publications.
- Bernstein, B. (2003). *Class, codes and control: Vol. 1. Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language*. Routledge. (Original work published 1971)
- Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences* (2nd ed.). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Cushner, K., & Chang, S. C. (2015). Developing intercultural competence through overseas student teaching: Checking our assumptions. *Intercultural Education*, 26(3), 165–178. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2015.1040326>
- Deardorff, D. K. (2006). Identification and assessment of intercultural competence as a student outcome of internationalization. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 10(3), 241–266. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315306287002>
- DeJaeghere, J. G., & Zhang, Y. (2008). Development of intercultural competence among US American teachers: Professional development factors that enhance competence. *Intercultural Education*, 19(3), 255–268. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980802078624>
- Dimitrijević, B. M. (2019). *Interkulturalna osetljivost i uverenja nastavnika o kulturnim razlikama u školskom kontekstu* (doktorska disertacija). NARDUS (123456789/12225)
- Dimitrijević, B. M., & Petrović, D. S. (2014). Pristupi i strategije za multikulturalno obrazovanje nastavnika – Iskustva Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. *Zbornik Instituta za pedagoška istraživanja*, 46(1), 69–90. <https://doi.org/10.2298/ZIP11401069D>
- Dimitrijević, B. M., Petrović, D. S., & Leutwyler, B. (2017). Implicitna uverenja nastavnika o učenicima romske i mađarske kulturne grupe. *Zbornik Instituta za pedagoška istraživanja*, 49(1), 55–76. <https://doi.org/10.2298/ZIP11701055D>
- Dunning, D. (2011). The Dunning-Kruger effect: On being ignorant of one's own ignorance. In J. M. Olson, & M. P. Zanna (Eds.), *Advances in experimental social psychology Vol. 44* (pp. 247–296). Academic Press. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-385522-0.00005-6>
- Fordham, S., & Ogbu, J. U. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the „burden of acting white“. *The Urban Review*, 18(3), 176–206. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01112192>
- Freire, P. (2014). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Bloomsbury Academic. (Original work published 1970)

- Gay, G. (2013). Teaching to and through cultural diversity. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 43(1), 48–70. <https://doi.org/10.1111/curi.12002>
- Gay, G. (2015). The what, why, and how of culturally responsive teaching: International mandates, challenges, and opportunities. *Multicultural Education Review*, 7(3), 123–139. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2005615X.2015.1072079>
- Gay, G., & Howard T. C. (2000). Multicultural teacher education for the 21st century. *The Teacher Educator*, 36 (1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08878730009555246>
- Gay, G., & Kirkland, K. (2003). Developing cultural critical consciousness and self-reflection in preservice teacher education. *Theory Into Practice*, 42(3), 181–187. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15430421tip4203_3
- Gorski, P. C. (2008). Good intentions are not enough: A decolonizing intercultural education. *Intercultural Education*, 19(6), 515–525. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980802568319>
- Hammer, M. R. (2008). The Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI): An approach for assessing and building intercultural competence. In M. A. Moodian (Ed.), *Contemporary leadership and intercultural competence: Understanding and utilizing cultural diversity to build successful organizations* (pp. 203–218). Sage.
- Hammer, M. R. (2009). *Intercultural Development Inventory v.3 (IDI) individual profile report*. Retrieved from http://www.idiinventory.com/pdf/idi_sample.pdf
- Hammer, M. R. (2011). Additional cross-cultural validity testing of the Intercultural Development Inventory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 35(4), 474–487. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2011.02.014>
- Hammer, M. R. (2015). The developmental paradigm for intercultural competence research. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 48, 12–13. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2015.03.004>
- Hammer, M.R. (2022). A Response to Punti and Dingel's Critique of the Validity of the Intercultural Development Inventory for BIPOC Students. Comment on Punti, G.; Dingel, M. Rethinking Race, Ethnicity, and the Assessment of Intercultural Competence in Higher Education. *Educ. Sci.* 2021, 11, 110. *Education Science*, 12(3), 176. <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci12030176>
- Hammer, M. R., Bennett, M. J., & Wiseman, R. (2003). Measuring intercultural sensitivity: The Intercultural Development Inventory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27(4), 421–443. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767\(03\)00032-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767(03)00032-4)
- He, Y., Lundgren, K., & Pynes, P. (2017). Impact of short-term study abroad program: Inservice teachers' development of intercultural competence and pedagogical beliefs. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 66, 147–157. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2017.04.012>
- Hess, R. D., & Shipman, V. C. (1965). Early experience and the socialization of cognitive modes in children. *Child Development*, 36(4), 869–886. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1126930>
- Jokić, T. i Petrović, D. S. (2016). Interkulturalna osetljivost nastavnika i činioci uspešnog sprovođenja interkulturalnog obrazovanja u Srbiji. U D. S. Petrović i T. Jokić (ur.), *Interkulturalno obrazovanje u Srbiji – Regulativni okvir, stanje i mogućnosti za razvoj* (str.128–154). Centar za obrazovne politike.
- Korthagen, F. A. J. (2014). Promoting core reflection in teacher education: Deepening professional growth. *International Teacher Education: Promising Pedagogies (Part A)*, 22, 73–89. <https://doi.org/10.1108/S1479-368720140000022007>
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2012). Through a glass darkly: The persistence of race in education research & scholarship. *Educational Researcher*, 41(4), 115–120. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X12440743>

- Leutwyler, B., Mantel, C., Petrović, D., Dimitrijević, B. M., & Zlatković, B. (2014). Teachers' beliefs about intercultural education: Different levels of intercultural sensitivity in schooling and teaching. *Educational Research*, 5(8), 280–289. <http://dx.doi.org/10.14303/er.2014.196>
- Lewis, O. (1998). The culture of poverty. *Society*, 35, 7–9. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02838122>
- Macura-Milovanović, S. (2008). Specifični problemi u obrazovanju romske dece. *Uzdanica*, 5(2), 177–185.
- Macura-Milovanović, S., & Peček, M. (2013). Attitudes of Serbian and Slovenian student teachers towards causes of learning underachievement amongst Roma pupils. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 17(6), 629–645. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2012.703247>
- Mahon, J. (2009). Conflict style and cultural understanding among teachers in the western United States: Exploring relationships. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 33(1), 46–56. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2008.12.002>
- Mantel, C., Simić, N., Petrović, D., & Leutwyler, B. (2012). Notions of cultural differences amongst teacher education students in the Serbian and Swiss Context. In A. Baucal, & J. Radišić (Eds.), *Patchwork. Learning diversities: Conference proceedings of the EARLI conference* (pp. 183–190). Institute of Psychology.
- Matsumoto, D., & Hwang, H. C. (2013). Assessing cross-cultural competence: A review of available tests. *Journal of cross-cultural psychology*, 44(6), 849–873. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022113492891>
- Ogbu, J. U. (2004). Collective identity and the burden of “acting white” in black history, community, and education. *The Urban Review*, 36(1), 1–35. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:URRE.0000042734.83194.f6>
- Paige, R. M., Jacobs-Cassuto, M., Yershova, Y. A., & DeJaegherea, J. (2003). Assessing intercultural sensitivity: An empirical analysis of the Hammer and Bennett Intercultural Development Inventory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27(4), 467–486. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767\(03\)00034-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767(03)00034-8)
- Payne, R. (2005). *A Framework for Understanding Poverty* (4th rev. ed.). Aha process Inc.
- Petrović, D. S. (2010). To what extent do teachers perceive Roma discrimination in Serbian educational system. In M. Patricia (Ed.), *Intercultural education as project for social transformation – Linking theory and practice towards equity and social justice: Conference proceedings* (pp.156–172). INTER Network.
- Petrović, D. S. (2016). Pregled akreditovanih programa stručnog usavršavanja nastavnika u oblasti interkulturalnog obrazovanja. U D. S. Petrović i T. Jokić (ur.), *Interkulturalno obrazovanje u Srbiji – Regulativni okvir, stanje i mogućnosti za razvoj* (str.128–154). Centar za obrazovne politike.
- Petrović, D. S. (2018). Sticanje interkulturalnih kompetencija u svetlu Razvojnog modela interkulturalne osetljivosti Milтона Beneta. *Godišnjak Pedagoškog fakulteta u Vranju*, 9(2), 27–44. <https://doi.org/10.5937/gufv1802027P>
- Pravilnik o standardima kompetencija za profesiju nastavnika i njihovog profesionalnog razvoja* (2011). Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, Prosvetni glasnik, br. 5/2011.
- Radulović, L. (2011). *Obrazovanje nastavnika za refleksivnu praksu*. Filozofski fakultet
- Republički zavod za statistiku (2022). *Nacionalna pripadnost: Podaci po opštinama i gradovima*. Retrieved from <https://publikacije.stat.gov.rs/G2023/Pdf/G20234001.pdf>
- Simić, N., & Vranješević, J. (2019). Refugee children in formal education in Serbia – Multi-perspective views on challenges and good practices. In K. Górak-Sosnowska, M. Pachocka, & J. Misiuna (Eds.), *Muslim minorities and the refugee crisis in Europe* (pp. 135–147). SGH publishing house, SGH Warsaw school of economics.
- Skubic Ermenc, K. (2016). Intercultural dimensions of education. *Nastava i vaspitanje*, 65(1), 7–16. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5937/nasvas1601007S>

- Snodgrass, L. L., Morris, P., V., & Acheson, K. (2018). Assessing the intercultural sensitivity of students in an agriculture diversity and social justice course. *Multicultural Education Review*, 10(4), 292–309. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2005615X.2018.1532222>
- Spitzberg, B. H., & Changnon, G. (2009). Conceptualizing intercultural competence. In D. K. Deardorff (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of intercultural competence*, (pp. 2–52). SAGE.
- Starčević, J. S. (2011). Razlike u konceptualizaciji interkulturene kompetentnosti: problem ili suština pojma. *Uzdanica*, 8(2), 117–125.
- Starčević, J. S. (2018). *U potrazi za suštinom individualnih razlika u interkulturnoj interakciji*. Fakultet pedagoških nauka Univerziteta u Kragujevcu.
- Villegas, A. M., & Lucas, T. (2007). The culturally responsive teacher. *Educational Leadership*, 64(6), 28–33.
- Westrick, J. M., & Yuen, C. Y. M. (2007). The intercultural sensitivity of secondary teachers in Hong Kong: A comparative study with implications for professional development. *Intercultural Education*, 18(2), 129–145. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980701327247>
- Yuen, C. Y. M. (2010). Dimensions of diversity: Challenges to secondary school teachers with implications for intercultural teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 26(3), 732–741. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2009.10.009>
- Yuen, C. Y. M., & Grossman, D. L. (2009). The intercultural sensitivity of student teachers in three cities. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 39 (3), 349–365. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057920802281571>
- Zakon o osnovama sistema obrazovanja i vaspitanja*. Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, Prosvetni glasnik br. 88/2017, 27/2018 - dr. zakon, 10/2019, 27/2018 - dr. zakon, 6/2020, 129/2021 i 92/2023.
- Zhang, J. (2014). Test review: The Intercultural Development Inventory Manual. *Journal of Psychoeducational Assessment*, 32(2), 178–183. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0734282913505075>
- Zlatković, B., i Petrović, D. S. (2016). Interkulturalno obrazovanje budućih učitelja u Srbiji. U D. S. Petrović i T. Jokić (ur.), *Interkulturalno obrazovanje u Srbiji – Regulativni okvir, stanje i mogućnosti za razvoj* (str.128–154). Centar za obrazovne politike.

Article received: 26.03.2024.

Updated version received: 15.05.2024.

Accepted for publishing: 20.05.2024.

Bojana Dimitrijević

Faculty of Education, University of Kragujevac, Jagodina, Serbia
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4599-4005>

Danijela Petrović

Department of Psychology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6838-1191>

Blagica Zlatković

Pedagogical Faculty in Vranje, University of Niš, Vranje, Serbia
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3786-2491>

Jelena Starčević

Faculty of Education, University of Kragujevac, Jagodina, Serbia
<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7742-992X>

School Space as a “Safe Space” and “Secure Space”: Educational and Architectural Challenges¹

Nena Vasojević² 

Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia

Ivana Vučetić 

Innovation Center of the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, Belgrade, Serbia

Suzana Ignjatović 

Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia

Željka Buturović 

Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia

Abstract

The paper discusses the two concepts of school space – “safe space” and “secure space”, using the educational and architectural approach. It points to the differences, as well as the overlapping of these two concepts. The paper also provides a critical overview of best practices and international standards for physical and psychosocial school safety/security and design of school buildings, as well as current Serbian regulatory framework addressing these issues. Achieving the conditions of a safe and secure school space is addressed at the level of regulations, recommendations, and current measures. The current regulations on security in school buildings do not include specific preventive measures for security and safety. Developing the concept of “safe space” and “secure space” in Serbian schools requires a revision of the current legislation by the creators of educational policies. In order to enable the efficient management of security in general, as well as management in emergency situations, it is necessary to take into consideration the architectural logic of the space, as well as human factors, in designing school buildings. Also, any activity aimed at adopting appropriate spatial regulations and organising the risk

¹ This paper was drafted within the framework of the 2024 Research Programme of the Institute of Social Sciences and Innovation Center of the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering with the support of the Ministry of Science, Technological Development, and Innovations of the Republic of Serbia, as well as within the framework of the project activity “Value Aspects of Security in the Education-Training System” implemented by the Institute of Social Sciences and the research supported by the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovations of the Republic of Serbia in accordance with Contract 451-03-66/2024-03/ 200213 of 05 February 2024.

² nvasojevic@idn.org.rs

response system in a school building, has to take into account specific features of that building. New regulations will have to ensure security for all subjects involved in the educational process, while the school environment has to be aligned with the needs of students and teachers, and provide opportunities for introducing changes and adjusting to the broader educational and cultural community.

Keywords: *safe space, school, secure space, architecture of school buildings.*

Introduction

School security can be understood as physical security within a school building as well as an environment where an individual feels free to express his/her opinion and be himself/herself. As a result of the tragic shooting event that took place at a school in Belgrade in 2023, security in schools, i.e., physical security within the school space, has become a dominant topic among the local public. However, there is no uniform theoretical approach to researching security risks in schools, preventing an emergence of scientifically-based and practically applicable framework for assessing and responding to heterogeneous risks school youth face today (Keković et al., 2012).

In education, there is an ever greater overlap between the concepts of “security” and “safety”, which tend to be frequently associated through the phrase “school safety and security” (Vallinkoski & Koirikivi, 2020: 103). The concept of safety involves several dimensions, from physical safety from earthquakes, to social safety from poverty and exclusion. On the other hand, the concept of security refers, primarily, to security against physical assaults against bodily integrity involving different degrees of life threat. In accordance with the prevalent approach, which considers security/safety to be a single concept, different models have been presented for resolving the major problems in schools relating to this aspect. Strategic documents discuss “comprehensive safety”, which includes a very broad spectrum of safety/security issues: from psychosocial safety, peer violence, and curriculum contents, to disaster risk reduction, violence, and climate change (GADRRRES, 2022).

In this paper, we distinguish between safety and security. The concept of “safe space” has a dominant social and a psychological dimension, which is also indirectly related to a physical space component. In contrast, we use ‘security’ to refer to the protection of physical integrity against any danger from the outside (an “amok situation”) (Vulević, 2019), as well as against any danger inside the school premises (peer violence). Therefore, “security” has more narrow meaning, largely limited to the framework of the school building and the its associated outdoor space.

School space is refers to the social framing of the physical, geographical, or material substrate (Reed-Danahay, 2015) and is therefore primarily a social space. It is defined by the social and cultural patterns of perception of the school as an educational institution and the basic instrument of public education. The school as a “social space” implies outer spatial boundaries (determined by the physical boundaries of the school space), as well as internal spatial boundaries (determined by different functions of the school, i.e., compartmentalisation of the space within the school). Within such a broad framework, the question of how to articulate risk control in terms of physical security, while complying

with the principle of safe space as a social and psychological category becomes relevant. How do we determine the boundaries of “safe space” within the school, and how do we determine the boundaries of a “secure space”? Are there specific places within the school building designed specially to serve as a safe space (for instance, offices for academic and psychological counseling), in addition to other places designed for physical security in at-risk situation? Are behavioural norms overridden by the implementation of the safe space principle and the secure space principle?

School space has become the subject of interventions in accordance with the requirements of “comprehensive safety” and security, and hence, safety and security are treated as an integral whole, rather than individually. In our paper, we address both the physical and the spatial dimension of the two main requirements we have identified as being at the core of contemporary paradigms: the “safe space” requirement and the physical security requirement. Combined, these two concepts have a meaning that is as symbolic as it is practical. However, in this paper we are particularly interested in the spatial and physical aspects of safety and security, respectively: how they should be implemented operationally (security systems within the school space); how the school space should be segmented with regard to security risks (building, school yard); how to define the roles of the involved parties in controlling the security of the school space (parents, teachers, pupils, management) – who should have the authority to check the premises, who should have access and to which particular parts of the school facility; how should the school space to be surveilled for security purposes, what are the appropriate architectural solutions, such as the layout of check points, evacuation exits, etc. Another important question is whether the two concepts - safe space as a socially tolerant milieu, on the one hand, and security as protection against the risk of physical threat, on the other - may collide within the school environment, especially from the perspective of spatial regulation and architectural solutions. This topic is rarely discussed in domestic literature (Hebib i Žunić Pavlović, 2018; Tadić, 2022).

“Safe space” as school space

The meaning of safety in this context refers to the combination of physical security and freedom to openly express one’s views and speak about oneself. In recent years, this term has been increasingly present in education, in reference to the dimension of “safe space”, which is associated with pupils’ rights and freedoms.³ The importance of this topic has been highlighted in the official documents and recommendations by the Council of Europe. For example, *Signposts* defined “safe space” as “in a safe classroom space, students are able to express their views and positions openly, even if these differ from those of the teacher or peers” (Jackson, 2014: 48). Here, physical security is of secondary importance.

3 The relevant literature provides different definitions describing the concept of “safe space”. It is worth noting that the “secure space” concept derives from the feminist and LGBT movement in the 1970s and that it was originally used for referring to the “physical meeting places where like-minded individuals could meet and share their experiences in a safe environment” (Flensner & Von der Lippe, 2019, p.276).

On the other hand, certain authors, such as Domalewska and associates, point to the fact that “safe space is risk free as it constitutes ‘brave space’, namely, an environment free from abuse and ridicule” (Domalewska et al., 2021: 36). Safe space is an environment or a milieu. Such “space” in schools is associated with the physical space where pupils stay during the education and training, including classrooms, school premises (offices, sports and recreation gyms, cafeteria, school yard, staff offices, and the like). Safe space is an environment that supports learning, and embraces a prosocial principle, which ensures that individuals, i.e., pupils have respect for each other in spite of their differences. Nevertheless, in the USA, the “safe space” concept has often had the opposite effect, with trigger warnings having a disquieting effect on the pupils and teachers and literature with a potential to cause unpleasant feelings getting removed from the curriculum (Byron, 2017).

The authors Domalewska et al. (2021) state that “safe-space classrooms in educational institutions differ from the safe-space policy in higher education institutions or workplaces because the rules and goals of cohabitation differ” (Flensner et al., 2019, as cited in Domalewska, et al., 2021: 36). A safe space is primarily a learning space intended to provide a “positive atmosphere that encourages students to break down their isolation, form an inclusive and collaborative classroom community” (Biegel, 2010; Gawlik-Kobylińska, 2021; Kislyakov et al., 2014, as cited in Domalewska et al., 2021: 36). Such space implies “a classroom climate that feels secure, supportive and risk-free so that students can honestly express their individuality, opinions, attitudes, knowledge, and behaviour without fear of being the target of violence, harassment or hate speech” (Domalewska et al., 2021: 36). Such an approach is stimulating for interaction within the space “without fear of ridicule and supports their well-being, resilience and moral identity” (Kislyakov 2014, as cited in Domalewska et al., 2021: 36).

The characteristics of the educational environment can be considered environmental factors that affect psychosocial well-being of all subjects of the educational process (Kislyakov et al., 2014), and are equally important for students and teachers. It is only in a safe space that the teacher can apply an individual approach to each pupil, “creating a space for a subject-subject interaction” (Antonova, 2013: 286, as cited in Kislyakov et al., 2014). The skill of the teacher in forming a “tolerant space” requires synergy among numerous elements, such as unconditional acceptance of the subject (irrespective of age, race, ethnic group, language, financial status, etc.), as well as support of the administration (Pogodina, 2006, as cited in Kislyakov et al., 2014).

One must bear in mind that the main precondition for a safe space is a cross-cultural dialogue, on the one hand, and exploration of the diversity of opinions, values, and views, on the other (Domalewska et al., 2021; Jackson, 2014). An environment of this kind encourages pupils’ self-discovery. This necessarily leads to a different set of challenges. Yet, it is only in this manner that cognitive, emotional, and social development (Vygotsky, 1978) of an individual, i.e., the pupil, can take place. However, safe space does not imply “comfortableness” (Domalewska et al., 2021), making social and psychological safety situation dependent. Educational institutions need to create a positive learning environment, which includes adequate physical resources (classrooms, materials, technologies, and the like) (Velissaratou & Blyth, 2017).

One must bear in mind that, in the context of dominant institutions, intersectional approach implies that safe space is impossible for members of marginalised groups. As a result, contrary to the idea of open multicultural communication, the framework of safe spaces has resulted in exclusion of unpleasant topics and prioritization of pupils' and teachers' feelings. For this reason, the concept of safe space has been subject of numerous critiques (Haidt & Lukianoff, 2019).

An increasing emphasis has also been put on the importance of inclusiveness in the school environment, which contributes to the pupils' security and comfort (Joseph et al., 2023). Thus, one of the key elements in international educational guidelines and school policies around the world is construction of inclusive schools, which are meant to stimulate positive relations among pupils, reduce peer violence and enhance pupils' general wellbeing (Margas, 2023). Some studies (Baeva, 2023; Flynn, 2018) have shown that taking care of social and emotional learning, engaging in cultivating positive values in pupils, and training teachers to be able to identify and resolve problems which are not easily noticeable (rowdiness, violence, and the like) might prevent potentially threatening situations in school environment. Practice has shown that school building can have a great impact on learning process, instruction provided, and relationship between students and teachers (Harber, 2021). Therefore, school buildings should be designed in a manner that stimulates learning, in accordance with theory and practice in education and environmental psychology (Dyck & Lippman, 2023).

Nonetheless, the concept of "safe space" as a school environment secure in a psychological sense, has been increasingly relegated to the background following the emergence of new risks within the school space. The frequent occurrence of school shootings has brought pupils' physical security to the forefront, triggering a polemic on the design of school facilities most likely to reduce the number of victims resulting from such attacks. Recommendations regarding desirable spatial solutions, which are supposed to encourage tolerance and communication within the school, may be in collision with the priority of physical security. For this reason, the rest of our paper focuses on architectural solutions that mitigate security risks in school facilities.

School building as a secure space

Following World War II, the increase in the number of school age children and democratisation of education led to changes in the regulations on school buildings design, as well as to establishing a more dynamic interaction between the school space and its surroundings (Tiškevič, 2023). The more open concept of school buildings has made them more accessible to the local community, but at the same time more susceptible to security risks. Due to the frequency of such events over the past decades, it has become necessary to work on improving the safety and security of school facilities. Thus, in architectural projects of school facilities, apart from considering the practical, aesthetic, and economic requirements, it is also necessary to address the security-related requirements (Tiškevič, 2023).

Modern school should have effective design while addressing physical, social, and psychological needs of its users (Blue, 1998). This adds to the intricacy to project design, where architects have consider possible adverse effects of preventive security measures which may trigger fear and unease in the pupils. It is necessary to identify innovative architectural solutions that can prevent and contain violence which, however, do not disrupt the character of an environment that stimulates learning. This approach creates open school communities in accordance with social, psychological, economic, and environmental factors (AIA, n.d.). Security enhancing architectural may include various barriers to movement, limitation of access, or security systems. They have to be as unnoticeable as possible and be an integral part of the overall design. Otherwise, educational and emotional development of pupils and their socialization could be put at risk (Schneidawind, 2018).

However, there is a lack of guidelines and access to relevant information in the school building design process. Moreover, there is no single design concept that is applicable to each school. Instead, in each individual case, school design has to accommodate student population, specifics of the location, and the needs of local community (Schneidawind, 2018). It is necessary to take into account not only emergency circumstances, but also more common problems, which pupils and teachers may encounter on a daily basis, such as bullying. Therefore, in addition to strategies for improving security, it is necessary to work toward “safe space” as well. Dobbins (2018) emphasises the need to ensure better access to counseling and psychological services by placing them close to the library, or other common areas (Dobbins, 2018).

Discussions about security at the school building must also take into account individual experiences among different school actors - students, teachers and parents. School space is a public space. The perception of security at a public space by school age children differs from adults’ understanding of risk. A study on the perception of public space risk by children in Serbia has shown a less prominent separation between the public and the private than is the case in the West. There is also greater autonomy in children’s mobility compared to some other countries (Tomanović & Petrović, 2006). The same research has revealed that, in Serbia, risk-related anxiety associated is comparatively lower than expected, and that parents use instructions far more than restrictions to control public space risks (Tomanović & Petrović, 2006). Indeed, experience can change perceptions. Serbia’s first school shooting may change dominant cultural scripts regarding risks in public spaces, including school buildings.

Extreme security-risk situations and school space

Schools in the United States of America experience the highest number of situations with potentially grievous consequences, primarily those relating to armed attacks, known as school shootings. This is why, since 2013, special security protocols in designing school buildings or in major reconstruction works in the existing facilities (OSPI, 2013; Vulević, 2019), have become mandatory. When the threat is external, security strategies are based on making it more difficult to access interior of the school building by applying physical

barriers, specially designed spatial elements, and school access security control systems. At the same time, efforts have been made to ensure a quick evacuation from the interior of the school building, if necessary, by identifying evacuation routes. It is also important to establish secure hiding places within the school building in case evacuation is not possible. The above preventive measures may include different elements of architectural and landscape design, and the use of modern technology, as well as a special spatial and functional organisation of the school building.

The spatial and functional organisation of the school building is the starting point for the creation of a safe and secure environment. Certain authors emphasise that the zone of the main school area, which includes classrooms and student dedicated zones, has to be separate from the entrance hall. A cluster of public purpose areas (toilets, halls intended for parent meetings and reception, as well as other offices), which can be accessed without any restrictions (Cassidy, 2014) should be between them. The entrance hall with the reception area should also be physically separated from the main school area, and it has been frequently recommended, have bullet proof glass. However, this recommendation does not apply to all school areas, i.e. glazing around the entrance to the classrooms should be avoided in order to create so called secure niches in the classroom blind spots which cannot be viewed from the hall (Flynn, 2018). The entrance has to be positioned in such a manner as to enable monitoring of school visitors from the main area and reception area of the school building as well as from the ground floor and public areas. School buildings should have a limited number of entrances and they should be equipped with monitoring and screening technology, such as cameras and metal detectors, which can be located within the first double gate area. If the detectors identify a suspicious object, the second gate can only be opened by security (Schneider, 1998, 2007). Furthermore, it is desirable to provide several alternative exits in the event of an urgent evacuation (Kirk, 2018). Having one single entrance and exit may cause the bottleneck effect, which can make student vulnerable targets during rush hours. Finally, it is recommended that staff in the reception area be trained to know exactly what to do or whom to call if they identify a threat (Flynn, 2018). It would also be desirable to have secure rooms in strategically selected locations throughout the building, equipped with security locks and metal doors (Kirk, 2018).

There exist recommendations for design-based security solutions for the school yard and the access path as well. The path leading to the school building has to be designed in such a manner as to slow down movement by means of various space barriers, which are part of the ground floor design⁴ (Flynn, 2018). Security experts consider that well elaborated ground floor designs send out the message that people care about the school and that they can provide deterrent against bad actors. Nevertheless, the greenery on the ground floor has to be carefully arranged to make sure it does not block the

4 The ground floor design concept or the landscaping architectural design concept includes paved surfaces intended for gatherings or communications (pathways), parking, and greenery, in the immediate zone of the school building, as a space belonging to it between the school building and the area intended for public purposes..

view, or that it cannot be used as a hiding place (Cassidy, 2014). The access path and pertaining area of the ground floor should be designed in a way to be easily seen from the interior of the school building (Flynn, 2018).

“Safe space”, as a concept, cannot be achieved if architectural organisation of the space does not encourage communication, openness, and connectivity in teaching and social activities. The architect Brotman, who advocates for “open space” solutions the issue of school building security, gives the example of a “rain garden” surrounding the school (like a “trench”), its positive side being that it is not so noticeable as part of the design project, while performing a security function (Schneidawind, 2018). This is an example of spatial organisation where the concept of “safe space”, as a positive social environment, is associated with physical security.

In addition, strategies for improving school building security based on performance-oriented evacuation are also being implemented. It has been established that each individual relies on three principles while making decisions during the process of an emergency evacuation: their instincts, their experience, and limited rationality (Pan et al., 2005, as cited in Lian et al., 2023). In a crisis situation, the majority of people have the tendency to leave the building by taking the most familiar path (Lian et al., 2023). In addition to this, in predicting behaviour during evacuation from school buildings, it is also necessary to observe interactions between the evacuated persons and the surroundings, i.e., to take into consideration other individuals and space barriers. The results of an evacuation simulation performed using *AnyLogic platform* (simulation modelling software) in a school in Hangzhou (China), have shown that the design of communications in the school building and the dimensions and positions of the corridors and stairways can impact the results of evacuation (Lian et al., 2023). Evacuation simulation at the *Svetozar Marković* School in Niš performed using *Pathfinder* (simulation software), has shown that the efficiency of evacuation depends on the speed of movement, which needs to be within certain limits in order to avoid bottlenecks at critical points (Jevtić, 2023). In the USA, the majority of schools have protocols for “active shooter” situations, and a large number provide teacher and student trainings and evacuation drills (Flynn, 2018).

Security measures in school buildings in Serbia

The only requirements Serbian regulations regarding security measures in school buildings have are those relating to fire safety regulations. Article 92 of The Basic Education Law (Official Gazette of the RS, No. 88/2017, 27/2018-other law and 10/2019) prescribes norms and standards for *educational facilities*, which include, among others, hygiene-technical requirements (sanitary and fire safety requirements), in accordance with the regulations. The Regulations specify that in designing school facilities, as well as in their construction, construction of building extensions, reconstruction, adaptation, and equipment, it is necessary to adhere to the national standards on the construction of public facilities, namely: the standards applying to accessibility, fire safety, energy efficiency,

security, and other standards in the area of project design and construction of facilities (Rulebook on Amendments to the Rulebook on Closer Conditions for the Establishment, Start of Work, and Performance of Elementary School Activities, 2020).

With regard to preventive security measures, *Architectural Standards for Educational Facilities* prescribes certain measures associated with spatial and functional organisation, movement, and accessibility, without much regard for security. An exception to this is the regulation requiring that school compound (which includes school building, the school yard next to the school building, which is directly connected with the school building entrances, sports grounds, green areas, access roads for pedestrians and vehicles, the supply delivery yard, and the parking lot) be fenced off by a protective fence 180-210 cm high. Another regulation requires that, when considering locations for a school building, it is necessary to consider ground bearing capacity and seismic parameters, and possibilities of natural catastrophes, among others. Access roads for pedestrians and vehicles must be separated from each other. All multi-storey facilities have to be provided with elevators complying with accessibility standards. However, there are no clear guidelines regarding the spatial and functional organisation in the context of security, for instance, ensuring that staff area and the multi-purpose area within common areas are spatially separated from the classrooms. There is only one guideline specifying that administrative premises should be clustered together and situated closer to the school building entrance (Rulebook on Amendments to the Rulebook on Closer Conditions for the Establishment, Start of Work, and Performance of Elementary School Activities, 2020).

In the recently published handbook by the Ministry of Education on dealing with crisis situations in schools, spatial factors are not sufficiently addressed (Vuković et al., 2024). The handbook's focus is on the psychological aspects of response during crisis and its aftermath, providing few guidelines related to the school building. It emphasises that every school must have an evacuation plan, secure hideouts and places for reunion after evacuation from the facility, as well as a space for psychological assistance to the victims following a crisis event (Vuković et al., 2024). However, the recommendations are not specific enough in respect of either the type of school buildings and their surroundings, or the types of hazardous situations.

The obvious conclusion here is that spatial security factors have not been sufficiently appreciated in the educational system of Serbia. There are no legal regulations relating specifically to the segment of "safe" and "secure space". Scholarly literature has not yet adequately addressed the "problem of the standard of school building construction as a factor of crisis prevention", either. (Kešetović et al., 2012: 207). The concept of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design – CPTED, which is based on three foundations: natural supervision (referring to the "possibility of detecting what is happening in the space and the facility without taking any special measures"), natural access control ("the possibility of applying restrictions with regard to who can enter the facility and how"), and territoriality ("the capacity for establishing control of the environment, by clearly defining who is in charge, who belongs inside, and who is an outsider" Kešetović et al., 2012: 203) has not been widely recognized. Of course, decid-

ing on the architectural adjustments to the school building in relation to risks is not an easy task. The selection of adequate security measures depends on various factors (size of the school and other local specifics), and it is necessary to identify the right scope of potential solutions. This is an issue of particular complexity, as we face emergence of new risks (amok situations) which were formerly outside of security considerations.

Discussion and conclusion

Developing the “safe space” and “secure space” concept in Serbian schools calls for a review of the current regulations by creators of educational policies. Their objective should be the creation of new norms which take into account potential risks in implementation and creation of security standards, while also preserving educational culture of the community. The drafting of new regulations on security in Serbian schools should involve experts from different scientific fields, in order to establish new principles designed to reduce security-related risks. New regulations have to ensure security for all the subjects involved in the educational process. The school environment has to be adjusted to the needs of the pupils and teachers, while remaining open to modifications in accordance with the changes in society and education. One of the challenges architects will face when trying to improve security of school buildings in Serbia will be implementation of design concepts and elements in line with the recommendations and regulations on preventive security measures, in the space of the existing school buildings, where the implementation of such measures was not anticipated at the very beginning. This paper discusses the implementation of the requirements for a safe and secure school space at the level of regulations, recommendations, and current measures. Indeed, our conclusions have to be supplemented by an analysis of the current infrastructure in school buildings, including needed investments for reducing security risks. Adoption of relevant spatial regulations and creation of response systems within the school building in the event of security risks has to take into account the specifics of each school, its size (space-wise and in terms of the number of pupils), its position (urban area density), as well as the social and cultural specifics (perception of risks and security).

In order to provide for efficient security management in general, as well as security management in emergencies, the process of drafting school building design projects has to take into consideration two mutually associated aspects – the architectural logic of the space and the human factor. The first aspect refers to the optimum positioning and dimensioning of spatial elements, resulting in either the elimination of security threats or provision of time for adequate response. The second aspect is equally important. In extreme situations involving armed attacks, which require a prompt and coordinated response by all the individuals present in the school building, it is important to understand that people experience space in different ways, and that they have varied reactions to crisis situations. Hence, apart from the spatial and functional organisation of the school building, it is necessary to upgrade security systems and technological solutions, provide training to the staff, teachers, and pupils.

References

- AIA. (n.d.). *Where we stand: School design and student safety*. <https://www.aia.org/about-aia/where-we-stand/school-design-student-safety>
- Baeva, L.V. (2023). Existential sources of school shootings and Columbian. *Journal of Philosophy*, 27(3), 774-792. <http://dx.doi.org/10.22363/2313-2302-2023-27-3-774-792>
- Biegel, S. (2010). *The right to be out: Sexual orientation and gender identity in America's public schools*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Blue, D. (1998). *Safety By Design* [Conference presentation]. The 3rd International CPTED Conference, Washington DC, United States.
- Byron, K. (2017). From infantilizing to world making: Safe spaces and trigger warnings on campus. *Family Relations*, 66(1), 116-125. <https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12233>
- Cassidy, R. (2014, January 9). *Special report: Can design prevent another Sandy Hook?* BDC Network. https://www.bdcnetwork.com/special-report-can-design-prevent-another-sandy-hook?utm_medium=website&utm_source=archdaily.com
- Dobbins, T. (2018, August 25). *Sandy Hook School Architect Testifies in Front of Congress About School Safety*. Archdaily. https://www.archdaily.com/900588/speaking-to-congress-jay-brotman-outlines-how-the-profession-intends-to-improve-school-safety?ad_source=search&ad_medium=projects_tab&ad_source=search&ad_medium=search_result_all
- Domalewska, D., Kobylińska, M. G., Yen, P. H., Webb, R. K., & Thiparasuparat, N. (2021). On safe space in education: A Polish-Vietnamese comparative study. *Journal of Human Security*, 17(1), 35-45. <https://doi.org/10.12924/johs2021.17010035>
- Dyck, J.A., & Lippman, P. (2023). Creating dynamic school buildings that activate the learner and the learning process. In P. C. Lippman, & E. A. Matthews (Eds.), *Creating Dynamic Places for Learning: An Evidence Based Design Approach* (pp. 163-193). Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-19-8749-6_9
- Flensner, K.K., & Von der Lippe, M. (2019). Being safe from what and safe for whom?. A critical discussion of the conceptual metaphor of 'safe space'. *Intercultural Education*, 30(3), 275-288. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2019.1540102>
- Flynn, K. (2018, Jun 20). *Architects prioritize design as a school security solution*. AIA. <https://sites.jla.us.com/files/Sheridan/White%20Papers/architects-prioritize-design-as-a-school-security-solution-aia.pdf?804299a1bd>
- GADRRRES (2022). *Comprehensive School Safety Framework 2022-2030*. https://gadrrres.net/files/cssf_2022-2030_en.pdf
- Gawlik-Kobylińska, M. (2021). Can security and safety education support sustainability? Lessons learned from Poland. *Sustainability*, 13(4), 1-13. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su13041747>
- Harber, C. (2021). School buildings (and grounds). In C. Harber (Ed.), *Post-Covid schooling: Future alternatives to the global normal* (pp. 185-222). Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-87824-5_8
- Haidt, J., & Lukianoff, G. (2019). *The coddling of the American mind*. Penguin Books.
- Hebib, E., i Žunić Pavlović, V. (2018). Školska klima i školska kultura: okvir za izgradnju škole kao bezbedne i podsticajne sredine za učenje i razvoj. *Zbornik Instituta za pedagoška istraživanja*, 50(1), 113-134.
- Jackson, R. (2014). *Signposts: Policy and practice for teaching about religions and non-religious worldviews in intercultural education*. Council of Europe Publishing.

- Jevtić, R. (2023). Simulation of a school facility evacuation: The case of the secondary school „Svetozar Marković“ in Niš. *Vatrogastvo i upravljanje požarima*, 1-2(8), 17-29.
- Joseph, J. J., Purser, C.W., Elia, E., & Yelderman, L. A. (2023). The impact of routine activities on the number of school shooting injuries and fatalities. In J. D. Herron, S. R. Sartin, & J. Budd (Eds.), *Addressing violence in the U.S. public school system* (pp. 191-217). Information Science Reference. <https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-6684-8271-1.ch010>
- Keković, Z., Milošević, M. i Putnik, N. (2012). Problemi identifikacije i klasifikacije bezbednosnih rizika u školama. U B. Popović Čitić, S. Đurić, i Ž. Kešetović (ur.), *Bezbednosni rizici u obrazovno-vaspitnim ustanovama* (str. 51–69). Fakultet bezbednosti u Beogradu.
- Kešetović, Ž., Lipovac, M., i Mlađan, D. (2012). Projektovanje školskog prostora kao faktor prevencije bezbednosnih rizika. U B. Kordić, A. Kovačević i B. Banović (ur.), *Reagovanje na bezbednosne rizike u obrazovno-vaspitnim ustanovama* (str. 197-210). Čigoja.
- Kirk, M. (2018, August 22). *How Architecture and Design Can Hinder Active Shooters*. https://www.architectmagazine.com/aia-architect/aiafeature/how-architecture-and-design-can-hinder-active-shooters_o
- Kislyakov, P., Shmeleva, E., Karaseva, T., & Silaeva, O. (2014). Monitoring of education environment according to the social-psychological safety criterion. *Asian Social Science*, 10(17), 285–293. <https://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v10n17p285>
- Lian, H., Zhang, S., Li, G., & Zhang Y. (2023). Pedestrian simulation on evacuation behavior in teaching building of primary school emergencies and optimized design. *Buildings*, 13, 1747. <https://doi.org/10.3390/buildings13071747>
- Margas, N. (2023). Inclusive classroom climate development as the cornerstone of inclusive school building: review and perspectives. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 14, 1-11. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2023.1171204>
- Rulebook on Amendments to the Rulebook on Closer Conditions for the Establishment, Start of Work, and Performance of Elementary School Activities* (2020). Educational Gazette, Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, No. 16/2020. [In Serbian]
- Reed–Danahay, D. (2015) Social space: distance, proximity and thresholds of affinity. In V. Amit (Ed.), *Thinking Through Sociality* (pp. 69-96). Berghahn Books.
- Schneidawind, J. (2018, August 16). *AIA architect pushes for school design best practices in testimony to White House Cabinet officials today*. AIA. <https://aeccafe.com/nbc/articles/1/1607286/AIA-Architect-Pushes-School-Design-Best-Practices-Testimony-White-House-Cabinet-Officials-Today>
- Schneider, T. (1998). *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design - School CPTED Basics* [Conference presentation]. The 3rd International CPTED Conference, Washington DC, United States.
- Schneider, T. (2007). *Ensuring quality school facilities and security technologies*. The Hamilton Fish Institute on School and Community Violence & Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory.
- School Facility Design Safety Guidance* (2013). Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI).
- Tadić, V. (2022). O pristupima definisanju i operacionalizaciji pojma bezbednosti u školi. *Nastava i vaspitanje*, 71(2), 249-266.
- Tiškevič, O. (2023). Zakordonnij dosvid formuvannja bagatofunkcionalnih škilьnih budively. Sučasni problemi Arhitekturi ta Mistobuduvannja, (66), 252-263. <https://doi.org/10.32347/2077-3455.2023.66.252-263>

- Tomanović, S. i Petrović, M. (2006). Rizici i bezbednost u susedstvu iz perspektive dece i njihovih roditelja. U S. Tomanović (ur.), *Društvo u previranju* (str. 139-157). Institut za sociološka istraživanja Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu.
- Velissaratou, J., & Blyth, A. (2017). *Framework for a module on the physical learning environment*. Revised Edition. OECD. <https://www.oecd.org/education/OECD-FRAMEWORK-FOR-A-MODULE-ON-THE-PHYSICAL-LEARNING-ENVIRONMENT.pdf>
- Vallinkoski, K. K., & Koirikivi, P. M. (2020). Enhancing Finnish basic education schools' safety culture through comprehensive safety and security management. *Nordic journal of studies in educational policy*, 6(2), 103-115.
- Vuković, S., Fejzula, M., Petrović, N., Stojanović, N., Panić, Z., Parezanović, J., i Zečević, O. (2024). *Postupanje ustanova obrazovanja i vaspitanja u kriznim događajima. Priručnik za zaposlene u ustanovama obrazovanja i vaspitanja*. Ministarstvo prosvete Republike Srbije i Populacioni fond Ujedinjenih nacija, Kancelarija u Republici Srbiji.
- Vulević, S. (2019). Amok situacije i napadi „aktivnog strelca“ kao oblik ugrožavanja bezbednosti. *Bezbednost*, 61(2), 134-152.
- Vygotsky, L. (1978). *Mind in Society*. Harvard University Press.
- Law of the Basic of the Education System. Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, No. 88/2017, 27/2018- other lex and 10/2019. [In Serbian]

Article received: 21.02.2024.

Updated version received: 15.06.2024.

Accepted for publishing: 20.06.2024.

Nena Vasojević

Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0131-1831>

Ivana Vučetić

Innovation Center of the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, Belgrade, Serbia
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4036-7785>

Suzana Ignjatović

Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5681-8288>

Željka Buturović

Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1826-2362>

The Use of ChatGPT in Higher Education: Students' Perceptions

Tamara Dragojević¹ 

Department of Pedagogy, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, Novi Sad, Serbia

Jovana Turudić 

Department of Pedagogy, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, Novi Sad, Serbia

Abstract

The rapid development of technology has led to the creation of the artificial intelligence model ChatGPT, which enables the generation of texts based on user queries. Although it represents an innovation in the domain of artificial intelligence, this model is still insufficiently explored through empirical studies. Therefore, a study was conducted to further explore students' perceptions regarding the use of ChatGPT in higher education. The sample included 200 students from the University of Novi Sad, and the data were analyzed using SPSS and descriptive statistics measures. The research results indicate that students extensively use ChatGPT for academic purposes, recognizing benefits such as time-saving and personalized learning experiences. However, the results also show students' concerns about the potential reduction of creativity and critical thinking, as well as privacy risks. Additionally, most students had no experience with educational workshops or courses focused on using ChatGPT in an academic context. Based on these findings, it is concluded that there is a need for educating students on a more efficient and responsible use of ChatGPT in higher education. Furthermore, the importance of further research and the development of resources to provide adequate support for students in applying this technological tool is emphasized.

Keywords: ChatGPT, students, artificial intelligence, higher education.

Introduction

ChatGPT is an artificial intelligence model designed to understand language and provide relevant responses to user queries. The educational potential of the ChatGPT model has been the subject of various studies over the past two years (Grassini, 2023;

¹ tamara.dragojevic@ff.uns.ac.rs

Ouyang et al., 2022; Rawas, 2023; Sok & Heng, 2024; Tlili et al., 2023; Zawacki et al., 2023). ChatGPT offers numerous possibilities within higher education: support in teaching, innovations in student knowledge assessment, assistance with academic writing, as well as administrative help and productivity (Sok & Heng, 2024). However, the use of the ChatGPT model in higher education may also present a range of challenges related to security, privacy, information accuracy, and the academic integrity of educators (Sok & Heng, 2024).

When discussing the use of ChatGPT in higher education, it is crucial to examine its impact on students' academic success, the learning process, and the long-term implications for the educational system. In this regard, to assess the effectiveness of this model, it is essential to identify the limitations of previous research and lay the foundations for future studies that will contribute to a better understanding of its use in higher education. The aim of this research was to examine the perceptions of students at the University of Novi Sad regarding the use of ChatGPT in higher education. The theoretical framework of the paper presents the results of previous research that dealt with this topic. The research methodology is described in detail, followed by a presentation of the obtained results, discussion, conclusions, and pedagogical implications.

Theoretical Framework

According to constructivist learning theory, learning should be organized as an opportunity for constructing knowledge. According to this theory, knowledge is not passively transmitted but actively constructed by the student. The role of the teacher within constructivist theory is represented by providing support to students in the learning process (Makewa, 2019). With technological development, according to some research findings, artificial intelligence models can take on a mentoring role in the learning process. Research by Makewa (Makewa, 2019) indicates that technology can accelerate interactive learning experiences by allowing students to experiment and explore. For example, ChatGPT enables students to reach certain insights more quickly (Rasul et al., 2023). The feedback it provides, encouragement, and guidance can lead to the construction of new knowledge. Additionally, constructivist theory emphasizes the importance of authentic assessment, which evaluates students' ability to apply knowledge and skills in real-world situations (Rasul et al., 2023).

The first study (Ouyang et al., 2022) to be presented focused on the use of artificial intelligence in online higher education. Ouyang and colleagues (Ouyang et al., 2022) provided insights into empirical research on the application of artificial intelligence. This literature review analyzed the functions of artificial intelligence applications, the algorithms most commonly used, effects, and implications arising from these studies (Ouyang et al., 2022). The results show that the functions of artificial intelligence applications in online higher education are diverse, including predicting learning status, performance or satisfaction, recommending resources, automatic assessment, and improving the learning experience. The effects generated by artificial intelligence applications include high-quality predictions, high-quality recommendations based on student characteristics, improved academic performance, and enhanced online engagement and participation (Ouyang et

al., 2022). This systematic literature review points to several theoretical, technological, and practical implications. One implication is that the application of artificial intelligence in education should rely on established learning and educational theories and use advanced technologies to collect and analyze data in real-time (Ouyang et al., 2022).

A relevant study focusing on chatbots in higher education is by Dempere and colleagues (Dempere et al., 2023). In this extensive research, the authors used various databases such as PubMed, IEEE Explore, and Google Scholar to explore the literature on the impact of chatbot artificial intelligence in higher education. The authors identified numerous benefits of ChatGPT, including support in research, automated assessment, enhanced user-computer interaction, simplified registration, improved student services, and enhanced teaching. However, the research also identified several issues, such as on-line testing security, digital literacy gaps, anxiety caused by artificial intelligence, privacy violations, misuse, bias, misinformation, reduced human interaction, accessibility issues, and the disappearance of certain jobs.

Another significant study covered the use of ChatGPT in higher education, with a special emphasis on the frequency of use and its impact on teacher productivity (Firaina & Sulisworo, 2023). The aim of this study was to assess teachers' optimism regarding the use of ChatGPT. It was shown that most teachers expressed optimism about the application of ChatGPT in teaching. However, the research also found that there is a certain level of skepticism among teachers regarding the use of this model in teaching (Firaina & Sulisworo, 2023).

The goal of the research by Ljujić and colleagues (2023) was to examine ChatGPT's performance in writing academic assignments and compare these performances with those of students. The main data sources included pre-exam assignments written by Andragogy students at the University of Belgrade and essays generated by ChatGPT. Both students and ChatGPT were tasked with writing an andragogical analysis of a multimedia content (Ljujić et al., 2023). The comparative content analysis was conducted based on criteria used to evaluate the pre-exam assignments. These criteria included various aspects such as grammar, organization and structure of content, relevance to the given topic, citation practice, depth of understanding and knowledge, integration of theoretical, research, and experiential insights, quality of argumentation and discussion, level of reflection and critical analysis, and originality and creativity (Ljujić et al., 2023). The results showed that ChatGPT has linguistic and semantic algorithms that enable automatic evaluation, corrections, and feedback regarding grammar and vocabulary. However, although quite structured and logically organized, the essays generated by ChatGPT contained basic textual units, while student essays exhibited more complex structures. The difference in content quality was significant, with student papers showing greater integration of theoretical and experiential insights. Thus, the results clearly indicate that human intervention and interaction are indispensable in composing experiential written content (Ljujić et al., 2023).

The research by Huallpa and colleagues (2023) aimed to investigate students' attitudes toward the integration of ChatGPT into their educational experiences. The study involved 220 undergraduate students at the University of Peru. The questionnaire consisted of closed and open-ended questions to gather both quantitative and qualitative data.

The results showed that students recognize the value of ChatGPT in creating personalized educational opportunities. Additionally, students highlighted the need for clear institutional standards regarding data privacy and security (Huallpa et al., 2023). Furthermore, the results indicated that users' attitudes toward ChatGPT changed under the influence of various factors, including demographic factors (such as gender, age, and perceived accessibility), social attitudes, experiences, and concerns about data privacy and security. To maintain students' privacy, institutions should establish standards and ethical frameworks for the use of ChatGPT (Huallpa et al., 2023).

The study by Sullivan and colleagues (Sullivan et al., 2023) on the impact of ChatGPT on higher education covered two areas. The first was the investigation of key themes in newspaper articles about ChatGPT in the context of higher education, and the second was the assessment of how these discussions perceive ChatGPT as a potential learning tool and support for different students, rather than a risk to academic integrity (Sullivan et al., 2023). Through content analysis of 100 media articles, the text was coded to explore several key themes regarding the impact of ChatGPT on higher education. These themes included university employees' responses to ChatGPT, concerns about academic integrity, the limitations and weaknesses of artificial intelligence tools, and opportunities for student learning (Sullivan et al., 2023). Content analysis of newspaper articles revealed that university employees' responses to ChatGPT were mainly focused on concerns about academic integrity and new approaches to assessment. It is noteworthy that the study neglected the students' perspective, whose academic success is affected by the impacts of artificial intelligence models (Sullivan et al., 2023). Additionally, it is interesting to note that there is an equal representation of issues related to how students will be encouraged to avoid ChatGPT, while a smaller number of articles explicitly established a correlation between the use of artificial intelligence models and learning outcomes. This study suggests that a larger number of higher education institutions prohibit the use of ChatGPT compared to those that do not.

Research Methodology

The aim of the research was to investigate students' perceptions regarding the use of ChatGPT in higher education. Based on this aim, the following research tasks were set:

1. To assess students' awareness of the use of ChatGPT for educational purposes;
2. To examine students' perceptions of the potential applications of ChatGPT in higher education (including changes in education and the quality of studying);
3. To investigate students' perceptions of the potential challenges associated with the use of ChatGPT in higher education (including issues related to «replacement» of professors, creativity, and privacy).

To explore the use of ChatGPT in higher education, a questionnaire developed by Abbas and colleagues (Abbas et al., 2023) was used. The original questionnaire consists of 19 closed-ended questions. This instrument is intended to measure the effects of integrating ChatGPT into education and research. For the purposes of this study, the authors adapted and validated the previously mentioned instrument for the Serbian-speaking

area. Like the original version, the adapted instrument included 19 closed-ended questions. While the original study addressed the use of ChatGPT for educational and research purposes, only questions focused on examining the use of ChatGPT models for educational purposes were selected for this study.

This research will present questions related to students' awareness of the use of ChatGPT for educational purposes, their participation in workshops or courses on the use of this model, questions about potential applications, as well as challenges associated with the use of ChatGPT in higher education. Data on the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents included: gender, year of study, field of study (natural or social sciences), and average grade. The study involved 200 students from the University of Novi Sad, using a convenience sample. The research was conducted online via the Google Forms platform from January to March 2024. The data obtained from this research were analyzed using the IBM SPSS for Windows statistical software (version 26). Descriptive statistical indicators were applied.

Table 1
Structure of respondents

	N	%
Gender		
Male	101	50.5
Female	99	49.5
Year of study		
Second year	58	29.0
Third year	88	44.0
Fourth year	54	27.0
Total	200	100

Note. N – number of respondents

Results

Students' Awareness of the Use of ChatGPT in Education. The majority of respondents, 77.0%, reported being aware of the use of ChatGPT in education, while 23.0% stated otherwise. The high level of awareness of the use of ChatGPT in education suggests that this model is widely recognized among the student population, indicating it could play a potentially significant role in the educational process. Additionally, the survey included a question about attending additional training for using ChatGPT in academic contexts. Only 15.5% of respondents had participated in or attended a course on using ChatGPT in an academic context, while the majority, 84.5%, had not. These results indicate that most respondents have not engaged in additional training or courses for using ChatGPT in academic settings, implying that students have explored or used ChatGPT independently without formal training. This finding could be useful for educational

institutions and the academic community to better understand students' needs and provide appropriate support and resources for effective use of ChatGPT in education.

Students' Perception of the Potential of ChatGPT in Higher Education. The majority of respondents, 74.5%, believe that ChatGPT has the potential to change the educational process. On the other hand, 25.5% disagree with this statement. This expressed belief among students about ChatGPT's potential to alter the educational process highlights the significant role this model could play in the future of higher education and research. Furthermore, the majority of respondents, 63.5%, think that ChatGPT could improve the quality of studying. Conversely, 36.5% did not agree with this statement. The positive view of the majority of students regarding ChatGPT's potential to enhance the quality of studying underscores the importance of technological innovations in education. Respondents supporting this idea may perceive ChatGPT as a helpful model that provides additional support in learning and research, contributing to a more productive educational experience. Additionally, this opens up opportunities for further research and implementation of ChatGPT in the educational process to understand where students see potential improvements and how to enhance the quality of studying.

Students' Perception of the Potential Challenges of Using ChatGPT in Higher Education. When examining students' perceptions about whether ChatGPT could replace teachers, the majority of respondents (82.0%) indicated that they do not believe this is possible, while a smaller percentage (18.0%) thought that ChatGPT might replace teachers. This suggests a general view among students that artificial intelligence models like ChatGPT cannot fully replace the role and competencies of teachers in the educational process. Additionally, the majority of respondents (63.0%) believe that ChatGPT could lead to a decrease in creativity and critical thinking among students, while a smaller percentage (37.0%) hold the opposite view. The results suggest that there is concern among most respondents that using ChatGPT could reduce creativity and critical thinking. However, it is important to note that a smaller percentage of respondents hold a contrary view, which may indicate varying perspectives and attitudes about the impact of ChatGPT technology on creativity and critical thinking. Analyzing respondents' answers regarding whether they think ChatGPT could be a threat to their privacy, the majority (58.0%) expressed concern, while a smaller number (42.0%) answered negatively. These results indicate that most students consider ChatGPT to be a threat to privacy, highlighting the importance of careful data management and the implementation of adequate privacy protection measures when integrating this technology into an educational context.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to examine students' perceptions regarding the use of ChatGPT in higher education. According to our findings, there is a limited amount of empirical research conducted in the Republic of Serbia concerning the use of ChatGPT in an educational context. Based on the results of our study, 77% of students reported being aware of the use of ChatGPT in higher education. An analysis of the relevant literature on this topic, especially from the perspective of students in Serbia, highlights a high level

of awareness of this virtual assistant among the student population (Ljujić et al., 2023). Furthermore, the research results show that most students have not participated in additional training for using ChatGPT for academic purposes. This data points to a concerning situation, given the widespread presence and diffusion of artificial intelligence models. To leverage all the benefits ChatGPT offers, and to address and avoid its shortcomings, which often relate to misuse and plagiarism, it is crucial to establish a training system for the appropriate use of ChatGPT in educational contexts.

Examining students' perceptions of the potential benefits and challenges of using ChatGPT in higher education included questions about ChatGPT's potential in the field of higher education. Our research found that most respondents believe ChatGPT has the potential to change the higher education and research landscape. These findings are consistent with research by Oranga, which highlights that ChatGPT opens up possibilities for personalized learning, continuous access to a vast amount of information, instant feedback, and ongoing assistance in learning (Oranga, 2023). Personalized learning, flexibility, and feedback have been recognized as benefits in other studies as well (Huallpa et al., 2023). Firat's study also emphasizes the potential benefits of artificial intelligence models in education, such as personalized learning and increased student engagement, but also challenges such as insufficient digital literacy and ethical issues surrounding the use of ChatGPT (Firat, 2023). Moreover, the results presented in this paper show that more than half of the students believe ChatGPT could positively impact the quality of studying. These findings contrast with Huallpa et al.'s research, which highlighted a dominant neutral stance among students towards ChatGPT's educational role. According to this research, students consider the information generated by ChatGPT to be meaningless and unusable without human contextualization and interpretation (Huallpa et al., 2023). On the other hand, Limna et al.'s research (Limna et al., 2023) showed that both professors and students perceive ChatGPT as a valuable addition to the educational experience and believe that continuous use of this model can improve students' learning outcomes. Additionally, Dempere et al. (Dempere et al., 2023) highlight numerous advantages of using ChatGPT in higher education, such as support in research and the potential to enhance teaching. This finding is supported by other research – professors express optimism about using ChatGPT in higher education, citing student productivity as a key element of using this model (Firaina & Sulisworo, 2023); the use of artificial intelligence in higher education has the potential to improve students' academic performance (Ouyang et al., 2022). These findings align with previously mentioned studies and the results of our research.

Examining students' perceptions of potential challenges associated with using ChatGPT in higher education included questions about whether artificial intelligence models could replace teachers. The findings indicate that most students do not agree with this statement. These findings align with Firat's research, which emphasizes that the use of artificial intelligence models can free professors from routine tasks and allow them to focus on mentoring and fostering development, i.e., higher-order skills (Firat, 2023). This implies that while the use of ChatGPT in higher education might change the role of teachers, it does not replace them. Therefore, there is currently no perceived risk that ChatGPT could replace the personalized support and guidance provided by teachers. It is essential

to maintain a balance between technology and human interaction in the classroom (Limna et al., 2023).

Furthermore, when discussing the challenges associated with the use of ChatGPT in higher education, the potential risks to the development of critical thinking and creativity are also mentioned. Most students believe that this artificial intelligence model could lead to a decrease in creativity and critical thinking among students. It is particularly important to highlight the shortcomings of using ChatGPT, such as potential inaccuracies and unreliability of information, insufficient consideration, and possible contextual inadequacies and biases (Oranga, 2023). This underscores the need to promote the development of critical thinking among students. Shidiq's study (Shidiq, 2023) also points to the potential negative effects of using artificial intelligence models on creative writing skills. This finding is consistent with the opinions of respondents in our study, who also believe that ChatGPT might reduce students' creativity. Sullivan et al. (Sullivan et al., 2023) highlight the danger of a lack of critical thinking development, warning that students might lose focus when understanding the material.

Another challenge associated with using ChatGPT in higher education is the risk related to students' data privacy. The analysis of results indicates that a certain number of students (58%) believe that ChatGPT could threaten their data privacy. According to Oranga's study (Oranga, 2023), there is concern about data privacy, as interactions with this model are subject to recording and memorization. This concern about data security is also expressed in other research (Dempere et al., 2023; Limna et al., 2023), emphasizing a strong need for data protection measures to ensure that students' personal information is used solely for its intended purpose.

Conclusion

The purpose of the conducted research was to examine students' perceptions regarding the use of ChatGPT in higher education. This objective was operationalized through the following research tasks: to assess students' awareness of the use of ChatGPT for educational purposes; to explore students' perceptions of the potential uses of ChatGPT in higher education; and to investigate students' perceptions of the potential challenges of using ChatGPT in higher education. The results of the research showed that most of the surveyed students were aware of the use of ChatGPT in higher education and recognized the potential of this artificial intelligence model to improve the quality of studying. Specifically, our research results indicate the potential uses of the ChatGPT model in higher education, which include fostering personalized learning, providing timely feedback from instructors, and faster access to various relevant sources. Furthermore, the findings indicate that most students have not participated in training or courses related to this model. Given the goal of ensuring an ethical, reliable, and effective context for using ChatGPT, it is necessary for both professors and students to be educated in the field of artificial intelligence (Rasul et al., 2023). Courses or workshops organized by educational institutions could provide expert guidance and resources to help students better understand

the functions and capabilities of ChatGPT and to develop skills for the effective use of the tool in their academic activities.

Students' perceptions were also illustrated through the identification of challenges and opportunities associated with using the ChatGPT model in higher education. The results of the research indicate certain challenges related to the use of ChatGPT, including the issues of human interaction, the development of critical thinking and creativity, the risk of academic dishonesty, biases, privacy concerns, and ethical issues. In this regard, the role of educational institutions is undeniably crucial in neutralizing or mitigating these challenges, ensuring that artificial intelligence serves as a complement to human interaction rather than a replacement. To protect students' data privacy, educational institutions must take responsibility and establish ethical guidelines for using artificial intelligence models (Huallpa et al., 2023). Additionally, educational institutions should develop strategies to encourage critical thinking among students regarding the use of artificial intelligence models such as ChatGPT. This includes encouraging students to analyze the information provided by these models, recognize potential flaws or biases, and develop the ability to critically evaluate information.

The existing work can serve as a foundation for further research that explores specific aspects of using ChatGPT in higher education. This could include investigating the impact of long-term use of the ChatGPT model on students' academic performance or exploring various training programs for using artificial intelligence models. It is also important to note that the convenience sample of respondents limits the generalizability of the research results, and using only closed-ended questions may prevent a deeper understanding of students' perceptions. Moreover, only students' perceptions were covered, so including the perspectives of instructors or experts in artificial intelligence could provide additional depth to the analysis. Considering these pedagogical implications and identified limitations, future research can further contribute to examining the impact of the ChatGPT model on the field of higher education and support the continued development of pedagogical practices in the digital age.

References

- Abbas, S. G., Ehsan, M., Akbar, G., Rehman, A., Bibi, H., & Sian, Z. H. (2023). Effects of ChatGPT Integration as an Artificial Intelligence Tool for Education and Research: An Exploratory Survey at the University Level. *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology*, 20(2), 1993–2017.
- Dempere, J., Modugu, K., Allam, H., & Ramasamy, L. (2023). The impact of ChatGPT on Higher Education. *Frontiers in Education*, 8, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2023.1206936>.
- Firaina, R., & Sulisworo, D. (2023). Exploring the Usage of ChatGPT in Higher Education: Frequency and Impact on Productivity. *Buletin Edukasi Indonesia*, 2(1), 39–46. <https://doi.org/10.56741/bei.v2i01.310>.
- Firat, M. (2023). What ChatGPT means for universities: Perceptions of scholars and students. *Journal of Applied Learning & Teaching*, 6(1), 57–63. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.37074/jalt.2023.6.1.22>

- Grassini, S. (2023). Shaping the Future of Education: Exploring the Potential and Consequences of AI and ChatGPT in Educational Settings. *Education Sciences*, 13(7), 692–705. <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci13070692>
- Huallpa, J. J., Flores Arocutipa, J. P., Panduro, W. D., Huete, L. C., Flores Limo, F. A., Herrera, E. E., Alba Callacna, R. A., Ariza Flores, V. A., Medina Romero, M. Á., Quispe, I. M., & Hernández Hernández, F. A. (2023). Exploring the ethical considerations of using Chat GPT in university education. *Periodicals of Engineering and Natural Sciences*, 11(4), 105–115. <http://dx.doi.org/10.21533/pen.v11i4.3770>
- Limna, P., Kraiwanit, T., Jangjarat, K., Klayklung, P., & Chocksathaporn, P. (2023). The use of ChatGPT in the digital era: Perspectives on chatbot implementation. *Journal of Applied Learning & Teaching*, 6(1), 64–74. <https://doi.org/10.37074/jalt.2023.6.1.32>
- Ljuić, B., Miljković, J., & Grozdić, V. (2023). ChatGPT and Academic Writing in Higher Education. In M. Radulović & M. Trajković (Eds.), *Towards a more equitable education: From Research To Change, 29th International Scientific Conference "Educational Research and School Practice"* (pp. 104–109). Institute for Educational Research & Institute for Pedagogy and Andragogy.
- Ma, L. (2021). An immersive context teaching method for college English based on artificial intelligence and machine learning in virtual reality technology. *Mobile Information Systems*, 2021(2), 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.1155/2021/2637439>
- Makewa, L. N. (2019). Constructivist theory in technology-based learning. In L. N. Makewa, B. M. Ngussa, & J. M. Kuboja (Eds.), *Technology-supported teaching and research methods for educators* (pp. 268–287). IGI Global. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4018/978-1-5225-5915-3.ch015>
- Oranga, J. (2023). Benefits of artificial intelligence (ChatGPT) in education and learning: Is ChatGPT helpful? *International Review of Practical Innovation, Technology and Green Energy*, 3(3), 46–50. <https://doi.org/10.54443/irpitage.v3i3.1250>
- Ouyang, F., Zheng, L., & Jiao, P. (2022). Artificial Intelligence in Online Higher Education: A Systematic Review of Empirical Research from 2011 to 2020. *Education and Information Technologies*, 27(6), 7893–7925. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10639-022-10925-9>
- Rasul, T., Nair, S., Kalendra, D., Robin, M., de Oliveira Santini, F., Ladeira, W. J., Sun, M., Day, I., Rather, R. A., & Heathcote, L. (2023). The role of ChatGPT in higher education: Benefits, challenges, and future research directions. *Journal of Applied Learning and Teaching*, 6(1), 41–56. <https://doi.org/10.37074/jalt.2023.6.1.29>
- Rawas, S. (2023). ChatGPT: Empowering lifelong learning in the digital age of higher education. *Education and Information Technologies*, 29(1), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10639-023-12114-8>
- Shidiq, M. (2023). The use of artificial intelligence-based Chat-GPT and its challenges for the world of education; from the viewpoint of the development of creative writing skills. *Proceeding of International Conference on Education, Society and Humanity*, 1(1), 353–357.
- Sok, S., & Heng, K. (2024). Opportunities, challenges, and strategies for using ChatGPT in higher education: A literature review. *Journal of Digital Educational Technology*, 4(1), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.30935/jdet/14027>
- Sullivan, M., Kelly, A., & McLaughlan, P. (2023). ChatGPT in higher education: Considerations for academic integrity and student learning. *Journal of Applied Learning & Teaching*, 6(1), 31–40. <https://doi.org/10.37074/jalt.2023.6.1.17>
- Tlili, A., Shehata, B., Adarkwah, M. A., Bozkurt, A., Hickey, D. T., Huang, R., & Agyemang, B. (2023). What if the Devil is My Guardian Angel: ChatGPT as a Case Study of Using Chatbots in Education. *Smart Learning Environments*, 10(1), 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su15075614>

Zawacki-Richter, O., Marín, V. I., Bond, M., & Gouverneur, F. (2019). Systematic Review of Research on Artificial Intelligence Applications in Higher Education – Where are the Educators? *International Journal of Educational Technology in Higher Education*, 16(1), 1–27. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1186/s41239-019-0171-0>

Article received: 29.03.2024.

Updated version received: 14.05.2024.

Accepted for publishing: 06.06.2024.

Tamara Dragojević

Department of Pedagogy, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, Novi Sad, Serbia
<https://orcid.org/0009-0003-9363-8969>

Jovana Turudić

Department of Pedagogy, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, Novi Sad, Serbia
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5939-2238>

Immersed in the Realm of Possibility: An Encounter with Digital Technologies in Early Childhood Education¹

Jelena Stojković² 

Institute for Educational Research, Belgrade, Serbia

Abstract

In the complex and multifaceted world we live in, contemporary theories promote education as a space for encounters and building of different, affirmative, and constructive relationships. In this paper, we start from the question of what and whom we are educating in the current moment, examining these through poststructuralist and posthumanist ideas and concepts, along with an example of an encounter with digital technologies in early childhood education. In this way, we aim to explore the outlines of early childhood education that materially and discursively fall outside predefined (and humanistic) frameworks, as well as the potentials that remain overshadowed by dominant understandings and practices of using digital technologies. Posthumanist thinking about early childhood education as an encounter with beings, processes, things, and ideas, opens up a space for a different consideration of proximity, sensitivity, and unpredictability. Alongside meaningfulness, purposefulness, and a critical stance, these are the key values on which the use of digital technologies in early childhood education can be established. The research has shown that unexpected encounters with digital technologies in early childhood education can indicate a building capacity to respond collectively and be responsible. However, there is a strong need for critical positioning and further exploration of posthumanist ideas and concepts, especially in the light of understanding education as an ethical practice.

Keywords: posthumanism, poststructuralism, early childhood education, digital technologies.

Introduction

In this paper we aim to initiate a conversation about the current moment we are living in and the outline of posthuman education weaving through it. This is referred to as

¹ This research was funded by the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovation of the Republic of Serbia (contract no. 451-03-66/2024-03/ 200018).

² jas29@gmail.com

“a moment” because the interest in the posthuman arises (unjustifiably) as a response to a certain, often technological change, although it would be more meaningful to talk about it as a co-existence in which it is difficult to clearly draw a line where the human begins and the technological ends, and vice versa. Another reason for calling it “a moment” has been found in the understanding of posthumanism as a non-uniform philosophy (Miah, 2008), which refers to the importance of looking at the micro-plan, the situational, that is, the coincidences and possibilities in education (Hackett et al., 2020). This is a significant insight for all those engaged in the field of education because it represents an invitation to reconsider once again the rooted need to place education in predefined, recognizable frameworks and to position its participants as final and unchanging, or at least changeable in relation to a certain “norm” (for example, an adult). Considering the use of digital technologies in education, this previously mentioned uniformity is noticeable in the persistence of a developmentally appropriate perspective, i.e. looking at the use of digital technologies through the possible effects (positive and negative) on the child’s development and learning (Parette et al., 2010). Historically, there was, and still is, a pronounced tendency to establish early childhood education on the values of individualism, autonomy and personal agency. This tendency is particularly expressed in neoliberal efforts to reform education, and is reflected in the advocacy of learning that is guided by the conscious intentions of the individual, therefore resting on his/her autonomy, personal choice, efficiency (Duhn, 2015: 921). Given that “the discourse of effects” predominates within academic circles, it is not unexpected that there is a persistent emphasis on investigating the effects and formulating recommendations regarding the time and modes of digital technologies use, as a means to safeguard children from associated risks and dangers. Such positioning puts an emphasis on digital literacy as an anticipated outcome of the learning and development process, serving as a preparation for societal engagement, which is evaluated through the acquisition of a specific set of skills and behaviors.

Without the intention to affirm posthumanism as a necessary change or the sole perspective within education which has questioned the above-mentioned tendency, we want to reconsider the many possibilities it opens for conceptualizing the use of digital technologies in early childhood education as a culture based on authentic and imminent relationships, rather than on developing individual skills and behaviors. Thinking in terms of poststructuralist and posthumanist ideas and concepts, in this research paper we will consider what is different and new that posthumanism brings to the field of early childhood education concerning the use of digital technologies, aware of many limitations, problems and criticism that can be directed at this perspective. Acknowledging the particulars of our chosen theoretical starting point, especially non-uniformity, this research paper is, apart from the introduction and methodological framework, structured through imagined directions and trajectory (path) of thinking:

- *Direction of Movement: Liberating Early Childhood Education* – we are referring to posthumanist ideas and concepts that have opened up space for a different perspective regarding the use of digital technologies, especially in relation to the poststructuralist understanding of the use of digital technologies as a specific culture.

- *Direction of Movement: An Encounter with Digital Technologies in Kindergarten* – we want to “intertwine” poststructuralist and posthumanist premises, presented within the previous “direction of liberation”, in thinking with a concrete example of one encounter with digital technologies in the kindergarten.
- *Trajectory: What Digital Technologies Can Become in Early Childhood Education* – we are reconsidering the pedagogical implications of thinking and encountering digital technologies in early childhood education, taking necessary precautions when choosing posthumanism as a theoretical starting point.

Direction of Movement: Liberating Early Childhood Education

Throughout history, education has been labeled the “practice of humanization”, specifically, the practice which enables us to become humans. However, this understanding was based on a certain ideology which only recognized people, especially of the white race, who belonged to “the wealthy”, leaving out all those who do not fit into the “universal mold” (Snaza, 2013). In early childhood education this “structuring” and “categorization” was manifested in representations of the child as a being in the process of development – vulnerable, immature, irrational and “on the way to adulthood”. The adult, understood as mature, rational, independent, the one who possesses self-control and universal knowledge, served as the “norm” according to which the child was valued. Consequently, the child becomes marginalized, the property and responsibility of an adult. Childhood is understood as a certain period of life (chronologically speaking) during which the child, with the help of adults, progressively moves towards independence, autonomy and rationality (adulthood) – like an “... animal that needs to be tamed” (Murriss, 2018: 57). The liberation of early childhood education from pre-defined patterns and Cartesian binaries (such as individual-society, child-adult, nature-culture, etc.) was initiated by theorists and authors inclined to poststructuralism, who questioned the hierarchical positions and power relations, the understanding of early childhood education as a technical strategy which changes based on objective knowledge and truths, the understanding of the curriculum as a finished model that should be implemented as is in practice, etc. (Pavlović Breneselović & Krnjaja, 2014). The following poststructuralist insights are significant for our reconsideration of the use of digital technologies in early childhood education:

- Subjectivity is understood as a collective creation that arises within a network, i.e. one that goes from “individual thought” (lat. cogito - I think) to “collective thought” (lat. cogitamus - we think) (Lévy, 2005: 191).
- A child is understood as a unique being who is an equal participant in the educational process, competent to communicate, construct, negotiate, and co-create knowledge and meanings with peers and adults, through diverse learning opportunities and experiences in which they authentically engage (Miškeljin, 2022).
- An adult, especially a teacher, is understood as a co-learner and participant in the educational process, ready to learn together with children and other adults

(for example, colleagues, family members, the local and wider community) attentive to the experiences and perspective of a child, hence competent to support its expression and shared understanding in various ways and on various occasions (Krnjaja, 2010; Lazarević, 2023; Pavlović Breneselović, 2012).

- Digital technologies are understood as cultural tools situated in a complex network of practices, relationships and other tools which are inextricably intertwined in education. In early childhood education, they are positioned as one of the many ways in which different perspectives are heard and made visible, that is, to support the construction of meaning through the process of joint learning and participation of children and adults. Consequently, digital technologies cannot be understood as value-neutral means, nor can their potential be seen outside of human action and the different contexts in which they are immersed. What is insisted upon is building a culture of using digital technologies as a critical and ethical practice based on meaning and purpose, negotiated and built through many relationships between children and adults (Johnston, 2019; Nikolić, 2020; Pavlović Breneselović, 2021).
- Learning does not only happen in pre-planned, but also in authentic situations that happen in kindergarten (Krnjaja & Pavlović Breneselović, 2022; Miškeljin, 2022).
- The boundaries between “digital” and “real” are not important to children, because they function seamlessly in their intertwining (Bonilauri & Tedeschi, 2019).
- Early childhood education is understood as a complex and dynamic system that contains many “truths” and ways of thinking, in which numerous participants are transformed through mutual interactions (Pavlović Breneselović & Krnjaja, 2014).

Starting from these poststructuralist reflections, which have led to an important shift in the appreciation of the dynamism and complexity of education, basing them on authentic human relationships as the core of this process, posthumanism displaced education more radically from the humanistic framework. As a term, posthumanism draws together diverse perspectives, especially those that come “after the human”, that is, after the focus on the human and the misconceptions related to it (Ferrando, 2014). For example, Snaza (2013) acknowledges in posthumanism a way to appreciate the complexity of education and its displacement from predefined frameworks through the concept of “bewildering education”. He speaks of education as one that “does not know where it is headed”, that is, he gives up on defining it and subordinating it to pre-established goals. Understood in this way, education is not aimed at acquiring knowledge and developing skills, but building responsible relationships with the environment. By focusing on the development of responsible relationships, the understanding of education participants as isolated and self-functioning elements, solely concerned with the human, is transcended. For example, Fawns (2022: 713-714) establishes his thoughts on “entangled pedagogy” which affirms the understanding of the educational process as a complex intertwining of numerous actors that shape each other. Some other authors (for example, Malone et al., 2020: 110) talk about “posthuman pedagogies”, striving to

highlight the specificity of educational practices through consideration of the possibility of “learning through” shared ways of knowing, being and becoming in the world and with the world. In the literature the specificity of the mentioned relations is referred to as intraactions, and unlike interactions, they are based on the understanding that no single thing or process exists by itself, rather always and only in relation to the world (Barad, 2003; 2007; Shotter, 2013). It is a particularly significant perspective for our considerations because it is based on the assumption that learning requires sensitivity to the dynamics of the world and openness to what is “yet to become” (Matos Lins, 2021). Developing this kind of sensitivity requires being attuned to the micro-moments and coincidences in which learning happens, actually “living the curriculum” rather than planning it (Duobliene & Vaitekaitis, 2021). Moving away from the modernist perspective and ethics which recognized only humans, made it possible for early childhood education to be understood as a process of joint search for what it means to live with and through relations with the world (human and non-human, material and virtual, potential and real). In this way, everything that Western humanistic philosophy contested is acknowledged (non-human, non-hegemonic, autochthonous and similar), therefore the diverse contexts and various forms of knowledge are recognized (Snaza et al., 2014). As Braidotti (2013/2016: 41) points out, “I take the posthuman predicament as an opportunity to empower the pursuit of alternative schemes of thought, knowledge and self-representation. The posthuman condition urges us to think critically and creatively about who and what we are actually in the process of becoming”, that is, who we are and with whom in the education process.

Instead of people, posthumanism places relationships, understood as intraactions, at the center of the educational process (Ceder, 2019; Duobliene & Vaitekaitis, 2021). In the context of intertwining with digital technologies, such considerations open up an important question: “what happens when our adult and human-centric filters prevent us from ever really opening up to children’s relational entanglements with and in their worlds?” (Malone et al., 2020: 207), i.e. what continually eludes our comprehension is the necessity of recognizing and appreciating the complexities within which children grow up and education unfolds. What particularly reflects the value of the previously raised questions is the understanding that each participant in the assemblage (man, machine, animal or someone/something else) is an actor or actant (Latour, 2005), hence, they have the power to affect and be affected in a web of complex relationships. As posthumanists question the deep-rooted need for emphasizing individual autonomy, conscious action and goal-directed intention, and mark it as an inadequate conceptual framework to answer the many challenges of growing up in the contemporary world (Duhn, 2015), we recognize that the child and the teacher skilfully “avoid” defining and molding. They do not exist apart from the relationships they establish and build with the world, therefore in the broadest sense they can be labeled as “more-than-human” (Murriss, 2020; Murriss & Osgood, 2022; Tesar & Arndt, 2020). Accordingly, complex becomings are recognized and acknowledged, which is why the Enlightenment determinant “I” as a “mold” in which human subjectivity is placed must be questioned and changed (Taylor, 2016). The alternative subjectivity that is aimed to be affirmed can be defined as “nomadic”, meaning it

is not fixed or immutable, and therefore cannot be precisely located geographically, historically, ethnically, or class-wise. In this regard, the focus shifts from the subject as a substance to the subject in process, which necessarily entails consideration of the contradictions that may manifest within that process (Murris, 2016: 89). This kind of subjectivity is significant for our reflections concerning the complex interactions with digital technologies in early childhood education, because it opens a space for close encounters with these tools as coincidences through which not only children and adults, but also digital technologies are becoming and changing. Thus, those who participate in education continuously borrow from each other what they are “missing” (Lee, 2001). For example, digital technologies can be the “extended memory” of human beings, preserving what they do not have to or cannot remember. At the same time, through this kind of use, technology achieves its function and agency. By referring to the dynamic connections which exist between humans and the world, the concept of a liberal humanist subject which dominates and controls the world is abandoned. Thus, the human is seen as part of a world in which the division of “an inert body” from “a disembodied subjectivity” is surpassed. This conceptualization of subjectivity presupposes that, as long as we understand people as autonomous subjects with clear boundaries, the relationship between human and digital technologies will be reduced and divided into the tangibility of real life, on the one hand, and the illusion of virtual reality, on the other (Hayles, 1999). Furthermore, it becomes evident that current knowledge and skills are not sufficient preparation for the future. According to Gibbons (2015), education should empower for the unpredictable, whether it be in the present or in the future. Developing such capacity entails, among other considerations, a continuous deliberation on the underlying assumptions that inform our engagement with technology, and also how we react to our environment understood as technological, and deal with different notions of technology.

Therefore, those who are engaged in the matters of early childhood education are required to move from the “comfortable” positions in which they work (Rautio, 2014), also the privileges, rights, values that they have (Lindgren & Sjöstrand Öhrfelt, 2019), and face the fears and challenges of decentring education from humanistic frameworks. It is emphasized that the above-mentioned concern is our reality (for example, implanting a pacemaker or expanding memory through the use of computers or smartphones), but also an important reminder that, when thinking about early childhood education, one must go beyond what is familiar and pleasant. Which is why cyborgs (a hybrid of machine and organism) cannot be understood only as science fiction but as a lived experience (Haraway, 2006). At the same time, with fear comes a certain relief, because posthumanism does not advocate for the complete rejection of the human, but rather its deconstruction in relation to the world (Stojković, 2024). Building on these understandings, we found a solid basis supporting the premise that the child and the experience of childhood may be viewed as integral components of many assemblages. However, these assemblages are not only digital, but encompass a variety of materialities that are inextricably intertwined with the human (see Hackett & Rautio, 2019; Rautio, 2013). Therefore, the child is understood as a “tangle of knots” in which the political, biological and social, digital and natural intertwine, consisting of concepts and material forces that are

inseparably connected. Each element of the mentioned “tangle of knots” is agentic, thus expanding the range of factors that contribute to the understanding, not only of the child, but also of what happens in the educational encounter. This requires the liberation of the adult from the position of individual subject who controls the educational process (leads, instructs, trains, socializes, protects) and those who participate in it, hence the recognition and appreciation of him as the one who is becoming with the world (Murris, 2020). Furthermore, this suggests that being and becoming a teacher has never been, and will never be an easy job. No matter what the technology “entangled” in the educational process is, it is difficult to replace the teacher’s role. Inherent in the established roles of both the child and the teacher, the “fellow travellers” relationship (Murris, 2016: 89) requires transcending the use of digital technologies reduced to the changed form of the content children are being taught. As some authors note (Kuby & Gutshall Rucker, 2020), it is necessary to dedicate time and space for intertwining with technologies without a specific academic goal in mind, therefore to be open to the meaning that emerges from these encounters. This approach is close to poststructuralist inclinations, which are aimed at building a culture established on a meaningful, purposeful, and critical use of digital technologies. However, posthumanism sheds light on a different segment of culture, meaning it can be understood as a relational and affective process, as a process of “becoming with” many (not only people), even as an event or “literacy in action” (Burnett, 2017; Collier, 2024; Lenters, 2016). Karen Barad (2013) describes this as an invitation to a joint journey, or as experimentation with the possibilities of telling different stories, stories that put the story-teller at risk, stories that point to a multitude of different abilities to respond to someone/something, at the same time being attentative to the materiality of imagining. In this sense, (digital) literacy represents a multidimensional construct, a process which assumes a specific relationship building through the use of digital technologies, rather than the development of individual and technical skills (Pavlović Breneselović, 2021). Thus, encounters with digital technologies must be understood as a responsible practice which is reflected in the ability of different participants (human and non-human) to respond (Murris & Peers, 2022: 334). The previously presented ideas and concepts raise the question of whether such encounters are possible, even necessary, which is why in the next section we will focus on the specific situation of using digital technologies in kindergarten.

Methodological Framework

Our research on the use of digital technologies was based on the approach which Jackson and Mazzei (2012) call “thinking with theory”. The selected approach is not defined by the adherence to a specific method following established patterns, rather by the openness to adopt and reconfigure concepts, fostering innovative strategies to address the research problem, thereby recognizing the unpredictability and evolution of the thinking (with) process (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012.). Within this approach, especially its appropriateness and openness, we found a solid base for a posthumanist deconstruction and repositioning of the concept of “human”, therefore, “becoming in” and “with

the world" through education. This insight is significant as it facilitates a repositioning of digital technologies in education, moving beyond the prevailing perspective which views them solely as tools subordinated to predetermined purposes. Given that there is no established form of "thinking with theory" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012), we are aware that the scope of this paper is limited to the interpretations of the author of the paper and other authors whose insights are used to study digital technologies in early childhood education. For this reason, the findings of this research should not be seen as "truths about the phenomenon", but as one of the ways to understand the phenomenon and its immersion in the context(s), which is susceptible to re-examination, both in the writing process and beyond it.

Direction of Movement: An Encounter with Digital Technologies in Kindergarten

During many visits to the kindergarten, for the purposes of writing my doctoral dissertation, I noticed that certain situations involving the use of digital technologies surpassed the poststructuralist theoretical framework on which I had established my research. This posed a challenge to me as a researcher, or rather, it made me feel a certain discomfort regarding my research problem. I realized that I do not necessarily possess control over what will come out of the encounter with the digital. Therefore, I recognized that being a researcher does not mean being the one who saves the world and/or discovers the "big" truths about it ("messianic position"), but being open for different encounters and thinking with children and digital technologies. At the same time, I felt the need to approach this problem critically because the space that posthumanism opens for digital technologies in kindergarten has not been sufficiently explored, and it can be the subject of justified concerns and discussions. Daily experiences showed me that digital technologies "per se" are not the focus of any situation in the kindergarten. They are actually involved based on the meaning that is being built between many (human and non-human). What actually captivated children's curiosity in their explorations were animals. They very quickly began to involve me in these explorations – they took me on tours through the kindergarten backyard and showed me places where they had found animals in the project they were developing with their teacher, they brought me animals (snails, flies, various beetles and many others) so that I could feel their movement on my hand, we drew animals that we did not find in the backyard and so on.

May was the month in which we were looking for snails, because it would rain frequently. However, after a certain time of intensively engaging in the search for snails, we fell into a particular routine. It seemed as if every day was the same – the meaning was somewhere hidden from us and the rain with the other animals. This search with children strengthened the feeling that I had somewhat forgotten about what I was dealing with in my dissertation. However, the first non-rainy day brought a new meaning to the search, both for animals and the many ways of using digital technologies. The main reason to include digital technologies in the search was children's envisioning of a pool full of rain-water as a space where animals from all over the world can live. This led me to think how I

could bring those animals despite the rain or distance, and support the meaning that was emerging from the encounter. The utilization of the Google tool, displaying 3D models of animals, occurred spontaneously as a way to support children's imagination and their consideration of the dangers we can be exposed to in encounters with certain animals. This tool also has the characteristics of augmented reality (AR) because it provides a projection of the 3D model in real space. It is user-friendly because it only requires typing the name of the animal into Google search on the mobile phone (for example, typing the term "giraffe" and clicking on "search" gives key information and photos about this animal, the option to hear the sounds a giraffe makes, the option to display a 3D model, etc.). The following section of this paper describes the situation "What emerges from the phone?" which proposed a different meaning in relation to the use of digital technologies. This example from kindergarten supported our "thinking with" posthumanist and post-structuralist ideas and concepts. Animal projections created with the Google tool are not understood as objects of the described encounter, nor as representations of what had happened in time and space. In other words, they are not understood as a way to look deeper into the human or to further deepen the existing binaries (subject/object, human/technology etc.), but as a way to question our subjectivity by visually displaying the "...diffractive engagements with phenomena" (Murris & Peers, 2022: 334).

"What emerges from the phone?"

Due to the heavy rain, only snails can be found in the kindergarten backyard. At one point, the search becomes a tiring activity for the children, but also for myself. It seems as if I had run out of ideas, as if the research has stopped. However, the common wanderings through the backyard are not necessarily hopeless and empty. A group of children approaches the pool filled with rainwater, where a boy from another group is searching for something in the water (he appears to be hunting something, hurriedly splashing his boots in the water). They start a conversation.

Boy M: *The pool looks like a pond. Imagine that there are crocodiles or some other animals in it, for example lizards. That would be fun. But then Marko should not be in the water.*

The group of children shouts excitedly: *Yes!*

Boy V approaches and pulls my hand: *Let's see the crocodile in the pool! Like yesterday when we saw the snake (virtually projected).*

Researcher: *Let me check if the app can project a crocodile in the water.*

The boys are jostling around the phone, eager to see a virtual projection of a crocodile in their backyard.

Researcher: *Unfortunately there are no crocodiles, but give me some other animal suggestions, maybe I can project them in the backyard.*

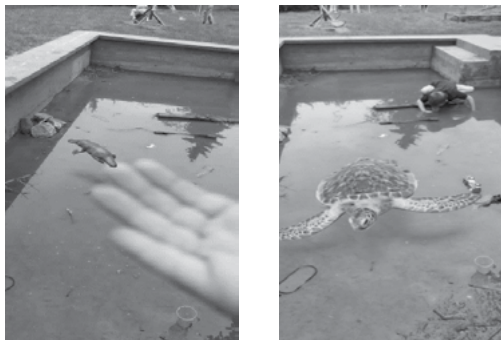
Boy M adds: *Show us the platypus!*

The researcher searches and projects the platypus into the pool, then the children reach out to catch the animal (Photo 1).

Children shout: *Wow, look, we have a platypus in the backyard!*

Photo 1

Virtual projections of a platypus and a turtle in the kindergarten yard



Photographed in 2023. Source: Researcher's archive.

At the shout, several other children, with snails in their hands, join the group interested in the events in and around the pool.

Boy V: *The platypus will come to Marko! Watch out Marko! (excitement and laughter, extends his hand to shield his friend and take the platypus).*

The group of children exclaims: *You saved Marko!*

Boy V: *Project a turtle too!*

The group of children exclaims: *Yes, let's see!*

The researcher projects a turtle (Photo 1).

Boy M: *Now project the kangaroo, here on the sand (points with his hand to the spot by the pool where he wants the researcher to project the kangaroo). It lives in Australia and loves sand.*

Boy V jumps into the frame and says with a laugh: *Did the kangaroo jump on me?* (Photo 2).

A group of children gather around the phone, looking at their friend and exclaiming: *Yes! It is much bigger than you, only your leg is visible! You are funny!*

Boy M: *Come on Voja, move so I can pet the kangaroo* (Photo 2).

Boy V: *I am not bothering you, feel free to pet him.*

Boy M: *Put the kangaroo on my head* (laughs).

Researcher: *The kangaroo is too big. If I put it on your head, it goes out of the camera frame.*

Boy M: *Does that mean he is going to jump out of the phone?* (laughter).

The other children laugh, but this question has made an impression on me.

Girl S adds: *We have so many animals in our backyard, snails and animals from the phone!*

Photo 2

Virtual projections of a kangaroo and an eagle in the kindergarten backyard



Photographed in 2023. Source: Researcher's archive.

Researcher: *Unfortunately it won't jump out of the phone although it would be cool if that happened. But if you want me to project a different animal on your head, maybe it could be a bird? Any idea which one?*

Boy M: *Yes! Project an eagle or something like that. And take a picture, please, so we can see.*

Boy V: *I am going to kiss the eagle while it's flying (laughs).*

The boys stand in front of the camera and get ready for the photo.

Researcher: *Ready?*

Boys: *Yes! Take the photo! (Photo 2).*

The children gather around the phone to see the photo.

Children (excited): *It is a good photo! Come on again, we have to see all the animals and interact with them!*

The situation described above led to several important insights. First, that meaning requires proximity (which is not achieved only with people). As we see on several occasions in this example, regardless of the fact that we are talking about encounters with virtual projections, children are looking for ways to achieve proximity with animals (for example, trying to hold a platypus or pet a kangaroo). At the same time, they do not neglect proximity with their peers (for example, a boy worries about his friend in the pool who could be exposed to danger if there were real animals instead of projections). Second, the aforementioned proximity is built through intraactions, hence virtual projections "are doing something to us just as we are doing something to them". This requires a different sensibility for what is happening around and within us, which is noticeable in the part of the conversation where a boy opens space for the possibility of a kangaroo jumping out of the phone or them jumping together. In fact, a different prerequisite arises from encountering which materializes in a distinct way. Thirdly, the issue with this example is that it remains merely a coincidence, raising the question of what is lacking or hindering our thinking with and about the encounters with digital technologies.

We could not have planned or foreseen that the pool full of rainwater could become the “anchor” which “broke through” a new, but unfinished meaning. This meaning is not something that has been consciously constructed, in fact, it is more a matter of a shared feeling that is established in many relationships (Purešević & Mitranić, 2023), actions and embodiments (Murriss, 2016). Therefore, the focus is not on meaning per se, but rather on the meaning that matters (Mazzarella, 2017). Bearing that in mind, we can say that coincidences (like the situation described above) require playing with boundaries, time, roles and positions, and the causes and consequences of our actions. In the concluding section of this paper, we will consider the pedagogical implications of thinking about and encountering digital technologies in kindergarden, as well as the dilemmas that we must not ignore when we base the use of digital technologies on posthumanism.

Trajectory: What Digital Technologies Can Become in Early Childhood Education

As Deleuze and Guattari point out, the key question of philosophy is not “what is” but “what can it become” (Holland, 2013: 350, as cited in Lentres, 2016: 284). By posing this question, the authors aim to highlight an “ontological turn” advocating for the understanding of life, not as a static, but as a dynamic process of continuous change, development, movement and shifts. This means that those who are in intraaction or who are becoming in assemblages, do not imitate, but continuously change, permeate, becoming not only different, but also other (Lenters, 2016). With this question in mind, we want to highlight certain pedagogical implications which arise from positioning the use of digital technologies within posthuman frameworks. Appreciation of the unexpected in the process of becoming is an important starting point for education, because it opens space for building a different quality of relationships, in which meaning is built not as a matter of personal (human) decision, but situationally (of all those who participate in it). As illustrated in the example described above, a proximity with the virtual projections of the animals indicated how responsibility for others is built through joint search, even when there is no direct contact. In this way, the poststructuralist idea of joint learning and participation further opens to proximity and care which, although human capacities, should acknowledge others. When discussing the use of digital technologies as a culture, it could be said that the posthumanist ideas have encouraged thinking about how we can support building proximity with other(s) (i.e. who are not necessarily human) and sensitivity for the different (i.e. experience with virtual projections). This leads us to the question: how can we build accountability and responsiveness through fine-tuning where proximity and sensitivity intertwine. Especially for teachers and researchers, this demands that we learn to think “in action”, to treat our “thinkings” as temporary results within an ongoing process. One of the turns we have to make is to move away from the idea of giving everything an explanation which serves as a representation of “things” (Shotter, 2013: 33-34), thus getting closer to what Barad (2007) calls “direct material engagement with the world”. Doing that is not easy, especially when it comes to digital technologies and the specifics of those encounters with the world, as described in the example from the kindergarden. We want to emphasize that such an encounter should not be interpreted as an incentive for equipping kindergartens

with robots, nor as an affirmative position that the experience of using digital technologies should be a key or sole experience in a kindergarten. That would be contrary to the author's position, but also indicate a fundamental misunderstanding of poststructuralist and post-humanist theories and concepts.

Particularly, when we think with and about the use of digital technologies in early childhood education, we must not forget that even those authors who establish their thoughts on posthumanism question whether encounters with technologies will be fulfilling or support the creation of a more just world: "Will Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, TikTok, Snapchat and other forms of social media become the sites for supporting a collective childhood voice, where a shared belonging and a shared response-ability ... will be played out?" (Malone et al., 2020: 134). Furthermore, it is unfounded to think that the "escape" from anthropocentrism (the positioning of humans at the center of the world and education) is only our choice or that some considerations about the human can be simply removed or replaced with others (Mitranic Marinkovic & Krstic, 2024). In fact, we can get lost in the other extreme, which instrumentalizes man in relation to digital technologies. Lastly, we must not forget that we are educating people, and that early childhood education is an ethical practice, which requires us to develop the use of digital technologies as such. What we can do is to recognize that (early childhood) education is in the process of becoming which is both human and posthuman (Mitranic Marinkovic & Krstic, 2024), and it requires a transformation which is aimed at acknowledging, developing sensibility, not at rejection of someone or something. In this redefining, some limits must still be acknowledged, because we would be at risk of leaving education to utter coincidence. Hence, the example from kindergarten we described in this research paper should be understood as "a hint" for something that must be further investigated. Caring is a human capacity, therefore, it is not surprising we are noticing a collective anxiety about the present and the future in which digital technologies "take away" this ability and feeling from people (DeFalco, 2020). This is why we need to question posthuman reconsiderations of many relations being built between and through the human and the world, especially when we raise the question of the use of digital technologies in early childhood education.

References

- Barad, K. (2003). Posthumanist Performativity: Toward an Understanding of How Matter Comes to Matter. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 28(3), 801–831. <http://dx.doi.org/10.14361/9783839403365-008>
- Barad, K. (2007). *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*. Duke University Press.
- Barad, K. (2013). '2 Ma(r)king Time: Material Entanglements and Re-memberings: Cutting Together-Apart1'. In P. R. Carlile, D. Nicolini, A. Langley, & H. Tsoukas (eds.), *How Matter Matters: Objects, Artifacts, and Materiality in Organization Studies* (pp. 16-31). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199671533.003.0002>
- Bonilauri, S., & Tedeschi, M. (2019). Bordercrossings. In V. Vecchi, S. Bonilauri, I. Meninno, & M. Tedeschi (Eds.), *Bordercrossings: Encounters with Living Things, Digital Landscapes* (pp. 14-16). Reggio Children.

- Brajdoti, R. (2016). *Posthumano* (M. Stošić, prev.). Fakultet za medije i komunikacije (FMK). (Originalno delo objavljeno 2013).
- Burnett, C. (2017). The fluid materiality of tablets: Examining 'the iPad multiple' in a primary classroom. In C. Burnett, G. Merchant, A. Simpson & M. Walsh (Eds.). *The case of the iPad: Mobile literacies in education* (pp. 15-30). Springer.
- Ceder, S. (2019). *Towards a Posthuman Theory of Educational Relationality*. Routledge.
- Collier, D. R. (2024). Disrupting hybrid ethnographic practices in literacies research: A story of shifting digital relations while virtually 'babysitting Diane'. *Digital Culture & Education*, 15(1), 1-20. <https://www.digitalcultureandeducation.com/volume-151>
- DeFalco, A. (2020). Towards a Theory of Posthuman Care: Real Humans and Caring Robots. *Body & Society*, 26(3), 31-60. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X20917450>
- Duhn, I. (2015). Making agency matter: rethinking infant and toddler agency in educational discourse, *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 36(6), 920-931. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2014.918535>
- Duobliene, L., & Vaitekaitis, J. (2021). Posthumanist Approach to Human/Child-Centred Education. *Journal of Futures Studies*, 26(2), 37-50. [https://doi.org/10.6531/JFS.202112_26\(2\).0003](https://doi.org/10.6531/JFS.202112_26(2).0003)
- Fawns, T. (2022). An Entangled Pedagogy: Looking Beyond the Pedagogy-Technology Dichotomy. *Postdigital Science and Education*, 4(3), 711-728. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42438-022-00302-7>
- Ferrando, F. (2014). Is the Post-Human a Post-Woman? Cyborgs, Robots, ArtificialIntelligence and the Futures of Gender: A Case Study. *European Journal of Futures Research*, 2(43), 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40309-014-0043-8>
- Gibbons, A. (2015). Debating Digital Childhoods: Questions concerning technologies, economies and determinisms. *Open Review of Educational Research*, 2(1), 118-127. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23265507.2015.1015940>
- Hackett, A., & Rautio, P. (2019). Answering the world: young children's running and rolling as more-than-human multimodal meaning making. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 32(8), 1019-1031. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2019.1635282>
- Hackett, A., MacLure, M., & Pahl, K. (2020). Literacy and language as material practices: Re-thinking social inequality in young children's literacies. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy*, 20(1), 3-12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468798420904909>
- Haraway, D. (2006). A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late 20th Century. In J. Weiss, J. Nolan, J. Hunsinger, & P. Trifonas (Eds.), *The International Handbook of Virtual Learning Environments* (pp. 117-158). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-3803-7_4
- Hayles, K. N. (1999). *How we became posthuman: virtual bodies in cybernetics, literature and informatics*. The Chicago University Press.
- Jackson, A. Y., & Mazzei, L. A. (2012). *Thinking with Theory in Qualitative Research: Viewing Data Across Multiple Perspectives*. Routledge.
- Johnston, K. (2019). Digital technology as a tool to support children and educators as co-learners. *Global Studies of Childhood*, 9(4), 306-317. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2043610619871571>
- Krnjaja, Ž. (2010). Igra, stvaralaštvo, otvoreni vaspitni sistem: šta ih povezuje? *Nastava i vaspitanje*, 59(2), 264-277.
- Krnjaja, Ž. i Pavlović Breneselović, D. (2022). Vodič za razvijanje integrisanog pristupa učenju kroz teme/projekte: Integrisani pristup učenju kroz teme/projekte u skladu sa Osnovama programa PVO "Godine uzleta". Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja.

- Kuby, C. R., & Gutshall Rucker, T. (2020). Posthuman theory as a tool to explore literacy desirings Sara-Taylor-iPad-Book becoming in Writers' Studio. In O. Erstad, R. Flewitt, M. Kümmerling-Meibauer, & I. S. Pires Pereira (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Digital Literacies in Early Childhood* (pp. 242-254). Routledge.
- Lazarević, M. (2023). Dečji vrtić kao prostor heterotopije. *Nastava i vaspitanje*, 72(3), 353-368. <https://doi.org/10.5937/nasvas2303445L>
- Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford University Press.
- Lee, N. (2001). *Childhood and Society: Growing in the Age of Uncertainty*. Open University Press.
- Lenters, K. (2016). Riding the Lines and Overwriting in the Margins: Affect and Multimodal Literacy Practices. *Journal of Literacy Research*, 48(3), 280-316. 10.1177/1086296X16658982
- Lindgren, T., & Sjostrand Ohrfelt, M. (2019). Fabricating The Posthuman Child In Early Childhood Education and Care. *Philosophy of Education*, 2017, 264-276.
- Lévy, P. (2005). Collective Intelligence, a Civilisation: Towards a Method of Positive Interpretation. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 18(3/4), 189-198. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20059682>
- Malone, K., Tesar, M., & Andrt, S. (eds.) (2020). *Theorising Posthuman Childhood Studies*. Springer.
- Matos Lins, H. A. (2021). Lines Of Flight Of A Deaf Baby: Entanglements And Agencies In The Processes Of Subjetification And Education. *Educacao em Revista*, 37, 1-21. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0102-4698235031>
- Mazzarella, W. (2017). *The Mana of Mass Society*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Miah, A. (2008). A Critical History of Posthumanism. In B. Gordijn, & R. Chadwick (Eds.), *Medical Enhancement and Posthumanity* (pp. 71-94). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-8852-0_6
- Mitranić Marinković, N. & Krstić, P. (2024). Should Humans Leave School? In I. Nišavić, N. Mitranić Marinković, & P. Krstić (Eds.), *Posthumanism and Education: Transgression or Interdependence* (pp. 217-234). Transnational Press London.
- Miškeljin, L. (2022). *Detinjstv(a)o – konceptualizacije i kontekstualizacije: implikacije za praksu predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja*. Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu.
- Murris, K. (2016). *The Posthuman Child: Educational transformation through philosophy with picturebooks*. Routledge.
- Murris, K. (2018). Posthumanism, de/colonising education and child(hoods) in South Africa. In K. Murris & J. Haynes (Eds.), *Literacies, Literature and Learning* (pp. 52-78). Routledge.
- Murris, K. (2020). Posthuman Child and the Diffractive Teacher: Decolonizing the Nature/Culture Binary. In A. Cutter-Mackenzie-Knowles, K. Malone, & E. Barratt Hacking (eds.), *Research Handbook on Childhoodnature: Assemblages of Childhood and Nature Research* (pp. 31-55). Springer.
- Murris, K., & Osgood, J. (2022). Risking erasure? Posthumanist research practices and figurations of (the) child. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 23(3), 208-219. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14639491221117761>
- Murris, K., & Peers, J. (2022). GoPro(blem)s and possibilities: Keeping the child human of colour in play in an interview. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 23(3), 332-355. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14639491221117219>
- Nikolić, L. (2020). E-učenje u visokoškolskom obrazovanju iz perspektive kritičke pedagogije Paula Freirea. *Nastava i vaspitanje*, 69(1), 39-50. <https://doi.org/10.5937/nasvas2001039N>
- Parette, H. P., Quesenberry, A. C., & Blum, C. (2010). Missing the Boat with Technology Usage in Early Childhood Settings: A 21st Century View of Developmentally Appropriate Practice. *Early Childhood Education Journal*, 37(5), 335-343. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10643-009-0352-x>

- Pavlović Breneselović, D. (2012). Odnosi na ranim uzrastima. U A. Baucal (ur.), *Standardi za razvoj i učenje dece ranih uzrasta u Srbiji* (str. 133-150). Univerzitet u Beogradu Filozofski fakultet, Institut za psihologiju.
- Pavlović Breneselović, D. (2021). Digitalne tehnologije u programu predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja: šta nam je okvir normalnosti? U I. Jeremić, N. Nikolić i N. Koruga (ur.), *Vaspitanje i obrazovanje u digitalnom okruženju, Zbornik radova sa nacionalnog naučnog skupa Susreti pedagoga* (str. 37-41). Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu i Pedagoško društvo Srbije.
- Pavlović Breneselović, D. i Krnjaja, Ž. (2014). Osnove programa kao dimenzija kvaliteta predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja. *Pedagogija*, 69(2), 212-225.
- Purešević, D., & Mitranić, N. (2023). Making Sense: Digital Kindergarten during COVID-19 Lockdown. *Nastava i vaspitanje*, 72(1), 27-41. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5937/nasvas2301027P>
- Rautio, P. (2013). Children who carry stones in their pockets: on autotelic material practices in everyday life. *Children's Geographies*, 11(4), 394-408. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2013.812278>
- Rautio, P. (2014). Mingling and Imitating in Producing Spaces for Knowing and Being: 4 Insights from a Finnish Study of Child-Matter Intra-Action. *Childhood*, 21(4), 461-474. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568213496653>
- Shotter, J. (2013). Reflections on Sociomateriality and Dialogicality in Organization Studies: From 'Inter-' to 'Intra-Thinking'. In P. R. Carlile, D. Nicolini, A. Langley, & H. Tsoukas (eds.), *How Matter Matters: Objects, Artifacts, and Materiality in Organization Studies* (pp. 32-57). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199671533.003.0002>
- Snaza, N. (2013). Bewildering Education. *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*, 10(1), 38-54. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15505170.2013.783889>
- Snaza, N., Appelbaum, P., Byne, S., Moris, M., Rotas, N., Sandlin, J., Wallin, J., Carlson, D., & Weaver, J. (2014). Toward a Posthumanist Education. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 30(2), 39-55. <https://journal.jctonline.org/index.php/jct/article/view/501>
- Stojković, J. (2024). Posthuman Quantum: The Case of Childhood *www*webs. In I. Nišavić, N. Mitranić Marinković, & P. Krstić (Eds.), *Posthumanism and Education: Transgression or Interdependence* (pp. 181-200). Transnational Press London.
- Taylor, C. A. (2016). Edu-crafting a Cacophonous Ecology: Posthumanist Research Practices for Education. In C. A. Taylor & C. Hughes (Eds.), *Posthuman Practices in Education Research* (pp. 5-25). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tesar, M., & Arndt, S. (2020). Writing the Human "I": Liminal Spaces of Mundane Abjection. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 26(8-9), 1102-1109. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800419881656>

Article received: 05.09.2024.

Updated version received: 09.10.2024.

Accepted for publishing: 09.10.2024.

Jelena Stojković

Institute for Educational Research, Belgrade, Serbia

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6121-9597>

How to Improve Reading Comprehension: Mapping Critical Areas for Pedagogical Interventions

Slobodanka Antić¹ 

Faculty of Special Education and Rehabilitation,
University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia

Jelena Stevanović 

Institute for Educational Research, Belgrade, Serbia

Abstract *Literacy, in contemporary understanding, is a situational, complex competency embedded in various social practices. It is therefore conceptualized as a multidimensional literacy encompassing numerous dimensions—linguistic, mathematical, scientific, political, economic, media, and others. However, the development of multiple literacies is achievable only through the advancement of linguistic literacy, which serves as both a mediator and a moderator for all other forms of literacy. The most extensively researched aspect of linguistic literacy is reading comprehension, which underpins all meaningful learning. The aim of this paper is to present, describe, and analyze the critical components that must be included in educational interventions focused on developing reading comprehension. When the criterion of focus is applied, empirical findings, support programs, and practical efforts to foster reading comprehension cluster around several key factors: modification of the text itself from which reading and learning occur; support for developing students' cognitive competencies associated with reading; support for students' personal and affective competencies; and effective reading activities within teaching, instructional situations, and teaching/learning methods. Each of these aspects of effective pedagogical intervention is described, analyzed, and exemplified in this paper, with the conclusion that a synergistic approach is the most efficient way to develop literacy among children and youth.*

Keywords: *language literacy, literacy development, reading comprehension, pedagogical interventions, functional literacy.*

¹ santic@fasper.bg.ac.rs

Introduction

The importance of literacy in education and overall individual development is widely recognized and remains a top priority on the policy agendas of all stakeholders involved in education. Educational policies in many countries are undergoing continuous reform, re-evaluating approaches, methods, and interventions that can foster the development of functional literacy within both formal and informal learning contexts. Functional literacy denotes a threshold below which an individual's literacy is insufficient to comprehend, utilize, and reflect upon text, to acquire knowledge needed to achieve personal goals, and to engage meaningfully in society (OECD, 2019).

Linguistic literacy plays a pivotal role in both individual growth and societal advancement. It is closely linked to students' academic success as well as to the length and quality of their education (Bussiere et al., 2009). Beyond academics, an individual's literacy is positively correlated with physical health (DeWalt & Pignone, 2005) and mental health (Hunn et al., 2023; Lincoln et al., 2017; Maughan & Carroll, 2006; Sentell & Shumway, 2003). Literacy is negatively correlated with social problems experienced by the individual during development. In classrooms where children "struggle" with reading, there is a higher incidence of conflicts, aggression, even delinquency, early school dropout, and similar issues (Slavin & Madden, 2001). When students' reading skills are improved, their mental, social, and physical well-being also see a positive impact.

In addition to studies highlighting the importance of literacy for individual development, valuable insights are also provided by international assessments such as PISA and PIRLS. The advantage of these assessments lies in their cyclical implementation with representative samples, allowing findings to be generalized across entire student populations within an educational system. Moreover, these assessments facilitate the tracking of achievement trends and provide cross-national comparisons of youth competencies (Ivić et al., 2021; Mullis et al., 2023; Videnović & Čaprić, 2020;). Critics of these studies, however, argue that national curricula and teaching methods do not equally prepare students for these assessments, potentially disadvantaging some groups. Additionally, it has been suggested that PISA promotes a "hidden curriculum" (Uljen, 2007) aligned with neoliberal economic principles, lacks sensitivity to cultural differences (Eivers, 2010), and diverges from humanistic educational ideals (Liessmann, 2008). Nonetheless, the tasks in these assessments are based on contemporary definitions of literacy and can serve as valuable tools for planning educational policy reforms.

Moreover, teaching reading skills in today's era faces perhaps its greatest challenge with the rise of digital media, which profoundly shapes the development of young people. While brain plasticity may, over time, allow for adaptation to screen-based learning—requiring a different functional organization—current research increasingly points to reading difficulties associated with growing up in a digital environment. These include information overload, a 'scattered mind,' reduced attention span, frequent distractions, fragmented knowledge, limited capacity for deep reflection, difficulty tracking main ideas in longer texts, and challenges in retaining information in long-term memory (Firth et al., 2019; Ivić, 2019; Vaidhyanathan, 2011). Additionally, the socio-emotional characteristics of new generations, along with their interests and motivations, reflect shifts such

as heightened individualism, reduced empathy, decreased belief in the effectiveness of perseverance and hard work, and a diminished faith in the power of collective action to bring about change (Terkel, 2011; Tvengi, 2019).

A characteristic of modern culture, in which today's youth are growing up, is the exponential increase in all types of printed documents—an expansion unimaginable to previous generations. Since the 1960s, it is likely that more books, newspapers, journals, and other written documents have been printed and published than in all previous centuries since Gutenberg's time (Brockmeier & Olson, 2009). Now, any text that can be reproduced or is stored in numerous virtual, public, and private libraries is quickly and easily accessible to all.

As the sociocultural context changes, so does the theoretical and research approach to literacy. Multiple theoretical models and empirical research paradigms of literacy have emerged, as well as approaches to teaching students spoken and written language. The concept of literacy has been assimilated across various scientific disciplines and social movements. New understandings suggest that literacy is no longer just about the alphabet; it is increasingly viewed as a fusion of numerous systems of signs, symbols, media, communication methods, and corresponding practices within a symbolic space that encompasses both society and the mind (Brockmeier, 2000).

In other words, today, literacy is not seen as an individual, cognitive, alphanumeric skill but rather as a situational, complex competency integrated into various social practices (Antić & Stevanović, 2023; Gee, 2000; New London Group, 1996; OECD, 2019). In a complex world, literacy manifests itself in its various dimensions: linguistic, mathematical, media, scientific, digital, economic, political, and so on. However, multiliteracy can only be achieved through the development of linguistic literacy, which serves as a mediator and moderator of all other literacies (Antić, 2022; Antić & Stevanović, 2023). Linguistic literacy is primarily expressed as reading literacy and reading comprehension, forming the foundation of all meaningful learning of verbal content.

With new perspectives on literacy, a critical question arises in educating students: should we teach them a single, general transferable skill, or specific literacies tailored to various professions (Brockmeier & Olson, 2009)? How should literacy be developed across different subjects and educational levels? What types of pedagogical interventions would best support continued development, and which aspects should be addressed? In other words, what are the critical areas that effective pedagogical intervention should cover?

For the purposes of this paper, we define *pedagogical interventions* as all intentional, planned actions within a formal learning context, encompassing teaching materials, the learning environment, instructional methods, and the involvement of a "more competent other". Thus, it refers broadly to any structured educational experience—not limited to classroom instruction in specific subjects but also including extracurricular, school-based, and out-of-school experiences organized at any educational level. The term "intervention" is intended to highlight the focused nature of pedagogical activities. Similar to its usage in other fields—such as medicine, psychology, and special education—the term here underscores that these efforts are pedagogically targeted and strategically directed toward the development of linguistic literacy.

For nearly half a century, science and educational practice have been accumulating knowledge on what is essential for teaching reading comprehension. Some empirical studies in this field provide clear practical implications and direct recommendations for instructional practice; others require further “translation” from theory to practice, and still others involve well-developed and tested practical methods. Diverse support programs for developing reading and linguistic literacy have been implemented across various learning contexts, subjects, and educational levels. However, when these efforts are examined through the lens of their focal points, several critical areas essential for effective pedagogical intervention become apparent.

It is important to note that the research mentioned here has emerged from various disciplines, including linguistics, psycholinguistics, cognitive psychology, and educational psychology, leading to diverse theoretical foundations. These theoretical models of cognition and language comprehension attribute varying degrees of importance to the cognitive, social, and cultural aspects of reading. Two dominant theoretical approaches can be identified.

Cognitive theories view literacy as a cognitive skill that develops through direct instruction. Reading is seen as a sequence of cognitive steps, including decoding, word recognition, and the creation of mental representations to comprehend the text. This process moves from understanding the surface structure of the text and its microstructure to processes in working memory, where microstructures are integrated into a macrostructure of the text (Lalović, 2012). This process occurs through the interaction between the reader's cognitive abilities and the text itself.

The socioconstructivist perspective on literacy suggests that the development of linguistic literacy takes place through situated social practices (Purcell-Gates et al., 2007). These practices are shaped by the cultural values, knowledge, and expectations of the community, meaning that the reader constructs meaning within that context. Depending on social and cultural experiences, the understanding of the same text can vary (Gee, 2000).

This paper aims to offer an overview by identifying and mapping the key elements that pedagogical interventions should encompass to effectively foster linguistic literacy and reading comprehension. In other words, it does not advocate for a specific approach or a particular pedagogical intervention but rather highlights the areas that effective support for the development of reading literacy should encompass.

The complex and holistic nature of this phenomenon necessitates an eclectic approach to theoretical frameworks, which offer valuable insights. Therefore, the theoretical framework of this paper is the heuristic model for reading comprehension research, the RRSg model (Snow, 2002). In this model, four factors are equally important: the reader (including cognitive, affective, and motivational aspects), the text being read (not only its content but also various linguistic aspects of the text), the reading activities (including the nature of the tasks, purposes, and the context in which reading occurs), and the sociocultural context in which these factors operate. The boundaries between these elements are permeable, indicating the dynamic nature of the reading comprehension process (Snow, 2002).

Thus, the goal of this paper is to map and describe the critical areas for intervention to create an effective approach to developing reading comprehension within formal learning contexts. Reading, in this context, is necessarily linked to meaningful learning activities, and the focus is therefore on reading in the service of learning. It is important to note that this paper does not address initial literacy acquisition but rather the further development of reading competence in students who have already attained basic literacy. Similarly, specific interventions designed for students with dyslexia and other specific learning difficulties are beyond the scope of this paper.

Towards Effective Pedagogical Intervention for Developing Reading Comprehension

In the following sections, we will clarify the importance of each of the key factors contributing to effective reading, provide practical examples, and highlight areas requiring further research. The focus will be on: modifying *texts* used for reading/learning; supporting the development of *students' cognitive skills* related to reading; supporting the development of *affective aspects of students' personalities* linked to reading comprehension; and implementing effective reading comprehension activities within *teaching, teaching/learning contexts, and teaching/learning methods*. It is important to note that, although each factor will be discussed separately, in actual practice, they interact dynamically. Therefore, effective pedagogical intervention must take all these factors into account simultaneously.

Text Modifications for Reading and Learning

Since the earliest textbooks, authors have aimed to support the learning process through didactic structuring of scientific content. Beyond content selection and organization, authors of educational texts should carefully consider the linguistic features of the text itself. Specifically, this includes:

a. Microstructure of the Text: This refers to stylistic and linguistic parameters of the text (e.g., sentence length and complexity, the presence of subordinate clauses, and the familiarity of vocabulary for students of a particular age). Research in cognitive psychology has identified numerous microstructural text variables associated with successful learning of text content (Cunningham & Stanovich, 2001; McNamara et al., 1996; 2007; Otero, 2002; Snow, 2002). An example of this research with practical recommendations is the study by Danielle McNamara and colleagues titled *"Are good texts always better?"* (McNamara et al., 1996). It was experimentally established that students who are proficient readers with adequate prior knowledge learn more effectively when not all syntactic elements are explicitly presented. When readers encounter overlapping words or concepts, it becomes evident that a single idea is being discussed. Likewise, when the author employs adverbs such as "because" and "therefore", prepositions like "due to" and "owing to", or conjunctions such as "so" and "also", along with discourse markers like "thus", "besides", and "however", the reader is provided with cues about the relationships between ideas in

the text. When certain syntactic elements are omitted, students are prompted to engage more actively with the text, as they must infer missing information and reconstruct the overall message. This process activates self-regulation, metacognitive monitoring, and sentence “repair”, leading to improved learning outcomes. However, this principle applies primarily to proficient readers, while less skilled readers require more extensive linguistic support to construct meaning. These findings suggest that textbook authors and teachers must carefully consider and adjust texts based on these linguistic features to better support students.

b. Macrostructure of the Text: Philosophical, sociological, and psychological analyses of the relationship between language and thought (Bernstein, Foucault, Derrida, Bakhtin, Vygotsky, Gee) have highlighted additional aspects of text that can be crucial for comprehension, such as text genre and discourse features. Numerous studies indicate that learning from different text types—particularly narrative, expository, and descriptive—varies in effectiveness (Graesser, 2007; Otero, 2002; Purcell-Gates et al., 2007). The findings generally show that using a narrative structure in texts has positive effects on learning: it increases motivation and interest, helps students activate prior knowledge more easily, and improves recall quality (Duke & Roberts, 2010; Duke & Cartwright, 2019). However, contrasting findings (Golke et al., 2019) indicate that only through engagement with expository texts can students develop scientific concepts and higher-order thinking skills (Golke et al., 2019; Graesser, 2007; Ivić et al., 2013; Otero et al., 2002).

In addition to text types and genres, content analysis and discourse analysis underscore the need to examine the interpretative and value-laden dimensions within texts, which are often implicit (Antić, 2022; 2024; Gee, 1999; 2000). These studies are based on a socioconstructivist understanding of language, which is intrinsically linked to social practice (Bakhtin, 2008; Gee, 2000; Vygotsky, 1983). Discourse analysis (and particularly critical discourse analysis), when applied to educational texts, enables the identification of worldviews and value systems that students subconsciously internalize (Antić, 2024). An example is the discourse analysis of a history lesson (Antić et al., 2008). Almost every history textbook presenting content related to World War I includes a lesson on the *Sarajevo assassination*. This event is well-documented, with no ambiguity about “when, who, how, where, and what.” The study analyzed twenty history textbooks from nine countries using the “story grammar” approach and demonstrated how subtle manipulation of story elements (context, plot, role of protagonists, resolution), can shape a value judgment about the event and its protagonists, which goes beyond historical interpretation and aligns with the political platform of a particular country. Learning history necessarily involves adopting these implicit value messages.

Textbooks in all subjects can convey explicit value stances (see Gee, 2000). For this reason, it is essential to address the implicit values, worldviews, and ideologies presented in textbooks. In other words, deep reading—as a prerequisite for deep learning—should incorporate elements of discourse analysis. Teachers play a vital role in shaping instructional environments where students, through purposeful activities, dialogue, and negotiated understanding, explore the interpretative layers of a text (Antić, 2024; Gee, 2000).

c. Didactic Adaptation of Texts: Although listed last, these represent the most extensive group of studies and practical applications. They are part of a conscious effort to introduce a variety of supports, aids, and tools into the textbook to facilitate the comprehension process (Ivić et al., 2013). In a comprehensive systematization of textbook quality standards, Ivić and colleagues identified 42 quality standards, thirteen of which address the didactic structuring of content and three the standards for language quality (Ivić et al., 2013). These standards outline numerous potential structural components designed to reflect a “student-centered, learning-oriented” approach. Based on students’ developmental, linguistic, and cultural characteristics, these components aim to facilitate students’ engagement with the organized system of knowledge of a particular academic discipline. Examples include questions and tasks, graphs and tables, glossaries of less familiar terms, and more.

However, research suggests that simply providing students with a textbook designed to meet quality standards is not sufficient (Antić, 2015; Gurung, 2004). In an experimental study, students with matched prior knowledge and reading skills learned a lesson on the Law of Conservation of Mass from two types of texts: the first text presented the content in a traditional linear format, while the second incorporated multiple structural elements specifically designed to enhance comprehension. The latter text employed various interactive features to engage students as fully as possible within the limitations of the printed medium. Results showed no significant difference in learning outcomes between the two groups. Moreover, interviews with students indicated that they often perceived these structural components as obstacles to accessing the main text, which they viewed as a linear sequence of information to be memorized (Antić, 2015). Another study found that students’ attitudes toward didactic aids in the text did not change regardless of their success on knowledge assessments (Gurung, 2004). This finding suggests that, in practice, it is essential not only to provide students with textbooks designed to support learning but also to integrate textbook use into instruction actively. Students should learn how to use the textbook effectively, and teachers should evaluate understanding rather than mere reproduction. The method of evaluating the learning performance of students is the most critical factor shaping their learning behaviors.

Supporting the Development of Students’ Cognitive Skills Related to Reading

An effective pedagogical intervention must undoubtedly target students’ cognitive skills. Significant insights have emerged from cognitive psychology research on the nature of reading, highlighting its complexity, the essential skills involved, and how these skills are organized. There is general consensus that reading involves a hierarchically organized set of skills and abilities. This means that without proficient decoding of letters and words—fundamental cognitive skills—it is impossible to develop higher-level cognitive skills, such as understanding genre and discourse. The direction for pedagogical interventions is clear: begin with practicing lower-order subskills, advance through building prior knowledge and vocabulary enrichment, and finally foster metacognitive regulation and

self-management of cognitive processes (McNamara et al., 2007; Pressley, 2000). Smagorinsky and Mayer identified three key focuses: (a) support for general and basic cognitive skills, (b) development of task-specific knowledge (reading a novel vs. reading a recipe requires different declarative and procedural knowledge), and (c) development of students' understanding of the discursive and interpretive nature of texts (Smagorinsky & Mayer, 2018). Below are strategies for enhancing specific reading comprehension sub-processes.

a. Developing Word Decoding Skills: To comprehend a text, students must be able to recognize, read, and understand the individual words that form each sentence. Mayer identifies four components of the cognitive skill of decoding: phoneme recognition, word decoding, fluent word decoding, and word comprehension (Mayer, 2008). Research shows that it is not enough for students simply to read and understand each word; they must also achieve automaticity and fluency, freeing up limited cognitive resources in working memory for more complex processes. There is substantial evidence that systematic reading practice, both in school and in out-of-school contexts, contributes to fluent decoding (Cunningham & Stanovich, 2001; Mayer, 2008; Pressley, 2000; Smagorinsky & Smit, 1992; Smagorinsky & Mayer, 2018;). For this reason, these authors, in addition to their research, are actively involved in promoting reading among young people.

b. Vocabulary Development: Once efficient word reading is mastered, other processes become significant for comprehension (Lalović, 2012). Regular reading practice is essential also for developing this subskill, as it actively enriches vocabulary. It is expected that students, with instructional support, should expand their vocabulary by 1,000-2,000 words per year (Smagorinsky & Smit, 1992). Merely exposing students to new words is not sufficient (although new words can be learned this way); it is more effective when vocabulary development is a structured part of the curriculum (Joshi, 2005; Nagy & Scott, 2000). For example, elementary school students learn more new words when teachers engage them in discussions before, during, and after reading a book aloud, rather than simply reading without class discussion (Greene Brabham & Lynch-Brown, 2002).

c. Acquiring General, Content-Specific, and Linguistic Knowledge: Research confirms that the content of long-term memory (what a person already knows) has a decisive impact on reading comprehension (Lalović, 2012). Consequently, quality instruction and effective learning of all school subjects (and beyond) simultaneously is a part of effective interventions to enhance reading competence.

An important category of knowledge includes metalinguistic knowledge about the author's position, decisions, and intentions, as well as the structure and discursive nature of the text itself. Although these skills are rarely an explicit part of formal instruction, they not only improve text comprehension but also foster decentration and other general cognitive abilities (Danielson, 2010; Palincsar & Magnusson, 2001). Along these lines is the "Ask the Author" program, which aims to encourage students, through discussion, to recognize that every text has an author who made numerous decisions that shaped the final text (Reichenberg & Axelsson, 2006, as cited in Danielson, 2010).

d. This category includes **knowledge of comprehension strategies and students' metacognitive knowledge.** These skills, along with students' epistemological beliefs and the development of the language of thought, contribute to self-regulated engagement

with the text (Snow, 2002). Skilled readers know how to use all of this knowledge to construct a mental model of the text. Beyond acquiring knowledge, students must also be equipped for the active application of self-regulation strategies. Among various cognitive processes (such as identifying key information, making inferences, etc.), many authors highlight the importance of the ability to monitor comprehension and actively adjust strategies when understanding falters (McNamara, 1996; McNamara et al., 2007; Otero, 2002). The development of active strategy use can be encouraged by gradually increasing the difficulty level of texts that students work on (Cunningham & Stanovich, 2001; McNamara et al., 1996; Pressley, 2000). Efforts to understand a challenging text do not necessarily signify a problem; however, it is clear that the attentive presence of the teacher is essential for assessing and supporting these skills within the students' zone of proximal development.

Supporting the Development of Affective Aspects of Students' Personalities Related to Reading Comprehension

Traditionally, reading has been viewed as a purely cognitive activity, but this perspective has been challenged by neuropsychological evidence demonstrating a link between the cognitive and affective domains. However, two rich but often separate fields of research and practice persist, with one focused on linguistic and the other on affective components of reading comprehension (Katzir & Lipka, 2017). New theoretical models of reading also emphasize the role of various emotions (Beck et al., 2012; Katzir et al., 2018; Liyan et al., 2023; Meer et al., 2016;). Despite this, most reading support programs still focus on the technical aspects of reading skills, with far less attention given to fostering interest and excitement, managing anxiety and worry (Zaccoletti et al., 2023), and reducing boredom (National Reading Panel & National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, 2000). Beyond prior knowledge and experience, every reader brings their attitudes, values, worldview, socio-emotional skills, and a specific affective response to the text, ranging from boredom to concern and anxiety (Katzir & Lipka, 2017). Depending on interest, purpose, and emotional engagement with the text, the same person may employ different reading strategies and respond differently to textual and social support.

In one study where a combination of affective and cognitive strategies was part of reading comprehension training (ELBRCS), students in the experimental group performed significantly better on reading comprehension tests, particularly at higher levels of understanding (such as inference and evaluation) (Yussof et al., 2013). Another study showed that students' comprehension improved significantly when neutral terms in a text, such as "eye," were personalized, for example, as "your eye." This personalization increased transfer, boosted motivation, and led to longer reading engagement (Dutke et al., 2016).

Empirical findings suggest that it is essential for students to develop a *mental model of themselves as readers*. Students who identify as successful readers will employ different comprehension strategies and engage in different discussions about the text compared to students who perceive themselves as poor readers, regardless of their actual

reading ability. The development of a successful reader identity or “reading self-concept” is an important factor that can contribute to reading success. This connection is reciprocal: as students experience success in reading, they also experience a growing sense of mental well-being—feeling a sense of meaning, purpose in their activities, and a sense of community and solidarity (Katzir et al., 2018; 2022; Sabag-Shushan & Katzir, 2023; Segal et al., 2023;).

Furthermore, some researchers suggest that, in addition to the mental model or reading self-concept, students’ *theory of mind* is also crucial. Theory of mind is defined as the capacity to understand that other people have mental states that drive their actions, which may differ from our own. Without an understanding of theory of mind and the ability to adopt different perspectives, children may struggle to read and comprehend narrative texts. Researchers present *theory of mind as a hidden factor essential for reading comprehension* (Dore et al., 2018).

Reading Comprehension Activities in Teaching, Teaching/Learning Contexts, and Teaching/Learning Methods

The previously discussed insights on supporting students at an individual level must be incorporated into classroom instruction, where approximately thirty students with varying backgrounds and reading abilities are present. Little is known about how texts and textbooks are used in instructional settings (Johnsen, 1993). Most of our knowledge comes from practitioners’ reports and intervention programs rather than research. The long-standing tradition of content-focused teaching makes it challenging to recognize the potential of various subjects and educational levels for supporting the development of reading competence.

Numerous studies have found that some instructional situations, beyond their primary educational goals, hold potential for developing linguistic competencies, particularly reading comprehension (Block et al., 2009; Dole et al., 1991; Li et al., 2024; Palincsar & Brown, 1984; Reynolds & Fisher, 2022). Examples include: individual and group work in workbooks; silent individual reading monitored by the teacher; silent individual reading with specific instructions on practicing particular skills or strategies; conceptual learning (co-construction, where two students read two selected expository texts on the same topic, read to each other, and discuss); silent reading followed by classroom discussion; scaffolding (where the teacher provides timely, personalized support and gradually increases the complexity of texts and tasks); use of graphic organizers; asking questions before reading; interactive read-alouds (where a teacher or student reads a text aloud followed by a discussion about the text’s general significance and relevance to students); activities that involve summarizing, creating outlines, or synthesizing information from various sources; literature circles (where students read the same book or text and discuss it); and instructional situations where the teacher “thinks aloud,” verbalizing their thoughts while reading, etc. One noteworthy example is *reciprocal teaching*, a model developed by Palincsar and Brown (Brown & Palincsar, 1984). In this approach, students learn how to work with a text to achieve comprehension. Through interaction with the teacher and peers,

they acquire strategies such as questioning, clarifying, predicting, and more. Over time, the teacher's assistance decreases, allowing students to independently apply these strategies to new texts.

What do these various instructional situations have in common? They all share one characteristic—dialogue: some situations involve “silent” or deep reading, where there is an opportunity for the reader to engage in an internal dialogue with the text. Other situations place interaction, negotiation of meaning, and sense-making between students and between students and teachers in a meaningful context. Empirical evidence supports Bakhtin's idea of *dialogism* as a crucial means through which meaning and understanding are created for the reader (Bakhtin, 2008).

Sometimes, instructional situations may include texts beyond the standard textbook, crafted intentionally by the teacher. For example, these could be “laboratory notebooks” (Palincsar & Magnusson, 2001) or private letters between scientists (Muždeka, 2005). The benefits of these examples are multifaceted—not only for acquiring knowledge and enhancing reading comprehension but also for increasing motivation and fostering a positive appreciation of science (which gains a personal, relatable dimension).

Various science texts (such as popular science, scientific journals, and reports) can be excellent resources for learning. The structure and language of these texts reflect the nature of the scientific discipline itself, making it essential for students to learn the language of each science as a disciplinary language or genre. Danielson considers students' acquisition of scientific genre as a form of *acculturation into the discourse of a scientific discipline*, where children learn and adopt scientific language, eventually using it beyond the school context (Danielson, 2010). Thus, she emphasizes the need for a supportive school environment for this acculturation. It is not enough to focus solely on textbooks; the learning environment itself should be crafted thoughtfully. All semiotic resources of a discipline—those present in the student's surroundings, on the blackboard, on posters, in notebooks, in the teacher's language, and throughout the school's hallways, whether verbal or non-verbal—are significant. It is also crucial for students to access a variety of texts within a discipline (reports, biographies, autobiographies, monographs, popular science texts, etc.).

As support programs have shown, when children are immersed in diverse texts and engaged in relevant activities over an extended period (at least one year), educational effects are significantly enhanced. Not only do they acquire knowledge in a scientific field, but their functional literacy also improves (Danielson, 2010; Vitale & Romance, 2007). Consequently, Danielson suggests that teachers periodically reflect on their instructional practices using questions such as: How and to what extent are texts used in instruction? What types/genres of texts are used? How much explicit text-related work is there, and how many meta-textual discussions (on structure, genre, disciplinary vocabulary, etc.) take place? How are these text activities conducted? Who initiates them? How are they evaluated? (Danielson, 2010).

The culture of the school itself is also significant (Bruner, 2000). Schools are socio-cultural institutions, and learning occurs both explicitly and implicitly through students' presence in the school environment. Among the various factors that shape school culture,

the significance of physical school spaces is often overlooked. Do these spaces primarily serve as “lecture halls” or “classrooms” (Ivić et al., 2003; Thomas, 2010)? Spaces dominated by lecture-based settings can demotivate students and deter them from engaging in practices essential for developing functional literacy, and vice versa.

Finally, we recognize other specific areas crucial for effective literacy support that have not been thoroughly explored in research thus far. Although the importance of socio-emotional factors in reading and learning is increasingly acknowledged, they remain under-researched compared to specific teaching techniques or cognitive strategies. Additionally, research and interventions targeted at specific student groups, such as minority social groups, students with low family socioeconomic status, or students with developmental challenges, are limited. Although student diversity is increasingly recognized (at least in educational policy documents), studies focusing on the impact of various linguistic and cultural contexts on reading are relatively scarce.

Conclusion

Literacy impacts not only individuals but also society and humanity as a whole. Reading should remain a central human experience, connecting knowledge, emotions, and values, and, as such, should be embedded in the teaching of all subjects across all educational levels as an explicit and continuous objective.

Every pedagogical intervention—essentially an action research effort from a methodological perspective—must begin with a problem analysis. In our educational system, fifteen-year-olds consistently score below the average of participating countries in PISA assessments. Reading literacy performance fluctuates slightly across cycles, but around 40% of fifteen-year-olds remain functionally illiterate (Ivić et al., 2021; Videnović & Čaprić, 2020). In other words, our students lag behind their European peers by the equivalent of one and a half years of schooling, affecting their competitiveness. In one of the rare studies conducted on large samples, retesting students using the PISA reading literacy test after two years of secondary school showed an average gain of only 26 points. In OECD countries, students improve by an average of 38 points per year, indicating that schooling in Serbia has limited impact on students’ reading progress (Jovanović & Baucal, 2016). Individually, this translates to weak preparation for future learning (including higher education) and other forms of literacy, such as media literacy, which requires critical reading, or health, mental, and political literacy. At the societal level, this reflects a lack of citizens equipped to participate in essential decisions for themselves and their communities, as well as greater susceptibility to political and media manipulation.

This paper outlines essential, interconnected aspects of effective pedagogical interventions focused on developing linguistic literacy. The previously discussed components of successful intervention reveal the deep interdependence among the text, student characteristics, and the nature of the reading task (as shaped by the teacher) in fostering comprehension. Many of the cited studies were conducted in school settings, integrating teacher involvement and the school’s sociocultural context into the findings. Moreover, comprehension was frequently assessed through varying levels of content mastery, from

data recall to inference and prediction. Thus, while we have temporarily separated these components for the purposes of this study, it is evident that isolating the contribution of each individual factor is nearly impossible.

In practice, this list of essential factors for developing reading comprehension can inspire both short- and long-term actions implemented in every subject, at the school level, and in extracurricular activities. Three key conclusions emerge. First, language comprehension is a lifelong process that does not end with basic literacy acquisition. Second, there is no ideal solution or guaranteed pedagogical intervention. Instead, each teacher must make decisions based on the characteristics of their students and the specific conditions of their classroom. Consequently, designing pedagogical interventions is not only a professional task but also a creative process—finding ways to cognitively and affectively engage students in meaningful learning activities that foster literacy development. Like a skilled conductor, the teacher may prioritize different factors depending on the educational goals: focusing on text or exercises that enhance cognitive or socio-affective skills.

Beyond teachers, the responsibility for effective pedagogical intervention is shared by a range of stakeholders, each potentially assuming a leadership role within a collaborative team. This team should encompass textbook authors, publishers, quality assurance experts, teachers, educational researchers from fields such as pedagogy, psychology, and linguistics, as well as teacher-training institutions. In our context, creating a favorable environment for change primarily requires that educational policies decentralize and depoliticize the functioning of schools and educators.

References

- Antić, S., Pešikan, A. i Pešić, J. (2008). Kako se kreira tumačenje istorije: primena gramatike priče u analizi udžbenika istorije. XIV naučni skup *Empirijska istraživanja u psihologiji* (34-35), 7-8. februar 2008. Beograd: Filozofski fakultet. <http://empirijskaistrzivanja.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Knjiga-Rezimea-EIP-2008.pdf>
- Antić, S. (2015). The potentials od textbooks to scaffold construction of student's knowledge. In M.H. Martinho and M.do Céu de Melo (Eds.), *LiDEs – A literacia das disciplinas escolares: desafios nas aulas de História e Matemática*. (pp 9-33). Universidade do Minho. Instituto de Educação. Centro de Investigação em Educação (CIEd).
- Antić, S. (2022). Language in the classroom: how to support the development of functional literacy. In J. Stevanović, D. Gundogan & B. Randelović (Eds.), *The State, Problems, and Needs of the Modern Education Community* (str. 29-35). Institute for Educational Research.
- Antić, S. i Stevanović, J. (2023). Problemi pismenosti: danas i ovde. U A. Kostić i A. Pešikan (ur.), *Obrazovanje: stanje, perspektive i uloga u razvoju Srbije* (str. 177-194). Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti.
- Antić, S. (2024). Makrostruktura teksta u nastavi: podrška ili prepreka smislenom učenju? *Psihološka istraživanja* 27(1), 109-129. <https://doi.org/10.5937/PSISTRA0-45268>
- Bakhtin, M. M. (2008). *Speech genres and other late essays*. University of Texas Press.

- Beck, L., Kumschick, I. R., Eid, M., & Klann-Delius, G. (2012). Relationships between language competence and emotional competence in middle childhood. *Emotion*, 12(3), 503–514. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0026320>
- Block, C. C., Parris, S. R., Reed, K. L., Whiteley, C. S., & Cleveland, M. D. (2009). Instructional approaches that significantly increase reading comprehension. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 101(2), 262–281. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014319>
- Brockmeier, J. (2000). Literacy as symbolic space. In J. W. Astington (Ed.), *Minds in the making: Essays in honor of David R. Olson* (pp. 43–61). Blackwell Publishing.
- Brockmeier, J. & Olson, D. (2009). The literacy episteme. In D. R. Olson & N. Torrance (Eds.), *Cambridge handbook of literacy* (pp. 3–22). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bruner, Dž. (2000). *Kultura obrazovanja*. Educa.
- Bussiere, P., Hebert, R., & Knighton, T. (2009). Educational outcomes at age 21 associated with reading ability at age 15. Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, *Catalogue No. 81-004-X Vol. 6 No. 2*. Preuzeto septembra 2022. sa: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/81-004-x/2009002/article/10896-eng.htm>
- Compton, D. L., Miller, A. C., Gilbert, J. K. & Steacy, L. M. (2013). What can be learned about the reading comprehension of poor readers through the use of advanced statistical modeling techniques? In B. Miller, L. E. Cutting & P. McCardle (Eds.), *Unraveling the behavioral, neurobiological, & genetic components of reading comprehension* (pp. 135–147). Brookes.
- Cunningham, A. E. & Stanovich, K. E. (2001). What reading does for the mind. *Journal of Direct Instruction*, 1(2), 137–149.
- Danielson, K. (2010). Learning Chemistry: Text Use and Text Talk in a Finland - Swedish Chemistry Classroom. *IARTEM e-Journal*, 3(2), 1 – 28.
- DeWalt, D. & Pignone, M. (2005). Reading Is Fundamental: The Relationship Between Literacy and Health. *Archives of internal medicine*, 165(17), 1943–1944. <https://doi.org/10.1001/archinte.165.17.1943>
- Dole, J. A., Duffy, G. G., Roehler, L. R., & Pearson, P. D. (1991). Moving From the Old to the New: Research on Reading Comprehension Instruction. *Review of Educational Research*, 61(2), 239–264. <https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543061002239>
- Dore, R. A., Amendum, S. J., Golinkoff, R. M., & Hirsh-Pasek, K. (2018). Theory of mind: A hidden factor in reading comprehension? *Educational Psychology Review*, 30(3), 1067–1089. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-018-9443-9>
- Duke, N. K., & Roberts, K. L. (2010). The genre-specific nature of reading comprehension. In D. Wyse, R. Andrews & J. Hoffman (Eds). *The Routledge International Handbook of English, language and literacy teaching* (pp. 74–83). Routledge.
- Duke, N. & Cartwright, K. (2019). The drive model of reading: deploying reading in varied environments. In D. Alvermann, N. Unrau, M. Sailors, and R. Ruddell (Eds.), *Theoretical Models And Processes Of Literacy* (pp. 118–136). Routledge.
- Dutke, S., Grefe, A.C. & Leopold, C. (2016). Learning from scientific texts: personalizing the text increases transfer performance and task involvement. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*, 31(4), 499–513. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10212-015-0281-6>
- Eivers, E. (2010). PISA: Issues in implementation and interpretation. *The Irish Journal of Education*, 38, 94–118.

- Firth, J., Torous, J., Stubbs, B., Firth, J. A., Steiner, G. Z., Smith, L., Alvarez-Jimenez, M., Gleeson, J., Vancampfort, D., Armitage, C. J., & Sarris, J. (2019). The "online brain": how the Internet may be changing our cognition. *World psychiatry: official journal of the World Psychiatric Association (WPA)*, 18(2), 119–129. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wps.20617>
- Gee, J. P. (1999). Critical Issues: Reading and the new literacy studies: reframing the national academy of sciences report on reading. *Journal of Literacy Research*, 31(3), 355-374. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10862969909548052>
- Gee J. (2000). Discourse and sociocultural studies in reading. In M. Kamil, P. Mosenthal, P.D. Pearson & R. Barr (Eds.), *Handbook of Reading Research: Vol 3*. (pp. 195-209). LEA.
- Golke, S., Hagen, R., & Wittwer, J. (2019). Lost in narrative? The effect of informative narratives on text comprehension and metacomprehension accuracy. *Learning and Instruction*, 60, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.learninstruc.2018.11.003>
- Graesser, A. (2007). An introduction to strategic reading comprehension. In D. McNamara (Ed.), *Reading Comprehension Strategies: Theories, Interventions, and Technologies* (pp. 3-27). LEA.
- Greene Brabham, E., & Lynch-Brown, C. (2002). Effects of teachers' reading-aloud styles on vocabulary acquisition and comprehension of students in the early elementary grades. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 94(3), 465–473. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.94.3.465>
- Gurung, R. A. R. (2004). Pedagogical aids: Learning enhancers or dangerous detours? *Teaching of Psychology*, 31(3), 164–166. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15328023top3103_1
- Hunn, L., Teague, B. & Fisher, P. (2023). Literacy and mental health across the globe: a systematic review. *Mental Health and Social Inclusion*, 27(4), 392-406. <https://doi.org/10.1108/MHSI-09-2022-0064>
- Ivić, I., Pešikan, A. i Antić, S. (2003). *Aktivno učenje 2*. Institut za psihologiju.
- Ivić, I., Pešikan, A. & Antić, S. (2013). Textbook quality: A Guide to textbook standards. V&R unipress
- Ivić, I. (2019). Printed and digital media: Printed and digital textbooks. *Center for Educational Policy Studies Journal*, 9(3), 25–49. <https://doi.org/10.26529/cepsj.694>
- Ivić, I., Pešikan, A. i Kostić, A. (2021). Ključni podaci o obrazovanju u Srbiji. SANU.
- Johnsen, E. B. (1993). *Textbooks in the kaleidoscope. A critical survey of literature and research on educational texts* (pp. 165-166). Scandinavian University Press.
- Joshi, R. M. (2005). Vocabulary: A Critical Component of Comprehension. *Reading & Writing Quarterly: Overcoming Learning Difficulties*, 21(3), 209–219. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10573560590949278>
- Jovanović, V. i Baucal, A. (2016). Razvoj PISA čitalačke kompetencije u srednjem obrazovanju. *Psihološka istraživanja*, 19(1), 63–82. <https://doi.org/10.5937/PsIstra1601063J>
- Katzir, T. (2022). The Feeling of reading in a changing world: from neurons to narratives. In M. Suárez-Orozco & C. Suárez-Orozco (Eds.), *Education: A Global Compact for a Time of Crisis* (pp. 301-312). Columbia University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7312/suar20434-020>
- Katzir, T., & Lipka, O. (2017). *An island of understanding - Teacher's manual*. University of Haifa.
- Katzir, T., Kim, Y.S., & Dotan, S. (2018). Reading self-concept and reading anxiety in second grade children: The roles of word reading, emergent literacy skills, working memory and gender. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 9, 1180.
- Lalović, D. (2012). *Čitanje: od slova do teksta*. Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski fakultet.

- Li, J.-T., Tong, F., Irby, B. J., Lara-Alecio, R., & Rivera, H. (2024). The effects of four instructional strategies on English learners' English reading comprehension: A meta-analysis. *Language Teaching Research*, 28(1), 231–252. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1362168821994133>
- Liessmann, K. P. (2008). *Teorija neobrazovanosti: Zablude društva znanja*. Naklada Jesenski i Turk.
- Lincoln, A. K., Adams, W., Eyllon, M., Garverich, S., Prener, C. G., Griffith, J., Paasche-Orlow, M. K., & Hopper, K. (2017). The Double Stigma of Limited Literacy and Mental Illness: Examining Barriers to Recovery and Participation among Public Mental Health Service Users. *Society and Mental Health*, 7(3), 121–141. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2156869317707001>
- Liyan, Y., Jie Yu, J., & Tong X. (2023). Social–emotional skills correlate with reading ability among typically developing readers: a meta-analysis. *Education Sciences*, 13(2) 220. <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci13020220>
- Maughan, B., & Carroll, J. (2006). Literacy and mental disorders. *Current opinion in psychiatry*, 19(4), 350–354. <https://doi.org/10.1097/01.yco.0000228752.79990.41>
- Mayer, R. E. (2008). *Learning and instruction* (2nd ed). Pearson.
- McNamara, D. S., Kintsch, E., Songer, N. B., & Kintsch, W. (1996). Are good texts always better? Interactions of text coherence, background knowledge, and levels of understanding in learning from text. *Cognition and Instruction*, 14(1), 1–43. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532690xci1401_1
- McNamara, D., Ozuru, Y., Best, R. & O'Reilly, T. (2007). The 4-Pronged Comprehension Strategy Framework. In D. McNamara (Ed.), *Reading Comprehension Strategies: Theories, Interventions, and Technologies* (pp. 465– 497). LEA
- Meer, Y., Breznitz, Z., & Katzir, T. (2016). Calibration of Self-Reports of Anxiety and Physiological Measures of Anxiety While Reading in Adults With and Without Reading Disability. *Dyslexia*, 22(3), 267–284. <https://doi.org/10.1002/dys.1532>
- Mullis, I. V. S., Von Davier, M., Foy, P., Fishbein, B., Reynolds, K. A., & Wry, E. (2023). *PIRLS 2021 International Results in Reading*. Boston College, TIMSS & PIRLS International Study Center. <https://doi.org/10.6017/lse.tpisc.tr2103.kb5342>
- Muždeka, V. (2005). Periodni sistem elemenata. U S. Antić, R. Jankov i A. Pešikan. (ur). *Kako približiti deci prirodne nauke kroz aktivno učenje: zbirka scenarija* (str.36-37). Institut za psihologiju, Filozofski fakultet.
- Nagy, W. E., & Scott, J. A. (2000). Vocabulary processes. In M. L. Kamil, P. B. Mosenthal, P. D. Pearson, & R. Barr (Eds.), *Handbook of Reading Research*, (Vol. 3, pp. 269–284). LEA.
- National Reading Panel (U.S.) & National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (U.S.). (2000). *Report of the National Reading Panel: Teaching children to read: an evidence-based assessment of the scientific research literature on reading and its implications for reading instruction*. U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service, National Institutes of Health, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.
- New London Group. (1996). A pedagogy of multiliteracies: Designing social futures. *Harvard Educational Review*, 66(1), 60–93. <https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.66.1.17370n67v22j160u>
- OECD (2019). PISA 2018 Results (Vol. I): What Students Know and Can Do, PISA, OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/5f07c754-en>
- Otero, J. (2002). Noticing and Fixing Difficulties While Understanding Science text. In J. Otero, J. León, & A. Graesser (Eds.), *The Psychology of Science Text Comprehension* (pp.281–309). Erlbaum.

- Palincsar, A. S., & Brown, A. L. (1984). Reciprocal teaching of comprehension-fostering and comprehension-monitoring activities. *Cognition and Instruction*, 1(2), 117–175.
- Palincsar, A. S., & Magnusson, S. J. (2001). The interplay of first-hand and second-hand investigations to model and support the development of scientific knowledge and reasoning. In S. M. Carver & D. Klahr (Eds.), *Cognition and Instruction: Twenty-five Years of Progress* (pp. 151-193). LEA.
- Pressley, M. (2000). What should comprehension instruction be the instruction of? In M. Kamil, P. Mosenthal, P. Pearson, & R. Barr (Eds.), *Handbook of Reading Research* (Vol. 3, pp. 545-561). LEA.
- Purcell-Gates, V., Duke, N. K., & Martineau, J. A. (2007). Learning to read and write genre-specific text: roles of authentic experience and explicit teaching. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 42(1), 8–45.
- Reynolds, D., & Fisher, W. (2022). What happens when adolescents meet complex texts? Describing moments of scaffolding textual encounters. *Literacy*, 56(4), 277–287. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lit.12258>
- Sabag-Shushan, T. & Katzir, T. (2023). Emotional understanding in reading comprehension at the text, task, and reader levels: a comparison of diverse struggling readers. *Reading and Writing*, 1-25. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11145-023-10447-x>
- Segal, A., Dotan, S. & Katzir, T., (2023). Development over time of the reading self-concept in fourth- and fifth-grade students. *Current Psychology*, 42(32), 1-12. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12144-022-03871-9>
- Sentell, T. L. & Shumway, M. A. (2003). Low literacy and mental illness in a nationally representative sample. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 191(8), 549-552. <https://doi.org/10.1097/01.nmd.0000082185.26868.dc>
- Slavin, R. E., & Madden, N. A. (2001). *One million children: Success for All*. Corwin Press.
- Smagorinsky, P., & Smith, M. W. (1992). The nature of knowledge in composition and literary understanding: The question of specificity. *Review of Educational Research*, 62, 279–305.
- Smagorinsky, P., & Mayer, R. E. (2018). Learning to be literate. In R. K. Sawyer (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of the learning sciences* (pp. 605–626). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139519526.036>
- Snow, C. (2002). *Reading for understanding: toward a research and development program in reading comprehension*. RAND
- Terkli, Š. (2011). *Sami zajedno: zašto očekujemo više od tehnologije nego jedni od drugih*. Clio.
- Thomas, H. (2010). Learning spaces, learning environments and the dis‘placement’ of learning. *British Journal of Educational Technology* 41 (3), 502–511. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8535.2009.00974.x>
- Tvengi, Dž. (2019). *Internet generacija: Dezorijentisanost dece u digitalnom dobu*. Psihopolis.
- Uljets, M. (2007). The hidden curriculum of PISA – the promotion of neo-liberal policy by educational assessment. In S. Hopman, G. Brinek, & M. Retzl (Eds.), *PISA according to PISA: Does PISA keep what it promises?* (pp. 265-294). Wien: LIT.
- Vaidhyanathan, S. (2011). *The Googlization of everything: (And why we should worry)*. University of California Press.
- Videnović, M. i Čaprić, G. (2020). *PISA izveštaj za Republiku Srbiju, 2018*. Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja.
- Vygotski, L. (1983). *Jezik i mišljenje*. Nolit.
- Vitale, M. & Romance, N. (2007). A knowledge-based framework for unifying content-area reading comprehension and reading comprehension strategies. In D. McNamara (Ed.), *Reading Comprehension Strategies: Theories, Interventions, and Technologies*. (pp. 73-104). LEA.

Yussof, Y. M., Jamian, A. R., Hamzah, Z. A. Z., & Roslan, S. (2013). Students' Reading Comprehension Performance with Emotional Literacy-Based Strategy Intervention. *International Journal of Education and Literacy Studies*, 1(1), 82-88.

Zaccoletti, S., Raccanello, D., Burro, R., & Mason, L. (2023). Reading with induced worry: The role of physiological self-regulation and working memory updating in text comprehension. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 93, 26–47. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjep.12491>

Article received: 12.08.2024.

Updated version received: 06.11.2024.

Accepted for publishing: 13.11.2024.

Slobodanka Antić

Faculty of Special Education and Rehabilitation, University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3116-6850>

Jelena Stevanović

Institute for Educational Research, Belgrade, Serbia
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9917-4622>

Who is Lying and Who is Telling the Truth? The Role of Education in the Development of Understanding of Lies

Gabriella Simonyi 

Doctoral School of Education, University of Szeged, Szeged, Hungary

Lenke Major¹ 

Hungarian Language Teacher Training Faculty, University of Novi Sad, Subotica, Serbia

Abstract

Lying is a common phenomenon that becomes a part of human life from a certain point in individual development. In many cases, it is through poorly chosen educational methods that children learn to lie. When family or school education is based on the principle of punishment, children quickly learn that lying can help them avoid consequences. At the same time, lying is a socially unacceptable behavior. Children acquire socially acceptable behaviors as they develop their social competencies. For children, what is good and bad does not necessarily align with what society deems acceptable. Our research question focuses on whether adolescent children view lying in the same way as adults or if they perceive various lying situations and elements differently. In our study, we replicated Coleman and Kay's experiment on lying using their measurement tool adapted to the Hungarian language. The study was conducted among upper primary school students who are native Hungarian speakers in Serbia. The results show that children differ from adults in their perception of lying and their evaluation of the complex elements that constitute lies. Our research findings highlight the crucial role that schools and appropriately chosen educational methods can play in shaping a proper moral value system, particularly in developing social competencies.

Keywords: *development of social competence, understanding of lies, prototypical lies, moral values.*

¹ major.lenke@magister.uns.ac.rs

Introduction

When determining whether a human activity is good or bad for the individual or the community, we judge according to the community's norms. This moral evaluation and decision-making is always situational, varying by era, society, and situation, and also depends on the individual's age and level of moral development (Füsti-Molnár & Miklós, 2021).

Individual attitudes toward lying vary from person to person, and it remains unclear whether the propensity or "talent" for lying depends on factors such as age, intelligence, education, or genetic inheritance (Tang & Davis-Kean, 2015). Research supports that lying typically begins to develop in children around 2-3 years old and increases rapidly with age. Piaget's research (as cited in Vincze, 2002) indicates that children under the age of 6 tend to interpret all inaccurate statements as lies, including incorrect assumptions and false statements such as swearing (Evans & Lee, 2013). For children, good and bad do not necessarily mean what society deems acceptable. In the case of children, good and bad are often what adults consider to be, because they are not yet able to judge a given situation based on their own convictions. Children's perception of reality is not a part of adult reality, or a miniature copy, but a specific representation that arises from specific cognition. If we consider the assumption of lying as subjective, then the problem becomes even more acute, because the distinction between truth and lies, arising from children's limited cognition, does not always match that of adults (Dósa, 2020).

This perspective has also prompted our research question, which aims to investigate whether adolescent children view lying the same way as adults do, or if they perceive different lying situations and lying elements differently. Researching lying in this manner has educational relevance because, according to well-established findings from psychological studies, lying in childhood is positively associated with a wide range of other problematic behaviors, such as disruptive conduct, aggression, conduct disorders, theft, truancy, or criminal behavior (Gervais et al., 1998; Gervais et al., 2000). Moreover, longitudinal studies show that lying at an early age plays a predictive role in criminal behavior or drug use in adolescence and adulthood (Cauffman, et al., 2023).

Theoretical Foundations

The Role of Education in the Formation of the Concept of Lying and the Development of Children's Personalities

The earliest form of lying that we learn to use is to avoid punishment (Lynch et al., 2020). This type of lying typically develops around the age of two and becomes commonly used by the age of four (Peskin, 1992). As children, we learn not to admit our actions following punishments for admissions of guilt. Lying often becomes a communication tool for children, which they use when they are afraid of punishment, want to avoid feeling ashamed, or just want attention (Gordon, 2015; Lynch et al., 2020; Wilson et al., 2003). The development of social competencies enables individuals to ensure that

their behavior is socially acceptable and does not come at the expense of others (Zsolnai et al., 2007). The development of social competencies depends on both spontaneous and intentional socialization, as well as education. One of the central tasks of education is to support the development of individual awareness and social competence (Zsolnai et al., 2012).

According to the principle of life-span development, personality development can be interpreted not as successive stages, but as levels built on each other, a hierarchy, in which the individual levels are developed by unfolding from the lower levels, while their relative independence remains (Blair et al., 2015). Within a developmental process where children learn cause-and-effect relationships, the correct expression of emotion and appropriate social interactions, they also learn what a lie is (Orza, 2022; Talwar & Lee, 2008; Talwar et al., 2011). Younger children prioritize honesty even if it may hurt others. However, older children tend to view prosocial lies more favorably while punishing antisocial lies (Talwar et al., 2002). Additionally, social and cultural factors also influence how children perceive lies from a moral standpoint (Lee, 2013). It is important for parents and teachers to know the developmental stages of the concept of lying, and if children are caught lying, it is important to know the background and reasons for this behavior (Bair et al., 2015; Tang & Davis-Kean, 2015). Recognizing these factors can help select appropriate educational methods that match the individual child's personality. Rather than using punitive approaches, a reward-based approach is more effective in helping children develop their understanding of lying to socially acceptable levels (Lynch et al., 2020). A child not punished for admitting a mistake is likelier to be honest (Gordon, 2015).

Investigation of the Prototypical Lie Among Minority Hungarian-Speaking Upper Primary School Students

The antecedents of the research methodology

Coleman and Kay (1981) propose three constitutive elements of the prototypical lie: objective falsehood, belief in the falsehood, and deceptive intent. Objective falsehood means that the factual statement expressed in the claim does not align with reality. Belief refers to the speaker's belief that their statement is false. The intent element refers to the speaker's intentional lack of truthfulness, meaning they aim to deceive their partner. Based on their research findings, the most significant element of the prototypical lie for native English speakers was the belief element, followed by intent, and finally, objective falsehood. Coleman and Kay's experiment was repeated with native speakers of several languages, yielding results that were partially similar and partially different across cultures. Arabic and Ecuadorian Spanish speakers evaluated lies similarly to English speakers, adhering to the strength order of belief > intent > falsehood. However, for Indonesian native speakers, the prototypical concept of lying proposed by Coleman and Kay (1981) does not hold. In Indonesian culture, the most important element of a lie is factual falsehood, followed by intent, and the belief component is not necessarily present in the concept of lying (Adha, 2020). Vajtai (2013) first conducted Coleman and

Kay's (1981) experiment on Hungarian native speakers. According to the study's results, the primary element in determining whether a statement is judged to be a lie in a given situation is the intent to deceive. Németh T. and Adha repeated the experiment in 2021 with a larger sample of Hungarian native speakers. Their study found that the order of the three prototypical elements of lying proposed by Coleman and Kay (1981) among Hungarian native speakers is: belief in falsehood > intent to deceive > objective falsehood. This order matches the sequence established by Coleman and Kay (1981) based on judgments by English speakers.

Objectives and Research Questions of the Study

Our study replicated Coleman and Kay's (1981) experiment on prototypical lies among Hungarian-speaking upper primary school (grades 5-8) students in Vojvodina. Our sample differed from the original study in terms of both language use and age group. Our primary aim was to determine whether the understanding of lies among upper primary school students living in a minority context differs from that of adults, and how their perceptions of the prototypical elements of lies compare to those of adults.

(1) Our first research question was: What is the order of importance of the prototypical lie elements, as perceived by the participating students, compared to the order identified by Coleman and Kay (1981) in their study of adults?

(2) Our second research question was: How confident are the students in their judgments of lies, and are there any factors that influence their assessments?

Understanding the answers to these questions is crucial, as it can inform educational practices to enhance students' moral reasoning and social competencies. By recognizing how students perceive the elements of lying and their confidence in these judgments, educators can tailor interventions and curricula that foster critical thinking and ethical decision-making, ultimately helping students navigate complex social interactions more effectively.

Tools and Methods of the Study

In our study, we used the measurement tool developed by Németh T. and Adha (2021), which is an adaptation of the questionnaire used in Coleman and Kay's (1981) experiment for the Hungarian language. The questionnaire contains eight moral stories that combine the three elements of prototypical lies: (a) objective falsehood, (b) belief in the falsehood, and (c) intent to deceive. While translating the original questionnaire, the authors ensured that the language of the stories was culturally acceptable for Hungarian native speakers. After analyzing the stories, we concluded that their content is interpretable in the same way linguistically and culturally among Hungarian minority language users as it is within the native Hungarian-speaking population.

Table 1 shows the combinations of the three elements of the prototypical lie in the eight stories. In the table, the + sign indicates the presence of the respective element in the story, while the - sign indicates its absence.

Table 1

The Presence of Prototypical Lie Elements in the Moral Stories

Story Characteristics	Objective Falsehood	Belief in Falsehood	Intent to Deceive
1. Máté–cake	+	+	+
2. Dávid–golf	–	–	–
3. Patrik–billiard	+	–	+
4. Katalin–exam	–	+	+
5. Sándor–dinner	+	+	–
6. Mária–exfriend	–	–	+
7. Betti nővér–appendix	+	–	–
8. Miklós– stomachache	–	+	–

Method of Evaluating the Responses

In the experiment, after reading each story, participants were required to answer two questions to determine the level of judgment regarding the lie and the certainty of their judgment. The first question aimed to assess whether the main character in the story had lied or not, while the second question focused on how confident the participant was in their response to the first question. The first and second stories functioned as control stories. For the first story, the expected answer was that yes, Máté had lied, while for the second story, the expected answer was that no, János had not lied. If participants did not respond as expected to either or both of these stories, they were excluded from the analysis, and their responses to the other stories were also disregarded. Out of the 191 participants in the study, 125 provided valid responses for both control stories. Their answers were considered in the subsequent analysis.

Sample

The data collection sample consisted of participants surveyed in June and July 2022 using an anonymous online questionnaire on the Google Forms platform, primarily in the northern part of Vojvodina. The research was conducted online. Participation was voluntary and anonymous. Ethical approval was obtained for data collection. We present the background variables of the sample elements, which provided valid responses to the control questions (N=125).

General data: The average age of the respondents is 12.8 years (upper primary school students). 66% of the valid sample (83 students) come from Čantavir, while 32% (40 students) come from Feketić (2 participants did not answer).

Family status: Among the respondents, 103 persons live with both parents. Twelve people live only with their mother, and one respondent lives only with their father. Additionally, 5 respondents live with foster parents, and 4 respondents live with their grandparents. One hundred and fourteen participants have siblings. Regarding the parents' educational level, most fathers and mothers have completed secondary education. For 51%

of the students, both parents are employed, 38% have only one employed parent, and in 9 cases (7%), neither parent is employed. Four percent of the participants did not answer the question. Twenty-six percent of the respondents' families receive social assistance.

School performance-related data: The overall academic average of the students in the sample is 4.17 out of 5, with 84% of the students performing above the good grade level. Eighty-one percent of the students have participated in academic competitions. Only 8% of the sample (10 students) require reinforced educational support. Eighty-nine percent of the students have exemplary behavior. Eighty percent of the students have not received any reprimands. Six percent have received a verbal warning, another 6% have received a class teacher's reprimand, 2% have been reprimanded by the class council, and an additional 6% have received a principal's reprimand.

Results related to the investigation of prototypical lies

As mentioned during the presentation of the survey methodology, the respondents had to answer two questions for each story. The first question was about the assessment of the lie, and the second question was about how certain the respondent was about their answer. The scores were determined by combining the responses to these two questions for each story, specifically for Stories 2-8 (the questions that function as real test questions rather than test stories). Considering the scoring system used in the Coleman and Kay (1981) experiment, responses to the first question that were marked as *'I don't know'* were automatically assigned 4 points, and the response to the second question was not taken into account. If the answer to the first question was *'lied'*, then for the second question, *'completely sure'* was worth 7 points, *'quite sure'* was worth 6 points, and *'not really sure'* was worth 5 points. If the answer to the first question was *'did not lie'*, then for the second question, *'completely sure'* was worth 1 point, *'quite sure'* was worth 2 points, and *'not really sure'* was worth 3 points. The evaluation process is summarized in Tables 2 and 3 to make it more illustrative.

Table 2
Values for the first response group

Answer	Value
1. lied	7 or 6 or 5 points depending on the additional answer (see Table 3)
2. did not lie	1 or 2 or 3 points depending on the additional answer (see Table 3)
3. I don't know	4 points

Table 3
Values for the second response group

Answer	Lie	did not lie
1. completely sure:	7 points	1 points
2. quite sure :	6 points	2 points
3. not really sure:	5 points	3 points

Similarly to the research by Németh and Adha (2021), we determined the average score for each story by adding up the scores assigned to the valid respondents and dividing the sum by the number of valid respondents. The results are illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4

Scores for the eight stories based on the responses of the 125 respondents

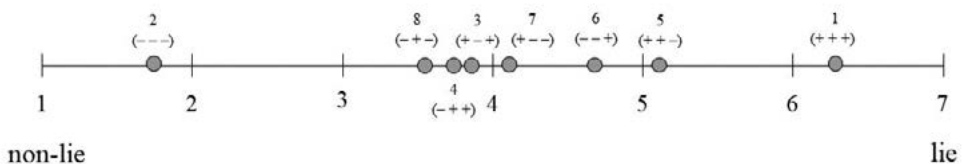
Story	Total score	Average score
1. Máté–cake(+ + +)	798	6,38
2. Dávid–golf (– – –)	227	1,82
3. Patrik–billiard (+ – +)	491	3,93
4. Katalin–exam (– + +)	483	3,86
5. Sándor–dinner (+ + –)	647	5,18
6. Mária–exfriend (– – +)	596	4,77
7. Betti nővér–appendix (+ – –)	515	4,12
8. Miklós– stomachache (– + –)	448	3,58

The average scores shown in Table 4 indicate how prototypical the individual stories are considered based on the respondents' answers. If the average score approaches 7, the respondents judged that the main character in the story committed a prototypical lie, whereas if the average score approaches 1, the respondents believed that the main character did not commit a prototypical lie.

In our study, the results for the test questions meet the above criteria. The scores for the first story (which involves a lie) are strongly approaching the value of 7, while the scores for the second story (which does not involve a lie) are approaching the value of 1 (Figure 1). In the study by Németh and Adha (2021), respondents judged that in four stories (Stories 1, 4, 5, and 6), the character committed a prototypical lie, while in four stories (Stories 2, 3, 7, and 8), they stated that no prototypical lie occurred. According to our results, respondents also determined prototypical lies in four cases and no prototypical lies in four cases, but these stories do not completely match the stories in the Németh and Adha (2021) study. In our study, respondents found that the characters in Stories 2, 3, 4, and 8 did not lie, while the characters in Stories 1, 5, 6, and 7 did lie (Figure 1).

Figure 1

The placement of the stories on the lying scale



According to Coleman and Kay (1981), if a story contains only one or two of the three components of lying, it is considered a weaker lie compared to when all three or two elements are present. Accordingly, in Figure 1, a lie with fewer than three prototypical elements should approach the left end of the lying value scale, meaning it should be considered less of a lie.

In our study, this hypothesis was not confirmed for Questions 6 and 7, where only one prototypical element of lying occurs in each case. Both questions are located on the right side of the lying scale, meaning they are closer to the 'lying' end. Respondents categorized the 8th story, where only belief in falsehood appears as an element of lying, on the appropriate side of the lying scale. The assessment of this story supports Coleman and Kay's (1981) hypothesis. Comparing the elements of lying present in the stories, their strength can be determined. On the lying scale, moving left from the neutral value towards the 'not lying' end 'in judging each story' objective falsehood occurs in one case, while belief in falsehood and deceptive intent each occur in two cases. Moving towards the 'lying' end, objective falsehood occurs in three cases, while belief in falsehood and deceptive intent each occur in two cases as well (Table 5).

Table 5

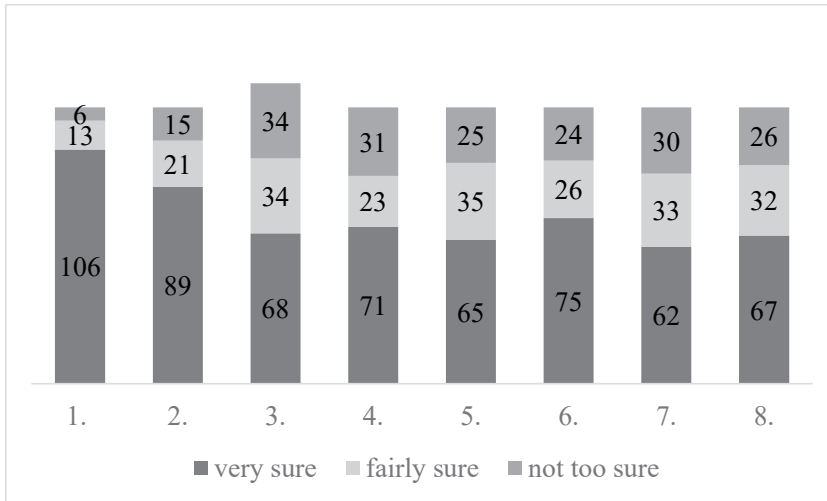
Placement of the occurrence of lying elements based on the results of the study

	Objective Falsehood	Belief in Falsehood	Deceptive Intent
Does not lie	1	2	2
Lies	3	2	2

This result suggests that among the students we examined, objective falsehood more often indicates the perception of a lie compared to the other two elements of lying. The strength of belief in falsehood and the effect of deceptive intent was determined by comparing the average scores given to the stories, which also reflects the order. The order of strength among the elements of lying is as follows: *objective falsehood* > *deceptive intent* > *belief in lies*. This result contrasts with the findings of Németh and Adha (2021) as well as Coleman and Kay (1981), where objective falsehood is the weakest of the three elements, and the order is: *belief in falsehood* > *deceptive intent* > *objective falsehood*.

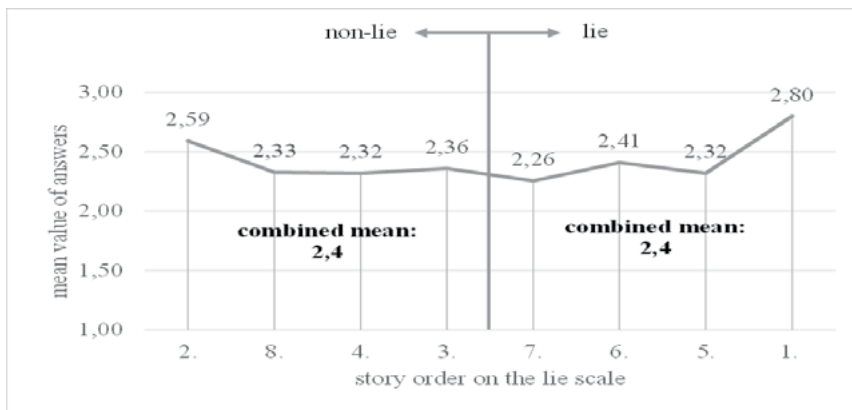
We also examined the degree of confidence in the responses given by the students using the data from the second question related to the stories. For these questions, we asked the students how confident they were in their responses regarding the evaluation of the individual elements of lying. The three response options were: completely confident, quite confident, and not very confident. We assigned scores of 3, 2, and 1 points, respectively, for the strength of the responses. Therefore, the evaluation of opinions related to each story could range between 1 and 3 points. For all stories, the majority of respondents were completely confident in their opinions about the lies (Figure 2).

Figure 2

Confidence in the responses given in the assessment of the stories

The highest confidence was observed in the first and second test questions, where all three lying elements were present or completely absent. This circumstance also supports the correctness of their further assessment. To determine whether the respondents were more confident in identifying the truth or lies, we compared the average scores received for the responses to the stories located on either side of the lying scale (Figure 1) (Figure 3). The results show that the average scores are identical for the 4 questions on each side of the scale, with an average of 2.4 points.

Figure 3

Confidence in the responses given in the assessment of the stories

The students' confidence in their answers further reinforces the previous hypothesis results, which suggest that, according to the students, the objective element of lying plays the most important role in determining the fact of a lie.

Correlation analyses based on background factors

Results of the studies related to family background

We examined the correlations between the student's responses to the individual stories and the relevant background variables. For family background, results were obtained for three factors in the correlation analyses. The father's education level, family structure, and parents' occupations influenced the responses to the individual stories, particularly the two control stories.

Regarding the father's educational level, there is a difference in the evaluation of the first story (+ + +). Students whose fathers did not complete elementary school identified dishonesty less frequently in the story compared to children of fathers with higher levels of education (one-way ANOVA: $F=8,6$ $p=0,001$). In the case of the second story (– – –), children who live with both parents identified dishonesty less frequently than students from incomplete families (two-sample t-test: $t=-2,44$ $p=0,02$).

The factors of whether parents work at a workplace, work from home, or are unemployed show differences in the assessment of Stories 1, 2, and 5. In the case of the first story, children of unemployed or work-from-home parents identified lies less frequently than those whose parents are employed (one-way ANOVA: $F=9,6$ $p=0,001$). In the second story, children of unemployed parents identified the fact of lying more frequently than children of employed parents (one-way ANOVA: $F=5,2$ $p=0,001$). In the fifth story (+ + –), where the characters represent an employee-boss hierarchy, children of unemployed parents identified lies significantly less frequently than children of employed parents (one-way ANOVA: $F=2,5$ $p=0,03$).

Results of the studies related to school performance

In assessing school performance, we considered factors such as whether the student had participated in academic competitions, whether they had received enhanced educational support, their behavior, and their academic average. These background variables were found to be related to the evaluation of the honesty elements in certain questions. Here, the difference is primarily evident in the case of the two control stories, as well as in the correlation with certain variables in the 5th and 8th stories.

Regarding participation in competitions, higher-performing students identified dishonesty more frequently in both the first and fifth stories compared to lower-performing students (1st story: $t=-2,7$ $p=0,007$; 5th story: $t=-2,27$ $p=0,03$). The first story includes all three elements of dishonesty, while the fifth story features two: objective dishonesty and the belief in falsehood.

Students needing enhanced educational support identified dishonesty less in the first story ($t=4,32$ $p=0.001$), but more in the second story ($t=-3,17$ $p=0.02$), which did not contain elements of dishonesty. This result indicates that they were less capable of evaluating the elements of dishonesty in the control stories. The same result is observed with the behavior variable. Students with exemplary behavior who have not received any formal reprimands identified dishonesty more frequently in the first story than those who had received school (class teacher, class council, principal) reprimands ($t=2,98$ $p=0.003$).

The correlation analysis based on academic averages shows differences in students' opinions regarding the first, second, and eighth stories. In the case of the first story, students with a lower academic average identified dishonesty less frequently than those with a higher average (one-way ANOVA: $F=10,86$ $p=0,001$). In the case of the second story, students with higher academic averages identified dishonesty less frequently than those with lower averages (one-way ANOVA: $F=4,3$ $p=0,03$). For the eighth story, students with lower academic averages identified dishonesty less frequently than those with higher academic averages (one-way ANOVA: $F=2,5$ $p=0,04$).

Since students with lower academic averages are less likely to identify dishonest behavior, targeted interventions could be beneficial. Programs designed to improve both academic skills and ethical understanding can support these students in recognizing the importance of honesty and ethical decision-making. Educators should be trained to recognize these differences in perception and to facilitate discussions about ethics in the classroom. Professional development programs can equip teachers with strategies to engage students in conversations about moral reasoning, tailored to their academic levels.

Summary of Results and Conclusions

In our study, we analyzed the understanding of lies among upper primary school students speaking Hungarian in Vojvodina. Our first research question sought to determine whether the students' understanding of lies differs from that of adults and whether the elements of lies are judged similarly in both groups. The results indicate that students consider objective falsity to be a more significant factor in determining a lie compared to adults. For the students, the hierarchy of the elements of lying is as follows: objective falsity > deceptive intent > belief in falsity. This finding contrasts with studies conducted with adults, where objective falsity was regarded as the weakest of the three elements, with a hierarchy of belief in falsity > deceptive intent > objective falsity (Coleman & Kay, 1981; Németh & Adha, 2021). Thus, the understanding of lying among children diverges from that of adults.

This distinction underscores the importance of focusing on developing social competencies and moral judgment among students, particularly in understanding and evaluating different aspects of lying. Integrating Social-Emotional Learning (SEL) programs that emphasize empathy, communication skills, and ethical decision-making can significantly enhance students' awareness of the impact of their words and actions on others. Furthermore, teacher training should prioritize understanding developmental differences in moral reasoning, equipping educators to address misconceptions and

create a supportive environment conducive to learning. This approach not only fosters a nuanced understanding of lying and honesty but also promotes the overall development of students' social competencies.

Our second research question examined which background variables characteristic of the sample might influence their value judgments. We identified family circumstances and academic performance as key factors. The results indicated that certain social and cognitive characteristics of the students indeed influence their evaluation of moral stories related to lying.

The findings of our study highlight the critical importance of institutional education in supporting the development of social competencies and appropriate social behavior. Utilizing non-punitive educational methods, as suggested by Talwar, Carlson & Lee (2011) and Gordon (2015), along with an appropriate approach to handling lies, can foster honesty during childhood and adolescence. This contributes to the establishment of healthy social relationships and effective conflict resolution. Additionally, these approaches can aid young people in developing and reinforcing their moral value systems.

However, the study does have its limitations. For instance, the sample size may restrict the generalizability of the findings, and the cross-sectional design limits our ability to assess changes over time. Furthermore, reliance on self-reported data may introduce biases regarding students' understanding of honesty and dishonesty.

In conclusion, our findings emphasize the need for targeted educational practices that address these developmental differences. Future research should seek to expand the diversity of the sample to explore how different demographics influence perceptions of lying. Longitudinal studies would be beneficial to assess the long-term effects of educational interventions on students' moral reasoning. Additionally, developing and evaluating specific SEL programs focused on honesty and moral reasoning could yield valuable insights into their effectiveness. Investing in professional development for educators is crucial, as is encouraging parental involvement in discussions about ethics, creating a supportive environment that extends beyond the classroom. Regular assessments of students' understanding of ethical concepts should also be conducted to inform and adjust educational strategies. By addressing the strengths and weaknesses of our research while clearly linking our conclusions to the findings, we can better inform future educational practices and research initiatives aimed at enhancing students' moral and social development.

References

- Blair, B. L., Perry, N. B., O'Brien, M., Calkins, S. D., Keane, S. P., & Shanahan, L. (2015). Identifying developmental cascades among differentiated dimensions of social competence and emotion regulation. *Developmental Psychology*, 51(8), 1062–1073. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039472>
- Cauffman E., Gillespie, M. L., Beardslee, J., Davis, F., Hernandez, M., & Williams, T. (2023). Adolescent Contact, Lasting Impact? Lessons Learned From Two Longitudinal Studies Spanning 20 Years of Developmental Science Research With Justice-System-Involved Youths. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, 24(3), 133-161. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15291006231205173>

- Coleman, L., & Kay, P. (1981). Prototype Semantics: The English word LIE. *Language*, 57(1), 26– 44. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.1981.0002>
- Dósa Z. (2020). A gyermeki tanúvallomások és a felnőttek igazsága egy csalfa világban. *Gradus*, 7(1), 167-176. <https://doi.org/10.47833/2020.1.ART.002>
- Evans, A. D., & Lee, K. (2013). Emergence of lying in very young children. *Developmental Psychology*, 49(10), 1958–1963. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0031409>
- Füsti-Molnár Zs., & Miklós P. (2021). Az internethasználat etikai kérdéseinek vizsgálata 9. és 10. évfolyamos gimnazisták körében. *Iskolakultúra*, 31(6), 101-120.
- Gervais J., Tremblay R. E., & Héroux D. (1998). Boys' lying and social adjustment in pre-adolescence: Teachers', peers' and self-reports. *Crim. Behav. Ment. Health*, 8(2), 127–138. <https://doi.org/10.1002/cbm.231>
- Gervais, J., Tremblay, R. E., Desmarais-Gervais, L., & Vitaro, F. (2000). Children's persistent lying, gender differences, and disruptive behaviours: A longitudinal perspective. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 24(2), 213-221. <https://doi.org/10.1080/016502500383340>
- Gordon, L. (2015). Teaching the 'Poor' a Lesson: Beyond Punitive Discipline in Schools. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 50(2), 211–222. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40841-015-0014-z>
- Lee, K. (2013). Little liars: Development of verbal deception in children. *Child Development Perspectives*, 7(2), 91–96. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12023>
- Lynch, S., Schleider, J., & McBean, L. (2020). Restorative Practice in Health and Physical Education: Shifting the Norm from Punitive to Reparative. *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance*, 91(9), 41-47. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07303084.2020.1811624>
- Németh T. E., & Adha, A. (2021). Valóban könnyebb utolérni a hazug embert, mint a sánta kutyát? *Argumentum*, 17(1), 488-510. <https://doi.org/10.34103/ARGUMENTUM/2021/25>
- Orza B. (2022). Szocio-kognitív tényezők és kétnyelvűség kapcsolata kisiskolásoknál. Elméleti megközelítés. In: Mészáros Tamás (Ed.): *Annales V. Az ELTE Márton Áron Szakkollégium Évkönyve*. ELTE Márton Áron Szakkollégium.
- Peskin J. (1992). Ruse and representations: On children's ability to conceal information. *Developmental Psychology*, 28(1), 84–89. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.28.1.84>
- Talwar, V., Lee, K., Bala, N., & Lindsay, R. C. L. (2002). Children's conceptual knowledge of lie-telling and its relation to their actual behaviors: Implications for court competence examination. *Law and Human Behavior*, 26(4), 395–415. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1016379104959>
- Talwar, V., & Lee, K. (2008). Social and cognitive correlates of children's lying behavior. *Child Development*, 79(4), 866–881. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2008.01164.x>
- Talwar, V., Carlson S., & Lee, K. (2011). Effects of a Punitive Environment on Children's Executive Functioning: A Natural Experiment. *Social Development*, 20(4), 805-824. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9507.2011.00617.x>
- Tang, S., & Davis-Kean, P. E. (2015). The association of punitive parenting practices and adolescent achievement. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 29(6), 873–883. <https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000137>
- Vajtai A. (2013). *The Hungarian Notion of Lying: A Study Based on the Prototype Approach of Coleman and Kay* (master thesis). University of Szeged.
- Vincze Gy. (2002). Az erkölcsi ítéletalkotás fejlődése és fejlesztési lehetőségei intézményes keretek között. *Gyermeknevelés Tudományos Folyóirat*, 8(3), 72–92. <https://doi.org/10.31074/gyntf.2020.3.72.92>

- Wilson, A. E., Smith, M. D., & Ross, H. S. (2003). The nature and effects of young children's lies. *Social Development*, 12(1), 21–45. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9507.00220>
- Zsolnai A., Kinyó L., & Jámbori Sz. (2012). Szocializáció, szociális viselkedés, személyiségfejlődés. In: Csapó B. (Ed.). *Mérlegen a magyar iskola*. Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó.
- Zsolnai A., Lesznyák M., & Kasik L. (2007). A szociális és az érzelmi kompetencia néhány készségének fejlettsége óvodás korban. *Magyar Pedagógia*, 107(3), 233–270.

Article received: 24.07.2024.

Updated version received: 10.10.2024.

Accepted for publishing: 14.10.2024.

Gabriella Simonyi

Doctoral School of Education, University of Szeged, Szeged, Hungary

<https://orcid.org/0009-0004-9446-4865>

Lenke Major

Hungarian Language Teacher Training Faculty, University of Novi Sad, Subotica, Serbia

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0795-3456>

Legislative Framework of Career Guidance and Counselling in Serbia¹

Jovan Miljković² 

Department of Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia

Neda Čairović Pavlović 

Department of Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia

Kristina Robertson 

Department of Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia

Abstract

The concept of career has undergone a significant transformation in recent decades. It has become less linear and more heterogeneous and multifaceted, often marked by frequent changes and numerous parallel and lateral paths. Within this context, career guidance and counselling (CGC) has emerged as a leading concept in various sector polities, both in the European Union and in Serbia, and is undoubtedly at the forefront of educational polities. For career guidance and counselling to be managed adequately and to optimize its expected outcomes, it is necessary to have a consistent, carefully designed legislative framework in place. Using a qualitative research approach, we conducted our research with the aim of discovering how the phenomenon of career guidance and counselling is perceived in the legislative documents of the Republic of Serbia. We decomposed the main research question into seven CGC elements to be observed: understanding of the concept, objectives, programmes, carriers of activity, career practitioners, target groups, and effects. We used a descriptive and comparative method to analyse 19 documents in the sectors of youth, education (from primary school to adult education) and employment, with the aim of covering all ages and life roles in which CGC may be relevant. The research results indicate that CGC, as a cross-sectoral activity, is unevenly articulated across different

¹ The paper presents part of the results of the research carried out as part of the project 'Implementation of career guidance and counselling (CGC) services' (contract number 404-02-97/2022-08), which lasted from the beginning of November 2022 to the end of November 2023, funded by the Office for Dual Education and the National Qualifications Framework of the Republic of Serbia.

² jovan.miljkovic@f.bg.ac.rs

polity sectors. There is a predominant orientation towards youth, the education sector, and the service of informing about career, out of the three areas of CGC services. The study highlights the need to adopt an integrating document and to establish a body to coordinate activities of CGC as well as the obligation to apply existing CGC standards.

Keywords: career guidance and counselling, educational policies, educational legislation, career practitioners, Career Guidance and Counselling Standards.

Introduction

In modern society, the area of work and careers is undergoing significant changes, the effects of which are mainly borne by individuals. The modern work environment expects individuals to make continuous and intensive efforts in order to maintain their competitiveness in the labour market (Pejatović & Orlović Lovren, 2014). The concept of a linear, uniform career belongs to a time long past; nowadays, a career path is marked by ups and downs, with many branching secondary lines. Careers now last beyond retirement, meaning that individuals are involved in this dynamic throughout their lives. Career guidance and counselling (CGC) emerges as a *conditio sine qua non* for managing this lifelong process. The challenges of modern careers, as well as the need for appropriate management and assistance, have been recognized on a global scale; as a result, CGC has stirred the interest of all major global educational institutions. 'In political terms, career guidance and counselling is seen as an effective tool, an instrument for resolving numerous challenges, not only related to careers but also to life in the 21st century. This is evident, at global, European, and national levels in almost all of the important documents, strategies, and recommendations relating to education over the last several decades' (Mihajlović, 2021: 25-26). In all fields, including the field of CGC, legislation plays an important role in defining the field, systematically drafting and planning it, and directing its further development. With this in mind, examining how CGC is regulated by the Serbia's legislative framework is important, which, we believe, is also important for educational sciences in our country.

Theoretical framework for the research

In any field, a consistent terminological framework is essential for clear mutual understanding. 'The terms did not arise out of the blue. They are products of social circumstances and philosophical reflections on the essence of human beings and education. In addition to their objective content, they also have a speculative (ideological) dimension' (Savićević, 2003: 207). According to Mihajlović's analysis, CGC has not been spared from the terminological chaos; different terms are employed in the field 'whether they claim to be synonymous or emphasise disparities in relation to career guidance' (Mihajlović, 2021: 13). To avoid terminological ambiguity surrounding CGC, we define it as a service 'that helps individuals in assessing their skills, interests, and values, obtaining information about further education and employment opportunities, and positioning themselves in

the labour market taking into account not only its requirements, but also their personal abilities, interests, and experiences. Working with individuals does not end with finding suitable job for them, but continues with a view to their permanent personal and professional development in line with market trends' (Šećibović, as cited in Branković, 2010: 604). It could be said that this is a lifelong process and that the career often continues and changes even after the individual has retired. The concept of 'lifelong' goes beyond age and implies the availability and adaptability of CGC to individuals with different educational and professional profiles, as well as in different life and career stages and transitions. A perceived shortcoming of the above definition is that it does not consider those career-related demands that do not arise from the world of work; in this sense, the definition could be improved.

Such a significant phenomenon should be addressed by politics, by which we mean 'all activities aimed at preparing and adopting binding decisions and/or decisions oriented towards the common good and the benefit of society as a whole' (Meyer, 2013: 31). It is a complex phenomenon with three dimensions: *polity* (comprising constitution, fundamental rights, state, political system, and political culture), *policy* (comprising policy issues, outcomes, and programmes) and *politics* (comprising interests, actors, conflicts, consensus, legitimacy and power) (Meyer, 2013). Although politics in its full sense cannot disregard any single dimension, for the purposes of this work we will focus on the first dimension, to whose corpus we could add legislation, which is variational while in the process of creation but binding once it has been adopted.

The fate of the CGC, in terms of determining its place in politics, is identical to that of education. 'Education seems to be a necessary condition for achieving various objectives (economic, national, environmental, security, etc.) and, as such, it can be found, and is indeed found, in other politics as their integral part, above all as part of the development politics' (Alibabić et al., 2012: 9-10). In practice, this means that CGC is a cross-sectoral activity; it is not the concern of a single ministry, but rather the responsibility of several sectors, each of which has its own interests and tries to organise this activity as it sees fit. This allows for flexibility in dealing with CGC at the polity level, but also makes deciding and implementing decisions a challenging process. There is another feature shared by CGC and education polity: 'education policy is a collective noun that includes several different education policies' (Alibabić et al., 2012: 10). This means that the CGC polity could also be considered within the framework of specific CGC polities – for example, those aimed at children, adolescents and adults or at specific levels of formal education, or specific target groups (persons with disabilities, the (un) employed, the elderly, etc.). In this paper, we focus on the legislation related to the CGC, which includes all individual CGC polities.

There is no doubt that the politics of global organisations have an impact on CGC polity in the Republic of Serbia (RS). However, it is the attitude of the EU towards this phenomenon that is of particular interest from the perspective of Serbia's official strategic political commitment. The EU places CGC within the paradigm of lifelong development. Focusing on adult education, Ovesni and Pejatović state that 'in the documents of the European Union (Lisbon Strategy), counselling and guidance processes in adult education

are considered a prerequisite for employability, since the employability does not only imply the continuous updating of knowledge and skills, but also the acquisition of completely new, complex competencies needed for new professional and/or occupational profiles' (Ovesni & Pejatović, 2012: 168). The analysis of the EU documentation shows that CGC is 'an important aspect of the concept of lifelong learning and education, which should be permanently available, aiming to 'meet [...] the educational needs of individuals, the economy and the environment, as well as the larger society' (CEDEFOP, 2009 as cited in Ovesni & Pejatović, 2012: 168).

It is expected that the EU polity towards the CGC will be reflected in the CGC polity of the Republic of Serbia due to polity diffusion, which is the process of adopting a polity that occurs when a country follows the same polity as some other countries, but without coercion (Holzinger et al., 2008, as cited in Popović, 2014). According to the research results of Miljković and Alibabić (2016), the adult education polity shows a high degree of congruence with similar EU polities, sometimes even to the point of convergence; the question is whether this is also the case with CGC polities. The authors state that 'the transferability of educational objectives implies the possibility of transferability of legislative framework and even educational programmes' (Miljković & Alibabić, 2016: 176). In her analysis of CGC in Serbia, Mihajlović emphasises that 'career guidance and counselling at the national level shares the same orientations that can be found at the European level' (Mihajlović, 2014: 127). The question is whether the European guidelines were simply 'transposed' into national polity, or a comprehensive and mutually harmonised legal framework was created on this basis. In view of the many open questions regarding CGC in Serbia, as well as the importance of this phenomenon at all levels of human existence, we consider it necessary to examine the current state of the CGC legislation in RS, aware of the fact that its existence and orientation do not guarantee its implementation, which remains in relations between the aforementioned dimensions *policy* and *politics*.

Methodological research framework

Since the subject of our research is in the field of educational polity, we decided to use a qualitative approach based on the theory of understanding (Matović, 2013). We broke down our basic research question *How is the phenomenon of CGC perceived in the legislative documents of the RS?* into a number of specific research questions in order to have a broader, deeper and more complete view of the phenomenon of our analysis. These are: *How is CGC defined in the legislative documents of the RS? What is the purpose of the CGC according to the legislative documents of the RS, i.e. what is the aim of CGC activities? How does the legislation of the RS define carriers of CGC activities at the macro, meso, and micro levels? Which target groups of CGC service users does the RS legislation emphasise? According to the legislation of the RS, which professional backgrounds and competencies should career practitioners have? How does the RS legislation regulate CGC programmes, their orientation and quality measures? What effects does the RS legislation expect from CGC and how are these effects measured?* The choice of a qualitative research approach, as well as the basic research question, determined the choice of methods and techniques. Descriptive

and comparative methods were used, as well as document analysis. A descriptive method was used to describe the observed phenomenon as accurately as possible; besides, it is economical since it allows us to cover a large number of facts (Bandur & Potkonjak, 1999). Using the comparative method, we compared homogenous phenomena in different legislative documents. As regards document analysis as a research method, we were guided by Miljević's statement that it is an 'operational method found in research in various roles' (Miljević, 2007: 236); we only used it in two of its roles, as a method of data collecting and a method of data processing. Document content analysis as well as narrative and discourse analysis were used as research techniques, because we were dealing with a specific type of documents, both in terms of form and writing style. Our selection of documents to be analysed was guided by the principle of using only primary sources, i.e. official documents produced by the RS authorities. The documents included in the analysis belong to the youth sector, the education sector (from primary school to adult education) and the employment sector, and our ambition was to cover all the ages and roles in life in which CGC may be relevant (the analysed documents are listed in the bibliography with their full titles and the abbreviations used throughout the text). One important document, the Bylaw on Standards of Career Guidance and Counselling Services (CGC Standards), was not included in the sample, but was used as a reference point for the analysis of other legislation. The research was carried out in 2023, and a specially developed protocol was used as the instrument.

Presentation and analysis of research results

By analysing 19 documents of the legislative body of the RS that deal or should deal with the subject of CGC, we tried to map the regulation of this area. We began the research by identifying certain elements (see Table 1) that are significant factors of CGC and observing their presence and definition in the legislation of Serbia. By looking at the Table 1, we can get first impression of the support that CGC practice has in the legislative framework. In the following chapters, each element will be discussed in more detail.

Definition of CGC in RS legislative documents

The data in Table 1 show that CGC is clearly defined only in a few documents, primarily in the education sector and at the level of strategic documents. The legal regulation either does not recognize CGC, or its definition is known indirectly through the text of the law. In certain laws concerning education, the situation is somewhat brighter, but a precise definition is still lacking.

The analysis of the present definitions shows that CGC is viewed broadly, as in the definition given in the Law AE, where CGC means 'providing professional support to adults for personal and professional development and employment' (Article 7); or, on the other hand, the definitions given in the documents contain narrowed objectives of CGC, reduce their content or include very specific target groups, based on the sector or thematic orientation of the document.

Table 1
Representation of CGC elements in analysed documents

	Law ESP	SDES 2030	Law EE	Law SE	Law DE	Bylaw Dual	Law HE	Law AE	Bylaw 1	Bylaw 2	Bylaw RPL	Report AE 2022	APAE 2023	NQFS	Law LABOUR	EMPLOYMENT	Law YOUTH	YOUTH Strategy	CGC Strategy
CGC definition			-/+		-/+			+					+			+			+
Aim and purpose	-/+		-/+		+			+					+	+		+	-/+		+
Activity carriers	+		+	+	+	+		+			+	+	+	+		-/+	+	+	+
Target groups of service users	+		+	+	+	+		-/+				+	+	+	-/+	-/+	+	+	+
Professional background of career practitioners			+	+	-/+						+								+
Competencies of career practitioners											-/+								
Career guidance skills	-/+					-/+													-/+
Service type – informing			+	+		+					+	+	+				+	+	+
Service type – counselling				+		+					+						+		+
Service type – career education	+/-					+						+	+				+	+	
Programme		+	+	+		-/+						+	+			-/+			+
Organisation of services						-/+				-/+	+								
Effects	-/+	-/+				+					-/+	-/+	-/+			-/+	-/+	-/+	+

LEGEND: Dark grey colour and the plus sign – the element is completely, almost completely, or clearly and directly defined and regulated
 Light grey colour and plus/minus sign – the element is incompletely or indirectly defined and regulated
 Empty fields – the given document completely lacks definition, regulation, and even mention of the element

Source: Pejatović et al. (2023: 16).

Conceptual inconsistency is accompanied by insufficient terminological alignment. In some documents, *career guidance and counselling* is consistently accepted, while other documents use the terms *career guidance*, *counselling in career planning*, *professional orientation*. The relationship between these terms is not always clear, and they are often tacitly considered synonyms. Terminological diversity is present not only across different documents, but also in one and the same document (e.g. CGC Strategy).

Legislation in the education sector, especially adult education (where CGC is most represented) directly places CGC in the current concept of lifelong learning as its 'integral part' (Annual plan for Adult Education 2023, 2023: 32). This requires that CGC be available to all individuals, regardless of their age, education, work status, etc., which makes it a cross-sectoral activity and the subject of various sector polities. However, the existing legal and by-law regulations in the RS show a different picture, one in which CGC is fragmented, making it difficult to create a unified CGC polity. Many aspects of CGC are still at the level of recommendations precisely because the legislation leaves too much space for different interpretations of the concept of CGC.

Purpose and goals of CGC in RS legislative documents

The answer to our second research question (which purpose and goals RS legislative documents intend for CGC) results in a picture similar to that in the case of the definition of the concept. Although the objectives of CGC can be found in a somewhat larger number of documents (see Table 1), in a significant number of documents they are not mentioned at all or can only be inferred from the accompanying narrative of the document. The purpose and goals are often recognised indirectly – through defining the concept of CGC, through the proposed scope of the work of career practitioners and work of the school CGC Team, etc.

The analysis identified the following CGC goals:

- personal development;
- management of learning and work processes, career changes and other aspects of personal development;
- individuals' self-understanding in the context of professional development, making decisions about education, study and work, researching opportunities for work and study, career management – improving career management skills;
- professional development;
- improving employability and employment;
- ability to pass through the levels of the National Qualifications Framework of Serbia (NQFS), allowing easier mobility of the workforce.

Whether directly or indirectly defined, the purpose assigned by the RS legislation to CGC is to provide support to individuals, empowering them to become 'managers of their own careers' (Mihajlović & Popović, 2012: 30; Strategy for Career Guidance and Counselling, 2010: 11). Each legislative document, in accordance with the area it regulates, provides more specific goals within this general goal. For example, the Law NQFS (2023)

sees as the goal of the CGC service the 'support to the individual to acquire the ability of passing through the levels of the NQFS...' (Article 10); The Law EE specifies support for 'the choice of secondary school and profession in accordance with the student's preferences and abilities' (Article 43) (it is important to emphasize that this refers to professional orientation, not CGC), etc.

The goals of CGC indicate its importance for the individual and for society; this is particularly visible in the employment sector legislation, where the goals of CGC include the improvement of employment, easier mobility of the workforce and similar.

Institutional Bearers of CGC in the Legislation of the RS

Based on data in Table 1, this component seems better regulated compared to others. However, looking at the list of CGC activities carriers, one could conclude that it conforms with the prevailing discourse of CGC, which is 'an orientation mostly directed towards youth, with a slight shift toward the employment sector' (Pejatović et al., 2023: 20).

Given that CGC is an cross-sectoral activity, responsibilities at the macro level are divided between different ministries, agencies, and other nation-level organisations. This division of responsibilities undermines the possibility of creating a unified CGC system, turning it into a set of separate activities that correspond to the interests and needs of a specific sector. A step toward more efficient management of the CGC system was the passing of the new NQFS Law, which delegated primary management responsibilities to the Qualification Agency (QA) and partly to the NQFS Council. However, it is unclear which one of QA's three existing centres (RKiPSB Centre – Centre for the Development of Qualifications and Support to the Sectoral Councils of NQFS, ENIC/NARIC Centre – the Qualification Agency's centre that implements the process of recognition of foreign school documents, JPOA Centre – Centre for accreditation of publicly recognised organisers of adult education activities) is responsible for CGC, raising concerns about QA's capacity to perform this task.

At the meso level, the list should include organisations outside of the education system and youth sector. There are no companies mentioned as CGC activity carriers, and the Law on Labour (2017) does not include any reference to any activity carrier. Mihajlović and Popović stress that implementing CGC within companies is essential for promoting lifelong learning and active employment policy (Mihajlović & Popović, 2012). Both the economic and civil sectors must be involved more actively, which is recognised by the new Law NQFS.

At the micro level, activity carriers include *career practitioners* (Law NQFS, 2023), as well as individuals implementing CGC activities within the school system. It seems that all individuals can be career practitioners, but there is no specification of how to become one. Their qualifications and competencies are not thoroughly specified, which we shall address later.

A potential strategy for more efficient management of the CGC system at all three levels is to create a network of its activity carriers, which 'could be the answer to meeting different needs for career guidance and counselling' (Mihajlović & Popović, 2012: 38-39).

Table 2*CGC activity carriers at the macro, meso, and micro level*

LEVEL	ACTIVITY CARRIERS
MACRO (national) LEVEL	Ministry in charge of education
	Ministry in charge of youth
	Ministry in charge of employment
	Youth councils
	National Youth Council of Serbia
	National Association of the Local Youth Offices
	Qualification Agency
	Institute for the Improvement of Education
	Institute for Education Quality and Evaluation
	Council for Vocational and Adult Education
	NQFS Council
	Sector councils
	Serbian Chamber of Commerce
MESO (local) LEVEL	National Employment Service
	National Academy of Public Administration
	Foundation Tempus
	Local organisations involved in CGC and collaborating with schools
	Primary and secondary schools or other organisations with the status of publicly recognised organisers of adult education activities and activities of CGC for adults
	Centre for Career Development and Student Counselling
	Youth associations and organisations for youth
	Federation of youth associations and organisations for youth
	Provincial and local government youth councils
	Youth offices
MICRO LEVEL (individuals)	Civil society organisations involved in CGC
	Employment agencies
	Youth agency
	Other legal entities
	Career development practitioners
	Parents and other legal representatives of children
	Professional orientation team in primary schools
	Career guidance and counselling team in middle schools
	Career guidance and counselling team in a dual education setting

Note 1. Adjusted based on Pejatović et al., 2023: 19-20.

Note 2. The names of CGC activity carriers are listed based on how they were named in the legislative documents.

Target Groups of CGC Services in the RS Legislation

According to our definition, CGC is a lifelong process that ‘helps individuals of all ages in all periods of life to make decisions relevant for their career development, including both personal and professional domains’ (Pejatović et al., 2023: 17). Based on this, everyone is a potential CGC user. However, analysis shows that the legislative framework of the RS sets limits and that the target group is not as diversified as it should be.

The target groups can be defined based on three criteria (that emerged during the analysis):

- age;
- education level;
- work status – (un)employed.

In terms of age, the legislative documents of the RS highlight youth and young adults (ages 15–30) as CGC service users. Legislation also recognises differentiation of career needs of youth; hence, documents like the CGC Strategy further divide this user group into subgroups based on age (14 and under, 15–18, 19–30, 30+). Although the same Strategy recognises the 45+ age group as vulnerable, there is no further differentiation of the offer of CGC services for them. Similarly, the documents on adult education do not differentiate between adults as a target group. Considering the differences between youth and adults, Mihajlović emphasises the ‘need for additional and different career guidance and counselling activities for adults’ (Mihajlović, 2014: 130).

The RS legislation not only highlights youth but also focuses specifically on youth in the education system. Consequently, the level of education has become a main criterion, with students emerging as a dominant target group. Only the National Youth Strategy mentions *youth outside the education system* as a target group.

In terms of employment status, CGC activities are usually intended for the unemployed. Although the EMPLOYMENT Strategy cites employed persons as beneficiaries of the active employment policy, sections of the document specifically addressing CGC activities emphasise that these services are intended for youths and adults without employment. As with CGC activity carriers, where the analysis indicated the need to recognise employers as relevant CGC service providers, data on target groups also indicate the need to further develop the CGC system in the economic and employment sectors.

Career practitioners emerge as a specific target group. They are referred to as CGC activity users in terms of activities designed to develop their competencies for performing this role. This includes teachers and professional associates who implement CGC activities in schools, career practitioners in the National Employment Service, civil society organisations, educators, youth workers, social workers...

After considering all the criteria, we can conclude that the CGC legislation is directed to youth as end users, particularly youth in the education system, and unemployed individuals. This orientation contrasts with how CGC is presently viewed and promoted, reducing it to merely one component, albeit an important one.

Legislative Determination of Professional Backgrounds and Competence of Career Practitioners

The previous sections mentioned career practitioners and the unsolved issue of their professional backgrounds and competence. The Law NQFS does not solve this problem, but it clearly states that career practitioners can be persons with a variety of qualifications regardless of the kind or level of qualification. While some documents specify pedagogues and psychologists as carriers, others allow teachers of any subject to implement CGC activities, erasing the boundaries between the professional backgrounds of career practitioners.

The needed competence of career practitioners is slightly better defined, but the analysis points to several unresolved issues. The CGC Standards cover practitioners' competencies, which includes sets of general and more specific competencies dependent on the field of work. Although CGC Standards establish the required competencies, they are not mentioned in other documents (see Table 1). There is also an obvious necessity to define the process of acquiring competencies. Although the legislation does not specify the process, there are possibilities to develop career practitioner competencies in practice. The AAEP 2023 proposes a variety of activities with this goal. The findings indicate that there is an aspiration to improve the competencies of career practitioners at the strategic documents level, but this type of document does not presuppose mandatory implementation.

CGC Programmes in the RS Legislation

The legislative framework must address the following two features of CGC programmes:

1. targets and objectives of CGC programmes (programme orientation)
2. how legislative documents ensure the quality of CGC programmes (quality criteria).

The CGC Standards make up the starting point for regulating both issues. The application of these Standards will mostly depend on the support ensured through other legislative documents which, as our analysis has shown, is mostly lacking. CGC programmes are mentioned in several documents, mostly strategic, and they are mostly related to primary and secondary education, in accordance with the observed tendency of developing CGC in the education sector (Pejatović et al., 2023). The documents governing the employment and youth sectors do not specifically address CGC programmes.

In terms of programme orientation, since the issue of target groups has already been discussed, here we focus on the programme content. According to CGC Standards, programmes should develop Career Guidance Skills (CGS). These skills are not mentioned at all in most of the analysed documents (Table 1), and in some documents, they appear only indirectly. The exception is the Bylaw CGC Dual, as it specifies that the CGC Team 'organises and conducts activities of counselling, informing, and training for career guidance skills development in accordance with the Standard' (Article 4).

Two additional criteria can be used to examine programme orientation: domain of personal development and orientation toward certain CGC service types. The program's focus on personal development is only obvious in the AAEP 2023, whereas other documents limit it to improving employment and employability.

The fragmented approach also applies when it comes to CGC fields of work. CGC services can be grouped into informing, counselling, and career education. The most effective approach is applying these services holistically, as a cohesive set of actions. For these reasons, one would expect the legislative body to treat them in the same manner. However, as shown in Table 1, the three CGC fields of work are unevenly addressed in documents, and this fragmentation is exacerbated by the fact that different documents cover different types of services. Only the Law YOUTH, albeit broadly, and the Bylaw CGC Dual, address all three types of services. The other documents omit one piece of the puzzle. The observed imbalance in programme orientation in terms of CGC services 'reflects a lack of strategy in building the CGC regulative framework, or on the contrary, strategic planning of the implementation of CGC cheapest activity (informing), implicitly demonstrating how decision-makers ranked CGC' (Pejatović et al., 2023: 26-27).

The second important question related to CGC programmes is whether the RS legislative framework provides mechanisms for establishing and monitoring the quality of CGC programmes, and if so, how.

CGC Standards specify that a comprehensive CGC programme has a defined goal and results, that it is based on the examined educational needs of the target group, has a defined approach and length, and a programme assessment and effects measurement plan, which are all indicators of quality of an education programme. Thus, we examined the extent to which the legislative framework considers these elements and what support it provides to realise the sophisticated demands set by CGC Standards. The results paint an unfavourable picture, showing that the examined documents 'very rarely, if ever, slightly touch upon the mentioned elements of the programme' (Pejatović et al., 2023: 23). Even the rare documents that explicitly mention CGC programmes do not provide a comprehensive and detailed exposition of the programme based on all elements.

The very existence of CGC Programme Standards entails legislation governing programme quality. However, their insufficient incorporation into other legal documents, particularly binding ones, points to the lack of obligation to ensure quality, rendering the existence of CGC Standards meaningless. The RS legislative framework specifies indicators of programme quality through the existing CGC Standards; however, methods for ensuring and monitoring them, or supporting their implementation, are lacking. Aligning legislative texts with current CGC Standards, particularly those requiring mandatory application, would be an improvement in this regard.

Essential to ensuring the quality of the overall CGC system is monitoring its effects, which is why this issue is treated as a separate research question.

Effects of CGC

Career guidance and counselling can be understood as an education cycle that starts with examining the end users' (educational) needs and ends with assessing the success of the service implementation. Assessment is a crucial step in ensuring successful implementation (Pastuović, 1978), involving the evaluation of several elements and aspects of the education cycle. The most important aspects that indicate the achieved value of the education cycle are its long-term effects. The CGC Standards recognise the importance of evaluating effects and state that their cornerstone is the application of a 'policy of ensuring evidence for the achieved effects of CGC' (Article 1). As a special indicator, the CGC Programme Standards cites a 'clearly defined way of measuring effects' (paragraph 7.3.).

Table 1 shows that effect monitoring is mentioned only in the document about dual education. Although it is mentioned in the CGC Strategy as well, this document dates back to 2010, hence it cannot be taken as an indicator of the current state of CGC polities.

According to strategic documents, the proposed method to measure CGC effects on pre-university education is to use indicators like continuation with education and the employment of individuals who had acquired a specific qualification (Strategy for the Development of Education in Serbia by 2030, 2020); or, indirectly, based on student retention in education or the time needed to complete a level of education (Law on the Education System Foundation, 2021). Within the dual education system, CGC services are typically assessed based on the degree of attained Career Guidance Skills, i.e. based on the attained *outcomes*, whereas *effects* monitoring is lacking. One may expect student employability to be measured as a form of achieved effects, but there is no formalized mechanism for doing so.

A positive step towards regulating CGC was granting Qualification Agency the responsibility of evaluating the work of organisations involved in CGC nationwide (Law on the National Qualifications Framework of the Republic of Serbia, 2023 as cited in Pejatović et al., 2023). However, in the proposed procedures for organisations to report on implemented CGC activities, there is no mention of reporting on the long-term effects of these activities. In addition to these issues, there is also the question of QA's capacity to studiously track the quality of CGC services across all sectors. The Law on the Education System Foundation (2021) states that the Council of Vocational and Adult Education is in charge of the assessment of CGC development and CGC programme implementation. There are no further details on how this Council will do this or whether it will work with the QA.

Concluding remarks

Given the changes in the concept of career, CGC has evolved into a lifelong process and support for individuals to become managers of their own careers, from a young age to the end of their lives, in order to achieve personal and professional growth. Considering the complexity of CGC as a cross-sectoral activity, and in order to create a unified, efficient and effective system, a harmonised and in the same time diversified legislation is needed. For this reason, we explored in this paper how the legislative framework in Serbia governs CGC.

Our analysis points to a fragmented and uneven approach to CGC polities in Serbia as a result of the cross-sectoral nature of the service, as well as the lack of a unified, integrated body and document that would encompass, coordinate, and direct the various interests and activities of the many stakeholders in this process. The legislative framework provides a basis for CGC in Serbia, but many documents still fail to address the numerous important CGC-related issues, or they are only indirectly addressed, leaving us to read between the lines. Inconsistencies in defining the very concept of CGC often occur, as does overlapping between documents regarding target groups, responsibilities, etc. While attempts to improve legal regulation in this field can be observed, the current state indicates that Serbia has not sufficiently developed a unique, integral CGC polity.

In terms of the three observed sectors (education, youth and employment), CGC is most extensively addressed in documents relating to education. At the same time, the greatest need for improved transparency and integrity is seen in the employment sector. In terms of target groups, the emphasis is on youth, particularly those in the formal school system, which leaves room for further expansion of target groups. Additionally, in terms of the type of service, the most common is informing (on further educational and employment opportunities). The other two types (counselling and career education) are only sporadically mentioned and regulated. Such an approach, narrow in content and target groups, runs counter to the lifelong learning model that includes CGC, both in the EU official narrative and in Serbia. Based on research results, it appears that we have at play the concept of lifelong *education* rather than *learning* since the CGC policy is predominantly integrated through the formal education system, as well as partially through adults' informal education (through Publicly Accredited Providers of Adult Education and Recognition of Prior Learning that are currently prevalent in Serbia's educational polity).

Furthermore, a discrepancy can be perceived between the actual and promoted CGC models. CGC is promoted as a developmental process that encompasses the holistic development of individuals (including personal and professional domains); however, the model that the analysis found can be described as more neoliberal and compensatory (with the primary goal of employing and compensating educational and career disadvantages). While the CGC goals identified by the analysis focus on the individual's personal development, this approach seems to be absent in the other elements (target groups – youth, unemployed; informing as the primary activity, a programme orientation toward greater employability). CGC elements must not only be handled more extensively and integratively within the RS legislative framework but also strategically envisioned in accordance with the lifelong notion of career development.

From the viewpoint of educational sciences, the findings about career practitioners are significant. The legislative framework of Serbia is open in terms of their professional background, which only emphasizes the observed need for a closer specification of their required competencies and the way they could be acquired, particularly in binding documents such as laws.

For the efforts put into developing CGC to be meaningful, a developed CGC service evaluation system must be in place, particularly for its long-term effects. The problem is that legally binding acts and sub-legal acts lack a defined mechanism and indicators for CGC service monitoring and evaluation, which is necessary for the successful strategic

development of CGC. Only the CGC Standards, which are a non-binding document, call for developing mechanisms for effect monitoring.

Returning to the main research question, we may conclude that the RS legislative framework recognises CGC as a phenomenon that affects both individuals and society as a whole. However, to create a unified CGC polity in Serbia, several steps need to be made. The most important is to find a way to keep CGC a cross-sectoral activity (which it is *de facto*) while still centralising it for coordination and control purposes. However, there is no proper body to take over this duty, nor is there a strategic document that would unify the varying interests and tendencies in this field while still leaving space for further direction and development.

References

- Alibabić, Š., Miljković, J., & Ovesni, K. (2012). Obrazovanje odraslih u regionalnim obrazovnim politikama. U N. Vujisić Živković, M. Mitrović, & K. Ovesni (ur.), *Posebna pitanja kvaliteta u obrazovanju* (str. 9–24). Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu.
- Bandur, V., & Potkonjak, N. (1999). *Metodologija pedagogije*. Savez pedagoških društava Jugoslavije.
- Branković, N. (2010). Primena modela karijernog vođenja i savetovanja u srednjem stručnom obrazovanju. *Pedagoška stvarnost*, LVI(7–8), 604–616.
- Matović, N. (2013). *Kombinovanje kvantitativnog i kvalitativnog pristupa u pedagoškim istraživanjima*. Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu.
- Mihajlović, D. (2021). *Obrazovanje kao komponenta karijernog vođenja i savetovanja u tranzicionim periodima profesionalnog obrazovanja odraslih* (doktorska disertacija). NaRDUS (123456789/20650).
- Mihajlović, D. (2014). Karijerno vođenje i savetovanje odraslih u Srbiji – od problema do mogućnosti. U B. Knežić, A. Pejatović, & Z. Milošević (ur.), *Modeli procenjivanja i strategije unapređivanja kvaliteta obrazovanja odraslih u Srbiji* (str. 125–140). Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu.
- Mihajlović, D., & Popović, A. (2012). Karijerno vođenje i savetovanje u evropskim dokumentima. *Obrazovanje odraslih*, XI (2), 27–46.
- Miljević, M. (2007). *Metodologija naučnog rada* Filozofski fakultete Univerzitet u Istočnom Sarajevu.
- Meyer, T. (2013). *Uvod u politiku*. CID i Politička kultura nakladno-istraživački zavod d.o.o.
- Miljković, J., & Alibabić, Š. (2016). Diffusion of Adult Educational Policies in the European Educational Space. In A. Pejatović, R. Egetenmeyer, & M. Slowey (eds.), *Contribution of Research to Improvement of Adult Education Quality* (pp. 167–182). Institute for Pedagogy and Andragogy Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, University of Wurtsburg, Dublin City University.
- Ovesni, K., & Pejatović, A. (2012). Savetovanje i vođenje u obrazovanju: potrebe i modeli. U Š. Alibabić, S. Medić, & B. Bodroški-Spariosu (ur.), *Kvalitet u obrazovanju: izazovi i perspektive* (str. 167–184). Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu.
- Pastuović, N. (1978). *Obrazovni ciklus: opća metodika obrazovanja zaposlenih*. Andragoški centar.
- Pejatović, A., Orlović Lovren, V., Miljković, J., Mihajlović, D., Robertson, K., Radovanović, B., Čairović Pavlović, N., & Kuzmanović, U. (2023). *Završni izveštaj o sprovedenom istraživanju o implementaciji usluga KViS uključujući i primenu standarda KViS definisanih podzakonskim aktom*. Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filozofski fakultet, Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu.

- Pejatović, A., & Orlović Lovren, V. (2014). *Zaposlenost i obrazovanje posle pedesete*. Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu, Društvo andragoga Srbije.
- Popović, K. (2014). *Globalna i evropska politika obrazovanja odraslih – koncepti, paradigme i pristupi*. Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu i Društvo za obrazovanje odraslih, Beograd
- The Minister of Education, Science and Technological Development (2019). *Bylaw on Standards of Career Guidance and Counselling Services*. [Pravilnik o standardima usluga karijernog vođenja i savetovanja (2019). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 43/2019.] [CGC Standards]
- Savićević, D. (2003). *Komparativna andragogija*. Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu

Documents included in research analysis

- Action plan for the period from 2021 to 2023 for the realisation of the Strategy for the Employment for the period from 2021 to 2026* (2021). The Government of the Republic of Serbia. (analysed as part of *Strategy for the Employment for the period from 2021 to 2026*) [Akcioni plan za period od 2021. do 2023. godine za sprovođenje Strategije zapošljavanja u Republici Srbiji za period od 2021. do 2026. godine (2021). Službeni glasnik, br. 30/2021.]
- Annual Plan for Adult Education 2023* (2023). The Government of the Republic of Serbia. [Godišnji plan obrazovanja odraslih u Republici Srbiji za 2023. godinu (Predlog)] [APAE 2023]
- Report on the Implementation of the Annual Plan for Adult Education 2022*. [Izveštaj o realizaciji godišnjeg plana obrazovanja odraslih u Republici Srbiji u 2022. godini] [Report AE 2022]
- National Strategy for the Youth for the period from 2015 to 2025* (2015). The Government of the Republic of Serbia. [Nacionalna strategija za mlade za period od 2015. do 2025. godine (2015). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 22/2015.] [YOUTH Strategy]
- Bylaw on Detailed Conditions Concerning the Programme, Staff, Space, Equipment and Teaching Aids for Acquiring the Status of Publicly Accredited Providers of Adult Education* (2021). The Minister of Education, Science and Technological Development. [Pravilnik o bližim uslovima u pogledu programa, kadra, prostora, opreme i nastavnih sredstava za sticanje statusa javno priznatog organizatora aktivnosti obrazovanja odraslih (2021). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 130/2021.] [Bylaw PPAE 1]
- Bylaw on Closer Conditions, Methods, Activities and Composition of the Career Guidance and Counseling Team in the Secondary School* (2019). The Minister of Education, Science and Technological Development. [Pravilnik o bližim uslovima, načinu rada, aktivnostima i sastavu Tima za karijerno vođenje i savetovanje u srednjoj školi koja realizuje obrazovne profile u dualnom obrazovanju (2019). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 2/2019.] [Bylaw CGC Dual]
- Bylaw on Standards and Implementation of the Recognition of Prior Learning Process* (2020). The Minister of Education, Science and Technological Development. [Pravilnik o standardima i načinu sprovođenja postupka priznavanja prethodnog učenja (2020). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 148/2020.] [Bylaw RPL]
- Bylaw on Type, Title and Content of Forms and Record Keeping and Type, Title and Appearance of Public Forms and Certificates in Adult Education* (2022). The Minister of Education, Science and Technological Development. [Pravilnik o vrsti, nazivu i sadržaju obrazaca i načinu vođenja evidencija i nazivu, sadržaju i izgledu obrazaca javnih isprava i uverenja u obrazovanju odraslih (2022). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 102/2022.] [Bylaw PPAE 2]

- Strategy for Career Guidance and Counselling* (2010). The Government of the Republic of Serbia. [Strategija karijernog vođenja i savetovanja u Republici Srbiji (2010). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 16/2010.] [CGC Strategy]
- Strategy for Development of Education in Serbia by 2030* (2021). The Government of the Republic of Serbia [Strategija razvoja obrazovanja i vaspitanja u Republici Srbiji do 2030. godine (2021). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 63/2021.] [SDES 2030]
- Strategy for the Employment for the period from 2021 to 2026* (2021). The Government of the Republic of Serbia [Strategija zapošljavanja u Republici Srbiji za period od 2021. do 2026. godine (2021). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 18/21 i br. 36/21 - ispravka.] [EMPLOYMENT Strategy]
- Law on Dual Education* (2020). The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia. [Zakon o dualnom obrazovanju (2020). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 6/2020.] [Law DE]
- Law on Youth* (2022). The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia. [Zakon o mladima (2022). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 116/2022.] [Law YOUTH]
- Law on the National Qualifications Framework of the Republic of Serbia* (2023). The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia. [Zakon o Nacionalnom okviru kvalifikacija Republike Srbije (2023). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 76/2023.] [Law NQFS]
- Law on Adult Education* (2021). The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia. [Zakon o obrazovanju odraslih (2020). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 6/2020.] [Law AE]
- Law on the Education System Foundation* (2021). The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia. [Zakon o osnovama sistema vaspitanja i obrazovanja u Republici Srbiji (2021). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 129/2021.] [Law ESF]
- Law on Elementary Education* (2021). The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia. [Zakon o osnovnom obrazovanju i vaspitanju (2021). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 129/2021.] [Law EE]
- Labour Law* (2017). The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia. [Zakon o radu (2017). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 113/2017.] [Law LABOUR]
- Law on Secondary Education* (2021). The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia. [Zakon o srednjem obrazovanju i vaspitanju (2021). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 129/2021.] [Law SE]
- Law on Higher Education* (2021). The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia. [Zakon o visokom obrazovanju (2021). Službeni glasnik RS, br. 67/2021.] [Law HE]

Article received: 12.07. 2024.

Updated version received: 31.08. 2024.

Accepted for publishing: 08.09. 2024.

Jovan Miljković

Department of Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7693-7700>

Neda Čairović Pavlović

Department of Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5758-6979>

Kristina Robertson

Department of Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia
<https://orcid.org/0009-0001-2576-2541>

The editorial board of the journal "Studies in Teaching and Education" extends its gratitude to the reviewers who, with their expert insights, advice and constructive suggestions, have contributed to the improvement of article quality in 2024:

Maja Andrijević, PhD, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Philology and Arts, University of Kragujevac

Radovan Antonijević, PhD, Full Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Dejana Bouillet, PhD, Full Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb

Otilija Velišek Braško, PhD, Professor of Vocational Studies, Higher School of Vocational Studies for Preschool Teachers in Novi Sad

Marina Videnović, PhD, Research Associate, Institute of Psychology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Jelena Vranješević, PhD, Full Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Milja Vujačić, PhD, Principal Research Fellow, Institute for Educational Research in Belgrade

Nataša Lalić-Vučetić, Research Associate, Institute for Educational Research in Belgrade

Hajdana Glomazić, Research Associate, Institute for Criminological and Sociological Research in Belgrade

Špela Golubović, PhD, Full Professor, Faculty of Medicine, University of Novi Sad

Saša Dubljanin, PhD, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Rajka Đević, PhD, Research Associate, Institute for Educational Research in Belgrade

Andrijana Žekić, PhD, Associate Professor, Faculty of Physics, University of Belgrade

Slađana Zuković, PhD, Full Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad

Ivana Jeremić, PhD, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Ana Jovanović, PhD, Associate Professor, Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade

Mojca Jurišević, PhD, Full Professor, Faculty of Pedagogy, University of Ljubljana

Jasmina Bećirović-Karabegović, PhD, Associate Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Sarajevo

Bojan Lazarević, PhD, Assistant Professor, Institute for Advanced Learning Technologies, University of Florida

Milijana Lazarević, PhD, Assistant, Preschool Teacher Training and Business Informatics College of Applied Studies – Sirmium, Sremska Mitrovica

Biljana Lungulov, PhD, Associate Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad

Bojan Ljuić, PhD, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Ljiljana Manić, PhD, Full Professor, Academy for Human Development in Belgrade

Nataša Matović, PhD, Full Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Nikola Macut, PhD, Associate Professor, Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade

Zorica Milošević, PhD, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Snežana Mirkov, PhD, Research Associate, Institute for Educational Research in Belgrade

Nevena Mitranić Marinković, PhD, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Jelena Radišić, PhD, Researcher, Faculty of Organizational Sciences, University of Oslo

Vera Savić, PhD, Associate Professor, Faculty of Education in Jagodina, University of Kragujevac

Nataša Simić, PhD, Senior Research Associate, Institute of Psychology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Vera Spasenović, PhD, Full Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Zorica Stanislavljević Petrović, PhD, Full Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš

Jelena Stanišić, PhD, Research Associate, Institute for Educational Research in Belgrade

Emina Hebib, PhD, Full Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Andreja Hočavar, PhD, Associate Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Ljubljana

Zorica Šaljić, PhD, Associate Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Contributors' notes

Studies in Teaching and Education is a journal publishing original scientific research or theoretical and review papers in the field of pedagogy.

Submission of papers

Papers are submitted through an online journal editing system developed by the Center for Evaluation in Education and Science (CEON). Access and registration for this service is done via the Assistant page, using the link: <https://aseestant.ceon.rs/index.php/nasvas/index>.

Papers should be submitted in accordance with the technical standards given in the Contributors' notes. Authors should submit original manuscripts of papers which have not previously been published or simultaneously submitted to another journal. In accordance with these rules, authors are obliged to submit an Authorship statement which can be downloaded from the journal's webpage.

The paper should be accompanied by the following information about the author(s) to the Editorial Board: the name/s, middle name/s and surname/s of the author/s, their year of birth, their academic qualifications, position and e-mail address.

Ethical norms

Submitted papers must be written in accordance with the ethical standards applicable to scientific research papers, respecting the principles of well-being and dignity of research participants, as well as the protection of their privacy (for additional information, consult the latest version of APA Publication Manual).

Evaluation of papers

After the receipt of the papers the current editor-in-chief will review them and decide which will enter the reviewing process. If a paper does not fit the concept of the journal, does not meet Ethical norms, or the text does not follow the instructions given in the Contributors' notes and other requirements, the authors will be informed of the rejection of the paper.

Papers which enter the review process will be sent for appraisal by two competent reviewers.

The reviewers will not know the author's identity, and the authors will not receive information about the identity of the reviewers.

After review, the Editorial Board will decide on the publication, possible revision or rejection of a paper. All authors receive information about the Board's decisions.

When submitting a paper with corrections, authors should report (in writing) all changes made to the original text (page numbers and marked points where the changes were made), and also mark changes made in the text, in accordance with the remarks and suggestions of the reviewers.

After the acceptance for publication, papers are submitted to a software check for plagiarism. If the results of the check show that the work contains plagiarized text, the work will not be published despite positive reviews.

Publication of papers

If the paper is written in Serbian, the authors are obliged to provide a translation of the abstract into English.

The editors forward the text prepared for printing to the authors by e-mail in order to ensure the final verification before publication. This step does not allow adding new text or making significant changes to the paper.

Publishing costs

There is no fee for the publication of a paper in the journal *Studies in Teaching and Education*. The journal publisher bears the costs of proofreading, technical preparation and printing of works.

Contributors' notes

Language

Your paper must be a Microsoft Word text processor document, page A4 format, font Times New Roman, font size 12, line spacing of 1.5 lines.

Papers should be submitted in the Serbian language (Cyrillic alphabet) or English. The abstract of the paper is submitted in both Serbian and English, regardless of the language of the paper.

The length

Papers should not normally exceed 30000 characters with spaces in length. However, review papers and papers that present theoretical analysis can be up to 50000 characters long. The Abstract and Reference List, which should be at the end of the paper, are not included in the length. The editors-in-chief reserve the right to publish papers which exceed the maximum number of characters should the subject matter and/or focus of the research require it, and in the case of scientific papers of particularly high quality.

Elements and structure of a manuscript

Title page. The title page should contain the following information: the title, the name of the author/s (co-authors), the name of the institution (for example: department, faculty, university), the town and the state (if the author is from abroad) and the address of the leading author.

If a paper is reporting about work on a scientific-research project, the essential information about the project should be given in a footnote following the title.

The title. The title should be concise, precisely formulated in the form of a sentence, bolded, centred, and in font size 14.

If the paper is a result of work on scientific research projects, the basic information about the project is provided in a footnote under the paper's title.

Abstract. The abstract should contain from 150 to 250 words. If a paper is about performed research the abstract should contain the following elements: the importance of the researched problem, the aims of the research, the research methodology, key results, conclusions and pedagogic implications. In the case of review papers and papers dealing with theoretical analyses, the abstract should contain: the problem that is discussed in the paper, a description of the structure of the paper, the key propositions that are given in the paper and conclusions. The abstract should be written in one paragraph, without referring to references, in font size 11, justified.

Keywords. The author(s) should provide up to five keywords in the language of the paper which follow the abstract. The keyword should be relevant to the subject of the paper and searchable. We recommend using for example ERIC: <https://eric.ed.gov/?ti=all> thesaurus.

The structure of a paper. The paper should be structured in a logical and proscribed way. Papers describing performed research should contain: an introduction, an initial research hypothesis, the research methodology, results, discussion (including the pedagogical implications of the conducted research) and conclusions. Review papers and works that represent theoretical analysis, in addition to having an introduction and conclusions, should be structured in accordance with the basic topic of the work.

The headings and sub-headings. The headings and sub-headings should not be numerically denoted. The heading of the sections should be formulated precisely and according to the instructions given in Table 1.

Table 1

Format for five levels of heading

Levels	Format
1	Centred, bold, font 12
2	Flush left, bold, font 12
3	<i>Flush left, bold italic, font 12</i>
4	Sentence case, indented, bold, font 12, ending with a period.
5	<i>Sentence case, indented, bold italic, font 12, ending with a period.</i>

Note. Format examples are provided for section headings and sub-headings only and do not refer to the title of the paper.

Tables and graphs. Each table and/or graph should be numerically denoted. The precisely formulated title of the table or graph should be given in a new line, in italics. The name of a table or a graph should be positioned above the table or graph (see Table 1 of this note). All abbreviations in the tables and graphs must be explained. The explanations (legend) should be given under the table or graph, the word note should be written in italic, ending with a period. Tables should not contain vertical lines, while horizontal lines should only be used between the table heading and data (see Table 1 of this note) and at the bottom of the table. If horizontal lines contribute to the clarity of the table, they can be used in the heading of the table.

Tables and charts should be given in Microsoft Word format (which implies that the graphs are illustrated in Word), created and delivered in a program that allows for their additional editing. The information on the graphs should not be highlighted by colours but by pattern fill. If the text contains tables and charts downloaded from the Internet, they should be provided in no less than the resolution of 300 dpi, grayscale colour mode. These parameters apply to any photos that are attached as part of the text.

Statistical tests and measures. All symbols of statistical tests and measures should be written in italics throughout the text, including tabs (*M, SD, F, t, p*).

Footnotes and abbreviations. Abbreviations and footnotes should be avoided.

References. The references/bibliography should be constructed according to the APA Citation Style - American Psychological Association 7th Edition (<https://apastyle.apa.org/instructional-aids/reference-examples.pdf>).

In the list of references at the end of the paper, as well as in brackets within the text, all references, including those in Serbian, are written in Latin script. The surnames of foreign authors in papers written in Serbian are transcribed phonetically. The original surname is also provided in brackets, for example: Skot (Scott, 2004).

References within the text should contain: the author's surname, the year of publication of the source and the number of the page if a citation is made. If a number of authors are to be cited in brackets within the text, they must be cited in alphabetical order, not chronologically. If there are only two authors, both should be written in brackets. When there are more than two authors, the surname of the first author is given and the abbreviation "et al." or „i sar.“ (depending on the language of the paper).

The Reference List at the end of the paper. The Reference List should include only the sources that the author(s) have used. References are given in alphabetic order by surname of the author. If several publications by the same author are cited, the publications should be listed in chronological order (from the oldest to the latest work). If there are more works by the same author with the same year of publication, the works should be indicated with letters a, b, c, etc., with the year of publication in brackets (e.g. 2012a, 2012b). If there is more than one author, the reference should be cited by the first author's surname and contain the surnames and initials of the other authors.

The Reference List at the end of the paper should not be numerically denoted.

Examples for citing the references to literature used at the end of the paper:

Book: The reference should contain the surname and initials of all authors, the year of publication in brackets, the title (in italics), and the place and name of the publisher.

Apple, M. W. (2012). *Ideologija i kurikulum*. Fabrika knjiga.

Journal article: The reference should contain the surnames and initials of all authors, the year of publication in brackets, the title of the article, the full name of the journal (italics), volume (italics), number, pages and, if it is available, the DOI number (in <https://> form).

Colić, V. (2012). Roditelji i vaspitači o pripremi dece za polazak u školu. *Pedagogija*, 67(2), 252-260.

Emmer, E. T., & Stough, L. M. (2001). Classroom management: A critical part of educational psychology, with implications for teacher education. *Educational Psychology*, 36(2), 103-112. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15326985EP3602_5

Book chapters (thematic Proceedings): The reference should contain the surnames and initials of all the authors, the year of publication in brackets, the title of the chapter, initials and surnames of all editors, book title (*italics*), the first and the last page of the chapter in brackets, place and publisher.

Maksić, S. i Pavlović, J. (2013). Nastava koja podržava kreativnost. U R. Nikolić (ur.), *Nastava i učenje, Kvalitet vaspitno-obrazovnog procesa* (str. 53-64). Učiteljski fakultet u Užicu Univerziteta u Kragujevcu.

Cruse, D. A. (2002). Hyponymy and its varieties. In R. Green, C. A. Bean, & S. H. Myaeng (Eds.), *The semantics of relationships: An interdisciplinary perspective* (pp. 3-22). Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Scientific meetings and conferences – the papers published in full: The reference should contain the surnames and initials of all the authors, the year of publication, the title of the article, initials and surnames of all editors, the title of the publication (*italic*), the first and the last page of the article, the place of publication and the name of the institution – the organizer of the meeting/conference.

Spasenović, V., Vujisić Zivković, N., & Skubic Ermenc, K. (2012). The role of comparative pedagogy in the training of pedagogues in Serbia and Slovenia. In N. Popov, C. Wolhuter, B. Leutwyler, G. Hilton, J. Ogunleye, & P. Almeida (Eds.), *International perspectives on education, BCES Conference* (pp. 36-42). Bulgarian Comparative Education Society.

Doctoral and master theses: The reference should contain the name of the author, year of publication, the title of the document (*italics*) and the note: doctoral, master thesis, the database in which it is published, the number of the dissertation in the database if it is taken from a database.

Stamatović, J. (2013). *Samovrednovanje nastavnika u funkciji unapređivanja vaspitno-obrazovnog rada* (doktorska disertacija). NaRDUS (123456789/3226)

Web documents: The reference should contain the name of the author, the year, the title of the document (*italic*) and the web address.

Hodges, C., Moore, S., Lockee, B., Trust, T., & Bond, A. (2020, March 27). *The difference between emergency remote teaching and online learning*. EDUCASE Review. <https://er.educause.edu/articles/2020/3/the-difference-between-emergency-remote-teaching-and-online-learning>

Legal documents: The reference should contain the title of the document (*italics*), the year of publication, the name of the media, and the number.

Pravilnik o programu svih oblika rada stručnih saradnika (2012). Prosvetni glasnik, Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije, br. 5/2012.

Appendices and supplementary materials. Along with the main text, authors can also submit appendices, i.e. additional material that is important for a more complete understanding of the content of the paper.

CIP – Katalogizacija u publikaciji
Narodna biblioteka Srbije, Beograd

37

NASTAVA i vaspitanje = Studies in Teaching and Education / glavni i odgovorni urednik Živka Krnjaja . - God. 1, br. 1 (mart 1952)- . - Beograd : Pedagoško društvo Srbije : Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu, 1952- (Beograd : Službeni glasnik). - 24 cm

Tri puta godišnje. - Tekst na srp. i engl. jeziku.
ISSN 0547-3330 = Nastava i vaspitanje
COBISS.SR-ID 6026754