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u zajednicama  
(ne)sigurnim  
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## SADRŽAJ CONTENTS

### DRUŠTVENI I HUMANISTIČKI ASPEKTI ŽIVOTA U ZAJEDNICAMA (NE)SIGURNIM OD NASILJA

**Enita Čustović**

SECURITY CHALLENGES: ANALYZING VIOLENCE FROM A MULTIDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE / IZAZOVI SIGURNOSTI: ANALIZA NASILJA U MULTIDISCIPLINARNOJ ISTRAŽIVAČKOJ PERSPEKTIVI ..... 17

**Katarina Serdar, Matea Belošević, Martina Ferić**

STUDENTS' REACTIONS TO PEER VIOLENCE IN RELATION TO THEIR PERCEPTION OF RISK AND PROTECTIVE FACTORS IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT / REAKCIJE UČENIKA NA VRŠNJAČKO NASILJE U ODNOSU NA NJIHOVU PERCEPCIJU RIZIČNIH I ZAŠTITNIH ČIMBENIKA U ŠKOLSKOM OKRUŽENJU..... 35

**Jelena Brkić Šmigoc, Sead Turčalo, Muamer Hirkić, Mirza Buljubašić, Veldin Kadić, Mirza Smajić**

PERSONAL, CONTEXTUAL, AND SOCIAL CORRELATES OF POLITICAL RADICALISM AND VIOLENCE AMONG ADOLESCENTS / OSOBNE, KONTEKSTUALNE I DRUŠTVENE POVEZNICE POLITIČKOG RADIKALIZMA I NASILJA MEĐU ADOLESCENTIMA ..... 63

**Selvira Draganović**

EMPOWERING YOUTH: INNOVATIVE STRATEGIES FOR PREVENTING TEEN VIOLENCE / OSNAŽIVANJE MLADIH: INOVATIVNE STRATEGIJE ZA SPREČAVANJE NASILJA MEĐU TINEJDŽERIMA ..... 95

**Antonija Huljev, Irella Bogut, Monika Mužar-Kos**

SCHOOL CHILDREN WITH DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITIES AND INCLUSIVE EDUCATION FOR A SOCIETY OF NON-VIOLENCE / UČENICI S TEŠKOĆAMA U RAZVOJU I INKLUZIVNI ODGOJ I OBRAZOVANJE ZA DRUŠTVO NENASILJA ..... 111

**Andrea Rakanović Radonjić, Vesna Šućur-Janjetović, Draško Gajić**

PROJECT AND SYSTEMIC ACTIVITIES IN COMBATING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND FAMILY VIOLENCE – A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE OF SOCIAL WORK / PROJEKTNE I SISTEMSKE AKTIVNOSTI U BORBI PROTIV NASILJA NAD ŽENAMA I NASILJA U PORODICI – KRITIČKA PERSPEKTIVA SOCIJALNOG RADA ..... 125

**Renata Martinec**

VIOLENCE AND PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES: ABUSING AS DESTINY / NASILJE I OSOBE S INVALIDITETOM: ZLOSTAVLJANJE KAO SUDBINA ..... 143

**Mirjana Kondor-Langer**

VIOLENT CRIME AND MOTIVES / KAZNENA DJELA NASILJA I MOTIVI ..... 169

**Sandra Cvikić**

SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE, SITE OF MEMORY AND TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE RECONCILIATION FRAMEWORK IN VUKOVAR / SIMBOLIČKO NASILJE, MJESTA SJEĆANJA I OKVIR ZA POMIRBU TRANZICIJSKE PRAVDE U VUKOVARU ..... 183

**Darija Kuharić**

FROM HISTORY TO HEADLINES: FOOTBALL VIOLENCE AND ITS SOCIETAL  
IMPACT IN CROATIA / OD POVIJESTI DO NASLOVA: NASILJE U NOGOMETU  
I NJEGOV DRUŠTVENI UTJECAJ U HRVATSKOJ..... 197

**Nermin Mulaosmanović**

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SCHOOL CLIMATE, SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT, AND STUDENTS'  
VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR / RELACIJE IZMEĐU ŠKOLSKE KLIME, ŠKOLSKOG POSTIGNUĆA I  
NASILNOG PONAŠANJA UČENIKA ..... 219

**Violeta Tadić, Boris Kordić**

PROSOCIAL AND ANTISOCIAL STUDENTS' BEHAVIOUR IN THE CONTEXT OF  
SCHOOL SAFETY / PROSOCIJALNO I ASOCIJALNO PONAŠANJE UČENIKA U  
KONTEKSTU BEZBEDNOSTI U ŠKOLI ..... 245

**Branka Kovačević**

STUDENTS ON STRATEGIES AND APPROACHES FOR IMPROVING UNIVERSITY  
PROJECT-BASED LEARNING IN THE PREVENTION OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE /  
STUDENTI O STRATEGIJAMA I PRISTUPIMA UNAPREĐIVANJA UNIVERZITETSKE  
PROJEKTNE NASTAVE U PREVENCIJI RODNO ZASNOVANOG NASILJA ..... 263

**Selma Delalić, Hana Suljević**

BUILDING BRIDGES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: THE COMPLEX DYNAMICS OF  
POST-CONFLICT PEACEBUILDING IN A FRAGMENTED SOCIETY / GRADNJA MOSTOVA  
U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI: SLOŽENA DINAMIKA POSTKONFLIKTNE IZGRADNJE MIRA  
U FRAGMENTIRANOM DRUŠTVU..... 283

**Selma Ćosić, Fatima Mahmutović**

THE INFLUENCE OF POPULAR GEOPOLITICS ON THE REPRESENTATION OF THE  
CULTURE OF (NON)VIOLENCE IN POST-YUGOSLAV CINEMATOGRAPHY / UTICAJ  
POPULARNE GEOPOLITIKE NA REPREZENTACIJU KULTURE (NE)NASILJA U  
POSTJUGOSLOVENSKE KINEMATOGRAFIJI..... 313

**Berina Beširović, Kudzai Cathrine Bingisai**

LACK OF TRUST BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS IN POST-ETHNIC CONFLICT  
SOCIETIES: CASES OF ZIMBABWE AND BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA / NEDOSTATAK  
POVERENJA IZMEĐU ETNIČKIH GRUPA U POSKONFLIKTNIM DRUŠTVIMA:  
SLUČAJEVI ZIMBABVE I BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE..... 333

**Lidija Eret**

CHILDHOOD AND MEDIA: OCCURRING OF THE PEER VIOLENCE /  
MEDIJI U ODRASTANJU: ZAŠTO DOLAZI DO POJAVE VRŠNJAČKOG NASILJA ..... 353

**Irena Praskač-Salčin, Jelena Brkić-Šmigoc**

THE PSYCHODYNAMICS OF MEDIA VIOLENCE: WHY DO WE ALWAYS HAVE SO LITTLE?! /  
PSIHODINAMIKA MEDIJSKOG NASILJA: ZAŠTO NAM JE UVIJEK TAKO MALO?! ..... 365

**Amela Ćurković**

LINGUISTIC PATTERNS OF RACISM IN GERMAN FOOTBALL /  
LINGVISTIČKI OBRASCI RASIZMA U NJEMAČKOM NOGOMETU ..... 403

**Martina Blečić**

CONSTRUCTING MEANING, SHAPING SOCIETY: THE CALCULABILITY AND CANCELLABILITY OF CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURES / KONSTRUIRANJE ZNAČENJA, OBLIKOVANJE DRUŠTVA: IZRAČUNLJIVOST I PONIŠTIVOST KONVERZACIJSKIH IMPLIKATURA .....	419
--	-----

**Gabrijela Kišiček**

EMOTIONAL ARGUMENTS IN POLITICAL RHETORIC / EMOCIONALNI ARGUMENTI U POLITIČKOJ RETORICI .....	441
---	-----

**Edina Spahić, Jadranka Kolenović-Đapo**

LINGUISTIC VIOLENCE: FROM BENIGN TO FATAL CONSEQUENCES / OD BENIGNIH DO FATALNIH POSLJEDICA LINGVISTIČKOG NASILJA .....	457
---	-----

**Ifeta Čirić-Fazlija**

THE REPRESENTATION OF SYSTEMIC RACIAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AND ITS EFFECTS IN PEARL CLEAGE'S <i>FLYIN' WEST</i> AND <i>BOURBON AT THE BORDER</i> / PRIKAZIVANJE SISTEMSKOG RASNO ZASNOVANOG I RODNO ZASNOVANOG NASILJA I NJIHOVIH POSLJEDICA U DJELIMA PEARL CLEAGE ( <i>FLYIN' WEST</i> I <i>BOURBON AT THE BORDER</i> ).....	473
---	-----

**Milena Škobo, Jovana Đukić**

PORTRAYAL OF URBAN VIOLENCE IN JG BALLARD'S NOVELS / URBANO NASILJE U ROMANIMA DŽ. G. BALARDA .....	493
---	-----

## BOSNISTIKA

**Edina Murtić**

KNJIŽEVNOST ZA DJECU I OMLADINU – IZMEĐU TRADICIJE I TABU TEMA / LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH – BETWEEN TRADITION AND TABOO TOPICS .....	521
---	-----

**Vildana Pečenković, Mirzana Pašić Kodrić**

TABU TEME U KNJIŽEVNOSTI ZA DJECU: <i>LJEVE PRIČE</i> ALIJE ISAKOVIĆA / TABOO TOPICS IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE: <i>LJEVE PRIČE (LEFT STORIES)</i> BY ALIJA ISAKOVIĆ .....	539
--	-----

**Tarik Čušić**

GLAGOLSKE KONSTRUKCIJE ( <i>U</i> ) <i>ČINITI (SE)</i> + IMENICA ILI PRIDJEV STRANOGA PORJEKLA U PARRY – LORDOVOJ ZBIRCI / VERB CONSTRUCTIONS ( <i>U</i> ) <i>ČINITI(SE)</i> + NOUN OR ADJECTIVE OF FOREIGN ORIGIN IN PARRY-LORD'S COLLECTION .....	555
---	-----

**Amira Banjić**

LINGVOSTILISTIČKA INTERPRETACIJA PJESAMA <i>ZAPIS O OČIMA</i> MAK DIZDARA I <i>STEČAK</i> SKENDERA KULENOVIĆA / LINGUO-STYLISTIC INTERPRETATION OF THE POEMS "ZAPIS O OČIMA" ( <i>TEXT ABOUT THE EYES</i> ) BY MAK DIZDAR AND "STEČAK" ( <i>TOMBSTONE</i> ) BY SKENDER KULENOVIĆ .....	589
--	-----

## KROATISTIKA

**Ana Mikić Čolić**

RODNA LINGVISTIKA U HRVATSKOJ – GDJE SMO (BILI) I KAMO IDEMO? / GENDER LINGUISTICS IN CROATIA - WHERE DID WE START FROM AND WHERE ARE WE HEADED? ..... 609

**Marija Malnar Jurišić**

*PTICE* U KAJKAVSKOJ FRAZEOLOGIJI / *BIRDS* IN KAJKAVIAN PHRASEOLOGY ..... 625

**Gabrijela Buljan**

TWO FACES OF ONE SUFFIX: SOME THOUGHTS ON USING CORPORA IN USAGE-BASED STUDIES OF WORD FORMATION / DVA LICA ISTOGA SUFIKSA: NEKE MISLI O KORIŠTENJU KORPUSA U UPORABNIM PRISTUPIMA ANALIZI TVORBE RIJEČI..... 647

## ANGLISTIKA

**Ester Vidović**

CONCEPTUALISATION OF DEATH IN OSCAR WILDE'S MODERN FANCIFUL TALE *THE SELFISH GIANT*: A COGNITIVIST APPROACH / KONCEPTUALIZACIJA SMRTI U SUVREMENOJ FANTASTIČNOJ PRIČI OSCARA WILDEA *SEBIČNI DIV*: KOGNITIVISTIČKI PRISTUP ..... 673

**Nawal Mebitil, Djahida Abderrahmane**

ENHANCING BUSINESS ENGLISH SPECIALISED TERMINOLOGY LEARNING THROUGH GAME-BASED INSTRUCTION / EFIKASNOST UČENJA SPECIJALIZIRANE TERMINOLOGIJE POSLOVNOG ENGLESKOG KROZ PODUKU TEMELJENU NA IGRICAMA ..... 687

## GERMANISTIKA

**Mirjana Matea Kovač, Silvija Ugrina**

LEHREN UND LERNEN VON DEUTSCH ALS FREMDSPRACHE IN DER PRIMAR- UND SEKUNDARSTUFE: EINE FALLSTUDIE / TEACHING AND LEARNING GERMAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL: A CASE STUDY ..... 705

**Borislav Marušić, Kristina Marušić**

KOLOKACIJE U NJEMAČKIM I AUSTRIJSKIM GODIŠNJIM IZVJEŠĆIMA / COLLOCATIONS IN GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN ANNUAL REPORTS – A SYNCHRONIC APPROACH ..... 725

**Merima Delić**

PLAVA BOJA KAO SASTAVNICA KOLOKACIJA I FRAZEMA U NJEMAČKOM I BOSANSKOM JEZIKU U PRINTANIM MEDIJIMA I ELEKTRONSKIM PUBLIKACIJAMA / BLUE AS A COMPONENT OF COLLOCATIONS AND IDIOMS IN GERMAN AND BOSNIAN LANGUAGES IN PRINT MEDIA AND ELECTRONIC PUBLICATIONS ..... 751

**Ivana Šarić Šokčević**

KROATISCHE DAF-LERNENDE: ZUR ROLLE DER VERARBEITUNGSTIEFEN UNTER EXPLIZITEN UND IMPLIZITEN LEHRMETHODEN BEI DER VERARBEITUNG (NICHT) PASSIVFÄHIGER VERBEN IM DEUTSCHEN / CROATIAN GFL LEARNERS: ON THE ROLE OF



DEPTH OF PROCESSING UNDER EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT INSTRUCTIONS WHILE PROCESSING VERBS THAT (CAN)NOT BE USED IN THE PASSIVE VOICE .....	777
---	-----

## **TURKOLOGIJA**

**Edina Solak, Mirza Bašić, Asja Mešić**

NEKA ZAPAŽANJA U VEZI S PROŠIRENIM GLAGOLSKIM ADVERBIJALIMA NAMJERNOGA ZNAČENJA S POSTPOZICIJOM <i>IÇIN</i> ( <i>ZA, RADI</i> ) / OBSERVATIONS REGARDING EXPANDED VERBAL ADVERBIALS WITH THE MEANING OF INTENTION ACCOMPANIED BY THE POSTPOSITION <i>IÇIN</i> ( <i>FOR, IN ORDER TO</i> ).....	807
---	-----

## **SOCIOLOŠKE STUDIJE**

**Bojan Ćorluka, Biserka Košarac**

TRANSFORMACIJA PORODICE U SAVREMENOM DRUŠTVU: NEKI OSNOVNI INDIKATORI / TRANSFORMATION OF THE FAMILY IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY: SOME BASIC INDICATORS .....	837
---	-----

**Enes Pašalić**

PRILOG POIMANJU (BOSANSKE) NACIJE: VAŽNO JE ZVATI SE BOSANAC/BOŠNJAK / CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONCEPT OF THE (BOSNIAN) NATION: IT IS IMPORTANT TO BE CALLED BOSNIAN/BOSNIAK .....	855
--	-----

**Asja Mandić**

RUŠEVINA KAO STANJE GRADA POD OPSADOM / RUIN AS THE STATE OF A CITY UNDER SIEGE.....	897
---	-----

## **POLITOLOŠKE TEME**

**Adis Arapović**

ETHNIC DIVISIONS AND POWER POLITICS: UNRAVELLING THE BARRIERS TO MANAGING DIVERSITY AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN POST-CONFLICT BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA / ETNIČKE PODJELE I POLITIKA MOĆI: RAZOTKRIVANJE BARIJERA ZA UPRAVLJANJE RAZLIČITOSTIMA I DEMOKRATIZACIJU U POSTKONFLIKTNOJ BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI .....	921
---	-----

**Jelisaveta Blagojević**

CRNA GORA: POLITIKA OTVORENIH VRATA PREMA UKRAJINSKIM IZBJEGLICAMA / MONTENEGRO'S OPEN-DOOR POLICY TOWARDS THE UKRAINIAN REFUGEE CRISIS.....	955
--	-----

**Shahzad Dastgir Nousherwani, Adis Maksic**

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF US OFFICIAL DISCOURSE ON PAKISTAN <i>VIS-A-VIS</i> AFGHANISTAN UNDER THE BIDEN PRESIDENCY / KRITIČKA ANALIZA SLUŽBENOG DISKURSA SAD-A O PAKISTANU <i>VIS-A-VIS</i> AFGANISTANA POD BIDENOVIM PREDSDJEDNIŠTVOM .....	975
---	-----

## **PRAVNA MISAO**

**Rebeka Kotlo, Ivan Tomić**

LOKALNA SAMOUPRAVA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI – ANALIZA NORMATIVNOG OKVIRA KROZ PRIZMU MEĐUNARODNIH STANDARDNA S POSEBNIM OSVRTOM NA GRAĐANSKU PARTICIPACIJU / LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA – ANALYSIS OF THE NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CITIZEN PARTICIPATION ..... 997

**Emir Mehmedović, Admir Selesković**

MODALITETI PRAVNE ZAŠTITE U SLUČAJEVIMA „ŠUTNJE UPRAVE“ U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI / MODALITIES OF LEGAL PROTECTION IN CASES OF “ADMINISTRATIVE SILENCE” IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ..... 1019

## **EKONOMSKA MISAO**

**Adisa Omerbegović Arapović**

KREIRANJE NOVCA U SISTEMU POTPUNIH BANKARSKIH REZERV I ODVAJANJE NOVCA OD KAMATE – PREZENTACIJA BILANSA STANJA CENTRALNE BANKE I KOMERCIJALNIH BANAKA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI / CREATION OF MONEY IN A FULL RESERVE BANKING SYSTEM AND THE SEPARATION OF MONEY FROM INTEREST – PRESENTATION OF THE BALANCE SHEETS OF THE CENTRAL BANK AND COMMERCIAL BANKS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ..... 1039

## **PEDAGOŠKO-DIDAKTIČKI PRILOZI**

**Marino Marjan Ninčević**

UTJECAJ SOCIO-EMOCIONALNOG UČENJA NA ŠKOLSKI USPJEH I PONAŠANJE UČENIKA / THE IMPACT OF SOCIO-EMOTIONAL LEARNING ON SCHOOL SUCCESS AND STUDENT BEHAVIOR ..... 1059

**Sanja Živanović, Ranka Perućica, Bojana Vuković, Sladana Čalasan, Bojana Mastilo**

ULOGA RODITELJA I NJIHOVE PROCJENE PODSTICANJA ASPEKATA RAZVOJA DJECE RANOG UZRASTA / THE ROLE OF PARENTS AND THEIR ASSESSMENTS IN ENCOURAGING ASPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY CHILDREN ..... 1083

**Marijana Prodanović, Asta Pukiene, Ieva Brazauskaitė-Zubavičiene**

AI VS HUMANS DEALING WITH LANGUAGE TASKS: UNLOCKING SOME NEW PEDAGOGICAL DIMENSIONS IN TEFL PRACTICES / KO SE BOLJE SNALAZI SA JEZIČKIM ZADACIMA – VEŠTAČKA INTELIGENCIJA ILI STUDENTI: NEKI NOVI PEDAGOŠKI UVIDI U NASTAVI STRANOG JEZIKA..... 1101

**Filduza Prušević Sadović, Esmā Demirović, Alma Trtovac Dedeić, Hana Karaahmetović**

KVALITET I EDUKATIVNA VREDNOST POPULARNIH DIGITALNIH IGARA U MLAĐEM ŠKOLSKOM UZRASTU / QUALITY AND EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF POPULAR DIGITAL GAMES IN YOUNGER SCHOOL AGE ..... 1119

**Jasmina Damjanović, Stanko Cvjetičanin, Gordana Kozoderović**

LABORATORIJSKO-EKSPERIMENTALNA METODA UZ INSTRUKTIVNI  
PRISTUP – „HANDS-ON“ EKSPERIMENTI / LABORATORY EXPERIMENTAL  
METHOD WITH INSTRUCTIONAL APPROACH – “HANDS-ON” EXPERIMENTS ..... 1133

**Nedim Čirić, Melisa Hozanović, Ahmed Hatunić**

PROFESIONALNO SAGORIJEVANJE U ODGOJNO-OBRAZOVNOM RADU  
NASTAVNIKA I STRUČNIH SARADNIKA / PROFESSIONAL BURNOUT IN  
EDUCATIONAL WORK OF TEACHERS AND EXPERT ASSOCIATES ..... 1149

**Gorana Vojčić, Maja Bosanac**

UPOTREBA DIGITALNIH TEHNOLOGIJA I UČENJE U DIGITALNOM OKRUŽENJU:  
PRIMER STUDENATA UNIVERZITETA U NOVOM SADU / THE USE OF DIGITAL  
TECHNOLOGIES AND LEARNING IN A DIGITAL ENVIRONMENT: AN EXAMPLE  
OF STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NOVI SAD ..... 1169

**Martin Kalamković, Stanko Cvjetičanin**

MULIMEDIJALNO I MOBILNO UČENJE U POČETNOJ NASTAVI PRIRODNIH NAUKA /  
MULTIMEDIA AND MOBILE LEARNING IN PRIMARY NATURAL SCIENCE TEACHING ..... 1195

**Ester Vidović**

APPLYING THE SITUATIONAL APPROACH IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE  
COMMUNICATION WITH CHILDREN IN PRESCHOOL INSTITUTIONS:  
AN OVERVIEW / PRIKAZ PRIMJENE SITUACIJSKOG PRISTUPA U  
KOMUNIKACIJI NA STRANOM JEZIKU S DJECOM PREDŠKOLSKE DOBI ..... 1215

**Merjem Sušić**

ZNAČAJ PLANIRANJA RAZVOJA VJEŠTINA KRITIČKOG MIŠLJENJA  
U OČEKIVANIM ISHODIMA UČENJA PREDMETNIH KURIKULUMA / THE  
IMPORTANCE OF PLANNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF CRITICAL THINKING  
SKILLS IN THE EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES OF SUBJECT-BASED CURRICULA ..... 1231

**Aleksandra Golubović**

NEKE IDEJE ZA UNAPREĐENJE NASTAVE FILOZOFIJE U DIGITALNOM  
OKRUŽENJU – PRILOZI IZ HRVATSKOG SUVREMENOG SREDNJOŠKOLSKOG  
ODGOJNO-OBRAZOVNOG SUSTAVA / SOME IDEAS FOR IMPROVING PHILOSOPHY  
TEACHING IN A DIGITAL ENVIRONMENT – CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE  
CONTEMPORARY CROATIAN SECONDARY EDUCATION SYSTEM (KS4, KS5) ..... 1249

**Tanja Gradečak**

USPJEŠNO STARENJE I UČENJE STRANOG JEZIKA /  
SUCCESSFUL AGING AND LEARNING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE ..... 1271

## **PRILOZI IZ PSIHOLOGIJE**

**Ljubica Dragišić, Zlatko Pavlović**

MOTIVACIJA ZA IZBOR STUDIJA KOD STUDENATA PSIHOLOGIJE I STUDENATA  
STRANIH JEZIKA I NJIHOVO ZADOVOLJSTVO ŽIVOTOM / MOTIVATION FOR  
CHOOSING STUDIES AMONG PSYCHOLOGY STUDENTS, FOREIGN  
LANGUAGES STUDENTS AND THEIR LIFE SATISFACTION ..... 1305

**Jelena R. Krulj, Emilija I. Marković, Ivana B. Simijonović, Nataša R. Lazović**  
INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC MOTIVATION WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF CREATING  
A STIMULATING LEARNING ENVIRONMENT / INTRINSIČNA I EKSTRINSIČNA  
MOTIVACIJA U KONTEKSTU STVARANJA STIMULATIVNOG OKRUŽENJA ZA UČENJE ..... 1329

**Anida Vrcić Amar**  
MAJČINSKI BURNOUT-SINDROM: SAGOREVANJE U ULOZI  
MAJKE / BURNOUT SYNDROME IN MATERNAL ROLE ..... 1345

**Gorjana Vujović**  
KRATKA SKALA POVEZANOSTI SA PRIRODOM (NR-6) – PREVOD I VALIDACIJA /  
SHORT SCALE OF CONNECTION WITH NATURE (NR-6) – VALIDATION STUDY ..... 1363

**Mirjana Nikolić, Isidora Korać, Tanja Panić**  
ZADOVOLJSTVO VASPITAČA POSLOM: IZAZOV ZA MENADŽMENT  
USTANOVE / JOB SATISFACTION OF PRESCHOOL TEACHERS:  
CHALLENGE FOR INSTITUTIONAL MANAGEMENT ..... 1377

**Antonio Topić, Dijana Ivanišević**  
ANTISOCIJALNI I GRANIČNI POREMEĆAJ LIČNOSTI: KULTURALNE  
I SPOLNE RAZLIKE U MANIFESTACIJI KRIMINALNOG PONAŠANJA /  
ANTISOCIAL AND BORDERLINE PERSONALITY DISORDER: CULTURAL AND  
GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE MANIFESTATION OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR ..... 1395

## KOMUNIKOLOŠKA I MEDILOŠKA ISTRAŽIVANJA

**Mirdin Zilić, Adem Olovčić**  
DISCOURSE AND COMMUNICATION ANALYSIS OF THE MILOŠEVIĆ-TUĐMAN  
AGREEMENT: IMPLICATIONS FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA /  
ANALIZA DISKURSA I KOMUNIKACIJE SPORAZUMA MILOŠEVIĆ-TUĐMAN:  
IMPLIKACIJE NA BOSNU I HERCEGOVINU ..... 1417

**Tahani Komarica**  
FEEDBACK U *ONLINE* NASTAVI – SLIJEP A PETLJA /  
FEEDBACK IN *ONLINE* EDUCATION – BLIND LOOP ..... 1441

**Mirjana Tankosic, Ljiljana Manic, Andrijana Mikic**  
STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS AND SATISFACTION IN EVALUATING  
COMMUNICATION CHANNELS / PERCEPCIJA I ZADOVOLJSTVO  
STUDENATA U EVALUACIJI KOMUNIKACIONIH KANALA ..... 1463

## STUDIJE SOCIJALNOG RADA I SOCIJALNE POLITIKE

**Sabira Gadžo-Šašić**  
SAMOPROCJENA RAZVIJENOSTI KOMPETENCIJA STUDENATA SOCIJALNOG RADA  
ZA RAD S MARGINALNIM SKUPINAMA / SELF-ASSESSMENT OF SOCIAL WORK  
STUDENTS' COMPETENCE DEVELOPMENT FOR WORKING WITH MARGINAL GROUPS ..... 1487

**Vesna Huremović, Samra Mahmutović**

ULOGA SOCIJALNOG RADNIKA U POBOLJŠANJU SOCIJALNE PODRŠKE I  
KVALITETE ŽIVOTA KOD TRUDNICA SA VISOKORIZIČNOM TRUDNOĆOM /  
THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL WORKER IN IMPROVING SOCIAL SUPPORT AND  
QUALITY OF LIFE FOR PREGNANT WOMEN WITH HIGH-RISK PREGNANCIES..... 1501

**PRIKAZI**

**Anes Makul**

DUBINSKO PRONICANJE SAVREMENIH DIKTATURA (SERGEJ GURIJEV, DANIJEL TRAJSMAN,  
*SPIN DIKTATORI: NOVO RUHO TIRANJE U 21. VEKU*, ARHIPELAG, BEOGRAD, 2023) ..... 1525

**Alena Čatović**

PRVI SVEOBHVATAN PRISTUP IZUČAVANJU KNJIŽEVNOSTI NA OSMANSKOM  
TURSKOM JEZIKU U ZEMLJAMA BALKANA (MUSTAFA İSEN, TUBA DURMUŞ,  
*BALKANLARDA TÜRK EDEBİYATI TARİHİ – BAŞLANGICINDAN GÜNÜMÜZE KADAR*,  
TÜRKIYE MAARIF VAKFI, TIRAN NEW YORK ÜNİVERSİTESİ YAYINLARI, İSTANBUL, 2023) ..... 1529

**Meysun Gharaibeh Simonović**

„GRAVITACIONO POLJE“ KUR'ANSKOG TEKSTA I NJEGOV „POZITIVITET“  
(ESAD DURAKOVIĆ, *TEKST I KONTEKST: NUŽNOST REINTERPRETACIJE*,  
CENTAR ZA NAPREDNE STUDIJE, SARAJEVO, 2023) ..... 1533

**Elma Durmišević**

OD JEZIČKE POJEDINOSTI DO ULASKA U RADNU SOBU PJESNIKA  
(KREŠIMIR BAGIĆ, *FIGURE I STILOVI*, MEANDARMEDIA, ZAGREB 2023)..... 1539

**Zarfa Hrnjić Kuduzović**

SIMBIOZA KOMUNIKACIJSKOG I DRUŠTVENOG (NAJIL KURTIĆ,  
*KOMUNIKACIJSKA VARIJABLA*, UNIVERSITY PRESS, SARAJEVO, 2024) ..... 1545

**Rijad Šestan**

KORISNA PROPEDEUTIČKA PRIPREMA ZA ČITANJE RUMIJEVE *MESNEVIJE*  
[*NEVJESTINA NOĆ: MEVLANA – ZBORNIK RADOVA U POVODU 750 GODINA OD*  
*PRESELJENJA DŽELALUDINA MEVLANE RUMIJA*, EDIB KRAVIĆ (UR.), UDRUŽENJE  
DERVIŠKIH REDOVA “TARIKATSKI CENTAR” U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI, SARAJEVO, 2024]..... 1551

**Senad Arnaut**

RETROSPEKTIVA GOVORNIŠTVA (SPAHIJA KOZLIĆ, *RETORIKA*, PENDULUM, ZENICA, 2024) ..... 1559

**Sandra Cvikić**

LOKALNO VS. GLOBALNO PROIZVEDENO ZNANJE O SJEĆANJU I  
NEGIRANJU GENOCIDA [*NEGIRANJE: POSLJEDNJA FAZA GENOCIDA*,  
JOHN COX, AMAL KHOURY I SARAH MINSLOW (UR.), DIALOGOS –  
ODBOR ZA OBILJEŽAVANJE GENOCIDA U SREBRENICI LUKSEMBURG; TUZLA, 2024] ..... 1563

**Emina Dedić Bukvić**

IZAZOVI I KREATIVNA RJEŠENJA U POUČAVANJU INTERKULTURALNE  
KOMUNIKACIJSKE KOMPETENCIJE (MARIJANA PRODANOVIĆ I BEGONA



CRESPO, *TOWARDS SUCCESS IN COMMUNICATING AND TEACHING INTERNATIONALLY: TEACH AND TALK LIKE YOU WALK*, PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2024) ..... 1567

**Erna Lučić**

PREVENTIVNI PROGRAMI U SOCIJALNOM RADU I SOCIJALNOJ PEDAGOGIJI (ANITA BEGIĆ I KAROLINA TADIĆ LESKO, *SOCIJALNOPEDAGOŠKI PREVENTIVNI RAD*, SVEUČILIŠTE U MOSTARU, MOSTAR, 2024) ..... 1571

**Senada Mujić**

JEDINSTVO PEDAGOŠKIH KOMPETENCIJA, ŠKOLE I OBITELJI (ELMA SELMANAGIĆ-LIZDE, RASEMA SARIĆ, *PEDAGOŠKE KOMPETENCIJE, ŠKOLA I OBITELJ*, SARAJEVO PUBLISHING, SARAJEVO, 2024) ..... 1575

**Ismail Palić**

IZNIMNO KORISNA KNJIGA O RELACIJI ČITANJA I FUNKCIONALNE PISMENOSTI (MIRELA OMERVIĆ I LEILA HAMZAGIĆ KOVAČEVIĆ, *JEZIČKA DJELATNOST ČITANJA – TEMELJ FUNKCIONALNE PISMENOSTI*, PEDAGOŠKI FAKULTET UNIVERZITETA U SARAJEVU, SARAJEVO, 2024) ..... 1581

**Mirza Džananović**

NA ŽELJEZNICI HIDROCENTRALA (DŽENITA SARAČ-RUJANAC, *IZGRADNJA U VRLJEME OBNOVE. HIDROCENTRALA U BOGATIĆIMA NA RIJECI ŽELJEZNICI – OD “OPĆINSKOG TRGOVAČKOG PREDUZEĆA” DO “OBJEKTA OPŠTEDRŽAVNOG ZNAČAJA”*, UNIVERZITET U SARAJEVU – INSTITUT ZA HISTORIJU, SARAJEVO, 2024) ..... 1587

UPUTSTVO ZA AUTORE ..... 1591

## DRUŠTVENI I HUMANISTIČKI ASPEKTI ŽIVOTA U ZAJEDNICAMA (NE)SIGURNIM OD NASILJA

Uredile: Irena Cajner Mraović i Enita Čustović

**Enita Čustović**

SECURITY CHALLENGES: ANALYZING VIOLENCE FROM A MULTIDISCIPLINARY  
RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE / IZAZOVI SIGURNOSTI: ANALIZA NASILJA U  
MULTIDISCIPLINARNOJ ISTRAŽIVAČKOJ PERSPEKTIVI ..... 17

**Katarina Serdar, Matea Belošević, Martina Ferić**

STUDENTS' REACTIONS TO PEER VIOLENCE IN RELATION TO THEIR PERCEPTION  
OF RISK AND PROTECTIVE FACTORS IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT / REAKCIJE  
UČENIKA NA VRŠNJAČKO NASILJE U ODNOSU NA NJIHOVU PERCEPCIJU RIZIČNIH  
I ZAŠTITNIH ČIMBENIKA U ŠKOLSKOM OKRUŽENJU ..... 35

**Jelena Brkić Šmigoc, Sead Turčalo, Muamer Hirkić, Mirza Buljubašić, Veldin Kadić, Mirza Smajić**

PERSONAL, CONTEXTUAL, AND SOCIAL CORRELATES OF POLITICAL RADICALISM  
AND VIOLENCE AMONG ADOLESCENTS / OSOBNE, KONTEKSTUALNE I DRUŠTVENE  
POVEZNICE POLITIČKOG RADIKALIZMA I NASILJA MEĐU ADOLESCENTIMA ..... 63

**Selvira Draganović**

EMPOWERING YOUTH: INNOVATIVE STRATEGIES FOR PREVENTING TEEN VIOLENCE /  
OSNAŽIVANJE MLADIH: INOVATIVNE STRATEGIJE ZA SPREČAVANJE NASILJA  
MEĐU TINEJDŽERIMA ..... 95

**Antonija Huljev, Irela Bogut, Monika Mužar-Kos**

SCHOOL CHILDREN WITH DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITIES AND INCLUSIVE EDUCATION  
FOR A SOCIETY OF NON-VIOLENCE / UČENICI S TEŠKOĆAMA U RAZVOJU I INKLUZIVNI  
ODGOJ I OBRAZOVANJE ZA DRUŠTVO NENASILJA ..... 111

**Andrea Rakanović Radonjić, Vesna Šučur-Janjetović, Draško Gajić**

PROJECT AND SYSTEMIC ACTIVITIES IN COMBATING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN  
AND FAMILY VIOLENCE – A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE OF SOCIAL WORK / PROJEKTE  
I SISTEMSKE AKTIVNOSTI U BORBI PROTIV NASILJA NAD ŽENAMA I NASILJA U  
PORODICI – KRITIČKA PERSPEKTIVA SOCIJALNOG RADA ..... 125

**Renata Martinec**

VIOLENCE AND PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES: ABUSING AS DESTINY /  
NASILJE I OSOBE S INVALIDITETOM: ZLOSTAVLJANJE KAO SUDBINA ..... 143

**Mirjana Kondor-Langer**

VIOLENT CRIME AND MOTIVES / KAZNENA DJELA NASILJA I MOTIVI ..... 169

**Sandra Cvikić**

SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE, SITE OF MEMORY AND TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE  
RECONCILIATION FRAMEWORK IN VUKOVAR / SIMBOLIČKO NASILJE,  
MJESTA SJEĆANJA I OKVIR ZA POMIRBU TRANZICIJSKE PRAVDE U VUKOVARU ..... 183

**Darija Kuharić**

FROM HISTORY TO HEADLINES: FOOTBALL VIOLENCE AND ITS SOCIETAL  
IMPACT IN CROATIA / OD POVIJESTI DO NASLOVA: NASILJE U NOGOMETU  
I NJEGOV DRUŠTVENI UTJECAJ U HRVATSKOJ ..... 197

<b>Nermin Mulaosmanović</b> RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SCHOOL CLIMATE, SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT, AND STUDENTS' VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR / RELACIJE IZMEĐU ŠKOLSKE KLIME, ŠKOLSKOG POSTIGNUĆA I NASILNOG PONAŠANJA UČENIKA .....	219
<b>Violeta Tadić, Boris Kordić</b> PROSOCIAL AND ANTISOCIAL STUDENTS' BEHAVIOUR IN THE CONTEXT OF SCHOOL SAFETY / PROSOCIJALNO I ASOCIJALNO PONAŠANJE UČENIKA U KONTEKSTU BEZBEDNOSTI U ŠKOLI .....	245
<b>Branka Kovačević</b> STUDENTS ON STRATEGIES AND APPROACHES FOR IMPROVING UNIVERSITY PROJECT-BASED LEARNING IN THE PREVENTION OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE / STUDENTI O STRATEGIJAMA I PRISTUPIMA UNAPREĐIVANJA UNIVERZITETSKE PROJEKTNE NASTAVE U PREVENCIJI RODNO ZASNOVANOG NASILJA .....	263
<b>Selma Delalić, Hana Suljević</b> BUILDING BRIDGES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: THE COMPLEX DYNAMICS OF POST-CONFLICT PEACEBUILDING IN A FRAGMENTED SOCIETY / GRADNJA MOSTOVA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI: SLOŽENA DINAMIKA POSTKONFLIKTNE IZGRADNJE MIRA U FRAGMENTIRANOM DRUŠTVU .....	283
<b>Selma Čosić, Fatima Mahmutović</b> THE INFLUENCE OF POPULAR GEOPOLITICS ON THE REPRESENTATION OF THE CULTURE OF (NON)VIOLENCE IN POST-YUGOSLAV CINEMATOGRAPHY / UTICAJ POPULARNE GEOPOLITIKE NA REPREZENTACIJU KULTURE (NE)NASILJA U POSTJUGOSLOVENSKOJ KINEMATOGRAFIJI .....	313
<b>Berina Beširović, Kudzai Cathrine Bingisai</b> LACK OF TRUST BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS IN POST-ETHNIC CONFLICT SOCIETIES: CASES OF ZIMBABWE AND BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA / NEDOSTATAK POVERENJA IZMEĐU ETNIČKIH GRUPA U POSKONFLIKTNIM DRUŠTVIMA: SLUČAJEVI ZIMBABVEA I BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE .....	333
<b>Lidija Eret</b> CHILDHOOD AND MEDIA: OCCURRING OF THE PEER VIOLENCE / MEDIJI U ODRASTANJU: ZAŠTO DOLAZI DO POJAVE VRŠNJAČKOG NASILJA .....	353
<b>Irena Praskač-Salčin, Jelena Brkić-Šmigoc</b> THE PSYCHODYNAMICS OF MEDIA VIOLENCE: WHY DO WE ALWAYS HAVE SO LITTLE?! / PSIHODINAMIKA MEDIJSKOG NASILJA: ZAŠTO NAM JE UVIJEK TAKO MALO?! .....	365
<b>Amela Ćurković</b> LINGUISTIC PATTERNS OF RACISM IN GERMAN FOOTBALL / LINGVISTIČKI OBRASCI RASIZMA U NJEMAČKOM NOGOMETU .....	403
<b>Martina Blečić</b> CONSTRUCTING MEANING, SHAPING SOCIETY: THE CALCULABILITY AND CANCELLABILITY OF CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURES / KONSTRUIRANJE ZNAČENJA, OBLIKOVANJE DRUŠTVA: IZRACUNLJIVOST I PONIŠTIVOST KONVERZACIJSKIH IMPLIKATURA .....	419
<b>Gabrijela Kišiček</b> EMOTIONAL ARGUMENTS IN POLITICAL RHETORIC / EMOCIONALNI ARGUMENTI U POLITIČKOJ RETORICI .....	441
<b>Edina Spahić, Jadranka Kolenović-Đapo</b> LINGUISTIC VIOLENCE: FROM BENIGN TO FATAL CONSEQUENCES / OD BENIGNIH DO FATALNIH POSLJEDICA LINGVISTIČKOG NASILJA .....	457
<b>Ifeta Ćirić-Fazlija</b> THE REPRESENTATION OF SYSTEMIC RACIAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AND ITS EFFECTS IN PEARL CLEAGE'S <i>FLYIN' WEST</i> AND <i>BOURBON AT THE BORDER</i> / PRIKAZIVANJE SISTEMSKOG RASNO ZASNOVANOG I RODNO ZASNOVANOG NASILJA I NJIHOVIH POSLJEDICA U DJELIMA PEARL CLEAGE ( <i>FLYIN' WEST</i> I <i>BOURBON AT THE BORDER</i> ) .....	473
<b>Milena Škobo, Jovana Đukić</b> PORTRAYAL OF URBAN VIOLENCE IN JG BALLARD'S NOVELS / URBANO NASILJE U ROMANIMA DŽ. G. BALARDA .....	493

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## **SECURITY CHALLENGES: ANALYZING VIOLENCE FROM A MULTIDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE**

This paper examines violence as a form of deviant behavior through a multidisciplinary lens, reflecting social, economic, and cultural tensions in contemporary societies. The text provides an introduction to the thematic issue on violence and, through a review of the content and research findings of the articles published in this section, examines violence in various forms, including physical, emotional, psychological, and structural, as well as the growing presence of cyber violence in the digital age. The authors emphasize the role of media in normalizing violence, particularly among youth, and argue for the need for holistic, interdisciplinary responses involving education, social programs, legal frameworks, and collective efforts to prevent and reduce violence. The study highlights the importance of empathy, solidarity, and resilience within communities, and calls for the rethinking of security from a humanistic perspective. The work concludes that sustainable violence prevention requires the involvement of multiple disciplines and actors, including educational institutions, local communities, and the media.

**Keywords:** violence; deviant behavior; social cohesion; security; multidisciplinary approach

## **1. UNDERSTANDING VIOLENCE: A MULTIDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO ADDRESSING SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL TENSIONS IN MODERN SOCIETIES**

Violence, as a form of deviant behavior, is becoming an increasingly prominent issue in contemporary societies, reflecting deeper social, economic, and cultural tensions. Deviant behavior represents a departure from societal norms and values, and violence is one of the most extreme manifestations of such deviation. Its proliferation can be linked to various factors, including social inequality, economic hardship, the erosion of social cohesion, the rise of individualism, and the weakening of traditional mechanisms of social control, such as family, school, and community. Modern forms of violence encompass everything from physical and verbal abuse to emotional and psychological mistreatment, as well as structural violence manifesting through social injustices and marginalization. In addition to classical forms of violence, such as crime or domestic violence, increasing attention is being paid to cyber violence, a new dimension of deviant behavior in the digital world. The spread of violence as deviant behavior may be related to the erosion of social values and norms, as well as changing perceptions of the boundaries of moral behavior. What complicates this issue further is the growing presence of violence in media and popular culture. The exposure to violence through television, movies, video games, and social media can lead to the normalization of violent behavior, particularly among the youth, who may find role models and behavioral patterns in these media. Such normalization often reduces societal sensitivity to violence, making it more difficult to recognize violence as deviant behavior.

In the context of increasing violence, it is essential to reflect on how societies can respond to this challenge. Violence prevention requires a collective effort, including the strengthening of educational and social programs, as well as interventions that promote non-violent communication, solidarity, and respect for diversity. Only through a comprehensive approach that encompasses social, economic, cultural, and political aspects can violence, as an increasingly prevalent form of deviant behavior in contemporary society, be effectively reduced.

The theme “Social and Humanistic Aspects of Life in Communities (Un)Safe from Violence” requires an in-depth analysis of the relationship between individuals, communities, and violence within a broader social context. This topic addresses complex questions, including *how communities shape and maintain security and how violence impacts social structures, identity, and everyday life*. A social and humanistic per-



spective involves the analysis of cultural, ethical, psychological, and social factors that define safety or insecurity within a community. The theme explores the role of social norms, power dynamics, solidarity, and marginalization, as well as how individuals and groups experience, respond to, and organize themselves in the context of violence or its absence. The issue of security is not only physical but also psychological, moral, and social, affecting the sense of belonging, identity, and community. Through this analysis, the mechanisms of resistance to violence can be better understood, as well as pathways to building more just and safer communities.

In societies confronting various forms of violence, whether physical, psychological, or structural, communities become critical points where complex processes of social interactions, identity, and resistance converge. Social aspects involve exploring how social norms, values, and institutions adapt or break down in conditions of insecurity, and how these changes affect the daily lives of individuals and groups. The question of who has access to safety, and who does not, often depends on social, economic, and political factors, including gender, class, ethnicity, and community status. The humanistic aspects deepen this analysis by focusing on human values, dignity, empathy, and ethics. Through a humanistic lens, we examine how violence affects the emotional, psychological, and moral health of both communities and individuals. This perspective reminds us that security is not only a physical need but also a spiritual and moral one. Mechanisms of solidarity and resilience that arise in response to violence are also considered, as well as the creative ways communities rebuild social cohesion and a sense of belonging. What makes this theme particularly relevant is its applicability to different types of communities – ranging from local urban or rural communities to larger national and global ones. As societies face challenges like crime, political violence, war, or domestic violence, it is crucial to understand how communities become or remain safe, and how social and humanistic values can contribute to lasting solutions that promote peace, justice, and inclusion. Through this lens, the theme invites us to rethink and redefine the concepts of security, community, and humanity in the modern world.

Motivated by the afore mentioned, the journal of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Tuzla, *Social Sciences and Humanities Studies*, within the thematic section “Social and Humanistic Aspects of Life in Communities (Un)Safe from Violence,” with contributions from authors across various scientific fields, has addressed different aspects of violence and security. Various disciplines provide unique perspectives that contribute to understanding how societies function in the context of violence and how responses to insecurity and violence develop on different levels, from

individuals to international relations. Although the contributions covered a wide range of topics and works – 23 in total – for clarity, all texts have been grouped into four sub-thematic areas: 1. Prevention and Social Work; 2. Sociology and Education; 3. Geopolitics, Political Science, and Security; and 4. Media, Language, and Literature. Each of these disciplines, in its own way, enriches our understanding of how communities function in the context of violence and security. Through a multidisciplinary approach, we gain a broader picture of the causes of violence, its consequences, and potential pathways to building more just and secure societies.

## **2. PREVENTION AND SOCIAL WORK**

Social work plays a key role in the prevention of violence, the protection of vulnerable groups, and the support of violence victims. Social workers operate on the front lines, dealing with the realities of domestic violence, child abuse, and structural violence stemming from inequality. Their role is not only therapeutic but also educational and preventive, as they work within communities to promote changes in social norms and behaviors that can reduce levels of violence. This sub-thematic area discusses aspects such as peer violence and juvenile delinquency, innovative strategies for preventing juvenile violence, schoolchildren with developmental disabilities and inclusive education for a non-violent society, project and systemic activities in combating violence against women and domestic violence, as well as violence against people with disabilities.

Creating a safe school environment is a primary task for any society, a point emphasized in the co-authored work of Katarina Serdar, Matea Belošević, and Martina Ferić. The authors conducted a study analyzing student reactions to peer violence, aiming to identify differences in reactions based on educational age, level, gender, and the perception of risk and protective factors within the school environment. Understanding the factors in the school setting that promote or prevent peer violence is crucial for planning effective prevention strategies. These strategies must address both children and youth, as well as the adults who shape the environment in which children and youth interact. The authors highlight prevention strategies, including programs that teach social-emotional skills to children and youth, school policies, and creating a positive school climate as a preventive strategy. It is important that all implemented interventions are effective and evidence-based. The authors conclude that known risk and protective factors in the school environment contribute to students' reactions to peer violence, which can guide the development of preventive strategies for schools.

Adolescent violence represents a significant social issue with the potential to have long-lasting effects on the physical and mental health of young people. This issue is addressed with particular attention by a group of authors – Jelena Brkić Šmigoc, Sead Turčalo, Muamer Hirkić, Mirza Buljubašić, Veldin Kadić, and Mirza Smajić. Such violence can encompass physical, emotional, and verbal abuse and is often driven by factors such as peer pressure, family dysfunction, and socioeconomic conditions. Adolescents learn conflict resolution through behavioral models from their environment, and a lack of support and positive role models can increase the risk of violent behavior. Preventing youth violence requires a comprehensive approach, including education, strengthening social networks, and promoting emotional resilience. The work of this group of authors focuses on identifying the key factors contributing to political radicalization and violence among adolescents. The authors emphasize the complex nature of political radicalization and violence, stressing the importance of understanding personal, contextual, and societal factors. Their research suggests that targeted approaches, such as addressing family dysfunction, improving socioeconomic conditions, and strengthening social support, can significantly reduce the risk of radicalization. Key strategies include fostering positive self-esteem, reducing peer violence, and promoting cognitive flexibility, thus encouraging healthier political engagement among youth. This work provides valuable guidance for the development of youth-focused strategies.

Highlighting the importance of youth violence prevention, the following work by Selvira Draganović focuses on empowering young people. Adolescents exhibiting violent behavior often face various emotional difficulties and are prone to other harmful behaviors. Social media further exacerbates the situation, increasing feelings of isolation and stress. Psychological insights help identify both risk and protective factors, while new prevention approaches are proposed that emphasize the development of youths' strengths. Promising strategies include strengthening emotional skills and peer support, reducing the risk of violence and victimization. The author rightly concludes that youth violence requires a multidimensional approach that considers the complexity of individual and societal factors. A focus on strength-based interventions is recommended, as well as adapting research to address specific types of violence. Furthermore, the importance of involving parents, teachers, and peers in preventive strategies is emphasized, as such involvement can lead to long-term reductions in violence and improvements in social relationships among adolescents.

The work of authors Antonija Huljev, Irella Bogut, and Monika Mužar-Kos focuses on the importance of inclusive education for students with developmental dis-

abilities, emphasizing the need for tailored support that recognizes their diverse abilities. Inclusion is viewed as a societal value that contributes to the understanding and acceptance of diversity, thereby fostering the development of a non-violent society. The increase in violence directed toward students with disabilities highlights the importance of inclusive education as a means to reduce such incidents. The paper draws on contemporary research that confirms inclusion fosters humanity and raises awareness of diversity acceptance among peers. The authors conclude that inclusion should not only be a legal framework but also a moral and empirical value that encourages society to embrace diversity. Developing awareness of the importance of inclusion among children is crucial for the successful implementation of inclusive education in schools. A society that recognizes inclusion as a desirable value can expect a reduction in violence against children with disabilities, thereby contributing to the overall development and safety of the community. The paper suggests that inclusion, as a process, enriches the experiences and knowledge of all students and is essential for cultivating empathy and humanity within society.

The work of co-authors Andrea Rakanović Radonjić, Vesna Šučur-Janjtović, and Draško Gajić addresses the issue of violence against women and domestic violence through the lens of critical social work, focusing on systemic solutions and project-based activities in the Republic of Srpska. Particular emphasis is placed on the importance of the legal framework, with key instruments being the Istanbul Convention and the Law on Protection from Domestic Violence of the Republic of Srpska. These documents lay the foundation for the criminalization of violence and the protection of victims. In recent years, several projects have been implemented to improve the enforcement of the law and the implementation of violence protection policies. The theoretical framework of critical social work, including structural and postmodern approaches, has been used to analyze social responses to this form of violence. After an extensive analysis, the authors conclude that while the legal framework plays a crucial role in addressing violence against women and domestic violence in the Republic of Srpska, it is not sufficient on its own. Critical social work emphasizes the need for the development of a broader social mechanism that includes projects, policies, and programs to support legal solutions. The authors also conclude that it is essential to involve victims/survivors in research and the creation of solutions, thereby shifting the focus of social work from the “client” to the needs of the “individual.” This shift can contribute to a more effective fight against violence against women and domestic violence in any society, including the Republic of Srpska.

A particularly vulnerable group, individuals with disabilities, are also frequently

subjected to violence, a point emphasized in the work of Renata Martinec. People with disabilities are often “easy targets” for violence due to a lack of social skills, knowledge of acceptable behaviors, and a sense of dependency on others. Their physical or psychological vulnerabilities may provoke a sense of superiority in perpetrators, leading to physical, emotional, or verbal abuse. Statistics show that individuals with disabilities, especially women, experience violence more frequently than others, which further exacerbates their existing health and psychological challenges, diminishes their quality of life, and restricts their ability to exercise their human rights. Society must work to prevent violence against people with disabilities, recognizing their strength and offering them respect, not abuse. The author stresses that individuals with disabilities deserve to be treated with dignity, rather than becoming victims of violence due to their vulnerabilities. Society has a responsibility to protect them from violence and create conditions in which their integrity, choices, and dignity are acknowledged and respected. Promoting research and initiatives aimed at protecting these vulnerable groups is crucial for building a more inclusive and just society, one that enables people with disabilities to achieve self-fulfillment, emotional connection, and an improved quality of life.

Summarizing the conclusions of the works within this sub-thematic area, it becomes evident that they all highlight the complexity of violence and its consequences, underscoring the importance of creating safe environments for all members of society, especially vulnerable groups such as children, youth, women, people with disabilities, and those facing domestic violence. Education, social policies, preventive programs, and legal frameworks play a key role, but they are not sufficient on their own. Continuous investment is required in broader social mechanisms, such as support programs, empowering victims, and fostering empathy, emotional skills, and social justice. Inclusivity, respect for diversity, and the protection of human rights are fundamental principles that should shape every segment of society. The role of critical social work, the education system, parents, peers, and social structures is crucial in preventing violence and promoting healthy social relationships. Collectively, these works confirm that only through the synergy of legal frameworks, social interventions, and individual efforts can a safer and more just society be built for all its members.



### 3. SOCIOLOGY AND EDUCATION

The school system plays a crucial role in shaping the values, norms, and identities of young people, and is therefore significant in the prevention of violence. Through a sociological analysis of schooling, we examine how educational institutions influence the transmission of social values and contribute to either the reproduction or suppression of violent behavior patterns. The role of schools extends beyond simply providing knowledge; they are pivotal in fostering social cohesion, empathy, and tolerance. In societies affected by violence, the educational system can serve as a tool for preventing further conflicts, while in stable societies, education strengthens the social resilience of communities. This sub-thematic area includes six papers, addressing various forms of violence and their underlying motives. The topics covered include race- and gender-based violence and its effects, symbolic violence, sites of memory and the framework for reconciliation through transitional justice in Vukovar, football and violence in Croatia with an analysis of historical, social, and political contexts, the relationship between school climate and violent behavior among students, pro-social and antisocial behavior as predictors of school safety in the Republic of Serbia, and strategies and approaches for improving university project-based learning in the prevention of gender-based violence.

Focusing on violence and its underlying motives, Mirjana Kondor-Langer conducted extensive research to gain insights into the characteristics of areas where violent incidents occurred, the types of violence involved, the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, and the gender of the perpetrators. This research is part of the scientific project “Croatian Violence Monitor,” which concentrates on patterns of frequency, causes, and the prosecution of violent delinquency, with a particular emphasis on the protection of vulnerable victim groups. The results indicate that domestic violence is the most prevalent form of violence, with revenge and jealousy being the dominant motives for such incidents. The author emphasizes the importance of responsibly conducting victim assessments in accordance with existing regulations and focusing on the imposition of protective measures in misdemeanor proceedings. In criminal proceedings, it is also crucial to apply security measures to eliminate circumstances that enable or encourage further criminal acts. This work highlights the importance of systemic support for victims of violence through adequate protective measures and the prevention of future incidents.

Sandra Cvikić critically analyzes the process of reconciliation and transitional justice in post-war Vukovar, with a focus on symbolic violence and sites of memory.

The paper highlights the inability of socially constructed policies to effectively manage symbolic violence and memory sites, emphasizing how this issue affects relational dynamics within the community. Through an examination of the symbols of resistance and resilience that Vukovar represents, the paper explores how political manipulations and internal community dynamics shape the experiences of survivors and their ways of coping with the consequences of war. Despite initial attempts to assess the impact of reconciliation and transitional justice, the case of Vukovar opens up a broad field for further research. The subtle effects of symbolic violence, embedded in the laws and norms of transitional justice, have violent consequences for local survivor communities. Cvikić initiates a discussion and calls for a deeper examination of the ethical and institutional frameworks of transitional justice, pointing out the need for a critical reassessment of assumptions regarding their effects and implications. Ultimately, the paper suggests that issues of reconciliation, identity, and memory in the post-war Vukovar context are complex and require more careful analysis to understand the dynamics of power and their impact on traumatized communities.

Darija Kuharić's paper addresses the issue of football violence in Croatia, connecting it with a rich historical background and societal dynamics. The research is based on two key hypotheses: first, that football violence has deep historical roots extending far into the past, rather than being solely a contemporary phenomenon; and second, that media sensationalism significantly shapes public perception of violence, often ignoring its historical foundation and exaggerating the frequency and severity of incidents. Through this analysis, the paper seeks to provide insight into the causes of football-related violence and serve as a foundation for potential strategies to reduce violence within this context. Moreover, these findings offer a deeper understanding of the connections between history, social structures, and media influence in the context of football violence, which could inspire initiatives aimed at creating a safer and more inclusive football culture.

The next two papers focus on violence and safety in schools. Nermin Mujaosmanović's study explores the relationship between school climate quality and students' violent behavior, as well as the differences in these variables based on academic achievement, gender, and grade level. The research was conducted on a sample of 823 high school students, using questionnaires to assess violent behavior and school climate quality. The results reveal a statistically significant negative correlation between violent behavior and school climate quality. However, differences in the perception of school climate based on academic achievement and gender were not significant, though differences in violent behavior were observed depending on the grade

level. Given the complexity of the causes of violent behavior, a systemic approach is necessary, involving the evaluation and adaptation of prevention programs to meet the needs of students and specific environments. High-quality evaluations can contribute to a more effective reduction of risk factors and the creation of a positive school climate. The author emphasizes the importance of school climate quality in preventing violent behavior and the need for further research into the factors that influence the occurrence of peer violence.

The co-authored work by Violeta Tadić and Boris Kordić examines prosocial and antisocial behavior among students in relation to school safety. The sample consists of 719 students from nine high schools in Serbia. Self-assessment questionnaires were used to measure prosocial and antisocial behavior, as well as school safety through factors such as violent behavior, unsafe school environments, victimization, and rule violations. Prosocial students demonstrated lower levels of violent behavior, unsafe school environments, and victimization. In contrast, antisocial students exhibited a higher prevalence of violent behavior, victimization, and unsafe school environments. Schools with a higher proportion of prosocial behavior were characterized by the absence of violence, lower levels of victimization, and generally greater safety. In conclusion, the authors emphasize the importance of promoting prosocial behavior in schools to create a safer and more supportive school climate. The absence of violent behavior and victimization is crucial for fostering positive behavior patterns that can enhance the school's resilience to negative behaviors, such as antisocial actions. These findings provide a foundation for developing strategies focused on strengthening prosocial behavior among students and school staff.

The final paper in this sub-thematic area, authored by Branka Kovačević, focuses on gender-based violence, which is defined as violence rooted in socially constructed roles and norms between men and women. The aim of the research was to assess students' evaluations of strategies and approaches for improving project-based learning in the prevention of gender-based violence, as well as to examine differences in evaluations among students from various academic disciplines. Based on a sample of 303 students from the University of East Sarajevo, the results revealed significant differences in evaluations between students from social and artistic sciences compared to those from natural and technical sciences. The study emphasized the importance of an interdisciplinary approach, organizing workshops, and collaborating with the local community. The paper underscores the need to expand innovative learning models to prevent gender-based violence. Active student involvement, the use of information and communication technology, and the innovation of teaching methods are key to

enhancing the educational process. A holistic approach, involving various stakeholders and strategies, is essential for the successful implementation of best practices. Additionally, the organization of conferences, seminars, and workshops, as well as networking with partners and community engagement, is crucial for promoting gender equality and preventing violence.

In conclusion, all the papers within this sub-thematic area highlight the complexity of violence, particularly domestic violence, which often emerges as the most common form. The research indicates that emotional motives, such as revenge and jealousy, are key causes of violence, underscoring the need for a deeper understanding of these phenomena to develop effective prevention programs. Furthermore, historical, social, and cultural contexts play a significant role in shaping the dynamics of violence, while the quality of environments, such as school climate and prosocial behavior, plays a crucial role in preventing violent behaviors. All the papers suggest the necessity of a holistic and interdisciplinary approach, involving collaboration between educational institutions, local communities, and other societal actors. Additionally, the moral responsibility in analyzing and critiquing the culture of violence is emphasized, along with the need to change the social and cultural structures that perpetuate it. Ultimately, the research highlights that combating violence is a complex process requiring collective efforts aimed at prevention, supporting victims, and critically reassessing existing norms and values.

#### **4. GEOPOLITICS, POLITICAL SCIENCE, AND SECURITY**

On a global level, geopolitics and political science address the issue of security through the lens of international relations, military conflicts, and political decisions that shape the fates of communities and states. Geopolitics examines how different states and political actors use power, territorial influence, and resources to create insecurity or destabilize security. Political science, on the other hand, analyzes political systems, laws, and policies that contribute to the formation of either secure or insecure societies. These disciplines illuminate the broader context in which violence occurs, whether it involves civil conflicts, terrorism, or political violence, and show how global dynamics can influence local security. This sub-thematic area includes four papers that reflect on (in)security and (non)violence in a broad context. The topics addressed are: the complex dynamics of post-conflict peacebuilding in fragmented societies, the impact of popular geopolitics on the representation of (non)violence in post-Yugoslav cinema, violence in the Western Balkans with a case study and com-

parative analysis, and the lack of trust between ethnic groups in post-ethnic conflict societies (with case studies of Zimbabwe and Bosnia and Herzegovina).

The paper by Selma Delalić and Hana Suljević analyzes the mechanisms of peace-building in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a specific focus on the role of international organizations such as the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), and NATO. Using an inductive and qualitative approach, the paper synthesizes various sources to examine the effectiveness of the strategies these organizations employed in the country's reconstruction, while identifying the challenges they faced during their missions. The paper also provides a historical overview of the wartime period (1992-1995), enabling a deeper understanding of the post-conflict context. The aim was to offer a comprehensive narrative about the international community's contribution to the stabilization and reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while highlighting that key reform processes and the country's integration into the European community remain unfinished. Despite efforts to rebuild infrastructure and strengthen state institutions, progress in political stability and democratic reforms has been limited. The authors emphasize that international organizations played a crucial role in post-conflict reconstruction, but their achievements were constrained by internal political obstacles. Further progress and stability in the country require continued international engagement and political reforms to ensure long-term peace and European integration.

Films play a crucial role in shaping post-war narratives in the former Yugoslavia, reflecting the complexity of national identities, historical traumas, and reconciliation processes. Cinema not only influences public opinion on past conflicts but can also promote either a culture of violence or non-violence. Documentary films provide a platform for confronting trauma, while feature films often contribute to national myths. Through the lens of popular geopolitics, films hold significant power in shaping public narratives, highlighting the importance of art in reconciliation and collective memory processes. This is precisely the focus of authors Selma Čosić and Fatima Mahmutović. By addressing discourses in the popular geopolitics of post-Yugoslav cinema, the authors emphasize how feature films and documentaries from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, which deal with the war in BiH (1992-1995), are used to depict post-war narratives and their contribution to a culture of (non)violence. The paper also explores key concepts such as popular geopolitics, memory culture, trauma, and the geopolitics of emotions, as well as how films shape collective memory and perceptions of past events. As a tool of popular geopolitics, film significantly

impacts public consciousness, shaping national narratives and identities while simultaneously challenging official perspectives.

The third and final paper in this sub-thematic area, authored by Berina Beširović and Kudzai Cathrine Bingisai, explores the processes of trust-building and power-sharing in the post-conflict societies of Zimbabwe and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The paper examines the challenges of building political institutions and a shared identity in both countries following their respective conflicts. It focuses on the ethnic tensions and mistrust that have stemmed from historical conflicts, including Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe and the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The study analyzes the impact of peace agreements on political structures and trust among ethnic groups. Despite the existence of formal peace agreements, ethnic tensions continue to burden the political systems in both cases, the authors conclude. In Zimbabwe, ethnic tensions stem from struggles for political power, while in Bosnia and Herzegovina, religious and linguistic differences further complicate power-sharing arrangements, making it difficult to stabilize these societies.

Although thematically and substantively diverse, all of the works point to the fact that the processes of peacebuilding, political stability, and trust-building in post-conflict societies are complex and protracted. Despite the role of international organizations and formal peace agreements, internal political obstacles, ethnic tensions, and historical traumas continue to hinder sustainable stabilization. Cultural factors, including the legacy of conflict and collective narratives, significantly influence perceptions of violence and identity, while political reforms and reconciliation processes remain incomplete. Long-term peace requires ongoing support and the adaptation of institutional strategies to overcome historical divisions and ensure sustainable development.

## **5. MEDIA, LANGUAGE, AND LITERATURE**

Media and language play a key role in shaping the perception of violence and security in society. The media often convey images and stories of violence, influencing public opinion and creating narratives of security or insecurity. The way violence is discussed and written about, and the language used in these narratives, affects how individuals and communities understand and respond to violence. Literature, as a creative expression of societal experiences, also offers a space for deeper reflection on violence, security, and human resilience. Through literary works, authors often explore the ethical and moral questions surrounding violence, highlighting individual

and collective struggles for survival and peace in conflict-affected environments. The eight topics covered in this sub-thematic area include media and the psychodynamics of media violence, linguistic patterns of racism in German football, the construction of meaning and the shaping of society, emotional arguments in political rhetoric, and linguistic violence – from benign to fatal consequences. Additionally, the representation of urban violence in JG Ballard’s novels and systemic racial and gender-based violence in the plays of African-American playwright Pearl Cleage are also examined.

Lidija Eret’s paper explores the connection between digitalization and peer aggression among children and adolescents, emphasizing the negative impact of digital media on cognitive development and mental health. Neuroscientific research suggests that excessive exposure to digital media reduces self-control, increases stress, and leads to aggressive and self-destructive behavior. The paper also examines the phenomena of desensitization to violence and digital dementia, underscoring the need for a critical approach to the use of digital media. In conclusion, the author highlights that excessive exposure to digital media results in increased aggressiveness in boys and self-destructive tendencies in girls. She recommends reducing the time spent in digital environments, promoting physical activity, and strengthening personal social interactions to mitigate these negative effects. The use of digital media should be purposeful, with a focus on healthy alternative activities.

In their work on the psychodynamics of media violence, authors Irena Praskač-Salčin and Jelena Brkić Šmigoc explore the correlation between media, violence, and media users, focusing on the perception of violent scenes across different media formats. The study examines the motivations, engagement, and needs of users in seeking and consuming violent content. Qualitative research conducted through focus groups indicates that participants prefer realistic depictions of violence but are not attracted to explicit content. Cognitive dissonance is resolved through personal justifications related to behavior and the appeal of violent media messages. The research emphasizes that media cannot be solely blamed for negative effects; rather, users are actively involved in the process of seeking and sharing content, including violent material. The study also encourages discussions on users’ communication needs and media policy, stressing the importance of continuously revising normative and ethical frameworks.

Amela Ćurković’s paper addresses the media discourse on racism in German football, focusing on linguistic patterns that link racist behavior to the immigrant backgrounds of players. Through an analysis of cases involving Jérôme Boateng, Mesut



Özil, and Gerald Asamoah, the paper highlights how media coverage often emphasizes their immigrant origins, questions their loyalty, and portrays dual identities based on their success or failure on the field. These patterns not only reflect but also reinforce societal attitudes toward race and immigration, impacting the players' sense of belonging and mental well-being. The research findings emphasize the need for a shift in media practices towards a more inclusive approach that recognizes and celebrates diverse identities, thereby contributing to a better understanding and acceptance of immigrants within society.

The next paper in this sub-theme on violence, authored by Martina Blečić, investigates conversational implicatures, emphasizing their significance in social discourse. The author analyzes how these implicatures are used to maintain the social status quo and perpetuate stereotypes through indirect communication, which often avoids responsibility for the conveyed messages. The paper raises the issue of the ease with which implicatures can be canceled, noting that this frequently leads to illogicality and further misunderstandings. The analysis of the carnival image serves as an illustration for re-examining how conversational implicatures are employed in everyday communication. The paper calls for further research to clarify the relationship between pragmatic communication tools and how they shape and uphold social norms and stereotypes. The author suggests that pragmatic approaches can serve as powerful means for analyzing real linguistic and social situations, opening possibilities for the development of new concepts and the transformation of existing norms in society.

Gabrijela Kišiček's paper draws attention to the analysis of emotional arguments used for manipulation, particularly in political rhetoric. The focus is on *pathos*-driven arguments, such as appeals to fear, anger, resentment, and threats, which can fuel hate speech, verbal abuse, and even physical violence. Politicians often employ these arguments to manipulate the public and maintain power. The research highlights the importance of recognizing these manipulative strategies, educating the public, and fostering critical thinking to prevent violence and societal polarization. The paper underscores that education in rhetoric and raising awareness of these manipulative techniques can help reduce hate speech and violence in society, contributing to the creation of a more tolerant and safer environment.

In their paper, Edina Spahić and Jadranka Kolenović-Đapo investigate linguistic violence as a form of communication that negatively impacts the social and emotional development of young people, particularly in educational settings. The paper explores general definitions of linguistic violence, its consequences, and mechanisms for preventing undesirable outcomes. Through a specific case of verbal and symbolic vio-



lence, the study emphasizes the importance of timely recognition of abusive behavior to prevent tragic outcomes. The authors also highlight the influence of peer culture and media, which often promote violent communication, shaping the behavior of young people. The paper concludes with a call for active recognition and prevention of violence through education and intervention within the education system. Violent communication is a serious societal issue, with consequences ranging from emotional trauma to tragic outcomes. Educational institutions and parents play a key role in the timely detection and suppression of violence. To reduce violence, it is essential to raise awareness about language as a means of communication that should not be used for discrimination. Education on violence, its recognition, and fostering tolerance are critical for creating a safer environment for children and youth, the authors conclude.

The paper by Ifeta Čirić-Fazlija explores systemic racial and gender-based violence in two plays by African-American playwright Pearl Cleage from the 1990s, taking into account the history of Black America post-Reconstruction. Analyzing patterns of violence, the study highlights the oppressive effects of systemic violence rooted in structural, symbolic, and intersubjective racial brutality within a culture of collective violence against non-white Americans. By setting the action of her plays in the transition between the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, Cleage addresses the fundamental causes and circumstances of Black settlement and civil rights movements, while also critiquing dominant historiographical narratives about the conquest of the American West. In conclusion, the author emphasizes that a society that systematically supports a culture of violence is destined for psychological damage to all its members. Cleage warns of the consequences of gender- and race-based violence, stressing that individual and societal reactions to this violence are crucial for understanding its nature. The paper calls for moral responsibility from contemporary authors to examine and critique this culture of violence, while also acknowledging the long-term effects of historical injustice and violence on marginalized communities. Pearl Cleage's works encourage a reevaluation and analysis of the systems that perpetuate such violence, and underscore the need for change in social and cultural structures to prevent further violence and foster community healing.

The final paper by Milena Škobo and Jovana Đukić analyzes the social aspects of life in violent communities through J.G. Ballard's novels: *The Atrocity Exhibition* (1970), *High Rise* (1975), and *Cocaine Nights* (1996). The focus is on the typologies of violence in urban environments, including psychological and social violence, as well as the fetishization of car crashes. The paper hypothesizes that Ballard's depiction of violence reflects contemporary societal anxieties related to media sensation-

alism and technological advancement. The analysis reveals how the dehumanization and alienation of individuals contribute to violence within urban landscapes, highlighting their search for meaning and resilience in a chaotic world. The paper emphasizes the need for critical reflection on the causes of violence, as well as the importance of empathy, understanding, and collective action in addressing this issue. Ballard urges us to recognize and confront the darker impulses within ourselves and society in order to preserve civilization and ensure a better future for all.

All the papers within this final sub-theme collectively depict the complex interactions between media, social norms, violence, and identity. The research emphasizes how various forms of violence – whether physical, emotional, or linguistic – are deeply rooted in contemporary social and cultural contexts. Digitalization and media representation not only shape perceptions and behaviors but also influence the development of identity and interpersonal relationships, especially among young people. Therefore, it is crucial to cultivate critical awareness of these issues and promote proactive prevention measures based on education, empathy, and understanding. Key steps toward creating safer and more inclusive communities include transforming media practices, strengthening social interactions, and recognizing emotional arguments as manipulative tools. These insights encourage further research and discussions on how we can collectively work to reduce violence and promote healthy patterns of communication in modern society.

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In conclusion, based on all the presented papers, it is evident that they collectively underscore the complexity of violence and its consequences across various social contexts, highlighting the need to create safe and inclusive environments for all members of society, especially vulnerable groups. Education, social policies, prevention programs, and legal frameworks play a key role in preventing violence, but their implementation alone is not sufficient. Continuous investment in broader social mechanisms is essential – mechanisms that empower victims, foster empathy, and develop emotional skills. The importance of a holistic and interdisciplinary approach is also emphasized, involving cooperation among various actors, including educational institutions, local communities, and the media. In the context of domestic and broader forms of violence, emotional motives, cultural factors, and social norms shape the dynamics and outcomes of violence. To achieve long-term peace and stability in post-conflict societies, institutional strategies need to be adapted to ensure sustainable de-

velopment and overcome historical divisions. By critically analyzing media practices and recognizing emotional arguments as manipulative tools, we can contribute to building safer communities and promoting healthier communication patterns. Only through the synergy of legal frameworks, social interventions, and individual efforts can we create a more just and secure society for everyone.

## **IZAZOVI SIGURNOSTI: ANALIZA NAŠILJA U MULTIDISCIPLINARNOJ ISTRAŽIVAČKOJ PERSPEKTIVI**

### **Sažetak:**

Ovaj članak ispituje nasilje kao oblik devijantnog ponašanja kroz multidisciplinarni pristup, odražavajući društvene, ekonomske i kulturne tenzije u savremenim društvima. Tekst predstavlja uvodnik temata o nasilju i, kroz pregled sadržaja i istraživačkih rezultata članaka publiciranih u tematskom bloku, istražuje nasilje u različitim oblicima, uključujući fizičko, emocionalno, psihološko i strukturalno, kao i rastuću prisutnost cyber nasilja u digitalnom dobu. Autori naglašavaju ulogu medija u normalizaciji nasilja, posebno među mladima, te zagovaraju potrebu za holističkim, interdisciplinarnim odgovorima koji uključuju obrazovanje, socijalne programe, pravne okvire i kolektivne napore u sprječavanju i smanjenju nasilja. Studija ističe važnost empatije, solidarnosti i otpornosti unutar zajednica, te poziva na preispitivanje sigurnosti iz humanističke perspektive. Rad zaključuje da održiva prevencija nasilja zahtijeva uključivanje više disciplina i aktera, uključujući obrazovne institucije, lokalne zajednice i medije.

**Ključne riječi:** nasilje; devijantno ponašanje; društvena kohezija; sigurnost; multidisciplinarni pristup

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## **STUDENTS' REACTIONS TO PEER VIOLENCE IN RELATION TO THEIR PERCEPTION OF RISK AND PROTECTIVE FACTORS IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT**

Global data shows that peer violence and bullying are widespread problems and that the consequences of these behaviours are significant for the future development of children and youth. This study aims to determine: (1) whether there are differences in the witnessing of peer violence depending on the educational level and gender of the students, (2) whether there are differences in students' reactions to peer violence depending on educational level, gender, and perceptions of risk and protective factors in the school environment. The sample consisted of 2,188 students (aged 10 to 19 years; 48,1% female) in the towns of Jastrebarsko and Samobor. The modified version of the CTC Youth Survey was used. The following statistical methods and analyses were used: descriptive statistics, Mann-Whitney U test, Chi-square test and Cramer's V. The results showed that a higher percentage of elementary school students reported witnessing peer violence than high school students. In terms of response to peer violence, elementary school students were more likely than high school students to ignore peer violence as if it was none of their business, to be amused, but also to try to do something to prevent peer violence. Regarding gender differences in students' responses to peer violence, it was found among elementary and high school students that boys tended to ignore peer violence as if it was none of their business and that they often "join in the party". Concerning protective factors in the school environment, it was found that elementary and high school students who perceive more opportunities and recognition for prosocial involvement at school are more likely to try to take action against peer violence. On the other hand, elementary school students who had not experienced academic failure were found to be more likely to react actively to stop peer violence, while high school students did not differ in their reaction to peer violence, regardless of whether or not they had

experienced academic failure. The results of this study could provide a basis for planning evidence-based prevention interventions to promote positive development and/or prevent peer violence in children and youth.

**Key words:** peer violence; risk and protective factors; student reactions; school environment, prevention

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Alongside the family, the school is the environment that has the strongest influence on the socialisation of children, and certainly also the environment that significantly impacts the developmental outcomes of children and youth. In the context of this paper, it is important to mention the social development strategy and the concept of risk and protective factors. The social development model or strategy represents a theory of human behaviour that assigns the aetiology of prosocial and antisocial behaviours to similar developmental processes, and it is important to emphasise that this theory integrates research on risk and protective factors (Cambron et al. 2019). In addition, the concept of risk and protective factors occupies a significant place in prevention science, as it highlights the importance of identifying relevant factors for different types of risk behaviour and understanding their mutual interaction and impact on different target groups (Durlak 1998). Many studies have identified risk and protective factors in the school environment that can influence the developmental outcomes of children and youth (e.g. Arthur et al. 2002; Cahir et al. 2010; Catalano et al. 2011; Haggerty and McCowan 2018; Bojčić and Mandić Vidaković 2022). Risk factors refer to characteristics, variables or hazards that, if present in a particular person or their environment, increase the likelihood of that person developing a problem, as opposed to people who are not exposed to these risks (Institute of Medicine (US) Committee on Prevention of Mental Disorders et al. 1994), while protective factors protect against the consequences that may result from exposure to risk factors by reducing the impact of the risk or influencing the way children and youth respond to risk factors (Bašić and Ferić 2004). Risk factors from the school environment for the occurrence of peer violence include academic failure, which begins in later primary school age, and lack of engagement in school (Catalano et al. 2011). In this context, children who fall behind in school for any reason are at greater risk of drug use, early school leaving, teenage pregnancy, violence and criminal behaviour. It has also been found that students with poorer academic performance are more likely to perpetrate

and experience peer violence (Bojčić and Mandić Vidaković 2022). Other risk factors in the school environment that have been associated with various risk behaviours in children and youth, such as harmful drug use, violence, delinquency and dropping out of school, are low school commitment (Arthur et al. 2002; Cahir et al. 2010; Catalano et al. 2011). On the other hand, numerous prospective longitudinal studies have identified four environmental factors that promote positive social development in different environments, including schools: (1) opportunities for prosocial involvement, (2) recognition for positive involvement, (3) bonding, and (4) healthy beliefs and standards for behaviour (Catalano et al. 2011). Opportunities for prosocial involvement in the school environment may include giving students a choice in selecting a task, involving them in setting standards of behaviour in the classroom and giving them equal opportunities to learn. Opportunities for prosocial involvement should be followed by recognition, where recognition refers to a skill or talent that the student develops and is positive (Haggerty and McCowan 2018).

As an educational institution, a school should be a safe place for everyone. Still, it is not uncommon for children and youth to experience violence from their peers in the school environment, whether they witness violence or perpetrate it themselves.

Peer violence has been defined as a repeated act that is intentionally carried out to harm others deliberately, follows a specific pattern and is not an isolated event (Karmaliani et al. 2017). When talking about peer violence, it can be direct (physical aggression, threats and teasing) or indirect (spreading rumours and exclusion from peer groups) (Lagerspetz et al. 1988, according to Corboz et al. 2018). Bullying, as a subcategory of peer violence (Rajhvajn Bulat and Ajduković 2012; Silva 2020), is generally a more targeted and chronic or repetitive type of peer violence (Juvonen and Graham 2014), and it is a more severe form of peer violence (Rajhvajn Bulat and Ajduković 2012).

Global data shows that peer violence and bullying is a widespread problem. Data from UNICEF's global databases (2023) show that about 35% of students (13-15 years) around the world have been bullied on one or more days in the last 30 days. Jadambaa et al. (2019) found that the annual prevalence of victimisation by traditional and cyberbullying among Australian children and adolescents was 15,17%, and that of perpetrators was 5,27%. The same study shows that victimisation and perpetration of cyberbullying are less common (7,02% lifetime prevalence).

The results of the study on peer violence in Croatia on a representative sample of children aged 11, 13 and 16 showed that 14,8% were victims of peer violence, 6,3% were perpetrators, and 14,8% of them were both victims and perpetrators (Sušac et

al. 2016). Ferić (2018) reported on the results of a study on a representative sample of students from 24 Zagreb high schools in Zagreb aged 14 to 19, which showed that 37% of students had witnessed peer violence in the last four weeks and 17% of them had experienced peer violence themselves. Croatian data from the International Health Behavior in School-aged Children (HBSC) study shows that 14,1% of boys and 9,7% of girls aged 11 have been bullied at least twice in the last few months, while 12,6% of boys and 11,3% of girls aged 13 and 8,3% of boys and 7,7% of girls aged 15 reported the same experience. On the other hand, 9,4% of boys and 4,1% of girls aged 11, 10,7 % of boys and 7,6 % of girls aged 13 and 9,4 % of boys and 4,4 % of girls aged 15 reported that they had bullied others at least twice in the last few months (Capak 2020).

The findings on the prevalence of peer violence and bullying show that these behaviours are a serious social problem, as many studies show that the consequences of such behaviours are numerous and often very serious [Corboz et al. 2018; Ferrara et al. 2019; Geremew et al. 2022; Halliday et al. 2021; Ratto et al. 2023; World Health Organization (WHO) 2015]. For example, bullying between the ages of 10 and 12 is associated with negative consequences in the areas of attitude towards school, academic achievement, and relationships (psychological and social). However, it should be emphasised that these consequences last up to 8 years after the victimisation (Halliday et al. 2021). In addition, the consequences may include injuries, involvement in other forms of health-risk behaviour (e.g. substance use, higher stress levels), mental health problems, involvement in different types of violence, poor academic performance, higher economic costs and negative effects on family and friends (WHO 2015).

One of the characteristics of peer violence is that it often takes place in front of witnesses (peers). Therefore, witnesses may play an important role in the occurrence of peer violence and the experience of peer violence. Older studies show a relatively low active reaction of students to peer violence. For example, Berkowitz (2014) reports that students rarely experienced a positive response to peer violence and explains that this data is consistent with previous research showing that while peers were present during most bullying episodes, they only intervened to stop the bullying in 10 to 11% of cases. However, more recent research shows that most students actively react to peer violence. For example, the study by Joo et al. (2020) shows that out of 477 elementary school students who witnessed bullying incidents, 69,8% told other people that they saw others being bullied, and 30% did not tell anyone. The results of the study conducted by Bauman et al. (2020) on a sample of children and

youth (12-25 years) show that 69,2% reported intervening when they witnessed an incident (sometimes or always). A study by Bellmore et al. (2021) involving 470 early adolescents showed that 92% of study participants reported that they would help in situations of peer violence and would be more likely to help if the victim of peer violence was their friend. When considering these results, it is important to bear in mind that intention does not necessarily lead to actual help in situations of peer violence.

Recent research on understanding the behaviour of peers who witness peer violence has focused on understanding the socio-cognitive and peer group processes of defending and bystanding (Rambaran et al. 2022), examining whether moral disengagement and perceptions of anti-bullying norms in the classroom are associated with defending and passive bystanding in school bullying (Thorenberg et al. 2022) or assessing the characteristics of school-based peer victimisation events that promote helping (Bellmore et al. 2021). Although there is a body of research showing that opportunities for prosocial involvement and recognition for prosocial involvement at school are protective factors in the school environment that promote positive youth development and prevent youth risk behaviours (e.g. Catalano et al. 2011; Catalano et al. 2021; Lam 2012; Mihić et al. 2022), there is no research on how these protective factors in the school environment influence students' reaction to peer violence.

This paper aims to explore the relationship between risk and protective factors in the school environment and peer violence to provide a basis for planning evidence-based prevention interventions to promote positive development or prevent risk behaviours in children and youth. It is important to note that this paper refers to peer violence, which is a broader type of risky behaviour in children and young people than bullying.

## **2. RESEARCH AIM**

This study aims to determine: (1) whether there are differences in the witnessing of peer violence depending on the educational level and gender of the students, (2) whether there are differences in students' reactions to peer violence depending on educational level, gender and the perception of risk and protective factors in the school environment.



### 3. METHODS

#### 3.1. *Participant sample*

This research was conducted in January 2023 as part of a project „Frontline Politeia – Take prevention science training to the substance use and crime prevention frontline (EU JUST programme)“. The purpose of the research was to investigate risk and protective factors in different environments from the perspective of children and youth as well as risk behaviours of children and youth in the cities of Samobor and Jastrebarsko to create action plans of the Prevention Council of the cities of Samobor and Jastrebarsko. The study aimed to cover the entire student population of the 5th to 8th grade of elementary school and the 1st to 4th grade of high school in the towns of Samobor and Jastrebarsko, Croatia. The entire student population in the two cities was included to ensure the variability of the studied risk and protective factors in different environments from the perspective of children and youth and their involvement in risk behaviours. The survey was conducted in 5 elementary schools and 3 high schools in the area of the city of Samobor and in 1 elementary school and 1 high school in the city of Jastrebarsko. Initially, data on the exact number of students enrolled in the 2022/2023 school year in which the study was conducted was collected in all elementary and high schools. In the 2022/2023 school year, a total of 3,696 students were enrolled in elementary and high schools in both cities (Samobor - 2,904 students; Jastrebarsko - 892 students). All students in the target sample were informed about the survey and invited to participate, with an individual appointment being made for each class. A total of 2,652 students took part in the survey (589 - city of Jastrebarsko; 2,063 - city of Samobor). This corresponds to 71,7% of the total student population in both cities (city of Samobor 66%, city of Jastrebarsko 73%). However, the sample consists of 2,188 students (6 students refused to participate in the study, 445 students did not complete the questionnaire, 13 students did not provide correct information about their socio-demographic characteristics when the questionnaire was checked (e.g. they stated that they were 59 years old) and these students were excluded from the final sample due to the questionable reliability of the data), which corresponds to 59.1% of the total population of students in the mentioned areas (city of Samobor 60%, city of Jastrebarsko 55%).

Table 1 gives an overview of the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants. The participants were between 10 and 19 years old ( $M = 14,15$ ,  $SD = 2,21$ ), and 48,1% were female students. In terms of education level, 66,3% of the students attended elementary school and 44,7% attended high school.

**Table 1.** Socio-demographic characteristics of participants

	<b>Samobor</b>	<b>Jastrebarsko</b>	<b>Total (both cities)</b>
<b>N (%)</b>	1697 (77,6)	491 (22,4)	2,188
<b>Education level, n (%)</b>			
Elementary school	962 (56,7)	248 (50,5)	1210 (55,3)
High-school	735 (43,3)	243 (49,5)	978 (44,7)
<b>Grade, n (%)<sup>a</sup></b>			
Fifth grade (elementary school)	202 (11,9)	59 (12,0)	261 (11,9)
Sixth grade (elementary school)	238 (14,0)	67 (13,7)	305 (14,0)
Seventh grade (elementary school)	298 (17,6)	63 (12,9)	361 (16,5)
Eight grade (elementary school)	224 (13,2)	58 (11,8)	282 (12,9)
First grade (high-school)	213 (12,6)	79 (16,1)	292 (13,4)
Second grade (high-school)	180 (10,6)	69 (14,1)	249 (11,4)
Third grade (high-school)	214 (12,6)	56 (11,4)	270 (12,4)
Fourth grade (high-school)	127 (7,5)	39 (8,0)	166 (7,6)
<b>Gender, n (%)</b>			
Female	834 (49,1)	219 (44,6)	1053 (48,1)
Male	798 (47,0)	256 (52,1)	1054 (48,2)
I don't want to declare	65 (3,8)	16 (3,3)	81 (3,7)
<sup>a</sup> 2 (0,001%) participants were missing grade information			

### 3.2. Research process

Ethical approval for the study was obtained from the (it will be added after peer review). After approval was obtained, the head teachers of elementary and high schools in the cities of Samobor and Jastrebarsko were contacted. For students under the age of 14, written consent was obtained from their legal guardians/next of kin. According to the Ethical Codex for Research with Children (Ajduković and Kolesarić 2003), students who are 14 years old can give their consent independently, so written consent was not obtained from their legal guardians/next of kin. However, to ensure that parents/guardians were aware of the research in which their children were participating,

notices were sent to all parents/guardians, in cooperation with the school, informing them about the project in which the research was conducted, as well as the purpose, aim and method of conducting the research. In addition to parental consent, student consent was obtained at the beginning of the questionnaire. The students were informed about the aim of the study, the possibility of withdrawing from the study and the anonymity of the data. The study was conducted online until January 2023 using the Survey Monkey tool. The students completed the questionnaire independently in their computer rooms or on their mobile phones in collaboration with the school staff involved in the study. The students who agreed to take part in the study were given access to an online questionnaire, which took around 45 minutes to complete.

### **3.3. Research instruments**

A modified CTC Youth Survey (Mihic et al. 2010) was used for the study. This survey assesses the risk/problem behaviour as well as the risk and protective factors for the development of behavioural problems in children and youth. Based on the results, it is possible to tailor prevention interventions to the needs of a specific community (Mihic et al. 2010). The CTC Youth Survey was previously used and validated in Croatia (Mihic et al. 2010; Mihic et al. 2013). The authors of the validated questionnaire in Croatia gave their consent to use it in this study. The survey assesses 18 risk and 9 protective factors, categorised into four areas: community, family, school, and peers/individuals. For the purposes of this study, only the risk factors – academic failure (two items; e.g. Are your school grades better than the grades of most students in your class?;  $\alpha=.94$ ), low commitment to school (four items; e.g. Now, thinking back over the past year in school, how often did you: Enjoy being in school?;  $\alpha=.62$ ), and protective factors – opportunities for prosocial involvement (four items; e.g. In my school, students have lots of chances to help decide things like class activities and rules;  $\alpha=.62$ ), recognition for prosocial involvement (three items; e.g. My teacher(s) notices when I am doing a good job and let(s) me know about it;  $\alpha=.73$ ) in the school environment were considered. The survey also assesses the prevalence of risk behaviours among young people, such as delinquency, substance use, violence and gambling. For this study, the data on peer violence was used.

- Peer violence (9 items;  $\alpha=.78$ ). Students were asked to read the items and indicate on a 6-point scale (1 = never; 6 = every day) the extent to which they experience peer violence. For this study, the item about witnessing peer violence was used (How many times this school year have you seen one of your

classmates mistreat another student (e.g. physically assault them, making fun of them, excluding them...)?

- Reactions to peer violence (one item: How did you behave when you saw peer violence [e.g. physical attacks, mockery, exclusion...] at school?).

### **3.4. Data processing methods**

The data was analysed using the predictive analysis software IBM SPSS (version 26,0). Descriptive statistics were used to determine sample characteristics, including frequencies, percentages, means and standard deviations. The following statistical methods and analyses were used to achieve the objectives of this study: Mann-Whitney U test with calculation of the difference effect and chi-square test. In addition to the chi-square test, Cramer's V was also used, which is a measure of the size of the influence of the chi-square test (Pallant 2016).

## **4. RESEARCH RESULTS**

### **4.1. Witnessing peer violence**

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test shows that the dependent variable (witnessing peer violence) deviates significantly from the normal or Gaussian curve ( $p < 0.05$ ). As it deviates from the normal distribution, non-parametric statistical methods were used. The Mann-Whitney test was carried out to determine whether there are differences between elementary and high school students regarding witnessing peer violence at school. The analysis of the results shows that there are statistically significant differences between elementary and high school students ( $p < 0,01$ ) (Table 2). Compared to high school students, a higher percentage of elementary school students stated that they had witnessed peer violence. The effect size is small ( $r = -0,06$ ). The data shows that 15,2% of elementary and 11,6% of high school students witness peer violence on a weekly basis. As the differences in educational level were confirmed, a further analysis was carried out separately for elementary and high school students in relation to gender. Results of the Mann-Whitney test show that there are no statistically significant differences between male and female elementary school students regarding witnessing peer violence at school ( $p > 0,05$ ) and that there are statistically significant differences between male and female students in high school ( $p < 0,01$ ) (Table 2).

Compared to male students, a higher percentage of high school female students reported having witnessed peer violence. The effect size is small ( $r=-0,07$ ).

**Table 2.** Results of Mann-Whitney test – differences in students' statements about witnessing peer violence depending on educational level and gender

		WITNESSING PEER VIOLENCE	N	%						PR	MWU	p	r
				never	once	several times	once a month	once a week	every day				
EDUCATION LEVEL	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		1206	38,6	17,5	24,5	4,2	6,9	8,3	1128,02	545692,000	,002	0,06
	HIGH SCHOOL		977	45,2	15,3	24,3	3,7	4,9	6,7	1047,54			
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	GENDER	M	595	41,5	17,5	19,8	5,2	8,1	7,9	572,65	163415,000	,202	/
		F	573	36,1	17,8	28,4	3,0	5,9	8,7	596,81			
HIGH SCHOOL	GENDER	M	456	50,0	13,6	22,4	4,4	3,7	5,9	447,05	99660,000	,016	0,07
		F	478	41,0	17,6	25,1	2,9	6,3	7,1	487,01			

Legenda: PR = average rang; MWU = Mann-Whitneyjev U-test; p = significance; r = size effect

#### 4.2. Students' reaction to peer violence

A chi-square test was carried out to determine whether there are differences between elementary and high school students in terms of their reaction to peer violence at school. The results show that there are statistically significant differences between elementary and high school students ( $\chi^2=36,568$ ;  $p < 0,01$ ) (Table 3). Compared to high school students, a higher percentage of elementary school students reported ignoring peer violence as if it was none of their business," joining the party", but also trying to do something to prevent peer violence. Cramer's V is 0,17 and considering the degree of freedom ( $df=3$ ), it is a mean difference effect. As the differences in educational level were confirmed in relation to students' reactions to peer violence, further procedures were carried out separately for elementary and high school students.

**Table 3.** Results of chi-square test – differences in students' reaction to peer violence depending on educational level

STUDENTS' REACTION TO PEER VIOLENCE	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL				HIGH SCHOOL			
	GENDER				GENDER			
	MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
I ignored it as if it was none of my business	114	60,3	75	39,7	110	65,1	59	34,9
I didn't do anything, I just watched	63	42,6	85	57,4	62	42,8	83	57,2
I joined in the party	30	96,8	1	3,2	11	84,6	2	15,4
I tried to do something to stop it	169	47,3	188	52,7	62	37,3	104	62,7

$\chi^2=38,506$ ;  $df=3$ ;  $p < 0,05$ ; Cramer's V = 0,16

$\chi^2=35,272$ ;  $df=3$ ;  $p < 0,01$ ; Cramer's V = 0,18

The chi-square test carried out shows that there are statistically significant differences between the genders of elementary ( $\chi^2=38,506$ ;  $p < 0,05$ ) and high school students ( $\chi^2=35,272$ ;  $p < 0,01$ ) regarding their reaction to peer violence (Table 4). For both school types, the results show that male students are more likely to ignore peer violence and join in for fun than female students. On the other hand, female students are more likely to observe peer violence, but they are also more willing to take action to stop peer violence. Cramer's V is 0,16 elementary school students and 0,18 for high school students. If the degree of freedom ( $df=3$ ) is considered, the difference effect is medium.

**Table 4.** Results of chi-square test – differences in students' reaction to peer violence depending on gender

STUDENTS' REACTION TO PEER VIOLENCE	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL				HIGH SCHOOL			
	GENDER				GENDER			
	MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
I ignored it as if it was none of my business	114	60,3	75	39,7	110	65,1	59	34,9
I didn't do anything, I just watched	63	42,6	85	57,4	62	42,8	83	57,2
I joined in the party	30	96,8	1	3,2	11	84,6	2	15,4
I tried to do something to stop it	169	47,3	188	52,7	62	37,3	104	62,7

$\chi^2=38,506$ ;  $df=3$ ;  $p < 0,05$ ; Cramer's V = 0,16

$\chi^2=35,272$ ;  $df=3$ ;  $p < 0,01$ ; Cramer's V = 0,18

#### 4.3. Protective factors in the school environment

Two protective factors, opportunities for prosocial involvement and recognition for prosocial involvement at school, were included in the analyses to determine whether there are differences in students' reactions to peer violence depending on perceived protective factors in the school environment.

The chi-square test carried out shows that there is a statistical difference in the reaction to peer violence in relation to the assessment of opportunities for prosocial involvement at school by elementary ( $\chi^2= 20, 309$ ;  $df=3$ ;  $p < 0,01$ ) and high school students ( $\chi^2= 18, 131$ ;  $df=3$ ;  $p < 0,01$ ) (Table 5). Overall, the results show that students who perceive more opportunities for prosocial involvement at school are more likely to try to act against peer violence. In contrast, those students who feel that they have fewer opportunities for prosocial involvement at school are more likely to have fun when they see peer violence. Elementary and high school students differ in who observes or ignores violence when they see it. High school students who believe that they have fewer opportunities for prosocial involvement at school tend to ignore violence as if it does not affect them and to observe violence. This result was not confirmed in the elementary school students. Analysing the results for the elementary school students shows that Cramer's V is 0,16 and 0,18 for the high school students. These are mean difference effects considering the degree of freedom ( $df=3$ ).

**Table 5.** Results of chi-square test – differences in students' reaction to peer violence in relation to students' perceptions of opportunities for prosocial involvement at school

STUDENTS' REACTION TO PEER VIOLENCE	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL				HIGH SCHOOL			
	OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROSOCIAL INVOLVEMENT				OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROSOCIAL INVOLVEMENT			
	NO		YES		NO		YES	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
I ignored it as if it was none of my business	68	35,1	126	64,9	105	60,0	70	40,0
I didn't do anything, I just watched	58	38,9	91	61,1	88	57,9	64	42,1
I joined in the party	22	66,7	11	33,3	12	92,3	1	7,7
I tried to do something to stop it	108	29,6	257	70,4	76	43,9	97	56,1
$\chi^2=20, 309$ ; $df=3$ ; $p < 0, 01$ ; Cramer's V = 0,16					$\chi^2=18,131$ ; $df=3$ ; $p < 0, 01$ ; Cramer's V = 0,18			

Regarding the recognition of prosocial involvement at school, the analysis showed that there are statistically significant differences in the reaction to peer violence depending on how students perceive the presence of this protective factor at school (elementary school students  $\chi^2= 28, 981$ ;  $df=3$ ;  $p < 0,05$  high school students  $\chi^2= 23, 200$ ;  $df=3$ ;  $p < 0,05$ , Table 6). The results show that elementary and high school students who experience more recognition for prosocial involvement at school are more likely to try to stop peer violence while it is occurring. The perception of this protective factor in elementary school students does not differ in their passive reaction to

peer violence. However, high school students who experience more recognition for prosocial involvement at school tend to react passively (ignoring) or negatively actively to peer violence (involvement in violence). Cramer's V is 0,19 for elementary school students and 0,21 for high school students, representing medium difference effects (df=3).

**Table 6.** Results of chi-square test – differences in students' reaction to peer violence depending on students' perceptions of recognition for prosocial involvement at school

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	HIGH SCHOOL							
	RECOGNITION FOR PROSOCIAL INVOLVEMENT				RECOGNITION FOR PROSOCIAL INVOLVEMENT			
	NO		YES		NO		YES	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
I ignored it as if it was none of my business	63	32,5	131	67,5	89	50,9	86	49,1
I didn't do anything, I just watched	73	48,3	78	51,7	98	64,1	55	35,9
I joined in the party	19	57,6	14	42,4	12	85,7	2	14,3
I tried to do something to stop it	99	27,4	262	72,6	72	41,4	102	58,6
$\chi^2=29, 981; df=3; p < 0,05; \text{Cramer's } V = 0,19$					$\chi^2=23, 200; df=3; p < 0,05; \text{Cramer's } V = 0,21$			

#### 4.4. Risk factors in school environment

The analyses included two factors, academic failure and low commitment to school, to determine whether there are differences in students' reactions to peer violence depending on risk factors in the school environment.

Analysing the results for elementary school students shows that there are statistically significant differences in the reaction to peer violence regarding their experience of academic failure ( $\chi^2= 18, 748; df=3; p < 0,05$ ) (Table 7). The results show that students who report having experienced academic failure are more likely to report having fun when they see peer violence. In other words, not having experienced academic failure supports students in actively trying to prevent peer violence. Cramer's V is 0,19, which is a medium difference effect given the degree of freedom (df=3).

There were no statistically significant differences in the reaction to peer violence among high school students rating whether or not they experience academic failure ( $\chi^2= 1, 223; df=3; p > 0,05$ ) (Table 7).



**Table 7.** Results of chi-square test – differences in students' reaction to peer violence depending on students' perception to academic failure

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL  STUDENTS' REACTION TO PEER VIOLENCE	HIGH SCHOOL							
	ACADEMIC FAILURE				ACADEMIC FAILURE			
	NO		YES		NO		YES	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
I ignored it as if it was none of my business	118	60,8	76	39,2	97	55,7	77	44,3
I didn't do anything, I just watched	97	63,8	55	36,2	76	50,0	76	50,0
I joined in the party	9	27,3	24	72,7	8	57,1	6	42,9
I tried to do something to stop it	239	65,1	128	34,9	94	54,3	79	45,7

$\chi^2=18, 748; df=3; p < 0, 05; \text{Cramer's } V = 0,19$   $\chi^2=1, 233; df=3; p > 0, 05; \text{Cramer's } V = 0,04$

Concerning the risk factor of low commitment to school, the results showed that there are no statistically significant differences in the reaction to peer violence between students who rate a high or low level of commitment to the school environment (elementary school students  $\chi^2= 3, 131; df=3; p > 0,05$ , high school students  $\chi^2= 5, 333; df=3; p > 0,05$ , Table 8).

**Table 8.** Results of chi-square test – differences in students' reaction to peer violence depending on students' perception of low commitment to school

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL  STUDENTS' REACTION TO PEER VIOLENCE	HIGH SCHOOL							
	LOW COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL				LOW COMMITMENT TO SCHOOL			
	NO		YES		NO		YES	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
I ignored it as if it was none of my business	113	68,5	52	31,5	119	75,8	38	24,2
I didn't do anything, I just watched	102	76,1	32	23,9	105	77,8	30	22,2
I joined in the party	14	63,6	8	36,4	5	62,5	3	37,5
I tried to do something to stop it	243	73,2	89	26,8	109	67,3	53	32,7

$\chi^2=3, 131; df=3; p > 0, 05; \text{Cramer's } V = 0,06$   $\chi^2=5, 333; df=3; p > 0, 05; \text{Cramer's } V = 0,10$

## 5. DISCUSSION

The first aim of this study was to determine whether there are differences in the witnessing of peer violence depending on the educational level and gender of the students. The result of the study showed that a higher percentage of elementary school students reported witnessing peer violence than high school students. The prevalence of peer violence is worrying, and the biggest problems occur in elementary school. Despite that fact, elementary school children at this age are beginning to develop the

ability to distinguish between intentional and unintentional harm (Buljan Flander et al. 2007). When children in elementary school begin to understand and recognise the difference between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour, they are more likely to report that they have witnessed some form of peer violence because they know how to recognise it. Studies that have found age differences in peer violence have shown that it occurs most frequently in children of higher elementary school age and in the lower grades of high school (Sušac et al. 2016; Velki and Kuterovac Jagodić 2014). From the above, it can be concluded that the relationship between peer violence and age follows an inverted U-curve (Olweus 1998; Velki and Kuterovac Jagodić 2014). Regarding the differences between male and female students in terms of witnessing peer violence at school, this study found that there are no gender differences among elementary school students, but there are among high school students. Female high school students state that they have witnessed violence from their peers to a greater extent. This can be explained by the fact that girls become more aware of discriminatory gender norms that characterise the dominance of men and the subordination of women, and in almost every culture, these norms can manifest themselves in the form of violence (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 2017). When girls are more aware of various forms of peer violence, they are more likely than boys to report witnessing peer violence.

Regarding the response to peer violence, elementary school students were more likely than secondary school students to ignore peer violence as if it were none of their business, to amuse themselves, but also to try to do something to prevent peer violence. The data obtained is partly consistent with previous studies. For example, the study by Trach et al. (2010) shows that witnesses in early adolescence are more likely to engage in unhelpful behaviours, such as walking away from peer victimisation, but also less likely to engage in helpful behaviours (e.g. telling the bully to stop or comforting a victim). Research by Kodžopeljić et al. (2010) has also shown that high school students are more likely to respond to violence in a way that protects the victim compared to elementary school students. However, the study results are in contrast to the results of this study. A possible explanation for this result could be the way the school responds to peer violence and the students' experiences with the peer violence reporting process. There is still a high level of tolerance towards violence in society and peer violence is often not responded to with the necessary seriousness. If high school students feel that the school minimizes the problem of peer violence (not responding appropriately), they may decide to take less action against it, i.e. their tolerance of peer violence may be greater. The data that high school students react

less in the way of “joining in” is not surprising, as research consistently shows that the prevalence of peer violence decreases with higher developmental age (e.g. González-Cabrera et al. 2022; Sušac et al. 2016; Velki and Kuterovac Jagodić 2014). This is also confirmed in this study, i.e. high school students report that they witness peer violence more rarely than elementary school students. In addition, better self-control and moral development develop at an older age, which studies associates with less risky behaviours in young people, including violence (e.g. Arsenio and Lemerise 2004; Pauwels et al. 2018; Vazsonyi et al. 2017).

In terms of gender differences in students' response to peer violence, it was found among elementary and high school students that boys tend to ignore peer violence as if it were none of their business and that they often “join in the party”. Girls' response action to peer violence, on the other hand, is usually to do nothing and just observe, but also to take certain actions to stop it. The results regarding girls' reactions to violence are contradictory. Other studies show that girls are more inclined to respond actively to peer violence, which is also confirmed by other studies (e.g. Felix and Green 2010; Gini et al. 2008; Rigby 2008; Stubbs-Richardson et al. 2018) and it can be explained by the fact that women generally have better adaptive skills and are better problem solvers than men, as they focus more on building and maintaining relationships (Guzmán et al. 2020). Furthermore, Gini et al. (2008) found that the most important predictors of active defensive behaviour were social self-efficacy and empathy, both of which were associated with the female gender. The finding that girls are more likely than boys to do nothing and just watch when it comes to peer violence should definitely be investigated in more detail in future studies.

Regarding the research question of whether there are differences in students' responses to peer violence depending on how they assess the risk and protective factors in the school environment, interesting data was obtained.

Regarding protective factors in the school environment, it was found that students who perceive more opportunities for prosocial involvement at school are more likely to try to do something about peer violence and that students who perceive fewer opportunities for prosocial involvement at school are more likely to have fun when they see peer violence. In terms of school type, high school students who believe they have fewer opportunities for prosocial involvement at school tend to ignore violence as if it does not affect them and to observe violence. Similar results were obtained about recognition for prosocial involvement at school. When looking at the entire sample, it was found that students who had more experience of having their prosocial involvement recognised at school were more likely to try to stop peer violence while

it was happening. This study also shows that high school students who experience more recognition for their prosocial involvement at school are more likely to react passively (ignoring) or negatively actively to peer violence (participating in violence). This is an unexpected result and needs to be investigated further in future studies. Nevertheless, it can be concluded from these results that it is worth investing in strengthening protective factors in schools, in opportunities for prosocial involvement, and also in the recognition of students' prosocial behaviour. Numerous studies have found that prosocial behaviour acts as a protective factor for engaging in aggressive forms of behaviour, loneliness, and victimization by peers (Feritas et al. 2021; Griese and Buhs 2013; Jung and Schröder-Abé 2019; Belošević et al. 2021). When examining risk factors, it was found that elementary school students who had not experienced academic failure were more likely to actively react to stop peer violence, while high school students did not differ in their reaction to peer violence, regardless of whether they had experienced academic failure or not. It is important to emphasise that previous studies have found that academic failure is a risk factor for peer violence (Herrenkohl et al. 2000; Savage et al. 2017; Strøm et al. 2013), and Vidourek and Kinga (2019) concluded in their study that students who receive lower grades are significantly more likely to report being victimised by peers than students who receive higher grades. Interestingly, high or low levels of commitment to the school were not found to be significant for students' reactions to peer violence, regardless of whether they were elementary or high school students. The study conducted by Mihić et al. (2022) on a sample of high school students showed that school commitment was significantly negatively associated with gambling, substance use, and violence in both males and females.

The finding that, in this sample, the level of school commitment has no influence on the students' reactions to peer violence should be investigated further. One of the possible explanations could be that other factors such as the school climate or the level of tolerance of peer violence at school have a greater influence on students' reactions to peer violence and thus "neutralise" the influence of school commitment influence on students' behaviour.

Comprehensive studies on risk and protective factors and their relationship to risk behaviour in children and youth are valuable, as it is emphasised that all prevention efforts should eliminate or reduce the risk factors and strengthen the protective factors to which children and adolescents are exposed (WHO 2015).

## 6. LIMITATIONS

This study has certain limitations. The first limitation is that the students' self-assessment was used as the only source of information for measurement. Not all students are willing to report their experiences, even in confidential and anonymous research studies. Furthermore, data derived from individuals' memories of the past are inherently unreliable as they tend to misrepresent or distort facts from a previous period (Hinduja and Patchin 2017). This study attempted to avoid this danger by asking students to report only on their experiences during the current school year. Secondly, conducting the survey online has certain limitations (reduction in the number of participants, whether they have understood all the instructions and information well, handling of the online tool, internet connection failure...). In this research, efforts were made to avoid the above risks by conducting the research under the guidance of school staff who gave clear instructions to the participants at the research's beginning and ensured the data's confidentiality. Efforts were also made to minimise these limitations by organising the time for completing the survey at the class level at the same time. Students could only access the questionnaire once, but they could return to the previous question at any time during the completion of the survey and change the answer previously given. Thirdly, the study was conducted in two small towns, so the results cannot be generalised to the entire student population. Future studies should include a representative sample at the state level so that the conclusions can be generalised to the population of primary and high school students. It is also necessary to mention the limitations associated with the research instrument used. The CTC Youth Survey only analyses 4 factors from the school environment. In future studies, it would certainly be worthwhile to analyse other important elements of the school environment, such as school climate, the application of school policies and preventive interventions.

## 7. CONCLUSION

From the perspective of ecological systems theory, the environment in which children and youth grow up has a major influence on socialisation processes and developmental outcomes. It influences the formation of attitudes and determines behavioural norms. As an important socialisation factor, school should be a place where children and youth can safely learn and experience prosocial norms, where they learn to cope with differences, build and maintain relationships with their peers and deal with peer

pressure. It should be a safe environment for academic, but also social-emotional learning. Unfortunately, for many children and youth, the experience of schooling isn't pleasant or even safe. The data shows that quite a large proportion of students experienced peer violence, and even more of them witnessed peer violence. Both experiences can have serious consequences for further children and youth developmental paths. The data that speaks of a large percentage of students passively reacting to peer violence (ignoring it) should also be a cause for concern. The question arises as to whether we live in a society that has normalised aggressive behaviour and whether this normalisation is being transferred to the school environment. In this context, it would be important to further investigate the question of why children and young people do not actively respond to peer violence. Is it because of their previous experience that the school or important adult in their life does not respond in a timely and appropriate manner to instances of peer violence, or is it because they see violence as an accepted form of behaviour in the society in which they live?

The responsibility for creating a safe school environment lies with adults, as they have a duty to protect and socialise children and young people throughout their development. The way in which adults create the environment in which children and young people have their first life experiences and in which they begin to learn and shape their behaviour will largely determine their developmental trajectory. Understanding the factors in the school environment that promote or prevent peer violence is important for planning effective prevention strategies. These strategies must address both children and youth and the adults who create the environment with which children and youth constantly interact. Whether it is social-emotional skills learning programmes for children and youth, school policies or creating a positive school climate as a prevention strategy, it is important that any interventions implemented are effective and evidence-based. This paper has shown how known risk and protective factors in the school environment contribute to students' reaction to peer violence and can therefore guide the development of prevention strategies for schools. As peer violence is a complex problem and society is changing, further research is needed to respond comprehensively and effectively to this problem.

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## REAKCIJE UČENIKA NA VRŠNJAČKO NAŠILJE U ODNOSU NA NJIHOVU PERCEPCIJU RIZIČNIH I ZAŠTITNIH ČIMBENIKA U ŠKOLSKOM OKRUŽENJU

### Sažetak:

Globalni podaci pokazuju da je vršnjačko nasilje raširen problem te da su njegove posljedice značajne za budući razvoj djece i mladih. Cilj ovog istraživanja je utvrditi: (1) postoje li razlike u svjedočenju vršnjačkog nasilja ovisno o razini obrazovanja i spolu učenika, (2) postoje li razlike u reakcijama učenika na vršnjačko nasilje ovisno o razini obrazovanja, spolu i percepciji rizičnih i zaštitnih čimbenika u školskom okruženju. Uzorak se sastojao od 2,188 učenika (u dobi od 10 do 19 godina; 48,1% učenica) na području gradova Jastrebarskog i Samobora, što odgovara 59,1% ukupne populacije učenika na tom području. Korištena je modificirana verzija CTC upitnika za mlade. Za postizanje ciljeva ovog istraživanja korištene su sljedeće statističke metode i analize: deskriptivna statistika, Mann-Whitneyjev U test, Hi-kvadrat test i Cramerov V. Rezultati istraživanja pokazali su da veći postotak osnovnoškolaca navodi da su svjedočili vršnjačkom nasilju od srednjoškolaca. Što se tiče reakcije na vršnjačko nasilje, osnovnoškolci su češće nego srednjoškolci ignorirali vršnjačko nasilje kao da ih se ne tiče, ili su se „priključili zabavi“, ali i češće pokušali učiniti nešto da zaustave vršnjačko nasilje. U odnosu na spolne razlike u reakcijama učenika na vršnjačko nasilje, kod učenika osnovnih i srednjih škola utvrđeno je da su dječaci skloniji ignorirati vršnjačko nasilje kao da ih se ne tiče te „priključiti se zabavi“. Nadalje, utvrđeno je da će osnovnoškolci i srednjoškolci koji u školi vide više mogućnosti i priznanja za prosocijalnu uključenost vjerojatnije nešto poduzeti kada svjedoče vršnjačkom nasilju. S druge strane, pokazalo se da će osnovnoškolci koji nisu doživjeli školski neuspjeh aktivnije reagirati na zaustavljanje vršnjačkog nasilja, dok se srednjoškolci ne razlikuju u reakcijama na vršnjačko nasilje, bez obzira jesu li doživjeli ili ne akademski neuspjeh. Rezultati ovog istraživanja mogli bi biti temelj za planiranje preventivnih intervencija utemeljenih na dokazima za promicanje pozitivnog razvoja i/ili prevenciju vršnjačkog nasilja kod djece i mladih.

**Ključne riječi:** vršnjačko nasilje; rizični i zaštitni čimbenici; reakcije učenika; školsko okruženje; prevencija

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## **PERSONAL, CONTEXTUAL, AND SOCIAL CORRELATES OF POLITICAL RADICALISM AND VIOLENCE AMONG ADOLESCENTS**

This research aims to identify personal, contextual, and social correlates of political radicalism and violence among adolescents. Research emphasises adolescents, a demographic, identified as potentially risk developmental period for political radicalization due to social identity formation and political socialization. The research employs a comprehensive methodology, utilizing a multi-stage sample of high school students to evaluate individual vulnerabilities and resilience, and broader contextual influences. The findings indicate that family dysfunction, poverty, and peer violence significantly correlate with political radicalism and violence among adolescents, while general self-esteem and cognitive flexibility play less important roles. Supportive social networks and perceptions of threats are crucial factors acting as a buffer against political violence. Interventions aimed at reducing family dysfunction, improving socio-economic conditions, and enhancing social support networks could mitigate the risks of political radicalization and political violence. The study provides valuable insights for policymakers and practitioners aiming to mitigate the risk among youth.

**Key words:** political radicalization; political violence; individual factors; contextual factors; adolescents



## 1. INTRODUCTION

The developmental sociopolitical landscape of Bosnia and Herzegovina provides a unique backdrop for investigating the socio-psychological factors relation to political behaviors among adolescents. The complex interplay of war legacies, socio-economic challenges, and intricate ethnic relations create a dynamic environment where young people's political attitudes and actions are shaped by many personal, social, and contextual correlates. This study endeavors to unravel the intricate relationships between these several factors and their impact on political radicalism and violence among adolescents.

Ajzen's (1991) theory of planned behavior posits that the primary determinants of voluntary behavior are an individual's intention to perform that behavior and their attitude towards it. Previous research has shown correlations between intention and actual behavior ranging from .53 to .90 (Van den Putte 1993; Sheeran 2002, as cited in Marić & Džamonja-Ignjatović 2011). Although intention and behavior are distinct concepts, intention serves as a reliable proximal measure of voluntary behavior (Ajzen 2005, as cited in Marić & Džamonja-Ignjatović 2011).

In this study, radicalization is defined as the process through which individuals or groups adopt increasingly extreme political, social, or religious ideals and aspirations that reject or undermine the status quo and may lead to the justification or use of violence to achieve these goals. This process involves a shift in beliefs, feelings, and behaviors towards greater acceptance of radical ideologies and often includes increased identification with a particular group or cause (Horgan 2008; McCauley & Moskalkenko 2008). This operationalization excludes legitimate activism and progressive concerns, focusing solely on the pathways leading to extremism.

Political violence is defined as violence against political leaders and the government by individuals or groups, with the intent to achieve political goals (Kalmoe 2014). Kalmoe's research indicates that individuals with aggressive personality traits are significantly more likely to support political violence, especially when exposed to political messages containing violent metaphors.

However, some researchers argue that the incentives driving attitudes and behaviors towards political violence are often distinct (Khalil 2014). Attitudes towards political radicalization are typically motivated by collective grievances, while actions of political violence are often driven by economic, security-based, and socio-psychological incentives (McCauley & Moskalkenko 2008).

Focusing on adolescents, this research aims to provide insights into the early stages of political socialization and identify potential pathways leading to both constructive political engagement and extremist behaviors. Theories of political socialization and development emphasize the importance of this developmental stage in shaping social identity and political behavior (Erikson 1968; Krosnick & Duane 1989, as cited in Miklikowska, Jasko, & Kudrnac 2023). Inadequate political socialization, coupled with identity crises and social rejection, can exacerbate this vulnerability (Arnett 2000; Kroger 2004, as cited in Miklikowska, Jasko, & Kudrnac 2023).

Adolescents are significantly more likely to support or engage in political violence than older individuals (Desmarais, Simons-Rudolph, Brugh, Schilling, & Hoggan 2017; Wolfowicz et al. 2020, as cited in Jahnke, Borger, & Beelmann 2022). Numerous studies have identified risk and protective factors for political radicalization and violence. Some risk factors are contextual, relating to political and economic conditions, while others are psychological.

A meta-analysis focusing on risk factors for political violence among adolescents has shown significant effects of depression, empathy, aggression, identification, relative group deprivation, realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative intergroup emotions, experiences of discrimination, dissatisfaction with the police, political actors, and institutions, and negative attitudes towards democracy (Jahnke, Borger, & Beelmann 2022).

The social context in which an individual is raised significantly influences their resilience or vulnerability to risky behaviors. Poor social conditions can foster politically radical attitudes (Obaidi, Bergh, Akrami, & Anjum 2019). Family dysfunction, victimization, and poverty are vulnerability factors for radicalism (Simi, Sporer, et al. 2016). Individuals from dysfunctional families and hostile school environments often perceive the world as an adverse place (Network for Psychosocial Innovations and Institute of Psychology 2020).

Recent research highlights the impact of childhood trauma and adversity (Adverse Childhood Experiences – ACE) on radicalization. Factors such as parental loss, witnessing violence, household dysfunction, and experiencing abuse or domestic violence contribute to increased aggression, anxiety, and impulsivity, making individuals more susceptible to extremist and radical violent behaviors (Koehler 2020). Adolescents who have experienced more harassment express more pronounced extremist views (Miklikowska, Jasko, & Kudrnac 2023). The experience of threat and insecurity (Hogg, 2014) further drives individuals towards groups offering firm boundaries and directive leadership, the foundations of radical ideologies.

Personal characteristics also influence susceptibility to radicalization. Adolescents, seeking identity and group belonging, are vulnerable to radical groups that exploit these needs. The need for security, belonging, or achievement can drive individuals towards political violence (Kruglanski et al. 2014). Uncertainty, perceived threats, and insecure life attachments are linked to political violence (Oluf Gøtzsche-Astrup 2021). The search for personal meaning through values, goals, and identity interpretations is crucial in vulnerability to radicalization (Miklikowska, Jasko, & Kudrnac 2023). Social identity processes also play a significant role in radicalization (Ozer, Obaidi, & Pfatteicher 2020).

Given these potential variables of individual susceptibility to radicalization, this research examines self-esteem, collective self-esteem, social support perception from family, friends, and significant others, symbolic and real intergroup threat perception, and personality variables such as cognitive flexibility. These factors encompass a wide spectrum of grievances, injustices, and societal shortcomings exploited by radicalizers, including marginalization, inequality, discrimination, and existential threats (Brkić Šmigoc et al. 2019). At the individual level, these factors manifest as vulnerabilities or resilience traits or predispositions towards radicalization.

Previous research has highlighted the significance of factors such as family dysfunction, poverty, peer violence, trauma, self-esteem, social support, perception of threats, and cognitive flexibility in shaping youths' political behaviors. However, comprehensive studies that simultaneously examine these variables remain limited.

The primary research question guiding this study is: What are the personal, contextual, and social correlates of political radicalism, and violence among adolescents? By answering this question, the study aims to contribute to the existing body of knowledge on political behavior and radicalization and inform policymakers and practitioners working to promote stability and positive political participation.

## **2. APPROACH**

### ***2.1. Sample and Sampling***

The target population were high school students in the third and fourth grades of secondary vocational schools and gymnasiums in BiH. International schools and schools operating under special programs for atypical populations are excluded from the population. The total sample was calculated using the entire population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This was done because there is no specific data available on high school

students, especially those in the third and fourth grades. A total planned sample of 1500 respondents (which is about .04 of the total population) was based on 2013 census, which shows that the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina is 3,531,139.<sup>1</sup> Given that the average number of students per classroom in secondary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina is 21, the research planned for 71 classes. The sample in the research followed the criteria of a multi-stage sample. In the first stage, all secondary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina were sampled according to the first stratum, representing the country's administrative organization. This includes the Federation of BiH, Republika Srpska (RS), and the Brčko District, which regulate educational competence in BiH. In the second stage, the sample was formed according to the occupational profile, and vocational schools and gymnasiums were represented in equal proportion. Based on the total population, the proportions of three areas were determined: for FBiH  $p=0.655$ ; for RS  $p=0.325$ ; for BD  $p=0.02$ . The planned sample consists of 22 schools for the territory of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, more precisely two schools for each of the 9 cantons and four schools for the Herzegovina-Neretva canton, of which two schools implement the program according to the Croatian curriculum and two the program according to the Bosnian curriculum. Nonetheless, the planned number of classrooms are as follows: 46 classrooms in FBiH, 24 in RS, and 4 in BD.

To conduct the research, consent was required from relevant ministries, school directors, and the students themselves. Since the participants were over 15 years old, a letter was sent to parents informing them about the research and the project, in line with the 2012 Code of Ethics for Research with and on Children (Article 2.2.1. paragraph 2).

Despite following strict methodological requirements, significant changes occurred in the final number of respondents. The research was only conducted in administrative units where consent was obtained.

The resulting sample is 740 high school students, with an average age of 17 (SD .57). In the obtained sample, 55% were women, 43% were men and 2% did not want to answer. Over 90% of respondents declared that they belong to a certain religion, most of them identify themselves as Bosniaks, 83.3%, and they rate the financial situation in the family as very good (48%). The obtained sample resulted from permissions granted by the relevant ministries in specific administrative units for conducting the research.

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1 Federal Statistical Office, Final results of the 2013 census, available at: <https://fzs.ba/index.php/popis-stanovnistva/popis-stanovnistva-2013/konacni-rezultati-popisa-2013/>

## 2.2. Instruments

To assess contextual variables for political radicalization and violence: to assess family dysfunction and poverty, *the poor socialization scale* was used (Knežević 2003); *the peer violence scale* (Olweus 1996) was utilized to assess experienced and committed peer violence; and questions were applied for the assessment of experienced wartime family trauma.

To assess individual factors of vulnerability/resilience to political radicalization and violence: to assess self-esteem, *Rosenberg's self-esteem scale* was used (Rosenberg 1989); *the collective self-esteem scale* was utilized to assess the perception of social identity (Jelić 2009); to assess perceived social support, *the multidimensional scale of perceived social support* was used (Medved and Keresteš 2011, according to Zimet et al. 1988); *the intergroup threat scale* (Skokandić 2018) was applied to assess the perceived symbolic and real threat; *the cognitive control and flexibility scale* was utilized to assess cognitive flexibility and control (Dennis et al. 2010).

To assess political radicalization and violence, questionnaires were used to assess the intention and attitudes: to assess the intention of political radicalism, *the intention of political radicalism scale* was applied (Moskalenko et al. 2009); to assess attitudes about political violence, *the attitude about political violence scale* (Kalmoe 2014) was used.

## 2.3. Procedure

The research was conducted in schools that received permission from the competent ministry and the school directors.<sup>2</sup> Initial contact was established through official let-

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2 Certain schools in sample declined to participate in the study. Despite being fully informed about the research process, instruments, and ethical approvals, some schools provided brief and unsubstantiated reasons, such as the study being sensitive, which were sufficient for their management to refuse cooperation. The research was conducted in the following locations: Mramor, Tuzla; Tešanj; Mostar; Vitez; Busovača; Zenica; Goražde; Donji Vakuf; Paski, Tuzla; Topčić Polje; Prača; Travnik; Živinice; Brčko; Bistrica; Matuzići; Lončari; Lugovi; Kačuni; Konjic; Modriča; Vitkovići; Mosnik, Tuzla; Čajniče; Gornji Rahić, Brčko; Jelah; Mrkotić, Tešanj; Bašigovci; Čaplina; Ljepenić; Sarajevo; Todorovska Slopnica; Krojčica, Tuzla; Gradačac; Pelagićevo; Potočari, Srebrenica; Velika Kladuša; Čelebići; Vrnograč, Gradina; Kladanj; Predgrađe, Tuzla; Obudovac; Bijela; Mihaljevići, Busovača; Ustikolina; Gračanica (Babići); Zornik; Nova Bila; Potočani; Poljice kod Lukavca; Rajnovac, Velika Kladuša; Dobož Istok; Todorovo; Brezovo Polje; Grablje, Busovača; Trnovci; Gunja; Maoča, Brčko distrikt; Jablanica; Vogošća, Sarajevo; Čelić; Potpeć; Bukovci; Velino Selo; Podlugovi; Donja Lučka; Podzvizd; Srebrenica; Palanka; Miladije; Banovići; Gornje Dubrave; Kalesija-Jajići; Puračić; Dobož; Starina; Lukavac; Koraj; Sivša, Usora; Domanovići; Vrhovine; Kalošević; Šije; Putiš; Semizovac; Kopaći; Blagaj; Šatorovići; Velika Kladuša; Kiseljak; Vukovo, Tešanj; Vranduk; Šićki Brod, Tuzla; Vučkovci, Gradačac; Rajnovac; Donji Vakuf; Selo Prijedor; Dž. Planje; Loznica; Elezovići; Orčeva Luka, Velika Kladuša.

ters to school principals. The research was conducted by the researchers who signed this report.

Considering that children in secondary schools over 15 years independently decided on their participation in the research, the survey was carried out during the first visit to the class. The research was anonymous and voluntary. Data collection was carried out in a group procedure and was organized as part of regular teaching. At the beginning of the research, the participants were given basic information about the purpose and topic, after which they could decide whether they wanted to participate in the research or not. As the research was voluntary, the participants could withdraw from the research whenever they wanted, without stating the reason for their withdrawal, but not a single participant refused to participate in the research. Filling out the questionnaire took 30 minutes.

### **3. RESULTS**

This section explores the intricate relationships between various socio-psychological factors and the political attitudes of adolescents. Utilizing Pearson correlation analysis, this section reports how family dysfunction, poverty, peer violence, trauma, self-esteem, group identity significance, social support, perception of threats, and cognitive flexibility are related to political radicalism and political violence.

#### ***3.1. The context of growing up and living of young people***

##### *Family functionality and poverty*

Family dysfunctionality and poverty were assessed using the poor socialization scale (Knežević 2003). The scale consists of two subscales: family dysfunction and poverty.

**Table 3.1.1.** Family dysfunction and poverty correlation with Political radicalism Intent and Political Violence

		Family Dysfunction	Poverty
Political Radicalism Intent	Pearson Correlation	.097**	.133**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,009	0,000
	N	722	722
Political Violence	Pearson Correlation	.222**	.175**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000	0,000
	N	718	718
**.		Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).	
*.		Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).	

The correlation between Family Dysfunction and Political Radicalism Intent is 0.097, indicating a weak positive correlation, which is statistically significant ( $p = 0.009$ ). This implies that higher levels of family dysfunction are slightly associated with an increased intention towards political radicalism.

The correlation between Family Dysfunction and Political Violence is 0.222, indicating a low positive correlation, which is statistically significant ( $p = 0.000$ ). This suggests that higher levels of family dysfunction are associated with a higher inclination towards political violence.

The correlation between poverty and political radicalism intent has a correlation coefficient of 0.133, indicating a weak positive relationship. This correlation is statistically significant, as evidenced by the significance level (Sig. (2-tailed)) of 0.000.

The correlation between poverty and political violence shows a correlation coefficient of 0.175, indicating a weak positive relationship. This correlation is statistically significant, with a significance level (Sig. (2-tailed)) of 0.000.

These results suggest that while there are weak but statistically significant positive relationships between poverty and both political radicalism intent and political violence.

*Peer violence*

Assessment of the experience of peer violence was measured using the peer violence scale (Olweus 1996). The peer violence scale assesses the frequency of verbal and physical violence at school. Two subscales were set – one referring to experienced peer violence, i.e. to victims. On the other hand, the second refers to committed peer violence, that is, to abusers.

**Table 3.1.2.** Peer violence correlation with Political radicalism Intent and Political Violence

		Experienced peer violence	Perpetrated peer violence
Radicalism Intent	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000	0,000
	N	722	722
Political Violence	Pearson Correlation	.141**	.316**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000	0,000
	N	719	717

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

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

The intention of political radicalism shows a significant correlation of .135\*\* ( $p < 0.01$ ) with experienced peer violence, suggesting a slight but noteworthy positive relationship.

The correlation with political radicalism is stronger at .237\*\* ( $p < 0.01$ ), which is significant and suggests a moderate positive relationship. The correlation between political violence and experienced peer violence is .141\*\* ( $p < 0.01$ ), indicating a moderate positive relationship. The correlation between political violence and perpetrated peer violence is stronger at .316\*\* ( $p < 0.01$ ), showing a significant and positive relationship. Finally, the correlation between political violence and the intention of political radicalism is .336\*\* ( $p < 0.01$ ), indicating a moderate positive relationship.



*Trauma*

Traumatic experiences were assessed with a question about wartime family trauma. The respondents' task was to indicate if the stated claims apply to them and their family.

**Table 3.1.3.** Traumacorrelation with Political radicalism Intent and Political Violence

		Family war trauma	Individual life trauma
Political Radicalism Intent	Pearson Correlation	-0,065	-0,042
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,085	0,260
	N	714	712
Political Violence	Pearson Correlation	-0,025	-0,042
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,511	0,268
	N	712	709

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

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

The correlation analysis conducted on the variables related to trauma and political tendencies provides significant insights. Political radicalization intention shows weak negative correlations with both Family war trauma (-0.065,  $p = 0.085$ ) and Individual life trauma (-0.042,  $p = 0.260$ ), but these correlations are not significant. Similarly, Political violence has weak negative correlations with Family war trauma (-0.025,  $p = 0.511$ ) and Individual life trauma (-0.042,  $p = 0.268$ ), neither of which are significant.

The analysis of the context of growing up and living of young people reveals weak but statistically significant positive correlations between family dysfunction and poverty with both political radicalism intent and political violence. Peer violence, both experienced and perpetrated, shows a stronger positive relationship with political radicalism intent and political violence. Traumatic experiences, however, do not show significant correlations with political radicalism or violence, suggesting that these factors might play a less direct role in influencing political behaviors among adolescents.

### 3.2. *Personal characteristics as potential factors of susceptibility or resistance to political radicalization and political violence*

The correlation provides a detailed examination of the relationships between various psychological constructs and behavioral intention and attitude towards political violence. The analysis focuses on self-esteem, its positive and negative social dimensions, perception of social support, perception of intergroup threat, cognitive flexibility and their associations with intentions towards political radicalism, as well as political violence.

#### *General and collective self-esteem*

In psychological research, the *Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale* (1979) is most used to measure people’s general self-esteem. *The Collective Self-Esteem Scale* (CSES) (Luh-tanen and Crocker 1992) measures the level of social identity based on membership in a particular group (Jelić 2009). Collective self-esteem in this study was measured through 4 subscales, namely: positive social self-esteem, negative social self-esteem, public social self-esteem, and unimportance of the group for identity. The mentioned subscales represent the information needed to explain group bias, intergroup prejudices, and discrimination, i.e. intergroup attitudes in general (Jelić 2009).

**Table 3.2.1.** General and Collective self – esteem correlation with Political radicalism Intent and Political Violence

		General Self-esteem	Positive social self-esteem	Negative social self-esteem	Public social self-esteem	Insignificance of Group for Identity
Political Radicalism Intent	Pearson Correlation	0,000	.319**	-0,012	-0,004	-.175**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,995	0,000	0,757	0,918	0,000
	N	720	721	721	721	718
Political Violence	Pearson Correlation	-0,054	.125**	.163**	-.116**	-0,056
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,146	0,001	0,000	0,002	0,133
	N	715	716	716	716	714

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

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

The correlations with political intentions reveal interesting insights. Self-esteem has a weak, almost non-existent correlation with the intention towards political radicalism ( $r=0.000$ ,  $p=0.995$ ). However, positive social self-esteem shows a stronger positive correlation with political radicalism intentions ( $r=0.319$ ,  $p<0.01$ ). Negative social self-esteem has a non-significant correlation with political radicalism intentions ( $r=-0.012$ ,  $p=0.757$ ).

Public social self-esteem is not significantly correlated with political radicalism intentions ( $r=-0.004$ ,  $p=0.918$ ).

Regarding political violence, self-esteem shows a non-significant negative correlation ( $r=-0.054$ ,  $p=0.146$ ). Positive social self-esteem has a significant positive correlation with political violence ( $r=0.125$ ,  $p<0.01$ ), while negative social self-esteem is positively correlated ( $r=0.163$ ,  $p<0.01$ ). Public social self-esteem has a significant negative correlation with political violence ( $r=-0.116$ ,  $p<0.01$ ).

The correlation between Insignificance of Group for Identity and Intention of Political Radicalism is  $-0.175$ , which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level ( $p = 0.000$ ). This indicates a weak but significant negative correlation, implying that higher insignificance of the group for identity is associated with lower intentions of political radicalism.

The relationship between Insignificance of Group for Identity and Political Violence shows a correlation of  $-0.056$ , with a significance level of 0.133. This indicates a very weak negative correlation, suggesting that an increase in the perceived insignificance of the group for identity is associated with a slight decrease in political violence. However, this correlation is not statistically significant.

The data reveals a statistically significant negative correlation between the insignificance of group identity and political radicalism intentions, while the correlation with political violence is weak and not statistically significant. These findings suggest that perceptions of group insignificance may play a role in reducing radicalism intentions, though the effects on political violence are less clear.

### *Perception of social support*

Perceived social support was measured by the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support) by Zimet et al. (1988), which was translated into Croatian by Medved and Keresteš (2011). The scale consists of 12 items that measure the perceived social support of family, friends, and significant others.

The correlation (Table 3 provides a nuanced understanding of the relationships between diverse types of social support and various political behaviors.

**Table 3.2.2.** Support from significant others correlation with Political radicalism Intent and Political Violence

Political Radicalism Intent	Pearson Correlation	-0,053	0,071	0,047
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,157	0,055	0,204
	N	721	721	721
Political Violence	Pearson Correlation	-.156**	-.114**	-0,009
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000	0,002	0,812
	N	719	718	718

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

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

In the context of political radicalism intent, the correlations are less pronounced. The data shows that support from significant others has a correlation of -0.053, which is not statistically significant with a p-value of 0.157. Support from family has a correlation of 0.071, also not significant with a p-value of 0.055. Support from friends has a correlation of 0.047, which is not significant with a p-value of 0.204. These weak and insignificant correlations indicate that support from significant others, family, and friends does not have a strong direct influence on the intention for political radicalism.

Regarding political violence, the correlations show a different pattern. The data indicates that support from significant others has a correlation of -.156, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level with a p-value of 0.000. Support from family shows a correlation of -.114, also significant at the 0.01 level with a p-value of 0.002. However, support from friends has a correlation of -0.009, which is not significant with a p-value of 0.812. These findings reveal that higher levels of support from significant others and family are associated with lower tendencies towards political violence. This negative correlation suggests that supportive relationships can act as protective factors against engaging in violent political actions.

*Intergroup threat*

Intergroup threat was measured using two subscales, namely: *Perception of real threat* and *Perception of symbolic threat*. The perception of threats to the safety and survival of both personal and collective identity can be a sensitivity factor for the adoption of radical narratives as realistic interpretations of reality. *The perception of a symbolic threat* is a predictor of prejudice (Skokandić 2018), which is a component of every radical opinion and ideology. The perception of real threat did not prove to be a significant predictor of prejudice. In examining the intergroup threat on groups of different status in a multi-ethnic community after the conflict, *the perception of real threat*, unlike the symbolic one, did not prove to be significant for predicting the intention to discriminate and intragroup bias (Skokandić 2018, according to Löw Stanić 2014).

**Table 3.2.3.** Intergroup threat correlation with Political radicalism Intent and Political Violence

		Perception of real threats	Perception of symbolic threats
Political Radicalism Intent	Pearson Correlation	.198**	.354**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000	0,000
	N	688	688
Political Violence	Pearson Correlation	.214**	.328**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000	0,000
	N	694	693

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

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

The correlation between the perception of real threats and the intention of political radicalism is 0.198, which is statistically significant with a p-value of 0.000. This suggests a weak but significant positive correlation, indicating that as the perception of real threats increases, the intention of political radicalism also increases.

The correlation between the perception of real threats and political violence is 0.214, which is statistically significant with a p-value of 0.000. This denotes a weak but significant positive correlation, suggesting that a higher perception of real threats is associated with a higher tendency towards political violence.

The correlation between the perception of symbolic threats and the intention of political radicalism is 0.354, which is statistically significant with a p-value of 0.000. This shows a moderate and significant positive correlation, suggesting that as the perception of symbolic threats increases, the intention of political radicalism also increases.

The correlation between the perception of symbolic threats and political violence is 0.328, which is statistically significant with a p-value of 0.000. This indicates a moderate and significant positive correlation, suggesting that a higher perception of symbolic threats is associated with a higher tendency towards political violence.

Both perceptions of real and symbolic threats show weak to moderate positive correlations with political radicalism and violence, with symbolic threats having slightly stronger correlations.

### *Cognitive flexibility*

Cognitive flexibility can be defined as the ability to change cognitive patterns of thinking and reasoning due to adaptation to environmental stimuli that are variable (Dennis, Vander Wal 2010).

Research on individual differences in radical attitudes and behaviors shows that information processing styles increase an individual's sensitivity to accepting violence to protect an ideological goal or group. Zmigrod, Rentfrow, and Robbins (2019) found that cognitive rigidity, unlike some other aspects of cognition, is specifically implicated as a cognitive antecedent of extremist attitudes.

**Table 3.2.4.** Cognitive flexibility correlation with Political radicalism Intent and Political Violence

		Cognitive flexibility
Political Radicalism Intent	Pearson Correlation	0,057
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,127
	N	717
Political Violence	Pearson Correlation	0,003
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,933
	N	714

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

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

The data describes the correlations between cognitive flexibility and various forms of political intentions and actions. The correlation between cognitive flexibility and the intention of political radicalism is 0.057, which is not statistically significant, as indicated by the significance value of 0.127. The correlation between cognitive flexibility and political violence is a negligible 0.003, with a significance value of 0.933, indicating no significant relationship.

Finally, the correlation between the intention of political radicalism and political violence is 0.336, significant at the 0.01 level, with a significance value of 0.000, indicating a moderate positive relationship.

#### 4. DISCUSSION

This section synthesizes the findings from the correlation analyses and interprets their implications in the context of existing literature. The discussion aims to provide an understanding of how family dysfunction, poverty, peer violence, trauma, self-esteem, group identity significance, social support, perception of threats, and cognitive flexibility interact with political radicalism, and violence among adolescents.

The significant positive correlation between family dysfunction and political radicalism ( $r = 0.097$ ,  $p = 0.009$ ) highlights the impact of adverse family environments on youths' propensity towards radical ideologies. This finding is consistent with the life-course criminological perspective, which posits that early exposure to family

conflict and instability can lead to the development of maladaptive behaviors and attitudes (Simi, Sporer, & Bubolz, 2016). The theory suggests that dysfunctional family environments contribute to feelings of marginalization and resentment, which radical groups exploit to recruit vulnerable individuals. Koehler (2020) also identified childhood adversity, including family dysfunction, as a critical factor in the radicalization process.

The moderate and significant correlation between family dysfunction and political violence ( $r = 0.222$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ) indicates that adolescents from dysfunctional families are not only more likely to adopt radical ideologies but are also more inclined towards violent political actions. This finding aligns with studies such as those by Kalmoe (2014), who demonstrated that individuals with aggressive tendencies and a history of adverse familial experiences are more likely to support and engage in political violence. The connection between family dysfunction and aggressive behaviors can be attributed to the social learning theory, which posits that children learn and internalize behaviors observed in their immediate environment, including aggressive and violent responses to conflicts.

Furthermore, this study's findings align with research on the impact of socio-economic and psychological factors on radicalization. Borum (2011) emphasizes that radicalization is a multifaceted process influenced by a combination of personal grievances, identity crises, and exposure to radical ideologies, often facilitated by dysfunctional family dynamics. The sense of insecurity and lack of support in such families can drive adolescents towards radical groups that promise belonging, identity, and purpose.

The positive correlation between poverty and political radicalism intent, with a correlation coefficient of 0.133 and a significant p-value of 0.000, aligns with findings from research that link economic deprivation to radicalization. Krueger and Malečková (2003) found that poor economic conditions can foster radical sentiments, as economically disadvantaged individuals may find radical ideologies promising significant societal changes. This notion is further supported by Dalgaard-Nielsen (2010), who points to the role of socio-economic marginalization in the radicalization process. These studies collectively suggest that economic hardship can increase susceptibility to radical ideologies, which promise redressal of grievances and transformative change.

Similarly, the correlation between poverty and political violence, evidenced by a correlation coefficient of 0.175 and a significant p-value of 0.000, is consistent with the broader theoretical and empirical literature on the drivers of political violence.



Collier and Hoeffler (2004) argue that economic deprivation can create substantial grievances that may lead to violence, as marginalized individuals or groups might resort to violent actions as a means of political expression. This argument is supported by Gurr's (1970) theory of relative deprivation, which posits that perceived discrepancies between expected and actual living conditions can lead to frustration, thereby escalating into political violence.

The significant and strong correlation between experienced peer violence and perpetrated peer violence (.601) is consistent with the findings of Bandura's social learning theory, which posits that individuals learn aggressive behaviors through observation and direct experience. This relationship suggests that those who endure violence are more likely to adopt similar behaviors, emphasizing the cyclical nature of violence within peer groups.

In contrast, the significant but modest correlation between experienced peer violence and the intention of political radicalism (.135) aligns with research by Simi et al. (2016), which suggests that experiences of violence can foster radical ideologies. This correlation implies that personal victimization might contribute to the adoption of more extreme political views, even if it does not necessarily translate into general political activism.

However, the moderate and significant correlation between perpetrated peer violence and the intention of political radicalism (.237) is supported by studies such as those by McCauley and Moskalenko (2008), indicating that engaging in violence can be a pathway to radicalization. This finding suggests a potential escalation from interpersonal violence to more organized and ideological forms of violence.

The moderate positive correlation between political violence and experienced peer violence (.141) and the stronger correlation with perpetrated peer violence (.316) reinforce the idea that early exposure to violence can predispose individuals to adopt violent political methods (Horgan 2008). These findings suggest that interventions aimed at reducing peer violence might also mitigate the potential for political violence.

Finally, the moderate positive correlation between political violence and the intention of political radicalism (.336) further supports the notion that radical intentions are closely linked to violent methods, as shown in studies by Bjørgo (2005). This brings attention to the critical need for deradicalization efforts that address both ideological and behavioral aspects of radicalism.

The findings of this study provide valuable insights into the relationships between trauma and political behaviors. The positive correlation between Individual life trauma and Family war trauma ( $r = 0.343$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) aligns with previous research

indicating that diverse types of traumas are often interconnected and can compound their effects on individuals (Garbarino 2015). This significant relationship draws attention to the importance of addressing multiple sources of trauma in therapeutic and policy interventions.

The correlations between Political radicalization intention and both Family war trauma ( $r = -0.065$ ,  $p = 0.085$ ) and Individual life trauma ( $r = -0.042$ ,  $p = 0.260$ ) are weak and not statistically significant. These results suggest that while trauma may contribute to a predisposition towards radicalization, it is not a definitive predictor. This is in line with Borum's (2011) findings that radicalization is influenced by a complex interplay of individual and contextual factors.

Similarly, the weak negative correlations between Political violence and both Family war trauma ( $r = -0.025$ ,  $p = 0.511$ ) and Individual life trauma ( $r = -0.042$ ,  $p = 0.268$ ) indicate that trauma alone does not predict violent behavior. This is consistent with the literature suggesting that violent extremism results from a combination of risk factors, including socio-economic conditions, ideological motivations, and social networks (Weine et al. 2016).

The moderate positive correlation between Political radicalization intention and Political violence ( $r = 0.336$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) confirms the strong link between radical intentions and violent actions, points out to the critical need for early intervention strategies that address radical ideologies before they escalate into violence (McCauley & Moskalkenko 2008).

Furthermore, the study by Ozer et al. (2020) explores the complex interplay between life attachment, collective self-esteem, and extremism across diverse cultural contexts. They replicated findings that an insecure life attachment is associated with a higher degree of extremism endorsement. This relationship was found to be moderated by aspects of group membership, with variations observed among majority and minority groups from Denmark, India, and the United Kingdom. The study underscores the importance of general social psychological processes underlying radicalization, emphasizing the role of collective self-esteem as both a promoting and mitigating factor in the endorsement of extremism. These insights are particularly relevant for understanding the dynamics of radicalization among adolescents, as they highlight the significance of addressing underlying psychological and social factors in counter-radicalization efforts.

In discussion, these findings align with previous literature that stresses the complex interplay between self-esteem and social behaviors. The positive correlation between self-esteem and positive social self-esteem supports the notion that social

validation plays a crucial role in enhancing self-concept. Leary and Baumeister (2000) proposed the sociometer theory, suggesting that self-esteem is a gauge of social acceptance and inclusion. Individuals with higher self-esteem are likely to feel more accepted and valued in social contexts, which may explain the positive association with positive social self-esteem.

The negative correlation between self-esteem and negative social self-esteem underscores the detrimental impact of social rejection and criticism on one's self-view. Crocker and Park (2004) highlighted that the pursuit of self-esteem can be costly, leading to defensive behaviors and negative emotions when social validation is lacking. This dynamic is evident in the significant negative correlation observed in the study, suggesting that higher self-esteem is associated with lower experiences of negative social self-esteem.

The significant positive correlation between self-esteem and public social self-esteem further emphasizes the importance of social perceptions in shaping self-worth. Public social self-esteem, which reflects how individuals believe they are viewed by others, aligns positively with overall self-esteem, reinforcing the role of social feedback in self-evaluation.

The associations with political intentions extend the understanding of how individual psychological factors can influence broader social and political behaviors.

The positive correlation between positive social self-esteem and political radicalism intentions, although counterintuitive, can be explained through the lens of social identity theory. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), strong identification with a social group can lead to extreme behaviors if the group's norms and values support such actions. Thus, individuals with high positive social self-esteem might be more susceptible to radicalization if they strongly identify with radical groups.

Regarding political violence, the significant positive correlations with both positive and negative social self-esteem illuminate the complexity of the relationship between self-esteem and aggressive behaviors. High positive social self-esteem might drive individuals to engage in political violence as a means of defending or advancing their social group's interests. Conversely, high negative social self-esteem could lead to violent behaviors as a response to social rejection and perceived injustice.

There is a significant negative correlation between the insignificance of group identity and the intention of political radicalism ( $-0.175, p < 0.01$ ). This indicates that perceiving the group as insignificant is associated with lower intentions of political radicalism. This is supported by research suggesting that strong group identity can contribute to radicalization when individuals feel their group is marginalized or under

threat (van Bergen et al. 2020).

The correlation between the insignificance of group identity and political violence is  $-0.056$ , which is not statistically significant ( $p = 0.133$ ). This suggests a very weak and statistically insignificant negative relationship, indicating that perceptions of group insignificance are not strongly related to political violence. Research in this area has shown that political violence is often influenced by a range of factors, including personal, social, and environmental influences, rather than solely group identity (Schmid 2013).

The correlation data presented offers insights into the relationships between various types of social support and political behaviors, aligning with existing research in several significant ways.

Research has shown that social support networks are crucial for fostering civic and political engagement. For example, Putnam (2000) emphasized the role of social capital in promoting participation in civic activities, suggesting that individuals embedded in supportive networks are more likely to engage in community and political activities due to the encouragement and resources provided by these networks.

The weak and non-significant correlations between social support and political radicalism intent reflect the complex nature of radicalization. Previous research indicates that radicalization is influenced by a multifaceted interplay of factors, including ideological beliefs, socio-economic conditions, and psychological traits (Horgan 2008). The non-significant correlations of  $-0.053$ ,  $0.071$ , and  $0.047$  for support from significant others, family, and friends, respectively, suggest that immediate social support might not be the primary driver of radicalization. This finding is in line with studies that emphasize the importance of broader contextual and individual factors over social support in the pathways to radicalization (Dalgaard-Nielsen 2010).

The data on political violence further supports the protective role of social support. The significant negative correlations of  $-.156^{**}$  and  $-.114^{**}$  for support from significant others and family, respectively, indicate that these forms of support can act as buffers against engaging in violent political actions. This is consistent with research by Simi, Sporer, and Bubolz (2016), which found that strong family bonds and emotional stability provided by significant others can deter individuals from resorting to violence. The insignificant correlation of  $-0.009$  with support from friends suggests that while peer support is important, it may not be as related in preventing political violence as family support.

The findings from the correlation analysis reveal several significant relationships between perceptions of threats and political behaviors, aligning with and extending previous research on the topic.

The weak but significant positive correlation between the perception of real threats and the intention of political radicalism ( $r = 0.198$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) is consistent with past studies indicating that perceived threats can fuel radicalization processes. This is supported by studies such as those by Doosje, Loseman, and Van den Bos (2013), who found that perceived threats and injustices are key factors in the radicalization of youth.

Similarly, the weak positive correlation between the perception of real threats and political violence ( $r = 0.214$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) supports earlier findings that individuals who perceive higher levels of threat are more likely to endorse or engage in violent behaviors. This relationship has been underlined in research by McCauley and Moskaleiko (2008), who identified perceived threat as a significant driver of political violence. The findings align with Ozer et al.'s (2020) assertion that perceived threats and injustices are key factors in the radicalization of youth. Perceptions of real threats and symbolic threats significantly correlate with political radicalism and violence

The significant relationship between the perception of symbolic threats and political radicalism ( $r = 0.354$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) and political violence ( $r = 0.328$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) provides further evidence that symbolic threats, which involve perceived challenges to one's cultural values and identity, are potent predictors of radical and violent behaviors. This corroborates previous research suggesting that symbolic threats are strongly related to hostile and defensive reactions, as outlined by Stephan, Ybarra, and Bachman (1999).

The data on the correlations between cognitive flexibility and various forms of political intentions and actions offer meaningful insights when discussed in relation to previous research findings.

Cognitive flexibility is associated with adaptive and engaged forms of political behavior. For instance, research by Zmigrod et al. (2019) found that individuals with higher cognitive flexibility are more likely to engage in constructive political actions, as they can better navigate and respond to complex social and political issues.

The non-significant correlation between cognitive flexibility and the intention of political radicalism ( $r = 0.057$ ,  $p = 0.127$ ) indicates that cognitive flexibility does not have a direct relationship with radical political intentions. This is consistent with findings from studies such as those by Doosje et al. (2016), which accentuates that radicalization is influenced more by factors such as identity crises, perceived social injustices, and exposure to radical ideologies rather than cognitive flexibility.

The negligible and non-significant correlation between cognitive flexibility and political violence ( $r = 0.003$ ,  $p = 0.933$ ) suggests no direct link between cognitive flexibility and violent political behaviors. This finding is in line with research by

Webber and Kruglanski (2018), which suggests that violent behaviors are typically associated with factors like aggression, exposure to violence, and specific personality traits, rather than cognitive flexibility.

Finally, the moderate positive correlation between the intention of political radicalism and political violence ( $r = 0.336$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) supports the extensive body of research showing a strong link between radical beliefs and violent actions. Borum (2011) highlights that ideological commitment and radical intentions are critical precursors to violent extremism.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The findings of this study illuminate the complex interplay of personal, contextual, and social factors that contribute to political radicalism, and violence among adolescents. By examining these relationships, the research provides valuable insights into the pathways leading to both constructive political engagement and extremist behaviors. The implications for policymakers and practitioners are substantial, highlighting the need for targeted interventions addressing family dysfunction, socio-economic conditions, peer violence, trauma, self-esteem, social support, perceptions of threat, and cognitive flexibility.

One of the key findings of this study is the significant impact of family dysfunction on political radicalism and violence. Adolescents from dysfunctional families are more likely to adopt radical ideologies and engage in violent political actions. This underscores the importance of family-based interventions aimed at improving family dynamics and providing support to at-risk youths. Programs that promote positive parenting practices and strengthen family relationships could be effective in mitigating the risk of radicalization and political violence.

Economic deprivation is another critical factor related to political radicalism and violence. The study found that poverty is positively correlated with both radicalism and violence, suggesting that improving socio-economic conditions could play a crucial role in preventing extremist behaviors. Policymakers should consider implementing economic policies that address poverty and provide opportunities for disadvantaged youths. This could include job creation programs, educational scholarships, and other initiatives aimed at reducing economic disparities.

Peer violence, both experienced and perpetrated, also plays a significant role in shaping political behaviors among adolescents. The study found strong correlations between peer violence and both political radicalism and violence. Interventions aimed

at reducing peer violence in schools and communities could help mitigate the risk of radicalization. Anti-bullying programs, conflict resolution training, and initiatives that promote positive peer interactions are essential components of such interventions.

The relationship between trauma and political behaviors is complex and multifaceted. While the study found weak correlations between trauma and political radicalism or violence, it is essential to consider the broader context in which these experiences occur. Addressing trauma through therapeutic interventions and providing support for individuals who have experienced significant adversity can help build resilience and reduce vulnerability to radicalization.

Self-esteem and social identity also play crucial roles in shaping political behaviors. The study found that positive social self-esteem is associated with political radicalism, suggesting that individuals who feel valued and accepted in their social groups are more likely to engage in political activities, whether constructive or extreme. Conversely, negative social self-esteem is linked to political violence, indicating that social rejection and criticism can lead to aggressive behaviors. Interventions that promote positive self-esteem and social inclusion can help reduce the risk of radicalization and violence.

The perception of social support is another significant factor influencing political behaviors. Supportive relationships with family, friends, and significant others can act as protective factors against political violence. However, the study found weak correlations between social support and political radicalism intent, suggesting that social support alone may not be sufficient to prevent radicalization. Comprehensive interventions that address multiple risk factors and provide holistic support to at-risk youths are necessary.

Perceptions of threats, both real and symbolic, are strongly correlated with political radicalism and violence. Adolescents who perceive higher levels of threat are more likely to adopt radical ideologies and engage in violent behaviors. This finding highlights the importance of addressing the underlying fears and insecurities that drive radicalization. Efforts to promote social cohesion, reduce intergroup tensions, and address perceived threats can help mitigate the risk of extremist behaviors.

Cognitive flexibility, or the ability to adapt to changing circumstances and think creatively, is another important factor related to political behaviors. The study found that cognitive flexibility is not significantly correlated with political radicalism or violence, suggesting that other factors may play a more critical role in shaping these behaviors. However, promoting cognitive flexibility through educational programs



and critical thinking training could still be beneficial in fostering resilience to radical ideologies.

Despite the valuable insights provided by this study, there are several limitations that should be acknowledged. First, the cross-sectional design of the research limits the ability to draw causal conclusions. Longitudinal studies are needed to examine the temporal relationships between the identified factors and political behaviors. Second, the reliance on self-reported data may introduce biases, such as social desirability bias or recall bias. Future research could incorporate multiple data sources, including observational and behavioral measures, to enhance the validity of the findings.

Additionally, the study sample was limited to high school students, which may limit the generalizability of the findings to other populations and contexts. Replicating the study in diverse cultural and socio-political settings could provide a more comprehensive understanding of the factors relating to political radicalism and violence among adolescents.

In conclusion, this study highlights the complex and multifaceted nature of political radicalism and violence among adolescents. By identifying the personal, contextual, and social correlates of these behaviors, the research provides valuable guidance for developing targeted interventions aimed at preventing radicalization and promoting positive political engagement. Addressing family dysfunction, improving socio-economic conditions, reducing peer violence, supporting trauma recovery, fostering positive self-esteem and social identity, enhancing social support, addressing perceptions of threat, and promoting cognitive flexibility are all critical components of a comprehensive strategy to mitigate the risk of political radicalism and violence among youths.

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## **OSOBNE, KONTEKSTUALNE I DRUŠTVENE POVEZNICE POLITIČKOG RADIKALIZMA I NASILJA MEĐU ADOLESCENTIMA**

### **Sažetak:**

Ovo istraživanje ima za cilj identificirati osobne, kontekstualne i društvene poveznice političkog radikalizma i nasilja među adolescentima. Istraživanje naglašava adolescente kao demografsku skupinu koja se može smatrati rizičnom za političku radikalizaciju zbog formiranja socijalnog identiteta i političke socijalizacije. Istraživanje koristi sveobuhvatnu metodologiju, primjenjujući višestapno uzorkovanje srednjoškolaca za procjenu individualnih ranjivosti i otpornosti, te šire kontekstualne doprinose političkoj radikalizaciji i nasilju. Nalazi pokazuju da disfunkcija obitelji, siromaštvo i vršnjačko nasilje značajno koreliraju s političkim radikalizmom i nasiljem među adolescentima, dok opća samopouzdanost i kognitivna fleksibilnost imaju manje važnu ulogu. Podržavajuće društvene mreže i percepcija prijatni ključni su faktori koji djeluju kao zaštita od političkog nasilja. Intervencije usmjerene na smanjenje disfunkcije obitelji, poboljšanje socio-ekonomskih uvjeta i jačanje društvenih mreža podrške mogli bi smanjiti rizike političke radikalizacije i političkog nasilja. Studija pruža vrijedne uvide za donositelje politika i praktičare koji nastoje smanjiti rizik političke radikalizacije i nasilja među mladima.

**Ključne riječi:** politička radikalizacija; političko nasilje; individualni faktori; kontekstualni faktori; adolescenti

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## **EMPOWERING YOUTH: INNOVATIVE STRATEGIES FOR PREVENTING TEEN VIOLENCE**

Violence is one of the most serious violations of human rights, as evidenced by its complexity and effects. Young people's violence is one of the most prominent types of violence in our culture. Adolescents who exhibit violent conduct are also more likely to engage in other harmful behaviours, such as chronic lying, drug addiction, reckless driving, high-risk sexually transmitted infections, and chronic absences from school. Emotional difficulties, such as a lack of emotional regulation skills, difficulty resolving conflict, or difficulties coping with feelings of rage, jealousy, or rejection, frequently lead to violence in young people. Since many teen conversations now take place in public on the internet, these difficulties have worsened as social media has grown in popularity. This heightens the teenagers' feelings of guilt, embarrassment, humiliation, and fear of others' judgment. Psychologists are shedding light on the matter with their research insights, highlighting the protective and risk factors in violent conduct and prevention strategies and initiatives. This paper attempts to propose a new approach to the prevention and disruption of violence among adolescents that puts an emphasis on developing strengths and abilities rather than standard psychoeducation. Some of the promising strategies that can assist in forecasting teens' risk for real-world violence include making meaning, developing interpersonal skills, regulating emotions and behaviour, training in communication skills, peer-led programs, digital monitoring, and bystander intervention, which includes peers, parents, and teachers. Not only can these interventions shield teenagers during a crucial developmental stage, but they can also lower their future risk of committing and experiencing intimate partner abuse.

**Key words:** teen violence; risk and protective factors; intervention; prevention



## INTRODUCTION

Adolescence is a critical stage in a person's life that marks the transition from childhood to maturity, from dependency to independence and autonomy, from family to peer groups. It is a period of rapid biological, cognitive, and socio-emotional development, characterized by heightened impulsivity, emotionality, and risk-taking tendencies. During this stage of life, adolescents undergo physical, emotional, psychological, social, or other changes and face lots of stress and challenges that may result in violence. Youth violence is a critical matter that has gathered significant attention from psychologists, educators, policymakers, and the public. While violence against children, in general, involves all sorts of parents, caregivers, peers, romantic partners, or strangers who perpetrate violence against those younger than 18, youth violence is understood as violence between peers involving both friends and strangers that is specifically defined based solely on the perpetrator's age, i.e., the victim's age is used to categorize and estimate its incidence and rates.

Youth violence occurs when children or young adults between the ages of 10 and 24 deliberately use physical force or power to threaten or harm their peers who are unrelated or whom they may or may not know. It encompasses a range of behaviours, such as bullying, cyberbullying, physical fights, dating violence, and more severe forms of aggression, such as gang violence, that can happen in or outside of school settings. Bullying whether verbal, physical, or relational, may appear in the form of repeated, unwanted, aggressive actions between peers where there is an imbalance of power. Dating violence may appear in various forms, including stalking, harassment, psychological aggression, physical and sexual violence, threats, insults, control attempts, and nonconsensual intimate photo sharing. When youth violence happens in the school setting, on the way to and from school, on the way to or from or during school-related activities, it's called school-based violence and it includes „a wide variety of acts, such as physical assault and battery, physical aggression, noncontact aggression (e.g., throwing things) and broadly defined externalizing behaviour, bullying, fighting, robbery, unwanted sexual contact, weapon possession and use, and verbal threats” (Turanovic & Siennick 2022: 3). Even though studies show that adolescents may engage in multiple forms of violence (Leemis et al. 2019), the most frequently studied forms of violence are bullying (Chu et al. 2018), cyberbullying (Khong et al. 2019), sexual harassment (Duncan et al. 2018), dating violence (Wincentak et al. 2017), and cyber dating violence (Sánchez-Jiménez et al. 2015). Musu-Gillette and colleagues (2018) conducted a study in the USA that revealed that over 20% of

schoolchildren experienced bullying, with nearly 7% experiencing online bullying in the same year. Violent dating relationships can have serious, long-term effects. A study of nearly 10,000 teenagers from the UK's Millennium Cohort Study found that those who experienced sexual abuse between the ages of 14 and 17 had worse mental health at 17, experienced greater psychological distress, and were more likely to report engaging in self-harm, including suicide attempts, in the previous year (Bentivegna & Patalay 2022).

The growing trend of youth violence presents challenges for all governments worldwide and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly for professionals in sectors of education and healthcare. Detailed and comprehensive studies on this topic in B&H are scarce, but some indicate changes in the prevalence of property, violent, and cyber-related delinquency (Maljevic 2020). For example, a study in the Federation of B&H on a nationally representative sample of adolescents indicates 69% of high school students experience some form of violence, with females being more often victims and perpetrators of psychological and physical peer violence (Kuralić-Čišić et al. 2017). Ybarra and colleagues (2016) found similar results, indicating a difference in both victimisation and perpetration of violence, with boys more likely to commit acts of sexual violence and girls more likely to commit acts of psychological abuse. A study reveals that psychological abuse can increase violence rates, with 51% of females and 43% of males experiencing dating violence and 50% of females and 35% of males perpetrating it (Ybarra 2016). Studies have indicated that social exclusion, including experiences like bullying, ostracism, and peer rejection, affects a substantial proportion of adolescents worldwide (Cheek et al. 2020). Bullying can lead to serious physical and psychological health issues, including somatization symptoms such as headaches, chronic abdominal or other pain, sleep disturbances, depression, anxiety, and alcohol use and abuse (Gini & Pozzoli 2013). Bullying perpetration or victimisation could be risk factors for perpetration or victimization in early romantic relationships (Zych et al. 2021) and occasionally be a symptom of aggressive or antisocial behaviour later in life (Goulter et al. 2020). And even more worrisome, as the findings of a comprehensive evaluation of 38 studies headed by Piolanti (2023) indicate, long-term engagement with dating violence in youth predicts intimate partner violence (IPV) in adulthood. These findings highlight not only the immediate and long-term detrimental impact of youth violence on adolescents' physical and mental health but also the different variables associated with it, indicating the complexity of the phenomenon.

Many theories from the major field of psychology, sociology, and criminology attempt to explain the phenomenon of youth violence, whose detailed elaboration is beyond the scope of this article. Early theories focused on a single individual, environmental, or integral antecedent of violence in a given population. To name a few, biological model for example, associates violence and aggression to hormones such as testosterone, cortisol or oxytocin (Frieze et al. 2020), or social learning theory, which posits that youth violence is learned behavior, influenced by observing and imitating others, particularly in environments where aggression is normalized (Bandura 1977), or, adverse childhood experiences (ACEs), defined as stressful events that occur before the age of 18 that directly affect the child or environment they live in, and strain theory that suggests that societal pressures and the inability to achieve socially accepted goals can lead to frustration and aggression, which may manifest as violence (Agnew 1992). However, nowadays, most theorists, including the author of this article, agree that the interaction of individual characteristics, development, and environment influences youth behaviour and increases the risk factors for youth violence. For example, developmental psychopathology and life course theories consider dynamics and interactive aspects of biology, psychology, environment, and change over time, suggesting that early exposure to risk factors such as family violence, poverty, and peer rejection can increase the likelihood of violent behaviour in adolescence (Moffitt 1993, 2017) and increase or decrease an individual's risk of becoming a perpetrator or victim of violence. Similarly, systems theory maintains that violent behaviour is not typically caused by any one factor but rather by many factors that amplify each other. These theories collectively highlight the multifaceted nature of youth violence, underscoring the importance of addressing both individual and contextual risk and protective factors in prevention and intervention efforts.

Primary prevention strategies are defined as efforts directed at aiding youth to elude violent behaviour, while secondary prevention focuses on treating the harm resulting from violent incidents, and tertiary prevention programs address the long-term effects of violence, primarily in therapy and rehabilitation.

Even though violence in youth does not directly cause violence in adulthood, it is associated with it as a risk factor, commonly referred to as an aspect of one's biology, psychology, family, society, or culture. While a risk factor predates and links to a greater chance of undesirable consequences, a protective factor, stemming from primarily individual, family, peer, and neighbourhood factors, lessens the detrimental effect of a risk factor on undesirable outcomes such as youth violence perpetration and victimization (Antunes & Ahlin 2017).

Research also identifies several risk factors associated with youth violence, including individual, environmental, or community influences (family, peer, school, and societal influences). For example, individual risk factors include gender, aggressive behaviour in childhood, personality and emotion regulation, low self-control, impulsivity, and cognitive deficits (Bushman et al. 2018). Environmental or community risk factors, which include social exclusion and isolation, family, school, and neighbourhood characteristics such as exposure to violence, harsh parenting, bullying, substance use, and other adverse and stressful experiences, significantly contribute to youth violence (Bushman et al. 2018). Studies show that even in youth with low socio-economic family status and those with high levels of cumulative risk, protective factors seem to minimize violence in late adolescence and later in life (Kim et al. 2016). Similarly, research shows that children who experience trauma, poverty, or a range of adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) are more likely to be both victims and perpetrators of violence during adolescence (Taquette & Monteiro 2019; Spencer et al. 2019). The study also indicates not only that these issues frequently co-occur but that they are also interconnected; different types of violence share similar risk factors, predominantly family violence and other ACEs (Banyard and Hamby 2022) and observed community violence (Thulin et al. 2021). Thus, violence remains a significant public health concern, with detrimental impacts on individuals, families, and communities, and its consequences ought to be researched and addressed. The consequences of violence in adolescence, mainly dating violence, extend beyond immediate physical harm, encompassing psychological trauma, academic disruption, legal consequences, and long-term interpersonal difficulties (Taquette & Monteiro 2019). Also, victims of teen violence may experience lasting emotional scars and impaired social functioning, including poly-victimisation or exposure to multiple forms of violence (Turner et al. 2016), while perpetrators face an increased risk of incarceration, substance abuse, and future violence perpetration and aggression (David-Ferdon & Simon 2014).

Given this, this paper discusses innovative intervention approaches that focus primarily on building strengths and promoting a safe and healthy environment through individual and community-oriented prevention strategies.

## **DISCUSSION: INNOVATIVE VIOLENCE PREVENTION STRATEGIES**

Most of the conventional violence-related prevention programs focus on addressing the consequences of violence and aggression in secondary and tertiary prevention programs. For example, while acknowledged for their ability to enhance knowledge and attitudes, conventional psychoeducation programs are known to have minimal impact on behaviour change, primarily due to their focus on discussing warning flags during health classes (De La Rue 2017). Contrary to popular belief, innovative interventions focus on building assets and resources, and because of their strength-based approaches, they help youth avoid violence (primary prevention). Strength-based interventions are innovative because they aim to capacitate and empower young individuals with skills and resources, thus increasing their protective factors and diminishing the impact of risk factors. As such, innovative interventions safeguard and support youth mental health and can even change the trajectory of young people (Rizzo et al. 2021).

Nowadays, a growing number of psychologists and other professionals approach prevention and intervention from an individual strengths-based and community-oriented perspective. They incorporate techniques from mental health treatments for disorders like conduct and couples counselling to educate youth on how to manage their own emotional and relationship difficulties and how to intervene when others need assistance. In addition to building and enhancing individual young people's assets and resources (to increase individual protective factors), innovative interventions also incorporate collaborating with peers, families, schools, and entire communities to increase surrounding protective factors that have an impact on youth.

Studies show that young people may resort to violence because of individual risk factors such as lack of meaning, anger, frustration, and anxiety, poor emotion management and regulation, poor communication, and interpersonal skills (Banyard & Hamby 2022) that may be further amplified by environmental risk factors such as high levels of family conflict, (cyber)bullying, real-world and online harassment, social exclusion, popular violent media or an environment that does not properly sanction violence. Strength-based intervention strategies focus on helping youth develop strengths such as making meaning, regulating emotions and behaviour, and improving communication and interpersonal skills. For example, one strength-based intervention is teaching youth to find and use meaning, and using meaning-making techniques such as reframing or journaling can alter their perspective on an angry, frustrating

situation, alter their perception of it (increase assets and resources), and diminish their chances of acting on their frustration and anger (Banyard & Hamby 2022). Youth can also be taught to self-regulate and manage anger effectively by following these steps: identify where in the body a person feels the anger, label it, express the thought verbally (I am angry), determine the underlying message behind the angry feelings, and subsequently visualize oneself responding to those impulses mentally, as if watching a movie. By releasing some of the pent-up anger through these steps, a person may find it easier to decide the next course of action and thus be less aggressive. An awareness-based Learning to Breathe mindfulness program is one more strength-based intervention that teaches adolescents how to manage their frustration and anger in a six-week course. Research shows that this mindfulness, strength-based intervention may make youth less inclined to act out their anger towards other people in real life or on the Internet (Metz et al. 2013) and reduce youth aggression and violence in general (behavioural regulation) (Tao et al. 2021). This indicates mindfulness to be particularly effective for anger management and improving overall emotion regulation. Emotion regulatory strengths assist teenagers in learning how to manage and control emotions that surface in real life or online, particularly humiliation, jealousy, and rage (Banyard & Hamby 2022), and help them cope with stress and social exclusion, reduce aggressive behavior, and help maintain and improve interpersonal relationships (Holley et al. 2017). Research demonstrates that strength-based interventions overall can lead to greater resilience, coping abilities, and overall well-being (Ostafin 2020).

Adolescent violence might also be associated with poor interpersonal and communication skills. Strength-based interpersonal and communication skill-building focuses on effective ways to express thoughts and emotions, promoting healthy dialogue, and reducing misunderstandings that could escalate into conflicts and violence (Rueda et al. 2021). For instance, addressing the gender risk factor, the STRONG project (Rizzo et al. 2021) focuses on the relationship between health knowledge, emotion regulation, and communication of adolescent males, while the Date SMART intervention (Rizzo et al. 2018) aims to address the common underlying skills deficits associated with violence and sexual risk behaviour in adolescent females. The STRONG project and the Date SMART interventions by building relationship assets and resources enhance boys and girls' overall resilience helping them maintain and keep healthy relationships characterized by understanding, emotional intelligence, empathy, support, and assertiveness (Banyard and Humby 2022).

However, individual strength-based interventions are vital but insufficient for violence prevention. Therefore, innovative interventions also incorporate environmental or community approaches such as peer-led programs, digital monitoring, and bystander intervention (by parents, teachers, peers, and friends) into effective prevention strategies to address teenage violence. Peer-led programs have shown significant promise for engaging teenagers in positive behaviours and preventing violence. For example, the Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP) program, initially developed in American universities and colleges, is one such initiative that employs a peer mentoring model and a bystander approach (Butler et al. 2024). Such programs often involve older students or trained peer educators who lead discussions, workshops, and activities focused on conflict resolution, empathy building, and violence prevention, thus creating a more relatable and comfortable environment for teenagers to learn about and discuss sensitive topics (Butler et al. 2024). Peer-led programs not only educate teens on recognizing signs of violence but also empower them to intervene when they witness concerning behaviours. Also, in today's digital age, monitoring online activities is crucial for identifying potential teenage risks. With the prevalence of social media and online communication, parents should monitor their teen's online activity responsibly and also discuss with teens appropriate online behaviour, recognize signs of cyberbullying, and intervene if necessary. Digital monitoring tools can track social media posts, online searches, and communication patterns for signs of cyberbullying, threats, or harmful behaviours. For example, the European Commission Social Networking Task Force developed 'Safer Social Networking Principles' in 2009, which outline safety strategies for social networking platforms, including educational messages, privacy protection, user empowerment, and reporting mechanisms to detect cyberbullying early (Van Royen et al. 2015). These tools, when used responsibly and transparently, enable parents and educators to intervene early and provide necessary support, thus safeguarding and protecting youth mental health and preventing violence.

Also, teaching bystander intervention is pivotal in empowering teenagers to act when they witness violence or risky behaviours. In line with social learning theory, bystander intervention programs assume, "When community members ignore or fail to respond to behaviours across this spectrum, they tacitly reinforce the behaviour" (Storer et al. 2016: 257). Their goal is to disrupt explicit occurrences of violence or abuse, foster a peer and public atmosphere that discourages aggressive or violent behaviour, and equip teens with the necessary skills and self-efficacy to intervene safely (Debham & Mauer 2021) safely.



Additionally, parents and teachers serve as role models for interpersonal relationships, communication, and navigating relationships. Their role involves demonstrating healthy communication, conflict resolution, and respectful behaviour at home and school, setting a powerful example for teens to follow in their interactions with others, hence increasing protective factors. Also, in addition to encouraging students to report any bullying, harassment, or violence and fostering a safe environment, teachers should incorporate lessons on conflict resolution, empathy, and bystander intervention into their curriculum to ensure timely intervention and support and be role models for youth.

## CONCLUSION

Adolescent violence is a complex phenomenon rooted in intersecting psychological, social, and environmental factors. Comprehensive innovative interventions are directed at youth individual strengths, assets, and resource building, such as making meaning techniques through reframing and journaling, emotion regulation and control through mindfulness and the Learning to Breathe program, and interpersonal and communication skill-building training such as SMART and STRONG projects to tackle frustrations, anger, and anxiety in the real-world and online resulting from an interplay of individual characteristics and environmental factors contributing to youth violence. These individual prevention strategies are further strengthened by environmental support in the form of peer-led programs such as The Mentors in Violence Prevention, digital monitoring like Safer Social Networking Principles, and bystander intervention. As such, these interventions can all collectively create healthier and more resourceful youth and supportive environment with less or no violence where teenagers can learn, grow, and thrive safely.

Even though innovative strength-based interventions seem to give promising results, acts of youth violence are influenced by multiple factors, often acting together, resulting in overlapping categorization of individual and environmental risk factors. Given this, the issue of youth violence remains challenging to research without getting enmeshed in different perspectives.

This article underscores the complexity and changing landscape of individual and environmental factors that may lead to youth violence nowadays. The rise of social media and digital communication has also introduced new avenues for social exclusion, such as cyberbullying and online harassment, further complicating the landscape of teen social dynamics and relationships associated with youth violence. Given these



complexities, this article's findings are rather exploratory. In association with strength-based intervention, future research should focus on one type of youth violence, examine the process by which youth violence perpetration and victimization occur, and hence tailor and explore prevention and intervention. This article can serve as a solid reference for parents, educators, and those working with youth.

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## OSNAŽIVANJE MLADIH: INOVATIVNE STRATEGIJE ZA SPREČAVANJE NASILJA MEĐU TINEJDŽERIMA

### Sažetak:

Nasilje je jedno od najtežih kršenja ljudskih prava, o čemu svjedoče njegova složenost i posljedice. Nasilje mladih jedna je od najistaknutijih vrsta nasilja u našoj kulturi. Adolescenti koji manifestiraju nasilno ponašanje također imaju veću vjerojatnost da će se uključiti u druga štetna ponašanja, kao što su kronično laganje, ovisnost o drogama, nesmotrena vožnja, visokorizične spolno prenosive infekcije i kronični izostanci iz škole. Emocionalne poteškoće, kao što su nedostatak vještina emocionalne regulacije, poteškoće u rješavanju konflikata ili poteškoće u suočavanju s osjećajima bijesa, ljubomore ili odbacivanja, često dovode do nasilja kod mladih ljudi. Budući da se mnogi tinejdžerski razgovori sada odvijaju javno na internetu, te su se poteškoće pogoršale kako društveni mediji postaju sve popularniji. To kod tinejdžera pojačava osjećaj krivnje, neugodnosti, poniženja i straha od osude. Psiholozi rasvjetljavaju to pitanje svojim istraživačkim uvidima, ističući zaštitne i rizične čimbenike u nasilnom ponašanju te preventivnim strategijama i inicijativama. Ovaj rad pokušava predložiti novi pristup prevenciji i prekidanju nasilja među adolescentima koji stavlja naglasak na razvoj snaga i sposobnosti, a ne na standardnu psihoedukaciju. Neke od obećavajućih strategija koje mogu pomoći u predviđanju rizika tinejdžera od nasilja u stvarnom svijetu uključuju stvaranje smisla, razvoj interpersonalnih vještina, reguliranje emocija i ponašanja, obuku komunikacijskih vještina, programe vođene od strane vršnjaka, digitalno praćenje i intervenciju promatrača, što uključuje vršnjaci, roditelji i učitelji. Ne samo da ove intervencije mogu zaštititi tinejdžere tijekom ključne razvojne faze, već mogu i smanjiti njihov budući rizik od počinjenja i doživljavanja zlostavljanja od strane intimnog partnera.

**Ključne riječi:** maloljetničko nasilje; rizični i zaštitni čimbenici; intervencija; prevencija

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Review paper

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## **SCHOOL CHILDREN WITH DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITIES AND INCLUSIVE EDUCATION FOR A SOCIETY OF NON-VIOLENCE**

School children with developmental disabilities demonstrate different abilities and possibilities. Therefore, they need adapted educational support. Inclusive education implies including school children with developmental disabilities in order to recognise, accept, and understand their differences and individual abilities. In such a process, an effort is made to provide school children with learning, growth and development opportunities. Inclusion, perceived as a social value in itself, as an understanding and acceptance of differences, contributes to the development of society in every sense. In that sense, in this paper, inclusion and inclusive practice will be observed and described from the aspect of pedagogical axiology, i.e., educational value, which contributes to developing a society of non-violence that is so needed nowadays. Contemporary research shows that violence directed at school children with disabilities is increasing. Hence, the paper will summarise findings based on a review of recent relevant research and conclude the importance of inclusive upbringing and education in perceiving this (modern) problem, primarily from the moral basis of inclusion.

**Keywords:** inclusion; non-violence; pedagogical axiology; education; school children with developmental disabilities



## **INTRODUCTION**

Violence is a problem that is often mentioned not only in expert circles but also in everyday life and the media. Today, several types of violence are present every day, and the development of technology has also created electronic violence. Anyone can become a victim, but often, it is children, especially children with developmental disabilities. Given that modern society is faced with numerous challenges that are increasingly difficult to find appropriate solutions, this paper will consider the role and importance of including children with developmental disabilities, whereby inclusion will be described from an axiological position, i.e. its moral basis.

A child with disabilities, or a school child with disabilities, according to the definition stated in the Primary and Secondary Education Act, is the one whose abilities in interactions with factors from the environment limit his or her full, effective and equal participation in the educational process with other school children, which can be the result of physical, mental, intellectual and sensory impairments and dysfunctions or a combination of several types of impairments (Bilić and Balog 2019). According to the classification given by Baftiri (1999, according to Josipović, Najman Hižman and Leutar 2008), children with developmental disorders are one of the groups of children at risk of abuse. This fact points to the frequency of children with developmental disabilities being victims of violence in the family instead of receiving the necessary security and help within it (Josipović et al. 2008). There are many possible reasons for parental violence against children with intellectual disabilities, some of which are failure to accept their child as he is, and special care required by children with disabilities (Schillinger and Schinke 1984, according to Josipović et al. 2008) and family isolation from the community (Josipović et al. 2008). Josipović and his associates (2008) pointed out in their research that people with intellectual disabilities are very often exposed to violence in various environments such as family, kindergarten, school and even institutions.

## **CHILDREN WITH DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITIES AND SOCIAL VIOLENCE**

In kindergarten and school, children with developmental disabilities become victims of peer violence, where they become victimised precisely because of their primary disabilities and are, therefore, more at risk than children without developmental disabilities (Bilić and Balog 2019). The greater vulnerability of school children with

disabilities compared to their peers was also confirmed in the research of Sentenac and associates (2013 according to Bilić and Balog 2019). It has also been proven that in the total population, the number of school children who are victims of violence is between 20 and 35%, while in the group of school children with developmental disabilities, it is between 30 and 60% (Farmer 2013, according to Bilić and Balog 2019). In addition to the “usual” violence that occurs at school and the like, there is also electronic violence that is often intertwined with classic violence (Bilić and Balog 2019). In the context of electronic violence, children with developmental disabilities are more often victims than their peers without disabilities (Fridh et al., 2017, according to Bilić and Balog 2019). In addition to school children with developmental disabilities, school children with learning disabilities are frequent victims, 25-30% of them experience some form of violence (Mishna 2003). Parents also confirm the frequency of violence, with 45% of parents reporting physical and verbal violence, and 73.3% reporting peer relational violence (Pestel 2012). A potential reason for peer violence is external characteristics that make children with disabilities different from their peers, and peers perceive them as negative (Olweus 1998, according to Bilić and Balog 2019). Also, children with developmental disabilities often continuously need the help of teachers, while their peers work independently and, therefore, are perceived as inferior (Bilić and Balog 2019). Children with intellectual disabilities are affected by physical, verbal and relational violence in the way that their self-confidence and self-esteem decrease, they begin to have a negative self-image and are perceived as worse than others (Chatzitheochari et al. 2014, according to Bilić and Balog 2019).

Children with developmental disabilities are generally more sensitive to the reactions of the environment and, therefore, try to be accepted and included by their peers (Bilić and Balog 2019). Establishing interactions with peers is hampered by their underdeveloped thinking, gullibility, difficulty in understanding manipulations, underdeveloped self-protection strategies and generally weaker communication and social skills (Bilić 2019; Kos and Žic Ralić 2010; Reiter and Lapidot-Lefler 2007 according to Bilić and Balog 2019). The goal of perpetrators of violence is to gain social power over the weaker, and given that children with developmental disabilities are more vulnerable and often do not have many friends to protect them, they are at risk of becoming victims (Pampel 2014 according to Bilić and Balog 2019). By conducting focus groups with children with disabilities, Bilić and Balog (2019) cite as the reason for physical attacks the primary difficulties that the perpetrators see as a weakness through which the perpetrators show their power. Qualitative research conducted by

Bilić and Balog (2019) suggests that children with disabilities are frequent victims of peer violence in the forms of verbal, relational, physical and electronic violence. In addition to sadness, anger, fear and anxiety, children with disabilities who are victims of violence can develop depression, low self-esteem and self-confidence, and a poor self-image, which can also be reflected in their primary difficulties (Bilić and Balog 2019). It is precisely for these reasons that it is necessary to work on the prevention of violence against children with disabilities, primarily through empowering victims in such a way as to inform them of their rights and encourage them to report violence. In addition, it is necessary to work with the perpetrators of violence and show them the consequences of their actions. Also, bystanders should be made aware to provide help and report violence when they see it occurring. Accordingly, inclusive values should be developed in children from an early age so that peers “different” from them not only accept but also understand.

According to research in the Republic of Croatia, children with developmental disabilities are mostly rejected by their peers without disabilities (Nazor, Nikolić 1991; Žic 2000 according to Žic Ralić, Ljubas 2013), but despite this children with developmental disabilities in younger primary school age, despite not being accepted by their peers, have the same experience of satisfactory relationships with their peers as their peers. The authors assume that cognitive immaturity contributes to an unrealistic assessment of one’s relationships with peers (Žic Ralić, Ljubas 2013). Peer rejection or deliberate exclusion can also be seen as a form of violence. It is about the so-called indirect violence that marks the intentional exclusion of a child from group games and joint activities (Olweus 1998 according to Livazović, Vranješ 2012). Most studies of the incidence of violence against children with disabilities have shown increased levels of abuse (Ammerman and Baladerian 1993; Crosse et al. 1993; Spencer et al. 2005; Sullivan and Knutson 2000, according to Fisher et al. 2008). Crosse and associates (1993, according to Fisher et al. 2008) proved that children with developmental disabilities are more likely to experience violence than children without disabilities. In addition to violence, neglect was also studied, and it was proven that 31% of children with developmental disabilities experience violence or neglect, while 9% of children without disabilities experience the same (Sullivan and Knutson 2000, according to Fisher et al. 2008). Similar results were obtained by Spencer and associates (2005, according to Fisher et al. 2008) in their research, in which they found that children with behavioural disorders, psychological problems, learning problems, and speech and language difficulties are more likely to experience violence than children without difficulties. The stated findings are in accordance with the research findings

of Little (2004, according to Hershkowitz, Lamb and Horowitz 2007), in which it was found that children with disabilities are two to three times more likely to be victims of violence than children with typical development. An association between violence and the severity of difficulties was also found (Westcott and Jones 1999, according to Hershkowitz et al. 2007). The results are consistent and show a connection between children with disabilities and violence (Sobsey 1994, according to Davis 2011). Based on the reviewed literature, Milne (1999, according to Hershkowitz et al. 2007) concluded that children with disabilities are particularly vulnerable because they depend on their caregivers, tend to obey them, lack control over their own lives, and the like. In the research of Maclean, Sims, Bower, Leonard, Stanley and O'Donnell (2017), it was proven that children with developmental disabilities represent one out of three victims of proven abuse. Still, the analysis showed that the risk of violence is not consistent for all types of disabilities. An increased risk of violence was observed in children with intellectual disabilities and behavioural problems, while the same was not observed in children with autism spectrum disorders and Down syndrome (Maclean et al. 2017). Therefore, it can be concluded that most children with developmental disabilities are at risk of peer violence, while the same violence varies depending on the type of disability. Considering that due to cognitive difficulties, all children will not be able to develop coping mechanisms with the stress brought by violence, nor will they know and/or be able to act in accordance with the experienced violence, inclusive upbringing and education of all school children is offered as one of the possibilities for the prevention of violence.

## **INCLUSIVE EDUCATION – SOCIAL VALUE IN ITSELF AND NECESSITY**

According to his essential human definition, a man is, in addition to knowledge, also a valuable being who evaluates, measures and directs his actions according to value criteria (Vukasović 2010). (Non)violence cannot be observed outside of man and outside of man's actions because, guided by his value system, an individual decides on a particular act. Axiology, as a scientific discipline, is based on the value axiom that focuses on what is good and directs us to the insight that actions and thoughts have more or less good or bad properties (Edelheim 2022). Therefore, education for a non-violent society should be one of the educational maxims because social progress rests on social harmony. Fitz-Gibbon (2021) states that human violence in all its forms is

the biggest obstacle in personal and social life; that is, nonviolence as a practice, whenever possible, seeks the welfare of others by refusing to use violence as the key to solving problems. Vukasović (2010) sees the necessity of educational transformation in revitalising moral and educational values. As an educational institution, the school becomes a meeting place for diversity from the world around us. Schools are institutions that also include school children with developmental disabilities. Through this, specific efforts are made to include school children with developmental disabilities in the regular classes of their peers through inclusive education. In this process, school children's opinions about children with developmental disabilities who are included in the regular education system are, among other things, one of the necessary assumptions for successful inclusion (Svedružić, Svedružić 2020). And inclusion, as a contemporary philosophical-sociological concept that advocates not only tolerance of diversity but also the encouragement and strengthening of coexistence with those who are different and special training for that coexistence, is most often implemented in practice precisely through institutionalised forms of education (Romstein, Sekulić-Majurec 2015) while the inclusive culture of an educational institution is based on fairness, tolerance, solidarity and respect for human dignity (Kudek Mirošević, Tot, Jurčević Lozančić 2020). Therefore, inclusion is also a social value per se (Bailey, McWilliam, Buyse, Wesley 1998). Moreover, in a relatively short time, inclusion has become a global and generally accepted social value (Romstein, Sekulić-Majurec 2015), and that it is a value in itself can be concluded based on its moral basis and therefore should not be viewed by excluding its value dimension.

Modern science has a wide range of definitions and understandings of the term *inclusion*. Booth and Ainscow (2002) define inclusion as a process of increasing the participation of all school children to reduce their exclusion from the school curriculum, cultural and broader social community, i.e. "as a principled approach to action in education and society. It encompasses such commitments as the idea that every life and every death are of equal value" (Booth, Ainscow, Kingston 2006: 3). Inclusive education refers to the education of school children with developmental disabilities and typical school children in regular schools and prevails in the educational policy of developed countries (Rafferty et al., 2010 according to Skočić Mihić, Gabrić, Bošković 2016). Croatian education policy is inclusive and aligned with international conventions and ensures the inclusion of school children with disabilities in the regular education system (Skočić Mihić, Gabrić, Bošković 2016).<sup>3</sup>

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3 The Act on Ratification of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was adopted by the Croatian Parliament at its se-

Inclusion is based on the interaction of family beliefs and values, educational activities and the approach of educational workers and social processes/politics and value systems in the community (Hanson et al. 2001, according to Kudek Mirošević, Tot, Jurčević Lozančić 2020), and is often defined as “a system of beliefs shared by every member of the educational community, i.e. educators and teachers, educational administrative staff, children, parents and other members, about the responsibility in the upbringing and education of all children in a way that they can realise your potential” (Friend and Bursuch, 2006 according to Rudelić, Pinoza Kukurin, Skočić Mihić 2013: 133). Karamatić Brčić (2013) talks about inclusion in a broader and narrower sense, thus stating that in a broader sense, educational inclusion refers to the inclusion of children and adults who, due to social, cultural, educational, ethnic and other differences, are subject to social exclusion, exposed to social marginalisation, and thus disenfranchised and vulnerable. In a narrower sense, educational inclusion is a requirement that emphasizes that every child is educated in accordance with individual possibilities in the school as an educational institution. Martan (2018) emphasises that an inclusive educational policy ensures the availability of the regular education system for school children with disabilities by respecting individual needs and providing support that will ensure the development of their potential.

In addition to respect, it is important to sincerely accept the person through understanding the school child’s difficulty that they are facing, keeping in mind that the difficulty does not have to and should not, in a moral sense, be a limiting obstacle in mutual human relations. In this sense, in the context of inclusive education, the importance of an accepting and supportive institutional environment in which a child with disabilities grows up is particularly emphasised (Mikas, Roudi 2012, 2019, according to: Kudek Mirošević, Tot, Jurčević Lozančić 2020). When it comes to school children with developmental disabilities, the special importance of an accepting and supportive institutional environment should be emphasised because children with developmental disabilities are a special group of children in need of a special support during their growing up and childhood. They form a group of school children with multiple, different and changing needs. Following the individual abilities and possibilities of school children with disabilities during teaching, some of them need constant, occasional or limited educational support. Such school children must be provided with quality inclusive education. In the Croatian legal regulatory framework,

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ssion on June 1, 2007. Cf. Law on Confirmation of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, Official Gazette 6/2007.

school children with developmental disabilities are defined by law. According to *the Primary and Secondary Education Act* (2008) in the Republic of Croatia, Article 62 defines school children with special educational needs: “(1) School children with special educational needs are gifted school children and school children with disabilities.”

The support of peers also contributes to the quality inclusive practice of school children with disabilities in primary schools. Peer support positively impacts all participants in the educational process because it enables empowerment, responsible behaviour, mutual acceptance, appreciation and understanding, which leads to the absence of discrimination, and consequently violence, among school children. “Educational inclusion implies a new attitude towards diversity emphasising different possibilities, not shortcomings” (Kudek Mirošević, Tot, Jurčević Lozančić 2020: 548). Therefore, when it comes to the implementation of educational inclusion in school practice, the emphasis should be on opportunities because educational inclusion presupposes changing the organisation of school work with a particular focus on changes in the organisation of teaching and learning and the application of inclusive education, that is, the acquisition of knowledge, the development of skills and abilities and attitudes about all kinds of diversity and their combination in the value of man and human dignity (Vican, Karamatić Brčić 2013).

Given that inclusion is described as “including/involving”, it should be taken into account that such an approach denies children with developmental disabilities the possibility of equal social participation because during such “inclusion”, they are passively introduced into the environment that has been prepared for them and which is controlled by persons without disabilities. In addition, inclusion, which is interpreted as “including/involving”, assumes that all children with developmental disabilities can fully function in a regular environment and that a special education system is not necessary, and this entails the issue of the possibility of family and child choice. The interpretation of inclusion that can result in depriving an individual of the possibility of choice and active participation in the society in which they find themselves contrasts with inclusion (Romstein, Sekulić-Majurec, 2015: 42). In conclusion, inclusion should not be interpreted as mere inclusion but as active participation that assumes equality and the possibility of choice (Odom et al. 2002 according to Romstein, Sekulić-Majurec). If we want a systematic change in values then we must create conditions which will result with an interaction between persons with developmental disabilities and persons without disabilities (Kobeščak 2000).

In today’s educational system, there are special schools where school children with more complex difficulties who cannot be included in regular schools are raised



and educated. Moreover, there are special class departments with special programs within the regular school, inclusion of school children in regular classes according to an adapted program, and inclusion in public life, which includes different spheres. It is important to elaborate, analyse, and constantly adapt approaches and needs towards school children with disabilities to these needs, as well as societal and social changes. Zrilić (2013) states that children without developmental disabilities, growing up among groups similar to themselves, do not have the opportunity to learn to appreciate differences and recognise the values of persons with developmental disabilities, which mainly leads to the creation of prejudices. Therefore, creating a new school open to all children, regardless of diversity, becomes the basic goal of including children with developmental disabilities. The purpose of inclusion is the inclusion of children with developmental disabilities in the regular education system in order to develop the intellectual, emotional and social qualities of the school children (Karamatić Brčić 2013).

## CONCLUSION

Inclusive education is based on providing quality education to all participants in the educational process. It is a process that aims to enable school children with difficulties to join a group of their peers with the aim of learning, socialising, playing and having fun, and all this in the service of creating a functional citizen. Inclusion can also be described as the process of involving people in a certain activity and area, whereby each person will be accepted with his abilities and individual possibilities, with respect and understanding of individual differences and the rights of individuals as persons. The very goal of inclusive education is to create learning opportunities in the least restrictive environment.

Support in the work of school children with difficulties is provided by all participants in the educational process: teachers, teachers, members of the class and teacher's council, principals, professional associates, school doctors, parents and other specialised experts involved in rehabilitation support for school children. Applying inclusive educational practice enables school children with developmental disabilities to join the educational system with their peers. Teachers are at the center of the educational process and represent an important factor on which depends the integration of school children with disabilities into regular classrooms. Teachers decide whether to accept or reject the presence of school children with disabilities in their class. Teachers plan and implement educational activities of the teaching process while cre-



ating a stimulating work environment that is an integral part of inclusion. School children, parents and teachers should accept a child with developmental difficulties in a regular classroom, where it is necessary to create the necessary material and organizational conditions for the smooth development of the teaching process. Teachers, as key subjects of the process of inclusive education, have the freedom to create inclusive classrooms where every child feels welcome and accepted regardless of the present and possible differences (Karamatić Brčić 2013).

Teachers' beliefs, values and attitudes towards inclusive education are crucial for the successful education of school children with developmental disabilities in regular classes. In the educational process, teachers mediate educational values and with their way of working, as well as implicit pedagogy, exemplify desirable behaviour. Accordingly, by accepting and understanding differences, school children adopt inclusive values as desirable values in society. Education in an inclusive society is an ideal that should be based on people's values and beliefs (Sunko 2016). By accepting the concept of inclusion, the teacher should accept that each school child is a special individual who is not marked by their difficulties, which should be in accordance with inclusive principles on the equality of all school children in the educational process (Martan 2018). The family of a school child with disabilities is also an important participant in education that plays a key role in inclusive education because, regardless of the child's impairment, cooperation with parents and communication with peers is recommended (Bouillet 2010).

One of the crucial roles of teachers is to support parents of school children with disabilities. This includes familiarising parents with the child's obligations and rights, frequent conversations with their parents, familiarising parents with the child's difficulties in mastering the teaching content, familiarising parents with the forms of educational support that can be provided to the child, and organising lectures for parents. The cooperation, respect and partnership between the parents of school children with disabilities and those responsible for inclusive education contribute to better-integrating school children with disabilities into the educational process.

Inclusion as a process does not imply the equalisation of all people, but its educational value is reflected in the appreciation and understanding of the diversity of each individual. Inclusion contributes to the development of understanding and acceptance of individual differences and needs, the expansion of knowledge, the enrichment of experiences and the development of humanity. Inclusion was developed as a process to enable children with disabilities to attend the nearest educational institution and live with their peers. "The application of inclusive education in school practice

presupposes the development of awareness in children about acceptance and appreciation of diversity. Developing awareness of accepting diversity in children and changing attitudes towards children with special needs is an important prerequisite for the successful implementation of inclusion in school” (Karamatić Brčić 2013: 73). Ultimately, a society (school, family, local community, etc.) that has adopted inclusion as a desirable social value can hope and strive for a lower rate of violence because most research shows that children with developmental disabilities are more likely to experience violence than children without disabilities. In this sense, inclusion should not be viewed exclusively through its legal basis in terms of ensuring the rights of all children but also through its empirical and moral basis, which should be the main starting point in considering inclusion as a desirable social value that can contribute to reducing and suppressing violence.

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## UČENICI S TEŠKOĆAMA U RAZVOJU I INKLUZIVNI ODGOJ I OBRAZOVANJE ZA DRUŠTVO NENASILJA

### Sažetak:

Učenici s teškoćama u razvoju iskazuju različite sposobnosti i mogućnosti te im je potrebna prilagođena odgojno-obrazovna podrška. Inkluzivni odgoj i obrazovanje podrazumijevaju postupak uključivanja učenika s teškoćama u razvoju s ciljem priznavanja, prihvaćanja i razumijevanja njihovih različitosti i individualnih sposobnosti. U takvom se procesu učenicima nastoji osigurati prilike za učenje, rast i razvoj. Inkluzija, shvaćena kao društvena vrijednost po sebi, kao razumijevanje i prihvaćanje različitosti, pridonosi razvoju društva u svakom smislu. U tom smislu u radu će se inkluzija i inkluzivna praksa promatrati i opisati s aspekta pedagoškijske aksiologije, odnosno, odgojne vrijednosti po sebi, koja doprinosi razvoju za društvo nenasilja kao nasušne potrebe današnjice. Suvremena istraživanja pokazuju da se nasilje usmjereno prema učenicima s poteškoćama povećava, te će se u radu temeljem pregleda novijih relevantnih istraživanja sumirati spoznaje i donijeti zaključak o važnosti inkluzivnoga odgoja i obrazovanja u sagledavanju ovoga (suvremenoga) problema, prvenstveno s moralne osnove inkluzije.

**Ključne riječi:** inkluzija; nenasilje; odgoj i obrazovanje; pedagoškijska aksiologija; učenici s teškoćama u razvoju

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Review paper

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## **PROJECT AND SYSTEMIC ACTIVITIES IN COMBATING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND FAMILY VIOLENCE – A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE OF SOCIAL WORK**

The article focuses on the social phenomenon of violence against women and family violence, which marks the everyday life of society in different spheres. Critical social work through its theoretical frameworks and critical reflection has been contributing for decades to raising awareness regarding human rights issues and social phenomena, such as violence against women and domestic violence, but also of the challenges faced by individuals, social workers, and social structures that essentially occupy the central place of critical social work theories. This paper presents research results into systems solutions and project activities in the Republic of Srpska through the prism of theoretical approaches and perspectives of critical social work. The results showed that the system's response to violence against women and family violence is framed by the normative (international and national) framework in the Republic of Srpska, where the Istanbul Convention and the The Law on Protection from Violence in the Family of RS are crucial normative, as well as that significant steps have been taken to criminalize violence as a criminal offence in the The Law on Protection from Violence in the Family of RS. The results show that in the past few years, a series of project activities have been carried out that have contributed to implementation of laws, policies and programs in the area of protection from domestic violence and violence against women. The theoretical framework offers an understanding of structural and post-modern approaches to critical social work in the analysis of the social phenomenon of violence against women and domestic violence. Also, the perspectives of critical social work have been used in the discussion on the results of this research concerning the project activities and systemic solutions in combating violence against women and family violence.

**Key words:** violence against women; family violence; systemic activities; projects; critical social work

## INTRODUCTION

Violence against women and family violence seems to be one of the “evergreen” topics of science and practice of social work, but also many other disciplines and professions. Combating violence against women and family violence represents challenges in every society, including the society of the Republic of Srpska. Even though one might think that this social phenomenon is the domain of private and personal issues that women and families, as well as societies, have been struggling with for centuries, the times have come when public awareness and combating violence in general, including violence against women and family violence are in the focus of modern society and government systems. One of the essential reasons for being so is the shift in the approach in the international, regional and national legislation that came as the consequence of the fact that many countries have ratified the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women Proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 48/104 of 20 December 1993, and the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence from 2013. The documents have triggered significant changes in legislation concerning combating violence against women and domestic violence. This paper will present the research results on critical analysis of the existing legislative framework (international and national) regulating the area of domestic violence and violence against women, as well as project activities implemented in the Republic of Srpska by government organisations. The underpinning theoretical framework will be focused on critical approaches in social work. These theories and perspectives have a long and influential history in social work practice; therefore, we find them suitable for conducting critical analysis on structural issues that focus on systemic and project activities within the society of the Republic of Srpska. Critical perspectives will offer the framework for understanding legislative combat against this complex social phenomenon but also answer some questions regarding the structural causes that have a direct impact on personal and political issues that social work practitioners face on a daily basis.

## **1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING THE USE OF CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES OF SOCIAL WORK IN COMBATING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND FAMILY VIOLENCE**

Critical social theories underpin the theoretical framework chosen in this paper, which is especially important for social work practice and theoretical understanding of approaches and models of social work with victims/survivors of violence against women and family violence.

The critical tradition has a long and rich history in social work. A crucial perspective in social work enables the analysis and interpretation of factors that are not the direct causes of the problems faced by users of social work services but also by social workers themselves. Through the prism of this approach, social workers avoid the assumption that things must remain as they are, meaning they take them for granted (Škorić and Škorić 2020). Critical social work theories can provide a broader framework for professional understanding of the context in which social workers operate, but also, a good foundation for making connections between the personal and political, which can also be understood as structural in a specific society. As Fook (2012) states, summarising Agger (1998) and recognising the shared common grounds of different theorists within the critical social theories, “domination is both personally experienced and structurally created”. A simple interpretation of such positions can be understood in a way that individuals can participate in the creation of their beliefs about their position in society (social structure) and their own power and possibilities to change (Rakanović Radonjić & Šućur-Janjetović 2023a). Critical social work theory provides the possibility of change in awareness of forms of violence against women and family violence in a given society that are tolerated as part of the cultural structure in traditional environments such as the Republic of Srpska.

It is well known that the development of social work theories and approaches were strongly influenced by critical social theories. Initial ideas were grounded in radical theories that placed the seeds for discussions and activities that focused on class discrimination and inequality, but for the purpose of this paper, the influence of feminist ideas seems to have stronger influence in the theory and practice of social work. Feminist ideas strongly attacked gender inequality, as well as class-based oppression. Dominelli (2002 a:7, in Pease et al. 2009: 23) defines feminist social work as “practice that starts from an analysis of women’s experience of the world and focuses on the links between women’s position in society and their individual predicaments to create



egalitarian client-worker relationships and address structural inequalities” (Rakanović Radonjić & Šućur-Janjetović 2023a). On the other hand, critical social work is founded on recognising that human rights violations are directly connected to the social work practice and social policy documents, not only Constitutions but also different UN and other relevant international documents. It is also worth emphasising that social workers are obliged by ethical and professional standards to challenge human rights issues and violations by engaging and combining advocacy for feminist movements fighting for zero tolerance on violence against women and family violence in the broadest possible sense.

According to Payne (2017), critical social work theories can also be seen as part of the discourse on the nature of social work. The same author analyses the contribution of critical theories of social work through two important dimensions: The ideological position of the role of social work in society and as a practice deriving from social ideology. In the article *Applying Critical Social Work Theory in Practice* from 2017, Payne explains how he sees the role of critical social work theories through three key elements (Payne 2017: 170):

“Reviewing and criticising information and research that claims to represent “knowledge” that is implemented in the practice of social work;

Theories that are critical of existing social relationships and widely accepted ideas about society;

Theory stemming from the sociological tradition, including the ideas of political and sociological theorist Karl Marx and his followers, as well as the political and social theories of the Frankfurt School of Sociology”.

Payne (2017) sees the “sceptical position” as a broad idea, providing the critical theory of social work with two important things: The scientific method (seen through the prism of results and findings obtained through research as temporary and open to new checks), and reflection on phenomenology and the importance of social constructions. Phenomenology claims that knowledge comes from the appearance of things and how human beings see and interpret things. Social construction suggests that knowledge is created within the framework of social relationships in which people share an opinion about the nature of reality. Such thinking leads to the conclusion that knowledge and understanding are always influenced by the cultural, social, and historical experiences that people have now regarding coming up with new knowledge. Thus, the social construct offers us a more open presentation of the knowledge used in human relations and relationships, rejecting the idea that the only recognised knowledge is that resulting from academic research. Suppose we are to apply such

findings in critical social work practice with victims/survivors of violence against women and family violence. In that case, it has to include the experience of clients, in order to understand the “full picture” (Šućur-Janjetović 2023).

Another key element of the critical theory of social work, which focuses on “criticism of existing social relations” Payne (2017) examines through two traditions of social work. The first refers to the long tradition of dealing with poverty issues, while the second (recent) refers to groups of marginalised (individuals and groups in disadvantaged or subordinate positions). In the first tradition, critical social work is aimed at ensuring social justice through addressing inequality issues caused by poverty. This position can be seen in the gender inequality issues, and useful for the understanding of the social phenomenon of violence against women and family violence. In another tradition of critical social work, the focus is on issues of subordination (oppression) and the social identity of disadvantaged groups. In the broadest sense, social workers have always considered it necessary to focus on the social causes of poverty. In this case, we can use this approach to better understand the phenomenon of violence against women and family violence.

The third element of the critical theories of social work refers to the sociological tradition with a special aspect of “social worker’s” reflection, while at the same time linked to the two previous elements, being scepticism and criticism of existing social relations (Šućur-Janjetović 2023). Chenoweth and McAuliffe (2011) emphasise the unbreakable connection between valuing individuals and their right to self-determination. This stance is included in the professional ethics of social work and grounded in the human rights discourses. Connolly and Ward (2008: 18 in Chenoweth and McAuliffe 2011: 43) think that human rights can serve as a good protective zone for all people. This offers significant space for conceptualising what one may consider a “good life”, without any interference from others. Other authors, such as Ife (2008), think “human rights’ perspective” as a critical and powerful framework for social work practice, exploring three generations of human rights throughout the history of our civilisation. This speaks for itself about the importance of the social work profession to be based on the principle of protection of human rights (Šućur-Janjetović, Rakanović Radonjić, Gajić 2023).

As emphasised by Nipperess and Briskman (2009, in Pease et al. 2009), the human rights approach (as a critical social work approach) goes beyond the areas of practice, providing additional tools to analyse the world. It is “vital in forging connections for social workers between the wider, and often global, forces and context of practice” (Rakanović Radonjić & Šućur-Janjetović 2023a). This theoretical framework underpins the interpretation of the research presented in this paper.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

In accordance with the nature of the subject and this study, a number of general scientific methods of analytical-deductive, hypothetical-deductive and comparative method have been used to illustrate the systemic and project activities carried out in The Republic of Srpska in the field of protection of victims of violence against women and family violence. Of the basic scientific methods used in the construction of the work, methods of analysis and synthesis, methods of induction and deduction, and methods of generalisation were used. Of the special methods, the method of content analysis was used, namely descriptive analysis, functional analysis and factor analysis. This was used in the analysis of professional and scientific literature, the results of previous research and normative documentation regulating the research topic.

## 3. RESEARCH RESULTS

This part presents the results of a critical analysis of the existing legislative framework (international and national) regulating the area of domestic violence and violence against women, as well as project activities implemented in the Republic of Srpska by government organizations aimed at improving the social response to domestic violence and violence against women.

There are no official data on all forms of GBV at the state level in BiH. Data collection at the institutional level is incomplete and inconsistent. Different institutions use different methodologies for collecting and documenting data, making it even more difficult to form a clear picture of the incidence of all forms of violence.

In the Republic of Srpska, the number of reported criminal acts of violence in the family and family community is constantly increasing. In 2020, the total number of reported criminal offences was 715, within which 668 female victims of domestic violence were registered. In 2021, the number of reported criminal offences was 740, in which 687 female victims were registered. In 2022, an increase in the number of criminal acts of domestic violence by approximately 25% (861) was registered. 820 female victims of domestic violence were registered, which is an increase of 17% compared to 2021 (Rakanović Radonjić 2023). The data for 2023 are still not publicly available.

### ***3.1. Systemic activities in combating violence against women and family violence in the Republic of Srpska***

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) was the sixth country to ratify the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence back in 2013. From that moment, many efforts have been made in order to harmonise national legislation with the Istanbul Convention (Rakanović Radonjić, Šućur-Janjetović 2023a). This process has been demanding due to divided jurisdictions in BiH at the level of entities (the Republic of Srpska/RS and the Federation of BiH/FBiH) and the District Brcko, and at the level of Cantons of Federation of BiH (FBiH). The implementation of the Istanbul Convention is the responsibility of the Agency for Gender Equality of BiH.

In line with its regulation in the area of violence, BiH has a purely coordinating role at the national level, while at the international level, it ensures unity in meeting international obligations and reporting to international institutions. The general framework for protection against violence is given by: the FBiH Constitution, the RS Constitution, the Brcko District Statute, the FBiH Canton Constitution, the Law on Prohibition of Discrimination (Official Gazette of BiH No. 59/09 and 66/16), the Law on Gender Equality (Official Gazette of BiH No. 32/10). To have a “closer look” into the field of protection of victims of violence against women and family violence, this paper is analysing the response of the Republic of Srpska Entity in this field. By ratifying the Istanbul Convention, BiH committed itself to taking legislative and other measures to provide a legal, institutional and organisational framework for preventing violence against women, protecting victims/survivors of violence and punishing perpetrators of violence. The text of the Convention was published in the Official Gazette of BiH, No. 15/13. This document aims to achieve a zero degree of tolerance towards violence against women and domestic violence, as well as the prevention of violence, protection of victims and prosecution of perpetrators. These are the main provisions of the Convention (Šćepović & Lepir 2023). The areas covered by the Convention are Prevention, Protection, Policy integration, Basic laws, and Monitoring (monitoring the implementation). Additional topics included in the Convention are gender perspective, migrant women, asylum seekers and refugee women, NGOs and children. The convention covers all women and girls from all backgrounds, regardless of their age, race, religion, social background, migrant status or sexual orientation. Particular attention is drawn to the existence of special groups of women and girls who are often at greater risk of violence (migrant women, asylum-seekers and women

from special regions). The Convention also applies to other victims of domestic violence, such as men, children and the elderly.

The legislative framework regulating violence in the RS contains several laws. Strategic documents, by-laws, and various protocols on procedure make up the whole system of protection and support for victims of domestic violence in the Republic of Srpska.

*The Law on Protection from Violence in the Family of RS* (Official Gazette of RS No. 102/12, 108/13, 82/15, 84/19) is a *lex specialis*. The law was passed by RS Parliament as early as 2005, which can be seen as a legal solution that preceded the modern regulations contained in the Istanbul Convention. This law was passed due to the lack of visibility of domestic violence in the previous penal code. It was only after some time (after major problems in the application of the law) that significant developments took place in this area, including the activities that followed the commitments set out in the Istanbul Convention. The current Law on Protection from Domestic Violence has eight chapters: Introductory provisions, definition of key concepts, subjects of protection and support, procedure for achieving protection of victims, protective measures, record-keeping obligations, supervision and penal provisions. The RS Ministry of family, youth and sports is responsible for coordinating, implementing and monitoring the application of the Law, together with the RS Centre for Gender Equality.

*The Criminal Code of RS* (Official Gazette No.64/17, 104/18, 15/21, 89/21 and 46/21) treats domestic violence as a special crime of violence in the area of crimes against marriage and family. By amending and supplementing this law, domestic violence and violence against women has been criminalised as a crime in all its forms. This law defines who all family members are and regulates the prosecution of violent offenders. Criminal prosecution in the area of domestic violence has contributed to the establishment of a preventive system against the commission of a criminal act of domestic violence. This law criminalises crimes against gender identity as well as crimes of sexual exploitation and abuse of a child. In this way, the perpetrators' prosecution is ensured per the Istanbul Convention.

*The law on exercising the right to free legal assistance* (Official Gazette RS No. 67/20) deals with issues of providing minimum legal mechanisms for socially sensitive groups (free use of services and advice at all stages of the procedure). The exercise of this right is not limited to the place of residence, as is the case with social protection rights.

*The Health Protection Act* (Official Gazette RS No. 57/22) provides and arranges social care for citizens' health. According to the law, victims of violence can count on full and unconditional health care. Also, victims of violence are compulsorily insured and receive health care free of charge.

*The Law on the Protection of Witnesses in Criminal Proceedings* (Official Gazette RS No. 53/12, 9/17, 66/18 and 15/21) stipulates in their regulations that family members who have witnessed violence are entitled to a special regime of necessary safety protection.

*The Law on the Protection and Treatment of Children and Minors in Criminal Proceedings* (Official Gazette RS No. 13/10, 61/13 and 68/20) deals with issues arising out of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which concern the protection of the interests of the child in criminal proceedings, if he or she is a suspect, accused, convicted, victim or witness. Through this law, children of victims of violence have the possibility of protection, but also professional support during the process in which they participate in any capacity.

*The Social Housing Act* (Official Gazette RS No. 54/19) regulates the area of residence in the Republic of Srpska under special conditions deriving from the state of social need. Social housing implies the assignment of a housing unit to a non-profit lease for a certain period of time, with the consent of the user, while the need for residential care lasts. This law offers the possibility of more permanent care for victims of violence after using certain specialist services or aftercare in a safe house.

The RS Government adopted *the General Protocol on the Treatment of Cases of Domestic Violence in The Republic of Srpska* (Official Gazette RS No. 104/13, 14/22) to ensure the coordinated, efficient and comprehensive work of the signatories to the Protocol to provide immediate assistance, support and protection to victims of domestic violence, and to prevent the recurrence of violence. According to the legislative document, the ultimate beneficiaries of the Protocol are all family members, including direct victims (mostly women) and victims who witness violence (mostly children), as well as perpetrators of violence. By acting with due diligence and in accordance with the Protocol, it will be possible to increase the security against domestic violence, in a short time and at a lower cost to society and individuals. The first and guiding principle of the Protocol is to protect the safety of the victim by stopping the violence and preventing the recurrence of violence while taking care to avoid further victimisation and injury to the victim.

### ***3.2. Project activities in combating violence against women and domestic violence in the Republic of Srpska***

As previously noted, the Gender Centre supports introducing gender equality in all areas of life and work in the Republic of Srpska. A particular aspect of his work is to support the implementation of laws, policies and programs in the area of protection from domestic violence and violence against women in cooperation with national and international organisations and institutions. It was founded by the Republic of Srpska Government in 2001 and was one of the conditions for BiH to join the Council of Europe. Since its establishment, the Gender Centre has been active in improving the protection of victims of domestic violence and violence against women. Between the end of 2017 and today, the centre has implemented a series of projects that have been directly aimed at improving the social response to the protection of victims of domestic violence and violence against women.

The project “Increasing Access to Better Multisectoral Services for Survivors of Violence against Women and the Family at Local Level” was launched in 2017 to achieve efficient and consistent multisectoral cooperation in preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence for professionals working on cases of violence. The project took place in three phases. Within the framework of this project, training has been conducted for service providers at the local level of government following the Council of Europe Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Violence against Women and Domestic Violence. The training is based on a specifically designed methodology and a specially designed training module to improve multisectoral cooperation. The project was implemented in the area of local communities in eastern The Republic of Srpska.

In project activities, special attention is paid to the interdisciplinary approach, multisectoral cooperation and coordinated response of protection and support subjects in the protection and support of victims of violence in the family and against women (Šćepović & Rakanović Radonjić 2017). The result of one of the activities was the production of a handbook for the treatment of protection subjects called Multisectoral Response to Cases of Violence against Women and the Family (Šćepović 2018). In addition to the above-mentioned, project activities they included continuous research on attitudes and the need for professional representatives of protection subjects, to improve education and introduce new models of support for their work (Šućur-Janjetović, Lepir, Šćepović & Rakanović Radonjić 2018). In line with the results obtained, a new type of support was introduced, specially designed and following the



needs of service providers. It is about Mentor support that has been implemented in local communities through support in finding solutions for working on specific cases in local communities. Mentoring, as a new method of operation of the Gender Centre, meant achieving professional cooperation with an expert/mentor to strengthen further the multisectoral approach in working with victims of violence against women and family violence. The purpose of mentoring support was directly linked to the training of professionals on the principles of the Council of Europe Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Violence against Women and Family Violence, which is aimed at the process of further increasing their sensitivity and willingness to work on cases of violence against women and family violence and strengthening their mutual relations and professional cooperation.

Activities to improve multisectoral cooperation under the Istanbul Convention continued in the coming period and were carried out in other regions of the Republic of Srpska, initially in the northwestern part. These activities were carried out as part of the project's second phase. The activities also included education and mentoring support for service providers. Similarly, following an earlier methodology, the project's third phase covered local communities in the southeastern Republic of Srpska. In order to strengthen the capacity of employees in protection and support entities working on cases of violence against women and family violence, as an integral part of the activities carried out by the educational activities organised for professionals employed in protection and support entities, mentoring support was established. This support proved to be one of the activities in the earlier project that directly affected the improvement of social response in the local community. These project activities lasted until the end of 2022. So, for a period of five years, the Republic of Srpska has been providing continued support to professionals working directly with victims of violence against women and family violence, ensuring their cooperation with each other, with the signing of Local Protocols on handling cases of violence against women and family violence and the formation of coordination bodies in accordance with the provisions of the Istanbul Convention as one of the most significant results. These Local Protocols apply at the municipal level of governance.

The importance and contribution that civil society organizations, some of which have a tradition of 25 years of activism in the area, have made in establishing social responses to cases of domestic and gender violence in the Republic of Srpska must not be overlooked. They are to be praised for many of the improvements in the area. Such involvement deserves special analysis, which can and should be the subject of a special scientific work/paper.



#### 4. DISSUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

It seems only natural to start the discussion and make conclusions following the main aspects of critical social work perspectives that can broaden our knowledge and improve activities in combating violence against women and family violence. This means that we need to “cover” the main elements that are considered to be especially important from the critical social work theories’ point of view. The research conducted and presented in this paper, underpinned by the chosen theoretical framework, brought a few important conclusions to our attention.

1. *Linking personal to political* – The practice of traditional or conventional social work has “separated” interventions by fields of action, but also by different “levels” or what we define in literature as social work methods. There is a consensus among many authors that this is precisely why a small number of social work practitioners deal with socio-political issues, so it is not surprising that there is a “weak link” between personal and political (Jessup & Rogerson 1999; Mullaly 2007, in Pears et al. 2009). The essence of the approach in critical social work is that problems are discussed within the framework of methods of social work with an individual, unpacking the problem (by explaining all aspects of the terms/words/language used), jointly seeking possible solutions, and connecting individuals with others whose circumstances are similar. Another way may be to help and support the client/service user in developing organisational skills or advocacy and representation skills (Šućur-Janjetović 2023). In recent history, we can find examples where, by raising public awareness and critical questioning, personal is linked to politics. For example, raising awareness on domestic violence by insisting on the perspective that violence against women is a human rights issue, hence a “political issue”, and not a private matter of one family or partners. It should be added that, despite the changes that followed in the later decades of last century, it took almost 20 years for the United Nations, through its Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women in 1993, to produce a document that defines violence against women as a political issue, that is, a human rights issue. Many of the documents and bodies engaged in the fight, suppression and prevention of violence against women derived from this document at the global, but also regional and national levels, including the documents that were the subject of analysis in this research.

2. *Socio-political analysis and awareness raising* – In the spirit of a holistic approach in social work, the perspective from which a critical social worker observes, assesses and analyses social problems is crucial. Analysis of the relationship between the problems of individuals, dominant ideology and material conditions (which is the focus of structural approaches of socio-political analysis), includes detailed analysis of power relations at all levels of society. This also means identifying social, political and economic barriers to individuals and families, groups, communities and social organizations (Moreau & Leonard 1989, in Pears et al. 2009). From this, it can be concluded that all forms of violence against women and family violence, as well as any form of submission/oppression and marginalization, require structural analysis and social awareness of the existence of problems. Thus, modern critical social work with individuals and families implies, in addition to assessing needs in terms of material, psychosocial, productive, security, etc., evaluating social, political and economic realisation of human rights in order to establish the existence or non-existence of social injustice, it also directs action to the social level, finding solutions at the political level. “Raising awareness” regarding a social problem takes place through both reflection and action, to help individuals and groups gain insight into their circumstances, about who has power and how positions of power can change, i.e. how power can be used for social change (Baines 2007; Mullaly 2007). This means that social workers should actively listen to and explain every single and different meaning that occurs during the talks and have the awareness that there are also different ways of acquiring knowledge (Allan, in Pears et al., 2009, according to Šućur-Janjetović 2023).

3. *Discourse Analysis* – Critical Social Work Approaches based on post-modernist ideas emphasize the importance of discourse and discourse analysis. Suppose we interpret discourse as a set of meanings or a vocabulary used to generate new meanings. In that case, they can also extend ways of understanding different experiences or actions of people. Many terms and “coined phrases” are used in the everyday practice of social work, illustrating the dominant discourse. Also, literature that deals with the analysis of discourse stresses the importance of considering the effects and constantly considering changes in discourse through the changing of the professional language used in social work. The dominant discourse and language used are analysed through the deconstruction process. Deconstruction most often reveals cultural and

family discourses that reveal ideas, beliefs and behaviours that reproduce the ruling structures of power. This is particularly important for the analysis of the phenomenon of violence against women and domestic violence. The meaning and behaviour that service users/clients of social work have learned and/or adopted influence the position of subordination so that new meaning and behaviour open up the possibility for a different understanding of experiences as well as for changes in thinking and behaviour (Jessup & Rogerson 1999; Rossiter 2005; Goldberg Wood & Tully 2006, in Pears et al. 2009). There are many examples of subservient discourse. For illustration, we can use the example of the subservient discourse that makes women hesitate to report violence. Elements of discourse and explanations often mentioned in the literature include sexually aroused men are difficult to control and helpless. Many members believe this of the police and/or other bodies involved in the social response to violence against women. Hence, women believe that there is little chance that the abuser is responsible for the violence (Šućur-Janjetović 2023).

To better respond to the problem of subjugation/oppression, in an integrated and emancipated way, critical social work advocates the development of more efficient ways of listening to and providing services to social work users/clients. According to Tew (2002), social workers should provide conditions and work with subordinate individuals and groups to train them to resist oppression and channel energy caused by anger towards emancipatory changes (Šućur-Janjetović 2023).

A special conclusion of this paper is the recognition that the legal framework occupies a special place, and represents an extremely important link in the social response to violence against women and domestic violence, as evidenced by the results of the analysis of projects and systems' solutions in the Republic of Srpska, as presented in this paper. Similarly, from the critical social work perspective point of view, a solid conclusion can be drawn, claiming that structural solutions do not imply the mere existence and application of normative acts, but also imply all the above-mentioned dimensions in this discussion. Involving victims/survivors of violence against women and domestic violence in research and shifting the focus of social work from "client/service user" to "individual's" needs can certainly be a useful topic for research and development of mechanisms in combating violence against women and domestic violence in every society, including the Republic of Srpska.

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## **PROJEKTNE I SISTEMSKE AKTIVNOSTI U BORBI PROTIV NASILJA NAD ŽENAMA I NASILJA U PORODICI – KRITIČKA PERSPEKTIVA SOCIJALNOG RADA**

### **Sažetak:**

Rad se bavi fenomenom nasilja nad ženama i nasilja u porodici koji obilježava svakodnevnicu društvenog života u različitim sferama. Kritički socijalni rad kroz svoje teorijske okvire i kritičku refleksiju decenijama doprinosi podizanju svijesti o ljudskim pravima, o društvenim fenomenima, kao što je nasilje nad ženama i nasilje u porodici, ali i o izazovima sa kojima se suočavaju pojedinci, stručnjaci iz oblasti socijalnog rada, ali i društvene strukture koje suštinski zauzimaju centralno mjesto kritičkih teorija socijalnog rada. U radu su predstavljeni rezultati istraživanja sistemskih rješenja i projektnih aktivnosti u Republici Srpskoj kroz prizmu teorijskih pristupa i perspektiva kritičkog socijalnog rada. Ovaj teorijski okvir nudi razumijevanje strukturalnih i postmodernih pristupa kritičkog socijalnog rada u analizi društvenog fenomena nasilja nad ženama i nasilja u porodici. Isto tako, perspektive kritičkog socijalnog rada su korištene u diskusiji o dobijenim rezultatima istraživanja.

**Ključne riječi:** nasilje nad ženama; nasilje u porodici; sistemske aktivnosti; projekti; kritički socijalni rad

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## **VIOLENCE AND PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES: ABUSING AS DESTINY**

People with disabilities are “easy targets” because they often lack the acquired knowledge of appropriate or unacceptable behaviour, do not have sufficient acquired social skills, or sometimes believe that because of their disorders and dependence on others, they must be conciliatory and have no right to protest or rebel. Also, a physical or psychological deviation that sometimes suggests a person’s weakness in others can cause a sense of dominance and superiority, which in certain situations can turn into the intention of physical or emotional abuse. Unfortunately, statistics show that a greater number of people with disabilities have faced some types of violence to a greater or lesser extent, especially in the female population. Violence can have numerous and psychophysical severe consequences on people who are already struggling with health, functional and/or mental disorders and consequently have difficulties in realizing the required quality of life and human rights. For this reason, the task of the entire society should be aimed at preventing a spiral mechanism in which one fateful unfavourable situation, such as disability, triggers a series of others. Regardless of its potential, every being deserves care and protection, especially vulnerable groups whose suffering, pain or limitations are seen as their inevitable destiny. However, the strength, fighting spirit and dedication shown by people with disabilities are proof of their magnificence, which should not be rewarded with verbal or physical blows, but with tolerance, respect, and appreciation.

**Keywords:** people with disabilities; violence; psychophysical consequences; prevention



## 1. INTRODUCTION

Violence is defined as the use of physical force or psychological maltreatment of another person that leads to a violation of fundamental human rights and values. In addition, violence can be considered as any form of behaviour that causes destruction, injury, pain, and harm to the person against whom it is directed, along with a sense of fear, insecurity, and dependence (Derenčinović 2004). As claimed in many different reports, people with disabilities are highly affected by different types of violence (Saleme et al. 2023). According to the World Health Organization (WHO), disability refers to the physical or mental impairment of everyday functioning due to congenital conditions, injury or disease (Dammeyer, Chapman 2018). Unfortunately, physical or psychological deviations sometimes suggest a person's weakness, which can create a feeling of dominance and superiority in others that can turn into an intention of physical or emotional abuse. In this regard, people with disabilities may experience violence from family members, guardians, partners, caregivers, personal assistants, and other professionals, i.e. in the victim's home or in various institutions where they realize therapy, education, rehabilitation, or social care (Milić Babić 2009). In addition, structural violence is also possible, which takes place within social communities and refers to the lack of social safety and financial resources that would enable these individuals to have a satisfactory quality of life (Ajduković 2003). Violence against people with disabilities can be considered in many different categories such as (Rusac 2006; Milić Babić 2009; Cipriano, Cella, Cortufo 2017; Ray 2023):

- **psychological (emotional) violence**, which includes insulting and underestimating people with disabilities through verbal or non-verbal behaviour such as false accusations, mockery, use of derogatory names, threats, blackmail, social isolation and prohibition of visits, humiliation, etc,
- **physical violence**, related to behaviour that results in physical pain and injury, e.g. hitting, pushing, slapping, spitting on, locking in a room, etc,
- **sexual violence**, which includes unwanted touching, rape, sodomy, undressing and photography,
- **financial violence**, which refers to the inappropriate or illegal use of a person's property or money, e.g. theft, abuse of power of attorney, disposal of property without the consent of a person with a disability, etc.,
- **collective violence**, which includes the denial of human and social rights, bullying, mobbing, stigmatization, discrimination, prejudice, rejection, and exclusion from society,

- ***self-directed violence***, in the form of suicidal or non-suicidal self-harm that leads to tissue damage, illness or risk of death. Non-suicidal self-harm includes, for example, cutting, biting, scratching, and burning the skin as well as hitting body parts on hard surfaces, inserting different objects into the body, etc.

Statistics show that despite efforts to uphold the human rights of people with disabilities, the risk of being confronted with some types of violence remains high in this population (Liasidou, Gregoriou 2021). For example, according to the UK's National Violence Report for 2010-2011, physical violence (30%) and neglect (23%) were the most common, followed by financial (20%), psychological (16%) and sexual violence (6%), while perpetrators were most often family members (25%), social care workers (25%), neighbours, friends, volunteers, and other professionals (12%) and healthcare workers (3%) (Strurdy, 2012). The study by Marinić (2020), which was conducted on a sample of 684 participants, showed that 45,07% of them had experienced discrimination and violence, especially in the deaf and hard of hearing group (66,34%). The most common types of violence were physical or verbal violence by people outside the family (28,98%), verbal violence within the family (26,02%), violence by medical staff (12,37%) and finally, physical violence within the family (9,53%). Also, the frequency of these experiences was linked to younger age and poor economic status. Based on a meta-analysis, Fang et al. (2022) found that the overall prevalence of violence against children with different kind of disabilities was 31-37%. Research by Dammeyer and Chapman (2018) conducted on 18,0019 participants showed that people with disabilities reported a significantly higher level of violence in comparison with those without disabilities. Also, in this research, people with mental disorders reported all types of violence and discrimination significantly more than those with physical disabilities; men were more likely to report physical violence, while women were more likely to report sexual violence, humiliation and discrimination. Furthermore, according to the 2017-2019 report by the *Office for Victims of Crime of the U. S. Department of Justice*, people with disabilities were the victims of 26% of all non-fatal violent crimes, compared to about 12% in the general population (Waldman, Rader 2024).

Due to this worrying incidence and adverse outcomes, this paper aims to consider some specifics of violence against people with disabilities in terms of its causes, types and consequences, as well as possible prevention and treatment approaches.

## 2. SOME SPECIFICS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

### 2.1. *The most common causes and types of violence against persons with disabilities*

The victimization of people with disabilities stems from a complex interplay of societal, psychological, and situational factors (McEachern 2012; Šesto, Buljevac, Leutar 2015; Healy 2020). Here's a breakdown of some key reasons why people with disabilities are "easy target", as is identified in various studies:

#### 1. Dependence on Others

- **Enforced passivity:** The reliance on others can foster a sense of enforced passivity, where individuals feel they must accept whatever comes their way, including abusive behaviours.

#### 2. Psychological Factors

- **Fear of institutionalization:** The fear of being placed in an institution can make individuals more compliant and less likely to resist or report abuse.
- **Acceptance of violence:** Some may come to accept violent behaviour as a normal part of life, especially if they have experienced it frequently.
- **Self-perception:** Beliefs that they are weak, worthless, or deserving of punishment can make individuals less likely to stand up against abuse.

#### 3. Isolation

- **Social isolation:** Many individuals with disabilities experience significant social isolation, reducing their ability to seek help or support.
- **Lack of knowledge:** Due to limited access to information and education, they may not know how to recognize or resist violent situations.

#### 4. Inability to Recognize or Escape Violence

- **Sensory and cognitive impairments:** Disabilities affecting sight, hearing, or cognitive understanding can make perceiving potential or actual violence difficult.
- **Physical Inability:** Some individuals may be physically unable to escape from a violent situation.

## 5. Economic and emotional dependence

- **Financial dependence:** Abusers often control the financial resources, making it difficult for victims to leave or seek help.
- **Imposed gratitude:** Perpetrators might manipulate victims into feeling gratitude for their care, thus justifying their abusive actions and trivializing their guilt.

## 6. Lack of Information

- **Rights awareness:** People with disabilities may not have access to information about their rights, further limiting their ability to seek help and justice.  
Of course, the cause of violence also rests with the perpetrators of violence. At the community level, violence can be sustained by a lack of resources, social non-condemnation of violence or weak sanctions for perpetrators. Norms that promote violence, such as patriarchy and weak policies on violence and gender equality, can encourage perpetrators at the social level (Gault, Wetmur, Plummer, Findley 2023). Some authors have also tried to identify and categorise the reasons that motivate perpetrators to use violence. They concluded that the motivations can be complex and multifaced and may include the following (Sobsea, Calder 1999; Chakraborti, Garland, Hardy 2014; Cunha et al. 2023):
  - ***Unfamiliarity, intolerance, and hostility towards ‘difference’:*** a lack of exposure to or understanding of people who are different from oneself can breed intolerance and hostility, leading to violent behaviour.
  - ***Sense of superiority or hatred:*** Perpetrators may believe in their own superiority over others or harbour deep-seated hatred, which can manifest in violent actions.
  - ***of exploitation as a favour:*** some individuals perceive exploitation as a way of thanking or returning a favour for providing resources or support, justifying their violent behaviour.
  - ***Financial or emotional self-interest:*** violence can be motivated by personal gain, whether financial or emotional. Perpetrators may use violence to obtain what they want or to assert control.
  - ***Psycho-emotional exhaustion:*** stress, burnout, and emotional exhaustion can lower inhibitions and increase the likelihood of violent outbursts.
  - ***Perception of punishment as appropriate and educational:*** some believe that using violence as punishment is an appropriate and effective educational approach to correct behaviour.

- ***Inability to inhibit antisocial impulses***: certain individuals struggle to control their antisocial impulses, leading to violent actions.
- ***Mental health issues***: narcissism, lack of empathy, delighting in humiliation and other people's suffering, hyper-masculinity, etc., can drive individuals to commit acts of violence.

In considering the causes of violence against persons with disabilities, it is also important to consider the interpersonal interaction between the victim and the perpetrator, which is sometimes more complicated than is commonly thought. So, for instance, when we talk about domestic violence, dysfunctional family dynamics, inadequate coping strategies, divorce, work overload, etc. can contribute to the deterioration of the physical, mental and social health of parents, especially the mother. Research by Silva et al. (2024) found that high rates of violence, such as “abandonment and/or neglect”, were mostly provoked by the mother, followed by the father. According to the authors of this research, mothers' dissatisfaction and overload were the cause of violent impulses against their children with intellectual disabilities, especially when they were under great tension or stress. Similar results were obtained in some other studies, according to which females tend to abuse children, and males are prone to abuse adults (Peer 2009; Alangari et al. 2024). Furthermore, key factors that contribute to an increased risk of intimate partner violence often include limitations in fulfilling emotional and social needs, as well as financial dependence on the partner, which are significant barriers to leaving the abusive situation (García-Cuéllar et al. 2023).

Social factors are also decisive, including the presentation and acceptance of violence as a means of solving problems or of deservedly and justifiably asserting one's superiority, knowing that an act of violence is difficult to prove or is rarely prosecuted (Boran, Oğretmen, Taskan 2021). Namely, victims of violence often do not report their experiences because they do not expect to be understood or for anyone to stand up for them. Some victims even stated that family members or other people they communicated with encouraged them to ignore, remain silent or accept the violence (Sin 2013). Such a practice is dangerous for victims of violence as it encourages perpetrators to use violence and may lead to repeated incidents. Also, in the frame of considering other environmental factors as a cause of violence against people with disabilities, it is crucial to recognize and address disability hate violence. For example, in the narrative interviews conducted by Healy (2020), respondents stressed disability hate crimes as one of the major causes of violence. This type of violence is widespread

and has been considered within various theories and approaches towards people with disabilities, i.e. according to Richardson et al. (2016), disability hate crimes are an extreme reflection of prejudice, discrimination and marginalisation of people with disabilities and represent a manifestation of disablism or disablism in action, that needs to be sanctioned and reduced through various legal and social policies.

But it is absurd that the various professionals who are supposed to provide support, due to deep-rooted prejudices, ignorance or personal motives, in some cases express distrust or, worse, continue the process of violent behaviour. For example, some victims experience humiliation, suspicion, insults or inappropriate non-verbal communication during reporting or processing an act of violence at the police station, in a hospital or in other institutions. This naturally leads to a further misperception and marginalization of people with disabilities, supported by the power and control of dominant social and cultural discourses (Swartz et al. 2018; Healy 2020; Morgan 2021). In this context, we can speak about symbolic violence, which arises from the power imbalance between different social groups and is manifested in the imposition of norms and expectations by the group with greater social power. Symbolic violence can appear in different social areas such as nationality, gender, sexual orientation or disability (Thapar-Björker, Samelius, Sanghera 2016). Based on data from the Australian *Royal Commission into Violence, Abuse, Neglect and Exploration of People with Disabilities* symbolic violence in this population can manifest in denying them the right and freedom to make choices, controlling their lives, facing significant barriers to access, inclusion, and information, as well as in not receiving quality facilities and services such as health care, education, employment, and housing (Wadiwel, Spivakovsky, Steele 2022).

Regarding other types of violence, the most common are physical, sexual, emotional and verbal violence; negligence, denying of necessary assistance; financial violence; drug manipulation; destruction or denying of equipment necessary for mobility, health care or some other activities, etc. (Powers, Oswald 2004). One of the most highlighted issues is the high rate of sexual violence, which refers to groping, rape, control of reproductive or sexual health control, stalking, and psychological or verbal aggression that includes sexual insults and belittling. (Breiding, Armour 2015). This type of violence can be perpetrated in the context of intimate and professional relationships, using threats or coercion to enter intimate relationships (Plummer, Findley 2012). For example, the results of a meta-analysis that included a systematic review of 68 studies indicated that people with disabilities are at significantly higher risk of sexual abuse than people without disabilities, especially participants with sen-

sory impairments and adult participants compared with young one (Amborski et al. 2022). The female population is particularly at risk. According to the results of some studies, the rate of various forms of sexual violence against women with disabilities is between 40% and 60% (Wade 2002; Cotter 2018). The reason for this high incidence may be that women with disabilities are often marginalized, excluded and “invisible”, are usually considered asexual and undesirable and are unable to have intimate and partnered relationships and become mothers. For this reason, they are less convincing when talking about experienced violence. Sometimes, through inappropriate sexual behaviour, understand the “fake” message about their attractiveness or the possibility of achieving a romantic relationship as true. Such dehumanizing acts contribute to additional vulnerability and exposure to physical/sexual violence against women with disabilities (Milić Babić 2009; Morais et al. 2024).

When attempting to analyse the prevalence of violence in relation to a specific type of disability, it becomes apparent that most studies focus on people with intellectual disabilities (Marinić 2020). Research shows that people with intellectual disabilities are 4 to 10 times more likely to become victims of violence than people without disabilities. (Reiter, Bryen, Shacher 2007). Josipović, Najman Hižman and Leutar (2008) conducted a semi-structured interview with 59 people with intellectual disabilities and concluded that 50.8% of them were hurt by another person, and they stated that the most common form of violence was verbal violence in the form of jokes, mockery and swearing (40.7%), or that they were beaten or punched (33.9%). Friends of the victims of violence were the most frequent perpetrators (59%). Parents were identified as perpetrators in 16 % of cases, acquaintances in 10 % of cases, and in the fewest cases, the staff of the institution (3 %). In terms of feelings, it was pointed out that they were sad, unhappy, crying, in a bad mood, hurt and disappointed. Some reasons why people with intellectual disabilities are more likely to be victimized are a lack of knowledge about sexuality and emotional relationships, isolation and absence of social interactions, institutionalization, etc. (Josopović, Najman Hižman, Leutar 2008). Sexual abuse of adults with intellectual disabilities is sometimes experienced by other adults with intellectual disabilities. For example, in a study by Furey, Granfield and Karan (1994), other adults with intellectual disabilities were the perpetrators in 42% of cases of violence. Strand, Benzein and Savemen (2004) came to similar conclusions that people with disabilities are sometimes perpetrators of violence, based on a survey of 122 staff members working in group dwellings and day centres. According to the results, 35% of them admitted to having been involved in or witnessed a violent incident against adults with intellectual disabilities. 14% of



the staff members admitted that they were perpetrators and 61% that they were exposed to violence by residents. Most acts of violence occurred in situations where residents did not cooperate or where both parties reacted with violence. In violent situations, staff felt helpless and inadequate. It has been shown that various supportive interventions, such as supervision or counselling for staff as well as training on communication skills for adults with intellectual disabilities, are necessary.

One of the studies that looked at the frequency and nature of childhood sexual abuse of visually impaired people found that 73 of the 333 respondents experienced some form of abuse. According to the victims, in most cases (70%) the sexual abuse took place at their or perpetrator's homes, then at school (14%), in a bus or car (6%) or in another place such as a cabin, forest or camp (10%). Almost half of the victims (48%) stated that they had been persuaded or lured into sexual acts by the perpetrators, with or without the offer of gifts or alcohol. Almost one-third of victims (32%) stated that the perpetrator had used violence or force. Some of them (15%) believed that the perpetrators took advantage of their superior position. A part of them (5%) considered the sexual event to be voluntary, although some of them realized later that they had been deceived. What is terrifying is that "voluntary" victims were told by their perpetrators that they, the children, were the ones who wanted the abuse to happen (Kvam 2005). A thematic analysis conducted by Admire and Ramirez (2021) showed that deaf people also experience abuse and violence in various social settings and invoke society's perception of disability to explain the negative treatment they have experienced. In analysing the data obtained through semi-structured interviews, Mastrocinque et al. (2022) identified several important themes that determine the causes and ways of dealing with intimate partner violence in the deaf population: the intergenerational transmission of violence, concerns about finding information, communication barriers with family and friends linked with frustration, and the challenges of seeking help. Nowadays, bullying is a worrying phenomenon that also targets young people with disabilities. For example, according to the results of the study conducted by Stang et al. (2020), participants with cerebral palsy perceive themselves as equal to their bully in terms of popularity, intelligence, and strength. In addition, an inverse relationship was found between the severity of the disability and the rate of victimisation. Finally, children with cerebral palsy show individualized strategies for resilience, relying on adult resources. Identification of violence is also important in people with mental disorders. Namely, compared to the general population, patients with severe mental disorders have a significantly increased risk of domestic and sexual violence which is later associated with negative health outcomes. Also, according



to Khalifeh, Moran, Borschmann (2015), serious sexual assault in adulthood leads to more frequent suicide attempts in this population than among victims in the general population.

An important form of violence among people with disabilities is self-harm. Brown and Beali (2008) used an interpretative phenomenological analysis to identify three main themes in this area among people with intellectual disabilities. The first referred to the context of self-harm and included sub-themes relating to past experiences of abuse and loss but also current issues of control and protection. The second main theme referred to the emotional experience of self-harm, which was characterized by anger, frustration, hopelessness, relief, guilt, and regret. The third main theme referred to coping with self-harm. Participants experienced both helpful individual and cooperative strategies as well as interventions that they perceived as controlling, unhelpful or derisive. The incidence of self-harm is quite high among people with intellectual disabilities, learning disabilities, mental disorders, autism spectrum disorders, etc. (Brown, Beali 2008; Lovell 2008; Hawton et al. 2013; Blanchard, Chihuri, DiGuseppi 2021), Constantly ignoring the “message” in cases of self-harm leads to further traumatization of those affected (Flygare et al. 2023). In this sense, Jones, Davies and Jenkins (2004) consider self-harm as a consequence of neglect, rejection and violence, and they state that it is necessary to find ways of communicating effectively and meeting individual needs. In this case, self-harm would be unnecessary. With this in mind, it is extremely important to recognize and acknowledge such desperate and final signs of unmet personal needs. Interpreting such behaviour as just a „part of the syndrome” devalues the true message of self-harm and, in that way, becomes secondary and supremely abuse. In this context, it is necessary to highlight the significance of educating victims of violence, professionals, and others in their environment with the aim of recognising, preventing, or stopping various forms of violence, ensuring adequate fulfilment of their needs, and mitigating the consequences of traumatic experiences.

## ***2. 2. Some consequences of violence against people with disabilities***

Some victims of violence believe that because of their conditions and their dependence on others, they must be conciliatory and have no right to protest or rebel. This is an extremely bad and unacceptable attitude since violence can have numerous and severe psychophysical consequences for people who are already struggling with other health, functional and/or mental disorders. According to Rivara et al. (2019), the biological effects of violence include possible effects on the CNS, the neuroendocrine

system, and the immune response. The consequences can also include an increased incidence of depression, anxiety, addictive behaviour, PTSD, an increased risk of psychosomatic illness and premature mortality. When people experience long-term and/or multiple forms of violence, the health consequences can be cumulative. Dembo et al. (2021) cited the results according to which the health effects of violence are worse for youth with disabilities compared to their non-disabled peers. Namely, obtained data showed that adolescents and young adults with disabilities suffer more frequently from headaches, sleep disorders, changes in eating or drinking habits, fatigue, muscle pain, severe distress, stomach problems, depression, and anxiety

In their comparative study, Dembo, Mitra and McKee (2018) found that men and women with disabilities had poorer outcomes in terms of anxiety, depression and severe problems compared to men and women without disabilities. Also, according to some research, harassment, abuse or violence can significantly impact mental and physical health, often leading to severe outcomes such as hospitalization, increased suicide attempts, and suicidal thoughts (Healy 2020). A survey conducted as part of the *Leicester Hate Crime Project* found that respondents felt insecure, anxious, vulnerable, angry, depressed, addicted to alcohol and drugs, etc. because of experiencing property crime, violent crime and sexual violence (Chakraborti, Garland, Hardy 2014). Marinić (2020) states that the issues of discrimination and violence are negatively correlated with levels of personal happiness, life satisfaction and all areas of personal well-being. Victims of violence are sometimes assured that they are bad and useless or that they deserve abuse or neglect, which destroys their self-confidence and reinforces their sense of worthlessness (Miller, Porter 1983; Milić Babić 2009; Kuemmel 2017). In this sense, the negative effects of imposed and internalized discrimination of lower expectations can also be mentioned which often leads some victims to believe that they need to tolerate the violence they are exposed to because they are a burden on certain individuals or society (Lefebvre 2019). Similarly, Burch (2021) emphasizes the danger of long-term disabled hate violence and oppression that can lead to the internalization of hatred that then negatively shapes the victim's sense of self-identity, self-esteem, values, and behaviour in the present and future. The consequences of disability hate violence are even more frequent and intense when they occur because of intersectional discrimination, i.e. when the intolerance is directed at a person who is a member of the LGBTQ+ and/or BIPOC community in addition to having a disability. However, it is worrying that there is very little research or specific interventions aimed at this high-risk and vulnerable group (Gault, Wetmur, Plummer, Findley 2023)

The presence of violence in the population of people with disabilities has consequences not only for the victims but also for the social community, causing further divisions and deterioration of relations between different social groups (Healy 2020). The denial of the right to report violence and the relativization of violence lead to a deterioration of physical and mental health, withdrawal from society and the acceptance of violence and abuse as something normal. Ignoring the consequences of violence by the victims is also supported by the fear of accusations that they exaggerate, as well as the fear of revenge or the loss of privileges, guardians, partners, friends, social networks, jobs, housing, etc. Therefore, research in this area is warranted and relevant to society as a whole. Specifically, it is essential to further emphasize the importance of screening individuals with disabilities for experiences of violence and ensuring that trauma treatment is accessible to all. Namely, according to some statistics, only 20% of sexual violence is reported (Verdugo, Bermajo 1997), while according to a study by Willot, Badger and Evans (2020), conducted in a *Community Learning Disability Team* within a UK NHS trust, only 4.4% of cases of abuse were reported to the team. The reason for this is that the victims are usually persuaded not to tell anyone, and that means that most of the cases are covered up by hush-up, threats, shame, self-blame, and fear of revenge, and thus hidden by silence and suffering behind closed doors. Identifying and addressing these issues early can significantly improve the overall well-being of individuals with disabilities, helping to prevent the long-term consequences associated with such traumatic experiences.

### **3. PREVENTION STRATEGIES AND TREATMENT OF VIOLENCE AGAINST PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES**

The awareness that people with disabilities are disproportionately victims of violence has led to the adoption of various documents that create a legal basis and oblige professionals from various disciplines to actively participate in the prevention and sanctioning of violence against them (Šesto, Buljevac, Leutar 2015). Such an important umbrella document is Article 16 of the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* which mandates that “States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social, educational and other measures to protect persons with disabilities, both within and outside the home, from all forms of exploitation, violence, and abuse, including their gender-based aspects” (2008). Over time, some other recommendations emerged as well. For example, a very detailed set of 222 recommendations is prepared in the frame of *Final report of the Australian*

*Royal Commission into Violence, Abuse, Neglect and Exploration of People with Disabilities* (2023), These recommendations consider and suggest what changes are needed to improve laws, policies, structures and practice to ensure that we live in a more inclusive and equitable society that supports the independence of people with disabilities and their right to live free from violence, abuse, neglect and exploitation. They are addressed to the government and non-governmental agencies, such as service providers and professional associations responsible for training in disability and related health areas. Furthermore, the European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1987) or the Global Report on Health Equity for Persons with disabilities prepared and published by the World Health Organization (2022) should be mentioned.

But, despite the increasing number of legal provisions regulating violence, too little attention is still paid to this topic. Just as victims of violence often turn to silence, society behaves similarly. In this sense, Gault, Wetmur, Plummer and Findley (2023) have pointed out that marginalised voices tend to be just a footnote when they are not at the centre of our movements. Because of that, more awareness of the importance of violence prevention needs to be encouraged. It should start at the national level by strengthening the safety and resources necessary to provide victims with legal, material, health, and psychological support. As stated by Rusac (2009), the problem of violence against persons with disabilities should be addressed in a multi-disciplinary and cross-sectoral manner, focusing on research, education, prevention measures and awareness-raising among experts, persons with disabilities and the community. Bearing in mind the implementation of various interventions, Gault, Wetmur, Plummer, and Findley (2023) pointed out that all three types of interventions should be equally used, e.g. primary ones, which are carried out before violence occurs; secondary ones, which aim to prevent escalation; and tertiary, which are carried out after violence has occurred. Within this model, primary intervention could be violence prevention education programs, secondary intervention could be violence screening, and tertiary intervention could be follow-up services or resources. Often, interventions for people with disabilities are targeted at the tertiary level and are reactive. Such practice is inappropriate because it supports the idea that they should be protected and not provided with information that enables their safety as a fundamental human and existential right. Consideration should also be given to successful ways of removing barriers that lead to violence being concealed and not reported. These barriers in most cases include: a) the suspicion that other people will not believe them and that they cannot be reliable witnesses, b) the lack of a trusted person to tell about the

violence, c ) the need to avoid reliving embarrassment, fear, shame and the whole traumatic experience, when describing the details of the violence to other (unknown) people, d) the fear of perpetrator's revenge, e) the fear of betraying or losing a close person, who is also the perpetrator of the violence, if this person will be accused, f) the fear of involving the police, g) the fear of being held responsible for experienced violence, h) the lack of verbalisation skills or cognitive capacity necessary to understand or describe the committed act of violence, etc. (Milić Babić 2009; Mueller, Forber-Pratt, Sriken 2019). Mitigating or removing these barriers should include educating both victims and professionals, sharing examples of good practices, and strengthening family and community support.

In the field of education, Child Assault Prevention - CAP is one of the highest qualities and most comprehensive primary child abuse prevention programs in the world; used since 1978 and implemented in 19 countries around the world. This program aims to reduce the vulnerability and exposure of children and adolescents to various forms of violence by teaching them effective prevention strategies and ensuring better support from essential adults (parents, guardians and educators), as well as encouraging the local community and educational institutions to actively engage in and systematically address the primary prevention of violence against children and adolescents. As part of the CAP program, the *Special Needs CAP* is designed for children with mild intellectual and developmental disabilities. This program is conducted in 3 steps, including a lecture for the entire institution staff, a lecture for parents and workshops for children. The workshops for children take place over five days, during which they learn about the perception of the body, recognise the rights that belong to the body, and develop self-confidence and independence (CAP 2024). Furthermore, in their systematic review of the effectiveness of intervention strategies in reducing and preventing domestic and family violence, Saleme et al. (2023) found that significant positive results were achieved through the use of techniques such as role-play and in-situ scenarios, behavioural skills training, individual and group face-to-face lessons, storytelling (including storybook), computer-based solutions, the use of realistic videos in training materials, psychoeducation, carer-focused training, and family programs. Their implementation positively impacted on safety skills, self-efficacy and safety behaviours, self-protection and decision-making skills, abuse awareness, safety knowledge and skills, safety self-efficacy, social support, and safety-promoting behaviours. In addition to education and intervention strategies, it is of course, necessary to implement a whole range of activities to make it easier for people with disabilities to recognise and deal with violence and to help them gain the attitude that

they have the right to react, i.e. to refuse, to stop and to report the behaviour that causes them harm and pain. According to Powers and Oschwald (2004) some of these activities are:

- providing a 24-hour support service (crisis line) that allows victims to communicate with someone experienced in dealing with people with disabilities and victims of violence for psychological support and help in planning next steps,
- availability of interpreters (e.g. for people with hearing, speech, or intellectual disabilities),
- giving a person with a disability the opportunity to choose a personal assistant,
- ensuring that each person has an accessible telephone or emergency button that they can use independently inside or outside the home,
- connecting them with professionals who can help them,
- involving family members and friends they trust in providing support,
- providing people with disabilities with the information and tools they need to identify and prevent violent behaviour through education and counselling,
- educating professionals and the broader social community about the problem of violence against people with disabilities,
- engaging centres for independent living, self-advocacy organizations, survivor drop-in centres and support groups.

In addition to preventive strategies, therapeutic approaches that can help traumatized people to alleviate the psychophysical and social consequences of violence are also important. For example, Araten-Bergman and Bigby (2020) list some possible interventions used with people with intellectual disabilities and refer to: 1) Behavioural Skills Training focused to appropriately recognize and respond to situations of sexual abuse, 2) Training Based on a Cognitively Oriented, Decision-Making Approach aimed to teach effective decision-making strategies to adults with mild to moderate intellectual disabilities, and 3) Staff Educational Training – workshop for care service providers to improve their awareness and knowledge of sexual abuse and to teach people with intellectual disabilities a positive attitude towards their sexuality. In addition, some research has confirmed that cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT) and eye movement desensitization and reprocessing (EMDR) can be effective approaches to promote change in associated externalizing and internalizing behaviours and reduce trauma-related symptoms caused by various traumatic experiences. Of course, therapists need to be aware of treatment options, especially when working

with clients with more complex needs and less verbal communication skills, as well as severe PTSD symptoms (Byrne 2022). Also, some systematic reviews have also found that CBT-based interventions can be effective in treating PTSD and depressive symptoms in survivors of domestic violence and sexual abuse (Oram, Khalifeh, Howard 2016). Trauma-focused cognitive behavioural therapy (TF-CBT), a manualized intervention for children and adolescents with trauma experiences and related mental health symptoms, is particularly useful. It can also be conducted with parents and guardians who have suffered the consequences of indirect trauma, who have witnessed violence against their child, or who are an important source of support for a traumatized child (de Arellano et al. 2014).

Recently, body-oriented therapies have also become valuable interventions for people who have experienced violence. These include, for example, the trauma-informed model of mindfulness-based stress reduction (TI-MBSR), which has been shown to be a promising and viable intervention for female survivors of interpersonal trauma (Kelly, Garland 2016). Or Somatic Experiencing® (SE) therapy, which aims to directing a person's attention to interoceptive, proprioceptive and kinaesthetic sensations as well as instinctive, bodily protective responses associated with acute stress reactions in the form of fight, flight and freeze under therapeutic conditions (Payne, Levine, Crane-Godreau 2015). As part of body-oriented therapies, dance movement therapy (DMT) can be used to enhance physical and emotional capacity, strengthen body-mind unity, trauma processing on body level, and help the body to create metaphors, images, and symbols. Based on the results of research and clinical practice, including the body in the therapeutic process is necessary because the body is often a victim but also a reminder of physical and sexual abuse. Therefore, supporting body experience, attunement, embodiment, and kinaesthetic empathy is the beginning of connecting with the body and related feelings, and memories (Liang, Bryant 2024).

To promote a sense of well-being and enjoyment, some other expressive art therapies and complementary therapies such as music therapy, art therapy, bibliotherapy, psychophysical relaxation, breathing exercises, meditation, mindfulness, guided imagination, etc., can also be used as part of various therapeutic approaches. In any case, the chosen therapeutic approach must be adapted to the individual's needs and preferences to encourage the therapeutic alliance and rebuild trust in interpersonal relationships. Future research and practical models should consider victims' cognitive, intellectual, and physical abilities, focusing on the long-term effects of interventions. Likewise, interventions should not only target victims of violence but also their caregivers, partners, and professionals, particularly those experiencing indirect trauma.



These efforts can additionally improve emotional attachment and mitigate various negative effects of violence on interpersonal level

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Violence against people with disabilities is historically but still under-examined issues. The review of the literature revealed that there is a lack of research, and these existing ones pointed out that people with disabilities are much more likely to experience various forms of violence compared to the general population, and despite this, they are often not recognized, or the victims are not encouraged to report and prosecute the perpetrators. Furthermore, the consequences of any kind of violence can be very serious and long-lasting, causing problems in physical and mental health and social interaction. For this reason, the task of society should be to prevent a spiral mechanism in which one fateful unfavourable situation, such as a disability, triggers a series of others. In this context, the requirements for designing and implementing various educational, legislative, administrative, social and other measures to protect persons with disabilities from different types of violence is emphasised. They can be divided into several categories, such as:

- *social and legal policy* – developing and implementation of social and legal protection to ensure the safety and human rights of persons with disabilities,
- *systems of support* – improving and expanding the different systems of support that provide help and advocacy for persons with disabilities in the framework of government institutions, non-governmental organisations, and institutions relevant to providing professional, advisory, or therapy interventions.
- *education and empowerment* – implementation of different educational programs and counselling aiming to help individuals recognise violent situations and become more familiar with various systems of support and their rights in the area of social and legal protection, etc.
- *raising awareness* – providing activities which would change negative perceptions and attitudes against people with disabilities and would influence public opinion to realise the importance of recognition and preventing violence in order to promote a more inclusive society that provides a more effective network of support and protection.



Namely, it is necessary to encourage further research and various activities that would support the idea that every being, regardless of its potential, deserves care and protection, especially vulnerable groups whose pain and suffering are sometimes treated as inevitable destinies. However, the strength, fighting spirit and dedication shown by people with disabilities are proof of their magnificence, which should not be rewarded with verbal or physical blows, but with tolerance, respect, and appreciation. In this context, they have the right to have relations with others in which their values, will and choices are recognized. In this way, good conditions would be created to enable self-realization, emotional attachment, and body at tunement in people with disabilities.

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## **NASILJE I OSOBE S INVALIDITETOM: ZLOSTAVLJANJE KAO SUDBINA**

### **Sažetak:**

Osobe s invaliditetom su „lake mete“ jer često nemaju stečena znanja o primjerenom ili neprihvatljivom ponašanju, nemaju dovoljno stečenih socijalnih vještina ili ponekad vjeruju da zbog svoje ovisnosti o drugima moraju biti pomirljivi te da nemaju pravo protestirati ili se pobuniti. Također, fizička ili psihička odstupanja koja ponekad sugeriraju nečiju slabost kod drugih osoba mogu uzrokovati osjećaj dominacije i nadmoći, koji se u određenim situacijama može pretvoriti u potrebu za fizičkim ili emocionalnim zlostavljanjem. Nažalost, statistike pokazuju da se veći broj osoba s invaliditetom, u većoj ili manjoj mjeri, susreo s nekim oblikom nasilja, posebice u ženskoj populaciji. Nasilje može imati brojne i ozbiljne psihofizičke posljedice na osobe koje se već ionako bore sa zdravstvenim, funkcionalnim i/ili psihičkim smetnjama te posljedično imaju poteškoća u ostvarivanju potrebne kvalitete života i ljudskih prava. Zbog toga bi zadaća cjelokupnog društva trebala biti usmjerena na sprječavanje spiralnog mehanizma u kojem jedna sudbonosno nepovoljna situacija, kao što je invaliditet, pokreće niz drugih. Svako biće, bez obzira na njegove potencijale, zaslužuje brigu i zaštitu, a posebno ranjive skupine čija se patnja, bol ili ograničenja doživljava kao njihova neizbježna sudbina. No, snaga, borbenost i predanost osoba s invaliditetom dokaz je njihove veličanstvenosti koja ne bi trebala biti nagrađena verbalnim ili fizičkim udarcima, već tolerancijom, poštovanjem i uvažavanjem.

**Gljučne riječi:** osobe s invaliditetom; nasilje; psihofizičke posljedice; prevencija

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## **VIOLENT CRIME AND MOTIVES<sup>1</sup>**

The aim of the conducted research was to gain insights into the characteristics of the areas where incidents of violence occurred, the type of violence, the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, and the gender of the perpetrator, with a particular emphasis on identifying differences in these characteristics based on the perpetrator's motives. The presented results are part of the scientific research project Croatian Violence Monitor – Study of incidence patterns, causes, and prosecution of delinquent violence with a focus on protecting particularly vulnerable victim groups. The research findings indicated that domestic violence is the most prevalent type of violence, with revenge and jealousy being the predominant motives. In light of these findings, it is crucial from a practical standpoint that all competent authorities responsibly, conscientiously, and consistently conduct individual victim assessments in accordance with the Regulation on the Methods of Individual Victim Assessment (Official Gazette, No. 106/17). Among other things, this means placing even greater emphasis on proposing and imposing protective measures in misdemeanor proceedings, and in criminal proceedings, applying purposeful security measures when conditions permit, aimed at eliminating circumstances that enable or encourage the commission of new criminal offenses (Article 66 of the Criminal Procedure Act, Official Gazette, No. 125/11, 144/12, 56/15, 61/15, 101/17, 118/18, 126/19, 84/21, 114/22, 114/23, 36/24).

**Keywords:** violence; criminal acts; motives; perpetrators

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1 The research for this paper has partly been conducted within the “Croatian Violence Monitor: A Study of the Phenomenology, Etiology, and Prosecution of Delinquent Violence with Focus on Protecting Particularly Vulnerable Groups of Victims”, a project co-funded by the Croatian Science Foundation (uip-2017-05-8876) and the University of Zagreb’s Faculty of Law. For more details, visit Violence Research Lab’s homepage: [www.violence-lab.eu](http://www.violence-lab.eu).

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Violence is a particularly sensitive topic (Fraga 2016). Very often, violent acts (e.g. domestic violence) happen in private settings, behind “closed doors” (Cantos, Neidig, O’Leary 1994; Fraga 2016; Wright & Benson 2011). Not only that violence often happens behind „closed doors“, but it is also often part of a dark figure. Defining violence is challenging because there is a lack of a commonly accepted definition of the term. Usually, violence itself is considered socially undesirable. However, this view largely depends on the cultural and situational context. Thus, in some jurisprudences, it is still considered lawful that a husband uses violence against his spouse (e.g. marital rape, see Randall & Venkatesh 2015), whereas in other jurisprudences this might well be outlawed, but is however still widely socially accepted (Wößner, Getoš Kalac, Gačal 2019). Depending on what kind of definitional feature is emphasized, i.e. aspects of action, motivation, and impact, or social, psychological, and political meaning, a quite different definition results (Tolan 2007). Currently, there is a trend towards indefinitely broadening the violence terminology and typology (e.g. psychological, verbal, economic, structural, symbolic, medial, object-related, institutional), up to the point where almost everything can be labelled as violence and therefore intended, where almost nothing presents itself as violence (Meyer 2002). In line with the World Health Organization (WHO), violence could be defined as “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation” (Krug et al. 2002: 5). A definition comparable to the WHO’s provided by Englander (2003: 2) determines violence as “aggressive behaviour with the intent to cause harm (physical or psychological)”. Correspondingly, The National Research Council of the American Academy of Sciences defines violence as “behaviours by individuals that intentionally threaten, attempt, or inflict physical harm on others” (Reiss & Roth 1993: 2). For this research, violence is defined as any intentional physical harming or killing of another person (Getoš Kalac, Šprem 2018: 4). It is divided into several categories such as other violence in private settings, other violence in public settings, „Barroom“ violence, violence as part of theft, violence as part of the breakup of a love relationship, violence in the neighbourhood, violence at work, violence within the institution, violence related to discrimination, violence related to heredity, hooliganism, violence related to extortion, violent crimes, violence related to subletting, violence against police/security guards, violence related to prostitution, violence related to drug trafficking and domestic violence.

Furthermore, motivation is a mental process that encourages us to engage in mental or physical activities, and “inside” affects our behaviour. In psychology, motivation has replaced the former concept of “will”, which is included in the “psychology of power” (“power of speech”, “power of will”, etc.). Feelings (emotions) encourage us to act, so modern psychologists do not set a boundary between motivation and emotions. Motivational behaviour can be represented by a circular drawing: in the beginning, there is a motive or a need to achieve a goal, then there is a behaviour with which we try to reach that goal, and if we succeed in achieving it (before or after), the need for a new, higher goal develops, and the “motivational cycle” repeats itself. On the way to the goal, we encounter various obstacles: physical (impassable road, etc.), social (legal, religious, and other prohibitions), and personal (insufficient physical or mental ability, clash of motives). If the motivation is strong and the obstacles are insurmountable, there is a distinct discomfort, restlessness, or anger, known as frustration. In theories of motivation, A. H. Maslow’s “hierarchical theory” is one of the most prominent theories, according to which the appearance of our motives has its order. In the first place are the motives of survival, security, the need for love and friendship, social reputation, and “self-realisation”. Herzberg’s “two-factor theory” of motivation is also accepted and verified. If there are factors of satisfaction (e.g. “loving your job”), this motivates us and we are satisfied, but if there are none, there is no satisfaction either, but we are not “actively dissatisfied”. If there are dissatisfaction factors (e.g. a tyrannical boss), we are dissatisfied, but if there are none, we are not “actively satisfied”. “Content” theories (the goal of which is to find what motivates a person) in modern psychology are replaced by “process” theories of motivation. They do not deal with the question of what motivates or does not motivate us, but rather try to answer the question of how we decide what to do in a specific situation. These “process” theories answered why people often do things that do not appeal to them but still decide to do them<sup>2</sup>.

The results presented in this article are part of the scientific research project “Croatian Violence Monitor: A Study of the Phenomenology, Etiology, and Prosecution of Delinquent Violence with Focus on Protecting Particularly Vulnerable Groups of Victims” (DOK-2018-01-6494) which started on November 1, 2018 and was co-funded by the Croatian Science Foundation and the University of Zagreb’s Faculty of Law. The main goal of the scientific research project is to empirically and normatively record and analyse the phenomenology, aetiology, and prosecution of delinquent violence in Croatia, with an emphasis on particularly vulnerable groups of victims with their very specific and different needs for protection from violence.

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2 Available at: <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/motivacija>, accessed 25. 04. 2024

## **2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### ***2.1. Research goal***

The goal of the research is to gain insight into individual characteristics related to the area where the analyzed case of violence is located, the type of violence, the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, and the sex of the perpetrator. The specific goal of the research is to determine whether differences exist in the mentioned characteristics concerning the perpetrator's motive.

### ***2.2. Research sample***

For the research sample, secondary data sources were used, namely final court criminal cases with elements of violence in which final judgment occurred from 2017 to 2021. Criminal cases were collected at four counties and four municipal courts in Croatia (County Court and Municipal Court in Zagreb, County and Municipal Court in Split, County and Municipal Court in Osijek, and County and Municipal Court in Rijeka) depending on the actual jurisdiction for individual cases – a criminal offence. To cope with the huge amount and rather a different phenomenology of the long list of includable offences (created as a result of this definitional debate), three main offence categories were created. The 1st category refers to offences that are unambiguously violent in terms of harming/killing another person. The 2nd category includes borderline offences, which do fit the criminological definition, but not 100%. Finally, the 3rd category refers to offences that do not fit the definition, but there is a possibility that some violent acts are, in practice, misclassified as an offence from that category (Wößner, Getoš Kalac, Gačal 2019). During the research, 1117 criminal cases were analyzed, and the research sample included 909 perpetrators.

### ***2.3. Instrument***

The data required for the realization of this research were collected using a specially designed questionnaire for the purpose of this research. This questionnaire is based on the research tool, which was originally developed for a homicide study in Uruguay (Albrecht 2015) and then further tested for the purpose of the Balkan Homicide Study (Albrecht & Getoš Kalac 2016). The research tool has thus been further developed by the research tool used for file analysis in the project "Sex Offenders in the Social

Therapeutic Institutions in the Free State of Saxony” (Wößner, Hefendehl & Albrecht 2013). Subsequently, it was extensively broadened and adopted to Violence Lab’s research questions. In doing so, considerations on measuring violence in general (e.g. Douglas, Burgess, Burgess & Ressler 1992; Landau 2006; Walby & Towers 2017) and domestic violence (McClennen 2010; Myhill 2017), as well as forensic medicine expertise (Schwerd 1992; Brinkmann & Madea 2004; Madea 2007), were included. Further aspects, such as the time and location of an offence, were taken into consideration (Wößner, Getoš Kalac, Gačal 2019).

The survey questionnaire contained variables divided into three units: variables related to the event, the perpetrator, and the victim. For this research, variables related to the area where the analyzed case of violence is located, the type of violence, the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, and the perpetrator’s sex were used. In addition to these four variables, the perpetrator’s motive variable was added to the questionnaire. The specific goal of the research is to determine the existence of differences in the mentioned characteristics concerning the perpetrator’s motive. These variables were chosen to achieve the research objectives, that is, to gain insight into individual characteristics related to the area where the analyzed case of violence is located, the type of violence, the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, and the perpetrator’s sex, as well as to determine the existence of differences in the aforementioned characteristics concerning the perpetrator’s motive.

#### ***2.4. Method of conducting research***

The consent of the Ethics Committee of the formal project holder of the Faculty of Law of the University of Zagreb was obtained for conducting the research, and in terms of general ethical principles in scientific research, the anonymity of perpetrators and victims was respected in the sense that identification data were not entered into the survey questionnaires. The research was conducted in Zagreb in 2021/2022 and in Split, Rijeka and Osijek in 2022/2023.

#### ***2.5. Method of data processing***

After the data collection was completed, the data from the survey questionnaires were entered into the database in the statistical computer program SPSS. After the data entry was completed, a logical control was performed. Descriptive statistics were used for the defined research objectives, and the Chi-square test was used to determine

statistically significant differences in the analyzed characteristics (significance level –  $p < 0.05$ ).

### 3. RESEARCH RESULTS

From the analysis of the jurisdiction of the cases, it is evident that the largest number of criminal cases is from the area of jurisdiction of the County and Municipal Court in Split (29.8%). Then, in terms of relative share, cases from the jurisdiction of the County and Municipal Courts in Zagreb follow (28.1%) and then cases from Osijek (22,6%) and from Rijeka (19,4%).

Jurisdiction or location of criminal cases concerning the specific motive for committing the crime showed that the motive of revenge is relatively most present in cases under the jurisdiction of county and municipal courts in Osijek (40.9%), and least in cases located in Rijeka (8.8%). The motive of greed appears relatively the most in cases from Zagreb (41.3%), and the least in cases from Osijek (15%). The motive of (self) defence is relatively most frequently represented in cases from the jurisdiction of Osijek (41.4%). The motive of jealousy and a lack of care appear relatively most often in cases from Zagreb (jealousy - 30.9%, lack of care - 27.3%) and Split jurisdictions (jealousy - 35.9%, lack of care - 25%). The motives of hatred, prejudice, and discrimination were relatively most often recorded in Zagreb cases (51.7%). In the analyzed cases, the most unclear motives are found in cases from Split (30.4%) and Rijeka (28.9%), while multiple motives appear relatively more often in cases from Zagreb (44.9 %) and Split (29.2%) jurisdictions.

The variable that defines the location of the case or jurisdiction concerning the perpetrator's motive shows statistical significance.

**Table 1.** Location of criminal cases – Jurisdiction concerning the perpetrator’s motive

Location of criminal cases - Jurisdiction		Perpetrator's motive										Total	X <sup>2</sup>	Significance
		Unclear	Multiple motives	Revenge	Greed	(Self) defense	Vigilantism	Jealousy	Lack of care	Hatred/prejudice/discrimination	Someone's request			
Zagreb	Count	113	40	39	33	3	1	56	12	15	0	312	130.643	.000
	%	24.2	44.9	21.5	41.3	10.3	16.7	30.9	27.3	51.7	0.0	28.1		
Split	Count	142	26	52	21	5	2	65	11	6	1	331		
	%	30.4%	29.2	28.7	26.3	17.2	33.3	35.9	25.0	20.7	33.3	29.8		
Osijek	Count	77	16	74	12	12	2	42	9	6	1	251		
	%	16.5%	18.0	40.9	15.0	41.4	33.3	23.2	20.5	20.7	33.3	22.6		
Rijeka	Count	135	7	16	14	9	1	18	12	2	1	215		
	%	28.9	7.9	8.8	17.5	31.0	16.7	9.9	27.3	6.9	33.3	19.4		
Total	Count	467	89	181	80	29	6	181	44	29	3	1109		
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		

If the type of violence is analyzed, it can be seen that relatively the most prevalent is domestic violence (57.9%), followed by other violence in the public settings (9.2%), then other violence in the private settings (6.9%), violence related to the sale of narcotic drugs (5.4%) and violence directed towards police officers or security guards (5%).

Concerning a particular type of violence, the research shows jealousy (76.2%) as the most prevalent motive followed by lack of care (72.7%), revenge (60.7%), hatred/prejudice/discrimination (37.9%), and multiple motives (60.7%). The motive of greed appears relatively often and equally in property crimes, that is, in violence as part of theft and domestic violence (16.3%). The motive of (self) defence appears relatively more often and equally in domestic violence and violence directed against the police or security guards (24.7%). The motive of vigilantism is relatively the most common in violent crimes (66.7%). Also, it should be noted that the research showed that in the case of domestic violence, there are relatively the most unclear motives (63.4%).

The variable defining the violence type concerning the perpetrator’s motive shows statistical significance.



**Table 2.** Type of violence concerning the perpetrator's motive

Type of violence		Perpetrator's motive										Total	X <sup>2</sup>	Significance
		Unclear	Multiple motives	Revenge	Greed	(Self) defense	Vigilantism	Jealousy	Lack of care	Hatred/prejudice /discrimination	Someone's request			
Other violence in private settings	Count	46	11	8	3	0	0	6	0	2	0	76	1301.536	.000
	%	9.9	12.4	4.4	3.8	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	6.9	0.0	6.9		
Other violence in public settings	Count	62	9	17	1	2	0	5	0	6	0	102		
	%	13.3	10.1	9.4	1.3	6.9	0.0	2.8	0.0	20.7	0.0	9.2		
„Barroom“ violence	Count	7	3	7	0	2	0	4	0	1	0	24		
	%	1.5	3.4	3.9	0.0	6.9	0.0	2.2	0.0	3.4	0.0	2.2		
Violence as part of theft	Count	2	3	1	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	19		
	%	0.4	3.4	0.6	16.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7		
Violence as part of the breakup of a love relationship	Count	2	0	12	0	0	0	27	0	0	0	41		
	%	0.4	0.0	6.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7		
Violence in the neighborhood	Count	12	2	6	2	4	0	0	1	0	0	27		
	%	2.6	2.2	3.3	2.5	13.8	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	0.0	2.4		
Violence at work	Count	4	0	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	12		
	%	0.9	0.0	3.9	0.0	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1		
Violence within the institution	Count	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4		
	%	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4		
Violence related to discrimination	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	5		
	%	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.8	0.0	0.5		
Violence related to heredity	Count	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3		
	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3		
Hooliganism	Count	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	5		
	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.9	0.0	0.5		
Violence related to extortion	Count	1	0	0	6	3	0	1	0	0	0	11		
	%	0.2	0.0	0.0	7.5	10.3	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0		
Violent crimes	Count	12	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	16		
	%	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4		
Violence related to rental disputes	Count	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6		
	%	0.2	1.1	1.7	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5		
Violence against police/security guards	Count	16	0	26	3	7	0	0	0	3	0	55		
	%	3.4	0.0	14.4	3.8	24.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.3	0.0	5.0		
Violence related to prostitution	Count	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1		
	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1		
Violence related to drug trafficking	Count	6	6	0	34	0	0	0	11	0	3	60		
	%	1.3	6.7	0.0	42.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	100	5.4		
Domestic violence	Count	296	54	89	13	7	2	138	32	11	0	642		
	%	63.4	60.7	49.2	16.3	24.1	33.3	76.2	72.7	37.9	0.0	57.9		
Total	Count	467	89	181	80	29	6	181	44	29	3	1109		
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		

From the conducted research, it is evident that in the relatively largest number of cases, the victim and the perpetrators were in some form of a romantic relationship (36.2%), which is expected because, in the analyzed sample, domestic violence dominates. This is followed by cases in which the victim and perpetrator did not know each other (15.9%), then cases in which the parents behaved violently (10.6%), and violence that occurred between acquaintances (9.4%).

If individual motives are analyzed, it is evident that with romantic partners, multiple motives (41.6%) and the motive of jealousy (75.7%) appear relatively often. The motive of revenge (22.7%), the motive of (self) defence (51.7%), and the motive of hatred/prejudice/discrimination (37.9 %) are relatively the most prevalent among perpetrators and victims who did not know each other. The motive of greed is the most pronounced among acquaintances (46.3%). Vigilantism is exclusively a motive that appears in children while friends exclusively commit criminal acts at someone's request. Lack of care is the most common motive among parents as perpetrators of violence (52,3%). Furthermore, the relatively highest number of unclear motives was found among perpetrators who were in a romantic relationship with the victim (32.8%) and perpetrators who committed the crime of violence in the capacity of parents (15.8%).

Furthermore, the variable that defines the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator concerning the motive shows statistical significance.

**Table 3.** The relationship of the perpetrator to the victim concerning the perpetrator's motive

The relationship of the perpetrator to the victim		Perpetrator's motive										Total	X <sup>2</sup>	Significance
		Unclear	Multiple motives	Revenge	Greed	(Self) defense	Vigilantism	Jealousy	Lack of care	Hatred/prejudice/discrimination	Someone's request			
Stranger	Count	82	8	41	19	15	0	0	0	11	0	176		
	%	17.6	9.0	22.7	23.8	51.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	37.9	0.0	15.9		
Acquaintance	Count	23	16	14	37	2	0	6	2	4	0	104		
	%	4.9	1.0	7.7	46.3	6.9	0.0	3.3	4.5	13.8	0.0	9.4		
Friend	Count	10	4	3	5	0	0	0	3	0	3	28		
	%	2.1	4.5	1.7	6.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.8	0.0	100	2.5		
Neighbor	Count	12	2	2	2	4	0	0	1	2	0	25		
	%	2.6	2.2	1.1	2.5	13.8	0.0	0.0	2.3	6.9	0.0	2.3		
Boss	Count	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	8		
	%	0.2	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.6	0.0	0.0	0.7		
Employee	Count	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1		
	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1		
Customer	Count	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4		
	%	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4		

Service provider	Count	4	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	1011.828	.000
	%	0.9	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5		
Further relatives (marriage ties, third generation of relatives)	Count	15	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20		
	%	3.2	0.0	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8		
Close relatives (grandparents, uncles)	Count	5	0	1	3	0	0	4	0	0	0	13		
	%	1.1	0.0	0.6	3.8	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2		
Brother/sister	Count	27	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	32		
	%	5.8	1.1	0.0	2.5	6.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9		
Parent	Count	74	8	8	4	0	0	0	23	0	0	117		
	%	15.8	9.0	4.4	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	52.3	0.0	0.0	10.6		
Child	Count	42	11	22	3	1	6	1	0	3	0	89		
	%	9.0	12.4	12.2	3.8	3.4	100	0.6	00	10.3	0.0	8.0		
Romantic partner	Count	153	37	55	3	4	0	137	9	4	0	402		
	%	32.8	41.6	30.4	3.8	13.8	0.0	75.7	20.5	13.8	0.0	36.2		
Former romantic partner	Count	15	1	20	2	0	0	24	0	4	0	66		
	%	3.2	1.1	11.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	13.3	0.0	13.8	0.0	6.0		
Romantic partner in the process of breaking up/separating	Count	1	0	4	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	14		
	%	0.2	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3		
Owner	Count	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4		
	%	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	0.0	0.4		
Total	Count	467	89	181	80	29	6	181	44	29	3	1109		
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		

The analyzed cases show that relatively the largest number of perpetrators were male (94.3%). If the perpetrator's sex is analyzed concerning the motive, it is evident that almost all motives for committing a violent criminal offence are represented by both sexes, except for the motive of vigilantism and violence that was committed at someone's request. The last two motives exclusively appear in male perpetrators. Furthermore, the variable that defines the sex of the perpetrator concerning the motive shows statistical significance.

**Table 4.** Sex of the perpetrator concerning the perpetrator's motive

Sex of the perpetrator		Perpetrator's motive										Total	X <sup>2</sup>	Significance
		Unclear	Multiple motives	Revenge	Greed	(Self) defense	Vigilantism	Jealousy	Lack of care	Hatred/prejudice/discrimination	Someone's request			
Male	Count	453	87	176	65	23	6	179	29	25	3	1046	126.262	.000
	%	97.0	97.8	97.2	81.3	79.3	100	98.9	65.9	86.2	100	94.3		
Female	Count	14	2	5	15	6	0	2	15	4	0	63		
	%	3.0	2.2	2.8	18.8	20.7	0.0	1.1	34.1	13.8	0.0	5.7		
Total	Count	467	89	181	80	29	6	181	44	29	3	1109		
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		

#### 4. CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

The goal of the conducted research was to gain insight into individual characteristics of motives related to the area where the analyzed case of violence occurred, the type of violence, the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, and the biological gender of the perpetrator. The specific aim of the research was to determine differences in these characteristics concerning the perpetrator's motive.

Among the limitations of this study, it should be noted that complete data were unavailable for all variables in the analyzed cases, and the motive was unclear in a certain number of cases. Additionally, a total of 1.117 criminal cases with final judgments from the period 2017 to 2021 were analyzed, not encompassing all cases due to unavailability in the courts where it was conducted (e.g., due to extraordinary legal proceedings).

Regarding the jurisdiction of the court, it is evident that the majority of criminal cases originate from the County and Municipal Courts in Split (29.8%). Following this are cases from the jurisdiction of the County and Municipal Courts in Zagreb (28.1%), and then from Osijek (22.6%) and Rijeka (19.4%).

Regarding perpetrators' motives in general, most cases are characterized by unclear motives, while motives of revenge and jealousy are also significantly represented. Revenge is most common in cases under the jurisdiction of the County and Municipal Courts in Osijek (40.9%), while jealousy predominates in cases from Zagreb (30.9%).

In analyzing the type of violence, domestic violence is the most common form (57.9%), explaining the high prevalence of revenge motives (60.7%) and jealousy (76.2%) in these cases. Moreover, in cases of domestic violence, there are relatively more unclear motives (63.4%). When examining the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim in the context of specific motives, it is observed that romantic partners often have multiple motives (41.6%) and motives of jealousy (75.7%). For instance, motives of revenge (22.7%), self-defense (51.7%), and hate/prejudice/discrimination (37.9%) are relatively more prevalent among perpetrators and victims who did not know each other.

Furthermore, concerning biological gender, it is evident from the analyzed cases that the majority of perpetrators are male (94.3%). The results of the analysis of the perpetrator's gender in relation to motive showed that almost all motives for committing the crime are present in both genders, except for vigilantism and violence committed at the request of another, which are characteristic exclusively of male perpetrators.

In conclusion, domestic violence is the most prevalent type of violence in the analyzed cases, with motives of revenge and jealousy dominating the motivation for

committing this form of violence.

From a practical standpoint, it is important that all competent authorities responsibly, conscientiously, and consistently conduct individual victim assessments in accordance with the Regulation on Methods for Individual Victim Assessment (Official Gazette, No.106/17). In misdemeanor proceedings, the emphasis should be on proposals and imposition of protective measures, while in criminal proceedings, purposeful security measures may be imposed if conditions permit. This is prescribed by Article 66 of the Criminal Procedure Act (Official Gazette, No. 125/11, 144/12, 56/15, 61/15, 101/17, 118/18, 126/19, 84/21, 114/22, 114/23, and 36/24).

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## KAZNENA DJELA NASILJA I MOTIVI

### Sažetak:

Cilj provedenog istraživanja bio je stjecanje uvida u pojedina obilježja područja na kojem su se dogodili slučajevi nasilja, tip nasilja, odnos žrtve i počinitelja te počiniteljev spol, s posebnim naglaskom na utvrđivanje postojanja razlika u navedenim obilježjima s obzirom na motiv počinitelja. Prikazani rezultati dio su znanstveno-istraživačkog projekta „Hrvatski monitor nasilja – Istraživanje pojavnih oblika, uzroka i procesuiranja delinkventnog nasilja s fokusom na zaštiti posebno ranjivih skupina žrtava“. Rezultati istraživanja pokazali su kako je obiteljsko nasilje najzastupljeniji tip nasilja, pri čemu su najzastupljeniji motivi osвете i ljubomore. S obzirom na navedenu činjenicu, s praktičnog aspekta vrlo je važno da sva nadležna tijela odgovorno, savjesno i dosljedno provode pojedinačne procjene žrtve sukladno Pravilniku o načinu provedbe pojedinačne procjene žrtve (NN 106/17). Između ostalog, to znači da se u prekršajnim postupcima stavi još veći naglasak na predlaganje i izricanje zaštitnih mjera, a da se u kaznenom postupku kada se steknu uvjeti za to izriču i svrsishodne sigurnosne mjere čija je svrha otklanjanje okolnosti koje omogućavaju ili poticajno djeluju na počinjenje novog kaznenog djela (čl. 66. Zakona o kaznenom postupku, NN 125/11, 144/12, 56/15, 61/15, 101/17, 118/18, 126/19, 84/21, 114/22, 114/23, 36/24).

**Ključne riječi:** nasilje; kaznena djela; motivi; počinitelji

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Review paper

**Sandra Cvikić**

## **SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE, SITE OF MEMORY AND TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE RECONCILIATION FRAMEWORK IN VUKOVAR**

The aim of this article is to critically examine the transitional justice process of reconciliation in post-war Vukovar, focusing on symbolic violence and sites of memory. Compared to the international publications, those published by the author of this paper are critically reviewed as an exercise in self-reflexivity and moral responsibility for the knowledge produced about the war victims of Vukovar in 1991. The concluding remarks, therefore, offer new insights into the relational dynamics of symbolic violence and newly created sites of memory in post-war Vukovar. Moreover, this modest attempt to decipher the tangible impacts of the reconciliation framework of transitional justice in Vukovar has confirmed the inability of socially constructed politics to manage symbolic violence and sites of memory after a bloody war.

**Keywords:** Vukovar; site of memory; symbolic violence; transitional justice reconciliation framework

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

Decades of numerous international and national attempts to install transitional justice policies in the post-war societies of the Western Balkans have not brought about reconciliation and the projects<sup>1</sup> have not restored mutual trust between the estranged nations of former socialist Yugoslavia (Cvikić 2019; Subotić 2009). In her article on the

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1 Most notably the RECOM – truth commission project initiative led by the Croatian NGO *Documenta*.



Serbian parliament's apologetic Srebrenica declaration in March 2010, Jasna Dragovic-Saso pointed out how such "executive apologies" represent external coercive strategies to socially construct the conformity of post-conflict elites and their sense of responsibility for politically negotiated interest-driven decisions (2012: 163). She claims that "this event was not a turning point in Serbia's process of confronting the past" and that "the declaration's principal aim was to satisfy the European Union's expectations and bolster Serbia's project of seeking EU membership" (Ibid.). However, "to adopt such a symbolic gesture of atonement" in the Serbian case meant creating "the poles of resistance that emerged along the way" not only among politicians but also within society (Dragovic-Saso 2012: 164). Almost fifteen years later, the country's deep ideological and political rifts remain and "a genuine desire to promote public debate about the 1990s" and the war crimes committed is, as Dragovic-Saso predicted, far from achieving a broader societal reckoning with the past (2012: 164). The recent adoption by the General Assembly of the UN resolution on the Srebrenica genocide, declaring July 11<sup>th</sup> as "International Day of Reflection and Commemoration of the 1995 Genocide in Srebrenica" and Serbia's vote against it, shows that Serbia's official narrative of the past and its political strategy have not changed.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the UN adaption voting process itself is proof that transitional justice does not deliver what its proponents promise: reconciliation, mutual trust and understanding. Serbian President Vučić pointed out at the end of the session that this was indeed "the first time that a vote on a resolution about genocide was not adopted unanimously in the General Assembly"<sup>3</sup>, which clearly shows how the current geopolitical tensions and national interests of the member states shape their understanding of the violent and criminal past. The changing nature and dynamics of international relations provide ample evidence of the extreme contradictions that this globally led international humanitarian organization simultaneously produces: on the one hand, the UN negotiates the promotion of highly moral human rights and the recognition of people's suffering, while on the other, it reproduces and re-reifies "selective amnesia", double standards and highly politicized factual truths about the unfortunate victims of violence and misery.<sup>4</sup> The persistent denial of the Bosnian genocide and triumphalism, therefore,

2 See official UN website: [https://press.un.org/en/2024/ga12601.doc.htm#:~:text=The%20resolution%20\(document%20A%2F78,and%20genocide%20by%20international%20courts](https://press.un.org/en/2024/ga12601.doc.htm#:~:text=The%20resolution%20(document%20A%2F78,and%20genocide%20by%20international%20courts). Accessed on June 5, 2024. For UN Resolution on Srebrenica Genocide (A/78/L.67/Rev.1) see: <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/ltid/n24/140/80/pdf/n2414080.pdf?token=VmRft0RG87GOimHSdN&fe=true>. Accessed on June 5, 2022.

3 See: [https://press.un.org/en/2024/ga12601.doc.htm#:~:text=The%20resolution%20\(document%20A%2F78,and%20genocide%20by%20international%20courts](https://press.un.org/en/2024/ga12601.doc.htm#:~:text=The%20resolution%20(document%20A%2F78,and%20genocide%20by%20international%20courts). Accessed on June 5, 2024.

4 See: [https://press.un.org/en/2024/ga12601.doc.htm#:~:text=The%20resolution%20\(document%20A%2F78,and%20genocide%20by%20international%20courts](https://press.un.org/en/2024/ga12601.doc.htm#:~:text=The%20resolution%20(document%20A%2F78,and%20genocide%20by%20international%20courts). Accessed on June 5, 2024.

constitute symbolic violence that propagates the dichotomous character of a dysfunctional understanding and recognition of contemporary human suffering (Cvikić 2022a, 2022b; Turčalo, Karčić 2022). Therefore, the memorial site and cemetery of Srebrenica-Potočari<sup>5</sup> is a place of memory that deeply shakes the foundations of Western liberal notions of social solidarity (Cushman, Meštrović 1996) and thus witnesses what S. Meštrović (1996) calls the “post-emotionalism” of international political commitments and responsibilities. Moreover, suppose the genocide of Srebrenica today evokes incoherent and synthetic emotions that some call compassion fatigue on the part of international power politics. How can the case of Vukovar in 1991 match such a sophisticated barbaric temperament of the pragmatic political solutions of transitional justice (Cvikić 2012; Meštrović 1996)? Suppose the framework of transitional justice could not and cannot reconcile symbolic violence and sites of memory in this sense. What consequences does it have for the precursor of the Srebrenica genocide – the Vukovar carnage?<sup>6</sup>

Answering these questions means taking a stand on issues that are highly controversial and, at the same time, engaging with the subjective understanding of war trauma and violence that arises from the painful memories of mass killings and genocide. The aim of this article is to critically examine the transitional justice process of reconciliation in post-war Vukovar, focusing on symbolic violence and sites of memory. In comparison to the international publications, those published by the author<sup>7</sup> of this paper are critically reviewed as an exercise in self-reflexivity and moral responsibility for the knowledge produced about the war victims of Vukovar in 1991. The concluding remarks, therefore, offer new insights into the relational dynamics of symbolic violence and newly created sites of memory in post-war Vukovar. Moreover, this modest attempt to decipher the tangible impacts of the reconciliation framework of transitional justice in Vukovar has confirmed the inability of socially constructed politics to manage symbolic violence and sites of memory after a bloody war.

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5 See: <https://srebrenica.org.uk/lessons-from-srebrenica/srebrenica-potocari-memorial> . Accessed on June 7, 2024.

6 This paper builds on preliminary research findings presented at the *International Conference Genocide in Srebrenica. Towards Long-Lasting Memory* in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina (May 12-13, 2015). Paper presented in the conferences under the title *In Between Transitional Justice and Genocide – Vukovar 1991 and Srebrenica 1995* was later published in the book *Remembering the Bosnian Genocide: Justice, Memory and Denial* (Cvikić and Živić 2016).

7 Publications published in the period 2012-2023 are incorporated in the reference list.

## 2. RESEARCH AND TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE RECONCILIATION FRAMEWORK

The transitional justice process in Croatia for the last thirty years has witnessed confluence of numerous international policy recommendations that have coerced national reconciliation policymaking towards political solutions with mainly negative effects on highly traumatized post-war populations (Cvikić, Živić, Maras Kraljević 2021). Research conducted in this context by international and national scholars agrees that the suffering and trauma of victims and their productive coping through post-conflict reconciliation, restoration and retribution are of central importance (Kapshuk, Jamal 2020).<sup>8</sup> However, creating equality, respect and trust through normative solutions offered by the instruments of transitional justice in practice does not always lead to a positive reaction from the traumatized population like the one in Vukovar (Cvikić 2019). Namely, estranged Vukovar communities have maintained their course of peaceful reintegration since 1998, pursuing different paths of truth-finding and history-making, creating contradictory interpretations of the Homeland War within Croatian cultural memory (Cvikić, Živić, Žanić 2014; Čorkalo Biruški, Ajduković 2007, 2008, 2012). Divisions, raptures and confrontational interpretations of the recent violent past are therefore reflected in research that seeks to understand Croats and Serbs by assessing their perceptions, memories and actions through the lens of transitional justice (Cvikić 2019, 2021b). In addition, different academic disciplines have, to varying degrees, utilized theoretical and methodological frameworks that integrate the normative values of transitional justice based on the human rights approach<sup>9</sup> to war victims' rights, restitution, and retribution (Cvikić 2016, 2019). However, as an academic discipline, transitional justice in Croatian research has not yet developed to the point of enabling a comprehensive study of the transformative effects of this process on the severely traumatised Croatian population, such as that of Vukovar. Like their international colleagues, Croatian social scientists in their research either agree with the proponents of transitional justice ideas when it comes to peacebuilding/peacekeeping and post-conflict reconciliation or with those who are more critical

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8 Nowadays there are research manuals produced to help scholars in their transitional justice research of post-conflict communities such as *Transitional Justice Building Justice – Transitional Justice Grassroots Toolkit – User's Guide* by Eilish Rooney (2016).

9 Human rights approach in transitional justice politics are based on legal premises elaborated in one of foundational documents such as *The Chicago Principles on Post-Conflict Justice* by Mahmoud Bassiouni and Daniel Rothenberg (2007).

of its experimental, universalistic nature. Whatever one's position on this issue, the violent legacy of Vukovar 1991 represents a fiercely defended or intensely contested site of symbolic representation of the memory and survival of victims (Jakovina 2007; Skenderović, Jareb, Artuković 2008). If one considers Vukovar as a place of memory that brings together all the sites of the Homeland War in the city, the experience of symbolic violence since the peaceful reintegration is reflected on the emotional level of two estranged communities – Serbian and Croatian. The reconciliatory framework of transitional justice, therefore, creates space for symbolic violence inflicted on local communities by the normative regulation of post-war cultural memory. How this type of non-physical violence, manifested in the power imbalance between the Serbian and Croatian communities in Vukovar, contradicts the postmodern understanding of voluntary submission to the legitimate forces of socially conditioned norms of transitional justice will be interpreted in the following chapter (Jenkins 1992).

### **3. SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN VUKOVAR AS A SITE OF MEMORY**

In this paper, the impact of non-physical – normative kind of sophisticated violence on post-conflict communities at the site of memory – Vukovar – is under review. It is assumed that readers are familiar with both conceptions – the symbolic violence and site of memory – so detailed elaboration on their theoretical and methodological background is not provided. However, the sociological understanding of symbolic violence rests upon the works of P. Bourdieu and J. Jenkins (1992), while cultural memory and sites of memory are referred to according to Jan and Aleide Assmann's notions of "communicative memory" (2008: 110). Transitional justice as an all-encompassing analytic framework provides a setting for evidence-based assessment of the symbolic violence inflicted on Vukovar's traumatized populations through reconciliation policy mismanagement. The aim is then to shift the focus on transitional justice itself as a source of normative power that creates relationships of subjugation, control, and management deemed indispensable in post-conflict society transformation (Foucault 2007). This postmodernist turn is made only to show how, despite recent critical research and efforts to clearly define what transitional justice is, implemented policies in post-conflict societies have already standardized and normalized its use (Cvikić 2021a: 125-126). However, building on the standardized UN<sup>10</sup>

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10 See: Guidance Note of the Secretary-General. United Nations Approach to Transitional Justice <https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/tools-and-resources/guidance-note-secretary-general-transitional-justice-strategic-tool>.

qualification of transitional justice, as a process, transitional justice in Croatia could be broadly defined in terms of political bargaining between different social actors that have over time developed ways in which policies and political solutions were implemented, having a detrimental impact on local communities in a post-war setting (Cvikić 2021a: 126). Genealogy of the transitional justice process in Croatia, according to Cvikić (Ibid.), includes four phases of development. The first phase, from 1991 to 1995, was marked by the most important events related to Serbian minority-led armed rebellion and fully-fledged Serbian military aggression on Croatia. In this period, transitional justice elements were incorporated predominantly into the UN Security Council's decisions that have regulated ceasefires and humanitarian aid and in the EU's political opinions. While struggling to resist and defend its own population and territory against internal and external enemies, Croatia was simultaneously forced, on one hand, to manage humanitarian crises, and on the other, to ensure minority and human rights to its citizens, including half a million refugees and internally displaced persons. Events and circumstances became further complicated in the second phase from 1996 to 1999 when military and police operations were conducted next to the peaceful reintegration project to integrate the Serb-occupied territories of Croatia. Transitional justice elements inserted into policies, political decisions and legal frameworks have become indispensable in the UN's peaceful reintegration project of Eastern Slavonia, as well as in the war crimes prosecution, amnesty, reparation and restitution, next to the projects of conflict-transformation, reconciliation and peacebuilding ensuring human and minority rights protection in the post-war Croatia. The implementation and progress were closely monitored and assessed by international organizations and EU institutions (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe). At the same time, confrontation with the difficult and violent past was profoundly institutionalized by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. Therefore, the third phase, from 2000 to 2013, is marked by the confrontation with violent legacies of the past inside two mutually intertwined social processes – the EU integration process and the so-called process of Detudmanisation (Cvikić 2021c). Mutually inclusive, they were deemed to contribute to the socio-political transformation of the Croatian post-conflict society, respecting Western liberal democratic ideas and rights. Financially and politically supported by national and international organizations, institutions, and governments, Croatian civil society post-war non-governmental organisations have become increasingly empowered with their newfound role in society as proponents of transitional justice values and rights. The

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Accessed on June 8, 2024.

fourth phase from 2014 until today, therefore, follows the path of post-war redemption, reconstruction, and EU integration. Since its full membership into the EU in 2013, Croatian society and highly traumatized post-conflict populations have persistently coerced into submission to transitional justice experimental nature through implemented policies that promote tolerance, reconciliation and peaceful coexistence. However, this socially engineered policy implementation has simultaneously provoked resistance in highly traumatized post-war populations and the symbolic violence on the part of the government institutions.

There are three events that are central to the dynamics and changing character of symbolic violence in Vukovar as a site of memory. In the context of transitional justice, these incidents are inextricably linked to the efforts to politically negotiate reconciliation between Croats and Serbs in Vukovar. In the first instance, this is the process of peaceful reintegration of Eastern Slavonija established by the so-called Erdut Agreement.<sup>11</sup> This document changed the lives of all Croatian citizens, those who wanted to return to their homes in Vukovar – predominantly non-Serbian population, and those who decided to stay in the Croatian Danube region – the Serbian minority (Cvikić 2022c). This agreement enabled the peaceful reintegration of the area and the return of the displaced population to Eastern Slavonia. Economic, political and social reintegration was achieved in a project-oriented manner typical of the UN, including proposals on transitional justice and international humanitarian law (Klein 2010). However, maintaining the multi-ethnic composition of the population in the region and restoring mutual trust through safe return, reconstruction, and free democratic elections has proved extremely difficult given the proposed transitional justice framework. Political negotiations under the auspices of international monitoring and supervision were, in fact, based on the Croatian normative framework, which, over time, has encouraged minority entrepreneurship and competition for legally established rights and concessions. Contested human rights of the displaced non-Serb population of Vukovar were overcome by the minority rights protection of those who took Croatian citizenship and decided to stay and live in Vukovar (Cvikić 2010). The implications arising from the symbolic violence of the Erdut Agreement provide evidence that contradicts expectations of this kind of transitional justice policy implementation. Contrary to what one might expect, the implementation of positive laws that affirm the rights of minorities in a post-war setting can simultaneously strengthen the Serb minority in Vukovar politically and socially, while symbolic vi-

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11 See: Erdutski sporazum. *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2013 – 2024. Accessed on June 8, 2024. <https://enciklopedija.hr/clanak/erdutski-sporazum>.

olence is inflicted on the majority population – the Croatian community. Equal opportunities and access to health care, social assistance, housing, employment, education and political representation for Serbs and Croats were socialised through normative solutions that were incompatible in practice due to the different views on who is entitled to legal provisions as a war victim (Cvikić 2010). However, confronting the past, memorialization, commemorative practices and memory culture were nonetheless seen as an integral part of the reconciliation and confidence-building process in transitional justice. The city of Vukovar as a site of memory instead becomes a testing ground for transitional justice policies and projects that create the conditions for ethnicisation of community relations and deeper social polarization, in which Croats as a majority group and Serbs as a minority compete for material and political advantages guaranteed by the progressive liberal laws protecting human and minority rights. Building on the unsettling differences developed in this way, the city of Vukovar was manipulated into another attempt at reconciliation in the manner of transitional justice when symbolic violence was inflicted on its most vulnerable post-war population – Croatian war veterans and survivors.

The introduction of the Serbian Cyrillic alphabet and the Serbian language in public spaces in Vukovar in 2013, supported by the Constitutional Law on the Rights of National Minorities<sup>12</sup> and the subsequent decisions of the Vukovar City Council, is the second case in which the central government brutally enforced symbolic violence. It was also the first time that the implementation of transitional justice policies related to the protection of minority rights in Vukovar met with strong public resistance, thus spreading across the socio-political divisions and fractures in Croatian society (Cvikić 2021a). At dawn, when most citizens were still asleep, official bilingual signs were placed on all public buildings in Vukovar. This act of incognito and non-consensual introduction of bilingualism into the everyday life and spaces of the severely traumatised post-war citizens was a decision of the central government authorities based on political compromises with the representatives of the Serbian national minority at the national and local levels. Nationalism and violence resulting from such implementation were hotly debated by national and international media, politicians, intellectuals and experts. There was no questioning of how the provisions of the minority laws were implemented and why local communities were not involved in the negotiation process before the political decision was made to install this type of transitional justice. Instead, Croatian nationalism and the destruction of bilingual signs by war

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12 Official Gazette 155/02, 47/10, 80/10, 93/11, 93/11 available at: <https://www.zakon.hr/z/295/Ustavni-zakon-o-pravima-nacionalnih-manjina> . Accessed on June 8, 2024.



veterans and survivors were understood as an irrational reaction to something as harmless as language, while the war traumas, memories and feelings of citizens were seen as an obstacle to reconciliation and peaceful coexistence in Vukovar. Since the nationalism and violence of the Serbian national minority was not even considered a form of resistance to transitional justice in Vukovar at the time, the symbolic violence exercised by the minority law had an impact not only on the war veterans and survivors in Vukovar but also on the already polarized Croatian society (Cvikić 2021a). In this case, however, the violence was not just symbolic, but real, and this kind of transitional justice cost a life – the life of war veteran Darko Pajčić (Cvikić 2021a). Darko Pajčić was knocked down by a policeman and died from excessive force due to the head injuries he sustained when he tried to take down the bilingual singe at the police station in Vukovar. This was a turning point for the implementation of this policy in Vukovar. The emotional changes triggered by the trauma and memory in the context of transitional justice were, therefore, unable to sustain the society of Vukovar, which was divided by victimhood and suffering. The only solution to the constant re-traumatization caused by poorly managed transitional justice policies was then found in another law negotiated by central and local authorities.

In the third instance, the process of memorialization of the entire city, prescribed by the law declaring Vukovar a place of special homeland piety, paradoxically created space for even more sophisticated symbolic violence.<sup>13</sup> In this way, the institutionalization of cultural memory in the context of Vukovar 1991 attempts to define normatively how one should remember, feel and commemorate the victims of war. As an alternative to the politics of transitional justice, this kind of normative memorial framework develops a cultural memory that creates conditions susceptible to regulation, surveillance and control. What it means is that this Vukovar law, which regulates cultural memory and the way in which the Croatian nation should commemorate the victims of the 1991 war, may lead to more divisions, resistance and opportunities for symbolic violence. The most recent commemoration in Vukovar, on November 18, 2023, shows again and again how easily the firm normative grip of a law can be overcome by the unshakeable will to remember and commemorate according to one's own ideas.

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13 See: Zakon o proglašenju Vukovara mjestom posebnog domovinskog pijeteta, Official Gazette 25/20 available at: <https://www.zakon.hr/z/2503/Zakon-o-progla%C5%A1enju-Vukovara-mjestom-posebno-domovinskog-pijeteta>. Accessed on June 8, 2024.



#### 4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This rather limited account of symbolic violence in Vukovar as a site of memory shows how one might understand the power dynamics of the implemented policies of transitional justice and the laws of reconciliation. The subtle and sophisticated nature of symbolic violence permeating the legal and normative framework of transitional justice in Vukovar has created conditions susceptible to violent shifts in community responses to institutionalized social norms and cultural practices. After the ethnic conflict and bloody war, Vukovar as a place of memory is a strong symbol of Croatian resistance and resilience during the imposed war of aggression. The social structures of transitional justice in this regard operate through symbolic violence based on political manipulations, trade-offs, and entrepreneurship of those who have internalized the values of liberal rights and justice for the benefit of all. However, as the Vukovar case shows, the internalization of reconciliation policies and transitional justice laws by Croatian and minority policymakers, politicians and entrepreneurs is met with resistance from severely traumatised post-war communities who refuse to accept what is supposedly good for them. Bonacker and Buckley-Zistel, among others, claim that the ethical and institutional frameworks of transitional justice implemented since the 1990s provide sufficient evidence from academic analysis about “their operation” and their “impact on societies, politics, and beyond” (2013: 5). “The high expectations placed upon them” have raised worrying questions among some scholars (Sriram and Pillay 2010; Van der Merwe, Baxter and Chapman 2009) and debates among academics are therefore replete with implicit assumptions about the effects and consequences of transitional justice instruments that merit closer scrutiny (Bonacker and Buckley-Zistel 2013: 6). This paper concludes, then, that beyond the initial attempts to assess the impact of transitional justice reconciliation in post-war situations, the Vukovar case shows that there is still much to explore and that the subtle impact of the symbolic violence that its laws and norms generate have violent effects on local communities of survivors.

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## **SIMBOLIČKO NASILJE, MJESTA SJEĆANJA I OKVIR ZA POMIRBU TRANZICIJSKE PRAVDE U VUKOVARU**

### **Sažetak:**

Cilj ovog rada je kritički ispitati proces pomirenja tranzicijske pravde u poslijeratnom Vukovaru, fokusirajući se na simboličko nasilje i mjesta sjećanja. Usporedo s međunarodnim izdanjima, publikacije koje je objavila autorica ovog rada kritički se preispituju kao vježba samorefleksije i moralne odgovornosti za proizvedeno znanje o žrtvama rata u Vukovaru 1991. U zaključnim se razmatranjima, prema tome, pružaju novi uvidi u dinamiku odnosa između simboličkog nasilja i novonastalih mjesta sjećanja u poslijeratnom Vukovaru. Povrh toga, ovaj je skromni pokušaj u odgonetanju opipljivog utjecaja okvira za pomirbu tranzicijske pravde u Vukovaru dokazao kako se socijalno konstruiranim politikama ne može upravljati simboličkim nasiljem i mjestima sjećanja nakon jednog krvavog rata.

**Ključne riječi:** Vukovar; mjesto sjećanja; simboličko nasilje; okvir za pomirbu tranzicijske pravde

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## **FROM HISTORY TO HEADLINES: FOOTBALL VIOLENCE AND ITS SOCIETAL IMPACT IN CROATIA**

This paper delves into the complex issue of football-related violence in Croatia, linking it to the country's rich historical narrative and social dynamics. It seeks to understand the multifaceted factors contributing to violence within football culture, a phenomenon deeply tied to national identity. The research aims to analyse the interconnections between historical events, societal structures, and political influences that shape football-related violence, guided by the central question: "How do historical, social, and political contexts influence the occurrence of violence in football culture in Croatia?" Two key hypotheses underpin the study: first, that football violence has historical roots extending beyond recent decades, challenging the notion of it being a modern phenomenon; second, that media sensationalism plays a significant role in shaping public perception, often obscuring the historical context of such violence. By examining these dimensions, the paper aims to provide insights into the causes of football-related violence. It may serve as a foundation for potential solutions to at least part of the problem, contributing to the broader goal of reducing violence in football.

**Keywords:** football-related violence; Croatia; historical context; media sensationalism; national identity

## INTRODUCTION

The paper explores the complicated issue of football-related violence in Croatia, which intertwines with the country's complex historical narrative and social dynamics. The problem at hand involves understanding how various factors contribute to incidents of violence associated with football culture, which have accumulated significant attention both locally and internationally. This exploration is particularly pertinent in Croatia, where football is not merely a sport but an important cultural phenomenon deeply linked to national identity and historical memory.

The primary goal of the research is to analyse the tangled relationships between historical events, societal structures, and political influences that collectively shape the landscape of football-related violence. By unpacking these interconnections, the paper aims to provide a subtle understanding of the roots of violence within football culture, ultimately seeking to identify potential measures for reducing such incidents and fostering a more positive sporting environment. The paper poses the central research question: **“How do historical, social, and political contexts influence the occurrence of violence in football culture in Croatia?”**. This question serves as a framework for examining the various dimensions contributing to the violence in football, encouraging a comprehensive analysis that extends beyond surface-level explanations. Two key hypotheses support the research, both crucial in addressing the issue's complexities. The first hypothesis posits that **violence in and around football is not exclusively a feature of recent decades**. While it is often claimed that football violence became more pronounced from the 1980s onwards, historical records suggest that violent incidents have occurred occasionally throughout earlier periods, including the post-World War II era and during the Yugoslav period. This perspective challenges the prevailing opinion that football-related violence is a recent development, indicating that its roots may extend deeper into Croatia's historical context than commonly perceived. The second hypothesis emphasises the **role of media sensationalism in shaping public perception of football violence**. In an era characterised by the rise of digital media and 24/7 news cycles, media outlets frequently amplify and exaggerate violent incidents to attract viewership and increase sales. This sensationalist reporting not only creates a perception that football violence is primarily a contemporary issue but also conceals its historical roots. Together, these elements form a comprehensive framework for examining the intersection of football culture and violence in Croatia. The paper aspires to shed light on the underlying causes of football-related violence by investigating the historical precedents, social dynamics, and

media influences. The insights gained from this research could serve as a foundation for future initiatives to foster a safer and more inclusive football culture, ultimately contributing to the broader societal goal of reducing violence in sporting contexts.

According to Buljan (2021), qualitative methodology can help gain insights into a large amount of data, facilitating the understanding of processes and mechanisms and the formulation of hypotheses that can be tested through quantitative research. A qualitative approach can provide a richer and more nuanced understanding of violence in football, contributing to more effective prevention strategies and policy development.

This research will employ a complex methodological approach to thoroughly investigate football-related violence in Croatia. The selected methods include analysis and synthesis, descriptive methods, content analysis, and participant observation<sup>1</sup>. Integrating these methods will allow a broad examination of football-related violence in Croatia. The quantitative data collected through descriptive methods will complement the qualitative insights gained from content analysis and participant observation, leading to a more comprehensive understanding of the issue. This triangulation of data sources will strengthen the validity of the findings and facilitate an analysis of the historical, social, and political factors influencing football violence.

## 1. ORIGINS OF FOOTBALL AND THE DARK SIDE OF THE GAME

Football, also known as soccer in some regions<sup>2</sup>, is played between two teams of eleven players each, typically on a rectangular field with a goal at each end. The game's objective is to score goals by kicking a ball into the opposing team's goal, using any part of the body except the hands or arms (except for the goalkeeper within the penalty area). Football is one of the most popular and widely watched sports glob-

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- 1 The author has actively followed football since her earliest years. For example, she attended the historic match between Osijek and Dinamo (1:2), where, according to reports from *Sportske novosti*, *Večernji list*, and *Glas Slavonije* from that time, there were 40 thousand spectators present. At that time, there were standing areas, and there were no counters to precisely determine the number. It was assumed that at least 20 thousand were Dinamo fans, among whom was the author. It was the 1981/1982 season when Dinamo, with Čiro Blažević, won the title after 24 years. Since the establishment of the Republic of Croatia, the author has supported NK Osijek, whose matches she regularly attends both at home and away grounds. She has also worked as an official translator for NK Osijek during the organization of home matches in the UEFA Cup against Anderlecht (1998/99), West Ham United (1999/00), as well as Brøndby, Rapid Vienna, and Slavia Prague (2000/01).
  - 2 'Soccer', the term by which Association football is known especially in the United States, Canada and Australia, is used to distinguish it from their own forms of the game. It is an abbreviation of the word 'association' (Dunning 2000).



ally, with professional leagues and tournaments held at various levels of competition. In the Encyclopedia Britannica (2024), we find information about the popularity of this sport. Based on FIFA's (Fédération Internationale de Football Association) estimation, at the turn of the 21st century, approximately 250 million football players and over 1.3 billion people were "interested" in football. Football has been around for a long time. The version we know today started in England around the middle of the 19th century. But different versions of the game existed even before then, adding to its long history. However, there is evidence that violence has existed since the beginning of ball games.

The American specialist of the art of the ancient New World, Mary Miller, Sterling Professor Emeritus of Art (Yale), claims that the idea of the team sport was invented in Mesoamerica, according to Blakemore (2023). According to FootballHistory.org, the earliest known instances of team sports involving a ball, typically made from rocks, date back over 3,000 years ago in ancient Mesoamerican cultures<sup>3</sup>, known to the Aztecs as *ullamalitzli* or *pok-ta-pok* or *pitz* to the Mayas. Many of these games used heavy rubber balls, some weighing 16 pounds, which can still be found in archaeological sites. Besides, more than 1,300 large stone courts are scattered throughout the region, showing signs of gameplay. In China during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, the first documented ball game incorporating kicking, *cuju*, emerged. *Cuju* utilised a round ball made of stitched leather with fur or feathers inside, played within a square area. A variation of this game, *kemari*, later spread to Japan and was practised ceremonially. *Marn Gook*, possibly older than *cuju*, was played by Aboriginal Australians and reportedly involved primarily kicking a ball made from encased leaves or roots. Ancient Greece also had various ball games, using leather strips filled with hair (the earliest documented air-filled balls date back to the 7th century). Despite their existence, ball games held a lower status and were not part of events like the Panhellenic Games. In Ancient Rome, ball games weren't showcased in large arenas but were part of military exercises known as *Harpastum*<sup>4</sup>. It was through Roman culture that football reached the British Isles. The prevailing belief is that football began to take shape in England during the 12th century. During this period, similar games were played in meadows and on roads, involving kicks and punches to the ball with fists.

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3 Before Columbus "discovered" them, civilizations thrived in Mesoamerica, the expansive historical area stretching from Mexico to Costa Rica.

4 The FIFA Museum website provides a digital exhibition, "Origins: Pre-Histories of Football" that explores four different ball games from above mentioned eras and geographical regions. Available at: <https://www.fifamuseum.com/en/exhibitions-events/special-exhibitions/origins/>

Today's football took a while to develop. Initially, there needed to be a more evident difference between football and rugby, and there were many different versions with various ball sizes, player numbers, and match lengths. An effort to establish formal rules for the game was made at a gathering in Cambridge in 1848, but they only settled some rule-related issues. Another significant moment in football's history they have occurred in London in 1863 with the formation of the first Football Association in England. This meeting also standardised the size and weight of the ball. As a result of the London gathering, the game split into two codes: association football and rugby.

Initially, the sport served as entertainment for the British working class. Large crowds, sometimes reaching up to 30,000 spectators, attended significant matches in the late 19th century. Advancements in transportation, labour, and technology provided people with both the time and the resources to participate in competitive matches held on mown lawns. The game's popularity grew as British people travelled to other regions, often as part of colonisation efforts. Football remained primarily a British phenomenon for a considerable period, but it gradually began to spread to other European countries. The first documented game held outside of Europe occurred in Argentina in 1867. For an extended period, British teams held dominance. However, over time, clubs from Prague, Budapest, and Sienna emerged as the primary challengers to British supremacy.

Regarding violence, Blakemore (2023) outlines that Aztec rulers reportedly used ball games instead of war to resolve conflicts and show their power. On the other hand, in Maya and Veracruz societies, the consequences were more severe: defeat in specific ritual matches led to sacrifice<sup>5</sup>. According to Maya mythology, the loser of the ball game faces decapitation (Photo 1), a concept modern scholars widely acknowledge, e.g., Berryman, C.A. (2007): the losers, not the winners, faced this fate. Centuries later, roughness in play and violence have remained integral parts of the game in England since the 12th century. During this era, games resembling football were played in open fields and on roads throughout England. The early versions of football involved large numbers of people playing across town areas. These games often caused damage and sometimes led to injuries or deaths, prompting authorities to ban them for many years. However, football-like games returned to London streets in the 17th century. They were banned again in 1835 but had become popular in public schools. Although it is a common belief nowadays that violence in and around football is exclusively characteristic of the 20th and 21st centuries, historical evidence convinces us otherwise: football fan behaviour has been, for many years, a significant

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5 some courts were decorated with panels depicting the gory sacrifice of losing players

concern throughout Europe (Frosdick and Marsh 2005), but also on other continents such as Central and South America and Africa. In their conclusion, they state that “disorder has also affected virtually every country in which football has been played” and add that “spectator violence is nothing new. On the contrary, it is an ancient and historical problem [...] (that) was an excuse for fighting which regularly featured violence, death, injury, and damage (see Elias and Dunning 1971).”

**Photo 1.** The relief shows the ritualistic human sacrifice following an ancient ball game (sculpted onto one of the 17 ball courts discovered at the remains of El Tajin, an ancient city located in present-day Veracruz, Mexico)



Source: National Geographic.com (photographed by Martin Gray, Nat Geo Image Collection)

## 2. MODERN FORMS OF VIOLENCE IN FOOTBALL

Speaking generally about violence in sports, Muzur (2011) emphasises that it can be observed within competitions (for example, in boxing, wrestling, Asian martial arts, rugby, etc.) or outside competitions. Still, it is most commonly analysed as a social

problem, focusing on violence by spectators at sporting events. In doing so, he refers to Michael Smith (2003), who distinguishes between “relatively legitimate” violence and “relatively illegitimate” violence, with the former including violence within the bounds of sports rules and violence that exceeds those bounds but is generally accepted, and the latter including “quasi-criminal” violence, which violates the law and official rules, and “criminal” violence, which, among other things, violates informal regulations and is therefore absolutely unacceptable.

The previously mentioned British researchers Frosdick and Marsh published a book that represents an introduction to football-related violence titled “Football Hooliganism.” According to the authors, the title of this book refers to a concept that signifies “violent and anti-social behaviour amongst football fans (...)”, sometimes “British disease“ or “English disease.“ Football hooliganism, nowadays recognised as a global phenomenon, has been dominated by the English example and by English theorising, according to Moorhouse (2006). According to this Scottish scientist, England is the brand leader for football hooliganism. The primary studies and theoretical viewpoints on football hooliganism primarily stem from British research from the late 1960s. However, more contemporary scientific works are criticised for the limitation in their scope, focusing mainly on domestic hooliganism in England at its height between the 1960s-1990s (Warner, 2013). Some researchers go so far as to claim that there has likely been excessive research conducted on British football hooliganism. Even though violence at British football matches has generally decreased, this phenomenon still attracts a disproportionately high level of research attention (Frosdick and Marsh 2005).

Croatian scientists hold conflicting views on the history of football violence. On the one hand, when disputing the claim that violence is only associated with the modern era, Muzur (2011) emphasises that a particular escalation could be seen in England and Italy from the 1960s onwards, or at least, such an image was created in the media. This reference indicates that the media are an essential link in the chain of violence, alongside fans, clubs, society, and politics. On the other hand, the well-known Croatian sociologist Šime Vrcan dedicated a part of his prolific research work to the sociology of sport. He was not inclined to interpret fan violence in terms of human nature and instincts or any theory that does not consider the historical context, accentuating the particularity of the social conditions that lead to the eruption of violence in sports. Violence in and around sports is a timeless phenomenon that merely oscillates. To conclude, in Lalić & Wood’s words (2004: 149):

“Fan violence generally is a significant and distinct segment of social violence in the contemporary world. It is characterised by interpersonal violence, both physical (fights between fans, attacks on the police) and verbal (rude insults and other attacks on the moral integrity of rival fans and other football actors), as well as intentional damage and destruction of vehicles and other property. These fundamental forms of violence, especially the two types of interpersonal violence, are interrelated.)”

### 3. SHORT HISTORY OF CROATIAN FOOTBALL

The history of Croatian football should be viewed within the context of the former Yugoslavia and beyond. Interestingly, the book by British author Richard Mills is an excellent source of information. Namely, at the end of 2019, the Croatian edition of the book “Football and Politics in Yugoslavia: Sport, Nationalism, and the State”<sup>6</sup> was released. This monograph, which represents an expanded and supplemented dissertation by the author, was initially published a year earlier in London.

Intriguingly, football first appeared in Croatia through direct interaction with the English. Namely, Slavonia’s economic potential and natural resources, particularly its extensive oak forests, drew factory owners from England to Županja in 1880. These newcomers introduced football to the town and engaged the local population, including employees and workers in the timber industry, in playing the sport (Photo 2). Only fifteen years later, Zagreb hosted its first public football match, followed shortly after in 1896 by the translation and publication of the “Rules of Football” in the same city. Today, the location where the first football<sup>7</sup> factory once stood is home to the premises and stadium of the local club.<sup>8</sup> In Županja, a monument is dedicated to this historic ball.

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6 According to Grgić (2020), Mills invested a lot of effort into researching this book (spent an extended period of time and researched for the needs of this book in the ex-Yu countries) and connected various types of sources into an exceptionally interesting narrative. These sources include scattered literature, archival sources, fanzines, “serious” newspaper articles, memoirs, interviews with participants of certain events, as well as independent visits and photography of various locations mentioned in the text.

7 The old football once played with by the English, which has been scientifically verified as the first football in Croatia, continues to be carefully preserved and protected.

8 <https://zupanja.hr/o-zupanji/povijest-sporta-u-zupanji/>



**Photo 2.** The first football discovered in Županja in 1979, found in the possession of the family of Manda and Antun Tuca Oršolić, is preserved at the Stjepan Gruber Local Museum in Županja



Sources: <https://zupanjac.net/prva-nogometna-lopta-u-hrvatskoj/>; <https://hns.family/vijesti/12657/otkrivanje-spomenika-prvoj-nogometnoj-lopti-u-hrvatskoj/>; <https://qtour.org/ima-je-dan-granicar-boja-mu-je-plava/prica-o-lopti/>

According to Mills (2019:12), “Yugoslav football emerged within the framework of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1919 in Zagreb. Football officials gathered at Café Medulić in downtown Zagreb in April to establish the Yugoslav Football Association (YFA). As this was a Croatian initiative, Zagreb logically became the headquarters of this new organisation, particularly considering the superior quality of Croatian football at that time. Leading clubs in Zagreb had already gained a good reputation even before the First World War.” The first official football match of the Kingdom’s national team was played at the Olympics in 1920, held in Antwerp, Belgium. Although football at that time was based on territorial rather than ethnic grounds, national identity soon took precedence over the actual interests of football as a sport. Mills (2019: 12) emphasises that at that time, “football was one of the few state-level activities that did not have its centre in Belgrade. However, by the end of the 1920s, elite Serbian clubs and their players had reached a high level of quality and became competitive with their skilled Croatian counterparts,” according to Kramer (1992), Zec (2010), and Jovanović (1973). Influential individuals in the kingdom’s capital soon began to press for the headquarters of the YFA to be moved from Zagreb to Belgrade. In March 1930, the organisation’s headquarters moved to Belgrade, worsening the already strained relations within the Association. Therefore, it is unsurprising that Mills (2019: 27), despite being a Briton, concludes that although the interwar football peak was marked by discord, disputes, and tensions, within its foundations brewed a more subversive form of discontent.

During World War II, football did not come to a standstill. In this challenging historical period, the team of Partisan footballers from Split was given a critical political mission: football became a successful propaganda tool (Mills, according to Eterović 2014). After the capitulation of Italy in September 1943, the Partisans took control of the island of Vis. Its strategic position allowed constant contact with the Allies in Italy. At the end of an improvised runway, a series of matches were played against Allied teams, in which the *Football Group* won 11 out of 16 games. In September 1944, the players of Hajduk travelled by ship “Bakar” to Bari. During their stay in southern Italy, they played a series of matches against British army teams. On September 23, 1944, a match was held between “British Services XI” and “Yugoslav National Liberation Army XI,” which was attended by around 40,000 people. Hajduk continued their tour to Malta, through Egypt (a match against displaced compatriots in El Shatt), to Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon.

With the establishment of Tito’s Yugoslavia, football changed in line with the vision of the new socialist Yugoslavia. Mills (2019: 136) describes the 1950s-60s as a period of domestically and internationally flourishing football. However, economic reforms, decentralisation, and liberalisation directly impacted football, which was burdened with scandals then. State interventions stumbled upon narrow national interests. The next decade ended with Tito’s death (1980). Despite celebrating the multi-ethnic state, the negative phenomena cast a shadow over the green fields of YU football.

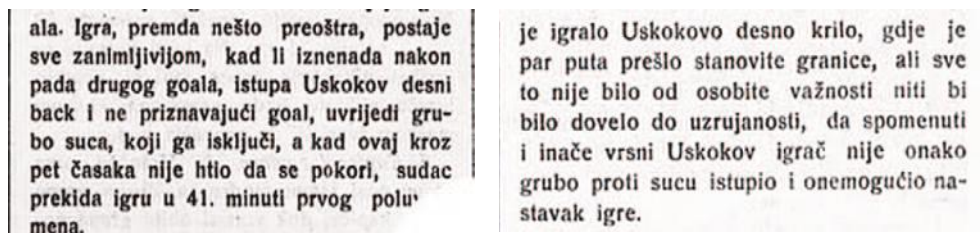
The match between Dinamo and Red Star was supposed to occur on May 13, 1990, but the stands and the pitch of the Maksimir Stadium turned into a battlefield. This match was even ranked fourth on the list of football matches that changed the world by American CNN. In his text “Five Games that Changed the World,” James Montague (2011) gave a brief historical framework: “Yugoslavia was already on the brink of imploding by the time Serbia’s Red Star Belgrade played Croatia’s Dinamo Zagreb at the latter’s Maksimir Stadium. Pro-independence parties had already won recent Croatian elections.” The football spectacle turned into a bloody clash between fans and the police. In the epic Maksimir battle, there were 76 injured fans, 39 from the Bad Blue Boys and 37 Delijes, along with 117 police officers. The conflict began when Serbian hooligans, led by the later war criminal Željko Ražnatović - Arkan, started destroying the fence and seats in the south stand and then attacked the spectators. The police did not react, so the Bad Blue Boys knocked down the wall in the north stand and stormed onto the pitch. During the match, future AC Milan and Croatia captain Zvonimir Boban launched a kung-fu kick at a policeman attacking a Za-

greb fan. The police responded by using batons, tear gas, and water cannons. Chaos ensued on the pitch of the Maksimir Stadium. The question frequently raised in various texts regarding this event is whether it marks the beginning of the war.

#### 4. FOOTBALL IN CROATIAN MEDIA: THEN AND NOW

Thanks to the digitisation of old printed journals, we now have the opportunity to read comments from sports journalists about football matches played over the last hundred years. In its inaugural issue, published on October 16, 1920, *Jadranski Sport*<sup>9</sup> featured football reports from both domestic and international scenes. On the front page, it describes the clashes between Split's "Hajduk" and "Jug" and "Uskok" teams. The author of the text emphasizes the interruption of the second match due to the behaviour of the "Uskok" player, which "crossed certain boundaries" several times, and his "rough" attitude towards the referee "prevented the continuation of the game." (Photo 3) Already back then, as highlighted by Mills (2019), journalists from Split accused those from Zagreb of "chauvinistic coverage of the match between Građanski and Hajduk."

**Photo 3.** Football report from newspapers published in 1920 (domestic game)



Source: *Jadranski sport* from October 16th, 1920 (No.1, p.1)

<http://dalmatica.svkst.hr/?sitetext=367>

"These reports depict the players of Hajduk as 11 bandit hajduks and the audience that came to see the beautiful game of Građanski, only to be disappointed as the wildest, most vulgar, and most brutal, labelling it 'African.'" (*Jadranski list*, June 1st, 1921)

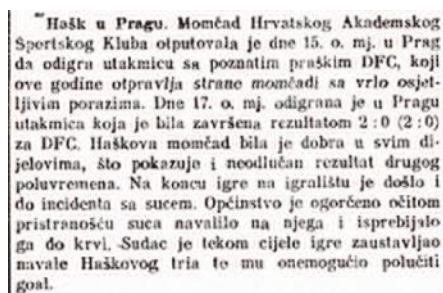
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9 A sports newspaper, running independently from 1920 to 1921, and then as an appendage to the "Novo doba" newspaper from issue 10 onwards (beginning April 1, 1922) until 1923, marked an important era..



Despite such texts, *Jadranski sport* equally covered the performances of Croatian clubs and those of numerous other European countries. In Photo 4, in addition to a brief description of the match proceedings, the reporter provides a brutal account of the conflict with the referee after the end of the match, describing how he was “beaten to a pulp.” In 1939, a match between the leading national clubs, Hajduk (Split) and Građanski (Zagreb), ended in a massive brawl. The Matošić brothers, players of Hajduk, committed rough fouls against opposing players, leading to a general melee involving players, fans, and the police. A journalist from *Borba* described Frane Matošić’s blow below the opponent’s stomach as “so fierce that he fell like a chopped tree”.<sup>10</sup>

**Photo 4.** Football report from newspapers published in 1920 (international game)



“Hašk u Pragu. Momčad Hrvatskog Akademskog Športskog Kluba otputovala je dne 15. o. mj. u Prag da odigra utakmicu sa poznatim praškim DFC, koji ove godine otpravlja strane momčadi sa vrlo osjetljivim porazima. Dne 17. o. mj. odigrana je u Pragu utakmica koja je bila završena rezultatom 2 : 0 (2 : 0) za DFC. Haškova momčad bila je dobra u svim dijelovima, što pokazuje i neodlučan rezultat drugog poluvremena. Na koncu igre na igralištu je došlo i do incidenta sa sućem. Općinstvo je ogorčeno očitom pristranošću suca navaliło na njega i isprebijalo ga do krvi. Sudac je tekom cijele igre zaustavljao navale Haškovog tria te mu onemogućio polučiti goal.

Source: “Jadranski sport“ from March 22nd, 1922 (No.11, p.2)  
<http://dalmatica.svkst.hr/?sitetext=367>

After World War II, incidents followed one after another, with threats of closing stadiums due to “poor spectator behaviour and pitch invasions” (Mills 2019: 97). Insults on national grounds begin; terms like *ustasha*, *chetnik*, or *Italian fascists* are becoming more common, yet the state fails to find ways to stop it:

“Last year, it was easier to find culprits because the audience would identify them and hand them over to the police, but this year, it’s more difficult because hundreds or thousands of people are shouting simultaneously.” (Uzelac, Skendžić & Kovačević 1950)

Mills marks this year as when “fans stole the spotlight” (2019: 116). In the euphoria before winning the championship, students from Dalmatia founded a fan group in Zagreb in 1950, inspired by the fan groups seen at the World Cup in Brazil (Mills 2019: 116). The arrival of Zagreb students could have been more peaceful on the train

<sup>10</sup> Published on January 30th, 1939

journey or in Split. Despite the police confiscating fan equipment (trumpets, whistles, rattles, and even school bells) upon entering the stadium, on the intervention of the then-president of Hajduk, the equipment was returned to *Torcida*<sup>11</sup> with the explanation that “Yugoslavia is a democratic country” (Mills 2019: 117). Due to the importance of the match, there was plenty of roughness on the field or fans invading the pitch. The media, especially the Belgrade-based *Borba* strongly condemned such behavior. The political reaction was not lacking; the Communist Party of Croatia punished all those it held responsible, but the founders of *Torcida* received the harshest penalties.

Describing football in the 1980s, Mills (2019) introduces the term football hooliganism, asserting that it became widespread. In the *SN magazine* of that time, a commentator lamented how „it had become normal for the purchase of a ticket to be equated with the purchase of the right to – insult.“<sup>12</sup> According to Lalić (1993: 100), Hajduk was banned from playing a European match in Split in 1984 after a *Torcida* fan slaughtered a cockerel, the symbol of Tottenham Hotspur. The accused members of *Torcida* who attacked cadets from the Naval Academy on the Split Riva in the fall of 1985 – injuring some and throwing others into the sea – defended themselves by claiming that the motive was “fan-related”: it was “revenge” for the beaten Hajduk fans in Belgrade, and the cadets were also fans of Red Star Belgrade. However, Belgrade’s *Politika*, from October 23, 1985, describes them as “a thin militant layer that does not hesitate to engage in fascist-like actions.” The 1980s saw the emergence of supporter groups influenced by English and Italian fans. After the ban, *Torcida* was the first to “revive” in 1980 in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Only a few years later, other Croatian supporter groups were founded: *Bad Blue Boys* – Dinamo Zagreb (1986), *Armada* – NK Rijeka (1987), and *Kohorta* – NK Osijek (1988).

During the 1980s, football supporter violence became less spontaneous as organized groups arose, and the basis of their antagonism shifted away from club, city, and region to supporters’ groups themselves. Football supporter violence until the end of the decade nonetheless remained mostly symbolic: the attempt, above all, was to humiliate rather than seriously injure a rival supporter (Lalić & Wood 2014: 155). In the context of the emergence of supporter groups, Mills (2019: 181) particularly emphasises how “the media played a key role in spreading news about foreign practices.” In discussing offensive nationalist football chanting (insults directed at political leaders of opposing sides, threats of even sexual violence, and historical claims to certain

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11 The group had adopted a Portuguese name.

12 The article was published on June 11th, 1980

lands, according to E. D. Gordy (1999), Mills (2019: 190) emphasises how “the sports press inflated such behaviour, publishing slogans and chants so that even occasional visitors to Yugoslav stadiums were aware of their provocative content”. In this regard, Mills mentions Belgrade’s *Borba* and Zagreb’s *Sportske novosti*, which launched weekly columns dedicated to fan culture. On the other hand, the Belgrade magazine *Ćao Tifo* (Photo 5), inspired by the Italian model, was for fans to write about their views and activities. It covered topics such as alcohol and drug abuse, crime, fights, and political violence. As the turbulent 1990s unfolded, Mills will emphasise that the forums evolved into places of conflict: from “opposed opinions, nationalist positions, or even threats.” Lalić and Wood (201: 155) stressed that football supporter violence became politically motivated at the end of the 1980s, and because leaders condoned it and many in the general public, it had the potential to escalate into deadly violence.

**Photo 5:** *Ćao Tifo* cover page, about Hajduk and Torcida, Dinamo and Bad Blue Boys



Sources: the Internet (different *Njuškalo* pages)

In the early 1990s, as Croatian politicians and military forces sought to secede from Yugoslavia, predicted an end to spectator violence in an independent Croatian nation-state (Bilić et al. 2002: 33). The expected end of football supporter violence never came to pass. Instead, there were several incidents of violence between members of fan groups, severe and persistent ones between the *Bad Blue Boys* and *Torcida* (Lalić & Wood 2014: 145).

To illustrate the current circumstances surrounding violence in and around football reports from contemporary media outlets – a form previously unavailable: online

news - were analysed. The online search via the Google search engine (March 2024) was explicitly based on hashtags such as **#hooliganism**, **#football**, and **#violenceinfootball**. The aim was to gather data concerning the prevalence and visibility of reports on and around football grounds regarding these predominantly negative occurrences. The headlines were compared with previously analysed periods. Online news about football violence equally covers events from both domestic and international contexts. Football thrives not only in certain countries; it has become a global phenomenon. Unfortunately, violence associated with it has also spread worldwide.

### **#hooliganism & #football**

Eighty-four search results were obtained on digital newspaper articles and comments using hashtags **#hooliganism** and **#football**. The temporal scope of the articles encompasses the years 2008 through 2023. The articles focus on reporting about football matches in Croatia (22%), Europe (61%), and the rest of the world (7%). Notably, the highest frequency of articles utilising these terms was observed in 2023, yielding 23 (27%) available posts. It should also be noted that only three articles were published during the COVID-19 epidemic and the staging of matches without spectators. Unfortunately, the highest number of texts published in 2023 (eight in total) pertains to the tragic death of an AEK fan in Athens just before Zagreb's Dinamo visited Greece for the Champions League playoff.

### **#violenceinfootball**

Another Google search with the hashtag **#violenceinfootball** resulted in retrieving 60 outcomes, encompassing news articles from 2008 to 2023. The ratio of articles reporting from Croatia (25) compared to other European countries (30) is nearly equal, with only 5 in different global regions. Again, it should also be stressed that only two articles were published during the COVID-19 epidemic and the staging of matches without spectators.

The characteristics of headlines for sports articles in and around football fields are much longer than ever. Since they are available on internet portals, news headlines aim to lure the reader to click and generate profit. Therefore, headlines are shocking and often provocative, for example, *Shocking Epilogue of the Great Drama in Mostar: Hooligans Intercept Car with Referees in Tunnel and Set It on Fire*.<sup>13</sup> In addition to the headlines, great attention is given to subheadings. The news from online

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13 <https://slobodnadalmacija.hr/vijesti/regija/sokantan-epilog-velike-drame-u-mostaru-utakmica-je-prekinuta-i-krenula-je-potjera-po-cesti-huligani-u-tunelu-presreli-automobil-sa-sucima-i-zapalili-ga-1129152>

portals is further “enriched” with footage of disturbing content, another clickbait lure (Photo 6).

**Photo 6:** A newspaper headline from the UK about the clash between Polish fans and police in Birmingham (Aston Villa - Legia) from November 30th, 2023 (SN/Hina)



Source: <https://sportske.jutarnji.hr/sn/nogomet/konferencijska-liga/zestoki-sukobi-u-konferencijskoj-ligi-zloglasni-huligani-raketama-gadali-policiju-ozlijedena-tri-policajca-15399970>

A notable contrast emerged when comparing digitalized old newspaper reports from Croatia with the latest online articles. Historically, articles from the past often employed a more formal tone, reflecting the journalistic standards of their time. They tended to describe incidents of violence in a straightforward manner, focusing on the events themselves rather than the socio-cultural context. Headlines from these older reports might have emphasized the facts of the incidents, lacking sensationalism or emotive language (Photo 7).



Photo 7: Neutral depiction of a league match round from 1962 (“Večernji list“)



<https://arhiva.vecernji.hr/article/v11962100820200222164014015-pdf/353286/08.10.1962. / Br. 1005>

In contrast, contemporary online articles, being filled with news about violence related to football that also occurs off the field<sup>14</sup>, adopt a different approach: provocative and eye-catching titles have been frequently used to draw in readers.<sup>15</sup> Headlines like “This is the bottom of the barrel, they’ve killed football entirely. Screw everything, it doesn’t matter... I’m ashamed as a Croat! And what now? When will they play, who cares. They’ve killed Michalis, they need to be severely punished.”<sup>16</sup>, not only highlight the violence but also frame it within a narrative that captivates the audience. This shift in language reflects a broader trend in journalism where sensationalism and emotional engagement are prioritized.

- 14 *Hooligans broke into the “Stjepan Radić” dormitory and attacked Dalmatian students!* (Jutarnji list, SN; November 22nd, 2014 – Zagreb, Croatia) <https://sportske.jutarnji.hr/sn/nogomet/hnl/huligani-provalili-u-dom-stjepan-radic-i-napali-dalmatinske-studente-4215975>
- 15 News articles are typically accompanied by images depicting violence and are frequently supplemented by video recordings: *Video: Shocking Incident Captured! Explosion Resonates Outside Premises of Legendary Club’s Supporters* (SN, January 23rd, 2023; Panathinaikos, Athens, Greece) <https://sportske.jutarnji.hr/sn/nogomet/nogomet-mix/video-uhvacen-trenutak-sokantnog-incidenta-ispred-prostorija-navijaca-kultnog-klubajedjknula-eksplozija-15294922>
- 16 The article by Frane Vulas published in *Jutarnji list, SN*; August 8th, 2023, Athens (Greece); AEK – Dinamo Zagreb; <https://sportske.jutarnji.hr/sn/nogomet/hnl/klubovi/dinamo/ovo-je-dno-dna-pa-ubili-su-kompletan-nogomet-j-es-sve-nevazno-je-sramota-me-kao-hrvata-15363215>

The analysis of these shifts in language, style, and incidence reveals not only how football-related violence has been reported over time but also how societal attitudes towards such violence have transformed. The evolution of headlines reflects changing journalistic practices and the media's role in shaping public perception of football culture in Croatia. This comparison serves as a lens through which we can understand the broader implications of violence in and around football.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this research has successfully demonstrated the validity of the two key hypotheses regarding football-related violence in Croatia. Firstly, the analysis revealed that violence in and around football is not a contemporary phenomenon, as often suggested. Historical records indicate that incidents of violence have been present in various forms throughout earlier periods, including the post-World War II era and the Yugoslav period. This finding underscores the notion that the roots of football violence are deeply entwined with Croatia's historical context, challenging the prevailing belief that such issues emerged solely from the 1980s onward.

Secondly, the investigation affirmed the significant role of media sensationalism in shaping public perception of football violence. The rise of digital media and continuous news cycles has led to an amplification of violent incidents, often exaggerating their frequency and severity. This sensationalist approach not only misrepresents the historical continuity of violence in football but also contributes to a distorted understanding of its socio-cultural dimensions.

Therefore, these findings provide a nuanced understanding of the complex interplay between historical events, societal structures, and media influences in the context of football-related violence in Croatia. Consequently, the insights from this study could inform initiatives to foster a safer and more inclusive football culture, contributing to the broader societal goal of reducing violence within sporting contexts.

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## OD POVIJESTI DO NASLOVA: NASILJE U NOGOMETU I NJEGOV DRUŠTVENI UTJECAJ U HRVATSKOJ

Rad istražuje složeno pitanje nasilja u nogometu u Hrvatskoj u kontekstu povijesnog narativa i društvene dinamike. Cilj je razumjeti različite čimbenike koji dovode do nasilja u i oko nogometa, fenomena koji je duboko povezan s nacionalnim identitetom. Istraživanje ima za cilj analizirati korelacije između povijesnih događaja, društvenih struktura i političkih utjecaja koji oblikuju takvu vrst nasilja, vodeći se pri tome ključnim pitanjem: “Kako povijesni, socijalni i politički konteksti utječu na pojavu nasilja u nogometnoj kulturi u Hrvatskoj?” Dvije hipoteze provjeravaju se istraživanjem. Prvom se propituje fenomen nasilja u nogometu: ima li ono povijesne korijene koji sežu dalje od nedavnih desetljeća (80-ih godina 20. stoljeća) ili je taj fenomena novija pojava. Drugom se istražuje igra li medijski senzacionalizam značajnu ulogu u oblikovanju javnog mišljenja, često skrivajući povijesni kontekst takvog nasilja. Rad ima za cilj pružiti uvid u uzroke nasilja povezanog s nogometom te može poslužiti kao osnova za potencijalna rješenja barem dijela problema te doprinijeti širem cilju njegova smanjenja.

**Ključne riječi:** nasilje; nogomet; Hrvatska; povijesni kontekst; medijski senzacionalizam

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## **RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SCHOOL CLIMATE, SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT, AND STUDENTS' VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR**

The quality of the school climate is often cited as an important factor for adapting to school life, which can largely influence students' behaviour at school. This paper aims to examine the relationship between the school climate and violent behaviour and the differences in the mentioned variables concerning school achievement, gender, and a class of students in the function of a better approach to the prevention of violent behaviour. The research was conducted on a random sample of 823 high school students. The study used questionnaires for assessing violent behaviour (PRONA, Čolović, Kodžopeljić, Nikolašević 2014) and a questionnaire for evaluating the quality of the school climate (Vessels 1998). Students reported a lower level of violent behaviour. A statistically significant negative correlation between violent behaviour and the quality of the school climate was established. No statistically significant differences were found in the perception of the quality of the school climate concerning school achievement and gender. Still, there were in the assessment of violent behaviour concerning school achievement and differences concerning students' gender. Statistically significant differences were found in the propensity for violent behaviour and the perception of the school climate concerning the class attended by the students. The above results indicate the importance of the quality of the school climate in the prevention of violent behaviour, but also the need to consider numerous additional factors to explain the occurrence of peer violence in school.

**Keywords:** school climate; violent behavior; school achievement; gender; students

## INTRODUCTION

It has long been known that the quality of the school climate is particularly important for the life and functioning of the school, i.e. the way subjects accept their roles, their mutual relationship, and how they feel at school. Widespread questions are: how does the school experience affect the attitudes, motivation, and behaviour of students and teachers (Domović 2003)? The experience created at school is extremely important for the student's life and affects the general attitude towards education and the orientation in life and behaviour. Every day, a large part of their time is spent at school; they acquire diverse knowledge, develop competencies, and learn about themselves and their relationships with others. The school climate is realised through various ways shaped and experienced by those who participate in school life. As mentioned, many phenomena are related to the school climate: peer violence, dropping out of school, student success, delinquency, behavioural disorders, prosocial behaviour, and other phenomena (Domović 2003). It is known that the school climate depends on the perceptions of all those who participate in school life, and it affects individual perceptions, interests, desires, and behaviour. Therefore, if viewed in this way, it could give a more complete picture of school life and also show the level of quality of the school's work. Over recent years, research in various areas (e.g. risk behaviour prevention, health promotion, social-emotional learning) has identified climate-based school improvement guidelines to promote safe, caring, collaborative, and active schools. Therefore, in this paper, attention was paid to researching the connection between the school climate and students' violent behaviour, as well as their differences concerning school achievement, gender, and class.

## SCHOOL CLIMATE

Today, the school climate is increasingly associated with the positive development of children and young people, the effective prevention of risky and violent behaviour, the promotion of health, learning, and the success of students. The fact is that there is no universal and generally accepted definition of school climate, and researchers and theorists use different terms, such as atmosphere, feelings, environment, or mood in school (Cohen, McCabe, Mickhelli, Pickeral 2009). Only some of the definitions of school climate will be listed here. School & Pickeral 2009 climate refers to the relatively permanent quality of the school environment that affects the behaviour of its members and is based on the common perception of school behaviour that is in-

fluenced by the formal organisation, characteristics of participants, and school management (Domović 2004). Jurić (1993) describes the school climate as a specific stamp of school life that is shaped and experienced by the people who participate in it, principals, teachers, students, and other employees and is realised in different ways, depending on how the participants realize their roles based on independent understanding in connection with the legalities and rules of the institution. The construct "attitude" towards school was one of the first to be defined by Lewy (1986, according to Arajuo Candeias et al. 2010), and it refers to students' behaviour, feelings, and opinions related to school and experiences at school. The school climate reflects the school life experiences of students, school staff, and parents. An important question arises: What kind of school climate is it possible to meet the needs of students and society? To understand the school climate, it is important to investigate how students perceive relationships between students and relationships between students and teachers, as well as sensitivity to violence.

Helmut Fend (1977) describes three important dimensions of school climate that are interrelated:

- contents or patterns of expectations: provide opportunities for the adoption of positive norms and values in school while at the same time they can be marked by strict rules and various pressures;
- interactions: forms of behaviour between participants and their mutual influence, in particular control, the possibility of co-determination, and forms of argumentation;
- social relations: this dimension refers to the intensity and quality of social relations and ties in the school (emotional quality, ways of resolving conflicts between all persons who make up the school climate).

Also, the student-teacher bond is emphasised here through trust, understanding, and willingness to help, and the student-student bond through solidarity, integration, and group cohesion. Kantorova (2009) divides the more complex division of school climate characteristics into attitude and motivation towards school, competencies and the quality of teachers, school rules and discipline, class cohesion, and the physical conditions of the school (architectural, aesthetic, and hygienic conditions).

Prvičić (2001) states that the class atmosphere refers to processes in the immediate environment within the same class with common ideals and goals, standards and norms of behaviour, which forms a system of interconnected roles and positions. On the other hand, a more global school atmosphere refers to a broader range of relationships among

school employees, ways of making decisions and managing the institution, and pressure in the workplace, but also includes ways of supporting student interests, shaping school goals, the level of creativity, and other factors that make the visible difference between different schools (Bošnjak 1997). Furthermore, it is possible to observe the school climate through the four elements that shape this construct, obtained in the work of the author Thap et al. (2013), namely: (1) relationships, (2) safety, (3) teaching and learning, and (4) environment. Vessels (1998), for assessing the quality of the classroom-teaching atmosphere, considers student-student and student-teacher interactions, as well as sensitivity to violence in the classroom and school environment.

In addition to the school climate, the school culture, which characterises each school with unique customs and history and a moral code that affects relationships and behaviour within the school, is of particular importance (Peterson & Deal 2002). Unlike school culture, school climate refers to the school environment or the school learning environment, a set of norms and expectations, the psycho-social context in which teachers work and teach, the degree of teacher empowerment, the physical and emotional well-being of the school organisation, school commitment and teacher support. (Cohen et al. 2009). Barth (2002) defines school culture as a set of complex norms, attitudes, beliefs, behaviours, values, ceremonies, traditions, and myths that are deeply rooted in every aspect of the school and are manifested in the everyday life of the school and affect teachers' productivity, professional development, and school leadership. The construct is closely related to other elements, such as student perception and interest in learning, motivation, and academic achievement. It is also stated that culture is the collective property; it reflects a more profound phenomenon based on symbolic meanings, common ideas about fundamental values, beliefs, and fundamental ideologies and assumptions.

## **STUDENTS' VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR**

School violence is influenced by all the changes in the political, social, and scientific educational structures in society. Accordingly, school violence is a reflection of the entire situation in a society (Gašić-Pavišić 2004). Jackman proposes a generic definition of violence as actions that inflict, threaten to impose, or cause injury; actions can be physical, written or verbal, psychological, material, or social (Ray 2018). Peer violence is defined by Olweus (1998) as repeated and permanent exposure of a student to negative behaviour from another student or a more significant number of them. Olweus states that a power imbalance (asymmetric power relationship) is an important

determinant of violence. Peer violence is defined as exposure to intentional negative, repeated action by one or more students, disproportionate real or perceived strength, due to which the child suffers physical and/or emotional harm and is powerless to resist (Olweus 1993, 1998). According to Perrin-Miller & Perrin (2007), the key elements of peer violence are intent to hurt, injure, or cause physical, social, or emotional harm, not provoked by the victim, power imbalance (power in the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator of violence), occurs at least once a week, i.e. there is a threat of further violence, when violence escalates, children of the victims experience fear, which allows the perpetrator to continue believing they will not be reported.. An important determinant of violence is the intention to cause harm, which distinguishes violence from ordinary children's mischievous actions, competitions, occasional "matches of strength", and involuntary injuries (Popadić 2009). By violence, we mean intentional and unjustified harm to another (Maksimović,&Mančić 2012). Violence is also defined as the deliberate use of physical force or power in the form of a threat or an act committed directed towards oneself, another person, or a group or community, which leads to injury, death, psychological injury, impaired development or deprivation" (Popadić,&Pult 2007). When it comes to violence, it is stated that it increases in both developed and underdeveloped environments (Gašić-Pavišić 2004). Violence between peers can be direct, such as teasing, hitting, or intimidation, and indirect, such as social exclusion, gossip, or manipulation (Garrett 2003). In the literature, there are mainly two basic forms of peer violence, physical and verbal, and newer conceptualisations include relational or emotional (sometimes called psychological) and sexual, economic, and cultural peer violence (Bilić, Buljan, &Hrpka 2012).

## **SCHOOL CLIMATE AND STUDENTS' VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR**

The role of the school climate in the prevention of violent forms of behaviour stems from its influence as a socialisation context in the school, which potentially ensures the prerequisites for the adequate development of cognitive and social skills.It can reduce the tendency of students to use force to achieve social goals. Depending on the interests, values, motivation, and other characteristics of the individual, the school climate can be perceived as stimulating for individual development and contributing to constructive behaviour and the involvement of individuals in school activities, or on the contrary, as a disincentive context that contributes to passivity, resistance and aggressive behaviour (Bošnjak 1997).



There is an opinion that the perception of positive school and classroom teaching is considered a protective factor in the development of behavioural problems. The school environment is one of a series of arguments mentioned when emphasising the need for a more explicit role of schools in preventing behaviour disorders (Bouillet, & Bijedić 2007). Depending on the interests, values, motivation, and other characteristics of the individual, the school climate can be perceived as stimulating for individual development and contributing to constructive behaviour and the inclusion of individuals in school life, or on the contrary, as a disincentive context that contributes to passivity or resistance and even aggressive behaviour (Puzić, Baranović, & Doolan 2011). The literature highlights two important reasons why a positive school experience is treated as a possible factor in the prevention of socially unacceptable and individually harmful behaviour of students: (1) theories and research associate poor attachment to school with deviant behaviours such as, for example, delinquency, use of psychoactive agents, underage pregnancy and dropping out of school and (2) research confirms that the school environment and school experience are an important factor in promoting or weakening students' attachment to school (Bouillet, Bijedić 2007). This is also the case with the research conducted by Couger and Miller (1966; according to Mejovšek, & Stančić 1982) showed that delinquents have specific school-related difficulties. Explaining the importance of a positive school climate as a prerequisite for development, Miljević and Ridički et al. (1999) emphasise that it is difficult to find out what the climate is like in a school. But regardless, its effect is powerful. An open school would increasingly have to be the bearer of organising learning and various social and cultural actions and programs in collaboration with an increasing number of factors in its environment.

The results of numerous studies confirm the impact of various elements of the school climate on the appearance of violent forms of behaviour among students. In an overview of the empirically established effects of this relationship, Holtappels and Meier (2000) point out that the pressure to adapt and negative social relations at school influence deviant behaviour at school, that the lack of interest of teachers and non-participation of students in school life influence the occurrence of violent behaviour, and that boredom and school aversion can be associated with school violence and vandalism. Based on the results of their research, Holtappels and Meier (2000) further state that schools with less physical and verbal violence are characterised primarily by proactive engagement of teachers, i.e. positive social relations and group cohesion of students.

Recent research has shown that a positive school climate is associated with reduced levels of violence and aggression, as well as sexual harassment, and greater tolerance for others and differences, regardless of race, religion, or sexual orientation (Goldstein, Young, & Boyd 2008; Attar-Schwartz 2009). However, this relationship has not been fully elucidated, and future research should critically examine the complex set of individual, group, and organisational factors that shape predicted violent behaviour in schools to prevent it.

The meta-analysis of research that studied the connection between school climate and violent behaviour included 36 studies. Together, they had 113,778 respondents, with an average age of 13.53 years, and data collected for the period 1982-2008 in different countries across North America, Europe, and Asia. A moderate correlation was found between students' perceptions of school climate and violent behaviour.

Cohen, McCabe, Mickhelli, and Pickeral (2009) cite the results of research by numerous authors who conclude that a positive school climate is associated with a lower number of student absences, that a positive school climate is a critical dimension associated with the prevention of health and addiction problems, and with learning and teaching.

In a review of recent international research on the impact of the school environment on the occurrence of school violence, Lindstrom Johnson (2009) points out that each of the 25 observed studies indicates that the school environment influences the occurrence of school violence. No connection was established in research between objective characteristics of schools (size of school, level of education) and violent behaviour (Steffgen, Recchia, Viechtbauer 2013).

## **VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR AND SCHOOL CLIMATE CONCERNING SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT**

School achievement can generally be defined as “the degree to which students have permanently adopted the knowledge, skills, and habits prescribed by the curriculum, developed psycho-physical abilities, and formed moral cognition, will, and action (Bedeniković Lež 2009). In research, students' school success is most often expressed by school grades. In research, the general average of grades, or the final grade from certain subjects at the end of the semester or the end of the academic year (most often those necessary for enrollment at a higher level of education) is taken as a measure of school achievement. Some authors in their research use the general average of grades in the semester, and not at the end of the completed class, considering it a

more objective assessment of content adoption (Pekić 2011). Weinert (2000) in addition to the knowledge that students should acquire in school, also mentions other aspects of achievement: students should additionally develop the ability to learn and their social competencies, and they are also expected to develop positive values and to perfect some other important competences that they can use outside the school context. Some authors, such as Farrington (1997), believe that school success is also significant for predicting peer violence, whereby lower school success is associated with more violent behaviour and victimisation. It has been shown that school stress and failure at school can encourage feelings of incompetence and helplessness, and thus some forms of self-destructive behaviour (Mikas 2012). According to Graovac and Prica (2014), dissatisfaction with the results can cause conflicts with parents, teachers, and educators, leading to internalised problems. Williams, Ayers, and Arthur (1997) list several groups of risk factors, among which are school-related risk factors (school failure, disciplinary problems, lack of attachment to school). It is important to emphasise that risk factors are cumulative and occur in groups; one pulls the others behind. Also, the greater the number of factors present, the greater the risk of developing behavioural disorders (Budić 2016). The connection of aggressiveness with poorer school performance and governance is emphasised, which is manifested by the failure to achieve positive relationships with the school, and more frequent absences from classes compared to students who are not violent or aggressive (Pongrac 2003). Numerous studies have also been conducted on the topic of the influence of various aspects of the school environment on student achievement, and the results indicate the existence of a connection between the quality of the school environment and student success (Koludrović, Kalebić Jakupčević 2017).

Positive school experiences lead to better academic success, contribute to the development of a positive self-image, and create better interpersonal relationships (Bezinović, Ristić Dedić 2004). Also, studies of the classroom-teaching atmosphere have shown that a positive, supportive, and culturally aware school and classroom atmosphere contributes to the academic achievement of students (Bouillet, Bijedić 2007). Educational achievements in the form of grades and control of children strengthen their organisational abilities, and teamwork, improve interpersonal relationships, and reduce risky behaviours (Takšić 1998; Takšić, Mohorić, & Munjas 2006). Violent behaviour is caused by peer rejection or poor school performance, which can be prevented using emotional literacy methods. It has been proven that students with better school success are less likely to enter into conflict situations compared to students with lower success; they are less confrontational as an orientation

when solving conflicts (Zec 2005). Purkey and Smith (1983), based on an analysis of various research, conclude that the school climate significantly influences the student's chances of success in learning cognitive skills. That is why they believe that any change strategy that aims to improve the school must start with changing the school climate, i.e. changing schools requires changing people's behaviour and attitudes. Koth et al. (2008) found that satisfaction with the school climate from students' perspective is also related to specific classroom factors. Namely, students who attend a class with a higher proportion of children with behavioural problems give more negative assessments of the school environment, especially regarding order and discipline.

## **VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR AND SCHOOL CLIMATE CONCERNING GENDER AND CLASS**

In the period of adolescence, students are in the education system. The specificity of the adolescent age is that interests suddenly expand, and they become curious and want to experiment with more content and activities. Therefore, school becomes boring, tiring, and difficult for them (Vizek Vidović et al. 2003). It is believed that the older the students, the more negative the perception of the school climate (Hamre, Pianta 2001). The research that examined students in primary and secondary schools showed that girls in primary and secondary schools are more satisfied with aspects of the quality of school life than boys, generally have a positive attitude towards school, and experience fewer negative feelings, and satisfaction with school decreases as they grow older. (Brajša-Žganec et al. 2009). According to research (Jeđud, & Lebedina-Manzoni, 2008) conducted in 36 countries of Europe and North America, questions related to the school environment were examined – school success, how much students like school, the relationship between students in the class, and school workload. The results in Croatia showed that female students like school more, feel less burdened at school, and have better academic performance but worse relationships with their peers. Younger students have better success in school, like school more, are less burdened by school, and have a better relationship with their peers at school.

Some findings show that older boys show more violent behaviour (Olweus 1998; Velki 2012) and that boys are more physically and verbally violent (Espelage, Bosworth, & Simon 2000). The mentioned authors point out that boys are more likely to be bullies than girls; it is noted that girls' violence is more difficult to detect: girls use less noticeable and more insidious means of abuse, such as slander, gossip, and

manipulate friendships in the class (e.g. stealing a girl's best friend). Recent research shows that when it comes to relational and indirect forms of violence, boys are equally violent, if not slightly more violent, than girls. Boys are more often victims of all forms of peer violence (Olweus 1998). Aggression increases with age (Buljan Flander et al. 2007). Teachers' evaluations showed that male subjects were more inattentive, restless, and prone to aggressiveness and antisocial behaviour than female subjects (Fergusson, Gibb, & Sheree 2008).

Almost all research shows that older boys show more violent behaviour (Olweus 1998; Veliki 2012). When it comes to relational and indirect forms of violence, boys are equally violent if not slightly more violent than girls (Olweus 2010). Boys are more often victims of all forms of peer violence (Olweus 1998, 2010). The amount of overall aggression increases with age (Buljan, Flander et al. 2007; Olweus 1998; Velki 2012b). When it comes to age, that is, class, it is emphasized that younger children are at greater risk, because they do not have developed social skills or self-protection skills. The results of the Dunedin study indicate that 19.6% of males and 17.4% of females show the emergence of antisocial behaviour in adolescence (Odgers et al. 2008). The prevalence of antisocial behaviour among young people is highest in the late teenage years, between 15 and 19 years. The onset of antisocial behaviour is most common between the ages of 8 and 14, and the peak of the cessation of delinquency is between 20 and 29 years (Farrington 2002). Students in the final grades of primary school show the most violent behaviour, while the victims are more often younger students. Some authors, such as Farrington (Farrington 1997), believe that school success is also significant for predicting peer violence, whereby lower school success is associated with more violent behaviour and victimisation.

Research by Koth et al. (2008) among elementary school students of a relatively large number of public schools found differences in the perception of the school climate concerning gender, in the form of a lower liking of the school environment by boys, who, compared to girls, evaluate the aspects of order and discipline less well (that is, they feel less confident) and have lower motivation for academic achievement. In the study of students' perceptions of the school climate, an interesting finding is that as the level of education increases, students evaluate the school environment more negatively. This result is explained by the decline of motivation in older students as well as the more frequent appearance of behavioural problems (Yang et al. 2013). Koth et al. (2008) found that satisfaction with the school climate from students' perspective is also related to specific class factors. Namely, students who attend a class in which there is a higher proportion of children with behavioural problems give more

negative assessments of the school environment, especially for the aspects of order and discipline.

According to the above, students' perception of the school climate becomes more negative as their age increases, and at the same time, there is also a drop in performance in school achievement indicators (Koludrović, Kalebić Jakupčević 2017).

## **METHODOLOGY**

### *Problem and goal*

Given that in the last few years, research on the importance of the school climate for problematic student behaviour and, therefore, for violent behaviour has been intensified, the main problem in the paper was to examine the relationship between the school climate and violent behaviour among students. The goal was to examine the relationship between the school climate and violent behaviour and further determine the differences in the mentioned variables concerning school achievement, gender, and class in the function of better prevention of violent behaviour among students.

The following research questions were asked in this research:

1. Determine the level of violent behaviour among students;
2. Investigate the connection between the perception of the quality of school climate and the violent behaviour of students;
3. Examine the differences in the perception of the quality of school climate and violent behaviour concerning school achievement;
4. Determine gender differences in the violent behaviour of students;
5. Examine the differences in the perception of the quality of school climate and violent behaviour concerning the class.

### *Hypotheses*

- H1. Students show an above-average level of violent behaviour
- H2. There is a statistically significant association between the perception of school climate and violent activities
- H3. There are statistically significant differences in the perception of school climate and violent behaviour concerning school achievement
- H4. There are statistically significant differences in violent behaviour concerning gender
- H5. There are statistically significant differences in the perception of school climate and violent behaviour considering the class

### *Sample*

The research is quantitative and conducted on a convenience sample, where the research population consisted of young people who attend secondary schools in the Tuzla Canton in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The research included N=823 respondents (403 male and 420 female, which in percentages represents the ratio 48.96% : 51.04%). The age of the students ranged from 16 to 19 years old, of which 292 students were 16 years old, 275 students were 17 years old, and 256 students were 18 and 19 years old.

### *Variables and instruments*

The dependent variables included in this research are the perception of the school climate and violent behaviour, while the independent variables are gender, class, and school achievement.

The following questionnaires were used in this research:

1. Questionnaire on socio-demographic data of respondents.
2. Questionnaire for assessing violent behaviour (PRONA, Maksimović, Raković, Jovanović, & Čolović 2014).
3. Questionnaire for assessing the quality of the school climate (Vessels 1998).

In the work, as stated, a general questionnaire was used to collect data on socio-demographic characteristics. This questionnaire will provide information about the respondent that is necessary to successfully reach the results of the research (gender, age, class, school achievement). The questionnaire consists of multiple-choice questions, and respondents should circle the statement that applies to them.

The PRONA (Assessment of Violent Behaviour) questionnaire is intended for self-assessment of behaviours characteristic of violent interaction among primary and secondary school students. The questionnaire contains 20 items covering two scales between which there is high congruence in a sample of primary and secondary school students. One scale refers to the assessment of the suffering of violence (exposure to peer violence), and the other to the commission of violence (tendency to violent behaviour). The content of the items includes indicators of lighter and more severe forms of physical violence, as well as psychological and emotional violence. The reliability of the questionnaire in this research is ( $\alpha = 0.923$ ).



The School Climate Quality Perception Scale (Vessels 1998) examines perceptions of the climate within educational institutions. This questionnaire examines three aspects of the school or academic climate: relationships between students, the student-teacher relationship, and the assessment of the importance of reporting violent behaviour in the classroom and school climate. The scale contains 18 statements, and the participant's task is to evaluate the degree of agreement with each statement on a scale from 1 to 4, where 1 indicates complete disagreement and 4 indicates complete agreement with the offered statement. The participants' task is to rate their agreement with each stated statement on a 5-point Likert scale. The reliability of the school climate perception questionnaire in this research is ( $\alpha = 0.886$ ).

The average grade at the end of the school year was used to assess the student's school achievement.

#### *Procedures, methods of data collection, and data processing*

The research was conducted in the Tuzla Canton (BiH) secondary schools in 2021 on the population of secondary school students during regular classes. The first, second, third, and fourth-grade students were included. The average duration of filling out the questionnaire was 30 minutes. The students filled out the questionnaires during the department community class. In the beginning, the purpose of the research was explained, instructions were given, and it was indicated that the research was anonymous. During the examination, none of the respondents refused to participate in the study. Considering the nature of the work, a survey research method was used. The techniques used in the research are content analysis and assessment (self-assessment). The following statistical methods were used for data processing: descriptive statistical analysis, t-test for independent samples, Pearson's correlation coefficient, and analysis of variance (ANOVA). SPSS 20 software was used for data processing.

## **RESULTS**

The first question in the research was related to examining the perception of the quality of the school climate and the level of violent behaviour among students. As shown in Table 1, the values of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test for all scales used in this research are statistically significant ( $p < 0.01$ ), indicating that the distribution of the results deviates statistically significantly from the normal distribution. Using parameters of asymmetry and flattening, it was determined that all scales and sub-scales meet



Kline's (Kline 2005) criteria of normality of distribution. Since the coefficients of asymmetry and flattening for all scales in this research are within the range of +/- 1 and considering the insight into the shape of the distribution of each scale, the use of parametric procedures proved to be justified. The results are shown in Table 1.

**Table 1** Descriptive statistical parameters for the perception of the quality of school climate and students' violent behaviour

The name of the scale	min.	max.	M	SEM	SD	Sk	Ku	KS	P
School climate	18	90	58.423	0.344	9.88359	-0.191	0.628	0.049	0,01
Violent behaviour	20	60	30.70	0.294	8.4626	0.894	0.198	0.136	0,01
Violence exposure	8	24	12.62	0.121	3.48166	0.789	0.125	0.141	0,01
The propensity for violent behaviour	12	36	18.17	0.188	5.41778	0.954	0.195	0.15	0,01

The arithmetic mean of the results obtained by the students' self-assessment on the school climate scale is  $M=58.42$  ( $SD=9.88$ ), which indicates positive assessments. The negative asymmetry ( $Sk=-.191$ ) indicates that most of the results are in the area of higher scores and additionally confirms that students positively evaluate the quality of the school climate. When it comes to the violent behaviour of students, the arithmetic mean  $M=30.70$  ( $SD=8.46$ ) shows that, on average, adolescents achieve lower results than the average on the mentioned scale, whose results can range from 20 to 60. However, given that the data on asymmetry ( $Sk=0.894$ ) indicate a positive asymmetry, this indicator supports that most results are to the left of the arithmetic mean, that is, in the zone of lower scores. A similar situation with exposure to violence ( $M=12.62$ ;  $SD=3.48$ ), ( $Sk=.789$ ) and tendency to violent behaviour ( $M=18.17$ ;  $SD=5.41$ ), ( $Sk=.954$ ). So here, too, students report below-average levels of exposure and propensity to violence.

The second research question was related to examining the connection between the perception of the school climate and violent behaviour (two additional dimensions that are measured by this questionnaire). The Pearson correlation coefficient was applied, as can be seen in Table 2.

**Table 2** The connection between school climate and violent behaviour among students

Violent behaviour	Violent behaviour	Exposure to violent behaviour	Propensity to violent behaviour
School climate	-.094**	-.042	-.113**

A significant negative relationship was observed between the perception of the quality of the school climate and violent behaviour ( $r=-.094$ ,  $p<0.01$ ), which indicates that a more positive assessment and experience of the school climate results in a lower level of violent behaviour. The relationship between the perception of the school climate and the exposure to violent behaviour was not recognised ( $p>.005$ ), while a positive perception of the school climate was associated with a lower degree of tendency to violence ( $r=-.113$ ,  $p<.001$ ).

When examining gender differences in the perception of the school climate and the severity of violence, a significant difference in violent behaviour was found, while no difference was found in the perception of the school climate, as shown in the following table.

**Table 3** Gender differences in the perception of the school climate and the level of violent behaviour

	Gender	N	M	SD	SEM	t	P
Violent behaviour	Male	403	32.5037	9.01170	.44890		
	Female	420	28.7833	7.88178	.38459	6.294	.000
School climate	Male	403	58.4045	9.24313	.46043		
	Female	420	58.4439	10.62040	.51884	-.057	.955

The obtained values for gender differences in violent behaviour testify to the significance of these differences ( $t(821)=6.294$ ;  $p=.00$ ). They show that girls estimate that violent behaviour is less pronounced in them compared to boys. No significant difference was found in the perception of school climate concerning gender ( $t(821)=-0.57$ ;  $p=.955$ ).

The next question examined the perception of school climate and violent behaviour among students concerning school success. Although the initial results show that students with good and excellent results experience the school climate more positively, the results are not significant ( $F(4,818)=0.751$ ,  $p>.005$ ); students with better school results estimate that they are less violent ( $F(4,818)=6.935$ ,  $p<.001$ ). Given

that a small number of students with success is sufficient in the sample, we classified students with sufficient and insufficient grades into one category. Then we proceeded to calculate descriptive statistical parameters, as shown in Table 4.

**Table 4** Descriptive parameters and significance testing for perceptions of school climate and violent behaviour concerning school success

		N	M	SD	SEM	Min	Max	F	P
Violent behaviour	Insufficient	107	33.68	9.150	.884	15.22	54.97	6.032	.000
	Sufficient	218	30.94	8.798	.595	15.22	52.01		
	Good	342	30.10	8.172	.441	15.22	54.97		
	Very good	156	29.61	7.681	.615	15.22	54.97		
	Excellent	823	30.70	8.462	.294	15.22	54.97		
School climate	Insufficient	107	58.39	10.11	.977	34.09	88.63	.701	.552
	Sufficient	218	59.23	9.831	.667	28.22	85.76		
	Good	342	58.02	9.789	.529	30.37	83.40		
	Very good	156	58.19	10.02	.805	31.70	80.32		
	Excellent	822	58.42	9.883	.344	28.22	88.63		

Based on the tabular representation, it can be seen that significant differences were found in violent behaviour concerning school success ( $F(4,818)=6.032, p<.00$ ), while no significant difference was found in the perception of the quality of the school climate ( $F(4,818)=.701, p<.552$ ). The highest degree of violent behaviour according to self-assessment is present in insufficient and sufficient students, while the school climate is perceived most positively by good students.

The data for the mentioned variables are presented to determine the differences in the perception of the school climate and violent behaviour concerning the class. The results point to significant differences, as shown in Table 5.

**Table 5** Differences in the perception of school climate and violent behaviour concerning the class

		N	M	SD	SEM	Min	Max		
								F	P
<b>School climate</b>	First	207	59.57	9.88	.687	33.00	86.00	5.250	.001
	Second	214	59.07	9.57	.654	33.00	90.00		
	Third	205	58.88	9.02	.630	35.00	87.00		
	Fourth	196	56.02	11.01	.787	18.00	78.00		
	Total	822	58.42	9.962	.347	18.00	90.00		
<b>Violent behaviour</b>	First	207	31.66	9.166	.637	20.00	60.00	2.759	.041
	Second	214	30.26	7.775	.531	20.00	56.00		
	Third	206	29.39	8.056	.561	20.00	60.00		
	Fourth	196	31.13	9.45	.675	20.00	60.00		
	Total	823	30.60	8.651	.301	20.00	60.00		

Younger students evaluate the school climate more positively (F (4,818) 5.250,  $p < .001$ ), while respondents report that violent behaviour is more present in the first and fourth grades (F (4, 818)=2.759,  $p < .005$ ).

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this paper, it was established that students positively perceive the quality of the school climate and that violent behaviour is not expressed above average. The results of previous research are not in agreement. Astor, Benbenishty, Zeira, & Vinokur (2002) state that students fear going to school because victimisation and violence against them are present all the time at school. Research has also shown that students feel less safe in large schools (Lleras 2008). Although there is no statistically significant difference in terms of violence and victimisation between smaller and larger schools, in larger schools students felt less safe, which may be the result of more often witnessing or hearing about an incident (Cornell, & Gregory 2008). It is pointed out that school violence is increasing in both developed and underdeveloped countries, in rural and urban areas (Gašić-Pavišić 2004), which is contrary to our results. However, it is stated that the frequency of all forms of violent behaviour decreases with increasing age in many studies with transferal designs (Kodžopeljić, Smederevac, & Čolović 2010). All the above points to the inconsistency of the results. Some results show that the perception of support from experts and mentors decreases during the year, as well as the perception of autonomy, clarity, and compliance with school rules. It is believed that the perception of the school climate is becoming more negative year by year (Way, Reddy, & Rhodes 2007). Bezinović (2000) found that ado-

lescents are generally not satisfied with their school. The justification for our results in this work could be that schools are dynamic, with many interactions among students, professors, and collaborators. Another explanation could lie in the desire for a positive evaluation of one's class, regardless of the actual situation at school. It is possible that the level of violent behaviour among students in this study was influenced by a more favourable perception of the school climate. Our results align with Pregrad's (2011) and Puzić, Baranović and Doolan's (2011) research.

In a large number of research studies, we have confirmed our results regarding the relationship between the perception of the quality of the school climate and the violent behaviour of students. Recent research has shown that a positive school climate is associated with reduced levels of violence and aggression (Attar-Schwartz 2009). Also, in the research on the connection between school climate, students' risky behaviours, and bullying, the connection between school climate and students' risky behaviours was established. This means that improving these elements of the school climate can have a protective effect and influence the prevention of risky behaviours (Klein, Cornell, & Konold 2012). Another study found an association between student perceptions of school climate and violent behaviour. Still, an association between objective school characteristics (school size, level of education) and violent behaviour was not established (Steffgen, Recchia, & Viechtbauer 2013). Everything indicates that without good interpersonal relations and a positive experience of the school, there is no safety nor adequate prevention of violent behaviour.

Examining the differences in the perception of the school climate and the severity of violence concerning school success, it was observed that insufficient and sufficient students have more pronounced violent behaviour, while students who achieve good success rate the school climate better. The more pronounced violent behaviour of students with poorer success rates was expected because it is possible that schools do not provide sufficient social support to students with poorer results, which can manifest as unacceptable behaviour. According to Marshall (2002), a positive, supportive, and culturally aware school and classroom climate contributes to students' academic achievement. A series of studies confirmed that school climate is directly related to academic achievement (Brand, Felner, Shim, Seitsinger, & Dumas 2003). Regarding the school climate in this paper, the better students did not show a better assessment of the quality of the school climate, which can be reflected in the bad experience, inactivity, and contents offered by the school. The above indicates that schools may still be more focused on academic success.

Significant differences were found in violent behaviour and perception of school climate concerning class. As most other studies have shown, older students evaluate the school climate more negatively than younger students. Brajša-Žganec et al. (2009) showed how older students are less satisfied with the school, experience more negative feelings, consider learning less challenging and fun, and rate their relationship with teachers less favourably. The older the students are, the more negative their perception of the school climate is (Hamre, & Pianta 2001). Possible reasons are concern about grades, negative experiences, less support, absenteeism, and poor activity in class. When it comes to violent behaviour, the perception of autonomy, clarity, and consistency of school rules decreases with age, so it is possible that for this reason, older students show more pronounced violent behaviour. Younger students also need time to adapt and adopt school rules.

Research that examined students in primary and secondary schools showed that girls in primary and secondary schools are more satisfied with aspects of the quality of school life than boys, generally have a positive attitude towards school, and experience fewer negative feelings (Brajša-Žganec et al. 2009). Our research differs in this respect because no significant differences were found concerning gender, and it is in line with the research of Way, Reddy, and Rhodes (2007), where no differences were found. Many factors could have influenced such results. First, adolescence is the age of emotional and social adjustment, building attitudes, stable interests, and one's view of the world. The period of the most intensive development of social skills is school age, namely adolescence. During this period, young people establish stronger friendships and first romantic relationships that influence the development of interpersonal skills and self-confidence. Differences were found in violent behaviour in favour of men, in which the researchers mostly agree, so there have been no changes in this matter. However, in recent times, it is said that girls use non-verbal methods of aggressive behaviour. In the research (Fergusson, Gibb, & Sheree 2008), teachers' assessments showed that male subjects were more inattentive, restless, and prone to aggressiveness and antisocial behaviour than female subjects, which the results in this paper also confirm. Bearing in mind the above, it is indisputable that numerous and complex phenomena contribute to the causes and manifestation of students' violent behaviour and that they are interconnected, in which they are in a continuous interactive relationship. It is increasingly pointed out that it is almost impossible for such behaviours to be determined by only one etiological factor. Therefore, the school climate can be one of the many factors that need to be investigated together with other protective factors to prevent violent behaviour. A systemic ap-

proach to preventing violent behaviour among students is needed to reduce risk factors. Big mistakes are made by taking on some programs based on preventing unacceptable behaviour without first checking the quality of those programs and their applicability in certain schools. The evaluation of applied programs based on the development of students' necessary skills while creating a positive climate in schools can provide a better approach to prevention.

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## RELACIJE IZMEĐU ŠKOLSKE KLIME, ŠKOLSKOG POSTIGNUĆA I NASILNOG PONAŠANJA UČENIKA

### Sažetak:

Kvalitet školske klime često se navodi kao važan faktor za prilagođavanje školskom životu koji u velikom dijelu može uticati na ponašanje učenika u školi. Cilj u ovom radu bio je ispitati relacije između školske klime i nasilnog ponašanja, te razlike u navedenim varijablama u odnosu na školsko postignuće, spol i razred učenika u funkciji kvalitetnijeg pristupa preveniranju nasilnog ponašanja. Istraživanje je provedeno na prigodnom uzorku od 823 srednjoškolca. U istraživanju su primijenjeni upitnici za procjenu nasilnog ponašanja (PRONA, Čolović, Kodžopeljić, Nikolašević 2014) i upitnik za procjenu kvaliteta školske klime (Vessels 1998). Učenici su izvjestili o nižem stepenu nasilnog ponašanja. Utvrđena je statistički značajna negativna povezanost nasilnog ponašanja sa kvalitetom školske klime. Nisu pronađene statistički značajne razlike u percepciji kvalitete školske klime s obzirom na školsko postignuće i spol ali jesu u procjeni nasilnog ponašanja s obzirom na školsko postignuće i razlike u odnosu na spol učenika. Utvrđene su statistički značajne razlike u sklonosti nasilnom ponašanju i percepciji školske klime s obzirom na razred koji pohađaju učenici. Navedeni rezultati ukazuju na važnost kvaliteta školske klime u preveniranju nasilnog ponašanja ali i potrebu sagledavanja dodatnih brojnih faktora kako bi objasnili pojavu vršnjačkog nasilja u školi.

**Ključne riječi:** školska klima; nasilno ponašanje; školsko postignuće; spol; učenici

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## **PROSOCIAL AND ANTISOCIAL STUDENTS' BEHAVIOUR IN THE CONTEXT OF SCHOOL SAFETY<sup>1 2</sup>**

Prosocial behaviour is recognised as a factor that contributes to adolescent socialisation, psychosocial adjustment, and development. This research examined the prosocial and antisocial students' behaviour in relation to school safety. A sample of 719 students from the 2nd to 4th grades of high school completed a self-report questionnaire (476 girls, 219 boys; Mage = 16.64). The research was conducted in person during the first semester of 2021 at nine high schools in the territory of the Republic of Serbia. The questionnaire items were chosen in cooperation with a team of psychologists and pedagogues from selected high schools. The measures included the Prosocial Behaviour Scale, which includes the factors Prosocial behaviour ( $\alpha=.96$ ) and Antisocial behaviour ( $\alpha=.89$ ); and the School Safety Scale, which includes the factors Violent behaviour ( $\alpha=.92$ ); Unsafe school environments ( $\alpha=.90$ ); Victimization ( $\alpha=.89$ ); and Violation of norms ( $\alpha=.86$ ). Discriminant analysis established the existence of differences between groups of prosocial and antisocial students in the space defined by school safety variables. Differences between groups of prosocial students were determined in relation to violent behaviour (.766), unsafe school environment (.657) and victimisation (-.480). Differences between groups of antisocial students were determined in relation to violent behaviour (.975), victimisation (-.239), unsafe school environment (.155) and violation of norms (.144). The absence of violent

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behaviour, victimisation and a higher degree of safety in the school environment characterises schools with a higher prevalence of prosocial student behaviour than antisocial. Therefore, promoting positive behaviour patterns in the school environment is important.

Key words: prosocial behavior; school safety; antisocial behavior; students; Republic of Serbia

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Prosocial behaviour is a factor that plays a significant role in the socialisation, psychosocial adjustment and development of children and adolescents (Eisenberg, Spinrad & Knafo-Noam 2015). In contrast to antisocial behaviour, prosocial behaviour is associated with physical and psychosocial well-being, school adjustment and academic success, less peer rejection, and fewer behavioural problems (Caprara et al. 2000; Layous et al. 2012; Vecchio et al. 2023). Namely, children who are not rated as prosocial are less socially adjusted and exposed to peer rejection or neglect (Crick 1996). Prosocial tendencies in peer relations represent a protective factor for children who are antisocial or aggressive, regard rejection by peers and a tendency toward criminal behaviour (Kokko et al. 2006; Luo, Ma & Deng 2023). The views of researchers regarding the connection between prosocial and antisocial behaviour are divided, so these two forms of social behaviour are viewed as separate dimensions that are not significantly correlated or as two different forms of behaviour that are correlated (positive or negative) (Hay et al. 2021). Research on prosocial behaviour and its mechanisms of influence becomes especially important during adolescence. Therefore, at this age, peer relationships in general, especially prosocial peers, can significantly impact school adaptation and academic success and can be a protective factor in relation to the prevalence of problematic behaviour (Coleman & Byrd 2003). Finally, Guao (2017) noted that fostering students' prosocial behaviour is related not only to the formation of social responsibility and moral behaviour but also to the development, progress, harmony and stability of society (Luo, Ma & Deng 2023).

In addition, this paper presents the results of research on prosocial and antisocial behaviour in the context of school safety in a sample of students from nine high schools in the Republic of Serbia, focusing on differences between groups of prosocial and antisocial students in relation to selected school safety variables.

## 2. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Prosocial behaviour refers to those categories of actions that are determined to be generally beneficial to other people by some significant segments of society and/or one's social group (Penner et al. 2005). In other words, prosocial behaviours, such as sharing, helping, and caring, are defined as voluntary actions that are beneficial to others and society (Eisenberg, Fabes & Spinrad 2006). Most often, such behaviours involve the costs of helping, and they frequently occur without obligation or coercion to such behaviour (Tadić 2024). Numerous factors impact prosocial behaviour, among which the importance of social, individual, cognitive and situational factors is especially highlighted (Moore, Woodcock & Kielblock 2023). Social and situational factors include time pressure, role models, social norms and others (Wang & Saudino 2015), while in the domain of personal factors, empathy and moral reasoning are recognised as significant predictors of prosocial behaviour (Hoffman 2000). Interpersonal interactions influence the frequency of prosocial behaviour, so trust is recognised as an important component that can encourage prosocial behaviour among students (Guao 2017). Some authors (Kato-Shimizu et al. 2013) point out that positive peer relations can predict prosocial behaviour. Early peer acceptance plays an important role in adolescent prosocial behaviour (Kato-Shimizu et al. 2013; Luo, Ma Deng 2023). Prosocial behaviour is thus associated not only with peers' acceptance but also with better academic success, better subjective well-being, and a lower prevalence of externalised behavioural problems (Vecchio et al. 2023). In other words, most studies indicate that prosocial behaviour is an important factor that can protect against the development of aggressive or antisocial behaviour in adolescence (Caprara et al. 2000).

In contrast to prosocial behaviour, antisocial behaviour refers to forms of negative behaviour that can be subsumed or equated with the term relational violence or victimisation. In this regard, we are talking about forms of behaviour such as teasing, mocking, ignoring, hitting or insulting others. Prosocial and antisocial behaviour are viewed in the literature in different ways (Hay et al. 2021: 19): as opposite ends of one dimension, as two separate dimensions that are negatively correlated, as separate dimensions that are not significantly correlated; or as two forms of social behaviour that are entirely different from each other, but still positively correlated (Hay et al. 2021). Which of the above patterns of connection will be found in the research will depend on the period of life in which these phenomena are examined (early childhood or late adolescence), the definitions used, the context of the study and other charac-



teristics of the research design of the study (Hay et al. 2021). For example, a negative correlation between prosocial and aggressive behaviour was found in a sample of students in elementary school, i.e., in the middle childhood period (Strayer & Roberts 2004), while in younger children, prosocial behaviour was positively related to aggressive behaviour (Garner & Dunsmore 2011). However, prosocial and antisocial behaviour have rarely been examined in the same sample, and the studies conducted thus far on associations between these phenomena provide only limited evidence (Hay et al. 2021).

The protective role of prosocial behaviour in relation to the forms mentioned above of antisocial or aggressive behaviour becomes particularly significant in the school context and in relation to the issue of school safety. School safety is conceptualised as a multidimensional construct that includes issues of (in)security of the school environment, violence, victimisation and violation of norms in schools (Tadić 2023). In relation to these forms of behaviour, school safety refers to those actors (students) who are perpetrators or victims of violence and victimisation, feelings of insecurity, antisocial behaviour and normative expectations, i.e. the system of respecting the rules established by the school (Tadić 2023). In other words, school safety implies that a school is safe where the educational process takes place in a physical and psychosocial environment free from threats to the psychophysical well-being of students. This means that teachers can teach, students learn, and other participants work in an environment free from physical and psychosocial threats, such as intimidation, violence, ridicule, and humiliation (Tadić 2024).

Starting from the importance of prosocial behaviour and the scope and content of the safety concept in school, the relationship between these phenomena can best be shown by relying on the bioecological theory of human development (Tadić 2024). This model provides a comprehensive overview of the issue of peer violence and victimisation and provides insight into the influence of intra/interpersonal protective and risk factors. The school that the child attends represents a microsystem, and the factors of the school system interact with the child and have an impact on their development (Bronfenbrenner 1979, for a review Bojčić & Vidaković Mandić 2022). The important factors are peer relationships, relationships between students and teachers, positive attitudes toward school, clear rules of conduct, consistent negative reinforcement of violence, and school success (Jolliffe et al. 2016; Lösel & Farrington 2012). The same variable can represent both a protective factor and a risk factor, depending on the sign (Bojčić & Vidaković Mandić 2022). In relation to these factors, the focus of this work is on peer relations because most studies have shown that encouraging prosocial be-

behaviour at school helps students adjust, while protecting them from the negative consequences of aggression, including peer rejection and antisocial behaviour (Caprara et al. 2000). Furthermore, research shows that prosocial interactions allow children to build self-esteem, gain emotional support, and develop social skills in terms of empathy, conflict resolution, etc. (Eisenberg, Fabes & Spinard 2006; Hodges et al. 1999).

Although the positive and negative aspects of peer relationships have been widely studied (Griese 2011), most research continues to focus on the negative impacts of antisocial or aggressive behaviour and their effects on development (Bagwell & Bukowski 2018). One area, peer victimisation, is often examined in light of the negative consequences it can cause in a child's developmental process (Griese 2011). Peer victimisation (Griese 2011) defined as repeated negative actions toward a child by their peers (Crick & Grotpeter 1996), is associated with increased short- and long-term adjustment problems (Buhs, Ladd & Herald 2006). For example, relational victimisation is defined as behaviours that harm a child's social relationships and feelings of acceptance, friendship, or group inclusion through the use of social exclusion mechanisms (e.g., gossiping, rumour-mongering, and social exclusion (Crick & Grotpeter 1995; Zimmer-Gembeck, Gieger & Crick 2005). Research has established an association between relational victimization and poor psychosocial adjustment, including loneliness and reduced self-esteem (Prinstein, Boergers & Wernberg 2001); poor peer relationships and rejection by peers (Zimmer-Gembeck, Gieger & Crick 2005); and depression, anxiety and aggression (Kochenderfer-Ladd 2001).

An important issue in relation to prosocial behaviour research is the age of the participants. Specifically, a small number of studies examined prosocial behaviour during adolescence, while a much larger number of studies have focused on early childhood (Tadić 2024). For instance, adolescence is marked by the transition to high school and a change in the nature of peer relationships (El Mallah 2019). For some children, the transition to high school is difficult, resulting in a decline in self-confidence, self-concept, and school performance (Eccles, Wigfield & Schiefele 1998, for a review Zimmer-Gembeck, Gieger & Crick 2005). In the adolescent period, the nature of peer relationships changes, so peer relationships at this age can become a protective or risk factor in relation to the representation of problematic and/or prosocial behaviour (Tadić 2024). In relation to this thesis, appeals to expand the study of peer interaction by emphasising that positive or prosocial behaviour and mechanisms of influence during the transition to adolescence seem justified (Karmakar 2017; Zimmer-Gembeck, Gieger & Crick 2005).

### 3. METHOD

The main objective of the research was to examine the prosocial and antisocial students' behaviour in relation to school safety. The study was conducted in person during the first semester of 2021/2022 in selected high schools in the territory of the Republic of Serbia using questionnaires constructed in cooperation with the Center for Applied Psychology of the Serbian Psychologists' Society, i.e. with professional associates of the Section of Psychologists of Professional Associates of High Schools. The questionnaire items were chosen based on initial definitions of prosocial behaviour (Eisenberg, Fabes & Spinrad 2006) and school safety (Tadić 2022) by selecting indicators and instruments that measure them. More precisely, the expert team, which consisted of professional associates, psychologists and pedagogues from high schools included in the sample, reviewed the questionnaire, removed certain items and reformulated others so that they would be understandable to high school students (Tadić 2024). The expert team members conducted the research with a questionnaire both for the sake of familiarity with the students and for the easier adjustment of time and place due to special measures taken during the COVID-19 pandemic.

#### 3.1. Data analysis

The data were processed using multivariate statistics. By analysing the main components according to Zorić-Opačić's (1997) analytical operationalization of Cattell's scree criterion, a decision was made on the number of important factors for each of the variables individually. First-order factors were singled out, on which further analyses were performed. Based on the Prosocial Behaviour Scale (Tadić 2023), 2 factors were extracted that explained a total of 33.882% of the variance (Prosocial behaviour = 26.412% of the variance; Antisocial behaviour = 7.470% of the variance). Based on the School Safety Scale (Tadić 2023), 4 factors were identified that explained 45.539% of the variance (Violent behaviour = 9.513% of the variance; Unsafe school environment = 7.786% of the variance; Victimization = 4.300% of the variance; Violation of norms = 3.941% of the variance). Discriminant analysis was used to examine the differences between groups of prosocial and antisocial students in relation to selected school safety variables. A  $p$ -value < 0.01 was considered statistically significant. All statistical analyses were performed via IBM SPSS Statistics 20.0 (IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows, Version 20.0).

### 3.2. Sample

The total sample consisted of 719 students from the second to fourth grades of high school (of which 476 were girls and 219 were boys; the average age of the respondents was  $M_{age} = 16.64$ ). The sample includes nine high schools in the territory of the Republic of Serbia. The sample is uniform according to grade: II (33.9%), III (34.3%), and IV (31.8%). The average grade for almost half of the sample is very good (47.7%), followed by excellent (28.1%), good (22.6%), and slightly sufficient (1.6%).

### 3.3. Measures

The **Prosocial Behaviour Scale** (Tadić 2023) contains 75 items with answers on a five-point Likert scale measuring prosocial and antisocial behaviour dimensions. Examples of items for the prosocial behaviour dimension are (Tadić 2023): *If someone is upset, I help that person calm down; I offer help to students who have a problem with an assignment; I share with my peers (food, drinks, pencils, etc.); If I see someone being mistreated, I stand by that person.* Examples of items for antisocial behaviour are: *I provoke people I do not like; I hit others when they make me angry; I ignore my schoolmates when they tell me to stop doing something; and I get my schoolmates to do my way when we do a team task.* The reliability measured by Cronbach's  $\alpha$  coefficient is very high for both dimensions: prosocial behaviour ( $\alpha=.96$ ) and antisocial behaviour ( $\alpha=.89$ ).

The **School Safety Scale** (Tadić 2023) contains 81 items answered on a five-point Likert scale and measures four dimensions of school safety: violent behaviour, unsafe school environment, victimisation, and violation of norms. Examples of items for the given dimensions individually are (Tadić 2023): violent behaviour (*During the previous school year I hit, pulled or pushed someone harder; During the previous school year I made fun of or made rude jokes at the expense of another*); an unsafe school environment (*I was threatened with a knife at school; I do not feel safe in this school*); victimisation (*During the previous school year, someone urged others not to hang out with me; During the previous school year, someone yelled at me*); and violation of norms (*At school, I saw that other students were insulted, teased and ridiculed; At school, students ran away from classes*). The reliability measured by the Cronbach's  $\alpha$  coefficient is very high for all dimensions: violent behaviour ( $\alpha=.92$ ), unsafe school environment ( $\alpha=.91$ ), victimization ( $\alpha=.89$ ), and violation of norms ( $\alpha=.86$ ).

## 4. RESULTS

Using discriminant analysis, we examined which of the selected school safety variables significantly differentiate groups of prosocial and antisocial students. In relation to prosocial behaviour, a statistically significant discrimination function was obtained ( $\lambda = .135$ , Wilks' Lambda  $.874$ ,  $\chi^2 = 95.520$ ,  $p < .000$ ) whose canonical correlation is  $.345$ . Table 1 shows the mean values of school safety variables according to groups of prosocial and antisocial students. The largest number of students enters the groups of highly prosocial and low antisocial students, in which the function of violent behaviour is the least pronounced, followed by Unsafe school environment and Victimization. Table 2 shows the matrix of tests of equality of arithmetic means of the groups of prosocial students at each independent variable.

**Table 1.** Mean values of school safety variables

groups of students	N	Violent behaviour	Unsafe school environment	Victimisation	Violation of norms
low prosocial	16	1.94	2.12	1.98	2.76
medium prosocial	102	1.55	1.65	1.66	2.88
highly prosocial	596	1.21	1.32	1.46	2.62
low antisocial	576	1.16	1.29	1.40	1.58
medium antisocial	106	1.68	1.75	1.83	1.99
highly antisocial	32	1.97	1.84	2.07	3.10

**Table 2.** Tests of Equality of Group Means (prosocial students)

variables	Wilks' Lambda	F	p
Violent behaviour	.910	35.333	.000
Unsafe school environment	.916	32.578	.000
Victimisation	.984	5.906	.003
Violation of norms	.988	4.265	.014

By reviewing the standardised coefficients for the first function and the coefficients of the structure of this function, we can see that the variables Violent behaviour and Unsafe school environment make the most significant specific contribution to defining the first function (Table 3). The first discriminating function can be presented as a relationship between prosocial behaviour and school safety, characterised by low

violent behaviour, safe assessment of the school environment, and high prosocial behaviour among students. Victimization plays a weak role in defining this function, and Violation of norms did not prove significant.

**Table 3.** Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients and Structure Matrix

variables	Discrim. coefficients	Structure of function
Violent behaviour	.766	.857*
Unsafe school environment	.657	.822*
Victimization	-.480	.349*
Violation of norms	-.116	.248

Examining the centroids of the groups on the first function (group 1: 1.64; group 2: .62; group 3: -.15), we see that this function very well differentiates the first group (low prosocial students) from the remaining two groups, but poorly differentiates group 2 (medium prosocial students) and group 3 (highly prosocial students) (Table 4).

**Table 4.** Functions at Group Centroids

groups	1
1	1.642
2	.622
3	-.151

In relation to antisocial students, a statistically significant discrimination function was obtained by discrimination analysis ( $\lambda = .274$ , Wilks' Lambda .781,  $\chi^2 = 175.387$ ,  $p < .000$ ), whose canonical correlation is .463. Table 5 shows the matrix of tests of equality of arithmetic means of the groups of antisocial students at each independent variable.

**Table 5.** Tests of Equality Group Means (antisocial students)

variables	Wilks' Lambda	F	p
Violent behaviour	.793	92.559	.000
Unsafe school environment	.877	49.780	.000
Victimization	.934	24.949	.000
Violation of norms	.955	16.808	.000

By reviewing the standardised coefficients for the first function and the coefficients of the structure of this function, we can see that the variables Violent behaviour, Unsafe school environment, Victimization and Violation of norms make the most significant specific contribution to defining the first function (Table 6). The first discriminating function can be presented as a relationship between antisocial behaviour and school safety, which is characterised by highly violent behaviour, assessment of the school environment as unsafe, violation of norms, and victimisation, and the above is accompanied by highly expressed antisocial behaviour among students.

**Table 6.** Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients and Structure Matrix

variables	Discrim. coefficients	Structure of function
Violent behaviour	.975	.975*
Unsafe school environment	.155	.710*
Victimisation	-.239	.506*
Violation of norms	.144	.414*

Examining the centroids of the groups on the first function (group 1: -.25; group 2: .90 ; group 3: 1.50), we see that this function very well differentiates the first group (low antisocial students) from the remaining two groups, but poorly differentiates group 2 (medium antisocial students) and group 3 (highly antisocial students) (Table 7).

**Table 7.** Functions at Group Centroids

groups	1
1	-.250
2	.905
3	1.497

## 5. DISCUSSION

Using discriminant analysis to examine differences between groups of prosocial and antisocial students in relation to school safety variables, it was determined that all dimensions of school safety explained antisocial behaviour. In contrast, prosocial behaviour was described only by some dimensions of school safety, namely violent behaviour and an unsafe school environment. Violation of norms was not found to

be significant, and victimisation plays a weak role in explaining prosocial behaviour. This means that the presence of antisocial behaviour among students, in the sense of provocation, ridicule, ignoring, and insulting, can explain the presence of violent behaviour (physical, verbal and relational), victimisation and violation of norms, and, therefore, the perception of the school environment as unsafe (Tadić 2023). Conversely, the presence of prosocial behaviour among students (e.g., respect for others, providing help and support when needed) is accompanied by the absence of violent behaviour and the perception that the school environment is safe.

If we were to start from the thesis about the social adaptation of students in the explanation of the obtained findings, we could assume that those students who are not adapted and accepted and who do not have a positive orientation in interaction with peers and school show a greater tendency toward negative behaviour patterns (Tadić 2024). Previous research has shown that students' social adaptation, acceptance and positive interactions influence a lower prevalence of behavioural problems and better achievement (Dryfoos 1990). This thesis is supported by the pedagogical model of social competence. In this model, social competencies are classified in the area of social relations and pedagogical interaction, which refer to the child's ability to initiate and maintain a relationship with peers, while the basic determinants of peer relations and friendship are social knowledge and understanding, skills, dispositions and regulation emotion (Katz & McClellan 2005, for a review Radovanović 2022). In this context, some authors point out that social competencies are the most significant indicator and outcome of prosocial behaviour (Jurčević-Lozančić 2016, for a review Radovanović 2022). Numerous other studies have shown that prosocial behaviour is associated with adequate social competence in relation to peers, that is, adequate interaction skills and conflict resolution, as well as an increased level of empathy and emotional regulation (Eisenberg, Fabes & Spinard 2006). Furthermore, research has shown that prosocial interactions allow children to build self-esteem and gain emotional support (Hodges et al. 1999). Contrary to these findings, children with lower emotional regulation skills and coping abilities have been found to have greater levels of internalising problems (Langrock et al. 2002, for a review Griese 2011).

Prosocial behaviour and prosocial support from peers have been recognised as protective factors against the negative effects of victimisation (Martin & Huebner 2007). This explains the findings of our research in which we observe a weak and negative association between prosocial behaviour and victimisation. Victimisation is present in students who have pronounced antisocial behaviour, but it is also present in the rest of the student population. Victimised students are more focused on them-



selves and potential danger, but they can deal with others. Therefore, they are less focused on prosocial behaviour and consequently have worse peer relationships (Tadić 2024). These findings may be related to the connection between loneliness and victimisation (Kochenderfer-Ladd & Wardrop 2001). Namely, loneliness appears as a response to victimisation and rejection by peers, and as victimised children withdraw from their peers either due to fear or mistrust, their loneliness or vulnerability begins to grow (Griese 2011). On the other hand, studies show that the effect of peer victimisation on loneliness can be moderated by prosocial peer support (Griese 2001).

Additionally, concerning the absence of prosocial behaviour among students who are prone to victimisation or who have been victimised, Dinić and colleagues (2014) confirmed the connection between aggressiveness and victimisation. They characterise the obtained result as expected, emphasising that among the victimised students a group of bully victims can be distinguished (Dinić et al. 2014). The authors (Jansen-Campbell et al. 2002, for a review Dinić et al. 2014) explain the greater tendency of victims of violence toward aggressive forms of behaviour data that victims have a greater tendency to assess certain provocative and unpredictable situations as threatening, reacting to them with aggression as a way of defence (Tadić 2023). Other research shows no differences in prosocial behaviour in peer relationships between aggressive and nonaggressive adolescents (Crick & Grotpeter 1995).

The abovementioned findings regarding the parallel representation of prosocial and antisocial behaviour and the impact on school safety align with similar results of other authors (e.g. Hay 2009). Other research shows that prosocial and antisocial behaviour are still separate phenomena (McGinley & Carlo 2006). Overall, we can conclude that prosocial behaviour plays a significant role in creating a safe school environment and that weak safety in school is accompanied by a lack of prosocial behaviour among students and significantly pronounced antisocial behaviour, as well as the opposite (Tadić 2024).

## 6. CONCLUSION

Humans are social beings who use symbols, primarily language, to communicate. Therefore, human behaviour is always connected to the human environment. After the family, which is the basic environment for development, educational institutions carry out the upbringing and education of students to prepare individuals for life in society as a whole. An individual's behaviour always reflects on others, either positively or negatively. Acceptable behaviour aimed at the welfare of others is designated

as prosocial behaviour, while unacceptable behaviour that harms others is antisocial behaviour. It logically follows that prosocial behaviour is desirable for school safety, while antisocial behaviour is not. This is precisely what the research presented in this paper addresses. According to the research results, the direction towards which the function defining - discriminative coefficients is going shows that all variables of school safety, except for the violation of norms by prosocial students, make a difference between the groups. Schools with a higher prevalence of prosocial behaviour of students than antisocial behaviour are characterised by the absence of violent behaviour, victimisation, and a higher degree of safety in the school environment. The importance of this research is that it focuses on positive patterns of behaviour as a counterweight to those forms of school work focused on suppressing negative patterns of behaviour. This is to emphasise the importance of promoting the prosocial behaviour of students (and school staff), which creates an environment that fosters a school climate with resilience and a self-protective function in relation to negative forms of behaviour such as antisocial behaviour.

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## PROSOCIJALNO I ASOCIJALNO PONAŠANJE UČENIKA U KONTEKSTU BEZBEDNOSTI U ŠKOLI

### Sažetak:

Prosocijalno ponašanje je prepoznato kao faktor koji doprinosi socijalizaciji adolescenata, psihosocijalnom prilagođavanju i razvoju. Ovo istraživanje je ispitivalo prosocijalno i asocijalno ponašanje učenika u kontekstu bezbednosti u školi. Ukupan uzorak činilo je 719 učenika od II do IV razreda srednje škole (476 devojčica, 219 dečaka;  $M = 16,64$ ). Istraživanje je sprovedeno tokom prvog polugodišta školske 2021/22. godine u devet srednjih škola na teritoriji Republike Srbije. Stavke upitnika izabrane su u saradnji sa timom koji su činili psiholozi i pedagozi iz odabranih srednjih škola. Mere su uključivale Skalu prosocijalnog ponašanja, koja uključuje faktore Prosocijalno ponašanje ( $\alpha=.96$ ) i Antisocijalno ponašanje ( $\alpha=.89$ ); i Skalu školske bezbednosti koja uključuje sledeće faktore: Nasilno ponašanje ( $\alpha=.92$ ), Nebezbedna školska sredina ( $\alpha=.90$ ), Viktimizacija ( $\alpha=.89$ ), i Kršenje normi ( $\alpha=.86$ ). Diskriminacionom analizom utvrđeno je postojanje razlika među grupama prosocijalnih i asocijalnih učenika u prostoru koji je definisan varijablama bezbednosti u školi. Razlike između grupa prosocijalnih učenika utvrđene su u odnosu na nasilno ponašanje (.766), nebezbednu školsku sredinu (.657) i viktimizaciju (-.480). Razlike između grupa asocijalnih učenika utvrđene su u odnosu na nasilno ponašanje (.975), viktimizaciju (-.239), nebezbednu školsku sredinu (.155) i kršenje normi (.144). Škole sa većom prevalencijom prosocijalnog ponašanja učenika od asocijalnog karakteriše odsustvo nasilnog ponašanja, viktimizacije i veći stepen bezbednosti u školskom okruženju i stoga je važno fokus staviti na promovisanje pozitivnih obrazaca ponašanja u školskom okruženju.

**Ključne reči:** prosocijalno ponašanje; bezbednost u školi; antisocijalno ponašanje; učenici; Republika Srbija

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Review paper

**Branka Kovačević**

## **STUDENTS ON STRATEGIES AND APPROACHES FOR IMPROVING UNIVERSITY PROJECT-BASED LEARNING IN THE PREVENTION OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE**

The literature review finds gender-based violence to be a form of violence based on gender, that is, on socially constructed roles, norms, and relationships between women and men. Gender-based violence refers to physical, emotional, economic, and sexual violence, and it often occurs in the context of power and control. University project-based plays a crucial role in supporting the internal initiative to raise awareness of the importance of gender issues. It can include different strategies and approaches related to defining goals, analysing the current situation, implementing the project, and evaluating its quality. The study aimed to determine and analyse the level of student assessment of strategies and approaches for improving university project-based learning to prevent gender-based violence and to determine statistically significant differences in assessment between students of social sciences, arts and humanities, and natural sciences and engineering. The research was conducted on a sample of 303 students at the University of East Sarajevo. For this research, we constructed a scale for assessing strategies and approaches to improving university project-based learning to prevent gender-based violence. The results show that there are statistically significant differences between students of social sciences and arts and humanities on the one hand and natural sciences and engineering on the other hand in the assessment of strategies and approaches to improving university project-based learning in the prevention of gender-based violence, i.e., the application of an interdisciplinary approach in university project-based learning, research and case studies, organising workshops and discussions, cooperation with the local community and networking with other educational institutions. Strategies and approaches to improve university project-based learning act as prevention because they enable students to acquire skills for active participation in promoting gender equality and for creating a society tailored to everyone who lives in it.



**Keywords:** strategies and approaches; university project-based learning; prevention; gender-based violence

## INTRODUCTION

According to the definition by the United Nations (1992), gender-based violence is a phenomenon deeply rooted in gender inequality that continues to represent one of the most significant violations of human rights in all societies. Though it can also affect boys and men, it usually occurs when they express non-normative sexuality or gender expression. In the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (CEDAW 1993), the term “violence against women” means any act of gender-based violence that results or may result in physical, sexual, or psychological injury or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether in public or private life. Gross (2008) emphasises that in the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, issues of gender-based violence, sexual harassment, and violence against women in the public or private sphere are recognised as issues of human rights. In the Istanbul Convention (2011), it is stated that the violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women are all acts of gender-based violence that lead or can lead to physical, sexual, psychological, or financial injury or suffering for women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether in public or private life. According to the definition of the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE 2016), gender-based violence is violence directed at someone because of their gender. Both women and men experience gender-based violence, but the majority of victims are women and girls. Several authors give a broader understanding of gender violence as any form of violence that individuals may experience because of their gender identity or sexual orientation (O’Toole, Schiffman & Sullivan 2020). However, some authors avoid using deterministic and detailed definitions of gender-based violence and try to keep the definition as broad as possible to include any type, all forms, and all gender groups (Hernandez, Ertran & Vallejo 2018). Gender-based violence is directed against a person because of that person’s sex/gender (including gender identity) or is violence that disproportionately affects people of a particular sex/gender.

It is evident that the problem of gender-based violence is a global health, medical, economic, and social problem that destroys the lives of individuals, families, and communities, and it also destroys trust, care, responsibility, and solidarity that form the basis of social life. Besides, changes in socio-political circumstances, expansion

towards global trends, media influence, new means of communication, modification of educational systems and practices, and changes in family relationships all contribute to the rise of gender-based violence (Jašarević 2022). This is confirmed by research results (done at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in America, Europe, Australia, and other countries worldwide), which show that gender-based violence is widespread in all areas of daily life, also including higher education (McKinsey Company 2021). In different social and cultural contexts, gender-based violence is not recognised as a form of violence due to fear of judgment, loss of job, promotion, and stigma. Research results from a public university in America reveal that 56,6% of female students experienced at least one incident of sexual harassment in a year before conducting research (Huerta, Cortina, Pang Torges & Magley 2006). Research results in Serbia (Dimitrijević & Mladenović 2017) reveal that verbal harassment with sexual implications is the most frequent form of gender-based violence and that male and female students with difficulties in learning were exposed to gender-based violence the most. Sexual harassment and violence have been determined to leave numerous consequences on students' mental health, but also on their further academic education and success (Ćopić & Luković Radaković 2021). Authors (Spahić Šiljak, Kovačević & Husanović 2022) emphasise the importance of research results done by the Autonomous Women's Center Belgrade (2018), which show that female students were mostly verbally harassed using sexist comments and that they experienced inappropriate comments and harassment. Consequently, we agree with the claim (Savić, Karapetrović, Zečević, Vučenović & Zrnić 2023) that the academic setting is not a world for itself but rather an authority that greatly shapes public opinion and policies thus social reality.

This raises the question of the responsibility of educational institutions to create a safe and supportive environment without violence and raise awareness of the importance of education and support programs for the prevention of gender-based violence. Opposition to campaigns dedicated to gender-based violence, according to (Lewis & Anitha 2019), is a clear indicator that unequal power relations continue to spoil academic scenery, creating a cold environment for those groups that were only recently allowed access. Therefore, the demands of students, teaching, and non-teaching staff for better prevention of gender-based violence are a part of the attempt to create a better university environment. Although some faculties issued regulations and introduced guidelines for action in the event of sexual harassment and violence, their implementation is complex and is accompanied by overt and covert opposition (Resanović 2021). The university and the academic community as a whole are char-

acterised by a relatively stable hierarchy and structural inequalities visible in dynamic, interrelated interactions among its members, which is fertile ground “for the emergence of *the lads’ culture*, which aims at establishing dominance and power, which can lead to the emergence of gender-based violence” (Selimović & Tomić Selimović 2022: 148). Karapetrović (2022) observes the inadequacy of existing individual attempts to change attitudes towards gender equality within an academic environment. What is also inadequate is the willingness of institutions to respond to these challenges using a complete analysis of their actions and approaches when it comes to applying gender policies in education and scientific activities. Thus, research is necessary to begin a discussion within the academic community on the importance and role of higher education in promoting gender equality and preventing violence. UNDP in Bosnia and Herzegovina conducted research at five universities in Bosnia and Herzegovina – the University of Sarajevo, the University of East Sarajevo, the University of Banja Luka, the University “Džemal Bijedić” in Mostar, and the University of Mostar. The results stress the importance of preventing gender-based violence since more than 85 percent of respondents stated that this question should be considered carefully and that solutions should be sought (Bakšić-Muftić, Ždralović, Karapetrović & Popov-Momčinović 2022). Therefore, the activities of the UNIGEM project are aimed at creating a safe environment for male and female students, teaching and administrative staff, which assumes an adequate legal framework, prevention mechanisms, and organisational culture that will not hush up and trivialise gender-based violence, and above all, aware individuals who are alert to gender-based violence and who can respond appropriately (Spahić-Šiljak, Kovačević & Husanović 2022).

Project-based learning plays a crucial role in supporting internal initiatives for raising awareness of the importance of gender topics and can include different strategies and approaches related to:

- defining project aims (understanding causes and effects of gender-based violence, developing prevention strategies, and raising awareness of the importance of gender equality and respecting human rights),
- the analysis of the current situation (including students in research of the existing condition of gender-based violence in the community, country, or globally),
- the analysis of the current state (a questionnaire, an interview, a case study),
- education on gender issues (workshops, lectures – including experts on gender equality and violence prevention),
- the organisation of activities dealing with the prevention of gender-based violence (making posters, videos, using social media and community events),

- cooperation with organisations dealing with violence prevention and victim support,
- developing students' communication skills (public speeches and social media communication), and
- project quality evaluation: making evaluation and self-evaluation reports of project quality.

The stages of university project-based learning are selecting and elaborating the project task, breaking down the main topic into subtopics, project elaboration, classifying results, presentation, and reflection (Kovačević 2018). Within the first stage – selection and elaboration of the project task, students of different study programs (e.g., Pedagogy, Psychology, Sociology, etc.) together with teachers (experts from various disciplines) discuss the topic of gender-based violence at faculties and suggest the problem of prevention of gender-based violence at faculties. In doing so, it is crucial for students to be interested in the topic and to have or want to gain experience and knowledge on preventing gender-based violence at faculties. Students independently choose subtopics of the most interest to them (e.g., presence and prevention of gender-based violence at faculties, application of educational, psychological, and sociological workshops to prevent gender-based violence at faculties, the role of a psychologist, educationist, sociologist, and other experts from the field of gender equality in the prevention of gender-based violence, types of support to victims of gender-based violence at faculties, etc.) and form groups (four to six students from different study programs).

In the project elaboration stage, teachers instruct students on research, case studies, and research methods. Teachers encourage autonomy and initiative, approve suggestions, refer to literature, rectify omissions, solve dilemmas, and intervene when a student cannot solve a problem. In this stage, students collect data through research: they collect data on gender-based violence incidence in the student population using anonymous surveys and interviews; analyse the presence and possibilities of application of educational, psychological, and sociological workshops to prevent gender-based violence at faculties; explore and analyse the role of a psychologist, educationist, sociologist, and other experts from the field of gender equality through surveys and interviews; identify types of support to victims of gender-based violence at faculties. Students then analyse and interpret results and consider specific measures and recommendations to prevent gender-based violence at faculties. Students consult teachers on presenting research results (writing a report). This is followed by group

presentations lasting 20 to 30 minutes, during which students present their work in various forms: written reports, workshop outlines, panel discussions, etc. For example, students can present a workshop on *Identifying and preventing gender-based violence* aiming to raise awareness of gender-based violence, educate how to recognise and respond to violence and encourage students to be actively involved in its prevention. In the introductory part, the workshop supervisor introduces participants to definitions and types of gender-based violence at faculties, legal and institutional support, ways to recognise and respond to violence, and violence prevention. In the central part, participants work in groups (group one: examples of gender-based violence at the faculty; group two: politics and resources available at the faculty; group three: how to recognise and provide support to victims; group four: examples of prevention of gender-based violence at the faculty). Group work is followed by presentation and discussion – students are given the opportunity to present the collected data and their findings, observations, doubts, attitudes, and emotions. Teachers coordinate, control, intervene if necessary, and guide and encourage students, ensuring the presentation is not spontaneous. The final part of the workshop is the conclusion and evaluation. The workshop conclusions are aimed at launching online campaigns on social media, i.e., sharing educational posts, videos, and testimonials, organising competitions for the best posters, essays, or videos on the topic of gender-based violence, organising public performances at the faculty to attract attention, encourage discussion, and provide emotional and practical support for the victims, connecting with local victim support centres to ensure additional help and resources for victims, as well as organising regular counselling sessions with professionals who can provide support to victims.

The last stage of project-based learning is reflection, where teachers:

1) Assess the realisation of project goals, analyse the functionality (advantages and disadvantages), the adequacy of the application of teaching methods, forms, and tools in the realisation phase and the presentation phase (advantages and disadvantages), and determine the functionality of the knowledge source (advantages and disadvantages).

2) Determine the contribution of all students and groups to project realisation, determine student participation (how much students actively participated in the presentation and whether they followed the presentation of other students), evaluate the quality of interaction in the project implementation phase, and determine classroom rapport.

3) Determine the individual's contribution to the project's realisation, the dimensions of student knowledge, and the intellectual and emotional experience of the class.

On the other hand, the student in project-based learning evaluates the student's contribution to the achievement of the assigned task, the importance of group work (whether students respected the opinions of individuals in the discussion), the student's contribution to the realisation of the project (Could I have done more? Why didn't I? What would I do next time?) and the role of the teacher in the process of project-based learning. Consequently, what must not be neglected is the continuous evaluation of the effectiveness of student project activities through surveys, keeping detailed records of all activities, achievements, and challenges, which presupposes the formation of a permanent working group at the faculty and the implementation of activities even after the end of the project. The continuation of these project activities leads to raising awareness among students about the problem of gender-based violence, the provision of support for victims of violence through student initiatives, and the long-term decrease in gender-based violence prevalence rates in the student population.

## **METHOD**

The research problem is to identify and analyse the effectiveness of current strategies and approaches in university project-based learning aimed at preventing gender-based violence. Despite there being numerous educational programs, it is little known how students from different academic disciplines perceive these strategies and how efficient they prove to be in the prevention of gender-based violence. In addition, it has yet to be addressed whether there are significant differences in perception of this issue by students of social sciences, arts and humanities, and natural sciences and engineering, which can considerably influence the creation and implementation of future programs. Therefore, this research aimed to evaluate strategies and approaches for improving university project-based learning to prevent gender-based violence. This analysis provides a foundation for a comprehensive understanding of how university project-based learning can contribute to preventing gender-based violence and how these programs can be improved to be more effective and relevant for students from different scientific disciplines.

The research aimed to determine and analyse the level of student assessment of strategies and approaches for improving university project-based learning to prevent gender-based violence and to determine statistically significant differences in assessment between students of social sciences, arts and humanities, and natural sciences and engineering. Research tasks were to identify and analyse the level of student as-

assessment of strategies and approaches for improving university project-based learning to prevent gender-based violence, as well as to determine and analyse whether there was a statistically significant difference in assessment between students of social sciences, arts and humanities, and natural sciences and engineering. Following the aim and research tasks, we proposed a hypothesis that there would be a statistically significant difference in how students of social sciences, arts and humanities, and natural sciences and engineering assess strategies and approaches for improving university project-based learning to prevent gender-based violence.

The research was conducted on a sample of 303 students of social sciences, arts and humanities, and natural sciences and engineering study programs of the University of East Sarajevo. The sample had the characteristics of group and convenience sampling.

Research methods and techniques. The following methods were used in this research: empirical nonexperimental research, theoretical analysis and synthesis, and descriptive method.

Research instruments. For this research, we constructed a scale for assessing strategies and approaches to improving university project-based learning to prevent gender-based violence. Students (respondents) could express the degree of agreement or disagreement with each statement [five-point scale – Strongly Agree (5), Agree (4), Undecided (3), Disagree (2), and Strongly Disagree (1)]. Differentiation of individual items was checked by calculating item-total correlations (items with correlations equal to or greater than 0,35 were retained). Instrument reliability was determined using Cronbach's alpha coefficient ( $r=0,74$  – considered satisfactory reliability).

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The table below gives the scale of students' assessments of strategies and approaches for improving university project-based learning to prevent gender-based violence.

**Table 1.** Student assessment scale of strategies and approaches for improving university project-based learning to prevent gender-based violence

Item acceptance rank	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Mean	Standard deviation
Project tasks for the prevention of gender-based violence should be included in all study programs.	248 81.85	33 10.89	9 2.97	7 2.31	6 1.98	4.68	.81
Students should be given enough opportunities to participate in projects aimed at the prevention of gender-based violence actively.	171 56.44	97 32.01	17 5.61	11 3.63	7 2.31	4.37	.92
Networking with other educational institutions inside and outside the country as part of university project-based learning enables the exchange of best practices, resources, and ideas for preventing gender-based violence, expanding student knowledge horizons, and improving teaching quality.	153 50.50	130 42.90	5 1.65	6 1.98	9 2.97	4.36	.86
Introducing project tasks that require the analysis of genuine cases of gender-based violence contributes to the active shaping of a culture of awareness of gender equality among university students.	169 55.78	103 33.99	10 3.30	13 4.29	8 2.64	4.36	.94
Researching and analysing genuine cases in preventing gender-based violence within university project-based learning provides students with a specific perspective, developing their analytical skills and the ability to apply theory to real situations.	134 44.22	154 50.83	6 1.98	5 1.65	4 1.32	4.35	.73



Cooperation with the local community can have positive effects on the prevention of gender-based violence within university project-based learning.	138 45.55	142 46.86	12 3.96	6 1.98	5 1.65	4.33	.79
Cooperation with the local community in projects on the prevention of gender-based violence offers the possibility of creating sustainable solutions adapted to the local community's specific needs while providing students with the genuine experience of fieldwork.	159 52.48	98 32.34	33 10.89	7 2.31	6 1.98	4.31	.90
Teacher training on gender equality is important for successfully implementing project activities.	144 47.52	126 41.59	20 6.60	7 2.31	6 1.98	4.30	.85
Students should be given more opportunities to participate in project-based learning.	151 49.84	117 38.61	17 5.61	8 2.64	10 3.30	4.29	.94
Activities such as interactive sessions, discussions, and workshops have a key role in improving university project-based learning in the prevention of gender-based violence, providing students with space for active participation, exchange of ideas, and building a deeper understanding of the problem.	144 47.52	123 40.60	20 6.60	13 4.29	3 0.99	4.29	.85
The university should actively promote campaigns and events that raise awareness of gender equality and the prevention of violence.	146 48.19	125 41.25	12 3.96	12 3.96	8 2.64	4.28	.92

Cooperation between students and teachers is crucial for the success of project activities in the prevention of gender-based violence.	139 45.88	118 38.94	33 10.89	6 1.98	7 2.31	4.24	.89
Organising workshops and discussions during university project-based learning is an efficient mechanism for encouraging critical thinking, dialogue, and the exchange of different perspectives among students.	104 34.32	169 55.78	21 6.93	6 1.98	3 0.99	4.20	.74
The integration of an interdisciplinary approach to university project-based learning is a key component in effectively dealing with the problem of gender-based violence, enabling students to understand and solve complex challenges fully.	126 41.59	129 42.57	35 11.55	7 2.31	6 1.98	4.19	.87
Teachers play a key role in promoting a safe and inclusive environment within project tasks.	112 36.97	114 37.62	63 20.79	9 2.97	5 1.65	4.05	.92
Projects oriented to the prevention of gender-based violence should include activities that support victims.	122 40.27	79 26.07	69 22.77	24 7.92	9 2.97	3.93	1.10
The faculty provides sufficient support in preventing gender-based violence within university project-based learning.	108 35.65	75 24.75	89 29.37	25 8.25	6 1.98	3.84	1.07
Activities and course materials promoting gender equality receive enough attention within university project-based learning.	102 33.67	110 36.30	24 7.92	31 10.23	36 11.88	3.70	1.35

The study results, which show a statistical difference in students' assessments of strategies and approaches for improving university project-based learning to prevent gender-based violence, are presented in tabular form.

**Table 2.** Assessment of students of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities, and Natural Sciences and Engineering

Study programs	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
Social Sciences	101	75.62	6.61	.66
Arts and Humanities	101	78.80	8.22	.82
Natural Sciences and Engineering	101	73.82	7.30	.73
Total	303	76.08	7.66	.44

**Table 3.** ANOVA

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1284.40	2	642.20	11.71	.00
Within Groups	16454.54	300	54.85		
Total	17738.94	302			

**Table 4.** Multiple Comparisons

(I)	(J)	M (I-J)	S	P
Social Sciences	Arts and Humanities	1.80	1.04	.09
	Natural Sciences and Engineering	-3.18*	1.04	.00
Arts and Humanities	Social Sciences	-1.80	1.04	.09
	Natural Sciences and Engineering	-4.98*	1.04	.00
Natural Sciences and Engineering	Social Sciences	3.18*	1.04	.00
	Arts and Humanities	4.98*	1.04	.00

The obtained value of  $F = 11.71$  is statistically significant at 0.01, and we can say that student assessment of strategies and approaches for improving university project-based learning in the prevention of gender-based violence significantly differs statistically between students of social sciences, arts and humanities, and natural sciences and engineering. Based on the results, we can conclude that differences in the assessment of improving university project-based learning in preventing gender-based violence among students can be rooted in the specificities of study programs. University teaching in social sciences and arts and humanities study programs often encourages a critical approach to social phenomena and the development of empathy and sensibility to social issues. Greater awareness of the social problems of these students may result in greater expectations and critical evaluations of the effectiveness of prevention strategies, as well as greater openness to different methodologies and approaches in projects dealing with gender-based violence. We assume that students of arts and humanities and social study programs have a higher degree of critical perspective in evaluating the effectiveness of specific approaches in preventing gender-based violence. For example, students of social sciences within different courses examine concepts and theories concerning society, inclusive gender dynamics, and violence, i.e., they are being trained to understand complex aspects of social problems, including gender-based violence. It is to be expected that their evaluation of strategies for the prevention of gender-based violence rests on theoretical and empirical research. Explorations of gender-based violence in the teaching of art study programs are based on using artistic media (painting, literature, or performance), i.e., complex ideas and emotions are expressed through art. In the teaching of the humanities, the topic of gender-based violence is viewed through the prism of ethics, morals, and philosophy. On the other hand, the study programs of natural sciences and engineering can often neglect the issues of gender equality, rendering students uninformed and unaware of these questions. Engineering is focused on developing technical skills and knowledge and does not stress the need to integrate gender equality into its professional setting. This is why it is important to consider gender-related perspectives in engineering projects or to carry out research on gender-based violence. Previous research (Osmić, Osmić, Šadić, Ždralović & Čustović 2022) reveals an evident lack of uniformity, dissimilarity, and a wide variety of “gender topics” treatment from one faculty to another – from shining to surprising examples of faculty practices. These findings suggest the importance of introducing educational programs that raise awareness of gender equality, provide support and resources for students, and promote the integration of gender-sensitive topics in engineering courses and projects. Authors

Radončić and Lendák-Kabók (2022) emphasise that a successful process of accreditation of higher education institutions should be conditioned by incorporating issues of gender equality in an inclusive or complementary manner. Therefore, it would be helpful to establish an interdisciplinary body to monitor the quality of this process and to provide expert support and help for a sustainable gender-inclusive higher education. It is also essential to stimulate the realisation of workshops and panels on these issues within engineering communities to encourage increased engagement of students of engineering in the prevention of gender-based violence. Research (Taibo, Ferriz-Valero, Boned-Gómez & Baena-Morales 2024) suggests that coeducation in a university setting is critical for creating an inclusive, equitable, and diverse environment. In this sense, cooperative learning can be crucial in promoting coeducation by inspiring cooperation, communication, and mutual understanding between male and female students.

The success of project activities in the prevention of gender-based violence depends on the cooperation and communication between students and teachers. For this reason, social sciences students should be more exposed to active learning through discussions, research projects, and fieldwork. In contrast, the creative process and experimental learning should be the skeleton of the activities by students of art study programs in preventing gender-based violence. Activities of engineering students in the prevention of gender-based violence should be directed to developing technological tools for collecting, analyzing, and presenting data on gender-based violence, including the development of technological solutions to improve safety in communities and to provide information and support to victims of violence.

Interdisciplinary projects and teams create fertile ground for exchanging ideas, perspectives, and skills between students of different study programs, which can result in the development of innovative, effective, and holistic strategies for preventing gender-based violence. Cajner Mraović and Pavlović (2019) believe that European higher education institutions are expected to cooperate with the local community to make this knowledge readily available. In other words, it is a two-way and collaborative process whereby students get the opportunity to apply new knowledge, gain experience, and become recognised in the local community; their teachers get the opportunity to conduct new scientific research based on the experiences and data obtained through this way of teaching, while the community gets the opportunity to improve the quality of life based on new knowledge and experiences. Integrating their perspectives into a broader prevention initiative leads to holistic and practical approaches to solving this critical social problem.

## CONCLUSION

Papers discussing the topic of gender-based violence (Kovačević 2022) stress that introducing the gender dimension into university education is an essential factor for creating a unique European educational setting as defined by the Bologna Declaration, which includes interculturality, interdisciplinarity, the application of interactive teaching methods, the democratisation of education, and ensuring equal access for all, but also education for gender equality, peace, and tolerance. This is why it is essential for higher education institutions to change and promote ideas and policies of gender equality as basic postulates of democracy and humanistic values and to have a positive influence on the social context. Therefore, it is necessary to strive towards building a culture of tolerance which, according to (Gavin, Quick & Gavin 2021), does not consider the role or status of either the perpetrator or the victim/survivor but protects all members.

University project-based learning is an education approach focused on learning through activities and projects where students create, explore, and apply knowledge. One of the ways to prevent gender-based violence in faculties is the application of project-based learning. Thus, this paper aimed to determine and analyse the level of student assessment of strategies and approaches for improving university project-based learning to prevent gender-based violence and to identify statistically significant differences in assessment between students of social sciences, arts and humanities, and natural sciences and engineering. It was established that the research hypothesis about the statistically significant difference in assessing strategies and approaches to improving university project-based learning in preventing gender-based violence between students of social sciences, arts and humanities, and natural sciences and engineering was confirmed. By using project-based learning to discuss the topics of gender-based violence prevention, it is possible to identify critical aspects that are missing in existing gender-based violence prevention programs, weaknesses in current approaches concerned with the safety and wellbeing of students, and to encourage collaboration between disciplines to develop innovative strategies that meet the specific needs of each student group. Heightening awareness of the importance of gender equality can be a foundation for developing educational programs that emphasise the importance of gender equality, curricula improvement and design, and adapting teaching methods to better respond to student needs. Therefore, it is necessary to integrate project tasks on preventing gender-based violence into all study programs, providing students with basic knowledge about the importance of gender equality and promoting

a culture of tolerance and equality. Results of previous research (Radončić & Lendák-Kabók 2022) show that the majority of respondents believe that gender topics are not adequately, thoroughly or systematically represented in curricula. The reason lies in the lack of strategic commitment of higher education institutions, institutional resistance to the incorporation of gender topics into curricula, the nature of the scientific discipline (e.g., engineering or social sciences), the lack of textbooks with adequately addressed gender topics, and the lack of sensible and educated teaching staff who would be able to cover gender topics well. Researchers of the issue of gender-based violence in higher education institutions (Savić, Karapetrović, Zečević, Vučenović & Zrnić 2023) suggest the integration of the gender dimension into research and teaching topics because, through the integration of the gender dimension into research, the integration of the gender dimension into teaching is encouraged and vice versa.

The results of our research indicate the need to disseminate innovative university teaching models in the prevention of gender-based violence. Innovating the program presupposes more active student involvement in teaching, increased use of information and communication technology, and innovation of teaching methods, forms, and aids (Kovačević 2017). The dissemination of innovative models of university teaching in the prevention of gender-based violence requires a holistic approach that includes different actors and strategies to ensure that best practices are disseminated and implemented most effectively. Dissemination strategies of innovative teaching models include organising conferences, seminars, and workshops dedicated to innovative teaching models to prevent gender-based violence. They aim to exchange ideas, experiences, and resources between universities, experts, and practitioners. The strategies refer not only to the publication of articles, case studies, and other publications in academic journals, education journals, and gender studies on innovative teaching models and their results but also to the organisation of webinars and online training (unhindered access to information and resources on innovative teaching models to a broad audience, including teachers, administrators, researchers and activists), connecting with networks and partners dealing with issues of gender equality and prevention of violence, training trainers and mentors, involving students (organising events, doing research and promoting awareness of the importance of preventing gender-based violence), and the support of policies and programs at the national and local level in the promotion of the application of innovative teaching models.

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## STUDENTI O STRATEGIJAMA I PRISTUPIMA UNAPREĐIVANJA UNIVERZITETSKE PROJEKTNE NASTAVE U PREVENCIJI RODNO ZASNOVANOG NASILJA

### Sažetak:

Analizom literature može se konstatovati da je rodno zasnovano nasilje oblik nasilja koji se zasniva na rodu, odnosno na društveno konstruisanim ulogama, normama i odnosima između žena i muškaraca. Rodno zasnovano nasilje odnosi se na fizičko, emocionalno, ekonomsko i seksualno nasilje, te se često javlja u kontekstu moći i kontrole. Univerzitetska projektna nastava ima ključnu ulogu u podržavanju interne inicijative za podizanje svijesti o značaju rodnih tema i može uključivati različite strategije i pristupe koji se odnose na definisanje ciljeva, analizu postojećeg stanja, realizaciju i evaluaciju kvaliteta projekta. Cilj istraživanja bio je utvrditi i analizirati stepen procjene studenata o strategijama i pristupima unapređivanja univerzitetske projektne nastave u prevenciji rodno zasnovanog nasilja, kao i postojanje statistički značajne razlike u procjeni između studenata društvenih, humanističko-umjetničkih i prirodno-tehničkih studijskih programa. Istraživanje je realizovano na uzorku od 303 studenta Univerziteta u Istočnom Sarajevu. Za potrebe istraživanja konstruisana je Skala procjene strategija i pristupa unapređivanja univerzitetske projektne nastave u prevenciji rodno zasnovanog nasilja. Rezultati pokazuju da postoje statistički značajne razlike između studenata društvenih i humanističko-umjetničkih studijskih, s jedne i prirodno-tehničkih, s druge strane, u procjeni strategija i pristupa unapređivanja univerzitetske projektne nastave u prevenciji rodno zasnovanog nasilja, odnosno primjene interdisciplinarnog pristupa u univerzitetskoj projektnoj nastavi, istraživanja i analize slučaja, organizovanja radionica i diskusija, saradnje sa lokalnom zajednicom i umrežavanja sa drugim obrazovnim ustanovama. Strategije i pristupi unapređivanja univerzitetske projektne nastave djeluju preventivno, jer omogućavaju studentima sticanje kompetencija za aktivno učešće u podsticanju jednakosti polova i stvaranju društva po mjeri svih koji žive u njemu.

**Ključne riječi:** strategije i pristupi; univerzitetska projektna nastava; prevencija; rodno zasnovano nasilje

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Review paper

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## **BUILDING BRIDGES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: THE COMPLEX DYNAMICS OF POST-CONFLICT PEACEBUILDING IN A FRAGMENTED SOCIETY**

This research aims to explore peacebuilding mechanisms in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina, focusing on the roles played by major international organizations – the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Special emphasis has been placed on addressing the effectiveness of the mechanisms and the strategies deployed by these organizations and identifying the challenges they faced during their missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although focused on the post-conflict peacebuilding efforts, the research provides an overview of the wartime (1992-1995) background contextual information. Employing an inductive and qualitative approach, the research synthesizes a range of sources, including scholarly articles, archival materials, and case studies, to understand the strategies and impacts of these organizations in the peacebuilding process. The research aims to provide a comprehensive narrative of the controversial contributions of these organizations in the post-conflict environment, emphasizing their influence on Bosnia and Herzegovina's trajectory towards peace and stability.

**Keywords:** Bosnia and Herzegovina; conflict; peacebuilding; international organizations

## INTRODUCTION

The modern history of Bosnia and Herzegovina began in 1992, with the recognition as a sovereign state by the international community. However, the real political and diplomatic life in the country started after the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords, which ended a four-year war. To be more precise, it began following the first post-war democratic elections in 1996 and the establishment of government and democratic institutions. In the early post-conflict years, the country underwent significant changes in its constitutional-legal and political systems compared to its previous structure. Major problems for Bosnia and Herzegovina, including issues in its socio-political and constitutional-legal systems as well as internal and external integration, arose after the war ended. The country and its society have traversed a challenging path of multiple transitions: from war to peace, from a planned to a market economy, and from a one-party to a multi-party system. This entire historical period was marked by peacebuilding, reform processes, the democratization of society, the establishment of democratic institutions, and the efficient functioning of government institutions at all levels. The international community played a key role in all these processes (Pejanović 2015; Dobbins et al. 2013).

This research topic is complex and broad, offering room for various interpretations of available literature. Many international organizations involved in peacebuilding operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina during and after the war have been criticized by scholars, governments, and citizens alike. Despite some steps and concrete actions these organisations took, it remains debatable whether they fulfilled their duties and successfully completed their missions (Kappler and Richmond 2011). The primary goal of this research is to answer the following question: “How effective and successful have the peacebuilding strategies, mechanisms, and operations of international organizations (UN, NATO, OSCE, EU) been in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina?” The answer will be delivered through an analysis of relevant literature, case studies and archival material, assessing what has been accomplished by these organizations and the impact of their actions on peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Special emphasis will be placed on the specific actions taken by international organizations (UN, NATO, OSCE, EU) to foster peace and stability in the post-conflict environment.

An inductive approach has been adopted in this research to explore peacebuilding mechanisms in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina. This study utilizes qualitative research methods, allowing for a bottom-up analysis that starts from specific instances

and observations to build a broader understanding of peacebuilding mechanisms. The research draws on various sources, including online books, scholarly articles, and previous research on similar topics. Additionally, archival materials and case studies have been utilized to delve into specific instances where international organizations such as the UN, EU, OSCE and NATO played roles in peacebuilding operations in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina. By synthesizing information from these varied sources, the research assembles a cohesive narrative highlighting the strategies, mechanisms, and overall impact of these operations. This qualitative and inductive methodology aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the integral role played by international organizations in peacebuilding operations in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, before presenting the actual analysis of peacebuilding efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the concept of “peacebuilding” will be defined, and the strategies and mechanisms thereof will be further elaborated.

Peacebuilding mechanisms constitute a multifaceted approach to restoring and maintaining peace in post-conflict societies. These mechanisms, encompassing a wide range of activities and initiatives, are crucial in addressing the underlying causes of conflict and ensuring a sustainable transition to peace. At their core, peacebuilding mechanisms aim to establish the conditions necessary for lasting peace and stability, often focusing on areas such as governance, security, justice, and socio-economic development. A critical aspect of peacebuilding is the establishment of effective governance and the rule of law. This involves restructuring or strengthening political institutions to ensure they are inclusive, transparent, and accountable. It is essential for post-conflict societies to develop governance structures that represent all segments of society, thus preventing the marginalization of any group and reducing the likelihood of renewed conflict. Creating democratic institutions and processes, including fair and free elections, is also a key component of this effort (Paris 2004; Hayward 2012).

Security sector reform is another vital element of peacebuilding. It involves restructuring and reforming military and police forces to ensure they serve the interests of the entire population, rather than those of a specific group or regime. Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) programs for former combatants are integral to this process, as they help to reduce the likelihood of a renewed armed conflict (Knight 2008). Additionally, justice and reconciliation processes are equally important in peacebuilding. These mechanisms, including truth commissions and war crimes tribunals, aim to address past human rights abuses and foster a sense of justice and closure among affected populations. Such processes are crucial in rebuilding community trust and promoting reconciliation (Minow 1998).

Economic recovery and development are also key components of peacebuilding. Post-conflict societies often face significant economic challenges, including high unemployment, destroyed infrastructure, and weakened institutions. Economic revitalization, through development aid, investment, and infrastructure rebuilding, is crucial for creating employment opportunities and improving living conditions, which can reduce the risk of conflict relapse (Collier, Hoeffler, and Söderbom 2008). Peacebuilding mechanisms are essential for addressing the root causes of conflict and laying the foundation for sustainable peace. These mechanisms, which encompass governance, security, justice, and economic development, must be tailored to each post-conflict society's specific needs and conditions. The success of peacebuilding efforts hinges on the commitment and cooperation of local actors, international organizations, and donors, working together to rebuild and transform societies emerging from conflict. Notably, peacebuilding, by its own definition, refers to "a range of measures implemented in the aftermath of conflict to re-establish lasting peace and prevent the recurrence of violence. This involves addressing the root causes of conflict, rebuilding institutions, promoting social cohesion, ensuring justice and reconciliation, and supporting sustainable development" (Boutros-Ghali 1992: 4). Noteworthy is the fact that a hybrid concept of peacebuilding is applied in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which combines top-down and bottom-up elements of the approach to peacebuilding, embodied in the efforts of the aforementioned international organizations and local stakeholders. These efforts are focused on building functional institutions, strengthening the rule of law, adopting international standards and best practices, promoting partnerships, and ensuring local ownership of the peace processes. Although this approach is of key importance for the sustainability and legitimacy of peacebuilding efforts, it faces numerous challenges in relation to the different priorities and power dynamics. The success of this concept surely lies in understanding, trust, continuous cooperation and adaptability of international standards to local realities (Mac Ginty 2011).

## **NAVIGATING PEACE: THE PIVOTAL ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN BIH'S; POST-CONFLICT<sup>1</sup> RECOVERY**

Almost from the very beginning, the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been at the center of attention for numerous international organizations, including the UN, OSCE, EEC, NATO, WEU, Arab League and others. Initially, the UN played a pivotal role in addressing the crisis, utilizing a variety of instruments provided in its charters, and undertaking numerous political, diplomatic, economic, and peace (yet failed) initiatives aimed at ending the war and finding a political solution to the conflict. Although the final peace agreement that ended the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina resulted from diplomatic efforts by the US Government, the UN played a significant role in its subsequent implementation (Howard 2015). The Dayton Agreement defined the roles of the international community in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, dividing them into three categories of actors: state actors (primarily members of the Steering Committee of the Peace Implementation Council – PIC), international non-governmental organizations, and intergovernmental organizations (Belloni 2001). The joint representative of these actors is embodied in the institution of the High Representative, whose primary task is coordinating and implementing the international community's will. Despite the plethora of challenges faced by this heterogeneous group of government institutions and non-governmental organizations in the mid-1990s, such as conflicting interests and the lack of coordination between the international forces responsible for the implementation of the military (IFOR) and civilian (OHR) parts of the Dayton Agreement, peace was preserved in the first post-war years, obstacles along the inter-entity demarcation lines were removed, and the infrastructure was slowly rebuilt (Barnett et al. 2007).

The international community's initial goal was to establish a stable, multi-ethnic state and promote ethnic reconciliation among the parties that had been at war until recently, moving towards a common future. As part of this plan, the international

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1 Although the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina ended almost two decades ago, with the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords on 14 December 1995, the situation in the country is still tense and unstable and threatens to escalate into conflict or violence at any moment. What still makes the country a post-conflict society is the fact that the absence of war does not imply the presence of real peace, since the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina are not able to ensure the long-term stability and security of the country, despite the heavy presence and efforts of the International Community. In addition to weak and dysfunctional institutions, corruption, poor management, and economic challenges in the form of high unemployment and poverty, ethno-national rhetoric and divisions, ethnic nationalism, and harmful external influences further deepen divisions and mistrust between peoples in BiH, making it difficult to establish sustainable peace and security.



community allocated significant resources: “approximately \$1,200 per person was provided for the reconstruction of the country, nearly nine times more than the Marshall Plan” (Belloni 2001: 167). The plan for post-conflict reconstruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina was a notable success; the country was built and transformed in many ways. The European Stability Initiative announced in 2001 that “although uneven, reconstruction efforts have been remarkably successful” (ESI 2001: 24). Since the end of 1995, the international community has provided around nine billion dollars in aid for the reconstruction of the country. Furthermore, the role of international organizations in peacebuilding in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina has been pivotal, encompassing a wide range of activities to promote stability, reconciliation, and reconstruction. Following the 1992-1995 war, Bosnia and Herzegovina faced immense challenges, including political fragmentation, a shattered economy, and deep ethnic divisions. International organizations played a crucial role in addressing these challenges and fostering peace and development in the region, even though the effectiveness and success of these organizations in contributing to peacebuilding operations have been debated and questioned over time (Caplan 2004; Dobbins et al. 2008).

## **SHADOWS OF SREBRENICA: EVALUATING THE UNITED NATION’S CHALLENGES IN CHAMPIONING PEACEBUILDING AND RECOVERY IN BiH**

The United Nations (UN) played a multifaceted role in the peacebuilding process in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the onset of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, on 13 August 1992, the United Nations decided to deploy its forces to address the humanitarian crisis and escalate violence with the goal of protecting humanitarian convoys. The 23,000 members of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) were granted very limited powers, primarily focused on creating conditions for the safe delivery of humanitarian aid. This involved securing delivery routes, protecting convoys, and facilitating aid distribution. This support was crucial as the wartime conditions severely limited or completely denied the population’s access to basic necessities, including food and medical supplies. However, UNPROFOR often faced serious challenges, such as blockades and attacks in the field, which significantly reduced the effectiveness of its mission (Melander 2007).

The next task for UNPROFOR in our country was to protect the civilian population in designated safe zones. This included the demilitarization of certain areas and

the establishment of a cessation of hostilities between the warring parties. In response to the grave humanitarian situation and mass displacement of civilians, the UN Security Council adopted Resolutions 819 and 824 in April and May 1993. These Resolutions declared six Bosnian towns – Srebrenica, Žepa, Sarajevo, Goražde, Bihać and Tuzla – as safe zones. UNPROFOR was tasked with negotiating and overseeing a ceasefire and demilitarization of these areas, which included protecting civilians and ensuring their freedom of movement (Markusen and Mennecke 2004). As part of these activities, peacekeeping forces were stationed in these towns, setting up control points and observation posts to monitor and prevent military activities. However, this proved to be very difficult, and almost impossible to implement in practice. As a result, the safe zones remained heavily militarized on the ground. The genocide in Srebrenica in July 1995 highlighted the inability of UN forces to adequately protect safe zones. Not only did UNPROFOR prove ineffective during the Srebrenica massacre, but the presence of UN peacekeepers arguably prolonged the war by delaying Western intervention (Melander 2007).

Despite its efforts, the UN has often been criticized for its limited authority, especially regarding the use of military force, and for failing to prevent the escalation of the conflict and adequately protect civilians, particularly during the tragic events of the Srebrenica genocide. This failure prompted significant introspection within the international community about the effectiveness and mandate of peacekeeping forces during complex conflicts (Burg and Shoup 1999; McMahan 2017). The effectiveness of these forces was severely compromised by a lack of political support from individual UN members, unclear guidelines from the UN Security Council, and insufficient human and material resources to confront the Serb armed forces on the ground. The peak of their impotence was evident in numerous incidents where the Republika Srpska Army took UNPROFOR members hostage. In response to the atrocities committed during the war, the UN established the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) under Resolution 827 (1993) (ICTY 2000). This Tribunal was a milestone in international efforts to address war crimes, setting significant legal precedents by prosecuting high-profile figures like Radovan Karadžić for genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. The ICTY's role in delivering justice and facilitating reconciliation in the region was paramount, as it held individuals accountable for their actions during the war and contributed to the broader discourse on international law and human rights (United Nations Security Council 1993).

Furthermore, UN involvement extended to stabilizing the political and social landscape in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina. The United Nations Development

Program (UNDP) was critical in governance reforms and sustainable development initiatives. These efforts aimed to rebuild the administrative and governance structures necessary for a democratic and stable Bosnia and Herzegovina (Minow 1998). Simultaneously, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) played a significant role in alleviating the humanitarian crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina during and after the war. The UNHCR mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina addressed the massive displacement of people, providing assistance to millions of refugees and displaced persons both within Bosnia and Herzegovina and in neighbouring countries. It facilitated the process of their return and reintegration, advocating for their basic human rights and respect for international humanitarian law, often working under very difficult and challenging conditions amid widespread ethnic cleansing and serious human rights violations (Eyffinger 2003).

The UNHCR's assistance was pivotal in registering and documenting refugees and displaced persons, which significantly facilitated the efficient distribution of humanitarian aid and supported their subsequent repatriation and reintegration. These latter activities became the focus of UNHCR's post-war engagement in Bosnia and Herzegovina, requiring extensive and complex logistics. In cooperation with myriad non-governmental organizations and international agencies, UNHCR also played a crucial role in reconstructing war-torn communities, repairing and rebuilding houses and infrastructure, and often providing legal assistance to individuals whose property had been confiscated or illegally appropriated during the war. Collaboration with local and national authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, along with the international community, on implementing reconstruction, recovery, and peacebuilding programs was part of a broader strategy to achieve long-term and sustainable return, reintegration, and reconciliation. UNHCR's work was crucial in mitigating the humanitarian crisis and addressing the rights and well-being of displaced populations (Waller 2015).

Various UN agencies, including the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), were actively engaged in Bosnia and Herzegovina, monitoring human rights violations, promoting reconciliation between different ethnic groups, and aiding the post-war reconstruction. This included reforms to the judiciary and police forces. The UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH), established by UN Security Council Resolution 1035 and operational from December 1995 to December 2002, oversaw security sector reform. Its responsibilities included monitoring the return process of refugees and displaced persons, coordinating international aid, reforming the police force, establishing a safe environment conducive to the peace process, and assisting in implementing the civilian aspects of the peace agreement (Morgan 2005).

A crucial component of UNMIBH was the International Police Task Force (IPTF), which monitored, controlled, and advised local police forces in BiH. The IPTF played a key role in reforming and reconstructing police forces and introducing international standards to ensure professional, non-political, multi-ethnic, and effective law enforcement, enhancing inter-ethnic cooperation, reducing the influence of nationalist politics, and fostering trust and cooperation between police and the communities they serve (Caplan 2004; Bardos 2007).

The IPTF also provided extensive training for local police officers in various aspects of democratic police practices including human rights and community policing, with over 24,000 local police officers receiving training under IPTF programs (Dursun-Ozkanca 2010). The certification process involved thorough vetting of approximately 17,000 police officers to ensure adherence to professional standards. Of 17,000 local police officers being vetted, 15,700 were certified, which significantly contributed to improving the quality of police work, greater responsibility and professionalism of the police. Those who failed the vetting process were either dismissed or retrained (Fisher 2018). IPTF was also heavily involved in monitoring the work of the local police and conducting investigations into their misconduct, abuse of power and human rights violations. “Several high-profile investigations led to the dismissal or prosecution of officers involved in misconduct” (Howard 2015: 7), significantly contributing to reducing the number of misconduct cases. The mentioned IPTF activities laid the foundation for a professional, democratic, and sustainable local police system in Bosnia and Herzegovina that should be able to facilitate establishing security and stability in the country. Despite facing numerous challenges and resistance from local authorities, primarily due to a lack of trust, UNMIBH managed to improve the overall security situation in the country and lay the foundation for a long-term process of building sustainable peace, stability and reconciliation. Upon the completion of the UNMIBH mission in late 2002, its mandate was taken over by the European Union Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM), which continued to build on the foundations laid by UNMIBH (Burg and Shoup 1999; Howard 2015).

Despite the UN’s and its agencies’ significant contributions, the organization’s efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina were not without challenges and limitations. The initial inability to prevent the escalation of the conflict and the failure to protect civilians in designated safe areas of Srebrenica and Žepa – resulting in a massacre of thousands of civilians, the most serious war crime in Europe since World War II – raised questions about the efficacy of the UN’s approach to peacekeeping in complex ethnic

conflicts. These challenges highlighted the need for robust mandates and adequate resources for peacekeeping missions to effectively prevent atrocities and maintain peace (United Nations Security Council 1993; Gray 1997). In summary, the United Nations' role in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina was instrumental in shaping the country's path towards peace and stability. The UN made significant contributions to the nation's recovery through judicial processes, humanitarian aid, and efforts in governance reform and development. However, the complexities of the conflict and the challenges encountered underscore the necessity of continual evaluation and adaptation of UN strategies in peacekeeping and peacebuilding in complex post-conflict environments.

## **BRIDGING DIVIDES: THE EUROPEAN UNION'S STRATEGIC PEACEBUILDING INITIATIVES AND INTEGRATION OF BiH**

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina started at an inconvenient time for Europe, seemingly too early for it to react adequately. With the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993, the European Economic Community evolved into the European Union, and its member countries – particularly those that were the driving force of the Union – were preoccupied with their own challenges. At the onset of the war in BiH, Europe lacked the political will, readiness, and institutional capacities to actively and decisively intervene in the early phases of the war (Yordan 2003). Samuel Huntington observed that “the initial scheme of the European structure built on motives such as peace, progress, cultural self-realization, solidarity, unity of ideas and aspirations, was seriously shaken at that time” (1998). More importantly, the EU member states could not reach a political consensus on military engagement to stop the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Europe's involvement was limited to sending UN peacekeeping forces (UNPROFOR). The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina ended due to the resolute peace initiative of the United States, which resulted in a consensus within the international community, ensuring a unified approach to finding a peaceful solution. Richard Holbrooke states, “Dayton symbolizes the political will and global strength of the United States of America, and the weakness and absence of the European Union and its member states in the first half of the nineties” (1999: 373). Peace negotiations led to the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords, which ended the war and initiated the country's reconstruction. A key mistake Europe and the United States made in the early 1990s was treating the war as a localized humanitarian crisis rather than a strategic threat to Europe's collective security.

Despite its many shortcomings, the Dayton Agreement's value lies in its effectiveness in halting the war, ending the persecution and suffering of people, and stopping property destruction. Moreover, the Agreement preserved the continuity of Bosnia and Herzegovina's statehood and historical borders and defined the role of the international community in its implementation (Pejanović 2015). At Dayton, a decision was made to implement the civil and military provisions of the agreement separately. Military annexes 1A, 1B, and 2 mandate that international multinational military forces oversee and monitor the military aspects of the agreement. Conversely, the Office of the High Representative and various civil agencies and international organizations worldwide are responsible for implementing the civil components. These include establishing government institutions, reconstructing the country's infrastructure and economy, facilitating the return of refugees and displaced persons, and promoting human rights (Christopher 2001).

The European Union's (EU) role in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina was significant, encompassing economic support, political stabilization, and integration initiatives. The EU's involvement was crucial for the nation's reconstruction, development, and aspirations for European integration (Mahncke 2004). Between December 1995 and May 1999, during the five donor conferences, the European Union, in collaboration with the World Bank, invested 5.2 billion dollars in the country's reconstruction programs. The first donor conference, held on 20 and 21 December 1995, included an emergency aid package for Bosnia and Herzegovina totalling 600 million dollars. Of this, the European Union provided 215 million, the World Bank 150 million, the United States 60 million, with the remainder coming from other smaller donors. Shortly after, the Economic Task Force (ETF) was established under the auspices of the Office of the High Representative. Its role was cooperating with international institutions such as the European Commission, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the US Agency for International Development (USAID). The second donor conference, held on 13 April 1996, secured 1.3 billion dollars in support for the country's reconstruction. The third and fourth donor conferences, held in June 1997 and May 1998 respectively, each garnered 1.24 billion dollars. The fifth and final donor conference, held in May 1999 with participation from 45 countries and 30 organizations, raised just over one billion dollars (1.05), rounding off the 5.1 billion dollars in aid initially agreed upon at the first conference (Bowker 1998).

Through various financial programs, the EU significantly contributed to the reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Notably, the CARDS (Community Assis-



tance for Reconstruction, Development, and Stabilization) program provided essential funding for rebuilding infrastructure, strengthening governance, and fostering economic growth (European Commission 2002). These funds were instrumental in addressing the immediate needs of war-torn Bosnia and Herzegovina and in laying the foundations for longer-term development. Beyond financial aid, the EU played a pivotal role in the political transformation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Stabilization and Association Process, offering the prospect of EU membership, was instrumental in driving political and economic reforms. This process encouraged Bosnia and Herzegovina to adopt European standards in governance, human rights, and market economy principles (Filipov 2006). The EU's conditionality for membership served as a powerful incentive for reform, aiming to stabilize the region and align it more closely with European norms and practices.

By joining the Council of Europe in 2002, Bosnia and Herzegovina took a significant step towards institutional integration into the European Union. The country's European journey had begun two years earlier at the summit of the EU and the Western Balkan countries, held in Zagreb on 24 November 2000 – the first such summit outside the EU area. The introduction of the so-called Brussels phase marked the end of the crisis management process, which entailed the departure of SFOR, the conclusion of the UN international police mission, and the closure of the UN mission office in BiH. It also led to the rationalisation and reduction of the presence of the OSCE and UNHCR fields. On 1 January 2003, the European Union launched its first civilian operation for assistance in crisis situations as part of its security and defence policy. The European Union Police Mission (EUPM) was established to replace the UN International Police Force (IPTF) (Perthes 2006; Rivaldi et al. 2012). “EUPM was the first civilian crisis control operation within the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP)” (Lindström 2004: 117). This transition reduced the international community's role in the security sector, shifting more responsibility to BiH. In 2004, the EU further solidified its commitment to Bosnia and Herzegovina's stability through the EUFOR Althea mission. Established under the European Security and Defence Policy, this military operation took over peacekeeping responsibilities from NATO's SFOR. The mission underscored the EU's dedication to maintaining a safe and secure environment, essential for the ongoing political, social, and economic recovery of the country (Perthes 2006).

At the same time, the European Union intensified its relationship with Bosnia and Herzegovina, becoming increasingly involved in all areas through various forms of cooperation. In the first post-war decade, the European Union invested 2.5 billion

euros in the country's reconstruction. At the beginning of 2000, the European Union adopted an aid plan to reconstruct Western Balkan countries, including Bosnia and Herzegovina. This plan marked a turning point by shifting the focus from humanitarian aid to investing in reform and democratization processes, improving human rights, and strengthening the market economy. Based on this strategy, from 2000 to 2006, the EU invested 4.65 billion euros (approximately 5.58 billion dollars) in reconstruction projects across the Western Balkans. The plan was formalized in 2005, with Bosnia and Herzegovina receiving 49.4 million euros (approximately 59.5 million dollars) intended for the implementation of reforms, economic and social development, assistance to refugees, and the establishment of an independent media sector – aiming at the overall development, reconstruction and stability (Reliefweb 2005; Rogers 2010).

In 2006, the European Union consolidated all previous pre-accession aid programs – CARDS, PHARE, ISPA, SAPARD – into a single new framework, the Instrument for Pre-Assessment Instrument (IPA), which became the main financial mechanism for supporting candidates and potential EU candidates. The IPA focuses on various areas, such as political and economic reforms, the adoption of EU standards, and the strengthening of administrative capacities. During the first phase of the IPA, which lasted from 2007 to 2013, Bosnia and Herzegovina received 654 million euros. This support funded projects in several sectors, including public administration reform, institution building and capacity enhancement, human resources development, rural and regional development, cross-border cooperation, and transport and the environment improvements. The second phase, IPA II, which spanned from 2014 to 2020, was partly a continuation of IPA I. It adopted a more streamlined, sectoral, and strategic approach, focusing on a smaller number of significant areas such as the rule of law, democracy, and human rights; education, employment, social policy, competitiveness and innovation; and agriculture, rural development, energy, transport, and the environment (European Commission 2022).



**Table 1.** EU Funding allocation to Bosnia and Herzegovina (2014-2017) under the IPA II program.

## IPA II AND BIH

The priorities for the EU financial assistance for the period 2014 – 2017 to support Bosnia and Herzegovina on its path towards the EU accession are set out in the [Indicative Strategy Paper](#).

Funding allocation 2014-2017: €165.8 million (not including the allocation for Cross-Border Cooperation)

Bosnia and Herzegovina	2014	2015	2016	2017	Total 2014-2017	Of which climate change relevant (%)
<b>a. Reforms in preparation for Union membership</b>	11	17	18	18	64	0
Democracy and governance	31				31	
Rule of law and fundamental rights	33				33	
<b>b. Socio-economic and Regional development</b>	24.7 <sup>1</sup>	11.7	13.7	13.7	63.8	0
Competitiveness and innovation: local development strategies	63.8				63.8	
<b>c. Employment, social policies, education, research and innovation, promotion of gender equality, and human resources development</b>	4	11 <sup>2</sup>	11 <sup>2</sup>	12 <sup>2</sup>	38	0
Education, employment and social policies	38				38	
<b>TOTAL</b>	39.7	39.7	42.7	43.7	165.8	0

**Note.** Source: official website of the Delegation of the European Union to Bosnia and Herzegovina & European Union Special Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina. ([https://archive.europa.ba/?page\\_id=41946](https://archive.europa.ba/?page_id=41946))

As part of IPA II, whose primary goals were to strengthen the country's administrative capacity, support economic development and competitiveness, improve the rule of law, and protect the environment, Bosnia and Herzegovina received 552 million euros (European Commission 2022).

**Table 2.** Bilateral IPA II indicative funding allocations to Bosnia and Herzegovina (2014-2020) amount to 552.1 million euros.

Bosnia and Herzegovina	2014	2015	2016	2017	Total 2014-2017	2018	2019	2020	Total 2018-2020	Total 2014-2020	Of which climate change relevant (%)
<b>DEMOCRACY AND RULE OF LAW</b>	9.7	39.7	21.9	44.8	116.1	22.4	39.3	45.4	107.1	223.2	
Democracy and governance	7.9	17.2	18.9	15.3	59.3	47.3				106.6	
Rule of law and fundamental rights	1.8	22.5	3.0	29.5	56.8	59.8				116.6	
<b>COMPETITIVENESS AND GROWTH</b>	66	0	25.1	30	121.1	80.1	65.5	62.2	207.8	328.9	
Environment, climate action and energy	51	0	0	0	51.0	63.2				114.2	40%
Transport	0	0	0	20	20.0	21.7				41.7	40%
Competitiveness, innovation, agriculture and rural development	14	0	20	0	34.0	65.4				99.4	
Education, employment and social policies	1	0	5.1	10	16.1	57.7				73.8	
<b>TOTAL</b>	75.7	39.7	47	74.8	237.2	102.5	104.8	107.6	314.9	552.1	

**Note.** Source: official website of the European Commission. ([https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/enlargement-policy/overview-instrument-pre-accession-assistance/bosnia-and-herzegovina-financial-assistance-under-ipa\\_en](https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/enlargement-policy/overview-instrument-pre-accession-assistance/bosnia-and-herzegovina-financial-assistance-under-ipa_en))

Since the end of the war, the European Union’s assistance has been pivotal for the country’s post-war recovery, reconstruction, and reform processes. In addition to significant financial resources, the EU has provided valuable technical assistance in the form of expertise and advice to facilitate the implementation of reforms and the adoption of EU legislation, standards and policies. This technical assistance includes programs aimed at building the capacity of public institutions and implementing judicial and police reforms to strengthen the rule of law, all aimed at establishing a functional democracy in BiH (Woodward 1997; Puljek-Shank and Verkoren 2017). Moreover, the EU’s political support has manifested in mediation efforts, backing political processes, and promoting democratic values. The multifaceted support of the European Union has been crucial in post-conflict stabilization and maintaining peace in the country. Through investment programs targeting the economy, social policies, education and infrastructure, the EU aims to reduce the poverty rate, increase employment opportunities, encourage economic development and integration into European markets, and improve the overall quality of life for citizens. The ultimate goal of these activities is not only to prepare the country for EU membership but also to foster deeper integration into European political, economic and social structures

through the harmonization of laws and the introduction of European standards, thereby strengthening peace and regional cooperation (Micinski 2016; Fisher 2018).

Despite these efforts, challenges remain in fully integrating Bosnia and Herzegovina into the EU. Persistent political and ethnic divisions and slow progress in implementing necessary reforms have complicated the path to full EU membership. Nonetheless, the EU's continued engagement and support have been vital in guiding Bosnia and Herzegovina towards European standards, playing a crucial role in the country's post-conflict transformation. The efforts of the European Union remain critically important for the stability, political and economic development, and prosperity of not only Bosnia and Herzegovina but also the entire region (Gheciu and Paris 2011).

## **FROM CONFLICT TO STABILITY: ASSESSING NATO'S; PIVOTAL ROLE IN BiH'S POST-WAR TRANSFORMATION**

After the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords, the UN Security Council authorized NATO members to establish multinational forces tasked with assisting in the implementation of the military provisions of the agreement. Based on UN Security Council Resolution UNSCR 1031 (1995), 60,000 Implementation Force (IFOR) troops commenced their mission in December 1995. Simultaneously, UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali sent a letter to the Security Council formally confirming the conclusion of the ineffective UNPROFOR mission (Thirlwell 2010). In addition to NATO members, the door was opened for non-NATO members to participate in the IFOR peace operations, making the engagement of the Alliance in Bosnia and Herzegovina unique in its decades-long history. This was truly a historic moment for the Alliance – their first operation outside the NATO area and the first to involve Partnership for Peace member states under a single NATO command in accordance with NATO rules. Adapting to the new global security circumstances and expanding beyond the original mission's scope, NATO was instrumental in both the achievement of the peace agreement and its subsequent implementation.

The primary NATO mission during the 1992-1995 war, and also in the post-conflict period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was to ensure the peace and stability of the country and Europe as a whole, aiming to end the most serious conflict on its soil since the founding of the Alliance. NATO's involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina significantly impacted both the course and outcome of the war, as well as the post-conflict peacebuilding process. During the Bosnian War, NATO's military intervention, particularly through Operation Deliberate Force in 1995, marked a turning point.

This intervention, targeting Bosnian Serb military capabilities, was crucial in halting their offensive, contributing to the subsequent negotiation of the Dayton Peace Accords (Walker 1996; Sakwa 2008). Operation Deliberate Force marked one of the first instances of NATO using military force in a conflict zone, setting a precedent for the alliance's role in crisis management. The deployment of 60,000 NATO troops to Bosnia and Herzegovina in December 1995 represented the largest troop movement in Western Europe since World War II and the first such deployment since the formation of the NATO in 1949 (NATO n.d.). What made this mission special was that NATO managed to unite forces from more than twenty countries across Europe and North America, including Russia, which played a significant role in IFOR, the forces implementing the military part of the Dayton Agreement, later renamed SFOR. For the first time after decades of Cold War confrontation, the USA and Russia, recently fierce ideological enemies, joined forces in the process of stabilization and peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina on a partnership basis, making this mission unique (Rodman 1995; Zisk 1999; Fisher 2012). In this context, Richard Holbrooke observed, "For the first time since World War II, American and Russian military troops operated under a single command. The American-Russian joint engagement in Bosnia was the first cooperation of its kind for Russian and American soldiers since they met on Elba in the last months of World War II" (1998: 247)

Although the engagement of Russian troops as part of the NATO multinational forces in BiH was not without incidents – such as unauthorised private meetings with war crimes indictees Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić, and open opposition to the arrest of war crimes suspects – the significance of their involvement is underscored by a joint statement from the heads of government and participating countries at a NATO meeting held on 24 April 1999 in Washington D.C.

*NATO and Russia have a common goal in strengthening security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area. Close relations between NATO and Russia are of great importance for stability and security in the Euro-Atlantic area. Since the conclusion of the Founding Act in May 1997, significant and encouraging progress has been achieved in intensifying consultations and cooperation with Russia. Russian participation in the implementation of the peace agreement for Bosnia and Herzegovina was a significant step towards a new cooperative relationship. We have developed a broad dialogue on issues such as disarmament and arms control, peace operations, strategy, defense policy, and doctrines. The budget and infrastructure development programs are further examples of improving cooperation (Washington Summit Communique 1999: 4)*

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was demonstrated in the most concrete way that even yesterday's enemies can constructively cooperate on a partnership basis toward the common goals of peace, stability, and security in Europe (Danilov 1999).

In December 1996, IFOR successfully completed its mission of ensuring and monitoring the implementation of the military components of the Dayton Agreement, while also significantly contributing to the implementation of civilian provisions. These efforts included supporting the work of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), facilitating the first post-war elections in 1996, and improving civilian freedom of movement. The successor to IFOR, the Stabilization Force (SFOR), was established by UN Security Council Resolution 1088 (1996) (Gen. Smith 2002). "SFOR's primary tasks included consolidating the achievements of IFOR, preventing the resurgence of hostilities, removing threats to peace, improving public safety, and preserving an environment conducive to the smooth implementations of the Agreement's civil provisions" (Clinton 1998). Almost two decades later, in accordance with UNSC resolution 1575 (2004), NATO ended its operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of the Stabilization Force. However, this did not mark the end of NATO's presence in our country. Concurrently, NATO Headquarters was established in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, along with the newly formed EUFOR forces, continued to strengthen the security environment. With its expertise and advice, NATO made an invaluable contribution to the process of defence reform, the fight against terrorism, and support for the work of the ICTY (Schulte 1997; NATO 1997).

Perhaps the most significant achievement of NATO in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the defence reform, which culminated in the establishment of unified armed forces capable of responding to any security challenges, including defending sovereignty and territorial integrity and representing the state in collective defence and peace-keeping missions (Asmus 2008; Ivanov 2008). Through the development of national defence capacities, BiH met the criteria for membership in the NATO Partnership for Peace program, which was achieved on 14 December 2006. On 29 November 2004, the BiH Parliamentary Assembly adopted the Law on the Defense of BiH and the Law on Service in the BiH Armed Forces. These laws established a joint command over the Armed Forces of BiH by the Presidency of BiH, with the President of Republika Srpska retaining limited powers only in the event of a state emergency or natural disasters. The laws also abolished entity-level defence ministries and military service, transferring responsibility for national security to the state. With the estab-

lishment of a joint Armed Forces, Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats began to serve under a unified national insignia for the first time since the war ended in 1995. This development marked a new phase in the country's recent history (Kovačević 2003).

In summary, NATO played a crucial role in ensuring peace and stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina through the Implementation Force (IFOR) and later the Stabilization Force (SFOR). Placed under a joint command with shared powers, these multinational forces proved to be an effective instrument in implementing the military aspects of the Dayton Agreement during the initial post-war years. The tasks assigned to these forces were successfully completed: military conflicts ceased and have not resumed, the belligerents' military forces were disengaged, and weapons and military hardware were withdrawn and secured in designated warehouses. Their presence was vital in maintaining a secure environment, facilitating the return of refugees, overseeing the disarmament of warring factions, and supporting the overall peace process (Morgan 2005; Gheciu and Paris 2011). NATO's SFOR mission provided a stable environment for Bosnia and Herzegovina's recovery and aided in rebuilding the nation's defence and security institutions. This assistance was part of a broader efforts to promote the integration of Bosnia and Herzegovina into European and transatlantic structures. In the post-Cold War era, NATO's involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a notable example of the alliance's evolving role in peacekeeping and crisis management. While NATO's military intervention and peacekeeping efforts were largely successful in maintaining peace and stability, the long-term impact of its presence and actions on regional stability and the political dynamics of Bosnia and Herzegovina remains a subject of analysis and debate (Caplan 2004).

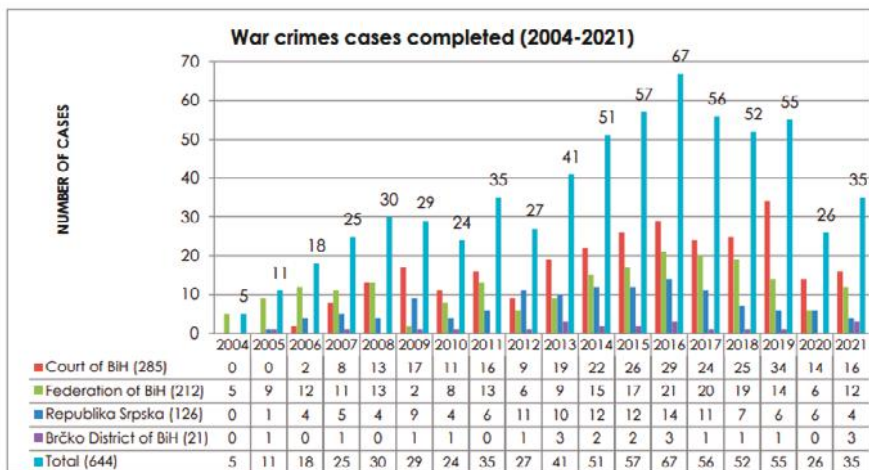
## **STEERING PROGRESS: THE OSCE'S ROLE IN FOSTERING DEMOCRACY AND RECONCILIATION IN POST-CONFLICT BiH**

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) has played a significant and multifaceted role in the peacebuilding process of post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina. The OSCE's involvement was crucial in promoting peace, democracy, stability, human rights, and the rule of law - essential pillars for the nation's transition to a stable and peaceful society. One of the key contributions of the OSCE was its active involvement in organising and overseeing the first post-war democratic elections in September 1996. Ensuring the integrity and transparency of these elections was a critical step in re-establishing democratic processes and governance in

Bosnia and Herzegovina following the Dayton Peace Accords. The OSCE's election monitoring activities helped build public confidence in the electoral system and were fundamental to the nation's democratic transition (Kostić 2007; Dursun-Ozkanca 2010). The successful implementation of fair and free elections was a significant achievement in a region fraught with ethnic divisions and political instability.

In addition to its role in democratization, the OSCE was instrumental in promoting judicial reforms, strengthening the rule of law, and bolstering the democratic institutions in the country. By aiding in restructuring the legal system, the organisation contributed to enhancing judicial capacity, independence, transparency, and efficiency. This included support for war crimes trials, crucial for dealing with war's legacy and promoting reconciliation (Talbot 2005). Notably, the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina has been monitoring the processing of war crimes cases since 2004. By 2021, a total of 644 cases involving 978 defendants had been completed, while 495 cases involving 4284 suspects remained unresolved (Figure 1). Furthermore, the provision of support and training for civil servants, government officials, political party members, and parliamentarians helped improve their capacity to serve the public and adhere to democratic principles. This support was crucial for establishing accountability and ensuring upholding the rule of law in the post-conflict environment (Puljek-Shank and Verkoren 2017). The OSCE's efforts were aimed at laying the groundwork for a judicial system capable of addressing the legacy of the conflict and upholding human rights standards. The OSCE also focused on human rights education, building civil society, and strengthening institutions necessary for human rights protection. These initiatives were vital in fostering a culture of respect for human rights and encouraging active civic engagement. Promotion of human rights was particularly important in a context where violations had been widespread, and fostering a culture of respect and understanding was essential for long-term peace and reconciliation (OSCE 2021). Additionally, the OSCE has been actively involved in education reform projects, aiming to achieve multi-ethnic understanding and reconciliation, establish an integrated educational framework without discriminatory practices, and reduce ethnic divisions.





**Figure 1.** War crimes cases processing in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2004-2021).

Note. Source: official website of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. (<https://www.osce.org/mission-to-bosnia-and-herzegovina/494881>).

Despite significant efforts, the OSCE faced challenges in fully achieving national reconciliation and effective governance in Bosnia and Herzegovina. While the OSCE was instrumental in many aspects of post-conflict peacebuilding and democratization, it has faced severe criticisms for its work in the country. Notably, despite efforts to establish fair and transparent elections, persistent electoral corruption continues to threaten democratic processes. Judicial reform has progressed unevenly, with the judiciary still largely lacking the necessary independence. The system remains inefficient and susceptible to political influences, significantly hindering the establishment of the rule of law. The OSCE’s successes in supporting local courts in processing war crimes cases have been limited. Moreover, the organization has been particularly criticized for inadequate progress in ethnic reconciliation, persistent strong ethnic divisions, and mistrust within the country (Hayward 2012; Micinski 2016). Perhaps the most significant criticism has been the continued presence of discriminatory practices in education, exemplified by the “two schools under one roof” system. The complex political landscape and deep-rooted ethnic divisions have posed significant obstacles to the organization’s initiatives. However, despite these challenges, the OSCE’s contributions have laid important foundations for Bosnia and Herzegovina’s ongoing journey toward stability and integration into the European and global community (OSCE 2021).



## CONCLUSION

The War in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995) was a devastating conflict that resulted in significant loss of life and widespread human rights violations. As detailed by Burg and Shoup (1999), the conflict was marked by ethnic cleansing against Bosniak civilians, and severe psychological trauma among survivors, as reported by Lončar et al. (2006). The conflict culminated in the Dayton Peace Agreement in 1995, a significant international intervention that aimed to end hostilities and establish a framework for peace and governance in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Zupčević and Čaušević 2009). While this agreement brought an end to the fighting, it also left a complex and often contentious political landscape in its wake. The post-war recovery process has been challenging, with ongoing efforts needed to rebuild the nation physically, economically, and socially. The Dayton Peace Accords, while effective in ending the war, created a complex and divided political landscape that has led to ongoing challenges in governance and the implementation of effective policies for reconciliation and nation-building (Zupčević and Čaušević 2009). The legacy of the conflict, particularly the ethnic divisions it deepened, continues to influence the political and social dynamics of the country. In conclusion, the War in Bosnia and Herzegovina had far-reaching consequences that extended well beyond the immediate cessation of hostilities. The human toll, the psychological impact on survivors, the destruction of infrastructure, and the enduring political challenges represent a continuing struggle for the nation as it seeks to heal and rebuild.

The peacebuilding efforts in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina have been marked by significant contributions from international organizations, each playing a distinct role in steering the nation towards recovery and stability. The UN has focused on judicial processes and humanitarian aid, while EU has provided economic support and worked towards political stabilization. NATO's crucial military interventions and the OSCE's promotion of democracy and human rights have collectively shaped the post-conflict landscape. However, challenges such as political and ethnic divisions, slow progress in reforms, and the complexities of implementing effective governance and reconciliation strategies highlight the ongoing struggle to achieve sustainable peace. In other words, a plethora of challenges and limitations faced by the mentioned international organizations, both in the country and in the wider geopolitical context, resulted in their serious failures in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This research underscores the necessity of a coordinated and multifaceted approach in peacebuilding that encompasses governance, security, justice, and socio-economic development, tailored

to the specific needs of post-conflict societies like Bosnia and Herzegovina. The journey towards lasting peace and stability remains an evolving process, requiring continual evaluation, adaptation, and commitment from both local actors and the international community. Past experiences should serve as lessons learned to help remove the causes of controversial actions in order to successfully complete the process of peacebuilding and strengthening democratic institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Despite the significant involvement of the international community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, crucial for reconstruction, reform processes, and the building of a democratic society and institutions, the adoption and application of international standards and the overall functioning of the state in its recent history, the processes of internal and external integration remain incomplete. The reform processes and the post-conflict reconstruction of society and state have not been fully implemented. In other words, the country still faces serious, existential challenges. Although the reconstruction of the state has been partially successful in terms of rebuilding infrastructure and strengthening government institutions, complete reconstruction will require significantly greater efforts. Thus, the continued engagement of international institutions will be crucial not only for post-conflict reconstruction but also for the survival of the state. This is especially important considering that the political elite in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to varying degrees, continuously shows a lack of determination to undertake necessary measures aimed at integrating BiH into the community of prosperous, modern, democratic European countries.

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## **GRADNJA MOSTOVA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI: SLOŽENA DINAMIKA POSTKONFLIKTNE IZGRADNJE MIRA U FRAGMENTIRANOM DRUŠTVU**

### **Sažetak:**

Ovaj rad ima za cilj istražiti mehanizme izgradnje mira u postkonfliktnoj Bosni i Hercegovini, fokusirajući se na uloge ključnih međunarodnih organizacija – Ujedinjenih nacija (UN), Evropske unije (EU), Organizacije za sigurnost i saradnju u Evropi (OSCE) i Organizacije sjevernoatlantskog saveza (NATO). Poseban naglasak stavljen je na propitivanje djelotvornosti mehanizama i strategija korištenih od strane ovih organizacija, kao i na identificiranje izazova sa kojima su se suočavale tokom svojih misija u Bosni i Hercegovini. Iako usredotočeno na napore u postkonfliktnoj izgradnji mira, istraživanje daje pregled događaja iz perioda rata (1992-1995), a sve u cilju razumijevanja šireg konteksta. Koristeći



induktivni i kvalitativni pristup, istraživanje sintetizira niz izvora, uključujući naučne radove, arhivsku građu i studije slučaja, s ciljem boljeg razumijevanja strategija i uticaja ovih organizacija na proces izgradnje mira. Ukupni cilj istraživanja je pružiti sveobuhvatan narativ o kontroverznim doprinosima ovih organizacija u postkonfliktnom okruženju, naglašavajući njihov utjecaj na put Bosne i Hercegovine ka miru i stabilnosti.

**Ključne riječi:** Bosna i Hercegovina; konflikt; izgradnja mira; međunarodne organizacije

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## **THE INFLUENCE OF POPULAR GEOPOLITICS ON THE REPRESENTATION OF THE CULTURE OF (NON)VIOLENCE IN POST-YUGOSLAV CINEMATOGRAPHY**

The paper will focus on the discourses contained in the popular geopolitics of post-Yugoslav cinema with a focus on the representation of the culture of (non)violence. Geopolitical discourses are an integral part of contemporary geopolitics, they were created under the influence of geopolitical traditions and imaginations, they intertwine and form the background of all aspects of geopolitics (Zorko 2014). In order to show the influence and connection between popular geopolitics and nonviolence, we will elaborate key concepts such as: popular geopolitics, geopolitics of emotions, violence, culture of nonviolence, culture of memory, collective memory and trauma, post-war narratives presented through popular geopolitics in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, which will be viewed through post-Yugoslav cinematography. The work will focus on post-war narratives related to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina that took place in the period from 1992 to 1995, through films that were made in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia from the period of the end of the war until today. Our goal is to present post-war narratives through films and documentaries, showing how much they contributed to the culture of violence or non-violence. The aim of the work is also to show how film can influence the creation of post-war narratives, as a form of geopolitical content or (popular) discourse, and given that popular geopolitics, through all its segments and ways of acting, regardless of whether it is through the media, magazines, films, the Internet, affects the consciousness of certain social and cultural categories of countries, societies, and finally individuals.

**Key words:** popular geopolitics; violence; culture of non(violence); culture of memory; post-war narrative; post-Yugoslav cinematography; war in Bosnia and Herzegovina

## INTRODUCTION

### *Theoretical shifting of the understanding of popular geopolitics and culture of (non)violence*

A term that has recently found its verbalization in everyday use in various spheres of social activity, as well as in many media reports, political, cultural, sports, shows, and also in frequent use in “lay” communication, is the term of geopolitics. The processes of globalization as an essential determinant of the modern global world have also contributed to the expansion of the concept of geopolitics. Nowadays, we often come across the concepts and terms “geopolitics of sports”, “geopolitics of emotions”, “geopolitics of social networks”, “geopolitics of video games”, “geopolitics of borders”, “geopolitics of drinking water”, “geopolitics of the cosmos”, “geopolitics of environment”. The concept of geopolitics has been and continues to be so widespread in our everyday life, yet so little is known about it. Therefore, in the rest of the text, we will offer a short theoretical approach to understanding the concept of geopolitics in general, and then the role of popular geopolitics in the representation of the culture of (non)violence in post-Yugoslav cinematography.

It is important to emphasize that very little was said about geopolitics in the academic community, it was kept silent for many years, solely because of its very “deviations”, due to the „misapplication of the fundamental but very sensitive principles of political geography by the German geopolitical circle” and for these reasons for many years, „geopolitics in classical scientific circles was treated as a pseudoscience, as a utilitarian, instrumentalized, totalitarian, state pseudogeography” (Ćurak, Turčalo 2013: 22). From its inception (in 1899, we connect the origin of geopolitics to the work of the Swedish scientist Rudolf Kjellen *The State as a Form of Life*) until today, geopolitics has gone through different periods. Often, geopolitics was and is identified with international relations, but what characterizes it is its connection with geography, which means that geopolitics as science is exclusively concerned with studying and researching the influence of geographical factors on politics. The word “geopolitics” originates from the 20th century, it is closely related to all the dramatic events which that century produced. For Kjellen, geopolitics was a useful word that he used to describe the geographical base of the state, its natural heritage and resources, which many argued determined the power of the state<sup>1</sup> (O Tuathail 2007: 15).

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<sup>1</sup> Kjellen’s term was taken up in Germany after the First World War by former general Karl Haushofer, who in 1924 started a journal called “Zeitschrift für Geopolitik”, which promoted a conservative nationalist way of thinking (O Tuathail 2007: 15).

Critical geopolitics is the “youngest direction” in the development of contemporary geopolitics, it problematizes the theoretical assumptions of existing power structures, it can be said that it arose as a response to the doctrines of the Cold War to criticize state structures from the point of view of intellectuals. Gearoid O Tuathail defines critical geopolitics as „an intellectual movement beyond the political realism and “God tricks” that characterize uncritical geopolitical narratives in general. It rejects the state-centric and cognitively impoverished stories of how the interstate system works as the most important „recognizes the way people know, categorize and make sense of world politics as an interpretive cultural practice”, and to understand this process, Tuathail says: “... it is necessary to study geopolitics as a discourse together with the cultural context that gives it meaning” (2007: 21).

Gearoid o Tuathail established a generally accepted conceptualisation of critical geopolitics (O Tauthail 2007: 22):

- Formal geopolitics<sup>2</sup>
- Practical geopolitics<sup>3</sup>
- Popular geopolitics

Popular geopolitics can be defined as: “an independent discipline or an inter/trans-disciplinary approach, and a completely new concept of geopolitical reflection in the contemporary scientific environment” (Zorko 2021: 99). That popular geopolitics has become more and more popular in academic circles at the beginning of the new century, the fact of the accelerated globalization of the world, the development of communication technology, and “innovations in the products of popular culture and new technology have opened up the possibility of a more complex and deeper consideration of what effects they can have on the audience/the public in terms of the geopolitical messages and codes they transmit” (Ibid. 101). Popular geopolitics refers to geographic politics created through various media, thereby shaping popular culture. Popular culture or mass culture is the totality of cultural and pseudo-cultural products, intended for consumption by the broadest stratum of the population (Beljan 2012).

Popular geopolitics explores popular culture and mass communications, “it refers to stories about world politics that find their expression in the popular culture of a country, in its films, magazines, novels, and even cartoons” (Tuathail 2007: 24). This

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2 Formal geopolitics refers to what is usually considered geopolitical thought or geopolitical tradition. “It refers to advanced geopolitical theories and visions created by intellectuals and statesmen” (Ćurak, Turčalo 2013: 23).

3 Practical geopolitics refers to the stories used by public policy makers and politicians in the actual practice of foreign policy (Ibid. 23).

informal geopolitics sends geopolitical messages to ordinary people without the influence of politicians, and this is what makes it special. All these forms of formal, practical and popular geopolitical narrative are precisely the products of universal imaginations, cultures and traditions. Jason Dittmer is considered to be the founder of popular geopolitics, and he observes it primarily through “case studies of film, comics, video games, sermons, and new media” (Turčalo, Zorko 2021: 372).

One of the basic characteristics of people as a social being is the need to communicate. In such a social relationship and within it, each individual exerts a mutual influence based on which certain attitudes and values are formed. The time we live in is characterized by its peculiarities, and one of them is that it is also our time – the time of propaganda<sup>4</sup> and advertising<sup>5</sup>, the time of mass communications<sup>6</sup> and mass media<sup>7</sup>. No matter how much we try to diminish their value and meaning in the daily life of the human environment, the influence of propaganda on our thinking, directions, directing towards or avoiding something it is enormous. Geopolitics is not content with suddenly or directly penetrating our real and everyday life; it conquers our imaginary world through an inevitable and undoubtedly dangerous dialectical movement. The very fact that most of us, regardless of how much we resist changes, and whether we resist at all, we think about them today, which is a sufficient indicator of how popular geopolitics through the media, film, social networks, television series, deeply affects the lives of individuals and other social groups.

We can agree that during the last few years, even decades, “mass media programs and messages expose individuals and groups to their influence with such force and intensity that they fill a person’s entire free time, exerting a direct influence on their way of thinking, attitudes and behavior” (Nuhanović 2005: 112).

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4 By propaganda we mean influencing people’s consciousness in order to determine their behavior. Propaganda can be: economic, political, war, hostile, etc.

5 “Advertising has gone from symbols, vulgarity and mercantilism to fame and worship. Today, advertising has become a form of communication. Not just any image is imposed on the consumer, but a latent image of what he could be - often without his knowledge - which brings the greatest possible benefits to the advertiser“ (Nuhanović 2005: 167).

6 “The function of the means of mass communication is the realization of the right to culture, that is, cultural exchange as an overall and versatile way of human socialization. This underlines the importance and power of mass communication tools. The social milieu enables communication, which is required for social life“ (Nuhanović 2005: 111).

7 “In the social practice of the modern world, the tendency of one-way communication is expressed. The essence of the functioning of the mass media would be to bring the community back to itself, i.e., this communication enables the voice of oneself (to be seen and heard) to communicate through them, critically analyze oneself and, through a constant dialogue of exchange of experiences of political practice, realize its progress and course in future“ (Nuhanović 2005: 111).

Looking from this aspect, we can notice that popular geopolitics through its contents, discourses and narratives has a dual character effect, which means that it can positively and negatively affect the entire society, as well as the state, which is manifested in the integration and disintegration of the society that is in the interest of certain social groups, those in whose hands these contents are. In the time of globalization, films and television series as a genre have become a universal, if not a cultural, reference for anyone who would try to study the emotions of the world. "Screenwriters of films and television series have become the best analysts of society and the modern world, if not the most reliable futurologists" (Mojsi 2016: 11). Specialists in popular geopolitics observe the film as "an imitation of the world... popular geopolitics characterizes the film as a metaphor or allegory in recording the everyday perception of the world". Films are no longer considered „mere images or undirected expressions of the mind, but a temporary embodiment of social processes that continuously construct and deconstruct the world" (Turčalo, Zorko 2021: 370). In the same way, films in post-Yugoslav cinematography construct and affirm violent patterns of social action. Unfortunately, to a much lesser extent, they deconstruct such violent narratives and discourses. On the contrary, they reflect the inexorable spread of the culture of violence, the culture of fear, social exclusion, gender violence, etc.

And finally, let's ask some important questions: How to change the discourses and narratives in the film industry that abound in violent themes, affirm the culture of violence, the culture of fear, social exclusion, gender-based violence, the propagation of patriarchy as a value system and way of life, stereotypes, prejudices, gender inequality, etc? How to reshape the aforementioned discourses and narratives as established ways of functioning of post-Yugoslav societies and states with narratives and discourses of building a culture of nonviolence, that is a culture of peace, a culture of memory, cultural and structural positive peace?

## **CULTURAL MEMORY OR COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND TRAUMA**

*The violence of the few does not withstand the quest for freedom of the many.*

(former German President Christian Wulff, speaking on the anniversary of the construction of the Berlin Wall, August 13, 2011)

Most people look to historical accounts to understand how their own nations emerged and fought for their freedom, such explanations, whether found in books or

imparted through public ceremonies and national memories, often tell of violent battles, insurrections, victories and defeats in wars, and fallen heroes in armed struggles (Bartkowski 2013:1). Connected with what author Bartkowski said, in our paper we will show it through the film, to see is it the violence or non-violence that is presented in post-Yugoslav cinematography, looking at it through the narratives of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Why film? First, because the visual has a crucial role in discourse formation at any level and because the informative power of transmitted images is at least as influential as the exchange that takes place in spoken or written language, unlike the written word, however, the role of mediated images is so subtle that it often remains unaccounted for.

„Looking at cinematic texts helps bring to light the underlying dynamics of cross-cultural image-making as it unravels within the wider context of communicated concepts and interpretations second because in today’s world of electronic media, images reach out wider than writings, a fact which is still rarely recognized or explored persistently, nowadays it is the moving image rather than the printed word that carries more persuasive weight”. (Jelaca 2014: 44)

We also want to research, whether the film, serves only to glorify violence, or can it serve to glorify non-violence and reconciliation? Before that, it is important to present a theoretical framework for important concepts such as the culture of memory, collective memory and collective trauma because precisely their elaboration can point us to what could be found in the films about the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>8</sup> in post-Yugoslav cinematography.

The concept of collective memory is a complex one, “what collective memory specifically refers to is often a matter of confusion or dispute, summarised illustratively in James V. Wertsch’s observation that collective memory can mean any number of things depending on the conversation in which it is embedded” (Kolaric 2018: 17).

The collectivity of memory is never equal to a combination of individual memories; instead, what and how we remember is triggered by the social groups we are part of, with whom we share those memories. Jan Assmann lists six characteristics of collective memory: the concretization of identity, preserving the unity of the group; its capacity to reconstruct, always changing and relating past to the present; formation,

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8 Between 1992 and 1995, an inhumane plan was executed to ethnically cleanse Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the planned, systematic, and industrialised killings of non-Serbs, the majority being Bosniak-Muslims, the siege of Sarajevo resulted in over 11,000 people killed, of which 1,600 were just children, between 1992-1995, the citizens of Sarajevo were subjected to daily shelling and sniper attacks, cut off from the rest of the world. <https://srebrenica.org.uk/what-happened/bosnian-war-a-brief-overview> (23. 05. 2024.)

objectification of communicated meaning and shared knowledge; organization; obligation, building a hierarchy of relevance of symbols in shaping a self-image; and reflexivity (J. Assmann in Kolaric 2018: 21). According to Aleida Assmann, the idea of collective memory – a group’s version of the past – is primarily that of knowledge, and thus of something beyond one’s own experience, it is also socially curated, to participate in the group’s vision of its past means that one has to learn about it, one cannot remember it, one has to memorize it, it is knowledge that backs up, not an „I” but a „we” (A. Assmann in Kolaric 2018: 22). The Assmanns’ theory of collective memory introduces the concept of cultural memory, they differentiate between two forms of collective memory: communicative and cultural. Cultural memory, is no longer tied to individual remembrance or individual carriers but is media-enabled and of longer duration. Cultural memory refers to the

“body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose cultivation serves to stabilize and convey that society’s self-image and upon which each group bases its awareness of unity and particularity, it is exteriorized, objectified, and stored away in symbolic forms, meaning the focus is once again turned towards cultural artefacts” (J. Assmann in Kolaric 2018: 22).

Aleida Assmann’s theory of cultural memory offers a valuable way of thinking about how societies (among them, but not solely, nation-states) make sense of collective past and own group identity.

Her differentiation between cultural and political memory<sup>9</sup> opens up space for thinking about how different events and periods become selected into the collective stock of identity-stories, and about the role mediation (language, material objects, various means of storage and transmission) plays in the process.

“At the same time, it does not ignore the role power and politics play, in particular through shaping the top-down historical narratives, rearranging public spaces and institutionalising the processes of selection, storage and transmission: schools, cultural events, commemorations”. (Kolaric 2018:26)

### *Film and memory*

There has been great optimism concerning the relevance of film for collective (cultural) memory in recent scholarly literature. Grainge begins the introduction to

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9 Political memory is the top-down produced memory, self-contained and homogenous as a narrative with a clear message, it integrates little of other memory formats – unless there are reasons to do so. (Kolaric 2018)



his influential volume on memory and popular film by stating that “as a technology able to picture and embody the temporality of the past, cinema has become central to the mediation of memory in modern cultural life” (Grainge in Kolaric 2018: 49). The reading of a special place for film in making memory of communities typically points to film’s visuality, which endows them with special powers in representing memory (Kaes in Kolaric 2018). How exactly it is relevant, and how films relate to memory, is a matter of more dispute. Michel Foucault’s argued that cinema was, together with television, an effective means of *re-programming* popular memory (Foucault in Kolaric 2018). Along similar lines, Kilbourn distinguishes four interconnected ways in which film and memory engage (Kolaric 2018): film as representative of memory; as filmic intertextuality; films as memory contributors in the broader cultural context, e.g. as prosthetic memories, external additions to individuals memories that connect them to others, and cinema itself as, or meta-archive; prosthetic memory writ large; collective cultural memory: the totality of signs and meanings that make up a given culture. Rather than opening itself to the theory and methodology of film, this paper takes film as another storytelling medium to be read; it treats film as one means of storytelling among others, in a manner that privileges what is told (the story) to how it is told.

## **CULTURE OF NON(VIOLENCE) IN POST-YUGOSLAV CINEMATOGRAPHY**

*There is no war, then, without representation. ...and... Cinema  
is war.*

Paul Virilio (1989)

Before we present the films and documentaries that we will elaborate on in our paper, as in the previous chapter, we will present the theoretical framework for the culture of (non)violence, the theoretical framework of the narratives in post-Yugoslav cinematography, and the criteria and films that we will research in the paper. Often referred to as the „Father of Peace Studies,” Norwegian theorist Johan Galtung has developed a three-pronged typology of violence that represents how a confluence of malleable factors merge in particular cultural/historical moments to shape the conditions for the promotion of violence (and, by inference, peace) to function as normative: direct violence, structural violence, and, most importantly, cultural violence.

Cultural violence represents the existence of prevailing or prominent social norms that make direct and structural violence seem „natural” or „right” or at least acceptable, for example, the belief that Africans are primitive and intellectually inferior to Caucasians gave sanction to the African slave trade, Galtung’s understanding of cultural violence helps explain how prominent beliefs can become so embedded in a given culture that they function as absolute and inevitable and are reproduced uncritically across generations<sup>10</sup>. When we think about societies in post-Yugoslav countries, the fact is that we live in societies that tend to value and glamorize violence, in which many children and youth are exposed to violence daily via television, social media, and, of course, films, some would argue that we can’t expect much to change. By the time a child becomes an adult, most of them will have already witnessed hundreds or even thousands of acts of violence on television. It’s possible that early exposure to violence numbs children to it or legitimizes it as a means to solve problems, though researchers are divided on this front.

It’s possible, though, that some children may imitate what they see on television or identify with characters who commit (or are victims) of violence. Another fact that further aggravates the situation when it comes to post-Yugoslav cinematography is that brutal violence happened, that young people and children, in addition to the film, have survivors from the nineties war, some of whom committed violence. What we are interested in is whether the feature films promoted only the culture of violence through post-Yugoslav cinematography or did certain feature films show the senselessness of war and lead to a process of reconciliation.

*Post-war narratives and war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in post-Yugoslav cinematography*

*In other words, there is a dialectical relationship between experience and narrative, between the narrating self and the narrated self. As humans, we draw on our experience to shape narratives about our lives, but equally, our identity and character are shaped by our narratives.*

(Antze and Lambek 1996: xviii)

Many post-Yugoslav movies since 1990 have featured war either directly, focusing on events, or indirectly, addressing the consequences of the war in the transition society, such as violence, corruption and poverty.

<sup>10</sup> <https://rpl.hds.harvard.edu/what-we-do/our-approach/peace-violence>, date of access (24. 05. 2024).

“By focusing on questions of the fight for national identity, some directors glorified the war and stressed the topic of nationhood, whereas others used the images of war and violence to perpetuate the clichéd portrayal of Balkan culture and peoples, in the first post-socialist decade, former Yugoslav cinemas were marked by similar aesthetics and topics influenced mainly by nationalist policies” (Borjan 2021: 157).

According to Borjan, most films released at the beginning of the transition period were strongly ideologically charged, by creating a sense of fear and imminent threat from the Other, movies echoing nationalist narratives justified war and violence as an act of self-defence; they were used to justify political chauvinism and divert the attention of the audience from corruption, clientelism, economic and political problems, and non-transparent privatization of state-owned enterprises (Borjan 2021). They were products of „the need to prove the inevitability of ethnic conflicts in the region” (Levi in Borjan 2021: 157) and history was used as an essential ideological framework for enhancing hatred and ethnic intolerance towards the Other. The second type of movies that addressed the war complied with the simplified Western gaze of the area that reduced the heterogeneous population to a single, stable identity, such feature films released in the 1990s were labeled by some international film scholars as „Balkan cinema” (Iordanova 2001, 2003, 2006) or „Balkan film genre” (Daković 2008) as the perpetuated Western stereotypes on the Balkans representing this area as primitive, exotic and wild; a kind of Third World bordering the First World (Borjan 2021: 157). The trend of self-exoticism and the portrayal of Balkan culture as archaic, violent and barbaric was embraced by several internationally acclaimed local filmmakers (*Dom za vešanje / Time of the Gypsies*, dir. Emir Kusturica, 1989; *Underground*, dir. Emir Kusturica, 1995; *Crna mačka, beli mačor / Black Cat, White Cat*, dir. Emir Kusturica, 1998; *Bure baruta / Cabaret Balkan*, dir. Goran Paskaljević, 1998; *Lepa sela lepo gore / Pretty Villages Burn Nicely*, dir. Srđan Dragojević, 1996; *Rane / Wounds*, dir. Srđan Dragojević, 1998; *Pred doždot / Before the rain*, dir. Milčo Mančevski, 1994) that have developed their „aesthetics of violence”, all these films emphasize violence and the „untamed”, „savage” nature of the Balkans by staging stories full of unmotivated violence, hatred, betrayal and cruel vengeance, but they do not really address trauma on an individual or a collective level (Pavičić in Borjan 2021). The excessive presence of war in post-Yugoslav cinema might be seen as an attempt to comply with the trend of self-Balkanization but it was also a necessary exercise of coming to terms with the wartime traumas. As for the narrative about the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we will observe it through feature films produced in

Bosnian-Herzegovinian and Serbian cinematography. If we look at the narrative about the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is also part of the narrative of post-Yugoslav cinematography, which we have covered, we must point out that the majority of feature films when it comes to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina dealt with the topics of raped women, women victims of sexual violence, through a feminist perspective, the genocide in Srebrenica, life in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the possibility or impossibility of reconciliation.

What is crucial is how much violence or non-violence is represented in the feature films that deal with the mentioned topics. We will try to show that, through selected feature films and documentaries, which we will list below, we will categorize them as those who glorify violence, or as those who nevertheless have a message of peace. The question is, to what extent war-themed feature films can have a message of peace? For research of this paper we will elaborate following feature and documentary films:

- *Esma's Secret (Grbavica, 2006)*
- *For Those Who Can Tell No Tales (Za one koji ne mogu govoriti, 2013)*
- *Snow (Snijeg, 2008)*
- *Pretty Villages Burn Nicely (Lepa sela lepo gore, 1996)*
- *Contested memories and the Frozen Conflict (Osporena sećanja i zamrznuti konflikt, 2016)*

We will categorize the mentioned features films and documentaries according to the following criteria:

- Films processing the war (as past/memory);
- Films referring to the war (from the present);
- Features films or documentaries;
- Features films through a feminist perspective;
- Features films and documentaries which presents violence or non-violence.

What is important to mention is that we will conclude whether the culture of violence or non-violence is presented in post-Yugoslav cinematography based on the mentioned feature films and documentaries.

## POST-WAR TRAUMA ON SCREEN

Jasmila Žbanić's two feature films, *Esma's Secret (Grbavica, 2006)* and *For Those Who Can Tell No Tales (2013)*, can be regarded as features films that explore the con-

sequences of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the everyday lives of citizens. In particular, the two mentioned films “address women’s reactions to violence and horror, how the war affects their private and public relations, and how local and global communities can deal with past atrocities and the post-war scenario” (Pascalis 2016: 1). A specificity of Žbanić’s two mentioned feature films, is that it introduces the horrors of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the dominant European imaginary without actually showing images of violence. In this way, she refuses to engage with the traditional pattern of aggressive cinematographic representations of violence, she creates a visual structure where the audience neither participates in the victimisation of the object of military fury nor hypocritically shares the position of the prey (Pascalis 2016). We will first elaborate *Esma’s Secret (Grbavica, 2006)*<sup>11</sup>, this film revolves around the everyday lives of women and men deeply scarred by war. Their experiences are set in Grbavica, a Sarajevo neighbourhood where the main character lives and where many outbursts of violence occurred during the siege, specifically, it was the site of one of the Serb rape camps, whose existence has often been denied, or concealed, in public discourse about the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Ibid.). According to Pascalis, what is at stake in the film is the evanescent difference between “before” – dominated by horror, and violence against the helpless – and “after” – pervaded by weak relationships, scarred by the legacies of war, where anything can trigger traumatic memories, such a trajectory from one situation to the other is neither linear nor fixed, but always renegotiated by each character, from one sequence to the next, also the main dialectic is the one between past and future; with the past haunting the present and producing an horrific continuity in gendered violence, even if with different declinations (Pascalis 2016). Before we start with the elaboration of the second film, it is important to mention that at the end of the chapter, we will give conclusions for each of the elaborated films. *For Those Who Can Tell No Tales*<sup>12</sup>, is based on the actual experiences of the Australian performer Kym Vercoe and her journey

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11 The film’s protagonist, Esma, was held prisoner and repeatedly raped by the Bosnian Serbs paramilitary forces, and forced to give birth to her child in one of the camps. This is the „secret” of the international title-one shared by many other women, like the ones she meets monthly at the Women’s Centre. Esma had always told her daughter that her late father was a šehid - a Bosnian and Muslim war martyr - but when Sara asks for a certificate to receive a discount on the fee for a school trip, Esma is finally forced to reveal the truth. (Pascalis 2016).

12 Kym travels to Bosnia as a tourist during the summer. The guide-book she reads during her journey brings her to Višegrad, a small city with a rich history that provided the setting of Ivo Andrić’s novel *The Bridge on the Drina*. During her night at the Vilina Vlas Hotel, she cannot sleep, and when she returns to Sydney she discovers the same hotel was a rape camp during the Bosnian War, where more than 200 women were killed. She decides to go back to Bosnia during the winter and retrace her journey. Back in Višegrad, she faces hostility from the police and various citizens. Finally, she performs a private ceremony in one of the hotel’s rooms to mourn and remember the raped women (Pascalis 2016).

as a tourist in BiH. This film addresses, the difficulty to privately cope with Bosnia's violent past for both its citizens and the international community and especially Višegrad community, which tries to erase the memory of violence and avoid blame, also by giving Vercoe the ability to observe and narrate BiH from the outside, Žbanić creates distance from the violence, questioning the possibility for the perpetrators and their communities to testify about it without proper healing (Pascalis 2016). Through Kym's body and experience, the director is able to show the new violence intrinsic in the mechanism of engineering a „forgetting” of traumas that the dominant power group inflicted on its victims (Kaplan in Pascalis 2016). According to the conclusions of the author Pascalis, this film also upholds the fragility of the ethical experience, neither allowing the erasure of violence nor assuming it is possible to simply identify with violated bodies from an outside position. It proposes a new perspective on the narrative of the war, granting a gaze to those who did not participate in the violence but are still deeply affected by it. In conclusion, Žbanić's, through elaborated films, proposes different ways for women (and sometimes men) to address the atrocities of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Žbanić abandons any discourse about the supposed inherent violence in the Balkan (male) identity, and refuses to victimise women as a universal category, quite the opposite: she produces specific paths through her character's pain, investigating their difficulties in establishing personal and political relations, above all, her character's bodies are never considered as natural beings: Žbanić sees them as geoculturally located-as biopolitical products created through processes originating from power and responsibility, guilt and care (Pascalis 2016).

In the following, we will elaborate Aida Begić<sup>13</sup>'s film *Snow*<sup>14</sup>, which deals with trauma and life with trauma in a post-conflict society. According to Borjan (2021: 167):

„Collective identification with the trauma and the relation to the past in post-Yugoslav societies have been defined to a large extent by visual media, cinema has had a specific role in the (re)articulation and revision of cultural memory but it has also addressed intimate spheres of victimhood and human suffering and their affective relations to cinema as a domain in the field of cultural memory”.

- 13 She graduated in film and theater directing at the Academy of Performing Arts in Sarajevo in 2000. Her graduate film „First Death Experience” was screened at more than twenty international film festivals. This film participated in the 54th Cannes Film Festival – an official Cine fondation selection, and later won five awards.
- 14 The story of *Snow* takes place in a small village in Eastern Bosnia, largely populated by women. As the spectators slowly discover, their sons and husbands were taken away during the war and were never heard from again. The movie unfolds around the daily lives of women in the village. Daily tasks might appear meaningless but they are essential for the survival of the protagonists and their community. By focusing on daily matters, this movie has marked a significant switch from the atrocities of war that had previously permeated the film production in the post-Yugoslav cinemas (Borjan 2021).

Female protagonists in *Snow* attempt to suppress their memories of violence and their silence is reflected in the narrative since their war traumas are left apart from the story. By focusing on daily matters, this movie has marked a significant switch from the atrocities of war that had previously permeated the film production in the post-Yugoslav cinemas, Begić inserts elements of magic realism in approaching the trauma (Borjan 2021). The hair of Ali, the only boy in the village, grows long overnight every time it is cut short, Jelača argues that this occurrence is connected to his survival since he was not taken away by Serbian soldiers like other men in the village because he was mistaken for a girl but it is also proof that „his trauma is lodged in his body and takes control of his physical appearance” (Jelača in Borjan 2021: 171). The sound in the movie is for the most part diegetic, which further underscores the silence of the women. Their lives are permeated by mutual support and solidarity, sadness but also joy and humor, however, a certain optimism emerges at the end of the movie when the women decide to develop a small business and produce local products, thus refusing the position of victimhood and stressing their ability to make a self-sustainable living (Borjan 2021). Begić and Žbanić were generally recognized as the first female post-Yugoslav directors to address the issue of female war traumas and the burden women carry after gender-based violence. Post-Yugoslav female directors avoid historical narratives, they do not focus on big events in recent history but they shift their gaze to daily hardships in an oppressive patriarchal society, however, female directors eschew the narratives of victimization and employ a different strategy; female protagonists in their films take an active attitude to problems, trying to sort out a better future for themselves and their families, the two Bosnian directors broke with the tradition of representing women on screen (Borjan 2021).

In post-Yugoslav cinematography women were often represented as silent, passive, deprived of their own will and objects of male lust.

The last feature film, which we will elaborate is *Pretty Villages Burn Nicely*, directed by Serbian director Srđan Dragojević. The film focuses on the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a retrospective on life in Yugoslavia. The film's protagonists Milan and Halil, friends since childhood and in the war on opposite sides, a symbolic representation of the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia. If we compare this film with the films we elaborated earlier, then it represents a culture of violence rather than a culture of non-violence, because the film is permeated with scenes of violence that include murders, gender-based violence, destruction of villages, derogatory words: everything that war represents. The film also presents a male perspective and



view of war and war events, unlike the previous ones that we have elaborated on, which present a feminist perspective. However, it is necessary to mention that this film was released a year after the end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1996. The film is permeated with a lot of symbolism, from the “tavern” named “Sloga“, which at the beginning of the film represents the place where all the villagers gather, and during the film the place where military formations gather, the tunnel itself, which in the time of Yugoslavia represented peace, the building of the state, in war it represents the complete opposite.

On several occasions, through the dialogues between the actors, the film wants to show that none of them knows how and why the violence happened; one of the actors of the film utters the following sentence: *You see, we burn down a village, and we don't even know its name.* The film also shows the influence of the media on the wars of the 90s with different interpretations of events, often calling for violence. The elaboration of the mentioned film we will end with several questions which are essential to be considered:

- *Does the film relativise the crimes and the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina?*
- *Does the film represent the facts or not?*
- *Could and did the film contribute to reconciliation, and did it show the senselessness of war?*
- *Were they all unaware of the situation and condition they found themselves in?*
- *Does the film represent the trend of self-exoticism and the portrayal of Balkan culture as archaic, violent, and barbaric, as it was said by author Pavičić, (Pavičić in Borjan 2021: 158)*
- *Can we categorise this film as one that exclusively represents the culture of violence or non-violence? Could it be both?*

The documentary *Contested Memories and the Frozen Conflict*<sup>15</sup> produced by the Center for Research on Religion, Politics and Society, directed by Nikola Knežević, problematizes the culture of memory, the collective memory, which by all is selective. The documentary focuses on the following topics: the importance of religious communities in the process of reconciliation, but also the role of religious communities in crimes during the wars of the 90s in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, the importance of truth commissions such as RECOM, as Dinko Gruhonjić highlights the importance of state-supported initiatives like RECOM for credible documentation of

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15 Link for the documentary: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9hPtqkQTXD0>. The documentary was published in 2016, date of access (26. 05. 2024).



war victims, non-selective/selective approach to victims, dealing with war crimes of all nations (Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks). But what is most important, the documentary showed how much work still needs to be done on reconciliation in the region of the former Yugoslavia.

The documentary *Contested Memories and the Frozen Conflict* also underscores the essential self-reflection required of religious groups to shift from fueling nationalistic populism to becoming catalysts for positive societal transformation, as Alen Krstić asserts that religions must confront their own guilt to become agents of positive change, and it is questioned what kind of theology and spirituality religious communities promote if they enable neighbors to turn against each other overnight?

Table 1<sup>16</sup>

Films processing the war (as past/memory)	Films referring to the war (from the present)	Features films	Documentaries	Features films through a feminist perspective	Culture of violence	Culture of non-violence
Esma's Secret	Contested memories and the Frozen Conflict	For Those Who Can Tell No Tales	Contested memories and the Frozen Conflict	For Those Who Can Tell No Tales	Pretty Villages Burn Nicely	Contested memories and the Frozen Conflict
Contested memories and the Frozen Conflict	For Those Who Can Tell No Tales	Esma's Secret		Esma's Secret		For Those Who Can Tell No Tales
Pretty Villages Burn Nicely	Esma's Secret	Snow		Snow		Esma's Secret
	Snow	Pretty Villages Burn Nicely				Snow

16 Presents our categorization of elaborated films and documentaries, based on theoretical interpretations of films by different authors. It shows our interpretation, whether the listed films in the table below glorifies violence or promotes non-violence and reconciliation, treating film as a storytelling medium focused on content over form. The table also aims to show the difference between films made from a feminist perspective and those that present a male view of war. With the aforementioned categorization, we wanted to show that popular geopolitics, which we observed through one way of its expression, the film showed that post-Yugoslav cinematography construct and affirm violent patterns of social action, and unfortunately to a much lesser extent they deconstruct violent narratives and discourses, excluding films from a feminist perspective, elaborated in the table.

## CONCLUSION

*Trauma and memory may be used in cinema and popular media to proclaim victimhood, unresolved nostalgia, nationalism, or fake national pride, but they can also move to personal witnessing and reconciliation*

(Borjan 2021: 174)

Through our paper, we asked ourselves a couple of questions, which are listed below, and we will be answering them as part of our concluding considerations:

- *Do film, as a form of geopolitical content or discourse (popular), only serve to glorify violence, or can it serve to glorify non-violence and reconciliation?*
- *How much is violence or non-violence represented in the feature films?*
- *Did certain feature films show the senselessness of war and lead to a process of reconciliation, and to what extent can war-themed feature films have a message of peace?*

The mass media instruments – films, commercials, cartoons, and television programs - have become the main ones in terms of political influence. In that context if we look at the popular geopolitics, which Jason Dittmer observes primarily through case studies of film, comics, video games, sermons, and new media we can conclude that film can certainly be an instrument to promote the culture of violence, which was the case with most of the films that teased the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most of those films showed the war from the perspective of men, who did play a dominant role in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also for its end (Dayton Peace Agreement). As this short overview of the post-Yugoslav films on trauma and violence demonstrates, „cinema reflects different stages in the life of a society from the initial encounter with traumatic events to the assessment and development of the discourse of trauma” (Borjan 2021: 174). The films analyzed in this paper show the tensions between attempts to represent individual traumas and the political instrumentalization of these experiences. But if we refer to the feature films and documentaries that we have elaborated on, then we can conclude that feature films and documentaries can still talk about war without showing explicit scenes of violence; these were exactly the films directed by Jasmila Žbanić and Aida Begić. The culture of violence is certainly an integral part of post-Yugoslav cinematography, especially when we talk about the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

However, the films that we have elaborated on did have a message of peace. They did show the insignificance of war. They had a message of peace in the sense that they showed the evil that war brings with it, traumas that remain for a lifetime and are passed on from generation to generation.

In summary, films play a crucial role in popular geopolitics by shaping, reflecting, and challenging public perceptions. Films can significantly shape how audiences perceive geopolitical events, regions, and cultures. They often simplify complex issues, creating memorable images and narratives that become ingrained in public consciousness. Post-Yugoslav cinematography and popular geopolitics are closely intertwined, with films serving as powerful tools for shaping, challenging, and reflecting the complex realities of the region. Post-Yugoslav films often depict the wars and conflicts of the 1990s, shaping national narratives and identities; some of filmmakers use their work to challenge official national narratives and to provide alternative perspectives on the past, for example, *Grbavica* (2006). Besides feature films, the documentary genre plays a crucial role in post-Yugoslav cinema, providing a platform for investigative journalism, historical documentation, and personal testimonies, which is the reason why we have included documentaries in our research. The relationship between popular geopolitics and post-Yugoslav cinematography reveals how films not only shape and reflect geopolitical narratives but also promote cultures of both violence and nonviolence, highlighting the complexities of national identity, historical trauma, and reconciliation in the region.

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## UTICAJ POPULARNE GEOPOLITIKE NA REPREZENTACIJU KULTURE (NE)NASILJA U POSTJUGOSLOVENSKOJ KINEMATOGRAFIJI

### Sažetak:

Rad će se fokusirati na diskurse sadržane u popularnoj geopolitici postjugoslovenske kinematografije sa fokusom na reprezentaciju kulture (ne)nasilja. Geopolitički diskursi sastavni su dio savremene geopolitike, nastali su pod uticajem geopolitičkih tradicija i imaginacija, prepliću se i čine pozadinu svih aspekata geopolitike (Zorko 2014). Kako bismo prikazali uticaj i povezanost popularne geopolitike i nasilja, elaborirati ćemo ključne koncepte kao što su: popularna geopolitika, geopolitika emocija, nasilje, kultura nasilja, kultura sjećanja, kolektivno pamćenje i trauma, post-ratni narativi predstavljeni kroz popularnu geopolitiku u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije, koji će se posmatrati kroz postjugoslovensku kinematografiju. Rad će se fokusirati na post-ratne narative vezane za rat u Bosni i Hercegovini koji se dogodio u periodu od 1992. do 1995. godine, kroz filmove koji su nastali u Bosni i Hercegovini i Srbiji od perioda završetka rata do danas. Naš cilj je da kroz filmove i dokumentarne filmove prikazemo post-ratne narative kojima ćemo pokazati koliko su oni doprinijeli kulturi nasilja ili nasilja. Cilj rada je također da prikaže kako film može uticati na stvaranje postratnih narativa, kao oblik geopolitičkog sadržaja ili diskursa (popularnog), a s obzirom na to da popularna geopolitika, kroz sve svoje segmente i načine djelovanja, bez obzira da li je to kroz medije, časopise, filmove, internet, utiče na svijest određenih društvenih i kulturnih kategorija država, društava, i na kraju pojedinaca.

**Ključne riječi:** popularna geopolitika; nasilje; kultura nasilja; kultura sjećanja; post-ratni narativi; post-jugoslovenska kinematografija; rat u Bosni i Hercegovini

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Review paper

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## **LACK OF TRUST BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS IN POST-ETHNIC CONFLICT SOCIETIES: CASES OF ZIMBABWE AND BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA**

This paper shows how the processes of trust-building and power-sharing are evolving in the cases of Zimbabwe and Bosnia-Herzegovina after the conflict. The paper's focus lies on lack of trust between different ethnic groups in the post-war period in terms of building political institutions and common political identity. Zimbabwe ethnic tensions originating from the Gukurahundi (1983-1987) between the Shona and the Ndebele people spilt over to the post-ethnic conflict society. Despite having the peace agreement known as the Unity Accord of 1987 to reduce tension in Zimbabwe, power-sharing remains the most untapped area for discussion. Similarly, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992-1995) and the ethnic distribution of power given by the Dayton Peace Agreement are still one of the most significant elements of uncertainty and insecurity with dysfunctional ethnically based power-sharing as a result. With this review paper, we tend to answer several questions: What is the primary source of distrust and insecurity in post-conflict societies in Zimbabwe and Bosnia concerning the origins of those issues? What are the efforts of state institutions to promote unity and peace, and how do these peace accords affect institution-building processes?

**Keywords:** peace agreement; Zimbabwe; Bosnia and Herzegovina; ethnic conflict; social cohesion; power-sharing

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This research unravels how a lack of trust between ethnic groups can impact political development in post-ethnic conflict societies. A review of cases of Zimbabwe and Bosnia-Herzegovina in the contemporary era reveals that ethnic conflicts have direct implications on institution building in post-ethnic conflict societies. In the context of Zimbabwe, we will talk about The Gukurahundi (1982-1987) and complex political discussion in Zimbabwe's political history, while in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we will talk about the result of ethnically based peace Agreement and lack of social and political consensus in rebuilding the political society. Both these cases under investigation experienced crimes of ethnic cleansing because of ethnic division followed by Peace Agreements to resolve conflict. Despite the Unity Accord (which ended the Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe) and the Dayton Peace Agreement (which ended the war in Bosnia), these societies face problematic power-sharing and ethnic division. Hence, this paper sought to compare and analyze the origins of ethnic issues and how they reflect on power-sharing and institutional framework.

## THE CASE OF ZIMBABWE

### *2.1. Historical Background*

Zimbabwe gained its independence on the 18<sup>th</sup> of April in 1980 from the colonial rulership of Ian Smith and the British government. The colonization of Zimbabwe by the White settler minority saw both the Shona-Ndebele clans rising against colonial rule (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009). Both ethnic groups fought for the independence of the country. Despite that, social transformations emerged after the country's independence in 1980 when power issues emerged between the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) led by former Zimbabwe President Robert Gabriel Mugabe (a Shona) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) led by Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo (a Ndebele). Despite the citizens having high hopes for peace and independence, the spirit of violence manifested just after the independence named 1982 Gukurahundi. Murambadoro (2015) argues that pre-colonial violence provides the basis for the Gukurahundi and all associated electoral violence in Zimbabwe. On the other hand, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008) states that the complexities between the two ethnicities are often rooted in political power issues, which date back to the 1982 Gukurahundi.

## **2.2. The Gukurahundi and its Aftermath**

According to Eppel (2008), Gukurahundi refers to the first rains that come before spring, and in this case, Gukurahundi sought to oppress the rebels as threats to power. The Gukurahundi genocide witnessed the 5<sup>th</sup> Brigade Army trained by North Korea under sanctioned by the then Zimbabwe President Mugabe to the massacre of people in the Midlands and, to a large extent, Matabeleland region to dismantle the ZAPU which stood as a potential threat to political power to ZANU-PF (Murambadoro 2015; Eppel 2008). The Gukurahundi has devastated Zimbabwe's political landscape (Ngwenya and Harris 2015). Muchemwa (2016) terms the period 1982-1987 as the most disastrous period between the Shona and the Ndebele people, from which more than 20,000 people died. This caused the loss of family members, friends and relatives, a case which haunts the survivors. The Gukurahundi endorsed an inner-state disease regarding ethnic trust issues.

In the aftermath of the Gukurahundi came the establishment of the 1987 Unity Accord. The violence of Gukurahundi ended with the signing of the 1987 Unity Accord between the two major political parties (ZAPU and ZANU), forming the joint ZANU-Patriotic Front (PF) as a unity peace agreement. Ray and Walsh (2024) state that despite the ZANU and ZAPU joining together and forming ZANU PF, the political tensions due to the 5<sup>th</sup> Brigade Army, which violently attacked the Ndebele people, still manifest in contemporary politics. The primary issue was that the Government did not discuss the historical incidents and instead, the issue was kept silent (Muchemwa 2016). Indeed, the Unity Accord spoke of reconciliation between ZANU and ZAPU without providing ethnic superiority or minority, instead silencing ethnic grievances from the Gukurahundi. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003) states that the Ndebele people continue to have a feeling of marginalisation. In this case, issues concerning compensation or acceptance of the Gukurahundi were not brought forward.

However, this did not silence the voices of the victims, which now reflect a major weakness in the country's gospel of peace and unity. Maphosa (2011) states that the complexity of the issue is that the Ndebele blame the Shona people for exceeding power hunger, while the Shona blame the Ndebele for failing to adapt to the social environment. However, Tshuma and Ndlovu (2022) state that the Gukurahundi was not intended to massacre the Ndebele people but to develop a one-party state. The intricate often revolves around the idea that accepting the fault will result in even worse negative consequences. However, maintaining the status quo prevents compromises and underestimating political tension between the ethnic groups involved.



This dilemma becomes even more pronounced when considering that after more than forty years, there are uncertainty and trust issues in post-colonial Zimbabwe. To reinforce this, Eppel (2004) states that Gukurahundi violence was not openly discussed at national and international levels for more than a decade after it happened.

### **2.3. Current ethnic tensions**

Zimbabwe is a country located in Southern Africa with a population of 15 178 957 (National Statistics Agency ZIMSTAT 2022). The statistics show that 99.6% of Zimbabwe's population is African. However, the census did not provide ethnic statistics. Instead, Caucasians comprised 0.16% of the population, while mixed race and other races accounted for 0.2%. In addition, the statistics indicated that Shona is the most spoken language amongst the sixteen official languages (Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, sign language, Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda and Xhosa) which are provided in Section 6 of Zimbabwe 2013 Constitution. 80.9% of the Zimbabwe population said they spoke Shona in their early childhood. On the other hand, 11.5% of the population indicated that they talk the Ndebele language (ZIMSTAT 2022).

According to Moyo and Mathe's (2014) research findings, most of the Ndebele people can speak Shona, but it seems that most of the Shona people do not want to learn the Isi Ndebele language. In addition, Dube (2014) states that the Shona language has been forced to be taught to non-Shona-speaking students in the education sector. This can be tagged as contributing to most Shona speakers in the country. Nevertheless, the historical relationship between these two major ethnic groups (Shona and Ndebele) remains controversial (Moyo and Mathe 2014). In addition, Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007) argue that ethnic polarisation in Zimbabwe argues the Gukurahundi War of 1982-1986 contributed to the ethnic polarisation challenges nation-building. Using evidence from qualitative secondary sources, the study sought to analyse the sources of distrust and insecurities in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the study provides the efforts of State institutions to promote unity and peace. The study used relevant literature on Gukurahundi and ethnicity in post-colonial Zimbabwe. In his study, Musanga (2024) argues that ethnic tensions in Zimbabwe still cover Zimbabwe. Hence, this study sought to contribute to the debate and discussions on post-ethnic conflict societies.

#### ***2.4. Institutional Efforts for Unity and Peace***

Despite the Unity Accord yearly celebrated on the 22nd of December since 1987, there are suspicions and allegations of a lack of trust between the two ethnic societies. Mashingaidze (2005) states that the Unity Accord sought to resemble unity and peace, especially between the Ndebele and Shona people. The provisions of the Unity Accord aimed for peace and unity, and ZANU and ZAPU became one united political party. The Unity Accord sought to promote unity and peace in Zimbabwe. There have been grievances about compensation from the families of the victims. The research findings indicate the complexities of compensation and forgiveness for the perpetrators of Gukurahundi. Hence, there is limited trust in social structures as victims of Gukurahundi continuously seek justice for their actions. The primary intention of the Unity Accord was to promote peace and unity; however, the socio-political structures did not embrace true unity and trust in togetherness. Reim (2023) acknowledges the Unity Accord; however, it presents that transnational justice of the actions was not considered.

In addition, glimmers of hope prevailed as the Zimbabwe government attempted to bring the Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI) in 2009, which was then replaced by the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission (NPRC) (Murambadoro, Wielenga 2015). On the other hand, Vambe (2012) states that youths in Zimbabwe expect the Government to address the issue surrounding the massacre during the Gukurahundi era. On another note, as a way of promoting the healing of the wounds of Gukurahundi, Moyo-Nyoni (2022) states that storytelling has the potential to heal and encourage peacebuilding between ethnic groups. Family members pass on stories to the coming generation of their trauma of the Gukurahundi. The violent incidents continue to instil fear, insecurities and uncertainties in some of the victims (Murambadoro 2015; Ndakaripa 2014). Mashingaidze (2005) argues that the Gukurahundi still haunts the victims despite the major political parties announcing peace. Many memories should be revisited and spoken out. Information is, therefore, inherently passed on to families. Nevertheless, narrative storytelling can contribute to building trust in communities and can also instil misunderstandings (Williams et al. 2003). Indeed, the major drawback is the acceptance of the perpetrators, which can compromise trust. However, Ndakaripa (2014) states that narrative storytelling details past events and predicts future relations between ethnic groups. The bitterness of the victims of the Gukurahundi has been passed on through narrative storytelling of the events of the Fifth Brigade.

## THE CASE OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

### *3.1. Bosnia's road to independence – historical background*

The Opinions of the Badinter Arbitration Committee<sup>1</sup> which in The Opinion no. 3 stated how Yugoslavia is in a process of dissolution started long and violent period of independence struggles (Pellet 1992). Following the steps of Croatia and Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina also decided to finalise separation from Yugoslavia, finding its legitimation in the state referendum held on the 29<sup>th</sup> of February and 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1992 (Ibrahimagić 2005). The need for referendum was expressed in 4<sup>th</sup> Opinion of the Badinter Arbitration Committee, which stated that expression of the peoples' will, about the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina being constituted as a sovereign and independent state, cannot be considered entirely founded without the referendum (Trnka 2000). In this sense, for Bosnia-Herzegovina to achieve international recognition, a referendum for the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina was held under the control of international observers who later confirmed that it was conducted according to all international democratic standards (Kurtćehajić 2017). The legitimacy of the referendum's results has been the subject of debate and point of disagreement between domestic political elites in terms of whether it represented the will of all ethnic structures in Bosnia-Herzegovina or not. The successful referendum fulfilled the necessary condition for international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Hoare 2007). Accordingly, the European Community and its member states recognised the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a sovereign and independent state within its existing borders on April 6<sup>th</sup>, 1992, and the USA recognised it on April 7<sup>th</sup>, a day after (Carmichael 2015). The Bosnian Serbs, led by Radovan Karadžić, today a Hague inductee, did not want to agree with solution that a former republic with some extent of Serbs population would not be within the same state and set out

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1 The Arbitration Commission within the framework of the Peace Conference on Yugoslavia, better known as the Badinter Commission, was an arbitration commission established by the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community (EEC) on August 27, 1991, whose task was to promote a peaceful resolution of the crisis by resolving disputed legal issues in the former Yugoslavia. Robert Badinter was appointed president of a five-member commission made up of presidents of constitutional courts from EEC member states. According to the opinion of the commission, in the conclusion adopted on November 29, 1991, the SFRY disintegrated, and the borders between the former federal units were taken as the state borders of the newly created countries, which cannot be changed by force. This decision provided a legal basis for the recognition of the independence of the republics of the former SFRY, and based on it, on January 15, 1992, the countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) recognized the state independence of Croatia and Slovenia within the existing borders.

to implement their will, which they expressed in an illegally held plebiscite, to live in a joint Yugoslav state that includes Serbia, Montenegro, and the autonomous Serbian region of Kninska Krajina, and the areas of Slavonia, Baranja and western Srem, which they could not achieve in any other way than by force of arms, defying the entire international community (Donia 2016; Zagorac 2008; Kurtóehajić 2017). This was the immediate cause of three and a half – years long aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia consisting of Serbia and Montenegro, which emphasized that Serbs need and have the right to live in one state, encouraging and animating for this idea the Bosnian Serbs who accepted the leadership of Karadžić, which led to the greatest genocide and war crimes in Europe after the Second World War (Primarily of the Bosniak Muslim population, but also Croatian and Serbian population). The war ended with the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and its eleven annexes being initiated in Dayton on November 21st and signed in Paris on December 14<sup>th</sup>, 1995, which established peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Kunrath 2010). Annex 4 out of eleven provides constitutional solutions for Bosnia and Herzegovina, which cemented ethnic divisions within both social and institutional structures that, to this date, remain unreformed, creating an unstable socio-political environment.

### ***3.2. Major origins of ethnic tensions in Bosnia-Herzegovina***

The decades-long dysfunctional political environment in B&H between different ethnic groups and constituent peoples arose over the referendum and is influenced by numerous political and historical factors. In this paper, we targeted those we see as crucial in maintaining the Bosnian society unsafe from violence even three decades after the armed conflict. The first factor we are addressing is the social composition of the Bosnian population in terms of ethnicity and religion. According to the 1991 population census, Muslims (since the 1993 Assembly and according to the 1995 Constitution, the term is Bosniaks) comprised 43,38% of the population, Serbs comprised 31,18% and Croats 17,36% (Statistical Bureau of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina 1991). As we can see, there wasn't a titular nation consisting of the majority of the population. It is one of the reasons why three ethnic groups in Bosnia envisioned different paths. Bosniaks saw Bosnia-Herzegovina as an independent state, and Serbs saw Bosnia-Herzegovina as a part of a new Yugoslavia with Serbia and Montenegro. At the same time, Croats wanted division of Bosnia-Herzegovina and annexing the territory with a Croat majority into Croatia (Ibrahimagić 2008). Different

perspectives of the Bosnian future remain on the ground floor for fear of new violence until this day.

Both Serb and Croat political elites in Bosnia-Herzegovina emphasize the fact that they do not see Bosnia-Herzegovina as their nut state but Serbia and Croatia. Division of power, according to the Dayton Peace Agreement, made the Bosnia-Herzegovina dysfunctional aspiring democracy with constant threat of possible new conflict on the basis of illegal secession or reformation of entities. This leads us to the following factor, which is historically based on the aspirations of Serbia and Croatia to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina. The division is based on ethnicity and religion, meaning where Croats are majority to belong to Croatia and where Serbs are the majority to belong to Serbia both treating Muslims (Bosniaks) as if they do not live in B&H at all. Historically, the two most significant attempts to divide Bosnia between Croatia and Serbia were Cvetković-Maček Agreement from 1939 and the Milošević-Tuđman Agreement from 1991 (Pejanović 2010). In the agreement between Tuđman and Milošević in Karadžević in March 1991, the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina was discussed in principle; where Serbs are in the majority belongs to Serbia, where Croats are the majority belongs to Croatia, and for Muslims it is planned to leave a “small Muslim state in the middle” (Lucić 2005). The book *Transcripts on the Partition of Bosnia* (Lucić 2005) contains the complete texts of thirty-six transcripts of conversations between F. Tuđman and his partners that took place between 1991 and 1999. The first transcripts from 1991 and the first half of 1992 talk about the reasons and intentions to realize the borders of “Greater Croatia” (Lucić 2005: 71). The agreement in Karadžević has its roots in the Cvetković-Maček Agreement of August 26th, 1939. That agreement was between Dragiša Cvetković, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and Vladko Maček, President of the Croatian Peasant Party, and it envisaged the division of Bosnia between the Serbian and Croatian spheres of interest. Bosniaks were treated as if they didn’t live in Bosnia-Herzegovina at all. Although the Muslims had their representatives in the parliament, led by JMO headed by Mehmed Spaho, Croatia got a ban on that agreement to the detriment of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

All these differences and different aspirations for the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina culminated in the war of aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Dayton Peace Agreement, even though it closed armed conflict, was cemented with Annex 4, the Constitution, this ethnic division of the political system making it unsafe for violence in future. Primarily regarding the internal structure, it defines that Bosnia and Herzegovina will consist of two entities: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (with

Bosniak and Croat majority) and the Republic of Srpska (with Serbs majority) (Annex 4 Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina Article 1 Paragraph 3). The decision-making process on all levels of state and entity governments is such that it needs majority support from all three ethnic groups (constituent peoples), and each one of the constituent people can block or veto decision-making processes if they do not see it fit for their ethnic interests. This decision-making model is creating a dysfunctional democracy, as we already said. But in the light of this paper, we want to outline in the end that it once more cemented different perspectives on the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina making it unsafe in the eyes of ordinary people. The destabilising narrative coming from the entity of the Republic of Srpska and its leader, Milorad Dodik, constantly announcing secession of the Entity of the Republic of Srpska, is creating an unpopular political and security climate and undermines the perspective of Euro-Atlantic integrations.

### ***3.3. Dayton Peace Agreement as a contributor to constant insecurities***

Analysing primary sources including Anex 4 of the Dayton Peace Agreement (The Constitution), The Constitution of Federation Bosnia-Herzegovina and The Constitution of Republic of Srpska comparing them to the former Constitution of Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, we identified key issues in terms of ethnically based power-sharing in Bosnian political institutions. Firstly, the procedure of adopting the Constitution as a part of the Peace Agreement is known as a pioneer example of such practice. This means that the national Parliament, enrolled on adopting changes to the Constitution, was not involved in the process, but the Constitution was drafted by international community itself. These circumstances spawned serious questions regarding the legitimacy of the Document. In the first place, The Dayton Peace Agreement was signed by Republic of Bosnia–Herzegovina, Republic of Croatia and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia while latter was not internationally recognized under that name (Kurtćehajić 2024). This means that, against international law, one of the active participants and signatories of the Dayton Peace Agreement was an unrecognised state. Secondly, Anex 4 of the Dayton Peace Agreement and other Annexes were signed by parties including entity of Federation Bosnia-Herzegovina and entity Republic of Srpska, all while subject of international law are exclusively sovereign states and not entities. This makes the legality of the Dayton Peace Agreement and Anex 4 debatable. In the interview with prof. dr. Omer Ibrahimagić, expert on constitutional law and political system, former president of Constitutional Court of Federation

Bosnia-Herzegovina and former judge of the Constitutional court of Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, we discussed legality and legitimacy of Dayton Accords. Describing the tone of negotiations, he said:

“A lot of solutions in the Dayton were the result of high political pressure imposed by the mediators of the peace negotiations. We know that according to Vienna Convention any international agreement made under duress may be subject to annulment. Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina never adopted the Anex 4 as a constitution nor we have official translation to Bosnian language. The only official version of the Constitution is one in English published by the UN. One version unofficially translated to local languages and published by the OHR is not legitimate. This all leads to manipulation in terms of interpretation itself” (Ibrahimagić 2024).

Additionally, besides these formal deficiencies, there are many construction errors and contradictions directly influencing ethnic divisions. The problem is in the name of the entity Republic of Srpska, which got a name after only one people, Serbs, while all three people are constituent or equal in all territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Article I.1 Anex 4 of the Dayton Peace Agreement). This name is discriminatory in that it does not include or mention Croats, Bosniaks and Other all named in the Constitution of Bosnia and entities (See: Preamble of Anex 4 Dayton Peace Agreement).

Lastly, the most important contradiction within the Anex 4 is the serious violation of human rights and basic freedoms. In Article II.1 and Article II.2. of the Anex 4 it is stated that European convention for protection of human rights and basic freedoms and its Protocols have supremacy over domestic law and will be directly applicable in B&H. At the same time, ethnically based power-sharing and decision-making in national institutions deeply violate those human rights. This is confirmed by European Court of Human Rights judgments in a group of *Sejdić-Finci vs. Bosnia-Herzegovina*. One of the priorities for membership in the European Union, which Bosnia-Herzegovina must resolve and harmonise with EU legislation, is precisely the implementation of judgments to correct these structural errors. In May 2019, the European Commission adopted an Opinion (Avis) on Bosnia-Herzegovina’s application for membership in the EU, which, among other things, stated that B&H still does not sufficiently meet the criteria related to the stability of institutions that guarantee democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and the protection of minorities, set by the European Council in Copenhagen in 1993 (Commission Opinion on Bosnia and Herzegovina’s application for membership of the European Union – Council conclusions, December 10, 2019, Brussels). The first such judgment was in 2009 when



the decision was made in the case *Sejdić and Finci v. B&H*, in which it was clearly stated that the Constitution is discriminatory because it does not allow someone from a minority to run for the position of a member of the Presidency or a delegate in the House of Peoples of the Parliamentary Assembly. Dervo Sjeđić, on behalf of the Roma community, and Jakob Finci, president of the Jewish community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, filed an appeal with the European Court of Human Rights warning of these discriminatory provisions. In the past fifteen years, numerous debates, round tables and gatherings of international, governmental and non-governmental organisations have been organised. The topic was implementing that ruling, which should change the Constitution and, consequently, the Election Law, but this has not yet happened. Rather, it started a domino effect of similar serious rulings. Other rulings include following examples of ethnic discrimination: In July 2014, the European Court of Human Rights issued a verdict in the case *Zornić v. B&H* due to Ms. Zornić's inability to participate in the elections for the House of Peoples and the Presidency as a candidate, because she does not declare herself to be a member of one of the three named constituent peoples. Furthermore, in 2016, the Court of Human Rights decided in the *Pilav v. B&H* case, that Ilijaz Pilav from Srebrenica, an entity Republic of Srpska, being unable to run in the elections for a member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina because he is Bosniak living in entity of Republic of Srpska is against the law. The court concluded that Mr. Pilav, who declared himself a member of one of the three equal or constituent peoples, had the constitutional right to participate in the elections for the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the Constitution and the Election Law say that three members of Presidency (one Bosniak, one Croat and one Serb) are selected such that Croat and Bosniak members can only be elected from the constituency of entity Federation Bosnia-Herzegovina. In contrast, the Serbs member's constituency is an entity of the Republic of Srpska. He would have to leave his home and move to the entity Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to realise his rights. Similarly, in December 2020, the European Court of Human Rights issued a verdict in the case *Pudarić v. B&H*, in which it found that B&H discriminated against Svetozar Pudarić in connection with the right to run for membership of the Presidency from among the Serbian people in the territory of the Federation Bosnia-Herzegovina. Svetozar Pudarić ran in the general elections in 2018 as a member of the Presidency from among the Serbian people, but the Central Election Commission of Bosnia rejected his candidacy, because as a Serb with a place of residence in the Federation of B&H, he cannot run for that position. The last judgment of this category was passed on August 29, 2023, in the case *Kovačević v. B&H*. In



this application, the applicant Slaven Kovačević, who was born in Sarajevo, where he lives and works as a political adviser to a member of the Presidency, complained that he, as someone who has not declared that he belongs to a single-named nation, is not represented in the House of Peoples, because his positions are exclusively reserved for Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats. Also, this was the first time that a violation of the right to vote was detected, while previous complaints related to passive suffrage. That is why it is important to note that the application also referred to the claim of the applicant Kovačević that in the last elections for the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, his choice was limited because he could only vote for a Bosniak or Croat member of the Presidency. He could not vote for the Serb member of the Presidency because only citizens from the Republic of Srpska entity have that option. This was the case due to the mixture of territorial and ethnic criteria, which have already been explained. The European Court of Human Rights emphasised in its judgment that “no one should be forced to vote only according to prescribed ethnic lines, regardless of their political point of view” and therefore considers that the applicant’s right is violated. Therefore, in this case, the Court identified two forms of discrimination, namely discrimination related to the applicant’s right to be represented in the House of Peoples and discrimination related to his active right to vote for a member of the Presidency.

## 4. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

### 4.1. *Similarities and Differences*

The analysis presented that the socio-political history in Zimbabwe as well as in B&H contributed to the conflicts in respective cases of study and the present-day ethnic tensions. The Shona-speaking people and the Ndebele people are the major ethnic groups, with the Shona being the majority (ZIMSTAT 2022). A closer analysis reveals that in terms of Zimbabwe, the tension was more rooted in Mugabe’s desire for power. Furthermore, Ndlovu (2023) states that power contestations have been reflected in Zimbabwe politics between ZANU and ZAPU. The Five Brigade strengthened Mugabe’s desire for power. The divergent view reflects that in terms of B&H was based on divergent political views of ethnic groups Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats.

In terms of religion, a comparison between Zimbabwe and B&H. In the case of Zimbabwe, the church or religion is trying to bring the gospel of forgiveness to the historical tensions and events of Gukurahundi. Chitando et al. (2021), recognize the very slow progress of the church’s efforts to promote peace through openness and

apologies. The study presented that ethnic tensions were more pronounced on religion as a contributing factor to the conflict as the Bosniaks (Muslims) were treated as foreigners in the B&H.

The study presented that despite the Dayton Peace Agreement bringing peace to the armed conflict, another door of tension was opened due to Annex 4 providing B&H as two entities as this was previously discussed. Furthermore, the Dayton Peace Agreement was signed by B&H, Croatia and Yugoslavia contrast to the Zimbabwe situation, the Unity Peace Accord joined the two political parties ZAPU and ZANU forming ZANU PF. Despite having the Gukurahundi and state-led peace and unity efforts to promote unity in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe has been subjected to trust issues and reconciliation issues which Tshuma's (2018) study argues identifies the problem rooted in the Government's unwillingness to embrace the truth of the historical past events. A similar issue in this case reflects the ethnical power sharing in political conduct in Zimbabwe as well as in Zimbabwe and Bosnian political institutions.

## **SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS**

### ***5.1. Theoretical findings***

The findings presented that the aftermath of the Gukurahundi brought trust issues in the socio-political society in Zimbabwe. Ndakaripa (2014) states that the suspicions of the Ndebele people joining ZAPU and the Shona people joining ZANU PF contributed to the divisions and violence between the two groups. In this case, Ndebele people are more guarded about the demands for compensation for the survivors and the victims' families (Ndlovu 2023; Ugochukwu 2023). The complexity is also that ZANU PF sought to dismiss and silence the rise of human rights organisations. However, the international community responded passively to the Gukurahundi (Alexander 2021; Cameron 2018). Unlike in Zimbabwe, in B&H there is constant political instability while ethnicity is used as a power-sharing tool for maintaining status quo. Currently, B&H remains unsafe from violence while in the same time being internally divided with completely new internal structure.

According to Reim (2023), the effects of Gukurahundi still manifest in contemporary politics. The author indicates that during the 2010s Gukurahundi activism was rekindled by the Mthwakazi Republic Party claiming the redress of the Matabeleland and Midlands regions. It is vital to mention that the socio-economic and political structures of Zimbabwe are very complex. Ethnic relations are also rooted in differ-

ences in socio-economic levels of development. In this case, Murambadoro (2015) states that it remains difficult to have true peace and reconciliation unless the history of the Gukurahundi is visited. There is not equal development effort in country regions; for instance, Nkayi District in Matabeleland province is less and poorly developed (Gova and Ndlovu 2013). The relationship between the Shona and the Ndebele people remains complicated and yet one of the principles of the State motto is Unity, Peace, Development followed by freedom and work. The disparity and weaknesses in unity are reflected in emerging political parties in Matabeleland regions and Midlands, such as the Mthwakazi Liberation Front (Muchemwa 2016). Alexander (2021) states that Mthwakazi activists are angry and devastated over the Gukurahundi. The research findings showed that a lack of trust cultivates a challenging political environment. In this case, the democratic state is weakened by a lack of trust in society. There is tension and struggle for political power between ZANU-PF and Ndebele speakers that must be addressed for an expected nation-building.

In the same vein, less attention has been paid to the acute issue of low political participation and its role in compromising peace, unity and trust in socio-political structures. Developing a politically stable environment in a post-ethnic conflict society is difficult. The distinction in political participation marks Zimbabwe's political system as ethnopolitical. Before the Zimbabwe 2023 elections, Harris (2022) provides low voter statistics in Bulawayo regions having 270 914 registered voters out of 5 804 975 voters as per Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) statistics. On the other hand, Tshuma (2021) stated that political parties blame ZEC, which is accused of aligning with the ruling party ZANU-PF for the low voter turnout in Matabeleland regions arguing that there is poor conduct of voter education and voter registration processes. The premise holds that the Gukurahundi reflected an interpretation of the differences between the Shona and the Ndebele in political participation.

## ***5.2. Implications for Policy and Practice***

The 1987 Unity Accord stands as the foundation for the promotion of peace and unity in Zimbabwe. At the time of writing, the President of Zimbabwe, Emerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa launched the Gukurahundi Community Outreach Programme in the Matabeleland region which he terms a transformative odyssey towards nation-building and sustainable development (Government of Zimbabwe 2024). President Mnangagwa further expressed that healing from the wounds of Gukurahundi through storytelling promotes a desired environment towards Zimbabwe Vision 2030 for eco-

conomic transformation. Unlike Zimbabwe, the results of war in B&H in terms of ethnic division were used as a basis for peace negotiations, thus creating a completely nonfunctional society and unstable political climate. Nation-building or state-building processes are replaced by the party politics of building ethnically divided entities and cantons using lower levels of government as tools for blocking higher levels of government. At the same time, leading political elites in B&H are having completely different visions of its future.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The study provided an analysis of post-ethnic societies with reference to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Zimbabwe as case studies towards understanding trust issues between ethnic groups. Despite the Unity Accord in Zimbabwe and the Dayton Peace Agreement in Bosnia, ethnic tensions have remained in both cases. A closer analysis of the cases reveals that in case of Zimbabwe the ethnic was rooted in political power between the Shona and Ndebele people and in Bosnia-Herzegovina the problem was more pronounced on ethnicity (religion and language). The study concludes that there are uncertainties and insecurities in political conduct and power sharing.

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## NEDOSTATAK POVERENJA IZMEĐU ETNIČKIH GRUPA U POSKONFLIKTNIM DRUŠTVIMA: SLUČAJEVI ZIMBABVEA I BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE

### Sažetak:

Ovaj rad daje prikaz procesa izgradnje povjerenja između različitih etničkih grupa u slučajevima rata u Zimbabveu i rata u Bosni i Hercegovini sa fokusom na nedostatak povjerenja između različitih etničkih grupa u poslijeratnom periodu u smislu izgradnje političkih institucija, podjele moći i zajedničkog političkog identiteta. Etničke tenzije u Zimbabveu koje potiču od krvavog sukoba između naroda Šona i Ndebele prelele su se i na društvo nakon etničkog sukoba. Uprkos tome što postoji mirovni sporazum poznat kao Sporazum o jedinstvu iz 1987. za smanjenje napetosti u Zimbabveu, raspodjela moći nakon sukoba ostaje dominantno područje neslaganja. Slično tome, rat u Bosni i Hercegovini kao posljedica raspada Jugoslavije u godinama 1992-1995. i etnička raspodjela moći koja je uspostavljena Dejtonskim mirovnim sporazumom i dalje su jedan od najvećih elemenata neizvjesnosti i nesigurnosti. Ovim preglednim radom težimo da odgovorimo na nekoliko pitanja: šta je glavni izvor nepovjerenja i nesigurnosti u društvima u Zimbabveu i Bosni i Hercegovini, kakvi su korijeni tih problema te koliko su mirovni sporazumi kojim su se okončali sukobi doprinijeli stvaranju stabilnih političkih institucija?

**Ključne riječi:** mirovni sporazum; Zimbabve; Bosna i Hercegovina; etnički sukob; socijalna kohezija; raspodjela moći

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Pregledni rad  
Review paper

**Lidija Eret**

## **CHILDHOOD AND MEDIA: OCCURRING OF THE PEER VIOLENCE**

Due to the increasing digitalisation, we also observe increased peer aggression among children and young people, and this paper points to the links between these two phenomena of the modern age. The specific subject of interest is the results of contemporary studies in the field of neuroscience that indicate the negative influence of digital media on cognitive function development and other sciences that indicate the link between exposure to digital media and mental and physical disorders. As modern neuroscience and educational sciences evince that the cause of the deterioration of neuronal cells is the loss of self-control and the appearance of stress, it is certainly noticeable that the aggressiveness of young generations arises precisely because of the lack of action mechanisms within the everyday environment. Digital media are participants in this phenomenon because they cause addictions that lead to a lack of self-control or because they distort through social media the image of real life and social relationships. Whether it is the aggressiveness to which boys or the self-destructiveness to which girls are more prone, digital media is proving to be the cause of other physical and psychological ailments among children and young people. The conclusion of this paper is also derived from the contemporary studies findings that draw attention to a critical and purposeful approach to digital media and that an active life in the sense of daily and consistent physical activity and contact participation in the personal social environments of children and young people is one of the quality solutions to this problem.

**Keywords:** aggression control mechanisms; child and young people aggression; digital dementia; digital media and aggression; physical activity and aggressiveness; self-control and stress

## 1. INTRODUCTION

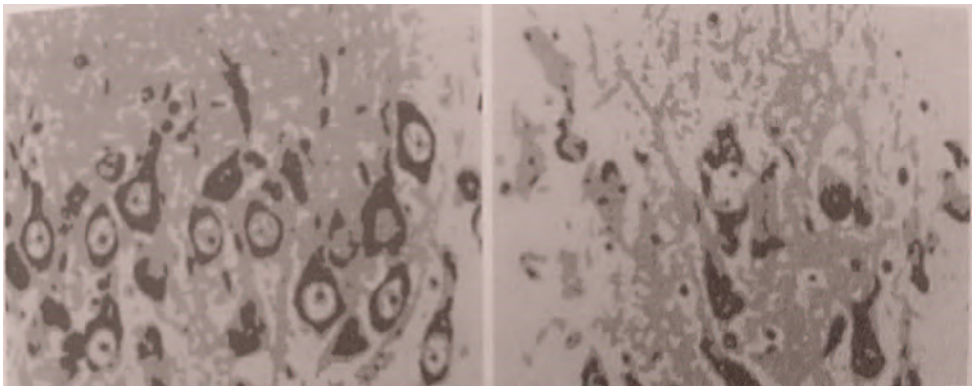
Nowadays, the phenomenon of peer aggression among children and young people is evident (Ellenbogen et al. 2014; Sukhodolsky et al. 2016); we have to ask ourselves how it is related to the daily use of digital media, especially in terms of socialisation and communication. The perspective does not seem promising at all, given that modern neuroscience and neuroscientists warn of the emergence of digital dementia as a threat to the death of neuronal cells, under the influence of (excessive) use of digital media, especially in early childhood (Kays et al. 2012; Ružić-Baf et al. 2017). Research results indicate that brain cells die due to exposure to stress, and it has been shown that the loss of self-control causes stress, that is, control over one's own life (Oaten and Cheng 2005; Rachlin 1974). Loss of self-control leads young people to negative psychological and

physical conditions, as well as aggression and autoaggression (see, for example, Altun and Atasoy 2018; Ekinici et al. 2017; Spitzer 2018). One of the frequent negative effects of digital media on boys is addiction to digital games, which consequently leads to aggressiveness (which will be discussed in the following text), while aggressiveness as an emotion manifests itself differently with girls. The negative impact of digital media on girls is caused by aggression resulting from the loss of self-control in communication via social media (Social Media Self-Control Failure, SMSCF) of those with whom they communicate, where the same aggression is transmitted to other participants in digital communication and socialisation (Hameed and Irfan 2021). Girls, unlike boys, often reflect aggression not on others but on themselves. Autoaggression is thus manifested by isolation from contacts with a social group, a bad self-image, a lack of self-esteem and self-confidence, which can result in other psychological and physical ailments (Scully et al. 2023). Given that it is impossible to single out children and young people today from diverse living environments in which, to a greater or lesser extent, digital media are the backbone of everyday 'tools', the key question of a solution to this (growing) problem arises.

## 2. BRAIN NEUROPLASTICITY: HOW THE MEDIA (DOESN'T) CONTRIBUTE TO DIGITAL DEMENTIA

Brain neuroplasticity is explained by the construct of brain matter in response to changed circumstances or influences. Thus, the brain is constantly changing in two ways, making new connections between synapses, that is, between brain cells, and

thus increasing (Kays et al. 2012; Spitzer 2018). Namely, as certain brain ‘pathways’ are repeatedly used, it is logical that the myelin sheath on the nerve fibres that transmit the electrical impulse will also thicken. This makes nerve fibres more ‘coated’ and thicker, and the impulses are more visible when observing brain activity (for example, by magnetic resonance imaging). Also, brain cells can multiply, so Spitzer (2018) cites research that shows that the multiplication of hippocampus cells increases brain volume. Research has shown (Spitzer 2011, 2011a; Woollett et al. 2009, according to Spitzer 2018: 29-37) an increase in grey matter in the hippocampus when improving skills such as memorising a large amount of information (medical students), remembering and mapping geographic location (drivers), coordination between hands (musicians) or motor skills and visual stimuli (jugglers). But what is frightening is the increasingly common occurrence of brain cell death under the influence of stress (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** Presentation of the healthy brain cells and cellular waste due to the deterioration of the same cells under the influence of stress (Spitzer 2018: 35)

The picture shows the difference between normal cells and those that have died due to exposure to stress, with only cellular debris visible behind them. Spitzer (2018) states that it has been proven that Alzheimer’s disease starts from the hippocampus and spreads to other brain areas. Therefore, we arrive at the concept that Spitzer (2018) describes as the concept of digital dementia: a disease of the new (digital) age to which young generations are susceptible, and two causes are assumed; on the one hand, it is failure to reach the optimal possibilities of brain functions due to non-use, and on the other hand, exposure to stress that destroys existing brain cells.

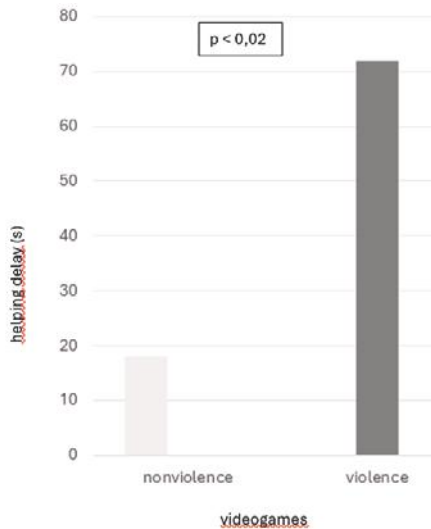
Medical doctor Ranko Rajović has warned about this problem for years in his various studies, professional and popular lectures, posts on social networks, and other publications. He states that it is evident that due to excessive exposure to digital media (especially in early childhood and formative years) and a passive (physically inactive) lifestyle, brain cells do not develop or they decay. The emergence of stress as a way of responding to the environment certainly contributes to this, and Rajović also brings the information that today's generations of children have significantly reduced brain abilities compared to generations, for example, their parents or older generations (Rajović 2023). Why is that so? Rajović and colleagues present research in which they link the use of digital media (television, personal computers, video games and smartphones), spending time in contact games with peers and the occurrence of common disorders today (dyslexia, dysgraphia, dyslalia and dyscalculia). The results of that research are devastating and refer to a population of 1,286 schoolchildren in Croatia, Italy and Serbia (Ružić-Baf et al. 2017). The authors also warn of the negative manifestation of excessive use of digital media on physical diseases: slower development, obesity, disorders sleep disorders, mental illnesses, aggression, digital dementia, addictions and radiation.

### **3. NEGATIVE INFLUENCE OF DIGITAL MEDIA: BOYS ARE AGGRESSIVE, GIRLS ARE SELF-DESTRUCTIVE**

Self-control can be defined by its three combined aspects. The first is setting a long-term goal. After that, self-control manifests itself in giving up some (momentary) pleasure, aiming to (as quickly as possible) achieve the set goal and accomplish tasks and activities that will bring us closer to that goal. Thirdly, it is important to realise that on the way to success, it is important to be adaptable because the way we predict the arrival of the goal can change, so one must be ready for certain adjustments (Rachlin 1974). Today's research shows that the loss of self-control is crucially related to stress. Namely, stress could be described as an unpleasant experience that one considers or feels to have no control over it (Oaten and Cheng 2005). The rethinking of this work connects precisely the excessive use of digital media among young generations with the loss of self-control and thus with the appearance of stress, and consequently with the appearance of (auto)aggression (Altun and Atasoy 2018; Ekinici et al. 2017; Spitzer 2018).

Digital games are an example to show in a plastic way how digital media influence the appearance of stress by losing self-control and, thus, the appearance of aggression.

Studies show that addiction to digital games is more often associated with boys than girls (Altun and Atasoy 2018; Ekinici et al. 2017). Playing digital (video) games gives boys a sense of control in a virtual environment. The theme of these games is personal interest, therefore the condition of motivation is already met. By winning or progressing in games, boys get a sense of control over their environment, which increases satisfaction and the secretion of happiness hormones (dopamine, serotonin and endorphins). However, it is possible that the game will turn into an addiction, since the virtual environment is more interesting, dynamic and exciting than the one in the contact world and everyday life, while successes are easier to achieve and more likely. Real life becomes boring and tiring, because problems and social conflicts inevitably need to be resolved. Therefore, withdrawal into the ‘happy’ virtual world of the game is becoming more and more common.

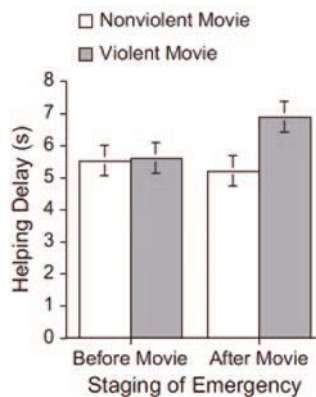


**Figure 2.** Students who played a violent computer game take 4.5 times longer to engage in a (staged) conflict to defend the victim than students who played a non-violent game (Bushman and Anderson 2009: 275, according to Spitzer 2018: 189)

The percentage of time devoted to digital games versus one in the real world is increasing, and consequently, the widening gap between the two (Spitzer 2018). Children (more often male) become aggressive, not finding solutions for everyday tasks and withdrawing more and more into the game world. At first glance, it may seem that aggressiveness is a copy of modelling with ‘warrior’ digital games. In fact, in the real world, it is a consequence of losing control over one’s personal life and, as a

result, the appearance of stress, which was discussed in the previous chapter. So, the aggressiveness that boys manifest (more than girls) under the influence of digital media and towards their peers or other environments is, on the one hand, a reflection of the model offered to them in the (aggressive) virtual world. On the other hand the feeling that reality is beyond their control, and the virtual world of digital games (which is more beautiful, better and more interesting) is one that we cannot copy into reality (Altun and Atasoy 2018; Ekinci et al. 2017; Spitzer 2018).

The loss of self-control in communication via social media is now a separate term of study in scientific circles (Social Media Self-Control Failure, SMSCF). Hameed and Irfan (2021) show that a person who shows a loss of self-control on social networks (media) expresses aggression through his contact but causes the same in other participants of communication; therefore, they also become aggressive. Furthermore, this research shows how this type of socialisation leads to frustrations (Hameed and Irfan 2021). Girls under the negative influence of social media (social networks) show passive aggressiveness and autoaggressiveness, withdrawing into themselves and avoiding social contact. Furthermore, under such influence, they also create a bad image of themselves, which is most often manifested by a drop in self-confidence and a negative attitude towards their appearance, so the desire to achieve the socially dictated ideal of thinness leads to psychological (e.g. depression, lack of self-confidence and self-esteem) and physical (e.g. anorexia and bulimia) illnesses (Scully et al. 2023). Stress and loss of self-control in this case, compared to the studies including the young male population, actually come from the same source, but aggressiveness manifests itself in a different form.



**Figure 3.** People who watched a violent movie took significantly longer than people who watched a non-violent movie to help a sick person in need (Bushman and Anderson 2009: 277)

Manfred Spitzer (2018) puts digitally conditioned aggression under quotation marks of the same term, desensitisation. Spitzer (2018) states that for decades, we have been unwittingly adopting the blunting of human empathy by accepting models of aggressive behaviour encouraged in public media, from television and radio to various types of today's digital versions. The same is supported by a study (Figure 2) in which 320 students (an equal number of men and women) played violent and non-violent computer games (Bushman and Anderson 2009). Those who played violent games took 4.5 times longer to show empathy and come to the aid of a person in a staged conflict. The same paper (Bushman and Anderson 2009) shows another study conducted in which people (162 adult subjects) who watched a violent film took significantly longer to come to the aid of a person using crutches than it did for people who watched a non-violent film (Figure 3).

#### **4. MOVING AWAY FROM (NEGATIVE) DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES TOWARDS CONTACT REALITY: MOTION AND SOCIALISATION**

Many studies today show a strong correlation between physical activity and reducing the negative impact of digital media. Starting in the first chapter, the danger of digital dementia and the deterioration of brain cells (Spitzer 2018), this paper points to the threat that digital media bring in other aspects, not only cognitive but also affective and physical. Thus, for decades, scientists have cited the study results in which physical activity alleviates the symptoms of psychological disorders, for example, depression and anxiety (Calfas and Taylor 1994; Larun et al. 2006; North et al. 1994), that is, it affects the improvement of self-esteem (Calfas and Taylor 1994; Ekeland et al. 2004). Ružić-Baf et al. (2017) suggest reducing the time spent with digital multimedia, with more time devoted to physical activity and improving brain functions by learning through discovery and critical reasoning on problem examples and tasks. Physical activity also helps deal with aggressiveness as an emotion by channelling it towards controlling one's aggressiveness and aggressive behaviour (Malhotra 2019; Pels and Kleinert 2016). In any case, what today's experts suggest is distancing from digital media towards contact, not virtual socialisation and movement as such and in all forms. The virtual world and virtual communication and socialisation often show an unrealistic picture of interpersonal relationships and other relations in various aspects of everyday life, which leads, especially children and young people, to alienation from their peers and family environment, poor self-image, confusion in



everyday life and, consequently, aggression and autoaggressions. To suppress the harmful effects of digital media use on personal emotions, communication and socialisation, and thus on peer aggressiveness, the time spent with digital media should be replaced by peer and family gatherings, movement as a daily and intensive activity, or forms of socialisation that will connect mentioned activities (Ružić-Baf et al. 2017; Spitzer 2018; Rajović et al. 2017).

## 5. CONCLUSION

Today's scientists would call the appearance of harmful forms of child and young people's behaviour excessively exposed to the influence of digital media, manifested either by aggressiveness or insufficient compassion desensitisation (Spitzer 2018). The term denotes a lack, a 'dulling' of human empathy due to the acceptance of aggressive behaviour that we have all been perceiving for decades through public media. Public media had different broadcasters in the past, but today, they mostly come from digital channels. Many studies show that the aggressiveness advertised through public media subconsciously becomes increasingly acceptable and, as a result, part of the personal relationship to one's environment (Bushman and Anderson 2009). Neuroscience and neuroscientists warn that the exposure of children and young people to digital media threatens the death of brain cells because the brain does not perform its functions in the way it should, which actually leads children who are in their formative years to a state of so-called digital dementia (Kays et al. 2012; Rajović, 2023; Ružić-Baf et al. 2017; Spitzer 2018). Studies show that, under the negative influence of digital media, boys are more aggressive than girls, while girls are self-destructive (Altun and Atasoy 2018; Ekinici et al. 2017; Hameed and Irfan 2021; Spitzer 2018). Science shows that aggressiveness as well as self-destructiveness (which comes in the form of isolation from the social environment, poor self-image and lack of self-esteem and self-confidence) result from a lack of self-control and thus from the appearance of stress, which indicates that digital environments (especially those of socialisation and of a communicative nature) present a distorted picture of reality in which, as a result, children and young people do not find their way (Oaten and Cheng 2005; Rachlin 1974). The only solution that has proven positive in a series of modern studies is finding alternatives to the digital environment in the everyday lives of children and young people. That is, digital media must be used purposefully, that is when the solution to a need and problem has no other (analogue or digital) counterpart. Scientists show that one of the key aims is to increase physical activity and contact

socialising within personal social environments, which reduces the likelihood of negative consequences on psychological and physical health (Calfas and Taylor 1994; Ekeland et al. 2004; Larun et al. 2006; North et al. 2017; Ružić-Baf et al. 2017), and it helps to control aggressiveness as a feeling and behaviour (Malhotra 2019; Pels and Kleinert 2016).

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## MEDIJI U ODRASTANJU: ZAŠTO DOLAZI DO POJAVE VRŠNJAČKOG NASILJA

### Sažetak:

Obzirom u današnjem vremenu sve veće digitalizacije uočavamo i povećane pojave vršnjačke agresije kod djece i mladih, radom se ukazuje na poveznice između ovih dviju pojava suvremenog doba. Specifičnost navedenog predmeta interesa jesu pokazatelji suvremenih istraživanja s područja neuroznanosti koji ukazuju na negativan utjecaj digitalnih medija na razvoj kognitivnih funkcija, ali i drugih znanosti koja ukazuju na poveznice izloženosti digitalnim medijima s psihičkim i tjelesnim oboljenjima. Kako suvremena neuroznanost i odgojne znanosti uzrok propadanja neuronskih stanica dokazuju gubitkom samokontrole i pojavom stresa, svakako je za uočiti kako agresivnost mladih generacija proizlazi upravo zbog manjka mehanizama djelovanja unutar svakodnevne okoline. Digitalni mediji učesnici su ove pojave obzirom uzrokuju ovisnosti koje dovode do manjka samokontrole, ili pak jer preko društvenih medija iskrivljuju sliku realnog života i socijalnih relacija. Bilo da je riječ o agresivnosti kojoj su skloniji dječaci ili autodestruktivnosti kojoj su sklonije djevojčice, digitalni mediji pokazuju se uzrokom i drugih tjelesnih i psihičkih tegoba kod djece i mladih. Zaključci ovog rada proizlaze također iz nalaza suvremenih istraživanja koja dokazuju kako je digitalnim medijima potrebno pristupati kritički i upotrebljavati ih svrsishodno, a da je aktivan život u smislu svakodnevne i dosljedne fizičke aktivnosti te kontaktna participacija u osobnim socijalnim okruženjima djece i mladih jedno od kvalitetnih rješenja ovoga problema.

**Ključne riječi:** agresivnost djece i mladih; digitalna demencija; digitalni mediji i agresivnost; mehanizmi kontrole agresije; tjelesna aktivnost i agresivnost; samokontrola i stres

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## **THE PSYCHODYNAMICS OF MEDIA VIOLENCE: WHY DO WE ALWAYS HAVE SO LITTLE?!**

Previous research on the correlation of media, violence, and end users of media content in the focus of analysis had the representation and definition of “violent scenes and content” in various media formats as problematic, media content on the physical, emotional, or mental state of media users. The research also focused on correlations between individual personality traits and the motivation to search, demand, and consume scenes of violence in different media formats. The text analyzes the motivation, level of engagement, and needs of end media users in searching for and using violent media products and understanding their expected forms of gratification from such activities, starting from the point of view that people find media-mediated violence interesting, attractive and exciting and that they are inclined to different forms of motivation searching, using and sharing various problematic contents. With a qualitative approach through research conducted on two focus groups (N=24), group discussion, interaction, and observation method, the research tried to differentiate the ways and habits of using media and media content and to understand and explain whether and why media users collect, research, process and disseminate media content with elements of violence. The analysis shows that the respondents focus their interest on media descriptions of realistic violent content. Still, they are not attracted to explicit violence in media disseminated formats, but to what it is associated with. Respondents resolve cognitive dissonance in the context of their attitudes following their actions to justify their chosen behaviour and the appeal of media messages with elements of violence.

**Keywords:** media; violence; problematic media content; user motivation

## MEDIA VIOLENCE

By the term *violence*, most definitions mean, in a narrower sense, the use of physical force to injure, abuse, cause damage, damage or destruction, and, in a broader sense, forcing a specific behaviour and the use of various means of psychological coercion to cause damage, injury or intimidation of persons. The World Health Organization defined violence as “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation” (WHO 2002: 5). Various disciplines have analyzed the issues of the expression of violence starting from two historical foundations: the desire for dominance, power, aggressiveness in the contexts of biological, innate predispositions and cultural legacies of destructiveness.

We cannot observe violence as an isolated social phenomenon because the expression of different types and forms of violence is influenced by individuals’ individual characteristics, social interactions, and the attributes of the social environment, structure, and cultural characteristics in which the individual is or where social interactions take place.

“Aggression and violence are social phenomena that are highly correlated, cause-and-effect related to numerous socio-pathological phenomena: social diseases (somatic, mental, psychosomatic); individual and social disorganizations and dysfunctions (premarital, extramarital and marital unions, family, school, spiritual institutions, immediate and wider social community), sociopathological phenomena (smoking, alcoholism, drug addiction, sexual perversions and violence, aggression - destruction, murders and suicides) and criminality. (Milinović, 2011: 29-40 according to Mamula et al., 2013) ... to which should be added the desire for power, to rule, personality changes, a perverted value system, the inability to satisfy needs, and unfulfilled expectations.” (Žilić, Janković 2016: 71)

Giles (2010) argues that violence is an extremely complex human phenomenon that becomes even more complex when viewed as a media phenomenon. Most experts in the research of this topic agree that the concept of media violence, i.e., violence mediated by the media, is difficult to define, among other things, because it is omnipresent in the most diverse media content.

Observing the media in the context of industrial logic, their production of various media contents is not much different from any other industry that produces, markets, and sells a certain product with the ultimate goal of making a profit. In contrast to

the public media role, which is driven by completely altruistic reasons of disseminating topics of social importance and public confrontation of the most diverse possible opinions and attitudes, “the basic principle of the media industry has become commercial profitability and profit, and the best means to achieve this are a spectacle, entertainment, violence, pornography, advertisements...” (Zgrabljčić-Rotar 2005: 5). Thus, by media-mediated violence, we mean content that can or tends to encourage antisocial behaviour and leaves the possibility of a cause-and-effect relationship between the consumption of violent scenes and aggressive or any other antisocial behaviour. At the same time, media-disseminated violence can be *fictitious* (invented) or *stylised*, such as violent scenes in films, series, cartoons, pornography/eroticism, science fiction shows, and *real* i.e. the one we can see/hear/read in news reports, news, black chronicles, sports programs, and other program formats. Violent narratives can be exclusively produced by a certain media in the form of a certain media format or reproduced, i.e. only distributed but not created on their terms. “Pornography – the display of sexual behaviour on morally unacceptable grounds, even in an illegal way, is negative because it is always directed against someone, very often as an object it exploits women and children, and means the degradation of human feelings and dignity” (Zgrabljčić-Rotar 2005: 21).

By the term media-mediated violence, of course, we can also mean all content that in any way incites hatred, intolerance, exclusivity towards an individual or group or is on the trail of “hate speech” that justifies, spreads or incites any kind of hatred, violence, xenophobia, stereotyping, degradation and discrimination. Zgrabljčić-Rotar (2005) believes that media support and representation of stereotypes can be a direct form of conveying untruths or half-truths that are not always fun and funny, such as opinions about blondes, and can be not only a conveyer of racist, nationalist, macho, promiscuous, etc. views of the world, but such views can maintain, strengthen and promote. Often referred media content can also be considered content from the advertising/advertising industry that can be misused. Especially when placing ambiguous advertising messages or sexist and manipulative content. Vuksanović (2018) cites sources according to which media coverage of violence is only a representation of real, actual, already existing violence in society, and that today’s media is flooded with such content to such an extent that we no longer notice it. The author also states that the “obsessive thematization” of violence in the media is, in most cases, for entertainment and profit, and in rare cases, for emancipation.



## REGULATION OF MEDIA AND PROBLEMATIC MEDIA CONTENT

The regulation of traditional media (press and electronic media) has set the boundaries of appropriate and permitted media content that can be publicly marketed. Most legal and ethical institutions imply and mandate programmatic respect for human dignity, basic rights, and respect for all differences, including gender equality. Just for example, an independent regulatory body in Bosnia and Herzegovina through a series of rules and codes<sup>1</sup>, harmonized with the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Communications, the European Union Directive on audiovisual media services, and other positive-legal domestic and international documents, when it comes to electronic media, clearly prohibits the dissemination of content that humiliates, intimidates or promotes prejudice, intolerance or abuse, manipulates superstitions, fears or credulity of individuals or the public and encourages potentially harmful behavior. These programming obligations apply both to owning and producing programming and to rebroadcasting, purchased or exchanged programming, audience messages, and commercial communications. Also, program content must not spread, justify, encourage, and/or create a clear and immediate risk of inciting hatred, violence, or discrimination on any basis. It must not, directly or indirectly, glorify, justify, or encourage the commission of a criminal act of terrorism. Article 9 of the Code of Program Content (RAK 2023) clearly defines violence and other harmful behaviours in terms of which,

“(1) Showing scenes of violence and the consequences of violence, violent behaviour, and sound or visual descriptions of violence must be justified by the context and will not be overly emphasized in program content. (2) The program content may not, taking into account the context, encourage, encourage, or glorify violence, anti-social behaviour, and behaviour that is harmful to the health or safety of people. (3) When showing the reconstruction of criminal acts, violence, and other harmful behaviour, the media service provider must provide a visual warning that it is a reconstruction during the entire duration of such content. (4) Abuse of alcohol and narcotic drugs must not in any way be presented as acceptable behaviour, nor will it be encouraged or justified in program contents” (Code on program contents RAK 2023: 7).

Also, scenes of violence, consequences of violence or natural disasters, footage of accident victims, and scenes after the accident that may disturb the audience must be shown with an appropriate warning and announcement. A special section also defines reporting on court processes within which direct or indirect disclosure of the

<sup>1</sup> Code of Program Content, Regulatory Agency for Communications of Bosnia and Herzegovina

identity of victims of sexual assault is not allowed. Media service providers are also clearly required to protect privacy in cases of showing scenes of violence, the consequences of violence, or natural disasters in the sense that they need to strike a balance between informing the public and showing compassion, which poses a risk of sensationalism and may cause pain or the possibility of unjustified violation of privacy.

“(4) If accidents or family tragedies are reported in news content, the right to privacy of the victims and other persons affected by those events shall be respected. This applies to content in which the event is directly reported, as well as content in which this event is subsequently mentioned. (5) Persons in a state of pain or shock must not be exposed to pressure to give interviews or participate in program contents.” (Code on program contents RAK 2023: 10)

A special program regulation regulates the protection of minors in the sense that any content that minors could easily imitate may not be shown in program content primarily intended for minors unless such program content does not indicate their harmfulness. In terms of protecting the physical, psychological and moral development of minors, media service providers are obliged to carry out a precise categorisation and technical protection of content that includes, but is not limited to, the display of brutal and extreme violence that is not justified by the context, pornographic content with elements of violence or extreme sexual fetishes, etc. and pay attention to the possible ethical and other social consequences of showing these program contents.

Regardless of the very detailed legal regulation of media dissemination of violent content as well as the method of sanctioning, monitoring and control mechanisms remain on the possible reporting of certain media content by users/individuals who can do so provided that they are clearly and properly instructed in such procedures. Dissemination of problematic media content is part of other digital communication platforms, new media such as social networks, etc., which are not subject to classic media, or professional standardization and leave room for each individual to collect, process and distribute different content. Algorithms and protocols for recognizing inappropriate content disseminated in the online space are often not sensitised to an adequate extent to stop, prevent or limit the promotion of violent narratives.

## COMMUNICATION/MEDIA HABITS - WHY AND HOW DO WE USE MEDIA VIOLENCE?

McQuail (2010) lists several motives that prompt us to use different media content. Among many, he states that these are obtaining information and advice, reducing personal insecurity, learning about society and the world, seeking support for one's values, gaining insight into one's own life, experiencing empathy with the problems of others, creating social contacts as well as their replacement, the feeling of connection with others, escaping from problems and worries, entering an imaginary world, filling time, experiencing emotional relief and achieving structure for the daily routine. Historical theoretical and empirical research has analyzed media effects by observing media users as passive observers. Somewhat later research on media influences included the understanding that the media audience is not just a passive observer but an active media user.

According to Baran and Davis (2012), the theory of media dependence measures the role of the media in an individual's life within a certain social environment by satisfying his needs within the framework of media re/presentations. According to the authors, the greater the degree of satisfaction of these needs, the greater the influence and the role of the media itself, and the greater the percentage of those who are dependent on certain media, they will be nothing more than servants of those addictions... "in our industrial society, we are becoming increasingly dependent on the media (a) to understand the social world, (b) to act meaningfully and effectively in society, and (c) for fantasy and escape" (Baran, Davis 2012: 289). At the moment, when one media outlet is not able to satisfy our needs, we, without any problem, find several others that will replace this dependence. Laughey (2009) believes that the audience should have priority in the choice of media exposure of topics, but this ideal is most often unattainable solely because of its inadequate competencies. "The idea that media don't tell people what to think, but what to think about..." (Baran, Davis 2012: 93). *Uses and gratifications theory* defines individuals as active media users who search for and choose media that will satisfy their desires, needs and interests with media content. According to Giles (2010), this approach is intuitively closer to real life. It offers an alternative explanation for human fascination with violent and other controversial media based on individual curiosity rather than exposure itself. "Our fascination with crime media may have its roots in the need to keep an eye on potential predators and is referred to as the 'surveillance function' of the news" (Shoemaker 1996, cited in Giles 2010: 29).

Two examples will illustrate communication/media habits in a social environment. In 2019, a fatal traffic accident occurred on the highway between Roth and Nuremberg in Germany. A few drivers were filming and photographing the outcome of the traffic accident from their cars while passing by. The German television company BR, through its official social channels, shared a video in which a policeman can be seen who approached a man in a car and, with a fine, “offered” him to approach and see for himself the outcome of the traffic accident with the words: “Come let me show you, do you want to see a dead man? The one you photographed? Here, it’s lying here, come, do you want to see it?”. After the man categorically refused to see that scene, the policeman asked him why he took the photo (Fokus.ba 2019). In 2023, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the public, through social networks, made available both the horrific footage of the murder of Nizama Hećimović, committed by her husband in front of the child, as well as the actual act of brutal violence and murder in a live broadcast. Before Meta, a company millions of kilometres away, reacted with the protocols mentioned above and algorithms to protect users from inappropriate content on online networks by deleting them from social networks, for more than three hours, individually created recordings were spread and shared, and users “frantically” searched for them (Balkan Investigative Reporting Network in Bosnia and Herzegovina, BIRN 2023). Tens of thousands of people, including minors, saw this monstrous act. The protection software did not detect or distinguish between created and real violent content, and there was probably a language barrier.

The earliest examples of occupation and enjoyment of violence are, perhaps, the Roman gladiator fights. “In these, most often inhumane conditions, individuals fought to survive another day and, ultimately, perhaps reach freedom. This makes it clear that gladiators were not free residents” (Domazet 2022: 16). The Roman population, the author claims, was eager for this kind of combat thrills in which the audience or the organizer of the games decide on the life of the defeated gladiator through the position of the thumb (thumb up for life, thumb down for death). This primordial need of the individual phenomenon of people’s desire and need to see, hear, watch or share scenes of violence is defined in part by psychopathological research into psychological personality disorders. Psychopathology under personality disorder defines “permanent, rigid and maladaptive patterns of behaviour, thoughts, feelings and relationships with others, which deviate significantly from what is usual in a certain society/culture” (Dinić 2023: 2). In psychology, personality traits are defined as a set of organised traits and mechanisms that influence, among other things, its interaction and adaptation to the social environment, are permanent but also subject to certain changes. Namely,

traumas, tragedies or an inadequate and problematic environment can lead to the so-called *dark tetrads*. Negative, socially unacceptable behaviour is marked precisely by this tetrad consisting of Machiavellianism, narcissism, psychopathy and everyday sadism. All four forms are characterized by a low degree or the absence of empathy and emotional capacity. Without entering into the fundus of other forms of behaviour, sadism is characterised by the enjoyment of causing pain or discomfort to others. In this case, we can consider *indirect* or so-called *vicarious sadism*, which represents the observation of other people's suffering and pain with the aim of enjoyment and entertainment but which is not caused personally and directly. "To put it figuratively, narcissists look for attention, psychopaths for excitement, Machiavellians for gain and sadists for pleasure. In everyday sadism...a passer-by will film a person lying on the ground and share the footage on social networks" (Mihelčić 2022, "The pleasure of inflicting pain on another. Everyday sadists and the digital age. They are in your innermost circle", Ideja.hr, Published: January 15, 2022). Everyday sadism differs from other pathopsychological characteristics, Mihelčić claims, because it is usually socially adapted and is performed within the framework of existing rules and norms. Science cannot distinguish between non-pathological psychopathy and everyday sadism. And yet, the author claims, estimates of the prevalence of non-criminal, i.e. non-clinical, psychopathy in the population are well known. "One international study showed that sadists enjoy media content that shows greater suffering and misfortune of others" (Mihelčić 2022, "The pleasure of inflicting pain on others. Everyday sadists and the digital age. They are in your innermost circle", Ideja.hr, Published: January 15, 2022), what's more, they will not only enjoy these contents but will search for them with increasing intensity, most often in online, digital media. The author states that research by American and Danish psychologists from 2021 showed that aggressive people behave equally aggressively in real and online environments, which refutes the hypothesis that, in this context of mediated communication, which does not take place on an interpersonal level, innate mechanisms of respecting norms and calming aggression towards others. "The digital age only made possible and made more visible what already existed. Technology only exposes and makes our darkest tendencies more effective" (Mihelčić 2022, "The pleasure of inflicting pain on others. Everyday sadists and the digital age. They are in your innermost circle", Ideja.hr, Published: January 15, 2022). "The basic assumption in developmental psychopathology is that a person moves between pathological and non-pathological forms of functioning throughout his life and that his functioning is never completely pathological and completely non-pathological in all domains" (Vulić-Prtorić 2001: 164).

Zgrabljic-Rotar (2005) explains how media violence affects media users through four hypotheses. The first is the stimulation hypothesis or imitation, according to which bullies and villainous characters, murderers, or thugs are presented as attractive and entertaining. In the context of this hypothesis, the imitation of violence from the media does not have to be literal, the author claims, but it is always potentially possible. The second hypothesis is *harassment* in the context that these types of media-mediated content cause emotional excitement and fear, according to which the experience of the experience is stronger and the action itself, as the author claims, is more likely during excitement. The third hypothesis, *the catharsis hypothesis* by which media users, by watching media-mediated violence, get a certain “emotional reward” in which “increased adrenaline” equals “stronger interest”... “Children, while watching some forms of violence, for example, violence in cartoons, can release hostile feelings that they suppressed, and that this kind of “replacement aggression” actually helps and relief” (Zgrabljic-Rotar 2005: 31). Thus, consuming media-mediated violence can cause a reduction in violent behaviour or reduce it. The fourth hypothesis, the habituation or insensitivity hypothesis, implies that constant exposure to violent scenes through the media acts like a vaccination, i.e., we become immune to violent content. Vuksanović (2018) believes that violence in itself is not fun, but for it to become attractive to the media, it is necessary to add the attribute of fun to it, it is fun, no matter what means it is achieved.

“In this way, one distinct social non-value, the occurrence of violence and destruction, acquires a desirable connotation in the world of capitalism. This especially applies to the target group, which consists of sensitive people - the population of children and young people. To make matters worse, it is not always just entertainment, it often has artistic pretensions, so that its artificiality additionally affects the promotion of the capitalist system - as free, democratic, highly aestheticized – in the words “the best of all possible worlds” (Vuksanović 2018: 1829).

The selection of media and media content that we use is influenced by many factors, not only our individual preferences. As Giles (2010) claims, we are often not even reliable witnesses of our own media use. Researching the communication habits of media users also includes the time we spend on other communication platforms.

## PSYCHODYNAMICS OF MEDIA VIOLENCE

The majority of previous studies within the field of media violence were related to the study of the influence or effects on the individual and society of the mediation of violent scenes and violence, generally through different media.

M. Perse (2001) analyzing the effects of media-mediated violence in the real social environment, states three theoretical approaches to mental activity that are a predisposition to aggressive behaviour. The first is based on the *theory of social learning*, i.e. that media users learn through exposure to particular media content, i.e. adopt specific models and patterns of behaviour. The more realistic the content, the more effective this type of learning is through observation. Realistic forms of violence have a greater impact on media users, as well as those for which users can find adequate justification. Given that learning processes require several phases, among others the phase of attention, violent content has a pronounced exciting dimension that results in greater attention. Another approach refers to the information processing model, which also starts from the assumption that aggressive behaviour results from learning from violent media scenarios that are stored in human memory and when recalled, can be behavioural patterns. The third approach refers to the point of view that violent media signs can also stimulate violent thoughts, i.e. that they can be a kind of trigger. The author believes that exposure to violence through the media affects people's acceptance of it as a social norm and as a solution to problems, and that this largely depends on their attitudes towards violence. However, this does not necessarily mean that if someone has a positive attitude towards violence, they will behave following that attitude.

Giles (2010) states that in most such experimental psychological studies, it was very difficult to isolate only "violence" from other media content and even more difficult to isolate or produce an "effect". Most of those studies were criticized by the communication discourse for reducing media effectiveness exclusively to experimental stimulus. Neuroscience and technology developed for these experimental purposes enabled very comprehensive monitoring of the behavioural reactions of individuals to certain media-mediated stimuli and enabled a series of studies that can connect the media in different ways to the neuropsychological states of people. Studies of the effects of consuming violent scenes in the media started from the point of view that they, in a certain way, encourage aggressive thinking or behaviour in a real social environment. In this sense, the so-called *theory of arousal transmission*. It starts from the point of view that watching violent content causes an "adrenaline jump" in an in-



dividual, so that the individual, without even recognizing the source of that increased excitement, can react aggressively in the social environment. In these corpora of research, in addition to these media stimuli, the psychopathological predispositions of violent behaviour of individuals were also investigated. Experimental methodology, questionnaires, interviews, and psychometric scales were mostly used for these types of research, and the results usually indicated the immediate effects of individuals' exposure to violent scenes.

George Gerbner's content analysis method (according to Giles 2010: 31) has served as a valid instrument for defining cumulative media impacts in terms of what media users can see. *The theory of cultivation* defined in this direction assumes that the media have the ability, over a certain time, to gradually form certain attitudes, opinions or behaviours. What was objected to Gerbner's method of content analysis, i.e. how the media audience uses or "reads" certain media content, the *theory of active audience* has completed the analysis of different approaches to understanding the same media messages. Therefore, when it comes to researching the effects of media-mediated violence, it is important not only to know what content is conceived by the media for users but also to analyse how individuals will understand these media-mediated constructs and narratives.

*The theory of learning by model and the theory of cognitive coercion* also correspond to the hypothesis that exposure to violent scenes, especially of children and minors who do not have a developed level of rational logic, can result in imitating media-mediated content. Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton formed the so-called thesis. media dysfunctions, i.e. *narcotising dysfunctions* in which the media disseminates content that can result in the ultimate passivity of users instead of some form of activism. In this context, even themes resulting from suffering and tragedies can take the form of sensation or entertainment. Giles (2010) describes it with Murray's (2008) *desensitisation effect*, i.e. that repeated viewing of violence over time leads to a lowering of emotional arousal and creates an "intoxication" effect similar to addiction. The author also claims that experimental research on the effect of media-mediated violence can be debatable both from the aspect of defining the violent content that appears in the media presentation and from the aspect of group research where the degree of expressed aggression after exposure to scenes of violence, of one person can be defined as much higher, i.e. mark the whole group, which may have shown a certain degree of aggression, but not provoked by the exposed scenes, but perhaps by the aggression of that one person. Giles, e.g. cites authors such as Hill (1997), who observe the thesis mentioned above of *catharsis* in the theory of psychodynamics



from the aspect of some kind of initiation of young men where violent content is used to “test the limits” of submitting to shocking audiovisual content. However, the author states that the only constant of all these different approaches to researching types of violence in the media is correlating precisely with very diverse forms of antisocial behaviour.

Morrison (1999, cited in Giles 2010) defined several forms in which people perceive violence: mischievous violence, imagined violence, and true, naturalistic violence. Overall, these perceptions are influenced by the type of social environment we come from.

However, different studies of psychodynamics and the impact of media-mediated violence can speak in favour of a greater, lesser, or no impact on the expressions of aggression of individuals in a real social environment. Still, in the focus of this analysis, we will try to answer why people are attracted to violent content at all. Whether some people will enjoy violent scenes more is influenced, first of all, by personality traits. A meta-analysis from 2005 (Hoffner, Levine 2005) synthesised and analysed the available data on research into the degree of enjoyment of viewers in fear and violence and confirmed that male viewers with a low level of empathy, a high level of aggression and a pronounced interest in sensations enjoy media-mediated events more. Another study from the same year (Krcmar, Kean 2005) examined the relationship between personality traits and the degree of enjoyment of violence and found that extroverted people are more interested in violent media content, while people with pronounced traits of kindness, pleasantness and empathy prefer this type of problematic contentless. Gentil’s (2013) thesis research on catharsis as a substitute way of expressing aggressiveness claims that there is no valid evidence for it in psychology because aggression is not a drive that must be discharged; watching media violence would not reduce aggressive feelings but should teach us the dangers of the consequences of violence provided that the media reconstructed and correctly edited them. Most studies showed effects that were completely contrary to the thesis of catharsis.

McCarthy-Jones (2021) shows that recent research suggests that there are three categories of people who enjoy watching violence. The first group is called *adrenaline addicts*, who, in search of new and more intense experiences, choose, use and search exclusively for violent content. The author compares this group of people with people with pronounced vicarious, everyday sadism. The second group is denoted by the so-called *white boxers* who feel intense excitement watching violence but do not like that kind of emotion. The author characterises this phenomenon as a type of benign

masochism where an individual can enjoy painful experiences from the perspective of safety, believing that by experiencing these experiences, he can learn something or acquire specific skills. The author designates the third group as *dark policemen* who, using the theory of threat simulation, enjoy watching violence safely because it can teach them something. “Watching violence from the safety of our sofa may be a way to prepare ourselves for a violent and dangerous world. Violence, hence, appeals for a good reason. Interestingly, a recent study found that horror fans and morbidly curious individuals were more psychologically resilient during the COVID-19 pandemic” (McCarthy-Jones 2021, From Tarantino to Squid game: why do so many people enjoy violence?, theconversation.com, Published: October 27, 2021). To answer the question of whether we are attracted to violence, the author states that, nevertheless, some people can enjoy not explicit violence but what it is associated with, such as tension that results in attraction or just action. “The “forbidden fruit hypothesis” proposes that it is violence being deemed off-limits that makes it appealing. Consistent with this, warning labels increase people’s interest in violent programs” (McCarthy-Jones 2021, From Tarantino to Squid game: why do so many people enjoy violence?, theconversation.com, Published: October 27, 2021). At the same time, the author believes this phenomenon can also be explained by the expectation of punishment, i.e. by enjoying justified violence. “Indeed, whenever people anticipate being able to punish wrongdoers, the reward centres of their brains light up like fairgrounds. That said, less than half the violence on TV is inflicted on baddies by goodies” (McCarthy-Jones 2021, From Tarantino to Squid game: why do so many people enjoy violence?, theconversation.com, Published: October 27, 2021).

As previously discussed, the author also claims that media coverage of violent scenes offered to us daily and in abundance can be connected to numerous political, corporate, ideological or economic reasons. To a large extent, its most common effect is found in the consequences and possibilities of our distorted reality, such as, for example, the effect of some violent act in the film that has a certain consequence on the human body – in reality, this consequence would be impossible.

When we talk about the effects of the phenomenon of people’s need to consume media-mediated violence, in addition to distorted reality, Bushman (2023) also lists six categories of rejecting the influence of violent content. First of all, it is a wrong understanding according to which media users believe that exposure to media violence cannot possibly result in committing murder, forgetting that the expression of aggression does not always have to reach this, the highest degree of expressed violence, which is also the most recognisable. In the second line, the author lists con-

fluctuating thoughts that cause psychological discomfort, i.e. in the theory known as cognitive dissonance. People who tend to use violent content are likely to feel uncomfortable knowing how harmful it is and accordingly rationalise their behaviour by bringing their attitudes into line with their actions and behaviour. Therefore, they will think that it is not harmful and that it does not have any influence on them. The author explains the third reason for rejection through the theory of psychological reactance in the context that we tend to retain our freedom of choice and create an aversive reaction to any kind of restriction of our freedom. Forbidden or limited options, in that case, become more attractive, for example, media legally defined labels for inappropriate, problematic, or violent content, as well as the elaborated “forbidden fruit hypothesis”. According to the elaborate groundlessness of the catharsis thesis, the author states that people often wrongly assume that they feel better if they replace aggressiveness with simulated violence. With the “third person” effect, the author tries to explain that people believe that the media has a much more significant influence on others, who are more “sensitive” than them. Ultimately, people tend to intuitively assume more harmfulness of physiological, visible processes than psychological, less visible ones. For these reasons, Bushman argues, most of us don’t like to admit that what we enjoy can also harm us.

## **THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH**

To explain whether and why media-mediated violence is interesting and attractive to us, the research was conducted to clarify several *problematic questions*:

- How and why do we use the media, and what are our communication habits?
- Is media-mediated violent content interesting and attractive to us, and why?
- Why and how are we motivated and engaged in searching for and using violent media narratives?
- What are the forms of gratification for the use of such content?
- Can we assume the effects of media-mediated violence?

Previous research into the correlation of media, violence and end users of media content recorded, measured and analysed both the representation and definition of “violent scenes and content” in different media formats, as well as the immediate and cumulative effects that such problematic media content produced in the context of the physical, emotional or mental state of media users. At the same time, previously elaborated research dealt with analysing the correlation of individual personality traits

with the motivation to search, demand and consume scenes of violence in different media formats.

The research's subject is the analysis of the motivation, level of engagement, and needs of individuals and end media users in searching for and using violent media products and understanding their expected forms of gratification from these activities.

The research aimed to determine which kinds of media content individuals search for and use in the online media space. The research aimed to determine whether users search, use, or share problematic, violent media content, whether they find it interesting and attractive, and why. In this sense, the analysis tried to detect, separate, and record opinions, attitudes, experiences, behaviours, beliefs, prejudices, views, needs, motives, arguments, and reactions of media users in searching, using, or sharing violent media content. Relying on the viewpoints of the theoretical approach of "uses and rewards" (the theoretical approach of "uses and gratification"), the research aimed to determine whether users of media content are fascinated by media products with elements of violence due to the need for surveillance, fear, enjoyment, entertainment, attraction, emotional excitement, help, relief, justification, what it is connected with or in, this form of analysis of motivation and gratification is simply the effects of habituation and desensitisation. Also, it should be emphasized here that the needs of media users are temporally and situationally variable. Therefore, individual motives, reasons, and preferences for using media content were formed into current clusters. The research on "benefits and rewards" aimed to determine the existence of the same, similar, or conflicting preferences and feelings in the context of the use and use of violent media content. The goal of the research was also to determine whether the groups of respondents, when expressing their attitudes, opinions, or actions, can correlate the research results, according to which there are three categories of people who enjoy watching violence (McCarthy-Jones 2021). The goals of the analysis related not only to recording and analysing the causes of the use of problematic content but also to possible consequences, i.e. effects. At the same time, it is important to emphasize that this analysis did not measure the immediate and cumulative effects of violent media formats that may have possible consequences in the form of prosocial or antisocial behaviour of the respondents, nor was an adequate experimental method of intentionally causing certain effects under controlled conditions used in this research. The research on the consequences of searching for, using or sharing violent media content aimed to determine the degree of recognition of the harmfulness/usefulness of such content by the respondents, i.e. the degree of rejection of harmful influence within Bushman's (2023) six categories: exposure to media violence cannot

result in committing violence, cognitive dissonance and bringing individual attitudes into harmony with actions, retaining freedom of choice (“forbidden fruit hypothesis”), replacing aggressiveness with simulated forms, the “third person” effect and intuitively assuming the harmfulness of invisible processes.

The research starts from the *general hypothesis* that people find media-mediated violence interesting, attractive, and exciting and that, with different forms of motivation, they are inclined to search, use, and share different problematic content. Auxiliary hypotheses refer to the following points of view:

- Media users daily search and use content with elements of realistic forms of violence such as accidents, accidents, tragedies, murders, and all those that belong to the thematic framework of the Black Chronicles.
- Media users search for realistic forms of media-mediated violence motivated by the desire for enjoyment and entertainment.
- Media users are attracted to media content marked as “forbidden”, “restricted” or “disturbing”.
- Media users tend to use violent content, but they feel uncomfortable assuming its effects, so they rationalise their behaviour accordingly, bringing their attitudes into harmony with their actions and behaviour.

Attributes and characteristics that were analysed by the goals and set hypotheses of the analysis were the media/communication habits, characteristics, and activities of respondents in relation to which they choose media and media content to search and use, which were observed and recognised according to the operational definition. In this case, we are talking about latent variables, i.e. characteristics of the respondents that are not visible and measurable but are analysed through exact and visible manifest indicators: used media and other communication channels, searched online content, direct selection of the offered media content and the way of its perception, understanding and use, offered clusters of motives for selecting certain media content, and procedures of respondents exposed to problematic media content.

The independent variables of the research were:

- Is media-mediated violence interesting, attractive, and exciting to respondents?
- Do respondents search, use, and share problematic content out of curiosity, entertainment out of a desire to enjoy?
- Are respondents attracted to “forbidden” or “restricted” media content?
- Do the respondents justify their interest in problematic content?
- Do the respondents assume the harmfulness of problematic media content?

The dependent variables in this research were related to:

- The type of media and communication channels used by respondents
- Types and thematic areas of media content in which they are interested
- Motives for using media and media content
- The type and amount of selected media information offered
- Method of handling and activities after selecting and using certain media contents
- Reasons for selecting problematic media content
- Respondents' attitudes regarding the recognition of harm/usefulness of such content.

Through a *focus group*, a qualitative form of research and a group discussion, interaction, and observation method, the research tried to differentiate the ways and habits of using media and media content and to understand and explain whether and why media users collect, research, process and disseminate media content with elements of violence. The focus group method, as a qualitative form of research, was chosen with the aim of a more precise understanding and explanation of the values, attitudes, and behaviour of the respondents and an additional explanation of individual actions or opinions. 24 interviewees participated in two focus groups. The research and analysis in the focus group format did not have the pretensions of representative sampling to draw general conclusions that, with other quantitative methods, can be applied to the entire population, nor to generalise the results of the research in terms of how many people are attracted to problematic media content, but whether and why. Using the focus group method, the research intended to offer a spectrum of respondents' attitudes towards media-mediated violence, the motives that initiated them to use such content, and the meanings that such content has in the context of a younger social group. The respondents were selected according to the principle of homogeneity, i.e. the fact that they belong to the same social group, the younger student population, following the criterion that they are the majority users of online media formats and other communication platforms. The analysis included an explanation of the media habits of users in a smaller quantitative sample.

The analysis used descriptive methods and techniques: direct observation, simulation, interview, assessment system, and projective and stimulation techniques. The form of interview was created to initiate group discussion and interaction and contained structured questions for the interviewees that related to: daily habits of using the media, media content that interests the interviewees, content with media-mediated

violent scenes, the way of perception and understanding of media messages and recognition harm/usefulness of problematic media content. The tasks of analysis using the interview technique were related to additional clarifications of attitudes, opinions, and selection of respondents. The techniques of the assessment system were used in the sense of individual determination or self-assessment of the degree of importance of the offered motives for using the media and media content. The task of the assessment system was to record individual preferences for the offered media content, as well as to determine subsequent preferences within the scope of the search for certain problematic, media-mediated content. The tasks of direct observation referred to the examiner's direct insight into the used media/communication platforms of the respondents and the recording of reactions and behaviour to the offered examples of media-mediated content with elements of violence. Projective, simulation, and stimulation techniques had the task of offering selected media content and materials that would encourage respondents to show or express their attitude, judgment, opinion, or activity. The mentioned techniques were used in the creation, for research, of stylised content of the online platform, media-mediated texts and photos with elements of violence, and offered content labelled "disturbing".

*The scientific and social justification* of the analysis considers the contexts in which, in addition to the regulatory framework and the issue of sensitisation of the algorithms of virtual, digital online media environments, we can also talk about the effect and responsibility of the individual primordial phenomenon, the desire, and need of people to see, hear, watch or share scenes of violence in the public media area of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The analysis also aims to initiate more comprehensive research that will be on track to analyse the real communication needs of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which could be an efficient platform for creating engaged and optimal media policies. *The field of analysis* occupies the space of communication and psychological sciences. *The spatial dimension* of the media format research is related to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the *research time frame* is April/May/June and July 2024.

### *Respondents*

Focus group 1 included twelve respondents<sup>2</sup> (6 respondents / 20 years old, 5 respondents / 21 years old, and 1 respondent / 22 years old). Focus group 2 included

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2 Participants in the examination are students of the University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo, Department of Communication/Journalism, 2nd year, First cycle of studies: S.S., E.R., B.K., I.T., N.N., E.Č., S.B., M.S., E.Š., A.P., S.V., M.K.;



twelve subjects<sup>3</sup> (5 subjects / 19 years, 4 subjects / 21 years, and 3 subjects / 22 years). A total of twenty-four subjects between the ages of 19 and 22 took part in the research. The respondents were selected according to the elaborated criteria in the methodological framework of the research with the primary principle of homogeneity, i.e. the criterion of belonging to a younger population group that is a user of online media formats as well as other communication platforms. No form of conformity was recorded in the focus group discussion, given the fact that the participants independently chose and selected the offered content and consistently stuck to their elaborated opinions and attitudes until the end of the discussion in interaction with other participants.

### *Measuring instruments*

All five phases of the research within the framework of the two focus groups used individual, descriptive research techniques. The first phase used the techniques of direct insight and observation, the form of a short questionnaire of choice and individual and group interviews with a set of structured questions related to the daily habits of media use and media content that interests the respondents. The research's second phase used direct observation, simulation, and projective and stimulation techniques. In this phase of the examination, a digital form of photography and separately created simulations of an online platform with created contents were offered to initiate the respondents to exhibit certain behaviours and deal with the contents of violent scenes mediated by the media. The third, fourth, and fifth phases of the examination included individual and group interview techniques with structured questions about the ways of perceiving and understanding media messages, subsequent preferences in terms of searching for specific problematic, media-mediated content, and recognising the harm/usefulness of problematic media content. The form of the discussion enabled additional clarifications of the views, opinions, and selection of respondents. With the applied methods and techniques of observation, questioning, discussion, and focus group analysis (Table 1), the aim was to understand the behaviour of media users when choosing media formats and content, as well as to understand the motives and meanings that arise from the fascination and immediate procedures of using media content with elements of violence.

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3 Participants in the examination are students of the University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo, Department of Communication/Journalism, 1st year, First cycle of studies: E. B., E. K., A. S., N. K., Dž. K., M.Z., E.S., S.A., N.Č., B.M., H.P., A.Sp.;



**Table 1.** Presentation of the measuring instruments used about the studied research variables

<i>Latent variable</i>	<i>Operational definition</i>	<i>Manifest indicator</i>
Is media-mediated violence interesting, attractive and exciting to respondents?	Immediate insight into the media and online platforms that respondents use and the content they are interested in. The questionnaire with the option to choose. Interview, discussion.	What did the respondent show the examiner that he was searching? What did the respondent choose among the motives offered for using the media? How does the respondent explain the reasons for using certain online platforms and content?
Do the respondents search, use and share problematic content out of curiosity, entertainment out of a desire to enjoy themselves?	Immediate insight into the media and online platforms that respondents use and the content they are interested in. Newspaper photos. Online platform simulations with created content. Interview, discussion.	What did the respondent show the examiner that he was searching? What and why did the respondents choose to do when encountering real and media-mediated violent events? What violent content did they choose to read/use and why? Are they searching for additional content related to problematic media content?
Are respondents attracted to "forbidden" or "restricted" media content?	Online platform simulations with created content.	Did the respondents choose to open and read, see or hear what the content is about?
Do the respondents justify their interest in problematic content?	Interview, discussion.	What reasons and motives do respondents give for using problematic media content?
Do respondents assume the harmfulness of problematic media content?	Interview, discussion. Offered categories.	What are the forms of individual gratification of respondents. Selected degree of rejection of harmful influence. What objectification of harm did the respondents state?

### *Research procedure*

With a qualitative research approach within the framework of two formed focus groups, within a group, in-depth discussion, the following were examined: opinions, attitudes, experiences, behaviors, beliefs, prejudices, views, motives, arguments, and

reactions of respondents regarding their communication/media habits to understand and explanations of the need to search and use violent media content.

The examination within Focus Group 1 was held on May 17, 2024, and lasted 1 hour and 50 minutes. The examination within Focus Group 2 was held on 07/09/2024, and lasted 2 hours.

The first part of the research within the focus groups was dedicated to recording data and information about the media formats and contents that the respondents use most often, as well as the reasons for their motivation to use those media and contents. Using the examiner's direct insight and observation, the respondents presented/showed the online media and other communication platforms and the media content they used/used that day. Respondents had the opportunity to explain their motivation and interest in the displayed content and to provide additional information about online platforms that meet their primary interests and information/communication needs. In the framework of the first phase of the examination, the respondents, using the self-assessment technique, chose the three primary ones from the offered clusters of motives for the use/use of media and media content. Respondents were offered the following motives for using a platform or online media: 1. obtaining information and advice, 2. reducing personal insecurity, 3. learning about society and the world, 4. seeking support for one's values, 5. gaining insight into one's own life, 6. the experience of empathy with the problems of others, 7. the creation of social contacts as well as their replacement, 8. the feeling of connection with others, 9. escaping from problems and worries, 10. entering the imaginary world, 11. filling time, 12. the experience of emotional relief, and 13. achieving structure for the daily routine. With these insights into the respondent's interests and the self-assessment system, the research aimed to determine not only the content of the used media format placed with a certain editorial or media policy intention but also what that media content and its narrative would mean for the respondent. These indicators of preferred media and their contents directly show the reasons/motives for their use by the respondents, i.e. the way and which media the respondents use and what they provide. The first phase of the focus group examination lasted between 10 and 15 minutes.

The second part, with a carefully designed digital form of the displayed photos and a specially created interface of the digital media platform, by observing and analyzing the unbiased actions of the subjects, tried to reveal their reaction to real violent and tragic scenes and those conditioned by the media format. Respondents in both focus groups were offered two newspaper photos with elements of real tragic scenes, after which they were asked what they would do if they encountered such scenes in

a real environment and within one of the media/communication online platforms. The comparative analysis of the reactions shown was intended to determine the degree of motivation for consuming violent scenes and media-mediated content with elements of violence. Respondents had the opportunity to state whether they would stop and look at a real scene, just pass by it without paying attention, stay at the scene or take a photo or video content, and share the created materials with other users in the communication space. Focus group participants in the survey were offered separately created online media platform templates without imprints and identity tags, only with a linked toolbar of 31 titles and subtitles. In the content context, the selected titles contained real and published news, stories, and information from domestic and world politics, music, sports, health, film, economy, entertainment, jet set, and show business. The offered schedule contained news, stories, and information with included photos and video content and problematic forms of the examined contents, i.e. contents related to murders and suicides, traffic accidents, fights, quarrels, and war in the national and regional environment. Among the offered content, the respondents were also offered media content under the label and warning of “disturbing elements”. The focus group survey monitored which links of the offered news the respondents would open and read. The analysis and monitoring of the respondent’s behaviour in this phase lasted 40 minutes.

The third part of the structure of the interactive discussion was related to the determination of the reasons for the attractiveness of the selected titles and the respondents’ individual understanding of the narrative of the selected content for use offered in the created platform. In individual and group interviews, respondents had the opportunity to express their feelings, opinions, reasons, and procedures for using problematic media content, as well as individual ways of understanding media-mediated messages. The interview and group discussion lasted 30 minutes.

The fourth part aimed to determine further procedures after familiarising the respondents with the desired media narrative, i.e. determining the degree of satisfaction of the respondent’s media needs. Respondents had the opportunity to state the procedures after being introduced to the desired media, and problematic content in the sense that they would be initiated to search further: photos of the bully and the victim, the identity of the bully and the victim, the act of violence, the place or space where the act of violence took place, the consequences of the violence, eyewitness statements and video content in the format of media/communication content. The discussion, in this phase of the examination, lasted 15 minutes.

The fifth and last segment of the discussion was about determining the individual perceptions of the respondents about the effects of using media-mediated violence. Respondents had the opportunity to state their self-assessed degree of recognition of the harm/usefulness of using such content and their opinion on the reasons for rejecting the negative use of such content grouped in Bushman's (2023) six categories. The discussion lasted between 15 and 20 minutes.

## RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

In the first research task, we wanted to investigate *how and why the respondents use the media and their communication habits*. The results show that in Focus Group 1, respondents start their day using a mobile phone. Most of the participants in the survey access almost identical communication platforms on a mobile device, with Instagram and WhatsApp leading the way. Their habit of starting the day with a mobile phone is argued by the need to fulfil obligations and communicate with friends. Participants in the research showed the first content they searched for and used on their devices. On four of the ten platforms used by the participants, it was the Black Chronicle column titled "Ramo Isak, I drove cars worth 500 thousand KM" and "Vulcanizer died while repairing a truck". On other platforms, content related to sports, music, humanitarian actions, and one focused interest on the gender-insensitive statement of athletes were searched. M. S. claims: "When I look at these titles, that is, when I open them and read them, I am usually prompted by the photograph." Of the 13 offered motives that are primary for using some platforms, content or online media, the participants declared that it is primarily the motive of filling time, followed by the motive of obtaining information and advice, the feeling of connection with others, creating social contacts as well as replacing them, entering the imaginary world, achieving a structure for the daily routine and learning about society and the world. The participants declared that, in addition to other communication platforms (social networks), they also use online media (portals), most often klix.ba, indeks.hr, n1info.ba, slobodnaevropa.org, avaz.ba and balkans.aljazeera.net. Almost identical results of the analysis were also recorded within Focus Group 2. Respondents also start the day by searching for content on communication/media online platforms, within which they state that these are mostly all popular social networks and online portals that enable them to, unlike respondents of the first group for whom these actions are justified by the need to fulfil obligations as well as the need to communicate with friends, gain insight into daily events and be informed. The contents that the re-

spondents used that day mostly related to news and information from the world of politics and Black Chronicle. The most frequently visited contents were: “Kings action. The action in which Galić is also a suspect: See the arrest of the Border Police officer”, “Arrival of Serbian Army cadets in Prijedor: Did they have permission from the BiH authorities and what were their reactions” and “The Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted amendments to the Law on the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council (HJPC) BiH”. In addition to other communication channels, respondents also use online portals such as Klix.ba, raport.ba and detektor.ba. For the respondents, the primary motive for using some of the platforms or online media is learning about society and the world, followed by the following motives: obtaining information and advice, experiencing empathy with the problems of others, creating social contacts as well as replacing them, feeling connected with others, escaping from problems and care, entering the imaginary world and filling time.

Young people are predominantly directed towards the use of modern digital platforms as opposed to the use of traditional media. Their interest is focused more on other communication platforms, such as social networks, as opposed to online media, which is clearly shown by their spectrum of recently used content. The use of these communication platforms and online media is mostly justified by the desire to fill time, learn about society and the world, get information and advice, feel a connection with others, create social contacts as well as replace them, enter an imaginary world, achieve a structure for the daily routine, by experiencing empathy with the problems of others and escaping from problems and worries. Their daily routine usually begins and ends with the virtual world of communication networks. Within the framework of the analysis of the media and the media content used by the respondents, it is important to emphasise the limitations within which the analysis of comprehensive communication/media habits would imply a quantitatively larger number of respondents involved in the research and monitoring of their habits in the context of media use, a longer time and the use of other methods, techniques, and instruments for recording such data. The research would also provide a different insight into the communication/media habits of members of different populations and social groups that are not included in the selected sample and, possibly, record different procedures and choices in unmonitored ways of selecting and using media and media content.

In the second research task, we wanted to investigate which and what kind of media content the respondents search for and use in online media and whether and why media-mediated violent content is interesting and attractive to them. The participants of the focus groups in the investigation were offered a separately created online

media platform with news, stories, and information with included photos and video content and problematic forms of the investigated content, i.e. content related to murders and suicides, traffic accidents, fights, quarrels and war in the national and the regional environment. The focus group research monitored which links of the offered news the respondents would open and read. Twelve respondents of Focus Group 1 chose to read 103 of the 31 titles offered to each respondent. Out of a total of 103 selected titles for reading, the respondents focused their interest on 25 titles related to murders/suicides, 13 titles related to fights and violent behaviour, 12 titles about traffic accidents, 11 titles related to war themes, and five titles related to quarrels and conflicts, so more than half of the selected contents. The results of the analysis show that most respondents are interested in topics related to the media description of real violent, tragic situations, happenings, and events, that is, these media contents attract them the most. The largest number of respondents chose to read the following news from the immediate environment: “Sarajevo: Lifeless body of a woman found at the place called Otoka in the river Miljacka”, “The woman from Gradačac was most likely killed with an axe, the husband committed suicide by hanging”, “Details revealed: Danka was killed by communal workers, then threw the body into the landfill”, “A two-year-old child died in yesterday’s traffic accident in Ilidža”, “A woman died in a head-on collision between two vehicles near Dobož”, “How was a film made about Sarajevo children killed by VRS criminals”, “In a shooting in Bentbaša, a migrant was wounded, everything was preceded by a fight”, “Swedish police: We expect that the Dutchman who was disqualified from the Eurovision Song Contest will be charged”, “In the attack on the building in Kharkiv, 16 people were injured, among them children”, “Photo of the Everton fan who was hooligans attacked with a knife horrified the world”, “Bh. Singer Vukašin Brajić: I tried to take my own life, depression was not noticeable”, “Clash in Mostar: Journalist says he was beaten, border policeman claims he was not the first to start”, “At least 18 killed in collision between bus and truck on highway in Germany “ and “ Hamas published footage of fighting from the north of Gaza: A large number of tanks were hit”. One participant of the focus group, of all the texts he chose in the context of his interest, all of them related to problematic contents, and another of the 13 selected, 12 that represented real forms of violence. The participants claim that they were attracted to these contents by the photographs. E.R. says: “I would open this news and read it. I’m interested in murders and morbid things, but because of forensics and criminal topics”. N.N.: “I just love the black chronicle like I love horror movies”. S. V.: “I would read this just to see for myself whether this kind of irresponsibility is possible or how something like that

could happen”. M. K.: “I’m interested in all the details about the killer”. S. B. claims: “I’m only interested in seeing what’s happening”. E. Č.: “I would only open this out of disbelief or shock that something like that could happen”. M. S.: “I would open this for details to see if someone is more creative”. S. S.: “I’m interested in seeing who is telling the truth and who is lying”. E. Š.: “I would read it because I simply do not believe it is true”. B. K.: “This makes me sad. I would look at this out of compassion”.

The participants of the focus group declared that, if in a real-life environment, in a public space, they saw the scene of the accident that was offered to them in the photo, they would stop and look carefully and stay looking. Still, they would not make a photo or video or share this information further. S. S.: “As a journalist, I would probably take a photo or make a video. Once I found myself when there was a car accident... I sent a text... but it’s better to send a text without a picture... it’s better to post just the text.” E. R.: “I like to watch it. Now you will think that I am deranged...”. Participants claim that they are interested in violent content because they feel excitement and empathy. N. N.: “When there was a live broadcast on TikTok of the murder of Nizama Hećimović, I watched it. About 10,000 people were watching. I stayed until the end, and I felt some adrenaline and excitement. I knew it was real.”. S. B.: “I only opened it once and never again”. E. R.: “I don’t watch it for excitement, but when I watch it, I feel the excitement”. They are curious about accidents, violent scenes, and tragedies but do not enjoy this feeling. Some of the participants say that they are interested in everything related to criminology and forensics, and some that they are interested in everything that happens in their immediate environment, which supports the thesis that explicit violence attracts them not because of its explicitness but because of what it is, in a way connected. M. S.: “I don’t follow the black chronicle because of the violence, but because of the parking lot. I like to take pictures and publish them”. Some of them start searching and reading these contents, as they say, because of shock and disbelief, and some declared that they are only interested in “morbid things”.

Twelve respondents of Focus Group 2 chose to read 134 of the 31 titles offered to each respondent. Out of a total of 134 selected titles for reading, the respondents focused their interest on 35 titles related to murders/suicides, 24 titles related to war themes, 19 titles related to fights and violent behaviour, 16 titles about traffic accidents, and four titles related to quarrels and conflicts, also, more than half of the content selected by the respondents contained elements of violence. The results of the analysis show that the respondents, also within this focus group, are mostly interested



in topics related to the media description of real violent, tragic situations, happenings, and events, i.e. that these media contents attract them the most. Most of the respondents chose to read the mentioned news from the immediate environment, as did the respondents of Focus Group 1 with another headline: “Ukraine attacked Crimea with drones, two cities in Russia were also hit: More people killed”. As part of the individual analysis of each respondent’s selection, it was recorded that, out of the total number of contents offered, more than half of the respondents chose content with elements of violence. Respondents of Focus Group 2 claim that these contents attracted them due to curiosity and the need to be informed about what is happening in their immediate environment. E. K.: “I open these contents just to see who I live with and what is happening around me.”

The participants of Focus Group 2 declared that if they saw the accident scene presented to them in the photo in a real-life environment, in a public space, they would stop and look carefully and stay looking. In contrast to the respondents of Focus Group 1, they would make a photo or video, but would not share this content further. J. K. claims: “I would stop to see what is happening, but only for the reason of helping if someone needs help...”.

Only two respondents within Focus Group 1 indicated that they follow this type of content because these topics interest them; this type of content fascinates and attracts them, and they feel excitement. Other respondents declared that these contents do not attract them, but they justified their recorded interest in them with several reasons to argue their views and experience and how they react to them. Through the process of elaborated cognitive dissonance, these respondents are inclined to use violent content. Still, they probably feel uncomfortable knowing how harmful it is, or as they say, “disturbed”, so they rationalise their behaviour accordingly, bringing their attitudes into harmony with their actions and behaviour.

In the third and fourth research tasks, we wanted to investigate motivation, engagement, and the form of gratification in searching for and using violent media narratives. The results show that the majority of Focus Group 1 respondents declared that they would further, within the framework of this information, search for photographs of the bully (6 respondents) and the victim (6 respondents), the identity of the bully and the victim (5 respondents), the act of violence itself (6 respondents), the place or space where the violence took place (6 respondents), the consequences of the violence (2 respondents), eyewitness statements and video recordings (6 respondents). All respondents decided to open audiovisual content labeled as “disturbing”. Their motivation for these corpora of further searches would be determined by: in-



terest in tragedies, desire to learn details, desire to check truthfulness and credibility, fear and desire to be informed about potential bullies from the immediate environment, getting to know different forms of irresponsibility and finding out what such a thing is like, at all possible and with a feeling of grief and empathy. Some of the participants stated that they would continue to search for the details of the violent scene for the reason that they are interested in the creativity of the bully, the fascination with the event and the excitement they feel when watching it, the fear that something tragic or bad will happen to them and their loved ones, and the expectation of some form of punishment for the bully. B. S.: “I’m afraid that something will happen to me or my loved ones”.

The respondents of Focus Group 2 declared in the majority that, within the framework of this information, they would further search for photographs of the bully (12 respondents) and the victim (12 respondents), the identity of the bully and the victim (12 respondents), the act of violence itself (1 respondent), place or space where the violence took place (7 respondents), the consequences of the violence (12 respondents), eyewitness statements and video recordings (12 respondents). All respondents in this group also decided to open audiovisual content labelled as “disturbing”. One of the participants, B. M., comments on her motivation for these corpora of further searches: “I have to read such news simply to know who I can hang out with or have fun with, or what kind of partner I will choose”. The respondents justified their motivation for using and searching these contents, as well as the respondents of Focus Group 1, with the fear and desire to be informed about potential bullies from the immediate environment, as well as feelings of grief and empathy, but also reasons of social and civic responsibility, and being motivated by the persuasion of friends or other people. The reasons for the motivation explained by N. Č. are also recorded: “I have to monitor the development of the situation, be involved and informed because that’s the only way I can influence something, some changes...”. A. S. says: “Maybe I would never watch some content, but for example when what happened in Gradačac, ten of my friends watched it, they sent it to me and said you have to see this because it has never been seen before”.

Using the observation method, it was determined that in addition to various media contents, focus group respondents mostly choose those contents that disseminate real violent, tragic situations, happenings, and events. That is, these media contents mostly attract them because, as they state, of excitement, empathy, curiosity, disbelief, the need for information and the persuasion of others. This is proven by their immediate selection of titles that they would open and read in digital format. However, for the

respondents, the titles, texts, and segments of individual tragedies were not enough. They continued their search for these topics due to their interest in tragedies, desire to learn details, desire to check the truth and credibility, fear and desire to be informed about potential bullies from the immediate area environment, getting to know different forms of irresponsibility and learning how such a thing is even possible, expecting some kind of punishment of the abuser, civil and social responsibility, and feelings of grief and empathy. Most of the respondents, within the framework of the offered media information, would continue their search in terms of more detailed information about the photo of the bully and the victim, the identity of the bully and the victim, the act of violence itself, the place or space where the violence took place, the consequences of the violence, statements of eyewitnesses and video recordings. Relying on the viewpoints of the “uses and gratification” theoretical approach, media content users are attracted to media products with elements of violence due to the need for surveillance, fear, enjoyment, emotional excitement, help, or whatever such content is associated with. Respondents do not state that their forms of satisfaction from using such content are initiated by the need for entertainment or relief in the sense of replacing aggressiveness. It is interesting that some respondents believe they should be informed about potential bullies from their immediate environment for their safety and that of their loved ones. Several respondents believe a reward is sufficient for them if they see or find out that someone has received a well-deserved reward or justice. That is, it is a question of justified violence. A. Sp.: “When I saw the news that the citizens caught and beat the robber, I was glad. He got what he asked for”.

The analysis within the focus groups also showed that respondents express a certain degree of mistrust in media content that is disseminated in the online space because they believe that the problem lies with journalists and contemporary trends in journalism that are on the way to gaining popularity. M. Z.: “The problem is in journalism, likes are important. Overblown news – quality echo”. At the same time, in line with the thesis about the effects of habituation and desensitisation, the respondents believe that today, in the online media space there is almost exclusively content from the Black Chronicle or content that in every form has certain elements of violence, and that media dissemination of such problematic content is not the logic of demand rather than supply. E. S: “I noticed that 95% of the portals contain only bad things. It’s a matter of supply and not demand”.

The analysis of motivation, engagement, and forms of gratification in the search for and use of violent media narratives also has certain limitations that are related to, first of all, the omission of analysis of the real intention of the media messages placed,

how the user perceived the same message and analyzed of respondents with different socio-demographic characteristics. One of the limitations is the temporal and situational variability of particular media needs of users and, in general, the assumption that all respondents are aware of their motives, interests, and needs, which may not be correct.

In the framework of examining the opinions, attitudes, and behaviour of respondents about problematic media content, out of 24 of them, only two respondents show elements of the McCarthy-Jones (2021) category of *adrenaline addicts* who, in search of a more intense feeling and experience, choose, use and search for violent content. Most of the other respondents show elements of the category of *white boxers* who feel intense excitement watching violence but do not enjoy it, and the category of *dark policemen* who are attracted to watching violence because it can teach them something.

In the fifth research task, we wanted to investigate the degree of recognition and objectification of the potential effects of consuming these types of media-mediated content. The results show that the participants of Focus Group 1 are unanimously aware that such content has certain negative consequences for them, but they cannot consciously determine and accurately define them. The respondents are unanimous in their opinion and attitude that in their immediate environment, they can often experience mirrored and imitated forms of conflict, arguments, and violent behaviour, which, for example, is identical to those scenes that can be seen in reality programs. M. S.: “I don’t think that this news alone has any influence on whether we might try to imitate something, etc., but for example reality programs... Those who watch it pick up everything, words, behaviours, fights, arguments... they behave almost the same in their environment as those participants”. They claim that in their immediate environment, they witness, very often, even the use of the same words and phrases as in this television format during conflicts and arguments and that their peers imitate reality participants in various possible ways. Respondents of Focus Group 2 claim that they notice the impact of certain content of this nature on their own physical and mental health. J. K. says: “When I looked at everything that happened to that unfortunate woman in Gradačac, I slept with the light on for three months”. E. B.: “I always feel sad and anxious when I read such news”. N. Č.: “Films from Palestine always evoke emotion and some helplessness in me”. Respondents in this focus group also mention the perceived dangers of the consequent imitation of real violent and tragic events, especially those who do not have a developed level of rational logic. E. K.: “The teenager showed me a video of the fight. At the age of sixteen, he is his role

model and that can lead him to do something bad”. H. P.: “We saw what caused what happened in Belgrade in Ribnikar. We could immediately follow how our elementary school students tried to threaten and intimidate them into committing the same terrible crime”.

The research conducted within the first focus group showed that the respondents intuitively assume the harmfulness of the content of scenes of violence, but cannot define them as visible forms of physiological processes. At the same time, the respondents agree that this type of presented media narrative with elements of real violence does not represent a potential threat, short-term or cumulatively, in the context of encouraging socially inadequate behaviour or aggressiveness among consumers. They think that, according to their experience, other media formats have more potential to encourage socially unacceptable behaviour. Respondents of the second focus group have diametrically opposite attitudes and objectify certain consequences of realistic, violent content exposed in the media. They define the states that are caused by using/reading and following problematic media content.

It is essential to mention that the analysis did not include measurements of the immediate and cumulative effects of violent media formats that may have possible consequences in the form of prosocial or antisocial behaviour of the respondents using adequate experimental methods. The degree of recognition of the harmfulness/usefulness of such content by the respondents, i.e. the degree of rejection of harmful influence within Bushman’s (2023) six categories, part of the respondents confirms the inability to objectify the real consequences of the influence of such content, i.e. claims that exposure to media violence cannot result in violence. Respondents also show psychological discomfort, i.e. cognitive dissonance, when interested in such content and bring their attitudes into harmony with the procedures, citing several reasons justifying their use. All respondents tend to maintain their freedom of choice even when specific contents are decisively marked as “disturbing”. Research conducted within the framework of one focus group has shown that respondents intuitively assume the harmfulness of the content of scenes of violence but, as Bushman claims, cannot define them as visible forms of physiological processes. In contrast, respondents of another focus group can recognise certain physiological changes. In the context of the consideration of the “third person effect”, some of the respondents believe that this type of content has more influence on more sensitive individuals such as children and young people. The respondents do not confirm the positions in which they “reject the harmfulness” of problematic media content, assuming that they feel better if they replace their urges for aggression with mediated or simulated media representations.

The research carried out in the framework of two focus groups singled out several categories of narratives:

- With a direct insight into the media and other communication channels and contents used by the respondents, it can be determined that they are interested in news and information that contain elements of violence;
- Respondents focus their interest on media descriptions of realistic violent content;
- Respondents are not attracted to explicit violence in media disseminated formats but to what it is connected with;
- Respondents are subject to cognitive dissonance in the context that they rationalise their attitudes by bringing them into harmony with their actions to justify the appeal of media messages with elements of violence;
- Respondents are interested in problematic media content due to excitement, empathy, curiosity, disbelief, need for information and persuasion of others;
- In searching for media-mediated violent content, they are motivated by: an interest in tragedies, the desire to learn details, the desire to check the truth and credibility, fear and the desire to be informed about potentially violent people from the immediate environment, the desire to learn about different forms of irresponsibility and to find out how such a thing, even possible, by expecting some kind of punishment of the abuser, by civil and social responsibility and by a feeling of grief and empathy;
- Respondents express a certain degree of mistrust in the credibility of content posted in online media and other communication channels. In this sense, the commercial dimension of media content creation is mentioned, which aims to achieve certain forms of popularity and profit, which is precisely why problematic media content is created. Respondents note that more than half of the content found in the media space is in some way problematic or contains elements of violence, claiming that this leads to the conclusion that the use of such content is not a policy of demand but of media supply;
- Respondents can and cannot objectify the harmfulness of such media content;
- In the context of the consideration of the “third person effect”, some of the respondents believe that this type of content has more influence on more sensitive individuals such as children and young people.

## CONCLUSION

The previous analysis defined violence as a social problem that, through multiple forms, leaves negative consequences for human life and dignity and collapses the overall quality of life within communities. Media-mediated violence can be a format of representation of real, social forms of violence, but also of various stylised, fictitious forms, where each of these forms leaves the possibility of encouraging anti-social behaviour. Media-mediated violence is usually found in the function of entertainment and profit-making. It is represented in almost all media formats to the extent that we hardly notice it today. Different factors condition our motivation to use different media and communication platforms, and according to the *theory of use and gratification*, the selection of media content is conditioned by the degree of satisfaction of our desires, needs, and interests. Human fascination with violent scenes in history has been recorded in many artistic and sports formats, and our obsessive search for violence in various media formats is defined in psychopathological studies of psychological personality disorders as a form of *everyday* or *vicarious sadism*. In previous research into the psychodynamics of media violence, such content is attractive to us in the context of the *stimulation hypothesis* or *imitation*, the *harassment hypothesis*, the *catharsis* and *habituation hypothesis*, or the *insensitivity hypothesis*. Our fascination with violent scenes depends on individual personality traits. In this context, several personality types have been defined: adrenaline addicts, people who intensively search for a feeling of excitement but do not like that kind of feeling, and people who, by simulating a threat, enjoy safely watching violence because they can learn something from these patterns. *The forbidden fruit theory* defines that people are obsessively focused on media-mediated violence not only because of explicit scenes of violence but also because it is related to action or tension. More recent research on the thesis about catharsis as a substitute way of expressing aggression shows that, however, there is no valid evidence for it in psychology because aggression is not an urge that must be discharged. Ultimately, by consciously using and demanding different forms of media-mediated violence, we are less aware of all the forms of final gratification that we achieve. According to Bushman (2023), these are forms of the so-called cognitive dissonance and psychological reactance in the context of which we are aware of the harmfulness of such content, but despite that, for several reasons, we try to rationalize and justify this type of need, and we strive to maintain the freedom of our own choice even when certain content is very decisively marked as “disturbing”.

The research carried out in the framework of the formed focus groups confirms the general hypothesis that people find media-mediated violence interesting, attractive, and exciting and that, with different forms of motivation, they are inclined to search, use, but not share different problematic content. The examination also confirms the point of view that media users search and use content with elements of realistic forms of violence such as accidents, tragedies, murders, and all those that belong to the thematic framework of Black Chronicle and that they are attracted to media content marked as “forbidden”, “restricted” “ or “disturbing”. The survey did not show that respondents search for realistic forms of media-mediated violence motivated by the desire for entertainment. Media users tend to use violent content but feel uncomfortable assuming its effects, so they rationalize their behavior accordingly, bringing their attitudes into harmony with their actions and behavior. Media-mediated violence is interesting and attractive to respondents, and they justify their interest in problematic content based on established media and communication channels, media content that respondents are interested in, and the way they behave and act after selecting and using certain media content. Respondents do not search, use, and share problematic content motivated by the desire for entertainment according to the recorded motives for using certain media contents and the reasons for choosing content with elements of violence. An analysis of the type and amount of selected media information shows that respondents are attracted to “forbidden” or “restricted” media content. The respondent’s attitudes regarding the recognition of the harmfulness/usefulness of media content with elements of violence partially show that the respondents can intuitively assume the harmfulness of the content of scenes of violence.

The analysis of comprehensive communication/media habits would imply: a quantitatively larger number of respondents involved in research and monitoring of their habits in the context of media use, a longer time, and the use of other methods, techniques, and instruments to record such data, which, in this analysis, come out from the quantitative framework and the possibility of carrying out research and represent, at the same time, one of the limitations. The method of benefits and rewards in the research also implied certain limitations that are related to, first of all, the omission of the analysis of the real intention of the media messages placed, consistent with the editorial policy concerning the way the user perceived the same message, and the fact that the analysis was not carried out in the comparative sense of respondents with different socio-demographic characteristics and which could show the degree of engagement, motivation, benefit, and satisfaction in terms of several characteristics. Some of the limitations in the realization of the objectives of the research, using this



method, are also related to the fact in the context that it is difficult to predict and record all possible variants of expectations and reasons for using certain media content, and to the assumption that all respondents are aware of their motives, interests and a need that doesn't have to be exact. The limiting factors of this analysis, which would eventually be a recommendation for future research, also referred to other methods and techniques that, when applied, could have a significant, quantitative contribution in addition to the qualitative analysis of the focus group and the application of a qualitative form of analysis of respondents with different sociodemographic characteristics. The qualitative part of the research into opinions, attitudes, experiences, behavior, beliefs, prejudices, views, motives, arguments, and reactions of respondents included only certain forms of media-mediated violence, i.e. naturalistic, real, and not fictitious or stylized forms of violent scenes and content mediated in one media format, i.e. in the format of online media (portals) and other digital communication platforms (social networks, etc.) without analysis of mediated violent content in traditional media forms. At the same time, the research would present the respondent's motivation and engagement more comprehensively if the analysis included the contents of other media formats and other forms of media-mediated violence, such as fictitious or stylized violence. The limitations of this analysis also refer to the application of experimental and correlative methods and techniques that are not included and which would surely provide additional qualities to the analysis in question.

The conducted investigation opened multiple scientific questions within the framework of which, in the modern world of constant technological development of communication technologies and constant changes in classic media patterns, today we cannot fully and only blame the media for various negative media-mediated effects. The changed forms of collection, processing, and distribution of various contents through multiple media platforms allow every passive media user the role of mediator, filter, i.e. the role of an active participant in open, democratized communication processes who has the opportunity and possibility to publicly disseminate the most diverse possible topics and contents, including violent ones. The significance of research into whether and why people find problematic, i.e. violent, media content always so little opens up new dimensions of understanding the relationship between user's communication/media needs and media/editorial policies, i.e. supply and demand issues. The justification of analyses of such and similar thematic frameworks is also significant in the context of research into media effects and the creation of narratives of the perception of violence that can have significant implications in terms



of its prevention in the real social environment. Such scientific contributions can advance and initiate the creation of optimal media policies that will meet the most diverse media/communication needs of users and be on the path to creating safe communities. Constant changes in the patterns of dissemination of media content as well as temporal and situational variability of media/communication needs and motives require a constant review of both normative and ethical frameworks of media/communication activities and information/communication literacy programs that should and must be on the track of the well-being of each individual.

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## PSIHODINAMIKA MEDIJSKOG NASILJA: ZAŠTO NAM JE UVIJEK TAKO MALO?!

### Sažetak:

Dosadašnja istraživanja korelacije medija, nasilja i krajnjih korisnika medijskih sadržaja u fokusu analize imala su zastupljenost i definisanje „nasilnih scena i sadržaja“ u različitim medijskim formatima kao problematičnih po fizičko, emocionalno ili mentalno stanje medijskih korisnika. Istraživanja su, također, u fokusu imala korelacije individualnih crta ličnosti sa motiviranošću za pretraživanjem, potraživanjem i konzumiranjem scena nasilja u različitim formatima medijskog prostora. Tekst analizira motiviranost, stepen angažiranosti i potrebe krajnjih medijskih korisnika u traganju i korištenju nasilnih medijskih produkata te razumijevanje njihovih, očekivanih oblika gratifikacije od takvih aktivnosti polazeći od stajališta da je ljudima medijski posredovano nasilje zanimljivo, privlačno i uzbudljivo te da su različitim vidovima motiviranosti naklonjeni pretraživanju, korištenju i dijeljenju različitih problematičnih sadržaja. Kvalitativnim pristupom kroz istraživanje provedeno na dvije fokus grupe (N=24), grupnom diskusijom, interakcijom i metodom promatranja istraživanje je pokušalo diferencirati načine i navike korištenja medija i medijskih sadržaja te razumjeti i objasniti da li i zašto medijski korisnici prikupljaju, istražuju, obrađuju i diseminiraju medijske sadržaje sa elementima nasilja. Analiza pokazuje da ispitanici svoje interesovanje usmjeravaju na medijske deskripcije realnih nasilnih sadržaja ali ih ne privlači eksplicitno nasilje u medijski diseminiranim formatima već ono sa čime je ono povezano. Ispitanici kognitivnu disonancu u kontekstu svojih stavova razrješavaju u skladu sa svojim postupcima kako bi opravdali izabrano ponašanje i privlačnost medijskih poruka sa elementima nasilja.

**Ključne riječi:** mediji; nasilje; problematični medijski sadržaji; motiviranost korisnika.

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## **LINGUISTIC PATTERNS OF RACISM IN GERMAN FOOTBALL**

This research analyzes the media discourse on racism in football in Germany. The main goal of this paper is to find linguistic patterns that should reflect the way in which racist behavior is related to the immigrant background of certain football players. For this purpose, several media texts were selected that describe cases in which some German football players were exposed to racism, such as Jérôme Boateng, Mesut Özil and Gerald Asamoah. These three show different contexts that encouraged racist behavior towards them, but all three cases could be summed up by Mesut Özil's sentence: "German when we win, immigrant when we lose". The methodology applied in this work is based on the linguistic analysis of the discourse. This approach has especially developed among German linguists who believe that discourse analysis should be conducted exclusively on the basis of the language itself and linguistic patterns, and that conclusions are drawn only on the basis of what is linguistically realized.

**Key words:** linguistic patterns; racist behavior; football; immigrant background; media discourse; identity

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This paper relies on the theoretical background of linguistic discourse analysis and the linguistic patterns of public communication. In linguistics, ‘discourse’ is a “collection of clearly interrelated texts, signs of different types, actions, bodies of knowledge, concepts, perspectives, positions, questions, and opinions within a specific thematic and temporal context, which can affect various societal areas. According to a shorter definition, ‘discourse’ is to be understood as a communicative social event.”<sup>1</sup> (Lisičić-Hedžić 2021: 58) The concept of ‘discourse’ in its current sense was shaped by the French psychologist and philosopher Michel Foucault, and this understanding of discourse forms the starting point for linguistic discourse analysis. According to Foucault (1981: 74), discourses are more than totalities of signs; they are practices that “systematically form the objects of which they speak”. Discourse is not a speech act but a chain of statements or a formation, as described in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1981): “a set of statements that belong to the same system of formation”<sup>2</sup> (Foucault 1981: 156). According to Niehr (2013: 79), “linguistic discourse analyses should provide information on the extent to which collective thought patterns and mentalities are reflected in language use.” Linguistic discourse analysis represents an extension of text linguistics as it goes beyond text boundaries and “always considers an ‘ensemble of texts’ (a so-called text corpus)”<sup>3</sup> (Niehr 2014: 29). In fact, linguistic discourse analysis is rooted in the belief “that singular texts are always part of a larger linguistic-communicative context and that one way of grasping this context is to understand it as ‘discourse’”<sup>4</sup> (Meer and Pick 2019: 141).

Linguistic discourse analysis as a reflection of power and domination through language, especially in the last 30 years, is thus closest to the linguistics of public communication. In turn, public communication is linked to language politics, which includes social control, censorship, and normed societal situations. Another characteristic of public communication is the ideological intent behind it, expressed through the description of problematic social conditions or entire communication processes. Therefore, “the concept of ideology is still viewed as a specific form of knowledge close to power and domination”<sup>5</sup>. (Krieger and Sevignani 2019: 4) In other words,

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- 1 Free translation from German by the author A. Ć.
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  - 5 Free translation from German by the author A. Ć.

apart from the obvious ways of displaying power, such as through laws, another way that the dominant groups show their power and dominance is through the control of public discourse and communication (van Dijk 2006). Control over the context represents control over the time and/or place of the communication event and the way that the members are represented. Accordingly, these characteristics of public communication are reflected through various language patterns, such as the speaker's particular choice of form of speech and its meaning, the way in which the speaker is organized verbally to resolve a speech situation, as well as the use of verbal and non-verbal signs to achieve the purpose of communication. Consequently, language patterns are important in public communication in modern society, and "such linguistic phenomena in communication are increasingly the subject of contemporary semantic, pragmalinguistic, sociolinguistic and discourse research"<sup>6</sup> (Ćurković 2022: 329). Furthermore, in one of the latest studies on discourse, the authors Warnke, Mattfeld and Trochemowitz argue that the interest in discourse linguistics is rooted in contradiction in the discourse itself insofar as we assume that the relationship between discourse and language is inconceivable without conflicts, tensions, and incompatibilities. In view of this, discourse linguistics has the potential to build bridges between specific linguistic interests and topics related to contradictions and, furthermore, to make linguistic research on contradictions in the fields of discourse research and Contradiction Studies interdisciplinary (2024). According to this view, discourse is directly connected to contradictions, "for it is discourse that ensures that contradictions are linguistically produced and that tensions between facts are identified and addressed as such. Without the need to negotiate, develop, change, or criticize something in contradiction, there would be no reason for discourse."<sup>7</sup> (ibid. 9)

As media has been said to have the power to perpetuate stereotypes and racist beliefs, especially towards groups classified as *others* and differing from the norm, such as the case with refugees and immigrants (van Dijk 2000), the goal of this research paper is to investigate through linguistic discourse analysis<sup>8</sup> how these claims corre-

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8 Here we want to emphasize that our analysis does not focus on critical discourse analysis but on linguistic discourse analysis. This approach has particularly developed among German linguists, who find that discourse analysis should be conducted exclusively based on the language itself and linguistic patterns and thus conclusions are drawn exclusively based on what is linguistically realized. In this sense, we provide the explanation given by Smailagić (2016: 55): "[The] concept of discourse follows Foucault's notion of discourse as a social (and cultural) practice, and accordingly, the concept of critical discourse analysis (CDA), a method through which certain insights into and about society are gained through the analysis of discourse, such as newspaper articles [...] From this approach, especially among linguists in Germany, the concept of linguistic discourse

late with the reports on racism in football connected to the immigrant background of individual football players.

## 2. TOPIC AND CONTEXT OF PUBLIC COMMUNICATION

In terms of topics, van Dijk (2013) talks about discourse analysis at the global and local level and emphasizes how in the ideological discourse “we may expect largely negative topics about *Them*, and neutral or positive topics about *Us*” (van Dijk 2013: 182-183) using precisely the case of the mass media reporting on immigration as an example where there is a negative representation of *Them* through immigrants being seen as threats, problems, and criminals, to name a few. In the context of football racism is a well-documented issue that affects players worldwide. In Germany, the problem is exacerbated by the complex relationship between national identity and immigration. This study seeks to explore how media discourse reflects and possibly perpetuates racism by examining linguistic patterns in media coverage of football players with immigrant backgrounds. The primary objective of this research is to identify and analyze linguistic patterns in media texts that connect racist behaviour to the immigrant background of German football players. Germany’s history with immigration and national identity is complex. The country has a significant population of people with immigrant backgrounds, many of whom face discrimination in various aspects of life, including sports. Football, a highly popular sport, is a microcosm of these broader societal issues.

By focusing on the cases of Jerome Boateng, Mesut Özil and Gerald Asamoah, this study aims to uncover how media language contributes to the perception of these players as outsiders when they underperform and as representatives of the nation when they succeed. Such discourse creates conflicts, tensions and contradictions, as it has been suggested in the previous chapter above. The role of the media in shaping public perceptions of race and ethnicity is well established. Media discourse can either challenge or reinforce racial stereotypes. In the context of football, media coverage often reflects broader societal attitudes towards race and immigration.

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analysis (LDA) has developed, aiming to analyze discourse through precise and clear analysis of the language itself used in that discourse. This has proven to be extremely necessary over time since many discourse analyses conducted by sociologists, historians, lawyers, or literary theorists have drawn conclusions about this linguistic product without analyzing the language itself and without applying any linguistic method.” (Free translation from Bosnian by the author A. Ć.)

### 3. REVIEW OF EARLIER RESEARCH STUDIES

Racism in football has been the subject of numerous studies, which have highlighted how racial and ethnic discrimination manifests in various forms, from verbal abuse by fans to biased media coverage. Scholars have noted that football players with immigrant backgrounds often face additional scrutiny and are more likely to be targeted by racist behaviour. In their study of whether there is a racial bias in ratings of professional football players in Italian newspapers, the authors Principe and van Ours find that there is such a bias. They argue that newspaper football experts do seem to have a racial bias in their rating of players that might be unconscious discrimination related to stereotyping of black players (2022: 1). At the same time the study recognizes that unintentional discrimination is as harmful to the discriminated as intentional discrimination is and it gives a recommendation that creating awareness by exposure might be able to wipe out racial bias in newspaper ratings and perhaps also in the behaviour of others involved in football or sports in general. “To the extent that there are spillover effects from newspaper reports to opinions in society, making clear that there is a racial bias will help reduce discrimination across the board” (ibid. 9). Bradbury et al conducted extensive research on representation and structural discrimination in football in Europe in which they identified the continuation of overt racism and minority abuse directed at players by spectators, coaches and other players in the men’s amateur and professional games across Europe. This has included: anti-black, anti-Semitic, anti-gypsy, islamophobic, ethno-nationalist and sectarian sentiment. In its recommendations this research appeals to UEFA<sup>9</sup>, national federations, professional football clubs and other related football bodies to “work collaboratively to develop and deliver an industry-standard cultural and gender diversity training programme across the football industry” that should be designed “to address several key areas, including; legislative issues around equality, challenging physical and cultural stereotypes, understanding institutional discrimination and the promoting the value and benefits of diversity to all football organisations” (ibid. 78). In the report of the Council of Europe on the media perspective regarding sport and discrimination it has been recognized that “the huge media coverage of football has made the racist events all the more visible. The website of the network Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE) reports incidents virtually daily and from all over Europe” (2008: 9). “The way in which black footballers are welcomed in some European stadiums (fans throw bananas at them while uttering guttural sounds, a way of comparing them to

9 UEFA = Union of European Football Associations



apes and setting them apart from human beings) is a reminder that the era of the ‘human zoo’ is not so distant” wrote the researcher and historian Pap Ndiaye in his latest book *La condition noire. Essai sur une minorité française*<sup>10</sup> (ibid. 11). The report also emphasizes that “rejection of difference, fear of others, self-isolation ... racist acts showed the contradictions inherent in sport, whose values were those of a universal language promoting respect and openness to others.” (ibid. 11) In his study on social media racist discourse in English football Cleland finds that “social media sites such as fan message boards have allowed racist thoughts to flourish online, in particular by rejecting multiculturalism and Islam through the presentation of whiteness and national belonging and an outright hostility and resistance toward the Other” (2013: 415). Of particular relevance to online discussions surrounding racism, Van Dijk has defined racist discourse as “a form of discriminatory social practice that manifests itself in text, talk and communication. Together with other (non-verbal) discriminatory practices, racist discourse contributes to the reproduction of racism as a form of ethnic or “racial” domination” (2004: 351).

#### 4. METHODOLOGY AND CORPUS

This study employs a qualitative content analysis of selected media texts. The texts in the corpus were selected based on an online search of certain specified words, such as racism in football, Özil, Asamoah, Boateng and racism. The texts that were first offered through such an online search were included in the corpus. The analysis focuses on identifying recurring linguistic patterns and themes that reflect racist attitudes towards football players with immigrant backgrounds, which could be grouped into categories of patterns surrounding emphasis on heritage, questioning of loyalty and duality of identity. The texts are sourced from various media outlets, including newspapers, online news portals and sports magazines in German and English press. Specifically, the analysis includes articles published in the regional newspapers *Augsburger Allgemeine*, *Die Tageszeitung* and *Die Abendzeitung München* on Jérôme Boateng; articles from the nationwide Deutsche Welle, German nationwide portals deutschlandfunk.de, tagesschau.de and English sport portal goal.com; articles from the Swiss portal watson.ch and German nation wide portal deutschlandfunk.de on Gerald Asamoah.

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10 Pap Ndiaye, “La condition noire. Essai sur une minorité française”, Editions Calmann-Lévy, 2008.

## 5. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

**Jérôme Boateng**, born to a Ghanaian father and a German mother, has faced racism throughout his career. Despite his success as one of the world's best midfield defenders and huge engagement in social work, including winning the World Cup with Germany, he has often been targeted by racist remarks from fans and the media. The following examples shows a racist insult given by an AfD<sup>11</sup> German politician, Alexander Gauland, referring to his heritage:

“...the midfield defender might play quite well, but: “People don’t want a Boateng as a neighbor.” Chancellor Angela Merkel communicated through her spokesperson, “This statement that was made is a despicable and sad statement.”” (Article 1.1.)<sup>12</sup>

“In 2016, the AfD politician Alexander Gauland made a racist insult towards Boateng. Although the son of a Ghanaian and a German is appreciated as a national player, he is considered a foreigner: “People like him as a football player. But they don’t want a Boateng as a neighbor.” Following this, there was significant solidarity with Boateng, including an action where a real estate company offered its apartments in a building where he had previously lived at a particularly high price, advertising that one could become Boateng’s neighbor here.” (Article 1.2.)<sup>13</sup>

This statement received widespread media coverage, with many articles focusing on Boateng’s immigrant background rather than his achievements as a footballer. The use of the term “neighbour” in this context implies a sense of otherness and exclusion from the national community. Both examples, however, show that the media simultaneously reported the condemnation of the racist insult against Boateng, starting from the political leadership of Chancellor Merkel to the business community in the area where Boateng lived. At the same time, it is worth mentioning, that Boateng was recognized as the “Charity King” in German society and even received a prestigious Bambi award for his efforts towards the integration of immigrant children into German society:

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11 AfD = Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany) – political party

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“Boateng, known as the Charity King, founded the organization “Mitternachtssport” in Berlin in 2010 with his friend Ismail Öner. In 2013, he was knighted with the Bambi Award for Integration. “He is far too modest about being the founder of one of the most successful and renowned youth projects in Germany,” Öner told AZ. “He is a blessing from God for us.” “Better a duel on the field than on the street,” said Boateng. [...] Öner even claims: “He is the first football-playing social worker in Bayern’s history.”” (Article 1.3.)<sup>14</sup>

**Mesut Özil**, born to Turkish parents in Germany, has had a distinguished career but has also been the target of racist abuse. His decision to retire from international football in 2018, citing racism and disrespect, brought significant attention to the issue. Media coverage of Özil often fluctuates based on his performance. When successful, he is celebrated as a symbol of multicultural Germany; when he underperforms, he is depicted as an outsider. This duality is captured in Özil’s statement, “German when we win, an immigrant when we lose.”

“There was also a disturbing racial undertone to the criticism coming from some quarters, at a time when German’s diplomatic relationship with Turkey – the country of Ozil’s parents hailed from – was on the verge of complete collapse. Indeed, when Ozil quit the national team after the national team’s shock first-round elimination in Russia, he lashed out at the country’s football federation (DFB) and how they viewed him: “I am German when we win, but I am an immigrant when we lose.” Much of the controversy had centred on Ozil’s ties to Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan, with whom he had posed for a photo alongside Ilkay Gundogan.” (Article 2.1.)

“For Grindel, [DFB President] it’s a no-go. “We at the DFB respect the sometimes challenging personal situations of our players with a migration background, but football must be lived by values, and in areas where Mr. Erdogan holds responsibility, these values are not sufficiently upheld. Therefore, one must not allow themselves to be exploited for campaign purposes.”” <sup>15</sup>(Article 2.2.)

“Özil breaks his silence. He defends his photos with Erdogan, sharply attacks the DFB and its chief Grindel, and also makes serious accusations against German media and a DFB sponsor. “With a heavy heart and after much consideration, I will no longer play for Germany on an international level as long as I feel this sense of racism and disrespect,” he shares in English via Twitter.” (Article 2.3.)

“Germany crushed out in the group stage of the 2018 World Cup in Russia – the national team’s worst performance in decades. The President of the DFB, Reinhard Grindel, attempted to deflect

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14 Free translation from German by the author A. Ć.

15 Free translation from German by the author A. Ć.

criticism from himself by blaming Özil's Erdogan meeting for distracting the team. Grindel's reaction drew intense criticism from German politicians and soccer fans. [...] In an eviscerating statement on Twitter, Özil resigned from international play in July 2018, aged 29. "I will no longer stand for being a scapegoat for his incompetence", the footballer said of Grindel. Accusing the DFB president of racism, he thanked Löw and others in the German team for their support. In total, he played 92 matches for Germany, scored 23 goals and registered 40 assists. [...] "In the eyes of Grindel and his supporters, I am German when we win, but I am an immigrant when we lose," he added. "I feel unwanted and think that what I have achieved since my international debut in 2009 has been forgotten. "Despite paying taxes in Germany, donating facilities to German schools and winning the World Cup with Germany in 2014, I am still not accepted into society. I am treated as being 'different'." [...] "What I can't accept," Özil wrote, "are German media outlets repeatedly blaming my dual-heritage and a simple picture for a bad World Cup on behalf of an entire squad. "They didn't criticize my performances, they didn't criticize the team's performances, they just criticized my Turkish ancestry and respect for my upbringing. This crosses a personal line that should never be crossed, as newspapers try to turn the nation of Germany against me." (Article 2.4.)

Following Germany's early exit from the 2018 World Cup, Özil faced harsh criticism, with many articles emphasizing his Turkish heritage. Terms like "Turkish-German" and "dual national" were frequently used, highlighting his immigrant background as a factor in the team's failure. According to the survey of the study at Bielefeld University on violence, discrimination, racism, hostility towards people and prejudices, led by social psychologist Andreas Zick, "Özil became one of the favourite players in the survey, a figure many identified with. This has led to a reduction in racist attitudes among the participants. We called this the 'Özil Effect' Suddenly, he became an inclusive figure."<sup>16</sup> To Özil's statement "German when we win, immigrants when we lose", Zick says that it summarizes some of the outcomes of his research: "People with a migration background need to speak German better than people without roots abroad to be successful. This is a typical experience: They always have to make a little more effort." (ibid.) Whether Özil's accusations of racism are justified, Zick gives examples of "an SPD politician who called him a 'goat-fucker'. That is the prototype of a racist prejudice. An insulting and dehumanizing characteristic is attributed to him, which establishes a difference between 'us' and 'them.' However,

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16 Jean-Pierre Ziegler: „Debatte nach Özils Rücktritt „Man kann mit Rassismus so gut Politik machen wie lange nicht“, <https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/gesellschaft/mesut-oezil-ein-wissenschaftler-erklaert-den-oezil-efekt-a-1219999.html> . Free translation from German by the author A. Ć.

whether the criticism from DFB President Grindel is racist, one must doubt. Özil should reconsider whom he accuses of racism. It must not become a phrase that he throws at anyone who criticizes Özil.” (ibid.)

**Gerald Asamoah**, originally from Ghana, was the first African-born player to represent Germany. Throughout his career, he experienced racist abuse from fans and the media. Media reports on Asamoah often highlight his African origin, sometimes overshadowing his contributions to the team. Phrases like “African German” are common, which emphasize his otherness. In one instance, after a poor performance, an article described Asamoah as “lacking the German fighting spirit,” implicitly linking his perceived inadequacies to his African heritage. This type of language reinforces stereotypes and perpetuates the idea that he is not fully part of the German national identity. Nevertheless, Asamoah has been actively combating racism for years.

“I realized early on that more is expected of me than of other people.” [...] He became vice-world champion with Germany – and was pelted with bananas in Cottbus. He played over 270 times for FC Schalke 04 – and yet was slandered by an opponent as a “black pig.” Gerald Asamoah has experienced that every black person in Germany can become a victim of racist violence - even if he is the idol of hundreds of thousands of fans as a professional footballer.

[Journalist:] In an interview with “Die Zeit,” you reported that you were previously called “Silverback” by teammates due to your muscular physique, reminiscent of a gorilla, but you did not perceive this as racism. Your interview partner, Germany’s first black national player Erwin Kostedde, saw it differently. Did you reconsider the role of language after the conversation?

[Asamoah:] The conversation with Kostedde made me think. In the past, I simply accepted such remarks and only much later began to question them. Today, I can say that someone who calls me a “Silverback” is crossing a boundary, and I would make that clear to them. [...] I hope that many people understand that racism in Germany is a long-standing and still existing reality. (Article 3.1.) 17

Gerald Asamoah on racism: “It’s a pain you can’t ignore. It’s very tough for me to even talk about such a topic in the year 2020,” said former German national player Gerald Asamoah on Dlf. The club ambassador for Schalke 04 still experiences racism today - even at Schalke. (Article 3.2.)18

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17 Free translation from German by the author A. Ć.

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## 6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The analysis of media texts reveals several recurring linguistic patterns that reflect racist attitudes towards football players with immigrant backgrounds:

1. **Emphasis on Heritage:** Media coverage often highlights the players' immigrant backgrounds, especially following poor performances. Terms like "Turkish-German" or "African-German" are used to underscore their perceived otherness.

2. **Questioning Loyalty:** The loyalty of players with immigrant backgrounds is frequently questioned. Phrases such as "not truly German" suggest that their commitment to the national team is conditional.

3. **Duality of Identity:** The fluctuation in how players are described based on their performance illustrates a duality in their perceived identity. Successful performances lead to their celebration as symbols of a multicultural Germany, while failures result in their depiction as outsiders.

These linguistic patterns reflect and reinforce societal attitudes towards race and immigration. The consistent emphasis on the players' immigrant backgrounds can contribute to a sense of exclusion and alienation, impacting their mental well-being and performance.

The findings of this study have broader implications for understanding how media discourse shapes public perceptions of race and identity. The treatment of football players with immigrant backgrounds serves as a microcosm of the challenges faced by immigrants in Germany. It highlights the need for more inclusive and equitable media practices.

This research has identified and analyzed linguistic patterns in media coverage that reflect and perpetuate racism towards football players with immigrant backgrounds in Germany. By focusing on the cases of Jérôme Boateng, Mesut Özil and Gerald Asamoah, the study has highlighted how media language contributes to the perception of these players as outsiders when they underperform and as representatives of the nation when they succeed. The findings underscore the need for more inclusive media practices that recognize and celebrate the diverse identities of all players.

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## LINGVISTIČKI OBRASCI RASIZMA U NJEMAČKOM NOGOMETU

### Sažetak:

Ovo istraživanje analizira medijski diskurs o rasizmu u nogometu u Njemačkoj. Glavni cilj ovog rada je pronaći lingvističke obrasce koji bi trebali odražavati način na koji je rasističko ponašanje povezano s imigrantskim porijeklom pojedinih nogometaša. U tu svrhu odabrano je nekoliko medijskih tekstova koji opisuju slučajeve u kojima su neki njemački nogometaši bili izloženi rasizmu, poput Jérômea Boatenga, Mesuta Özila i Geralda Asamoaha. Ova trojica pokazuju različite kontekste koji su potaknuli rasističko ponašanje prema njima, ali bi se sva tri slučaja mogla sažeti rečenicom Mesuta Özila: „Nijemac kad pobjeđujemo, imigrant kad gubimo“. Metodologija primijenjena u ovom radu temelji se na lingvističkoj analizi diskursa. Ovaj pristup se posebno razvio među njemačkim lingvistima koji smatraju da se analiza diskursa treba provoditi isključivo na bazi samog jezika i jezičnih obrazaca te se zaključci izvode samo na osnovu onoga što je jezično ostvareno.

**Ključne riječi:** lingvistički obrasci; rasističko ponašanje; nogomet; imigrantsko porijeklo; medijski diskurs; identitet

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Review paper

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## **CONSTRUCTING MEANING, SHAPING SOCIETY: THE CALCULABILITY AND CANCELLABILITY OF CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURES**

This paper investigates the features of calculability and cancellability of conversational implicatures, focusing on their societal importance. The analysis of the carnival effigy Škuribando Furešćić is used to illustrate how conversational implicatures can be employed to maintain the social status quo and perpetuate stereotypes. This is not to suggest that implicatures are more prominent than explicit communication in achieving these effects, but rather that their indirect nature is often exploited to avoid responsibility for the conveyed message. This paper challenges the notion that implicatures are easily cancellable and deniable, arguing that cancellation often leads to logical implausibility, thereby indicating faulty communication.

**Keywords:** conversational implicature; cancellability; calculability; indirect meaning; conceptual engineering; societal impact

### **INTRODUCTION**

This paper examines the properties of conversational implicatures, particularly their cancellability and calculability, and explores the tension between these features. Cancellability allows implicatures to be negated, suggesting a great degree of flexibility in their usage. Calculability, however, implies that implicatures are stable and can be systematically reconstructed by listeners based on the context and conversational principles. The tension between cancellability and calculability becomes evident when

considering the communicative strength and reliability of implicatures. On one hand, the ability to calculate implicatures gives them a semblance of stability and objectivity, essential for effective communication. On the other hand, the possibility of cancellation introduces a level of uncertainty, allowing speakers to negate previously implicated meanings. This contradiction poses challenges for the consistency and coherence of communication.

Additionally, the discussion extends to the implications of these properties for conceptual engineering, highlighting the interplay between implicit communication and the shaping of social concepts and practices. The recent controversy over the carnival effigy in the Croatian municipality of Čavle, perceived as a xenophobic symbol, is used to show how implicit verbal signals can be used to communicate societally harmful messages. The effigy, Škuribando Furešić, was perceived as a discriminatory representation of foreign workers. The carnival group's efforts to disassociate themselves from this interpretation underscore the difficulties in cancelling implicatures, ultimately proving unsuccessful due to the robust rational and cultural foundations supporting the harmful interpretation of their message.

The aims of this paper can be summarized as follows: (a) to argue that the potential for implicatures to be reconstructed holds greater significance in everyday contexts than their cancellability; (b) to propose an analysis of conversational implicatures compatible with the framework of conceptual engineering; and (c) to illustrate how implicatures can perpetuate negative stereotypes and contribute to harmful societal values.

## **CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURES: CANCELLABILITY AND CALCULABILITY**

The concept of “conversational implicature” is introduced by H. P. Grice in his article “Logic and Conversation” (1989), where the author distinguishes between two types of implicatures: conventional and conversational implicatures. Conversational implicatures, which will be discussed in this paper, are primarily derived from the fact that the speaker has uttered a sentence with a certain intention. Here's a simple example of conversational implicature:

Imagine two friends, Tom and Sara, are discussing their plans for the evening:

Tom: I don't have any plans for tonight.

Sara: There's a new movie playing at the theatre.

Even though Sara doesn't explicitly say it, her statement implies that she suggests

they go see the movie together. The implicature is that she's inviting Tom to join her at the movies, even though she didn't directly say, "Do you want to go see the movie with me?"

The term "conversational implicature" is a technical term that could be replaced by various expressions from everyday language. We can say that implicatures insinuate something to us, that the speaker wants to hint, suggest, or indicate something with them. Grice concludes the article by listing the properties that conversational implicatures must possess (1989: 38, 39). In the following sections of this paper, the focus will be on the properties of conversational implicatures related to their cancellability and calculability, i.e. their reconstruction, and the interplay between these characteristics, excluding other properties.

According to Grice, implicatures can be cancelled explicitly (verbally) or contextually (*ibid.*). Returning to the dialogue between Tom and Sara, Sara could add "I'm actually going to see the movie with some other friends" thereby cancelling the implicit invitation, or she could have started preparing the ingredients for dinner signaling in that way that she is not leaving the house any time soon.

Implicatures are not explicitly stated by the speaker but are inferred by listeners through a process of reasoning and interpretation. Therefore, reconstructing implicatures involves listeners analyzing the speaker's utterance in light of the context, the conversational principles at play, and any relevant background knowledge. By reconstructing implicatures, listeners can arrive at a fuller understanding of the speaker's intended meaning beyond the literal interpretation of their words.

In our example, the hearer (Tom) would reconstruct the implicature based on his knowledge of the English language, several contextual clues, and the cooperative principle of conversation<sup>1</sup>. Tom would also consider the relevance of Sara's response to his statement, i.e. the maxim of relation, which suggests that conversational contributions should be pertinent to the ongoing discussion (*ibid.* 27). Given that Tom said that he doesn't have any plans for the evening, Sara's mention of the new movie playing at the theatre is likely intended as a suggestion for a potential activity they could do together. Therefore, Tom would likely reconstruct the implicature as Sara subtly invited him to join her at the movies, even though she did not explicitly state it.

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1 Grice states the cooperative principle as follows: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of talk exchange in which you are engaged" (1989: 26). It states that participants in a conversation should cooperate with each other by making their contributions appropriate to the accepted purpose or direction of the exchange. Essentially, it means that speakers and listeners should work together to make the conversation logical and coherent.

As stated in the introduction of the paper, it is suggested that the two features – the potential for cancellation and reconstruction (calculation) – are incongruous, often leading to contradictions. The process of reconstructing implicatures relies on the hearer’s ability to infer implied meanings based on contextual cues and the cooperative principle. This expectation suggests that implicatures are meaningful and contribute to the overall message conveyed in the conversation. On the other hand, the possibility of cancelling implicatures implies that these inferred meanings can be overridden or negated by subsequent discourse. This creates a contradiction in expectations, as implicatures are initially treated as meaningful contributions to the conversation but can be dismissed or altered later. In the literature, there is no definitive answer regarding whether the characteristics of implicatures are in a hierarchical relationship. However, this paper proposes that calculation should be given priority in the analysis of implicatures, a perspective that will be elaborated upon in the subsequent sections.<sup>2</sup>

The idea that there is always a possibility of cancellation of implicit messages has epistemic and ethical implications because it introduces the possibility that, when it comes to pragmatic content, the listener does everything properly in reconstructing the meaning of the speaker yet fails to interpret the speaker’s message correctly. This can lead to miscommunication, a lack of trust and the inability to form beliefs based on communicative interactions. Indirect or implicit communication is not something that happens periodically, but a pervasive mode of thought exchange, thus it should be held to the same standards as direct communication. Errors are inevitable, and speakers can always revise their stance, however, for a speaker’s denial of the message inferred by a listener to be communicatively acceptable, it must be coherent and convincing, which is seldom the case.

It is argued that because people (should) aim to be responsible and accountable communicators<sup>3</sup>, the idea that conversational implicatures can be reconstructed and cancelled are in conflict. The possibility of their calculation gives them stability and objectivity that enables their use in the speech community<sup>4</sup> and is therefore contra-

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2 For two opposing views regarding the importance of cancellability see Blome-Tillman (2008) and Weiner (2006).

3 In order to defend this position, we can use Kantian principles and the concept of universalization. According to the Categorical Imperative, we should act according to maxims that we would will to become universal laws. If everyone communicated reliably and honestly, trust and effective communication would flourish, creating a rational and cooperative society. If we disregarded these principles, communication would become impossible, as a foundation of trust and mutual respect is essential for any meaningful exchange. Therefore, these behaviors are not merely personal preferences but moral duties that contribute to an ethical and cohesive society. See Kant (1998, esp. chapter 2).

dictory to the idea that the speaker can always successfully cancel the implicature that their expression of a certain content carries.

To summarize, the communicative strength of conversational implicatures lies in their ability to be reconstructed, which means that listeners can infer the implied meaning based on shared contextual knowledge and principles of communication, such as Grice's maxims. This reconstruction process ensures that implicatures are not arbitrary or easily dismissed, but rather grounded in rational interpretation that can be scrutinized and debated. By enabling interlocutors to reliably infer meaning, this process fosters mutual understanding and trust, which are essential for effective communication. Furthermore, it holds speakers accountable for the implications of their words, reinforcing the ethical responsibility to communicate clearly and honestly. In this way, the calculability and reconstructive potential of implicatures enhance their role in conveying nuanced meaning and maintaining communicative integrity within the speech community.

## THE RATIONALITY OF IMPLICATURES

It is important to note that we should not view the possibility of calculating implicatures as an actual psychological process that always occurs when we are faced with an indirect message, especially not one that is carried out on the conscious level. For example, Sbisà (2006) argues that the possibility of calculating implicatures is not important because it determines the way in which the implicature is actually conceived and understood, but because it guarantees the rationality of the implicature, testifying that attributing that implicature to the speaker who produced a certain utterance can be supported by an argument. The listener can provide an argument ex-

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4 One reviewer pointed out that the fact that conversational implicatures are calculable does not entail that they are stable, in fact, it seems to imply that they are highly context-dependent. While it is true that the calculability of implicatures involves a high degree of context sensitivity, this does not necessarily undermine their stability or objectivity. Rather, it highlights the intricate interplay between context and inference in pragmatic communication. The stability of conversational implicatures is not an absolute quality but a relative one, contingent upon the shared contextual knowledge and interpretive frameworks employed by interlocutors. Calculability, in this sense, refers to the systematic process by which listeners infer intended meanings based on contextual cues and conversational principles. This process ensures that implicatures are not arbitrary, but rather anchored in rational interpretative strategies that are commonly understood within the speech community. Context-dependence indeed plays a crucial role in this inferential process, as it allows for the flexibility and adaptability necessary for effective communication across diverse situations. However, this does not negate the stability of implicatures; instead, it underscores the dynamic nature of meaning-making, where stability is achieved through the consistent application of interpretative principles and shared knowledge.



plaining how they came to believe in the existence of a certain implicature, and if such an argument is valid, we can say that the speaker is rational. More about the relationship between implicatures and arguments will be explicated later. For now, we will briefly introduce the theoretical notion of “intentional stance”, which will be used to strengthen the position put forward in this paper.

The question that can be raised here concerns how much the listener assumes about the speaker when interpreting implicatures and how these assumptions are justified. Grice argues that for the interpretation, as well as the analysis, of implicatures, the speaker’s intention and the listener’s recognition of that intention are crucial. This paper suggests that it is sufficient for the listener to assume such intentions reasonably. When interpreting the speaker’s statement, the listener must consider the speaker’s beliefs, intentions, and other mental states. According to Dennett (1971), when we explain someone’s behaviour, we assume their rationality. We do not expect our acquaintances to behave irrationally, and when that expectation is betrayed, we try to justify them, for example, by claiming that we misunderstood them. Dennett calls this attribution of rationality the “intentional stance.” Therefore, people behave towards each other as if they were rational because that way, we can explain and predict the behaviour of other people. If we did not consider them rational, we could not do that. The same goes for communication.

In the context of conversational implicatures and their interpretation, the intentional stance can be applied to understand how hearers infer implicated meanings based on the assumed intentions of the speaker. In the example provided earlier, when Sara responds to Tom’s statement by mentioning the new movie playing at the theatre, the hearer (Tom) will assume that the speaker (Sara) is rational in interpreting her implicated invitation. Rather than taking Sara’s words at face value, Tom may infer that Sara intends to suggest they go see the movie together, even though she did not explicitly express this desire because it will be a better explanation of her utterance than stopping the interpretation of her words on the level of what is said – why mention the movie if nothing is to be inferred from it?

This allows Tom to attribute a mental state of intentionality to Sara and assume that she wants to spend time together, subtly conveying this through her choice of words. By adopting this stance, Tom can make sense of Sara’s utterance in a way that goes beyond its literal meaning, considering the implicit communicative intentions behind it. By attributing intentions to the speaker, hearers can reconstruct implied meanings and make inferences about the speaker’s communicative goals, even when these goals are not explicitly stated. Thus, attributing rationality to the people we

communicate with is necessary for the cooperative principle and other communicative norms to be at play, or at least for a justified presumption of their presence.

We should be careful here and not emphasise the speaker's intention too much, as is often done when discussing implicatures. Sbisà (2001) has proposed that it is more important for the listener to attribute such intention, and Haugh (2008) advocates for the joint creation of implicatures through interaction between the listener and the speaker. In regular circumstances, if the hearer takes into consideration all the relevant factors, such as spoken or unspoken norms, context, previous interactions with the speaker, etc., they will be justified in presupposing a communicative intention (as part of a presupposition of rationality and intentionality) on the part of the speaker, even if occasionally the speaker lacks this intention. In the latter case, we can talk about misunderstanding.

To show that the use and interpretation of implicatures is a rational process and that their cancellation is not as straightforward as Grice proposes, it is claimed that implicatures can be seen as reason-giving arguments in which the speaker provides reasons for a conclusion without expecting them to be refuted by the interlocutor. In such argumentation, the argument arises spontaneously through the interaction between the speaker and the hearer, and its formal reconstruction is only a subsequent step that can be taken to evaluate the interaction, not a process carried out explicitly during the communicative interaction. The argument consists of some stated premises ("what is said", for example "There's a new movie playing at the theatre"), some implicit premises based on shared knowledge regarding language and culture (the topic of discussion, knowledge about in which circumstances people go to see a movie, knowledge about indirect speech acts carried out due to factors such as politeness, familiarity, economy and so on), and the conclusion of this argument, which also remains unstated, is the implicature ("We could see the movie if you are up for it").<sup>5</sup>

Arguments that can be said to express implicatures or that can be reconstructed based on them will always contain a degree of uncertainty. That is, they will not have the deductive strength that allows no exceptions. However, such a situation is quite common in everyday reasoning, as noted by Mercier and Sperber (2017).

What is the significance of the idea that conversational implicatures can be seen as arguments for their cancellability? Here, attention should be directed towards the ideas put forth by Jaszczolt (2005, 2010, 2016). According to the author, cancellation does not depend on whether the content is semantic or pragmatic, direct or indirect, literal,

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5 For a more detailed argumentative approach to the reconstruction of conversational implicatures see Blečić (2019a, 2019b, 2021).

or non-literal; what is important for the possibility of cancellation is whether the content is primary or secondary. If implicatures are part of the primary meaning, they cannot be cancelled. On the other hand, if a possible implicature is not part of the primary but the secondary meaning, then it can be canceled. The primary meaning is the one communicatively highlighted, resulting from a situationally given interpretation. In the case of implicatures we can, at least in theory, take into account only the message conveyed on the direct, semantic level. Our example featuring Sara and Tom would be the utterance, “There’s a new movie playing at the theatre”. But if we did so, we would not adhere to the cooperative principle or its maxims, and we could be described as uncooperative – why bring up the movie if it is irrelevant for the current conversation? This is why, in this example, the implicated message (“Let’s see the new movie”, “We could see the movie if you are up for it”, or something similar) is the primary meaning of the utterance, which is hard to cancel a meaningful way. Recognising implicatures as part of primary meaning strengthens their position as reason-giving arguments that are integral to successful and coherent communication because it makes the exploration of unstated premises and the implicated conclusion a mandatory part of communication, which cannot be explained by a formal analysis of only what is explicitly stated, treating all pragmatic meaning as an optional possibility or just an additional layer.

Here, a distinction between two types of cancellability must be introduced: theoretical and practical (see Walton 1989; Åkerman 2015; Sullivan 2017; Macagno 2023). Theoretical cancellability rests on the absence of logical contradiction between what is said and the negation of the implicature that can be inferred from it. Practical cancellability depends on whether the cancellation of the implicature can be reasonably justified against possible criticisms in a real communicational context. Mazzarella et al. (2018), following Pinker and Lee (2010), write that cancellation (theoretical cancellability) opens the door to denial (practical cancellability). According to them, the content can be denied if the speaker can deny (when openly challenged) ever having intended to communicate it. Let’s consider the example they provide. Mary suspects her husband is having an affair and asks her friend Suzy what she thinks about it. Suzy responds: “I saw your husband with a woman at the cinema the other day.” Mary interprets the statement as confirmation that her husband is having an affair. However, it turns out that her husband was at the cinema, but he was with his sister, whom Suzy knows well. When Mary asks her for an explanation, Suzy defends herself by saying: “I didn’t mean to say he’s having an affair. The woman he was with is his sister” (ibid. 16). According to Mazzarella et al., in this case, Suzy can cancel the implicature, but she will find it difficult to deny it.

A further step is to suggest that if conversational implicatures are seen as conclusions of implicit arguments, then an unsuccessful cancellation of implicatures constitutes a logical contradiction. Namely, if we view conversational implicatures as arguments that the listener reconstructs based on the input provided by the speaker, then adding a contradictory premise can be seen as a logical fallacy that leads to an inconsistent set of beliefs. Let's consider a different example this time. Ana comes to pick up Ben to go out to dinner together, but he is not ready to leave yet.

Ana: How much longer do you need?

Ben: Have a drink.

The conversational implicature is that Ben needs some more time to get ready and that Ana has enough time to have a drink before they leave. Ben can cancel the implicature by adding "but I'm ready in a minute." However, although such cancellation is possible, it creates an inconsistent set of beliefs. The statement "Have a drink" opens the space for the implicature "I need more time to get ready," and the cancellation adds the content "but I'm ready in a minute." The combination of the implied message and explicit cancellation creates an inconsistent set of beliefs, and in reconstructing the argument, an inconsistent set of premises: "I need more time to get ready + but I'm ready in a minute." Therefore, we can say that practical cancellability or denial is unconvincing in this case even though formal cancellation – in the form of the sentence "Have a drink" followed by "But I'm ready in a minute" – is possible.

The proposal is that deniability operates effectively only under specific conditions, such as cultural differences among conversation participants or when there are mismatches in communicational expectations. It is argued that indirect communication is governed by rational, communicative, and social principles, establishing it as a structured and effective communicative strategy. These principles discourage easy dissociation from pragmatically conveyed messages and suggest that such messages can be considered primary communication content, even if not explicitly encoded semantically, provided they are justified through reasoning and argumentation. Given that beliefs and norms are often transmitted and adopted through reliance on these indirect messages, they play a crucial role in shaping and perpetuating societal beliefs, as well as in adopting and reinforcing associated concepts and values. Subsequently, a necessary connection between pragmatics and conceptual engineering will be proposed.

## CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURES AND CONCEPTUAL ENGINEERING

Conceptual engineering is a branch of philosophy or philosophical methodology that deals with the process of evaluating and improving our concepts. This process is motivated by the fact that sometimes our conceptual schemes need to be enhanced to achieve certain beneficial effects, which can be social, theoretical, political, or otherwise. This can be accomplished by introducing a new concept, modifying, or abolishing an existing one (see Bohlman 2023, Koslow 2022 and Burges, Cappelen and Plunket 2020). The story of the concept of sexual harassment is a good illustration. The concept of sexual harassment emerged within the context of legal and academic discussions on gender discrimination and women's rights. Before the term was coined, behaviours that are now recognised as sexual harassment were often dismissed or ignored (see Campbell 2017).

As for modifying an existing one, the definition of "marriage" can provide a good illustration. Traditionally, the term has been used for the union between man and wife, and it excluded homosexual couples, but many countries expanded its meaning to include same-sex marriage (see Winter, Forest, and Sénac 2018). There are also other terms, such as "civil union", for this kind of romantic partnership; however, unlike "marriage" this term lacks the inherent authority, cultural connotations, and certain legal aspects (see Opačić, Grđan, and Jurčić 2012).

Perhaps the most discussed example is Haslanger's project of amelioration of the term "woman". Haslanger suggests a way to improve the concept of "woman" by incorporating the notion of subordination into its definition. The underlying concept is that by altering the definition, more focus will be placed on the systematic subordination experienced by women, thus helping to combat it. Haslanger (2000) emphasizes the feminist goal of eventually eliminating the category of women altogether, while recognizing the importance of not erasing females as a biological category.

Finally, there are terms that do not add anything positive to society, and the possibilities of a change in their content are limited. Think of slurs, words that are used to denigrate members of a specific group based on their sexual identity, ethnicity, race, or another immutable factor.

So, conceptual engineers' basic idea is that concepts should be analyzed, evaluated, and modified to produce a change that will benefit society.

Even before conceptual engineers proposed this new way of doing philosophy, the importance of language in shaping society was well known. One of the most fa-

mous incarnations of this idea is linguistic determinism (or relativism), known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis proposes that a language's structure and vocabulary shape or influence how its speakers perceive and think about the world. This hypothesis suggests that language doesn't just reflect our thoughts but can also determine or limit the range of thoughts that we can have. In other words, different languages may lead their speakers to view the world differently, affecting cognition, perception, and behaviour. As expressed by Worf (1956: 212) "[w]e dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages". Some simple examples of this theory in practice are the often-recalled various terms that Inuit people have for "snow"<sup>6</sup>, or the large repository of terms Arab people have for "camel" (see Kharusi 2014). A concise overview of how conversational implicatures integrate into this framework will be provided in the subsequent paragraphs.

As we have seen, conversational implicatures, as introduced by H. P. Grice, play a crucial role in the subtlety and complexity of everyday communication. They allow speakers to convey nuanced messages that go beyond the literal meaning of their words, fostering deeper understanding and richer interactions. The ability to infer these indirect meanings is essential for navigating social roles, building trust, and strengthening community bonds. The interplay between the calculability and cancellability of implicatures reflects the dynamic nature of communication, where stability and flexibility coexist. This dynamic ensures that communication remains a collaborative process, where meaning is co-constructed and continuously refined, enhancing the rationality and coherence of our interactions. Understanding and effectively using conversational implicatures thus enhances our capability to engage in meaningful and contextually appropriate exchanges, reinforcing the foundations of social cohesion and trust.

What is implicated, profoundly influences how we construct concepts by enriching our understanding and adding layers of meaning beyond explicit statements. Implicatures often fill in gaps left by what is not explicitly stated. This allows for a more nuanced understanding of concepts without requiring exhaustive detail in every conversation. The creation of implicatures relies on shared knowledge and cultural norms, which shape how concepts are understood within a community. We can say that conversational implicature add to the mutual cognitive environment of a community (see Sperber & Wilson, 1986). As implicatures are interpreted and reinterpreted in different contexts, they contribute to the evolution of concepts and behaviours over time. Re-

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6 Appendix A of *Siku: Knowing Our Ice* (Krupnik, Aporta, Gearheard, Laidler, & Holm 2010) includes 93 different words for different kinds of snow.

peatedly using certain implicatures can shift the understanding of a concept since they allow meanings, values, and attitudes to be present but unspoken. In essence, what is implicated shapes our conceptual framework by providing additional, layers of meaning and reinforcing or changing the attitudes associated with someone or something. For instance, consider the concept of politeness (see Brown & Levinson 1987). In many cultures, politeness is not just about using polite words but also the implications behind words. When someone says, “Isn’t it hot in here?” the implicature is that the speaker wants the window opened or some form of ventilation used. This polite request relies on shared cultural norms about how requests should be framed to be considered courteous. Over time, the repeated use of such polite implicatures can shape the community’s understanding of politeness, reinforcing the notion that politeness encompasses both indirect communication and consideration for others’ feelings.

This process enriches communication, enhances mutual understanding, and allows for the development of more complex and context-sensitive concepts, but also carries some risks.

## **ŠKURIBANDO FUREŠTIĆ: A CASE STUDY**

In the remainder of this paper, a recent societal and communication example will be presented to illustrate how implicatures can reinforce existing stereotypes and social roles. In this example, implicatures are used so that the true communicative intent can be deemed uncertain, leaving such communication in the realm of hints, suggestions, and the implicit. However, building upon the earlier discussion that implicatures can always theoretically be cancelled, but practical cancellation can only occur in specific situations, this paper aims to demonstrate how speakers in the presented case cannot distance themselves from their conveyed messages effectively and that their attempts at cancellation are unconvincing. In the following section, a brief overview of events in the Municipality of Čavle this year, related to the tradition of the Rijeka Carnival (see Dmitrovic 1995), will be presented. This overview will serve as the basis for analysing the cancellation and reconstruction of indirect messages.

In Čavle near the Croatian city of Rijeka, this year’s carnival effigy (the main carnival culprit in the form of an anthropomorphic figure) was named Škuribando Fureštić. The name of the effigy suggested it symbolised a dark-skinned foreigner scapegoated for all misfortunes, a message underscored by its turban, working gloves, beard, and dark complexion.<sup>7</sup>

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7 The mainstream interpretation of this act can be summarized by newspaper titles such as “Scandalous move



To distance themselves from this discriminatory and xenophobic message the group Čavjanske maškare, responsible for displaying the effigy, released statements like the following: “We have created an effigy named Škuribando Fureštić. Now, it is very important to understand his name. He is not Škuribando because of the color of his skin, but because he is found in what we call ‘škuribande’, the dark areas of our municipality. Fureštić is his surname. Fureštić is a person who is not from Grobnik. When a person from Grobnik goes to Rijeka, he is a ‘furešt.’ When someone from Zagorje goes to Split, they call him ‘Vlaj.’ This may seem offensive to someone, but the fact is that you are a foreigner. Anyone who comes to Grobnik from another area is a ‘furešt,’ just as we are ‘furešti’ when we go to another area. That is a fact” (Ožanić 2024).

This can be interpreted as an effort to disassociate from the morally objectionable message conveyed pragmatically. The difference between this and the examples we have considered so far is that we previously encountered implicatures that arise from the expression of a specific statement or proposition. In contrast, here the message arises from the name (Škuribando Fureštić) and the act of hanging a dark-skinned effigy that has work gloves, a thick beard, and a turban. However, the interpretation process is the same. It takes into account extralinguistic knowledge (what an effigy is, what its meaning is, what the carnival is, etc.), the relationships among the participants in the communication, and the formal elements of the conveyed message (verbal, such as the effigy’s name, or visual, i.e. his appearance). The reconstruction of the message must consider all these elements, rationally assume the intention of the person sending the message, and lead to the most probable conclusion. Can the speaker (in this case, the carnival group) distance themselves from the racist and xenophobic interpretation of their message? Here is the rationale for why such distancing from the message and its denial may not be convincing.

The name Škuribando Fureštić can be explained by an etymological inquiry of its Italian roots. “Škur” derives from the Italian term “scuro,” meaning dark or obscure. “Furešt” comes from “forestiero,” which translates to “foreigner” in English, denoting someone originating from another country, region, or place within the same country perceived as distant and different. Thus, Škuribando Fureštić likely conveys a sense of foreignness or outsider status, compounded by a darker or obscure connotation. This analysis contrasts with the explanation of the name provided by the carnival group. The group’s explanation relied on the softened or secondary meanings of the

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by the Čavlian carnival troupe: They hung an effigy in the „likeness of a foreign worker” (Skandalozni potez maškara u općini Čavle. Objesili pusta u liku stranog radnika, Pavlica 2004).



terms forming the name in question. Interpreting the name's meaning in line with a heavier, xenophobic interpretation is justified by an etymological analysis linked to the original meanings of the words mentioned, as well as their general usage.<sup>8</sup>

Another issue is the meaning that the "pust" (effigy) has in the carnival. In this cultural tradition, the effigy is to blame for all the troubles and problems that have befallen the community in the past year. In an act of catharsis, a list of misdeeds he has committed is read to him, he is beaten and dragged around, and in the end, he is burned. The effigy was linked by the group Čavjanske maškare to an alleged incident from several months earlier, involving individuals of Indian nationality accused of attempting to kidnap a local child. The police determined that no elements of any criminal offence, misdemeanour, or any other form of unlawful behaviour were established (see Gašpert 2024).

The question we can ask here is the following: if the name of the effigy is associated with a specific event, does not the meaning get lost? In this case he is not guilty of all the troubles, not even of a large part of them. He is just wrongfully accused of only one crime. If the goal of the "pust" is to capture a broader social picture, then, in the spirit of tradition and understanding of customs, it makes more sense to interpret him as universal symbol of foreign workers, who in the minds of many represents a cultural and economic threat, rather than as an individual foreigner who has or has not committed some wrongdoing.

Typically, the role of the carnival effigy is to signify crucial societal events that have impacted the community. For instance, many carnival groups associate their effigies with the introduction of the euro in Croatia (e.g., Kunko Centić and Eurić Lipić), and when an individual is chosen as the effigy, it's usually someone socially or politically influential, often a politician, but sometimes it can also be other influential figure, like an unscrupulous tycoon. Such individuals wield the power to influence community life, and through effigies bearing names similar to theirs and physically resembling them, society sends a message.

Why is it not the same to choose a powerful politician or a foreign worker as the effigy? The distinction often arises from power dynamics and historical context. Politicians and people in power are typically public figures who have chosen to enter

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<sup>8</sup> As one reviewer pointed out, in everyday contexts, we seldom invoke the etymology of words to understand specific meanings. In this case, the etymology of the name Škuribando Furešćić is presented because the group Čavjanske maškare referred to it in their response to criticisms, while also highlighting deficiencies in the etymological portrayal they presented. It is also important to note that many people in the broader area of the city of Rijeka are well acquainted with the Italian language and its dialects, enabling them to independently arrive at a valid interpretation.

the public sphere and are accountable for their actions and decisions. Satirising or criticising them is considered fair game because it's part of the scrutiny and accountability that comes with their role. On the other hand, minorities and foreign workers often belong to marginalised or vulnerable groups who have historically faced discrimination, oppression, and stereotyping. Mocking or ridiculing them can perpetuate harmful stereotypes, reinforce power imbalances, and contribute to discrimination, prejudice, and in the case of Škuribando Fureštić also potentially violence. It's essential to consider the power dynamics at play and the potential impact of speech on different groups. While freedom of speech is important, it's also important to exercise that freedom responsibly and sensitively, particularly when it comes to marginalised or vulnerable communities (see Horisk 2024).

Therefore, we can say that the racist and xenophobic interpretation of the effigy is a product of etymological analysis and analysis of the social significance of the effigy. It represents a culprit for deeds affecting the community, symbolising an important event or a powerful individual. The individual (or individuals) blamed for the incident unconfirmed by the police are neither. Furthermore, by choosing such an effigy, the negative perception of foreigners is deepened among a significant portion of the population who already perceive them as a threat, as untrustworthy, as someone who doesn't fit into mainstream society. The selection of the effigy's name and appearance relies precisely on these societal prejudices. The creators knew how the majority of the population would interpret the effigy. Critics of such behaviour presumed the existence of such communicative intent within the carnival group, and their interpretation aligns with that of the majority of the population. However, considering their negative stance on this issue, efforts have been made to negate the message. Such attempts are unconvincing due to factors such as the meanings of the terms used and the traditional significance and role of the effigy in the carnival context.

Earlier in the text, it was suggested that reconstructing the implicature through argumentation could enhance this communicative strategy, and that an unconvincing denial results in a contradictory set of beliefs or premises. In this case, from the name and appearance of the effigy, we derive the implicature "foreign workers are undesirable." The first step in the reconstruction of this meaning is to identify the literal elements at play. In this case, it is the name Škuribando Fureštić and the appearance of the effigy – a turban, dark skin, a beard and work gloves. We then combine these literal elements with the knowledge that the effigy symbolises the bad things that happened last year and that we want to get rid of in the new year, and we derive the implicature "foreign workers are undesirable."

The second step is the cancellation of the implicature. As we have noted several times, formal cancellation is always possible. In this case, we combine the literal elements (name and appearance) with the cancellation: “The effigy is named Škuribando Furešćić, has a turban, dark skin, and gloves, but we do not want to say that foreign workers are undesirable”. There is no logical contradiction here.

In practical cancellability, we consider the implied message and what led to it and judge how successful the distancing from the message is. “The effigy is named Škuribando Furešćić, has a turban, dark skin, and gloves; the effigy symbolises something negative we want to get rid of and do not want in the new year; thus, foreign workers are undesirable, but we do not mean to say that foreign workers are bad.” This reconstruction has several contradictory elements and is thus faulty. This is a clear indicator that the implied message cannot be denied. There is no misunderstanding present, no cultural or linguistic difference; rather, it is simply an attempt to distance oneself from a straightforward message whose implicit elements can be reconstructed by all competent members of the linguistic community.

Different interpretations can arise in indirect pragmatic communication, where much is left unsaid and some premises in the argument are implicit. However, some interpretations will be stronger and sounder than others, depending on the context of the utterance. In this case, considering the etymological and cultural analysis of the situation, along with the presupposition of the rationality and competence of the meaning’s creator, the subsequent attempt to distance from the conveyed message appears unconvincing.

## CONCLUSION

Conversational implicatures play an important role in human communication, allowing for nuanced and context-sensitive interactions. However, the tension between their cancellability and calculability introduces challenges for consistent and coherent communication. Understanding these properties enhances our ability to engage in meaningful exchanges and informs conceptual engineering. By examining a recent societal example, this paper illustrates how implicatures influence social concepts and values.

Indirect messages, communicative cues, and signals of various kinds – both verbal and nonverbal – often go unnoticed due to the tendency to prioritise direct and semantically encoded messages as primary forms of communication. However, it is precisely these indirect messages that require us to infer their meaning, at least ret-

respectively, that can be even more effective in subtly shaping communicative exchanges and the social climate precisely because they are perceived as fleeting and unstable.

If implicatures are co-created by both the speaker and the listener, it follows that the listener bears significant responsibility for the beliefs they form based on implicatures, potentially more so than the speaker who did not explicitly dictate their interpretation – rather, it arises from their independent inference. To avoid this conclusion and emphasise the speaker's responsibility, it is crucial to comprehend communication patterns, signals, and strategies for avoiding accountability, ensuring that individuals and groups are held responsible for the messages they convey and the meanings they perpetuate. These meanings, even if not semantically encoded, are not arbitrary but become the primary content of an utterance for any competent member of the language community.

To conclude, it is important to emphasise that this paper presents only one example to demonstrate how an attempt to cancel implicatures might look in practice. This leaves ample room for analysing other instances of using pragmatic communication tools in public discourse, of which there is no shortage. A more comprehensive analysis, which is yet to be undertaken, will better establish and examine the relationship between the method of conceptual engineering and conversational implicatures, and more concretely formulate how the mechanism of conversational implicatures can influence the creation and development of concepts that are consciously or unconsciously perpetuated and maintained in society. This paper aimed to provide an initial impetus for such research and show how a pragmatic approach in the philosophy of language can be used to analyze real linguistic and social situations and their repercussions.<sup>9</sup>

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## KONSTRUIRANJE ZNAČENJA, OBLIKOVANJE DRUŠTVA: IZRAČUNLJIVOST I PONIŠTIVOST KONVERZACIJSKIH IMPLIKATURA

### Sažetak:

Ovaj rad istražuje značajke izračunljivosti i poništivosti konverzacijskih implikatura, usredotočujući se na njihovu društvenu važnost. Analiza karnevalskog lika Škuribando Furešić koristi se za ilustraciju kako se razgovornim implikaturama mogu održati društveni status quo i produbiti stereotipi. Ovo ne znači da su implikature istaknutije od eksplicitne komunikacije u postizanju tih učinaka, već da se njihova neizravna priroda često iskorištava kako bi se izbjegla odgovornost za prenesenu poruku. Ovaj rad dovodi u pitanje ideju da se implikature lako mogu poništiti i poreći, tvrdeći da poništavanje često dovodi do logičke nevjerovatnosti, ukazujući time na pogrešnu komunikaciju.

**Ključne riječi:** razgovorna implikatura; poništivost; izračunljivost; neizravno značenje; konceptualni inženjering; društveni utjecaj

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## **EMOTIONAL ARGUMENTS IN POLITICAL RHETORIC**

This paper deals with emotional arguments which are frequently used as a tool for manipulation, especially in political rhetoric. It is believed that every conflict and every violent act is preceded by a specific type of rhetoric contributing to hatefulness and intolerance. This paper will discuss different arguments (i.e. appeal to emotions) which can influence the spread of hate speech, verbal abuse and, in some extreme cases, even physical conflict and violence. Political figures frequently use such arguments to manipulate the audience and consequently preserve or gain political power for themselves. Arguments such as appeal to fear (*argumentum ad metum*), appeal to anger (*argumentum ad iram*), appeal to indignation (*argumentum ad indignationem*) and appeal to threat (*argumentum ad baculum*) will be discussed and analysed in the examples of political rhetoric. By recognising emotional arguments used as manipulation and differentiating emotions as legitimate arguments, the audience might reveal manipulators, unmask manipulation and hopefully, in some instances, prevent violence and intolerance in society.

**Keywords:** argumentation; emotions; rhetoric; political discourse

### **1. INTRODUCTION – INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL RHETORIC**

Almost every conflict is preceded by rhetoric which provokes and spreads intolerance, stirs up emotions and justifies violence. History has repeatedly shown us that malicious rhetoric opens the door for malicious deeds. When examining the roots of vio-

lence, we frequently find speakers who gain their followers based on their rhetoric. We can always find rhetoric that directly or indirectly calls upon violence. Rhetoric is an art of persuasion, an ability to (as Plato emphasises in his *Phedrus*, Phdr. 271c.) “lead a soul towards a particular end, belief, or proposal that one wishes to promote – in other words, to persuade that soul to accept that end, belief, or proposal as its own.” Plato continues: “Such a power is useful to possess – and admirable to behold – but also potentially dangerous.” Plato shares this ambivalent attitude, which he resolves further in his dialogue, noting that rhetoric is merely a tool that will be used for good deeds in good people and evil deeds in the hands of evil people. Contemporary rhetoricians fully agree with this conclusion, striving to enable as many good people as possible to use rhetoric and to educate people to differentiate between persuasion and manipulation. Although these two concepts are often mixed and closely connected, Nettel & Roque (2011: 58) emphasise that the main feature that differentiates them is intention: “there is no manipulation without the intention to manipulate.” This criterion is also fundamental: the intention to manipulate must remain hidden. Further on, as authors claim: “the difference basically comes from the fact that persuasion includes the interlocutor’s acceptance and consent. Manipulation, on the other hand, means that the exercise of this freewill is hindered.”

Audience with rhetorical education has greater capacity to recognize manipulation and refuses to become its victim. Ancient Greek proverb (attributed to Aristotle) says: “He who does not study rhetoric can become the victim of it.”

The main intention of this article is precisely this: to contribute to rhetorical education and the ability to recognize manipulative discourse which intends to spread intolerance, hate, promote violence and conflict. Throughout history, political rhetoric has been the wheel of motion for many conflicts, wars and violence and politicians who were the leaders of violent actions. Also, political discourse is often manipulative rather than persuasive, often emotional rather than rational and often directed toward gaining political power through the votes and approval of a wide audience, creating the phenomenon of populist rhetoric.

The political rhetoric of the 21st century shows the growth of populist rhetoric, the tendency to use emotional appeals in persuasion, and the tendency to avoid rationality and use “shortcuts” to achieve one’s goal regardless of the consequences. The consequences are polarisation in society, radical politics, and violence. Writing about and learning about it might help decrease these consequences and engage in argumentative dialogue instead of resorting to violence.

This paper will focus on emotional appeals as argumentative tactics, especially

emotions that may lead to violence, such as anger, indignation, intolerance, fear, and threat. Arousing these specific emotions and using them as arguments for a certain action can easily result in hate speech and violence. Therefore, this paper will discuss an issue of hate speech following the sections on emotional appeals in argumentation: legitimate and fallacious use of emotions, illustrating it with several examples from political discourse.

## 2. HATE SPEECH

The concept of “hate speech” has become very frequently used in public discourse, and accusations of speaking hatefully are often heard among public officials and social actors. However, there is no precise, straightforward definition of “hate speech”, definitions, if they exist in legislatives of the certain countries, are very vague. For instance, there is no legal definition of “hate speech” under U.S. law nor legal definition for evil ideas, rudeness, unpatriotic speech, or any other kind of speech that people might condemn. Croatian law, for instance, recognises “hate speech” as a kind of communication which calls upon violence and hate toward a group or individual based on their racial, religious, national or ethnic origin, colour, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, physical disabilities or any other identity factors (Croatian Criminal law, 325/1, NN 144/12, 101/17). Scholars from different fields in Croatia (ranging from political, media and communication sciences to psychology and psychiatry) are researching both the causes and consequences of hate speech. Klain (2003: 192) writes about hate speech from a psychoanalytical perspective, defining it as a “verbalized projection of destructive aggression of an “enemy”. According to Klain, one of the causes of hate speech is “malignant prejudices” which are accompanied with hate speech and destructive behaviour.

Alić (2021: 720), on the other hand, writes about the biological and cultural dimensions of hate speech, stating that every hate speech is hatred itself. “It carries attitudes and emotions, ideological blindness, which has its sources and which affects the community they address, but which also affects the basic biological structure of the hate speech producer as well as recipients of these messages, intentional or unintentional.”

From a perspective of legislation and law, to provide a unified framework for the United Nations to address the issue globally, the UN Strategy and Plan of Action on Hate Speech defines hate speech as...*any kind of communication in speech, writing or behaviour, that attacks or uses pejorative or discriminatory language with refer-*

ence to a person or a group on the basis of who they are, in other words, based on their religion, ethnicity, nationality, race, colour, descent, gender or other identity factor. However, to date, there is no universal definition of hate speech under international human rights law. The concept is still under discussion, especially in relation to freedom of opinion and expression, non-discrimination and equality. In communication literature, hate speech is standardly characterised as public expressions that spread, incite, or justify discrimination, subordination, and hostility against its victims (Torres da Silva 2021; Waldron 2012). Still, to convict someone for hate speech seems to be quite difficult precisely because it often collides with the freedom of speech. But a more important reason is that there are fine lines between the intensity of hate speech and the frequent usage of the so-called *soft hate speech*. Soft hate speech is constituted by expressions that appear neutral but unduly target and belittle certain identifiable groups without explicitly inciting discrimination and hostility (Assimakopoulos et al. 2017). Soft hate speech represents a challenge for contemporary rhetoricians and argumentation scholars who put a lot of effort into disclosing “neutral” communication, which contributes to prejudices against certain groups of people. Domínguez-Armas et al. (2023) recently published a paper investigating media coverage on immigrant issues in European countries, detecting different kinds of provocative insinuations which, in their opinion, constitute hate speech. Authors (2023: 422) discovered many provocative anti-immigrant insinuations emphasizing that “right-wing activists went as far as coining the derogatory term ‘rapefugees’ and producing a website where all alleged rapes and other ‘refugee crimes’ are listed” (*Der Spiegel*) concluding that “these fear-mongering arguments have been part-and-parcel of the public debate in Germany, and elsewhere, especially after the 2015 influx of refugees.” Issues with the high number of immigrants in European countries are continually a source of public debates, heated political discussions and hate speech. Consequently “heated” discussions are closely tied with emotional appeals which are then in the core of hate speech, either “hard” or “soft” hate speech. Therefore, next few sections will be dedicated to emotional arguments, appeals to emotions which contribute to the spreading of hate and violence, namely appeal to fear (*argumentum ad metum*), appeal to threat (*argumentum ad baculum*) appeal to anger (*argumentum ad iram*) and appeal to indignation (*argumentum ad indignationem*)

### 3. EMOTIONAL ARGUMENTS

Before explaining the role of emotions in argumentation, their relevance, legitimacy, and power, we must first explain our approach to emotion from a rhetorical and argumentative point of view. As Ben-Ze'ev (1995: 190) writes

“Emotions are complex attitudes involving the intentional components of cognition, evaluation, and motivation, and the feeling component. The cognitive component includes the information about the given circumstances; the evaluative component assesses the personal significance of this information; the motivational component addresses our desires, or readiness to act, in these circumstances.”

According to Ben-Ze'ev (*ibid.*), it is important to see how all these components are working together; they are not separate entities or activities and should not be seen as merely feelings or cognitions. “Mere feelings, such as a toothache, or mere cognition, such as having certain information about someone, are not argumentation.”

Emotions have been considered a powerful tool in the argumentation of the ancient rhetoricians i.e. sophists, namely Gorgias. According to Groarke (2010: 681), Gorgias, in his *Encomium of Helen* talks about emotions and their “miraculous work; for it can stop the fear and assuage pain and produce joy and make mercy abound,” producing “fearful shuddering and tearful pity and sorrowful longing”. However, sophists use emotions and discuss their effects but do not clearly distinguish between cognitive and emotional arguments. Due to that tension between emotional and cognitive appeals, along with other “suspicious” elements of their learning, sophists are frequently accused of manipulation and deception. On the other hand, Aristotle, in his *Rhetoric*, provides a distinction between cognitive and emotional as the distinction between persuasion via *logos* and *pathos*. *Pathos* is defined by Aristotle as “creating a certain disposition in the audience” and he states that “[There is persuasion] through the hearers when they are led to feel emotion [*pathos*] by the speech; for we do not give the same judgment when grieved and rejoicing or when being friendly and hostile” (*Rhetoric 1356a, 1377b*). According to Aristotle, a competent speaker must know not only logical but also emotional devices in persuasion. By endorsing both *logos* and *pathos*, rhetoric allows an intriguing marriage of cognitive and emotive accounts of argument, which provides some legitimacy for the emotional aspects of informal arguments. However, as Groarke (2010: 682) points out: “Overall, there is no doubt that this can help us construct a more complete account of an effective argument than

the cognitive account, but it also raises different questions and doubts". In the post-ancient tradition, emotions have been considered diversions, shortcuts to persuasion, and if not always fallacious, then at least suspicious. Only since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century has this conception changed, and emotions have been examined as possible legitimate tools in argumentation. Contemporary argumentation theorists consider emotional appeals as argument schemes that are not necessarily fallacious. Some of the most prominent theorists of emotional argumentation are Gilbert (1997, 2007) and Carozza (2010).

Gilbert (1997) expands the traditional view of argumentation by defining four different "modes" of argument, and one of the modes is "emotional mode", which employs emotion as a reason for a conclusion or involves them as a way of expressing an argument. For Gilbert, emotional mode may present a good reason for some action. For instance, love and other closely related emotions like desire, affection, etc., are good reasons for deciding on marriage or a relationship. In such a case, the strength of an argument depends on the "degree of commitment, depth, and the extent of feeling, sincerity and the degree of resistance." (1997: 83-84) Gilbert (2001: 239) claims that "the role of emotion is significant and can be crucial to both the comprehension of a position and the resolution or settlement of an argument."

Building on Gilbert's theory, Carozza (2010) develops an "Amenable Argumentation Approach" to emotional argument. This approach suggests ways of administering, assessing and analysing emotional arguments based on personality theory, alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, and restorative justice methods. Working with some real-life situations, Carozza discusses different emotional arguments and proposes criteria for its evaluation. For instance, working as a mediator in marriage disputes, she finds emotional arguments at its core. How someone *feels* plays an important role. Feelings of neglect, mistreatment, and lack of love and care are arguments frequently found in family situations which need to be resolved. They are legitimate arguments that cannot be ignored. However, the problem arises with the distinction between emotions as legitimate arguments and fallacies contributing to populism, manipulation, conflict and violence. Therefore, it is essential to find cues to assist in this evaluation. Many contemporary argumentation scholars deal with this most important topic, either developing criteria for evaluation, like Carozza (2007, 2010) or focusing on one particular emotion which has been frequently (mis)used in public discourse.

Gilbert (2001: 241) writes about emotions as part of argumentation, differentiating between open emotions, which are "present when it is itself the topic of discussion,

or when it is consistent with the topic of discussion,” and emotional messages, which “indicate an individual’s degree of commitment by demonstrating how strongly they feel about the position at issue.”

Emotional messages may create a certain atmosphere, put an audience in a suitable frame of mind and consequently facilitate persuasion. On the other hand, they can contribute to building the speaker’s ethos and the perception of his sincerity and authenticity. However, in specific situations, the emotion itself can become an argument, which Gilbert (2001) refers to as the emotional mode of an argument. A simple example can be a marriage proposal if we imagine *why – because* of the sequence of an argumentative dialogue in a marriage proposal, an argument for marriage can be the emotion of love. Is this a legitimate argument? It certainly is. Some may say it is the strongest and only important argument for deciding who to marry. The problem with emotions arises because of their manipulative dimension. Under emotional influence, people become less critical, less rational and less objective. Rational argumentation is directed at using premises for a conclusion and examining whether rational reasons support the claim. Our emotional response to the premises should not be important for accepting the conclusion. But, since emotional arguments are much more efficient and effective with quicker results, it is not surprising that they are often used in non-academic discourse. Especially in political discourse. Macagno (2014) wrote about emotional manipulation in the Italian election campaign, where the fundamental argumentative choice was using emotional terms. Words like “terrorists”, “torture”, or “freedom” are not a simple description of affairs but words with “magnetic effect”. Words like these are bound to moral values, leading to moral judgments and potentially triggering specific emotions. Macagno (2014: 104) states: “In politics and other domains of human communication, these terms play a crucial role. They can be used to change the evaluation of a state of affairs, and modify the interlocutor’s attitudes and choices. They provide the hearer with a pre-packaged suggested evaluation of an entity or event.”

### ***3.1. Appeal to anger and indignation***

In the case of any emotional appeal, Brinton (1998: 78) emphasises two distinguishable aspects: arousing the emotion and moving to action utilising the emotion. Arousing emotions can be a part of a rhetorical mode of persuasion called *pathos*, when speakers create a particular disposition in an audience, making it more willing to accept arguments. However, emotional appeals can function as arguments themselves



with an intent to move the audience to action. Fear appeals can function as arguments in an anti-smoking campaign trying to decrease the number of smokers, pity appeals in advertisements can move people to donate money for hungry children in Africa, anger appeals may move people to join the protest against high taxes, etc. Obviously, emotional appeals are the primary tool that can force people to start a conflict or violence.

At the core of many violent acts is anger. The harsh or “angry” emotions or passions are directed against others. Feeling angry or arousing anger is not illegitimate or forbidden. On the contrary, in some situations, it is understandable. As Aristotle points out in [*Nicomachean Ethics* 1125b]: “The man who is angry at the right things and with the right people, and further, as he ought, when he ought, and as long as he ought, is praised” and “those who are not angry at the things they should be angry at are thought to be fools” [1126a].

Indignation, on the other hand, is the antithesis of pity and consists of “being pained at the undeserved good fortune” of others [1386b]. According to Brinton (1998: 78):

“Indignation in a larger sense and the other “unkind” emotions or passions are more than indignation in this narrow or “strict” sense. But, even in the strict sense, indignation is not a mere cool assessment or judgment; it is, or includes, a feeling or complex of feelings- it is an emotion or passion. As such, it is a motivator to action, which is why it is appealed to in rhetorical situations, for example in public speeches whose aim is to get people to take certain courses of action.”

Many other writers who are concerned with the justification of anger typically focus their attention on the question of justice. Obviously, when faced with injustice, people have the right to be angry. However, two criteria can help in assessing the legitimacy of angry emotions and, consequently, arguments that appeal to angry emotions.

The first one is assessing the grounds for angry emotions. Are the reasons provided for anger sound, and are certain propositions truthful? The second criterion refers to the degree or intensity of emotional response. Are the reasons given equivalent to the intensity of a particular rhetorical situation? For instance, if someone pushes himself in front of the line in a supermarket, it can be a reason to get angry. However, suppose someone calls upon an action demanding this person be arrested. In that case, no one will follow because the emotion of anger is not equivalent to its intensity and, consequently, to the action demanded. In everyday life, we often encounter people who

have problems with the reason given and the intensity of emotional response (in traffic, for instance). Still, we are also frequently aware that traffic jams are not the sole reason for the incredible intensity of anger. The same principle can be applied in evaluating emotional arguments in public (primarily political) rhetoric.

One of the politicians, who is well-known for his emotional appeals is Donald Trump. Appealing to anger and indignation was essential for his election campaign. We can even claim that he won the 2016 presidential election precisely on emotional appeals. One public speech focused on appealing to anger because the World Golf Tournament was moved from Florida to Mexico. According to the previously mentioned criteria, both reason and intensity (which call upon action) are weak. Moving the Golf Tournament is of interest to a small group of people (Trump, as a passionate golfer, is one of them), and a degree of intended emotional response, which might urge people to decide on who to vote for as a president, is well out of proportion.

Appeal to anger is often used when politicians point out injustice and warn about potential danger. This is frequently the case with migrant issues when the appeal to anger overlaps with an appeal to fear. For example, one of the Croatian politicians, Miro Bulj, addressing the immigration issue in August 2023, called for civil engagement of citizens in a fight against illegal immigration, appealing to indignation towards immigrants. He stated that half of the immigrants are terrorists: “They bring their wars and their culture into our country; they don’t care about us and our state”.

Similar appeals were used in October 2023 in an EU discussion on immigration when Croatian independent representative Mislav Kolakušić shared his view of immigrants: “Those who come through woods and mountains, without documents, paying smugglers for illegal crossing for ten state borders can be called migrants only by the phoney liberals who want to change Europe and the world by forbidding plastic straws and ear sticks.”

Both politicians are appealing to anger because of illegal immigrant attempts to cross borders, and they both called for action; Bulj calls for citizens’ self-protection, even armed conflict, while Kolakušić calls out for wires on borders, military control, etc.

Are the reasons and intensity of anger in proportion in this case? Some might argue they are. Nonetheless, political decisions have to be made on rational grounds through deliberation – especially decisions that can have long-term consequences on human lives. When emotions are high, especially anger, people tend to be less critical of arguments presented and less prone to think critically about the action they are called upon to take. That is the main reason why this emotional appeal is so effective and successful.

### 3.2. *Appeal to fear and threat*

Walton (2000: 1) writes:

“Fear appeal is recognized as a distinctive type of argumentation by empirical researchers, where it is seen as a kind of argument used to threaten a target audience with a fearful outcome (most typically that outcome is the likelihood of death), in order to get the audience to adopt a recommended response.”

Use of fear appeal argumentation often appears to be quite persuasive and is a quite successful tactic for gaining compliance. This is the reason why they are so common in public discourse: in advertisements and campaigns (e.g. drinking and driving, anti-smoking campaigns etc.), management-union negotiations, religious discourse (e.g. devil, hell, eternal fire), political discourse (higher taxes, limitation of freedom rights, war conflicts etc.). Fear appeals seem to be the main argumentation strategy of populist politicians. They are scaring target audience of “the dangerous others” (terrorists, immigrants) and depicting themselves as people’s saviors.

However, following Blyth’s treatment of appeal to fear, it has to be acknowledged that fear appeals may be appropriate or legitimate in some kinds of cases. Blyth (according to Walton 2000: 43) noted that laws, for example, to be effective, must make a provision for punishment of offenders. From this observation, Blyth concluded that the appeal to fear - in this case, appeal to fear of punishment – would not be a logical fallacy. Although, “it is sometimes difficult to draw the line between an appropriate and an inappropriate appeal to fear.” (ibid.)

But the main question is: why are fear appeals so effective? Blyth (1957: 40) claims: “By arousing sufficient fear in a person or a group of people, it is frequently possible to make them believe things which they would reject as false in calmer moments.”

Calmer moments and a higher degree of critical thinking enable people to differentiate between more and less plausible dangers, more and less severe problems, and higher and lower risks. But by using scare tactics and appealing to emotions of fear and threat, speakers (politicians) are making “shortcuts” to their end, whichever it may be – moving people to action – getting votes on elections, excluding certain members of society, provoking conflict and violence.

Donald Trump frequently used scare tactics presenting imminent danger from Mexican people, calling them drug dealers, rapists and criminals (during the years of 2014 and 2015) who would bring unsafety to American neighbourhoods. Marine le

Pen appealed to fear of immigrants during the election campaign in France in 2017, calling French immigration policies a “danger and tragedy” for France. An even better example of scare tactics in French political rhetoric comes from Eric Zemmour, who has been accused of hate speech on multiple occasions. During the election campaign, he emphasized the danger of Islamisation, promising to save France from it “so their children and grandchildren would not have to face barbarism, so their daughters should not wear niqabs, and they will be able to preserve French values and way of life” (Ivaldi 2022).

Immigration problems are frequently an issue which Croatian politicians address using an appeal to fear. For instance, after one car accident which was caused by immigrant smuggler, the leader of right-wing party Domovinski pokret, Ivan Penava said: “Croatian heads started rolling, Croatian lives are in danger.”

Although the appeal to fear may, on certain occasions, be a legitimate argument, it is frequently used to gain compliance, power, and control over the audience. It is often a tool of manipulation that encourages prejudices, intolerance, and sometimes even violence.

Similar to an appeal to fear is an appeal to force or threat (*argumentum ad baculum*), and they are both regarded as scare tactics. Walton (2008: 117) writes: “The *ad baculum* fallacy is traditionally said to be the resort to force or the threat of force to make someone accept the conclusion of an argument.” We can see this argument as a complete opposite of reasonable dialogue in which an arguer should have the freedom to make up his own mind whether or not to accept a conclusion, based on the argument given for it, or the arguments that can be given against it. Using appeal to threat, we do not leave room for a dialogue. Again, one example can be management-union negotiations when either management threatens to fire workers or workers threatened with a strike. In political discourse it can be seen as threatening voters with opposing politicians who will decrease their salaries and increase taxes, who will open the door for immigrants and increase the possibility of terrorism, vandalism and, crime etc.

Threat and fear are closely connected because threatening with negative consequences leads to fear – well-known rhetorical formula for populist politicians.

#### 4. CONCLUSION – PREVENTING HATE SPEECH CAN PREVENT VIOLENCE

Violent acts are often a consequence of violent speech. Wars, conflict, violent protests are preceded by public speakers encouraging hate and intolerance, promoting violence sometimes even with an assistance of media. Contemporary situation in the world politics shows polarization and radicalization, rise of populism and hate speech. People lacking rhetorical education and critical thinking are often manipulated to vote for extreme political option, support violence and in some cases even join in. That is why writing about this topic, discussing current rhetorical situation and educating audience is of crucial importance.

This paper focused on emotional appeals as part of argumentation in political rhetoric. Emotional appeals are traditionally seen as diversions from rational argumentation. Although contemporary argumentation theory acknowledges their legitimacy in certain situations, they are nonetheless always considered suspicious shortcuts to achieving an end. Under the influence of emotions, the audience tends to be less critical and less committed to argument assessment.

Although there are many types of emotional arguments, this paper focused on emotions that can lead to violent action: appeals to anger and indignation, fear, and threat. If people are aroused to a certain degree, accumulated emotion can lead to frustration, which can then lead to violence.

Analysing and teaching rhetoric is one way of minimising chances for manipulation and possibly minimising chances for violence in society.

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## EMOCIONALNI ARGUMENTI U POLITIČKOJ RETORICI

### Sažetak:

U radu se tematiziraju emotivni argumenti koji su vrlo često sredstvo manipulacije, osobito u političkoj retorici. Vjeruje se kako svakom sukobu i svakom nasilnom činu prethodi retorika koja pridonosi širenju mržnje, netrpeljivosti i netolerancije. Radi govori o tzv. *patotičkim argumentima*, odnosno apeliranju na emocije kojima se može pridonijeti verbalnom nasilju, zlostavljanju pa čak i fizičkim konfliktima i nasilju. Te emotivne apele nerijetko koriste političari da bi manipulirali publikom i posljedično priskrbili ili očuvali političku moć. Analizirat će se argumenti poput djelovanja na strah (*argumentum ad metum*), djelovanja na ljutnju (*argumentum ad iram*), djelovanja na ogorčenost (*argumentum ad indignationem*), argumenta prijetnjom (*argumentum ad baculum*) koji se pojavljuju u političkome diskursu. Prepoznavanje emotivnih argumenata i njihovog manipulativnog djelovanja, razlikovanje legitimnog korištenja emotivnih argumenata od pogrešnog, može pomoći publici da razotkrije manipulaciju i manipulatore i možda čak, u nekim slučajevima, spriječi širenje nasilja i netolerancije u društvu.

**Ključne riječi:** argumentacija; emocije; retorika; politički diskurs

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## **LINGUISTIC VIOLENCE: FROM BENIGN TO FATAL CONSEQUENCES**

Language, as the basic means of communication, transmits information and also provides us with an insight into the worldly values. In this paper, we shall examine general definitions of linguistic violence, as well as the consequences caused by inappropriate and irresponsible use of language. Violent language, as a form of communication, is encountered in all economic and social interactions at all ages; therefore, it has not been bypassed by the young population at all. Actually, it has become increasingly present in educational institutions and outside of them. As a matter of fact, it is with continuous use or exposure to violent communication that the social and emotional maturation of young people is extremely affected, and, in this paper, we shall provide the analysis of a specific case of verbal and symbolic violence with an unfortunate and tragic outcome. We shall also try to direct attention to the fact that timely detection of violent behaviour can prevent undesirable outcomes. Also, the paper elaborates on mechanisms that are effective for its suppression so that a person, if exposed to verbal violence, does not become a target of other forms of violent behaviour by an individual or a group of bullies.

**Key words:** symbolic violence; verbal violence; peer violence; consequences; abuser; victim

## INTRODUCTION

Despite the economic, cultural, technological and every other advancement in the society we live in, we have become daily witnesses of violence. Although one would expect widespread, general development to contribute to overall well-being, the assumption remains relative. The relationship between modernisation and the state of concrete society is evidently not linear. For this reason, Ingehart and Baker (2000) conclude that modernisation is probabilistic, not deterministic. Violence is present in the family, among peers, in work environments, in the media, on social networks, in educational, health and other institutions. It can be economic, political, gender-based, symbolic. Therefore, intentional behaviours of harming other persons are present in all segments of our lives, in different social contexts in which there is a space large enough for irresponsible, incorrect and, often, abusive language. Violence, as a phenomenon, has marked the entire history of mankind, and we are brought to the assumption that its eradication is impossible. Thus, this paper focuses on one form of symbolic violence – verbal or *linguistic violence*.

To begin with a question: *How can something as abstract as language have the power, which, in some cases, takes on a violent form?* One of the possible answers would be that language is not only used to convey information; with language, we comfort, encourage, convince, insult, and threaten. Therefore, with language, we do things and influence conditions in which things are done or actions taken.

To define the nature of our utterance, i.e. to categorise something we say as violent, must be determined by pragmatic elements; for language to become or take on a violent form, the person who uses it must have a certain power in relation to the person addressed. The position of power or the powerful in relation to others is therefore created, among other things, using violent language, the issue exactly which Marina Katnić Bakračić (2012: 9) explores, referring to the relationship between “power and language” and “power and discourse”, and emphasizes that:

“(…) in order for an individual or a social group to have control over the discourse, some form of power has to be attained - they must be “the masters”, i.e. have a certain authority and real power in society.”

People who express a tendency towards such use of language begin to realize very early that language can become a powerful weapon in achieving a goal. This is also the case among the young population. A significant number of young people are born and bred in violent, unstable, and quite often, misogynistic societies, where the use

of violent language is present in the family, at school, in partner relationships and, above all, on social networks that have become an indispensable medium of communication. The use of such language affects the development of young people in such a way that words become actions, and actions, in some cases, become violent.

## **SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE: WHAT IS IT?**

Linguistic violence is an integral part of a broader concept called symbolic violence. As a term, it was first used by Pierre Bourdieu in the seventies of the last century. It is a form of domination of a more subtle nature compared to physical violence, but, is an equally, if not more dangerous, form of violence that becomes almost naturally accepted by the victim.” *That is*”, states Bourdieu (2014: 015),

“... every power that manages to impose its meanings as legitimate whilst concealing the power ratios that are at the basis of relations, adding its own symbolic power to those very same relations.”

Furthermore, symbolic violence “... develops in the process of socialisation without physical coercion, leading groups and individuals who are exposed to it to unconsciously accept a subordinate position” (Struna 2011). This type of violence is found in various social contexts, but particularly and in line with our research, we will primarily refer to its presence in educational institutions as a very significant phenomenon that generates permanent internal problems in the development of every young person. As social and communicative beings, we need others to accept us.

In educational institutions, it is important for children and young people to be accepted by their peers. A child’s perception that s/he is not accepted causes a series of changes in behavioural patterns. Some children will psychologically withdraw from their environment and will experience a feeling of loneliness, intense negative emotions, lack of social support, and lastly, depending on individual characteristics, in some cases, will avoid or reject going to school.

There are different types of symbolic violence: mental health stigmatization, institutionalized racism, gender-based violence, and linguistic or verbal violence. Each of the listed types of violence often has lasting consequences for the victim because they can be stronger and more complex than physical violence. General violent behaviour towards target groups (e.g. women, members of other ethnic and racial groups, people suffering from schizophrenia, people with difficulties in psychophysical development, and people of other sexual orientations) manifests itself in benign

(but inappropriate) forms, ranging from jokes to malicious comments such as references to offensive words and other forms involving physical attack and discrimination. Psychological violence cannot be noticed with the naked eye; it is symbolically camouflaged, sometimes for a very long time, because it leaves no scars or physical traces. Physical violence is usually preceded by verbal violence, in fact, it is most often also a product of verbal violence. The use of violent language, i.e. words that hurt or affect the psychological health of the victim, is classified as psychological or emotional violence (Bilić 2018). The consequences of emotional violence are restlessness, loss of control over life and feeling of hopelessness. In addition to psychological manifestations, people who are the target of emotional violence experience a series of physiological changes, such as increased secretion of the hormone cortisol, which implies that the victim is in a highly stressful situation.

Given that emotional/verbal violence is invisible and ubiquitous, two questions inevitably arise that we will try to answer in this paper:

- How to detect violent behaviour when it is not aggressive, i.e. when there is no physical contact between the perpetrator and its victim?
- What are the effective mechanisms for combating verbal violence that often leads to social exclusion?

For the purpose of this research, we analysed one specific case of verbal and symbolic violence at school, but, prior to that, it is necessary to define what exactly is meant by peer violence in general. In various scholastic texts, there are many definitions of peer violence, but in the research so far, the definition of peer violence by the Norwegian psychologist Dan Olweus (1993: 78) is most often taken as a starting point:

“A person is bullied when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more persons, and he or she, consequently, has difficulty defending himself or herself.”

The research conducted by Cardona Restrepo and Elias Otálora (2015: 10) has shown that:

“Statistics have shown that emotional violence is dominantly present in the classroom and school centres. The protagonists of peer violence are girls and boys in the pre-adolescent age, while the victims are slightly more often girls”.<sup>1</sup>

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1 “Estadísticamente, el tipo de violencia dominante es la emocional y ocurre principalmente en las aulas y patios de las escuelas. Los protagonistas de los casos de acoso escolar suelen ser niños y niñas en proceso de ingreso a la adolescencia, siendo el porcentaje de niñas ligeramente mayor en el perfil de víctima.”

When it comes to verbal violence, it was thought that girls are more prone to it, but recent research (Bilić 2013, 2015, 2016) has shown that verbal violence is equally present in both sexes and, at a younger age, it is more present in boys.

This research is qualitative, not quantitative in nature, given that only one specific case of peer violence and its consequences for the victim was analysed. It is so complex in itself that peer violence is actually only one of several other types of violence that were recorded during the case research. The analysis was done using the methods applied in social sciences, primarily the method of content analysis and the use of archival material, in this particular case, the content of addresses and conversations that were held with the victim's parents in the media, the boy's notebooks in which his peers left him verbal and symbolic messages. Such an approach in terms of systematic observation would include the analysis of a specific target group, whereby the group had not been informed that they were the subject of the analysis in order not to prevent the members of the group from modifying their own behaviour (after the analysis was completed, we were obliged to explain the purpose of the same to the people involved in it).

## THE LANGUAGE OF VIOLENCE

The language of violence is present in all cultures, regardless of the level of development they have reached throughout history. Linguistic violence can be verbal or in the form of sign language, in other words, in body movement/language.

“Non-verbal communication is the expression of language without using linguistic means, or combining linguistic means with non-linguistic means. (...) these movements can be performed intentionally or unintentionally and can have a genetic or cultural origin.” (Luque Nadal 2010: 64-65)

This violence is considered a modality of relational violence, and it includes body movements such as grimaces, eye-rolling, and showing violent movements/symbols with the whole body or parts of the body. So, with linguistic violence, we will hurt another person with simple and offensive words, gossip, and statements with which we humiliate, attack, ridicule, and call the victim by different names and nicknames, but also with movements and language that do not use linguistic media. A particularly sensitive period for every young person is the period of adolescence when the person has not reached the level to build effective defence mechanisms against such interlocutors.

In the period of pre-adolescence, according to Éibar José Ordoñez (2011: viii):

“a person is in the process of searching for his own identity through which he will create relationships with others and be accepted by others, therefore nicknames, jokes, humiliation as well as any other form of verbal violence will affect the way that a young person can develop emotional conflicts, complexes, frustrations and psychological trauma (...)”<sup>2</sup>

Patricia Evans (2000: 8) recognizes different types of verbal violence: “This abuse may be overt or covert, constant, controlling, and what Bach and Deutsch (1980) call “crazymaking.” Furthermore, Evans claims that: “Verbal abuse is, in a sense, built into our culture. One-upmanship, defeating, putting down, topping, countering, manipulating, criticizing, hard selling, and intimidating are accepted as fair games by many.” (Ibidem)

The goal of a verbal abuser is always the same, to humiliate the victim to the point where she thinks there is something wrong with her. Whether verbal violence is open or covert, subtle in the form of brainwashing, it leads to social exclusion and discrimination on various grounds: belonging to a certain social group, nationality, confession, skin colour, physical appearance, sexual orientation, mental illness...

Forms of verbal violence, focusing on partner relationships, Evans (2010: 81) classifies into fifteen categories, some of which can be considered forms of verbal violence in any context, namely: countering, criticizing, ridiculing or blaming the victim, accusing, assessing, trivializing, underestimating, threatening, ordering. The narrative of violence is increasingly visible in different media. The media is powerful. Low-quality content on television, as well as in other electronic media, is flooded with programmes that promote (consciously or unconsciously) violence, both physical and symbolic and verbal. They, especially among young people, set standards and determine what is acceptable and what is not. Signorielli et al. (1995) estimated that the average 12-year-old sees more than 100,000 acts of violence on television. Answering the question of why violence in the media affects aggression, Aronson et al. (2005: 435) state the most common reactions as a result of watching violence in the media:

(1) If I can do it, so can I. In other words, exposure to aggressive behaviour weakens previously learned inhibitions towards violent behaviour.

(2) Oh, so that’s how it’s done! The methods used by violent characters on TV encourage young people to imitate them.

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2 “(...) la persona está en el proceso de búsqueda de una identidad propia que le permita relacionarse y ser aceptado por los demás, de manera que los apodos, las burlas, las humillaciones y cualquier expresión de violencia verbal pueden trastocar este proceso y desarrollar en el (la) joven conflictos emocionales, complejos, frustraciones y traumas psicológicos.”

(3) I think that what I am experiencing must be aggressive feelings. In particular, young people who are exposed to violent scenes on TV or play similar video games can misinterpret their feelings. For example, mild anxiety can be experienced as intense anger.

(4) Ah, another cruel fight; which is on another programme. Exposure to watching a large number of violent scenes or participating in violent video games increases the likelihood that adolescents become numb to such scenes, increasingly look for stimuli that arouse them, reduce the ability to empathize with the victim and identify with the so-called powerful characters.

Also, different social networks are a training ground or platforms for various types of violence. People prone to violent behaviour use them to post compromising content in the form of photos, messages, comments, and threats directed at a specific person or a social group. There is no doubt that modern media encourage violent communication and glorify violent behaviour, language, and gesticulation, whereby the bully is often anonymous, in other words, cowardly in nature. Still, the bully is allowed to go unpunished in the end.

## **TYPES OF BULLIES**

One becomes a bully, learns under the influence of various circumstances. The first forms of violent behaviour often come from the family, and then from other social environments that approve and motivate such behaviour. The same is the case with the use of violent language in everyday communication, it will first be learned in the family circle if such language is present in it, and then in educational institutions, in the work environment and in other social contexts. Manuel J. Fontanilla López (2011: 50), stemming from the method of observation and conversation about the importance of the family in adopting the way of communication, states the following: “I asserted that the language of each student primarily comes from the family. Mothers whose way of communicating was aggressive and disqualifying noticed this way of communicating in their daughters and sons.”

Children generally spend most of their time with their mothers, especially in childhood and adolescence. The figure of the mother is very important, but she is often burdened with raising children (generally more than fathers) and many other obligations, consequently leading to frustration, which then generates verbal violence directed at children. The role of the family is certainly very important. However, contemporary research (Neufeld and Mate 2014, according to Jašarević 2022: 89)



has shown that “the pressure is much stronger from peer culture and new media than primarily from parents”.

The more a person is exposed to violent communication, the chances that he himself will take on this form of communication are very certain. According to Coloroso (2004), bullies can be divided into seven types:

1. Self-confident bully – big ego, inflated self-esteem, sense of entitlement, propensity for violence and lack of empathy. He feels good only when he has a feeling of superiority over others. He is often admired by peers and teachers for his strong personality.
2. The social bully – uses rumours, gossip, verbal abuse and avoidance to systematically isolate his targets and effectively exclude them from social activities. He has low self-esteem, however, he hides his feelings and insecurities with excessive confidence and charm. He is deviant and manipulative.
3. Fully armed bully – calm and seemingly disinterested, looking for an opportunity to bully when no one sees him or cannot stop him. He is vindictive and mean to his target but charming and deceptive to others, especially adults. He has great difficulty in finding and identifying feelings.
4. Hyperactive bully – poorly developed social skills and difficulties mastering the material. Usually, these are children who have some kind of disorder of academic skills, and difficulties in correctly interpreting social cues. Hence, they often interpret the actions of others as hostile and react with aggression. They have difficulty making friends.
5. The bully is the victim – both the target and the bully at the same time. Being a victim of violence or abuse by adults or older children abuses others to ease his feelings of helplessness and self-loathing. Attacks smaller and weaker targets.
6. A group of bullies is a group of friends who together do something to the person they want to exclude that they would never do on their own. Bullying is carried out by a group of “good” kids who know that what they are doing is wrong and hurts their target.
7. Gang of thugs – a group that is connected not by friendship but by a strategic alliance to achieve power, control, dominance and conquest of territory. Individuals join gangs to belong to a family of like-minded people and to be respected and protected. They become so loyal to the group that they don’t pay attention to the overall consequences of their actions.

All bullies have the same goals:

- to humiliate another, to make her/him think that something is wrong with them;
- to dominate others;
- in the end, achieve a feeling of satisfaction by fulfilling the goal.

All bullies will direct their aggression, contempt, and intolerance towards those weaker than themselves and almost always seek support from their peers, accomplices in the violence or silent observers.

## **SOCIAL CONTEXT AND CASE STUDY**

The society of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a transitional one, burdened by a deep political and social crisis of a long-term nature. The period of transition was quite a suitable and opportunistic arena for the growth of numerous new institutions, with the establishment of educational institutions leading the way. One such newly established institution is an international school which links itself to a global chain of international schools and has legitimate ties to the Turkish organisation of Fethullah Gülen<sup>3</sup>.

According to the local media working on the investigation of a suicide case, the boy was a victim of repeated peer violence in the above-mentioned private school. Suppose we return to Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence. In that case, the case in this school represents a blatant example of symbolic violence arising from the imposition of arbitrarily accepted values created by the selection of the ruling elite, which, through cultural production, adjusts the conditions (school, education, values) in line with their own needs, thus creating cultural arbitrariness and through a set of "institutionalized or customary mechanisms ... the inherited cultural past is transmitted from generation to generation." (Bourdieu and Passeron 1986: 146)

The purpose of researching this particular case of peer violence lies in the fact that society, as a whole, and especially the education system, is in a serious crisis. Our argument is based on the facts obtained by investigative media, which indicate that a boy was exposed to peer violence for a long period of time, where symbolic/verbal violence was dominant. Dubravko Lovrenović pointed out the shortcomings and weak points of the Bosnian community in one of his public speeches:

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3 The movement of Fethullah Gülen began to spread in the eighties of the last century and is considered one of the largest Islamic civil organizations based on religious beliefs. His Hizmet movement was believed to have millions of followers and sponsors 1,000 centers based on Islamic dogma, which help high school students prepare for university exams in 150 countries.

“We are a patriarchal, misogynistic and incestuous society, and Mahir’s case is such that he brought all these phenomena to the surface. And that is why it is no longer a case that happened in Dobrinja, in Branislava Nušića Street, it has become a case far wider than Bosnia and Herzegovina.”

Prolonged concealment and deception, hiding and, subsequently, the boy’s fear of speaking, culminated in suicide. Among other things, the boy was also a victim of the culture of silence, a phenomenon which, together with the phenomenon of a high threshold of tolerance, leads the victim to the act of suicide. This tragic case opened a “Pandora’s box” of extreme issues that contemporary Bosnian society is facing.

The teenager, in this case, was the son and stepson of two university professors who persisted for a long time in the fight for the truth to sanction the perpetrators of the heinous mistreatment of a schoolmate. The married couple invested inexhaustible strength, will, and even sacrificed their academic reputation, in attempt to resolve the case in favour of every child who goes through peer violence in silence. “Although they are minors, those minors are very aware of what they did. Society, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as it is, must put a lot of pressure, because it concerns all of us. Today it’s Mahir, tomorrow it’s someone else’s child,” child’s mother, Alisa Mahmutović, said in one of her media appearances.

Unfortunately, the fight was in vain because closing the school (which was not the goal of their fight) did not help expose the bullies and punish them. Instead, the married couple was subjected to severe forms of symbolic violence, both by institutions and by part of the social community. In particular, the mother was the object of verbal violence, severe criticism embodied in sexist language as a repressive mechanism of women’s oppression. They questioned her private life, her decisions, the way she mourned, which she talked about in an interview with the DEPO portal:

“You know, it’s not just tears... There are healthy and pathological forms of mourning. The other day, my therapist told me that I was a school example of healthy mourning, however culturally unacceptable. People expect you to neglect yourself and everything around you, I guess. And not to fight, speak, write.”

The case of the suicide of a minor boy unravelled a tangle of anomalies in Bosnian society. One of them is misogyny, which every culture manifests in its own way, and, very often, common are the stereotypes about women and their role in society (See Spahić 2014). So, suppose people invite you, verbally force you, to commit suicide. In that case, it is simply “the result of observing your own behaviour within a cultural

community that has, more or less, defined what is culturally acceptable or unacceptable” (Spahić 2023: 242). The mother was expected to accept the social norms of behaviour (including mourning) as her own, i.e. to simply internalize them.<sup>4</sup> There is no doubt that in our country, as in most Mediterranean nations, women are subject to countless forms of verbal violence: criticizing, humiliating, evaluating, and underestimating.

A blatant example of linguistic violence against women, as a central figure, is metaphorical language, yet not a single age or gender group in our society is spared of this seemingly innocent language. Broken by the tragedy and the fact that the fight is uncertain and long, the married couple soon had to fight against the malignant diseases which they both contracted. It is not medically possible to directly connect one with the other, but neither can it be dismissed as a potential trigger.

Not long after, they both died. It was the epilogue of an unprecedented case of continuous symbolic violence.

The case of the boy who underwent torture moved the Bosnian public in two directions or “teams”. One was made up of responsible citizens who demanded that the culprits be punished, and the other was retrograde members of society who blamed the “irresponsible mother” for the act of suicide first, then the family, but least of all, the thugs who forced the boy to commit suicide.

The boy went through the cruellest form of verbal and symbolic violence in all its forms. It was not about sporadic violence, but continuous and long-term violent behaviour of a group of boys and girls. So, it was not a conflict between equals, but the constant bullying of the weaker. Abuse was done verbally: by insulting on different grounds: origin, family context (child of divorced parents), religion and nationality of the adoptive father. They threatened to kill him, mocked him and asked him to take off his clothes. They drew violent symbols in his notebook and left violent verbal messages.

Knowing that the victim may belong to certain social groups or have some connection with them, the abuser will focus his actions on those particularly sensitive areas. In Mahir’s case, in addition to the violence directed at him, the violence directed at his mother and then at his adoptive father stands out. Namely, the father was a member of the Catholic religion, which bullies did not belong to, so the boy was called derogatory names such as *kjafir*.<sup>5</sup> Verbal violence was especially directed at

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4 [“Internalization is a process in which social norms established in society are adopted as one’s own” (Rayan and Conell 1989: 752, according to Čeriman, Spahić Šiljak 2022: 46)].

5 *Kafir* is often translated as ‘infidel,’ ‘pagan,’ ‘rejector,’ ‘denier,’ ‘disbeliever,’ ‘unbeliever,’ ‘nonbeliever,’ and ‘non-Muslim.’ The term is used in different ways in the Quran, with the most fundamental sense being ungrateful toward God.

the boy's mother because she was divorced and then married to a man of a different religion. Thus, the verbal violence in this case was sexist, religious and in origin. The boy was called the son of a whore, a kafir, *Tuzlak* (a person from Tuzla, the third largest city in B&H, located in the north-eastern region of the country) indicating that being a non-Sarajevan is less worthy.

The bullies also questioned and ridiculed the boy's sexual preferences by using violent and homophobic language. They called him a *fag* and forced him to say that he was a fag, while someone from the group of bullies would record him with a mobile phone with the purpose of possible usage of the compromising footage against the boy. Particularly significant is the symbolic violence in the form of crosses and armed men with shields that the bullies drew in the boy's notebook, as well as verbally violent messages in English: *Mahir go to hell, Kill Mahir*.

The children and young people in this sort of social environment suffer dramatic, serious psychological changes. They feel and think that they are worthless, they withdraw and avoid meeting their peers, develop depression, do not see a way out of the situation, do not have the "strength" to confide in people who would protect them, and, ultimately, it happens that, sometimes, they decide to end their life.

## CONCLUSION

Verbal violence, as well as other forms of violence, is ubiquitous in contemporary society. Before entering into any social contacts, the child will take its first relational steps within the family. If, in a familiar environment, the child does not develop positive emotions, if s/he does not learn to distinguish violent from non-violent language, if s/he is not given examples contrary to violent behaviour, then the educational institutions have to fill the gaps created in the early development of a young person. At the same time, we are aware that schools cannot be single correctors for everything omitted in the family environment.

In this paper, we have shown that peer culture and the media that encourage violent communication and glorify violent behaviour, language and gestures play an extremely powerful role in the formation and development of a young person. The consequences of verbal and symbolic violence can be benign, leaving no trace on the child's psyche. Still, they can also have a fatal outcome, as we pointed out, drawing attention to a specific analysis of a case of peer violence in one elementary school. Aware that the children and young people brought up in hostile social environments suffer dramatic and serious psychological changes, one of the initial questions we

asked is whether there was an adequate mechanism to prevent such outcomes. The answer would be: that there are mechanisms, and one of the effective ones, we believe, would be if the school the boy in case attended (as well as any other educational institution) had conducted research on the presence of any form of violence, it would have been noticed and addressed before any form of tragic act. Both educational institutions and the parents could have intervened promptly and possibly prevented a large number of examples of peer violence, which, unfortunately, concluded tragically.

Violent communication and bullies are present in our everyday environment, and very often, various forms of violence are directed towards the victim at the same time, which we exemplified through a particular case in this paper. The goals of bullies are almost identical. They want to humiliate the other, who is often different, to make him think that something is wrong with him, and to dominate him by displaying repeated verbal aggression, intolerance, and contempt whilst seeking support from similar violent accomplices.

In our society, the problem of violence is spoken about more clearly and loudly today. It is pointed out that victims, and everyone else, can easily recognise and respond to any form of violence adequately, including everyone who is able prevent and stop it.

There is still a long way ahead of our social community. It is paramount that we talk about violence to acknowledge it within the framework of various teaching areas particularly in language classes, so that we could teach and/or relearn that the language must not be used to discriminate but to must be tolerated, and that, in the end, we, as individuals, are nobody's "masters" despite our relative authority and power in society.

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## OD BENIGNIH DO FATALNIH POSLJEDICA LINGVISTIČKOG NASILJA

**Sažetak:**

Jezikom kao osnovnim sredstvom komunikacije prenosimo informacije ali i percipiramo svijet i njegove vrijednosti. Ovaj rad bavi se posljedicama koje nekorektna i neodgovorna upotreba jezika može izazvati kod Drugoga. Nasilni jezik kao vid komunikacije susrećemo u svim društvenim interakcijama pa stoga nije zaobišao ni mladu populaciju. On je prisutan u učionici i van nje. Kontinuirana upotreba ili izloženost nasilnoj komunikaciji utječe na emocionalno sazrijevanje maldih ljudi. U svrhu ovog istraživanja analizirali smo jedan konkretan slučaj verbalnog i simboličkog nasilja sa tragičnim ishodom da bismo pokušali ukazati kako na vrijeme detektirati nasilno ponašanje kada ono nije fizičko, te koji su mehanizmi efikasni za njegovo suzbijanje kako žrtva verbalnog nasilja ne bi postala metom i drugih oblika nasilnog ponašanja od strane pojedinca ili grupe nasilnika.

**Ključne riječi:** simboličko nasilje; verbalno nasilje; vršnjačko nasilje; posljedice; zlostavljač; žrtva

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## **THE REPRESENTATION OF SYSTEMIC RACIAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AND ITS EFFECTS IN PEARL CLEAGE'S *FLYIN' WEST* AND *BOURBON AT THE BORDER***

The overwhelming sense of instability and distress this causes, and the conspicuous rise in heinous crime and racial and gender chauvinism, harassment and bullying all around the globe demand a scrutiny of the insidiousness of violence. This is a moral responsibility of any contemporary author. The current paper analyzes images of systemic racial and gender-based violence in two fictional dramatic works created by African American playwright Pearl Cleage in the 1990s, while reflecting on post-Reconstruction Black American history. To inspect the surreptitious effects of systemic violence as portrayed in the two plays, the paper first discusses forms of violence. It is claimed that Cleage reminds modern audiences of the lengthy history of white violence ingrained in the formation of the United States and that the two analyzed plays illustrate the oppressive consequences of such systemic violence

**Keywords:** intersectionality; racial studies; gender studies; violence; Pearl Cleage; *Flyin' West*, *Bourbon at the Border*

### **INTRODUCTION**

Any contemporary scientific discussion and scrutiny of violence in 2024 must necessarily reference the current geopolitical and social context. The extant world conflicts and spates of violent intra-state altercations have made the twenty-first century particularly unsafe and volatile, and have already left an indelible mark on the lives of many. The unfathomable persecution and ruthless murder of innocent people in

all corners of the world has perpetuated old and created new transgenerational traumas, spilling over the borders of countries both physically/literally, and in mind and heart. Sustained increased militarization has shaped such societies and communities in which interpersonal disagreements and differences in opinion are resolved through violent means, adding up to an overpowering sense of insecurity and fear, and leading to a significant rise in heinous crime and (documented and undocumented) cases of chauvinism, harassment, and bullying.

Since their dawn, theatre and the performing arts have reflected their immediate surroundings and commented on various internal social processes and/or wider geopolitics. Whether openly or obliquely political and regardless of their respective (sub)genre or stage conventions, plays (both scripted and/or enacted dramas) necessarily echo and examine various social mores and issues, including violence. Further, theater inherently takes human beings as its content and addressees, while the sense of immediacy that arises from staged actions occurring in the presence of their viewers inevitably engages audiences in the artistic scrutiny and criticism of real-life social actions.

In 1978, recently departed British dramatist Edward Bond claimed that “[v]iolence shapes and obsesses our society and if we do not stop being violent we have no future” (quoted in Billingham 2013: 38). Expressing a sense of urgency, Bond added that this was the very reason why “[i]t would be immoral not to write about violence” (ibid.). Not full twenty years later, in 1990, African American woman dramatist Pearl Cleage, whose works are the analytical focus of this paper, stated that she was “writing to expose and explore the point where racism and sexism meet” (quoted in Lisa M. Anderson 2008: 17); moreover, her reason for writing is “to help [herself] understand the full effects of being black and female in a culture that is both racist and sexist.” (ibid.). Sadly, contemporary history and geopolitics strongly suggest that twenty-first-century societies are still “shape[d] and obsesse[d]” (Bond op. cit.) by violence and that the culture of such societies is still prevalently “racist and sexist” (Cleage op.cit.).

This paper takes an intersectional approach to examine the dramatic representation of racial and gender-based violence in two of Pearl Cleage’s plays. It hones in on systemic racial violence and its effects as depicted in *Flyin’ West* (1992) and *Bourbon at the Border* (1997), thereby broadly delineating different forms of violence, as informed by Bouta, Frerks and Bannon (2005), Gonzáles-Tennant (2012), Pierce (2016), and Walby et al. (2017). Since the analytical corpus of the paper is embedded in the history of the United States of America, which “has been tainted by the social construction of race and reflects the calamities and conquests of society’s tribulation”

(Gaynor, Kang and Williams 2021: 50), the paper also provides a survey of segments of US and African American history as needed.

### **“VIOLENCE [THAT] SHAPES AND OBSESSES SOCIETY”:<sup>1</sup> FORMS OF (RACIAL AND GENDER-BASED) VIOLENCE**

In his text “Intersectional Violence, New Media, and the 1923 Rosewood Pogrom” (2012) Edward Gonzáles-Tennant identifies three categories of violence: intersubjective, structural, and symbolic (72–73). In the immediate aftermath of the Reconstruction era (1861–1900), these three forms of violence were frequently used in combination to keep Black Americans or other non-white racial groups subordinate to the white hegemony (Gonzáles-Tennant 2012). As Gonzáles-Tennant (*ibid.*) also points out, however, from 1915 to 1925, the old ideologies were being replaced by new violent ones, and structural and symbolic violence, therefore, increasingly replaced intersubjective forms.

The symbolic violence that Gonzáles-Tennant elucidates on pertains to images that vilify socially subordinate and marginalized communities and cultures. Gonzáles-Tennant (*ibid.* 72) claims that symbolic violence, which in the USA was created and legitimized through early cinema (e.g., the image of the “Black Beast” in D. W. Griffith’s film *The Birth of the Nation*, 1915) and the eugenics movement (particularly advocated by the Eugenics Record Office and Henry Herbert Goddard and his 1912 Kallikak study), conceals, upholds, and intensifies social inequalities. For most of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, symbolic violence depicted African Americans as inferior to, or prone to vile crimes against, their white counterparts: “The encoding of Eurocentric values within early cinema created a powerful new form of symbolic violence casting minorities as simple children in need of protection or as dangerous hordes polluting a pure and superior White race” (*ibid.* 76).<sup>2</sup>

Gonzáles-Tennant uses lynchings, racial riots, and murders as illustrations of intersubjective (everyday) violence, which he claims is conspicuous and linked to a number of factors, including migration, prejudice, labour competitiveness, and a decline in Black political engagement (72). Lynching, a particularly heinous form of vigilantism and mob violence, targeted Black communities to induce fear, submission and subordination. As pointed out in “Trauma and the Legacy of Lynching: Con-

1 This citation references Edward Bond. For more information see Billingham (2013).

2 To retain its focus and scope, this paper will not elaborate on symbolic violence. For more information on the particularities of this form of violence and on the vilification of African Americans in *The Birth of the Nation* see Gonzáles-Tennant (2012), and Boyce and Chunnu (2019), respectively.

fronting the Legacy of Racial Terror” (Equal Justice Initiative 2017): “it significantly marginalized Black people in the country’s political, economic, and social systems [... and] inflicted deep traumatic and psychological wounds on survivors, witnesses, family members and the entire African American community” (65). The mutilation and terrorizing of Black individuals accused of various alleged crimes against property and persons of the white hegemonic population exceeded “ordinary modes of execution and punishment [...] It is the story of slow, methodical, sadistic, often highly inventive forms of torture and mutilation” (Litwack quoted in Equal Justice Initiative 2017: 68). Instances of lynching witnessed by Black families and communities, and in which white members of the community (regardless of age, gender or social class) directly and indirectly participated, had far-reaching and immediate effects on the American population as a whole. Immediately after each lynching, “Black survivors mostly strictly observed racial boundaries” and became “hyper vigilant around white people and taught their young children to do the same” (Ifill quoted in Equal Justice Initiative *ibid.*). Too terrified to speak about what they had witnessed or survived, African Americans were subjected to further trauma, their distress and dread intensified by “the culture of silence about racial violence that grew out of the same systemic terror that produced racial violence” (Equal Justice Initiative 2017: 69). Even if lynchings appear to be isolated murders perpetrated by vigilantes, in effect they were “targeted racial violence at the core of a systemic campaign of terror perpetrated in furtherance of an unjust social order [...] rituals of collective violence that served as highly effective tools to reinforce the institution and philosophy of white racial superiority [... intending to] ‘emphasize the limits of Black freedom’” (*ibid.* 70–71). On the other hand, the (Southern) white community who perpetrated collective racial violence (whether as accusers or executioners), and who raised their children to partake in lynching and adopt the culture of traumatic racial violence with its underlying racist myths and narratives also inflicted psychological damage on themselves and (Southern) white culture. Through their participation “in collective violence [...] perpetrators [were left] with their own dangerous and persistent damage, including harmful defense mechanisms such as ‘diminished empathy for victims’ [... and] for years afterwards [they] remain[ed] unable to acknowledge their actions [...] socializing white children [... and] girls in such an amoral framework” (*ibid.* 70–71). The long-term effects of such horrendous racial prosecution and terror of African Americans are tangible even today. Equal Justice Initiative authors elucidate that this form of intersubjective violence ensued in those communities: “where African Americans today remain marginalized, disproportionately poor, overrepre-

sented in prisons and jails, and underrepresented in decisionmaking [sic] roles in the criminal justice system — the institution most directly implicated in facilitating lynching and failing to protect Black Americans from racial violence” (67).

González-Tennant (2012) asserts that early in the twentieth century, structural forms of racial violence prevented Black Americans from fully engaging in American culture and society. One example of structural violence were the Jim Crow laws, which treated African Americans as second-class citizens. These were approved after the Supreme Court’s *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling in 1896, and upheld until its judgment in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), and other cases involving educational and social segregation. The laws, whose outcomes were extensive, resulted from the growing concern among the dominant white population that resented the rise of a new generation of Southern African Americans who had no living memory of slavery. Grossman (2005: 81) depicts the white hegemony’s sense of anxiety and fear, which led to the passing of Jim Crow: “Complaining of black servants referring to one another as ‘Miss Johnson’ or ‘Mr. Jones,’ one Louisiana newspaper identified the nub of the issue: ‘The younger generation of negro bucks and wenches have lost that wholesome respect for the white man, without which two races, the one inferior, cannot live in peace and harmony together.’” In an attempt to re-establish their dominance, the white majority therefore at first resorted to intersubjective violence in the form of lynchings, and the (Southern) lawmakers initially turned a blind eye to it. Toward the end of the 1800s, however, because the random and overwhelming nature of lynch mobs undermined the credibility of the rule of law, and lynching damaged the South’s image in the Northern press (Grossman 2005: 81–82), the practice was, at least on paper, replaced by Jim Crow. The laws and their “separate but equal” doctrine were embraced as these seemed to be a lot less messy than vigilante violence; as pointed out, they were a legal and systemic way of marginalizing African Americans, restricting the movement of African American laborers, and ensuring that African American farmers remained as dependent on white landowners and merchants as possible (Grossman 2005).

African Americans were also being steadily shut out of the political process by white Anglo-Americans nationwide, through literacy tests, poll taxes, grandfather clauses, and white primary elections, all done in an attempt to preserve white political superiority. González-Tennant (2012) cites “sundown towns” as a further exemplification of structural violence. These areas, which appeared in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but peaked in certain regions as late as 1970, were all-white enclaves that often developed as a result of white people evicting minority residents—

typically with great violence. The practice originated in the western states of Oregon, Washington, and California, then extended to the Northeast, Midwest, and, to a lesser degree, the Deep South. White privilege enabled bankers, police officers, real estate brokers, and local governments to maintain all-white communities by enacting and upholding constitutional regulations, forbidding leasing or selling real estate to racialized groups, and imprisoning minorities on false accusations.

Jason E. Pierce's article, which discusses the role of violence in the white conquest of the West (2016), supports González-Tennant's propositions. Pierce (2016) claims that violence was essential to establishing and upholding white supremacy over non-whites as western settlements expanded (210). Before the Civil War, however, enslaved people in Texas had encountered less organized (structural) violence because of their significant economic value, although they experienced considerable physical and psychological personal (intersubjective) violence, as a means of maintaining their subordination. After the Civil war things drastically altered, and emancipated African Americans endured decades of horrifying systemic violence, which was intended to rob them of their newly acquired status and hard-won rights, and maintain the inferior position of African Americans<sup>3</sup>. In the decade immediately following the Civil War, the use of violence to attain these objectives extended far beyond Texas, although the ferocious conquest of the state, along with that of California, contained various forms of violence that changed the West and preserved white supremacy. These included the ethnic cleansing that led to the near eradication of Native Americans in both states; the denial of political rights to Chinese and Hispanic Americans; and the establishment of slavery and subsequently segregation in Texas. All three forms of violence therefore became essential weapons in the construction of the white American West.

African American women endured not only racial but also gender-based violence.<sup>4</sup> Walby et al. (2017: 47) indicate that violence against women is considered a form of "gender discrimination in international law". Gender is not external to violence and can construct and organize fundamental aspects of violent acts (which in themselves

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3 According to Pierce (2016: 223), there were two key causes of this violence in post-Civil war Texas. First, white supremacist Democrats sought to stifle the Republicans' reconstruction efforts, which were aided by African Americans and a limited number of white Unionists. Second, violence gave white racists a means of maintaining the subordinate position of African Americans.

4 Grossman (2005: 76) points out that in early twentieth century African American women found jobs (predominantly as domestic help) more easily than their men, although they were paid next to nothing. The urban employment continued to inflict various kinds of oppression, including sheer disdain and disrespect from all members of white households; charges of professional neglect and the real risk of not being paid for services rendered; demands of longer than usual work hours; and even sexual harassment and assaults on Black women by white "madam's husband[s]" (ibid.).

are a form of social relationship between perpetrators and victims). Gender relations may therefore influence or partially form both “its core aspects” and the “wider context and causation of violence” (Walby et al. 2017: 42–43). Additionally, modern international law (the legal regime) has explicitly focused on increasing initiatives to end violence against women, and this has contributed to the perception of women as active political participants in democracy (ibid. 46–47).

Bouta, Frerks and Bannon (2005: 33) define gender-based violence (GBV) as: “physical, sexual, and psychological violence against both men and women that occurs within the family and the community and is perpetrated or condoned by the state”. Bouta, Frerks and Bannon also point out that although GBV may occur at any point, it is frequently committed in circumstances of war, not as a coincidental byproduct of conflict, but as “a crime against the individual and an act of aggression against the entire community or nation” (ibid.). Despite the fact that GBV includes violence directed at all genders, women are more susceptible to it because of the ubiquitous and restrictive gender norms that exist both in peace and conflict (see Bouta, Frerks and Bannon 2017). The three authors distinguish between “physical, sexual, and psychological GBV occurring in the family”<sup>5</sup>; GBV that takes place in the community<sup>6</sup>; and GBV carried out by the state (systemic/structural violence). The authors also draw attention to the possible insidious effects of gender-based violence. Along with the immediate and long-term physical, sexual, psychological and social trauma experienced by GBV survivors, a community that has endured armed conflict and collective communal violence may adopt GBV in discourse and practice, even after the conflict ceases. Moreover, state-condoned or communal violence may shift to increased domestic violence because trauma can be internalized and transferred: “[i]n the aftermath of conflict, trauma that male combatants have suffered may be transformed into domestic violence.” (Bouta, Frerks and Bannon 2017: 38) Domestic violence is not just personal and intersubjective to the GBV survivor, “it damages the fabric of society, creating fear in women’s lives and socialising children into a culture of violence, which undermines social cohesion and transmits violence to the next generation” (ibid.).

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5 That may range from sexual abuse and marital rape to non-spousal violence, dowry related violence, and “violence-related exploitation” (ibid. 34).

6 For example, sexual abuse, harassment, and rape occurring at work or other social institutions or walks of life, trafficking and “forced prostitution” (ibid.).



## “HELPING [ONESELF] UNDERSTAND”:<sup>7</sup> DEPICTIONS OF RACIAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN *FLYIN’ WEST* AND *BOURBON AT THE BORDER*

The two plays in the focus of this paper echo the painful history of Black America and represent the diverse forms of violence the population suffered at the hands of the white hegemony before and after Emancipation. *Flyin’ West* (1992) is embedded in the events of African American migrations to the Midwest at the end of the 1890s. It positions itself as a corrective to the dominant Eurocentric narratives of the West, thereby revising the racial and gender myths and historiography of white male supremacy in the American West. *Bourbon at the Border* (1997)<sup>8</sup> references the mid-1960s grassroots movements and organized non-violent attempts to enfranchise African Americans in the Deep South, who had been systemically and violently prevented from exercising their right to vote. This play attempts to recover from historiographic neglect and oblivion all those un-named African American activists of the Freedom Summer who endured prosecution and horrendous violent attacks by (state and local) Mississippi law enforcement<sup>9</sup>. A number of critics, including Benjamin Sammons (2007), see these plays and *Blues for an Alabama Sky* (1995) as a trilogy because they share a common thematic framework<sup>01</sup> and identical structural design<sup>11</sup>.

*Flyin’ and Bourbon* both comprise two acts although the 1992 play is slightly longer: the former contains eleven, and the latter plays eight scenes altogether. Other differences include the number of characters, the language they speak, and the sub-

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7 This references Pearl Cleage’s *Mad at Miles*. For more information see Lisa M. Anderson (2008: 17). For more substantial information on the dramatist (and novelist) Pearl Cleage, see Beth Turner’s “The feminist/womanist vision of Pearl Cleage” (2007).

8 *Flyin’ West* and *Bourbon at the Border* will subsequently be shortened to *Flyin’* and *Bourbon*, respectively.

9 For more information on how Pearl Cleage uses her plays to foreground aspects of Black American (women) history and defiance to systemic oppression often unknown to the general public and neglected even by African American activists, scientists and historians, see Freda Scott Giles (1997), Lisa M. Anderson (2008), Julius B. Fleming (2014), and Kristyl D. Tift (2021). Cleage is a “resistant reader of history” (Scott Giles 1997: 709) who makes a conscious effort not only to educate her audiences but also to engage them actively in a continual re-examination of and resistance to (white and/or male) hegemonic narratives.

01 All three plays discuss various forms of systemic vilification, oppression and violence that African Americans have endured for centuries, and the ways in which this population has dealt with this traumatic history and memory.

11 Despite not having been devised or produced as a trilogy, each play ties its distinctive action to a decisive moment of African American history. In this manner Cleage foregrounds the complexity of collective Black history, and simultaneously saves it from utter effacement. Sammons (2007: 99) explains that in this way Cleage uses multiple texts to tackle the same issue – that of African Americans creating a haven in which they can seek personal emancipation by coping with and overcoming their “traumatic past”.

genre and stage conventions used. Namely, *Flyin*'s timeframe and locus of action mean it uses African American vernacular English (AAVE) to further characterize its six African American *dramatis personae* of both genders and different ages. In contrast, *Bourbon*'s four Black American characters of both genders (all in their forties) speak in fairly standard idiom, with only a few characteristics of AAVE (such as double negatives and particular verb contractions). The most considerable difference between the plays, however, is in the subgenre and stage conventions employed — *Flyin' West*, which among other things delves into the story of domestic gender-based violence, readily draws its structure from melodrama, and includes sensationalist intrigues and twists before culminating in a closing scene with a formulaic and predictable happy ending, in which the symbol of absolute good triumphs over that of ultimate evil.<sup>21</sup> Its action takes place inside and outside the prairie house of its main female protagonists, Sophie Washington, Fanny Dove, and Minnie Dove Charles over the course of ten days in September 1898, and on a day seven months later (in April 1899). On the other hand, *Bourbon at the Border* fully exploits the generic traits and stage conventions of realist drama. Its action plays out in the living room of May and Charles Thompson's Detroit apartment, where they are (almost daily) visited by their neighbor, widow Rosa St. John and her most recent suitor Tyrone Washington, a Vietnam-war veteran, over a period of two weeks in the summer of 1995. Moreover, the atmosphere in *Bourbon* is more oppressive, and the play ends on a more tragic note<sup>31</sup>.

*Flyin' West* is set in Nicodemus, the oldest and longest-lasting Black landowners' settlement in Kansas. By that time<sup>41</sup> racist violence in the South escalated and the increase of terror and lynchings after the failure of the Reconstruction project in 1877 encouraged African Americans from the South to migrate west, to areas whose conquest had already relied on the prominent use of brutality:

“Violence [...] provided the most powerful tool for marginalizing non-white peoples and protecting the white man's West. [...] As western communities grew, violence remained critical to creating and enforcing the dominance of whites over non-whites, marking both spatial and psychological boundaries in the process. From Texas to Washington State, Anglo-Americans

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21 Benjamin Sammons (2007:100) claims that the play has received far greater critical reception exactly because of its “more optimistic” treatment of its thematic framework. For more information see Sammons' “Flyin'” Anyplace Else’.

31 For more information and an in-depth comparative analysis of *Flyin' West*, *Blues for an Alabama Sky*, and *Bourbon at the Border* within the theoretical framework of trauma studies see Sammons (2007). For a detailed reading of *Bourbon at the Border* that analyzes the playtext in light of the transmissibility of traumatic memory, see Fleming (2014).

41 At the end of 1898, when the play's action is set.

employed violence to smother challenges to their control; and vigilante movements, in various times and places, targeted American Indian peoples, African Americans, Hispanics, the Chinese, and in rare instances even European ethnic groups.” (Pierce 2016: 210)

Despite the embeddedness of brutality and savagery in the American West, a certain number of newly liberated Black Americans of the South still perceived it (particularly the part of the Midwest in which autonomous all-black settlements were being created) as a potential safe haven, endorsing autonomy and equality for Black people (Reeves 2013). Kansas was promoted as a promised land and a paradise for Black Americans, unquestionably contributing to the first wave of African American migration to the West. A couple of years later, in 1879, a more extensive migration of poorer African Americans, (the “Exodus of 1879”, or the start of the “Great Migration”) brought a large number of impoverished and disenfranchised African Americans from the southern states of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas to the state, transforming the prairie demographic. According to Todd Arrington (2015), “[i]n 1870, Kansas had hosted a black population of approximately 16,250. Ten years later, in 1880, some 43,110 African-Americans [sic] called Kansas home. Between the earlier gradual migrations and the 1879 exodus, Kansas had gained nearly 27,000 black residents in ten years” (n.p.). Arrington reminds his readers that these 27,000 African-American individuals who moved to Kansas over a decade represented “27,000 individual dreams of a better life and 27,000 people that acted on their desires and their rights to enjoy the freedoms to which they supposedly had been entitled since the Emancipation Proclamation.” (ibid). Although not all achieved personal self-realization or economic independence, many appreciated the West as a place to live free from the racial persecutions and terror that characterized the post-Reconstruction American South (see Arrington 2015)<sup>51</sup>.

The dramatic story of *Flying West* is, as stated, the story of daily struggles and the toilsome life of Black American women in the Midwest; nevertheless, through its characters’ slave narratives the play foregrounds not only the struggles of Black American women on the western frontier at the turn of the twentieth century but also

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51 The Great Migration persisted as Northern and Western cities provided a release from the bigoted South (although violent race riots broke out in the North not long after migration accelerated), and a new opportunity for collective and individual economic and cultural growth. This brought together African Americans from different countries and backgrounds, with different ideas and ambitions. According to Alain Locke (1925), the internal migration from rural to urban areas was in reality a move “from medieval America to modern [one],” forcing African Americans to face “problems of adjustment” which were “new, practical, local and not peculiarly racial.” (5–6). Grossman (2005) explains that “Robert S. Abbott called the Great Migration a ‘second emancipation’” (108).

enslavement and the incomprehensible bouts of intersubjective and structural violence toward men and women before and in the aftermath of the Reconstruction Era. Its main action, however, narrows down to a case of intra-racial chauvinism and an instance of domestic violence, which the twenty-one-year-old Minnie Dove Charles suffers at the hands of her husband, the mixed-race Frank Charles. Frank, a light-skinned Black man in his mid-thirties who was born into slavery, abuses his pregnant wife emotionally, physically and economically, not ceasing even when the two visit Minnie's sisters. Minnie hides the abuse and makes various excuses for his vile behaviour, until the moment Frank's assault threatens her unborn baby. Although born a free woman, Minnie is not free: gender roles and racial relations implanted in nineteenth-century Euro- and phallogocentric US society prevent her from being able to exercise universal human rights, even in her own home. Frank, on the other hand, is tangible, undeniable proof of systemic sexual exploitation and the abuse of enslaved Black women — his father, just like Sophie Washington's, was a white landowner, enslaver and rapist. Frank has internalized the structural and intersubjective violence to which he was exposed in childhood and the systemic and symbolic racial violence he continues to endure, as his white half-brothers deny his right to inherit part of his father's property and the court rules in their favour. Frank consequently renounces his Black origins and is quick to show hatred toward the African American community (including himself). Even his continued efforts at racial passing attest to Frank's susceptibility to symbolic racial violence.

Conversely, the traumatic experiences within the culture of violence that the white population created and upheld in slavery and upon Emancipation push thirty-six-year-old Sophie Washington, another mixed-race character born into slavery, in the other — internalized she strongly ties her identity to the black community of Nicodemus. Sophie does a lot of work in the community, and agitates for a law that would prevent white families from buying land in the autonomous black settlement. She expresses her distrust (and the over-vigilance) of white Americans: "I don't want no white folks tellin' me what to do all day" (Cleage 1992: 21). Sadly, Sophie was born and raised in a violent culture, in which organized state-condoned violence meant she could not exert control over anything in her life. Her means of taking power and protecting her autonomy are threefold: she migrates away from a community of collective violence; owns and fiercely protects her own piece of land (and that of the black community); and brandishes a shotgun. Through the character of Sophie, Pearl Cleage depicts the violence embedded in systemic racism during and in the immediate aftermath of the Reconstruction era (via black codes<sup>61</sup> and the Jim Crow laws):

61 The so-called black codes, which were state level legislative decrees issued in the aftermath of the Civil War,

"[...] I kept trying to tell them it doesn't matter what it's like [out there in the wilderness.] Any place is better than here! [...] Memphis was full of crazy white men acting like when it came to colored people, they didn't have to be bound by law or common decency. Dragging people off in the middle of the night. Doing whatever they felt like doing. Colored women not safe in their own houses [...]" (Cleage 1992: 41–42)<sup>71</sup>

Moreover, through the figures of Sophie, Fanny Dove, Miss Leah, and Wil Parrish, Cleage reveals the effects of domestic violence on the community—each expresses great dismay, not knowing how to react at first, but eventually taking the same principled stand. As Parish states: "I don't understand how a coloured man can hit a coloured woman, Miss Fannie. We been [sic] through too much together" (ibid. 72). Witnessing the gender and racial abuse of one member of the family/community leaves all members shaken and retraumatized. It even pushes the oldest character in the play, seventy-three-year-old Miss Leah, who spent most of her life enslaved, to reveal all the forms of racial and gender-based violence she had experienced:

"When they sold my first baby boy offa the place, I felt like I couldn't breathe for three days. After that, I could breathe a little better, but my breasts were so full of milk they'd soak the front of my dress. Overseer kept telling me he was gonna have to see if nigger milk was really chocolate like they said it was, so I had to stay away from him 'til my milk stopped runnin'. [...] So next time they put us together I told him [her husband James] that I was gonna be sure this time he got to see his chile before Colonel Harrison sold it. But I couldn't. Not that one or the one after or the one after the ones after that. James never saw their faces. Until we got free. [...] They broke the chain, Baby Sister. But we have to build it back. And build it back strong so the next time nobody can break it. Not from the outside and not from the inside. We can't let nobody take our babies. We've given up all the babies we can afford to lose. ..." (Cleage 1992: 73–74).

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continued the disenfranchisement and control of the newly liberated Black American population as they "not only forced African Americans to work for free but also essentially placed them under surveillance. Their comings and goings, meetings and church services were all monitored by the authorities and local officials. Black people needed passes and white sponsors to move from place to place or to leave town. Collectively, these regulations codified a permanent underclass status for African Americans." (Kareem Nittle 2020).

71 Sophie's fictional words painfully echo those of famous African American journalist and activist Ida B. Wells. In 1892, after the lynching of three black citizens (including her friend Thomas Moss) in Memphis, Wells exposed the root causes of terror for African Americans in the South, and asserted that "[...] There is therefore only one thing left to do; save our money and leave a town which will neither protect our lives and property, nor give us a fair trial in the courts ..." (Wells in McMurry 1998: 135–136). Living conditions and the interconnected quality of life were substantially poorer in the rural South, which at that time still embodied the account given three and a half decades before (a mere five years before the Emancipation Proclamation): there "blacks 'had no rights which the white man was bound to respect'" (Grossman 2005: 68).

By the end of the play, all the members of the household take action to get rid of the abuser and his vileness by poisoning him, thus finally taking control over their lives and their community, albeit through violent means. Frank's "violent acts bring violent retribution" (Giles 1997: 710).<sup>81</sup>

*Bourbon at the Border* sets its plot in 1995 Detroit, Michigan. It reflects on more contemporary forms of systemic and symbolic violence against Black Americans of both genders: the marginalization, disenfranchisement, vilification and murder of Black Americans which continued well into the 1960s and 1970s. Racial profiling and *de facto* segregation in housing policies were often employed by real estate agents to prevent integrated communities.<sup>91</sup> Harding, Kelly and Lewis (2005: 225) point out that white citizens and real estate brokers maintained that their kind of segregation was motivated by economic reality rather than racism. They claimed they had nothing against Black people, but were concerned about the value of their properties decreasing.

Brutality in all forms and parameters exudes from the dramatic story of *Bourbon at the Border*. Despite the fact that the audience never once sees a terrorizing act on stage, the narratives of state-condoned violence told by May and Charles Thompson, and the allusions and direct references to the instances of sexism and racism experienced by Rosa St. John and Tyrone Washington make this play even more scathing in its portrayal of structural violence. The four African American characters in their late forties are depicted trying to make a living in 1990s border town of Detroit. The plot revolves around Charles Thompson's return from a psychiatric ward, and his and May's struggle with his full (social) reintegration. Simultaneously, Rosa and May try to get and keep jobs in a culture that has limited them through sexism and racism, and experience the effects of symbolic violence first-hand. Tyrone is a former Vietnam veteran who landed a job as a driver for a transport company only because he had allegedly saved the life of his (white) employer, and it is he who helps Charles become employed in the same company. Racial profiling means none of the characters live an easy life — they do not own homes,<sup>92</sup> and have trouble getting work; they are of-

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81 Highly intriguing analyses of why all four of Cleage's women protagonists in *Flyin'* partake in Frank's poisoning can be found in Giles (1997), Sammons (2007), and Tift (2021).

91 As foregrounded by Harding, Kelly and Lewis (2005): "Sometimes white resistance to black neighbors turned deadly. In Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit, and several other cities (in both the North and the South), newly purchased homes were burned, vandalized, or had crosses burned on their lawns—a common tactic adopted by white supremacist organizations, notably the Ku Klux Klan" (225).

92 The Federal Housing Administration, the agency charged with providing mortgages for low-income citizens to regulate and improve US housing standards, perpetuated the institutional oppression of Black Americans by refusing loans to those who wanted to move to White areas. The agency claimed that African Americans were "poor risks for loans," and considered the future value of their houses unsure (Harding, Kelly and Lewis 2005:



ferred menial jobs, given inadequate medical assistance, and are easy targets for (excessive) policing. May takes two jobs, one of which is a night shift in the cleaning industry; Rosa entertains the idea of becoming a phone sex worker; Charles is denied a low-grade blue-collar job in a warehouse, allegedly because of his age but actually because of his hospitalization. Tyrone is the only African American person in a transportation company and dreams big despite facing daily racial prejudice, nurturing the hope that he will soon move up the company ladder. Unlike Tyrone and Rosa, who, despite being marginalized and oppressed, show no interest in Black activism, both May and Charles were activists in 1964, and May joins a Black workers' union. In the background are instances of actual heinous race and gender-based crimes that occur at the time the play is set, and the consequent over-policing of the African American community, as well as symbolic gender-based and racial violence on film and in public discourse. Even if Cleage hints at the state-condoned racial violence May and Charles experienced in 1964, when they volunteered to fight the disenfranchisement of African Americans in Mississippi, it is not until the play's final two scenes that the audience fathoms the full range of intersubjective and institutional harassment, and physical, mental and sexual violence the pair experienced at the hands of the police which traumatized them for life. While attempting to explain Charles' latest spate of awkward behaviour to Rosa, May tells her of the horrors they survived:

“And then they were shining their flashlights in our faces. They took us to the jail, the sheriff and two deputies, and they locked the front door, and they locked the back door, and they took us down in the basement. At first I thought they were just trying to scare us. [...] They told him [Charlie] he could beat me for having such a smart mouth or he could watch while they finished what he had started by the side of the road.<sup>12</sup> [...] Finally, they said, “Okay. This nigger must want us to show him how it's done,” and one of the deputies told me to take my clothes off. [...] They stood right there and made him hit me harder and harder. [...] So they made him beat me half to death and then that one who had told me to take my clothes off pulled my dress over my face and did it anyway. [...] Then one night, one of the volunteers called to tell me that Charlie had been arrested again, by the same ones who had picked us up before, [...] They held him at Parchman for two weeks and did everything they could think of to him, and never even charged him with anything ...” (Cleage 1997: 261–262)

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225).

12 Charlie and May were apprehended as they were resting and embracing not far from the road.

As a consequence of the brutality May details to her friend, she and Charles remain physically maimed and psychologically traumatized for life: May suffers from infertility, and Charles has a limp because his leg was broken in three pieces. Additionally, Charles has internalized the trauma and reveals that he murdered three white men because: “I ran for thirty years, May, and then I let it catch me, and I picked out three, just like those three in Mississippi picked us out, and I did what a man is supposed to do. And I’m sorry, May. Not for the killing. For all those years I didn’t kill anybody” (Cleage 1997: 268). Neither May nor Charles can ever escape their past trauma, as it is inscribed on their bodies as much as it is embedded deep in their psyches.<sup>22</sup>

Through such tangible depiction of the *Bourbon* characters’ daily struggles, and referencing the racial and gender-based violence they survived during this “American racial warfare” (Cleage 1997/1999: 191), Cleage foregrounds the effects of systemic structural violence stemming from centuries-long and widespread American myths and narratives of supremacy of one race over all others. Its implications meant that black communities remained underdeveloped even in the latter half of the twentieth century:

“Specifically, segregation, caused by a racial caste system, has resulted in unemployment, underemployment, economic exploitation, and political disenfranchisement. [...] The notion of blackness and the communities where black people lived became synonymous with dilapidation, poverty, and crime. Such racial stigmata persists today and operates to maintain customary segregation along racial, economic, and residential lines.” (Gaynor, Kang & Williams 2021: 53)

Even nowadays, African Americans are forced to endure either the over- or under-policing of their neighborhoods, stereotyped “conflat[ions of] race and criminality. [...] which] have led to associations of wrongdoing and criminality almost exclusively linked to racial identity and economic status, yet understood as truth.” (ibid. 53–54). Gaynor, Kang and Williams (2021) explain that it is precisely because of the racist myths and stereotyping in the US, and the country’s centuries-old intertwining of two simultaneous criminal justice systems, that “individuals living in overwhelmingly black and low-income communities find themselves interacting with police at much greater rates” (54). Moreover, violent incidents in which the police caused the deaths of Trayvon Martin (2012), Eric Garner (2014), Michael Brown (2014), Breonna Taylor (2020), and George Floyd (2020) brought to light the abnormally high death rate among Black individuals at the hands of on-duty police officers (ibid. 56), and spurred

<sup>22</sup> See Fleming (2014), and Sammons (2007) for more extensive analyses.



the Black Lives Matter protests against police brutality (Encyclopedia Britannica 2024: “Black Lives Matter”). Gaynor, Kang and Williams found that the disproportionately high rates of Black deaths at the hands of police (accounting for 25 percent of police homicides, although African Americans make up just 12.3 percent of the US population;<sup>32</sup> *ibid.* 58) are affected by the social construct of race; segregation policies; monitoring, policing and other forms of systemic disempowerment pre- and post-Emancipation; and the perceived association of blackness with poverty and criminality.<sup>42</sup> One must agree with the claim of Boyce and Chunnu that “[s]adly, US society is still mired in the message of D. W. Griffith’s controversial film [The Birth of the Nation]” (144).

The analyzed two plays of Pearl Cleage vividly represent the repressive effects of systemic violence brought about by the intersubjective, structural and symbolic racial brutality embedded in the culture of collective violence against non-white Americans. By setting the actions of her plays at the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, Pearl Cleage references the root causes and circumstances of Black homesteading in the Midwest, and the Black Civil Rights Movement and the Freedom Summer of 1964 respectively, and reminds contemporary audiences of the long history of white violence embedded in the making of the USA. At the same time, Cleage resists the dominant historiographic narratives on the conquest of the American West and recovers from Civil Rights history all the unknown and unnamed survivors of “American racial warfare” (Cleage *op. cit.*). Moreover, by portraying domestic and state-condoned gender-based violence, fundamental reasons for its occurrences, and individual and communal reactions to it, Cleage, in the fictional representation of violence breeding further violence, cautions that a society that has systematically endorsed such a culture cannot expect anything but psychological damage in all its denizens.

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32 Of the 330 million people currently living in the USA, about 42 million identify as Black, making the group the second largest minority, after Hispanic (USA Facts 2024). Today, although adult Black Americans live throughout the USA, almost half dwell in Southern urban and suburban areas, with only 2 in 10 (18 percent of the half) categorizing their residence as rural (Cox and Tamir 2022).

42 Contrary to expectations and deep-seated prejudices, the study denounces beliefs that this is only the case in former Confederate states; racial profiling and biased/racist theories on Black criminality which lead to excessive police force and homicides of African Americans are spread throughout the US (see Gaynor, Kang and Williams 2021: 58–62; Boyce and Chunnu 2019: 130–137).

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## **PRIKAZIVANJE SISTEMSKOG RASNO ZASNOVANOG I RODNO ZASNOVANOG NASILJA I NJIHOVIH POSLJEDICA U DJELIMA PEARL CLEAGE (*FLYIN' WEST I BOURBON AT THE BORDER*)**

### **Sažetak:**

Svijet koji je čovječanstvo stvaralo i u kojem živi barem par milenija danas reflektira kulturu nasilja. Preovladavajući osjećaj nestabilnosti i straha kojeg takva kultura izaziva, te upadljiv porast teških krivičnih djela, rasnog i rodnog šovinizma, uznemiravanja i maltretiranja širom svijeta zahtijevaju temeljito proučavanje podruklosti nasilja i moralna su odgovornost svakog savremenog autora. Ovaj rad analizira slike sistemskog rasnog i rodno zasnovanog nasilja u dva fiktionalna dramska djela koja je 1990-ih napisala afroamerička dramaturginja Pearl Cleage, istovremeno se referirajući na historijat Afroamerikanca u SAD-u u periodu od konca devetnaestog stoljeća. Da bi se uspješno razmotrili prikriveni efekti sistemskog nasilja prikazani u dvije odabrane drame, u radu se najprije govori o oblicima nasilja. Smatra se da Cleage svoju savremenu publiku podsjeća na dugu historiju bjelačkog nasilja ukorijenjenog u narastanje Sjedinjenih Američkih Država i da dvije analizirane drame živo ilustriraju represivne posljedice sistemskog nasilja.

**Gljučne riječi:** intersekcionalnost; rasne studije; rodne studije; nasilje; Pearl Cleage, *Flyin' West*; *Bourbon at the Border*

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Izvorni naučni rad

**Milena Škobo, Jovana Đukić**

## **PORTRAYAL OF URBAN VIOLENCE IN JG BALLARD'S NOVELS**

This paper deals with the social and humanistic aspects of life within communities affected by violence, focusing on the concrete manifestations of violence in JG. Ballard's *The Atrocity Exhibition* (1970), his urban disaster novel *High Rise* (1975), and his urban violence novel *Cocaine Nights* (1996), to explore the evolving typologies of violence within urban settings. Each novel offers a unique exploration of violence within the urban landscape, ranging from psychological and societal violence to the fetishisation of automotive accidents and the darker undercurrents of suburban tranquillity. The paper offers insights into Ballard's recurring motifs and stylistic approaches to depicting urban violence. The hypothesis posits that Ballard's depiction of urban violence serves as a reflection of contemporary societal anxieties and the impact of modernity on human behaviour. We suggest that the violence in urban communities portrayed in these novels stems directly from society's obsession with media sensationalism and technological progress. Additionally, there is a reciprocal relationship between the urban environment and the human psyche, where the protagonists' internal states are projected outward. By dealing with the specific forms of violence depicted in selected novels, the paper seeks to elucidate the thematic nuances of societal breakdown, the alienation of individuals and its impact on their well-being within the context of contemporary urban life.

**Key words:** urban landscape; urban violence; media; technology; urban disaster, mental health, individual's well-being

## 1. URBAN VIOLENCE IN THE WORKS OF J.G. BALLARD: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In contemporary society, the pervasive presence of violence poses significant challenges to the safety and stability of communities worldwide. From street crime to domestic abuse, acts of violence infiltrate the fabric of urban life, leaving indelible marks on individuals and societies alike. As scholars and practitioners seek to understand and address this complex phenomenon, literature emerges as a valuable lens to explore the nuanced intricacies of violence and its repercussions on human existence. Among the notable literary voices that confront the theme of violence occurring in urban settings, JG Ballard is a seminal figure whose works provide significant insights into the dystopian landscape of modernity.

Ballard's oeuvre is characterised by a stark portrayal of urban decay, societal disintegration, and the breakdown of norms, presenting readers with dystopian visions that serve as cautionary tales of the consequences of unchecked violence. Through his works, from the 1970s to 2000s, he depicts different forms of violence, such as physical, psychological, social, symbolic, technological, and eroticised, manifesting within the urban settings, and they often intersect and overlap, creating a complex and disturbing portrayal of urban violence and psychological ramifications.

Ballard's persistent fascination with the darker aspects of seemingly rational and productive communities offers insight into the connections between violence, power, and group psychology. Graham Matthews (2013: 136) argues that Ballard traces a transition from traditional civic values to communities deeply rooted in violence, consumerism, and deviant sexual impulses. These elements are identified as central sources of ennui, alienation, and distorted moral values. For example, in *Kingdom Come*, consumerism dominates, while in *Cocaine Nights* and *Super-Cannes*, communities are ensnared in vice and apathy. Matthews (2013: 136) posits that these societies, suspended in irrationality, inevitably lead to boredom, fascism, and ultimately violence. Social interaction in these communities often devolves into forms of psychopathy, as depicted across various levels in Ballard's novels. The gated communities depicted in Ballard's urban violence novels, or the concrete asylum of the novel *High-Rise*, warn of the paradigm shift where traditional bonds of community – religion, monarchy, and democracy – are no longer applicable (Ibid.). This situation necessitates a new radical democracy to forge a renewed national identity. The omnipresent motif of violence across various levels, the erosion of individuality, environmental degradation from technological exploitation, and the dis-

placement of human roles by technology define dystopian microcosms within these communities.

Carter J. Wood (2012: 203) examines how Ballard's futuristic enclaves reflect a "world in a world" where the physical environment distorts human nature into an "asocial habitus". He notes that modern societies, devoid of traditional community values, identities, and activities, become simulacra of reality, influenced by media. Wood highlights the emergence of violence into the public sphere as a means to dismantle civilising mechanisms, inciting a resurgence of barbarism. He also discusses the occurrence of a de-civilizing spiral, notably depicted in *High-Rise*, where violence re-emerges in formerly pacified public spheres (Ibid. 207). Wood suggests that tightly controlled societies may inadvertently give rise to new forms of psychopathology as they suppress spontaneous and primal impulses, leading to a dulling of basic excitement.

To confront and combat ontological and material crises, Ballard challenges his citizenry by placing them in meaningless universes fraught with social and spiritual disaster, entropy, and the pervasive power of technology. These environments, dominated by high-tech and media, aim to achieve ultimate utopias within dystopian landscapes. However, they ultimately reveal themselves as dystopias of the near future, characterised by illusions of material and aesthetic paradise within gated communities. His characters pursue psychological utopias amidst dystopian landscapes, wherein the "atrophy of affect" catalyzes the creation of an illusory Eden of violence (Wilson 2017: 148). Furthermore, this atrophy of affect is established by genetic pre-determination, social conditioning, and drug use. For Ballard, it portrays an entropy of affect generated by a super-rich blip and leisure culture, a fourth world dominated by meaningless violence omnipresent in the urban violence quadrilogy. Apart from that, there is a marked shift in the new world order that has become obsessed and predominated by consumerism (shopping malls), CCTV, and violence. This creates a vicious cycle of crime, deviant pleasures and behaviours, impervious citizenry, and alienation, mostly led by modern "messiahs" with their deviant logics. As the introductory line of the novel *Kingdom Comes* suggests: "The suburbs dream of violence. Asleep in their drowsy villas, sheltered by benevolent shopping malls, they wait patiently for the nightmares that will wake them into a more passionate world" (KC 2006: 3). These illusory Edens are marked by sheer absurdity, wherein, among other things, worshipping giant bears in a shopping mall becomes a new religious undertaking.



Ballard's critique of modern society explores various forms of violence, challenging readers to confront its presence in everyday life. His central exploration of urban violence integrates power dynamics, alienation, and the erosion of empathy within communities under duress. His characters navigate landscapes fraught with tension, where the quest for survival often trumps moral considerations, leading to acts of brutality and depravity. Through their experiences, Ballard illuminates how violence becomes both a symptom and a catalyst of societal breakdown, engendering cycles of conflict and despair that reverberate throughout the urban landscape. Violence within urban settings encompasses a spectrum of manifestations, each shedding light on the multifaceted dynamics of societal disintegration and human behaviour.

In novels like *High-Rise*, *Crash* (1973) and *Kingdom Come* (2006), physical violence reflects societal dehumanisation, while psychological violence is depicted in *Super-Cannes* (2000), where the protagonist undergoes profound psychological turmoil and manipulation within the confines of the gated community of Eden-Olympia. Each gated community represents a realm of 'exhausted futures,' compelling its residents to resort to violence and illicit behaviour in a bid to infuse vitality into the lifeless husks of their ennui-laden domains (Wilson 2017). *Concrete Island* (1974) and *Millennium People* (2003) explore psychological distress amidst urban isolation. Social violence erupts in *Cocaine Nights*, where societal breakdowns lead to riots and anarchic behaviour within an expatriate community, while symbolic violence in *High-Rise* critiques societal norms. Technological violence exacerbates societal decay through surveillance systems in *Cocaine Nights*, fetishisation of car crashes in *Crash*, and mind-altering drugs in *Super-Cannes*. Lastly, eroticised violence blurs boundaries between sexuality and aggression, evident in *The Atrocity Exhibition*, where sexual fantasies involve violence and celebrities, such as Marilyn Monroe and Ronald Reagan, or in *Crash*, where characters derive sexual pleasure and arousal from collisions and injuries.

This paper focuses on examining concrete forms of violence in urban settings through the lens of three of Ballard's novels: *The Atrocity Exhibition*, *High-Rise*, and *Cocaine Nights*. We propose that the violence in urban communities depicted in these novels directly results from the society's fixation on media sensationalism and technological advancement. Furthermore, the relationship between the urban landscape and the human psyche is reciprocal, with the protagonists' inner psychology being externalised. This highlights how modern societal obsessions manifest in violent ways within urban settings. The paper argues that Ballard's narratives profoundly comment on the contemporary condition. Each novel offers a deep understanding of urban vi-

olence, from surreal commentary on media saturation to visceral portrayals of social collapse and hidden violence within seemingly idyllic settings. Ballard's works, therefore, not only reflect societal anxieties but also critique the modern obsessions that exacerbate violence and alienation within urban landscapes.

*The Atrocity Exhibition*, known for its experimental narrative and surreal imagery, offers a unique insight into the intersection of violence, media, and modernity. Ballard explores the dehumanizing effects of media saturation and the erosion of traditional values through fragmented vignettes, presenting a chilling commentary on the potential consequences of technological advancement and societal fragmentation. *High-Rise*, on the other hand, provides a visceral portrayal of physical violence erupting within the confines of a luxury high-rise building. This novel, part of Ballard's urban disaster trilogy, examines the breakdown of social order and the descent into barbarism among the building's affluent residents, offering a stark commentary on class conflict, alienation, and the fragility of civilization in the face of urban isolation. *Cocaine Nights*, part of Ballard's urban violence quadrilogy, examines the darker underbelly of expatriate communities in resort towns. Set in an idyllic Spanish resort, the novel explores the simmering tensions and hidden violence lurking beneath the surface of seemingly perfect surroundings, shedding light on the complexities of human behaviour and the allure of hedonism in urban settings. Yet, irrespective of the type of violence illustrated in each of the novels, the narrator's statement captures the essence of succumbing to the very act: "People like violence. It stirs the blood, speeds the pulse. Violence is the best way of controlling them, making sure that things don't get really out of hand" (KC 2006: 179).

## 2. MEDIA VIOLENCE IN URBAN SETTINGS IN THE ATROCITY EXHIBITION

*The Atrocity Exhibition*, Ballard's most experimental, "most demanding and most unsettling" (Gasiorek 2005: 58) work featuring a fragmented and non-linear storyline, "problematizes the monolithic divide between Modernism and Postmodernism" (Luckhurst 1997: xvii). It represents "the fragmented condition of a media-statured Western culture" of the 1960s (Tereszewski 2020: 75). The novel presents violence as a conceptual, psychological force, often associated with the media's graphic portrayal of war, accidents, assassinations, and other violent events that the protagonist T- obsessively reconstructs. The protagonist's fluid identity is reflected in various forms of his proper name such as Traven, Talbot, Tallis, Travert, Travis, Talbert, and

Travers and different social roles he takes ranging from being a scientist, a lecturer suffering extreme stress and anxiety, a patient at a psychiatric facility, an instructor in an institute, someone connected with space flights, to a former H-bomb pilot.

Throughout the novel, the protagonist, T-, becomes increasingly disconnected from reality, experiencing hallucinations and delusions. This internal violence mirrors the external chaos of the urban environment, blurring the lines between inner and outer turmoil. The violence here is more abstract and tied to the media landscape and its psychological impact on individuals. Ballard critiques the media's obsession with tragedy and spectacle, depicting scenes of car crashes and terrorist attacks as forms of entertainment. He was particularly concerned about the intermediary role of the telecommunications industry in the 1960s, which, in his opinion, obscured the true meaning of significant events of that time while colonizing all channels through which information about the world spread (Gasiorek 2005: 61). Referring to the protagonist T- and his fragmented mind and personality, Ballard places him within the matrix of blip culture, where the "human organism is an atrocity exhibition at which he is an unwilling spectator" (*AE* 1990: 9) This highlights the idea that the television audience - exposed to sensationalized clips from the Vietnam war and the Kennedy assassination alongside cereal commercials and film previews – has become desensitized to death and violence which it has become accustomed to as a media event (Wilson 2017: 76).

At one point in the novel, the protagonist Talbot observes that "automobile crashes play very different roles from the ones we assign them," such as being our most potent consumer durable, and that "the car crash may be perceived unconsciously as a fertilising rather than a destructive event – a liberation of sexual energy – mediating the sexuality of those who have died with an intensity impossible in any other form: James Dean and Miss Mansfield, Camus and the late President" (*AE* 1990: 29). Talbot's observation suggests a provocative reevaluation of the societal perception of automobile crashes. Rather than viewing them solely as destructive events, he proposes that they hold a deeper significance, particularly in the realm of human sexuality. By suggesting that car crashes serve as a conduit for the liberation of sexual energy, Talbot implies that these tragic incidents have a profound impact on the collective psyche, transcending mere physical destruction. The mention of cultural icons like James Dean, Jayne Mansfield, Albert Camus, and the 'late' President further underscores Talbot's assertion, as these figures, associated with either a tragic or sensationalised demise, become intertwined with the imagery of car crashes, suggesting a fusion of sexuality, celebrity, and mortality. Talbot's observation implies that society

unconsciously assigns a symbolic meaning to car crashes, elevating them to a status beyond mere accidents. Furthermore, Talbot's reference to the car crash as a "fertilising event" implies a transformative aspect to these incidents. Rather than being solely destructive, they serve as catalysts for change, perhaps even a form of rebirth or renewal. This interpretation aligns with Ballard's broader critique of the media's portrayal of violence and tragedy as a form of entertainment, suggesting that society's fascination with such events goes beyond mere morbid curiosity and may tap into deeper psychological and cultural currents.

The novel lacks a coherent structure but is rich with seemingly disconnected images which make up the media-scape of the 1960s hinting at "the emotional and spiritual sterility of contemporary Western culture, its loss of vitality and direction" (Stephenson 1991: 64). These images can be categorised as following: pop iconography (with the references to Marilyn Monroe and Elizabeth Taylor), politics (JFK, Ralph Nader), and violence (assassinations, the Vietnam War). This voyeuristic gaze amplifies the sense of alienation and desensitisation of an individual within barren, man-made urban settings saturated with violent atrocities. The landscapes shored against these images point to the characters' psychological state and offer a commentary on the current state of culture. Intriguingly, rather than portraying the environment through the individual's subjective lens, Ballard depicts the protagonist's psychological state through the imagery and events unfolding within the urban setting, as noted by Tereszewski (2020: 79). A notable instance of this can be found in the protagonist's preoccupation with car crashes, which he obsessively reconstructs and reimagines within the urban landscape, using them as a metaphor for his fractured psyche and inner turmoil: "After the police had left they walked for an hour among the cars, staring through the steam at the bodies propped against the fractured windshields. Here he would find his alternate death, the mimetised disasters of Vietnam and the Congo recapitulated in the contours of these broken fenders and radiator assemblies" (AE 1990: 21-22). This fixation reflects the protagonist's fascination with violence and death, as well as his longing to experience an 'alternate death' by witnessing the aftermath of these collisions. The reference to 'mimetised disasters of Vietnam and the Congo' suggests that the protagonist sees parallels between these car crashes and larger-scale tragedies, viewing the wreckage as a microcosm of the violence and chaos present in those conflict zones. Through this, Ballard externalises the protagonist's inner psychology, projecting it onto the environment and making the landscape a register of human psychic activity.

The media are crucial in bridging the gap between personal fantasies and public events, essentially merging inner thoughts with external realities. Rather than transforming private fantasies, the media validate them. Ballard argues against the conventional notion that subjectivism is inherently negative, asserting that it is based on a limited understanding of objectivity. In essence, his viewpoint implies that the media serve to affirm individual experiences and perceptions, challenging traditional ideas about objective reality (Perry & Wilkie 1975). In urban settings, particularly in the context of violence, this suggests that media representations can shape and validate people's perceptions of violent events, influencing how they understand and respond to such occurrences.

Namely, the 1960s saw a significant shift from traditional print media to electronic forms, coinciding with tumultuous events in American and Western history. Live coverage of the Vietnam War, the Kennedy assassination, and the live broadcast of Lee Harvey Oswald's killing brought violence directly to people's homes. Amidst a backdrop of countercultural upheaval, space exploration, geopolitical tension, and consumerism, society underwent profound changes. Thus, the novel reflects this cultural metamorphosis through a fragmented collage of images, akin to flickering scenes on a television screen, blending elements of seriousness and sensationalism, tragedy and triviality, violence and sensuality, and mixing the glamour of Hollywood with the grotesque realities of politics. It engages with iconic moments like Marilyn Monroe's demise and the emergence of Ronald Reagan as a political figure, symbolising the fusion of fantasy and reality in the media landscape. Through this kaleidoscope of imagery, Ballard captures the surreal essence of a world increasingly shaped by the pervasive influence of electronic media.

Thematic parallels between Ballard's *The Atrocity Exhibition* and Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* (1967) have been remarked by scholars regarding their exploration of the spectacle and its influence on 1960s culture (Gasiorek 2005; Paddy 2015; Tereszewski 2020). While Debord's critique focuses on the dominance of capitalist-driven phenomena like television and advertising, Ballard's fiction vividly portrays a world saturated by media imagery, surveillance, and urban signage (Ferris 2019). Although Debord's concept of the spectacle remains complex and multifaceted, it critiques modern society's alienation and commodification of reality. In Debord's view (1970), the spectacle diminishes meaningful action and connection, instead offering passive consumption of corporate narratives. Ballard's work echoes these themes, portraying a landscape where reality is fragmented and devoid of inherent meaning, leaving individuals entranced by banal fantasies perpetuated by mass media.

In the context of media violence in urban settings, Ballard's annotation to chapter 10 titled "Plan for the Assassination of Jacqueline Kennedy," highlights the power of media to shape perceptions and emotions, blurring distinctions between real-life events and fictional narratives. Ballard explores the impact of media violence, where disturbing images such as a blood-spattered widow or a car crash merge with glamorous portrayals of political figures or celebrities, creating a secondary narrative with contrasting meanings. The chapter opens with the protagonist's obsession with Jacqueline Kennedy, whom he views as a symbol of glamour and sophistication. However, his admiration, fueled by images of her in magazines and newspapers, which he collects and obsessively pores over, quickly turns dark as he becomes fixated on the idea of her assassination. He begins to fantasise about various scenarios in which Jacqueline is killed, each more elaborate and violent than the last. Travis's psyche is thus presented, revealing deep-seated misogyny, violence lurking beneath his veneer of civility. The fact that Travis' violent obsession is mediated by television is exemplified through detailed descriptions of his dreams and assassination fantasies involving pornographic films featuring celebrity women and photographs, where portions of their bodies are removed. For instance, in one film, segments of faces belonging to Madame Chiang, Elizabeth Taylor, and Jacqueline Kennedy are montaged, accompanied by "the use of a concealed stroboscopic device", resulting in "psychomotor disturbances and aggressive attacks [of the audience] directed at still photographs of the subjects" (*AE* 1990: 90). Another film, based on a cinematic version of Ralph Nader's book titled *Unsafe at Any Speed*,<sup>1</sup> features "slow-motion sequences" with "a sedative effect" on viewers (*Ibid.*). The photographs where mouth-parts of these three women were removed "provided a particular focus for aggression, sexual fantasies and retributive fears" (*Ibid.*). Travis's fantasies, described in graphic detail, depict scenes of sexualized violence and degradation. These fantasies serve as a reflection of the protagonist's inner turmoil and his desire to assert control over the object of his obsession.

In Chapter 14, "Why I Want to Fuck Ronald Reagan," Ballard examines the unsettling intersection of sexuality, pop-culture, and political power. The chapter explores a disturbing examination of Ronald Reagan's persona and the fascination with auto disasters and sexual fantasies surrounding him. Through detailed descriptions of simulated auto crashes, such as "multiple pile-ups, head-on collisions, motorcade attacks" and "powerful erotic fantasies of an anal-sadistic character" involving Rea-

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1 *Unsafe at Any Speed: The Designed-In Dangers of the American Automobile* (1965) was a best seller in non-fiction written by Ralph Nader questioning the safety of cars produced by car manufacturers.



gan (Ibid.), Ballard reflects on society's fixation with sensationalised violence and sexualised imagery perpetuated by the media. He underscores the media's manipulation of reality by providing the array of sexual fantasies experienced by the protagonist. In one of them, a replica of Reagan's head was placed on unaltered crash victims' photographs, highlighting the quest for "maximum audience excitation" (Ibid. 106). Another instance involves photographs showing couples engaged in sexual activity, but with Ronald Reagan's face placed over theirs. Also, the protagonist mentions cine-films with multiple tracks showing Reagan involved in sexual intercourse, interspersed with footage of "(a) campaign speeches, (b) rear-end auto collisions with one- and three-year-old model changes, (c) alongside rear exhaust assemblies, and (d) amidst Vietnamese child-atrocity victims", or "dolls consisting of plastic models of Reagan's alternate genitalia" (Ibid. 106).

Reagan is depicted as a media entity assuming various socially-constructed identities, stripped of individuality and reduced to a manufactured image: "Fragments of Reagan's cinetized postures were used in the construction of model psychodramas in which the Reagan-figure played the role of husband, doctor, insurance salesman, marriage counsellor, etc." (Ibid.). However, these roles fail to convey any genuine meaning, revealing the superficiality of Reagan's constructed image. Therefore, Reagan's success "indicates society's periodic need to re-conceptualise its political leaders." In other words, his success lies not in the content of his policies but in the way he presents himself, capitalising on the power of spectacle to shape public perception: "Reagan thus appears as a series of posture concepts, basic equations which re-formulate the roles of aggression and anality" (Ibid.). This portrayal underscores the influence of media imagery on public perception and highlights the constructed nature of political authority in contemporary society. This blurring of reality and fiction stresses the dangers of dehumanising individuals and reducing life to superficial spectacles, echoing critiques of modern society. Moreover, the chapter suggests that the urban environment exacerbates these obsessions and fantasies by constantly bombarding media stimuli.

In Chapter 15, "Assassination of John Fitzgerald Kennedy Considered as a Downhill Motor Race," Ballard embarks on a surreal and provocative exploration of Kennedy's assassination, infusing it with the spectacle and adrenaline rush of a high-speed race. The chapter unfolds with the motor race serving as a metaphor for the tragic events of November 22, 1963. Kennedy's motorcade's trajectory is likened to a racing car hurtling down a track, each turn and manoeuvre mirroring the twists and turns of the assassination plot.

The assassination is depicted as a carefully choreographed spectacle, with Kennedy's motorcade engulfed by "the hostile local crowd", who was "eager to see a win by the home driver Johnson." As a result, it "deliberately set out to stop [Kennedy] completing the race" (Ibid. 109). This portrayal suggests the complicity of the media in perpetuating and sensationalising conspiracy theories, contributing to the confusion and chaos surrounding the event. The chapter begins with the suggestion that a less conventional view of the events may provide a more satisfactory explanation, referencing Alfred Jarry's absurd play, "The Crucifixion Considered as an Uphill Bicycle Race."<sup>2</sup> This immediately sets the tone for a narrative that challenges traditional interpretations and invites readers to consider alternative perspectives. The use of terminology associated with motor racing, such as "the race," "starting gun," and "finishing line," serves as a metaphor for the competitive and sensational nature of media coverage surrounding tragic events: "Oswald was the starter. From his window above the track, he opened the race by firing the starting gun" (Ibid. 108). Furthermore, the portrayal of Kennedy's assassination as a race adds a layer of dark humour to the narrative, highlighting the absurdity of attempting to rationalise such a senseless act through the lens of a sporting event: "Kennedy got off to a bad start... Johnson now continued the race in the lead, which he maintained to the finish" (Ibid. 108-109). Toward the end of the chapter, Ballard leaves readers with a lingering question about who loaded the starting gun, suggesting that the media's role in shaping public perception and understanding of historical events remains a mystery: "Without doubt, Oswald badly misfired. But one question still remains unanswered: who loaded the starting gun?"

### 3. PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE IN *HIGH-RISE*

Ballard's novels of the 1970s depict violence not merely as an act of physical aggression but also as an outcome of psychological distress, societal breakdown, and a perverse fascination with disaster and death. The violence in his urban disaster trilogy consisting of *Crash* (1973), *Concrete Island* (1974), and *High-Rise* (1975), is closely

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2 Alfred Jarry, a French writer, is often recognized as a precursor to the surrealist theater of the 1920s and 1930s. His works are pioneering examples of absurdist literature. The final chapter of *The Atrocity Exhibition* can be seen as one of many surreal attempts to comprehend the absurdity of Kennedy's assassination. In this context, the chapter aims "to kill Kennedy again but in a way that makes sense" (AE, 50), by combining two seemingly unrelated and absurd elements – the fast-paced, often chaotic world of car racing and the intense, sensationalized media coverage of the presidential race.



tied to the urban setting, often exacerbated by the alienation and dehumanisation that these environments can provoke. Physical entities as essential components of urban landscape – cars, motorways, skyscrapers, business parks, resorts – stand for social and mental estrangement of human beings and are set in closed-gated communities that reflect an imagined perfection but breed social and psychological entropy (Škobo & Đukić 2022).

The shift from cataclysms of exterior space reaching global proportions in Ballard's novels from the first half of the 1960s, to the more internalised, personalised catastrophes, especially evident in his urban disaster trilogy, provides fertile ground for science fiction, as the scope of cataclysm is now limited to an individual level, with the rest of the world acting indifferently. This evolution is attributed to the development of science and technology, which has confirmed Ballard's premonition that the technological and media landscape around us reflects and fulfils our darkest impulses, as noted by David Pringle (Petrović 2005).

Dark impulses fueled by technology and media are reflected in various forms of violence within Ballard's urban disaster novels. In *High-Rise*, Ballard explores the intricate dynamics of violence within the confines of a luxury high-rise building. Here, violence manifests as a palpable and physical force, stemming from the profound alienation and simmering class conflict among the building's residents. As the high-rise's systems begin to fail and tensions escalate, the inhabitants regress into tribalism, leading to violent confrontations, acts of vandalism, and a complete breakdown of societal order within the building. Unlike in *Crash*, where violence is highly sexualized and intimately tied to car-crash fetishism, the violence in *High-Rise* emerges from a broader spectrum of societal unrest and psychological disintegration. The novel follows Dr. Robert Laing as he moves into a luxurious high-rise building on the outskirts of London. After divorcing his wife, he decides to buy an apartment in this apartment block. This decision comes upon his sister's persuasion, who senses that this self-contained residential complex will satisfy his need for isolation and anonymity. Initially, life seems idyllic, with the building providing all the amenities its affluent tenants could desire. However, as minor power failures and petty grievances escalate, the building descends into chaos.

It becomes evident from the very beginning of the novel that this enclave, equipped with infrastructure capable of meeting all of the conceivable needs of its residents, is not the residential-consumer paradise initially envisioned by its creators. It turns out that this 'concrete landscape' appears to be an "environment built, not for man, but for man's absence" (*HR* 1975: 25). The apartment block is likened to both a zoo and a prison, housing privileged inmates while also serving as a concrete den

that incites every anti-social impulse in its inhabitants (Pringle 1980). As the violence escalates and bodies pile up, no one considers leaving or seeking help. The troubles seem to originate from the malfunctioning of certain elements of infrastructure, such as electrical installations, elevators, and waste disposal systems (Petrović 2005). Isolated forms of antisocial behaviour emerge as a result of these malfunctions, but they quickly escalate into more widespread issues. The disintegration of the social system within the building begins with wild, alcohol-soaked parties, during which serious conflicts arise among seemingly highly qualified professionals. Residents divide into opposing clans and soon adopt a tribal mentality. Polarization occurs within the building, with people abandoning work to protect their territory and engage in battles against rival clans. Some residents regress to primitive lifestyles resembling Neanderthals, while others hunt deserted hallways filled with traps. Meanwhile, some form tribes with the intention of killing intruders who encroach upon their territory. This marks the degeneration of social contact, as it distorts into unrestrained aggression and barbarism (Ibid.).

In his oeuvre encompassing urban disaster and urban violence novels, Ballard recurrently emphasizes the correlation between the physical landscape and the inner one, as seen in *High-Rise* where 'trapped protagonists' exhibit anomalous and barbaric conduct within their 'claustrophobic atmospheres' (Gasiorek 2005: 109). This implies that the physical environment serves as the catalyst for violent behaviour, with the high-rise representing the antithesis of urban life by isolating its inhabitants and promoting violent conflicts without the possibility of sustaining viable communal life (Ibid. 110). In this light, the breakdown of social order within the high-rise can be understood in light of the environment it fosters. As Ballard describes, "the more arid and affectless life became in the high-rise, the greater the possibilities it offered" (*HR* 1975: 15). The malfunctioning infrastructure and isolation from external society create an atmosphere where residents are liberated from societal norms and free to explore their darkest impulses. The high-rise becomes a model of technological advancement enabling the expression of a truly free psychopathology. Thus, the physical environment of the high-rise, coupled with societal disintegration and technological advancement, fosters an atmosphere where deviant behaviour flourishes, leading to a descent into chaos and barbarism. Also, the urban environment, with its towering skyscrapers and closed-off communities, exacerbates feelings of isolation and dehumanization, ultimately fueling the descent into barbarity among its residents.

Violence here is not limited to a particular obsession or fetish but instead reflects the breakdown of societal norms and the escalating conflict between different social

classes. Ballard vividly portrays fights, assaults, and even murders occurring within the high-rise environment, as characters abandon civility and succumb to primal instincts in a struggle for power and control. His portrayal of women in this novel, as in some of his earlier ones, denotes a threat to the hero in various ways and also expresses forms of violence. At one point in the novel, Dr. Laing warns himself: "Careful, Laing, or some stockbroker's wife will unman you as expertly as she destones a pair of avocados" (Ibid. 31). Moreover, instances of violent assaults towards other women provoke disruptive incidents, disrupting the dormant atmosphere with 'a fresh series of provocations': "During the electricity blackout, the eighteen-year-old wife of a fashion photographer on the 38th floor was assaulted in the hairdressing salon by an unknown woman. Presumably in retaliation, three air-hostesses from the 2nd floor were aggressively jostled by a party of marauding top-floor matrons led by the strong-shouldered wife of the jeweler" (Ibid. 11).

These representations of female violence and violence against women serve several critical functions in the novel. First, they underscore the universality of the breakdown in societal norms, demonstrating that the descent into chaos affects all residents, regardless of gender. The involvement of women in both the perpetration and receipt of violence indicates that no one is immune to the building's degenerative influence, highlighting the collapse of traditional gender roles and the pervasive reach of the high-rise's dehumanising environment. The specific depiction of women as both aggressors and victims complicates the narrative, suggesting that the violence in the high-rise is not merely a symptom of male aggression or a patriarchal society in crisis but a more comprehensive societal collapse where traditional power dynamics are upended. Dr. Laing's self-warning about the stockbroker's wife indicates a fear of emasculation and a reversal of gender power, reflecting anxieties about women's agency and the shifting balance of power. Furthermore, the assault on the young wife and the retaliatory attack by the top-floor matrons emphasize the cycle of violence and retribution that permeates the building. This cyclical violence perpetuates the breakdown of community and solidarity, fostering an environment where mistrust and aggression become the norm. The high-rise becomes a microcosm of societal decay, where the residents' abandonment of civility is mirrored in their increasingly violent interactions, blurring the lines between victim and aggressor.

The representation of female violence also speaks to the broader themes of alienation and isolation in the novel. The high-rise, initially a symbol of modern living and convenience, transforms into a prison where the lack of external societal structures exacerbates the residents' descent into savagery. Women's participation in vio-

lence reflects their entrapment within this system, illustrating how the high-rise erodes the fundamental aspects of human interaction and identity.

In relation to the characters, *High-Rise* appears exceptional among Ballard's other novels as it features three central characters: Dr. Laing, the detached observer; Richard Wilder, the aggressive TV producer; and Anthony Royal, the eccentric architect (Pringle 1980). What is also specific about these characters and the symbolism of violence inherent in every corner of this high-rise is the manner in which they meet their end. As the novel progresses, Dr. Laing's pathological impulses become increasingly prominent, as he becomes more androcentric towards women (Wilson 2017). Driven by a desire for seclusion offered by the 'self-contained' block, he isolates himself with his sister Alice and TV critic Eleanor Powell. They become objects of his affection, and he feels the need to be alone with them, to be aggressive, and to succumb to the impulses and perversities that the high-rise offers, involving himself with Eleanor and his sister. Near the end of the novel, his pathological impulses escalate to such an extent that he fervently anticipates addicting them to morphine and binding them to this polygamous, incestuous family unit. This transformation is encapsulated in the quote: "It no longer mattered how he behaved, what wayward impulses he gave way to, or which perverse pathways he chose to follow" (HR 1975: 172).

Richard Wilder drowns a dog in the tenth-floor pool during the electricity blackout, igniting the chaos of the forthcoming breakdown (Wilson 2017). He seeks to "dominate" the high-rise in order to "meet the physical challenge it presented to him" (HR 1975: 48). Wilder ascends to the roof, equipped with a cine-camera in one hand and a gun in the other, to shoot a documentary of the violent affairs. In the process, he becomes more animalistic. However, other residents, including a stockbroker, two paediatricians, and three senior academics, catch him in his doings, beat him up, and send him to the first-floor lobby. Eventually, Wilder reaches the roof and puts a bullet in Royal (Wilson 2017). Wilder, smeared with blood and lipstick, becomes the sacrificial victim of a horrid matriarchy, while Royal, with a bullet in his chest, presides over a swimming pool full of corpses (Pringle 1980).

The portrayal of Wilder's transformation and eventual downfall at the hands of the residents, particularly under the control of women, deepens the exploration of female violence and its impact within the novel. Wilder being covered with blood and lipstick symbolizes his reduction to a sacrificial victim in a ritualistic display of violence and power, highlighting the inversion of traditional gender roles and the emergence of a dominant female force within the high-rise. Women who were initially subjected to violence transform into aggressors, embodying the brutality that has en-

gulfed their environment. This challenges the reader to consider the cyclical nature of violence and the potential for roles to reverse in extreme conditions.

#### **4. MANIFESTATIONS OF VIOLENCE IN URBAN ENCLAVES OF *COCAINE NIGHTS***

Ballard's urban violence novels, including *Cocaine Nights* (1996), *Super-Cannes* (2000), *Millennium People* (2003) and *Kingdom Come* (2006), depict gated communities that project an almost utopian façade, offering residents a false sense of tranquillity and indulgence in hedonistic pursuits. These enclaves, emerging as manifestations of humanity's disconnection from nature and obsession with technology, range from dystopian resort communities, such as Estrella de Mar and the Costasol Complex depicted in *Cocaine Nights*, to high-tech business parks like those in *Super-Cannes*, and from new proletariat urban neighbourhoods in *Millennium People* to neo-fascist suburbs as seen in *Kingdom Come* (Škobo & Đukić 2022). Within these meticulously controlled communities, time appears to stagnate as residents seek early retirement only to find themselves ensnared behind gates, under constant surveillance through CCTV cameras, or through the voyeuristic lens of pornography.

Ballard's exploration of the interplay between technology, violence, and environment reveals a disturbing anticipation of apocalyptic social structures rooted in the mental well-being of individuals in modern urban settings, where urban violence flourishes. Škobo and Đukić (2022: 101) argue that "the protagonists' subjection to urban modernity in Ballard's gated communities goes beyond the idea that the roots of the Late Modernity crisis predominantly lie in man's alienation from nature" and stress the characters' dependence on their living environment. These social structures, ranging from retirement communities to gated neighbourhoods, emerge amidst diverse urban landscapes, including sprawling road networks, sterile business parks, towering high-rises, bustling airport terminals, and artificial resorts (Ibid.). They stem from humanity's estrangement from nature, obsession with technology, and the unsettling realisation that the urban environment moulds and distorts the human psyche.

The violence evident in these communities reflects the consequences of human and media manipulation of urban spaces, leading to "a dystopian future where the boundaries between natural and artificial are blurred" (Knowles 2018: 351). In this context, the urban environment is seen as "a living organism with its own needs and actions rather than merely as a resource for human use" (Škobo & Đukić 2023: 3). Urban settings, conceived as living organisms, bear a resemblance to a state of 'living

death,' where the community is reanimated by the trance induced by antidepressants and constant surveillance through CCTV. The process of 'flourishing' is manifested through various acts of violence, including murders, rapes, drug abuse, and even setting fellow citizens' yachts on fire for sheer pleasure.

Urban environments, characterized by consumerist paradises and technologically-driven societies, often lead to the erosion of humanity's innate connection with nature, replacing it with artificial responses and aberrant behaviours. These communities, epitomized by pristine residential enclaves like Estrella de Mar from *Cocaine Nights*, promote a consumerist ethos that prioritizes materialism over intrinsic values. This shift away from natural harmony towards a consumer-driven existence represents a departure from humanity's traditional role as defined by God and nature. Here, contemporary expressions of religiosity have evolved into consumerism and mass tourism, alongside phenomena like crime and psychopathology. Traditional religions, which once provided symbolic frameworks for understanding the world, have lost their influence, becoming "as dead as a line of totem poles" (CN 1996: 189). The residents of these ultra-modern enclaves experience psychological, emotional and spiritual crises due to the fact that "the ethical messages and religious values are no longer sustainable forms of regulation of spiritual and practical attitudes of their members" (Škobo & Đukić 2022a: 98). This transformation of urban spaces reflects a broader trend of violence, both physical and psychological, as individuals grapple with the dissonance between their constructed reality and the natural world.

In *Cocaine Nights*, protagonist Charles Prentice arrives in the Spanish resort town of Estrella de Mar to investigate his brother's involvement in a series of crimes. As he delves deeper into the community, he uncovers a complex web of secrets, desires, and hidden violence lurking beneath the urban community's idyllic surface. His investigation into the Hollinger fire, in which five people died, further reassures him that beneath the facade of serenity are transgressive activities fulfilling the residents' spiritual needs. Prentice becomes entangled in the lives of the affluent expatriates inhabiting Estrella de Mar, ultimately confronting the dark underbelly of hedonism, manipulation, and societal decay. Ballard offers a chilling commentary on the consequences of unchecked desire and the allure of escapism in urban settings.

Through his vivid portrayal of Estrella de Mar, the author exposes the underlying violence and moral decay lurking beneath the surface of seemingly perfect urban surroundings. This dystopian resort community on Spain's Costa del Sol represents a retirement haven where environmental imbalance primarily stems from the technological manipulation of urban landscapes. The community symbolises a societal re-

treat into a technologically driven order, resulting in significant harm. It highlights the interconnectedness between environmental and human health, showing how changes in physical spaces impact people. In this retirement paradise, “architecture [is] dedicated to the abolition of time” (CN 1996: 45), particularly suiting its ageing inhabitants and those seeking an escape from work constraints. The community, often likened to a ‘private kingdom’ (CN 1996: 384) of the future, is meticulously designed to evoke a timeless ambience. With the majority of its population being early retirees, there is a prevalent desire to break free from the grind of capitalist labour and embrace a life of leisure and passivity.

In *Cocaine Nights*, the expansion of urban spaces has erased natural landmarks, leaving only remnants amidst the artificiality of modernity. Amidst comfortable villas, the dominant features are concrete structures like the Club Nautico, symbolising the intrusion of technology into once-natural environments (Ibid. 14). This juxtaposition of concrete and nature creates a sense of discontinuity, dampening emotional connections and fostering social fatigue. Ballard’s depiction of Estrella de Mar cultivates a leisure society where boredom and drug use breed indifference among residents. This indifference manifests as “social Parkinsonism,” where ceaseless activity fails to provide meaningful engagement (Ibid. 138).

Alongside the idyllic community of Estrella de Mar, described as “the affectless realm” (Ibid. 32) within which, paradoxically, “nothing [like crime] binds community together” (Ibid. 217), there is also the Costasol Complex, a carefully planned residential enclave designed for people who want to retire too soon. However, the whole complex seems abandoned as its residents are “watching TV with the sound turned down” while being “isolated in their capsules” (Ibid. 213). The complex satisfies all their needs, thus leading to isolation and brain paralysis. The spatial transformation inflicts radical and innovative changes in the patterns of thinking and grasping, socialising, and living in general.

As Gasiorek (2005) contends, the pervasive influence of capitalism has permeated every aspect of daily existence, with heightened emphasis on the rapid transformations facilitated by an increasingly globalised economy and advanced telecommunication networks. A consequential outcome of these shifts is the subjugation of the individual to the very system in which they are enmeshed, resulting in the marginalisation of human agency (Ibid. 177). This phenomenon manifests in the erosion or outright loss of communal bonds and ethical standards, the destabilisation of individual well-being and mental health, the breakdown of familial structures, and a marked escalation in crime rates. As outlined by Škobo and Đukić (2023), this shift



in societal dynamics reflects a broader transformation in the global economy and lifestyle, where technology assumes precedence over human labour and leisure activities become paramount. Ultimately, this transition paves the way for the emergence of surveillance capitalism, heralding a digital age fraught with potential threats to humanity and individual freedoms. In both resorts, belying the simmering tensions and pathological motives that lurk beneath the surface, violence takes on various forms, ranging from physical acts of criminality to psychological manipulation and societal breakdown.

Physical violence is evident in *Estrella de Mar* through criminal activities such as arson and drug trafficking, orchestrated by characters like Bobby Crawford, a tennis professional at the club Nautico, who masquerades as a saint while providing residents with pure cocaine and heroin. The protagonist Charles, initially enticed by the pleasures of the resort, soon realises the sinister motives behind its facade of perfection, uncovering a web of illicit activities that thrive amidst the affluent residents' pursuit of hedonism and escapism (CN 1996: 164). It seems that the dystopian lethargy and idleness of quotidian life in the dozy pueblo on the Spanish coast are broken at nighttime to 'unwind' by throwing lush parties, performing amateur dramatics, playing tennis, and indulging in various criminal activities that are viewed as the basis for binding the community together. Regarding the creative pursuits that citizens of *Estrella de Mar* engage in on a daily basis and those criminal activities that "enrich civilisation," 'the psychopath as the saint,' Bobby Crawford, suggests that "crime and creativity go together and always have done. The greater the sense of crime, the greater the civic awareness and richer the civilisation. Nothing else binds a community together. It's a strange paradox" (CN 1996: 127).

The ultra-modern communities depicted in *Cocaine Nights* propel the Anthropocene era forward, aiming to fulfil intimate and deviant needs. The community in this complex surrenders to various forms of physical and psychological violence in a bid to awaken dormant aspects of the human brain, as conventional means fail to achieve such awakening. Only something revolutionary and perverse enough can stimulate these dormant synapses. These 'undertakings' include a perverse web of amateur pornography, where many girls, previously exposed to narcotics and opioids, are coerced into such activities, resulting in rape. Women like Bobby Jansen, niece of the Hollingers, have been discovered overdosed and raped, viewed as a form of salvation. A wide array of activities necessitating ventures into the outer 'hostile' world, departing from comfort zones monitored by CCTV, includes 'rape sessions' among other illicit acts, occurring in the parking lot in front of the Nautico club: "Sev-



eral of the front seats were occupied by the drivers and their passengers, all in evening dress, faces concealed by the lowered sun visors. They had watched the rape attempt without intervening, like a gallery audience at an exclusive private view” (Ibid. 25). This passage provides compelling evidence of the normalisation of bizarre and de-ranked affairs within the residence. The lack of emotional response and acceptance of such events as conventional and ordinary underscore the deeply unsettling nature of the environment depicted in the narrative.

Within the community of Estrella de Mar, Charles Prentice encounters the backdrop of amateur pornography. Through his contemplation of Anne Hollinger’s involvement in this seedy realm, the narrative illuminates the stark contrast between the allure of Estrella de Mar’s facade and the harsh reality of exploitation and violence within the dystopian enclave. The protagonist had a chance to get “a glimpse into another Estrella de Mar, a world of imported bed-boys and other genial pleasures”:

“Sitting by the television set, I rewound the cassette of the porno-film, then played through the violent scenes again, trying to identify the other participants. How had this maverick and high-spirited young woman found herself in such a crudely exploitative movie? I froze her [Anne Hollinger’s] brave smile to camera as she sat in the tattered wedding dress, and imagined her playing the tape as she injected herself in the bathroom, trying to blot out all memory of the pale-skinned young man who had been determined to humiliate her.” (CN 1996: 61)

Psychological violence is also pervasive within this resort, as residents become increasingly isolated and alienated from both nature and each other. The residents’ reliance on antidepressants while “lying on their sun-loungers” and “waiting for Paula Hamilton to arrive with a new prescription” (Ibid. 212) and their obsession with surveillance cameras reflect a society reliant on technology to numb their existential detachment from reality. Social interactions are fraught with unease and discomfort: “Friends can be a problem – gates and front doors need to be unlocked, alarm systems disconnected, and someone else is breathing your air” (Ibid. 211), as residents fear the intrusion of outsiders and the “uneasy memories of the outside world” (Ibid. 32).

Futuristic communities like Estrella de Mar and Costasol are designed to abolish the perception of time, fostering a pervasive atmosphere saturated with alcohol and illicit deeds. Residents are sedated with tranquillisers during the day, leading to psychological and social violence manifesting on various levels. This violence is fueled by the consumption of antidepressants, drug abuse, and alcohol, contributing to spiritual and moral decay. As a result, residents become emotionless zombies, experiencing social fatigue and detachment from both others and themselves, as noted by

Gasiorek (2005). It is distressing to acknowledge that the deadened synapses of Estrella de Mar's citizens can only be awakened by psychological manipulation, with only similarly intense stimuli having the power to evoke any residual strong emotions. Dr. Sanger elaborates on this, explaining to Charles that "crime and transgressive behaviour – by which I mean all activities that aren't necessarily illegal, but provoke us and tap our need for strong emotion, quicken the nervous system and jump the synapses deadened by leisure and inaction" (CN 1996: 81).

Socialisation and spiritual contentment in these dystopian enclaves are built upon bizarre and distorted notions, with criminal and violent acts staged to satisfy the almost deranged citizenry. As Crawford eloquently states, "there's nothing more satisfying than confessing to a crime you haven't committed" (Ibid. 31). Another character, Dr. Roger Sanger, embodies this dystopian vision with his "therapeutic" approach. He relishes exerting dominance over young girls and engages in inappropriate relationships with them under the guise of therapy. As described, he is "the sort of psychiatrist who sleeps with his patients and thinks he's doing them a therapeutic favour. He specialises in drugged-out little things who are searching for a friendly shoulder" (Ibid. 59). However, far from providing proper treatment, Sanger's actions leave these young girls even more vulnerable and traumatised than before.

Symbolic violence manifests through the commodification of human relationships and the erosion of moral values within the community. Residents indulge in voyeuristic pleasures, watching pornography and surveilling their neighbours, further dehumanising themselves and others. Amidst extravagant gatherings and a bustling nightlife filled with illicit activities, nature is ironically evoked through amateur porn films titled "The Wildlife of Residencia Costasol" (Ibid. 110). In the "terminal new Eden" of Estrella de Mar and the Costasol Complex, to use Harlan Willson's (2017: 153) terminology, prostitution is seen as a means of giving new meaning to the passive lives of women; the rape scene on the parking lot or the recording of an amateur porn film is regarded as a private thing or done for private matters, and for purposes of personal revitalisation. The community's reliance on consumerist ideology and technological advancements perpetuates a cycle of moral decay, where human connection is replaced by superficiality and materialism.

The communities depicted manifest social and psychological entropy, as they promote "a technologically dominant order that causes harm to both individuals and the community as a whole" (Škobo & Đukić 2023: 4). Residents of these communities are in perpetual 'consumption' and are likewise 'consumed' by their urban environment, evident in their continual physical and mental engagement with the cityscape

(Ibid. 5). The idea that an external paradise fails to foster internal contentment is mirrored in the absence of moral, emotional, and spiritual guidance among residents, leading to inner turmoil. The artificial utopia born from altering the natural landscape lacks genuineness. People's estrangement from nature results in its degradation and the emergence of environmental ailments. Ultimately, this leads to the demise of the 'offspring' of their own making – the cities – as the eruption of urban violence takes a toll on the citizens' mental well-being.

## 5. CONCLUSION

In exploring JG Ballard's portrayal of urban violence across the selected novels, we have embarked on a journey through the dystopian landscapes of modernity, where societal decay and human depravity intersect with chilling precision. Through his stark depiction of physical, psychological, social, symbolic, technological, and eroticised violence in these novels, Ballard offers profound insights into the complexities of urban life and the darker impulses that lurk beneath its surface. Each of these novels offers a unique perspective on urban environments and their impact on human behaviour. *The Atrocity Exhibition* explores the psychological landscape of urban spaces, *High-Rise* examines the social dynamics within a luxury apartment building, and *Cocaine Nights* explores the violence lurking beneath the facade of a gated community.

In *The Atrocity Exhibition*, violence is portrayed as a conceptual and psychological force shaped by media imagery, reflecting the fragmented nature of 1960s Western culture. The protagonist's fluid identity mirrors this fragmentation, amidst societal upheaval and technological advancement, depicted through a collage of images akin to television flickers. In *High-Rise*, violence becomes intricately linked to the urban environment, exacerbated by the alienation and dehumanisation experienced within these settings. The physical elements of the landscape symbolise social and psychological estrangement, enclosed within gated communities promising perfection but breeding decay. This novel delves deeper into the dark underbelly of urban life and its impact on human behaviour. *Cocaine Nights* takes this exploration further, portraying gated communities as projecting an illusion of utopia while masking underlying tension and violence. These settings symbolise humanity's detachment from nature and obsession with technology, ranging from dystopian resorts to high-tech business parks and neo-fascist suburbs. Residents find themselves trapped behind gates, under constant surveillance, as Ballard's exploration anticipates apocalyptic

social structures rooted in modern urban settings. Together, these three novels provide a multifaceted portrayal of urban life and its associated violence.

Ballard's exploration of violence in gated communities serves as a powerful critique of modern society, revealing the dehumanising effects of consumerism, technological advancement, and societal fragmentation. Through his characters, who are alienated from society and disconnected from traditional social norms, Ballard illustrates how the quest for power and survival often eclipses moral considerations, leading to acts of brutality and depravity. This sense of alienation contributes to the prevalence of violence within the urban landscape as individuals deal with feelings of existential despair. Yet, amidst the chaos and despair, Ballard's works also illuminate the resilience of the human spirit as characters grapple with existential crises and strive to find meaning in a world plagued by violence.

As we reflect on Ballard's fiction, we are compelled to confront uncomfortable truths about the nature of violence and its pervasive presence in urban settings. His novels serve as cautionary tales, reminding us of the fragility of civilisation and the dangers of succumbing to the darker impulses within us. Ballard invites us to engage in a critical dialogue about the root causes of violence and the urgent need for empathy, understanding, and collective action to address its pervasive impact on individuals and societies.

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## URBANO NASILJE U ROMANIMA DŽ. G. BALARDA

### Sažetak:

Ovaj rad se bavi socijalnim i humanističkim aspektima života unutar zajednica u kojima tinjaju različiti oblici nasilja, sa posebnim osvrtom na konkretne primere nasilja u romanima Dž. G. Balarda *Izložba grozote* (1970), *Soliter* (1975), iz trilogije o urbanim katastrofama, i *Kokainske noći* (1996), iz tetralogije o urbanom nasilju, kako bi se istražila evoluirajuća tipologija nasilja unutar urbanih okruženja. Svaki roman nudi jedinstveno istraživanje nasilja unutar urbanog pejzaža, od psihološkog i društvenog nasilja do fetišizacije saobraćajnih nesreća i prikrivenih oblika nasilja prisutnih u predgradima koja naizgled odišu spokojstvom. Rad pruža uvide u motive koji se ponavljaju i stilističke pristupe Balarda u predstavljanju urbanog nasilja. Analizom konkretnih oblika nasilja prikazanih u odabranim romanima rad teži da osvetli tematske nijanse društvenog propadanja, otuđenja pojedinaca i njihov uticaj na blagostanje protagonista u kontekstu savremenog urbanog života. Osnovna hipoteza ovog rada je da su različiti tipovi urbanog nasilja odraz savremenih društvenih anksioznosti i uticaja savremenog doba na ponašanje pojedinaca i njihovo psiho-fizičko i mentalno zdravlje. Nasilje u urbanim zajednicama prikazano u ovim romanima rezultat je opsesije društva medijskim senzacionalizmom i tehnološkim napretkom. Pored toga, odnos između urbanog pejzaža i ljudske psihe je recipročan, gde se unutrašnja psihologija protagonista eksternalizuje. Odabrani romani pružaju realan komentar o stanju savremenog društva — oni ne samo da odražavaju društvene anksioznosti već i kritikuju moderne opsesije koje podstiču nasilje i otuđenje unutar urbanih sredina.

**Ključne reči:** urbani pejzaž; urbano nasilje; mediji; tehnologija; urbana katastrofa; mentalno zdravlje; blagostanje pojedinca

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## BOSNISTIKA

**Edina Murtić**

KNJIŽEVNOST ZA DJECU I OMLADINU – IZMEĐU TRADICIJE I TABU  
TEMA / LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH – BETWEEN  
TRADITION AND TABOO TOPICS ..... 521

**Vildana Pečenković, Mirzana Pašić Kodrić**

TABU TEME U KNJIŽEVNOSTI ZA DJECU: *LJEVE PRIČE* ALIJE  
ISAKOVIĆA / TABOO TOPICS IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE:  
*LJEVE PRIČE (LEFT STORIES)* BY ALIJA ISAKOVIĆ ..... 539

**Tarik Čušić**

GLAGOLSKJE KONSTRUKCIJE (*U*)*ČINITI (SE)* + IMENICA ILI  
PRIDJEV STRANOGA PORIJEKLA U PARRY – LORDOVOJ ZBIRCI /  
VERB CONSTRUCTIONS (*U*)*ČINITI(SE)* + NOUN OR ADJECTIVE  
OF FOREIGN ORIGIN IN PARRY-LORD'S COLLECTION ..... 555

**Amira Banjić**

LINGVOSTILISTIČKA INTERPRETACIJA PJESAMA *ZAPIS O*  
*OČIMA* MAKA DIZDARA I *STEČAK* SKENDERA KULENOVIĆA /  
LINGUO-STYLISTIC INTERPRETATION OF THE POEMS "ZAPIS  
O OČIMA" (*TEXT ABOUT THE EYES*) BY MAK DIZDAR AND  
"STEČAK" (*TOMBSTONE*) BY SKENDER KULENOVIĆ ..... 589





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## **KNJIŽEVNOST ZA DJECU I OMLADINU – IZMEĐU TRADICIJE I TABU TEMA**

U radu se polazi od činjenice da je književnost za djecu i omladinu tradicionalno opterećena pedagogiziranjem, dominacijom želja odraslih, cenzurom i da još uvijek nema dovoljno tema koje su važne za djecu i omladinu, jer su mnoge takve teme ostale tabu. Odrasli koji inače određuju sadržaje i norme ove književnosti licemjerno prešućuju teme koje se tiču onih kojima su namijenjene. Autori svjesno izbjegavaju teme koje govore o smrti, različitim devijacijama kao što su: rasap porodice, rastava braka roditelja, alkohol, droga, djeca u izbjeglištvu i druge „teške“ i „traumatizirajuće“ teme. Tradicionalni kanon ipak se vremenom mijenja, što ćemo pokazati na primjerima iz *Lijevih priča* Alije Isakovića, prve bosanskohercegovačke „proze u trapericama“, i romanima Alena Meškovića *Ukulele jam* i *Šator za jednu osobu*. Iako se odnos prema književnosti za djecu donekle promijenio, ipak i dalje nema dovoljno tema koje su rubne i zadiru u tabu, a s njima se djeca i omladina susreću u životu. I dalje je dominantan stav da je bolje prešutno zaobilaziti ove teme, jer je svaka promjena uvjetovana društvenim stanjem. Mijenjanje odnosa prema tabu temama uvijek podrazumijeva autorsku spremnost na otvaranje novih polemika u društvu. U radu se na kraju zaključuje da u književnosti, kao i u životu, dominiraju loši primjeri. Zbog toga kao i činjenice da savremeno doba u životu djece i omladine mijenja odnos prema tradicionalnim tabu temama od autora i društva se očekuje defleksibilnije prihvate promjene koje podrazumijevaju drugačiji odnos prema stvarnim interesima djece i omladine.

**Ključne riječi:** književnost za djecu i omladinu; tradicija; tabu; Alija Isaković; Alen Mešković

## UVOD

Književnost za djecu i omladinu tradicionalno je usmjerena cilju da se, uz doživljaj umjetničkog teksta (jednako kao i kod odraslih čitatelja: zabava, širenje spoznaja, estetska satisfakcija i profiliranje duha), djeca i mladi poučavaju životu. Zbog toga, a i zbog činjenice da je mlada osoba u razvoju senzibilna prema patnjama koje prouzrokuje surova stvarnost, u tradicionalnoj književnosti dugo je dominirao patronat nad određenim temama. Riječju, slika svijeta u brojnim tekstovima za djecu bila je podložna idealizaciji. Među prvima koji su u bosanskohercegovačkoj književnosti za djecu pristupili približavanju tema uzimajući u obzir širinu potreba najmlađih čitatelja izdvajamo Ahmeta Hromadžića, Ljubicu Ostojić, Aliju Isakovića, Aliju H. Dubočanina.

U ovom radu su obrađene *Lijeve priče* (2003) Alije Isakovića i romani Alena Meškovića *Ukulele jam* (2016) i *Šator za jednu osobu* (2019). Cilj je ukazati kako se tematski okvir književnost za djecu i omladinu postepeno mijenjao, kao što se mijenjao i život djeteta i mladih. Od svojih početaka književnost za djecu i omladinu spada u rubno područje. Razlozi takvog statusa pripisivani su sadržajima koje obuhvata, a koji su nerijetko u neskladu sa stvarnim interesima djece, kao i tradicionalnoj upućenosti i bliskosti sa pedagoškim stremljenjima. Ova konstatacija odnosi se i na književnost za djecu i omladinu u Bosni i Hercegovini, čiji počeci sežu u osamdesete godine XIX vijeka.<sup>1</sup> Činjenica je da su neki od istaknutih bosansko-hercegovačkih književnika/ca za djecu i omladinu obrazovanjem/profesijom bili povezani sa odgojno-obrazovnim ustanovama. Tako se u Bosni i Hercegovini još u začetku književnosti za djecu i omladinu formirala skupina koju su činili istaknuti prosvjetni radnici tog vremena: Josip Milaković, Jagoda Truhelka i Hamdija Mulić. Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata to su Šukrija Pandžo, Nasiha Kapidžić-Hadžić, Alija Hasagić Dubočanin. Neki autori tekstova iz ove oblasti u književnosti bili su obrazovanjem usmjereni na nastavnička zanimanja, ali su radili u medijima i izdavačkim kućama kao urednici (Velimir Milošević, Ahmet Hromadžić, Alija Isaković, Ljubica Ostojić, Mirsad Bećirbašić), a neki su pak bili educirani za nastavnički posao, ali su ostali predani književnosti za djecu i omladinu kao profesionalni pisci, poput Branka Čopića.

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1 Muris Idrizović (1976: 12) kao začetnika navodi Luku Milovana Georgijevića (oko 1784-1828) koji je objavio „nekoliko prerada i prepjeva njemačkih pjesnika, kao i nešto vlastitih pjesama (*Mojoj djeci na majales, Na knjižicu nanovoljetni dar iz davne 1810*)“. Nakon njega pola vijeka traje „gluho doba“. Osamdesetih godina Aleksa Šantić, Jovan Dučić i Svetozar Ćorović (mostarski krug) saradujući s brojnim tadašnjim časopisima objavljuju pjesme za djecu. U Sarajevu su istovremeno objavljivali Josip Milaković, Jagoda Truhelka i Hamdija Mulić.

Navedeni autori su pisali u različitim periodima, pa i odnos prema tradiciji i tabu temama u njihovim tekstovima hronološki prati promjene koje je u tom segmentu trpila književnost za djecu. Kao što smo naveli, među prvim piscima za djecu u Bosni i Hercegovini nalazimo mahom učitelje, nastavnike i one koji su blisko vezani za neki vid poučavanja, pa je samim time razumljivo i dociranje u književnosti. Opterećenje pedagoškim stremljenjima uz to je bilo praćeno puritanizmom i cenzurom, posebno prema (ne)dopuštenim temama, ali i jezičkom oblikovanju sadržaja koji bi djeca i mladi čitatelji mogli/smjeli čitati i usvajati. U historijskom pregledu bilo bi zanimljivo obraditi kako je (auto)cenzura profilirala tekstove u bosanskohercegovačkoj književnosti za najmlađe, a da se primijetiti da je i danas ovaj dio književnosti puno više izložen cenzuri, pa i svojevrsnom licemjerju kada je u pitanju odnos autora prema sadržajima i samim čitateljima. Cenzura nije pratila ovu književnost samo kao pedagoška zaštita, već je u određenim historijskim periodima ideološki, religijski i politički snažno bila upletena u tekstove za najmlađe, puno više nego što je to zaista opravdano.

„Sasvim uopćeno u dječjoj se književnosti uočava cenzura sadržaja koji ne korespondiraju s **uspostavljenim društvenim, političkim, vjerskim ili nekim drugim autoritetom i poretkom**, kao i sadržaja koji se u danom trenutku smatraju potencijalno **nerazumljivim, nedoličnim ili zastrašujućim za djecu**.“ (Hameršak, Zima 2015: 78) (Istaknule autorice)

Dugo vremena književnost za djecu je bila glavna ancila pedagogije, sredstvo u rukama odraslih kojim su djeca usmjeravana da budu poslušna i dobra. Međutim, od knjige se kao i kod odraslih i kod najmlađe publike očekuje da intrigira, provocira, bude kognitivni i emotivni katalizator ličnosti. A sve to, kao i u životu, nemoguće je bez loših primjera, ponekad i moralno neprihvatljivih prizora iz života. Narodna bajka, kao i basna pružaju dobar primjer za djecu i odrasle kako se metaforički u procesu privremene zamjene i uživljanja u tuđi identitet, stiče svijest o sopstvenom identitetu. Thomas Keenan otkriva zakon svakog pripovjednog čina na primjeru odgovornosti koji daje basna u odnosu filozofiju i književnost, ideje i priče, u mimikrijskom premještanju sebe u tuđi identitet (u Biti 2002). Vladimir Biti u Keenanovom primjeru iz basne o gavranu koji se upleo u ovjčje runo, jer je oponašao orla, ukazuje na otkrivanje uzroka iz posljedice.

„Problem je u tome što se znanje o tome da je netko »samo gavran« može steći jedino nakon što se pokuša oponašati orla. Jednako pak kao što je gavran »pozvan u orla« da bi stekao spoznaju o svojem pravom identitetu, tako je i čitatelj basne »pozvan u (lik) gavrana« kojega mora oponašati da bi shvatio kako to ne smije.“ (Biti 2002: 207)

Interesantni su tekstovi kojima se savremenijim pristupom depedagogizira književnost za djecu i mlade. Tekstovi u kojim su prisutne neke od tabu tema: smrt, droga, alkohol, spolnost... sasvim opravdavaju svoje postojanje, jer i mladi čitatelji se u književnim tekstovima, kao i odrasli, odmjeravaju i traže odgovore na pitanja koja ih zanimaju i s kojima se susreću u stvarnosti. Status neke pojave/teme kao tabua razlikuje se prema vjerovanjima i ubjeđenjima unutar različitih kultura. I danas neki sadržaji koje mladi mogu slobodno konzumirati u liberalnijim sredinama, nedopušteni su u drugim.<sup>2</sup> Tabu u svome korijenu podrazumijeva zabranu, ono što se ne smije dodirivati, o čemu se ne treba govoriti, ni misliti. Tako se npr. o incestu, kanibalizmu, seksualnom zlostavljanju i problemima osoba sa određenim poteškoćama ne govori. U dijahronijskom pregledu tradicionalnih tema u književnosti za djecu zapažamo nekoliko glavnih usmjerenja: teme iz (ruralnog) djetinjstva, teme iz školskog života, drugarstvo, simpatije, ljubav prema životinjama, odanost, domoljublje i druge slične teme. U periodu nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, osim ratnih tema, imamo naglašenu kolektivizaciju pa su česti romani o dječijim družinama.<sup>3</sup> U novije doba s kraja šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina ove teme su zamijenjene temama urbanog djetinjstva djece „ključaša“ (sa ključem od stana oko vrata). U prvi plan dolaze usamljenost i skučenost gradskog djetinjstva<sup>4</sup>, što su i generalno teme moderne književnosti, ali i slobodnije teme o puberteskim ljubavima, kroz priče o djeci ili njihovim roditeljima. Međutim i dalje nema tema o tamnim stranama života sa kojima se mladi suočavaju u realnosti, osim nekih prevoda iz svjetske književnosti. Iz tog vremena zapažena je knjiga koja je prvi put nametnula temu narkomanije *Mi djeca sa kolodvora Zoo*.<sup>5</sup> Zbog sve većeg prodora surove stvarnosti preko medija u našu svakodnevicu svjedočimo kako jedne teme bivaju potisnute drugima koje preuzimaju primat, posebno u tekstovima za mlade čitatelje. Svjedoci smo kako su neke od tema koju su odrasli tradicionalno zaobilazili, i inače u prisustvu djece, tema smrti, potom ratovi koji neprestano izbijaju širom svijeta, našle svoje mjesto u novijoj književnosti za djecu i omladinu. Ratovi devedesetih godina na području bivše Jugoslavije ostavili su duboke tragove u životima djece i mladih. Destrukcija njihova

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2 Naravno, ovo se ne odnosi samo na književnost kada je riječ o mladoj populaciji. Ponekad opravdano i u drugim diskursima i medijima danas egzistira kontrola koja određuje primjerenost sadržaja određenom uzrastu. Na televiziji za to postoji posebna oznaka, koja podsjeća na roditeljsku pažnju, ili upozorava do koje dobne granice je sadržaj primjeren za mlade gledatelja.

3 Takvi su romani Branka Čopića *Orlovi rano lete* i romani Mate Lovraka *Vlak u snijegu* i *Družba Pere Kvržice*.

4 Romani Ljubice Ostojić: *Zašto dubiš na glavi Danijele*, *Dječak sa ključem oko vrata* i dr. U hrvatskoj književnosti je temu aktualizirao Nikola Pulić *Dječak sa ključem oko vrata*.

5 Od 1980. godine u našoj zemlji djeca i mladi su ovu knjigu o paklu droge mogli čitati u prijevodu i izdanju zagrebačkog Globusa.

svijeta prenijela se iz svijesti u podsvijest, pa je bilo neminovno da se i kroz književnost svjedoči o svemu tome.

## SMRT KAO TEMA

Kao jedna od najprisutnijih tema u književnosti za odrasle smrt je sadržana u samoj biti umjetnosti, kao fenomen, kao tajna, kao fatum. Naše postojanje odvija se između Erosa i Thanatosa. Najpoznatiji i najstariji tekstovi progovaraju o smrti. Baveći se temom smrti u poeziji Andrijana Kos Lajtman zapaža da gotovo „nema književnosti, ili barem opusa, bez smrti, baš kao što suštinski nema smrti bez književnosti: dramske, lirske ili epske“ (2022: 12). S obzirom na to da je odnos prema smrti određen historijskim, društvenim, religijskim kontekstom, smrt je u literaturi za odrasle prisutna na drugi način. Čak i kada se radi o „društveno prihvatljivom načinu umiranja“ (Ibidem 19) smrt traje kao misterij prisutan u životu svih nas od djetinjstva. Edgar Morin smatra da ljudi upravo kroz stavove i vjerovanja vezana za smrt izražavaju svoj odnos prema suštini života. „Smrt se nalazi točno tamo gdje se biološko spaja s antroploškim. To je najčovječnije i najkulturnije obilježje *antroposa*“ (prema Kos Lajtman 2022: 27). Navedimo za primjer samo neke poznate tekstove u kojim je prisutna smrt kao tema: *Ep o Gilgamešu*, roman *Rat i mir*, ep *Ilijada*, Ezopove basne koje su adoptirane u književnost za djecu, a najpoznatiji primjer u tom smislu je basna *Starac i smrt*.

Starac i smrt

*Jednom starac nasiječe u planini drva i podigne ih na pleća. Kad je već natovaren prevalio dug put, umoran skine drva i stane doživati smrt. Budući da je smrt odmah pristupila i pitala ga zašto je zove, starac reče: »Da to breme podigneš i naprtiš mi ga.«*

*Priča pokazuje da svaki čovjek voli život makar bio i nesretan.*

(Preveo Milivoj Sironić, u Diklić, Težak, Zalar 1996: 139)

Zanimljivo bi bilo čuti promišljanja najmlađih, kao i interpretacije kada se susretnu sa ovom basnom. Zbog humora kojim se razrješava dramatično zazivanje smrti, u basni nema konotacije traume, već u prvi plan izbijaju radost i želja za životom i kada je on pri samom kraju. Smrt je neizostavan dio života, pa je i djeca upoznaju rano, no ipak se u mnogim basnama i bajkama ona nastoji prikriti. Književnost za djecu, prema Huntu (1994), oduvijek temu smrti i seksualnosti smatra za tabu. Zato se javljaju prilagodbe u kojima se smrt kao definitivan čin ublažava, npr. tako što onaj koji biva pojeden izađe čitav iz stomaka, premda ovaj postupak već malo starija djeca

smatraju nemogućim i doživljavaju kao prevaru kojom ih odrasli nastoje obmanuti.<sup>6</sup> Smrt je u narodnim bajkama prisutna na drugačiji način. Na njihovu korisnost je upozorio Bruno Bettelheim (1979). Govoreći o „bezbjednim pričama“ u modernim bajkama, ili bajkama na filmu Bettelheim kritizira težnju savremene kulture da potiskuje čovjekovu tamnu stranu idealizirajući ljudsku prirodu u smislu da su svi ljudi dobri. Zaobilaženje teškoća, prešućivanje djetetu teško prihvatljivih istina, njihovo potiskivanje nije bio cilj ni Freudove psihoanalize koju Bettelheim povezuje sa tumačenjem bajki i njihovom glavnom porukom. Za njega dijete ima korist od simboličkog pronalaženja smisla u doživljaju bajki i otkrivanju šta ono želi, koji identitet je njemu blizak. Navodeći primjere korisnosti od čitanja narodnih bajki Bettelheim govori o uživljanju djeteta u tuđi identitet. Dijete se ne pita da li želi da bude dobro, već na koga od likova želi ličiti. Odluku o tome donosi, kaže Bettelheim, ne zbog dobrote junaka, već zato što mu se sviđa njegov status u bajci.

„Na primer, bajke postavljaju dilemu želje da se večno živi time što se ponekad okončavaju rečima: »Ako nisu umrli, još su živi«. Drugi završetak » - I doveka su srećno živeli« ni za trenutak ne obmanjuje dete da je večni život moguć. Ali, naznačuje ono što jedino može ublažiti bolnost uskih granica našeg životnog veka na ovoj zemlji: uspostavljanje istinski zadovoljavajuće veze sa drugim. Priče uče da je čovek, kad to postigne, dosegao vrhunac emocionalne bezbednosti postojanja i trajnosti odnosa koji su mu dostupni, a jedino to može odagnati strah od smrti.“ (Bettelheim 1979: 24)

I u amoralnim bajkama, u kojima likovi prevarom postižu uspjeh (*Mačak u čizmama*), Bettelheim vidi korisnost za dijete. Otkrivanje spoznaje da je život pun preteških i nepravednih izazova, ali da se oni mogu pobijediti ako im se borbenošću suprotstavimo, jeste bit koju djeca uočavaju u narodnim bajkama. Različiti strahovi u podsvijesti djeteta, prema tome, mogu naći odgovor i lijek u nepatvorenoj bajci. Nerijetko, na štetu djece, moderna književnost za djecu izbjegava spominjanje bilo kakvog oblika unutarnjeg sukoba, a pogotovo nasilja, što ne pomaže djetetu da savlada sopstvene strahove (Bettelheim 1979). Izuzetak su neki autori poput Hansa Christiana Andersena i Oscara Wildea, u čijim bajkama glavni likovi realistički skončavaju. Andersenove i Wildeove bajke, zbog smrtne blizine realitetu, uz svu ljepotu slika i poetiziranih opisa djecu mogu bolje pripremiti za stvarni život. U neprerađenim narodnim bajkama, koje je zapisao Charles Perrault, smrt nije tabu, naprotiv javlja se i kanibalizam i druge vrste surovosti. Moramo napomenuti da

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6 Tako je u bajki *Crvenkapica*, ili fenomen „zagriža smrti“ u *Snjeguljici i sedam patuljaka*, ili „poljubac života“ u *Trnuružici*.

narodne bajke u svom prvobitnom obliku nisu bile namijenjene djeci. Od prvih zabilježenih bajki iz narodne književnosti do „uglačanih“ koje se danas čitaju, bilo je dosta intervencija na koje nas podsjeća Crnković:

„Perraultove se verzije najpoznatijih dječijih priča, koje je on prvi “lansirao”, razlikuju u detaljima, u krupnijim obratima i u stilu od mnogih kasnijih varijanata. U *Crvenkapici* vuk pojede i baku i *Crvenkapicu* i – priča završava grubo, teško, ni jedno dijete ne bi zaspalo nakon takve priče.“ (1986: 32)

Zanimljiv je primjer recepcije jedne od najpoznatijih bajki Hansa Christiana Andersena *Djevojčica sa šibicama*, uprkos tome što sirota djevojčica ne uspije prodati šibice i što na kraju umire. Ova izvanredna bajka, zbog empatije koju proživljavaju djeca, jedan je od rijetkih primjera koji, iako nema sretan kraj, opstaje u školskim programima i interpretacijama namijenjenim djeci. Smrt u umjetnosti i književnosti ne ostavlja uvijek dojam tragizma. Sličan primjer u književnosti za odrasle imamo u romanu/noveli Thomasa Manna. Iako je smrt sadržana u samom naslovu „*Smrt u Veneciji*”, smrt tu nikako nije nešto od čega nas prožima jeza. Naprotiv u prvom je planu strast, zaljubljenost glavnog junaka i njegova opsjednutost ljepotom dječaka. Ovdje se ljepota, ljubav i smrt prepliću umjetnički uzvišeno, a polazište je autobiografski doživljaj iz stvarnog života slavnog autora. Također, primjer poznat evropskim čitateljima jeste roman mađarskog autor Ferenc Molnara *Junaci Pavlove ulice*. Molnar u roman o urbanom djetinjstvu preslikava svijet odraslih i njihovu militaristički zasnovanu potrebu za osvajanjem prostora. Nije samo vojnički red i činovi koje djeca zadužuju to što određuje njihovu borbu za prostor, već i suprotstavljenost dviju grupa i borba za dio grada. On postaje prava ratna zona u kojoj se djeca poput odraslih borbe za teritorij. Dječak Nemeček, lik sa najnižim činom, nebitan u uspostavljenoj hijerarhiji kojom dominiraju vođe, na kraju romana postaje heroj. Od onog na koga niko ne obraća pažnju, kome se niko ne divi, vlastitom žrtvom za opći cilj poprima herojski oreol. Nažalost, tu slavu on plaća prevelikom cijenom, ali i ubire najveće simpatije i trajno ostaje u pamćenju čitatelja. Međutim, ovaj primjer upravo poučava da veliki ciljevi nerijetko proždiru one koji ih dosegnu. Oba navedena teksta primjeri su kojima se čitatelji u razmišljanjima i čitanju rado vraćaju i kao odrasli.

U bosanskohercegovačkoj književnosti, ako izuzmemo bajke koje je sakupila Milena Mrazović, a one i nisu bile namijenjene posebno za djecu, tema smrti, posebno

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7 Roman je objavljen 1912, a zahvaljujući upravo osebjunom prepletu Erosa i Thanatosa i dalje je inspirativan za mnoge koji se bave temom smrti u umjetnosti. Tako je Luchino Visconti 1971. prema njemu režirao italijansko-francuski igrani film.



smrti djeteta, se tradicionalno zaobilazi.<sup>8</sup> Rijetki su primjeri poput pripovijetke Šukrije Pandže *Planinče* u kojoj se smrt susreće dva puta. Prvi put kada dječaku Murti, koji je odudario od sredine zbog godina i gorštačke neuglađenosti, umire babo (otac), i kada dotada odbačen dječak biva prihvaćen od druge djece. I ponovo kada Bojan, Murtin najbolji drug iz razreda, pogine od udara voza, a Murta potom pokušava kamenovati voz, mašinovođu i ložača. U tom emotivnom iskaljivanju bijesa zbog gubitka druga, Planinče, Murta, bori se sa emocijama koje je prouzročila smrt drage osobe. Ovo je rijedak primjer uz onaj Hromadžićev u romanu *Patuljak iz Zaboravljene zemlje* u kojem brat Sunčan na kraju pronade sestru koju su na početku romana oteli razbojnici iz Zaboravljene Zemlje, ali zbog svega što je propatila Pahuljica ipak na kraju umire. Tako Hromadžićeva bajka/roman na kraju dobija tragičan kraj, ne tako tipičan za tradicionalnu bajku na čiju se poetiku oslanjao. Do ova dva autora, likovi djece su u bosanskohercegovačkoj literaturi patili zbog gubitka/smrti životinje, kućnog ljubimca, i to je bio jedini način uvođenja ove teme u vremenu dominacije tradicionalnih normi u književnosti za djecu i omladinu. Ona je dotada uglavnom zaobilažena i bila je jedna vrsta tabua, osim donekle u ideološki obilježenim postratnim tekstovima.<sup>9</sup> Međutim, kod savremenih pisaca smrt je sve prisutnija. Jedan od prvih koji je ovu temu uključio u književnost za djecu i to na sasvim nov način bio je Alija Isaković. Zapravo, ukupno djelo ovoga pisca na svoj je način inovativno, o čemu je pisao Enes Duraković (2018: 5):

„Teško je u našoj savremenoj književnosti naći stvaralački tako svestranu i dinamičnu, ali i izuzetno samokritičnu ličnost kao što je bio Alija Isaković. Pripovjedač i romansijer, dramatičar i putopisac, esejista i književni historičar, lingvist i bibliograf, antologičar, urednik i redaktor, on se knjigama javljao samo onda kada je rukopis sazio da u svemu bude nov i poseban, kada je obnavljao zaboravljeno, nudio i anticipirao neistraženo. Velika je mudrost i snaga autocenzure kojom je on izbjegavao ponavljanje već ranije osvojenih književnoestetskih polja, ali se uprkos

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8 Vrijedi navesti prisustvo smrti u poznatoj baladi *Smrt Omera i Merime* koja se nalazi u školskim programima i brojnim čitankama. Ovdje je riječ o smrti mladića i djevojke, nešto poput bosanskohercegovačkog pandana Shakespeareovoj tragediji *Romeo i Julija*.

9 U pripovijetkama i romanima koji tematiziraju rat nemoguće je zaobići temu smrti. Takav slučaj je bio i sa ovim dijelom književnosti i temama iz narodnooslobodilačke borbe. Neposredno nakon Drugog svjetskog rata u maniru socrealizma likovima djece pristupa se kao odraslim. Djeca stradalnici su prisutni u revolucionarno markiranoj prozi i poeziji koja je zapravo bila svegeneracijska poput djevojčice u Čopićevoj pjesmi *Na petrovačkoj cesti*. Iako je prisutna smrt kao neminovna tema iz ratnog doba, u ovom periodu nema dubljih promišljanja o njoj. Ona je u službi prikaza ratnih strahota i sveopćeg stradanja nevinih civila, posebno djece, što uvijek dodatno pojačava ratni tragizam. Ovakva smrt je idealizirana, a djeca su kao i odrasli ostali trajno zabilježeni kao heroji u vremenu. Neki od njih u umjetnostu ušli i kao stvarne historijske ličnosti. Takav slučaj je bio sa mladim partizanom, kasnije narodnim herojem Boškom Buhom. Branko Bauer je inspirisan njim kao stvarnom ličnošću 1978. snimio film. Angažman i pogibije djece su tema brojnih romana i filmova u Jugoslaviji šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina 20-og vijeka.

tome njegovo književno djelo rastvara pred čitaocem u izuzetnoj raznovrsnosti književnih tekstova što se na kraju zbiraju u cjelovitosti književnog opusa u kojem ništa nije nastalo uzgredno i bez velika razloga, ljudskoga i estetskog opravdanja.“

*Lijeve priče* Alije Isakovića upravo u skladu sa svestranošću i integralnim razumijevanjem svijeta predstavljaju sasvim novi pristup ovoj, ali i drugim temama, kao što je npr. dječiji doživljaja seksualnosti (dječaci u društvu oca posmatraju djevojke na nudističkoj plaži, Isaković 2003: 120). Cijela knjiga intrigira i potiče na razmišljanje, sve generacije, uvodeći u roman i teme koje dodiruju Eros i Thanatos i njihovo prožimanje. Tema smrti se uvodi u priču na fonu dječijeg straha i zanimanja za taj fenomen, a koji se nenadano pojavljuje u razgovoru. Isaković je dobro znao da je djeci potreban nepatvoren razgovor o svemu, što je u njegovim pričama prepoznao i Vedad Spahić (2008: 179): „Cartoon-generaciji klinaca potrebna je više nego ikad živa dječija priča, ali je očito da njihov ubrzani intelektualni razvoj potražuje novi način plasiranja edukativnih sadržaja“. Isakovićevim *Lijeve pričama* je kao i njegovim prvim kratkim prozama za odrasle svojstvena originalnost i modernost koja se ogleda „u izlomljenoj naraciji, jezičkim obratima, simboličkim zgušnjavanjima, interžanrovskim geminacijama s lirskim i napose dramskim tipovima iskaza“ (Ibidem: 175):

„Ude u dječiju sobu. Fari se probudio. Sjedi na krevetu, uzbuđen.

Ti si moka!

Sanjao sam da sam umro, reče.

Ustade iz kreveta i zaplaka. Uzmi mi ovaj ružan san iz očiju! Mama se uznemiri: Fari nije nikada plakao. Zagrla ga. Čvrsto.

Je l' da, mama, kad porastem, izmislit ću da nikad ljudi ne umiru. Porušit će se svi grobovi i neće biti umiranja. I Adi neće umrijeti, porušit će se i njegov grob...

Grobovi treba svi da umru. Da ne bude groblja.

Razumijem te, sine, ali šta ćemo s ljudima kad ipak umru jednog dana?

Treba da ljudi kad umru lete, lete, lete...

Eto, to je zanimljivo, reče mama. O tome ćemo još pričati. Svi ljudi ponekad sanjaju slične stvari. Sjećam se, i kad sam bila u Moskvi, slično si sanjao.

Kad si bila u Moskvi, sanjao sam da si ti umrla i da si mi u džepu, u kutiji. Dok si ti bila u Moskvi, stalno sam u džepu držao mali bibi, da se ti vozaš.

To je sve zato što me voliš. Zato što si me poželio.

Poželio sam u snu da sam kuća pa da otvaram sva vrata i prozore.

Neću više ići toliko dana. Moje pozorište je davalo predstavu u Moskvi. To je važno, i to se rijetko događa.

Idi ti toliko dana samo nemoj toliko noći.

Mama se nasmija i ponovo ga prigrli.

Svaku noć sam te sanjao. Sve mi dolaziš u oči.

Moram ti priznati, i ja sam kad sam bila kao ti, svašta sanjala. To je prirodno.“ (Isaković 2003: 111-112)

Dijaloškom formom i „usaglašavanjem hibridnih književnih diskursa u sintaksički dinamičnu verbalnu inkarnaciju teksta“ (Duraković 2018: 81), Isaković prevazilazi „infantilizam naracije, svojstven isključivo dječijoj književnosti“ (Džanko 2002: 59). Ozbiljna tema je prisutna, nema tabua, o svemu se dijaloški razmatra, promišlja i transgeneracijski adresira. Najmlađi čitatelji se mogu prepoznati u dječaku Fariju i njegovom strahu zbog sna o smrti, a odrasli mogu rekreirati vlastita sjećanja i prihvatiti činjenicu da nema nedodirljivih tema, već je bitan način na koji se kompleksne teme upliću u književnost za djecu i omladinu. Smrt je ovdje dječaku došla u san, i kao što vidimo to nije prvi put. Smrt je već prije ovoga odlomka u tekstu dodirnutu kada je dječak u ležernom razgovoru sa ocem rekao da će izmisliti lijek protiv smrti. „Niko, niko da ne umre, i da uvijek bude dan... i sunce...“ (Isaković 2003: 25). Autor nedvosmisleno sugerira da je to tema sa kojom se najmlađi suočavaju još u ranom djetinjstvu, i da je stoga ne treba izbjegavati u literaturi namijenjenoj njima. Bitan je, dakle, način na koji će se tema smrti izložiti, a Isaković je i ovdje ironijom, ludizmom, stilsko-semantičkom zaigranošću, demistificirao tabue i prešućivane teme.

## **IZBJEGLIŠTVO I SVE ŠTO IDE S TIM**

U ratnim romanima za omladinu, direktno ili zbog njegovih posljedica, smrt je neminovno prisutna u životima glavnih likova. Imajući u vidu historiju bosansko-hercegovačkih prostora ni tema izbjeglištva u bosanskohercegovačkoj književnosti za djecu i mlade nikako više nije tabu. Život u izbjeglištvu donosi čitav niz problema sa kojim se suočavaju cijele generacije. Deprivacija identiteta, osjećaj koji donosi činjenica da ostaju bez doma, prijatelja, elementarnih uvjeta za sretno djetinjstvo i mladalaštvo budi kod mlađih autora potrebu da se progovori o tim proživljenim

frustracijama. Niz je naših autora koji su se javili sa svojim autobiografskim pričama, a najzapaženiji su Zulmir Bečević, Bekim Sejranović i Alen Mešković.

U Meškovićevom prvom romanu *Ukulele jam* glavni lik Miki (Emir Pozder) saznaje za smrt prijatelja Igora. Igor je poginuo u uniformi, ali je način na koji je poginuo apsurdan, jer se po onome što Miki saznaje Igorova smrt dogodila izvan borbe, apsurdan nesretni slučaj. Čitava situacija šokantnog saznanja o pogibiji prijatelja prožeta je buntovnim stavom, bijesom, i jezikom nabijenim erotonimima i psovkama. Ovakav jezik je karakterističan za Meškovića i njegove romane koji opisuju mlade i njihova proživljavanja nakon burnih događaja i destrukcije bivše domovine Jugoslavije, raspada dotadašnjih života, porodica, što se u gradnji likova reflektiralo na različite načine: kao nesigurnost, potraga za vlastitim identitetom, pokušaj da se konzumiranjem alkohola i drugih opijata zaboravi na stvarnost, buntovništvo i udaljevanje od roditelja i niz drugih stanja i posljedica kojima su mladi izloženi.<sup>10</sup> Jedna od odlika ove „proze u trapericama“ jeste trajna suprotstavljenost mladog pripovjedača, ili naratora koji pripovjeda o mladim i njihovom doživljaju, svijetu odraslih.

„U tom smislu, evazivne relacije u prozi u trapericama ostvaruju se prvenstveno na dvjema razinama: 1. Prostorna, kada se glavni akteri upuštaju u neki oblik bjekstva od kuće kao institucije koja simbolizira društvenu moć, odnosno u neku vrstu skitnje ..., što ovaj tip „omladinskog džins-romana“ približava tvenovskome tipu romana o družinama koje odlaze od kuće na kulturno mjesto (obale rijeke Misisipi); 2. socijalna evazija, svjesno ili nesvjesno odavanjem mladih ljudi nekim oblicima društveno nepodobnog, zabranjenog ponašanja...“  
(Džanko 2024: 21-22)

„Najčešće je riječ o onim romanima koji nastoje održati socijalno-psihološki motiviran karakter kao reprezentativni model društvenog djelovanja u središtu svoje strukture“ (Flaker 1983: 202). Zbog nemogućnosti da bilo šta promijene bunt se u romanu ispoljava kroz jezik koji je neka vrsta kanala za pražnjenje nagomilane negativne energije. Cijela družina srednjoškolca Mikija ne zna šta bi sa sobom, život im je u burnom dobu sazrijevanja razvučen između egzistencijalnih ograničenja, prvih poljubaca, ljubavi i otkrivanja sebe u tim zadovoljstvima. Sve se to prenosi u jezik

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10 U savremenoj bosanskohercegovačkoj književnosti po unošenju stvarnih problema i tema koje se tiču djece i mladih izdvajaju se autori koji su jedan dio života proveli u drugim sredinama, mahom u skandinavskim ili razvijemim evropskim zemljama sa tradicijom razumijevanja potreba mladih čitatelja. Autori iz ove skupine nerijetko pišu autobiografski o djetinjstvu i mladosti, ali iz perspektiva sredina u kojima su se školovali/živjeli. Od pisaca koji su pripadali ovom bosanskohercegovačkom novom valu, autora u procjepu između starog i novog identiteta, između zemlje u kojoj su rođeni i u kojoj su se našli, izdvajamo Bekima Sejranovića i roman *Nigdje, niotkud* te Zulmira Bečevića s romanom *Putovanje započeto od kraja*.

prožet slengom karakterističnim za mlade, pa čak i kada se govori o poginulom prijatelju. Razgovor je nabijen emocijama, miješaju se tuga, bijes i buntovništvo, što se u jeziku ispoljava stilski markiranim izrazima: erotonimima, vulgarizmima i psovkama.

„- Šta je, Gogi? Šta te muči? Slabo karaš, ili šta?

- Nisi čuo?

- Šta?

- Loše vijesti, susjed. Strašno loše.

Zapalio je novu cigaretu i stavio upaljač u džep košulje. Otpuhnuo je dim kroz nosnice i rekao da se upravo vratio iz Vešnje.

- Da, i?

Stopirao je. Stao mu je Ivan iz D2. Onaj što je karao indiskretno. Ivan je bio sasvim van sebe. Jedva je vozio, dok je Gogiju pričao da je Igor-naš dobri, stari Igor – *poginuo*. Nagazio je na minu negdje kod Vinkovaca i na mjestu ostao mrtav.

Gogi je mlatio glavom, psovao i ponavlja da ne shvaća. Ja sam vidio Igora kao ide prema nama. Bosonog. U uskim, crnim Speedo – gaćicama.

Podrignuo je:

- E, ideš sa mnom do rta?... Pa da, na rt. Znaš engleski?

Gogi je ugasio cigaretu i zapalio novu. Sjedili smo i davali jedan drugom za pravo da je sve otišlo u kurac. Da Igor, ako iko uopće, to nije zaslužio.

Onda smo zbrijali do rta. Ja sam mu pričao o onoj Njemici i Igorovim legendarnim riječima „Šta ja znam, može se cura ljutiti.“ Gogi je tvrdio da je Igor umro kao djevac. Da je zbog toga toliko pričao o pičkama.

Nisam se složio. Sjetio sam se jedne čaknute brinete koja je nekoliko dana stanovala u Igorovoj sobi. Bila je iz Splita, ličila je na vjevericu i pobjegla od kuće. Igor ju je pokupio negdje u Vešnji i skrivao u Centru, sve dok ga neko nije ocinkario. Policija je došla i odvela ju.

Ispričao sam mu i o onoj Badnjoj večeri kad je Igor lupio šakom o sto i viknuo: „DAAL ŽIVOT TREBA ŽIVJET, A NE SE ZAJEBAVAT!“ Opisivao sam Igorov i moj prvi odlazak u Wicky, onog tipa s kozama i novopostavljenom ogradom – bodibildera, čijoj se ženi Igor nabacivao. Brbljao sam koliko god sam mogao, bojao se da ću zatuliti, ako prestanem.

Kad sam se konačno smirio i zašutio, nije se dogodilo ništa.“ (Mešković 2016: 241-242)

Meškovićevim romanima ispisanim u prvom licu dominira ispovjedni ton. Hronološki pripovijedanje u romanu *Ukulele jam* obuvata predratne ključne događaje, zatim ratna vremena dok je sa roditeljima bio u Bosni i Hercegovini, te sadašnjost u nimalo optimističnom ambijentu izbjegličkog, nekadašnjeg hotela JNA u ma-

lom primorskom mjestu Majbule. Priča ostavlja dojam autentičnosti zahvaljujući psihološki uvjerljivoj iskidanosti fabule i stalnog vraćanja mislima na prijašnje stanje koje se ne može vratiti. Mešković piše slobodnijim stilom od prethodnika u književnosti za djecu i omladinu, ali ništa ne uljepšava, već realistički dodiruje sve teme, mnoge iz sfere tabua. Zanimljiva je u tom pogledu poveznica Meškovićevog sa romanima za djecu i adolescente hrvatskog pisca Mire Gavrana, posebice romanom *Zaboravljeni sin ili anđeo iz Omorine* (1989) koji uz teme iz porodičnog kruga (razdvojen život, zbog roditeljskih nesuglasica) obrađuje izoliranosti u slučaju djeteta, potom mladića sa poteškoćama u razvoju. Ono što je zajednički element Meškovićevih romana, kao i Gavranovih, jeste da prevladava optimizam uprkos ponekad iznimno teškim okolnostima u kojima se nađu glavni likovi. Činjenica da se Gavran, cijenjeni i dokazani pisac, okrenuo romanima za djecu, a slično je i u slučaju autora *Lijevih priča* Alije Isakovića, ukazuje na to da literatura može biti „međugeneracijski most“ u „međugeneracijskom dijalogu“. U tom je smislu za razvoj današnjih čitatelja iznimno važno autorsko razumijevanje čitateljske recepcije i potreba djece i omladine. Društvo i stvarnost se dramatično brzo mijenjaju i ne može se očekivati bezrezervno razumijevanje i tradicionalno prihvatanje intencija odraslih u cilju nametanja ukusa i mišljenja mladim generacijama čitatelja.

„Zbog svih su tih promjena interesi mladih drugačiji kao što su drugačija i njihova očekivanja i vrijednosti uz pomoć kojih tekstove pune smislom te zato često dolaze do različitog razumijevanja. Nekad omiljeni dubinski opisi ljudskih doživljaja brzo postaju dosadne priče. Smetaju im detaljni opisi prirode, a jednako tako ne reaguju na percepciju svijeta neke starije generacije.

Možemo li od njih još uvijek bezuvjetno očekivati „spontanu“ reakciju i zanimanje za razne oblike tradicionalne književnosti? Možemo li unatoč njihovim drugačijim iskustvima, znanjima i vrijednostima u njima probuditi zanimanje za te oblike književnosti te time ostvariti čitanje književnosti koje bi postalo međugeneracijski most? Da bi čitanje moglo postati takav most, cijelo vrijeme moramo razmišljati o tome uz koje preduvjete i na koji način čitanje književnosti može postati međugeneracijski most, kao što cijelo vrijeme moramo biti svjesni da zbog različitih pogleda na svijet mladi daju drugačija značenja književnim tekstovima.“ (Grosman u Javor 2012: 20)

Za savremene autore je važno da razumijevaju današnje mlade čitatelje. Tek onda mogu postati svegeneracijski autori. Ta činjenica je važnija od same klasifikacije odnosno dileme hoće li se naći na popisima autora književnosti za odrasle ili za djecu. S tim u vezi Dubravka Težak zapaža povodom Gavranovih romana, a to važi i za Meškovića: „S obzirom na to da se ne drži kruto konvencija ni dječjega ni ado-

lescentskog romana, gube se granice za dobne podjele njegovih djela koja uživaju veliku popularnost vjerovatno i zbog optimističkoga ozračja koje šire“ (Težak u Matanović 2016: 200). Takva autorska pozicija ključna je i kada je u pitanju probijanje granica tabua i interes za teme koje zadiru u najteže društvene i porodične devijacije.

## OD PRIČA ZA UPOZORENJE DO BIJEGA OD KUĆE

O utilitarnoj dimenziji književnosti za djecu i omladinu dosta je pisano. Utilitarni su njeni korijeni (u usmenoj narodnoj književnosti) i takva je u manjoj ili većoj mjeri i danas. Djeci se preko ove književnosti uvijek upućuje neka poruka. Konačno, sličnu taktiku odrasli primjenjuju ne samo prema djeci, već i prema drugim odraslim, kada u prozi, poeziji ili scenskom riječju kazuju nešto što bi inače bilo teže reći onome kome se obraćaju (dijete, odrasli). Mnogo je ovakvih primjera u književnosti, od Ezopovih i La Fontainovih basni do danas. Skrivena značenja *ezopovskog govora* sastavni su dio naših života, kao i učenje iz loših primjera. U društvu u kome se javno nije mogla izreći osuda neke društvene pojave, kritika vlasti, pisci, umjetnici, kao i danas, posezali bi za umjetničkim sredstvima izražavanja. Na isti način se javlja upozoravajuća, zaštitnička uloga roditelja koji koriste priče za djecu kao mogućnost da im se kroz priču, zaobilazno, izrekne neka od važnih zabrana. S tim ciljem su u prošlosti pričane priče upozorenja. Primjerice, roditelji su odlazeći na rad u polje ostavljali malu djecu bez nadzora odraslih, u najboljem slučaju o njima bi se brinuli starija braća i sestre. Stoga su opasna mjesta u bajkama postali: šuma, velika voda (bunar, jezero, rijeka...), nepoznate osobe, što je trebalo rezultirati da djeca ostanu u kući, ili oko kuće, jer im je to pružalo veću sigurnost. Odlazak na put (u narodnoj bajci) podrazumijeva suočavanje (djeteta) sa brojnim izazovima i opasnošću, ali i mogućnost da se nakon odvajanja pronađe i sretno sa drugim koji će mu postati važni. Ovim se prema Bettelheimu pobjeđuje strah i „strepnja od odvajanja i strah od smrti“ (Bettelheim 1979: 25).

„Ostave li se po strani na odnosima moći utemeljene, a u najboljem slučaju pokroviteljske, interpretacije odnosa djeca-odrasli, kao i eventualne terapijske implikacije imenovanja traumatičnih iskustava ili predodžbi, priče upozorenja prepoznat će se kao sredstvo društvene kontrole uz pomoć manipulacije strahom ili, nešto blaže rečeno, kao oblik društvene proizvodnje straha. Tim više što se tim pričama, osim fizičkog dakle tjelesnog integriteta djeteta, nastojao oblikovati i društveno poželjan moralni integritet najmlađih. Crvenkapica je, sjetite se, završila u vukovu truhu zato što se unatoč majčinu upozorenju upustila u razgovor s nepoznatim.“ (Hameršak 2011: 59-60)

Tema odlaska od kuće stoga je jedna od kontroverznih tema u književnosti za djecu i omladinu. Ali, mnoge od knjiga koje sadrže ove teme, zbog njihove uzbudljive, avanturističkim duhom impregnirane fabule, zbog odvažnosti glavnih likova da se suprotstave odgojnim načelima, porodici i društvu, postale su omiljene među najmlađim čitateljima. Tako je priča o Robinsonu Crusoeu, najpoznatijem avanturisti iz književnosti za odrasle, dospjela među najčitanije prozne stranice književnosti za djecu. Likovi i romani Marka Twaina zato su bili tema prijevora, jer su odrasli puritanci smatrali da su takvi nevaljalci u vidu likova neposlušne djece štetni po mladog čitatelja.

U Meškovićevom romanu *Šator za jednu osobu*, koji je nastavak *Ukulele jam*, nema mjesta opterećivanju moralizatorskim pridikama, a ipak se nedvosmisleno pokazuje u kakvim nevoljama se može naći maloljetnik kada na svoju ruku donosi krupne odluke. Njegov bijeg iz izbjegličkog centra, želja da se sastane sa bratom u Švedskoj, avanturističko putovanje i zaustavljanje u Danskoj, te nemogućnost nastavka putovanja, dovode ga do očaja i kajanja. To je realistički prikaz situacije u kojoj se mladić našao, a u kojoj bi se mogao naći i drugi mlad čovjek. Istovremeno zadovoljen je avanturistički aspekt romana, tu su i uzbuđenja, ono što mladi čitatelji očekuju, ali i dovoljno depedagogizirane samokritičnosti koja može uticati na razvoj kritičkog mišljenja.

„Napravio sam veliku grešku, Kaća! Nisam trebao pobjeći, nipošto ne na onakav način. Ne znam više šta da ti kažem. Iznevjerio sam majku i oca, a brat je iznevjerio mene. Sad živimo u tri različite zemlje, a meni je samo sedamnaest godina, ha-ha! Kao što vidiš, sav sam sjeban, BIG TIME, i nemam pojma šta će biti sa mnom. Iz dna duše mrzim ovaj kamp, ovu zemlju, ovaj svijet, i kad bih vjerovao da postoji neki drugi i bolji vjerovatno bih si davno prerezao vene ili se bacio pod jedan od ovih stavno lijepih danskih vozova. Ali eto, niko još nije bio s druge strane i vratio se s održivim dokazima. Uf!!! Bolje da prekinem! Već je kasno, a ja ti ovo pišem u uredu kampa.“ (Mešković 2019: 143)

Ljudima je prirodno da radije uče na lošem primjeru. O tome i drugim primjerima u književnosti i filozofiji, prema uzoru na Ezopove basne, kojim najprije treba skinuti „okove“ da bi se došlo do istine, Thomas Keenan se pita:

„Što bismo mi ljudi bez loših primjera – bez primjera lošeg primjera te bez našeg redovnog cijepljenja njime i protiv njega? Odgovornost započinje u lošem primjeru: moglo bi se reći da je jedini dobar primjer, jedini vrijedan oponašanja, interiorizacije i identifikacije koju primjer zahtijeva upravo loš primjer. Klasični subjekt biva uveden u stanje odgovornosti i sigurnost



identiteta nakon prolaska kroz loš primjer, nakon sigurnosnog propusta koji poučava koliko je identitet krhak te kako se obraniti od drugoga. A ipak, ne bi postojalo iskustvo razlike, ne bi postojala promjena ni odnos prema drugome bez pustolovine uspoređivanja i njezina neuspjeha ... upravo zato što nije uvijek sigurna.“ (Keenan u Biti 2002: 208)

## ZAKLJUČAK

Na pisce koji su u dvadesetom vijeku započeli dekonstruiranje zadatih šablona u bosanskohercegovačkom kanonu književnosti za djecu i omladinu (Alija Isaković, Ljubica Ostojić, Alija Hasagić Dubočanin, Bisera Alikadić) nadopisuje se skupina autora novije generacije. Koliko god se odnos prema tabuiziranim temama iz života djece i mladih promijenio u odnosu na prethodni period<sup>11</sup>, mišljenja smo da i dalje nema dovoljno autora u koji se bave ovim temama. I dalje je dominantan stav da je bolje ove teme zaobilaziti, jer razbijanje tabua, pa i u književnosti za djecu i omladinu, uvijek podrazumijeva suočavanje sa snažnim otporom čiji su nosioci vrlo često roditelji, koji nisu uvijek kompetentni za ovu problematiku. Ipak smatramo da autori trebaju ustrajavati i više uključivati teme sa kojim se djeca i mladi moraju nositi u svakodnevnici. Bolje je da se na vrijeme kroz umjetnost (književnost, pozorište, film) susretnu sa životnim temama, da o njima promišljaju, razgovaraju, pišu i zauzmu vlastito stajalište. Ignoriranje tema iz stvarnog života u literaturi za djecu i mlade može biti puno štetnije, nego kada se o njima na adekvatan način piše, čita i razgovara unutar obrazovnih i drugih odgajateljskih okvira, pa i mimo njih. Nerijetko su školske čitanke predmet javne rasprave, koju najčešće vode roditelji i dušebrižnici sa malo znanja o književnosti, pogotovo o književnosti za djecu i omladinu iz pozicije njene uloge u životu djece i mladih. Ako se pod pritiskom vrši selekcija tekstova, izostat će i interes djece i mladih za čitanje, jer oni su u periodu razvoja ionako zasićeni temama koje moraliziraju, pedagogiziraju, odgajaju. Savremeno doba, zbog dostupnosti različitih sadržaja i različitih medija, svakako vodi dokidanju svih tabua. Svaka književnost, pa i književnost za djecu i omladinu, ukoliko želi biti aktuelna, mora imati vezu sa vremenom i čitateljem kojem se tekst upućuje.

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11 Od realističnih romana u kojim su djeca nakon Drugog svjetskog rata prvo bili “mali ljudi“ novog društvenog poretka, pioniri, pa omladinci, usmjeravani na aktivnu društvenu ulogu, pređen je put nakon perioda dominacije idealnog socijalističkog djeteta i tema prožetih tadašnjom ideologijom do realnih likova djece u sasvim novim društvenim okolnostima.

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## LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH – BETWEEN TRADITION AND TABOO TOPICS

### Summary:

This Paper starts from the fact that the literature for children and youth is traditionally burdened by pedagogizing, dominance of adults' desires, censorship and that there are still not enough topics which are important for children and youth, because many such topics remain taboo. Adults, who normally determine contents and norms in this literature, hypocritically remain silent about the topics that concern those who primarily should read this part of literature. The authors consciously avoid the topics that talk about death, various deviations such as family break-up, parents' divorce, alcohol, drugs, children in exile, and other „hard“, traumatizing topics. However, the traditional canon changes over time, as we will show with the examples from *Lijeva priče* by Alija Isaković, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian „prose in jeans“ and Alen Mešković's novel. Although the attitude towards taboo topics in the literature for children has changed to some extent, there are still not enough topics which are marginal and tackle taboo, but children and youth encounter them in their lives. The dominant view is still that it is better to tacitly bypass these topics, because each change is conditioned by the social situation. Changing attitudes towards taboo topics always implies an author's willingness for opening new polemics in society. At the end, the Paper concludes that bad examples dominate in literature as well as in life. The oldest example of this is Aesop's fables, which teach children and adults. Because of that, as well as the fact that the modern times in lives of children and youth change the attitude towards traditional taboo topics, authors and society are expected to more flexibly accept changes which imply a different attitude towards the real interests of children and youth.

Key words: literature for children and youth; tradition; taboo; Alija Isaković; Alen Mešković

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Review paper

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## **TABU TEME U KNJIŽEVNOSTI ZA DJECU: LIJEVE PRIČE ALIJE ISAKOVIĆA**

Objavljivanje *Lijevih priča* Alije Isakovića (1990), iako skoro nezapaženo od strane tadašnje književne kritike, označilo je prekretnicu u bošnjačkoj i bosanskohercegovačkoj književnosti za djecu krajem XX stoljeća. Isaković je, u svojoj jedinjoj knjizi namijenjenoj najmlađoj čitateljskoj publici, ponudio neočekivane teme i započeo do tada neuobičajenu komunikaciju s najmlađim čitateljima. Obraćajući im se kao sebi ravnima, autor otvara cijeli niz tema koje su do tada bile tabuizirane poput seksualnosti, smrti, nasilja i mnogih drugih, koje je dotadašnja književna praksa zaobilazila nudeći sliku idiličnog djetinjstva u kojem nema mjesta za „ozbiljne“ životne situacije. Po tome je Isaković među prvima koji je književnost za djecu oslobodio idealiziranja i utilitarne pedagoške dimenzije. U radu se propituju teme zbog kojih se *Lijeve priče* i danas nerijetko kvalificiraju kao „neprikladne“ za najmlađu čitateljsku publiku te sama opravdanost tabu tema u savremenoj književnosti za djecu.

Ključne riječi: *Lijeve priče*; Alija Isaković; tabu teme; književnost za djecu

## **ISAKOVIĆEV PRIPOVJEDNI SVIJET**

Alija Isaković spada u red najistaknutijih bošnjačkih i bosanskohercegovačkih stvaralaca druge polovine XX stoljeća, a njegov opus sadrži pripovijetke, romane, drame, putopise, eseje, studije, filmske i tv-scenarije. Priredio je niz antologija i zbornika te se i na tom polju iskazao kao vrstan intelektualac i naučni radnik. Kao antologičar i publicist, Isaković je učinio mnogo na reafirmaciji zanemarenih

bošnjačkih pisaca te reaktualizaciji bošnjačke književne tradicije, dok je kao pisac načinio odmak od dotadašnje literarne tradicije te se iskazao kao predvodnik i avangardist (Pečenković 2020: 126). Isakovićev intelektualni angažman zadužio je našu kulturu

„prvom antologijom bošnjačke književnosti, prvom antologijom bosanskohercegovačkog putopisa, prvim rječnikom karakteristične leksike u bosanskom jeziku, potom prvom antologijom bosanskohercegovačke televizijske drame, eseja itd., ali, isto tako, valja primijetiti kako je Isaković koristio i vješto sintetizirao pozitivistička istraživanja svojih prethodnika na istom mukotrpnom poslu otkrivanja i valoriziranja jedne zaboravljene i potisnute kulture i književnosti.“ (Pirić 2020: 10)

Stoga je opravdano što Isakoviću danas priznajemo status jedne od „središnjih figura bosnistike kao cjeline“ i značaj jednog „od onih koji su doprinijeli okončanju višedesetljetnog procesa nepriznavanja i negiranja bošnjačke i bosanskohercegovačke književnosti te bosanskog jezika“ (Kodrić 2020: 42).

Modernost i avangardnost Isakovićevog pripovjednog svijeta etablira ga kao predvodnika generacije pisaca koji su šezdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća napustili kolektivno-reprezentacijsku sliku svijeta u korist pojedinačnih sudbina i prikazivanja fragmenata „disperzivnih isječaka zbilje ili neurotičkih odsjeva podsvijesti“ (Duraković 2012: 332). I njegove novele izgubile su oznake tradicionalnog modela pripovijedanja jer je već i sama pozicija pripovjedača izmijenjena.

Nakon romana *Sunce o desno rame* (1963), Isaković je objavio dvije zbirke proze *Semafor* (1966) i *Taj čovjek* (1975) koje su predstavljale „značajan pomak u inovativnom modernizmu bošnjačke pripovijetke“ (Hadžizukić 2020: 137), dok će avangardizam njegovog pripovijedanja najviše do izražaja doći u romanu *Pobuna materije* (1985) za koji Kazaz (2002: 21) smatra da je roman koji u bošnjačkoj i bosanskohercegovačkoj književnosti iz osnova mijenja tradicionalnu koncepciju romana, a unutar interliterarne južnoslovenske zajednice „donosi temeljitu promjenu koncepta povijesti i filozofije vremena“.

Prema riječima Vedada Spahića (2008: 175), Isakovićeva modernost se ogleda u intelektualističkom tipu proze „koja se realizira u tematskom rasponu od promatranja čovjeka u njegovoj banalnoj svakodnevnicu, reakcija na posve trivijalne životne situacije do egzistencijalistički obojenih promišljanja u kojima dominiraju osjećanja usamljenosti, dezorijentiranosti i apsurdna“. Prema ovome, tematska aktuelnost je jedna od značajki Isakovićevih proza, a iako se „stilsko-formacijske kategorije u literaturi za djecu mogu koristiti samo uvjetno i heuristički oznaka modernosti stoji

i za knjigu *Lijeve priče*. Štaviše dalo bi se govoriti i o stanovitom otvaranju ka postmodernim diskurzivnim procedurama“ (Spahić 2008: 179). Upravo je na primjeru *Lijeve priče* moguće potvrditi poetičku univerzalnost karakterističnu za Isakovićevo cjelokupno stvaralaštvo.

Jednako kako je u zbirci *Taj čovjek* (1975) napravio zaokret u odnosu prema tradicionalnom načinu pripovijedanja, tako je zbirkom *Lijeve priče* učinio raskid sa dotadašnjom poetikom književnosti za djecu. No, uprkos tome, zbirka *Lijeve priče*, objavljena početkom devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, prošla je skoro nezapaženo od strane književne kritike. U tekstu *Isakovićeve Lijeve priče* Edina Murtić (2017: 256) ističe da je istražujući literaturu o Isakovićevom književnom radu za djecu pronašla tek jedan znanstveno fundiran rad. Riječ je o tekstu Muhidina Džanke u kojem se pojava satiričkih priča Alije Isakovića uzima kao „jedan od prijelomnih događaja u razvoju suvremene bošnjačke književnosti za djecu“ (Džanko prema Murtić 2017: 257).

U *Lijeve priče* autor otvara teme koje su do tada bile tabui u književnosti za djecu. Riječ je o temama koja se tiču smrti, nasilja, seksualnosti i sl., zbog kojih se i danas, više od trideset godina od objavljivanja, vode rasprave o „prikadnosti“ *Lijeve priče* kao lektirnog štiva. Obrćajući se najmlađim čitateljima kao sebi ravnima, autor otvara niz tema koje je dotadašnja književna praksa zaobilazila. Stoga je primjereno u savremenom kontekstu postaviti pitanje tabu tema u književnosti za djecu.

## TABU TEME U KNJIŽEVNOSTI ZA DJECU

Književnost za djecu je godinama bila pripojena pedagoškim disciplinama, a postupak depedagogizacije i estetske valorizacije djela mijenja se u skladu sa promjenom društvenih pogleda na djetinjstvo i dijete kao subjekta u savremenim društvenim odnosima. Sve do polovine XX stoljeća književnost je bila čuvana od teških tema sa kojima se djeca (eventualno) mogu suočiti prilikom odrastanja (seksualnost, narkomanija, smrt...), a odrasli su uvijek prikazani kao moralni autoriteti koji se ne dovode u pitanje. No, polovinom XX stoljeća dešava se promjena, te se u književnosti progovara o tabu temama, ali i ostalim problemima s kojima se djeca i mladi susreću (rastava, porodično nasilje, alkoholizam, disfunkcionalne porodice...)

Šezdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća javlja se generacija autora koja progovara o tabu temama, prije svega o spolnosti i seksualnosti a kasnije i ostalim tabuima od kojih se (do tada) nastojalo zaštititi mlade čitaoce. Među prvima Maurice Sendak, Judy Blume, Roald Dahl, Robert Cormier... koji otvaraju put novim generacijama

pisaca potičući ih da istražuju slične teme, čime su doprinijeli shvaćanju da i djeca kroz književnost mogu biti suočena s ozbiljnim životnim pitanjima. Navedeni autori u svojim djelima zagovaraju otvorenost i iskrenost, te čitalačkoj publici nude do tada nekonvencionalne teme u književnosti koju prepoznavamo kao adolescentsku ili književnost za omladinu, što je na formalno-izražajnom planu praćeno destabilizacijom naracije kroz fragmentirane ili ciklične narativne strukture i višestruke naratore.

Književnost za djecu odražava različite perspektive i percepcije djetinjstva, ne zaobilazeći različite tabue u različitim kulturama. Većina tabua u književnosti za djecu često proizlaze iz predbujedenja o nužnosti zaštite djece od onoga što odrasli doživljavaju kao „surovu stvarnost“. Mit o dobrom djetetu koje živi u crno-bijelom svijetu danas je zastario. Propitujući teoriju da je dijete zaštićeno u „lepom krugu“ – metafori idealiziranog djetinjstva (pozivajući se na Huseina Tahmišića), srpski teoretičar i profesor dječije književnosti, Jovan Ljuštanović se u tekstu „‘Odžačar’ Jovana Jovanovića Zmaja i tabu infantilnog erotizma“ bavi prodorom erotskih sadržaja u pripovijeci „Odžačar“, koju je Zmaj objavio 1878. godine u kalendaru *Pančevac*, pod pseudonimom Radan (Ljuštanović 2012: 6). „Odžačar“ nije pisan za djecu, već je riječ o realističkoj, humorističkoj priči prerasloj iz anegdote, u kojoj nesporazum nastaje između naivnog, dječijeg pogleda na svijet i erotskih sadržaja iz svijeta odraslih.

Postavljajući početnu hipotezu da Zmajeva poezija balansira u krugu porodičnih vrijednosti u kojem je dijete obasuto pažnjom, ljubavlju, brigom i zaštitom, Ljuštanović propituje da li je dijete iz pripovijetke „nedodirnuto svetom erotikog koje se konstituiše u priči“ (2012: 7) te zaključuje da je ova pripovijetka sasvim drugačija od ostalih djela iz pera Jovana Jovanovića Zmaja vezanih za dijete i djetinjstvo, a ta razlika „proizilazi iz prisustva supstrukture infantilnog erotizma u samoj priči“ (Ibid. 11). Ljuštanović naglašava da se Zmaj pokazao kao preteča jednog modernog shvatanja djetinjstva u kome se raskida sa uvjerenjem da je dijete suštinski odvojeno od domena erotikog te ujedno i preteča literature koja dodiruje manje ili više dječiji odnos prema seksualnosti, a koji se susreće i u pojedinim djelima Danila Kiša, Ive Andrića, Branka Ćopića i drugih autora.

Predakademska promišljanje dječije književnosti vezano je za didaktizam, pedagošku, religioznu ili patriotsku dimenziju kojom su bili zasićeni književni tekstovi namijenjeni djeci do početka XX stoljeća. Književnost za djecu se tokom XIX i u prvoj polovini XX stoljeća razvijala pod uticajem evropskih prosvjetitelja, koji su zagovarali pouku i stav da je „delo vredno onoliko koliko je poučno“

(Milinković 2012: 180).

Brinući se da zaštite djecu odrasli zaboravljaju da djeca odrastaju u istom svijetu, jer možda je moguće ušutkati pisanu riječ, ali je teško kontrolisati ono što djeca čuju, čemu svjedoče ili što se s njima dijeli u stvarnom životu. Današnja djeca odrastaju u svijetu visoke tehnologije koji se brzo mijenja, gdje su stalno izložena konfliktnim i zbunjujućim porukama o vrijednostima i stavovima. U takvom kontekstu priče postaju još važnije za njihovo psihološko zdravlje, pomažući im da pronađu narative koji artikuliraju i sadrže, ako ne i rješavaju, različite složene osjećaje ili situacije s kojima se mogu suočiti (Gupta 2021).

U tekstu „Suvremeni hod dječje hrvatske književnosti“ Stjepan Hranjec (2008) piše da tabu teme u književnosti za djecu nisu posljedica zabrana nego pedagoških dvojbi, odnosno (ne)primjerenosti nekih tema za dječiju dob. U književnosti, smatra Hranjec, nema zabranjenih tema, sve u životu, oko nas može biti predmet književne obrade, no pitanje je vrijedi li isti kriterij i za književnost za djecu. Ako je dosadašnja književnost za djecu zaobilazila neke navodno neprimjerene teme, u savremenoj su uklonjene sve ograde te smo svjedoci nizu tema koje su u starijoj produkciji bile nezamislive. To su droga, erotika (seks) i začeoće–rođenje, (neizlječiva) bolest, smrt (Hranjec 2008).

Tabui koji se nameću u knjigama za djecu često su specifični za određenu kulturu, jer ono što je prihvatljivo u jednoj kulturi smatra se neprihvatljivim u drugoj.<sup>1</sup> Tabu je zabrana određenog ponašanja za određenu zajednicu ljudi, u određenom kontekstu, na određenom mjestu i u određenom vremenu. Ne postoji apsolutni tabu koji važi za sve svjetove, vremena i kontekste (Keith, Burridge 2006)

O tabu temama se u književnostima susjednih naroda (hrvatska, srpska, slovenačka...) počelo govoriti krajem prošlog stoljeća, dok je u bosanskohercegovačkom kontekstu ova tema dosta zanemarena i do sada nije bila predmet ozbiljnijeg istraživačkog pristupa. Darja Lavrenčić Vrabec (2002) temu tabua propitivala je u slovenačkoj omladinskoj prozi i zaključila da se među prvim tabu temama pojavila spolnost i da danas možemo govoriti o petnaest skupina tabua a to su: narkomanija, spolnost, tinejdžerska trudnoća, spolno iskorištavanje, silovanje, homoseksualnost, nasilje, smrt, bolest, religija, ekologija – nuklearna katastrofa, beskućništvo, neonacizam, strah, rastava roditelja te kazna i osveta.

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1 U studiji *Are There Taboos in Children's Literature?* Radhika Menon (2000), direktorica indijske izdavačke kuće Tulika, pravi poredbu između američkih i japanskih tekstova za djecu te naglašava da japanske knjige za djecu uključuju narodne priče i folklor koristeći izraze poput: izmet, mokraća i tako dalje, dok američki izdavači ublažavaju ili izbacuju iz tekstova takve i slične „neprimjerene“ riječi.



Tabu teme u književnosti za djecu usko su povezane sa cenzurom koja je sklona da književno djelo očisti od "neprimjerenih" tema. Književnost za djecu je zbog svog često ambivalentnog, pa i marginalnog društvenog statusa, kao i zbog društvene percepcije njezinih čitatelja kao nezrelih, posebno izložena i preventivnim oblicima cenzure, prije svega autocenzuri u užem smislu, ali i uredničkim, nakladničkim i prevoditeljskim intervencijama u tekstu (Hameršak, Zima 2015)

Govoreći o cenzuri<sup>2</sup>, dovoljno je spomenuti medijski slučaj u američkom Michiganu, iz školskog okruga Northville, gdje je majka dvanaestogodišnjakinje zahtijevala od školskog odbora da iz spiska školske lektire izbace *Dnevnik Ane Frank*. Naime, majci su bila neprikladna dva zapisa u *Dnevniku* u kojima Ana opisuje svoje genitalije i svoja osjećanja prema prijateljici. Pritužba je označena kao "seksualno eksplicitan sadržaj" i "homoseksualne teme". Opisi genitalija, nalaze se jedino u izdanju *Definitive Edition*, a koje je iz verzije iz 1947. izbrisao Otto Frank, Anin otac. Pored tog izdanja, mogu se pronaći i na web sajtu *Banning Anne Frank. A Case of Censorship* (Dnevnik Ane Frank. Slučaj cenzure), u zapisu datiranom od 24. marta 1944. godine.<sup>3</sup> Drugi zapis se odnosi na onaj datiran 05. januara 1944. godine u kojem Ana piše:

„Ponekad, kad ležim u krevetu noću, imam strahovitu želju da stežem svoje dojke i slušam kako mi srce ritmično tuče. Podsvesno ja sam već imala slična takva osećanja pre no što sam došla ovamo, jer sećam se da sam jednom, kad sam spavala kod jedne drugarice, imala snažnu želju da je poljubim i to sam i učinila. Mučila me je radoznalost u pogledu njenog tela, jer se uvek krila preda mnom. Tražila sam da, kao dokaz našeg prijateljstva, dozvolimo da jedna drugoj diramo grudi, ali je ona odbila. Uvek me obuzimalo ushićenje kad god bih videla nagu figuru žene, recimo, Veneru.“ (Frank 2014: 118)

Ukoliko smo danas svjesni da su djeca subjekti a ne objekti dešavanja, mora se priznati da Ana Frank piše o pitanjima koja će sebi svaki mladi čovjek postaviti: ko je, šta želi postati, kako se uklapa u društvo i svijet koji ga okružuje. Njihova promišljanja su izraz njihovih osobnih misli i iskustava, preispitivanja i sazrijevanja, tako da nisu neobična niti sablažnjiva. No, mora se priznati da ih sablažnjivim doživljavaju jedino odrasli koji žele svijet djetinjstva konzervirati i ne dozvoljavaju bilo kakve intervencije u okamenjenoj idiličnoj slici. Poimanje pretpostavljenog

2 Cenzura je uspostavljena u starom Rimu 443. godine p.n.e. a ukinuta 22. godine p.n.e. Cenzor je bio magistrat čija je izvorna funkcija bila registracija građana i procjena njihove imovine za oporezivanje. Rad rimskog cenzora proširen je tako da obuhvati nadzor nad moralnim ponašanjem, s ovlaštenjem da ukori i kazni one koji prekrše javni moral. Tokom mnogih stoljeća, u različitim kulturama i jurisdikcijama, vlade su primjenjivale cenzuru kao sredstvo reguliranja moralnog i političkog života svojih građana (Keith, Burridge 2006).

3 <https://burn.copladigital.org/umw-2019/the-case/passages-in-question/>

(podrazumijevanog) čitaoca i stvarnog čitaoca također je često vrlo kontroverzno pitanje u književnosti za djecu:

„Pretpostavljeni ili podrazumevani čitalac može se u većoj ili manjoj meri razlikovati od stvarnog čitaoca, to jest pravu udaljenost između senke čitaoca i stvarnog deteta možda nikada i nećemo dokučiti u punoj meri. Ovaj pojam obuhvata očekivanja odraslih [...] o načinu na koji će stvarni čitalac razumeti smisao teksta, identifikovati se sa junakom ili elementima slike sveta. U izvesnom smislu, pojam podrazumevanog čitaoca blizak je konceptu idealnog čitaoca. Međutim, stvarni i pretpostavljeni čitalac ne žive u istim svetovima; prvi pripada stvarnosti (njegova predznanja, afiniteti, okolnosti u kojima odrasta mogu biti, kako smo naveli, raznoliki), a drugi svetu fikcije.“ (Opačić 2021: 24).

Iako djeca nisu u stanju shvatiti značenja u književnosti na jednak način kao odrasli, to ne znači da su njihova značenja manje složena. Jednako tako, sugerirati da bilo koji tekst nije sposoban da generira složena značenja je potpuno pogrešno razumijevanje načina na koji jezik funkcionira. Dominacija različitih sistema vrijednosti (kanonski, “književni”, odrasli, muški...) utiče da određene knjige čitamo na određene načine. „Književnost“ je način čitanja, a ne funkcija teksta, kao što je gomila cigli umjetničko djelo u umjetničkoj galeriji, a tek (?) gomila cigli na gradilištu (Hunt 1995: 233).

Željeli to prihvatiti ili ne, činjenica je da su djeca spremna suočiti se s temama o kojima odrasli ne žele da govore, a vrijedna književna djela uspostavljaju odnos s čitateljem zasnovan na iskrenosti i poštovanju i otvorenu relaciju bez prikrivenih protekcionizama koji iskrivljuju diskurs.

## **TABU TEME U LIJEVIM PRIČAMA**

Kao i u ostalim žanrovima u kojima se potvrdio kao ekperimentator i avangardista, i u književnosti za djecu Isaković se „inter/metatekstualno, u rasponu od ironije do satire, poigrava sa poznatim sižeima i kodovima koje je tradicionalna i ideologizirana pedagogija nametala djeci“ (Spahić 2008: 179). Kako je novim generacijama potreban nov način plasiranja priča, Isaković ga, mišljenja je Vedad Spahić (2008: 179); pronalazi u „volšebnom spoju didaktike, humora, ironije i roditeljske ljubavi, koju sadrže priče što ih prema drevnom modelu uokvirenih pripovijesti tata pripovijeda svojim sinovima“.

*Lijeve priče* je zbirka koja se sastoji od deset priča (*Lijeve priče, Priča o nastanku Zemlje, Marsovac u tatinoj tvornici, Bijeli leptir, Majka i sin, Djed i baka, Gledanje*

*ispod kapaka, Niko-i-Ništa, Na stadionu, Može li se sjenka izbrisati?*). Glavni junaci su Adi i Fari, te otac koji pripovjeda priče i koji je najčešće prisutan u životima dječaka. Majka je više odsutna jer je glumica i često je na probama i večernjim predstavama. Značaj priče i pričanja u zbirci je posebno istaknut, tako da cijela struktura funkcionira poput uokvirene priče iz *1001 noći* u kojoj je korišten postupak umetnute novele. No, umjesto Šehzade, priče pripovjeda otac pisac: „Priča nije čokolada, priča nije da se jede, priča nije košulja džins, ali priča može da grije, može da ispuni uši, oči, srce...“ (Isaković 2015: 18). Umetnute novele prisutne su u pričama *Lijeve priče (Pošla koka na pazar), Priče o nastanku Zemlje, Marsovac u tatinoj tvornici (Kožna čarapa), Bijeli leptir (Priča o Pink Panteru), Majka i sin (Stvarna pobuna stvari), Djed i baka, Gledanje ispod kapaka (Lijeva i desna priča), Niko-i-Ništa.*

Osobit Isakovićev stil prepoznaje se i u ovoj zbirci, kao i poetičke odlike iz njegovih proza za odrasle: intertekstualnost, poigravanje sa tradicionalnim pripovjednim modelima, pomična tačka gledišta, fragmentiranost, ironija, referiranje na usmenu tradiciju... Dinamičnost se postiže kontinuiranom dijaloškom formom trojice junaka (povremeno i majke) i stalnom napetošću u očekivanju nove priče.

Isaković donosi prikaz jedne *urbane formalne porodice*<sup>4</sup> u kojoj dječaci odrastaju okruženi pažnjom i roditeljskom brigom, u porodici koja zrači radošću i srećom, a ljubav se naizmjenično čita u odnosima oca i majke, oca i dječaka, majke i dječaka i braće između sebe. U deset priča iz zbirke nadmeću se glasovi dječaka i oca, a originalnom jezičkom igrom, svojstvenom dječijem svijetu, autor uspijeva iznenaditi, što je navelo Murtić (2017: 260) da iste uporedi sa *prozom u trapericama*, ističući da je Isaković prvi koji je ovu temu uveo u bosanskohercegovačku književnost za djecu. U *Lijevim pričama* imamo zastupljene gotovo sve bitne strukturne osobine *proze u trapericama*, kako ih je prepoznao Aleksandar Flaker.

Za paradigmu ovog proznoga tipa Flaker uzima roman J. D. Salingera *Lovac u žitu (The Catcher in the Rye, 1951)*, u kojem su najjasnije prisutne strukturne osobine na kojima taj tip počiva: opozicija svijeta mladih i svijeta odraslih, novi tip pripovjedača na kojem se ta opozicija gradi, približavanje pripovjedačeva jezika usmenom spontanom govoru, unošenje žargona mladih u pripovijedanje s izrazito urbanom stiletikom, ironičko-parodistički odnos prema zatečenim vrijednostima kulturnih struktura, težnja prema mitologiziranju omladinskog nonkonformizma... (Župan 1978)

4 U knjizi *Ogledi o dječjoj književnosti* Stjepan Hranjec (2009: 101) piše o nekoliko vrsta i modela književno oblikovanih porodičnih zajednica: „čvrsto strukturirana homogena obitelj, socijalno-staleška obiteljska zajednica, luckasta obitelj, krnja obitelj, razorena obiteljska zajednica, supstitucijska obitelj, urbana formalna obitelj, obitelj u humorno-fantazijskom svijetu i slično“.

*Lijeve priče* donose brojne teme, može se reći i dosta neočekivane za to vrijeme u književnosti za djecu u Bosni i Hercegovini. Za potrebe ovog rada, zadržaćemo se samo na dvije: seksualnosti i smrti, za koje i danas vrijedi stav da bi književnost za djecu trebalo da ih zaobilazi. Propitivanje tabua u *Lijeve priče* inicirano je zahtjevom koji je Ministarstvu za obrazovanje, nauku i mlade Kantona Sarajevo te Prosvjetno-pedagoškom zavodu Sarajevo uputio Samostalni sindikat osnovnog obrazovanja i odgoja Kantona Sarajevo. U zahtjevu, Sindikat (na zahtjev roditelja i nastavnika islamske vjeronauke) traži izbacivanje djela *Lijeve priče* Alije Isakovića iz lektire za VI razred jer ista sadrži „mnogo neprimjerenih sadržaja“<sup>5</sup>. Sve je, čini se, potaknuto objavom na društvenoj mreži Facebook, koja je izazvala lavinu negativnih komentara, u kojoj je jedan roditelj uslikao isječak iz priče *Može li se sjenka izbrisati*: „Talijani misle da je moja guza krofna? Talijani će misliti da je tvoja guza krofna. Oni će od moje kite misliti da je viršla?“ (Isaković 2015: 123).

Priča „Može li se sjenka izbrisati?“ donosi dešavanja sa ljetovanja koje porodica provodi u Grčkoj. Na početku, dječak Fari vrši veliku nuždu na obali Egejskog mora i brine se hoće li ga vidjeti prolaznici. Kada ugledaju nadolazeći automobil, dječak postavlja pitanja da li će Italijani primjetiti šta radi, a otac ga tješi da oni ne razumiju njihov jezik. Na dobacivanja iz automobila: „Cacone!“, Fari iznenađen što su prolaznici shvatili šta radi upita oca: „Tata, ti reče da Talijani ne znaju naš jezik“. U naizgled naivnoj slici i otvorenom razgovoru između odrasle osobe i djeteta, „nemušti čitatelji“ pročitali su jedino skandalozne riječi. Kada u stvarnom svijetu djetetu ukažemo na činjenicu da se dječaci i djevojčice razlikuju po spolovilu, da svi imaju guzu i da svi vrše nuždu, to se smatra uobičajen način razgovora sa vlastitim djetetom. Ne postoji nijedna porodica koja nikad nije razgovarala na tu temu, posebno u vrijeme odrastanja i sazrijevanja. Ali kada to u svijetu fikcije čine otac i sin, taj čin se osuđuje.

Sličan je dijalog između dvojice protagonista kada na nudističkoj plaži ugledaju obnažene djevojke:

„Fari je gledao djevojke kao da ih nikada ranije nije vidio. Kao da su drukčije od onih na Jadranskom moru. Zastao je i pažljivo zagledao. Ne znam jesu li bolje mačke sa većim sikama ili manjim? Ne znam ni ja sine, ali svaka izgleda kao topredo! (...) Ova je dobra za tebe, reče sin. Gledaj kakav ima karmin na nogama, kao krv. Ova druga ima bolji kupaći kostim, reče tata. Ne vidim joj kostim. Najbolji je kostim koji se ne vidi. (Isaković 2015: 125)

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5 Zahtjev je datiran 01. 04. 2020. godine, a dostupan je na web stranici SSOOIOKS <http://ssooioks.com/v1/ndex.php/home-2/2767-zahtjev-za-izbacivanje-djela-ljeve-price-iz-lektire-za-osnovnu-skolu> (pristupljeno 10. 01. 2023.)

Tri ‘sporne’ rečenice izvučene iz konteksta priče, potakle su brojne komentare tipa da je Isaković „nazovi književnik“, da je riječ o „LGBT lobiranju u obrazovanju“, „pedofiliji na mala vrata“, da „perverznejaci određuju nastavne planove i programe“, „ništa bolje nismo zaslužili“, „sramotno čemu uče djecu“ i brojne druge negativne kvalifikacije.<sup>6</sup> Na žalost ali i opće iznenađenje iole obrazovanijeg čitatelja, komentatori sa društvenih mreža nisu pročitali predmetno štivo i uopće ne znaju ko je Alija Isaković (ali to je tema za neku drugu raspravu). Dovoljno je što su tri rečenice postavljene kao ‘dokaz’ da se potakne roditeljski bunt i peticija o uklanjanju *Lijevih priča* sa spiska lektira. Jedini analitičan i naučno potkrijepljen tekst objavljen je na portalu Karike.ba<sup>7</sup>, čiji je izdavač Omladinska novinska asocijacija u BiH, autorice Amine Magode, studentice maternjeg jezika i književnosti, koja temi pristupa studiozno argumentirajući svoje afirmativne stavove u korist Isakovića i *Lijevih priča*.

„Šta možemo očekivati od nastavnog kadra koji nerado izučava ovu lektiru s osnovcima?“, pita se Magoda (2021) i naglašava da takav pristup podrazumijeva narušavanje slobode učenja i poučavanja bez ideološkog uplitanja izvana i iznutra, a uz to sprečava učenike u stvaranju vlastitih uvjerenja o „kontroverzним“ temama. Djeca će ismijavati nastavnice i nastavnike koji se pretvaraju da znaju manje od njih, stoga tvrditi da je tema previše kontroverzna za učionicu više nije opcija.

„Malo je vjerojatno da ćete jednog jutra kada za lektiru bude Kafka umjesto djeteta u krevetu zateći kukca. Male su šanse da će pokušati pretvoriti svoju tetku u balon budu li čitali Harryja Pottera. Ne morate sklanjati starije osobe od pogleda vaše djece kada na stolu vidite *Zločin i kaznu*. Neće usavršiti vještinu ratovanja čitajući *Ilijadu* niti uvježbati preživljavanje na pustom otoku kada budu čitali Robinsona – za ovo je, uz malo nesreće, dovoljno da se rode na Balkanu. Izglednije je da će im lektira biti korištena za podupiranje stola.“ (Magoda 2021)

Nažalost, prosvjetni radnici – nastavnici maternjeg jezika koji rade sa djecom i obrađuju lektire, čini se, zaboravljaju da bi „zavisno od školske dobi i individualne zrelosti, i u razrednoj i u predmetnoj nastavi učenici/ice morali usvojiti i znanja iz oblasti rodne kritike, postkolonijalne kritike, kognitivne kritike, interkulturalnosti i multikulturalnosti itd“ (Pašić Kodrić, Pečenković 2020: 128). Tekst Amine Magode podijeljen je u Facebook grupi *Materijali za online (i redovnu) nastavu*, koja je nastala kao potreba u vrijeme pandemije COVID 19. Administratorica grupe Nermina Alihodžić-Usejnovski je uz tekst napisala i prigodan komentar:

6 Dostupno na društvenoj mreži Facebook na linku: [https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story\\_fbid=pfbid0RV06Fuco1Ju35ccXpn7btHeYz3ouhVb9EGXXuFDGtZFWC5x7EiYJnFHtuAN2t6SEl&id=100009488252705](https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid0RV06Fuco1Ju35ccXpn7btHeYz3ouhVb9EGXXuFDGtZFWC5x7EiYJnFHtuAN2t6SEl&id=100009488252705) (pristupljeno 10.01. 2023.)

7 <http://karike.ba/guza-sike-i-kita-lektira-u-pelenama/>

„Nije naš posao (niti za njega imamo vremena) objašnjavati bilo kome, osim učenicima, stilsku ili bilo koju vrijednost književnog teksta, to je posao odsjeka (u množini) za književnost svih fakulteta i posao raznih ekspertnih grupa pri ministarstvima. Nastavnici (i ja lično) godinama imaju problem sa roditeljima vezan za ovo djelo, ali to nas nije spriječilo da ga obrađujemo. Dakle, mi godinama reagujemo – reagujemo tako što nismo podlegli pritisku i “zaobišli” knjigu “Lijeve priče” Alije Isakovića.“<sup>8</sup>

U istoj grupi nastavnici su postavili većinu lektira u e-izdanju, kako bi omogućili pristup lektirnim tekstovima za vrijeme online-nastave. Postavljena je i zbirka *Lijeve priče* naslovljena: *Lijeve priče – bez posljednje priče.pdf*<sup>9</sup>. U zbirci je izostavljena priča *Može li se sjenka izbrisati*, u kojoj se nalaze sporni izrazi. Čini se da u našem, bosanskohercegovačkom kontekstu, nije potrebno djelo izbaciti sa spiska lektire. Dovoljno je da nastavnik, samovoljno odredi šta će, odnosno šta djeca neće čitati.

Druga tabu tema koja se pojavljuje u *Lijevim pričama* je smrt. Treba napomenuti da se smrt u književnosti za djecu javlja ambivalentno i to u fantastičnoj književnosti i bajkama na jedan, a u realističkoj književnosti na sasvim drugi način. U bajkama i fantastičnim pričama, smrt nema tragičnu dimenziju. Smrt u većini slučajeva donosi pravdu i zadovoljenje za junake bajki (smrt zle maćehe, vještice i drugih protagonista koji čine loše i nanose zlo glavnim junacima). Stoga ona ne izaziva negativne emocije kod čitalaca. Sa druge strane, u realističkoj književnosti za djecu smrt kao tema neizbježno je narativ o gubitku. Smrt, posebno neočekivana smrt, smatra se tabu temom, vjerovatno iz razloga što je tema previše ozbiljna da bi se istraživala na način koji može imati smisla za najmlađe čitaoce.

„Glavni junaci na smrt odgovaraju prema svom uzrastu to znači prema svojoj zrelosti, razumijevanju i poimanju smrti. U književnim djelima koja ubrajamo u realističnu prozu možemo slijediti ‘tradicionalni’ odaziv na smrt. Glavni junaci tuguju, idu na sprovod, redovito posjećuju groblje i slično.“ (Haramija 2002: 35)

Stjepan Hranjec (2008) istražujući savremenu hrvatsku dječiju književnost, smatra da je smrt „razmjerno rijetka gošća u tematskoj lepezi suvremene dječje hrvatske književnosti, što je i razumljivo: ona nije tabuizirana nego naprosto neatraktivna, kao što je s njome i u stvarnoj zbilji“. U *Lijevim pričama* dječak Fari razmišlja o smrti i o tome razgovara sa majkom:

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8 Tekst i komentar dostupni na: <https://www.facebook.com/search/top?q=lijeve%20priče>

9 <https://www.facebook.com/groups/142385793047604>

„Sanjao sam da sam umro, reče.

Ustade iz kreveta i zaplaka. Uzmi mi ovaj ružni san iz očiju!

Mama se uznemiri: Fari nije nikada plakao. Zagrlj ga. Čvrsto.

Je l' da, mama, ja, kad porastem, izmislit ću da nikad ljudi ne umiru. Porušit će se svi grobovi i neće biti umiranja. I Adi neće umrijeti, porušit će se i njegov grob...

Grobovi treba svi da umru. Da ne bude groblja.

Razumijem te, sine, ali šta ćemo s ljudima kad ipak umru jednog dana?

Treba da ljudi kad umru da lete, lete, lete... (Isaković 2015: 116-117)

Jednako kao i rođenje, i smrt je prirodni fenomen sa kojim se susreće svaki čovjek i svako dijete. Djeca različitog uzrasta drugačije poimaju smrt. Razumijevanje smrti razvija se tokom djetinjstva srazmjerno njihovom misaonom sazrijevanju. No, svako dijete ima osobnu viziju o smrti, a književnost može biti način da se dijete s motivom smrti upozna na posredan i primjeren način. Za dječaka Farija smrt je strašna i u njegovom djetinjstvu svijetu smrt može nestati, jednako kao i svi materijalni artefakti koji asociraju na smrt.

U studiji *Gubitak, tugovanje, podrška* Lidija Arambašić (2005: 33) podsjeća da djecu pripremamo na školovanje, zapošljavanje, vjenčanje, rađanje, ali o gubicima, osobito onima zbog smrti, najčešće šutimo. To radimo zbog vrlo prirodne ljudske potrebe koja se zove izbjegavanje neugode ali i iz neznanja, jer i nas same tome niko nije podučavao. Ljudi većinom nerado govore o doživljenim gubicima i to iz vrlo jednostavnog razloga: takav razgovor obično je ispunjen neugodnim mislima i emocijama, Tada se ljudi osobito trude da izbjegnu ono što ih podsjeća na taj nepovratan gubitak, smatrajući da će izbjegavanjem razgovora o smrti brže zaboraviti neugodan događaj (Arambašić 2005).

Sally Paul, sociologinja sa Univerziteta Strathclyde (Glasgow, UK), provela je 2019. godine istraživanje o doživljaju smrti kod djece. U studiji *Is Death Taboo for Children? Developing Death Ambivalence as a Theoretical Framework to Understand Children's Relationship with Death, Dying and Bereavement* Paul smatra da djeca smrt doživljavaju značajnom jedino kada umre neko važan. Pretpostavlja se da će većina djece u dobi između pet i osam godina razviti zrelo razumijevanje smrti. Literatura koja se odnosi na podršku ožalošćenju djeci identificira važnost otvorenosti i iskrenosti na način koji odgovara djetetovom društvenom svijetu i kognitivnim sposobnostima. Kada odrasli pokušavaju zaštititi djecu od smrti, to može podstaći zbunjenost i nedostatak povjerenja. Zbog osobne nelagode, odrasli izbjegavaju razgovor o smrti sa djecom, djeci se uskraćuje pristup informacijama i ritualima koji se odnose na smrt, što negativno utiče na njihova iskustva žalosti.



Ova situacija doprinosi tabuu smrti zahvaljujući kojem djeca uče od odraslih da se o njoj ne govori. Ipak, ove rasprave ne prepoznaju individualno djelovanje djece u definiranju i redefiniranju vlastitih stavova prema smrti; stoga, iako su djeca (povremeno) prisutna u debatama oko tabua smrti, njihovi glasovi su odsutni. Paul svojim istraživanjem daje važan teorijski i praktični doprinos diskursu o tabuu smrti tako što daje prioritet glasovima djece koja su izrazila svoju otvorenost, radoznalost i želju za diskusijom i edukacijom o smrti.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Književnost za djecu u kojoj postoje tabui produkt je mišljenja odraslih da dječiju nevinost i neiskvarenost treba sačuvati od životnih problema. Savremena književnost za djecu suprotstavlja se takvom mišljenju te nastoji ukazati na probleme i ponuditi izlaz. Sentimentalizirana slika nevinog djetinjstva iščezla je iz književnosti za djecu, jednako kao i tabui, nju sve više naseljavaju se teme poput seksualnosti, smrti, nasilja, bolesti, ovisnosti i brojne druge.

*Lijeve priče* Alije Isaković uspostavljaju odnos sa mladim čitateljima koji se temelji na iskrenosti i poštovanju u uspostavljanju dijaloga na jednakoj razini. One su mjesto susreta djeteta i odrasle osobe u kojem svako ima pravo da izrazi svoj stav i svoje mišljenje. Ako se svijet mora prikazati u svjetlu današnjice, neophodno je da se prekrše tabui, koristeći nove stilove i nova sredstva. Ono što je nužno jeste i da odrasli prevaziđu vlastite predrasude, da bi mogli biti otvoreniji za knjige drugačije od onih na koje su navikli. Ako želimo da od mladih napravimo odgovorne čitaoce, trebamo im ponuditi različitu literaturu: od tradicionalnih i konvencionalnih do izazovnijih i nekonvencionalnijih štiva. Ukoliko knjige očistimo od svih nepri-mjerenih sadržaja, najmlađe čitatelje ćemo ostaviti bez mogućnosti da o problemima promisle prije nego se s njima u životu susretnu.



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## **TABOO TOPICS IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE: *LIJEVE PRIČE (LEFT STORIES) BY ALIJA ISAKOVIĆ***

### **Summary:**

The publication of *Lijeve priče (Left Stories)* by Alija Isaković (1990), although nearly unnoticed by contemporary literary critics, marked a turning point in Bosniak and Bosnian-Herzegovinian children's literature at the end of the 20th century. In this only collection intended for the youngest readers, Isaković offered unexpected themes and initiated an unusual dialogue with young readers. Addressing them as equals, the author opens up a whole range of topics that had previously been taboo, such as sexuality, death, violence, and many others, which prior literary practice had avoided, offering an idyllic portrayal of childhood where there was no place for "serious" life situations. In this way, Isaković was among the first to free children's literature from idealization and its utilitarian pedagogical dimension. This paper examines the themes that continue to qualify *Lijeve priče* as "inappropriate" for young readers today, as well as the justification for taboo topics in contemporary children's literature.

Keywords: Lijeve priče; Alija Isaković; taboo topics; children's literature

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## **GLAGOLSKJE KONSTRUKCIJE (U)ČINITI (SE) + IMENICA ILI PRIDJEV STRANOĀA PORIJEKLA U PARRY – LORDOVOJ ZBIRCI**

U radu se analiziraju glagolske konstrukcije sastavljene od glagola nepotpuna značenja (*u)činiti (se)* i imenice ili pridjeva stranoga porijekla kao nositelja leksičkog značenja predikata u bošnjačkim epskim pjesmama na primjeru Parry – Lordove zbirke iz 1953. godine. Takve konstrukcije u stihovnom ustrojstvu popunjavaju poziciju predikata, bilo dekomponiranoga (glagol + imenica) bilo semikopulativnoga (glagol + pridjev), i jedno su od karakterističnih obilježja usmenog epskog stila. Provedeno istraživanje potvrđuje da su pridjevi u tim predikatima beziznimno orijentalnog porijekla, dok su imenice uglavnom orijentalnoga, a izuzetno italijanskog i albanskog porijekla. Svrha analize nije samo da se dā opis tih konstrukcija već i da se objasne razlozi za njihovu izrazitu učestalost. Njihova je česta upotreba u epskoj poeziji odraz težnje za jednostavnošću, koju epski pjevači ispunjavaju služeći se tradicionalnim obrascima epskih formula, tako da se zamjenjivanjem jedne imenice ili pridjeva drugom istosložnom imenicom ili pridjevom u tim konstrukcijama veoma lahko stvaraju formule drugog polustiha. Jednostavnost korištenja tih konstrukcija u sastavljanju stihova pogoduje učestalosti njihove upotrebe. Popis svih tih konstrukcija iz odabranog korpusa dat je u formi rječničkog članka, čija struktura uključuje naglašenu natuknicu, etimološku odrednicu, oznaku vrste riječi, leksikografsku (stilsku) odrednicu, opis značenja i primjer.

Ključne riječi: glagol (*u)činiti (se)*; imenice i pridjevi stranoga porijekla; Parry–Lordova zbirka epskih pjesama; dekomponirani predikat; semikopulativni predikat

## 1. UVOD

Bošnjačko epsko pjesništvo, pod kojim se ovdje podrazumijeva ono koje je nastajalo u bošnjačkim sredinama ne samo u Bosni nego i u Sandžaku, počelo se razvijati dolaskom Osmanlija na ove prostore uporedo s procesom primanja islama, kada se ujedno počeo stvarati etnički identitet muslimana Bosne i Sandžaka.

Najstarija pouzdana svjedočanstva o bošnjačkom epskom pjesništvu potječu iz putnih bilješki slovenskog putopisca Benedikta Kuripešića, koji je putujući do Carigrada 1530. kao tumač za latinski jezik u poslanstvu austrijskog kralja Ferdinanda zabilježio da se o junačkim djelima izvjesnog Malkošića iz Kamengrada u sjeverozapadnoj Bosni mnogo pjeva u Hrvatskoj i Bosni (Buturović 1974). Šibenski knez 1574. izvještava na italijanskom jeziku o starijim slojevima te epske tradicije, dok je o njegovanju epskih pjesama u 17. stoljeću pisao Ibrahim Pečevi, turski historičar porijeklom iz Bosne (Durić 1998). U Erlangenskom rukopisu, koji G. Gesemann, njegov prvi izdavač, smješta u prve decenije 18. stoljeća (Gezeman 1925), ima približno 50 pjesama bošnjačke provenijencije, od kojih dvadesetak čine epske pjesme (Krnjević 1969). No, sve do konca 19. stoljeća bošnjačke epske pjesme bile su objavljivane samo u zbirka kršćanske usmene tradicije, u pjesmaricama S. Milutinovića, I. F. Jukića, G. Martića i M. Šunjića, a nekoliko pjesama publicirano je i u zbirka V. S. Karadžića. Od druge polovine 19. stoljeća do početka Drugog svjetskog rata nastajao je najveći dio epskog stvaralaštva Bošnjaka. Tada su sakupljene i štampane pjesme najznačajnijih zbirki, što su, prema Lordu (1974), Hörmannov zbornik, Marjanovićeve zbirka (knjige III i IV) te *Srpskohrvatske junačke pjesme*. Prema tome, bošnjačko epsko pjesništvo kontinuirano je stvarano, u većem i manjem obimu, od prve polovine 16. stoljeća do Drugog svjetskog rata.

Proučavanje jezika tog pjesništva otpočelo je pak tek 40-ih godina 20. stoljeća. U tome je od naročitog značaja studija T. Maretića o metrici bošnjačke epike, koja je objavljena 1935. i 1936. Ta studija ujedno je prvi sistematičan osvrt na jezik epskog stvaralaštva Bošnjaka. Maretićeva *Naša narodna epika*, izdata (posthumno) 1966, u dijelovima koji se odnose na istraživanja jezika epske poezije stvarane na južnoslavenskom štokavskom području također obuhvata bošnjačku epsku tradiciju. O različitim leksičkim nanosima u tim pjesmama pisao je M. Murko 1951, a u novije vrijeme (1999) i M. Nezirović. A. Škaljić (1966) je izvore za svoje poznate *Turcizme* crpio gotovo iz svih zbirki bošnjačkog epskog pjesništva. Dosad najcjelovitija i najreprezentativnija istraživanja jezika ovog pjesništva radovi su H. Kune (iz 1978) i L. Nakaš (iz 2005). Ipak, i u ovom izabranom pregledu bavljenja jezikom epskog

pjesništva Bošnjaka upadljivo je da manjkaju jezička istraživanja jednog obilatog korpusa kakav zasigurno predstavljaju epske pjesme.

## 2. PREDMET ISTRAŽIVANJA: GLAGOL (U)ČINITI (SE) + IMENICA ILI PRIDJEV STRANOGA PORIJEKLA

Ono što kao posebnost odlikuje jezik svih zbirki bošnjačkih epskih pjesama odnosno to pjesništvo u njegovoj ukupnosti predstavlja glagolska konstrukcija sastavljena od glagola nepotpuna značenja (*u)činiti (se)* i imenice ili pridjeva stranoga porijekla. U tim je konstrukcijama s imenicom jedna glagolska leksema raščlanjena na prelazni glagol *učiniti* i imenicu koja se javlja u obliku besprijedložnog akuzativa, a predikat kojim su kao jedan stihovni član objedinjeni jeste dekomponirani. Taj se predikat definira kao „svaki dvočlani predikat konstruisan po modelu *Verbum (= glagolska kopula ili semikopulativni glagol) + Nomen deverbativum*, a sinonimičan (pa i komutabilan) sa semantički ekvivalentnim jednočlanim predikatom (predstavljenim punoznačnom glagolskom leksemom iz koje je izvedena deverbativna imenica dvočlanog predikata)”. To je definicija koju je dao još Radovanović (1977: 53), a koja je bez ikakvih suštinskih promjena našla svoje mjesto u gramatikama jezika srednjojužnoslavenskog dijasistema (Piper i dr. 2005: 44; Silić, Pranjković 2005: 292; Čirgić, Pranjković, Silić 2010: 263), pa i u gramatikama bosanskoga (Palić 2000: 368, Čedić 2004: 176–177), a u kojima se ovakav predikat naziva još opisnim i raščlanjenim. Postupak raščlanjivanja jedne punoznačne glagolske lekseme na semantički nepotpun glagol i imenicu koja je obično deverbativna i koja je u pravilu izvedena od punoznačnoga glagola naziva se dekompozicijom i jedan je od načina širenja predikata. Npr. *obaviti pregled = pregledati* ili *vršiti utjecaj = utjecati*. Dekompozicija je zapravo veoma rijetka pojava u epskoj poeziji, više je to prepoznatljiva odlika administrativnog stila (Blagus Bartolec 2017; Mešanović-Meša 2019), ali je među dekomponiranim predikatima jedini izrazito učestao onaj koji je sastavljen upravo od glagola *učiniti* i imenice.

U konstrukcijama sa glagolom (*u)činiti (se)* može doći i pridjev, tako da zajedno imaju jednu funkciju u stihovnom ustrojstvu – predikata. Takav se predikat naziva semikopulativnim, a sastoji od semikopulativnoga glagola u ličnom glagolskom obliku i leksičkog jezgra čiju poziciju popunjavaju supstantivne i adjektivne riječi (Palić 2000). Npr. *postati nestrpljiv* ili *ostati miran*.

Kako dosad nisu bile predmetom zasebnog istraživanja na primjeru epske poezije, ovaj će se rad baviti upravo tim konstrukcijama, najprije da se ustanovi u kojim

glagolskim oblicima i gramatičkim kategorijama dolazi *(u)činiti (se)* sa imenicama i pridjevima te u kojem se obliku javljaju te imenske riječi, potom da se objasni pozicija članova konstrukcije u stihu, zatim da se odredi porijeklo imenica i pridjeva kao nosilaca leksičkog značenja predikata, kao i da se konstrukcija tačno kvantificira u odabranom korpusu te, konačno, da se napravi popis (u formi rječničkog članka) svih ekscerpiranih konstrukcija iz korpusa, s ciljem da se sveobuhvatno osvijetli ta pojava karakteristična za bošnjačko epsko pjesništvo i utvrde razlozi njene visoke učestalosti.

Kao objekat istraživanja ovog rada uzete su *Srpskohrvatske junačke pjesme* iz 1953. godine.

### **3. OBJEKAT ISTRAŽIVANJA: PARRY – LORDOVA ZBIRKA EPSKIH PJESAMA**

Objekat istraživanja čine bošnjačke epske pjesme koje je sakupio Milman Parry (1902–1935), profesor klasične filologije na Harvardskom univerzitetu, a uredio i kao zbirku objavio njegov učenik i sljedbenik Albert Bates Lord (1912–1991), profesor slavenskih jezika i književnosti Harvardskog univerziteta, pod naslovom *Srpskohrvatske junačke pjesme* u Beogradu (izdanje Srpske akademije nauka) i Cambridgeu (izdanje Harvard University Pressa) 1953. godine.

Parry je sve pjesme te zbirke zabilježio u Novom Pazaru u julu i novembru 1934. snimivši ih po kazivanju magnetofonom i na gramofonskim pločama, i to od pet epskih pjevača guslara: 19 pjesama od Saliha Ugljanina, po četiri od Sulejmana Fortića i Sulejmana Makića, tri od Alije Fjuljanina i dvije od Džemila Zogića. Upravo je postupak snimanja epskih pjesama – a ne njihova zapisivanja po diktatu, što je metoda rada koju su primjenjivali sakupljači pjesama prije harvardskog dvojca (uz izdašnu pomoć svojih saradnika), a među njima najrevnosniji su bili Kosta Hörmann i Luka Marjanović – tadašnji novitet i ogroman iskorak u načinu koji je više negoli ijedan drugi dotad poznati primjer sakupljanja pjesama na terenu i njihova prepisa vodio k jednom cilju, a to je vjerodostojnost u bilježenju pjesama.

Zbirka obuhvata 32 pjesme s približno 25 hiljada stihova. Među tim pjesmama najkraća je pjesma br. 14, *Čupić Stojan*, koja je sastavljena od 51 stiha, dok je najduža pjesma br. 4, *Ropstvo Đulić Ibrahima*, koja sadrži 1.811 stihova.

U ovom radu iza primjera u uglatim zagradama navodi se podatak o rednom broju pjesme u zbirci i rednom broju koji ima izdvojeni stih u toj pjesmi. Primjerice, ako iza stiha stoji [31: 411], to podrazumijeva da je posrijedi 411. stih 31. pjesme.

## 4. GLAGOL (U)ČINITI (SE) + IMENSKA RIJEČ

### 4.1. Glagol učiniti + imenica

Perfektivni glagol *učiniti* spada u red semantički nepotpunih glagola, tako da se ne može upotrijebiti samostalno ili bi njegova takva upotreba bila obavijesno nezaokružena i necjelovita. Zato u rečeničnom ili stihovnom ustrojstvu otvara mjesto punoznačnoj, imenskoj leksemi koja onda ima ulogu leksičke dopune ili leksičkog jezgra predikata. Leksičkosemantički i gramatički čvrsto povezani, glagol *učiniti* i imenska leksema, imenica ili pridjev, popunjavaju poziciju jednog rečeničnog ili stihovnog člana – predikata. To su vezane sintagme u kojima je ovaj glagol upravni član, a imenska leksema zavisni član.

Da je veza glagola *učiniti* i imenice najupadljivija u bošnjačkoj epskoj poeziji (iako je znatna i u kršćanskoj), prvi je zamijetio Lord (1974: 73), koji navodi da su te epske formule<sup>1</sup>, sastavljene od četverosložnoga glagola slavenskog porijekla i dvosložne “turske riječi”,<sup>2</sup> „vrlo korisne u stihu, jer omogućuju šestosložnu formulu, mjesto četverosložne”. Lordovo je opažanje, kako pokazuju primjeri iz odabranog korpusa, gotovo posve tačno. Posrijedi je glagolska konstrukcija sastavljena od riječi različitog postanja: *učiniti* je glagol domaćeg, slavenskog porijekla, koji je postao od (*u-* +) prasl. \**činiti*, čiji je indoevropski korijen \**k<sup>w</sup>ei-n-*, a s obzirom na \**-n-* to je derivat od \**činь*, što je postalo od ie. \**k<sup>w</sup>ei-no-* (Derksen 2008: 89), dok je imenica skoro uvijek orijentalizam u širem i tradicionalnom smislu, što dakle ne podrazumijeva samo iskonske turske riječi nego i one koje su u bosanski preuzete posredstvom turskoga, a ustvari su arapskog i perzijskog porijekla, naprimjer *konak učiniti*.

Epskim je pjevačima ta konstrukcija itekako korisna jer na taj način jednostavno popunjavaju cijeli drugi polustih u kojem se članovi konstrukcije najuobičajenije javljaju, tj. onaj dio deseterca koji slijedi iza cezura (iza četvrtog sloga), tako da se zamjenjivanjem jedne imenice drugom istosložnom imenicom vrlo lahko stvaraju formule drugog polustiha. Težnja za jednostavnošću u toku samog izvođenja pjesme – koja se, važno je pripomenuti, izvodi pred kritičkom publikom koja ima veliki

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- 1 Epska formula definira se kao grupa riječi koja se redovno koristi pod istim metričkim uvjetima da izrazi osnovnu ideju (Lord 1990: 21).
  - 2 Lord objašnjava da se turski idiom sastoji od imeničkog orijentalizma (kao što je *dova*) kojem je dodat turski glagol etmek (*činiti, praviti*), a da je epska formula zadržala imenicu, a prevela glagol u odgovarajućem licu, broju i vremenu (Lord 1974: 73). Takvi glagolski izrazi nazivaju se polukalkovima, koji se mogu definirati kao „vrsta hibrida koji nastaje transferom jednog i reprodukcijom drugog člana kojega stranog izraza” (Turk 2001: 272).



značaj u njenom nastajanju – opća je težnja pjevača, koju ispunjavaju služeći se tradicionalnim obrascima epskih formula i upravo je to ključni uzrok visoke frekventnosti te konstrukcije u epskim pjesmama: jednostavnost korištenja istih ili sličnih jezičkih sredstava i obrazaca u sastavljanju stihova pogoduje učestalosti njihove upotrebe.

Glagolska konstrukcija sastavljena od glagola *učiniti* i imeničkog orijentalizma po semantičko-morfološkim obilježjima svojih članova (predikatski glagol je semikopulativni, imenica ima oblik akuzativa bez prijedloga) i po istoj funkciji koju zajedno popunjavaju u stihovnom ustrojstvu može se podvesti pod dekomponirani predikat, s jedinom razlikom što imenica nije izvedena od glagola, tj. nije deverbativna ili odglagolna. Ustvari je suprotno, većina glagolskih orijentalizama izvedena je od imeničkih (ali i pridjevskih) orijentalizama, npr. *konak* nije deverbativna imenica u našem jeziku, već je *konačiti* izvedeno od *konak*. Osim te razlike, po svemu drugom konstrukcija *učiniti* + imenički orijentalizam jeste dekomponirani predikat.<sup>3</sup>

Obično se, dakle, članovi te konstrukcije javljaju u ritmičko-sintaksičkom obrascu drugog polustiha 2 – 4<sup>4</sup>, pri čemu imenica prethodi glagolu. Perfektivni glagol *učiniti* može stajati u obliku: infinitiva u sastavu futura prvog, pri čemu je enklitički prezentski oblik pomoćnoga glagola *htjeti* izrečen u prvom polustihu ili je izostavljen, glagolskog pridjeva radnog u sastavu perfekta, pri čemu je enklitički prezentski oblik glagola *jesam* iskazan u prvom polustihu ili je izostavljen, aorista ili imperativa, dok je imenica u obliku besprijedložnog akuzativa obično apstraktnog značenja:

*Mi ćemo tome ćare učinjeti [11: 112]; Nego caru ćeder učineti [4: 1774]; Ta put beže<sup>5</sup> divan učinijo. [20: 187]; *I tunake dovu učinješe [6: 1470]; De smo tebe gajret učinelji! [1: 1402]; Otidite, haber učinite! [3: 1121]; Tevabije hizmet učinješe [18: 625]; Rakija mi huđum učinila [24: 592]; Bane će me itljak učineti [4: 476]; Pa sam tvrdo jemin učinijo [18: 220]; Na vezira juriš učinijo [18: 1035]; Sad će naske katal učineti [31: 984]; U planinu konak učineo. [28: 375]; Bog ga njega nalet učinijo. [23: 474]; Vid' sa kim si namaz učinijo! [2: 1169]; Te je Đuljić ničah učinijo [6: 968]; Šta**

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3 Uostalom imenica u sastavu dekomponiranog predikata obično je (dakle ne i uvijek) glagolska i često je (dakle ne i bez izuzetka) izvedena od punoznačnoga glagola (Silić, Pranjković 2005; Čirgić, Silić, Pranjković 2010).

4 Obrazac 2 – 4 jedan je od triju najčešćih obrazaca drugog polustiha (druga dva jesu 4 – 2 i 3 – 3) (Lord 1990: 85).

5 Upotreba vokativa umjesto nominativa imenica koje označavaju imena, prezimena i titule prepoznatljiva je odlika epskih pjesama (Maretić 1966; Kuna 1978; Nakaš 2005). Na taj način dobije se slog više u stihu, tako da je ta upotreba metrički uvjetovana.

*je devljet peškeš učinijo* [13: 156]; *Mujo mu je seljam učineo* [29: 369]; *Pa ga zemljom surgun učinijo* [15: 194]; *Veliki je šenluk učinijo.* [28: 938]; *E sve kulu tamir učinilji.* [4: 86]; *Namaz akšam tećmil učinila.* [23: 505]; *Ćesar nama tembih učinijo* [1: 1180]; *A ko jim je zulum učinijo.* [27: 37].

Iz navedenih stihova može se uočiti da dekomponirani predikati u epskoj poeziji nastaju raščlanjivanjem prostoga glagolskog predikata. Međutim, u korpusu ima i primjera dekompozicije punoznačnih glagolskih leksema u sastavu složenoga glagolskog predikata, ali je njihova frekventnost znatno niža. Oblici modalnih i faznih glagola u tim primjerima, a to su obično *moći* i *stati* (u značenju *početi*), strukturno ne pripadaju drugom polustihu, već se iskazuju u prvom polustihu:

*Moreš li mi hizmet učiniti?* [21: 53]; *Moreš, sine, hizmet učiniti* [21: 65]; *Moš' li, Mujo, zulum učinjeti* [16: 146];

*E stade ga divan učiniti.* [2: 1101]; *Pa him stade divan učinjeti* [2: 1141]; *Stade ga divan učinjeti.* [12: 100]; *Pa stadeh i divan učinjeti.* [17: 582].

Među dekomponiranim predikatima mogu se razlikovati oni koji su zamjenjivi monoleksemskim glagolima istoga značenja tvorbena povezanim sa imenicom kao nosiocem leksičkog značenja predikata od onih koji nisu (Palić 2000; Silić, Pranjковиć 2005). U grupu prvih i znatno brojnijih koji se susreću u korpusu, a u kojima je dakle punoznačni glagol izveden od imenice orijentalnog porijekla, spadaju npr. *divan činiti = divaniti, gajret činiti = gajretiti, haber učiniti = nahaberiti, hizmet činiti = hizmetiti, juriš činiti = jurišati, konak (u)činiti = konačiti, učiniti selam = poselamiti, surgun učiniti = surgunisati, šenluk činiti = šenlučiti, zulum činiti = zulumčariti*, dok se u grupu drugih ubrajaju oni koji nemaju semantičko-tvorbeni potencijal zamjene jednom istoznačnom glagolskom leksemom, npr. *itlak (u)činiti, nalet (u)činiti*. Od svih dekomponiranih predikata zamjenjivih jednom glagolskom leksemom u Parry – Lordovoj zbirci potvrda ima samo za *dževabiti, halaliti (se), konačiti, peškešiti i teslimiti*, a svi su ti glagoli izvedeni od imenica orijentalnog porijekla dodavanjem sufiksa *-iti*:

*Valja caru đevab đevabiti* [4: 1759]; *Ko će caru đevab đevabiti?* [19: 1029];<sup>6</sup> *Hod', Selime, da se halalimo!* [28: 101]; *I sad hodi da se halalimo!* [28: 136]; *Tu je Dojčić*

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6 Da se epske formule stvaraju zamjenjivanjem jedne riječi drugom istosložnom riječju eklatantno oprimjeruje stih *Ko će caru đevab učiniti?* [18: 1031], u kojem je razlika u odnosu na gore ekscerpirani stih svedena isključivo na glagol: *učiniti – dževabiti*, dok je ostatak stihova istovjetan.

*konak konačijo*. [13: 118]; *I tunake konak konačiše* [15: 324]; *I Haljilu peškeš peškešao*. [13: 156]; *Da teslimim careva fermana?*[1: 150]; *Da devljetu ključé tesljimimo*. [1: 281].

Ovaj ograničeni opseg upotrebe monoleksemskih glagola umjesto dekomponiranih predikata ujedno je pokazatelj koliko je konstrukcija *učiniti* + imenica snažno inkorporirana u jezik epske poezije kao njegovo posebno stilsko-metričko obilježje.

Napomena:

U Parry-Lordovoj zbirci upotrebljava se i neprelazni (povratni) glagol *učiniti se*, i to u konstrukciji s imenicom u besprijedložnom akuzativu: *učiniti se* + imenica. Takva je upotreba odraz umješnosti epskih pjevača da oblikuju stihove ili dijelove stihova po uzoru na ustaljene obrasce formula kakav je *učiniti* + imenica. Primjeri su tih konstrukcija, u kojima *se* dolazi u prvom polustihu, veoma rijetki:

*S Alijom sehalal učiniše*. [3: 989]; *Što se bego pišman učinjeo*. [18: 586]<sup>7</sup>.

## 4.2. Glagol *učiniti (se)* + pridjev

Pojava koja dosada nije zamijećena u istraživanju jezika bošnjačke epske poezije ogleda se u tome da ulogu nosioca leksičkog jezgra konstrukcije s glagolom *učiniti* u ličnom glagolskom obliku ima i pridjev, dakle ne samo imenica. Pridjev u toj ulozi dolazi rjeđe negoli imenica. Članovi te konstrukcije najuobičajenije dolaze u drugom polustihu izgrađenom prema istovjetnom ritmičko-sintaksičkom obrascu u kojem glagol *učiniti* stoji s imenicom: 2 – 4, tako da se na jednostavan način stvaraju formule drugog polustiha – zamjenjivanjem jednog dvosložnog pridjeva drugim istosložnim pridjevom. Korištenje istih, tradicionalnih obrazaca u konstrukciji glagola i s imenicom i s pridjevom način je na koji epski pjevač ujedno sebi olakšava sastavljanje i udovoljava zahtjevima brzog sastavljanja pjesme, koja – važno je potertati – nastaje u trenutku samog izvođenja, tako da „brzina sastavljanja prilikom izvođenja prisiljava ga da upotrebljava te tradicionalne elemente” (Lord 1990: 22).

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7 *Pišman se učiniti* znači *pokajati se*, a *pišmaniti se – kajati se* (Škaljić 1966: 519), a ne, recimo, *učiniti se pokajnikom*. Stoga je riječ o perifraznim konstrukcijama u službi dekomponiranog predikata, a ne o semikopulativnom predikatu: vezom glagola i imenice označava se radnja, tj. imenica ovdje nije dopuna kojom se obilježava šta se pripisuje glagolu nepotpuna značenja (što bi onda bio semikopulativni, a ne dekomponirani predikat).

Perfektivni glagol u tim konstrukcijama može biti neprelazni (povratni) (*učiniti se*) i prelazni (*učiniti*), dok je pridjev bez izuzetka orijentalnog porijekla, a u stihovnom ustrojstvu zajedno vrše službu semikopulativnog predikata. Međutim, iako se gramatičkim pravilima (Palić 2000; Silić, Pranjković 2005; Čirgić, Pranjković, Silić 2010) propisuje da imenske riječi uz neprelazne glagole dolaze u obliku nominativa ili instrumentala bez prijedloga, a uz prelazne u obliku besprijedložnog instrumentala ili prijedložnog akuzativa,<sup>8</sup> korišteni korpus pokazuje da su svi pridjevi u ulozi dopune kojom se obilježava leksičko značenje tog predikata bez svojstva promjene: oni su indeklinabilni, što je pokazatelj njihova stranoga porijekla, naprimjer: *gajb (se) učiniti: Hrtovi se gajip učinješe*. [16: 30].

Upotreba takvih konstrukcija (indeklinabilni dvosložni pridjev orijentalnog porijekla + *učiniti*), koje odstupaju od uobičajenih jezičkih uzusa, zapravo je utemeljena na izgrađivanju drugog polustiha po uzoru na ustaljene i česte obrasce u epskoj poeziji, a to su ovdje tradicionalni obrasci dekomponiranog predikata: dvosložna imenica orijentalnog porijekla + *učiniti*, tako da se oko glagola *učiniti* stvaraju “grozdovi formula” (Lord 1990: 113) kao karakteristično obilježje usmenog epskog stila, dok su epske formule u koje su inkorporirani orijentalizmi tako adaptirane da odražavaju kulturnu, društvenu, vjersku i političku stvarnost svoga vremena (Lord 1974; Nakaš 2005). Gramatiku koja iziskuje versifikaciju i koja je zasnovana na formuli, a u okviru koje se susreću konstrukcije koje odstupaju od uobičajenoga govornog jezika, Lord (1990) naziva specijaliziranom poetskom gramatikom – gramatikom paratakse i često upotrebljivanih i korisnih fraza.

Perfektivni neprelazni glagol *učiniti se* može imati oblik aorista, pri čemu je *se* izrečeno u prvom polustihu, ili glagolskog pridjeva radnog u sastavu perfekta, kada *se* dolazi u prvom polustihu ili ima besložni oblik u drugom polustihu,<sup>9</sup> a enklitički prezentski oblik glagola *jesam* (ako to nije glagolska enklitika *je*) iskazan je u prvom polustihu ili je izostavljen. Ovi su primjeri češći u korpusu. Naprimjer:

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8 Da leksičko jezgro semikopulativnog predikata može doći u obliku i drugih padeža ili istih padeža u konstrukciji s drugim veznicima, potvrđuju Piper i dr. (2005) koji, podvodeći pod semikopulativne glagole i neke koji se ne navode u gore spomenutim gramatikama, izdvajaju i sljedeće konstrukcije: nominativ s veznikom kao uz semikopulativne glagole tipa *zaposliti se, raditi* i plasirati se u “idiomatizovanoj strukturi” sa značenjem “u svojstvu, u rangu”, genitiv s prijedlogom *od* uz semikopulativne glagole tipa *sastojati se, nastati* i *zavisiti*, slobodni dativ u funkciji semantičke dopune uz semikopulativne glagole tipa *pripadati, prisustvovati* ili *podleći*, te lokativ s prijedlogom *na* uz semikopulativne glagole tipa *počivati, zasnivati se, temeljiti se* i *ostajati*.

9 Glagolska se enklitika *je* ovdje, uostalom kao i u književnom jeziku, izostavlja iza *se*.

*Pa to reće, gajib s*<sup>10</sup> *učinela*. [24: 647]; *Je lj' se kula harap učinela* [6: 169]; *E! Hel se labud harum jučinijo!* [20: 480]; *Kad se raja hasi učinela* [26: 74]; *Za svate se hazur učinjeo* [3: 1187]; *Kad se Bosna rahat učinela* [2: 720]; *Taman su serahat učinili* [18: 778]; *Na tome se razi učineše*. [30: 430]; *Ha na tome razi s*<sup>11</sup> *učinelji* [30: 435]; *Kad se oni sačin učineli* [31: 846].

Perfektivni prelazni glagol *učiniti* može stajati u obliku aorista ili infinitiva u sastavu futura prvog, pri čemu je enklitički prezentski oblik pomoćnoga glagola *htjeti* izrečen u prvom polustihu. Ovi su primjeri rjeđi u korpusu. Naprimjer:

*Nastasiju hairlji*<sup>12</sup> *učinješe*. [11: 759]; *Blagom ću ga ihja učiniti*. [7: 14]; *Sad će naske rezilj učinjeti*. [1: 652].

Napomena:

Svi ti predikati po strukturnom obrascu spadaju u semikopulativne predikate: semikopulativni glagol + nepromjenjivi pridjev (pridjev  $\emptyset$ -vrste). Međutim, s jedne strane, ovdje je važno potcrtati da je većina tih predikata iz korpusa zamjenjiva jednom punoznačnom glagolskom leksemom istoga značenja koja je u tvorbenoj vezi s pridjevom, npr.: *harab (se) učiniti = oharabiti (se)*, *harun (se) učiniti = uharuniti (se)*, *hasi / asi (se) učiniti = pohasiti / poasiti (se)*, *hazur (se) učiniti = uhazuriti (se)*, *rahat (se) učiniti = urahatiti (se)*, *razrahatiti (se)*, *rezilj učiniti = ureziliti*, *sačin (se) učiniti = usačiniti (se)*. (Primjera takvih punoznačnih glagolskih leksema nema u korpusu.) Zamjenjivanje članova predikata jednom istoznačnom glagolskom leksemom, što bi te konstrukcije podvelo pod dekomponirane predikate, proistječe iz same tvorbe tog sloja stranih riječi s obzirom na to da su svi iznad navedeni glagolski orijentalizmi izvedeni od pridjevskih orijentalizama, u čemu se ustvari ogleda sličnost u odnosu na dekomponirane predikate s imeničkim orijentalizmom kao neglagolskom leksemom koji su zamjenjivi istoznačnim glagolskim orijentalizmima koji se izvode od imeničkih orijentalizama. Također, iz navedenog proizlazi da konstrukcija *(u)činiti (se) + pridjev* ima isto značenje kao i punoznačna glagolska leksema, a to je značenje radnje. S druge strane, semikopulativni predikati nisu zamjenjivi jednom glagolskom leksemom istoga značenja. Glagol je u tim

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10 Kako drugi polustih ne bi imao previše slogova, upotrijebljen je poetski besložni oblik od *se (s)*.

11 Ista napomena

12 Ovaj je primjer manji izuzetak jer je pridjev upotrebljen u trosložnom (a ne dvosložnom) obliku, ali strukturno pripada drugom polustihu.

predikatima semikopulativni, a pridjev kao nosilac leksičkog jezgra predikata je u službi dopune „kojom će se obilježiti temeljno leksičko značenje predikata (tj. šta se pripisuje)” (Palić 2000: 367), tako da konstrukcija *(u)činiti (se) + pridjev* ima značenje “identifikacije ili atribucije” (Vasilj, Žagmešter, Nazalević Čučević 2022: 45). Međutim, to značenje – važno je naglasiti – nemaju glagolske konstrukcije s pridjevom koje su zamjenjive jednim punoznačnim glagolom, a takve su većinski zastupljene u korpusu.

Iako se po razlaganju glagola na sastavne dijelove i po značenju ti predikati mogu odrediti kao dekomponirani, samo zbog toga što je nosilac leksičkog značenja predikata *imenica*, a ne *pridjev*, prema definiciji koju je dao Radovanović, ovdje se takvi predikati, s obzirom na njihov strukturni obrazac, ubrajaju u semikopulativne.<sup>13</sup>

### 4.3. Ostale pozicije članova konstrukcije unutar stihovnog ustrojstva

Kako se na temelju gore navedenih primjera može uočiti, glagolska konstrukcija sastavljena od *učiniti* i imenice ili pridjeva stranoga porijekla najuobičajenije popunjava cijeli drugi polustih. Međutim, to nije jedina pozicija koju imaju članovi te konstrukcije u stihu: mogu biti smješteni u prvom polustihu ili raspoređeni tako da jedan član stoji u jednome, a drugi član u drugom polustihu. Odstupanja od ustaljenog smještanja te konstrukcije u drugi polustih motivirana su metričkim ili stilskim razlozima.

Kada ta konstrukcija popunjava cijeli prvi polustih, to onda podrazumijeva da glagol mora biti izrečen u dvosložnom obliku, zato što imenice i pridjevi stranoga porijekla imaju dvosložan oblik, tako da je strukturni obrazac 2 – 2<sup>14</sup>. Kako se nijedan od oblika perfektivnoga glagola (*učiniti*) ne uklapa u taj obrazac, jer je svaki od tih oblika čini više od dva sloga, takva metrička zadatost nameće iskazivanje nekog od oblika glagola imperfektivnog vida (*činiti*) u prvom polustihu. U Parry–Lordovoj zbirci pjesama glagol *činiti* u navedenom obrascu ima oblik imperativa ili prezenta,

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13 Silić i Pranjaković (2005: 188) navode da „u vezi s konstrukcijama u kojima se javljaju perifrazni glagoli katkada se govori o dekomponiranju (tj. rastavljanju na sastavne dijelove) predikata, što znači da se pojedini glagoli mogu ‘rastaviti’ na glagolski dio (s uopćenim značenjem radnje) i imenski dio”. Imenski dio ovdje ne podrazumijeva samo imenice nego i imenske riječi, pa i pridjeve. Na ovaj način definiran, dekomponirani predikat uključivao bi većinu primjera spoja glagola (*u)činiti (se)* i pridjeva iz odabranog korpusa. Stoga bi ovdje navedeni primjeri mogli biti osnova da se postave drugačiji kriteriji za jasnije razlikovanje predikata, pri čemu bi među prvima za dekomponirani predikat to bila mogućnost zamjenjivanja članova predikata – bilo da je neglagolska leksema imenica ili pridjev – jednom glagolskom leksemom istoga značenja, a koja je u tvorbenoj vezi s imenskom riječi.

14 Obrazac 2 – 2 jedan je od triju najčešćih obrazaca prvog polustiha (druga dva jesu 1 – 3 i 4) (Lord 1990: 84).

dok je drugi član obrasca beziznimno imenica (dakle ne i pridjev) stranoga porijekla: *ćara (ćare)*, *divan*, *gajret*, *hizmet (izmet)*, *sabur* i *šenluk*. U nekim primjerima glagol prethodi imenici, a u nekima je obrnuto:

*Ćini ćare, jod Zadara bane!* [4: 344]; *Ćini ćare, dilber Nastasija!* [11: 525]; *Ćini ćare, izbavi ni konje* [17: 598]; *Ćini ćare kako znaš, serdare!* [18: 995]; *Ćini ćare tvome sibijanu!* [27: 155]; *Ćini ćare sibijanu tvome* [28: 44]; *Divan ċini Fata na nogama.* [1: 1565]; *Gajret ċin'te da him udarimo!* [19: 562]; *Hizmet ċine'ju mutvak odaju* [24: 861]; *Hizmet ċine' dvanajes godina* [24: 862]; *Sabur ċini dok oprimum vojsku* [18: 1040]; *Šenluk ċini jod Zadara bane.* [4: 13]; *Šenluk ċini od Zadara bane* [5: 5]; *Šenluk ċini od Zadara bane* [6: 5].<sup>15</sup>

Pored toga što mogu zajedno zauzimati cijeli prvi polustih, imperfektivni glagol *činiti* u dvosložnom obliku i dvosložni oblik imenice stranoga porijekla javljaju se, kako korpus pokazuje, u različitim polustihovima bilo da *činiti*, redovno u 3. l. jd. prezenta, stoji na početku prvoga, a imenica na početku drugog polustiha, ili obrnuto – imenica na početku prvoga, a glagol na početku drugog polustiha, tako da se iskazuju odvojeno u stihu (između njih je obično neka dvosložna riječ), bilo da *činiti*, u obliku 3. l. mn. prezenta, dolazi na kraju prvoga, a imenica na početku drugog polustiha, ili obrnuto – imenica na kraju prvoga, a glagol na početku drugog polustiha, tako da se izriču u nizu (a ne odvojeno) u stihu. Prema tome, to su gramatički i metrički istovjetni primjeri kao u obrascu 2 – 2, a razlika se jedino svodi na red riječi u stihu. Takav neuobičajeni red riječi, koji je povezan s „težnjom za uspostavljenjem cezure iza četvrtog sloga” (Nakaš 2005: 122), stoga ima veoma izraženu stilsku vrijednost. Glagol *činiti* kao prvi član te konstrukcije ima, dakle, oblik prezenta, a među imenicama stranoga porijekla kao drugi član dolaze *hizmet (izmet)*, *dova* i *haber*, npr:

*Ćini lj' staroj hizmet u odaji?* [4: 61, 4: 603, 4: 925]; *Ćini l' staroj hizmet u odaji* [6: 166]; *Ćini lj' staroj hizmet u ođaku* [4: 880]; *Ćini lj' staroj hizmet do ođaka?* [5: 39]; *Izmet staroj ċini u odaji* [6: 205];

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15 Glagol *činiti* iz metričkih razloga u prvom polustihu može biti upotrebljen i u jednosložnom obliku kada mu prethodi neka od jednosložnih riječi. Tada je strukturni obrazac prvog polustiha 1 – 1 – 2, tako da glagolska konstrukcija može stajati u prvom polustihu i uz još neku riječ. Međutim, takvi primjeri odudaraju od ustaljene upotrebe ove konstrukcije, stoga ih je ograničen broj, svega dva u cjelokupnoj zbirci:  
*Halj' ċin' ćare, alj' ni danas kaži* [30: 61]; *Halj' ċin' ćare, alj' ne posiječi* [32: 126].



*Neka haber cinu<sup>16</sup> devojkama [5: 492]; Pa sve cinu dovu u odaju.[17: 776].*

U neuobičajenom, stilski obilježenom redu riječi u stihu stoje članovi te konstrukcije i kada je glagol perfektivnog vida (*učiniti*). Iskazivanje glagola *učiniti* i imenice ili pridjeva u različitim polustihovima na primjerima iz Parry–Lordove zbirke uglavnom obuhvata tri egzemplarna modela: imenica ili pridjev izriče se na početku prvoga, a glagol na kraju drugog polustiha; imenica dolazi na kraju prvoga, a glagol na kraju drugog polustiha; imenica se nalazi na kraju prvoga, a glagol na početku drugog polustiha ili obrnuto – glagol se javlja na kraju prvoga, a imenica na početku drugog polustiha, tako da ovdje članovi konstrukcije, u odnosu na prethodna dva modela, ne stoje odvojeno u stihu, već u različitim polustihovima. U navedenim modelima glagol *učiniti* dolazi u obliku infinitiva (u sastavu futura prvog), glagolskog pridjeva radnog u jedninskom obliku (u sastavu perfekta ili potencijala prvog) ili imperativa u 2. l. jd., dok ulogu leksičkog jezgra imaju imenice *derman*, *gazap*, *halal*, *hila* (*hinla*), *hizmet* (*izmet*), *juriš*, *katul* (*katal*), *nalet*, *selam* (*seljam*) i *tembih* ili pridjevi *hasi/asi* i *ihja*:

*Gazap će ne svija učineti.* [31: 250]; *Hasi mu se narod učinio* [24: 31]; *Hasi mu se narod učinijo* [25: 21]; *Hizmet si mi, sine, jučinijo.* [23: 719]; *Ihja bi ga parom učinijela* [24: 445]; *Katal ću te kaže, učiniti.* [27: 72]; *Nalet care Muja j učinijo* [22: 747]; *Seljam ti je Đano učinejo* [27: 560];

*Ko će derman caru učinjeti?* [15: 170]; *I halalu*<sup>17</sup> *dobar učinijo* [23: 718]; *Što si hinlu mene učinela?* [31: 938]; *Jedno juriš pa je učinela.* [31: 956]; *Sad je juriš hajduk učinejo.* [32: 245]; *Bog mu katal pleme jučinijo.* [23: 472];

*Jedan derman učini Đuljiću.* [4: 264]; *Jedan derman učini mi, bane!* [5: 133]; *Jedan derman učini mi, bane!* [6: 361]; *Ti učini tembih na družinu* [6: 1202].

Iskazivanje članova konstrukcije kako u drugom polustihu, što je najuobičajenije, tako i u prvom polustihu ili u različitim polustihovima (bilo u nizu ili odvojeno u stihu), što je rjeđe, posvjedočuje upotrebu različitih formi iste usmene pjevačke tehnike kojom se služe epski pjevači kako bi sastavljali stihove prema ustaljenim obrascima. Takva upotreba izvire iz, s jedne strane, potrebe za jednostavnošću, budući da dugo pjevanje u strogoj deseteračkoj strukturi stiha iziskuje korištenje tradicionalnih (već postojećih, uobičajenih i ustaljenih) obrazaca epskih formula te,

16 Nastavak -u u 3. l. mn. prezenta specifična je govorna crta područja Sandžaka.

17 Gramatički nepravilan, oblik *halalu* umjesto *halal* metrički je uvjetovan.



s druge strane, opće težnje epskih pjevača da izbjegnu uzastopna ponavljanja u rasporedu riječi u stihu pri izricanju istih veza među riječima, kako bi i na taj način privukli i održali pažnju kritičke slušalačke publike, koja ima važnu ulogu u nastajanju pjesme, a da pri svemu tome izlože događaje i radnju u jednu misaonu zaokruženu cjelinu.

## 5. PORIJEKLO IMENICA I PRIDJEVA KAO NOSILACA LEKSIČKOG ZNAČENJA KONSTRUKCIJE

Ranije u radu već je spomenuto kako je Lord ustvrdio da u konstrukcijama s glagolom (*u)činiti (se)* dolaze “turske riječi”, tj. one koje se tradicionalno nazivaju orijentalizmima. Budući da je jedan od zadataka ovoga rada da se odrede imenice i pridjevi po porijeklu, ovdje će se preispitati ta tvrdnja, s ciljem da se ustanovi da li među imenskim riječima ima i onih drugačijeg porijekla od onog što Lord navodi.

Pridjevi i imenice stranoga porijekla, koji su nosioci leksičkog značenja predikata, različitog su postanja. To su turcizmi arapskog porijekla (riječi arapskog porijekla u bosanski preuzete posredstvom turskoga), turcizmi perzijskog porijekla (riječi perzijskog porijekla u bosanski preuzete posredstvom turskoga), turcizmi (iskonske turske riječi) te riječi iz albanskoga i italijanskog jezika, kao i mješovite tvorenice. Među tim riječima najbrojniji su turcizmi arapskog porijekla. Ima ih 41, tako da od ukupnog broja riječi stranoga porijekla (i imenica i pridjeva) kao nosilaca leksičkog značenja predikata, a to je 58, gotovo 71% otpada upravo na te riječi.

Kako bi se odredilo na šta se značenjski odnose, korisno je imeničke turcizme arapskog porijekla, kojih je 31, klasificirati prema tematskim poljima. Uvjerljivo najveći broj tih riječi zastupljen je u tematskom polju *apstraktne imenice*: *aman*, *ćeder*, *ćeif*, *dava*, *dever* (*devar*), *dževab* (*đevab*), *gajret*, *gazap*, *haber*, *halal*, *hatar*, *hila* (*hinla*), *hizmet* (*izmet*), *hućum* (*hućum*), *hudžum* (*hućum*), *itlak* (*itljak*), *jemin*, *katul* (*katal*), *nalet*, *nićah*, *sabur*, *tamir*, *tekmil* (*tećmil*), *tembih*, *teslim* (*tesljim*), *tuhmet* (*tuhme*) i *zulum*. Znatno je manje riječi koje pripadaju tematskom polju *islamski vjerski izrazi i pojmovi*, a to su *dova* i *selam* (*seljam*). Tematsko polje *karakteristična svojstva ljudi* obuhvata svega jednu riječ, a to je *ašik* (*hašik*), dok se za *devam* ne može posve sigurno ustanoviti njeno značenje. Preostali dio čine pridjevski turcizmi arapskog porijekla, kojih je 10: *gajb* (*gajib*, *gajip*), *harab/harap*, *harun* (*harum*), *hasi/asi*, *hazur*, *ihja*, *rahat*, *razi*, *rezil* (*rezilj*), *saćin*. Važno je potcrtati da riječi iz te najmnogobrojnije grupe ne pripadaju standardnom bosanskom jeziku, u kojem postoje odgovarajući sinonimi obično domaćeg, slavenskog porijekla koji

se uzimaju kao preporučena ili prihvatljiva leksika, nego supstandardu, bilo da se određuju kao stilski i ekspresivno markirana leksika, bilo da je upotreba tih riječi anahronična (zastarjelice). Izuzetak od navedenoga ograničen je na islamske vjerske izraze i pojmove koji su uglavnom nezamjenjivi u leksici bosanskog jezika: *dova* i *selam* (*seljam*).

Po brojnosti na drugo mjesto dolaze turcizmi perzijskog porijekla, kojih ima 10, što je približno 17%, i koji zajedno sa turcizmima arapskog porijekla u najvećoj mjeri popunjavaju mjesto nosioca leksičkog značenja predikata. Većinom su to riječi koje prema tematskom polju, uostalom kao i turcizmi arapskog porijekla, spadaju u *apstraktne imenice*: *avaz* (*havaz*), *ćara* (*ćare*), *derman*, *divan*, *đerdek* (u upotrebljenom prenesenom, metonimijskom značenju u pjesmi), *namaz* i *peškeš*. Preostali turcizmi perzijskog porijekla mogli bi se podvesti pod tematska polja *novac i plaćanje*: *bakšiš*, zatim *poslovni odnosi*: *ćirak* (*ćirak*), kao i *različita emotivna stanja*: *pišman*. Gotovo sve riječi i iz te grupe objedinjuje to što se odlikuju ekspresivnošću odnosno što su to zastarjele riječi. Jedina je iznimka *namaz*, riječ koja pripada bosanskom standardnom jeziku, budući da za nju nema odgovarajućeg jednoleksemskog ekvivalenta domaćeg, bosanskog porijekla.

Kao nosioci leksičkog značenja predikata rijetko se javljaju riječi drugačijeg postajanja. Takvih je riječi u korpusu ukupno sedam, od čega su tri riječi iskonske turske, a to su imenice *juriš*, *konak* i *surgun*, dok su dvije riječi mješovite tvorenice, koje su nastale derivacijom i u bosanski preuzete posredstvom turskoga: jedna je arapskog-turskog porijekla, a to je pridjev *hairli* (*hairlji*) (< tur. *hayırlı* < ar. *ḥayr* i tur. suf. *-li*), a druga je perzijsko-turskog porijekla, a to je imenica *šenluk* (< tur. *şenlik* < perz. *šang* i tur. suf. *-lik*). Da nosioci leksičkog značenja nisu samo iskonske turske riječi niti one koje su preuzete posredstvom turskoga, potvrđuju, istina, samo po jedan imenički italijanizam *pat* (*pata*) i jedna imenica albanskog porijekla, a to je *besa*, koja, pored toga, posvjedočuje utjecaj leksičkih elemenata susjednog albanskog jezičkog sistema na novopazarski poddijalekat sandžačkog dijalekta kao područje nastanka pjesama odabranog korpusa.

Prema tome, rezultati analize imenica i pridjeva po porijeklu potvrđuju Lordovo zapažanje kako su te riječi preuzete posredstvom turskoga ili su iskonske turske riječi. Međutim, po uzoru na konstrukcije s riječima orijentalnog porijekla pjevači upotrebljavaju i riječi koje su drukčijeg postajanja, tako da se kao nosioci leksičkog značenja pojavljuju riječi albanskog i italijanskog porijekla, ali je njihova upotreba izrazito niske frekvencije.<sup>18</sup>

18 U Parry–Lordovoj zbirci ima primjera u kojima u konstrukciji uz glagol *učiniti* stoje dvosložne imenske riječi

## 6. FREKVENTNOST KONSTRUKCIJE

U Parry – Lordovoj zbirci epskih pjesama ima ukupno 58<sup>19</sup> riječi stranoga porijekla koje dolaze zajedno s glagolom *(u)činiti (se)*, od toga 47 imenica i 11 pridjeva. Kako posuđivanju u jeziku uglavnom prethodi materijalno i duhovno posuđivanje kao rezultat dodira dviju kultura i civilizacija, prvo se preuzimaju novi predmeti, pojmovi i pojave, pa onda, zajedno s njima, i riječi koje ih imenuju, tako da su u tim okolnostima među posuđenicama najbrojnije imenice (Vajzović 1999). Stoga je sasvim očekivano što među imenskim riječima kao neglagolskim leksemama u sastavu tih konstrukcija ima više imenica negoli pridjeva.

Te su glagolske konstrukcije različite frekventnosti. Glagol *(u)činiti (se)* jedanput dolazi s riječima *aman, avaz (havaz), bakšiš, besa, čirak (ćirak), devam, dever (devar), dževab (đevab), gazap, hairli (hairlji), hatar, sabur, sačin i tuhmet (tuhme)*, dvaput s *ćeder, đerdek, gajb (gajib, gajip), harab/harap, harun (harum), konak, rezil (rezilj) i teslim (tesljim)*, triput s *ćeif, gajret, hućum (huđum), hudžum (huđum), itlak (itljak), peškeš, tamir i teknil (tećmil)*, četiri puta s *dava, ihja, pišman i selam (seljam)*, pet puta s *halal, hazur i hila (hinla)*, šest puta s *namaz, pat (pata) i razi*, sedam puta s *ašik (hašik), derman, rahat i šenluk*, osam puta s *hasi/asi, tembih i zulum*, 10 puta s *dova*, 11 puta s *sjemin, nalet (naljet) i surgun*, 15 puta s *haber*, 16 puta s *divan i nićah*, 17 puta s *ćara (ćare)*, 21 put s *juriš*, 24 puta s *katul (katal) i 35 puta shizmet (izmet)*.

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slavenskog porijekla. Takva konstrukcija također dolazi u drugom polustihu obrasca 2 – 4 i izgrađuje se po uzoru na konstrukciju *učiniti + imenica ili pridjev orijentalnog porijekla*. Ima ih veoma malo u korpusu: *Na Haljila viku učinijo* [6: 845]; *Ondar beže viku učinijo* [21: 202]; *Nego caru štetu učinjeti* [6: 1419]; *Te se Mujo sljijep učinijo*. [13: 332].

19 U ovaj broj nije uračunata konstrukcija s riječi *surluk*: *Surluk čini crnjo na planinu*. [32: 219]. U ovdje korištenim etimološkim priručnicima i rječnicima nema te riječi, koja se javlja u jednoj, 32. pjesmi zbirke, i to dvaput, tako da nedostaje gramatički i značenjski opis koji se daje uz riječi. Iz tog razloga riječ nije uzeta u analizu. Međutim, s obzirom na završetak riječi (turski sufix *-luk*) može se osnovano pretpostaviti kako je ta riječ imenica apstraktnog značenja, što bi i prema upotrebi u konstrukcijama s glagolom *(u)činiti (se)* bilo i očekivano jer su imenice kao nosioci leksičkog značenja predikata većinom apstraktne.

Tabelarni prikaz podataka o frekventnosti te glagolske konstrukcije dat je u nastavku.

Frekventnost upotrebe (u)činiti (se) + imenica ili pridjev stranoga porijekla		
	imenica ili pridjev stranoga porijekla	učestalost pojavljivanja
(u)či niti (se)	<i>aman, avaz (havaz), bakšiš, besa, čirak (ćirak), devam, dever (devar), dževab (đevab), gazap, hairli (hairlji), hatar, sabur, sačin i tuhmet (tuhme)</i>	1
	<i>čeder, đerdek, gajb (gajib, gajip), harab / harap, harun (harum), konak, rezil (rezilj) i teslim (tesljim)</i>	2
	<i>čEIF, gajret, hućum (huđum), hudžum (huđum), itlak (itljak), peškeš, tamir i teknil (tećmil)</i>	3
	<i>dava, ihja, pišman i selam (seljam)</i>	4
	<i>halal, hazur i hila (hinla)</i>	5
	<i>namaz, pat (pata) i razi</i>	6
	<i>ašik (hašik), derman, rahat i šenluk</i>	7
	<i>has / asi, tembih i zulum</i>	8
	<i>dova</i>	10
	<i>jemin, nalet (naljet) i surgun</i>	11
	<i>haber</i>	15
	<i>divan, nićah</i>	16
	<i>ćara (ćare)</i>	17
	<i>juriš</i>	21
	<i>katul (katal)</i>	24
<i>hizmet (izmet)</i>	35	

Ukupan broj glagolskih konstrukcija sastavljenih od (u)činiti (se) i imenice ili pridjeva stranoga porijekla, dakle kada se uračunaju u to sva ponavljanja, jeste 342. To znači da se od ukupnog broja stihova u Parry – Lordovoj zbirci, a to je oko 25 hiljada stihova, u 342 stiha javlja ta konstrukcija. Taj je podatak uvjerljiv dokaz kako su predmetne glagolske konstrukcije prema kriteriju frekventnosti svojstvene bošnjačkoj epskoj poeziji, barem na primjeru zbirke iz 1953. godine.

Razlike u upotrebi jednih imenica i pridjeva u odnosu na druge imenice i pridjeve stranoga porijekla uz glagol (u)činiti (se) izvire prevashodno iz tematsko-motivskog okvira same epske pjesme ili nekih njenih posebnosti, a djelimično i iz umješnosti epskih pjevača da upotrebljavaju te konstrukcije u toku izvođenja pjesme. U tom svjetlu valja razmotriti tri najučestalije konstrukcije, a to su one sa imenicama *juriš*, *katul (katal)* i *hizmet (izmet)*. Kako se u epskim pjesmama pjeva obično o bojevima između dviju suprotstavljenih strana ili vojski odnosno o borbama i sukobima epskih likova, epskih junaka i epskih neprijatelja, tako se glagolskom konstrukcijom *juriš učiniti* označava početak borbe ili sukoba, dok se glagolskom konstrukcijom *katul (katal) učiniti* označava ishod tih borbi ili sukoba obilježen, dakle, smaknućem nekog od epskih likova, često epskog neprijatelja. Učestala upotreba glagolske konstrukcije *hizmet (izmet) (u)činiti* povezana je sa stavljanjem u službu cara kao pomoć u

bojevima suprotstavljenih strana, tako da epski likovi i junaci u pjesmama odabranog korpusa hizmet čine caru, s jedne strane, kao i sa stajanjem na usluzi ženskim likovima u pjesmama, tačnije majci, budući da epski likovi i junaci hizmet čine i ostarjeloj majci odnosno “staroj”, kako je epski pjevači obično opisuju, s druge strane.

## 7. POPIS KONSTRUKCIJA IZ PARRY – LORDOVE ZBIRKE

Struktura rječničkog članka sadrži: naglašenu natuknicu, etimološku odrednicu, oznaku vrste riječi, leksikografsku (stilsku) odrednicu, opis značenja i primjer. Naglašene natuknice navode se u svom osnovnom obliku prema abecednom redoslijedu, i to u standardnojezičkom obliku bez obzira na to da li je takav oblik zastupljen u korpusu ili nije. Ako nije, iza takva oblika zapisan je onaj koji je potvrđen u pjesmama (u oblim zagrada). Etimološke odrednice navode se uza sve riječi: iza natuknice unutar oštih zagrada stavlja se naznaka porijekla riječi tako što se bilježi skraćunica jezika iz kojeg je riječ preuzeta ili se toj skraćunici dodaje znak ← (dolazi od), kojim se upućuje na posredničke etimološke naznake. Iza zatvorene oštre zagrade slijedi objašnjenje porijekla u oblim zagrada.<sup>20</sup> Oznakama vrste riječi obavještava se o pripadnosti leksema kategorijama riječi. Pripadnost leksema imenicama označava se skraćunicom za rod (*m.*, *ž.*, *s.*), a glagolima skraćunicom za glagolski vid (*svrš.*, *nesvrš.*, *dvov.*). Leksikografskim (stilskim) odrednicama, koje su objašnjene u popisu skraćunica, date su informacije o upotrebi i funkciji natuknica u bosanskom jeziku. Opis značenja podrazumijeva kratku leksikografsku definiciju te navođenje sinonima. Ako je natuknica višeznačna, zasebna značenja označena su arapskim brojevima, a podznačenja (ako ih ima) malim slovima. U odvojenom retku dat je kratak opis značenja glagolske konstrukcije. Ispod toga navodi se barem jedan primjer kojim se potvrđuje pojavnost konstrukcije u korpusu. Ako se u korpusu nalaze različiti oblici iste natuknice, navode se svi primjeri tih oblika. Ispod primjera slijedi naglašeni monoleksemski glagol (ukoliko ga ima u korpusu) u istom značenju kao i konstrukcija. Eventualne posebne napomene date su na kraju rječničkog članka.

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20 Radi provjere porijekla riječi konsultirana su sljedeća etimološka djela (rječnici i priručnici):  
*Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* (dijelovi IV i IX) (1892–1897, 1924)  
*Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (1966) Abdulaha Škaljića  
*Türk dilinin etimoloji sözlüğü* (1988) İsmet Zekija Eyüboğlua  
*Albanian etymological dictionary* (1998) Vladimira Orela  
*Garzanti 2009: Il Grande dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana 2009* (2008)  
*Riječi perzijskog porijekla u bosanskom jeziku* (2017) Đenite Haverić i Amele Šehović  
*Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch der türkischen Sprache* (2019) Mareka Stachowskog

**āmān** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *aman* < ar. *amān*) *m.*<sup>21</sup> *zast.* milost

**aman učiniti:** pomilovati, oprostiti

*Pred ćesarom aman učinejo.* [27: 152]

**āšik** (hāšik) < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *aşk* < ar. *išk*; < tur. *âşik* < ar. *āşik*) *m. ekspr.* 1. ašigdzija, 2. zanesenjaka, 3. zaljubljen (u službi pridjeva)

**ašik se učiniti:** 1. zaljubiti se, 2. zaželjeti

*Kralje mi se ašik učinijo.* [25: 172]

Napomene:

– u korpusu je zabilježena ta riječ sa sekundarnim *h* u inicijalnoj poziciji: *Bane joj se hašik učinijo* [24: 579]

– u korpusu je potvrđen monoleksemski glagol *ašikovati* (1. udvarati se, 2. zabavljati se, 3. šurovati) koji, međutim, nema isto značenje kao *ašik se učiniti* (u korpusu, važno je potcrtati, nema potvrda za predikat “ašik učiniti”, koji ima isto značenje kao punoznačna glagolska leksema *ašikovati*)

**āvāz** (hāvāz) < tur. ← perz. > (< tur. *āvāz* < perz. *āwāz*) *m. razg. ekspr.* glas

**avaz učiniti:** oglasiti se, izreći, iskazati

*Ta put Aljo havaz učinjeo.* [2: 1084]

Napomena:

– u korpusu ima samo jedan primjer dekomponiranog predikata *učiniti avaz* (iznad navedeni) i to je onaj u kojem je imenica *avaz* zabilježena sa sekundarnim *h* u inicijalnoj poziciji

**bākšiš** < tur. ← perz. > (< tur. *bahşış* < perz. *bahšiš* (*baxšeš*)) *m.* 1. *razg.* napojnica, trinkgelt, 2. *zast.* poklon, dar

**bakšiš učiniti:** 1. dati napojnicu, bakšiš, trinkgelt; 2. pokloniti, darovati

*Ta put beg mu bakšiš učinijo* [12: 197]

**bësa** < alb. > (< alb. *besë* < protoalb. *baitšā* (:ie. *\*bhoidh-tā* ili *\*bhoidh-tiā*: *\*bheidh-*) i alb. *be*) *ž. etnol.* 1. čvrsto obećanje ili časna riječ u Albanaca, 2. ugovor, sporazum o miru između zavađenih strana

**besu učiniti:** 1. obećati, zavjetovati se, dati riječ; 2. pomiriti (se)

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21 Osim što pripada imeničkoj vrsti riječi, *aman* – kao riječ kojom se izriče i pojačava 1. preklinjanje ili 2. čuđenje ili ushićenje – jedni autori određuju kao uzvik (Škaljić 1966: 92, Vajzović 1999: 268), a drugi kao riječcu (Halilović, Palić, Šehović 2010: 16).

Ja sam, sine, besu jučinijo [20: 393]

**čirāk** (čirāk) <tur. ← perz.> (tur. *çirak, çirāğ, çirāğ* < perz. *če(a)rāğ*) *m.zast.* 1. svijećnjak, 2. onaj koji je dobio kakvu poziciju ili službu, 3. pomoćnik, šegrt

**čirak** (čirak) **učiniti**: unaprijediti, odlikovati, nagraditi

Dobro bi ga čirak učinejo [30: 82]

Napomena:

– u sastavu dekomponiranog predikata u Parry – Lordovoj zbirci imenica *čirak* ima samo dijalekatski oblik *čirak* (svođenje afrikatskog para č-ć u korist ć)

**čāra** (čāre) <tur. ← perz.> (< tur. *çāre* < perz. *cāre*) ž. (s.) *zast.* spas, lijek, pomoć

**čaru** (čare) **(u)činiti**: spasiti/spašavati, izliječiti/liječiti, pomoći/pomagati

Tome čemo čare učineti. [1: 1525]

**čēder** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *keder* < ar. *kadar*) *m. zast.* briga, tuga, žalost

**čeder** **učiniti**: ozlovoljiti, rastužiti, zabrinuti

No češ caru čeder učineti [4: 1757]

**čēif** <tur. ← ar.> (< tur. *keyif* < ar. *kāyf*) *m. razg. ekspr.* 1. hir, prohtjev, volja, želja, 2. dobro raspoloženje, naslada, uživanje

**čeif** **učiniti**: 1. zabaviti se, 2. zabaviti se uz piće i mezu

Ta put Dojčić čeif učinijo [13: 147]

**dāva** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *dāva* < ar. *da 'wā*) ž. *zast.* pritužba, optužba; parnica, tvrdnja

**davu** **učiniti**: optužiti; utvrditi

Ako caru davu učinjeće [4: 1777]

**dērmān** < tur. ← perz. > (< tur. *dermān* < perz. *darmān*) *m. razg. ekspr.* 1. lijek, liječenje; 2. *pren.* spas, pomoć, izbavljenje

**derman** **(u)činiti**: 1. izliječiti/liječiti; 2. spasiti/spašavati, pomoći/pomagati, izbaviti/izbavljati

Česar će ni derman učineti [27: 121]

**dēvām** < tur. ← ar.> (< tur. *devam* < ar. *dāwām*: ar. gl. *dāma*)

**devam** **učiniti**: potrajati, ostati, nastaviti



*Da mi. Da mi Meću devam učinimo [15: 9]*

Napomena:

– *devam* kao zasebna leksička jedinica nije zabilježena ni u rječnicima bosanskog jezika ni u korištenim etimološkim rječnicima; Škaljić (1966: 214) upućuje na perfektivnu upotrebu glagolske konstrukcije “činiti devam” u zn. “ustrajno vršiti, trajno nešto raditi”, ali se u Parry – Lordovoj zbirci javlja samo imperfektivni glagol *učiniti* uz *devam* (u gore navedenom i jedinom primjeru)

**dëver** (dëvar) < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *devir* < ar. *däwr*) *m. razg. ekspr.* borba kroz život; kuburenje, muka, nevolja, nepravilika

**dever se učiniti**: namučiti se, izmučiti se, izmrevariti se

*Grdno si se devar učinijo. [28: 561]*

**divān** < tur. ← perz. > (< tur. *dīvān* < perz. *dīwān*) *m.* 1. *hist. a.* vijeće, savjet, skupština; *b.* carsko ili vezirsko vijeće u Osmanskom Carstvu; 2. *hist. a.* carsko prijestolje; *b.* carski dvor u Osmanskom Carstvu; 3. *razg. ekspr.* besjeda, razgovor, sijelo; 4. sećija; 5. *knjiž.* zbirka poezije u okviru divanske književnosti

**divan učiniti**: reći, kazati, održati besjedu ili govor

*Pa je caru divan učinila. [22: 589]*

**dòva** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *dua* < ar. *du ‘ā*) *ž. isl.* molitva, molba upućena Bogu

**dovu (u)činiti**: (po)moliti se Bogu za svoje dobro i sreću ili dobro i sreću nekog drugog

*Samo ćeš mi dovu jućinjeti! [2: 834]*

**džëvāb** (dëvāb) < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *cevap* < ar. *ğāwāb* (*žawāb*)) *m. razg. ekspr.* odgovor

**džëvab** (dëvab) **učiniti**: odgovoriti

*Ko će caru dëvab učiniti? [18: 1031]*

**džëvābiti** (dëvābiti) *nesvrš.:* *Ne znam šta će dëvab dëvābiti [1: 231]*

Napomena:

– u sastavu dekomponiranog predikata u Parry-Lordovoj zbirci imenica *džëvab* ima samo dijalekatski oblik *dëvab* (svođenje afrikatskog para *dž-đ* u korist *đ*)

**dërdek** < tur. ← perz. > (< tur. *gerdek* < perz. *girdak*) *m.* 1. *razg. ekspr.* soba u kojoj mladenci spavaju prve bračne noći; 2. *meton.* prva bračna noć



**đerdek učiniti:** provesti prvu bračnu noć

*I ja s mojom đerdek učinjeti.* [5: 578]

**gājib** (gājib, gājip) < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *gaib, gaip* < ar. *gā'ib*) *prid. neprom. zast.*

1. odsutan, nevidljiv; 2. sakriven, skrovit

**gajb** (gājib, gājip) **(se) učiniti:** 1. nestati, izgubiti se; 2. sakriti se

*Pa to reće, gajib s' učinela.* [24: 647]

*Hrtovi se gajip učinješe.* [16: 30]

**gājret** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *gayret* < ar. *gayrā, gayrat*) *m.* 1. *zast.* revnost, gorljivost; 2. *zast.* napor, nastojanje, trud; 3. *zast.* hrabrost, srčanost; 4. *zast.* pomoć, podrška; 5. *hist.* (Gajret) naziv bošnjačkog kulturno-prosvjetnog društva i časopisa

**gajret (u)činiti:** 1. (po)truditi se; 2. pomoći/pomagati, podržati/podržavati

*De je Bosna gajret učinjela.* [3: 1095]

**gāzap** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *gazap, gazab* < ar. *gaḏab*) *m. zast.* 1. bijes, gnjev, ljutnja, srdžba; 2. nesretnik; 3. nevolja, nesreća

**gazap učiniti:** unesrećiti, upropastiti, uništiti, satrati

*Gazap će ne svija učineti.* [31: 250]

**hāber** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *haber* < ar. *ḥabar*) *m. razg. ekspr.* 1. vijest, obavijest, glas; 2. a. nagovještaj; b. osvrtnje na koga ili šta; mar

**haber (u)činiti:** obavijestiti/obavještavati

*Ha su Talju haber učinili.* [18: 1150]

**hāirli** (hāirli) < tur. ← ar.-tur. > (< tur. *hayırlı* < ar. *ḥayr* i tur. suf. *-li*) *prid. neprom. razg. ekspr.* dobar, čestit, sretan, valjan

**hairli učiniti:** usrećiti, oraspoložiti, odobrovoljiti

*Nastasiju hairli učinješe.* [11: 759]

Napomena:

– općenito su neutraliziranje opozicije *l-lj* i pojava umekšavanja sonanta *l* pod utjecajem kosovskih dijalekata albanskog jezika odlike novopazarskog poddijalekta sandžačkog dijalekta (Jahić i dr. 2000: 37–39)

**hālāl** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *helâl* < ar. *ḥalāl*) *m.* 1. *isl.* ono što je vjerski dozvoljeno, 2. *razg.* ono što je stečeno na častan način; 3. *ekspr.* oprost

**halal se učiniti:** oprostiti se

*I š njima se halal učinila [3: 550]*

**haláliti se** svrš.: *Hoder, majko, da se halalimo. [19: 121]*

**hàrāb / hārāp** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *harap* < ar. *ḥarāb*) *prid. neprom. zast.* ruševan, razvaljen, zapušten, dotrajao

**harab se učiniti:** opustošiti se, porušiti se

*Je lj' se kula harap učinela [4: 559]*

**hárūn** (hárūm) < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *harin* < ar. *ḥarūn*) *prid. neprom. zast.* 1. koji je objestan, nemiran (o konju); 2. *pren.* tvrdoglav, ćudljiv

**harun se učiniti:** biti ili postati objestan, uznemiriti se

*Te se labud harum jučinijo. [20: 471]*

**hâsī/âsī** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *âsi* < ar. *āṣī*) *prid. neprom. ekspir.* 1. grešan, silan; 2. buntovan

**hasi/asi (se) učiniti:** osiliti se, postati objestan

*Tek se dorat hasi učinijo. [5: 74]*

Napomena:

– u primjerima iz korpusa dosljedno se upotrebljava sekundarno *h* u inicijalnoj poziciji riječi

**hátar** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *hatır* < ar. *ḥāṭir*) *m.* 1. *razg.* misao, pamet; 2. *ekspir.* naklonost, ljubav

**hatar učiniti:** iskazati naklonost ili ljubav

*Kad bi dobar hatar učinila [25: 184]*

**házur** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *hazır* < ar. *ḥāḍir*) *prid. neprom. razg.* spreman, gotov, prisutan

**hazur (se) učiniti:** spremi (se), pripremi (se)

*Za Bosnu se hazur učinijo [3: 361]*

**hīla** (hīnla) < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *hile* < ar. *ḥīla*) *ž. razg. ekspir.* prevara, podvala, nepravda

**hilu** (hinlu) **učiniti:** prevariti, podvaliti

*Da hilu ti jučineti neće. [26: 220]*

Što si mene hinlu učinela! [31: 943]

Napomena:

– u korpusu se paralelno javljaju, kako se to može uočiti i iz ekscerpiranih stihova, primjeri sa sekundarnim *n* i primjeri bez *n* u medijalnoj poziciji riječi

**hizmet** (izmet) < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *hizmet* < ar. *hidmat*) *m. ekspr.* 1. služenje, dvorenje, usluga, njega; 2. pomoć

**hizmet (u)činiti:** 1. (po)služiti, (po)dvoriti; 2. pomoći/pomagati

*Hizmećari hizmet učiniše* [3: 338]

*Izmet staroj ćini u odaji* [6: 205]

Napomena:

– primjeri bez etimološkog *h* u inicijalnoj poziciji riječi izrazito su rijetki u korpusu

**hücum** (hüđum) < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *hüküm* < ar. *hukm*) *m. ekspr.* presuda, suđenje

**hućum učiniti:** presuditi

*Rakija ti huđum učinila* [24: 539]

**hudžum** (hüđum) < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *hücum* < ar. *hužüm* (*huğüm*)) *m. ekspr.* juriš, napad, navala

**hudžum (huđum) učiniti:** napasti, navaliti

*A na Švabu hudžum učinila.* [27: 503]

*Na Rakoću huđum učinele* [27: 163]

**ihjā** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *ihya* < ar. *ihyā*<sup>22</sup>) *prid.*<sup>22</sup> *neprom. ekspr.* preporođen, oživotvoren

**ihja učiniti:** preporoditi

*Ja ću vaske ihja učiniti.* [11: 747]

**itlāk** (itljāk) < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *itlak* < ar. *itlāq*) *m. ekspr.* oslobođenje, puštanje na slobodu

**itlak (itljak) učiniti:** osloboditi (se)

*Kod devljeta itljak učinela* [1: 1377]

**jēmīn** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *yemin* < ar. *yāmīn*) *m. ekspr.* zakletva

**jemin učiniti:** zakleti se

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22 Posuđenica *ihja*, prema Škaljiću (1966: 341), jeste pridjev.

Ti si davno jemin učinjela [11: 474]

**jüriř** < tur. > (< tur. *yürüyüş*: *yürüme*) *m. vojn.* nagao napad na neprijatelja; navala  
**juriř učiniti**: napasti, navaliti

Pa među njih juriř učinijo. [4: 491]

**kätul** (kätal) < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *katıl* < ar. *qatl*) *m. ekspr.* ubistvo, pogubljenje, smaknuće

**katul** (katal) **učiniti**: ubiti, pogubiti, smaknuti

Murtati ga katal učineli. [2: 816]

**kònak** < tur. > (< tur. *konak*: \**kōn-*) *m.* 1. a. noćenje, konačenje; b. noćište, prenoćište, konačište; 2. a. *hist.* sjedište visokog dužnosnika za vrijeme Osmanskog Carstva; b. kuća kakvog uglednog domaćina; c. *zast.* kuća, dom

**konak učiniti**: provesti gdje noć, noćiti, prenoćiti

Nočas ćemo konak učiniti [3: 206]

**kònačiti** *dvov.*: Ne dade him konak konačiti. [32: 501]

**nálet** (náljet) < tur. ← ar. > (metatezom prema *lanet* < tur. *lânet* < ar. *la 'nat*) *razg.*  
1. a. prokletstvo; b. prokletnik; 2. *pren. pejor.* onaj koji je prijeke naravi; šejtan, đavo;  
3. *pren. fam.* dijete sklono nestašlucima

**nalet** (naljet) **učiniti**: prokleti

Pa ga care nalet učinijo [23: 282]

Ko je Muja naljet učinijo [22: 620]

**nàmāz** < tur. ← perz. > (< tur. *namaz* < perz. *namāz*) *m. isl.* muslimanska molitva koja se obavlja pet puta na dan u određeno vrijeme i pod određenim uvjetima

**namaz učiniti**: pomoliti se, obaviti molitvu

Pa vaktilje namaz učinila [2: 484]

**nićāh** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *nikâh* < ar. *nikâh*) *m.* 1. *ekspr.* brak, vjenčanje; 2. *razg.* mehr

**nićah učiniti**: vjenčati

Tekrar Fatu nićah učinilji. [1: 1612]

**pät** (päta) < ital. ← lat. > (< ital. *patto* < lat. *pactum*: *pāxpācis*) *m. (ž.) zast. jez. knjiž.* međusobna saglasnost o obavezama; pogodba, nagodba, dogovor, ugovor

**pat** (patu) **učiniti**: usaglasiti se, nagoditi se, sporazumjeti se, dogovoriti se  
*Sedam put je patu jućinijo* [1: 190]

**pěškeš** < tur. ← perz. > (< tur. *peškeş, pīškeş* < perz. *pěškeş, pīškeş*) *m. razg. ekspr.*  
dar, poklon

**peškeš učiniti**: darovati, pokloniti  
*Dajte štogoj, peškeš učiniti* [20: 441]

**pěškešiti** (pěškešati) *nesvrš.:* *I Haljilu peškeš pěškešao.* [13: 156]

**pišmān** < tur. ← perz. > (< tur. *pišmān* < perz. *pašimān, pišmān*) *m. zast.* 1. pokajnik; 2. onaj koji je odustao od kakve nakane ili pogodbe; 3. onaj koji se predomišlja, koji je neodlučan

**pišman se učiniti**: 1. pokajati se; 2. odustati od kakve nakane ili pogodbe  
*Što se bego pišman ućinjeo.* [18: 586]

**rāhat** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *rahat* < ar. *rāḥa(t)*) *prid. neprom. razg. ekspr.*  
zadovoljan, spokojan, bezbrižan, miran

**rahat se učiniti**: postignuti zadovoljstvo, smiriti se, raskomotiti se  
*Taman su se rahat ućinili* [19: 765]

**rāzī** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *razi* < ar. *rādī*) *prid. neprom. zast.* zadovoljan, saglasan, voljan

**razi se učiniti**: usaglasiti se, dogovoriti se  
*Pa svi su serazi ućinili.* [19: 716]

**rēzil** (rēzilj) < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *rezil* < ar. *radīl*) *prid. neprom. razg. ekspr.*  
osramoćen, obrukan, ponižen

**rezil** (rezilj) **učiniti**: osramotiti  
*A ti si ga rezilj ućinijo!* [16: 523]

**sābur** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *sabır* < ar. *šabr*) *m. razg. ekspr.* strpljenje, strpljivost, izdržljivost

**sabur (u)činiti**: strpjeti se, biti strpljiv  
*Sabur ćini dok oprimum vojsku* [18: 1040]

**sāćin** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *sakin* < ar. *sākin*) *prid. neprom. ekspr.* miran, tih

**saćin (se) učiniti:** umiriti se, utišati se

*Kad se oni saćin učineli [31: 846]*

**sèlām** (sèljām) < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *selam* < ar. *salām*) *m. isl.* muslimanski pozdrav

**selam** (seljam) **učiniti:** pozdraviti

*Mujo ti je seljam učinijo [6: 1004]*

**sùrgun** < tur. > (< tur. *sürgün*) *m. zast.* progon, progonstvo

**surgun učiniti:** protjerati

*Bajraktare surgun učinijo. [1: 492]*

**šènluk** < tur. ← perz.-tur. > (< tur. *şenlik* < perz. *şang* i tur. suf. *-lik*) *m. razg. ekspr.* veselje, slavlje obično uz pucjavu

**šenluk (u)činiti:** provesti/provoditi veselje, (pro)slaviti, (pro)veseliti se

*S topovima šenluk učinijo [15: 418]*

**támir** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *tamir* < ar. *ta 'mīr*) *m. zast.* popravak, renoviranje

**tamir učiniti:** popraviti, renovirati

*Kulu skoro tamir učinilji [4: 80]*

**tèkmīl** (tècmīl) < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *tekmil* < ar. *tākmīl*) *m. zast.* dopuna, izravnjanje, završetak

**tekmil** (tecmil) **(u)činiti:** dovršiti/dovršavati, upotpuniti/upotpunjavati, namiriti/namirivati, završiti/završavati

*Sabah namaz tecmil učinila [3: 469]*

**tèmbīh** < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *tembih* < ar. *tānbīh*) *m. zast.* upozorenje, opomena, saopćenje, naredba

**tembih učiniti:** upozoriti, narediti

*Pa družini tembih učinijo [18: 492]*

**tèslīm** (tèsljīm) < tur. ← ar. > (< tur. *teslim* < ar. *tāslīm*) *m. zast.* 1. predaja; 2. *prav.* predaja u posjed

**teslim** (tesljim) **učiniti:** predati (se), Bogu dušu predati

*I hajduku, kaže, tesljim učinješe [11: 758]*

**teslímiti** (tesljímiti) *dvov.:* *Hoćete lji grada tesljimiti [27: 218]*

**tùhmet** (tùhme) <tur. ← ar.> (< tur. *töhhmet* < ar. *tuhmä(t)*) *m. (s.) zast.* 1. sumnja;  
2. potvrda

**tuhmet** (tuhme) **učiniti**: 1. a. učiniti sumnjičavim, b. posumnjati; 2. potvoriti  
*Pa sultanu tuhme učinješe.* [10: 16]

**zùlum** <tur. ← ar.> (< tur. *zulüm* < ar. *zulm*) *m. razg. ekspr.* 1. nasilje, bezakonje;  
2. nepravda

**zulum učiniti**: nanijeti zlo, napraviti nepravdu  
*Ko će tebe zulum učiniti* [8: 61]

### Popis skraćenica i simbola

alb.	albanski
ar.	arapski
dvov.	dvovidni glagol
ekspr.	ekspresivno
etnol.	etnologija, etnološki
fam.	familijarno
gl.	glagol
hist.	historija, historizam
ie.	indoevropski
isl.	islam, islamski
ital.	italijanski
knjiž.	književnost
lat.	latinski
meton.	metonimija
neprom.	nepromjenjivo
nesvrš.	nesvršeni vid glagola
pejor.	pejorativno
perz.	perzijski
prav.	pravo, pravno
pren.	preneseno značenje
prid.	pridjev
protoalb.	protoalbanski
razg.	razgovorno
suf.	sufiks

svrš.	svršeni vid glagola
tur.	(osmanski) turski
vojn.	vojno, vojnički
zast.	zastarjelo
zn.	značenje
←	dolazi od
:	prema; primjenjuje se na odnos čega
<	postalo od

## 8. ZAKLJUČAK

Semantički nepotpun glagol (*u*)činiti (*se*) otvara mjesto punoznačnim imenskim riječima u stihovnom ustrojstvu u kojem zajedno popunjavaju jednu poziciju – dekomponiranog ili semikopulativnog predikata. Glagolske konstrukcije koje se sastoje od dvosložne imenice ili pridjeva i četverosložnog glagola *učiniti* najuobičajenije dolaze u drugom polustihu izgrađenom prema ustaljenom obrascu 2 – 4, tako da se zamjenjivanjem jedne dvosložne imenice ili pridjeva istosložnom imenicom ili pridjevom lahko stvaraju epske formule drugog polustiha. Manje brojna odstupanja od smještanja tih konstrukcija u drugi polustih, bilo da se članovi konstrukcija izriču u prvom polustihu, bilo u različitim polustihovima (u nizu ili odvojeno u stihu), motivirana su metričkim ili stilskim razlozima.

Karakterističnost glagolskih konstrukcija s pridjevima kao neglagolskim leksemama u njihovom sastavu ogleda se u tome što su svi pridjevi indeklinabilni i što je većina tih konstrukcija zamjenjiva jednom punoznačnom glagolskom leksemom istoga značenja koja je u tvorbenoj vezi s pridjevom, npr.: *harab (se) učiniti = oharabiti (se)*, *harun (se) učiniti = uharuniti (se)*, *hasi/asi(se) učiniti = pohasiti/poasiti (se)*, *hazur (se) učiniti = uhazuriti (se)*, *rahat (se) učiniti = urahatiti (se)*, *razrahatiti (se)*, *rezil učiniti = ureziliti*, *saćin (se) učiniti = usaćiniti (se)*. S obzirom na to otvara se mogućnost postavljanja drugačijih kriterija pri definiranju dekomponiranog predikata, pri čemu bi zamjenjivost članova predikata – bilo da je neglagolska leksema imenica ili pridjev – jednom glagolskom leksemom trebala biti jedan od prvih kriterija.



Upotreba tih konstrukcija u bošnjačkoj epskoj poeziji izvire, s jedne strane, iz potrebe za jednostavnošću, budući da dugo pjevanje u strogoj deseteračkoj strukturi stiha iziskuje korištenje tradicionalnih obrazaca epskih formula i, s druge strane, iz opće težnje epskih pjevača da izbjegnu uzastopna ponavljanja u rasporedu riječi u stihu pri iskazivanju istih veza među riječima, kako bi i na taj način privukli i održali pažnju kritičke slušalačke publike, koja ima važnu ulogu u nastajanju pjesme.

Pridjevi i imenice stranoga porijekla, koji su nosioci leksičkog značenja predikata, različitog su postanja. U korištenom korpusu to su turcizmi arapskog porijekla, kojih je 41, turcizmi perzijskog porijekla, kojih ima 10, tri su iskonske turske riječi te po jedna riječ iz albanskoga i italijanskog jezika, kao i dvije mješovite tvorenice (arapskog-turskoga i perzijsko-turskog porijekla). Rezultati analize imenica i pridjeva po porijeklu potvrđuju Lordovo zapažanje kako su imenske riječi u sastavu tih glagolskih konstrukcija preuzete posredstvom turskoga ili su iskonske turske riječi. Međutim, po uzoru na konstrukcije sa riječima orijentalnog porijekla pjevači upotrebljavaju i riječi koje su drukčijeg postanja, tako da se kao nosioci leksičkog značenja predikata pojavljuju riječi albanskog i italijanskog porijekla, ali je njihova upotreba izrazito niske frekventnosti.

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## VERB CONSTRUCTIONS (*U*)ČINITI(*SE*) + NOUN OR ADJECTIVE OF FOREIGN ORIGIN IN PARRY-LORD’S COLLECTION

### Summary

The paper analyzes the verb constructions composed of the verb with incomplete meanings (*u*)činiti (*se*) and nouns or adjectives of foreign origin as lexical meaning in Bosniak epic poems using the example of Parry-Lord’s collection from 1953. Such constructions in the verse structure fill the position of the predicate, either decomposed (verb + noun) or semi-copulative (verb + adjective), and are one of the characteristic features of the oral epic style. The conducted research confirms that the adjectives in these predicates are invariably of oriental origin, and the nouns are mostly of oriental and rarely of Italian and Albanian origin. The purpose of the analysis is not only to give a description of these constructions, but also to explain the reasons for their high frequency. Their frequent use in epic poetry is a reflection of the desire for simplicity, which epic singers fulfill by using traditional patterns of epic formulas: by replacing one noun or adjective with another same syllabic noun or adjective in these constructions the formulas of the second half-verse are very easily created. The simplicity of using these constructions in composing verses favors the frequency of their use. The list of all those constructions from the selected corpus is given in the form of a dictionary article, the structure of which includes an accented determiner, an etymological determiner, an indication of the type of word, a lexicographic (stylistic) determiner, a description of the meaning and an example.

**Keywords:** verb (*u*)činiti (*se*); nouns and adjectives of foreign origin; Parry-Lord’s collection of epic poems; decomposed predicate; semi-copulative predicate

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Review paper

**Amira Banjić**

## LINGVOSTILISTIČKA INTERPRETACIJA PJESAMA ZAPIS O OČIMA MAK DIZDARA I STEĆAK SKENDERA KULENOVIĆA

U radu je provedena lingvostilistička interpretacija dvije pjesme: *Zapis o očima* Mehmedalije Maka Dizdara i *Stećak* Skendera Kulenovića. Cilj ovog rada je interpretacija specifičnih stilističkih postupaka kojima se pjesnici služe u navedenim pjesmama te se tim postupcima postižu. Na početku jedat kratak teorijski osvrt na lingvističku stilistiku i definicije stila. Poeziju Maka Dizdara i Skendera Kulenovića moguće je analizirati na svim jezičkim nivoima, a ovaj rad bazira se na uočavanje najekspresivnijih i najfrekventnijih stilema u pjesmama na fonetsko-fonološkom, morfološkom, sintaksičkom i leksičkom nivou. Obje pjesme povezuje vještina jezičke artikulacije svedremenog usuda bosanskog čovjeka i čovjeka uopće, pri čemu su funkcionalno angažirani kako arhaični potencijali tako i stratifikat modernog izričaja bosanskog jezika.

**Ključne riječi:** Mak Dizdar; Skender Kulenović; poezija; lingvostilistička interpretacija

### 1. UVOD

Jezik poezije se umnogome razlikuje od njegove uobičajene realizacije na bazičnom komunikativnom nivou. Sve ono što „prevazilazi čisto komunikativni, referencijalni vid jezika pripada oblasti *ekspresivnosti* i postaje predmetom stilistike“ (Lešić 1971:

63). Korijeni stilističkih izučavanja leže još u antičkom dobu kada se, posebno među sofistima i filozofima, širila potreba za stjecanjem umijeća retoričkog govorenja. Antička retorika, kasnije oslovljavana kao gramatika književnog izraza (Radenković 1974), objašnjavala je jezička sredstva i stil književnih vrsta, u čijem se temelju nalazio „ideal kultiviranog govora, odnosno uvjerenje o tome da je vještina dobrog govorenja i pisanja ne samo uvjet nego i svrha književnog stvaralaštva“ (Solar 2005: 69).

I savremena stilistika se jednim dijelom ogleda u svojim antičkim temeljima. Od antike do 20. vijeka, kada započinje razvoj moderne stilistike, razvila su se različita poimanja stilističke misli, a protivrječnosti su se ispoljavale u različitim područjima proučavanja – književnom s jedne, i jezičkom s druge strane. Tako se i stilistika podijelila na dvije discipline: genetičku – idealističku stilistiku, i deskriptivnu ili lingvostilistiku čijim se utemeljiteljem smatra francuski lingvist Charles Bally. Karakter njegove stilistike je lingvistički, proučava „odnos jezičkog izraza i misli posmatrajući jezičke činjenice kao ekspresivna izražajna sredstva jezika“, dok se književna stilistika bavila odnosom „jezičkog izraza i pojedinca posmatrajući jezičke činjenice kao izraz individualnosti pisca“ (Ćorac 1982: 13). Nakon što je Bally stil definirao kao jedinstven vid ekspresije i postavio temelje lingvostilistici, javljaju se različita poimanja stilističke misli (Maruzo, Kreso, Giro, Ris, Jakobson, Vinogradov i dr.), koja uglavnom polaze od afektivne kategorije jezičkih jedinica<sup>1</sup> kao realnog aspekta književnog teksta, što predstavlja glavni tok razvoja stilistike od Ballyja do savremene lingvostilistike. Predmet proučavanja lingvostilistike je *stil*, a kako su stilističari ponudili široku lepezu određenja nje same tako je i pojam stila različito definisan. Međutim, bilo da se radi o lingvostilističkom ili književnostilističkom poimanju stila, svi su saglasni da „odstupanje od norme smatra se posebnom upotrebom jezika, a to je poseban stil“ (Ćorac 1982: 22-23), odnosno „stil nije ništa drugo nego izbor, izbor izražajnih sredstava u jeziku“ (Pranjić 1968: 6). Lingvostilistička analiza bi pritom podrazumijevala „otkrivanje, detekciju, stilistički markiranih mesta koja određuju ekspresivnu i značenjsku sktrukturu teksta“ (Radenković 1974: 25). Drugim riječima, sve specifičnosti i novine u jeziku izravno sudjeluju u gradnji stila, što nas vodi ka lingvostilistici.

S tim u vezi, predmet lingvostilistike su jezičke jedinice koje se kao stilemi<sup>2</sup> (grafostilemi, fonostilemi, morfostilemi, sintaksostilemi, leksikostilemi i

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1 Ballyjevo načelo afektivnosti jezičkog izraza je kasnije zamijenjeno terminom ekspresivnosti jezičkog izraza.

2 Prema Katnić-Bakaršić (1999: 12) stilemi je osnovna jedinica lingvostilistike te je „shvaćen kao ona jedinica koja nosi određenu stilsku informaciju“.

semantostilemi) proučavaju po pojedinačnim jezičkim nivoima. Tako i svaki književni tekst zahtijeva odgovarajući pristup u detekciji stilski markiranih karakteristika pa se lingvostilistika „na neki način ‘rađa’ u svakome tekstu iznova što odražava samu bit umjetničke činjenice – njezinu jedinstvenost“ (Josić 2021: 50).

Imajući u vidu prethodno izneseno ovaj rad će se fokusirati na lingvostilističku analizu dvije pjesme bosanskohercegovačkih pjesnika – Mehmedalije Maka Dizdara i Skendera Kulenovića, te ćemo pokušati analizirati jedan dio stvaralaštva ovih autora upravo kroz prizmu u njemu ostvarenih izražajnih mogućnosti bosanskog jezika. Dizdar i Kulenović važe za najznačajnije bosanskohercegovačke i bošnjačke pjesnike 20. vijeka u čijoj se poeziji „može sagledati i šira književno-povijesna slika razvojnih tendencija bošnjačkog pjesništva“ (Duraković 1999: 23). Ove pjesnike umnogome povezuje uronjenost u vlastiti jezik, a pjesme *Zapis o očima* (Dizdar) i *Stećak* (Kulenović) upravo su pokazatelji njihove bogate pjesničke samosvojnosti.

## 2. ZAPIS O OČIMA – MAK DIZDAR

Zbirka pjesama *Kameni spavač* Maka Dizdara predstavlja, po općoj ocjeni, jednu od najautentičnijih vrijednosti u bosanskohercegovačkoj književnosti 20. stoljeća. Zbirka se sastoji od četiri cjeline: *Slovo o nebu*, *Slovo o čovjeku*, *Slovo o zemlji* i *Slovo o slovu*. U pjesmama je oživljen duh bosanskog srednjovjekovlja čiji su nijemi svjedoci upravo kameni nadgorbni spomenici – stećci. Naime, autor osluškuje jezik stećaka „na kojima je sačuvana do danas arhaika i poetika drevnog jezika – jezični substratum u kojemu je ekspresija reducirana, škrta, elementarna, određena zakonima klesarske grafije čekića i dljeteta, ali duboka u poniranju za tajnom čovjekove prolaznosti“ (Božanić 2012: 6). Upravo, kako to zapaža Vedad Spahić (2017: 72):

„Lapidarnu refleksiju o eternalnom, o prirodi ljudske časovitosti koja biva transcendirana znamenom u trajnom mediju – u kamenu i riječi, Dizdar uzima kao polazište gonetanja misterija bosanskog srednjovjekovlja, ističući u prvi plan njegovu provokativnu ambivalentnost: istodobnu zapretnost u dubinama historijskih mnogoznačja i otvorenost tumačenju, alteritetu, semiozi, koja svoju raspoloživost različitim metadiskursima rasprostire na širokoj gami poetsko-metaforičkih aktualizacija jedne u svome vremenu posve samosvojne laicističke kulture“.

Lokalno specifične a univerzalno dotične teme čovjekova usuda i vječite drame Dizdar je poetski oživio u svojim pjesmama izrazite stilske obilježnosti. Kao i u ranijim zbirkama<sup>3</sup>, i u *Kamenom spavaču* pjesnik traga za novim jezičkim

3 *Okrutnosti kruga* (1960) i *Koljena za Madonu* (1963).



mogućnostima dekonstruirajući kanoniziranu formu poetskog govora<sup>4</sup>. Da je Dizdar pjesnik duboko svjestan kreativnih potencija bosanskog jezika zorno pokazuje i odabrana pjesma *Zapis o očima*<sup>5</sup> u kojoj je zapis o čovjekovom duševnom sivilu, ali i njegovoj snazi, artikuliran u Dizdarevom stilu poigravanja jezičkim materijalom. Naime, „*Zapis o očima* zapis je o psihičkom stanju lika čiji je bolesni vid metafora pesimizma, ali i o snazi čovjeka koji može, ako dovoljno poželi, izgraditi vedriji mentalni okoliš“ (Derkač 2019). Specifičnim stilskim sredstvima Dizdar gradi pjesničke slike unutarnje ljudske drame – dilemu mijenjanja sebe ili svijeta oko sebe.

### ***Zapis o očima***

*Vidim da se divim*  
*Divim se kad vidim*  
*A vidik vas mi sad*  
*Sād u bojama sivim*  
*I ne znam tad*

*Da li da vid vidam*  
*Ili drukčije*  
*Neke vidike*  
*Da zidam* (Dizdar 1997: 216)

### **2.1. Stilski markirane osobitosti fonetsko-fonološkog nivoa**

Kao i u mnogim pjesmama *Kamenog spavača* i u *Zapisu o očima* imamo nepravilan raspored rime. Najprije, do razbijanja tradicionalne strukture rime došlo je samim tim što pjesma nije podijeljena u klasične strofe, već se služi opkoračenjem. Ispjevana je u četiri distiha i jednom stihu, pri čemu se rimuju prvi i drugi stih prve strofe i drugi stih druge strofe (*divim-vidim-sivim*); prvi stihovi druge i treće strofe (*sad-tad*); te drugi stih treće strofe i posljednji stih pjesme (*vidam-zidam*). Različitim oblicima

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4 Ova konstatacija uključuje „... pretežno slobodan stih, traganje za novim mogućnostima jezika, sa zvukom i eufonijom ostvarenom zblizavanjem srodnih riječi, potpuno razbijanje rime i drugih kanoniziranih pjesničkih sredstava, kojima je gotovo robovala dotadašnja poezija“ (Šator 2013: 131).

5 Mak Dizdar je često pjesme iz jedne zbirke mijenjao i uvrštavao u druge zbirke. To je slučaj i sa pjesmom *Zapis o očima*, koja je prvobitno objavljena u zbirci *Okrutnosti kruga* pod nazivom *Oči*. U zbirci *Kameni spavač* pjesma *Zapis o očima* smještena je u ciklus *Slovo o zemlji*.

rime (unutrašnje i vanjske) pridodaju se i druga fonetsko-fonološka ponavljanja, tj. *asonance* i *aliteracije* koje doprinose zvukovnoj harmoniji pjesme. Najekspresivniji vid homofonskih ponavljanja pojavljuje se u početnim stihovima: **Vidim** da se **divim** / **Divim** se kad **vidim**, gdje se dva glagola u prvom licu prezenta (*vidim-divim*), ostvarena putem metatezних homofonskih komponenti, rimuju kako na kraju tako i unutar stihova. Poigravajući se istom glasovnom supstancom ova dva glagola, uspostavljena je, pored rime, i asocijativna uzročno-posljedična veza između dva različita semantička područja: vidjeti [imati sposobnost vida, zapaziti, zapažati očima (Čedić 2007: 1215)] i diviti se [biti obuzet osjećajem da je nešto lijepo, divno, uzvišeno, biti opčinjen, očaran (ibid.)]. Dok je u prvom stihu uspostavljena semantička napetost između ova dva glagola, u drugom stihu se ona već razrješava posljedičnim obrnutim iskazom: više ne gleda da bi se divio, već ostaje zadivljen onim što je pred njim. Ovim homofonskim metateznim poigravanjima pjesnik naglašava povezanost čovjeka i svijeta koji ga okružuje. Također, glasovna struktura glagola *vidim* i *divim* javlja se u tvorbenim osnovama drugih riječi u pjesmi (*vid*, *vidik*, *vidam*), da bi, kako to ističe Muhamed Šator (2013: 181), „nakon rime u početnom dvostihu rimovao završetke pojedinih neparanih stihova nakon izostavljanja očekivane rime u distihu“, čime je rima „podređena općoj harmoniji u kojoj je glasovno podudaranje na kraju stiha samo jedan od konstituirajućih elemenata općeg sazvučja“ (ibid.).

Kao što je već kazano, ritmičkoj organizaciji pjesme doprinose i drugi elementi u zvukovnom rasporedu fonema, tj. figure *asonance* i *aliteracije*. Krenemo li od početnih stihova primijetiti ćemo da je prisutna *asonanca* vokala *i* i *aliteracija* suglasnika *d*, koji u poigravanju glasovnom supstancom glagola *vidim* i *divim* uspostavljaju uzročno-posljedičnu semantičku vezu viđenja i divljenja viđenim. Međutim, prizvuk zadivljenosti u početnim stihovima prekinut je *asonancom* vokala *a* i *i* u narednom distihu:

*A vidik vas mi sad*  
*Sad u bojama sivim*

Dodavanjem suprotnog veznika *a* na početak stiha, koji sudjeluje u glasovnom ponavljanju, uspostavljen je iskaz suprotan od prethodnog: životni obzor ispunjava se negativnim prizorima. Vedrina prvog i pesimizam drugog distiha prate neodlučnost lirskog subjekta u sljedećoj strofi miješanjem prethodnih glasovnih ponavljanja, odnosno *asonancu* vokala *a* i *i* prati *aliteracija* suglasnika *d* (*Da li da vid vidam*). U ostatku pjesme prevladavaju zvukovna ponavljanja pretežno istih vokala i suglasnika

što ukazuje na svojevrsnu Dizdarevu opsjednutost i igru zvukovnim mogućnostima bosanskoga jezika kojom simbolički predočava ljudsku dramu unutar zamršenih životnih okolnosti.

Dakle, muzikalnosti stihova u pjesmi pridonosi: 1. frekventnost određenih suglasnika (posebno *d*, a potom *i* i *m*); 2. dominacija tzv. vedrih samoglasnika nad tamnim<sup>6</sup> (*i* to u omjeru 30:18); 3. stihovi nejednake dužine, ali jednake ritmičnosti. Ovo posljednje se postiže zahvaljujući zaokruženosti prve strofe glagolom *vidim* na početku i na kraju. I to je jedina strofa unutar koje je ostvarena rima; nakon nje slijede strofe manje izražene muzikalnosti (stihovi unutar njih se ne rimuju). Ali, upravo nakon prve strofe dolazi do značenjskog preokreta pjesme, zaplet se dešava kako na semantičkom tako i na ritmičkom nivou (stihovi jedne strofe rimuju se sa stihovima druge). Pjesnik je ovim zvukovnim izotopijama pokrenuo stvaralačke snage jezika koje podstiču emotivne napetosti u pjesmi.

## 2.2. *Tvorbena poigravanja*

Iako je na početku pjesme predstavljeno duševno klonuće, ipak pjesnik progovara o snazi čovjeka koji može mijenjati svoj život. Taj se aktivitet u ovoj pjesmi posebno sugerira putem glagola u prezentu, nerijetko prezentom sa vezikom da: *vidim, divim, da vidam, da zidam*. Odabirom glagola radnje se izražava čovjekov rad na sebi, ali i aktivitet u društvu kojem pripada. Zanimljivo je da u drugom distihu poigravanjem redosljedom riječi u rečenici i aktiviranjem zalihosti Dizdar ispušta glagol (*A vidik vas mi sad/ Sâd u bojama sivim*), a da pritom ne krnji glagolsko značenje. Štaviše, ovim postupkom razbijena struktura pjesme u bliske i srodne odnose dovodi glagole sličnog glasovnog sklopa ali različitih značenja (*vidim, divim, vidam, zidam*). Svojestveno Dizdarevom stilu i u ovoj pjesmi se insistira na akustičkoj podršci u stvaranju značenja pa su angažirani tvorbeno i glasovno djelimično isti ili slični, a semantički relativno različiti pojmovi: *vidim – divim – vidik – vidam-zidam*, o čemu je bilo riječi ranije.

Ovakva poigravanja su uvijek u dosluhu sa bosanskim i slavenskim starim riječima i arhaizmima. Takve riječi u ovoj pjesmi su glagol *vidati* i pridjev *vas*. Ovim stilski obojenim leksemama pjesnik podržava poetski narativ o sveltremenskoj drami ljudske egzistencije i životnom usudu društva pritisnutog nedaćama koje prate bosanskog

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6 U fonostilematici samolasnici prednjeg reda (*e, i*) poznati su kao vedri i svijetli vokali, oni koji se karakterišu jasnoćom, brzinom, ljupkošću, te su nosioci vedrih raspoloženja. A samoglasnici stražnjeg reda (*a, o, u*) važe za tamne vokale, odnosno one koji su nosioci tmurnijih raspoloženja.

čovjeka kroz historiju. Sugestija neprekinute egzistenacijalne ugroze postiže se manipuliranjem vremenima pomoću različitih vremenskih priloga:

*A vidik vas mi sad*  
*Sâd u bojama sivim*  
*I ne znam tad*  
*Da li da vid vidam*

U sintagmatskom sklopu „sâd u bojama sivim“ narušena je očekivana struktura rečenice (umjesto: sâd sive boje il sivi sâd). Upotrebom množine za (jednu!) boju pjesnik je uspio provući konotaciju nijansiranja one boje koja ima najmanje nijansi, što signira beznade iskustva i očaj pred budućnošću.

### **2.3. *Narušavanje ustaljenih sintaksičkih konvencija***

Dizdareve pjesme posežu za zvukovnim i tvorbenim ponavljanjima kao jednim od glavnih postupaka u gradnji poetskog teksta. U ovoj pjesmi važnu ulogu ima još jedna figura ponavljanja i to *anadiploza* koja je u službi gradacije i ritmizacije iskaza:

*Vidim da se divim*  
*Divim se kad vidim*

Naime, ova figura konstrukcije „ritmizira tekst, ističe ključne riječi, misli ili emocije“ (Bagić 2012: 32). I upotrijebljena je kako bi dinamizirala pjesmu i zaokružila značenjsku cjelinu prve strofe. Iako riječi sâd i sâd u stihovima *A vidik vas mi sad/ Sâd u bojama sivim*, imaju istu glasovnu strukturu, ipak nije riječ o anadiplozi zato što su u pitanju homofoni. Nije slučajno što se Dizdar u prvom distihu poslužio anadiplozom, a u drugom homofonima, jer takvim semantički djelotvornim ritmičkim i akcenatskim svingom osnažuje i čini vjerodostojnim svoje pjesničko traganje za novim i djelotvornim jezičkim artikulacijama. Upotrebom leksema sâd pjesnik obrće semantički tok pjesme, njegov vidik, tj. ono što ga okružuje postaje sâd, mjesto na kojem se sadi (uzgaja, proizvodi) i koje bi trebalo sugerirati perspektivu, rast, razvoj, uspon, ali samo pojačava negativnu percepciju životnih okolnosti. Štaviše, kao aktivan (lirski) subjekt on sam postaje svojevrsna „bašta“ u kojoj poetski niču/artikuliraju se slike sumornog života koji ga okružuje.

Tmurna vizija života u pjesmi ogleda se kroz sive boje, što nije rijetkost u Dizdarevom poetskom svijetu<sup>7</sup>. Siva boja nije ni vedra ni potpuno mračna, ali je dovoljno i teška i prelazna da opiše duševni nemir. Da je upotrijebljena crna boja onda bi naredni stihovi, koji donose vedrinu, bili prilično deplasirani. Siva boja, u ovom slučaju, simbolizira čovjeka dualističkih shvatanja života, koji je spreman mijenjati se, što pokazuju i naredni stihovi: *I ne znam tad/ Da li da vid vidam/ Ili drukčije/ Neke vidike/ Da zidam*.

Kompleksnost Dizdareva jezika narušava i ustaljene sintaksičke konvencije, a da pritom ne obesmišljava poetski iskaz. O razbijanju sintaksičkih konstrukcija u *Kamenom spavaču* Radojica Tautović (prema Šator 2013: 252) ističe kako je ova zbirka spoj sa „glasom srednjovjekovnog bosanskog čovjeka, ali ta poezija samo izvire na takvim inspirativnim osnovama, jer je riječ o ‘dva potoka što proističu iz istog vrela’“. S tim u vezi, ilustrativan je drugi distih (*A vidik vas mi sad/ sâd u bojama sivim*) koji odstupa od uobičajenog reda riječi u rečenici. Jedan od stilogenih postupaka svojstvenih Dizdarevoj poeziji jeste upravo upotreba elipse glagola biti u imenskom predikatu, a ritmiziranju iskaza doprinijela je upotreba kongruentnih atributa u inverziji: *vidik vas, bojama sivim*. I spoj *drukčije neke vidike* nalazi se u inverzivnom obliku, te je ovakav red riječi dobio stilsku dimenziju, značenje poetskog iskaza intenziviralo je sugestiju ljudske drame. K tome, upotrebom ovog spoja usporava se ritam pred sintaksičku pauzu i nadolezeći stih mogućeg razrješenja.

Parcelacija ustaljenog sintaksičkog reda postignuta je i *distorzijom* koja je kombinovana s opkoračenjem na samom završetku pjesme:

*Ili drukčije*  
*Neke vidike*  
*Da zidam*

Izdvajanjem posljednjeg stiha iz cjeline uspostavljenog sintaksičkog niza, a što se događa zajedno s razrješenjem napetosti konačnim izricanjem odgađanog momenta na kraju pjesme, iskaz je intenziviran i stječe iznimno semantičko svojstvo. Budući da je sintaksa u službi odgađanja bitnog, ona se semantizirapostajući sredstvom postizanja prvorazrednog poetskog efekta. Semantički obrat u posljednjem stihu sugerira perspektivu mogućeg razrješenja egzistencijalnog stiska – mijenjati sebe ili svijet oko sebe, pasivno promatrati ili pak aktivno participirati u društvenim kolanjima.

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7 Boje u Dizdarevoj poeziji imaju pretežno simbolički karakter. Sve one su predstavljene na kontrastu svijetlo-tamno, što je u odraz dualističkog shvatanja života. Pogledati više u Šator (2013).

#### **2.4. Zazivanje bosanske prošlosti putem stare bosanske leksike**

U nastojanju da jezičkim sredstvima zadre uključna pitanja egzistencijalne drame ovdašnjeg čovjeka Dizdar poseže za arhaizmima bosanskog jezika koji su prisutni u starim bosanskim tekstovima, govorima i narodnim pjesmama. Tako je, primjerice, frekventna upotreba fonometaplazme (sav/vas), konkretno u pjesmi *Zapis o očima* gdje je sintezom modernog pjesničkog izričaja i inkorporiranih arhaičnih leksema *sâd, vidati* i *vas* pjesnik donio uvjerljivu lirsku priču o svezremenosti egzistencijalnih dilema koje prate svekoliku bosansku historiju.

Naslov pjesme, kao jaka pozicija teksta, korespondira s fokusnim tačkama naše interpretacije. Oči su perceptivni mehanizam zahvaljujući kojem čovjek funkcioniše, a samim tim i djeluje unutar slojevitih životnih okolnosti. K tome, rječima *vid* i *vidim* Dizdar vješto priklanja i tvorbeno blisku leksemu *vidati* (*liječiti, isjeljivati*<sup>8</sup>) što neminovno upućuje na liječenje pogledom. Leksema *zapis*, pak, navješćuje rječit osvrtna tu višestoljetnu sudbinu hrvanja sa nedaćama i iznalaženja načina da se one prebrode. Sudbina bosanskog čovjeka uobličena je tako u poetsku priču ispjevanu modernim izrazom impregniranim zvučnim i ekspresivnim elementima starog bosanskog govora.

### **3. STEĆAK – SKENDER KULENOVIĆ**

#### ***Stećak***

*Stećak mramorni ćuti govorom scena po boku,  
jači od kandža kiše, povampirenja i krađe.  
Njegov mjesec i sunce, što znače posmrtno lađe,  
davno su prevezli dušu, vjekuju sad u doku.*

*Udaljili su se od njeg i gradovi i sela.  
Vidik mu stvore listopad i kože što tu brste.  
Vjetar podsjeti lijeske, i one se šaptom krste.  
Zmija mu krene uz reljef, svoj reljef svije sred čela.*

*Zašto sam došao ovdje, kad sve već ovdje piše?  
Posljednju blijedu zelen s jesenjom travom dišem.  
Čuj, zvoni zrelo stablo – to lijes mi teše žuna.*

8 Čedić, Ibrahim (ur.) (2007), *Rječnik bosanskog jezika*, Institut za jezik u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, str. 1214.

*Stihove što još bruje dlijetom po stećku svom stišaj,  
pa, uspokojen, pusti neka ih pokrije lišaj,  
lezi pod stećak stiha bez prevoznika-čuna.* (Kulenović 1991: 81)

Pjesma *Stećak* Skendera Kulenovića jedna je od istaknutih u pjesnikovom spektakularnom povratku sonetu<sup>9</sup> sa zbirkom *Soneti I* (1968). Mnogi Kulenovićeви soneti nalaze se u specifičnom odnosu spram tradicionalnog sonetnog oblika, te se smatraju sonetima u tragovima<sup>10</sup>. Zapravo, stihovi ovih soneta „strogo formalno gledano, još uvijek su slobodni (i integracijski i relacijski polimetrični) ali su disciplinirani možda do najveće mjere koju slobodni stihovi uopće mogu dosegnuti“ (Spahić 2008: 158). I u odabranoj pjesmi u velikoj mjeri su ispoštovani formalni zahtjevi klasičnog soneta, a proboji te striktno zadane forme (12. stih ima 16, a posljednji 14 slogova) dešavaju se usljed, kako je primijetio Marko Vešović (2008), pjesniku svojstvenog „viška života“. A kako je viškom života ispunio i neživi kamen Kulenović nam rasvjetljava putem jezika i pažljivo odabranih (kombinacija) leksema koji pjesnički oživotvoruju stećak i poruke koje posredstvom svojih nadgrobnjaka odašilje bosansko srednjovjekovlje.

### **3.1. Glasovna ponavljanja i još neke posebnosti...**

Krenemo li od organizacije pjesme u pogledu rime primjećujemo da su katreni jednaki i sačinjeni od obrgljenih rima (ABBA ABBA), dok su tercine međusobno povezane različitim sistemima rimovanja (CCD EED). Riječi na kraju stihova koje se međusobno rimuju podržane su asonantsko-aliteracijskim ponavljanjima, te su relativno semantički udaljene (**boku-doku, krađe-lade, sela-čela, brste-krste, piše-dišem, stišaj-lišaj, žuna-čuna**). Rima svih stihova u ovoj pjesmi ispunjava samo osnovni, zvučni uslov kao poetički princip soneta. Naime, ovdje je rima samo formalno ispoštovana jer semantička udaljenost među rimovanim riječima vodi značenjskoj preakumuliranosti, što intenzivira ekspresivnu notu prizivanja mističnog, dalekog i davno minolog svijeta.

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<sup>9</sup> Kulenovićev prvi književni rad bio je sonetni vijenac *Ocvale primule* (1927) koji čini mali ciklus od pet soneta.

<sup>10</sup> Npr. Enver Kazaz (2018): „Ovaj pjesnik istraživao je formu soneta do te mjere da ona ostaje samo u tragovima. U pjesmi *Prh*, naprimjer, tek je okvirna forma soneta zadržana, a iznutra, iz ugla poetskog ritma, vezanog metričkog stiha s precizno organiziranom stopom i kadencama, to je sonet tek u tragovima. Okvirna forma gura ga u tradiciju evropskog soneta, onog refleksivnog, kakva je npr. Šekspirova poetska refleksija, a sve drugo u njemu obilježeno je rasulom forme iznutra“.



U *Sonetima* se javljaju pjesme „pretežno pod pritiskom sadržaja, obično teškog i daktilski usporenog ritma gdje svaka riječ kao da traži da se na njoj zaustavimo i pretresemo joj odzvuk i množinu značenja“ (Begić 1991: 17). Tako i *Stećak* zahtijeva da se fokusira pozornost na kombinaciju glasovnih preplitanja. U prvoj strofi pjesnik upotrebljava oksimoronsku metaforu kazavši da stećak čuti govorom. Riječ je o metafizičkoj i šutnji i govoru vječnoga upućenom privremenome (Vešović 2006). Transcendentnost i tajanstvenost „govora koji šuti“ ili „šutnje koja govori“ prati aliteracija. Prema Bagiću (2012: 23), „aliteracija svraća pozornost na dio iskaza ili iskaz u kojemu se realizira, zaokružuje ga, estetizira, stvara učinak eha, sugerira neočekivana suglasja među udaljenim pojmovima, potiče na nesvakidašnju komunikaciju“. To je primjetno u sljedećim primjerima: *Stećak mramorni čuti govorom scena po boku, / jači od kandža kiše, povampirenja i krađe. / (...) davno su prevezli dušu, vjekuju sad u doku*; čime se ritam poetskog iskaza blago usporava, a iskaz zaokružuje. S tim u vezi pažljivo je odabrana i leksema *čuti*, koja osim što aliteracijski korespondira sa leksemom *stećak*, poetičnija je i stilski obojenija od oblika *šuti*. Posrijedi je, naime, svojevrsna značenjska igra, jer se vrlo često, posebno u narodnim pjesmama, pojavljuje oblik čutjeti sa značenjem osjećati. U ovom slučaju, Kulenovićev stećak, i šuti i osjeća, ili čak sluti bosanskog čovjeka sa svom njegovom povijesnom popudbinom. Toj misterioznoj slutnji doprinosi i asonantna upotreba tzv. tamnih vokala zadnjeg reda o, u i a: *Stećak mramorni čuti govorom scena po boku*.

U ostalim strofama ipak je primjetna blaga dominacija tzv. vedrih vokala (prednjega reda, e, i), a na nivou cijele pjesme odnos je 100:93. Glasovna simbolika pjesme povezana s upotrebom i jednih i drugih vokala podržava unutarnji ton pjesme – atmosferu otuđenosti ali i tihe a neumitne siline prirode pred kandžama vremena. „Kauzalni odnos između ritmičke organizacije poetskog iskaza i emocionalnih sadržaja“ (Ćorac 1982: 88) rezultira ritmičkom harmonijom kojoj svoj obol daju i ponavljanja određenih riječi: *Zašto sam došao ovdje, kad sve već ovdje piše?; Zmija mu krene uz reljef, svoj reljef svije sred čela*. Također, primjetna je upotreba i sinkope u vidu upotrebom riječi *šaptom* (umjesto šapatom): *Vjetar podsjeti lijeske, i one se šaptom krste*. Ova pojava se u Kulenovićevom pjesništvu može vezati za upliv narodnih govora koji je posebno produktivan u njegovim ranijim pjesmama. Međutim, u ovoj pjesmi razlozi sinkopiranih oblika interne su prirode, kako metričke (da bi se ispoštovao klasični oblik petnaesterca), tako i stilske odnosno estetske.



### 3.2. Morfostilemi kao jake pozicije poetskog teksta

Vrste riječi i njihove gramatičke kategorije u pjesmi slika su norme savremenog bosanskog jezika. Kulenović je upisao moderni jezik u tradicionalan okvir soneta. A da je pjesnik vještine (*poeta faber*), svjestan jezičkih mogućnosti i dosega vlastitog umijeća ukazuje, među brojnim, stih: „jači od kandža kiše, povampirenja i krađe“, u kojem je vješto izbjegnuta rima; umjesto oblika *kandži* uporijebljen je oblik *kandža* kao semantički prikladnija asonantska artikulacija stražnjih vokala. Pri tom, ovaj oblik stilski je markirao jednu od „najsnažnijih metafora u Kulenovićevom pjesništvu“ (Vešović 2006: 42).

I glagoli se u pjesmi pojavljuju kao jake pozicije teksta. Od tri upotrebljena glagolska oblika –perfekt, prezent i imperativ – prezent je najdominantniji (11 puta). Poseban oblik prezenta prisutan u pjesmi je tzv. svevremenski prezent koji zajedno sa perfektom sugerira i trajnost stećka ali i svevremenost poetske tvorevine. Nakon opisa stamenog nadgrobnika, u tercinama se pjesnik obraća sebi i to upotrebom imperativa u drugom licu jednine (čuj, stišaj, pusti, lezi). Imperativ predstavlja ekspresivnije i efektivnije obraćanje od bilo kojeg drugog glagolskog oblika. Imperativ je u ovom slučaju morfostilem koji ima ključnu funkciju u značenjskom obratu na samom kraju pjesme – egzistencijalno ništavilo pjesnik prevazilazi imperativnom lojalnošću svojoj poetici estetskog utopizma – povjerenja u pjesničku riječ kao modus upisa u vječnost.

Osjećaj ljudske prolaznosti naspram vječnosti kamena koji je pred njim, dat je posredno, sinestezijskom metaforom: *Posljednju blijedu zelen s jesenjom travom dišem*. Poistovjećujući se sa prirodom (i prirodu s kulturom), dok žuna-stolar pravi sanduk za posljednji počinak, lirski subjekt se priprema za skori kraj života. Upotreba pridjeva: posljednja **blijeda** zelen, **jesenja** trava, **zrelo** stablo posreduje značenje odlaska u vječno počivalište. I „blijeda zelen“ i „jesenja trava“ kao tragovi posljednjeg zelenila u godini upućuju na čovjekovu starost, dok je „zrelo stablo“ od kojeg se pravi sanduk znak spremnosti na smrt, a svi zajedno i kumulativno grade sliku čovjekova presahlog biološkog sata.

### 3.3. Sintagmatske i inverzivne rečeničke specifičnosti

Neobični najčešće genitivni sklopovi riječi: „govor scena“, „kandže kiše“, „posmrtnje lađe“, „stećak stiha“; daju poetskom kazivanju note apartnosti i mudrosti. Istu djelotvornost ima upotreba *hifena* kada pjesnik ujedinjuje dvije semantički bliske ime-

nice od kojih se svaka deklinira. Hifenska spojnica *prevoznik-čun* donosi smisaonu ambivalentnost i dinamičnost odnosa među dvjema komponentama. Sadržaj ovog hifena modelira se na način da prva sastavnica semantički dopunjuje drugu, s tim da obje u svijest prizivaju „posmrtna lađa“ iz prvog katrena čime se pjesma zaokružuje u značenjsku cjelinu.

Upotrebom postponiranih kongruentnih atributa uz imenicu stećak (stećak mramorni, stećku svom), nakon kojih uvijek dolazi predikat, dodatno je semantizirano kazivanje o stećku – stamenom, jakom i neprolaznom. Ekspresivnosti Kulenovićevih stihova doprinosi i inverzivni red članova rečenice. Posrijedi je smjerno i funkcionalno odstupanje od uobičajenog, stilski neobilježenog reda riječi<sup>11</sup>, koje uspostavlja ritam i rimu, neosjetno, nepretenciozno i tečno (npr. *Posljednju blijedu zelen s jesenjom travom dišem*, umjesto: *Dišem posljednju blijedu zelen s jesenjom travom ili Čuj, zvoni zrelo stablo – to lijes mi teše žuna*, umjesto: *Čuj, zrelo stablo zvoni, to mi žuna teše lijes*). Osim što je ovim rasporedom izvedena rima (žuna-čuna), objektom (lijes) pozicioniranim u početni dio druge rečenice naglašava se ton i značenje ostatka pjesme. Leksema *lijes* (stilski markantnija od lekseme *sanduk*) u inicijalnoj poziciji donosi semantički zaokret realizovan prvom tercinom. Naglasak je na neumitnoj prolaznosti ljudskoga života, pri čemu konstrukcija „to mi žuna teše lijes“, ne bi bila dostatno stilski i semantički implikativna.

Nakon opisa stećka, nivelacije sa prirodom, spremnosti na počinak, u posljednjoj tercini poziciju lirskog subjekta Kulenović izjednačava sa klesarom stećka u stožernom stihu cijele pjesme: *Stihove što još bruje – dlijetom po stećku svom stišaj*. Osim što je prekinut logički redosljed rečeničkih članova (umjesto: *stišaj dlijetom po svom stećku*), stih je jedinstven i po tome što se sastoji od glavne rečenice i klauze koja je na prvom mjestu, pa je „inverzivni red rečenica, prema tome, stilistički“ (Ćorac 1982: 370). Između početne i završne riječi stiha (stihove, stišaj) odigran je inverzivni ples riječi, usporen je ritam i semantički usklađen sa neobičnim spojem: *stihove stišaj*. Prema Vešoviću (2006: 51), ova igra riječi zvuči kao „definicija Kulenovićeve pozne poezije (...) u sonetima njegov stih je stihnuo, što i priliči pjesmama nastalim u suočenjima sa Neminovnim“.

11 „...tako da vršilac radnje dobije prvo mjesto u rečenici, što znači subjekat, pa da predikat kao drugi da objekt, koji je neposredno vezan za predikat kao predmet radnje, dobije mjesto nesporedno iza predikata, a da priloške odredbe dobiju ona mjesta iza objekta koja im odredi govorno lice kao pojmovima koji označavaju određeni uslov (vremenski, prostorni itd.) realizacije subjektive radnje. Atribut je odredba koja se odnosi na svojstvo subjekta te se nalazi vezana za subjekat mestom ispred sebe (subjekta)“ (Ćorac 1982: 369-370). Ćorac ovdje ukazuje na konvencionalno ustrojstvo rečenice, s tim da je naš jezik istovremeno i nepokretan i slobodan, pa se, ne samo u književnosti, ovaj red rečeničkih članova vrlo često ne poštuje. Kada je u pitanju sintaksostilistička analiza treba voditi računa o razlikovanju između prirodnog dokidanja rečeničkih članova od onog stilskog.

### 3.4. Ekspresivna leksika Kulenovićevog poetskog iskaza

Dok je jezik Kulenovićevih ranijih poema „čisti narodni jezik, duboko ukorijenjen u tradiciju, prirodu, lokalni kolorit“ (Nikolić 2015: 45), jezik *Soneta* je „oslobođen jezičkih i poetskih arhetipova, moderan je, koristi se svakodnevnom kolokvijalnom leksikom“ (ibid.). Stihovi se rađaju jedan iz drugog, mjesec i sunce uklesani na besmrtni kamen suprotstavljeni su prolaznosti čovjekova života te „vjekuju u doku“. Tuđica *dok* nije bezazleno upotrijebljena. Nepoetična je po sebi, ali je u stihove prizvana rimom, i ne samo njom jer „dok’ svojom tvrdoglavom prozaičnošću, prenesen na onaj svijet, ne samo da oživljava avetinjsku luku već i ironijski obasjava vjeru srednjovjekovnog čovjeka u besmrtnost duše“ (Vešović 2006: 46). Time je upotreba ove lekseme kroz sinergiju rime i apartne semantike zadobila bitnu ekspresivnu ulogu u pjesmi.

Uz zvukovno-semantičke vrednote Skender Kulenović je insistirao na ekspresivnim vrijednostima riječi, što svjedoči izbor iz moderne leksike koja, na prvi mah, u pjesmi egzistira poput uljeza. Za razliku od lekseme *vjekovati*, po sebi poetične i stilogene, iz lekseme *scena*, stilski i poetski niskoimplikativne, pjesnik situaciono i kontekstualno izvlači maksimalnu ekspresiju. Bosanska prošlost u svijesti savremenog čovjeka egzistira poput scene na kojoj se odigravaju sukobi različitih razmjera, pa je upotreba ove lekseme donijela učinak približavanja stećku kao simbolu svezremenosti. O tome, sasvim precizno, rezonuje Asim Peco (2007: 261):

„Upravo bi se moglo reći da su pjesnici arhitekta koji u svoja djela unose riječi, pristupačne svakom pojedincu, ali koje tek u stihovima dobijaju nove životne sokove, nova, do tada, neslućena značenja. Kao što od talenta i maštovitosti arhitekta zavisi oblik i funkcionalnost građevine koju projektuje, tako, isto, i od pjesničke intuitivnosti, od poznavanja jezika na kome se piše, zavisi i oblik i vrijednost poruke koju nam upućuje“.

Na istome tragu, može se zaključiti da je Skender Kulenović pjesnik-arhitekta koji je pažljivim odabirom iz leksičkog korpusa bosanskoga jezika dokazao da umije poetski oživjeti sve slojeve jezičkog supstrata. Tako *listopad*, za razliku od lekseme *oktobar*, svojim morfološkim oblikom i značenjem izravno referira na opadanje lišća, što korespondira s konačnim smislom i poentom pjesme od otkrivanja stećka tokom jeseni do skoro presahlog života.

Sumornim tonovima prolaznosti Kulenović suprotstavlja koncept umjetnosti kao prevazilaženja vremenskih limita egzistencije. Iskaz „leći pod stećak stiha“ ovjerava pjesničko stvaralaštvo kao jamca eterniteta. Stamenost pjesničke riječi analognu

stećku Skender Kulenović uokviruje u sonet: „... pjesma se sada od smrti i ništavila brani čvrstom, stamenom formom ‘stećka stiha’“ (Duraković 1999: 21-22).

Pjesma *Stećak* kao odbrana jedinstva života i pjesme svoju empirijsku supstanciju pronalazi u bosanskom srednjovjekovnom nadgrobnom spomeniku. Konkord njenog iskaza sa zagonetnim govorom stećka koji mudro „ćuti“ o uzvišenim tajnama, ukazuje na bliskost stvaralačkih identiteta Maka Dizdara i Skendera Kulenovića, pjesnika svjesnih dubokih izražajnih potencijala bosanskoga jezika i umješnih da te potencijale poetski ovaploste.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Mehmedalija Mak Dizdar i Skender Kulenović važe za najznačajnije bosanskohercegovačke i bošnjačke pjesnike 20. vijeka, a u ovome radu intepretirane njihove pjesme „...su reprezentativne za zavičajno-simbolički poteski model modernog bosanskohercegovačkog pjesništva“ (Spahić 2002: 345). Njihovom pjesništvu duboko uronjenom ili u stare bosanske govore ili u stratifikat modernog jezičkog izričaja zajedničko je nastojanje da se umjetnički artikulira s vremenom usud čovjekov. Zbog svojih jezičkih posebnosti stihovi ovih pjesnika izrazito su blagorodni za lingvostilističku analizu. Na početku predstavljeni teorijski okvir razvoja lingvostilistike te objašnjeni predmet lingvostilističke analize u ovome je radu sproveden kroz dvije pjesme: *Zapis o očima* Maka Dizdara i *Stećak* Skendera Kulenovića. Stilističkom analizom na fonetsko-fonološkom, morfološkom, sintaksičkom i leksičkom nivou dat je uvid u djelić neusporedive umješnosti jezičkoga stvaranja ova dva pjesnika, koje svoju iznimnost duguje upravo poetski djelotvornim stilističkim postupcima na svim analiziranim jezičkim nivoima.

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## LINGU-STYLISTIC INTERPRETATION OF THE POEMS "ZAPIS O OČIMA" (*TEXT ABOUT THE EYES*) BY MAK DIZDAR AND "STEĆAK" (*TOMBSTONE*) BY SKENDER KULENOVIĆ

### Summary:

This paper offers a linguo-stylistic interpretation of two poems: *Zapis o očima (Text about the Eyes)* by Mehmedalija Mak Dizdar and *Stećak (Tombstone)* by Skender Kulenović. The goal of the study is to highlight the unique stylistic techniques employed by the poets and the expressive effects these techniques achieve. The paper begins with a brief theoretical overview of linguo-stylistics and the concept of style. The poetry of Mak Dizdar and Skender Kulenović can be analyzed on multiple linguistic levels, and this paper focuses on examining the most prominent stylistic elements at the phonetic-phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical levels. Both poems share a common thread in their linguistic portrayal of the universal fate of the Bosnian people and humanity at large, where both archaic language features and the modern expression of Bosnian are functionally integrated.

**Keywords:** Mak Dizdar; Skender Kulenović; poetry; linguo-stylistic interpretation

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## KROATISTIKA

**Ana Mikić Čolić**

RODNA LINGVISTIKA U HRVATSKOJ – GDJE SMO (BILI) I KAMO IDEMO? /  
GENDER LINGUISTICS IN CROATIA - WHERE DID WE START FROM AND  
WHERE ARE WE HEADED? ..... 609

**Marija Malnar Jurišić**

PTICE U KAJKAVSKOJ FRAZELOGIJI /  
BIRDS IN KAJKAVIAN PHRASEOLOGY ..... 625

**Gabrijela Buljan**

TWO FACES OF ONE SUFFIX: SOME THOUGHTS ON USING CORPORA IN  
USAGE-BASED STUDIES OF WORD FORMATION / DVA LICA ISTOGA  
SUFIKSA: NEKE MISLI O KORIŠTENJU KORPUSA U UPORABNIM  
PRISTUPIMA ANALIZI TVORBE RIJEČI ..... 647





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## **RODNA LINGVISTIKA U HRVATSKOJ – GDJE SMO (BILI) I KAMO IDEMO?**

Proučavanje muškoga i ženskoga u jeziku u svijetu ulazi u svoje šesto desetljeće. Od programatskoga članka „Jezik i ženino mjesto“ Robin Lakoff iz 1973. govori se o *ženskom jeziku*, odnosno o razlikama između muškoga i ženskoga jezika koje su posljedica, smatra Lakoff, muške dominacije u društvu, odnosno ženskog nedostatka moći. Ženski jezik tako podrazumijeva – podvrgnut strogoj društvenoj kontroli – jezik koji je uporabom ograničen na žene, ali i jezik koji opisuje žene. Upravo uz potonje možemo vezati stidljive početke rodnolingvističkih tema u Hrvatskoj. Naime, sedamdesetih, a znatno intenzivnije osamdesetih godina prošloga stoljeća u kroatistici se počinje pisati o mocijskoj tvorbi, odnosno o tvorbi ženskih profesijskih parnjaka, čime na mala vrata u kroatistiku ulaze „ženske teme“. U ovome radu donosi se pregled istraživanja odnosa jezika i roda u Hrvatskoj od spomenutih početaka do danas. Na temelju analize radova rodnolingvističke tematike objavljenih u Hrvatskoj, raspravljat će se o njihovu tematskom fokusu i rezultatima sa stajališta različitih jezičnih razina i lingvističkih disciplina – gramatike, frazeologije, terminologije, pragmalingvistike i sociolingvistike.

**Ključne riječi:** rodna lingvistika u Hrvatskoj; ženski jezik; odnos jezika i roda

## 1. UVOD

Povijest čovječanstva koju (između redova) iščitavamo iz književnosti, umjetnosti, kultura i religija svjedoči o tipizaciji rodnih uloga staroj koliko i sam čovjek. Muškarcima se tako pripisuje divlja priroda, koja se očituje kroz izživljavanje nagonских impulsa, dok se, s druge strane, žensku prirodu smatra znatno čišćom. Tradicionalan stav o ženskoj poročnosti i zavodničkoj prirodi koji je svoje izvore imao u liku biblijske Eve, zamijenjen je u 18. stoljeću novim stereotipom žene koji će vladati obiteljskom scenom tijekom cijeloga razdoblja uspona građanstva pa sve do 20. stoljeća. Tada se razvija i kult djeteta, a zbog njegove važnosti slika žene gotovo se u potpunosti izjednačava sa slikom majke. Ako muškarac utjelovljuje znanost, tržište ili politiku, žena svojim majčinskim suosjećanjem ublažava hladnoću koju on nosi iz tih područja. Strogi otac i nježna majka postaju međusobno komplementarne figure građanske obitelji (Novak 2004).

Pojava uže obitelji stvorila je stereotip nove žene koja je sada na svim područjima – u razgovoru, jelu, odijevanju – morala pokazivati svoju čednost. To sentimentalno prikazivanje žene naposljetku je stvorilo sliku „anđela u kući“, dok je inzistiranje na ženinoj majčinskoj ulozi sve više pridonosilo negiranju njezine seksualnosti. Dok se sredinom 19. stoljeća Božić počinje slaviti kao blagdan obiteljske topline, u Francuskoj istovremeno raste opsesija likom prostitutke, što dovodi do polarizacije slike žene koja se, i u društvu i u književnosti, održala do danas (Novak 2004). Otprilike u isto vrijeme – sredinom 19. stoljeća – žene su počele i putovati<sup>1</sup>, najčešće kao guvernante ili učiteljice, tražeći posao ili priliku za volontiranje i humanitarni rad koji se smatrao plemenitim društvenim doprinosom za „ženski rod“ (Matešić, Slapšak 2017: 32).

Početak 20. stoljeća tip „nove žene“ tjera sentimentalnu junakinju s pozornice, a rekonstrukcija tragova potisnute ženstvenosti očituje se kroz promjenu mode koja postaje simbol veće slobode kretanja. Upravo se posredstvom modne industrije razvija predrasuda da žene treba gledati, a ne slušati. Ta je predrasuda rezultirala stereotipnim slikama žene u različitim razdobljima (Novak 2004; Oraić Tolić, Kulcsár Szabó 2006). Bilo da je riječ o pedesetim godinama kada su žene na reklamama prikazivane s pogledom prema dolje izbjegavajući pogled promatrača ili s iznenađenim, pomalo naivnim izrazom lica, ili pak o modernim reklamama na kojima, s nešto više samopouzdanja gledaju promatrača, ali nerijetko nad njima bdiju muškarci, uspo-

1 Praksu putovanja etablirao je kao prepoznatljiv i stabilan kanon prosvjetiteljski ideal 18. stoljeća o stvaranju, odnosno odrastanju **muškog** (istaknula A. M. Č.) zapadnjačkog aristokrata, a kasnije i svakog dobrostojećeg kozmopolitskog građanina (Matešić, Slapšak 2017).

stavljaju se nerealni kriteriji, odnosno individualne se značajke proglašavaju stvarnim obilježjem cijeloga roda što vodi prema diskriminaciji te, iako se stereotipi mijenjaju ili nestaju, njihovo mjesto zauzimaju drugi (Mikić 2009).

U drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća govor o ženi i njezinu udjelu u društvu postao je gotovo znakom društvene zrelosti; na žene se prestalo gledati kao na salonski ukras, a predrasuda o ženskoj pasivnosti počela se smatrati mužjačkim atavizmom (Novak 2004). Takve okolnosti bile su plodno tlo da se sustavnije progovori o muškom i ženskom (u) jeziku. Analize provedene u okviru mlade discipline koja se u literaturi i danas različito naziva – *feministička kritika jezika*, *feministička lingvistika*, *rodna lingvistika*, *studiji jezika i roda* – pokazale su da se višestoljetna dominacija muškaraca u društvu prelila i u jezik i to u dva smjera: specifičan jezik koji je uporabom ograničen na žene te jezik koji opisuje žene.

U ovome radu donosi se pregled istraživanja odnosa jezika i roda u Hrvatskoj<sup>2</sup> od spomenutih početaka do danas. Na temelju analize radova rodnolingvističke tematike objavljenih u Hrvatskoj, raspravljat će se o njihovom tematskom fokusu i rezultatima sa stajališta različitih jezičnih razina i lingvističkih disciplina – gramatike, frazeologije, terminologije, pragmalingvistike i sociolingvistike.

## 2. RODNA LINGVISTIKA U HRVATSKOJ – GDJE SMO (BILI)?

U ovome poglavlju analizirat će se radovi iz područja rodne lingvistike objavljeni u Hrvatskoj od kraja sedamdesetih godina naovamo. Pregled koji slijedi načinjen je prema tematskom i kronološkom kriteriju.

### 2.1. Rodolektološki „kanon“ u Hrvatskoj

Svaka nova epoha u književnosti, znanosti ili umjetnosti počinjala je programatskim djelom u kojemu su iznesene temeljne ideje koje će tu epohu razlikovati od svih prethodnih. Iako se o položaju žena u društvu počelo govoriti znatno ranije, početak rodne lingvistike smješta se u sedamdesete godine prošloga stoljeća. Članak *Jezik i ženino mjesto* Robin Lakoff pokrenuo je lavinu u čitavom svijetu, a kugla koja je tada nastala povećava se i kotrlja, danas možda i intenzivnije i slobodnije nego ikada. S druge strane, unatoč izmijenjenim društvenim okolnostima i dalje se djevojčice uči da se

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2 Od kraja sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća rodnu lingvistiku u srbistici inaugurira Svenka Savić. U novije vrijeme rodnolingvističkim temama u srbistici bavi se, između ostalih, Margareta Bašaragin, a pionirski rodnolingvističke teme (ponajprije s gramatičkog aspekta) u bosnistiku, također recentnije, uvodi Amela Šehović.

moraju ponašati i govoriti „kao dame“. Konkretno, „govor dama“ podrazumijeva izbor određenih leksičkih jedinica te primjenu određenih sintaktičkih pravila i intonacijskih obilježja (Lakoff 2018). Takav je *ženski jezik* problematičan jer je utemeljen na stavu da su žene marginalizirane u ozbiljnim životnim pitanjima i da ta važna pitanja prisvajaju muškarci. Dakle, marginaliziranost i bespomoćnost žena odražavaju se i u načinu na koji se od žena očekuje da govore i u načinu na koji se o ženama govori, što jezično osiromašuje identitet žena. Na taj način jezik radi protiv odnosa prema ženama kao ozbiljnim osobama s vlastitim stavovima i Lakoff (2018: 37–38) postavlja pitanje može li se društvena nejednakost ispraviti mijenjanjem jezičnih nejednakosti. Jezik kakav im je namijenjen uskraćuje ženama sredstva za dojmljivo izražavanje te potiče izraze koji upućuju na trivijalnost i nepoznavanje teme, a s druge strane prema ženama se odnosi kao prema objektima – seksualnim ili kakvim drugim – a nikada kao prema ozbiljnim osobama koje imaju vlastite stavove (Ibidem). U njezinu se članku tako provlače dvije ključne teze: da muškarci i žene govore drukčije te da je to posljedica muške dominacije u društvu općenito (Pišković 2018a). Na tim stavovima temelje se dva pristupa istraživanjima roda i jezika u prvoj fazi rodne lingvistike: dominacijski pristup – unutar kojega se smatra da su rodne razlike u jeziku rezultat muške dominacije nad ženama i općega nastojanja da žene budu podređene muškarcima – te razlikovni pristup utemeljen na stavu da su razlike između muškoga i ženskoga jezika posljedica različitih načina socijalizacije djevojčica i dječaka (Pišković 2018). Stavovi Robin Lakoff vrlo su brzo doživjeli kritiku koja je ponajprije išla u smjeru njezina shvaćanja muškoga jezika kao norme u odnosu na koju se „mjerilo“ žene, što je kao posljedicu imalo shvaćanje ženskoga jezika kao inferiornoga, odnosno kao „devijacije“ (Spender 2018). Od početka sedamdesetih godina prošloga stoljeća do danas, feminizam i rodna lingvistika razvili su se u raznolik niz teorijskih, metodoloških i političkih nazora kojima je zajednička posvećenost razumijevanju i dovođenju u pitanje društvenih nejednakosti povezanih s rodom i spolnošću (Bucholtz 2018).

U Hrvatskoj su rodne teme zastupljene u lingvističkoj literaturi također od sedamdesetih godina prošloga stoljeća, ali je njihov tematski fokus bio nešto drukčiji. Konkretno, rodnolingvističke teme u hrvatskoj su lingvistici inaugurirane obrnutim slijedom – od praktičnih prema teorijskima. Iako su „praktične“ rodnolingvističke teme kronološki prethodile teorijskima, njima ćemo se posvetiti u sljedećem potpoglavlju. U nastavku ovoga potpoglavlja donosimo pregled prijevoda i članaka koji su etablirali rodnu lingvistiku kao disciplinu u Hrvatskoj.

Zadnje desetljeće 20. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj donosi korjenite društvene i političke promjene, a jedna je od njihovih posljedica i promjena u stilu i načinu života. Takve su okolnosti plodno tlo za otvaranje novome, modernome pa se upravo u tom periodu u Hrvatskoj pojavljuju prijevodi svjetskih bestselera Deborah Tannen *Ti to baš ne razumiješ: žene i muškarci u razgovoru* (1998) i Judith Butler *Nevolje s rodom* (2000). Tannen (1998) razlike u govoru muškaraca i žena pripisuje „različitim svjetovima“ u kojima odrastaju djevojčice i dječaci dok Butler (2000) s filozofskog i psihološkog stajališta tumači da je rod kulturalni konstrukt, da nije posljedica spola te da nije čvrst kao spol. Otprilike u isto vrijeme pojavljuju se i prvi članci domaćih lingvistica koji se bave teorijom rodne lingvistike, a na samom je početku toga niza Bertošin (2001) članak *Jezične promjene i feministička kritika jezika* u kojem autorica ispituje teorijsko-aktivističke načine na koje feministička kritika jezika pristupa jezičnim promjenama.<sup>3</sup> Autorica nadalje tumači da feminizam pristupa promjenama u jeziku preispitujući valjanost lingvističkih teza s obzirom na rodnu perspektivu, promatrajući jezične promjene s različitih aspekata i svjesno zadirući u gramatiku i leksik s ciljem mijenjanja seksističkih struktura i značenja (Bertoša 2001). Tim člankom Bertoša postavlja teorijske temelje rodnoj lingvistici u Hrvatskoj te eksplicitno naglašava važnost jezika u održavanju i nužnosti rastvaranja androcentričnoga društvenog poretka, a važnosti i značajne uloge jezika u konstrukciji rodnoga identiteta svojih govornica i govornika dotakla se i u drugim svojim člancima.<sup>4</sup> Ista je autorica zaslužna za inauguraciju još jedne discipline u Hrvatskoj – *queer* lingvistike – o kojoj progovara u članku *O queer lingvistici: teme, modeli, prijepori* (2014b). Tu disciplinu Bertoša smješta na razmeđe sociolingvistike, antropološke lingvistike, društveno orijentiranih analiza diskursa, posebice kritičke analize diskursa, te semiotike tumačeći da *queer* lingvistiku zanimaju ponajprije mnogostruki načini na koje jezik konstruira ljudsku spolnost, a u fokusu su i ostale teme: institucionalizirani diskursi o heteroseksualnosti i heteronormativnosti, spolno uznemiravanje, nasilje i homofobija, suodnos između spolnosti, roda i rase, lingvistička konstrukcija erotičnosti i romantike, spolnost i politička ekonomija i druge (Bertoša 2014b). Tim su člancima, koji opisuju temeljne teme, teorijske modele i pristupe rodne i *queer* lingvistike otvorena vrata za sustavno bavljenje feminizmom u jeziku u Hrvatskoj.

Teoriju rodne lingvistike u svojim studijama razrađuje i primjenjuje Glovacki-Bernardi (2008; 2018) polazeći od hipoteze da su simetričnost rodno različitih le-

3 O odnosu roda i jezika pisalo se u Hrvatskoj i ranije (naprimjer Kalogjera 1981; Borić 1998), ali smatramo da je Bertošin članak iz 2001. među prvima, ako ne i prvi, u Hrvatskoj u kojemu su sustavno iznesene teorijske postavke rodne lingvistike.

4 O tome više, naprimjer, u Bertoša (2014a).

ksema, status novih rodno definiranih oblika te njihova recepcija u hrvatskom jeziku uvjetovani sociokulturnim kontekstom i komunikacijskom praksom. Budući da čovjek svoju okolinu doživljava kroz jezik te za čovjeka stvarnost postoji jedino po jeziku i u jeziku, Glovacki-Bernardi (2008) zaključuje da nismo bespomoćno podložni moći naslijeđenog jezika, nego da svaki pojedinac i svaka generacija mogu i moraju utjecati na jezik i mijenjati ga. Dakle, autorica smatra da razvoj nekog jezika pokazuje zapravo razvoj društva te da se tek s jezikom u kojem su prisutne i žene i za njih otvara svijet.

Teorijskim, ali i praktičnim (pragmalingvističkim) aspektima rodne lingvistike u Hrvatskoj bavi se sustavno i Pišković, koja u nizu članaka tumači teorijske temelje<sup>5</sup> discipline, ali i na konkretnom materijalu pokazuje koliko jezik može biti seksistički i nenaklonjen prema ženama. Članak *Feministički otpor rodnoj asimetriji u jeziku i jezikoslovlju* (2014) s pravom se može označiti kao programatski jer u njemu Pišković predstavlja rezultate četiri desetljeća stare povijesti feminističke lingvistike u svijetu. U člancima *Kako govori prava dama? Hrvatski jezični bonton u prvoj polovici 20. stoljeća* (2018b) i *Jezične rodne ideologije u hrvatskim ženskim časopisima prve polovice 20. stoljeća* (2018c) Pišković opisuje i ilustrira higijenu ženskoga govora provedenu u hrvatskim bontonima i nekoliko ženskih časopisa s početka 20. stoljeća. Problematično je u navedenim člancima, smatra Pišković (2018b), što verbalna higijena vidljiva u ženskom jeziku nije motivirana samom sobom, nego je jedan od načina udovoljavanja društvenim predodžbama o prihvatljivome ženskom ponašanju. Iako se često govori i piše o razlikama u ljubaznosti, asertivnosti, kompetitivnosti, kooperativnosti, empatičnosti, agresivnosti i mnogim drugim obilježjima verbalne komunikacije žena i muškaraca, Pišković (2018c) naglašava da ne postoje nikakvi stvarni dokazi jasnih razlika između muškoga i ženskoga jezika. Ta dva koda postoje samo kao društvena norma i na njih se upućuje kao na samorazumljive potvrde općenitije društvene norme o jednako sumnjivoj načelnoj (biološkoj, fiziološkoj, mentalnoj) razlici između muškaraca i žena. Dakle, Pišković (2018c) smatra da su jezične rodne ideologije posljedica rodnih ideologija oblikovanih društvenim praksama. Ženski jezik pritom nije nikakav prirodan ili očekivan ishod evolucije i bioloških razlika između muškaraca i žena te su žene samo konzumeristice toga jezika iz javnoga diskursa i ne može ga se povezati sa ženskom stvaralačkom aktivnošću.

Uz opisan autorski doprinos Bertoše i Pišković, valja istaknuti i njihov urednički rad, kojim rodna lingvistika u Hrvatskoj dobiva još više na težini. Godine 2018. objavljene su tri uredničke publikacije čiji je doprinos iznimno značajan. Prva na koju

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5 O tome vidjeti Pišković (2014a).

ćemo se osvrnuti je zbornik radova o jeziku, rodu i spolu *Rodni jezici* (Pišković 2018d) u kojemu je okupljen i preveden reprezentativan izbor kanonskih tekstova rodne lingvistike od Lakoff do Bucholtz. U uvodniku zborniku Pišković (2018a) donosi teorijsku podlogu za razumijevanje prevedenih tekstova koji u zborniku slijede te rasvjetljuje terminološku zbrku koja vlada u području kujući i vlastiti termin *rodolektologija* pod kojim podrazumijeva ukupnost bavljenja rodnim identitetima u jeziku. Prvom hrvatskom cjelovitom publikacijom posvećenom isključivo temi odnosa jezika i roda možemo označiti tematski broj časopisa *Suvremena lingvistika* (2018: 44/86) u kojemu urednice Bertoša i Pišković daju prostor temama koje su često na margini zbog svoje provokativnosti, zbog predrasuda o njihovoj trivijalnosti ili zbog neupućenosti u recentna svjetska istraživanja jezičnorodne problematike. U broju se raspravlja o potrebi uključivanja žena u jezik, o takozvanim razlikama između jezičnih uporaba žena i muškaraca, o rodno obilježenim frazemima i načinu na koji se u njima oblikuju pojmovi muškosti i ženskosti (Bertoša, Pišković 2018). Urednički tro-list iz 2018. zaokružuje zbornik *Izvedbe roda u hrvatskome jeziku, književnosti i kulturi* (Brković, Pišković 2018) u kojemu se stručnjaci iz različitih humanističkih područja odmiču od rigidno zadanih granica ženskosti i muškosti te se, izvan konvencionalnih okvira njihova tumačenja, bave njihovim različitim neponovljivim i kreativnim aspektima.

Iz pregleda u ovome potpoglavlju razvidno je da se u Hrvatskoj o rodnoj lingvistici sustavno piše i govori od kraja devedesetih godina prošloga stoljeća. Za etabliranje „ženskih tema“ u jeziku te za razbijanje predrasuda o trivijalnosti tih tema zaslužan je uzak krug lingvistica. S druge strane, ozbiljnost njihova rada te širok spektar tema koje su dobile svoj prostor u hrvatskoj lingvistici posljednjih 25 godina u njihovim člancima ne odaje dojam pojedinačnoga lokalnog napora i mara skromnog broja autorica, nego upravo suprotno – značajnoga doprinosa rodnoj lingvistici na globalnoj razini.

## **2.2. Gramatički pogled na rodnolingvističke teme**

Pregled rodnolingvističke literature u ovome radu prošlim potpoglavljem započeli smo *in medias res*. Kronološko načelo, iako je riječ o pregledu, stavili smo u drugi plan jer su se djela koja smo označili kao rodnolingvistički kanon, odnosno djela koja su imala programatsko značenje, pojavila znatno kasnije u Hrvatskoj nego što se o odnosu roda, spola i jezika počelo u nas pisati. Te su teme uvedene u kroatistiku na mala vrata još krajem sedamdesetih godina prošloga stoljeća kada se počelo pisati o



mocijskoj tvorbi i upotrebi ženskih profesijskih parnjaka u javnokomunikacijskom prostoru. Tako Babić (1979) u članku *Kako se kaže kad je žena sudac?* na početku utvrđuje da je naziv za ženu suca potreban te da treba poći od ravnopravnosti spolova koja se u jeziku može ostvariti dvojako: prvo, da se za svako zanimanje bez obzira obavljao ga muškarac ili žena upotrebljava jedna riječ ili, drugo, da se ravnopravnost spolova očituje i u ravnopravnoj upotrebi dviju imenica. Babić (1979) utvrđuje da se ostvaruju obje mogućnosti, ali ne u podjednakoj mjeri. Naime, primjećuje se izrazita prevlast imenica muškoga roda za sva zanimanja, što se dijelom može protumačiti i društvenim razlozima, odnosno činjenicom da neka zanimanja doista i jesu isprva bila isključivo muška. Zadaća je lingvista, smatra Babić, zalagati se za upotrebu imenica prema spolu.

Gotovo desetljeće nakon Babićeva članka slijedi niz članaka Eugenije Barić o svim aspektima mocijske tvorbe – od gramatičkih do pragmatičkih (Barić 1987a; 1987b; 1988; 1989). U svojim člancima Barić o mocijskoj tvorbi raspravlja u dva smjera: o pravilnosti nazivlja za osobe ženskoga spola te o pravilnosti upotrebe takvih naziva i pritom utvrđuje da nema morfološke zapreke za tvorbu ženskih profesijskih parnjaka te da žene imaju pravo na svoj lik zanimanja (Barić 1987a). Upotrebne situacije također dijeli na opće ili neutralne u kojima se upotrebljava muški lik profesijske imenice koji je u tom slučaju neutraliziran s obzirom na spol te na pojedinačne situacije u kojima spol nije neutraliziran, pa treba upotrijebiti onaj lik zanimanja koji je zadan. U svom članku iz 1989. Barić prvi put eksplicitno povezuje tvorbu i upotrebu ženskih profesijskih parnjaka i žensku emancipaciju. Napominje da se ženski mocijski parnjaci ne javljaju bilo kada i bez razloga, nego onda kada ih i zato što ih priziva društvena stvarnost. Ako je društvena stvarnost toliko uznapredovala da je omogućila ženama da se bave „muškim“ profesijama, jezična se situacija također mora promijeniti (Barić 1979). S jedne strane imamo bogatstvo mocijskih sufiksa, a s druge siromaštvo njihove upotrebe bez obzira na to što je ženski mocijski parnjak jednoznačan, olakšava komunikaciju, omogućuje jednostavnije izražavanje, ekonomičan je i funkcionalan. Upotrebom ženskih mocijskih parnjaka poštuje se povijest profesionalizacije i ženske emancipacije (Barić 1989).

Jedno desetljeće poslije očekivala bi se značajno izmijenjena situacija kada je riječ o upotrebi ženskih profesijskih parnjaka, no Bukarica (1999) utvrđuje dominaciju imenica muškoga roda. Nesimetričnost u označavanju spola profesijskim imenicama ne očituje se pritom samo u nazivima za „teška zanimanja“ koja žena ne može obavljati nego i u mnogim nazivima za stručnjake, osobe na administrativno-državnim funkcijama i visokim državnim položajima. Široko prihvaćenu pojavu da se muškim

profesijskim nazivom imenuje ženska osoba treba u prvome redu objašnjavati sociolingvistički. Ne samo da u jeziku nije postojao ženski naziv za zanimanja nedostupna ženi, nego je kategorija ženskog roda bila rezervirana za omalovažavanje, izražavanje prezira, podsmijeha i pogrde (Bukarica 1999). Da se situacija ipak mijenja, dokaz je prelijevanje ženskih oblika iz razgovornog u druge sfere govorenog i pisanog komuniciranja što se ponajprije može zahvaliti čestoj i nametljivoj upotrebi tih oblika u medijima te zbog činjenice da upotreba diferenciranih rodovskih oblika imenica koje znače profesiju dobiva političke konotacije. Međutim, Bukarica (Ibidem) upozorava da, suprotno nadanjima pripadnica ženskih pokreta, promjena naziva ne znači i ravnopravan udio žene u podjeli rada. Čak suprotno, zaključuje da između prestiža profesije i načina oslovljavanja žene u toj profesiji postoji izravna veza – što je prestiž profesije manji, to je češće oslovljavanje žene jedino nazivom u ženskom rodu. Dakle, može se zaključiti da promjenom oblika naziva za zanimanja žene neće postati ravnopravnije i poštovanije. To će se dogoditi tek ako se položaj žena izjednači s položajem muškaraca (Ibidem), a slično upozorava i Martinović (2015): primjena rodno osjetljivoga jezika nije jamstvo rodne ravnopravnosti.

Tvorbena-morfološki, sociolingvistički i pragmalingvistički mocijsku tvorbu u domaćoj literaturi zaokružuje Pišković (2014b) u svojoj knjizi *Gramatika roda*. Prvi put u kroatistici upozorava na feministički nekorektnu tvorbenu preobliku imenica za ženske osobe koja se tradicionalno pojavljuje u gramatikama – ‘žena x’ te prihvatljivijom smatra Silićevu (2004) preobliku ‘vršitelj/vršiteljica radnje’.

Iz pregleda radova koji se bave morfološkim aspektom izražavanja roda u hrvatskom jeziku razvidno je da jezične zapreke za tvorbu ženskih profesijskih parnjaka nema. S jedne je strane, dakle, morfološko bogatstvo, a s druge inertno društvo koje čak i kada upotrebljava ženske profesijske parnjake čini to s figom u džepu jer se čak ni tada ne može govoriti o društvenoj ravnopravnosti kakva bi ona doista trebala biti.

### ***2.3. Leksikološko-leksikografski pogled na rodno lingvističke teme***

Uz mocijsku tvorbu frazeologija je jedno od područja u kojima se najčešće manifestiraju stereotipni odnosi (Mihaljević 2021; 2023). Da je to doista tako pokazuju analize frazeologije u rodnome okviru (Hrnjak 2017). Žena kao razumno i duhovno biće u frazeologiji je predstavljena najvećim brojem frazema koji se odnose na neku negativnu karakternu osobinu ili emociju, što je u skladu s općom tendencijom frazeologije da oslikava upravo negativne koncepte. Pritom se ističe intelektualna ograničenost žene, čime se potvrđuje postojanje stereotipnog poimanja visokih inte-

lektualnih sposobnosti muškarca kao svojevrsne norme i niskih intelektualnih sposobnosti žene kao otklona od te norme (*glupa kao kokoš*). Hrnjak (2017) nadalje navodi da dominiraju frazemi koji opisuju žensku brbljavost, svadljivost, ali da se, s druge strane, frazemi novijega datuma odnose na odlučne, energične žene jakoga karaktera te hrabre i borbene žene (*željezna lady*). Iz frazema se također mogu iščitati stereotipi o važnosti ženske ljepote, zaštitničkog majčinskog instinkta u odnosu prema drugim ljudima, ali i negativni stereotipi o intelektualnoj ograničenosti žene, sklonosti ogovaranju i pretjeranoj emocionalnosti (Ibidem).

Svaki rječnik uz jezičnu ima i dokumentarnu, odnosno društvenu vrijednost jer se iz definicija iščitavaju društveni odnosi i vrijednosti koje neko društvo ima i njeguje. O zastupljenosti imenica za ženska zanimanja u hrvatskim rječnicima piše Matas Ivanović (2006) navodeći da podaci o pojavljivanju u starijim rječnicima pokazuju da za imenice muškoga roda postoje potvrde u više rječnika nego za imenice ženskoga roda, odnosno češće je muški rod zabilježen prije ženskoga. Tafra (2005) tumači da, ako se radi o manjem ili srednjem rječniku, mocijski bi se parnjaci mogli obrađivati u jednom rječničkom članku s različitim gramatičkim podacima o svakom parnjaku i s jednom definicijom. Nadalje smatra da kategorija roda u rječniku treba biti morfološki podatak, a spol kao sastavnica leksičkoga značenja treba biti prepoznatljiv u definiciji. Budući da su sporne uglavnom imenice koje znače osobu, definicija treba sadržavati podatke znači li imenica mušku, žensku ili obje osobe, odnosno je li spol razlikovno ili nerazlikovno značenjsko obilježje (Ibidem). I Bratanić (2005) upozorava na potrebu deziologizacije jezika rječničkih definicija, osobito u sferi spolno obilježenoga leksika. Seksizam je u manjoj mjeri eksplicitno sadržan u jeziku. On se ponajprije manifestira u seksističkoj uporabi jezika, odnosno u glavi je onoga koji se jezikom služi. Bratanić (Ibidem) detektira seksizam u rječnicima na nekoliko razina: u jeziku definicija, odabiru onoga čega u rječniku ima ili nema, u izboru ilustrativnih primjera, u izboru gramatičkih s jedne, te stilskih i drugih upotrebnih odrednica s druge strane.

Nažalost, ni rezultati recentnijih leksikografskih istraživanja ne ohrabruju. Hudeček i Mihaljević (2023) istražujući profesijske nazive zaključuju da se oni ne navode sustavno u terminološkim rječnicima i bazama podataka. U e-rječnicima i terminološkim bazama više se ne može kao opravdanje uzimati nedostatak prostora te bi muški i ženski profesijski parnjaci trebali u e-rječnicima imati zasebne leksikografske obrade. S obzirom na to da se muški i ženski profesijski parnjaci ne razlikuju uvijek samo po elementu muško/žensko, odnosno između njih ne postoji uvijek potpuni paralelizam značenja, muški i ženski profesijski nazivi ne bi u svim slučajevima trebali imati ni posve usporedna značenja (Ibidem).

I pogled u leksikološko-leksikografski pristup odnosu muško – žensko u jeziku ukazuje na duboko ukorijenjene zastarjele i seksističke društvene stavove koje u svim budućim izdanjima treba mijenjati.

### 3. ZAKLJUČNO: KAMO IDEMO?

Iz pregleda radova koji se bave rodnolingvističkim temama razvidno je da se u Hrvatskoj o odnosu jezika i roda sustavno piše i govori već pet desetljeća. Pozornost je na početku zaokupljao morfološki aspekt toga odnosa te autori koji su se time bavili ustvrđuju da jezične zapreke za tvorbu ženskih profesijskih parnjaka nema. S jedne strane, dakle, morfološko bogatstvo, a s druge inertno društvo čije upotrebljavanje ženskih profesijskih parnjaka nažalost ne osigurava i stvarnu ravnopravnost i jednakost kakve bi one trebale biti. O rodnoj lingvistici kao disciplini sustavno se piše i govori od kraja devedesetih godina prošloga stoljeća. Za etabliranje „ženskih tema“ u jeziku te za razbijanje predrasuda o trivijalnosti tih tema zaslužan je uzak krug lingvistica, ali ozbiljnost njihova rada te širok spektar tema koje su dobile svoj prostor u hrvatskoj lingvistici posljednjih 25 godina u njihovim člancima ne odaje dojam pojedinačnoga lokalnog napora i mara skromnog broja autorica, nego upravo suprotno – značajnoga doprinosa rodnoj lingvistici na globalnoj razini. I pogled u leksikološko-leksikografski pristup odnosu muško – žensko u jeziku ukazuje na duboko ukorijenjene zastarjele i seksističke društvene stavove koje u svim budućim izdanjima treba iz temelja mijenjati.

Rodna lingvistika predstavlja u društvenom smislu obogaćenje jer je doprinijela da se neravnopravnost u jeziku (odnosno u društvu) osvijesti i pokuša prevladati. Rodnolingvističke teme predmet su sveučilišnih kolegija na svim akademskim razinama, odnosi muškoga i ženskoga u jeziku tema su znanstvenih projekata<sup>6</sup>, pitanja slobode kretanja, prava na rad i sudjelovanje u javnom prostoru zakonski su regulirani i ne dovode se u pitanje, ali unatoč svemu postoji i dalje i druga strana medalje. U jeku globalne euforije nastale zbog filma *Barbie* – o kulturnoj lutki koja se već 64 godine „bori“ za žensku emancipaciju – mediji nerijetko ističu da „Ken ipak nije tu samo zbog Barbie te da je prava ikona filma on sa svojom *kenergijom*“.<sup>7</sup> Sve su glasniji i novi ženski supkulturni pokreti, a jedan je od njih i *tradwife* (stopljenica riječi

6 Od 2017. do 2021. godine na Institutu za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje provodio se projekt *Muško i žensko u hrvatskome jeziku* (voditeljice: dr. sc. Lana Hudeček i dr. sc. Milica Mihaljević). Za potrebe toga projekta, u programu SketchEngine, Josip Mihaljević izradio je Rodni korpus.

7 Izvor: <https://radiosarajevo.ba/magazin/zanimljivosti/ken-ipak-nije-tu-samo-zbog-barbie-znate-li-sta-je-kenergija-i-kako-je-mozete-pronaci/506125>. Posjećeno 6. rujna 2023.

*tradicionalna žena*) koji zagovara tradicionalne ženske uloge supruge i majke. Žena ostaje kod kuće, brine se isključivo o djeci i domu, a na društvenim mrežama promoviraju svoju karijeru čuvarica ognjišta. Zanimljivo je da se i taj pokret poziva na feminizam, odnosno na pravo na odabir, pri čemu pripadnice toga pokreta biraju povratak tradicionalnim kršćanskim vrijednostima i stereotipnim muško-ženskim ulogama.<sup>8</sup>

Na kraju, preostaje u budućnosti vidjeti jesu li pokreti kao netom spomenuti *tradwife* utopijsko ostvarenje feminističke ideje o pravu na izbor, jesu li povratak u 17. ili 18. stoljeće ili se s borbom za žensku ravnopravnost u društvu i u jeziku nismo proteklih stotinjak godina pomaknuli s mjesta.

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<sup>8</sup> Izvor: <https://elle.hr/elle-stav/pise-rajna-racz-tradwife>. Posjećeno 6. rujna 2023.

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## GENDER LINGUISTICS IN CROATIA - WHERE DID WE START FROM AND WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

### Summary:

The study of masculinity and femininity in language is entering its sixth decade. Since Robin Lakoff's groundbreaking 1973 paper *Language and Woman's Place*, discussions about "women's language" have emerged, focusing on the linguistic differences between men and women. According to Lakoff, these differences arise from male dominance in society and women's lack of power. Women's language is thus seen as both a language restricted to women and one used to describe them.

In Croatia, the initial exploration of gender-related linguistic topics began with a focus on language that describes women. The 1970s and, more notably, the 1980s saw an increase in discussions about gender-marked word formation, particularly the creation of female counterparts for terms denoting professions. This led to the introduction of "women's topics" into Croatian linguistics.

This paper provides an overview of the development of research on language and gender in Croatia, from its origins to the present day. It analyzes and discusses studies published in Croatia on the relationship between language and gender, considering various linguistic levels and disciplines, including grammar, phraseology, terminology, pragmalinguistics, and sociolinguistics.

**Keywords:** gender linguistics in Croatia; women's language; gender - language relationship

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## ***PTICE U KAJKAVSKOJ FRAZEOLOGIJI***

U radu će se prikazati frazemi kajkavskoga narječja čije su sastavnice nazivi ptica. U frazeološkome je korpusu, naime, dosad utvrđeno postojanje raznolikih sastavnica s nazivima životinja, pa tako i ornitonima. Dio njih dijelom je internacionalne frazeologije, dok su neki od njih potvrđeni samo u pojedinom narječju ili govoru. Osobita će se pozornost usmjeriti na one koji su se u okviru kajkavske frazeologije pokazali najfrekventnijima, ali istaknut će se i neki koji se smatraju rijetko ovjerenima. Promatrat će se zastupljenost navedenih frazema i u hrvatskome jeziku u cjelini te će se nastojati utvrditi motiviranost njihova nastanka. Građa za analizu ekscerpirala se iz postojeće literature, a dijelom je prikupljena terenskim istraživanjem. Na taj je način omogućeno donošenje zaključaka o različitim spektrima značenja koja su utvrđena (npr. odnos fizičko – psihičko), a pokazala se i razgranatija simbolika pojedinih ornitonima u dijalektnoj frazeologiji, nerijetko upravo onih koji su karakteristični za pojedinu regiju ili za životnu stvarnost govornika određenoga područja.

**Ključne riječi:** frazeologija; kajkavsko narječje; ornitonimi; simbolika

## 1. UVOD

Dosadašnja su istraživanja hrvatske frazeologije pokazala veliku brojnost frazema s animalističkom sastavnicom. Nerijetko tako, na razini hrvatskoga jezika u cjelini, danas ovjeravamo različite nazive životinja u frazemima različita značenja, pri čemu možemo uočavati kakvu simboliku pojedina životinja nosi u životu čovjeka i kako se ona percipira u ljudskoj stvarnosti.

Ovim se radom, na temelju objavljene građe te, dijelom, usmjerenim ispitivanjem<sup>1</sup>, nastojalo utvrditi koji su ornitonimi najčešće zastupljeni u govorima kajkavskoga narječja hrvatskoga jezika<sup>2</sup> i kakva se značenja tim frazemima izriču. Usto, zahvaljujući sve intenzivnijim istraživanjima dijalektne frazeologije, danas ovjeravamo frazeme karakteristične za užu govorno područje ili regiju, te se ovdje izdvajaju i pojedini primjeri upravo tih frazema. Valja, pritom, istaknuti da je u radu frazem shvaćen u širem smislu (usp. npr. i Menac-Mihalić 2005; Maresić i Menac-Mihalić 2008; Menac-Mihalić i Menac 2011) te se ovdje donose i neke sveze poput poslovice (npr. *sakī ftič nek svuōjē perjē nuōsī*<sup>3</sup>). Napominjemo i da za potrebe ovoga rada nisu analizirane sastavnice kojima se imenuju dijelovi ptičjega tijela ili građe (npr. *kljun, pero* i sl.).

## 2. ANALIZA I RASPRAVA

### 2.1. Sve počinje od (*p*)tice

U kajkavskoj su frazeologiji u cjelini ovjereni frazemi s hiperonimskom sastavnicom *ptica*, tj. njezinom dijalektnom inačicom npr. *tica, tič, teč, ftič, xtič*. Frazeomom s navedenim sastavnicama u kajkavskim se govorima iskazuje značenje ‘malo jesti’ (npr. *Jēdeš kāk ftič* (Bak)., *Nē čūdo kaj ŷjē sūxa – am jē kak ftič* (SM)., *Jē kaj tič, nē ny čūdo kaj je sūxy kaj trēska* (SĐ)., *Pājou jē ko tēč, xēdu māu* (Tr). *Jēiš ko tēč* (Tr).), što je ovjereno i u drugim, nekajkavskim hrvatskim govorima (usp. npr. Menac-Mihalić 2005; Menac-Mihalić i Menac 2011), a i izvan hrvatskoga jezika (usp. npr.

1 Građa ekscerpirana iz literature (rječnici, diplomski radovi) poslužila je kao predložak za usmjereni ispitivanje izvornih govornika u govorima Bednje, Ludbrega i Svetog Đurđa te, dijelom, Tršća. Ovim putem zahvaljujem dr. sc. Aniti Celinić (Bednja) i doc. dr. sc. Joži Horvatu (Ludbreg, Sveti Đurđ) na prikupljenoj i ustupljenoj građi.

2 Kajkavski se u Republici Hrvatskoj govori na njezinu sjeverozapadu i u Gorskome kotaru (više o tome v. u npr. Brozović 1997; Celinić 2020; Lončarić 1996).

3 Dijalektoški znakovi pripremljeni su pomoću sustava za unošenje ZRCola (<http://ZRCola.zrc-sazu.si>), koji je u Znanstvenoistraživačkome centru SAZU-a u Ljubljani (<http://www.zrc-sazu.si>) razvio Peter Weiss.

Fink Arsovski 2006; Menac i dr. 2011; Vrgoč i Fink Arsovski 2008). Navedena se sastavnica može pojaviti i u liku umanjenice, čime se dodatno naglašava samo značenje (*Tòk mùle jìe kok ftêček* (Bd)., *Bìla jè bêtžna, jìela jè kàk xtičica* (Hr), *Kàk sè bò zdèblala ak jè kaj ftičica* (SM)?, *Jèiš màu ko tiček* (Ča).). Poticajni impuls za nastanak spomenutoga frazema razvidan je i posredno motiviran veličinom ptice, što se može razaznati i iz frazema u primjerima *Dròben kàk tiček* (Bak)., *Màjxen jè ko tèt* (Tr)., *Se dràbon ku tèt* (Pr). Na tom tragu pratimo i nastanak frazema ovjerenog u primjerima *Něsem sè tò od nê nãdàla. – A znãš kàk jè, mãli tič vèljiki krič* (Vrb)., *Němaž ga kàj vidèti, ał ga čujèš na kılomèter – màlji ftič, vèljki krič* (SM)., *Màli tič, vèljiki krič* (Or)., značenja ‘sitan, ali glasan’. Široko ovjerenim frazemom *noćna ptica*, koji je zabilježen i u HFR<sup>4</sup>-u i u RHAF<sup>5</sup>-u upućuje se na ‘osobu koja noći provodi u društvu, izvan kuće’ (*Mùle nòči ga nê dõma, prãva jè nòčna ptica (tica)* (Vrb)., *Òn jè noćni tič* (Ses)., *Òn jè nòčna ftica* (SM).), ali i na osobu koja radi noću, o čemu svjedoči i primjer iz Svetoga Đurđa – *Jò sam ty nòčny tič, nàjrãjšy pò nòčy dèlam*. Slika zajedništva koja proizlazi iz života u jatu motivacijom je nastanka frazema u širem smislu koji nosi značenje ‘čovjek se uvijek vraća svojim, u svoj zavičaj’, koji pronalazimo u primjerima *Sàka ptica (tica) lèti svòjem jàtu, tàk bò na kràju i òn* (Vrb)., *Sàka tica svòjamu jàtu leti* (Or)., ali i frazema *saki tič ide k svojemu jatu* značenja ‘drži se tko onih koji su mu bliski, pomaže onima koji su mu bliski’ (*Sàki tič idè k svòjemu jàtu* (Ses).). Na čovjeka se u frazeološkome korpusu prenosi i slika ptice kao potpuno slobodne životinje, što se iščitava iz frazema ovjerenih potvrđama *Jà sèm kàk tič na gràni* (Ses)., *Òn jè kàk tič na nèbu* (Ses)., *Živì kok ftič ne svèrži* (Bd)., a motivacijom je i ptičji pjev ili glasanje koje se prenosi na čovjekovo zviždanje (*Fràncek jè fùčkal kaj ftič* (SM).) ili pjevanje (*Xànzèv vùjča jè popèval kaj ftič* (SM)., *Jòko jè fájna, a popèva kaj ftičica – miłina jò jè i glèdati i poslùšati* (SM)., *Tòk líepe pepièvo kok ftêček* (Bd)., *Tàg ga jè lèpu paslùšat, papèjva ko tiček* (Tr).). U paremiološki fond uvrštavamo potvrde koje oprimjeruju značenje ‘svinjetina je kudikamo bolja od mesa peradi’ – *Něma ptice nat prasice, nèk rèčè štè kèj òčè* (Vrb)., *Nèkoji sè fòljiò kak sè zdràvo xròniò – jèdò sàmo plètiò i pùretiò. Ak sè mènè pita: nè(n)ga ftice dò prasice* (SM). Navedeni je izraz uz ostalo motiviran i rimom, zbog čega je njegov prijenos iz sustava u sustav olakšan te je poznat i šire (npr. Senj – *nìma/něma tice do prasice*<sup>6</sup>). S druge strane, regionalno obilježenom smatramo potvrdu **koja tica rano popeva, kesneše se v gnezdo posere** (*Kòja ptica (tica) ràne*

4 HFR = Hrvatski frazeološki rječnik 2014.

5 RHAF = Rječnik hrvatskih animalističkih frazema 2017.

6 Zahvaljujem dr. sc. Martini Bašić na usmenoj potvrdi.

*popêva, kešněšę sę v gnęzde posęřę.*), ovjerenu u križevačko-podravskome govoru Vrbovca, a u međimurskome govoru Svete Marije ovjeravamo i primjere **sakij ftič nęk sv<sup>u</sup>oję perję n<sup>u</sup>osi** ‘svatko neka radi svoj posao’ (*Tak sę řęklø: sakij ftič nęk sv<sup>u</sup>oję pęrję n<sup>u</sup>osi.*) te **slab ję ftič koj nęmrę sv<sup>u</sup>oję perję n<sup>u</sup>osiťj** ‘slab je onaj koji ne može svoje obveze izvršavati’ (*Slab ję ftič koj nęmrę sv<sup>u</sup>oję pęrję n<sup>u</sup>osiťj.*)<sup>7</sup>.

## 2.2. Od goluba do žune – raznolikost ptičjega svijeta kod kajkavaca

U korpusu ekscerpiranom za potrebe ovoga istraživanja brojnošću unutar frazeoloških ovjera izdvojile su se neke ornitonimske sastavnice. Pokazalo se tako da su u kajkavskome narječju u cjelini najfrekventniji *golub, kokoš/kvočka, guska, pura* i *vrana*, dok su u manjemu broju primjera ovjereni npr. *futač, svraka, vrabac, žuna*. Dio građe, što potvrđuju primjeri, karakterističan je za hrvatski jezik u cjelini, dok se dio odnosi isključivo na kajkavsko područje ili, pak, njegov manji dio.

### 2.2.1. Golub

Golub je životinja uz koju se u frazeologiji, zbog njegova načina života i činjenice da golubovi žive u jatu, veže slika složnosti i ljubavi, što je ovjereno i u širem kajkavskom fondu (*Ōnda so si kāk golūbi, nīkam jęđęn bez drugōga* (Ses.), *Žīvitę kāk dvā golūba, jęđęn dān jęđęn lęti s ižę, drūgi dān drūgi* (Klo.), *Īmajø sę rāt kāj dvā gōlubi (gōluba)* (Pet.), *Ōni žīvęjo kāk dvā golūba, nīgda sę nę svāđę* (Ses.), *Nāvęk su žīvēļi kak dvā golōbi* (Vrb.), *Kāj nīm ję lępø! Žīvīdø kaj g<sup>u</sup>ōlōbį* (SM), *Døk sø biļi mlōdį, vēk sø sę svādīļi, a vē žīvīdø kaj dvø g<sup>u</sup>ōlōbį* (SM), *Vęč trīđęstį lęť žīvīdø kaj g<sup>u</sup>ōlōbękį* (SM), *Bās jym je lępø, žyvījo kaj dvø gōlōby* (Ldb), *Peglāj, tøk su si rōdi kōj gelōubeki* (Bd)!, *Sø ku galōpčki* (Pr), *Ževijo lępu ku dvā gōlubica* (Pr), *Īmašę sę rādi ko dvā golūpčka* (Ča), *Ūani dvā žīvjo ko dvā gaūōpčke* (Tr).). Frazem **živjeti kao golubovi (dva goluba, golub i golubica)** bilježi i HFR (2014: 154) i RHAF (2017: 42, 43), čime se potvrđuje njegova široka upotreba u hrvatskome jeziku, a postoji i u npr. slovenskome, poljskome, češkome (usp. Fink Arsovski 2006). Široko je ovjeren i frazem **kao posrani (usrani) golub** koji oprimjerujemo potvrdama iz kajkavskoga narječja (*Ponāšaš sę kāk pōsran gōluḅ* (Klo), *Drži sę kāk (kō) pōsran gōluḅ* (Ses), *Bīti kāk pōsran gōlup* (Vir), *Dęj nękaj řęčį, nāj sę držātį kak p<sup>u</sup>ōsranį g<sup>u</sup>ōløp* (SM)!, *bīti (držāti se) kāk pōsrōni gōløp* (Sud), *Derži sa kok pęsruni gelōup* (Bd).).

7 U slovenskome jeziku ovjereno *Malo vreden ptič, ki ne more sam nositi svojega perja* i *Vsak bolan ptič svoje perje nese* (URL1).

U ekscerpiranom je grafi zabilježen i frazem koji je motiviran slikom divljega goluba kao delicije, a znači ‘dobiva, ostvaruje *tko što* bez truda i muke’ – **pečeni golubi v zube lete komu**<sup>8</sup> (*Nę bõdõ mu pečęni golõbi v zõbę lęteļi pa zõtę nę mõra niš delāti: V Nęmačkę nę lęte pečęni golõbi v zõbę* (Vrb!), *Kaj mišļiš da v Nęmačkķi pečęni g<sup>o</sup>lõbi v zõbę lętidõ* (SM)?, *Męisļiš do ti tũm bõuju pečāni gelõubi letēli v zõuba* (Bd)?).

### 2.2.2. Kokoš/kvočka

Uz kokoš se u frazeologiji vežu negativne konotacije, između ostaloga i one koje se odnose na umnu ograničenost, uglavnom osoba ženskoga spola (usp. i Vidović Bolt 2011), a što oprimjerujemo kajkavskim potvrdama iz križevačko-podravskih govora (*Glūpa (ko) kõkoš* (Križ), *Glūpa si ko kõkoš* (Vrb.) i zagorskoga govora Hromca (*Točnę mās pāmęt kāk kakuõš.*). Ponašanje te životinje motiviralo je nastanak niza frazema koji se primjenjuju na čovjeka, poput frazema **biti (držati se) kak pofurjena (pokisla) kokoš** ‘jadno, tužno izgledati’ koji je potvrđen u podravskim govorima (*Sę dřiži kāj pokisla kõkoš* (Raš), *Si kāj pokisla kõkoš* (Raš), *Drži sę kāk pofurjēna kõkoš* (Ses), gdje bilježimo i frazem **nameščati se (mezoljiti se) kak kokoš {na jajce, jajca}** ‘neprestano se micati, namještati, ne moći naći sebi mjesta, vrpolti se’ (*Namęščaš sę kāk kõkoš na jājcima* (Bak), *Męzõļi sę kāk kõkoš na jājčę* (Ses), *Namęščaš sę kāk kõkoš na jājca* (Ses), *Dę sę primęri, namęščaš sę kak kõkoš* (Vrb)). Rani odlazak na počinak izriče se široko ovjerenim frazemom **ići spavati s kokošima** (usp. i HFR 2014: 223; RHAF 2017: 63; Vrgoč i Fink Arsovski 2008: 324) (*Mõraš iti s kokõšima spāt* (Klo), *Īdę spāt s kokošām* (Ses), *Īti s kõkõšāmi spāt* (Vir), *Tęk ję õsem vūr, pa kęj ti ĩdeš, s kokõši spāt* (Vrb), *Tęk ję õsem vūr, a ti vęč spiš, zbĳļa ĩdeš s kokõšmi spāt* (Vrb), *K nõj nęmreš dõjtķ vęčēr f sęlõ, õna s kõkõšmi ĩdę spõt* (SM), *Ūn vam ję vęč f põstel’y, znõte da ĩde spõt s kõkõšamy* (Ldb), *Kõk ję šũ rānu spāt, s kakušme na pa rūt* (Tr), *Jęšt grin spāt s kakušme* (Pr), *Zaklučali sõ sę, idõ s kokošijāmi spāt* (Đur), *K ā ĩ deš s kakaš ā mi spāt* (Hr)?), dok je kokošja potreba za spavanjem na povišenom mjestu i slika kokoši koja tone u san motivirala nastanak lokalno obilježenoga frazema ovjerenoga u goranskome govoru Tršća – **ko kakuš na rante ję kedu** ‘pospan je *tko*’ (*Dręimļę ko kakuš na rānte.*, *Pāsipan ję ko kakuš na rānte.*). U svim je hrvatskim narječjima ovjeren i frazem značenja ‘slučajno pogoditi,

8 Frazem ovjeren i u drugim jezicima, npr. njemačkome, o čemu vidi i Keber (1996), u hrvatskome i u inačici *pečeni golubovi lete (ulijeću) u usta komu* (usp. RHAF 2017: 42), a i s inačicom *pilčić – pečeni pilčić padaju u usta komu* (usp. RHAF 2017: 146) koja je ovjerenoga i u slovenskome – *Pečena piščeta nikomur sama v usta ne lete* (usp. Keber 1996: 36 i URL2) uz *pečene piške letajo komu v usta* (Keber 2011: 705). O slovenskoj inačici s hiperonimom *ptica – pečene ptice nikomur same ne priletijo v usta* v. i Babič (2023: 160).

naći' (usp. npr. Menac-Mihalić 2005: 198; Menac-Mihalić i Menac 2011: 82), a kajkavske su potvrde *Nãvøk nãjděš kãk čorãva kòkoš zřno* (Klo), *Nãšël si tò kãj čòrava kòkoš zřno* (Pet), *I čorãva kòkoš nãjdě zřno* (Ses), *Īmeļi su srëčë z nõvu mašinu, namëriļi su sę kãk i slëpa kòkoš na zřne* (Vrb), *Bãš sëm nalëtëla, piknolã sëm kak čorãva kòkoš zřno* (Đur). Slab se vid, slabo primjećivanje izražava frazemom **biti kak čorava kokoš** koji je zabilježen u križevačko-podravskome govoru Velikih Raščana (*Si čòrava kãj kòkoš*), govoru Sudovčine (*bìti kãk čòrava (slëpa) kòkoš*) te u govorima čabarskoga područja (*Së sę ne nę uãzrę, së ję ko čùrava kãkuš* (Tr), *Jëścęn pa nę muãręn dàbit, sãn ku cùrava kãkuš* (Pr)). Istom je slikom motiviran i frazem značenja 'ne gledati kuda se ide', a koji bilježimo u primjerima *Īdę kãk čorãva kòkoš* (Ses), *Īti kãk čorãva kòkoš* (Vir), *Pãzi, em ĩdęš kak čorãva kòkoš* (Vrb), *Oni so silòm išli kak čorãvę kokòši* (Đur), *Kãj ne glediš kòt xòdaš, ĩdęš kaj čòrava kòkoš* (Ldb). Usto što se ornitonimom *kokoš* upućuje na umnu ograničenost i ljudsko ponašanje, njime se opisuje i fizički izgled, npr. ćelavost (*Ofurdan si kãk kòkoš* (Bak), *Ofurdan si kãk kòkoš* (Ses)), ružnoća (*Tãk ję lëpa kaj kòkoš slëpa* (SM)), raščupanost ili neuglednost (*Zglãdaš ko oskùblęna kãkuš, kãj pa te sę ję prpëtü* (Tr)?, *Ko oskùblęna kãkuš se, mãręš sę pačjęsat* (Tr), *Nič dę saba ne derži, tók ja kok sfurdono kekùoš* (Bd)). Dio primjera potvrđuje prijenos fizičko → psihičko, u kojemu fizičke karakteristike oslikavaju stanje pojedinca, npr. umor, iscrpljenost (*Poglję jò kag zględi na krjò tjęna fkòjëm dęla nõčnò smęnò – kaj krëpana kòkoš* (SM), *Zględiš kak krëpana kòkoš* (Or)) ili tugu (*bìti kãk pofürjena kòkoš* (Sud)). Posebno izdvajamo regionalno obilježen frazem ovjeren u međimurskome dijalektu, u govoru Svete Marije, **kòkošem sò sę piškij stisnolji** 'kokoši su prestale nesti jaja' (*Nëmamò jędnò jãjčę prę xĩzi – kòkošem sò sę piškij stisnolji*), a tamo je, kao i u križevačko-podravskim govorima, zabilježen i izraz značenja 'kada komu daš malo slobode, on si uzme još' (*Pùsti kòkoš v jòręk, dòjdę ĩ na slòk* (SM), *Åko pãstiš kòkoš na jãręk i slòga sę prímę* (Ses), *Kùpiļi su ję grãdiliščę, a sãda bi òna štëla jòš i pënęs za hĩzu. – Pùsti kòkoš v jãręk, ona ĩdę na slòk* (Vrb)). U govoru Bakovčica zabilježen je frazem značenja 'polako hodati' i u čijoj je strukturi sastavnica *gembica*, definirana kao 'mala kokoš' (*Hòdaš kãk gëmbica*).

Uz sastavnicu *kokoš* u frazeološkome fondu ovjeravamo i sastavnicu *kvočka* koja, između ostaloga, simbolizira (pretjeranu) brižnost (usp. i RHAf 2017: 86; Vidović Bolt 2011: 84; Jelaska 2014: 177) (*Bãka Jãna nas pãzi kãk kvòčka pĩščòkę* (Ses), *čũvati (pãziti) kòga kãk kvòčka pĩceke* (Sud), *Pãzi ne svã čãri kok kvùčko ne pëĩsunca* (Bd)), što je ovjerenost i u drugim jezicima (usp. Fink Arsovski 2006: 223), a njome se mogu izraziti i dva suprotna značenja – vrpoljenje (*Namëščas sę kãk*



*kvòčka na jājca* (Klo.), *Mězòli sę kàk kvòčka na jājce* (Ses.), *Naměščati se kàk kvòčka bez jājec* (Vir.), *Naměščaš sę kak kvòčka na jājci* (Vrb.), *Bòdì vèč jěmpot miren. Naměščaš sę kak kvòčka* (SM), *Kòj sa gñězdiš kok kvuòčko ne jòjce* (Bd)?!) ili mirno, nepomično sjedenje (*Sědi ko kùkla na jējcax, ni na pamàknę sę* (Tr).). Valja spomenuti i primjere koji izražavaju dugotrajno sjedenje (*G'ěnj sę, nę kaj sědiš kak kvòčka* (SM), *Dì'ělo čòka, a ti sědiš kaj kvòčka na jòjci* (SM), *Káj ná bu debiua ke sědi ko kùkla na jējcax* (Tr).), a potvrda iz govora Đurđevca – *Sědi kak kvòčka na jājce v òtom stòlcu!* upućuje na njegovu kvalitetu ('udobno sjediti'). Poticajni impuls za nastanak frazema kojima se izražavaju značenja vezana uz semantičko polje *sjedenje* posve je jasan te proizlazi iz same definicije kvočke, tj. kokoši koja sjedi na jajima. Na tome tragu nastaje i frazem **držati se (biti) kak stara kvočka**, ovjeren u križevačko-podravskim govorima, koji uz tjelesnu (ne)aktivnost može nositi i značenje pokunjenosti, pričem ponovno pratimo preslikavanje fizičkoga na psihičko stanje pojedinca (*Dřziš sę kò stàra kvòčka* (Klo.), *Jěsi kàk stàra kvòčka* (Vir).).

Veća frekventnost sastavnice *kokoš* (i *kvočka*) u dijalektnoj frazeologiji, osobito onoj na kajkavskome području, svjedoči i o čovječjoj svakodnevicu i stvarnosti koja ga okružuje. Naime, upravo su realije iz okoline česti poticajni impulsi u stvaranju frazeologije, a ova je vrsta peradi ovdašnja najčešća domaća životinja.

### 2.2.3. Pijetao

Sastavnica *pijetao* (uz inačicu *kokot*, *pevec*) ovjerena je u malobrojnim frazemima i to onima kojima se iskazuje agresivno, ratoborno ponašanje<sup>9</sup> (*Němoj sę zaletāvati kàk pěveç* (Klo.), *Zaletāvati se kàk pěvec* (Vir.), *Dòk sę rasřdi, zaletāva sę kak pěvec* (Vrb.), *zaletōvati (zabuxōvati) se kàk kòkot (pěvec)* (Sud), *zaletāvati sę kak pěveç* (Đur), *Dok sę rešřdi, tak ję kaj pěveç. Nęjrějši bi mi na glōvo sk'ōčil* (SM).), što je ovjerenost i izvan kajkavskoga područja (usp. npr. Menac-Mihalić 2005: 270; Menac-Mihalić i Menac 2011: 126). Izdvajamo još primjere prozirnog motiviranoga sveto-marskoga frazema **dok pěveç jajce znesę** u značenju 'nikada' (*T'è p'ěnezež boš vídla dog pěveç jājce znesę.*) te frazema iz đurđevačkoga govora **zagotiti pěfca** 'pomokriti se' (*Stàni nęgde, pěfca mōram zagōtiti!*).

9 Takva je negativna slika pijetla ovjerena i šire te se u Europi vezuje uz srdžbu, provalu i sl. (usp. Chevalier i Gheerbrant 1987).



#### 2.2.4. Pile

Sastavnica *pilić* (uz dijalektne inačice *picsek*, *pišće*, *peščanc*) u hrvatskome se jeziku veže uz osobu koja malo jede (usp. Vidović Bolt 2011: 84), što je ovjereno i u našoj građi (*jèsti kàk pìcek* (Sud), *Màu jèjš ko pèščanc* (Tr).), a njome se upućuje i na bezrazložno čuđenje (*Čùdiš se ko pìcek glìsti* (Križ)., *Sę čùdiš kàk pìcek glìstę* (Raš)., *Čùditi se kàk pìcek glìsti* (Vir)., *Nęmoj sę čùditi kàk pišćę glìsti* (Klo)., *Čùdi sę kak pìcek glìstij kaj ję Vęlka męša nę navęk istij dęn f tjęno* (SM).). Fizička je nestabilnost pileta motivirala nastanak frazema zabilježenoga u govoru Svete Marije **bitij gingavij kak picsek** ‘jedva stajati na nogama, nemati snage’ (*Dvø tjęnę ję nę m<sup>u</sup>õgla nìkot nìkam – sàmø ję lęžøla. Vę sę tũ i tàm støņę, aļ ję gìngava kak pìcek.*), dok je u Đurđevcu ovjerena prozirno motivirana prijelnja **zagõtiti kak pišće** kòga (*Náj sę z męnom igrati, kak pišćę tę zagõt!*), čiju varijantu pronalazimo i u govoru Svetoga Đurđa (*Raščęxnøla bøm ga kaj pišće!*).

#### 2.2.5. Guska

Ekscerpirana je građa potvrdila brojniju ovjerenost sastavnice *guska* u kajkavskoj frazeologiji, te su tako upravo za to područje karakteristični i frazemi koje ne bilježimo u drugim narječjima. Kao motivacija za njihov nastanak koriste se fizičke ili fiziološke značajke same guske, što iščitavamo iz ovjera u kojima se izravno ili neizravno ističe njezina veličina<sup>10</sup> (*Nęmoj dębęloj gũski vrât mázati* (Klo)., *Káj bøš dębęle gøskę rìt mázal* (Pet)?., *Nęmoj dębęli gũski rìt mazati* (Ses)., *Døjęš <sup>u</sup>õnomø køj ima i pręveč – mäsni gøskij rìt mastiš* (SM)., *Šøplę ga kàk gũsku* (Ses)., *P<sup>u</sup>õjęč tø kaj tję f tęnęro ij tę bøm šøpala kaj gøskø* (SM)., *Nę m ę šøpati k a k gũsku* (Hr)!., *Pak imäjo dðsti, nę bom jâ dębęle gøskę rìt mázal* (Đur)!., *Al ti bøš y dále tðsty gøsky vrøta møzala* (Ldb)?., *Zákaj jø šøpaš kaj gøskø* (SĐ)?!, *Mäsne gøske nĩ trięba rìti mázati* (Or)., *Náj tũste gũske gøut mözoti* (Bd.) ili u kojima se upozorava na način njezina disanja (*Sipüčę kàk pętàna gũska* (Ses)., *Døk idę pø štęngaj, posøplę kaj prešøpana gøska* (SM).). Na kajkavskome je području ovjerena i sveza **neje za guske seno**<sup>11</sup> značenja ‘nije tko dorastao čemu, nije sve za svakoga’ (*Nę za gũskę sęno* (Ses)., *Mišļij su nęgvi da bø mu táj pøšęl dðbre išęl, aļę nę za gøskę sęņę* (Vrb)., *nęje za gøske sęno* (Sud), *Nĩ za gøske sięne* (Or)., *Nĩ ze gũska sięne* (Bd.)), koja u međimurskome dijalektu može imati fakultativni šaljivi dodatak (**neje za gøskę sęno {niti**

10 Usp. i i RHAF 2017: 48.

11 O frazemu *razumjeti se* u što kao *guska* u *sijeno* v. u Banić (2023).

za n<sup>o</sup>orce vino} – *Dičci ję nę mjęstę na zębavi – nęję za gęskę sęno. Nęję za gęskę sęno niči za nuęrcę vino* (SM).). Zanimljiv je i frazem koji izriče značenje ‘nismo nikad bili bliski, nemamo ništa zajedničko, različiti smo, ne možemo se uspoređivati’ – **nesmo skupa guske pasli**, koji uz kajkavske govore (*Nęsmo mi skępa gęskę pęsli* (Klo)., *Pa nįsmo skępa gęske pęsli* (Križ)., *Nęsmę mi skępa gęskę pęsli* (Pet)<sup>12</sup>., *Pa nęsmo skępa gęske pęsli* (Raš)., *Nęsmo mi skępa gęskę pęsli* (Ses)., *Kęj ti mįsliš da smo mi skępa gęskę pęsli* (Vrb)?, *nęsmę skępa gęske pęsli* (Sud), *Nįsmo mi skęp gęske pęsli* (Hr)., *Męi sma nę skęp gęska pęsli* (Bd).) u varijantnome obliku (**nismo skupa guske čuvali**) ovjeravamo i izvan kajkavskoga područja, u splitskome govoru (usp. Menac-Mihalić i Menac 2011: 70). U hrvatskome je jeziku navedeni frazem široko ovjeren, ali ne s ornitonimom *guska*, nego s animalizmima *ovca*, *koza*, *krava* (usp. npr. HFR 2014: 247, 403; Malnar Jurišić 2023: 160, 163, 210; Menac-Mihalić 2005: 204, 206, 258; Menac-Mihalić i Menac 2011: 86, 88). Potvrda je to da se navedeni frazem u čijoj je strukturi sastavnica *guska* i dalje može ovjeriti samo u okviru dijalektne frazeologije, primarno kajkavske.

Za razliku od spomenutih, frazem kojim se tim ornitonimom izražava *glupost* široko je potvrđen i ovjeren u svim hrvatskim narječjima (usp. npr. Menac-Mihalić 2005: 182, Menac-Mihalić i Menac 2011: 70; RHAF 2017: 48), pa tako i u kajkavskim govorima (*Glępa {ko} gęska* (Križ)., *Si będęsta kakvę ję gęska* (Ses)., *będęsta (blęsava) kęk gęska* (Sud)).

## 2.2.6. Pura/puran

Ornitonimi *pura/puran* nisu čestim dijelom frazeologije hrvatskoga jezika u cjelini<sup>13</sup>, ali jesu kajkavske frazeologije, što je posljedica uzgoja navedene vrste upravo na tom području. Kao što smo utvrdili obrađujući sastavnice *kokoš* i *guska*, i frazemi sa sastavnicom *pura* mogu označavati glupost, zatucanost, što ujedno pokazuje percepciju peradi u životu čovjeka (*Będęst si kęk pęra* (Bak)., *Ōn ję będęst kęk pęra* (Klo)., *Zaglamęsta si kęk pęra* (Ses)., *Tę ę Maręna kak pęra będęsta* (Đur)., *będęsta (blęsava) kęk pęra* (Sud)). Dio građe upućuje na čovječje raspoloženje, tj. nezadovoljstvo (*Prižmękęva š čubęm kęk pęra s piškęm* (Ses)., *Tęk si kaj pęra – fųrt sę niękaj nadęvaš* (SM)., *Gętęvę, vęč čęmbry š čębamy kaj pęra s piškęm* (SĐ).) ili tugu (*Bęš si kę pokįsla pęra* (Klo)., *Zględęti kęk pokįsla pęra* (Vir)., *držęti se kęk pokįsla (mękra) pęra* (Sud)). Njome se iskazuje i uvrijeđenost (*Dřžiš se kęj da ti je pęra*

12 Ovjereno i s inačicom *biba* ‘guščica’: *Nęsmę mi skępa bibę pęsli* (Pet).

13 Usp. npr. HFR (2014: 472); RHAF (2017: 156); Vidović Bolt (2011: 85).

*krùva zēla* (Bak)., *Dřžiš se kò da ti je pùra krùva zēla* (Klo)., *Dřžiš se kò da ti je pùra krùh zēla* (Križ)., *Sę dřžiš kàj da ti je pùra krùva zēla* (Raš)., *Kęj se dřžiš kak da ti je pùra krù krãla* (Vrb)., *Dà gòjt dòjdęm k nęmọ, dři se kàj da mọ je pùra krùxa zēla. Nęmam vòļę s tàkvima se pajdòšiti* (SM)., *Kaj je vę pòk bìlo, dři se kaj da jy je pùra krùxa zēla* (Ldb)., *Dřžiš se kak da ti je pùra krùh zēla* (Or)., *Derži sa tók kok do mu/ńe ja pùro krùh zàlo* (Bd).) ili čuđenje (*Čùdiš se kàj pùra glìsti* (Bak)., *Nęmọj se čùditi kàk pùra glìsti* (Klo)., *Čùdi se kàk pùra glìsti* (Ses)., *čùditi se kàk pùra glìsti (dręku)* (Sud), *Čùdiš se kak pùra dręku* (Or).). Ponašanje pure motiviralo je nastanak frazema ovjerenog u govoru Đurđevca – **štarkàti kak pùra v dręk** ‘neprestano izazivati, poticati svađu’, dok je njezin izgled bio poticajnim impulsom u govoru Hromca – **zględęti kak askuoblana pura**<sup>14</sup> ‘loše izgledati, izgledati izmučeno’ (*Kę si pa bìl? Zględiš kàk askuoblana pùra.*

.). I dok se uz puru vežu spomenuta značenja, uz purana kajkavci vežu dva: jedno koje se odnosi na karakternu osobinu, tj. sklonost ljutnji (*Nigdòr je nę d'òbrę vòļę – tàk je kak poròn* (SM).) ili umišljenost<sup>15</sup> (*Ględi napūjnęnca, dundūri se kak purân* (Đur)., *xòdati (držati se) se kàk poròn* (Sud), *Pūšil se je kàk purân* (Hr).) i drugo koje se odnosi na fizičke značajke, tj. izražava mršavost ili lakoću (*Ón je tęžęk kàk zàgorski purân* (Klo)., *Tęžęk je kàk zàgòrski purân* (Ses)., *Tęžęk si kàk zàgorski pùran* (Vrb)., *tęški (žmęfki) kàk zògòrski poròn* (Sud), *Žmęfkı sı kaj zàgorskı poròn. Mòraš pùno jęstti kaj boš m'ògęl tòrbọ f škòlo nęstti* (SM).). Potonje pokazuje i specifičan način oblikovanja frazema u kojima se značenje iskazuje antonimnim pojmom, to jest *lagan* je netko tko je *težak*.

### 2.2.7. Patka

Ova je sastavnica prisutna u široko potvrđenome frazemu, ovjerenom i u HFR<sup>16</sup>-u (2014: 418) i u dijalektnim frazeološkim rječnicima (usp. npr. Menac-Mihalić 2005: 265), ali i u drugim jezicima (usp. Keber 2011: 784) i kojim se opisuje način čovjekova kretanja, tj. geganje (*Dòk xòda, gęga se kàj ràca* (Ldb)., *Pogljėj jọ kak xòda – kàj ràca* (SM)., *Zdòļęk jọ m'òreš prep'òznati pọ xòdo – idę kak ràca* (SM).,

14 U govoru Tršća *bet* (*zglidati*) *ko oskublena kakuš* ‘biti raščupan, neugledan’ (usp. i 2.2.2. *Kokoš/kvočka*). Pokazatelj je to razvoja *realija iz okruženja* → *frazeologija*.

15 Usp. i Fink Arsovski (2006: 282); RHAF (2017: 156).

16 U RHAF-u (2017: 137) zabilježen frazem s pridjevskim dometkom – *gegati se (hodati) kao sita patka*.

*Hèjdi kok róco*<sup>17</sup> (Bd.), motivirano načinom kretanja patke. Navodimo i svetomarski frazem **piti kak raca** značenja ‘stalno piti (vodu); često piti tijekom jela’ čiji je nastanak prozirno motiviran potrebom ove vrste peradi za vodom.

### 2.2.8. Vrana

Vrana je ptica iz reda vrapčarki koja se pokazala plodnom sastavnicom u kajkavskoj frazeologiji. Ovjerena je tako u široko rasprostranjenome frazemu<sup>18</sup> (usp. npr. HFR 2014: 673; Keber 2011: 1063, 1064; Menac i dr. 2011: 293; Menac-Mihalić 2005: 342; Menac-Mihalić i Menac 2011: 172; RHAF 2017: 195) značenja ‘poseban, drukčiji od ostalih’ (*Tòk ja kok biělo vrùno* (Bd.), *Nàvèk si bēla vràna* (Ses.), *Nēm̃rēš biti bēla vràna dòk si v družstvu* (Ses.), *Pa nēš ti mēj nīmi bēla vràna, bōdi kàk i òni* (Vrb.), *Tàk ję kaj bēla vràna męt č̣nēm̃i* (SM.), *Uòna ję bēla vràna vò famiļijij – si sò vęsęļòkij, sàmò uòna sę navèk dṛži kàj da jį ję pùra kruxa zēla* (SM.), *Nigdâr nę z nām̃i bìl, bìl ę navèk bēla vràna męt č̣rnēm̃i* (Đur.), koje je u varaždinsko-ludbreškom govoru Sudovčine ovjereno i frazedom **biti kàk vràna met gòlobima**<sup>19</sup>, u kojemu supostoje dvije ornitonimske sastavnice. Aktivnost vrane preslikava se na aktivnost čovjeka, što iščitavamo iz rečeničnih potvrda značenja ‘gledati uokolo, a ne u ono u što treba; gledati u prazno, gledati uokolo bez razloga’ (*Zglēda sę kùđ bēlē vràņ lēčò* (Ses.), *Zglēdaš sę kùđ bēlē vràņ lēčò* (Ses.), *Glēđi kùđ bēlē vràņ lēčò* (Ses.), *Glēđeti bēlē vràne kòt lētē* (Vir.), *Kěj glēđiš kòt bēlē vràņ lētiju* (Vrb.), *Jà mu lępo pokažŭvam, a òn glēđi kòđękar bēlē vràņ lētē* (Đur.), *Kàj glęđiš? Kòđ bēlē vràņ lęčò? Ḅuòļę tį bò kaj sę primęš p̣uòsla* (SM.)). Glasanje vrane motiviralo je nastanak frazema koji opisuje glasan, kreštav govor ili pjevanje (*Kriči kàk vràna* (Bak.), *Kvòrčę kaj vràna – vęč sò mį ję pùna vùxa* (SM.)), a navedena slika prenosi se dalje i na svadljive osobe, što ovjeravamo primjerom iz Bednje (*Fürt gràkča kok vrùno*). Usto što opisuje fizičke značajke (*Čęrno ja kok vrùno* (Bd.)), ovom se sastavnicom upućuje i na razumno/nerazumno ponašanje (*Kak sį ṃuògęl sò plòčò f ḳčm̃i zļuskatį? Sò tį vràņ pàmęt spiļę* (SM.)?, *Ponòšaš sę kag da sò tį vràņ pàmęt spiļę* (SM.)) ili na značenje ‘svoji svoje štite’ (*Vrùno vrùne nã nigdâr jũòči skępolo* (Bd.), *Kěj m̃išliš da sę òni pòrat tòga višę nęju mēj sòbu spom̃iñali, pa nigdar nę vràna vràņ oči skopàla* (Vrb.), *Kàj sę čùđiš kaj ję nę svęḍuòčil pṛuòtif nęga? Vràna vràni j̣uòči nę*

17 Obično o debljim ženama nižega rasta.

18 Više o frazemu *bijela vrana* v. u Kovačević (2015: 32).

19 Usp. i RHAF (2017: 195).

*k<sup>u</sup>opa* (SM).). Posebno ističemo primjere koje, prema dosadašnjim analizama, smatramo regionalno obilježanima, svetomarske **rugala se vrana vrani**, **a oĀedvę sŏ Ārņę** ‘ruga se tko komu koji je isti kao i on’ (*Rugala se vrana vrani, a oĀedvę sŏ Ārņę.*), **vrane snięga dęlajo** ‘košmaran let vrana i graktanje pred zimu tumači se nagovještajem snijega’ (*Pogłęj kak vrane sim-tam lęĀŏ i kvŏrĀŏ – snięga dęlajo.*), **zęvatĳ kaj bĳ se lęĀkŏ vrana v zŏbę zalęĀtęla** *k<sup>u</sup>omŏ* ‘jako otvarati usta pri zijevanju’ (*Tak zęvaš kaj bĳ tĳ se lęĀkŏ vrana v zŏbę zalęĀtęla.*) te đurđevaĀke **pŕdi vrana za brodara dok ĩma pęrja** ‘svejedno je komu, ravnodušan je tko’ (*Vęli da bäs ga bręga. – Vidĳm, pŕdi vrana za brodara dok ĩma pęrja!*) i **starati se kak vrana za brodara** ‘ne brinuti se o komu, Āemu’ (*Āk se bŏ stęral kak vrana za brodara, ōndar bŏ jāj-sęga.*). Uvidom u građu utvrđujemo da ornitonim *vrana* na regionalnoj razini stvara razgranatiju simboliku što dovodi i do njezine veĀe frekventnosti u frazeološkome korpusu.

### 2.2.9. Svraka

Svraka (i *sraka*) ptica je iz porodice vrana koja je „obiĀno sinonim za brbljavicu ili kradljivicu” (Chevalier i Gheerbrant 1987: 671) i Āije je glasanje motiviralo frazeme **Āęrbĳętatĳ kak sraka** ‘puno govoriti, ne prestajati govoriti’, ovjeren u međimurskoj Svetoj Mariji (*Ftĳxnĳ vęĀ jęmpŏt! XęrbĳęĀęš kak sraka.*), **bŕbljaf kāk sraka** ‘jako brbljav’<sup>20</sup> ovjeren u varaždinsko-ludbreškom govoru SudovĀine te **bęĀati kak sraka na dręku** ‘glasno govoriti, vikati’ koji je zabilježen u zagorskome Hromcu (*Nāj bęĀati. BęĀiš kāk sraka na dręku.*). U narodnoj se predaji ona percipira i kao glasnik loših vijesti, a u tome kontekstu navodimo potvrdu iz Međimurja (**sraka ĀęrbĳęĀę, d<sup>u</sup>ŏšla bŏ vęst** ‘/kada se svraka glasa, kaže se da Āe stiĀi vijest/’ (*Āųj, sraka xŕbĳęĀę, d<sup>u</sup>ŏšla bŏ nękva vęst.*). Razgranatijoj slikovitosti svrake u okviru dijalektne frazeologije svjedoĀimo u govoru SudovĀine u kojemu se uz ovaj ornitonim vežu znaĀenja razliĀita spektra (**Āŕni kāk sraka** ‘jako crn’, **krŏsti kāk sraka** ‘Āesto krasti’, **pĳsati kāk sraka** ‘ružno pisati’, **poĀęvati kāk sraka** ‘ružno pjevati’ i **znatięelęn kāk sraka** ‘pretjerano radoznao’).

### 2.2.10. Vrabac

Ptica vrapĀarka koja je ovjerenjena u frazemima kojima se izriĀe znaĀenje ‘jako malo jesti, konzimirati malu koliĀinu hrane’ (usp. i Fink Arsovski 2006: 331; HFR 2014:

<sup>20</sup> Usp. i RHAF (2017: 181).

668; RHAF 2017: 194), što ovjeravamo i u ekscerpiranome korpusu (*Jěš kak vròbec. Ot čěga boš jòkij* (SM)?, *jěsti kàk vròbec* (Sud)). Široko je ovjeren i frazem značenja ‘to već svi znaju, to je već općepoznato’ (*Znòm da bòtę klětę svàtę slůžijij. Tò vėč ij vròpcij na kròvę znòdę* (SM)., <tò><vėč > i *vròpci <na kròxu> znòję* (Sud)), za razliku od frazema **posvadili / svadili se vrapci na (o) tuđi provi (tuđem žitu)** ‘posvađali se / svađali se oko tuđega, oko onoga što ih se ne tiče, brinuti tuđu brigu, miješati se u tuđe poslove’, koji je zabilježen u križevačko-podravskim govorima (*Dòk sę posvadiš za tůžę, vėlį sę: posvadiļ sę vròpci na tůžój pròvi* (Ses)., *Jų tvřdim jědnę, a tį drůę, a tò nas sę báš nę tįčę – pa nęmo sę svadiļij kàk vròpci o tůžęm žitu* (Vrb).), ili svetomarskoga frazema **fljėten kak bronjčeni vròbec** ‘spor, neokretan’ (*Fljėten ję kaj brončeni vròbec.*). U Svetoj Mariji zabilježen je i frazem **zėvatij kaj bj sę ljėfkę vròbec v zòbę zaljėtel** <sup>k<sup>u</sup>omę</sup> značenja ‘jako otvarati usta pri zijevanju’ (*Zėvaš kaj bj tį sę ljėfkę vròbec v zòbę zaljėtel.*), dok u križevačko-podravskim govorima sveza istoga ornitonima (vrabac) i istoga somatizma (zub) nosi posve različito značenje – **pečeni vrapci budu leteli v zube komu** ‘(samo iron.) bez truda i rada neće ništa postići, dobiti, ostvariti *tko*’ (*Sàmo čěkaj, budò ti pęčęni vròpci lętęli v zůbę* (Ses)., *Budò ti pęčęni vròpci lętęli v zůbę, sàmi* (Ses).).

### 2.2.11. *Futač* ‘pupavac’

Pupavac (dijalektno *futač, futvač*) ptica je uz koju su vezana brojna pučka vjerovanja (više o tome v. Zaradija Kiš 2016a; 2016b). U našem je korpusu ovjeren u frazemima kojima se izriče značenje ‘jako smrdjeti’ (*Smřdiš kàk fůtvač* (Bak)., *Smřdiš kàk fůtač* (Raš)., *Smrđi kàk fůtač* (Ses)., *Děj sę opęri, smřdiš kàk fůtač* (Vrb)., *Děca, što sę ę spęždęl, smrditę kak fůtvàči* (Đur).!, *Stiraj ga vùn, smřđi kaj fůtač* (Ldb).), a što je posljedica percepcije pupavca kao *smrdljive ptice*<sup>21</sup>(usp. Zaradija Kiš 2016a: 140). U međimurskome govoru Svete Marije ovjereni su i frazemi koji izriču nečiju zamrljanost/zaprljanost – **mastęn kak futač** ‘mašću umrljan’ (*Kàk tų jěš? Vęs sį mastęn kak fůtač.*), **zamšikanij kak futač** ‘jako prljav po licu’ (*Xmį sę! Zamšikanij sį kaj fůtač.*) i **zmžozanj kak futač** ‘jako zaprljan’ (*Kag dętę sęm navėk bila zmžozana kaj fůtač.*), i čije podrijetlo pronalazimo u izgledu pupavca i njegovim bojama (usp. Zaradija Kiš 2016b: 42).

21 Pupavci u svrhu obrane od grabežljivaca imaju sposobnost proizvodnje tekućine neugodna mirisa.



### 2.2.12. Jastreb

Uz jastreba se veže simbolika oštroumnosti (usp. Chevalier i Gheerbrant 1987: 222), a u našem se korpusu iščitavaju neke druge njegove značajke i sposobnosti. O tome svjedoči potvrda iz Durđevca – **zalētāvati se kak kâjnur** (*Samo bi se bili, kak kâjnuri se zalētāvajo*) u čijoj je frazeološkoj podlozi percepcija jastreba kao brze ptice pri napadanju plijena. Njegovo posmatranje potencijalna plijena motiviralo je nastanak svetomarskoga frazema **čakatī kak jōstreḅ** ‘čekati s namjerom da se što uzme čim se pruži prilika’ (*Čakal je kaj jōstreḅ kaj diđemo z grūnta. Čim smo pētē mēknoļi, otpēlal je plūgē sēj na gūno.*). U govoru Đurđevca inačica *kajnur* ovjerena je i u svezi – *kâjnur namajnūr, deca ti se plāčō* – /kaže se osobi koja skita po selu/.

Građa pokazuje i da se sastavnica *jastreb* unutar frazema može javiti i kao sekundarna ornitonimska sastavnica – **i pijana vrana zna kaj je jastreb** ‘uvijek valja znati tko je jači, tko je neprijatelj, otkuda dolazi opasnost’ (*Znâš da i pijâna vrâna znâ kaj je jâstreḅ* (Ses.) ili, pak, primarna, o čemu svjedoče potvrde *Zalētēl se je kâk jâstreḅ met kōkōši* (Ses.), *doletēti (zaletēti se) kâk jōstreḅ met kōkōši* (Sud) i *Delâ(j)tēl ja kok jâustreḅ med kekuōši*<sup>22</sup> (Bd.), i u čijem je nastanku poticajni impuls bio neprijateljski odnos jastreba i domaće peradi.

### 2.3. I još ponešto...

Skrećemo pozornost i na neke ornitonime koji su ovjereni u manjem dijelu kajkavštine, nerijetko samo na određenom lokalnom području. Tako su u podravskom govoru Podravske Sesveta ovjerene ptice močvarice, npr. **čuvati kak bibec jajce** ‘brižno čuvati’ (*Čuva ga kâk bîbeč jajce.*) ili **delati kak rončec** ‘marljivo, neprestano raditi, biti stalno u pokretu’ (*Delâjo sâki dēn kâk rončēci., Fört dēla kô rōnčec., Tâj dēla kâk rōnčec.*). Međimurski govor Svete Marije u svojem fondu ima lokalno obilježene frazeme **sedjētī kak kukmač**<sup>23</sup> ‘sjediti ukočeno, nepomično’ (*Cēļē dnēvē sēdi nō tēm "ōtōmano kak kukmač.*) i **skōkatī kak škōrjōņec**<sup>24</sup> ‘neprestano skakati, biti nemiran, živahan’ (*Imam jōkō živoga vnūka – cēļē dnēvē skōčē kaj škōrjōņec.*), **škōrjōņci bōdō dēlalij?** ‘a tko će onda raditi?’ (① *Ak ti se spi, idi si mālō prēdrēmļi.* ② *Jē, a škōrjōņci bōdō dēlalij?*). U Bednji je zabilježena rečenična potvrda *Tōk ja kok pesturīčko.*, u kojoj se ženska osoba koja je sitnije tjelesne građe i živahnoga duha uspoređuje s pticom pastiricom. U goranskome govoru Tršća ovjeravamo frazem čija je sastavnica ptica zimovka – **papeivat ko dimpel** ‘lijepo pjevati’

22 O onom tko naglo upadne u društvo.

23 *Kukmač* – vrsta ptica s nadignutim perjem na glavi (Francić i Menac-Mihalić 2020: 334).

24 *Škōrjōņec* – poljska ševa, vrsta ptice (Francić i Menac-Mihalić 2020: 345).

(*Papějva lěpu ko dīmpel.*), a rečenična potvrda iz toga govora – *Na šlišeš i na videš. Zalūblen se ko dēvje piētēx.* ovjerava postojanje tetrijeba<sup>25</sup>, tj. njegove dijalektne inačice, u frazeološkome korpusu. Poticajni impuls za nastanak potonjega frazema činjenica je da tetrijeb, koji inače obitava na tome području, za vrijeme parenja izvodi svoj ljubavni pjev i u tzv. zadnjemu njegovu dijelu ne čuje i ne vidi. U govorima čabarskoga područja, kao i u podravskim, u korpusu je zabilježeno i postojanje *žune*, ptice koja je „simbol zaštite i sigurnosti” (Chevalier i Gheerbrant 1987: 828). Njome se, pak, u našem korpusu iskazuje nečija mršavost (*Sūf si kàda ti je žōna rīt spīla* (Bak.), *Nēma nīkaj od nēga, ěm ě sūy kaj da mū ě žōna rīt spīla* (Đur.), ali i značenje ‘puno piti / napiti se’ (*Pijē ko žōžuna* (Tr.), *Šćīra sē jē nāpiū ko žōžuna, zdēj na mārē pa stāt* (Tr.)). Jasna je motiviranost ovoga animalizma u smjeru mršavosti jer je žuna ptica manjega tijela, ali je zanimljiva njezina povezanost s pijanstvom, koje je ovjereno i u usmenim predajama i u književnosti. Žuna je, naime, ptica koja u stvarnome životu nije poznata po tome što puno pije (usp. Keber 1998: 352), ali je njezina takva slika prenesena u frazeološki fond (v. i Keber 2011: 1155). Uz kukavicu, tj. njezino javljanje, glasanje, vezuju se razna vjerovanja (usp. i URL3). Tako u Bednji, primjerice, ovjeravamo – *Pōzi ko ta nā kukuvōčo fkōunīlo, ko sa nā mlīekē kvāurīle.* – čovjek ne smije biti na tašte kada prvi put u proljeću začuje kukavicu, jer će mu se kvariti mlijeko i sir. U čabarskim goranskim govorima, pak, bilježimo primjer – *Lējtas mē jē pa kùkafca zakùkaūa, spīt nā bun jēmu dnārju* (Tr.) koji upućuje na vjerovanje da čovjek, u trenutku kada čuje prvi proljetni kukavičji pjev, mora imati nešto novaca u džepu, jer će u protivnom cijelu godinu biti bez njega.

Spomenut ćemo na kraju potvrde i nekih ornitonima koje bismo mogli svrstati među *egzotičnije* i čiju ovjerenost u frazeologiji interpretiramo kao vanjski utjecaj. Tako je labud, ptica prepoznatljiva po svojoj ljupkosti, snazi, ljepoti i bijelom perju (usp. Chevalier i Gheerbrant 1987: 338), motivirala nastanak frazema koje, između ostaloga, bilježe podravski govori (*Tāj jē bēl kō lābuđ* (Ses.)), dok je paunovo širenje perja inspiriralo nastanak frazema **kočopēriti (našušūriti) se kāk pāun** ‘biti pun sebe, umišljen, praviti se važan’<sup>26</sup> (Sud). Ponavljanje onoga što drugi kažu te govorjenje bez razumijevanja izriče se frazemom s ornitonimom *papīga* (*Sē ponāvlāš kāk pāpīga* (Klo.), *Bīti kāk papīga* (Vir.), *Znōm da sam ty dōsadna, da pōnōvīlam kaj pāpyga* (SĐ.)), a zabilježen je i u HFR-u (2014: 412) i u RHAF-u (2017: 129), te je dijelom i frazeologije drugih jezika (usp. npr. Fink Arsovski 2006: 257).

25 U hrvatskome jeziku ovjeravamo i *zaljubiti se kao tetrijeb* (RHAF 2017: 187) i *zaljubljen kao tetrijeb* (više v. u Banić 2023: 51), a frazem je zabilježen i u drugim slavenskim jezicima (usp. Fink Arsovski 2006: 318).

26 RHAF (2017: 138) navodi frazem *šepiriti se (kočoperiti se i sl.) kao paun*.



### 3. ZAKLJUČAK

Ornitonimske su sastavnice u dijalektnoj frazeologiji često ovjerene. Neke od njih dijelom su frazeologije hrvatskoga jezika u cjelini, pa i šire (poput *goluba*, *kokoši*), dok su neke ovjerene isključivo na razini regionalne frazeologije ili kao lokalizmi (npr. *futač*, *kukmač*, *bibec*).

Osvrnemo li se na strukturu prikupljenoga korpusa, možemo zaključiti da prevladavaju frazemi poredbene strukture. Pritom A-dio frazema može biti glagol (npr. *biti kak čorava kokoš*, *pitij kak raca*, *živjeti kao golubovi* (*dva goluba*, *golub i golubica*)), pridjev (npr. *mastęn kak futač*, *břbřafkāk srāka*) ili može posve izostati (npr. *kao posrani* (*usrani*) *golub*).

Također, zanimljivo je primijetiti i da se neki ovjereni frazemi uglavnom ili isključivo odnose na osobe ženskoga spola, o čemu svjedoče već spomenuti primjeri poput *Tōk ja kok pesturīčko* (Bd) ili *Glūpa si ko kōkoš* (Vrb). Tako se i frazemima s ornitonimskom sastavnicom iskazuju određene stereotipne predodžbe o ženi (npr. umna ograničenost, živahnost), čime se potkrepljuju i dosadašnja istraživanja (usp. npr. Hrnjak 2021; Vidović Bolt 2011: 50, 83).

U ovome se radu prikazao tek dio bogate frazeološke građe, a usmjerena terenska istraživanja, provedena na širem govornom području svih triju narječja, dat će jasniju sliku o prostiranju/rasprostriranju određenih frazema s nazivima ptica. S obzirom na dosad dobivene rezultate, i ovim se istraživanjem potvrđuje da glavnim poticajnim impulsom za nastanak frazema biva stvarnost koja čovjeka okružuje ili realije koje se u čovjekovu životu ističu kao specifične, tj. upravo su sociokulturološki čimbenici ti koji nerijetko motiviraju nastanak frazema, što možemo pratiti i kroz ovjerene animalizme, u konkretnome slučaju ornitonime.

\* Popis kratica imena naselja u čijim je mjesnima govorima zabilježena (i/ili preuzeta) frazeološka građa (s podatkom o literaturi, odnosno izvoru građe):

Bak = Bakovčice; Maresić i Menac-Mihalić (2008)

Bd = Bednja; Celinić, neobjavljena građa

Ča = Čabar; Malnar (2012)

Đur = Đurđevac; Maresić i Miholek (2011)

Hr = Hromec; Gmajnić (2023)

Klo = Kloštar Podravski; Maresić i Menac-

-Mihalić (2008)

Križ = Križevci; Maresić i Menac-Mihalić (2008)

Ldb = Ludbreg; Horvat, neobjavljena građa

Or = Oroslavje; Leštek (2023)

Pet = Peteranec; Maresić i Menac-Mihalić (2008)

Pr = Prezid; Malnar (2012)

Raš = Veliki Raščani; Maresić i Menac-Mihalić (2008)

SĐ = Sveti Đurđ; Horvat, neobjavljena građa

Ses = Podravske Sesvete; Maresić i Menac-

-Mihalić (2008)

SM = Sveta Marija; Frančić i Menac-Mihalić (2020)

Sud = Sudovčina; Jagić (2022)

Tr = Tršće; Malnar Jurišić (2023) i neobjavlje-na građa

Vir = Virje; Maresić i Menac-Mihalić (2008)

Vrb = Vrbovec; Maresić i Menac-Mihalić (2008)

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## **BIRDS IN KAJKAVIAN PHRASEOLOGY**

### **Summary:**

The paper will present phrasemes of the Kajkavian dialect composed of bird names. Namely, the phraseological corpus has established the existence of diverse components with animal names, including ornithonyms. While some of them are part of international phraseology, others have only been confirmed in a particular group of dialects or a local dialect. This paper will focus on the most frequently occurring phrasemes within Kajkavian phraseology, while also highlighting those considered rarely attested. It will also observe the representation of the mentioned phrasemes in the Croatian language as a whole, and attempt to determine the motivation behind their origin. The material for the analysis was excerpted from the existing literature and partly collected through field research. In this way, it was possible to draw conclusions about the established spectrums of meanings (e.g., the relationship between physical and psychological) and demonstrate the more extensive symbolism of certain ornithonyms in dialect phraseology, often exactly those that are characteristic for a specific region or for the everyday reality of the speakers of a given language.

**Key words:** phraseology; Kajkavian; ornithonyms; symbolism

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## **TWO FACES OF ONE SUFFIX: SOME THOUGHTS ON USING CORPORA IN USAGE-BASED STUDIES OF WORD FORMATION<sup>1</sup>**

This paper compares the semantic profile of a single multifunctional derivational suffix derived from data obtained in two general digital corpora of Croatian. The primary motivation is to explore whether our verdicts about the semantics of affixes may depend on the corpus selected as the source of empirical material. The issue is of vital importance, especially for those studying word formation from a usage-based perspective. If grammar is construed as the cognitive organization of our experience with language (Bybee 2006) and if we turn to large, general digital corpora for evidence of this experience, we must be aware that examining different corpora may lead to different hypotheses about users' internalized grammar. The here-presented semantic analysis of the Croatian nominal suffix *-ar(a)* in the more controlled Croatian National Corpus v3.0 and the liberal web-based corpus hrWaC v2.2 yielded conspicuously different results about its dominant function. This does not mean that similar discrepancies would necessarily be observed with other affixes, and it most certainly does not negate the value of corpora in studying word formation. However, such results do caution us against generalizing corpus-relative findings into some general "truth" about the affixes studied.

**Key words:** usage-based approach; word-formation; general corpus; semantic structure

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<sup>1</sup> An early version of this work was presented at the CLARC "Language and Language Data" conference held in Rijeka (Croatia), 28 – 30 September 2023.



## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background

The goal of the study of word-formation (WF) is to understand morphologically complex words and how and why we build them. Existing complex words are part of this agenda but are not equally central in different theoretical frameworks. Descriptive studies assemble actual words and describe them within semasiologically (Babić 2002) or onomasiologically (Barić et al. 1997; Silić & Pranjković 2007) organized units like affixes. Since the 1970s, generative morphologists have recognized actual words but, on the whole, their primary interest has been in possible words and modelling morphological competence (Plag 1999: 1, cf. also Aronoff 1976: 17–18; for some generative work involving large morphological databases see Simonović & Kovačević 2022; Milosavljević & Arsenijević 2022).

Authentic language data are central to functionally oriented schools/models like Dikikian Functional Grammar, Greenbergian typology, Givón (1979), Hopper & Thompson (1980) and Cognitive Linguistics. They are all usage-based in that they seek to explain the nature of grammar from how it is used and reject the language structure/knowledge (*langue, competence*) vs. language use (*parole, performance*) dichotomy. The cognitive linguistic usage-based paradigm (Barlow & Kemmer 2000, Bybee 2010) makes the additional claim that grammar is “the cognitive organization of one’s experience with language” (Bybee 2006: 711). In this framework, actual words are the fabric of linguistic experience from which language users build their grammatical representation using domain-general cognitive processes like similarity/identity detection, i.e. categorization, chunking, rich memory storage etc. (Bybee 2010). Frequency of exposure to linguistic constructions is a key facilitator of these processes. It explains, among others, our ability to recognize what is or is not a conventional linguistic unit, and our occasional inability to perceive high-frequency derived words as complex due to their frequency-induced cognitive entrenchment (Wheeler & Schumsky 1980, in Taylor 2015: 152).<sup>2</sup>

Linguists who accept that grammar arises from linguistic experience may turn to large digital corpora when building hypotheses about users’ internalized grammar. In WF especially, corpora supersede dictionaries as sources of empirical data (Baayen

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2 Much evidence has been amassed for frequency effects, but other linguistic, processing-, and speaker-related factors have been found to co-shape grammar (Schmid 2017), like salience of forms/extralinguistic referents, emotional load (Blumenthal-Dramé 2012), cue-outcome contingencies and sociocultural background (Ellis 2006, 2012; Divjak & Caldwell-Harris 2015).

& Lieber 1991). They are not only our windows into vast swathes of linguistic experience; they also allow us to quantify complex words (token frequency) and more schematic constructions (type frequency) when gauging the semantic profile and productivity of affixes. Here, much rests on the assumption that the selected corpus is representative of the language “out there”. But what is “the language out there”? For usage-based linguists, it cannot be the language of a fictitious ideal speaker/listener from a fictitious, homogeneous speech community. If, however, it is the language of some real speaker(s)/listener(s) and some real speech community, the question is – which real speech community/-ies exactly (Hohenhaus 2005)? The issue is far from trivial since WF has proven to be sensitive to sociolinguistic factors like age or gender (Clark 1982; Körtvélyessy 2009; Žanić 2010; Säily 2011), other non-structural factors like medium/register (Baayen 1992; Plag et al. 1999; Munat 2007; Miller 2014; Gaeta 2015), including the pragmatics of communication (Dressler & Merlini Barbaresi 1994). For instance, while abstract nominalizing suffixes are common in formal writing (Plag et al. 1999), evaluative morphology is more at home in spoken interactive discourse, in tabloid journalism (Mattiello 2008, Miller 2014, Hummel 2015, Costa 2017), and in “non-serious” speech situations marked by a high degree of familiarity and intimacy (Dressler & Merlini Barbaresi 1994).

This paper explores how our usage-based verdicts about the semantics of one Croatian suffix may diverge depending on where we sample users’ linguistic experience. I examine the Croatian nominal suffix *-ar(a)* to see whether its recently observed semantic “drift” toward the evaluative function (Buljan 2024) will stand once we switch to a different data source. To that end, two databases will be formed, each featuring suffixations sourced from a different general corpus of Croatian, viz. the Croatian National Corpus (HNK, v3.0; Tadić 2005; 2009) and hrWaC (Ljubešić & Klubička 2014). The two corpora have been the go-to sources for recent empirical work on the Croatian language in general, including its WF (e.g. Brdar 2016; Bogunović et al. 2022; Filko 2020; Buljan 2023a,b, 2024) but are considerably different from each other in their textual content.

In the following, I briefly present *-ar(a)*’s description in authoritative studies (section 1.2). An overview of HNK and hrWaC follows in section 1.3. In section 2, I justify the choice of descriptive semantic categories and my approach to pattern quantification. Results and discussion are presented in section 3. The paper ends with conclusions in section 4.

## 1.2. On the suffix and its description

In Babić's (2002) monograph on Standard Croatian WF, *-ar(a)* is featured as a multifunctional suffix that builds nouns denoting people (*vračara* 'a fortune-teller' < *vračati* 'to tell fortune'), objects (*pepeljara* 'a receptacle for cigarette ash' < *pepeo* 'ash'), animals (*muzara* 'a milking cow' > *muzna* 'milking'), plants (*jajara* 'an egg-shaped plum' < *jaje* 'an egg'), etc. Its multiple functions notwithstanding, the suffix is regarded as primarily locative, since "almost half the derivatives denote places" (2002: 130; cf. Barić et al. 1997, also Kiršova 1999).

Valuable as Babić's monograph is, its data are quite dated – especially from our contemporary perspective. The bulk that made it into the monograph's 2002 edition had been carried over from its earlier editions, where the earliest year for data inclusion was set at 1860. Babić's study is possibly also biased away from the most spontaneous, informal language in favor of the language of high literature, academic/educational texts, broadsheet journalism and general dictionaries (2002: 5, 601–604). Since the focus was on the standard variety, some data selectivity is natural and expected (cf. Kendall 2011). The downside, however, is that we may know little about how the suffix was used by "ordinary" people at their most spontaneous and whether anything comparable to the following examples (from hrWaC) had existed before:

1. *Pusara veličine trokrilnog ormara Mayi i Dyni.*  
'A big kiss the size of a triple wardrobe to Maya and Dyna'  
*pus(a)* 'a kiss' > *pus-ar(a)* 'a kiss<sub>aug</sub>'
2. *Ovi kaj rade u državnom i javnom sektoru su ko zaštićena kasta. Boli ih đonara.*  
'Those working in the public sector are like a privileged caste. They don't give a rat's ass (lit. their shoe-sole<sub>eval</sub> hurts them)'  
*đon* 'a shoe-sole' > *đon-ar(a)* 'a shoe-sole<sub>eval</sub>'
3. *E sad trea jedno 3 litre rakije, pa onda 4 gajbare piva, naravno karlovachkog*  
...  
'Right, now, we'll need about 3 liters of brandy, some 4 crates<sub>eval</sub> of beer, Karlovačko of course ...'  
*gajb(a)* 'a crate' > *gajb-ar(a)* 'a crate<sub>eval</sub>'

Examples (1–3) feature *-ar(a)* in a modificational pattern of derivation (Dokulil 1968); it builds augmentative/pejorative or more generally evaluative<sup>3</sup> nouns that mean roughly the same as their bases (a big kiss is a kiss, only a big one). This function of *ar(a)* has remained unrecognized in authoritative, “standard-oriented” WF studies, unless one counts as variants of *-ar(a)* the extended forms *-eskar(a)*, *-uskar(a)* and *-onjar(a)*, which Babić (2002) exemplifies with several (pejorative) augmentatives like *popeskara* ‘a priest<sub>aug/pej</sub>’, *braduskara* ‘a beard<sub>aug/pej</sub>’ and *babonjara* ‘an old woman<sub>pej</sub>’.<sup>4,5</sup>

A recent study using fresh, hrWaC-sourced data (Buljan 2024) showed, however, that *-ar(a)* sits comfortably in the “evaluative” territory, and that its evaluative function has surpassed or threatens to surpass its erstwhile dominant locative function in extent of use (type frequency) and productivity (as per Baayen’s measure *productivity in the narrow sense* 1992). I will now explore the generalizability of this observation, but only for the type frequency measure.<sup>6</sup> Suffixations by extended forms like *-endar(a)* in *rup-endar(a)* ‘a big hole’ < *rup(a)* ‘a hole’ will be excluded, but not those where suffixation by *-ar(a)* is interpretable as a case of recursive suffixation of an already suffixed base, as in *ruk(a)* ‘a hand’ > *ruč-erd(a)* ‘a big hand (pejorative)’ > *ručerd-ar(a)* ‘a very big hand (very pejoratively)’.<sup>7</sup>

### 1.3. On the corpora

The data for this study come from two very different general corpora of Croatian: hrWaC (v2.2., Ljubešić & Klubička 2014) and the Croatian National Corpus (HNK

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3 *Evaluative* is a cover term for augmentatives, diminutives, pejoratives, melioratives, and some other types of modificational uses (Grandi & Körtvélyessy 2015, Bauer 1997: 538, Buljan 2024). Nouns that clearly interpret as (pejorative) augmentatives are here subscripted with *aug(pej)*; where a quantitative (*aug*) or qualitative (*pej/mel*) reading is implausible but the noun still reads as evaluative (e.g. as purely expressive word-play, see examples 2, 3 and 11), it is subscripted with *eval*.

4 In Babić’s semasiologically organized volume (2002), these extended forms appear in the same section as *-ar(a)* simply because affixes ending in the same letter string are discussed together. However, Babić does not exclude the possibility of a historical relatedness between such forms in principle (2002: 69). For more, see Buljan (2024).

5 Some such suffixations have made an appearance in work based on non-standard varieties; e.g. *kladara* appears as an evaluative/playful take on the more conventional *kladionica* ‘a betting shop’ (*kladiti se* ‘to bet’) in Koščak’s study on Croatian slang (2018).

6 Baayen’s measure of productivity cannot be used to compare data sourced from two different corpora (for the mathematical/logical background see Baayen & Lieber 1991, Baayen 2009).

7 I take attestation in the corpus or in dictionaries as evidence of the (non-)existence of intermediate stages of suffixation. Since *\*rupenda* ‘a big hole’ is absent from hrWaC and general dictionaries, I assume the derivation of *rupendar(a)* from *rupa* with *-endar(a)* (Buljan 2024). Also, the precise contextual reading of *ručerd(a)* and *ručerdara* may differ from the interpretations given here (cf. Buljan 2024).

v3.0, Tadić 2005, 2009).<sup>8</sup>

HNK and hrWaC are non-homogeneous collections of different kinds of content. For HNK we have information about the source (e.g. Official Gazette), register (e.g. fictional prose) or functional characteristics (e.g. informational texts) of the texts included. HrWaC content is marked for the year of crawling, part of webpage (heading or text), website and web domain (websites ranging from those of various government agencies to those of cat food producers). This information is incomparable and neither corpus includes metadata necessary for a targeted automatic search of suffixations according to criteria like register, genre, style, topic, medium etc. Nonetheless, we could reasonably conclude that HNK and hrWaC are considerably different in the proportions of content representing different “text-types” or “registers” (see 2.1).<sup>9</sup>

HNK is a fairly well-balanced corpus of Standard Croatian. HNK’s first version (30 Mw) includes: 1. Information-centered texts: newspapers, magazines, non-fictional prose (22 200 000 tokens or 76%); 2. Fictional prose (6 900 000 tokens or 22%); 3. Mixed texts: fictional/non-fictional prose, speeches (900 000 tokens or 2%). The second version (v2.5) grew to 104.3 Mw through incorporation of material from *Vijenac*, a bi-weekly newspaper featuring topics in culture, science and arts. The content added to the latest version (v3.0; 234 Mw) comes from the Croatian Official Gazette (Štefanec, pc).

The Croatian Web Corpus hrWaC 2.2 (1.4B tokens) includes texts automatically crawled from the .hr top-level domain (Ljubešić & Klubička 2014). It is unbalanced and lacks a structured breakdown of content comparable to that of HNK v1.0. Still, we learn from Figure 1 that the two biggest content contributors are the websites forum.hr, blog.hr, which together account for 25.7% of hrWaC’s token-size. Also included are company, government, news and magazine websites but there is a conspicuous absence of the Croatian literary canon.<sup>01</sup>

Although we only have a coarse understanding of their content, it is a fair assessment that HNK underrepresents highly informal spontaneous everyday language, while hrWaC is not strong on the language of the academia, high culture and literature.

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8 The analysis of hrWaC data presented here was already completed when I became aware of the launch of a new, much bigger and genre-annotated web corpus of Croatian, the so-called CLASSLA-web.hr corpus (Ljubešić & Kuzman 2023).

9 HrWaC also contains various non-standard and dialectal content, but this is impossible to control for given the anonymity of much web-crawled content.

01 A detailed breakdown is available via SketchEngine.

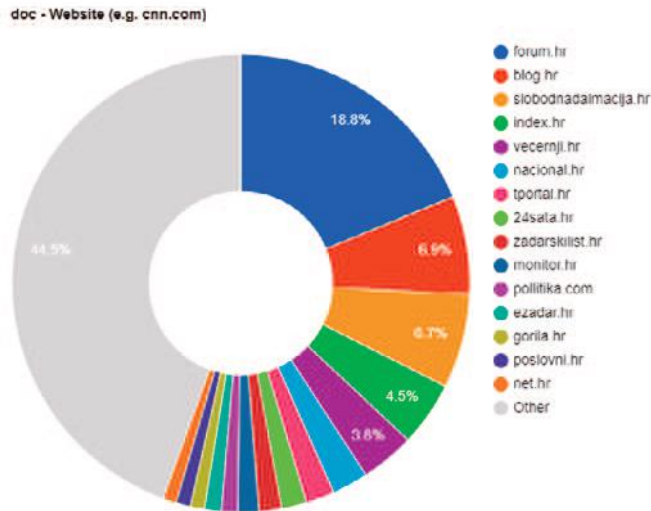


Figure 1. Websites sourced for hrWaC (size-ranked by token coverage)

## 2. METHODOLOGY

### 2.1. On semantic categories and text type categories

Two types of semantic categories are generally used in WF. Ideally, whenever the meanings of morphologically complex words can be described relationally – as a function of the meaning of the base/motivating word (Pounder 2000, Mengel 2009) – they should be so described. ‘Evaluative’ is one such relational category. The derivative modifies the meaning of the base, usually by moving its implicit property up/down some quantitative (size)/qualitative (affect) scale. Still, we often find complex words described ontologically as ‘nouns for people’, ‘nouns for animals’, etc. Nouns like *preživač* ‘an animal that ruminates’ < *preživati* ‘to ruminate’ can thus be described relationally as ‘one (animal) that Vs’ (cf. Babić 2002: 97) or as an ‘animal noun’ (cf. Barić et al. 1997: 315). Similarly, a noun like *zmijara* ‘a big snake’ < *zmija* ‘a snake’ can be described relationally as ‘a big entity (animal)’ or as ‘an animal noun’. My primary focus here is on *-ar(a)*’s suspected “evaluative turn” and less so on the myriad, usually minor and sometimes difficult-to-identify relational meanings among non-evaluative suffixations (note the relationally diverse kinds of place nouns like ‘place to store N’, ‘place producing N’, ‘place made of N’). Therefore, my de-

scriptive framework will include ‘evaluative’ as the only relational category,<sup>11</sup> the remaining data will be classed – for simplicity – into ontological categories like ‘people’ (*vračara*), ‘animals’ (*muzara*), ‘objects’ (*pepeljara*), etc.<sup>21</sup> The latter will subsequently be collapsed into the joint ‘non-evaluative’ category when testing for significance the observed difference between the two datasets in the proportions of evaluative to non-evaluative meanings (section 3.2).

Finally, to discuss potential links between corpus structure and semantic structure, I will take inspiration from Biber & Conrad’s (2009: 5) definition of registers, and from Egbert et al.’s (2015) framework for usage-based web-register classification (modified somewhat based on a comparable classification in Ljubešić & Kuzman 2023).<sup>31</sup> Registers are seen as text varieties fundamentally based on situational characteristics (like topic or communicative purpose), whose pervasive linguistic features are functionally associated with such contexts (e.g., face-to-face conversation has more 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns than academic prose).<sup>41</sup> Above all, registers are defined by purposes like “narrating events” (as in travel blogs, personal blogs, historical articles, etc.), “describing information” (as in research articles, legal terms, course materials, etc.), “expressing opinions” (as in opinion blogs/articles, reviews, letters to editors), “using facts to persuade” (as in commercial websites, descriptions of sales items, promoting events), “explaining instructions” (as in how-to manuals, recipes), “expressing oneself lyrically” (as in lyrics, poems, prayers), and include discussion/QA forums, as platforms for interactive discussions on various topics in the form of comments (Egbert et al. 2015: 1825, Ljubešić & Kuzman 2023). This part of

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11 I should point out that evaluative nouns are also ontologically diverse and may refer to objects (examples 2, 3), abstract entities (example 1), places (*London* > *Londonjara*), people (*komunjara*), etc.

21 Interestingly, in Babić *komunjara* ‘a diehard communist; a communist pejoratively’ is described ontologically, as ‘a noun for male or female persons’ and is only parenthetically glossed as depreciative (p. 130). However, the noun is arguably relationally evaluative – a pejorative derivation from *komunist* ‘a communist’.

31 Egbert et al.’s (2015) and Ljubešić & Kuzman’s (2023) classifications do not match in every detail. Notably, Egbert et al. class novels and short stories into the narrative register together with dry, matter-of-fact kinds of informational prose like news reports, historical articles, and reserve the “lyrical register” for lyrics, poems and prayers. In contrast, Ljubešić & Kuzman class all “literary” texts into the same – as they call it – prose/lyrical genre. Neither system would be delicate enough for a study of the distribution of evaluative morphology within literary texts specifically. This would be an interesting future research project, since it has already been shown that morphological evaluatives are more likely to be found in comedies, the types of texts closer to spoken interaction, and in dialogic sections of narrative texts (Grandi 2003, in Gaeta 2015).

41 In Biber & Conrad’s system, registers and genres are simply different perspectives on studying situational varieties. Assuming a genre perspective entails exploring linguistic features used to structure complete texts, like conventional openings or closings of a business letter (2009: 16). The terms *register* and *genre* have had a long and troubled history (for some discussion see Kuzman & Ljubešić 2023), but many now use them interchangeably (cf. Egbert et al. 2015).



my analysis will remain preliminary and informal. Since it is supremely difficult to distinguish registers in practice (especially in the slippery landscape of computer-mediated communication, cf. Giltrow & Stein 2009), I will employ a working classification of registers loosely organized around prevailing communicative purposes like those listed above (see Table 4). Second, I will restrict this analysis to hapaxes for feasibility. Since different tokens of the same noun may belong to different registers, the alternative would require analyzing a sizable corpus of richly contextualized tokens of all the nouns in the two databases.<sup>51</sup> The decision to focus on hapaxes only is also partly justified by the fact that most novel suffixations are likely to be found among hapaxes – at least in the much bigger hrWaC corpus.<sup>61</sup>

## 2.2. *On quantification*

I established the type frequency of *-ar(a)*'s meanings, viz. in how many different nouns each meaning category occurred. Since some nouns are ambiguous (*betonjara* 'a building made of concrete' or 'a factory producing concrete'), multiple tokens of each suffixation were examined to capture any additional meanings. Specifically, all tokens were examined, up to a random 300-token sample for nouns whose frequency exceeds 300. Nouns with two different meanings, like *betonjara*, contributed two counts of – in this case – locative meanings. Thus, in column 2 of Table 1 the type frequency of meanings is higher than the type frequency of nouns (in parentheses). The same procedure was applied regardless of whether the ambiguous form qualifies as one polysemous noun with several related senses (cf. the metonymically linked *ludara* 'a crazy head' vs. 'a crazy person' > *lud* 'crazy') or as different homonymous nouns (*kožara* 'a thick-skinned winter apple' < *koža* 'skin' vs. *kožara* 'a tannery (leather manufacturing plant)' < *koža* 'leather, hide').<sup>71</sup> This methodological move facilitates quantification and significance testing and is justified insofar as my interest is not in polysemy/homonymy.

A final note, since my aim is to stake out *-ar(a)*'s semantic space on the corpus-based evidence of how contemporary speakers of Croatian are actually using the suf-

51 This would be impossible for many tokens from hrWaC whose original texts/websites no longer exist.

61 On various terms that suggest "novelty of a word" – viz. *hapax*, *nonce-formation*, *neologism* and *occasionalism*, and their non-overlapping uses see Bauer (2001), Hohenhaus (2005), Mikić Čolić (2021), Buljan (2024). On how corpus size correlates with the likelihood that hapaxes are indeed novel, rather than old but rare words see Baayen & Renouf (1996), Plag et al. (1999), Gaeta & Ricca (2015) and below.

71 I will ignore readings representing postderivational semantic extensions, like the metonymic development of 'staff' readings of locatives, as in the hypothetical *Cijela kožara dobila je očekivanu povišicu* 'the whole tannery got a much-expected raise'.



fix, I will unapologetically include in my counts even those data that others would ostracize to the creative “fringes” of WF (like examples 1–3).<sup>81</sup>

### 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### 3.1. General descriptives

**Table 1.** Some descriptive statistics for the two databases of *-ar(a)* nouns sourced from HNK and hrWaC

Corpus (1)	TypF of meanings (2)	Hapax (3)	Dictionary-attested hapaxes (4)
HNK (30M)	105 (95 nouns)	20	9/20 (45.0%)
hrWaC (1.4B)	462 (362 nouns)	115	8/115 (7.0%)

According to column (2) of Table 1, the suffix appeared in 105 distinct readings of 95 formally distinct *-ar(a)* nouns in HNK and in 462 distinct readings of 362 formally distinct *-ar(a)* nouns in hrWaC. This discrepancy is fairly unremarkable with hrWaC being 46.7 times the size of HNK (column 1).

More interesting is the difference in hapaxes (columns 3 and 4). While the 20 hapaxes sourced from HNK account for 21.1% of the 95 distinct nouns in *-ar(a)*, of 362 distinct nouns in hrWaC as many as 115 (31.8%) are hapaxes. Moreover, almost half the hapaxes in HNK are old, dictionary-attested words that probably just did not have room to recur (column 4). Among them, the following figure in the Croatian Encyclopedic Dictionary (HER, 2004) and/or the 12-volume Dictionary of Croatian or Serbian by the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences (AR, 1880-1976): *ludara* ‘a type of fungus, *Rubroboletus satanas*’, *tintara* ‘an ink container (of head)’, *opaj-dara* ‘a rantipole’, *blatnjara* ‘a mud house’, *kućara*, obsolete augmentative for ‘a house’. Some of the dictionary-absent ones occur with some frequency online, which suggests that they may enjoy some familiarity in “the speech community”. They include, among others, *pekmezara* ‘a jam factory’, *jeftinjara* ‘something cheap’ or *Kenjara* (< *kenjati* ‘to take a shit’), the pejorative nickname for a quadrant of Diocletian’s Palace in Split where people illegally dump garbage/defecate. In sum, considering – conservatively – only dictionary attestations, almost half HNK’s hapaxes are not new

81 Such coinages tend to be neglected especially in studies of productivity. As a technical term in WF, productivity is highly controversial. Among others, some refuse counting as instances of “productive WF” any words created “deliberately” for special, short-term effect, especially if this involves any form of “rule-breaking” (Schultink 1961; Aronoff 1976; Bauer 1983; 2001; Dressler 2000; but see Munat 2007; Miller 2014; Buljan 2024).

at all; with those attested online (N = 17), the not-so-new nouns account for a staggering 85.0% of HNK's hapaxes. By comparison, only 8 (7.0%) of hrWaC hapaxes belong to the established norm/lexicon, the rest are novel, still unregistered suffixations. Dictionaries feature, among others, *lokardara* 'a fishing net for mackerels', *mazutara* 'a mazut plant', *paščara* 'a dog house', *platnara* 'a linen production facility'. Since hrWaC consists entirely of web-crawled content, I assumed that a hrWaC hapax is somewhat familiar if, regardless of its dictionary-attestation, it occurred online in at least one more example beyond that found in hrWaC. This was the case with 51 hapaxes (44.3%). All in all, there is a clear difference in the number of hapaxes that are presumably not new in HNK 45.0% (or 85.0%) vs. hrWaC 7.0% (or 44.3%). This discrepancy is unsurprising given that HNK is far smaller than hrWaC, but it does suggest that the text types/registers included in the two corpora may not be equally welcoming of certain types of lexical innovation. This will be more obvious when I later return to the semantics of hapaxes.

Whether the truly novel suffixations, especially those from hrWaC, are likely to survive beyond their original context of use is a different issue. Many are evaluative and quite likely ephemeral, cf. examples (1–3), and (4–5):

- (4) ... *i kod nas ima idijota, **klinjara** koje si još vrte Zeitgeist i nisu ni uzeli brigu da pogledaju prave dokaze*  
'There are idiots around here too, kids<sub>aug/eval</sub> who're still into the Zeitgeist and never bothered to examine real evidence'
- (5) *Da se ti nebi povukao ka Sanader a poslije završio u bajbuku. Hvala bogu da vise necemo slusati o tom **majmunjari***  
'You aren't going to retreat like Sanader, only to end up in the cooler. Thank goodness we won't be hearing about that ape<sub>aug/eval</sub> any more ...'

### 3.2. Semantic structure of *-ar(a)* in HNK and hrWaC

Tables 2 presents the semantic breakdown of *-ar(a)* in the two complete databases.

Table 2. TypF of *-ar(a)*'s meanings in hrWaC and HNK

Semantic category		hrWaC		HNK	
		TypF	%	TypF	%
1	Evaluative	157	34.0	6	5.7
2	Location	147	31.8	47	44.8
3	Object	67	14.5	24	22.9
4	Person	28	6.1	6	5.7
5	Food/drinks	17	3.7	6	5.7
6	Plant	16	3.5	7	6.7
7	Animal	16	3.5	6	5.7
8	Body	7	1.5	1	1.0
9	Abstract	7	1.5	2	1.9
Total		462	100.0	105	100.0

Location is the most TypF meaning but only in the more conservative HNK. HNK results actually corroborate Babić's intuition that "almost one half of all *-ar(a)* nouns are locative" (2002: 130). The only other category that reaches double digits are 'object' nouns like *kupusara* metaphorical for 'a voluminous book with little valuable content' < *kupus* 'cabbage'. The meagre six evaluatives are *komunjara*, *gužvara* 'a big crowd' < *gužva* 'a crowd',<sup>91</sup> *sunjara* 'a hot, scorching sun' < *sun(ce)*<sup>92</sup> 'the sun', the obsolete *kućara* 'a cottage, shed<sub>aug</sub>' < *kuća* 'a house' (AR V: 731), *miljara* 'a thousand<sub>eval</sub>' < *milja* 'a thousand' and *kafanara* 'a coffeeshouse<sub>eval</sub>' < *kafana* 'a coffee-house'.<sup>12</sup>

In hrWaC, evaluatives are dominant. Locatives are close, but rank second nonetheless. This result most certainly flies in the face of traditional description (Babić 2002, Barić et al. 1997).

Although HNK and hrWaC are so obviously different in the proportion of evaluatives to non-evaluatives, this was checked for significance using a Chi-Square Test of Independence. In the HNK, observed frequencies indicated that 6 nouns were eval-

91 *Gužvara* appeared more frequently in its more common meaning 'a type of pie with crumpled pastry'.

92 Brackets here suggest base shortening, a common practice in WF (Babić 2002: 35; cf. Mel'čuk's deletion 1932: 493).

12 Admittedly, *kafanara* (a hapax) might also be the genitive plural inflection of the non-target agentive *kafanar* 'a coffee house owner'. The example could be read either way: *Upravo su oni glavni gosti kavana. Stoga, zagrebačka društvenost je dakle društvenost kafanska i gostionička (...)*Bez *kafanara* nema kod nas društvenosti "jer" glavni naš društveni faktor je alkohol, vino. 'They are the main patrons of coffee houses. Zagreb social life is, therefore, of the coffeeshouse and tavern "brand" (...) Without coffee houseseval/coffee house owners, there is no social life "because" our main socializing factor is alcohol, wine'.

uative, in contrast to 99 non-evaluatives (Expected frequencies: Evaluatives = 30.2, Non-Evaluatives = 74.8). In hrWaC, 157 nouns were evaluative, while 305 were not (Expected frequencies: Evaluative = 132.8, Non-Evaluative = 329.2). The Chi-Square Test yielded significant results ( $\chi^2(1) = 33.377, p = .000, \Phi = .24$ ). The association between corpus and meaning structure proved to be significant, with a moderately sized effect.

The difference between HNK- and hrWaC-sourced data is even starker in the subset of hapaxes (Table 3). In hrWaC, evaluative hapaxes are almost 2.5 times as frequent as locative hapaxes, while in HNK locatives prevail (at 45%).<sup>22</sup>

**Table 3.** TypF of meanings among *-ar(a)* hapaxes in hrWac and HNK

Semantic category		hrWaC		HNK		
		TypF	%	TypF	%	
1	Evaluative	56	48.7	2	10.0	
2	Non-evaluative	Location	23	20.0	9	45.0
3		Person	9	7.8	2	10.0
4		Object	13	11.3	1	5.0
5		Plant	5	4.3	1	5.0
6		Food/drinks	4	3.5	4	20.0
7		Animal	3	2.6	0	0.0
8		Body	2	1.7	1	5.0
Total		115	100.0	20	100.0	

To save space, I can only flesh out these dry figures with a handful of evaluatives and locatives. The only two evaluative hapaxes in HNK are *kućara* and *kafanara*. Evaluative hapaxes from hrWaC include (a selection): *zmijara* < *zmija* ‘a snake’, *zakonjara* < *zakon* lit. ‘law’, used in slang as a secondary interjection (Ameka 2006) meaning ‘cool’, *uspješničara* < *uspješnica* ‘a success story’, *uhljebara* < *uhljeb* ‘one who is employed (usually in the public sector) through connections, not on merit’, *tipkovnjara* < *tipkovnica* ‘a keyboard’, *Snejpara* < *Snejp* (professor Severus Snape), *pusara* (example 1), *majmunjara* (example 5) and many more. Locative hapaxes in hrWaC include mainly nouns for commercial locatives like *vijčara* ‘a bolt and screw factory’ < *vijak* ‘a bolt/screw’, *vlažara* ‘a humidifying chamber’ < *vlažiti* ‘to humidify’, *mrežara* ‘a (fishing) net factory’ < *mreža* ‘a (fishing) net’, or “made-of” locatives, like *kartonjara* ‘a makeshift shelter made of cardboard’ < *karton* ‘cardboard’ or *crijepara* ‘a house with a tile roof’ < *crijep* ‘a tile’. The locative hapaxes in HNK include *čipsara* ‘a potato chip factory’ < *čips* ‘a potato chip’, and the earlier mentioned *pekmezara* and *Kenjara*.

<sup>22</sup> This difference could not be tested for significance due to one low cell count (2 evaluatives/HNK).

Table 4 shows how the hapaxes (regardless of meaning) distribute according to my working categories of register (section 2.1). Interestingly, hrWaC is the most hapax-intensive in the one register where HNK – for obvious reasons (cf. section 1.3) – has none, viz. the interactive discussion/QA forum.

**Table 4.** Distribution of hapaxes per register in hrWaC and HNK

	Register	hrWaC		HNK	
		Frq	%	Frq	%
1	Interactive, discussion: Discussion forum, QA forum	51	44.3		
2	Opinion: Opinion blogs/articles, reviews, advertisements	18	15.7	2	10.0
3	Informational description/explanation (objective/factual): research articles, legal terms, course materials, encyclopedic entries, news/sports reports etc.	19	16.5	8	40.0
4	Narrative (narrating events for entertainment or informational purposes): personal blogs, magazine articles, travel blogs, historical articles	25	21.7	9	45.0
5	Literary: fictional prose, poetry, song lyrics, etc.	2	1.7	1	5.0
	Total	115	100.0	20	100.0

Before exploring in some detail the semantics/register intersection, let me illustrate how examples from one meaning category (location) manifest in different registers:

### Interactive discussion (forum)

- (6) *Dal je i u toj **fensinjari** napojnica obavezna ...*  
'Is tipping a must in that **fancy place** of yours'

### Opinion (blog)

- (7) *Jer kad imaš dvadeset i nešto, a odrastao si u ovom "sustavu vrijednosti" koji duhovno nije ništa drugo do žalosna sklepotina od **kartonjara** i gdje koje zahrđale limenke poput onih na periferiji pakla zvanog Ciudad de Mexico ... normalno je da se grebeš za lovu svim sredstvima.*  
'Coz, when you're twenty some, and you've grown up in this "value system", a spiritually pitiful ragbag of **cardboard shelters** and rusty sheet metal constructions like those on the outer rim of the hell called Ciudad de Mexico ... it's normal that you should be all about how to get your hands on money'

### Information/explanation

- (8) ***Mrežara** nam već tri mjeseca radi u tri smjene i tako će, s obzirom na narudžbe, biti do kraja godine.*  
'Our **net production line** has been running in three shifts for three months now, and – with the orders in the pipeline, so it will remain until year-end'

### Narrative

- (9) *Tada ga koristi komorska uprava, a kasnije vojska. Nakon toga u njemu je **Platnara**, a 1849. godine i nautički kabinet.*  
'At the time it was used by the chamber directorate, later by the military. Thereafter, it housed a **linen production facility**, and in 1849 the maritime chamber'

## Literary

(10) *Miha Rabar bi se svako jutro prije zore šuljao oko Tučine **slamnjure**, a kada bi zarudjelo, on se skupi uza zid i nagnuvši pažljivo glavu napinjao bi oči gledajući u sobnu polutminu.*

‘Every morning before dawn, Miha Rabar would sneak around Tuča’s **straw roofed house**; when the dawn broke, he’s press himself against the wall, poke his head out carefully and, straining his eyes, peer into the semi-darkness of the room’

Tables 5a (on HNK) and 5b (on hrWaC) chart the distribution of the semantic categories of hapaxes per register. Allowing for the very small number of HNK hapaxes altogether, and for the fact that half are not even novel nouns, it is rather unsurprising that the busiest intersection in the “soberly conservative” HNK is between location, on one side, and the informational (3 locative hapaxes) and the narrative (5 locative hapaxes) registers, on the other (Table 5a).

**Table 5a.** Crosstabulation of semantic category x register for HNK hapaxes

Semantic categ.		Register					Total
		Interact.	Inform.	Narrat.	Opinion	Literary	
1	Evaluative			1	1		2
2	Locative		3	5		1	9
3	Person			1	1		2
4	Object		1				1
5	Animal						
6	Plant		1				1
7	Food/drinks		3	1			4
8	Body			1			1
	Total		8	9	2	1	20

More interesting is Table 5b. It shows that HrWaC hapaxes are not only overwhelmingly evaluative (row 1), but the majority of them come from interactive discussion/QA forums, meaning notwithstanding (column 1).

**Table 5b.** Crosstabulation of semantic category x register for hrWaC hapaxes

Semantic categ.		Register					
		Interact.	Inform.	Narrat.	Opinion	Literary	Total
1	Evaluative	27	1	14	14		56
2	Non-evaluative	Locative	8	7	4	2	23
3		Person	7		2		9
4		Object	6	2	3	2	13
5		Animal		3			3
6		Plant	1	3	1		5
7		Food/drinks	1	3			4
8		Body	1		1		2
	Total	51	19	25	18	2	115

In other words, the forum has the highest concentration of largely novel (cf. section 3.1) nouns which quite expectedly (given the nature of the register) are of the evaluative kind. In this register, people are most at ease, quick to express qualitative and quantitative evaluation of others, and to engage in creative word-play as in the purely ludic example (11).

(11) *Normalno kupljen, sa naručenzi i draj monate čekanjzi je oko hundred nojn und nojncih **kunjara**...*

‘Bought through regular channels, with zee order and drei monate ze veiting, it’s around hundred neun und neunzig kuna<sub>eval</sub>’

There is no doubt that the setting of computer-mediated communication (CMC) and our perceptions of how such communication works are affecting our communication behavior. Above all, its “metaphorical and technical sense of distance” lends us more freedom than we enjoy in monitored face-to-face communication. Beyond that, the general uncertainty about message uptake may also drive us to becoming ever more creative – if only to attract attention (Giltrow & Stein 2009: 13). Nevertheless, one should be careful not to give CMC too much credit as it most certainly does not have exclusive rights to evaluative morphology (or WF innovation in general). Evaluative morphology is also at home in slang and face-to-face interaction regardless of medium, in the less controlled written varieties like dialogic parts of literary narratives, or comedies (Gaeta 2015). This only means that if we could compare hrWaC-sourced *-ar(a)* nouns with, for instance, *-ar(a)* nouns sourced from some (as yet non-existent) corpus consisting entirely of informal, face-to-face spoken interaction, the results would most certainly not diverge so dramatically.



It may well be that not every affix is as sensitive to the effects of register as *-ar(a)* turned out to be. But the results reported in this study still contribute to over four decades of research which showed that register – difficulties of definition and classification aside – may be one of the most powerful predictors of linguistic variation (Biber & Conrad 2009, Egbert et al. 2015), including in WF (Baayen 1994, Plag et al 1999, Gaeta 2015). Clearly, the results also suggest that much more register-oriented work is warranted in future for a fuller understanding of our (changing) WF behavior, especially if we use that behavior to build our bottom-up hypothesis about its cognitive representation.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

In this paper I set out to compare the semantic profile of the multifunctional Croatian suffix *-ar(a)* based on data sourced from two very different general corpora of Croatian, HNK and hrWaC. Its locative function (traditionally recognized as central) remains unchallenged in the conservative HNK, but yields to evaluatives in the more “liberal” web-based hrWaC. If hapaxes are any good as indicators of WF productivity/creativity (in the non-technical sense), we must conclude that hrWaC is much more receptive of innovation, especially in the evaluative arena. This is not only because it is considerably larger than HNK (guaranteeing that its many hapaxes will indeed be novel words), but because it is home to texts of a most interactive/informal nature. Despite the preliminary nature of my conclusions and the possibility that I may have not found “the most natural” seams between register types, the data unambiguously show that our hypotheses about language users’ grammar may be considerably affected by corpus composition. Admittedly, other affixes may not be equally sensitive to the textual composition of corpora, but we should nonetheless keep an eye out on register as a potential factor behind linguistic variation – especially if we use corpus data to generate usage-based hypotheses about grammar.

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## **DVA LICA ISTOGA SUFIKSA: NEKE MISLI O KORIŠTENJU KORPUSA U UPORABNIM PRISTUPIMA ANALIZI TVORBE RIJEČI**

U ovom se radu uspoređuje semantički profil jednog multifunkcionalnog derivacijskog sufiksa temeljen na analizi podataka prikupljenih iz dvaju općih digitalnih korpusa hrvatskog jezika. Primarna je motivacija za ovaj rad utvrditi mogu li naši zaključci o značenju afiksa ovisiti o korpusu odabranom kao izvor empirijskog materijala. To je pitanje od ključne važnosti posebno kada se tvorbi riječi pristupa iz perspektive uporabnih modela jezika. Ako gramatiku smatramo kognitivnom organizacijom našeg jezičnog iskustva (Bybee 2006) i ako posegnemo za velikim, općim digitalnim korpusima kao odrazima toga iskustva, moramo biti svjesni da bismo upotrebom podataka iz različitih korpusa mogli doći do različitih hipoteza o internaliziranoj gramatici. U ovom radu iznosimo rezultate semantičke analize hrvatskog imeničkog sufiksa *-ar(a)* u kontroliranijem Hrvatskom nacionalnom korpusu v3.0 i u liberalnijem mrežnom korpusu hrWaC v2.2, u kojima su različite funkcije toga sufiksa pokazale dominantnima. To ne znači, naravno, da bi se slične nepodudarnosti nužno utvrdile analizom nekih drugih afiksa i nipošto ne umanjuje vrijednost upotrebe korpusa u tvorbenim istraživanjima. No ipak nas upozorava da svoje rezultate trebamo tumačiti kao odraz lingvističkog iskustva “zahvaćenog” dotičnim korpusom, ne nužno kao općevažeću istinu o analiziranim afiksima.

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## ANGLISTIKA

**Ester Vidović**

CONCEPTUALISATION OF DEATH IN OSCAR WILDE'S MODERN  
FANCIFUL TALE *THE SELFISH GIANT*: A COGNITIVIST APPROACH /  
KONCEPTUALIZACIJA SMRTI U SUVREMENOJ FANTASTIČNOJ PRIČI  
OSCARA WILDEA *SEBIČNI DIV*: KOGNITIVISTIČKI PRISTUP ..... 673

**Nawal Mebitil, Djahida Abderrahmane**

ENHANCING BUSINESS ENGLISH SPECIALISED TERMINOLOGY  
LEARNING THROUGH GAME-BASED INSTRUCTION / EFIKASNOST  
UČENJA SPECIJALIZIRANE TERMINOLOGIJE POSLOVNOG ENGLESKOG  
KROZ PODUKU TEMELJENU NA IGRICAMA ..... 687





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**Ester Vidović**

## **CONCEPTUALISATION OF DEATH IN OSCAR WILDE'S MODERN FANCIFUL TALE *THE SELFISH GIANT: A COGNITIVIST APPROACH***

The paper addresses the controversial nature of presenting the concept of death in children's literature. Young children seem to understand death at a relatively young age. However, there have been controversies related to how this topic should be addressed in children's literature. While some take a stand that children should be shielded as much as possible, others believe we have to present a true and honest image of death in literature. Oscar Wilde's modern fanciful tales provide a fertile ground for studying the concept of death. His fairy tales often do not have a happy ending, and in many of his stories, protagonists die unjustly, which gives children a more realistic picture of death. The concept of death in the story *The Selfish Giant* has been analysed via the Theory of Conceptual Metaphors, as proposed by Mark Johnson and George Lakoff and other scientists from a cognitivist background. The proposed metaphors are founded on spatial image schemas as well as primary metaphors, as elaborated by Lakoff and Johnson. Death in Wilde's stories is portrayed in subtle tones and in accordance with the philosophy of life cycles, as well as the Judeo-Christian tradition. Moreover, Wilde's poetic language makes the fairy tale a worthy and enjoyable read for young children.

**Key words:** death; modern fanciful tales; Oscar Wilde; conceptual metaphors

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Death has always been a delicate subject to tackle, especially when considering ways of explaining it to children. Many of us have certainly found ourselves in a situation where we considered the best and most considerate manner to communicate to a child that a family member, a neighbour or an acquaintance has passed away. Due to the delicacy of the issue and a reluctance to obtain feedback from children, their parents, and teachers on how children conceptualise death, there has been a scarcity of articles addressing this topic.

One hundred years ago, death was a quotidian component of people's lives. It was common for extended families to live together. Mortality rates were high, especially among infants and children, as well as adults in the prime of their lives, whose deaths were the consequences of a brief illness or a workplace accident (Longbottom and Slaughter 2018). In such large families, death was a common occurrence, as the body was usually exposed at home to allow for traditional rituals before burial or cremation (Ibidem). In this manner, children witnessed death almost on an everyday basis. Due to recent increases in geographical mobility and changes to family structures, contact between members of extended families has been reduced, leading to a decline in mourning rites and, consequently, to children's reduced exposure to death (Ibidem). Simultaneously, attitudes toward children's upbringing and children's exposure to death have changed dramatically in recent years. Adults predominantly believe that children do not have affective or cognitive resources to cope with death and the rituals and representations we usually associate death with (Gutiérrez et al. 2014). In Western countries, death is no longer perceived as an integral part of life but rather as an event children should be shielded from (Longbottom and Slaughter 2018).

Studies in children's understanding of death have a long history, dating back to the 1930s (Speece and Brent 1984). According to Longbottom and Slaughter (2018), the key components of death that have been most thoroughly studied in relation to an adult understanding of its concept include *irreversibility* (understanding that death is permanent and that there is no return to life), *inevitability* (understanding that all living things die), *cessation* (understanding that death causes a cessation of all life functions) and *causation* (understanding that death is the result of a breakdown of bodily functions). While earlier research from the 1970s (Brent 1978; Kastenbaum and Aisenberg 1972; Speece 1983) indicates that children as young as 18 months acquire some concept of death, it also shows that achieving a mature understanding of death is a lengthy process (Speece and Brent 1984). Some components of death are

quite difficult for children to “digest”. Speece and Brent (1984) outline that some children see death as a form of sleep or sickness and fail to recognise its irreversible nature (the concept of irreversibility), while some of them fail to see the cessation of certain bodily functions which occur with the onset of death (the concept of non-functionality). Moreover, many children believe death happens to others rather than themselves, their family members, or children in general, suggesting a limited understanding of the concept of universality.

Recent research has shown that the component that children acquire first, as early as the age of 3, seems to be irreversibility, while causation is mastered last, usually at the age of 8 (Curtis Mills 1979; Longbottom and Slaughter 2018). This is understandable since parents, who are typically the primary sources of information about death, introduce the concepts of life and life cycles early in their children's lives (Rosengren et al. 2014; Slaughter et al. 1999). In contrast to the concept of irreversibility, the concept of causality can pose a problem for children as parents' explanations may be insufficient, overly complex, or may lead to confusion due to parents' emotional reassurances (Longbottom and Slaughter 2018).

Besides parents, children learn about death from other adults or from the media, including literature (Ibidem). Children's literature has long conveyed messages about the world we live in. Despite the fact that literary portrayals of death are often children's initial exposure to the topic, it seems that the majority of books beloved by children do not address death (Gutiérrez et al. 2014).

## **2. THE ROLE OF LITERATURE IN TEACHING THE CONCEPT OF DEATH**

Literature for children has always treated death and sex as taboo subjects (Hunt 1994). There has been a tendency to soften sad moments related to the death of a fictional character. Hunt (1994) discusses the pressure exerted by manipulators of children's literature on the illustrator Richard Ardizzone to change the plot in the 1970 revised edition of his picture book *Lucy and Mr Grimes*. He was asked to keep a family friend alive, while the original version from 1937 featured the character's death. Ardizzone was not particularly pleased with this alteration because he believed children should not be sheltered too much from the hard and unpleasant facts of life.

Similar issues occurred with other media: E. B. White was asked to alter the ending of his book *Charlotte's Web*, namely the part in which the main character, the spider Charlotte, dies. In a similar vein, film critics criticized the death of Mufasa in *The*

*Lion King*. Both the writer and the film director refused to make alterations, leading to the book and the film being praised for their realistic portrayals of death. It seems that many books and films for children portray death by providing confusing, unrealistic, and potentially harmful information, which can in turn affect children's understanding of the concept of death, as well as attitudes towards it (Longbottom and Slaughter 2018).

Bruno Bettelheim (2000) argues that fairy tales not only help children understand life as a cycle but also help them overcome the fear of death. Thus, the typical ending *And they lived happily ever after* does not mislead young readers into believing in eternal life. Rather, it helps them understand that a lasting, mature love makes it easier for us to face the reality of the transient nature of life. In other words, finding true love diminishes the need for eternal life (Ibidem). The role of fairy tales in conceptualising death, as well as understanding a literary text with the help of conceptual metaphors, will be elaborated further in this article. It will address the writer's perspective and, to a lesser extent, the reader's viewpoint while also providing a historical and cultural context to the literature.

### **2.1. Modern Fanciful Tales**

According to Herrero Ruiz (2007) fairy tales can be studied from many diverse theoretical angles including psychoanalytical, feminist, structuralist, anthropological and others. Before a cognitivist approach to the analysis of Wilde's fairy tales is applied, it is important to emphasise the author's contribution to the development of *modern fairy tales* or *modern fanciful tales*. These tales are authors' own creations and are characterised by advanced narrative techniques, detailed descriptions of characters, use of personification, setting, and time, stronger character motivation, revised principles of reward and punishment, and a move away from simplistic black-and-white characterisation (Pintarić 2008). According to Pintarić, the Danish author H. C. Andersen is considered to be the founder of the genre, while the British author Oscar Wilde perfected it (2008). Wilde's stories contain many of the characteristics of modern fanciful tales, in particular personification, which makes them convenient for the study of conceptual metaphors, in which abstract concepts such as death are frequently personified.

### 2.1.1. Oscar Wilde's Modern Fanciful Tales

Oscar Wilde's most productive years were during *the second* Victorian period (Chapman 1970), also referred to as the *post-Darwinian period*, which lasted from 1867 to 1901 (Newsome 1998). The initial enthusiasm and hectic pace of life in the first Victorian period, spanning from 1837 to the late 1860s (Chapman 1970), gave way to indifference and decadence during the final decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Jackson 1950). Some interpretations suggest that people started feeling the consequences of the rapid developments in technology and transport that occurred during the previous period. Moreover, the working class struggled with poor living conditions in big cities, where diseases such as cholera, diphtheria, typhoid fever, scarlet fever, and many more flourished (Best 1971). These diseases affected everybody, particularly the youngest. Contemporary writers could not ignore the pervasive presence of death and Wilde was one of them.

The analysed fairy tale, *The Selfish Giant*, comes from Wilde's first collection of fairy tales, namely from the collection *The Happy Prince and Other Tales* from 1888. In his introduction to the collection, Wilde wrote that the stories were "meant partly for children and partly for those who have kept childlike faculties of wonder and joy" (Hodgkiss in Wilde 1994: XVI). Wilde would read these fairy tales to his sons, Cyril and Vyvyan, at bedtime. Abandoning the stereotypical happy ending, Wilde often concluded many of his fairy tales with the (often unjust) death of his protagonist. For example, some of his stories end with protagonists dying for love (*The Nightingale and the Rose*), friendship (*The Happy Prince*, *The Devoted Friend*), or a broken heart (*The Birthday of the Infanta*). In *The Selfish Giant*, death is portrayed as a natural consequence of old age, making the story accessible to young children who are familiar with the concept of life cycles.

## 3. CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS

Life cycles can be nicely understood with the help of conceptual metaphors. In order to illustrate how metaphor can be grasped through the concept of life cycles, it is necessary to explain how the metaphors function as a figure of thought, not only speech.

### 3.1. Cognitivist Approach to Metaphors

A significant shift in our understanding of metaphors dates back to the 1970s, spurred by breakthroughs across disciplines including linguistics, philosophy, psychology,

literary theory, computer science, and neuroscience. These advancements cast a new light on our understanding of the diverse cognitive mechanisms we resort to when experiencing the world around us. Research in the aforementioned disciplines addresses the millennia-old dichotomies between mind and body, cognition and perception, and rationality and sensation (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Advocates of this new cognitivist approach emphasize the role of experience, perception, culture, and society in cognition. While traditionalist schools propose “objective theories” of knowledge, which maintain a strict separation between body and mind, proponents of the cognitive approach support the experiential perspective. Cognitive linguist Raymond Gibbs pays tribute to Maurice Merleau-Ponty, a predecessor of cognitivism who, as early as 1962, emphasized that we do not perceive a river as unrelated to our existence but as something enabling bodily interaction (Gibbs 2005). According to Lakoff and Johnson, leading figures in cognitivist thought, we are often not aware of these mental processes because the knowledge gained through experience and embodiment resides in our *cognitive unconscious*, that is “the totality of those cognitive mechanisms above the neural level that we have sufficient evidence for, but that we do not have conscious access to” (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 17 number).

Lakoff and Johnson are the founders of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, which stipulates that metaphors as mental processes are the basis of human conceptual mechanisms. Metaphors involve *mappings* between two domains: the *source domain* and the *target domain* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The target domain, being more abstract, is understood in terms of the more concrete source domain. This is a unidirectional process since mapping only occurs from the source domain to the target domain, allowing us to draw metaphorical conclusions about the target domain on the basis of the source domain (Stanojević 2009). Zoltán Kövecses emphasises that mappings are in fact a set of systematic correspondences between the source domain and the target domain (Kövecses 2002). In the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, continues Kövecses, following mappings take place between the two domains (Kövecses 2002: 7):

Source domain: JOURNEY	Target domain: LOVE
the travellers	→ the lovers
the vehicle	→ the love relationship itself
the journey	→ events in the relationship
the distance covered	→ the progress made
the obstacles encountered	→ the difficulties experienced
the destination of the journey	→ the goal(s) of the relationship

Kövecses warns that the target domain did not encompass the above stated elements before it was structured by the source domain, i.e. journey. In other words, the concept of journey “designed” the concept of love. He elaborates his stand with the explanation that we cannot envisage the concept of love without using the elements such as the goal, choice, difficulty and others from the domain of journey (2002: 7). According to the cognitivist approach to the study of metaphors, abstract domains are structured with the help of concrete domains. The following sections explore conceptual metaphors related to another abstract concept, namely the concept of death.

### ***3.2. The Role of Image Schemas in the Formation of Conceptual Metaphors***

In order to understand the concept of conceptual metaphor, it is essential to explain the concept of *image schemas*, as they play a crucial role in the formation of these metaphors. Johnson (1987: 44) defines image schemas as a type of Gestalt structures or “coherent, meaningful, unified wholes within our experiences of cognition”. They are dynamic, recurring perceptual structures that aid us in experiencing the world and act as templates that provide a generic character to our experience (ibid). They consist of elements bound to definite structures, but are at the same time flexible since they can adapt to similar but different situations and in that way indicate a recurring structure (Johnson 1987).

Johnson provides a list of the most important image schemas, which include (written in small capitals as is a convention in cognitive linguistics): CONTAINER; BALANCE; COMPULSION; BLOCKAGE; COUNTERFORCE; RESTRAINT; REMOVAL; ENABLEMENT; ATTRACTION; MASS-COUNT; PATH; LINK; CENTER-PERIPHERY; CYCLE; NEAR-FAR; SCALE; PART-WHOLE; MERGING; SPLITTING; FULL-EMPTY; MATCHING; SUPERIMPOSITION; ITERATION; CONTACT; PROCESS; SURFACE; OBJECT; COLLECTION (Johnson 1987: 126). The author explains the omnipresence of the PATH schema which can, due to its repeating structure, be realised in various situations including “a) walking from one place to another, b) throwing a baseball to your sister, c) punching your brother, d) giving your mother a present, e) the melting of ice into water.” (Johnson, 1987: 28). The PATH image schema plays a significant role in the formation of the conceptual metaphors related to life and death, which will be illustrated in further text.



### 3.3. *Conceptual Metaphors of Life and Death*

Lakoff and Turner point at the complex character of the concepts of life and death, saying that they “are all-encompassing matters that there can be no single conceptual metaphor that will enable us to comprehend them” (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 2). We conceive of these two concepts in accordance with our understanding of time as linear and irreversible. According to Mark Turner, the conceptual metaphors we use when conceptualising life are the primary metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY (Turner 1996: 27). J. E. Grady, who introduced the concept of primary metaphors, perceives them as the constituent parts of complex metaphors and states that they appear unconsciously, automatically and naturally through the process of conflation, thereby resulting in cross-domain associations (Grady 1997). A lifetime is often conceptualised in terms of a year.

#### 3.3.2. *A LIFETIME IS A YEAR*

In this manner, the target domain of a lifecycle is understood in terms of the source domain comprising four seasons in a year. Thus, spring, summer, autumn, and winter are mapped onto youth, maturity, old age, and death, respectively (Lakoff and Turner 1987). The authors emphasize that it is natural to conceive of life and death in this manner: while spring marks the emergence of new animal and plant life, winter heralds the dormancy/hibernation of both animals and plants (Ibidem).

Such an understanding of a lifecycle can be derived from the analysed fairy tale. In spring, the Giant's garden celebrates the arrival of flowers, blossoms on trees, fresh grass, and the chirping of birds. What it also celebrates is the arrival of schoolchildren to the garden, i.e. young people come to play in the garden in spring. In this manner, each spring in the garden marks the birth of animal and plant life and the arrival of children, while each winter announces the state of inactivity of both plants and animals, but also humans.

#### 3.3.3. *DEATH IS WINTER*

The Giant's last winter maps onto his death. Wilde portrays death in his story in terms of a natural course of events. The slowness and inactivity of winter corresponds to the Giant's weakening and aging: as he grew old, he could not play with children any more and all he did was sit in his armchair and watch them play. Another primary

metaphor is functional in this context, namely LIFE IS UP, DEATH IS DOWN. The metaphor interprets life and good health as being associated with an upright position, full of energy and strength. On the other hand, death is conceptualized as a state of confinement to bed or a loss of uprightness, accompanied by diminished energy and strength. Thus the Giant sits in his armchair as he gets old, and his dead body is found in a lying position.

The arrival of what turns out to be the Giant's last winter maps onto the end of the Giant's life. It was his time to rest as well, since he was old and feeble, like everybody and everything rests during winter. The Giant "did not hate the Winter now, for he knew it was merely Spring asleep, and that the flowers were resting" (Wilde 1994: 38). While winter is the final season in a year, the old age is the final stage of the Giant's life. He was ready to die, knowing that he had reached the ultimate stage of his life.

#### 3.3.4. DEATH IS DEPARTURE

This is a universal metaphor of death and originates from ancient times when, according to Javier Herrero Ruiz, people realised that organic corpses decomposed in nature, which made them think they were departing on a one-way journey (Herrero Ruiz 2007). One of the primary metaphors with the help of which we conceptualise death is EVENTS ARE ACTIONS (Turner 1996). We project an action in the source domain onto a state in the target domain. In the case of metaphors related to death an event with a nonactor (death) is conceived in terms of an action which includes an agent, i.e. a causal actor (Turner 1996). The causal actor becomes a metaphorical actor and is often personified (Ibidem). While there is principally no movement in death as a target story, in the source story there is an agent who goes on a one-way journey. This conceptualisation of death is marked in language in expressions such as *He's gone* or *He's left us*. (Ibidem)

Projecting from a source domain of action onto the target domain of state would not be possible if there was no similarity in the structure of image schemas between a source and a target: in the source space someone who has been present departs for good, while in the target space someone/something that has existed goes out of existence for good (Turner 1996).

The conceptual metaphor DEATH IS DEPARTURE, as elaborated by Lakoff and Johnson (1999) is conceived via the PATH image schema, where a trajectory moves along the ground. Thus a traveller departs on a voyage, while a dead person embarks on a one-way journey to a new destination.

The Giant leaves this world and continues to exist in some form in heaven. In this process, he is helped by a little boy whom he originally meets when he welcomes schoolchildren back to his garden. The little boy never reappears in the garden to play with other children, and the only other time he does is at the very end, when he assists the Giant in his transition to the other world. This metaphorical journey to a “better place” or Heaven is universally understood since, in the Judeo-Christian tradition, the deceased goes either to paradise or hell, with purgatory as a temporary spot on the way to paradise. In this way the metaphor is culturally and socially determined.

The conceptual metaphor DEATH IS DEPARTURE conceptualises death in terms of a one-way journey, with the dying person being the traveller, the starting point corresponding to the life on earth that the dying person is abandoning, while the final point of the journey maps onto the arrival of the soul into the Kingdom of Heaven. The boy, who is the Giant’s companion to heaven, takes him to another beautiful garden, namely the Kingdom of Heaven.

There is a difference between the Grim Reaper, who is the most ubiquitous personified character that symbolises death and takes lives in any part of the life cycle, and the figure of the companion, who gently accompanies the dying person to another world (Turner 1996). Portraying death in subtler tones can soften the experience young readers undergo when facing the concept of death in literature.

### 3.3.5. *DEATH IS A MOVER AND MANIPULATOR*

Through this metaphor we perceive death as an agent who comes up to you and manipulates you in “your hour of death” (Turner 1996: 47). In this way the figure of the little boy can also be seen as a mover and manipulator, as the agent who seizes the Giant’s soul and takes it to his “garden”. Besides the little boy, time as well can be understood as a mover and a manipulator. According to Turner, time “catches up with you, wears you down, races against you, stops you, takes your youth away, your beauty away, your friends away, and your family away” (Turner 1996: 46). In Wilde’s story his main character, the Giant, “grew very old and feeble” (Wilde 1994: 38). He eventually loses his battle with life as a result of the natural changes that time has imposed on his body.

## 5. CONCLUSION

In his modern fanciful tale *The Selfish Giant* Wilde portrays death in terms of a journey to a “better place”, the Paradise. Wilde’s self-admitted conversion to Christianity at the end of his life may have been announced in this fairy tale. The agent that accompanies the main character, the Giant, to another world is portrayed in the form of a Christ-like figure with wounds on the palms of his hands. Such a depiction of death is based on Judeo-Christian belief in a “life after life” and on the conceptual metaphors through which we conceive of death in terms of a journey, passing time or a season (winter).

The conceptual metaphors were addressed from the perspective of the principles of the Theory of Conceptual Metaphors as advocated by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, but also via the principles of some other theories proposed by scientists of a cognitivist provenance. The concept of death in children’s literature has been a contradictory topic. Tendencies to apply a frank and direct approach to addressing death in children’s literature seem to prevail in recent times, and thus authors who refuse to change the sad ending in their stories or films are now praised by both professionals and children’s parents. However, the historical and cultural momentum of the creation of a literary work has to be taken into consideration as well.

Oscar Wilde’s modern fanciful tales were created during a period when children were faced with death almost on a daily basis. Modern fanciful tales by Oscar Wilde provide a fertile ground for an analysis of the concept of death with the help of conceptual metaphors. Being a figure of thought, as well as a figure of speech, metaphors are a powerful tool to help children understand the realities of life. Wilde’s story *The Selfish Giant* gives children an opportunity to perceive death as a universal phenomenon which does not affect only plants and animals, but also humans. Since children also acquire the principle of causation at a young age, they are able to comprehend that the main character dies of natural causes, the consequence of which is a cessation of bodily functions. The principle of irreversibility is challenged, though, since Wilde allows a possibility of life after death. The story is a worthy read which gently portrays death as part of life cycle.

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## KONCEPTUALIZACIJA SMRTI U SUVREMENOJ FANTASTIČNOJ PRIČI OSCARA WILDEA *SEBIČNI DIV*: KOGNITIVISTIČKI PRISTUP

### Sažetak:

Rad se bavi problematikom kontroverzne prirode prikazivanja koncepta smrti u dječjoj književnosti. Čini se da mala djeca posjeduju razumijevanje smrti u relativno ranoj dobi. Međutim, postoje kontroverze vezane uz način na koji bi ova tema trebala biti obrađena u dječjoj književnosti. Dok neki smatraju da djecu treba što više zaštititi, drugi vjeruju da im treba predstaviti istinitu i realnu sliku smrti kroz dječju književnost. Moderne bajke Oscara Wildea pružaju plodno tlo za proučavanje koncepta smrti. Njegove bajke često nemaju sretan završetak, a u mnogim njegovim pričama protagonisti umiru nepravedno, čime se djeci daje realističnija slika smrti. Koncept smrti u analiziranoj priči *Sebični div* analiziran je putem teorije konceptualnih metafora koju su razvili Mark Johnson i George Lakoff te drugi znanstvenici kognitivističke orijentacije. Predložene metafore temelje se na prostornim slikovnim shemama kao i primarnim metaforama, kako ih elaboriraju Lakoff i Johnson. Smrt u Wildeovim pričama prikazana je u suptilnim tonovima i u skladu s filozofijom životnih ciklusa, kao i judeo-kršćanskom misli. Uz to, Wildeov poetski jezik čini bajku vrijednim i ugodnim štivom za malu djecu.

**Ključne riječi:** smrt; moderne bajke; Oscar Wilde; konceptualne metafore

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## **ENHANCING BUSINESS ENGLISH SPECIALISED TERMINOLOGY LEARNING THROUGH GAME- -BASED INSTRUCTION**

Learning new terminology is often regarded as the cornerstone of ESP. Its acquisition is vital for ESP practitioners and learners to facilitate communication in different target situations. The practitioners' prime concern is searching for an adequate way to facilitate this task for ESP learners. At this level, the use of educational games belongs to the strategies that are challenging and beneficial for the teacher, and engaging and captivating for the students. Therefore, the present study aims to test the impact of educational games on acquiring specialised terminology among Business English students at Mustapha Stambouli – Mascara University, Algeria. A semi-structured interview, a questionnaire, and a pre-and post-test under the umbrella of the mixed methods approach were used as research tools to gather the required data. The results revealed that teachers and students acknowledge the positive impact of the game-based approach on their ability to acquire and memorise specialised Business English terminology. Also, educational games are essential in creating a friendly, competitive, and authentic environment in which they wish to be involved. For them, this approach enhances their language proficiency and the required communication skills to function adequately in their target settings. These findings suggest that incorporating educational games can be perceived as an essential element that should be further consolidated in different ESP contexts, including the business one.

**Keywords:** Business English; educational games; game-based learning; specialised terminology



## INTRODUCTION

English for Specific Purposes (ESP) is mainly developed to meet the needs of ESP learners. Those latter tend to use English either for their academic or professional careers. ESP courses are lectures that are primarily designed to respond positively not only to those needs but also to the learners' expectations. Another essential factor in ESP teaching and learning is the context particularities, i.e., every single context has its characteristics that should be seriously considered while designing and delivering the ESP courses.

In this paper, we will primarily focus on the Business English (BE) context, exploring its specific features and the needs of learners who aim to communicate effectively in a business setting. A key objective for most ESP learners is the acquisition of specialised terminology. Scholars emphasise the importance of mastering specialised terminology to enhance learners' ability to communicate effectively in their target context and contribute to their overall language proficiency.

In the BE context, learners need to be equipped with the terminology related to economics, business, and entrepreneurship to effectively engage in discussions, presentations, and written assignments. By focusing on the acquisition of specialised terminology, alongside other parameters, ESP classes can provide learners with the tools they need to succeed in their current and future careers.

Therefore, the primary goal of this paper is to investigate the impact of adopting a game-based learning approach on the acquisition of specialised terminology among BE learners. Specifically, the study seeks to answer the following two questions: Is the game-based approach effective in teaching Business English? How does the use of educational games enhance BE students' acquisition of specialised terminology?

At this level, it is assumed that the game-based approach is potentially the most acceptable to our students because it adequately facilitates the learning of Business English. Using educational games may enhance BE students' acquisition and memorisation of specialised terminology in different ways, including establishing a friendly environment, selecting motivating and challenging tasks, etc.

## GAME-BASED LEARNING AND BE SPECIALISED TERMINOLOGY ACQUISITION

As mentioned above, BE learners must acquire a high level of specialised terminology to effectively understand and communicate complex economic and business concepts. In this line of considerations, mastering terminology in their field of study facilitates

their understanding of authentic materials and contributes to their career growth. Additionally, developing a certain level and command of specialised terminology equips BE learners with the self-confidence and ability to participate actively in professional settings, such as conferences or job interviews.

In this study, we aim to show that effective acquisition of specialised terminology can be accomplished through the adequate use of educational games. This could be achieved through selecting the appropriate educational games that aim to fully engage learners in acquiring those terms in a fun and interactive way. By integrating the games into an ESP teaching/learning process, such as quizzes and puzzles, BE learners could develop their communication skills to better cope with different situations. The selected games help provide a motivating setting where learners can practice and reinforce their understanding and retention of specialised concepts that can be used in various situations.

It is also believed that educational games make learning specialised terminology more enjoyable and engaging for BE learners. Using game-based learning can help ESP practitioners enhance their learners' motivation, assess their achievements and progress, and identify areas of improvement. Furthermore, implementing this latter can help raise student cooperation and competition, resulting in a dynamic learning experience that promotes individual and group participation. Overall, using educational games in terminology acquisition can enhance learners' language proficiency, contributing to personal, academic and professional growth.

Before reviewing the set of studies that tackled educational games and specialised terminology, several key concepts need to be defined, including notably, games, educational games, game-based learning and specialised terminology. According to Kim et al. (2017: 4), a game is "an action or a set of actions that includes one or more people, objects or animals, usually in a competition with others, that follow a specific set of rules, to achieve a goal." In their words, a game, as perceived by Kupelia (2019), is a set of "activities that have a specific purpose, which has been set up to achieve the goal in accordance with the rules determined before or at the moment". Educational games, on the other hand, are already games that are designed for teaching and learning purposes. They are designed to reach an educational purpose. They are often perceived as a technique or a tool that facilitates the teaching/ learning process besides strengthening existing or acquired knowledge. They are also used to improve personal development. Game-based learning can be seen as "the act of learning information or skills via the use of a game" (Zirawaga et al. 2017: 55). It is acquiring knowledge through practical and needed activities. It can also be perceived as "a type of gameplay with defined learning outcomes" (ibid. 55). Regarding specialised ter-

minology, it can be stated that it is a set of terms used in a specific context that cannot be shared with other contexts in the case of purely technical terms. Semi-technical terms, however, are found in different contexts, yet they can convey a different meaning depending on the context in which the term is used.

The literature revealed that using educational games has a positive impact on enhancing learners' vocabulary acquisition. As mentioned above, these educational games efficiently promote learners' engagement through enjoyable and interactive experiences, facilitating enhanced retention and comprehension of specialised terminology. Moreover, using a game-based learning approach enables learners to engage in practical exercises that involve the application of subject-specific terminology in diverse contexts. This latter consolidates their understanding and application of these terms. In turn, it promotes their lexical repertoire and specialised knowledge.

Furthermore, researchers such as Selvi and Çoşan (2018) and Ma and Yodkamlue (2019) argued that using educational games as a teaching approach increases learners' ability to memorise and recall terms whenever needed. Using educational games is vital to enhance learners' terminology acquisition. In this vein, Hoa and Trang (2020) believe that the role of educational games is to develop learners' understanding and contextualise these acquired terms. Also, Hashemi (2021) assumed that learners who resorted to educational games to learn new terms achieved better memorisation scores than those who resorted to traditional methods of learning vocabulary.

The benefit of using educational games is revealed in the learners' achievements. Learners who struggle with learning terminology and score lower using traditional approaches often score higher marks while using educational games. This latter is an essential motive for integrating educational games while learning terminology. However, several studies stressed the need to research the long-term application and impact of this teaching/learning approach on terminology acquisition. In this line of considerations, this research examines the effects of game-based learning on the BE learners' ability to acquire specialised terminology.

Consequently, examining the impact and the effectiveness of educational games on Business English learners' acquisition and retention of specialised terminology can be regarded as a positive path towards improving BE learners' language proficiency. Valuable insights are also believed to be gathered from this research. In this vein, the availability of different types of educational games may help researchers and ESP teachers determine which type is the most effective and which game elements should be focused on while designing or adapting games for an adequate acquisition of BE terminology and, hence, specialised knowledge.

### 3. METHODS

This study used mixed-methods research to investigate the impact of educational games on acquiring specialised terminology among Business English learners. The participants comprised 40 students enrolled in their first year Masters at the Economics department of Mustapha Stambouli - Mascara University in Algeria. The respondents were non-randomly selected. Qualitative and quantitative data were collected through pre and post-tests, questionnaires and interviews. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with ESP practitioners from the Economics department of Mustapha Stambouli – Mascara University in Algeria to gather insights into BE learners' current situation, their need for specialised terminology, and the extent to which this terminology is focused on in their courses. The pre-test was used to assess the learners' initial specialised knowledge. i.e., specialised terminology before any experiment takes place. This was primarily used as a baseline measurement to compare their progress against. After the pre-test, learners were required to attend several courses in training sessions. A significant portion of the training sessions focused on acquiring specialised terminology through a series of educational games designed to improve terminology retention.

After the training sessions, a post-test was administered to evaluate the effectiveness of the educational games. The post-test assessed the BE learners' terminology knowledge after the training period, allowing for a comparison of progress. Additionally, the learners' feedback from the administered questionnaire was used to provide valuable insights into their experiences with the educational games and any perceived improvements in terminology retention, besides the challenges they faced during the training period. By comparing the post-test results and analysing the qualitative feedback, a comprehensive understanding of the impact of the training sessions on terminology acquisition can be obtained.

As mentioned above, pre-and post-tests provided quantitative data on the BE learners' terminology knowledge gain and retention. The pre-test was administered to evaluate the learners' preliminary level of specialised knowledge, namely their understanding of specialised terminology, before any experiment or instructional activities. The following five areas were covered in this pre-test: finance, marketing, human resources, supply chain management and entrepreneurship management. The purpose of the post-test, however, was to evaluate the terminology knowledge of the BE students following the training period. The same areas tackled in the pre-test were maintained for the test credibility. Pre and post-tests were adapted from different sources.

Additionally, the interview was conducted with the three language teachers to examine their awareness of the importance of specialised terminology in the BE context and whether they focus on it during their courses. In this vein, the semi-structured interview consisted of four rubrics. The first rubric addressed the teachers' profile, including their background, qualifications, and areas of expertise. The second rubric in this interview was reserved for specialised terminology, its importance in the business context, their awareness, and their learners' awareness. The third rubric intended to shed light on the different teaching methods and strategies they incorporate to teach specialised terminology in their classes and their impact on the learners' specialised knowledge and ability to communicate effectively. The last rubric addressed game-based learning as a possible approach to teaching specialised terminology, in addition to their expectations and plans to enhance learners' acquisition of specialised terminology and their language proficiency.

The questionnaire provided a deeper insight into the students' perceptions and experiences with the educational games. It consisted of four rubrics: the first was devoted to learners' age, area of specialism, and qualifications. The second rubric related to their attitudes, needs, and expectations before the training sessions started. The third rubric was reserved for the learners' experience during the training sessions. In this vein, questions related to their motivation, engagement, collaboration, understanding of specialised terms and the effectiveness of game-based learning as an approach were asked. The last rubric mainly addressed the learners' attitudes after the training sessions. Respondents were asked to compare game-based learning to the traditional teaching method and to provide their preferred follow-up activities besides the suggestions they deemed helpful in improving the game-based approach. Finally, it is essential to note that the questionnaire had a pilot phase, during which it was administered to a sample of ten participants who were part of the study. Following the completion of the piloting phase, several questions were simplified, while others were subject to modification.

The combination of these data collection methods was believed to offer a comprehensive analysis of the impact of the training sessions on the BE learners' terminology acquisition. The use of the post-test is motivated by the fact that it is a tool that helps assess respondents' understanding and memorisation of the acquired terms, which will help test the usefulness of educational games as an approach.

The questionnaire was administered online via Google Forms, and the interview was conducted face-to-face. In this regard, a face-to-face interview is deemed the most adequate to allow the researchers to explore teachers' beliefs while asking fur-

ther questions (Roller and Lavrakas 2015). However, using Google Forms for the questionnaire distribution is motivated by the fact that it facilitates data gathering and analysis. At this level, researchers acknowledge the importance of technology as it facilitates data access and retrieval (Sue & Ritter 2012).

#### **4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS**

This study investigated the impact of educational games on acquiring specialised terminology among BE learners. The findings reveal several significant insights. Data gathered from the teachers' interviews showed that the three language teachers working at the Economics department have different teaching qualifications and backgrounds; two have Master's degrees, one in English for Specific Purposes, and the other in Didactics, with three years of teaching experience at this department. The third teacher has a doctorate in British Civilisation and more than ten years of teaching experience in the same department. Results show that the first two teachers are novice while the last one is experienced. In this regard, novice teachers who may lack experience could be perceived as a hindrance for teachers and their learners. Another issue is related to their fields of specialism; only one teacher is regarded as an ESP practitioner depending on his background, i.e., a Master in ESP. Others are considered General English teachers working in an ESP context. This latter may have a set of negative impacts on their performance and their awareness of the importance of specialised terminology and specialised knowledge for BE learners, as they were unprepared for it.

The second rubric in this interview was reserved for specialised terminology, its importance in the business context, and teachers' awareness of its significance besides their learners' awareness. Results found that despite the teachers' different backgrounds, the three are fully aware of the importance of specialised terminology for BE learners. For them, it is crucial to be aware of the vital role played by terminology in this specific context. One of the respondents revealed his learners' request to include sessions where they want only to learn terminology they need in their future careers. This latter may reveal the learners' awareness of the importance of acquiring specialised terminology to facilitate communication in their target situation. Respondents also revealed that their learners often relate specialised terminology to better working careers. In other words, acquiring the required terms may help them apply for positions inside and outside Algeria.

Based on the previously mentioned findings, the respondents were asked about the different teaching methods and strategies they incorporate to teach specialised

terminology in their classes and their impact on the learners' specialised knowledge and communication ability. Though teachers admit the importance of incorporating specialised terms during their lectures, they, unfortunately, reveal that 'it is time-consuming' for them to redesign their courses and include this critical parameter. In this vein, being an ESP practitioner or a general language teacher does not make a difference, which does not go hand in hand with the researchers' expectation from an ESP practitioner. While trying to highlight possible methods and strategies to overcome the issue of 'being time-consuming' as revealed by the respondents, they have mentioned using dictionaries, mainly bilingual dictionaries, to teach a limited number of terms. The surprising element is that none of them mentioned the incorporation of educational games to teach specialised terminology.

Because none of the respondents mentioned game-based learning as a teaching approach, the researchers tried to explain the idea of the approach and its primary benefits besides its drawbacks. After getting a general idea of the approach, the respondents welcomed the idea of implementing it within their classrooms. They insist on being under the researchers' guidance and supervision to facilitate their task as language teachers unprepared to teach ESP classes using approaches different from their traditional teaching methods. They also aspired for a better teaching-learning experience to enhance their learners' language proficiency.

As mentioned before, before starting the training sessions, the pre-test administration aimed to assess the basic knowledge of BE learners, precisely their comprehension of specialised terminology. The pre-test encompassed five domains: finance, marketing, human resources, supply chain management, and entrepreneurship management. These five elements were carefully adapted from different sources to meet the learners' level of language proficiency. Forty respondents sit for the test. The time allotted for the test completion was two hours. The total score of the test was 20 points. After collecting students' answers, the median, mode, mean, range, variance, and standard deviation were calculated. Statistics gathered are displayed in the following table:

**Table 1.** Summary of the BE Learners' Pre-Test Scores

Central Tendency			Variation		
Mode	Mean	Median	Range	Variance	SD
8	7.025	7	13	12.28	3.50

As shown in Table 1, 8 was the most common score in this pre-test. 7 was the median, and (3.50) was the SD. This latter indicates the low performance of the ma-



majority of the learners. According to Norton (2009), if the results are below the central value, most respondents found the test challenging to solve, and it was positively drawn. This finding confirms that BE learners often lack a specialised knowledge of the basics of BE, which explains their low achievements. Results also show that the forty respondents escaped the last task, where they were asked to define key concepts using their own words. This may denote the respondents' difficulties conceptualising the required definition of key concepts in BE. It is possible that their lack of specialised knowledge in the subject area hindered their ability to define these concepts accurately. These findings highlight the need for a specific teaching approach that supports BE learners in improving their understanding and achievement.

Another possible interpretation for this might be the gap in their preparation. Learners unfamiliar with specific concepts and lacking basic knowledge of the field in English often achieve low grades in tests related to particular fields of specialism. This could explain the learners' need revealed in their questionnaire answers to learn English to increase their specialised knowledge and fulfil communication tasks.

At this level, the researchers must suggest implementing a game-based learning approach that aims to enhance BE learners' specialised knowledge and the acquisition of specialised terminology. It was, hence, useful to consider the impact of the selected educational games on the learners' performance, and the acquisition of the basic terminology of the field was the core of this study. Before launching the training sessions, a set of educational games was selected carefully to meet the learners' level of language proficiency and needs. The training sessions took the form of their regular courses, i.e., one hour and a half English course during the 12 weeks of the second semester.

The adapted educational games consisted of different types, including flashcards, word puzzles, quiz games, word association games, etc. Respondents were asked to work individually, in pairs, and groups depending on the type of the game. They were also asked to perform role-play games where specialised terminology was put within a stimulated/authentic context. Each of the selected games had a specific aim and objective, primarily improving terminology memorisation, enhancing other areas such as grammar and writing, and promoting communication skills. The preliminary results during this phase showed interesting improvements in all those areas. This latter may imply the idea that the adapted educational games were effective in achieving their pre-determined goals. Additionally, the role-play games provided a real-life context for applying the specialised terminology, thus enhancing the respondents' understanding and practice of Business English in authentic situations.



After the end of the training sessions, respondents were invited to sit for a post-test to measure their acquired BE terminology knowledge. As the pre-test, the same five areas were maintained: finance, marketing, human resources, supply chain management, and entrepreneurship management. The content of each element was carefully adapted from different sources to meet the learners' level of language proficiency, as previously stated. After gathering and scoring students' answers, the median, mode, mean, range, variance, and standard deviation were calculated below:

**Table 2.** Summary of the BE Learners' Post-Test Scores

Central Tendency			Variation		
Mode	Mean	Median	Range	Variance	SD
12	12.725	13	8	3.64	1.90

In this post-test, 12 was regarded as the most frequent score, and 13 was the median. (1.90) represents the SD, and (12.725) represents the mean. This latter signifies the high achievements of the majority of the respondents.

Implementing this post-test primarily aims to check whether respondents have acquired a basic BE knowledge of specialised terminology. This leads to checking the effectiveness of including game-based learning as a teaching approach. As shown in the table above, the results suggested that most scores were above the central value. This means that most participants found the test easy to solve. This confirms the effectiveness of the selected games. Statistics also show that after the end of these sessions, BE learners could answer all the questions, including the last task, where they were required to provide definitions of a set of concepts related to entrepreneurship management. The high scores indicate that the participants deeply understood the concepts taught during the training sessions. The fact that respondents manage to define several terms reveals their understanding and control of the acquired terms. This latter implies the positive impact of educational games on BE learners' memorisation and retrieval processes.

Also, findings gathered from respondents' tests revealed considerable growth in their achievements. In this vein, the respondent (R03) achieved (12) in the post-test compared to the pre-test where he scored (1). Similarly, respondent (R27) achieved (11) in the post-test and (3) in the pre-test. Integrating educational games has, therefore, a positive impact on BE learners' achievements and contributions in the BE context. This implies that incorporating this approach will help BE learners memorise, retrieve and practice the specialised terms in authentic situations whenever needed.

The integration of educational games is not only limited to enhancing language skills but goes beyond that to promote other skills required in business contexts, including negotiation, problem-solving, and critical thinking. At this level, it can be stated that the positive impact of educational games on language and knowledge is needed among learners who must develop both parameters simultaneously.

As mentioned earlier, the questionnaire was also used to gather the required data. Results revealed that all the respondents were adults aged between 21 and 30. All the participants belonged to the Economics and Business faculty and were enrolled in their first-year master's within the Economics department. This latter may mean that they are adults, share the same academic background, and are more or less aware of their needs.

The second rubric was related to their attitudes, needs, lacks, and expectations before starting the training sessions. All the respondents agreed upon the following needs:

- To develop their listening skills mainly while attending conferences, meetings, etc.
- To develop their writing skill to fulfil different tasks, including writing and responding to emails.
- To develop their communication skills.
- To develop teamwork skills.
- To develop negotiation and literacy skills to better cope with future situations.
- To be aware of others' cultures when applying for positions abroad or within multinational corporations.
- To expand their specialised knowledge, mainly specialised terminology, they must communicate better and enhance their language proficiency.

As for their expectations, respondents stressed the need to learn within a meaningful context while using real, i.e., 'authentic' documents. They also expected that the focus of the course offered would be devoted to terminology. Moreover, learners expected that the content of the course would help them increase their self-confidence while using the English language within their academic and professional contexts. These latter could be explained by the fact that being adult learners may contribute to their awareness of their needs besides their prospects.

Learners' experience during the training sessions was addressed in the third rubric. Motivation, engagement, collaboration, understanding of specialised terms, and the effectiveness of the game-based learning as an approach were tackled. According to

the respondents' responses, the educational games were highly motivating and engaging. While playing the selected instructional games, they reported a greater sense of collaboration and teamwork and a greater comprehension of specialised terms and concepts. Positive responses from respondents demonstrated the efficacy of game-based learning as an instructional strategy. Overall, the results revealed the possibility of educational games to improve learning outcomes and create a positive learning environment for learners. The BE students actively engaged with the content and collaborated with their peers to manage and overcome obstacles while playing educational games. As a result, they improved their understanding of BE concepts and developed essential teamwork skills, one of the already highlighted needs of BE learners.

Data collected from the last rubric revealed that learners were satisfied with the content offered at the training sessions. While comparing game-based learning to traditional teaching methods, BE learners strongly desire to adopt game-based learning within their classes. One of the respondents revealed, "I wish that games were used in all other modules". This finding suggests that using a game-based learning approach effectively facilitated the acquisition of BE ideas and significantly enhanced student motivation and engagement. As previously stated, the participants preferred integrating further game-based learning elements into other modules, emphasising the favourable impact it generated on their learning experience. The results of this study indicate that integrating game-based learning in educational settings can enhance satisfaction and enthusiasm among learners in the field of BE.

Learners were also asked to provide their preferred follow-up activities and helpful suggestions for improving the game-based approach. Responding to this question, most respondents said they would like more collaborative activities incorporated into game-based learning. Working with their peers while using educational games contributed to their growth, including teamwork, communication skills, and, more importantly, specialised terminology understanding. Respondents also called for the integration of follow-up and assessment tasks to identify areas of improvement. This implies that the respondents need to adopt a reflective approach that aims to test the effectiveness of the game-based approach. Additionally, based on the respondents' insights and suggestions, it can be stated that the game-based approach positively impacts them.

Overall, the positive results gathered from the different research tools show that the game-based approach has enhanced the BE learners' understanding of specialised terminology and memorisation. Moreover, findings reveal that this approach estab-

lished a friendly environment, which promoted their interest, motivation, and achievements. These results support the established hypotheses that suggest a game-based approach is one of the most effective approaches for teaching Business English. Using educational games enhances BE students' acquisition and memorisation of specialised terminology in different ways, including establishing a friendly environment, selecting motivating and challenging tasks, etc.

The findings of this study align with Jabbar and Felicia (2015), who believe that the interactive nature of the selected games often increases students' engagement, participation, and retention of the studied terms. At this level, a game-based approach is advisable for those wishing to teach or learn Business English. For Putu Wulantari et al. (2023), in a friendly environment, the increased level of learners' involvement and enthusiasm often enhances their English language proficiency and confidence once involved in a real situation.

Also, the results suggest that implementing this approach in the context of English for Occupational Purposes (EOP) contributes to developing the language proficiency of those already working in different business settings, as it is often said that in those contexts, communication skills are required to foster one's current and future career.

## **5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

To sum up, the findings of the study confirm the idea that integrating educational games in Business English teaching and learning helps learners enhance their acquisition of specialised terminology and develop their level of language proficiency, which in turn helps them acquire the needed communication skills to function adequately in their target settings. In this line of consideration, this approach offers Business English learners a motivating and friendly environment that increases their motivation towards learning and memorising new terms. Given the potential benefits of technology in language learning, future research could explore its application in the context of Business English. Specifically, investigating the use of technology to facilitate feedback, design educational games tailored to learner needs, and enhance specific skills would be valuable.

Using technology, teachers can benefit from creating a situation similar to the authentic one. In those situations, learners will overcome the issue of being isolated, as the results reveal that learners often claim they do not have the opportunity to interact with native speakers. This experience offers learners significant opportunities to actively engage in language practice and enhance their ability to communicate effec-

tively in the target context. This approach can narrow the gap between theoretical classroom teaching and practical real-life usage, thus improving BE learners' entire language acquisition process.

While this study provides valuable insights into the impact of educational games on the acquisition of specialised terminology among BE learners, several limitations should be acknowledged:

- The study was conducted at a single university in Algeria, which may limit the generalisation of the findings. Future research should consider conducting similar studies in different contexts to determine if the results hold true across diverse populations.
- This study focused on the short-term effects of using educational games. Long-term studies are required to assess the acquired terminology durability and transferability to real-world communication.
- Exploring different implementation strategies and evaluating their effectiveness can provide valuable insights for teachers seeking to incorporate educational games into language learning.

Further extensive research is also required to properly explore the advantages of game-based learning and guarantee its successful incorporation into different ESP contexts. In addition, future studies should explore the impact of different game elements, such as interactivity and feedback, on improving terminology learning among these particular learners. Learners' styles and differences should also be seriously considered in future research. In general, these recommendations can guide future practice in educational game selection, and the ESP course design should be more effective and practical to meet ESP learners' needs and expectations. In conclusion, this study provides a foundation for further research in game-based learning and ESP teaching.

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## EFIKASNOST UČENJA SPECIJALIZIRANE TERMINOLOGIJE POSLOVNOG ENGLESKOG KROZ PODUKU TEMELJENU NA IGRICAMA

### Sažetak:

Usvajanje nove terminologije se često smatra kamenom temeljcem engleskog jezika u struci. To stjecanje novih riječi i fraza je ključno je za sve one koji se bave podučavanjem, ali isto tako i one koji su podučavani engleskim jezikom u struci jer se na taj način stječe jezično znanje korisno u različitim situacijama svakodnevnog sporazumijevanja. Zbog toga su nastavnici i praktičari engleskog jezika u struci uvijek u potrazi za olakšavanjem ovog zadatka. Na ovoj razini korištenje edukativnih igara spada u strategije koje su s jedne strane izazovne i korisne za nastavnika, a s druge privlačne i zadivljujuće za učenike. Iz tog razloga ova studija ima za cilj testirati utjecaj edukativnih igara na usvajanje specijalizirane terminologije među studentima poslovnog engleskog na Sveučilištu Mustapha Stambouli - Mascara, Alžir. Kao istraživački alati za prikupljanje potrebnih podataka korišteni su polustrukturirani intervjui, upitnik i post-test pod okriljem pristupa mješovitih metoda. Rezultati su otkrili da nastavnici i učenici priznaju pozitivan učinak ovog pristupa temeljenog na igricama na njihovu sposobnost usvajanja i pamćenja specijalizirane terminologije poslovnog engleskog. Također, edukacijske igrice bitne su za stvaranje prijateljskog, natjecateljskog i autentičnog okruženja u koje studenti žele biti uključeni. Ovaj pristup poboljšava njihovu jezičnu stručnost i potrebne komunikacijske vještine kako bi adekvatno funkcionirali u različitim situacijama svakodnevnog sporazumijevanja. Rezultati ove studije sugeriraju da se uključivanje edukativnih igara može percipirati kao bitan element u različitim stručnim kontekstima, uključujući i poslovni.

**Ključne riječi:** poslovni engleski jezik; edukacijske igre; učenje temeljeno na igricama; specijalizirana terminologija

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## GERMANISTIKA

- Mirjana Matea Kovač, Silvija Ugrina**  
LEHREN UND LERNEN VON DEUTSCH ALS FREMDSPRACHE IN DER  
PRIMAR-UND SEKUNDARSTUFE: EINE FALLSTUDIE / TEACHING AND  
LEARNING GERMAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IN PRIMARY AND  
SECONDARY SCHOOL: A CASE STUDY ..... 705
- Borislav Marušić, Kristina Marušić**  
KOLOKACIJE U NJEMAČKIM I AUSTRIJSKIM GODIŠNJIM  
IZVJEŠĆIMA / COLLOCATIONS IN GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN  
ANNUAL REPORTS – A SYNCHRONIC APPROACH ..... 725
- Merima Delić**  
PLAVA BOJA KAO SASTAVNICA KOLOKACIJA I FRAZEMA U  
NJEMAČKOM I BOSANSKOM JEZIKU U PRINTANIM MEDIJIMA  
I ELEKTRONSKIM PUBLIKACIJAMA / BLUE AS A COMPONENT  
OF COLLOCATIONS AND IDIOMS IN GERMAN AND BOSNIAN  
LANGUAGES IN PRINT MEDIA AND ELECTRONIC PUBLICATIONS ..... 751
- Ivana Šarić Šokčević**  
KROATISCHE DAF-LERNENDE: ZUR ROLLE DER VERARBEITUNGSTIEFEN  
UNTER EXPLIZITEN UND IMPLIZITEN LEHRMETHODEN BEI DER  
VERARBEITUNG (NICHT) PASSIVFÄHIGER VERBEN IM DEUTSCHEN /  
CROATIAN GFL LEARNERS: ON THE ROLE OF DEPTH OF PROCESSING  
UNDER EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT INSTRUCTIONS WHILE PROCESSING  
VERBS THAT (CAN)NOT BE USED IN THE PASSIVE VOICE ..... 777





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## **LEHREN UND LERNEN VON DEUTSCH ALS FREMDSPRACHE IN DER PRIMAR- UND SEKUNDARSTUFE: EINE FALLSTUDIE**

Die Entwicklung der kommunikativen und pragmatischen Kompetenz gilt als eines der Hauptziele des modernen Fremdsprachenunterrichts. Der vorrangige Fokus dieses Aufsatzes besteht darin, herauszufinden, wie Deutsch in der Primar- und Sekundarstufe gelehrt wurde. Befragt wurden 35 Studierende des ersten und zweiten Studienjahres des Bachelor-Studiengangs für Deutsche Sprache und Literatur im Studienjahr 2021/2022 an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Split. Für die Untersuchung wurde ein Online-Fragebogen verwendet, der einen Überblick über den Deutschunterricht in der Grundschule und in der Sekundarstufe beinhaltete. Die absolute Mehrheit der Befragten stimmt zu, dass formelhafte Sequenzen im Unterricht in der Grund- und Sekundarschule gelehrt wurden. Bei der Frage nach der Förderung der Sprechflüssigkeit zeigen sich jedoch geteilte Meinungen unter den Befragten. Zudem sind sich die meisten Befragten einig, dass der Schwerpunkt sowohl im primären als auch im sekundären Deutschunterricht auf Grammatik und Rechtschreibregeln lag und weniger auf deren aktiver Verwendung in der gesprochenen Sprache. Aus den erhaltenen Antworten auf die gestellte Frage zur Methode des Unterrichts sprachlicher Inhalte geht hervor, dass die Lehrinhalte aus den Lehrbüchern in der Regel nach dem Prinzip des Lesens, Übersetzens und Auswendiglernens unterrichtet wurden, ohne Wiederholungen in Form von Dialogen und in einigen neuen Kommunikationssituationen. Die vorliegende Untersuchung kann als Anregung dienen, über modernere Unterrichtsmethoden nachzudenken, die darauf abzielen, die kommunikative und pragmatische Kompetenz zu entwickeln.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Sprechflüssigkeit; Kommunikationskompetenz; formelhafte Sequenzen

## **1. EINLEITUNG: KOMMUNIKATIVE UND PRAGMATISCHE KOMPETENZ**

Laut Listeš und Grubišić Belina (2016) handelt es sich bei Kompetenzen um eine Reihe von Fähigkeiten und Kenntnissen, die eine Person durch das Lernen erwirbt. Die Entwicklung der kommunikativen und pragmatischen Kompetenz stellt eines der grundlegenden Ziele des modernen Fremdsprachenunterrichts dar. Dies impliziert den Besitz von Kenntnissen und Fähigkeiten zum korrekten Verständnis und zur Anwendung in verschiedenen Kommunikationssituationen, in denen sich der Benutzer der Fremdsprache befinden kann (Bagarić und Mihaljević Djigunović 2007). Daher umfasst das Ziel des Unterrichts nicht nur die Vermittlung von Grammatik und Wortschatz, sondern auch die aktive Anwendung erworbener Inhalte in authentischen Kommunikationssituationen. Im Jahr 2001 veröffentlichte der Europarat den Gemeinsamen Europäischen Referenzrahmen für Sprachen (GER), der in ganz Europa anerkannt und angenommen wurde und auch für die Entwicklung des Lehrplans für den Fremdsprachenunterricht wichtig ist. Gemäß dem GER ist kommunikative Kompetenz ein übergeordneter Begriff, der die linguistische, soziolinguistische und pragmatische Kompetenz umfasst. Die linguistische Kompetenz bezieht sich auf lexikalische, syntaktische und phonologische Kenntnisse. Neben einer hohen Beherrschung des Wortschatzes, der Grammatik und einer akzeptablen Aussprache, umfasst die linguistische Kompetenz auch die „kognitive Organisation und die Art und Weise, wie dieses Wissen gespeichert ist“, sowie die „Fähigkeit zur Abrufung“, d. h. Aktivierung, Verfügbarkeit und Erinnerung an dieses Wissen (Maratović Tolić und Rubil 2014: 126). Laut Bagarić und Mihaljević Djigunović (2007) ist die kommunikative Kompetenz der tatsächliche Gebrauch der Sprache in authentischen Kommunikationssituationen. Die pragmatische Kompetenz beinhaltet eine Reihe internalisierter Regeln, die es dem Sprecher ermöglichen, angemessen zu kommunizieren und Bedeutungen und Absichten in einem bestimmten (sozialen und kulturellen) kommunikativen Kontext zu interpretieren. Sie bezieht sich auf die Fähigkeit des Sprechers, entsprechend der Kommunikationssituation angemessen zu sprechen/schreiben (Bagarić Medve 2012).

Moderne Trends im Fremdsprachenunterricht zielen unter anderem darauf ab, die effektivere Nutzung sprachlichen Wissens zu fördern, das heißt, die Entwicklung natürlicher oder authentischer Sprachfertigkeiten zu verbessern. Die deutsche Sprachwissenschaftlerin Götz (2013) hob die soziolinguistische Kompetenz und die Natürlichkeit der Sprache als äußerst relevante Faktoren bei der Beurteilung der

Sprechflüssigkeit in einer Fremdsprache hervor. Sie weist darauf hin, dass die Kommunikation in einer Fremdsprache ohne erworbene formelhafte Sequenzen nicht möglich ist, da diese ein Merkmal authentischer Kommunikation sind und als ein Indikator sowohl für die linguistische als auch pragmatische Kompetenz gelten.

Im weiteren Verlauf des Aufsatzes werden die Grundbegriffe der Kommunikationskompetenz beschrieben – Sprechflüssigkeit und formelhafte Sequenzen sowie dramatische Techniken, die sich bei der Beherrschung einer Fremdsprache als wirksam erwiesen haben. Anschließend folgt der Forschungsteil, in dem die Erfahrungen der Studierenden mit dem Deutschunterricht im formalen Umfeld und die Wahrnehmung einer möglicherweise effektiveren Lehrmethode untersucht werden.

## **2. SPRECHFLÜSSIGKEIT UND FORMELHAFTE SEQUENZEN**

Das Ministerium für Wissenschaft und Bildung [MZO] (2019) weist darauf hin, dass die Entwicklung kommunikativer Kompetenz eines der angestrebten Bildungsziele im Rahmen des Fremdsprachenunterrichts ist. Besondere Bedeutung kommt der Entwicklung flüssiger Sprachkenntnisse zu. Im Hinblick auf das Lehren und Lernen von Fremdsprachen wird dieser Begriff meist als hochentwickelte Sprachkenntnisse oder eine allgemein kompetente Art des Sprechens verstanden (Reitbrecht 2017). Die Fähigkeit zum freien flüssigen Sprechen, die als solche auch nicht immer bei nativen Sprechenden gegeben ist, wird in der universitären Lehr-Lern-Kommunikation grundsätzlich indirekt vorausgesetzt (vgl. Grzeszczakowska-Pawlikowska 2023).

Faktoren, die die Flüssigkeit beeinträchtigen, sind übermäßige Pausen, Füllwörter, Wiederholungen, falsche Satzanfänge, Umformulierungen, Lautdehnungen usw. (vgl. Kovač 2020). In den genannten Richtlinien werden ebenfalls die Bedeutung der grammatikalischen Richtigkeit, lexikalischen Vielfalt und syntaktischen Komplexität in der gesprochenen und/oder geschriebenen Ausführung betont.

Obwohl in den genannten Leitlinien die Bedeutung der Entwicklung eines flüssigen Sprechens besonders betont wird, ist diese nicht systematisch definiert, weshalb es keine einheitlichen Tests gibt, mit denen sie konsistent gemessen werden kann. Segalowitz (2010) stellte fest, dass Indizes effizienter kognitiver Verarbeitung zur Messung der schrittweisen Entwicklung sprachlicher Kompetenz in einer Fremdsprache dienen können. Der Autor erwähnt das Beispiel des Gemeinsamen Europäischen Referenzrahmens für Sprachen (Common European Framework, CEF) sowie anschauliche Deskriptoren, die sechs verschiedene Niveaustufen in der Entwicklung der L2 beschreiben, wobei eine davon die Sprechflüssigkeit betrifft (Council of

Europe 2001, Tabelle 3: 28–29). Hier ist die globale Skala der Referenzniveaus angegeben, wobei die unterstrichenen Ausdrücke sich auf Elemente des kognitiven Sprachverarbeitungsprozesses beziehen (Segalowitz 2010):

(A1) ... mit vielen Pausen, um nach Ausdrücken zu suchen... und um die Kommunikation zu korrigieren.

(A2) ... Pausen, falsche Anfänge und Umformulierungen sind sehr ausgeprägt.

(B1) ... kann weiterhin verständlich sprechen, obwohl Pausen aufgrund der grammatischen und lexikalischen Planung sowie Selbstkorrekturen stark ausgeprägt sind.

(B2) ... kann zögern, während er nach Mustern und Ausdrücken sucht...

(C1) ... kann fließend und spontan sprechen, fast ohne Anstrengung. Nur eine konzeptuell anspruchsvolle Aufgabe kann den natürlichen und ungehinderten Fluss des Sprechens stören.

(C2) ... kann sich spontan ausdrücken..., geschickt die Schwierigkeiten vermeidend, so fließend, dass der Gesprächspartner sich dessen nicht einmal bewusst ist.

Auf dem Weg zur schrittweisen Entwicklung flüssigen Sprechens (von A1 bis C2) sind formelhafte Sequenzen von außerordentlicher Bedeutung (Götz 2013). Dabei handelt es sich um standardisierte sprachliche Formulierungen, die als ganze lexikalische Sequenzen gespeichert sind und nicht bei jedem Gebrauch von Neuem gebildet, sondern als Ganzes aus dem Langzeitgedächtnis abgerufen werden (vgl. Wood 2010). Das grundlegende Merkmal formelhafter Sequenzen ist ihre konsequente Wiederholung in der täglichen Kommunikation, um eine Vielzahl konventioneller Sprechakte zu realisieren. Sie sind auch äußerst wichtig für die Diskursorganisation, das Einholen von Rückmeldungen von Gesprächspartnern und haben viele weitere Funktionen.

Für diesen Aufsatz verwenden wir formelhafte Sequenzen als Überbegriff für Mehrworteinheiten (z. B. Chunks, Kollokationen, konventionalisierte Formen, feste Ausdrücke, vorgefertigte Äußerungen, Redewendungen, Sprichwörter, Sprüche und Mehrwortfolgen (Peters 2012; Schmitt und Carter 2004). Burger (2015) unterscheidet beispielsweise zwei Gruppen von formelhaften Sequenzen – die erste Gruppe besteht aus Begrüßungen, mit denen Gespräche beginnen oder enden. Solche Ausdrücke sind bedingt durch die Situation, in der sie verwendet werden, wie z. B. *Grüß Gott*, *Tschüs*, aber auch *Ich eröffne die Verhandlung*. Diese Ausdrücke sind auch in der schriftlichen Kommunikation zu finden und Burger bezeichnet sie als Routineformeln im engeren Sinne. Die zweite Gruppe besteht aus Ausdrücken, die dem Sprecher dazu dienen, das Gespräch zu steuern, wie z. B. *ich denke*, *was weiß ich*, *pass mal auf*. Ausdrücke, die zur zweiten Gruppe gehören, unterliegen einer höheren Variabilität, was gleichzeitig der grundlegende Unterschied zwischen den beiden genannten Gruppen ist.

Ein weiterer wichtiger Faktor der gesprochenen Sprache als Merkmal der natürlichen Sprache sind Modalpartikel. Zu Modalpartikeln gehören z. B. *eigentlich, bloß, denn, mal, ja*, etc. Diese lexikalischen Einheiten haben scheinbar keine wesentliche Bedeutung und können aus einem Satz weggelassen werden, ohne dass dieser an Bedeutung verliert. Darüber hinaus werden Modalpartikel hauptsächlich in der Alltagssprache verwendet (vgl. Thurmair 1989). Der Hauptnutzen vorformulierter und gespeicherter formelhafter Sequenzen besteht darin, dass Lernende durch die Verwendung von diesen Einheiten an Zeit gewinnen, die für die Planung und den Äußerungsprozess nützlich ist. Dies ermöglicht das Sprechen ohne Verzögerungen, was wiederum eine wahrgenommene angemessene Sprechgeschwindigkeit erzeugt. Nach Reitbrecht (2017; 2019) ist dieses einer der relevantesten Indikatoren für Sprechflüssigkeit.

Im Kontext der Verwendung formelhafter Sequenzen in Deutsch als Fremdsprache untersuchten Gruber und Kovač (2022) die Verbreitung von Konnektoren in der gesprochenen Sprache als Elemente, die zur Organisation komplexer übergeordneter Satzstrukturen verwendet werden, aber zugleich als Indikatoren der pragmatischen Kompetenz dienen. Im Gegensatz zu Muttersprachlern verfügen Lernende oft nicht über ein zufriedenstellendes Repertoire an Konnektoren, während Diversität gerade ein Merkmal von Muttersprachlern ist. Die Autorinnen betonen, wie wichtig es ist, diese Ausdrücke explizit im Kontext von Deutsch als Fremdsprache zu unterrichten, da dies direkt die Entwicklung der Sprechflüssigkeit beeinflusst. Das Hauptziel ist es, das Niveau der Automatisierung zu erhöhen, was durch direktes Lehren formelhafter Sequenzen sowie durch das Bewusstsein des Sprechers für die Bedeutung der Entwicklung flüssiger Sprache erreicht werden kann. Befürworter der Entwicklung der Kommunikationskompetenz betonen, dass Lernende einer Fremdsprache durch die Aneignung sehr häufig verwendeter formelhafter Sequenzen Lücken im lexikalischen Wissen ausgleichen können, was einer der häufigsten Gründe für Zögern und andere Sprechschwierigkeiten ist (vgl. Kovač 2020).

In der Fachliteratur wird formelhaften Sequenzen eine hohe Bedeutung für den L2-Erwerb zugesprochen. Je mehr sprachliche Einheiten bei L2-Lernenden vorhanden und automatisiert sind, desto schneller und fehlerfreier verläuft ihre Sprachverarbeitung (Wetteman 2016). Ein effektiver Weg zur Automatisierung formelhafter Sequenzen ist deren wiederholte Nutzung. Neuere Studien zur Aufgabenwiederholung lieferten zusätzliche Belege dafür, dass das Wiederholen derselben Aufgabe einen positiven Einfluss auf die mündliche Leistung erwachsener L2-Lernender hat. Forscher bestätigten einen möglichen Vorteil der Aufgabenwiederholung im Hinblick auf die Sprechflüssigkeit (Ahmadian und Tavakoli 2011; Lambert et al. 2017; Shep-

pard und Ellis 2018). Wie Bygate erklärt (vgl. 2001), kann die beim ersten Mal durchgeführte Arbeit (Konzeptualisierung, Formulierung und Artikulation) im Gedächtnis erhalten bleiben und beim zweiten Mal wiederverwendet werden. Dies kann dazu führen, dass die Aufmerksamkeitsressourcen auf eine effektivere Formulierung und Artikulation bei wiederholter Ausführung gelenkt werden. Diese positive Veränderung äußert sich in Bezug auf die syntaktische Komplexität, Genauigkeit und/oder Sprechflüssigkeit. Wenn eine Aufgabe wiederholt wird, sind die Anforderungen an die Konzeptualisierung geringer, da der Lernende die Mitteilung nicht mehr vollständig planen muss. Folglich stehen aufgrund der geringeren Aufmerksamkeitsbelastung mehr kognitive Ressourcen zur Verfügung. Der Lernende kann seine Aufmerksamkeitsressourcen auf eine verbesserte grammatikalische Genauigkeit, komplexere Strukturen und flüssigeres Sprechen richten (Sample und Michel 2014).

### **3. DRAMATISCHE TECHNIKEN**

Im Bereich des Erlernens und Lehrens einer Fremdsprache ist der Einsatz von dramatischen Techniken zunehmend an Bedeutung. Lernende, die an pädagogischen Theateraktivitäten teilnehmen, werden häufig eingeladen, sich mit einer Geschichte auseinanderzusetzen, die Erzählung und die Charaktere aus verschiedenen Perspektiven und Interpretationen zu betrachten und dann interaktiv auf die Arbeit zu reagieren (Belliveau und Kim 2013).

Dramatische Techniken sind Methoden, die zum Erlernen von morphosyntaktischen Strukturen, Wortschatz und richtiger Aussprache verwendet werden. Dabei handelt es sich um sorgfältig organisierte und geleitete Aktivitäten, mit denen neues Wissen erworben oder bereits vorhandenes (ein)geübt wird. Ballweg et al. (2013) stellten fest, dass die Motivation eine entscheidende Rolle für erfolgreiche Lernprozesse im Fremdsprachenunterricht spielt. Stanišić (2015) betonte, dass durch die Anwendung verschiedener dramatischer Methoden eine erforderliche psychologische Wirkung erzielt wird, da sie eine fröhliche Atmosphäre im Klassenzimmer schaffen, die sich dann wiederum positiv auf den Lernprozess auswirkt.

Vukojević (2016) untersuchte die Anwendung dramatischer Verfahren im Englischunterricht und kommt zu dem Schluss, dass dramatische Techniken und andere Kommunikationsspiele den Wortschatz erheblich erweitern, die Satzstruktur beeinflussen und die Sprache in realen und imaginären Situationen kontextualisieren. Der Einsatz dramatischer Techniken im Fremdsprachenunterricht fördert insbesondere die Entwicklung der kommunikativen Kompetenz und damit auch der Sprechflüssig-

keit. Am häufigsten werden dramatische Techniken durch Rollenspiele (Dialoge) angewendet, die oft über Tonaufnahmen präsentiert werden, bei denen die Lernenden zuhören und dann je nach Rollenverteilung lesen, während der Lehrer oder die Lehrerin mögliche Fehler korrigiert. Die Implementierung kreativer Methoden wird heute als effektive und wertvolle Lehrstrategie angesehen, da sie aktives Lernen einbezieht und die Entwicklung mündlicher Ausdrucksfähigkeiten im Rahmen des formellen Unterrichts fördert. Die Lernenden lernen sowohl Vokabeln als auch die richtige Aussprache leichter und sind dabei auch noch hoch motiviert. Die Schaffung authentischer kommunikativer Situationen im Klassenzimmer beeinflusst die Entwicklung der kommunikativen Kompetenzen der Lernenden, ihre Kreativität und ihre Selbstausdrucksmöglichkeit. Matekalo et al. (2020) untersuchten an einer Stichprobe kroatischer Englischstudierenden das Lehrangebot zur Vorbereitung zukünftiger Lehrkräfte auf den Einsatz von Schauspielverfahren im Unterricht sowie deren Einstellungen zur Verwendung derselben. Es wurde ferner untersucht, wie kompetent sich zukünftige Lehrkräfte für den Einsatz dramatischer Methoden in ihrer Arbeit halten. Anhand der Analyse des Fragebogens kommen die Autorinnen zu dem Schluss, dass die Studierenden mit den dramatischen Methoden und den Vorteilen, die sie mit sich bringen, vertraut sind, aber während ihres Studiums nicht ausreichend darauf vorbereitet werden, diese Methoden einzusetzen. Es zeigt sich, dass den Studierenden praktische Erfahrungen mit der Anwendung dieser ihnen theoretisch vertrauten und bekannten Dramatechniken fehlen.

Im Bereich der Untersuchung der Nützlichkeit dramatischer Techniken im Deutschen als Fremdsprache sind die folgenden Studien wichtig. In Lauers (2008) Studie beteiligte sich eine Gruppe fortgeschrittener Deutschlernender an der Georgetown University an der Dramatisierung eines deutschen Romans. Der Autor stellte fest, dass die Teilnehmer während des gesamten Proben- und Aufführungsprozesses ihre Sprachkenntnisse verbesserten und gleichzeitig schauspielerische Lernerfahrungen sammelten. Matthias (2007) berichtete über eine weitere Fallstudie von Deutschlernenden in einem experimentellen dreiwöchigen Improvisationstheater-Workshop. Die Forschungsstudie zeigt, wie die Lernenden von der Verwendung von Theaterstücken profitierten. Ronke (2005) kam in seiner Studie zu dem Schluss, dass die Integration von Theaterstücken in den Deutschunterricht positive Auswirkungen auf die Sprechflüssigkeit hat. İşıgüzela (2020) führte über 12 Wochen dramabasierte Aktivitäten im Kurs „Drama im Deutschunterricht“ an der Abteilung für Deutschunterricht einer staatlichen Universität in der Türkei durch. Es wurde festgestellt, dass die Lernenden positive Emotionen gegenüber dem dramabasierten Deutschfremdsprachenkurs emp-



fanden und einen hohen Grad an Motivation entwickelten. Darüber hinaus wurde ein positiver Effekt auf das Interesse an Subdimensionen der deutschen Kultur, ein positives Klassenklima, soziale und pädagogische Möglichkeiten und der Wunsch nach Erfolg beobachtet.

Das praktische Ziel dieser Arbeit ist es, zu untersuchen, inwieweit der Deutschunterricht in der Primar- und Sekundarstufe den beschriebenen Leitlinien entspricht. Es wird davon ausgegangen, dass aktives Sprechen in authentischen Kommunikationssituationen im Deutschunterricht nur unzureichend gefördert wird und dass der Schwerpunkt vor allem auf der Wiedergabe von gelernten Inhalten liegt, die in unterschiedlichen Kontexten nicht ausreichend wiederholt und (ein)geübt werden.

#### **4. METHODISCHES VERFAHREN**

Die Untersuchung wurde an einer Stichprobe von 35 Studierenden (16 des ersten und 19 des zweiten Studienjahres) des Bachelor-Studiengangs für Deutsche Sprache und Literatur im Studienjahr 2021/2022 an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Split durchgeführt. Zum Zweck der Untersuchung wurde ein Online-Fragebogen verwendet, der aus insgesamt 10 Aussagen (Tabelle 1) und zwei offenen Fragen bestand. Es ist wichtig zu erwähnen, dass die Studierenden während der Lehrveranstaltungen in Sprachübungen 1 und 3 gezielt mit grundlegenden Konzepten aus dem Fragebogen vertraut gemacht wurden – wie Sprechflüssigkeit, formelhafte Sequenzen, Automatisierung durch Wiederholung sowie die Bedeutung authentischer Kommunikationssituationen. Darüber hinaus haben sie mehrfach die richtige Aussprache und formelhafte Sequenzen durch den Einsatz von dramatischen Techniken geübt, wobei die Studierenden ein hohes Maß an Motivation zeigten.

**Tab. 1:** Aussagen, die sich auf die Erfahrungen im Deutschunterricht in der Primar- und Sekundarstufe beziehen

Nummer	Behauptung
1.	Im Deutschunterricht der Primar- und Sekundarstufe wurde die Entwicklung der Sprechflüssigkeit gefördert.
2.	Die Kommunikation in einer Fremdsprache (insbesondere Deutsch) in der Primar- und Sekundarstufe ist ohne Verwendung von formelhaften Sequenzen zum Ausdruck unterschiedlicher Kommunikationsabsichten nicht möglich.
3.	Im Deutschunterricht der Primar- und Sekundarstufe lag der Schwerpunkt u.a. auf dem Erwerb von formelhaften Sequenzen.
4.	Im Deutschunterricht der Primar- und Sekundarstufe wurden die Lernende ermutigt, im Kontext des Unterrichts und darüber hinaus, aktiv Deutsch zu sprechen.
5.	Im Deutschunterricht der Primar- und Sekundarstufe lag der Schwerpunkt nicht auf der Wiederholung der vermittelten Lerninhalte.
6.	Im Deutschunterricht der Primar- und Sekundarstufe wurden die vermittelten formelhaften Sequenzen in authentischen Kommunikationssituationen (z.B. durch Dialoge) wiederholt.
7.	Im Deutschunterricht der Primar- und Sekundarstufe wurden die gelernten formelhaften Sequenzen überwiegend auswendig gelernt, ohne dass sie in neue Kontexte kreativ eingesetzt wurden.
8.	Im Deutschunterricht der Primar- und Sekundarstufe lag der Schwerpunkt auf der Vermittlung von Grammatik- und Rechtschreibregeln und weniger auf der aktiven Umsetzung dieser Regeln in mündlicher und/oder schriftlicher Ausführung.
9.	Im Deutschunterricht der Primar- und Sekundarstufe lag der Schwerpunkt auf der Wiedergabe von gelernten Inhalten (Auswendiglernen), die in unterschiedlichen Kontexten nur unzureichend wiederholt und eingeübt wurden.
10	Die Unterrichtsinhalte in der Primar- und Sekundarstufe wurden hauptsächlich wie folgt präsentiert: Lesen von unbekanntem Texten, Übersetzen, Auswendiglernen ohne Wiederholungen in Form von Dialogen oder anderen Kommunikationsaktivitäten.

Die Studierenden haben ihren Grad der Übereinstimmung mit einer bestimmten Aussage mit Hilfe einer 5-stufigen Skala (1 = stimme voll und ganz zu, 2 = stimme zu, 3 = stimme weder zu noch stimme nicht zu, 4 = stimme nicht zu, 5 = stimme über-

haupt nicht zu) ausgedrückt, indem sie die entsprechende Antwort auf der erwähnten Skala angekreuzt haben.

## 5. ERGEBNISSE UND DISKUSSION

Die Tabellen 2 und 3 zeigen die Ergebnisse in Bezug auf die Meinungen der Befragten hinsichtlich der Erfahrungen im Deutschunterricht in der Primar- und Sekundarstufe.

**Tab. 2:** Grad der Übereinstimmung mit den Aussagen in der Primarstufe.

Nummer	1 (%)	2 (%)	3 (%)	4 (%)	5 (%)
1.	28,6	14,3	20	28,6	8,6
2.	25,7	28,6	17,1	17,1	11,4
3.	34,3	20	11,4	20	14,3
4.	28,6	8,5	14,3	20	28,6
5.	28,6	31,4	14,3	14,3	11,4
6.	34,3	22,9	17,1	17,7	8,6
7.	54,4	28,6	8,6	6,4	2
8.	42,9	28,6	8,6	20	0
9.	31,4	40,00	14,3	5,7	8,6
10.	35,3	38,2	3,5	5,4	17,6

**Tab. 3:** Grad der Übereinstimmung mit den Aussagen in der Sekundarstufe.

Nummer	1 (%)	2 (%)	3 (%)	4 (%)	5 (%)
1.	0	25,7	42,9	8,6	22,9
2.	11,4	37,1	37,1	8,6	5,8
3.	8,6	37,1	28,6	8,6	17,1
4.	2,9	31,4	11,4	11,4	42,9
5.	17,1	45,7	14,3	11,4	11,4
6.	0	51,5	17,1	17,1	14,3
7.	11,4	54,3	17,1	11,4	5,8
8.	31,4	45,7	5,7	8,6	8,6
9.	14,3	42,9	20	11,4	11,4
10	25,7	45,7	8,6	5,7	14,3

Die Daten aus den Tabellen 2 und 3 zeigen, dass die Mehrheit der Befragten der Ansicht ist, dass die Kommunikation in einer Fremdsprache, insbesondere Deutsch, in der Grundschule ohne die Beherrschung von formelhaften Sequenzen zum Ausdruck unterschiedlicher Kommunikationsabsichten unmöglich ist (2). Eine beträchtliche Anzahl von 68,8% der Befragten ist der Meinung, dass sie im Deutschunterricht in der Grundschule, weder im Klassenzimmer noch außerhalb desselben, zum aktiven Sprechen angeregt wurden (4). Weiterhin behauptet mehr als die Hälfte, dass auch in der Sekundarschule die Lernenden nicht ermutigt wurden, aktiv zu sprechen. Eine absolute Mehrheit der Befragten stimmt nicht zu, dass der Schwerpunkt im Deutschunterricht der Grund- und Sekundarstufe auf der Wiederholung der vermittelten Inhalte lag (5). Der größte Prozentsatz der Befragten stimmt der Aussage zu, dass im Primar- und Sekundarschulunterricht gelernte formelhafte Sequenzen meist ohne kreative Anwendung in neuen Situationen auswendig gelernt werden (7). Im Rahmen des Grundschulunterrichts stimmen diesem 83% der Befragten zu, während der Prozentsatz für den Sekundarschulunterricht 65,7% beträgt. Die Daten zeigen, dass mehr als 70% der Befragten der Ansicht sind, dass im Deutschunterricht der Primar- und Sekundarstufe der Schwerpunkt auf der Vermittlung grammatischer und Rechtschreibregeln lag und weniger auf der aktiven Umsetzung dieser Regeln in der gesprochenen und/oder schriftlichen Ausführung (8), sowie auf der Wiedergabe von

gelernten Inhalten, die in verschiedenen Kontexten unzureichend wiederholt und (ein)geübt wurden (9). Ebenso stimmt eine beträchtliche Anzahl von 70% der Befragten zu, dass die behandelten Inhalte in der Grundschule nicht ausreichend wiederholt wurden, und mehr als 50% der Befragten teilen diese Meinung ebenfalls bezüglich des Deutschunterrichts in der Sekundarstufe.

Im zweiten Teil der Untersuchung wurden den Befragten zwei offene Fragen gestellt. Die Erste bezog sich auf die Art und Weise, wie sprachliche Inhalte in der Grund- und Sekundarstufe vermittelt werden (*Beschreiben Sie, wie die Inhalte aus dem Lehrbuch (neue Lektionen) behandelt wurden. Wurde die Bedeutung der formelhaften Sequenzen und der richtigen Verwendung erklärt? Haben Sie formelhafte Sequenzen wiederholt? Haben Sie diese in neuen Kontexten verwendet? Fanden Sie die Inhalte interessant? Waren Sie motiviert? Hatten Sie Angst zu sprechen? Haben Sie dramatische Techniken verwendet? Haben Sie die richtige Aussprache geübt?*) Die Zweite hingegen befasste sich damit, wie sich die Studierenden wünschen, dass die Inhalte unterrichtet werden sollten. (*Wie stellen Sie sich, als angehende Lehrende für DaF, den modernen Deutschunterricht vor? Soll Grammatik isoliert unterrichtet werden? Sollten mehr formelhafte Sequenzen in den Unterricht miteinbezogen werden? Sollte jede formelhafte Sequenz erklärt werden? Sollte Grammatik durch Kommunikationsübungen vermittelt werden? Sollten Lehrbücher entsprechend den spezifischen Bedürfnissen der Lernenden gestaltet werden? Sollte die Wiederholung von Aufgaben als Mittel für effektives Lernen stärker hervorgehoben werden? Sollte das Sprechen stärker gefördert werden? Wie kann man das Motivationsniveau steigern und die Angst vor dem Sprechen nehmen/mindern?*) Die Befragten haben ihre Antworten auf Kroatisch geschrieben, die von der Fachlehrenden zusammengefasst wurden. Die Antworten auf die erste Frage können wie folgt zusammengefasst werden: i) unzureichende Darstellung formelhafter Sequenzen, mit Hilfe denen, verschiedene Kommunikationsfunktionen ausgedrückt wurden (Danken, Zustimmung oder Widerspruch, Begrüßen, Gratulieren, einfache Fragen stellen usw.); ii) Schwerpunkt war auf der Grammatik durch Aufgaben, die den kommunikativen Aspekt der Sprache nicht förderten; iii) unzureichende Ermutigung/Anreize, gelehrte Redewendungen in kreativen Dialogen zu verwenden; iv) Inhalte der Lehrbücher waren aufgrund der gewählten Themen sehr oft uninteressant für die Lernenden und beeinträchtigten die Motivation negativ; v) sprachliche Inhalte wurden hauptsächlich auswendig gelernt und wurden nicht durch verschiedene kommunikative Aktivitäten (ein)geübt und wiederholt.

Aus den Ergebnissen geht hervor, dass sowohl grammatikalische Aspekte der Sprache als auch der Wortschatz zwar unterrichtet, aber nicht ausreichend durch verschiedene kommunikative Aufgaben wiederholt wurden. Aufgrund der unzureichenden Wiederholung von sprachlichen Inhalten und deren Üben in unterschiedlichen Kontexten kann eine Automatisierung der Zielstrukturen nicht erreicht werden. Kovač (2020) weist darauf hin, dass die Übernahme formelhafter Sequenzen ein Entwicklungsphänomen ist und das Endziel der Übergang von einer kontrollierten und langsameren zu einer automatisierten und schnelleren Verarbeitung der Sprache ist. Es ist wichtig anzumerken, dass das explizite Unterrichten von Grammatikregeln im Kontext des Fremdsprachenunterrichts eine Notwendigkeit ist, jedoch zeigen zahlreiche Studien, dass der explizite Unterricht auch gewisse Nachteile hat. In diesem Zusammenhang betonen Ellis et al. (2019), dass nur eine teilweise bekannte grammatikalische Struktur durch expliziten Unterricht in implizites Wissen übersetzt werden kann. Zudem gibt es keine Beweise dafür, dass explizites Lehren völlig unbekannter und neuer Strukturen zu implizitem Wissen (Erwerb von Zielstrukturen) führt. Um einen Übergang zu automatisiertem (implizitem) Wissen zu vollziehen, ist eine längere Einwirkzeit in die Zielform erforderlich. Auch die Auseinandersetzung gegenüber dem zielgerichteten sprachlichen Input ist ein entscheidender Faktor bei der Entwicklung automatisierter Kenntnisse von Grammatikregeln. Daher erfordert ein Unterricht, der auf die Entwicklung impliziten Wissens abzielt, umfangreiches Üben, d. h. Wiederholung.

Anhand der Analyse der Antworten auf die zweite Frage, die sich auf Vorschläge für effektivere Unterrichtsmethoden bezog, können wir Folgendes hervorheben: (i) Der Unterricht sollte auf authentischer Kommunikation basieren (z. B. auf Dialogen, die im täglichen Leben vorkommen); (ii) Der Deutschunterricht in der Primarstufe sollte auf dem Lehren einfacher grammatikalischer Formen und sehr gebräuchlicher formelhafter Sequenzen ausgerichtet sein, während in der Sekundarstufe die Lernende zum aktiven Sprechen ermutigt werden sollten; iv) Anstatt Texte auswendig zu lernen, sollten erlernte Sprachstrukturen durch kreative Kommunikationsaufgaben (ein)geübt werden, die sich positiv auf das Motivationsniveau auswirken; (v) Grammatische Inhalte sollten nicht isoliert, sondern im entsprechenden Kontext unterrichtet werden. (vi) Die Lernenden sollten mehr dazu ermutigt werden, sich kreativ auszudrücken und durch einen angemessenen Unterrichtsansatz sollte die Angst vor dem Sprechen in der Fremdsprache verringert werden.

Aus den zusammengefassten Antworten geht hervor, dass den Studierenden Erfahrungen im aktiven Gebrauch der Sprache in authentischen mündlichen Situationen

fehlen, sowie im Allgemeinen ein moderner Ansatz im Deutschunterricht. Festgestellt wird auch die Bewusstheit der Notwendigkeit des Übens von sehr häufigem Wortschatz, die Bedeutung der Wiederholung relevanter Inhalte, sowie die Tatsache, dass der Grammatikunterricht dazu beitragen sollte, die kommunikative Kompetenz als grundlegendes Merkmal des modernen Ansatzes im Fremdsprachenunterricht zu entwickeln.

Die erzielten Ergebnisse können mit denen von Mihaljević Djigunović und Bagarić (2007) verglichen werden. Die Autorinnen führten eine Umfrage zu den Einstellungen kroatischer Lernenden zum Erlernen von Englisch und Deutsch durch. Sie fanden heraus, dass „Deutschlernende der Meinung waren, dass zu viel Grammatik in ihrem Lehrplan enthalten war“ und dass „Deutschlernende die Auswahl der Lehrbuchtexte und des Vokabulars weniger zufriedenstellend fanden“ (S. 271). Die Lernenden betonten insbesondere die Notwendigkeit, den erlernten Wortschatz zu erweitern, bemerkten jedoch auch, dass der Lehrinhalt zu umfangreich und die Zeit für dessen Vermittlung zu kurz sei.

Reflektierend auf die zusammengefassten Antworten des zweiten Teils dieser Untersuchung können wir folgern, dass im Unterricht authentische Dialoge unzureichend gefördert werden und dass der moderne Unterricht Aktivitäten implementieren sollte, die sich unter anderem positiv auf affektive Faktoren – die Motivation und Minderung der Angst vor dem Sprechen in einer Fremdsprache – auswirken.

## **6. SCHLUSSFOLGERUNG**

Das Ziel dieser Arbeit war es, zu untersuchen, inwieweit der Deutschunterricht in der Primar - und Sekundarstufe den beschriebenen Leitlinien entsprochen hat, sowie durch die Antworten auf zwei offene Fragen zusätzliche Einblicke in die Erfahrung des Bisherigen und die Wahrnehmung eines moderneren Unterrichtsansatzes zu gewinnen.

Es ist wichtig zu berücksichtigen, dass die Ausrichtung auf die Lernende das Fundament des modernen Unterrichts bildet. Lernende als Empfänger des Unterrichts sind die entscheidendsten Komponenten und Mitgestalter des Bildungsprozesses. Die grundlegenden Merkmale des modernen Unterrichts umfassen die funktionale Anwendung sprachlicher Kenntnisse, Zweckmäßigkeit, Kontextualisierung, funktionale Relevanz, angemessene Gestaltung von Aufgaben, klare Zielsetzungen, sorgfältige Planung bei der Gestaltung von Aufgaben, kontinuierliches Feedback sowie systematische Überwachung des Lernfortschritts der Lernenden während der Ausführung

von Aufgaben. Der moderne Unterrichtsprozess betont daher die Bedeutung kreativer Kommunikationsaufgaben, um somit die aktive Anwendung der Sprache, eine qualitativ hochwertige Sprachverarbeitung und das Erlernen neuer sprachlicher Strukturen zu fördern. Aus den dargelegten Antworten geht hervor, dass den Lernenden Erfahrungen im aktiven Gebrauch der Sprache in authentischen Situationen fehlen. Es wurde auch eine Bewusstheit der Notwendigkeit der Entwicklung kommunikativer Kompetenzen, das Einüben eines sehr häufigen Wortschatzes, die Bedeutung der Wiederholung und die Tatsache, dass der Grammatikunterricht auf die Entwicklung kommunikativer Kompetenzen ausgerichtet sein sollte, wahrgenommen.

Diese Untersuchung ist auf eine relativ kleine Stichprobe von Befragten beschränkt, könnte jedoch praktische Implikationen für den Unterricht in Deutsch als Fremdsprache haben. Die Ergebnisse der durchgeführten Untersuchung deuten auf die Notwendigkeit eines moderneren Ansatzes im Deutschunterricht in der Primar- und Sekundarstufe hin. Dies gilt insbesondere unter Berücksichtigung individueller Unterschiede zwischen den Lernenden, wie z.B. sprachliche Begabung, aber auch affektiver Faktoren (Motivation und Angstgefühle), die, unter anderem, entscheidende Faktoren für den schrittweisen Erwerb einer Fremdsprache sind.

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## TEACHING AND LEARNING GERMAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL: A CASE STUDY

### Summary:

The development of communicative and pragmatic competence is considered one of the main goals of modern foreign language teaching. The primary focus of this paper is to explore how German was taught in school. 35 learners in the first and second years of the Bachelor's degree program in German studies in the 2021/2022 academic year at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Split were surveyed. An online questionnaire was used for the study, which included an overview of German lessons in primary and secondary school. The absolute majority of respondents agreed that formulaic sequences were taught in primary and secondary school. However, regarding the question of promoting fluency, there are divided opinions among the students. In addition, most respondents agree that the focus in both primary and secondary German lessons was on grammar and spelling rules and less on their active use in the spoken language. Also, from the received answers to the question posed about the method of teaching linguistic content, it is clear that the teaching of the content from the textbooks was, as a rule, taught according to the principle of reading, translating and memorizing, without repetitions in the form of dialogues and in some new communication situations. Thus, the present study can serve as a stimulus to think about more modern teaching methods, aiming at the development of communicative and pragmatic skills.

**Keywords:** speaking fluenc; communication skills; formulaic sequences

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## **KOLOKACIJE U NJEMAČKIM I AUSTRIJSKIM GODIŠNJIM IZVJEŠĆIMA**

Korporacija kao pravni entitet ima od druge polovice 19. stoljeća vrlo važnu ulogu u svjetskom gospodarstvu jer je značajno pridonijela tehnološkom, a samim tim i društvenom razvoju. Većina izuma, industrija i novih tehnologija od druge polovice 19. stoljeća sve do danas nastala je pod okriljem korporacija. Njemačke i austrijske korporacije doprinijele su tehnološkom razvoju tih dviju država i pozicionirale ih u vrh najrazvijenijih u Europi i svijetu. Unatoč važnosti korporacija u ekonomskom životu njemački korporativni jezik, koji u ovome radu definiramo kao način na koji korporacije komuniciraju sa svojim vlasnicima, zaposlenicima, kupcima, vjerovnicima i širom investicijskom javnošću, nije značajnije istraživano. Ovaj rad predstavlja rezultate sinkronijskog istraživanja kolokacija u godišnjim izvješćima njemačkih i austrijskih korporacija za poslovnu godinu 2022. Analizirana su i uspoređena dva korpusa koja se sastoje od po osam godišnjih izvješća korporacija, koje predstavljaju izravne konkurente, a dolaze iz dvije varijante njemačkog jezika (standardnog njemačkog i austrijskog njemačkog). Rezultati jezikoslovne analize pokazuju razlike u leksiku u dvije varijante njemačkog korporativnog jezika i mogu biti poticaj za daljnja korpusna istraživanja na tom području. Rad ima i svoju pedagošku implikaciju jer može pomoći u osvješćivanju spoznaje studenata ekonomije o leksičkim razlikama među dvjema varijantama njemačkog jezika. Nadalje, dobiveni rezultati mogu poslužiti u nastavi poslovnog njemačkog jezika i za pripremanje zadataka za vježbanje vokabulara.

**Ključne riječi:** (austrijski) njemački; korpusna analiza; godišnja izvješća; kolokacije; nastava poslovnog njemačkog jezika

## 1. UVOD

Korporacija je kao poslovni entitet zajedno s burzom odigrala važnu ulogu u razvoju svijeta. Burza omogućuje vezu između korporacija koje trebaju novi kapital za rast i razvoj te šire investicijske javnosti (privatnih i institucionalnih ulagača). Značajniji razvoj korporacija tzv. anglosaksonskog tipa počinje sredinom 19. stoljeća. Bilo je to vrijeme intenzivnog nastanka mnogih industrija (kasnije i tehnologija), poglavito u SAD-u i Velikoj Britaniji, ali i u drugim zapadnim državama. Jednostavna zamisao da korporacija koja posjeduje *know-how*, novu poslovnu ideju realizira novcem investitora, koji investirajući postaju suvlasnici kompanije i na taj način sudjeluju u ostvarivanju buduće dobiti, pokazala se odlučujućim faktorom u tehnološkom razvoju svijeta. Uloga korporacija u modernom kapitalizmu ostala je do današnjih dana nepromijenjena: udruživanjem kapitala desetaka tisuća pojedinačnih investitora omogućuje se realizacija velikih poslovnih pothvata, a svojim bezbrojnim patentima korporacije omogućavaju nastanak inovacija i tehnološki razvoj svijeta.

Godišnje izvješće (njem. *Geschäftsbericht*) uz kvartalno je izvješće (njem. *Quartalsbericht*) jedan od zakonom propisanih dokumenata koji korporacije moraju redovito objavljivati u svrhu informiranja različitih dionika zainteresiranih za praćenje njihova rada:

„U godišnjem izvješću poduzeća jednom godišnje daju podatke o trenutnom gospodarskom stanju i tijeku poslovanja u prethodnoj poslovnoj godini. Izvješće se također koristi za objašnjenje godišnje bilance. Najvažniji je instrument komunikacije tržišta kapitala, a prvenstveno ga kreiraju dionička društva kako bi ulagači bili u tijeku s poslovnim stanjem. Godišnje izvješće stoga je od velike važnosti za financijsko komuniciranje poduzeća koja kotiraju na burzi. Samo uz pomoć izvješća investitori mogu realno procijeniti vrijednost poduzeća“.<sup>1, 2</sup>

Pošto korporativni njemački jezik, posebice njegov austrijski varijetet, nije znatnije istraživan, istraživanje će pridonijeti njegovu boljem razumijevanju. Ovo korpusno istraživanje temelji se na sinkronijskoj analizi kolokacija i njihovih premodifikatora u jeziku ekstrahiranih iz šesnaest (osam njemačkih i osam austrijskih) godišnjih izvješća za fiskalnu 2022. godinu, koja predstavljaju osam parova kompanija izravnih konkurenata u osam različitih industrija. Empirijsko istraživanje omogućilo je stjecanje uvida u terminološke razlike u korporativnom jeziku dvaju varijeteta njemačkoga jezika, kao i u razlike u frekvenciji pojavljivanja pojedinih termina.

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.torq.partners/resources/glossary/geschaeftsbericht>

<sup>2</sup> Sve citate i parafrazirane dijelove rečenica s engleskoga i njemačkog jezika preveli su autori.

## 2. TEORIJSKA OSNOVA

### 2.1. Kolokacije

Kolokacija (lat. *collocatio* = položaj) predstavlja skupinu riječi koja se pojavljuje zajedno ali čije se pojavljivanje ne može posebno objasniti. Iako je termin već desetljećima uvriježen u području jezikoslovlja, još uvijek među jezikoslovcima postoje nesuglasice o jednoznačnoj definiciji termina. Langenscheidtov *Veliki rječnik njemačkoga kao stranog jezika* (njem. *Langenscheidts Großwörterbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache*) (1993: 557) definira kolokacije kao „tipične kombinacije više riječi, npr. pridjeva i imenice ili glagola i objekta, koje tvore jednu sintaktičku cjelinu“. *Njemački rječnik* (njem. *Deutsches Wörterbuch*) Gerharda Wahriga (1991: 763) definira kolokaciju kao „značenjsku snošljivost kombinacija riječi, npr. ‚mekano krzno‘, ‚mekano rublje‘, ali ne ‚mekani san‘...“.

*Rječnik kolokacija* definira termin na sljedeći način: „O kolokaciji možemo govoriti onda kada neki sadržaj može biti izražen različitim kombinacijama riječi, ali govornici / ljudi koji pišu pretežito biraju jedan te isti“.<sup>3</sup> Simonsen (2020: 151) definira kolokaciju kao „dvodijelnu sintagmatsku jedinicu“ koja se često ponavlja. Möhring (2011: 34) naglašava da: „Kolokacije nemaju rečeničnu vrijednost, semantički su sastavne, strukturno različite i često imaju ograničenu sposobnost kombiniranja (Neubert 1966: 109; Reder 2004: 532f.). Ova ograničena sposobnost kombiniranja od posebne je važnosti za učenike stranih jezika, jer često rezultira nepredvidivim kontrastima u sposobnosti kombiniranja jezika (Scherfer 2001: 9), a time i pogreškama interferencije“.

Jednu od nezaobilaznih metoda istraživanja kolokacija u suvremenom jezikoslovlju predstavlja korpusna lingvistika, koja pruža jasne dokaze o postojanju kombinacija riječi koje se učestalo pojavljuju zajedno u istraživanom korpusu, a ne pripadaju skupini frazeologizama. Navodimo primjer automatski generiranih kolokacija tipično povezanih s leksemom *Wirtschaft* *gospodarstvo* iz *Digitalnog rječnika njemačkoga jezika* (njem. *Das digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*) Berlin(sko)-brandenburške akademije znanosti:

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<sup>3</sup> <https://kollokationenwoerterbuch.ch/web/projekt/kollokationen/>



## Prikaz 1. Kolokacije leksema Wirtschaft

Suche im DWDS-Wortprofil

Lemma: Wirtschaft

optional: Wortvergleich: Unterschiede zu

Lemma Vergleichswort: Vergleichswort

Anzeige Kollokationswort: Lemma

Wortart: min. logDice: min. Frequenz

Sortierung: Ansicht

Substantiv: 0 5 logDice

Hinweis: Klicken Sie auf eine Kollokation, um Belege angezeigt zu bekommen.

Überblick	logDice	Freq.	hat Adjektivattribut	logDice	Freq.	ist Akk./Dativ-Objekt von	logDice	Freq.
1. Politik	9.4	13471	1. deutsch	8.6	86344	1. anknüpfeln	7.3	5166
2. Finanzen	9.0	3066	2. gewerblich	8.5	3579	2. sehen	7.2	13517
3. wachsen	8.8	20078	3. mittelständisch	8.4	3546	3. schaden	6.0	2267
4. Wissenschaft	8.7	3512	4. heimisch	8.4	4050	4. belasten	5.9	2186
5. deutsch	8.6	86344	5. amerikanisch	8.0	13222	5. gehen	5.7	2397
6. gewerblich	8.5	3579	6. japanisch	7.8	4404	6. bringen	5.5	3768
7. Institut	8.5	14067	7. schweizer	7.8	6170	7. helfen	5.5	1914
8. mittelständisch	8.4	3546	8. ostdeutsch	7.8	2320	8. studieren	5.3	1681
9. Ausfuhrkontrolle	8.4	1912	9. chinesisches	7.7	4632	9. stärken	5.3	1462
10. heimisch	8.4	4050	10. global	7.7	3191	10. stützen	5.2	1462

Jednoznačno razgraničenje kolokacija od slobodnih kombinacija riječi s jedne strane i frazeologizama s druge zahtjevno je jer su granice među tim kategorijama fluidne. Stojić i Košuta (2020: 11) ističu da „[...] kolokacije predstavljaju više-manje fiksne kombinacije riječi: one su zbog supstitucijskih ograničenja postojanije od slobodnih kombinacija riječi, ali su zbog njihova transparentna značenja ipak manje fiksne od frazeologizama, koje odlikuje izražena metaforičnost“. Höppnerová (2013) navodi da su u njemačkom jeziku vanjske trgovine najčešće kolokacije tipa pridjev i imenica te imenica i glagol.

## 2.2. Varijeteti standardnog njemačkog jezika

Njemački standardni jezik sastoji se od tri varijeteta koji predstavljaju nacionalne jezične standarde i službeno su ravnopravne: njemački jezik Savezne Republike Njemačke (njem. *Bundesdeutsches Hochdeutsch*), austrijski njemački (njem. *Österreichisches Deutsch*) i švicarski njemački (njem. *Schweizer Hochdeutsch*). Iako varijetet njemačkog jezika Savezne Republike Njemačke prevladava, u podučavanju njemačkog jezika struke trebalo bi voditi računa o specifičnostima svih triju varijeteta, jer student njemačkog jezika jedino putem izloženosti trima varijetetima može biti siguran u ostvarivanje uspješne komunikacije u kontaktu s izvornim govornicima jezika koji uči. Austrijski varijetet njemačkog jezika predstavlja dio kulturnog identiteta Austrijanaca i posjeduje specifična obilježja. Njegov povijesni razvoj relativno je kratak. Nastanak ovog varijeteta njemačkog jezika vezan je za drugu polovicu 19. stoljeća i nastanak Austro-Ugarske Monarhije: „Tek tada pojavile su se opipljive ma-

nifestacije austrijskog njemačkog, osobito u jeziku administracije, društvenog života i kulture kuhanja i prehrane, iako se o tome jedva teoretski raspravljalo“ (Burka 2018: 7). Mnogi tadašnji govornici njemačkog jezika kritizirali su austrijske izraze i smatrali su ih lošima jer su narušavali postojeći njemački jezik. Prvi rječnik austrijskog njemačkog (njem. *Das Österreichische Wörterbuch*) objavljen je tek nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, 1951. godine. Bio je oskudnog obujma, a tek 1990-ih značajno je dopunjen.

Austrijski se varijetet njemačkog jezika po Šubrtu (2008: 23) odlikuje jezikoslovnim posebnostima na razini izgovora, gramatike i vokabulara. Po istom autoru (ibid.), razlike u izgovoru u odnosu na njemački jezik Savezne Republike Njemačke odnose se na naglašavanje pojedinih riječi (poglavito riječi stranog podrijetla i naglašavanje prvog sloga u riječi), kao i na izgovor samoglasnika i suglasnika. Na gramatičkoj razini, austrijski varijetet njemačkog jezika često koristi muški rod umjesto srednjeg (*der Gehalt* umjesto *das Gehalt* ‘plaća’), ženski rod umjesto muškog (*die Ausschank* umjesto *der Ausschank* ‘pult’) i ponekad srednji rod umjesto muškog (*das Podest* umjesto *der Podest* ‘postolje’). Daljnje posebitosti odnose se na genitivni nastavak pojedinih imenica (*der Fratz* ‘derište’ – *des Fratzen* umjesto *des Fratzen*), promjene u tvorbi množine imenica (*die Erlässe* umjesto *die Erlasse* ‘popusti’), komparaciji pridjeva (preferiraju se kratki oblici superlativa), uporabi pomoćnog glagola *sein* pri tvorbi perfekta s glagolima koji u njemačkom varijetetu zahtijevaju pomoćni glagol *haben*, promijenjene oblike glagola u preteritu (*schallen* ‘zvučiti, odzvanjati’ – *schallte/scholl* umjesto *schallte*) i participu perfekta (*hauen* ‘tući, udarati’ – *gehaut* umjesto *gehauen*). Razlike u vokabularu odnose se na riječi koje postoje u oba varijeteta, ali nose različito značenje, različite lekseme koji označavaju isti pojam (*Semmeln* umjesto *Brötchen* ‘pecivo’), lažne parove (*Brötchen* = *belegtes Brötchen* ‘sendvič’) te idiome (*keinen Tau von etwas haben* = *keine Ahnung von etwas haben* ‘nemati pojma o nečemu’). Zanimljivo je da u dostupnoj literaturi autori nisu našli stručne niti znanstvene radove koji bi tematizirali gore navedene jezikoslovne posebnosti austrijskog varijeteta njemačkog jezika u njemačkom poslovnom jeziku, a ovaj rad, koji se bavi najčešćim kolokacijama, daje novi uvid u razlike u terminologiji na području dva varijeteta njemačkog korporativnog jezika.

### **2.3. Korpusna istraživanja**

Korpusna lingvistika predstavlja noviju granu jezikoslovlja koja je u posljednjih 60-ak godina, razvojem informacijskih tehnologija, omogućila empirijsku analizu mno-

gih jezičnih segmenata. Goźdz-Roszkowski (2021: 1515) tvrdi da je korpusna lingvistika „revolucionirala način na koji se danas jezik razumije i istražuje dovodeći do umnožavanja empirijskih istraživanja doslovce svakoga aspekta jezika“. Stojković (2023: 18) naglašava da je „potencijal korpusa takav da Conrad (2000) govori o njima kao o sredstvu koje će u potpunosti promijeniti podučavanje stranih jezika i sveukupno jezično obrazovanje, uključujući što se uči i kako se uči“. Kao početke uporabe korpusne lingvistike u suvremenom njemačkom jeziku Eichinger (2018: 70) navodi: „Već u osnivačkom tekstu IDS-a<sup>4</sup> godine 1964. kao njegova zadaća opisuje se istraživanje i dokumentiranje suvremenog njemačkog jezika, i to, – uz posebnu uporabu elektroničke obrade podataka“. Korpusna analiza moguća je ne samo u slučaju pisanog jezika nego i govornog jezika.

U suvremenom jezikoslovlju više ne možemo ni zamisliti empirijska istraživanja bez korpusnog istraživanja. Eichinger (2010: 50) naglašava da je „vrednovanje velikih elektroničkih korpusa metodološka opcija za empirijsku osnovu jezikoslovnih istraživanja čiju uporabu ne samo da ne treba izbjegavati, nego se zapravo više i ne može izbjegavati za određena pitanja i praktične zadatke“. Stojković (2023: 16) nadalje tvrdi da je „korpusna analiza sada nužna, u gotovo svim granama jezikoslovlja ili učenja jezika“ (Leech 1997, 9), pošto je njezina snaga u njezinoj empirijskoj prirodi, koja jezikoslovnu analizu čini objektivnijom (McEnery and Wilson 2001, 103)“.

Sinclair (1996) definira korpus kao „zbirku djelića jezika, koji su odabrani i porredani po izričitim lingvističkim kriterijima da bi se rabila kao uzorak jezika“. McEnery (2003: 449) ga definira na sljedeći način: „Termin korpus treba biti primijenjen samo za dobro organiziranu zbirku podataka prikupljenu unutar granica kreiranog okvira uzorkovanja da bi omogućila istraživanje određene lingvističke značajke“. Stefanowitsch (2020: 22) navodi definiciju Sebba i Fligelstonea (1994: 769) koji korpus u području lingvistike definiraju kao bilo koju zbirku podataka, bez obzira da li se radi o tekstovima ili pojedinačnim rečenicama, koja je prikupljena s ciljem jezikoslovnog istraživanja, a često ima na umu određeno istraživačko pitanje. On nadalje navodi (ibid. 22-23) da se „u korpusnoj lingvistici termin koristi drukčije – odnosi se na zbirku uzoraka jezične uporabe sa sljedećim karakteristikama: primjeri uporabljenog jezika u njoj su *autentični*; zbirka je *reprezentativna* za jezik ili varijetet koji se istražuje; zbirka je *ogromna*“. Borucinsky i Kagelj (2023: 35) navode da je korpus „velika zbirka tekstova, a uz njega se vežu četiri ključne riječi: autentičnost ili izvornost, strojna čitljivost, veličina te uravnoteženost“. Iako Anthony (2009: 91) navodi

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<sup>4</sup> IDS – njem. *Institut für Deutsche Sprache*

da „čak i pojedinačni tekst možemo smatrati korpusom [...]“, Meyer (2002: 33) naglašava da „što je duži korpus, to bolje“. Nasuprot tomu, ako se radi o specijaliziranim korpusima Losey-Leon (2015: 296) tvrdi da je veličina takvoga korpusa definirana njegovim ciljem i „nije potrebno posebno minimalno ili maksimalno proširenje“. Zannettin (2011: 15) se također slaže da veličina vrlo specijaliziranog korpusa može biti manja od onoga općeg korpusa. Hunston (2008: 154) vrši podjelu na dva tipa korpusa od „općih, referentnih korpusa kreiranih za istraživanje danog jezika u cjelini do specijaliziranih korpusa namijenjenih tome da odgovore na specifičnija pitanja u istraživanjima“. Primijenjena lingvistika obilno se koristi rezultatima istraživanja specijaliziranih korpusa. Köster (2010: 67) ističe da je odnos između „korpusa i konteksta uporabe posebice relevantan na područjima engleskoga za posebne namjene (ESP) i engleskoga za akademske namjene (EAP)“. Jezik struke predstavlja vrlo razgranat pojam, a pojedini jezici struke po mnogim se parametrima znatno razlikuju, kako od standardnog jezika tako i međusobno. Uz navedeni parametar veličine Mockienė (2023: 28) navodi i uzorkovanje teksta, izbalansiranost korpusa, vremenski okvir tekstova (sinkronijski i dijakronijski tekstovi), autorstvo (je li korpus generiran od strane izvornih govornika ili nije) te izvor materijala uključenih u korpus. Iako je korpusnim istraživanjima moguće analizirati različite aspekte jezika (leksik, gramatiku, pragmatiku, semantiku i dr.), Meyer (2002: 46) navodi da je „razina jezika koja se najčešće mijenja njegov leksik. Nove se riječi stalno pojavljuju da bi imenovala nove fenomene; tako, promjene u jeziku nikada ne prestaju“.

Pojedinačno prikupljeni korpus (eng. *do-it-yourself / ready-made / ad hoc corpus*) mora biti pomno sastavljen. Lüdeling i Walter (2009: 24) naglašavaju da svaki korpus predstavlja „uvijek samo jedan isječak iz jezika... Stoga je prikladan odabir (ili kreiranje) korpusa za istraživačko pitanje vjerojatno najvažnija odluka koju je potrebno donijeti“. Borucinsky i Kegalj (2023: 38) opisuju sastavljanje specijaliziranog korpusa na području brodstrojarstva pri čemu su se „vodili načelima uravnoteženosti, reprezentativnosti i veličini“, dobro balansirajući pojedine vanjske (nejezične) i unutarnje (jezične) karakteristike odabranih tekstova (v. Borucinsky i Kegalj 2023).

#### **2.4. Korpusna lingvistika u nastavi poslovnih jezika**

Sve je veća važnost korpusne lingvistike u nastavi poslovnih jezika. Ona nam nudi isječke realnog jezika, ovjerene gramatičke i leksičke konstrukcije, a rezultati njezine analize primijenjeni u nastavi rezultiraju podučavanjem stvarnog jezika. Valūnaitė Oleškevičienė (2023: 85) navodi: „Korpusna lingvistika prikuplja i analizira ogromne

količine tekstova da bi proširila naše razumijevanje jezika i osigurala aktualne lingvističke podatke. Ona također daje različite referentne materijale koji su relevantni za podučavanje i učenje stranih i drugih jezika“. Stojković (2023: 17) tvrdi da „korpusi pomažu predavačima indirektno, u odlučivanju što podučavati, ali također njihovom direktnom uporabom, kako podučavati“. Marušić (2023a: 797) ističe da je „korištenje rezultata korpusne analize u nastavi izazovan zadatak, pošto je kreiranje nastavnih materijala temeljenih na istim dugotrajan i naporan proces“. Römer (2008: 124) objašnjava da „korpusni resursi i metode imaju velik potencijal za poboljšanje pedagoške prakse i ti se korpusi mogu koristiti na brojne načine, neizravno za dostavljanje nastavnih materijala i referentnih radova, ili izravno kao alati za učenje jezika i repozitoriji za kreiranje nastavnih aktivnosti koje sadrže puno podataka“. Andelković i sur. (2018: 12) tvrde da su između ostaloga rezultati korpusnih istraživanja pogodovali izradi nastavnih materijala prikladnih upravo za podučavanje kolokacija: „Nekoliko je studija također izvijestilo o učinkovitosti korištenja korpusa za izradu LSP nastavnih materijala (neizravna primjena korpusa u nastavi i učenju LSP-a), posebice onih usmjerenih na podučavanje i učenje kolokacija (Howarth 1998), usvajanje vokabulara (Cobb 1999), pisanje i gramatiku (Tribble 2001)“. Đurović i Bauk (2022: 335) su napravile istraživanje da bi „testirale moguću primjenu suvremenih metoda korpusne lingvistike metodom učenja vođenog podacima u procesu podučavanja/učenja vokabulara“. Prema tvrdnji autorica (ibid.) studenti su pozitivno reagirali na eksperimentalne i inovativne modele podučavanja, što daje znatnu potporu nastavnicima jezika struke da upotrebljavaju metodu učenja vođenog podacima. U nastavi poslovnog jezika trebamo imati na umu da je neizravna uporaba rezultata korpusnog istraživanja jednostavnija, jer treba pripremiti različite tipove zadataka, što je zadaća samog nastavnika, dok data-driven learning zahtijeva kako studente s dobrim jezičnim znanjem, tako i dobre tehničke uvjete u samoj instituciji i naposljetku obuku studenata za rad s korpusom. Curado i Rokowski (2002: 7) naglašavaju da „[...] primjena informacija temeljenih na korpusu u ESP učionici treba biti dostupna i u skladu s potrebama učenika za učenjem“.

Mogućnosti korištenja rezultata istraživanja iz samostalno pripremljenog korpusa u nastavi poslovnih jezika su višestruke: predavač može ekstrahirati najfrekventnije lekseme, kolokacije i druge višerječne izraze i sastaviti liste riječi i izraza, koje kasnije može upotrijebiti za predstavljanje i vježbu vokabulara na najrazličitijim tipovima zadataka. Korpusna lingvistika nam isto tako omogućuje ne samo rad na pojedinačnim riječima i strukturama, nego i analizu istih u širem kontekstu (konkordancije, atributi i sl.). Ovdje navodimo dobar pregled mogućnosti analize korpusa i dostupnih

alata (v. Borucinsky 2023: 107-154). Navedene alate i postupke možemo rabiti i u korpusnim istraživanjima u poslovnim jezicima, a njihove rezultate u nastavi poslovnih jezika. Ovaj rad predstavlja jedno takvo istraživanje u kojemu je za analizu kolokacija u dva varijeteta poslovnog njemačkog jezika korišten alat za analizu korpusa Sketch Engine.

I budućnost jezika zacijelo pripada korpusnim istraživanjima. Hausmann (2004: 322) tvrdi: „Opisati njemački na temelju korpusa na koristan način za ostatak svijeta, osigurati upotrebljive gramatike i rječnike njemačkog (posebice dvojezične) za govornike drugih jezika – to znači učiniti nešto za opstanak jezika u svijetu sutrašnjice – u svakom slučaju, puno više nego sterilnim obrambenim mehanizmima protiv anglicizama“.

### 3. METODOLOGIJA

#### 3.1. Cilj istraživanja i hipoteze

Cilj ovog rada jest izvršiti sinkronijsko jezikoslovno istraživanje u segmentu poslovnog njemačkog jezika, njemačkog korporativnog jezika. Sinkronijski su uspoređeni tekstovi iz godišnjih izvješća njemačkih i austrijskih korporacija za poslovnu 2022. godinu. S ciljem ostvarenja najveće moguće sinkronije u jezikoslovnom istraživanju autori su se odlučili za usporedbu tekstova iz iste godine, iako pojedini autori poput Meyera (2002: 46) ističu da „se vremenski okvir od pet do deset godina čini razumnim“. U istraživanju se analizira učestalost pojavljivanja kolokacija tipa pridjev i imenica, imenica i imenica te njihovi pridjevski atributi u dvama spomenutim korpusima. Rezultati istraživanja pokazat će kolokacijske razlike u dvama varijetetima njemačkog jezika.

Dodatni cilj publiciranja ovog rada bio je potaknuti predavačice i predavače poslovnog njemačkog jezika na aktivnije provođenje korpusnih istraživanja, pokazujući hodogram jednog takvog istraživanja, čiji rezultati se kasnije mogu rabiti u nastavi poslovnog njemačkog jezika. Analiza samostalno prikupljenog korpusa vrlo je pogodna metoda za pripremanje zadataka vezanih za vokabular i gramatiku i možemo je rabiti kad god nam postojeći udžbenici i radni materijali ne daju dovoljno prostora za kvalitetan jezični unos i vježbu na određenom području jezika. Rad ujedno osvješćuje i potrebu izlaganja studenata ekonomskih fakulteta i veleučilišta dvama najčešćim varijetetima suvremenog njemačkog jezika, jer su izrazi iz austrijskog varijeteta suvremenog njemačkog jezika prilično zapostavljeni u nastavnim materijalima, a samim tim i u nastavi.

Na početku istraživanja postavljene su tri hipoteze:

1. dva korpusa bilježe značajne različitosti u najčešćih petnaest kolokacija;
2. frekvencija onih kolokacija koje se u obama korpusima nalaze među prvih petnaest statistički se značajno razlikuje – to ukazuje na dodatnu jezičnu različitost u analiziranom segmentu jezika;
3. najčešći pridjevski atributi ispred najčešćih kolokacija koje se pojavljuju u obama korpusima značajno se razlikuju.

Ove tri hipoteze zajedno naglašavaju pretpostavljene kolokacijske razlike u njemačkom i austrijskom varijetetu njemačkog korporativnog jezika. Hipoteze se ne dovodezuju na rezultate prethodnih istraživanja i rezultata, jer varijeteti u njemačkom poslovnom jeziku nisu bili istraživani.

### 3.2. *Korpus i alat za analizu korpusa*

Za potrebe jezikoslovne analize sastavljena su dva zasebna korpusa koji sadrže godišnja izvješća osam njemačkih i osam austrijskih korporacija za poslovnu 2022. godinu. Da bi analiza bila što vjerodostojnija i omogućila sinkronijsku usporedbu kolokacija u dvjema varijantama njemačkoga jezika, korpusi se sastoje od godišnjih izvješća korporacija koje predstavljaju izravne konkurente: **Commerzbank AG** i **Erste Group Bank AG**, **Allianz SE**<sup>5</sup> i **Wiener Versicherung Gruppe AG**, **LEG Immobilien AG** i **CA Immobilien Anlagen AG**, **Thyssenkrupp AG** i **Voestalpine AG**, **E.ON SE** i **Verbund AG**, **Fraport AG** i **Flughafen Wien AG**, **Bilfinger SE** i **Strabag SE**, **SAP SE** i **Frequentis AG**. Zbog nejednakog opsega dvaju korpusa direktna usporedba i analiza rezultata provedeni su na temelju broja kolokacija na milijun pojava. Analizirani korpusi imaju sljedeće karakteristike: pojedinačno su prikupljeni (engl. *custom-made* / *do-it-yourself* / *ad hoc corpora*), specijalizirani (služe za analizu na području poslovnog njemačkog jezika), monolingvalni, sinkronijski, reprezentativni te dovoljno veliki (sadrže više stotina tisuća riječi).

Za analizu korpusa korišten je alat za analizu korpusa Sketch Engine<sup>6</sup> (Kilgarriff i dr. 2004), češke kompanije Lexical Computing CZ s.r.o.

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<sup>5</sup> Lat. Societas Europaea – hrv. Europsko društvo (javna kompanija registrirana prema Europskom pravu trgovačkih društava)

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.sketchengine.eu/>



**Prikaz 2.** Alat za analizu korpusa Sketch Engine s terminologijom iz korpusa austrijskih poslovnih izvješća

The screenshot shows the 'KEYWORDS' tool interface. At the top, there is a search bar with the text 'Österreichische Geschäftsberichte'. Below it, there are tabs for 'SINGLE-WORDS' and 'MULTI-WORD TERMS'. The main area displays a table of terms with their frequencies and frequencies per million. The table is divided into two columns of results.

Term	Frequency <sup>7</sup>		Frequency per million <sup>7</sup>	
	Focus	Reference	Focus	Reference
1 Erste Group	091	4,074	945.07	0.19 ...
2 Ca Immo	637	5,775	871.77	0.28 ...
3 Geschäftsjahr 2022	413	119	565.21	< 0.01 ...
4 Jahr 2022	615	10,801	841.66	0.51 ...
5 beizulegender Zeitwert	419	4,063	573.43	0.19 ...
6 finanzieller Vermögenswert	387	3,180	529.63	0.15 ...
7 Dezember 2022	321	1,438	439.31	0.07 ...
8 Group Bank	202	991	276.45	0.05 ...
9 Strabag Se	188	1,033	257.29	0.05 ...
11 Eur Mio	144	65	197.07	< 0.01 ...
12 finanzielle Verbindlichkeit	153	1,540	209.39	0.07 ...
13 Frequentis Ag	141	146	192.97	< 0.01 ...
14 assoziiertes Unternehmen	140	1,771	191.60	0.08 ...
15 Ifts 9	133	2,129	182.02	0.10 ...
16 latente Steuer	160	7,323	218.97	0.35 ...
17 immaterieller Vermögenswert	145	5,858	198.44	0.28 ...
18 März 2023	114	228	156.02	0.01 ...
19 erwarteter Kreditverlust	113	115	154.65	< 0.01 ...

U sljedećoj tablici donosimo tehničku specifikaciju podataka dvaju korpusa:

**Tablica 1.** Tehnički podatci korpusa

Brojke	Korpus njemačkih godišnjih izvješća	Korpus austrijskih godišnjih izvješća	Referentni korpus – German Web 2020 (deTenTen20)
<b>Broj pojavnica</b>	<b>868 869</b>	<b>730 696</b>	<b>20 999 598 683</b>
<b>Broj riječi</b>	<b>719 074</b>	<b>587 179</b>	<b>17 512 733 172</b>
<b>Broj rečenica</b>	<b>30 015</b>	<b>24 626</b>	<b>1 145 230 688</b>
<b>Broj riječi po rečenici</b>	<b>23,96</b>	<b>23,84</b>	<b>15,29</b>
<b>Broj dokumenata</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>47 255 278</b>

Kao referentni korpus Sketch Engine automatski je odabrao German Web 2020<sup>7</sup> (deTenTen20), koji pripada obitelji TenTen korpusa koje Sketch Engine nudi za preko 50 jezika. Oba korpusa sadrže jednak broj dokumenta (osam godišnjih izvješća u njemačkom korpusu i osam u austrijskom) za poslovnu 2022. godinu. Zanimljiv podatak je i obujam prosječnog godišnjeg izvješća: prosječno njemačko godišnje izvješće sadrži 89 884 riječi, a austrijsko 73 397 riječi. Da se radi o ogromnim dokumentima dokazuje i podatak da se izvorna PDF-inačica najvećeg njemačkog godišnjeg izvješća SAP SE sastoji od 378 stranica, a istovjetna inačica najvećeg austrijskog godišnjeg izvješća Verbund AG od 375 stranica. Pošto je obujam njemačkog korpusa 22,5 % veći, analiza frekvencije kolokacija i njihovih pridjevskih atributa provedena je po njihovoj frekvenciji na 1 000 000 pojavnica. To je omogućilo statistički ispravnu ana-

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.sketchengine.eu/detenten-german-corpus/>, posjet 26. veljače 2024.



lizu i sinkronijsku usporedbu kolokacija u dvama varijetetima njemačkog jezika. Zanimljiv podatak jest i taj da je u obama korpusima broj riječi po rečenici gotovo identičan (23,96 u odnosu na 23,84). Podatke smo dobili tako što smo ukupan broj riječi u pojedinom korpusu podijelili s ukupnim brojem rečenica u istome. Usporedimo li dužinu rečenice iz dvaju analiziranih korpusa s onom iz referentnog korpusa, dolazimo do podataka da je rečenica u njemačkom korpusu 56,7 % duža od one u referentnom korpusu, a ona u austrijskom korpusu 55,7 %. Da je broj riječi po rečenici u njemačkim godišnjim izvješćima postojan pokazuje i rezultat prethodnog istraživanja (Marušić 2023b: 307), koje je pokazalo da je prosječna duljina u korpusu 11 njemačkih godišnjih izvješća, različitih od ovdje analiziranih, za poslovnu 2022. godinu 60,89 % duža od one u referentnom korpusu German Web 2020 (deTenTen20). Broj riječi po dokumentu otkriva njihovu složenost i obujam. Dok se prosječni dokument u referentnom korpusu sastoji od 370,60 riječi, prosječno godišnje izvješće iz njemačkog korpusa ima 89 884 riječi, a ono iz austrijskog korpusa 73 397 riječi.

#### 4. ANALIZA KORPUSA I REZULTATI

Sinkronijska analiza dvaju korpusa provedena je u kategorijama najčešćih kolokacija i njihovih pridjevskih atributa. Kriteriji za izbor najčešćih kolokacija bili su sljedeći:

1. Kolokacije iz dobivenog popisa na alatu Sketch Engine su poredane prema frekvenciji da bi se utvrdile najčešće;

2. Daljnom analizom su isključene sljedeće konstrukcije koje imaju visoku frekvenciju pojavnosti, a terminološki nisu relevantne u analizi kolokacija: prijedlozi, brojevi (cijeli i redni), godine, sve vrste zamjenica, osobna imena i nazivi tvrtki.

3. Dodatno, iz analize su isključeni i izrazi koje Sketch Engine svrstava u kolokacije, a radi se o višerječnim izrazima (složenicama) u odnosu koordinacije kao što su: Finanz- und Ertragslage '*financijski položaj i položaj prihoda*', Gewinn- und Verlustrechnung '*račun dobiti i gubitka*', Geschäfts- oder Firmenwert '*vrijednost tvrtke*', Risiko- und Prüfungsausschuss '*odbor za rizike i reviziju*' itd.

**Tablica 2.** Najčešće kolokacije u korpusu njemačkih godišnjih izvješća

	Kolokacija	Frekvencija	Frekvencija na milijun pojavnica	Frekvencija na milijun pojavnica u referentnom korpusu German Web 2020
1.	beizulegender Zeitwert <sup>8</sup>	391	450,01	0,19
2.	Mitglied des Vorstands	203	233,64	0,78
3.	Corporate Governance	180	207,17	0,94
4.	internes Kontrollsystem	168	193,35	0,25
5.	finanzieller Vermögenswert	167	192,2	0,15
6.	latente Steuer	167	192,2	0,35
7.	gehaltene Immobilie	151	173,79	0,04
8.	zusammengefasster Lagebericht	150	172,64	0,04
9.	immaterieller Vermögenswert	146	168,03	0,28
10.	derivatives Finanzinstrument	140	161,13	0,10
11.	Mitglied des Aufsichtsrats	125	143,87	0,26
12.	assoziiertes Unternehmen	120	143,87	0,26
13.	erzielbarer Betrag	91	104,73	0,02
14.	nichtfinanzielle Erklärung	90	103,58	0,02
15.	variable Vergütung	84	96,68	0,21

<sup>8</sup> Kolokacije označene sivom bojom nalaze se među petnaest najfrekventnijih pojavnica u obama korpusima.

**Tablica 3.** Najčešće kolokacije u korpusu austrijskih godišnjih izvješća

	Kolokacija	Frekvencija	Frekvencija na milijun pojavnica	Frekvencija na milijun pojavnica u referentnom korpusu German Web 2020
1.	beizulegender Zeitwert	419	573,43	0,19
2.	finanzieller Vermögenswert	387	529,63	0,15
3.	latente Steuer	160	218,97	0,35
4.	finanzielle Verbindlichkeit	153	209,39	0,07
5.	Corporate Governance	150	205,28	0,94
6.	immaterieller Vermögenswert	145	198,44	0,28
7.	assoziiertes Unternehmen	140	191,6	0,08
8.	derivatives Finanzinstrument	119	162,86	0,1
9.	erwarteter Kreditverlust	113	154,65	< 0,01
10.	sonstiges Ergebnis	112	153,28	0,04
11.	gehaltene Immobilie	110	150,54	0,04
12.	Mitglied des Vorstands	105	143,7	0,78
13.	eigene Aktie	104	142,33	0,51
14.	gesetzlicher Vertreter	98	134,12	1,23
15.	beherrschender Anteil	93	127,28	0,03

Sinkronijska usporedba najčešćih kolokacija pokazala je da je 53,3 % istovjetnih kolokacija među najčešćih petnaest. Zanimljiv podatak predstavlja činjenica da se među petnaest najčešćih kolokacija u obama korpusima nalazi engleska kolokacija *Corporate Governance*, koja se u potpunosti uvriježila u njemačkom korporativnom jeziku. Njemačka inačica *die Unternehmensführung* 'korporativno upravljanje' slabije je zastupljena (prosječna frekvencija od 54,74 na milijun pojavnica). Ovakva uporaba engleskih kolokacija u njemačkom korporativnom jeziku posljedica je globalizacijskih procesa i ukazuje na čvrstu umreženost njemačkog korporativnog svijeta s globalnim korporativnim svijetom koji predvode anglosaksonske korporacije. Usporedimo li frekvenciju kolokacija na milijun pojavnica s onim iz referentnog korpusa dobivamo jasnu sliku da se kod navedenih kolokacija radi o terminologiji jezika struke. To je razvidno iz podatka da su takve konstrukcije atipične za njemački standardni jezik, jer sve imaju frekvenciju < 1 na milijun pojavnica. Neke od njih imaju i višestruko manje frekvencije u referentnom korpusu, tako primjerice kolokacija *erwarteter Kreditverlust* ima frekvenciju < 0,01 na milijun pojavnica, a *erzielbarer Be-*

trag i *Finanz- und Ertragslage* 0,02 na milijun poavnica. Kolokacije su pokazale sljedeću frekvenciju na milijun poavnica: *beizulegender Zeitwert* (450,01 – njem. korpus : 573,43 – austrijski korpus), *Mitglied des Vorstands* (233,64 : 143,7), *Corporate Governance* (207,17 : 205,28), *Finanzieller Vermögenswert* (192,2 : 529,63), *latente Steuer* (192,2 : 218,97), *immaterieller Vermögenswert* (168,03 : 198,44), *derivatives Finanzinstrument* (161,13 : 162,86), *assoziiertes Unternehmen* (143,87 : 191,6). 75 % navedenih kolokacija češće su u austrijskom korpusu (6 od 8).

**Tablica 4.** Kolokatori najčešćih kolokacija

	Kolokacija	Kolokatori u korpusu njemačkih godišnjih izvješća	Kolokatori u korpusu austrijskih godišnjih izvješća
1.	<b>beizulegender Zeitwert</b> 'fer vrijednost'	<b>relevant</b> / <b>ermittelt</b> <sup>9</sup> 'utvrđen' / <b>negativ</b> (4), <b>niedrig</b> 'nizak' (3), <b>positiv</b> (2)	<b>ermittelt</b> (3), <b>erwartet</b> 'očekivan' / <b>negativ</b> (2)
2.	<b>Mitglied des Vorstands</b> 'član uprave'	<b>früher</b> <sup>10</sup> 'prijašnji' (17), <b>ehemalig</b> 'nekadašnji' (15), <b>aktiv</b> (9)	<b>ehemalig</b> / <b>früher</b> (3), <b>aktiv</b> / <b>ausgeschieden</b> 'koji je napustio' (2), <b>neu</b> (1)
3.	<b>Corporate Governance</b> 'korporativno upravljanje'	<b>deutsch</b> 'njemački' (80), <b>gut</b> 'dobar' (9), <b>jährlich</b> 'godišnji' (1)	<b>österreichisch</b> 'austrijski' (46), <b>konsolidiert</b> (16), <b>eigen</b> 'vlastit' / <b>funktionierend</b> / <b>ganzheitlich</b> 'cjelovit' / <b>vorbildlich</b> 'uzoran' (1)
4.	<b>finanzieller Vermögenswert</b> 'financijska imovina'	<b>bewertet</b> <sup>11</sup> 'procijenjen' (5), <b>derivativ</b> (3), <b>bilanziert</b> 'obračunat' (2)	<b>bewertet</b> (41), <b>gehalten</b> 'u posjedu' / <b>sonstig</b> 'ostali' (22), <b>verfügbar</b> 'dostupan' (19)
5.	<b>latente Steuer</b> 'odgođeni porez'	<b>aktiv</b> (61), <b>passiv</b> (29), <b>resultierend</b> / <b>übersteigend</b> 'prekoračen' (1)	<b>aktiv</b> (47), <b>passiv</b> (20), <b>angesetzt</b> 'određen' / <b>entfallend</b> 'ukinut' / <b>enthalten</b> 'sadržan' (2)
6.	<b>immaterieller Vermögenswert</b> 'nematerijalna imovina'	<b>sonstig</b> 'ostali' (13), <b>übrig</b> 'preostao' (8), <b>erworben</b> 'stečen' (7)	<b>sonstig</b> (11), <b>erworben</b> (5)
7.	<b>derivatives Finanzinstrument</b> 'derivativni financijski instrument'	<b>eingebettet</b> 'ugrađen' (4), <b>designiert</b> 'namijenjen' (3), <b>folgend</b> 'sljedeći' (2)	<b>folgend</b> (3), <b>bewertet</b> (2) <b>angeführt</b> 'naveden' / <b>klassifiziert</b> (1)
8.	<b>assoziiertes Unternehmen</b> 'pridruženo poduzeće'	<b>wesentlich</b> 'značajan' (8), <b>unwesentlich</b> 'beznačajan' (2), <b>bewertet</b> / <b>bilanziert</b> / <b>einbezogen</b> 'uključen' / <b>einzel</b> 'pojedinačan' (1)	<b>wesentlich</b> (5), <b>bilanziert</b> (2), <b>einbezogen</b> (1)

<sup>9</sup> Kolokatori označeni sivom bojom imaju dva identična najčešća pridjevka atributa u oba korpusa.

<sup>10</sup> Kolokatori označeni zelenom bojom imaju tri identična najčešća pridjevka atributa u oba korpusa.

<sup>11</sup> Kolokatori označeni plavom bojom imaju jedan identičan najčešći pridjevski atributi u oba korpusa.

Leksičke razlike između dvaju analiziranih varijeteta njemačkog jezika možemo ustanoviti i usporedbom triju najčešćih pridjevskih atributa koji se nalaze ispred same kolokacije. Iz usporedbe su proizišle četiri skupine kolokacija. Prva skupina predstavlja kolokaciju *Corporate Governance* koja ima potpuno različite najčešće pridjevske atribute u analiziranim varijetetima njemačkog jezika. Iako vrlo produktivna, kolokacija *Corporate Governance* u njemačkom korpusu u 44,4 % pojava ima atribut *deutsch*, a u austrijskom korpusu u 30,7 % pojava atribut *österreichisch*. Kolokacije *finanzieller Vermögenswert* i *derivatives Finanzinstrument* imaju po jedan istovjetni najčešći atribut u obama korpusima – *bewertet* odn. *folgend*. Kolokacije *beizulegender Zeitwert*, *latente Steuer* i *immaterieller Vermögenswert* imaju po dva istovjetna najčešća pridjevska atributa, a kolokacije *Mitglied des Vorstands* i *assoziiertes Unternehmen* imaju sva tri identična najčešća atributa.

## 5. RASPRAVA

Kvantitativna analiza dvaju korpusa dala je sljedeće rezultate:

1. Broj istih kolokacija u obama korpusima među najfrekventnijih petnaest jest 8. Frekvencija pojavnosti dvije kolokacije češća je u njemačkom korpusu: *Mitglied des Vorstands* i *Corporate Governance*. Ostalih šest kolokacija ima veću frekvenciju pojavnosti u austrijskom korpusu: *Finanzieller Vermögenswert* (175,5 % veća frekvencija pojavnosti), *assoziiertes Unternehmen* (33,17 %), *beizulegender Zeitwert* (27,4 %), *immaterieller Vermögenswert* (18,1 %), *latente Steuer* (13,9 %) i *derivatives Finanzinstrument* (1,1 %). Prosječna frekvencija pojavnosti na milijun pojava najčešćih petnaest kolokacija u njemačkom korpusu jest 183,07, a medijalna 172,64. Prosječna frekvencija pojavnosti na milijun pojava najčešćih petnaest kolokacija u austrijskom korpusu jest 216,05, a medijalna 191,6. Dobiveni rezultati pokazuju da je austrijski varijetet njemačkog korporativnog jezika jače terminologiziran.

2. Analiza kolokacijskog potencijala osam kolokacija koje pripadaju najčešćim petnaest u obama korpusima pokazala je da u njemačkom korpusu kolokacija *finanzieller Vermögenswert* 'financijska imovina' na sebe veže 15 različitih atributa – *bewertet* 'procijenjen', *bilanziert* 'obračunat', *dargestellt* 'predstavljen', *enthalten* 'sadržan', *folgend* 'sljedeći', *gehalten* 'u posjedu', *genannt* 'zvan', *hochliquid(e)* 'visoko-likvidan', *langfristig* 'dugoročan', *nicht-derivativ* 'neizveden', *sonstig* 'ostali', *übertragen* 'prenesen', *übrig* 'preostao', *verfügbar* 'dostupan', *wertgemindert* 'smanjene vrijednosti'; kolokacija *derivatives Finanzinstrument* 'derivativni financijski instrument' 14 atributa – *abgeschlossen* 'dovršen', *designiert* 'namijenjen', *einfach*

'jednostavan', eingebettet 'ugrađen', eingesetzt 'primijenjen', extern 'vanjski', fallweise 'pojedinačan', folgend 'sljedeći', freistehend 'na raspolaganju', gehalten 'u posjedu', klassifiziert, verschieden 'različit', verwendet 'uporabljjen', wichtig 'važan'; kolokacija *beizulegender Zeitwert* 'fer vrijednost' 11 atributa – aktuell, angesetzt 'određen', durchschnittlich 'prosječan', ermittelt 'utvrđen', errechnet 'izračunat', gestiegen 'narastao', negativ, niedrig 'nizak', positiv, relevant i sinkend 'padajući'; kolokacija *Mitglied des Vorstands* 'član uprave' 10 atributa – aktiv, ehemalig 'nekadašnji', einzeln 'pojedinačni', erhalten 'sadržan', früher 'prijašnji', gegenwärtig 'sadašnji', jeweilig 'dotični', neu 'nov', ordentlich 'uredan', weiter 'daljnji'; kolokacija *immaterieller Vermögenswert* 'nematerijalna imovina' 10 atributa – bilanziert 'obračunat', erstellt 'napravljjen', erworben 'stečen', intern-generiert 'interno-generiran', langfristig 'dugoročan', neu 'nov', selbst-geschaffen 'samostvoren', sonstig 'ostali', übrig 'preostao', wesentlich 'važan'; kolokacija *assoziiertes Unternehmen* 'pridruženo poduzeće' 4 atributa – bewertet 'procijenjen', einzeln 'pojedinačan', unwesentlich 'nevažan', wesentlich 'važan'; kolokacija *Corporate Governance* 'korporativno upravljanje' 4 atributa – deutsch 'njemački', gut 'dobar', jährlich 'godišnji', transparent te kolokacija *latente Steuer* 'odgođeni porez' 3 atributa – aktiv, passiv, übersteigend 'prekoračen'.

3. Analiza kolokacijskog potencijala osam kolokacija koje pripadaju najčešćim petnaest u obama korpusima pokazala je da u austrijskom korpusu kolokacija *finanzieller Vermögenswert* 'financijska imovina' na sebe veže 31 atribut – *ausgebucht* 'rezerviran', *ausgewiesen* 'iskazan', *bestehend* 'postojeći', *betroffen* 'dotičan', *bewertet* 'procijenjen', *bilanziell* 'bilančni', *derivativ* 'izveden', *entsprechend* 'odgovarajući', *entstanden* 'nastao', *erfasst* 'obuhvaćen', *festverzinslich* 's fiksnom kamatom', *modifiziert* 'promijenjen', *gehalten* 'u posjedu', *gesamt* 'ukupan', *gewiss* 'izvjestan', *handelsbezogen* 'vezan za trgovinu', *kurzfristig* 'kratkoročan', *langfristig* 'dugoročan', *liquid(e)* 'likvidan', *liquiditätsnah* 'blizu likvidnosti', *neu* 'nov', *nicht-derivativ* 'neizveden', *nicht-notleidend* 'izdašan', *sonstig* 'ostali', *übertragen* 'prenesen', *ursprünglich* 'izvoran', *verfügbar* 'dostupan', *verschieden* 'različit', *verzinslich* 's kamatom', *wertgemindert* 'smanjene vrijednosti', *zugrundeliegend* 'temeljni'; kolokacija *beizulegender Zeitwert* 'fer vrijednost' 16 atributa – aktuell, anteilig 's udjelom', *bilanziert* 'obračunat', *durchschnittlich* 'prosječan', *einzeln* 'pojedinačan', *ermittelt* 'utvrđen', *erwartet* 'očekivan', *final* 'konačni', *geltend* 'važeci', *gering* 'malen', *geschätzt* 'cijenjen', *gesunken* 'opao', *negativ*, *niedrig* 'nizak', *positiv*, *relativ*; kolokacija *latente Steuer* 'odgođeni porez' 6 atributa – aktiv, *bestehend* 'postojeći', *entfallend* 'ukinut', *nicht-angesetzt* 'neodređen', *passiv*, *zusam-*

*menhängend* 'povezan'; kolokacija *immaterieller Vermögenswert* 'nematerijalna imovina' 5 atributa – *erstellt* 'napravljen', *erworben* 'stečen', *nennenswert* 'primjetan', *nutzungsbereit* 'spreman za uporabu', *sonstig* 'ostali'; kolokacija *derivatives Finanzinstrument* 'derivativni financijski instrument' 5 atributa – *angeführt* 'naveden', *bewertet* 'procijenjen', *eingestuft* 'uvršten', *folgend* 'sljedeći', *klassifiziert*; kolokacija *Mitglied des Vorstands* 'član uprave' 4 atributa – *aktiv*, *ausgeschieden* 'koji je napustio', *ehemalig* 'nekadašnji', *früher* 'prijašnji'; kolokacija *Corporate Governance* 'korporativno upravljanje' 4 atributa – *eigen* 'vlastit', *konsolidiert*, *österreichisch* 'austrijski', *vorbildlich* 'uzoran' te kolokacija *assoziiertes Unternehmen* 'pridruženo poduzeće' 3 atributa – *bilanziert* 'obračunat', *einbezogen* 'uključen', *wesentlich* 'važan'.

Veću leksikaliziranost kolokacija i njihovih pridjevskih atributa pokazuju kolokacije s malim brojem različitih pridjevskih atributa *deutsche / österreichische Corporate Governance*, *assoziiertes Unternehmen* i *latente Steuer*, jer je njihova pojavnost česta, a atributi su raspoređeni na tri – četiri pridjevska atributa.

Navedeni podatci ukazuju na veći kolokacijski potencijal njemačkom korpusu, što pokazujemo u sljedećoj tablici.

**Tablica 5.** Broj različitih atributa u analiziranim korpusima

	Kolokacija	Broj različitih atributa u korpusu njemačkih godišnjih izvješća	Broj različitih atributa u korpusu austrijskih godišnjih izvješća
1.	beizulegender Zeitwert	11	16
2.	Mitglied des Vorstands	10	4
3.	Corporate Governance	4	4
4.	finanzieller Vermögenswert	15	31
5.	latente Steuer	3	6
6.	immaterieller Vermögenswert	10	5
7.	derivatives Finanzinstrument	14	5
8.	assoziiertes Unternehmen	4	3

Dobiveni rezultati potvrđuju hipoteze koje su postavljene na početku istraživanja:

1. Dva korpusa bilježe značajne različitosti u najčešćih petnaest kolokacija. Svega 53,3 % najčešćih kolokacija u obama varijetetima korporativnog njemačkog jezika jest identično (8 od 15).

2. Frekvencija onih kolokacija koje se u obama korpusima nalaze među prvih petnaest statistički se značajno razlikuje. To ukazuje na dodatnu jezičnu različitost u analiziranom segmentu jezika. Frekvencija na milijun pojava navedenih osam

kolokacija u njemačkom je korpusu 218,51, a u austrijskom 277,99, što je 27,2 % više.

3. Najčešći pridjevski atributi ispred najčešćih kolokacija koje se pojavljuju u obama korpusima značajno se razlikuju. Samo dvije kolokacije *Mitglied des Vorstands* i *assoziiertes Unternehmen* imaju sva tri ista najčešća atributa. Kolokacije *beizulegender Zeitwert*, *latente Steuer* i *immaterieller Vermögenswert* imaju po dva istovjetna pridjevska atributa. Dvije kolokacije, *finanzieller Vermögenswert* i *derivatives Finanzinstrument*, imaju po jedan isti najčešći atribut, a jedna kolokacija, *Corporate Governance*, ima sva tri različita atributa. Tako proizlazi da je samo 58,3 % pridjevskih atributa koji stoje ispred kolokacija (14 od mogućih 24) istovjetno, što potvrđuje i treću hipotezu.

## 6. ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Korpusna istraživanja predstavljaju jedan od najboljih načina empirijskog istraživanja (njemačkog) jezika i njegovih varijeteta. Ona istraživaču daju rentgenski preciznu sliku o stvarnome funkcioniranju analiziranog područja jezika. Za razliku od korpusnih istraživanja na području engleskog korporativnog jezika, isto područje njemačkog jezika nije dovoljno istraživano. Korporacija kao temeljni poslovni entitet u suvremenom kapitalizmu od iznimne je gospodarske važnosti, a svi aspekti jezika kojim ona komunicira s različitim dionicima na tržištu vrijedni su pomnog istraživanja. Istraživanja ovog tipa predstavljaju nužnost, jer se na temelju analize istih dolazi do ovjerenih jezičnih konstrukcija. Samo su takve konstrukcije vrijedne podučavanja u nastavnom procesu. Ovo istraživanje na području njemačkog korporativnog jezika ima dodanu vrijednost utoliko što sinkronijski analizira kolokacije u godišnjim izvješćima u dvama varijetetima njemačkog jezika. Kolokacije je nužno podučavati u nastavnom procesu jer studenti prave greške vezane za interferenciju njihova materinskog jezika pri učenju stranog jezika. Ova se interferencija događa i na višim razinama poznavanja jezika, kod studenata poslovnog njemačkog jezika, iako su pri upisu na fakultet učili njemački jezik već 12 godina, tako da je podučavanje kolokacija u poslovnom njemačkom potrebno uvrstiti u nastavu istoga. Rad analizira i kolokacijski potencijal ekstrahiranih kolokacija, koji je također potrebno uvrstiti u nastavu poslovnog stranog jezika. Kombinacija najčešćih kolokacija i njihovih najčešćih atributa vrijedna je podučavanja na različitim tipovima zadataka jer studentima nudi širu sliku jezičnih zakonitosti u ovom segmentu poslovnog njemačkog jezika. Dobro poznavanje jezika struke koja se studira



predstavlja jedan od temeljnih preduvjeta brzog snalaženja na tržištu rada u suvremenim okolnostima. Pošto količina dostupnog nastavnog materijala, kao i njegova kakvoća u pojedinim segmentima njemačkog poslovnog jezika predstavlja problem, ovaj rad nastavnicima može poslužiti kao hodogram u uporabi suvremenih alata korpusne lingvistike (Sketch Engine) s ciljem ekstrakcije jezične građe koja im može pomoći pri kreiranju vlastitoga nastavnog materijala. Na taj se način omogućuje obogaćivanje nastavnog procesa i postiže nova razina njegove vrijednosti.

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## COLLOCATIONS IN GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN ANNUAL REPORTS – A SYNCHRONIC APPROACH

### Summary:

Since the second half of the 19th century, the corporation as a legal entity has played a crucial role in the world economy because it has significantly contributed to technological and, therefore, social development. Most inventions, industries, and new technologies from the second half of the 19th century until today have been created under the auspices of the corporation. German and Austrian corporations contributed to the technological development of these two countries and positioned them at the top of the most developed European countries. Despite the importance of corporations in economic life, the German corporate language, the way in which corporations communicate with their owners, employees, customers, creditors, and the broader investment public, has not been significantly researched. This paper presents the results of synchronic research on collocations in the annual reports of German and Austrian corporations for the business year 2022. Two corpora consisting of eight annual reports of corporations representing head-to-head competitors and coming from two variants of the German language (standard German and Austrian German) were analyzed and compared. The results of the linguistic analysis show the differences in the lexicon in the two variants of the German corporate language. They can be a stimulus for further corpus research in that area. The paper also has pedagogical implications, as it can help raise awareness among economics students of the lexical differences between the two varieties of the German language. Furthermore, the results obtained can be used to teach Business German and prepare vocabulary practice exercises.

**Keywords:** (Austrian) German; corpus analysis; annual reports; collocations; Business German classes

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Review paper

**Merima Delić**

## **PLAVA BOJA KAO SASTAVNICA KOLOKACIJA I FRAZEMA U NJEMAČKOM I BOSANSKOM JEZIKU U PRINTANIM MEDIJIMA I ELEKTRONSKIM PUBLIKACIJAMA**

U radu se analiziraju kolokacije i frazemi njemačkog i bosanskog jezika sa sastavnicom plave boje na temelju korpusa iz printanih medija i elektronskih publikacija. Kolokacije i frazemi predstavljaju zanimljivo područje istraživanja, jer nam pružaju uvid u način na koji jezik funkcioniše na idiomatskom nivou, ali isto tako, kako određene jezičke jedinice dobijaju posebna značenja koja nisu uvijek očigledna iz značenja pojedinačnih riječi. Razumijevanje ovih jezičkih jedinica omogućava jasnije razumijevanje jezika kao živog sistema, što se posebno odražava na kulturnom, društvenom i historijskom aspektu života jedne zajednice. U teoretskom dijelu govori se o sličnostima i razlikama između ove dvije jezičke jedinice, te o simbolici plave boje, čije daljnje istraživanje otkriva mnogo o kulturološkim i društvenim aspektima jezika. Analiza se temelji na morfološkim, sintaksičkim i leksičkim karakteristikama kolokacija i frazema s ciljem otkrivanja sistematskih razlika između njemačkog i bosanskog jezika. Sve ovo se ogleda kroz široki spektar simbolike plave boje i analiziranih lingvističkih jedinica u različitim jezičkim i kulturološkim kontekstima.

**Ključne riječi:** kolokacija; frazem; simbolika; plava boja; kontrastivna analiza; njemački jezik; bosanski jezik



## UVOD

Kolokacije i frazemi predstavljaju važne jezičke jedinice koje imaju različite uloge u jeziku. Kolokacije se definišu kao ustaljene leksičke kombinacije ograničene sintaksički i semantički, koje karakteriše ograničena zamjenljivost njihovih sastavnica. Prema različitim lingvistima, one se javljaju kao uobičajene veze riječi koje ne podliježu slobodnom kombinovanju leksema, dok frazemi, s druge strane, predstavljaju čvrste kombinacije riječi sa idiomatskim značenjem. Frazemi imaju stabilnu strukturu i često preneseno značenje koje se ne može objasniti zbirom značenja pojedinačnih komponenti. Kolokacije, iako stabilne, ne moraju nužno biti idiomatske, dok frazemi najčešće jesu. Sličnosti između ovih jezičkih jedinica uključuju stabilnost i reproduktivnost, dok se osnovne razlike odnose na stepen idiomatičnosti i zamjenljivosti njihovih leksema.

Ovaj rad bavi se analizom kolokacija i frazema koji uključuju plavu boju, oslanjajući se na definiciju po kojoj kolokacije i frazemi predstavljaju veze od dvije ili više riječi, koje čine gotove jedinice sa specifičnim leksičkim ograničenjima, s fokusom na njihovu upotrebu u bosanskom i njemačkom jeziku u medijskim tekstovima. Fokus analize je na razlikama i sličnostima između frazema i kolokacija u njemačkom i bosanskom jeziku u medijskim tekstovima. Poseban akcent stavljen je na simbolička značenja plave boje, koja se u analiziranim primjerima povezuje s urednošću, pouzdanošću, smirenošću, ali i melanholijom. Na primjerima kao što su „plava karta“, „plavi ovratnici“ i „plavo srce Evrope“, rad pokazuje kako plava boja u jeziku i kulturi reflektuje različite vrijednosti i emocije. Cilj je uporediti sličnosti i razlike između kolokacija i frazema u oba jezika, posebno na morfosintaksičkom, leksičkom i semantičkom nivou.

## 1. TEORIJSKI OKVIR

### 1.1. Kolokacije

Cedillo (2004: 66) smatra da su glavne karakteristike kolokacija prvi put detaljno definisane u Viehwegerovim istraživanjima, koji navodi da su kolokacije:

- ograničene sintaksički i semantički;
- leksička ograničenja i podliježu semantičkim uslovima podudarnosti, povezanim s idiosinkratičnim osobinama određenog jezika;
- najprepoznatljivije kroz jezičke suprotnosti.

Bartolec (2012: 53) pak smatra da je kolokacija posebna leksička veza na sintagmatskoj razini koja se temelji na značenjskoj povezanosti samostalnih leksičkih jedinica u kojima se konkretiziraju njihova značenja. Riđanović (1985: 314) definiše kolokaciju kao jedan vid sintagmatskih odnosa, vid koji reguliše veze između susjednih ili bliskih leksema u gramatički ispravnim nizovima riječi. Stojić (2012: 7) smatra da su kolokacije kombinacije riječi koje na sintagmatskoj razini čine jednu smislenu cjelinu, okarakterisanu malom paradigmatskom zamjenljivošću njenih sastavnica. Butina–Koller (2005: 21) definiše kolokaciju kao uobičajenu neidiomatsku vezu dvije punoznačne riječi koje se protive algoritmu slobodne kompatibilnosti leksema. Za Hausmanna (1985: 118) kolokacije su veze riječi s ograničenom mogućnošću kombinovanja, koje se prema različitim semantičkim pravilima povezuju s riječima s kojima su u srodstvu. On ih posmatra i tretira kao polugotove proizvode jezika koje govornik ne kombinuje kreativno, već ih preuzima iz svog sjećanja kao cjelinu. Primjeri kolokacija uključuju *eingefleischter Junggeselle* (okorjeli neženja) ili *heikles Thema* (škakljiva tema). Prema Hausmannu (1985: 119) kolokacija se sastoji od baze (npr. *Thema*/tema) i kolokatora (npr. *heikles*/škakljiva) koji je srodan bazi ili kolokativan. Baza je najčešće imenica, dok pridjevi i glagoli dolaze u obzir kao baza samo ako su prilozi kolokatori.

Mnogi lingvisti koji se bave istraživanjem kolokacija smatraju ih dijelom frazeologije. Iako ne pokazuju idiomatičnost njihove sastavnice u velikoj mjeri određuju jedna drugu, što nije slučaj sa slobodnim vezama riječi. Fleischer (1982: 63–64) kolokacije naziva nominacijskim stereotipima, dok ih Burger (2007: 38) posmatra kao neidiomatične ili blago idiomatične frazeme. Prema Hausmannu (2007: 218) kolokacije, zajedno sa idiomatskim i frazeološkim izrazima, čine srž frazeologije. Butina–Koller (2005: 21) smješta kolokacije između slobodnih veza riječi i frazema na ljestvici jezičkih jedinica. Veoma čvrst oblik kolokacije Riđanović (1985) naziva idiomom, smatrajući da značenje nije isto kao bukvalno značenje njegovih sastavnih dijelova (npr. *mačak u vreći* ili *povući mačka za rep*). Stojić (2012: 7–8) također smješta kolokacije između frazema i slobodnih sintagmi: *crni humor* (frazem), *crni papar* (kolokacija), *crna majica* (slobodna sintagma). Iz svega ovoga, možemo zaključiti da su kolokacije ustaljeni leksički spojevi koji imaju specifično značenje i pojavljuju se samo u određenim varijantama (npr. *crni humor*). Kolokacije imaju ograničenu zamjenljivost svojih leksema i karakterizira ih ustaljenost u govoru. Za razliku od kolokacija, frazemi su stabilne kombinacije koje se sastoje od najmanje dvije riječi koje imaju idiomatsko značenje koje se ne može naslutiti iz značenja pojedinačnih riječi, već samo kao cjeline (npr. *knjiški moljac*).

Mi ćemo se u našoj analizi voditi definicijom da su kolokacije i frazemi veze od dvije ili više riječi, koje po morfosintaksičkim i semantičkim pravilima povezivanja tvore jedinice sa određenim leksičkim ograničenjima. Ovakve veze riječi ne nastaju tokom govornog procesa, već ih koristimo kao gotove, cjelovite jedinice koje su pohranjene u našem mentalnom leksikonu. Frazeme karakteriše to da obje sastavnice imaju preneseno značenje i da se značenje frazema ne može shvatiti iz pojedinačnog značenja njegovih sastavnica, što nije slučaj sa kolokacijama. Kod kolokacija jedna sastavnica uvijek zadržava svoje značenje koje ima izvan kolokacijske veze.

## 1.2. Frazemi

Frazem se definiše kao leksički spoj od najmanje dvije punoznačne riječi koje imaju preneseno značenje, a koje se ne može objasniti pomoću značenja pojedinačnih riječi, već samo kao cjelina. Burger, Buhifer i Sialm (1982: 1) smatraju da frazeološku vezu čine dvije ili više riječi koje čine cjelinu i čije se značenje ne može objasniti sintaksičko-semantičkim pravilima povezivanja. Ta se kombinacija riječi koristi u jezičkoj zajednici kao i svaki drugi leksem tog jezika. Palm (1997: 1) navodi termin frazeologizam, koji po njoj predstavlja sredstvo za proširivanje vokabulara, imenovanje i obradu svijeta u ljudskoj jezičkoj aktivnosti. Palm dalje ističe da se frazemima konceptualiziraju „mentalne veličine“ kao što su emocije, stavovi i (negativni) načini ponašanja. Menac, Arsovski i Venturin (2003: 6) definišu frazeme kao „ustaljene veze riječi koje se upotrebljavaju u gotovom obliku, a ne stvaraju se u toku govornoga procesa, i kod njih je bar jedna sastavnica promijenila značenje, tako da značenje frazema ne odgovara zbiru značenja njegovih sastavnica. Prema Matešiću (1982: 6) „frazemi su jedinice jezika značenjskoga karaktera koje se kao cjelina reproduciraju u govornom aktu, raspoložujući pri tome najmanje dvjema punoznačnim (autosemantičkim) riječima, od kojih barem jedna upućuje na semantičku pretvorbu, jedinice koje, zbog sposobnosti uklapanja u kontekst, poput svake druge riječi mogu vršiti sintaksičku funkciju u rečenici“. Za Burgera (2007: 14-15) frazem predstavlja vezu dvije ili više riječi, pri čemu ni jedna od tih riječi ne mora biti autosemantička, odnosno punoznačna riječ. Nasuprot ovim stavovima, Fleischer (1997: 29) definiše frazem kao vezu riječi koja sadrži „barem jednu autosemantičnu riječ“, što isključuje veze riječi, poput dvostrukih veznika (*bald – bald, entweder – oder / ili – ili*) i prijedloga (*von – an / od – do*). Frazemi se kao ustaljene veze riječi odlikuju još mnogim osobinama. Među najvažnijim koje lingvisti navode su *polileksičnost* [*Polylexikalität* prema Burgeru (2007) ili *Mehrgliedrigkeit*

prema Fleischeru (1997)] i *čvrsta struktura* [*Festigkeit* prema Burgeru (2007) i Palmu (1997) ili *Stabilität* prema Fleischeru (1997)].

Na osnovu osobina koje iskazuju Burger (2007: 14–16) frazeme dijeli na frazeme u širem i užem smislu. Osobine koje iskazuju frazemi, odnosno *frazeologizmi* u širem smislu prema Burgeru su:

1. *Polileksičnost (Polylexikalität)* – Frazem se sastoji od više od jedne riječi.

Polileksičnost znači da se frazem mora sastojati od najmanje dvije leksičke jedinice. Prema Burgeru (2007: 15) rečenica predstavlja gornju granicu frazeoloških kombinacija riječi, dok je donja granica određena sa najmanje dvije riječi, koje koje su najčešće u funkciji rečeničnog člana. Lingvisti, međutim, nisu saglasni oko toga da li frazem uključuje samo autosemantične (npr. *Öl, geben*) ili sinsemantične riječi (npr. *an, und*). Fleischer (1997: 82) je mišljenja da se ustaljena veza riječi treba sastojati od najmanje jedne autosemantične, odnosno punoznačne riječi. S druge strane, Burger (2007: 16) smatra da je svaka ustaljena veza od dvije riječi dio frazeologije, uključujući izraze poput: *ansich, beiweitem, wennauch, im Nu, sodass*.

2. *Čvrsta struktura (Festigkeit)* – Frazem postoji samo u jednoj kombinaciji riječi i u upotrebi je kao obična riječ.

Definisanje karakteristike čvrste strukture ili stabilnosti je složenije u poređenju sa osobinom polileksičnosti. Pojedinačne lekseme unutar slobodnih veza riječi mogu se lako zamijeniti, dok frazeološke veze riječi imaju strožije granice u pogledu zamjene pojedinačnih komponenti, što rezultira leksičko-semantičkom stabilnošću (usp. Burger 2007: 16). Prema Burgeru (ibidem: 16) stabilnost frazeoloških izraza određena je i njihovom upotrebom, ali postoji značajna razlika između upotrebe i poznavanja frazema. Na primjer, govornik njemačkog jezika može razumjeti frazeološki izraz, ali ga iz različitih razloga ne koristi. Utvrđivanje stvarne upotrebe frazeološkog izraza nije jednostavno. Intuicija lingviste i njegovo lično uvjerenje da je određeni izraz poznat većini govornika njegovog jezika nisu dovoljni. S obzirom da ne sadrže ažuriran materijal, oslanjanje na rječnike također ne donosi potpunu jasnoću. Zbog toga se ankete sa ispitanicima čine jedinim pouzdanim izvorom za donošenje jasnih zaključaka. Burger (2007: 17) nadalje razlikuje tri nivoa čvrste strukture. *Psiholingvistička čvrstoća* – odnosi se na mentalni leksikon govornika, *strukturalna čvrstoća* – prisutna je u jezičkom sistemu i *pragmatična čvrstoća* – odnosi se na tipične komunikacijske situacije.

3. *Idiomatičnost (Idiomatizität)* – znači da komponente frazema tvore cjelinu koja se ne da u potpunosti objasniti sintaksičkim i semantičkim pravilima vezivanja.

Idiomatičnost podrazumijeva nesklad između frazeološkog i cjelokupnog značenja kompletnog izraza. Što je veći stepen nepodudarnosti između ova dva značenja, to je idiomatičnost frazema izraženija (usp. Burger 2007: 31). Prema stepenu idiomatičnosti razlikujemo sljedeće frazeme:

- *idiomatski (vollidiomatische Phraseologismen/Idiome)*
- *djelimično idiomatski (teildiomatische Phraseologismen)*
- *neidiomatski frazemi (nichtidiomatische Phraseologismen)*

Kod idiomatskih frazema radi se o frazama čije se pojedinačne komponente ne mogu tumačiti na osnovu njihovog doslovnog značenja. Pojavljuje se novo preneseno frazeološko značenje izraza *jemandem meinen Korb geben* (*dati nekome korpu*), koje se koristi za označavanje postupka ostavljanja, otpuštanja ili oslobađanja osobe, posebno u kontekstu poslovnih ili ljubavnih odnosa. Ovo značenje bilježe Halilović, Palić i Šehović (2010: 538).

Djelimično idiomatski frazemi su izrazi koji sadrže barem jednu komponentu s denotativnim značenjem. U Duden 11. Redewendungen (2008: 897) zabilježeno je značenje *einen Streit vom Zaunbrechen* kao *započeti, provocirati svađu*. U ovom izrazu *vom Zaunbrechen* je idiomatski izraz, dok komponenta *einen Streit* zadržava svoje osnovno, denotativno značenje. Stoga je ovaj izraz djelimično idiomatski.

Neidiomatski frazemi su izrazi koji se ne razlikuju (ili imaju samo minimalne) semantičke razlike između frazeološkog i doslovnog značenja: *sich die Zähne putzen/prati zube* (usp. Burger, 2007: 32). Prema Burgeru (2007: 32) idiomatičnost se često javlja kod unikalnih komponenti, tj. komponenti koje se pojavljuju isključivo u okviru frazeoloških izraza i nikako drugdje: *gang undgäbe / uobičajeno*.

Mi ćemo se u ovom radu voditi Fleischerovom definicijom da frazem mora sadržavati barem jednu punoznačnu riječ. Fleischerova definicija poslužit će nam kao polazni kriterij prilikom odabira i analize našeg korpusa.

### ***1.3. Kolokacije i frazemi – sličnosti i razlike***

S obzirom na njihove zajedničke osobine, kolokacije i frazeme često ne možemo jasno razlikovati. Da bismo ih ipak razgraničili, potrebno je utvrditi njihove razlike i sličnosti. Kao osnovne karakteristike frazema, koje se mogu primijeniti na kolokacijama, Stojić i Murica (2010: 114) navode *idiomatičnost* (značenje cjeline frazema ne mora odgovarati značenju pojedinačnih komponenti), *stabilnost* (pojavljivanje uvijek istih ili tačno određenih komponenti pri formiranju frazema) i *reproduktivnost* (pri upotrebi

frazemi se ne reproduciraju nanovo, već se kao „čvrste” veze pohranjene u mozgu samo reproduciraju). Stojić i Murica (2010) smatraju kolokacije semantički i sintaksički stabilnim jedinicama koje se ponašaju u skladu sa gramatičkim pravilima (*postaviti sto, postaviti stolove, stolovi su postavljeni, itd.*). Dalje karakteristike kolokacija su da njihove sastavnice ne moraju nužno slijediti jedna drugu i između njih mogu da se pojave i druge sintaksičke jedinice, npr.: *Stolovi koje smo naručili za svadbu postavljeni su kako smo željeli*. Što se tiče zamjenljivosti članova kolokacija njihovim sinonimima, kolokacije pokazuju različit status stabilnosti. Kod nekih je kolokacija jedna sastavnica u određenoj mjeri zamjenljiva nekim sinonimima, ali ne i svim sinonimnim izrazima jednog semantičkog polja. Na primjer, u njemačkom jeziku su sintagme poput *Angst empfinden/verspüren = osjećati strah* moguće, dok sintagma *\*Angst fühlen* nije. Stojić i Murica (2010: 114) tvrde da je u ovakvim situacijama leksička stabilnost kolokacija nešto niža. Ova stabilnost proizlazi iz leksikalizacije, procesa u kojem se stabilne veze između riječi i njihova značenja pohranjuju u mentalnom leksikonu, omogućavajući govorniku da ih reproducira iz jezičke svijesti bez ponovnog stvaranja, a ne producira svaki put iznova. Također i prema Hausmannu (1984: 398) kolokacije predstavljaju „polugotove proizvode nekog jezika koje govornik ne kombinuje kreativno, već kao cjelinu preuzima iz svog sjećanja”.

Stojić/Murica (2010: 114) objašnjavaju osobinu idiomatičnosti na primjeru izraza *ravna kao daska*, koji se koristi u pejorativnom kontekstu za opisivanje mršave i koščate građe žene. U ovom primjeru, frazemske komponente su „čvrste“ i ne dopuštaju proizvoljnu zamjenu drugih elemenata. Suprotno tome, izraz *ravna daska* nema preneseno značenje, te se pridjev *ravna* može zamijeniti drugim pridjevima poput *široka* ili *debela*, čime se mijenja osnovno značenje izraza. Ipak, pridjev *ravna* ne može biti zamijenjen svojim sinonimima, što čini ovu kombinaciju kolokacijom, a ne slobodnom vezom riječi. Razlikovanje kolokacija od frazema ogleda se i u njihovoj primjeni u različitim kontekstima, što Stojić i Murica (2010: 114-115) predstavljaju polisemičnim primjerima poput izraza *odskočna daska*. Ovaj izraz može značiti i frazem, gdje se koristi u prenesenom značenju *položaj s kojeg neko namjerava napredovati*, i kolokaciju, označavajući *sportsku dasku s koje se izvode skokovi*. Razlika između kolokacije i frazema može se ustanoviti samo na temelju situacijskog ili jezičkog konteksta, kao što je prikazano u sljedećim primjerima:

1. *Marko je atletičar i svaki dan vježba na odskočnoj dasci.* (doslovno značenje – kolokacija)
2. *Njegov trener poznaje mnogo slavnih osoba i to će mu biti odskočna daska u karijeri.* (preneseno značenje – frazem)

Holderbaum (2003: 28) se bavila problematikom razgraničavanja kolokacija od frazema i definisala je pet kriterija koji se mogu sprovesti na kolokacijama, ali ne i na frazemima:

1. Kommutation (Ersetzung) = komutacija (zamjena)

Prilikom testa komutacije se leksem jedne fraze zamjenjuje drugim, kao u primjerima:

*die Rechnung ohne den Wirt machen – \*die Rechnung ohne den Bäcker machen*  
(*praviti račun bez krčmara – \*praviti račun bez pekara*)

*Wenn die Katze aus dem Haus ist, tanzen die Mäuse - \*Wenn der Hund aus dem Haus ist, tanzen die Mäuse* (*Kad mačke nema, miševi kolo vode – \*Kad psa nema, miševi kolo vode*)

Promijenjeni izrazi odstupaju od norme, tako da test komutacije nije prihvatljiv.<sup>1</sup>

2. Attribuierung (Beifügung) = atribucija (dodatak)

Kod testa atribucije jednom od leksema se dodaje atribut, odnosno neki pojašnjavajući dodatak, čime značenje promijenjenog frazema postaje neprihvatljivo:

*\*die Rechnung ohne den betrunkenen Wirt machen*  
(*\*praviti račun bez pijanog krčmara*)

*\*Wenn die alte Katze aus dem Haus ist tanzen die Mäuse.*  
(*\*Kad nema stare mačke, miševi kolo vode.*)

3. Diskontinuität (Unterbrechung) = diskontinuitet (prekid)

Ovaj test je neprihvatljiv za brojne frazeme, jer se fraza proširuje sa jednim ili više leksema:

*\*die Rechnung durch aus einmal ohne den Wirt machen*

*\*Wenn die Katze aus dem Haus ist, wenn auch nur für kurze Zeit, tanzen die Mäuse.*

4. Permutation (Umstellung) = permutacija (zamjena mjesta)

Kod permutacije se redosljed rečeničnih članova zamjenjuje, tako da su sljedeći primjeri neprihvatljivi:

*\*die Rechnung durchaus einmal ohne den Wirt machen*  
(*\*ponekad napraviti račun bez krčmara*)

*\*Wenn die Katze aus dem Haus ist, wenn auch nur für kurze Zeit, tanzen die Mäuse.*  
(*\*Kad mačke nema, čak i na kratko, miševi kolo vode.*)

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<sup>1</sup> Test komutacije ili zamjene naveden je u Dudenovom, 11-om tomu, kao najsigurniji formalni način razgraničavanja frazema (usp. Duden, tom 11, str. 9).



5. Morphologische Veränderungen (Formenabwandlung) = morfološke promjene (modifikacija oblika)

Ova promjena utiče na formu sastavnica. Na primjer, sljedeći frazemi postaju neprihvatljivi ukoliko se imenice stave u množinu:

*\*die Rechnungen ohne die Wirte machen*

(*\*praviti račune bez krčmara*)

*\*Wenn die Katzen aus dem Haus sind, tanzen die Mäuse.*

(*\*Kada mačaka nema, miševi kolo vode.*)

Za razliku od frazema svi ovi testovi se, prema Holderbaum (2003: 29), mogu provesti na kolokacijama, što se može pokazati na i primjeru *ein Problem lösen/riješiti problem*:

*Ein Rätsel lösen / riješiti zagonetku (komutacija)*

*Ein großes Problem lösen / riješiti veliki problem (atribucija)*

*ein Problem spätestens bis morgen lösen/riješiti problem najkasnije do sutra (diskontinuitet)*

*lösen wir der das Problem / on će riješiti problem (permutacija)*

*Probleme lösen/riješiti probleme (morfološke promjene)*

Holderbaum (2003: 29) dalje ističe da frazemi, za razliku od slobodnih kombinacija i kolokacija, dopuštaju samo ograničene vrste promjena. Frazemi ne dopuštaju pretvaranje u negaciju ili afirmaciju, promjene u izjavne, upitne ili imperativne rečenice, kao ni transformacije između aktivnih i pasivnih rečenica, te promjene u obrascu akcentovanja. Nasuprot tome, slobodne kombinacije i kolokacije podržavaju fleksibilnije promjene, uključujući mogućnost stvaranja negativnih i pozitivnih oblika:

*Er ging zu seinem Freund. (Otišao je svom prijatelju.) – Er ging nicht zu seinem Freund. (Nije otišao svom prijatelju.)*

*ein Problem lösen (riješiti problem) – ein Problem nicht lösen bzw. kein Problem lösen (ne riješiti problem)*

Kod fraza, s druge strane, razmjena negacije i afirmacije često nije moguća:

*\*die Rechnung nicht ohne den Wirt machen bzw. \*nicht die Rechnung ohne den Wirt machen*

*\*Wenn die Katze nicht aus dem Haus ist, tanzen die Mäuse (nicht).*

Ono što frazeme čini jedinstvenim je upravo čvrsta struktura i idiomatičnost, što znači da se sastavnice frazema ne mogu mijenjati i koriste se kao gotovi izrazi u jeziku. Nasuprot tome, kolokacije se razlikuju od frazema po tome što njihovo značenje nije nužno idiomatično, dok frazemi uvijek imaju preneseno značenje.



## 2. SIMBOLIKA PLAVE BOJE

Plava boja ima bogatu simboliku i značaj koji su se, historijski gledano, razvijali kroz različite epohe i kulture. Percepciju plave boje Immoos (2008: 44) objašnjava ističući da plava boja simbolizira svemir, kosmos, nebo i vječnost. Iako je plava boja dugo smatrana bojom drugog reda u poređenju s crvenom, bijelom i crnom, jasna percepcija plave boje počinje se razvijati tek između 800. i 1000. godine p.n.e.. Brenko (2009: 57) navodi da plava boja počinje zauzimati važnu ulogu u evropskoj kulturi tokom 12. i 13. stoljeća, kada se pojavljuje u različitim aspektima života, uključujući umjetnost, odjeću, iluminacije i grbove. Kako navodi Immoos (2008: 43), luksuzne tkanine obojene indigo bojom postale su popularne među plemstvom od 12. stoljeća. Legalizacija indiga tokom vladavine kralja Luja XIV učinila je plavu bojom modne elite na dvoru. Danas je plava boja omiljena kod više od polovine svjetske populacije. U kontekstu religije, Chevalier i Gheerbrant (1983) i Pastoureau (2001, prema Brenko 2009) naglašavaju da je popularizacija plave boje usko povezana s ikonografijom Djevice Marije, koja je često prikazana u plavom plaštu ili odjeći. Ova asocijacija s nebeskim i božanskim dovela je do toga da se plava počne smatrati kraljevskom bojom, a kako je smatrana najprikladnijom za žene, postala je i simbolom čednosti, navodi Brenko (ibidem: 57-58). Iako su žene u to vrijeme nosile i crvenu boju, plava je, zbog svoje životnosti i povezanosti s borbom, ostala dominantno muška boja. Brenko (ibidem: 62) također naglašava da je protestantska reforma u 16. stoljeću odigrala važnu ulogu u redefinisanju plave kao muške boje, preferirajući tamnije nijanse. U filmu iz 1960. godine, Sean Connery se pojavljuje kao James Bond u plavoj majici, što dodatno popularizuje plavu boju u muškoj modi. Plava boja je također imala značajnu ulogu i u heraldici. Zjakić i Milković (2010) ističu da se plava boja koristila kao simbol pobožnosti i iskrenosti. U savremenom kontekstu plava boja postala je sinonim za preciznost i čistoću, što je čini pogodnom za reklamiranje proizvoda i usluga povezanih sa čistoćom (filteri za pročišćavanje vode, sredstva za čišćenje), zrakom i nebom (aviokompanije, aerodromi, klima uređaji), vodom i morem (morska putovanja, mineralna voda), kao i za reklamiranje visokotehnoloških proizvoda. Plava boja se često povezuje i sa lažima kroz razne izreke. Tako Immoos (2008: 43) navodi izraze poput: *das Blaue vom Himmel herunter lügen* (pričati, pripovijedati prazne, lažne, izmišljene priče), *einen blauen Dunst vor machen* (zavaravati koga, lagati kome), *sein blaues Wunderer leben* (doživjeti neugodno iznenađenje), *blaue Ausreden* (plavi izgovori), *blaue Märchen* (plave bajke). U našoj kulturi plava boja je po Vollmaru (2023: 63) povezana sa crvenom

krvlju, odnosno plavom krvi plemstva. Fraza *plava krv* potiče od španjolskog izraza *sangra azul*. Španci su ga prvobitno koristili za označavanje potomaka Vizigota, koji su činili višu klasu i plemstvo u Španiji. Budući da su imali svijetlu kožu, krv u njihovim venama je plavičasto svjetlucala kroz kožu. Tako je plava boja postala uobičajen izraz za plemstvo, a time i za ljude istaknute klase, koji su ponekad obožavani skoro kao bogovi kroz historiju.

### 3. ANALIZA

Korpus korišten u ovoj analizi obuhvata 22 primjera pronađena u bosanskohercegovačkim, njemačkim i austrijskim printanim i elektronskim publikacijama. Korpus je kreiran prikupljanjem frazema i kolokacija iz medijskih izvora, čime su obuhvaćeni konteksti u kojima se plava boja koristi kako bi se izrazila određena značenja. Pristup kontrastivne analize temelji se na definiciji kolokacija i frazema kao jezičkih jedinica koje se ne stvaraju spontano u govoru, već postoje kao fiksne kombinacije pohranjene u mentalnom leksikonu. Kod frazema obje sastavnice imaju idiomatsko značenje, dok kod kolokacija barem jedna zadržava svoje osnovno značenje izvan te veze. U analizi se istražuju morfosintaksičke, leksičke i semantičke karakteristike ovih jedinica, pri čemu su ekvivalenti između jezika određeni na osnovu značenja, funkcije i upotrebe plave boje. Korpus je podijeljen na nekoliko kategorija prema simboličkom značenju plave boje: urednost i pouzdanost, smirenost i odanost, mir i saglasnost, te potisnuta melanholija. Ova podjela omogućava detaljnu analizu kako plava boja funkcioniše u različitim jezičkim i kulturnim okruženjima, uzimajući u obzir specifične kulturne aspekte oba jezika. Svi primjeri u analizi bit će podijeljeni u nekoliko skupina s obzirom na njihovo značenje:

Značenje 1: Plava boja simboliše urednost, pouzdanost, ozbiljnost, sigurnost, red, jasnoću i pravednost;

Značenje 2: Plava boja simboliše smirenost, otvorenost, suosjećanje, druželjubivost, odanost;

Značenje 3: Plava boja simboliše mir, saglasnost i dogovor;

Značenje 4: Plava boja simboliše potisnutu melanholiju.

**Značenje 1: Plava boja simboliše urednost, pouzdanost, ozbiljnost, sigurnost, red, jasnoću i pravednost:**

### **Kolokacije:**

#### **- njem.: die blaue Karte ≈ bos.: plava karta**

*Im vergangenen Jahr sind mehr Akademiker aus Dritt staaten mit einer **Blauen Karte** der EU nach Deutschland gekommen. (<https://www.spiegel.de>, 24. 7. 2020) 'Prošle godine u Njemačku je došlo više akademika iz trećih zemalja s Plavom EU kartom.'*

***Plava karta** EU za fakultetski obrazovane i zanatlije. (<https://www.oslobodjenje.ba>, 1. 12. 2022.)*

U primjeru *blaue Karte* / *plava karta* bilježimo podudaranje morfosintaksičke strukture u oba jezika. U njemačkom se jeziku kolokacija *blaue Karte* sastoji od imenice *Karte* kao nukleusa imenične fraze i pridjeva *blaue* kao pridjevskog atributa. Također i u bosanskom se jeziku primjer *plava karta* sastoji od imenice *karta* kao nukleusa imenične fraze i pridjeva *plava* kao pridjevskog atributa.

*Plavu kartu* uvela je Evropska unija po ugledu na američku zelenu kartu tj. *Green Card*. Plava karta nastala je 2009. godine, dok je Njemačka izdaje od avgusta 2012. godine. To je vrsta boravišne i radne dozvole namijenjena za non-EU građane koji posjeduju univerzitetsku diplomu i žele da žive i rade u EU. Također, nedavno, ljudi bez univerzitetske diplome za plavu kartu mogu da konkurišu ako imaju preko pet godina profesionalnog radnog iskustva na visoko kvalifikovanoj poziciji (npr. programer bez univerzitetske diplome).<sup>2</sup> U ovom primjeru plava boja se prikazuje kao simbol pouzdanosti, s obzirom na to da, prema Immoosu (2008: 44), plava boja označava urednost, pouzdanost i ozbiljnost.

#### **- njem.: ekvivalent u posmatranom korpusu nije zabilježen ≈ bos.: plava knjiga**

*...stoga je Federalna liječnička komora tijekom prošle godine uputila molbu svim subjektima u sektoru zdravstva da se uključe u reviziju **Plave knjige**, ističe Bećirević. (<https://snagalokalnog.ba>, 27. 3. 2023.)*

Za frazem *plava knjiga* nije pronađen ekvivalent u analiziranom korpusu. U bosanskom jeziku se primjer *plava knjiga* sastoji od imenice *knjiga* kao nukleusa imenične fraze i pridjeva *plava* kao pridjevskog atributa.

*Plava knjiga* predstavlja dokument sa uputama za rad u zdravstvenom sistemu Bosne i Hercegovine. U ovom primjeru plavu boju doživljavamo kao jasnoću, jer plava simbolizira po Vollmaru (2023: 70) mudrost, istinu, čistoću, pravednost i jasnoću.

<sup>2</sup> <https://nemackikutak.com/sve-sto-treba-da-znate-o-plavoj-karti/>

**Frazemi:**

**- njem.: Blue-Collar, Blue-Collar-Worker ≈ bos.: plavi ovratnici**

*Unterscheidung „White-Collar“ und „Blue-Collar“ wird Arbeits markt nicht mehr gerecht (<https://www.hrjournal.de>, 10. 12. 2021) ‘Razlika između „bijelog ovratnika” i „plavog ovratnika” više ne odgovara tržištu rada.’*

*Mehr als Basis wissen ist für die Blue-Collar-Worker also nicht eingeplant. Dabei sind doch gerade diese Arbeits plätze von Automatisierung und Digitalisierung besonders bedroht.<sup>3</sup> (<https://www.haufe.de>, 21. 2. 2020)*

*Tokom govora Biden je posebno naglasio „moć **plavih ovratnika**”, odnosno radnika koji će pomoći državi u oporavku od krize koju je prouzrokovala pandemija koronavirusa. (<http://www.velkaton.ba>, 29. 4. 2021.)*

U njemačkom su jeziku primjeri *Blue-Collar* i *Blue-Collar-Worker* složenice. U njemačkim pisanim medijima umjesto oblika *blauer Kragen* bilježimo neologizme *Blue-Collar* i *Blue-Collar-Worker*. U bosanskom se jeziku primjer *plavi ovratnici* sastoji od imenice *ovratnici* kao nukleusa imenične fraze i pridjeva *plavi* kao pridjevskog atributa.

Pod *plavim ovratnicima* se misli na osobe iz radničke klase koji obavljaju fizičke poslove ili kvalifikovane zanate. Do polovine 18. stoljeća u mnogim područjima Europe bile su na snazi zakonske odredbe koje su za niže slojeve stanovništva propisivale odjeću najčešće sive i smeđe boje. Sa padom cijena industrijski obojenih plavih tkanina, njihova dostupnost postaje šira, što demokratizira upotrebu ove boje. Seljačko stanovništvo sve više prihvata novu modu, udaljavajući se od tradicionalnih sivih i smeđih tonova koji su ih do tada definirali kao pripadnike niže klase (Brenko 2009: 61). Kako je od 18. stoljeća plava postajala sve popularnija boja u zapadnom svijetu, nije se više, navodi Brenko (ibidem: 62), povezivala samo s *plavom krv* u vladajućim krugovima, već i s *plavim ovratnikom* radnika i plavim uniformama službenika u modernim državama. Uniforme mnogih državnih službenika u 20. stoljeću više nisu crne, već tamnoplave: mornarica, avijacija, policija, vatrogasci, poštari, sportska odjeća i sl. Budući da plava boja djeluje uredno, pouzdano i ozbiljno, postala je, po navodima Immoosa (2009: 44), bojom radničke klase širom svijeta. Obrtnička zanimanja nazivaju se *profesijama plavih ovratnika* (*Blaumann-Berufe*). U Americi i Engleskoj to su *plavi ovratnici* (*blue collar workers*), a u Kini *plavi mravi* (*die blauen Ameisen*). Plava je po Vollmaru (2023: 83) i boja konvencije. U našem

<sup>3</sup> Dakle, ništa više od osnovnog znanja nije planirano za plave ovratnike. Upravo su ti poslovi posebno ugroženi automatizacijom i digitalizacijom.

društvu ne možemo pogriješiti sa plavim odijelom ili plavom večernjom haljinom, osim što možemo ispasti previše konzervativni. Plava boja izražava razboritost, trezvenost i suzdržanost, i signalizira da smo iznad stvari i situacije. Kada se osjećamo nesigurno, oblačimo se u plavo. Vojska, policija i zaštitari često nose plave uniforme radi sigurnosti. Plava boja u klasičnom mornarskom odijelu je izuzetak. Ovdje se radi manje o nesigurnosti koju krije duh autoriteta, a više o povezanosti sa plavim morem.

**Značenje 2: Plava boja simboliše smirenost, otvorenost, suosjećanje, druželjubivost, odanost**

### **Kolokacije:**

**- njem.: blaue Karte ≈ bos.: plavi karton**

*Beiß attacke bei Handball-WM: Irre Szene sorgt für **Blaue Karte*** (<https://www.mannheim24.de>, 23. 1. 2023) ‘Napad ugrizom na Svjetskom prvenstvu u rukometu: Luda scena rezultirala plavim kartonom.’

*SC Magdeburg legt Einspruch gegen **Blaue Karte** für Janus Smarasonen* (<https://www.scm-handball.de>, 7. 9. 2023) ‘SC Magdeburg je uložio prigovor na plavi karton za Janusa Smarasona.’

*Mandić zbog **plavog kartona** propušta meč sa Srbijom, Horvat pozvao zamjenu* (<https://meridianbetsport.ba>, 14. 1. 2022.)

*Američki rukometaš ugrizao suparnika, dobio je **plavi karton*** (<https://www.fokus.ba>, 19. 1. 2023.)

Morfosintaksička struktura ove kolokacije se u njemačkom jeziku ne razlikuje od bosanskog jezika. U njemačkom se jeziku primjer *blaue Karte* sastoji od imenice *Karte* kao nukleusa imenične fraze i pridjeva *blaue* kao pridjevskog atributa. U bosanskom se jeziku primjer *plavi karton* sastoji od imenice *karton* kao nukleusa imenične fraze i pridjeva *plavi* kao pridjevskog atributa.

*Plavi karton* uvela je 2016. godine Međunarodna rukometna federacija (IHF). Pored crvenog i žutog kartona, suci od tada mogu dodijeliti i plavi karton koji označava diskvalifikaciju igrača uz pisani izvještaj. Plavi karton postoji i u fudbalu, ali ima potpuno suprotno značenje, i označava pohvalu suca za dobru igru, odnosno fair play igrača, kako se to u sportskom žargonu kaže. Plava boja je, smatra Vollmar (2023: 71), korisna za eksplozivne ljude kao što su kolerici ili oni koji se ponašaju impulsivno, jer stvara smirenost i strpljenje.

**njem.: BlaueNacht ≈ bos.: Plava noć**

- Nürnberg's **Blaue Nacht** zog über 150.000 Besucher an (<https://www.ispfd-nbg.de>, 8. 5. 2023) 'Nirnberška Plava noć privukla je preko 150.000 posjetilaca.'

Pogledajte kako je protekla **Plava noć** na Vilsonovom šetalištu (<https://avaz.ba>, 30. 7. 2022.)

Ovaj frazem je u njemačkom jeziku po svojoj morfosintaksičkoj strukturi identičan svom ekvivalentu u bosanskom jeziku. *Plava noć* predstavlja druženje igrača sa svojim navijačima. Shodno boji koja je zaštitni znak određenog kluba, i druženja dobijaju naziv po boji. Plava boja stvara po Vollmaaru (2023: 71) osjećaj blagostanja svojim opuštajućim i okupljajućim efektom, kroz svoju smirenost i otvorenost. Plava ima duboko umirujuće dejstvo, usporava razmišljanje, ublažava napetost i nervozu.

**Frazemi:**

**- njem.: das Blaue Herz ≈ bos.: plavo srce**

Balkan – **Das „Blaue Herz Europas“** in Gefahr (<https://www.alpenverein.de>, 14. 3. 2018) 'Balkan - „Plavo srce Evrope“ je u opasnosti.'

„Sačuvajmo **plavo srce Evrope**“ (<https://n1info.ba>, 14. 7. 2019.)

CNN o Neretvi: Naučnici se bore da spase „**plavo srce**“ Evrope (<https://n1info.ba>, 11. 8. 2023)

U njemačkom se jeziku primjer *das Blaue Herz* sastoji od imenice *Herz* kao nukleusa imenične fraze, pridjeva *blau* kao pridjevskog atributa i člana *das* kao pratilac (Begleiter). U bosanskom se jeziku primjer *plavo srce* sastoji od imenice *srce* kao nukleusa imenične fraze i pridjeva *plavo* kao pridjevskog atributa.

Izraz „*plavo srce Evrope*“ odnosi se na Balkan i njegova bogata, netaknuta vodena blaga, poput rijeka i vodopada. Nasuprot „*zelenom srcu Evrope*“ koje simbolizira zelena bogatstva Evrope, „*plavo srce Evrope*“ označava boje neba i mora. Prema Zjakiću i Milković (2010: 64) plava boja predstavlja nebo i more, a i po Immoosu (2009: 44) to je boja koja se u prirodi povezuje s nebom, nebeskim svodom, svemirom, morem, vodom i ledom, te simbolizira sva vodena bogatstva Evrope.

**- njem.: ekvivalent u analiziranom korpusu nije zabilježen ≈ bos.: plavo proljeće**

Čovjek koji je kreirao nezaboravno '**Plavo proljeće**' i postavio Hrvatsku na svjetsku mapu nogometa. (<https://pogled.ba>, 8. 2. 2023.)

Za frazem *plavo proljeće* nismo zabilježili u posmatranom korpusu njegov ekvivalent na njemačkom jeziku. U bosanskom se jeziku primjer *plavo proljeće*

sastoji od imenice *proljeće* kao nukleusa imenične fraze i pridjeva *plavo* kao pridjevskog atributa. Pod *plavim proljećem* misli se na pobjede sarajevskog fudbalskog kluba Željezničara, čiji su grb i zaštitna boja kluba plavi. U mnogim je kulturama plava boja, po Brenko (2009), neutralna i smirujuća boja.

### **Značenje 3: Plava boja simboliše mir, saglasnost i dogovor:**

#### **Kolokacije:**

- njem.: *blaue Helme* ≈ bos.: *plavi šljemovi, plave kacige*

*UN kritisiert Verwendung blauer Helme bei Einsatz gegen Demonstranten* (<https://www.zeit.de>, 11. 1. 2022)

*Trebaju li plavi šljemovi vlastima u Beogradu i Zagrebu* (<https://bosnaglobal.net>, 25. 6. 2021.)

*Beck: Plave kacige nisu pomogle BiH, okretanje glave od strahota u Ukrajini* (<https://nap.ba>, 10. 4. 2022.)

Kod ovih frazema možemo uočiti upotrebu istih morfosintaksičkih elemenata.

*Plavi šljemovi* po Brenko (2009: 63) predstavljaju mirovne snage Ujedinjenih nacija. U politici se plava boja najčešće veže uz pojam mira. Međunarodne institucije: Ujedinjeni narodi, Vijeće Europe, Europska unija, predstavljaju se zastavama plave boje. Naš frazem *plavi šljemovi*, kao mirovnjaci UN-a, nosi upravo plavu boju, jer ona najčešće označava mir, povezanost, saglasnost i dogovor.

#### **Frazemi:**

- njem.: *die blaue Welle, die blaue Wand/Mauer, blue wall, der blaue Tsunami*  
≈ bos.: *plavi val, plavi zid, izborni cunami*

*Wahlum fragen in den USA: Wo war die blaue Welle?* (<https://www.spiegel.de>, 8.11.2020) ‘Izborne ankete u SAD-u: Gdje je bio plavi val?’

*Blaue Welle, blauer Tsunami oder rote Wand: Die Kongress wahlen sind traditionell eine Abrechnung mit der Politik der US-Regierung und seiner Parteien in Washington.* (<https://www.deutschlandfunk.de>, 6. 11. 2018) ‘Plavi val, plavi cunami ili crveni zid: izbori za kongres su tradicionalno obračun s politikom američke vlade i njezine stranke u Washingtonu.’

*Die „Blaue Wand“ steht wieder: Wie Joe Biden die Wahl gewann* (<https://www.n-tv.de>, 14. 11. 2020) ‘„Plavi zid” ponovno stoji: Kako je Joe Biden pobijedio na izborima.’



*Michigan und Wisconsin: Die blaue Mauer steht wieder* (<https://www.sueddeutsche.de>, 5. 11. 2020) ‘Michigan i Wisconsin: Plavi zid se vratio.’

*Donald Trump konnte die Wahl 2016 so überraschend gewinnen, weil er die „Blue wall“, die blaue Wand der Demokraten im Mittleren Westen bezwang.* (<https://www.boell.de>, 18. 7. 2019) ‘Donald Trump uspio je iznenađujuće pobijediti na izborima 2016. jer je pobijedio plavi zid demokrata na Srednjem zapadu.’

*Republikanci trenutno drže većinu u oba doma Kongresa, no neki demokrati predviđaju “plavi val”.* (<https://avaz.ba>, 29. 8. 2018.)

*„Vrlo jednostavno, plavi val (demokratski) jednak je kriminalnom valu. Crveni val (republikanski) jednak je zapošljavanju i sigurnosti”, rekao je Trump.* (<https://www.slobodna-bosna.ba>, 5. 11. 2018.)

*No, nije se dogodio dugo najavljavani „plavi val” ili izborni cunami u korist demokrata, kako su pojedini mediji kalkulirali.* (<https://avaz.ba>, 11. 11. 2018.)

*Čini se da Arizona stremlji ka Bajdenu, što znači da bi demokrata morao da osvoji dve od tri takozvane države „plavog zida” 2016. godine - Viskonsin, Mičigen i Pensilvanija – da bi obezbijedio pobjedu.* (<https://www.oslobodjenje.ba>, 4. 11. 2020.)

Morfosintaksička struktura ovih frazema se u njemačkom jeziku ne razlikuje od bosanskog jezika. U njemačkom se jeziku primjeri *die blaue Welle, die blaue Wand/Mauer, blue wal, der blaue Tsunami* sastoje od imenica *Welle, Wand, Mauer* i *Tsunami* koje se javljaju kao nukleusi imeničnih fraza i pridjeva *blaue* kao pridjevskog atributa. U njemačkim pisanim medijima nailazimo, pored svih pomenutih naziva, i na doslovno prenošenje pojma iz engleskog jezika: *bluewall*. U bosanskom jeziku kao prijevodne ekvivalente, pored frazema *plavi val, plavi zid*, imamo i izraz *izborni cunami*.

*Plavi val, plavi zid ili izborni cunami* predstavljaju u Americi Demokratsku stranku, odnosno zastupnike Demokrata. Demokratsku stranku, kao prvu američku političku stranku, osnovao je krajem 18. stoljeca Thomas Jefferson. U to vrijeme nazivala se republikanska stranka. Kasnije, postala je poznata kao demokratsko-republikanska, a tek kad je Andrew Jackson, 1828. godine, postao sedmi predsjednik Sjedinjenih Država, dobila je naziv – demokratska stranka. Službeni simbol demokrata danas je magarac, kojeg je proslavio politički karikaturista Thomas Nast. A sve zbog Jacksona, koji se 1828., kandidovao za predsjednika, kada su ga protivnici, zbog njegovih populističkih nazora i slogana „Neka narod vlada,” prozvali *jackass*,



što u kolokvijalnom engleskom znači *glupan*, inače, baš kao i riječ *donkey* – magarac.<sup>4</sup> Demokrate su se kroz historiju borile za prava običnog čovjeka. Sve vezano za Demokrate je plave boje, pa je i službeni simbol u plavoj boji, plavi magarac. Zašto se baš ova boja veže uz Demokrate, seže iz medija. U američkoj politici često čujemo pojmove crvene i plave države. U crvenim država većina glasa za Republikance, odnosno kandidate Republikanske partije, a u plavim većina je za Demokrate. Davanje značenja ovim bojama pripisuje se TV mrežama. Kada je televizor u boji postao popularan šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, mreže su počele koristiti mape sa bojama za prikazivanje rezultata izbora. U početku nije bilo konsenzusa koja boja predstavlja koju političku partiju, ali za vrijeme izbora 2000. godine, većina mreža koristila je plavu boju za Demokrate, i crvenu za Republikance. Tako su i ljudi počeli koristiti nazive *crvena i plava država* u političkom vokabularu. Postoji još i naziv *ljubičaste države*, koji se koristi za neodlučne države.<sup>5</sup> Države kojima dominiraju Demokrate kao što su Kalifornija i Ilinois i veći dio regiona Nove Engleske na sjeveroistočnoj obali nazivaju se *plavim državama*. Republikanski bastioni kao što su Ajdaho, Aljaska i mnoge južnjačke države smatraju se *crvenim državama*. *Ljubičastim državama*, koje mogu da promijene mišljenje u zavisnosti od kandidata, smatraju se Ohajo, Florida, Arizona, Pensilvanija i Viskonsin.<sup>6</sup> Brenko (2009: 63) smatra da se plava boja u politici najčešće veže uz pojam mira. U nekim europskim zemljama plava danas predstavlja republikansku ili liberalnu stranku. Brenko smatra da se plava boja koristi iz tog razloga u političkoj prezentaciji, kako bi se ogradila od socijalističke prošlosti koju simbolizira crvena boja.

#### **Značenje 4: Plava boja simboliše potisnutu melanholiju**

##### **Kolokacije:**

**- njem.: Blue Monday ≈ bos.: plavi ponedjeljak**

*Heute ist „Blue Monday“: Wie Sie den „traurigsten Tag“ im Jahrgut über stehen* (<https://www.kleinezeitung.at>, 17. 1. 2022)

*Danas je “plavi ponedjeljak”:* *Kako se osjećate?* (<https://avaz.ba>, 20. 1. 2020.)

Ovaj frazem je po svojoj strukturi u njemačkom jeziku identičan svom ekvivalentu u bosanskom jeziku. U njemačkom se jeziku primjer *Blue Monday* sastoji od imenice *Monday* koja u sintaksičkom smislu predstavlja nukleus imenične fraze i pridjeva

<sup>4</sup> <https://ba.voanews.com/a/a-37-a-2004-01-20-12-1-86149412/1170680.html>

<sup>5</sup> <https://ba.voanews.com/a/sad-izbori-crvene-i-plave-drzave-objasnjenje/5567489.html>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/serbian/lat/svet-51741993>

*blue* kao pridjevskog atributa. U njemačkim se pisanim medijima za primjer *plavi ponedjeljak* bilježi jedino doslovno prenošenje pojma iz engleskog jezika. U bosanskom jeziku se primjer *plavi ponedjeljak* sastoji od imenice *ponedjeljak* kao nukleusa imenične fraze i pridjeva *plavi* kao pridjevskog atributa.

*Plavi ponedjeljak*, odnosno treći ponedjeljak u januaru se smatra najdepresivnijim danom u godini. Izraz *plavi ponedjeljak* prvi je upotrijebio britanski psiholog i motivacioni govornik Cliff Arnall 2004. godine, nakon što mu se obratila britanska putnička agencija Sky Travel koja je zatražila da osmisli formulu za određivanje najdepresivnijeg dana u godini. Plavi ponedjeljak kasnije je postao centralni dio reklamne kampanje Sky Travela osmišljene da potakne rezervacije za odmor koji bi, kako je kompanija predložila, ublažili „bijedu Plavog ponedjeljka”. Psiholog dr. Cliff Arnall osmislio je jednačinu kojom bi dokazao zašto se baš taj dan smatra najdepresivnijim danom u godini. Njegova jednačina uzela je u obzir nivo duga ljudi, vrijeme nakon božićnih praznika i novogodišnjih odluka, niži nivo motivacije i osjećaj potrebe za poduzimanjem nečega konkretnog. Formula glasi:  $[W + (Dd)] \times TQ / MxNA$ . W u formuli označava vrijeme, D je dug, d mjesečna plaća, T znači vrijeme od Božića, a Q vrijeme od kada ste odustali od novogodišnje odluke. Naučna i akademska zajednica oštro je odbacila ovu Arnallovu jednačinu, smatrajući da ne postoje vjerodostojni dokazi istraživanja koji bi pokazali da je *plavi ponedjeljak* depresivniji od bilo kojeg drugog dana ili čak od najdepresivnijeg dana u godini.<sup>7</sup> Zašto baš plavi ponedjeljak, možemo povezati sa time da ga je prvi upotrijebio britanski psiholog, te ga takođe možemo povezati sa engleskim izrazima *feel blue* (*biti tužan*) i *have the blues* (*biti depresivan, osjećati se tužno*). U njemačkom jeziku ne postoji ovakav izraz koji bi plavom bojom opisao tugu. U Dudenu 11 (2008: 126) bilježimo izraz *blau sein*, ali on označava nešto potpuno drugo, i to *biti u potpunosti pijan* (*völlig betrunken sein*). Plava boja je po Vollmaru (2023: 71) povezana sa melanholijom, i Vollmar o plavoj boji govori kao o melanholičnoj boji. Po Immoosu (2008: 43) izrazi *blau sein* (*biti pijan*) und *blau machen* (*bez određenog razloga ne ići na posao; ljenčariti, dangubiti*) potiču od plavih farbara, iz srednjega vijeka. Budući da se proces bojenja odvijao samo kada je bilo lijepo vrijeme i kada se puno pilo, tokom procesa fermentacije u kupkama za bojenje nastajala su čekanja. Tako je znao svako da, kada se farbači sunčaju, da oni ljenčare (*diese Blaumachen*), a kada ljenčare (*Blaumachen*) da su pijani (*blau sein*). Činjenica da se toliko pilo imala je i praktično značenje, urin je bio potreban za proces fermentacije kupki za bojenje.

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<sup>7</sup> <https://n1info.ba/magazin/lifestyle/kako-prezivjeti-plavi-ponedjeljak-najdepresivniji-dan-u-godini/>

**- njem.: der Anruf beider Telefonseele sorge, der Notruf für die Seele ≈ bos.: plavi telefon**

*Wenn die Seele Hilfe braucht: **Der Anruf** beider Telefonseele sorge kann ein rettender Ankersein (<https://www.suedkurier.de>, 8. 1. 2019) ‘Ako je vašoj duši potrebna pomoć: Pozivanje telefonske službe za savjetovanje može biti spasonosno sidro’*

*Mehrals 900 **Corona-Anrufe** an einem Tag: Bürger-Hotlines des Landkreises Ludwigs lust-Parchim gut frequentiert / Mehrals 20 Mitarbeiter aus der Kreisverwaltung unterstützen das Service center (<https://www.kreis-lup.de>, 26. 1. 2021) ‘Više od 900 Corona poziva u jednom danu: Dežurne telefonske linije za građane u okrugu Ludwigslust-Parchim su dobro posjećene / Više od 20 zaposlenika iz okružne uprave podržava servisni centar.’*

***Notruf für die Seele:** Krisendienst Oberfranken ist sehr gefragt (<https://www.kurier.de>, 25. 2. 2022) ‘Hitni poziv za dušu: Krizna služba u Gornjoj Frankoniji je veoma tražena.’*

*“**Plavi telefon**” zbog pandemije zabilježio preko pet hiljada poziva: Građani BiH tražili psihološko savjetovanje, ali i spas od različitih oblika nasilja (<https://www.oslobodjenje.ba>, 6. 7. 2021)*

Za kolokaciju *plavi telefon* u njemačkom jeziku nismo pronašli odgovarajući prijevodni ekvivalent, već izraze koji opisuju isti. *Der Anruf beider Telefonseele sorge, der Notruf für die Seele* sastoje od imenica *Anruf* i *Notruf* kao nukleusa imenične fraze i prijedložnih fraza *beider Telefonseele sorge* i *für die Seele*. Prijedložne fraze sastoje se od prijedloga *bei* i *für*, članova *der* i *die* koji služe kao pratioici i imenica *Telefonseele sorge* i *Seele*. U bosanskom jeziku se primjer *plavi telefon* sastoji od imenice *telefon* kao nukleusa imenične fraze i pridjeva *plavi* kao pridjevskog atributa.

*Plavi telefon* je savjetodavna linija za djecu i mlade. Linija je prvenstveno namijenjena djeci koja osjećaju da ih neko iz njihove okoline na bilo koji način zlostavlja (tuče, vrijeđa, naziva pogrđnim imenima, prilazi im na seksualno neprihvatljiv način) ili zanemaruje i za one koji znaju ili su vidjeli da je neko dijete zlostavljano i zanemareno. Pored problema nasilja, linija je otvorena za sve druge probleme koje djeca imaju, a o kojima nemaju s kim da razgovaraju i od koga da zatraže podršku i pomoć.<sup>8</sup> Od 13. marta 2020. godine, kako je pandemija koronavirusa došla i u Bosnu i Hercegovinu, Plavi telefon je stavljen na raspolaganje i odraslim ljudima. Svi koji

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<sup>8</sup> [https://plavitelefon.ba/sta\\_je\\_plavi\\_telefon.php](https://plavitelefon.ba/sta_je_plavi_telefon.php)

su imali bilo kakve poteškoće da se prilagode aktuелnoj situaciji, mogli su pozvati Plavi telefon. Najčešće teme razgovora su bile strah, anksioznost, depresija i porodično nasilje.<sup>9</sup> U Njemačkoj su također za vrijeme pandemije bile otvorene linije koje su pružale mogućnost besplatnog psihološkog savjetovanja za odrasle i mlade koji se suočavaju sa psihičkim posljedicama usljed pandemije koronavirusom, depresijom, anksioznošću, te suicidalnim mislima. Osim toga, u Njemačkoj postoje telefonska savjetovališta za građane, *Telefonseele sorge* (telefonsko savjetovalište), *Info-Telefon der Deutschen Depressions hilfe* (Informativni telefon njemačke pomoći za depresiju) kao i *Diskussions forum Depression* (Forum za diskusiju o depresiji). Za djecu, mlade i roditelje koji su pogođeni depresijom postoji telefonsko savjetovalište *Nummer gegen Kummer* (Broj protiv tuge).<sup>01</sup> Plava boja se prema Zjakiću i Milkoviću (2010: 64) smatra korisnom za um i tijelo, usporava ljudski metabolizam, i stvara smirujući efekat, a povezana je i sa postizanjem balansa. Plava boja je po Vollmaru (2023: 71) povezana sa melanholijom, te je idealna boja koja će pomoći da se ponovo pronađe svoje središte, dok isto vrijeme potiče regeneraciju. I svako ko teži odanosti i razvoju svojih duševnih moći trebao bi preferirati plavu boju. Vollmar smatra da plava stvara atmosferu suosjećanja, sigurnosti, druželjubivosti i mira, s jedne strane, a s druge strane atmosferu potisnute melanholije.

#### 4. ZAKLJUČAK

Ovaj rad bavi se kontrastivnom analizom kolokacija i frazema sa komponentom plave boje u njemačkim i bosanskim printanim medijima i elektronskim publikacijama. Cilj ove analize bio je da se ispita prisutnost razlika na morfološkom, sintaktičkom i leksičkom nivou, kao i da se sagledaju kulturološke razlike između jezičkih struktura dva jezika. Korpus korišten u ovom radu obuhvata u 22 primjera kolokacija i frazema s komponentom plave boje iz njemačkih i bosanskih printanih i elektronskih medija. Korpus je nastao analizom dostupnih medijskih tekstova, pri čemu je zabilježeno pet kolokacija na njemačkom jeziku, sedam na bosanskom, te tri frazema na njemačkom i četiri na bosanskom jeziku. U korpusu su zabilježene složenice kao prijevodni ekvivalenti (*Blue – Collar* i *Blue – Collar – Worker*), jer njemački jezik svojom strukturom sve više pribjegava korištenju istih. Rad bilježi i primjere gdje je zabilježeno doslovno prenošenje pojma iz engleskog jezika (*bluewall*, *Blue Monday*). Utvrđeni su i oni primjeri koji nisu imali svoje ekvivalente u drugom jeziku (*plava*

<sup>9</sup> <https://op.bhrt.ba/plavi-telefon-pruza-podrsku-i-u-vrijeme-pandemije/>

<sup>01</sup> <https://www.ndr.de/ratgeber/gesundheit/Depressionen-Hier-gibt-es-Hilfe-und-Beratung,depression252.html>

*knjiga, plavo proljeće, plavi telefon*). Metodom kontrastivne analize nastojalo se utvrditi u kojoj mjeri se kolokacije i frazemi sa sastavnicom plave boje podudaraju sa svojim ekvivalentima u ciljnom jeziku. Možemo zaključiti da se značenja i konteksti u kojima se pojavljuju kolokacije i frazemi sa sastavnicom plave boje u velikoj mjeri podudaraju. U većini primjera plava boja nosi pozitivne konotacije, pa je plava boja simbol mira, sigurnosti, dogovora, urednosti, pouzdanosti, jasnoće, pravednosti i suosjećanja. Veoma mali broj primjera ukazuje na negativne konotacije, jer plava boja može simbolizirati potisnutu melanholiju (*plavi ponedjeljak, plavi telefon*). Analiza je pokazala značajan uticaj društvenih faktora, kulture i tradicije na formiranje novih kolokacija i frazema sa sastavnicom plave boje u jeziku. Noviji, moderniji i savremeniji načini života (*Blaue Nacht/plava noć, das Blaue Herz / plavo srce*), migracije naroda (*blaue Karte / plava karta*), društveni status (*Blue – Collar – Worker/plavi ovratnici*), razne društvene, aktuelne situacije (*der Notruf für die Seele / plavi telefon, Blue Monday / plavi ponedjeljak*), i političke situacije (*blaue Welle / plavi val*) dovele su do nastanka novih kolokacija i frazema sa sastavnicom plave boje. Možemo zaključiti da društveni poredak, kulturološke i historijske prilike značajno utječu na stvaranje novih kolokacija i frazema sa sastavnicom plave boje, i da u većini slučajeva nose istu konotaciju, što ukazuje na univerzalnost simbolike plave boje. To se može pripisati geografskoj blizini zemalja, kao i pripadnosti sličnom kulturnom krugu. Rad pokazuje da u oba jezika kontinuirano nastaju nove kolokacije i frazemi. Primjeri poput *plavi ponedjeljak (Blue Monday), plava karta (blaue Karte), plavi val (blaue Welle, blueval)* pokazuju globalni uticaj kako moderni način života, novi trendovi, migracije, te društvene i političke promjene dovode do stvaranja novih kolokacija i frazema. Doneseni zaključci važe samo za obrađeni korpus.

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## **BLUE AS A COMPONENT OF COLLOCATIONS AND IDIOMS IN GERMAN AND BOSNIAN LANGUAGES IN PRINT MEDIA AND ELECTRONIC PUBLICATIONS**

### **Summary:**

This paper presents a contrastive analysis of idioms and collocations featuring the color blue in German and Bosnian print media and electronic publications. The aim of the analysis was to identify differences at the morphological, syntactic, and lexical levels, as well as to determine cultural differences between the two languages. The corpus included 22 examples: five collocations in German, seven in Bosnian, three idioms in German, and four in Bosnian. The corpus also included compounds as translation equivalents (e.g., “blue-collar” and “blue-collar worker”), as German increasingly relies on such structures. The paper notes instances where concepts were directly translated from English (e.g., “blue wall,” “Blue Monday”) and identifies examples without equivalents in the other language (e.g., “blue book,” “blue spring,” “blue phone”). The contrastive analysis aimed to assess the extent to which collocations and idioms involving the color blue align with their counterparts in the target language. The results show that the meanings and contexts in which collocations and idioms with the component of blue appear largely coincide. In most examples, the color blue carries positive connotations, symbolizing peace, security, agreement, neatness, reliability, clarity, justice, and empathy. A small number of examples suggest negative connotations, where blue can symbolize suppressed melancholy (e.g., “Blue Monday,” “blue phone”). The analysis demonstrated a significant influence of social factors, culture, and tradition on the formation of new collocations and idioms involving the color blue in the language. Newer, modern lifestyles (“Blaue Nacht” / “blue night,” “das Blaue Herz” / “blue heart”), migration (“blaue Karte” / “blue card”), social status (“blue-collar worker”), and various social and political situations (“der Notruf für die Seele” / “blue phone,” “Blue Monday,” “blaue Welle” / “blue



wave”) have contributed to the creation of new collocations and idioms. We can conclude that social order, culture, and historical circumstances play a significant role in the creation of new collocations and idioms featuring the color blue. In most cases, these expressions carry similar connotations, indicating the universality of blue as a symbol. This can be attributed to the geographic proximity of the countries and their belonging to a similar cultural sphere. The paper demonstrates that new collocations and idioms continue to emerge in both languages. Examples such as “Blue Monday,” “blue card,” and “blue wave” illustrate the global influence of modern lifestyles, trends, migration, and social and political changes, all contributing to the creation of new expressions. The conclusions drawn in this paper apply only to the analyzed corpus.

**Key words:** collocation; idioms; symbolism; blue color; contrastive analysis; German Language; Bosnian Language

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## **KROATISCHE DAF-LERNENDE: ZUR ROLLE DER VERARBEITUNGSTIEFEN UNTER EXPLIZITEN UND IMPLIZITEN LEHRMETHODEN BEI DER VERARBEITUNG (NICHT) PASSIVFÄHIGER VERBEN IM DEUTSCHEN**

Das Hauptziel der vorliegenden Untersuchung, an der 92 kroatische DaF-Lernende teilgenommen haben, war es, die Beziehung zwischen der Verarbeitungstiefen und der expliziten und impliziten Lehrmethoden bei der Verarbeitung (nicht) passivfähiger Verben im Deutschen als Fremdsprache zu erforschen. Zur Datenerhebung bezüglich der Verarbeitungstiefen wurde die Think-aloud-Methode angewandt, wobei die Lernresultate mithilfe eines Pretests, unmittelbaren und verzögerten Posttests erhoben wurden. Die Resultate zeigen eine starke positive Interaktion zwischen den Lernergebnissen der Posttests, den Verarbeitungstiefen und den Lehrmethoden. Beim unmittelbaren und verzögerten Posttest spiegelt sich eine starke positive Interaktion zwischen den Lernergebnissen, der expliziten Lehrmethode und der hohen Verarbeitungstiefe wider. Beim unmittelbaren Posttest hingegen zeichnet sich eine Interaktion zwischen der impliziten Lehrmethode und der niedrigen und mittleren Verarbeitungstiefe ab. Diese Ergebnisse lassen glottodidaktische Rückschlüsse zu, die beim Erlernen komplexer grammatischer Strukturen im DaF-Unterricht von Relevanz sein könnten.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Sprachbewusstheit; explizite Lehrmethoden; implizite Lehrmethoden; Verarbeitungstiefen

## 1. EINFÜHRUNG

Viele Untersuchungen aus dem Bereich des Zweit- und Fremdsprachenerwerbs (z. B. Schmidt 1990; Robinson 1995; Leow 2001; Rosa und O’Neill 1999; Rosa und Leow 2004; Bagarić 2001; de la Fuente 2015; Medina 2015; Šarić Šokčević 2021) bestätigen, dass die Bewusstheit (engl. *awareness*) eine der Schlüsselrollen bei der erfolgreichen fremdsprachlichen Verarbeitung zielsprachlichen Inputs spielt. Fortführende Untersuchungen (z. B. de la Fuente 2015; Medina 2015; Andrada-Rafael 2017) zeigen, dass auch andere Faktoren bei der Inputverarbeitung eine fördernde Rolle haben, so auch die Verarbeitungstiefen (eng. *depth of processing*). Um diesbezüglich robuste pädagogische Implikationen für den Zweit- und Fremdsprachenunterricht geben zu können und um die zugrunde liegenden Vorgänge und Prozesse erfassen zu können, musste in den letzten Jahrzehnten der Zweit- und Fremdsprachenprozess zunächst in seine Mikroelemente zerlegt und empirisch erforscht werden. Viele Zweit- und Fremdsprachenforscher (vgl. Schmidt 1995; DeKeyser 2007; Leow 2015, 2018) haben sich intensiv vor allem mit den verschiedenen Modellen und den jeweils zugrunde liegenden Phasen des fremdsprachlichen Lernprozesses beschäftigt. In Leows (2015) Modell, das sowohl die sich zu vollziehenden Prozesse als auch die daraus entstehenden Produkte umfasst, kann man den Lernprozess in die folgenden Mikrophasen einteilen: „[I]nput (product) > input processing (Stage 1, process) > intake (Stage 2, product) > intake processing (Stage 3, process) > internal system (Stage 4, product/knowledge) > knowledge processing (Stage 5, process) > output (Stage 6, product)“. Wie dem Modell zu entnehmen ist, geht man davon aus, dass der fremdsprachliche Lernprozess damit beginnt, dass Lernende zielsprachlichem Material (*Input*<sup>1</sup>) ausgesetzt werden, wobei aber nur Teile dieses fremdsprachlichen *Inputs* in der Phase des *Input processing* tatsächlich weiter in *Intake*<sup>2</sup> verwandelt werden. Nur das in Form des *Intakes* aufgenommene Lernmaterial/Lernprodukt kann weitere Lernprozesse durchlaufen und somit verarbeitet werden. Diese weiteren Verarbeitungsprozesse dienen wiederum dazu, dass aus dem *Intake* am Ende das *Output*<sup>3</sup> entsteht,

- 1 Der Begriff *Input* wird in dieser Arbeit als „potentially processible language data which are made available, by chance or by design, to the language learner“ (Sharwood Smith 1993: 167; zitiert nach Truscott und Sharwood Smith 2011: 498) verstanden.
- 2 *Intake* wird nach dem Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics (2005: 262) wie folgt definiert: „(...) that part of the language to which learners are exposed, that actually ‘goes in’ and plays a role in language learning“.
- 3 Nach Leow (2015: 16) lässt sich *Output* folgendermaßen definieren: „Output is the learner’s production of the L2 and is assumed to represent the L2 knowledge the learner has at that point in time in his/her internal system.“

ein Endprodukt, das vom Lernenden sprachlich produziert und/oder verbalisiert werden kann. Viele verschiedene Faktoren scheinen beim Vollzug der verschiedenen Verarbeitungsprozesse, aber auch der dabei entstandenen Produkte, eine Rolle zu spielen. Um die verschiedenen Phasen so detailliert wie möglich zu untersuchen, widmete man sich zunächst mit besonderer Aufmerksamkeit dem Beginn des Lernprozesses, d.h. der frühen Phase der Verarbeitung fremdsprachlicher (grammatischer) Stimuli – der Input-Intake-Phase.

Schmidt geht beispielsweise in seiner Noticing-Hypothese (1990, 1993, 1995, 2001) davon aus, dass die anfängliche Verarbeitung eines zielsprachlichen Reizes immer mit einem gewissen Grad an Aufmerksamkeit verbunden sein muss. Es gibt jedoch Strukturen, die bei der Verarbeitung, einen höheren, andere hingegen einen niedrigeren Grad an Aufmerksamkeit benötigen. Da Schmidt (1995: 20) annimmt, dass die Aufmerksamkeit „isomorph mit der Bewusstheit ist“, wird somit nicht nur der Aufmerksamkeit eine grundlegende Rolle im Lernprozess zugesprochen, sondern auch der Bewusstheit. Zweit- und Fremdsprachenforscher beschäftigen sich nicht nur mit der Rolle der Aufmerksamkeit und Bewusstheit in den verschiedenen Phasen des Lernprozesses, sondern auch mit der Rolle des Einsatzes kognitiver Leistung, die von Lernenden zu vollbringen ist, um bestimmte Ebenen der Bewusstheit zu erreichen und somit zur positiven Reizverarbeitung beizutragen. Man scheint sich darüber einig zu sein, dass die jeweilige kognitive Leistung, die der Lernende individuell einsetzt, in Leistungssteigerung in den einzelnen Phasen des Lernprozesses münden kann. McLaughlin (1987) geht beispielsweise in seiner auf Shiffrin und Schneider (1977) zurückgreifenden Kognitiven Theorie davon aus, dass die Lernenden in der frühen Phase des fremdsprachlichen Lernprozesses nur begrenzt die Fähigkeit besitzen Input aufzunehmen und zu verarbeiten. Diese Prozesse unterliegen einer kontrollierten Informationsverarbeitung, die sich bewusst vollzieht und eine höhere kognitive Bemühung und Leistung beansprucht. Auch Van Patten (2004) hat sich mit der Inputverarbeitung (engl. *Input Processing*) in seinem *Primacy of Meaning Principle* beschäftigt. Er postuliert, dass Lernende zuerst die Bedeutung und dann die Form der Informationsreize im Input verarbeiten. Zur Verarbeitung des Inputs nach Form und Bedeutung ist vom Lernenden eine größere kognitive Leistung erforderlich. Eben von dieser Bemühung und Leistung des Lernenden hängen dann die Qualität und die weitere Verarbeitung der Inputstimuli ab, somit dann auch welches Input erfolgreich in Intake umgewandelt werden kann.

Ferner beschäftigte man sich auch mit der Tiefe der kognitiven Informationsverarbeitung. So unterscheidet Robinson (1995, 2003) zwischen zwei Prozessen, die

sich zwischen dem Kurz- und Langzeitgedächtnis vollziehen, eine unterschiedliche Menge an bewusster kognitiver Datenerhebung voraussetzen und sich durch Einübung manifestieren: einem datenorientierten (engl. *data-driven*) Prozess und einem konzeptorientierten (engl. *conceptually-driven*) Prozess. Der datenorientierte Prozess hat die Beibehaltung von Informationen im Kurzzeitgedächtnis zur Folge, wohingegen der konzeptorientierte Prozess mit dem Vorwissen der Lernenden in Verbindung gebracht wird und sich durch das Aufzeigen von Zusammenhängen und Systematisierungskonzepten vollzieht. Auch diese Annahmen legen die Schlussfolgerung nahe, dass spracherwerbsbedingte Ansätze und Theorien die kognitiven Bemühungen und Leistungen, die vom Lernenden ausgehen, in den Vordergrund stellen.

Da Zweit- und Fremdsprachenforscher auch immer an der Art und Weise interessiert sind, wie einem Lernenden bestimmte fremdsprachliche Strukturen in den verschiedenen Phasen des fremdsprachlichen Lernprozesses am effektivsten kognitiv zugänglich gemacht werden können, ist es von Interesse, nicht nur die Rolle der kognitiven Leistung zu erforschen, sondern auch die Beziehung zwischen den Verarbeitungstiefen und den sich auf dem Kontinuum bewegenden expliziten und impliziten Lehrmethoden. Diese Arbeit versucht deshalb die Untersuchungslücke in Bezug auf bisherige Untersuchungen, die sich mit der Verarbeitungstiefe, den expliziten und impliziten Lehrmethoden und komplexen grammatischen fremdsprachlichen Strukturen bei kroatischen DaF-Lernenden beschäftigen, zu füllen und somit zum besseren Verständnis und zur Weiterentwicklung glottodidaktischer Implikationen in Bezug auf den Erwerb solcher Strukturen beizutragen.

## **2. THEORETISCHER HINTERGRUND**

### ***2. 1. Zum Konzept der Verarbeitungstiefen***

Das zugrunde liegende Konzept der Verarbeitungsebenen (engl. *levels of processing*) wurde erstmals detailliert von den Kognitionspsychologen Craik und Lockhart (1972) beschrieben. Sie postulieren, dass die Informationsverarbeitung als ein Prozess betrachtet werden muss, in dem die anfängliche Reizverarbeitung von entscheidender Bedeutung ist. Craik und Lockhart lehnen die lange aufrechterhaltene Auffassung ab, dass Informationen in zwei verschiedenen Speichern (dem Kurzzeitgedächtnis und dem Langzeitgedächtnis) untergebracht sind und durch eine entsprechend lange Aufrechterhaltung im ersten Speichersystem (Kurzzeitgedächtnis) in das nächste (Langzeitgedächtnis) transferiert werden können. In diesem funktionalen Modell geht man

davon aus, dass Informationen zuerst oberflächlich nach perzeptuellen Aspekten analysiert werden, d. h. nach „strukturellen, physikalischen Merkmalen“ (Hellwig 2008: 54). Die Verarbeitung und die spätere Speicherung des sprachlichen Inputs hängen somit von der Quantität, aber eben auch der Qualität der perzeptuellen Analyse ab (vgl. Hellwig 2008: 154). Je tiefer, semantisch komplexer der Reiz analysiert und verarbeitet wird, desto schneller und effektiver kann dieser Reiz und die dadurch entstandene Gedächtnisspur im Langzeitgedächtnis festgesetzt werden. Craig und Lockhart (1972) unterscheiden somit zwei verschiedene Verarbeitungsebenen, die verschiedene Rollen bezüglich ihrer Leistung im Langzeitgedächtnis übernehmen: eine oberflächliche, perzeptuelle, und eine tiefere, semantische.

Die Beziehung zwischen den Verarbeitungsebenen und dem (Sprach-)Lernprozess wurde von Zweit- und Fremdsprachenforschern erkannt und empirisch getestet. Leow (2015) entwickelte ein Modell bezüglich der Verarbeitungsebenen, das sich auf den fremdsprachlichen Lernprozess bezieht, wobei er den Begriff Verarbeitungstiefe folgendermaßen definiert:

„Depth of processing is defined as the relative amount of cognitive effort, level of analysis, and elaboration of intake, together with the usage of prior knowledge, hypothesis testing, and rule formation employed in decoding and encoding same grammatical or lexical item in the input.”  
(Leow 2015: 204)

Leow (2015) geht einen Schritt weiter und stellt eine Verbindung zwischen den Verarbeitungstiefen und den Bewusstheitsebenen dar. Er geht dabei davon aus, dass je tiefer die Lernenden einen sprachlichen Reiz verarbeiten, desto höher ist auch ihre Bewusstheitsebene über diesen Reiz. Tiefere Verarbeitungsebenen interagieren mit den kognitiven Bemühungen des Lernenden und zeichnen sich ab, wenn der Lernende sich intensiver mit dem Lernmaterial beschäftigt, Versuche zur Formulierung der entsprechenden Regel unternimmt und danach zugrunde liegende Hypothesen testet. Leow (ebd.) postuliert deshalb:

„As the depth of processing increases to include hypothesis testing and rule formation, there is also the potential for level of awareness to increase: from awareness at the level of noticing > awareness at the level of reporting > to awareness at the level of understanding. It is important to note, though, that higher depths of processing do not always lead to the higher awareness at the level of understanding.” (Leow 2015: 244)

Leow (ebd.) beschreibt in seinem Modell bezüglich der Verarbeitungstiefe drei verschiedene Verarbeitungsebenen: die niedrigere, die mittlere und die hohe Verar-

beitungsebene. Calderón, Serafini und Leow (zitiert nach Leow 2015: 228) operationalisierten diese Verarbeitungsebenen und boten eine detaillierte Beschreibung der verschiedenen Verarbeitungsebenen sowohl für grammatische als auch für lexikalische Strukturen an. Sie stützen sich bei der Anfertigung dieser Tabelle auf ihre eigenen langjährigen Erfahrungen, die sie während ihrer Untersuchungen, insbesondere dem Transkribieren zahlreicher Protokolle des Lauten Denkens, gesammelt haben.

**Tabelle 1.** Operationalisierung der Verarbeitungstiefen für grammatische Zielstrukturen (engl. *Operationalization of Depth of Processing (DOP): Grammatical Items*) (Leow 2015: 228)

	Low depth of processing	Medium depth of processing	High depth of processing
Level of awareness	Noticing	Reporting	+ Understanding (based on accuracy of underlying rule or form-meaning connection)
Description	Shows no potential for processing target form grammatically	Comments on target item in relation to grammatical features	Arrives at an inaccurate, partially accurate, or fully accurate target underlying grammatical rule
Descriptors	Reads target quickly Translates the phrase to English but leaves the target in Spanish Carefully pronounces target item Repeats target item Says s/he isn't sure what it is Does not spend much time processing target item Low level of cognitive effort to process target item grammatically	Spends a bit more time processing target item Makes comments that indicate some processing of target item Some level of cognitive effort to process target item grammatically	Makes hypotheses regarding target item Provides an inaccurate, accurate, and/or partially accurate rule Corrects previous translation Spends much time processing target item High level of cognitive effort to process target item grammatically

## **2. 2. Empirische Untersuchungen bezüglich der Verarbeitungstiefen und der expliziten und impliziten Lehrmethoden**

Obwohl man sich in den letzten Jahrzehnten zu Beginn zwar nicht gezielt mit der Erforschung und Beschreibung der Verarbeitungstiefe beschäftigt hat, sind Forscherleiter bei der Ergebnisanalyse trotzdem auf Erkenntnisse und Beobachtungen gestoßen, die mit der Rolle der Verarbeitungstiefen in Verbindung gebracht werden können (z. B. Shook 1994; Laufer und Hulstijn 2001; Bird 2012). Aufgrund dieser Untersuchungsergebnisse begann man dann doch gezielte Untersuchungen durchzuführen, die sich methodologisch mit der näheren Betrachtung der Verarbeitungstiefen befassen (z. B. Leow et al. 2008; Calderón 2013, 2014; Hsieh et al. 2015; Adrada-Rafael 2017).

Eine der ersten relevanten Untersuchungen ist die von Leow, Hsieh und Moreno (2008). Es wurde untersucht, ob die beschränkte Aufmerksamkeitskapazität während der Inputverarbeitung auf die Form oder die Bedeutung gelenkt wird. Insgesamt 72 englische Spanischstudierende wurden in fünf verschiedene Gruppen aufgeteilt je nach dem Explizitheitsgrad, mit dem die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Form oder die Bedeutung gelenkt wurde. Da die Ergebnisse jedoch keine Unterschiede zwischen diesen fünf methodologisch verschieden aufgebauten Gruppen aufwiesen, wurden die in dieser Untersuchung verwendeten Think-Aloud-Protokolle zusätzlich qualitativ auf Unterschiede untersucht. Die Forscher konnten so drei verschiedene Verarbeitungsebenen kodifizieren, welche folgendermaßen beschrieben wurden:

„(1) simply circling the targeted forms in Level 1, (2) providing a simple pronunciation of the forms, a slight raising of their intonation of the targeted forms, or an occasional comment such as “oh, here is another one” in Level 2, and (3) interpreting or translating the targeted form, whether correct or incorrect, in Level 3.” (Leow 2015: 215)

Leow, Hsieh und Moreno (2008) schlussfolgerten, dass die erste Verarbeitungsebene (hier als *Level 1* beschrieben) in allen fünf Gruppen am meisten vertreten ist. Dies könnte also der Grund sein, warum auch keine bedeutenden Ergebnisunterschiede zwischen den Gruppen erkennbar sind, die niedrigen Resultate interagieren eben mit der niedrigsten Verarbeitungstiefe (*Level 1*).

Für die vorliegende Untersuchung ist auch die Arbeit von Calderón (2013) relevant. Calderón (ebd.) erforschte in ihrer Untersuchung unter anderem die Beziehung zwischen dem Sprachkenntnisstand, den Verarbeitungstiefen und dem Intake bei Spanisch Lernenden. Die Untersuchungsteilnehmenden waren 24 muttersprachliche Eng-



lisch Lernende, die sich im ersten oder dritten Semester eines Spanischstudiums befanden. Sie wurden alle mündlich einem Textabschnitt im Spanischen ausgesetzt, der komplexe Strukturen bezüglich des *past perfect subjunctive* enthielt. Die Verarbeitungstiefen bezüglich dieser fremdsprachlichen Zielstruktur wurden mit Hilfe von Think-Aloud-Protokollen erfasst. Calderón (ebd.) schlussfolgerte anhand ihrer Ergebnisse, dass die hohe Verarbeitungsebene, eine fördernde Rolle auf die Intake-Verarbeitung sowohl in Bezug auf den niedrigeren als auch höheren Sprachkenntnisstand hatte. Calderón (2014) ging auch einen Schritt weiter bezüglich der Erforschung der Verarbeitungstiefen, um ihre Rolle aus einer anderen Perspektive zu erfassen. So befasste sie sich in ihrer Doktorarbeit mit der Beziehung zwischen den Intake-Ebenen, den Verarbeitungstiefen, der Art des sprachlichen Items (grammatisches vs. lexikalisches Item) und der Reaktivität. Die Ergebnisse bezüglich der Verarbeitungstiefen verweisen darauf, dass „depth of processing not only may play a role in subsequent processing of intake but also appears to facilitate the deeper processing needed for incorporation of intake into the developing system (...)” (Calderón 2014: 3).

Das Forschungsmodell von Adrada-Rafael (2017) ist ebenfalls für die vorliegende Arbeit relevant, da es die Beziehung zwischen den expliziten und impliziten Lehrmethoden und den Verarbeitungstiefen umfasst. Die 88 Spanisch als Zweitsprache Lernenden wurden verschiedenen Lehrmethoden bezüglich des Explizitheitsgrades ausgesetzt, wobei die Verarbeitung einer komplexen grammatischen Zielstruktur mit Hilfe von Think-Aloud-Protokollen untersucht wurde. Die Untersuchungsergebnisse zeigen, dass die expliziten Lehrmethoden zu mehr Verarbeitung verleiteten, zu einer besseren Produktion der Zielstruktur und einem besseren Verstehen führten, und mit der hohen Verarbeitungstiefe interagierten.

Die hier dargestellten Untersuchungsergebnisse zeigen, dass die verschiedenen kognitiven Mikroprozesse in der Input-Intake-Phase, die auch in Verbindung mit den Verarbeitungstiefen gebracht werden können, sowohl durch Laboruntersuchungen als auch im Klassenzimmer in Bezug auch weitere noch nicht erfasste Zielstrukturen erforscht werden müssen. Die Analyse der Verarbeitungstiefen könnte eine zusätzliche Hilfestellung zur Klärung der Verarbeitungsprozesse während der frühen Phasen des fremdsprachlichen Lernprozesses geben und somit zur positiven Entwicklung bezüglich des gesamten Lernprozesses beitragen.

### 3. METHODOLOGIE

#### 3.1. *Untersuchungsziel, Fragen und Hypothesen*

Das Hauptziel der Untersuchung ist es, die Beziehung zwischen den Verarbeitungstiefen bezüglich der fremdsprachlichen Zielstruktur in den explizit und implizit geschaffenen Bedingungen zu untersuchen. Dabei wird auf die folgenden Fragen und Hypothesen eingegangen:

1. Welche der Verarbeitungstiefen ist bei der Inputverarbeitung der zugrunde liegenden fremdsprachlichen Zielstruktur am relevantesten?

Hypothese 1: Die hohe Verarbeitungstiefe wird bei der Inputverarbeitung der komplexen grammatischen fremdsprachlichen Zielstruktur im Gegensatz zur niedrigeren und mittleren Verarbeitungstiefe einen starken Effekt zeigen.

2. In welcher Beziehung stehen die Verarbeitungstiefen und die Lernergebnisse der expliziten und impliziten Untersuchungsgruppe beim unmittelbaren und verzögerten Posttest?

Hypothese 2: Die explizite Untersuchungsgruppe wird beim unmittelbaren und verzögerten Posttest bessere Lernresultate erzielen, die im Vergleich zur impliziten Untersuchungsgruppe eine positive Interaktion bezüglich der hohen Verarbeitungstiefen aufweisen werden.

#### 3.2. *Untersuchungsdesign*

##### 3.2.1. *Teilnehmende*

Die insgesamt 92 Untersuchungsteilnehmenden waren 43 kroatische Gymnasiasten der dritten Klasse eines vierjährigen Gymnasialprogrammes (laut des Gemeinsamen europäischen Referenzrahmens (GeR)<sup>4</sup> befinden sie sich auf der B1/B1+ Sprachebene) und 49 kroatische Germanistikstudierende des ersten Studienjahres eines Bachelorprogrammes (laut dem GeR befinden sie sich auf der B2/B2+ Sprachebene). Diese beiden Untersuchungsgruppen unterscheiden sich in erster Linie durch den Sprachkenntnisstand, auf dem sie sich befinden, und damit durch das sprachliche explizite und implizite Vorwissen, über das sie verfügen. Um an der Untersuchung teilnehmen zu können, durften die Teilnehmenden a) beim Pretest kein Vorwissen bezüglich der Zielstruktur aufweisen, b) vor und während der Untersuchung keinen

4 <https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages>

metalinguistischen Instruktionen oder keinem formalen Unterricht bezüglich der Zielstruktur ausgesetzt sein, und c) die Teilnehmenden mussten an allen drei Phasen des Experiments teilnehmen.

### 3.2.2. *Untersuchungsmethoden und -instrumente*

#### *Das Experiment*

Das Experiment wurde in drei Phasen durchgeführt: 1) Pretest, 2) Treatmentphase mit einem unmittelbaren (engl. *immediate*) Posttest und 3) einem verzögerten (engl. *delayed*) Posttest. In der ersten Phase wurde mit Hilfe des Pretests (siehe Anhang 1) der Ausgangspunkt bezüglich der Zielstruktur bei den Untersuchungsteilnehmenden festgelegt, wobei sie kein Vorwissen bezüglich der Zielstruktur aufweisen durften. Die zweite Phase, das Treatment, fand während des DaF-Unterrichts in der Schule und an der Fakultät statt und dauerte pro Untersuchungsgruppe 90 Minuten.

Die Untersuchungsteilnehmenden, sowohl die Gruppe der Gymnasiasten als auch die Gruppe der Germanistikstudierenden, wurden zur Durchführung des Experiments in zwei Untergruppen geteilt: 1.) Eine Untergruppe wurde während der Treatmentphase expliziten Lehrmethoden, 2.) die andere Untergruppe impliziten Lehrmethoden ausgesetzt.

Unter der Berücksichtigung der aus den verschiedenen Metaanalysen (Norris und Ortega 2000; Spada und Tomita 2010; Goo, Granena, Yilmaz und Novella 2015) gewonnenen Erkenntnisse und weiteren relevanten Studien aus dem Fremd- und Zweitsprachenbereich, die sich mit der positiven Rolle der Verarbeitungstiefen im Lernprozess beschäftigen (z. B. Adrada-Rafael 2017; Hsieh, Moreno und Leow 2015), wurden für die vorliegende Arbeit die folgenden expliziten und impliziten Lehrmethoden ausgewählt. Unter expliziten Lehrmethoden versteht man die metalinguistische Erklärung bezüglich der zugrunde liegenden Regel (vgl. Benati 2005; Master 1994), metalinguistisches Feedback und explizite Korrekturen (vgl. z. B. Ellis et al. 2006; Carroll und Swain 1993). Hinzu kommt auch der Einsatz kontrastiver didaktischer Mittel in Bezug auf die Mutter- bzw. Fremdsprache (vgl. z. B. Spada et al. 2005). Unter impliziten Instruktionsmaßnahmen versteht man implizites Feedback (Recasts<sup>5</sup> und Wiederholungen), Inputverstärkung<sup>6</sup> und Inputflut<sup>7</sup> (vgl. z. B. Spada

5 Recasts werden in dieser Arbeit in Anlehnung an Leows Definiton (2015: 148) wie folgt verstanden: „Recasts are a type of negative feedback that an interlocutor provides in response to an L2 learner’s erroneous utterance that also maintains the L2 learner’s original meaning.“

6 Unter *Inputverstärkung* versteht man in dieser Arbeit Formen der Inputmanipulierung durch Hervorhebung, z.B. fett abgedruckte, unterstrichene, farblich markierte Formen der Zielstruktur usw.

und Lightbown 1999). Im Allgemeinen kann man feststellen, dass sich die hier verwendeten Instruktionen auf die folgenden von Norris und Ortega (2000) postulierten Anweisungen stützen:

„Following De Keyser (1995), an L2 instructional treatment was considered to be explicit if rule *explanation* comprised part of the instruction (in this sense, explicit designates deductive and metalinguistic) or if learners were directly asked to attend to particular forms and to try to arrive at metalinguistic generalizations on their own (...). Conversely, when neither rule presentation nor directions to attend to particular forms were part of a treatment, that treatment was considered implicit.” (Norris und Ortega 2000: 437)

Nach dem Treatment wurde ein unmittelbarer Posttest (ein paralleles Set von Aufgaben; siehe Anhang 2) durchgeführt, um die Verarbeitungstiefen nach dem Treatment zu untersuchen und mögliche Veränderungen zu erfassen. In der dritten Phase wurde ein verzögerter Posttest (siehe Anhang 1), der zwei Monate nach dem unmittelbaren Posttest stattfand, durchgeführt.

Der Pre-, unmittelbare Post- und verzögerte Posttest (siehe Anhang 1 und 2) unterliegen inhaltlich dem gleichen Konzept und setzten sich aus insgesamt drei Aufgaben zusammen. Die erste Aufgabe war eine Richtig-Falsch-Aufgabe bei der die Untersuchungsteilnehmenden nur die richtige Antwort ankreuzen mussten, wobei sie zum Ziel hatte, die Untersuchungsteilnehmenden für die folgenden Aufgaben zu motivieren und vorzuentlasten. Die zweite Aufgabe war ebenfalls eine Richtig-Falsch-Aufgabe, bei der die Untersuchungsteilnehmenden jetzt jedoch auch eine Erklärung in Bezug auf die angekreuzte Antwort laut ins Mikrofon artikulieren mussten. Das Ziel dieser Aufgabe war es, die Verarbeitungstiefen bezüglich der morphosyntaktischen, semantischen und pragmatischen Merkmale der fremdsprachlichen Zielstruktur zu untersuchen. Das gleiche Ziel verfolgt auch die letzte Aufgabe, bei der es sich um eine gesteuerte Transformationsaufgabe handelt. Die Untersuchungsteilnehmenden mussten laut ins Mikrofon a) die präsentierten Sätze nach dem angegebenen Muster umformulieren, und b) eine Erklärung darüber abgeben, was sie dazu verleitet hat, die Sätze (nicht) zu transformieren.

Nach Leow (2015) ist es besonders wichtig, die konzeptuelle Bearbeitung der zielsprachlichen Beispiele zu gewährleisten, um somit auch mögliche Reaktivitätseinflüsse und Item gesteuertes Lernen auszuschließen. Es muss daher angemerkt werden, dass sich die zielsprachlichen Beispiele beim Pretest, unmittelbaren und verzögerten Posttest von den zielsprachlichen Items, die während des Treatments verwendet wurden, unterscheiden.

7 *Inputflut* bezieht sich auf die künstliche Erhöhung des Auftretens der Zielstruktur im Input.

### *Die Think-Aloud-Methode*

Um die Verarbeitungstiefen, die kognitiven Anstrengungen der Untersuchungsteilnehmenden, zu erfassen, wurde die Methode des Lauten Denkens bzw. die Think-Aloud-Methode angewandt. Da die vorliegende Untersuchung im Klassenzimmer und einem spezifischen Kontext durchgeführt wurde, konnten nicht *online* sondern nur *offline* Think-Aloud-Protokolle angewandt werden, d.h. die Methode des Lauten Denkens wurde nicht während der Verarbeitung des Inputs eingesetzt. Die Methode des Lauten Denkens wurde nach dem Treatment (engl. *offline*) und während der Testphase angewandt. Somit wurde das Produkt nach der ersten Verarbeitungsphase gemessen, nicht aber der Prozess. Der Zugang zu den Verarbeitungstiefen ist jedoch trotzdem so nah wie möglich am Verarbeitungsprozess gewährleistet.

Die Think-Aloud-Protokolle des Pretests, des unmittelbaren und verzögerten Posttests wurden transkribiert und bezüglich der Verarbeitungstiefen analysiert und kodifiziert. Beim Prozess der Analyse und Kodifizierung stützte man sich auf die Analyse der Verarbeitungstiefen nach Leows (2015: 228) *Operationalisierungsmodell* (siehe Tabelle 1).

### *3.2.3. Datenerhebung und die Methoden der qualitativen und quantitativen Datenanalyse*

Der Pretest (siehe Anhang 1) wurde mit Hilfe eines Googleformulars jeweils eine Woche vor dem Treatment durchgeführt. Die Think-Aloud-Protokolle für den Pretest und den unmittelbaren und verzögerten Posttest wurden für jeden Untersuchungsteilnehmenden mit Hilfe des Programmes *Audacity* aufgenommen, wobei die Untersuchungsteilnehmenden jeweils 30 Minuten Zeit für die einzelnen Tests hatten. Um die Untersuchungsteilnehmenden so gut wie möglich auf die für sie neue Situation in Bezug auf das Laute Denken vorzubereiten, wurden sie vor der Durchführung der eigentlichen Untersuchung mit der technischen Ausrüstung (dem Equipment und dem Computerprogramm) bekannt gemacht.

Die zweite Phase, das Treatment, dauerte pro Untersuchungsgruppe 90 Minuten. Um die interne Validität<sup>8</sup> der Untersuchung zu sichern, wurde das Treatment mit Hilfe von Audio- und Videogeräten aufgenommen. Nach dem Treatment folgte der unmittelbare Posttest.

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8 Leow (2015) definiert den Begriff *interne Validität* wie folgt: „Internal validity deals with whether the interpretation of the research findings is firmly based within the study itself or, in other words, how well the data elicited answer the research questions (Hatch & Lazaraton, 1991). External validity deals with whether the findings can be generalizable to the participant population and other similar settings. A study cannot have external validity if it does not have internal validity.“ (Leow 2015: 110)

telbare Posttest (siehe Anhang 2) ohne jegliche Pausen. Nach mehr als zwei Monaten wurde dann der verspätete Posttest als dritte Phase durchgeführt.

Die erhobenen Daten wurden qualitativ und quantitativ analysiert. Zunächst wurden die Lernergebnisse der einzelnen Testphasen ausgewertet. Danach wurden die Think-Aloud-Protokolle transkribiert, ausgewertet und kodifiziert. Nach der qualitativen Datenanalyse folgte die statistische Analyse der von der Untersuchung umfassten abhängigen Variable *Test* (Pretest vs. unmittelbarer Posttest vs. verzögerter Posttest) und der unabhängigen Variablen *Lehrmethode* (explizit vs. implizit) und *Verarbeitungstiefe* (niedrige vs. mittlere vs. hohe). Um diese Variablen statistisch zu untersuchen, wurden deskriptive Analysen und mehrfaktorielle Varianzanalysen (ANOVA mit Greenhouse-Geisser-Korrektur und ANOVA post-hoc Tests mit Bonferroni Korrektur) durchgeführt. Die statistische Analyse wurde mithilfe des Programmpakets *SPSS for Windows 17.0.* erstellt.

#### 4. UNTERSUCHUNGSERGEBNISSE

Um die Hypothese in Bezug auf die erste Forschungsfrage zu hinterfragen, wurde zunächst der Mauchly-Test auf Sphärizität für die Variable *Verarbeitungstiefe* (Mauchly  $w = ,39$ ,  $ss = 2$ ,  $p < ,01$ ) durchgeführt. Die Variable *Verarbeitungstiefe* zeigt einen statistisch signifikanten Haupteffekt ( $F(1, 024, 108.20) = 97,77$ ,  $p < ,01^9$ , partielles  $\epsilon^2 = ,53^{01}$ ), was sich auf die Durchschnittswerte des gesamten Korpus bezieht. Der Unterschied zwischen der niedrigeren, mittleren und hohen Verarbeitungstiefe (mit einem Bonferroni post-hoc-Test getestet) zeigt, dass die hohe Verarbeitungstiefe statistisch relevanter ist als die niedrige ( $\Delta M = 2,19$ ,  $p < ,01$ ) und mittlere ( $\Delta M = 2,28$ ,  $p < ,01$ ) Verarbeitungstiefe. Die niedrige und die mittlere zeigen keinen Unterschied ( $\Delta M = ,09$ ,  $p > ,05$ ).

Um die zweite Forschungsfrage zu beantworten, wurden die Variablen *Lehrmethode*, *Verarbeitungstiefe* und *Test* zerlegt und weiter auf signifikante Interaktionen untersucht.

Die Variable bezüglich der Art der Lehrmethode (explizit vs. implizit) zeigt einen generell signifikanten Effekt auf die Testergebnisse ( $F(1, 87) = 122,58$ ,  $p < ,01$ ), d. h. die Variablen *Lehrmethode* und *Test* stehen in Interaktion ( $F(1, 85) = 66,45$ ,  $p < ,01$ ,

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9 Diese Ergebnisse zeigen die Werte der mixed ANOVA und liegen der folgenden Formel zugrunde:  $F(df_{Zähler}, df_{Nenner}) = F\text{-Wert}; p = \text{Signifikanz}$ .

01 partielles  $\epsilon^2 = \text{Effektstärke}$  für ANOVAs nach Cohen (1988) bei .01 (kleiner Effekt), .06 (mittlerer Effekt), .14 (großer Effekt).

partiell  $\epsilon^2 = ,44$ ), wobei die Untersuchungsteilnehmenden aus der Gruppe der expliziten Lehrmethoden besser abschneiden als die implizite Instruktionsgruppe ( $\Delta M = 1,85, p > ,01$ ). Dies bezieht sich sowohl auf den unmittelbaren als auch auf den verzögerten Posttest, wobei der Unterschied beim unmittelbaren Posttest besser zum Vorschein kommt ( $\Delta M = 8,50, p < ,01$ ) im Vergleich zum verzögerten Posttest ( $\Delta M = 2,73, p < ,01$ ).

Es scheint so als spielten die Lehrmethoden (explizit vs. implizit) bei der Verarbeitungstiefe statistisch betrachtet eine Rolle. Ein Bonferroni post-hoc Test zeigt, dass die Resultate der impliziten Untersuchungsgruppen mit der niedrigen ( $\Delta M = ,05, p > ,05$ ), jedoch nicht signifikant mit der mittleren ( $\Delta M = ,23, p > ,05$ ) Verarbeitungstiefe interagieren, wobei die Resultate der Untersuchungsteilnehmer der expliziten Untersuchungsgruppen eine starke Interaktion mit der hohen Verarbeitungstiefe zeigen ( $\Delta M = 6,31, p > ,05$ ).

Die Interaktion der Variablen *Verarbeitungstiefe* und *Test* (Mauchly  $w = ,48, ss = 2, p < ,01$ ) war statistisch auf der 5%-Ebene relevant. Die Daten konnten somit weiter nach F-Werten (nach Greenhouse-Geisser-Korrekturverfahren erforscht) analysiert werden. Tabelle 2 zeigt die zugrunde liegenden Resultate in Bezug auf die alle in diesem Abschnitt angeführten Variablen (*Verarbeitungstiefe*, *Lehrmethode* und *Test*):

Tabelle 2. F-Werte der mixed ANOVA für die Variablen *Verarbeitungstiefe* (niedrige vs. mittlere vs. hohe) in Bezug auf die Variablen *Lehrmethode* (explizit vs. implizit) und *Test* (unmittelbarer Posttest vs. verzögerter Posttest)

Variable	Df	df	F	Sig.	Partielles Eta-Quadrat
<b>Verarbeitungstiefe</b>	1,244	108,20	97,766	,000	,529
<b>Verarbeitungstiefe*Lehrmethode</b>	1,244		219,280	,000	,716
<b>Verarbeitungstiefe*Test</b>	1,315	114,387	46,139	,000	,347
<b>Verarbeitungstiefe*Lehrmethode*Test</b>	1,315		77,013	,000	,470

Der Tabelle ist zu entnehmen, dass die Interaktion zwischen den Variablen *Verarbeitungstiefe* und *Test* (siehe dritte Datenreihe) statistisch betrachtet signifikant ( $F(1,32, 114,39) = 46,14, p < ,01$ , partiell  $\epsilon^2 = ,35$ ) ist, wobei zusätzliche Analysen eine signifikante Interaktion zwischen der hohen Verarbeitungstiefe und den Lernergebnissen beim unmittelbaren Posttest im Gegensatz zum verzögerten Posttest ( $\Delta M = 2,85, p > ,01$ ) zeigen.



In Bezug auf die zweite Forschungsfrage, die sich mit der Beziehung zwischen den Verarbeitungstiefen und den Lernergebnissen der expliziten und impliziten Untersuchungsgruppe beim unmittelbaren und verzögerten Posttest beschäftigt, kann man anhand Tabelle 2 (letzte Datenreihe) schlussfolgern, dass die Interaktion zwischen den Variablen *Verarbeitungstiefe* (niedrige, mittlere, hohe), *Lehrmethoden* (explizit vs. implizit) und *Test* (unmittelbar vs. verzögert) statistisch signifikant ( $F=77,01$ ,  $p < ,01$ , partielles  $\epsilon^2=,47$ ) ist, wobei die erhaltenen Werte auf eine sehr starke Interaktion hindeuten. Es wurden dennoch zusätzliche Analysen durchgeführt, die statistische Unterschiede bezüglich der drei vorgestellten Variablen und deren Verteilung zeigen. In Bezug auf den unmittelbaren Posttest zeichnet sich eine Interaktion zwischen den Resultaten der impliziten Untersuchungsgruppen, der niedrigen Verarbeitungstiefe ( $\Delta M = ,97$ ,  $p > ,01$ ) und der mittleren Verarbeitungstiefe ( $\Delta M = ,76$ ,  $p > ,01$ ) ab, aber eine starke Interaktion zwischen der hohen Verarbeitungstiefe und den Resultaten der expliziten Untersuchungsgruppen ( $9,08$ ,  $p < ,01$ ). Beim verzögerten Posttest haben sich die expliziten Lehrmethoden bei der hohen Verarbeitungstiefe ( $\Delta M = 3,54$ ,  $p > ,01$ ) als effektiver bewiesen.

## 5. DISKUSSION

Das Hauptziel der Untersuchung war es, die Rolle der Verarbeitungstiefen bei der Verarbeitung einer unbekannt grammatischen Zielstruktur (den nicht passivfähigen Verben) im Deutschen als Fremdsprache unter expliziten und impliziten Lehrmethoden zu untersuchen. Anhand der quantitativen und qualitativen Analyse des untersuchten Korpus kann man die erste Hypothese bestätigen und in Bezug auf die erste Forschungsfrage schlussfolgern, dass die Verarbeitungstiefen, wie erwartet, einen statistisch signifikanten Unterschied (siehe Tabelle 2) mit einem starken Effekt zeigen, wobei die hohe Verarbeitungstiefe [+hV] statistisch relevanter ist als die niedrige [+nV] und mittlere [+mV]. Die niedrige [+nV] und die mittlere [+mV] Verarbeitungstiefe zeigen statistisch betrachtet keinen signifikanten Unterschied auf. Diese Ergebnisse decken sich mit den Ergebnissen bezüglich der Verarbeitungstiefen bei grammatischen Zielstrukturen aus den Untersuchungen von Calderón (2013), Leow (2015), Adrada-Rafael (2017), weshalb sie von einer fördernden Rolle der hohen Verarbeitungstiefe bei der Verarbeitung grammatischen Inputs in der Input-Intake-Phase ausgehen, d.h. je kognitiv tiefer das Input verarbeitet wird, desto höher die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass dieses Input in Intake umgewandelt werden kann.



In Bezug auf die zweite Forschungsfrage konnte die aufgestellte Hypothese ebenfalls bestätigt werden. Es konnte demnach sowohl beim unmittelbaren als auch beim verzögerten Posttest eine starke Interaktion zwischen den Lernergebnissen, den Lehrmethoden und den Verarbeitungstiefen nachgewiesen werden (siehe Tabelle 2). Die expliziten Lehrmethoden zeigen insgesamt betrachtet bessere Resultate bezüglich der Lernergebnisse beim unmittelbaren und verzögerten Posttest, wobei die Lernergebnisse sowohl beim unmittelbaren als auch verzögerten Posttest eine starke Interaktion mit der hohen Verarbeitungstiefe aufweisen. Diese Interaktion ist aber doch beim unmittelbaren Posttest bedeutender. Die expliziten Lehrmethoden scheinen offensichtlich zu einer tieferen und somit effektiveren kognitiven Verarbeitung der hier zugrunde liegenden Zielstruktur, der (nicht) passivfähigen Verben, zu motivieren, die dann als höhere Verarbeitungstiefe festgehalten werden kann. Diese explizit gesteuerten Impulse stimulieren die Untersuchungsteilnehmenden kognitiv intensiver und ausreichend, um sich mit der Zielstruktur effektiver auseinanderzusetzen und diese zu Intake zu verarbeiten, was sich in den besseren Lernleistungen bei den Posttests widerspiegelt.

Beim unmittelbaren Posttest konnte statistisch auch eine starke Interaktion zwischen den Lernergebnissen der Untersuchungsteilnehmenden, die impliziten Lehrmethoden ausgesetzt waren, und der niedrigen, jedoch nicht signifikant mit der mittleren Verarbeitungstiefe beobachtet werden. Diese Interaktion lässt darauf hindeuten, dass die impliziten Lehrmethoden (zumindest in unserem Untersuchungsdesign) die Untersuchungsteilnehmenden in einer nicht ausreichenden Form gefordert und gefördert hat und sie deshalb wahrscheinlich nicht in der Lage waren, die sprachlichen Impulse in einer kognitiv ausreichenden Form zu verarbeiten, um Hypothesen bezüglich der Zielstruktur bilden zu können, und somit die zielsprachliche Struktur besser oder zumindest gleich stark wie die Untersuchungsteilnehmenden, die expliziten Lehrmethoden ausgesetzt waren, zu verarbeiten und als Intake aufzunehmen. Es ist daher vorstellbar, dass die Untersuchungsteilnehmenden mit der Lösung des unmittelbaren Posttests überfordert waren, weil sie dem dargebotenen Input in einer nicht ausreichenden Form ausgesetzt waren und so die Aufgaben nicht leistungsstark auf der gleichen Ebene wie die Untersuchungsteilnehmenden, denen das komplexe fremdsprachliche Material explizit aufbereitet wurde, lösen konnten. Auch dieses Erkenntnis deckt sich mit den Annahmen von Adrada-Rafael (2017) und Leow (2015), da auch sie eine starke Interaktion zwischen der hohen Verarbeitungstiefe, den expliziten Lehrmethoden und besseren Lernergebnissen nachweisen konnten.

Beim verzögerten Posttest zeigt sich nur eine starke Interaktion zwischen den Lernergebnissen der expliziten Untersuchungsgruppen und der hohen Verarbeitungstiefe. Auch diese Ergebnisse decken sich mit Adrada-Rafaels (2017) Auslegungen, dass bei den Verarbeitungstiefen die höchste Verarbeitungstiefe, die auf einer gesteigerten kognitiven Leistung der Lernenden beruht, eine wichtige Rolle bezüglich des Lernergebnisses und der Lehrmethoden spielen kann. Wie bereits auch von Leow (z. B. 2008, 2015, 2018) postuliert, je kognitiv tiefer und somit intensiver sich Lernende mit der Zielstruktur beschäftigen, desto kognitiv effektiver wird die Zielstruktur verarbeitet und desto bessere Lernergebnisse können dann auch geleistet werden. Die Tatsache, dass sich die Interaktion zwischen den impliziten Lehrmethoden und der niedrigeren Verarbeitungstiefe beim verzögerten Posttest hat nicht aufrechterhalten können, bestätigt ebenfalls die von z. B. Leow (ebd.), Adrada-Raafel (2017), Calderón (2013) erhaltenen Ergebnisse bezüglich des Effekts der expliziten und impliziten Lehrmethoden in Bezug auf die Verarbeitung komplexer grammatischer Strukturen, wobei eine Anwendung der expliziten Instruktionsmaßnahmen befürwortet wird.

Man muss jedoch auch betonen, dass die hohe Verarbeitungstiefe sich zwar als besonders effektiv beim unmittelbaren Posttest gezeigt hat, dass sich diese Resultate aber jedoch beim verzögerten Posttest haben nicht aufrechterhalten können. Diese Regression zeigt, dass die hohe Verarbeitungstiefe zwar eine sehr gute Grundlage für eine weitere Verarbeitung des Intakes bietet, doch ohne eine effektive Steuerung und Realisierung dieses Potenzials in den weiteren Phasen des Lernprozesses, d.h. ohne die weitere Verarbeitung im Sinne von Einübung, nicht aufrechterhalten werden kann und damit auch weniger nützlich für den weiteren Lernprozess ist.

## 6. EINSCHRÄNKUNGEN

Zweit- und Fremdsprachenforscher, die sich mit der Erforschung der Verarbeitungstiefen beschäftigt haben, haben sich auch kritisch mit ihren Untersuchungsdesigns auseinandergesetzt, um eine mögliche Verbesserung und einen aufschlussreicheren Ausgangspunkt angehender Untersuchungen zu gewährleisten.

Eine der Einschränkungen dieser Untersuchung ist die geringe Anzahl von nur 92 Untersuchungsteilnehmenden, was beispielsweise andere Interaktions- und besonders Korrelationsanalysen, wie etwa die Pearson-Korrelationsanalyse, als Messinstrument ausschließt. Der Grund für die geringere Anzahl der Untersuchungsteilnehmenden geht auf das komplexe Untersuchungsdesign und die verschiedenen in Kapitel 3.2.2. beschriebenen Bedingungen und Faktoren in Bezug auf die Untersuchungsteilnahme

(z. B. die Teilnahme an allen drei Phasen, technische Einschränkungen usw.) zurück.

Eine weitere Einschränkung bezieht sich auf die angewandte *offline* Think-Aloud-Methode. Da es sich doch um eine Untersuchung im Klassenzimmer handelte und nicht um eine Laboruntersuchung, konnten *online* Think-Aloud-Protokolle nicht in Betracht gezogen werden. Man ging davon aus, dass aufgrund des schulischen Kontextes und der Profile der Untersuchungsteilnehmenden *online* Think-Aloud-Protokolle eine kognitiv betrachtet zu komplexe Untersuchungsumgebung für die Teilnehmenden dargestellt hätten, was sich sicherlich auch auf die interne Validität der Untersuchung ausgewirkt hätte. Für zukünftige Untersuchungen muss vor allem auch die Anwendung der Eye-Tracking-Methode befürwortet werden. Solche Untersuchungen sind finanziell sehr aufwendig, da das entsprechende Gerät und Programm erworben werden müssen, was wahrscheinlich auch der Grund ist, warum diese Methode bis jetzt z. B. in Kroatien in Bezug auf die Erforschung der Verarbeitungstiefen im fremdsprachlichen Kontext noch nicht angewandt wurde. Die Anwendung dieser Methoden würde jedoch zusätzliche, sehr präzise und aufschlussreiche Angaben in Bezug auf den Prozess der Verarbeitung der Reize in der Input-Intake-Phase geben.

Darüber hinaus muss angeführt werden, dass eine weitere Einschränkung die von Leow (2015) übernommenen Deskriptoren sind, vor allem die der niedrigen und mittleren Verarbeitungstiefen müssen noch präziser ausgearbeitet werden. Leow (2015: 228) beschreibt beispielsweise die mittlere Verarbeitungstiefe, wie in Tabelle 1 bereits vorgestellt, wie folgt: „Spends a bit more time processing target item Makes comments that indicate some processing of target item Some level of cognitive effort to process target item grammatically.“ Diese Formulierung stellte sich jedoch während der qualitativen Datenanalyse als problematisch dar, weshalb die Deskriptoren nochmals systematisch durchdacht werden sollten, um ihre Anwendung noch transparenter zu gestalten.

## **7. SCHLUSSFOLGERUNG UND PÄDAGOGISCHE IMPLIKATIONEN**

Nach der Durchführung der vorliegenden Untersuchung lassen sich aufschlussreiche Rückschlüsse in Bezug auf die Rolle der Verarbeitungstiefen in Bezug auf die expliziten und impliziten Lehrmethoden und dabei zum Erwerb der (nicht) passivfähigen Verben im Deutschen als Fremdsprache aufdecken. Die qualitativen und quantitativen Resultate zeigen eine starke positive Beziehung zwischen den Lehrmethoden, den

Lernergebnissen der Posttests und den Verarbeitungstiefen, wobei es einen Unterschied in Bezug auf die Art des Posttests gibt. Beim unmittelbaren Posttest gibt es eine starke positive Interaktion zwischen den Lernergebnissen derjenigen Untersuchungsteilnehmenden, die expliziten Lehrmethoden ausgesetzt waren, und der hohen Verarbeitungstiefe. Im Gegensatz dazu gibt es eine positive Interaktion zwischen den Lernergebnissen derjenigen Untersuchungsteilnehmenden, die impliziten Lehrmethoden ausgesetzt waren, und der niedrigen und mittleren Verarbeitungstiefe. In diesem Vergleich zeigen jedoch die expliziten Lehrmethoden bessere Lernresultate. Auch beim verzögerten Posttest zeigt sich eine starke Interaktion zwischen den Lernergebnissen nach der Anwendung der expliziten Lehrmethoden und der hohen Verarbeitungstiefe. Die expliziten Lehrmethoden scheinen sich also fördernd auf die tiefere Verarbeitung der fremdsprachlichen Zielstruktur auszuwirken, was dann wiederum zu besseren Lernergebnissen führt. Je kognitiv tiefer sich die Lernenden mit der fremdsprachlichen Zielstruktur auseinandersetzen, desto effektiver verarbeiten sie die grammatische Zielstruktur, was sich dann auch positiv auf ihre Lernergebnisse auswirken kann.

Die hier vorgestellten Untersuchungsergebnisse zeigen, dass die Verarbeitungstiefen bei der Umwandlung von Input in Intake eine fördernde Rolle zu spielen scheinen. Diese Erkenntnis sollte im pädagogischen Kontext anwendbar gemacht werden und in fremdsprachliche Curricula eingebaut werden. Unter der Berücksichtigung der empirischen Untersuchungsergebnisse und den Beobachtungen, die während der Transkription der Protokolle des Lauten Denkens gemacht wurden, muss vor allem hervorgehoben werden, dass in den frühen Phasen des fremdsprachlichen Lernprozesses explizitere Lehrmethoden bei komplexen, mehrdimensionalen grammatischen Zielstrukturen angewandt werden sollten, um eine bessere und langfristig robustere Umwandlung des Inputs in Intake zu gewährleisten. Die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass die zugrunde liegende grammatische Zielstruktur erfolgreich erfasst werden kann, ist höher je tiefer und kognitiv bewusster Lernende sich mit der grammatischen Zielstruktur beschäftigen und diese verarbeiten. Instruktionsmaßnahmen, die sich auf dem Kontinuum auf der expliziten Hälfte angesiedelt haben, wirken sich fördernd auf die Steigerung der Verarbeitungstiefen aus. Die entsprechende zugrunde liegende grammatische Zielstruktur im Input wird in einer angemesseneren Form zur Verfügung gestellt und kann dann weiter für die Verarbeitung und Hypothesenbildung bezüglich der fremdsprachlichen grammatischen Zielstruktur beitragen.

Die zugrunde liegenden Untersuchungsergebnisse könnten jedoch auch aus einer anderen pädagogischen Perspektive von Bedeutung sein. Vor allem schwächere SchülerInnen haben oft Schwierigkeiten mit der Verarbeitung komplexer grammatischer

Zielstrukturen. Genau für diese SchülerInnen scheinen die vorliegenden Untersuchungsergebnisse von Bedeutung zu sein, um ihnen die Verarbeitung komplexer ziel-sprachlicher Strukturen zu erleichtern und kognitiv näher zu bringen. Da auch die impliziten Lehrmethoden zur effektiven Verarbeitung der Zielstruktur führten, könnten vielleicht zunächst implizitere Lehrmethoden angewandt werden, um die niedrigen und mittleren Verarbeitungsebenen zu aktivieren und den SchülerInnen kognitiv zugänglicher zu machen. Danach sollten dann die expliziteren Lehrmethoden, um die hohe Verarbeitungsebene, die mit den besseren Lernergebnissen interagiert, zu erreichen und um so zur effektiveren Verarbeitung der komplexen Zielstruktur beizutragen. Dieses Zwei-Phasen-Modell könnte der effektivste Weg zur Verarbeitung des komplexen grammatischen Inputs in Intake sein.

Wie bereits schon in Kapitel 4 angedeutet, muss auch an dieser Stelle nochmals betont werden, dass es einen Bedarf an weiteren Untersuchungen mit einer größeren Anzahl von Untersuchungsteilnehmenden gibt, um die Rolle der Verarbeitungstiefen bei der Verarbeitung von grammatischen Zielstrukturen noch besser zu erforschen. Da bis jetzt vermehrt Untersuchungen im Labor durchgeführt wurden (vgl. Leow 2015; Medina 2015; Hsieh et al. 2015; Adrada-Rafael 2017 usw.), scheint es nun an der Zeit zu sein, diese empirisch im Labor sich abzeichnende Tendenzen und Angaben vermehrt im Klassenzimmer zu testen, weiter zu erforschen und so entsprechende robustere pädagogische Implikationen für die Fremdsprachendidaktik zur Verfügung zu stellen.

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## **Anhang 1**

### **Pretest und verzögerter Posttest**

#### **Aufgabe 1:**

Lesen Sie sich bitte die Sätze genau durch. Was glauben Sie, welche Sätze sind **sprachlich akzeptabel** und **grammatisch richtig**? **Kreuzen Sie an.**

1. Den ganzen Abend wurde von uns diskutiert.
2. Das Päckchen wird der alten Dame vom Briefträger gegeben.
3. Bis jetzt wird wenig über die seltene Krankheit gewusst.
4. Die Suppe wurde vom Koch gekostet.
5. Nach dem Hurrikan wurde an Wasser gefehlt.
6. Ein Zentner wird vom Kater gewogen.
7. Die besten Plätze werden von den ersten Theaterbesuchern besetzt.
8. Von ihm wurde sein gesamter Mut gefasst, um ihr einen Heiratsantrag zu stellen.
9. Das Fleisch wurde vom Metzger gewogen.
10. Als zum Ausflug gegangen wurde, war die ganze Klasse gut gelaunt.

#### **Aufgabe 2:**

Lesen Sie sich bitte die Sätze genau durch. Kreuzen Sie **nur** die sprachlich akzeptablen und grammatisch **richtigen Sätze** an. Erklären Sie kurz, warum Sie glauben, dass genau diese Sätze sprachlich akzeptabel und grammatisch richtig sind, oder warum sie nicht sprachlich akzeptabel und nicht grammatisch richtig sind. Sie müssen ihre Erklärung **nicht aufschreiben**. Denken Sie **laut nach** und **sprechen Sie** dabei **ins Mikrofon**.

1. Von den Schülern wird in die Lehrbücher gesehen.
2. Als er spät von der Party nach Hause kam, wurde er von der Mutter durch die Haustür kommen gesehen.

3. Dem Vater wird vom Sohn geholfen. □
4. Vom ihm wird Spanisch mit Leichtigkeit gekonnt. □
5. Jeden Tag wird eine wilde Tierart ausgestorben, ohne dass vom Menschen etwas dagegen getan wird. □
6. Die Studenten sind von ihren Professoren herzlich empfangen worden. □
7. Dann wurden sich noch schnell die Zähne geputzt und es ging ab ins Bett. □
8. Es wurde von dem Lehrer eine komplizierte Aufgabe bekommen. □
9. Babys werden von ihren Müttern regelmäßig gewaschen. □
10. Das Kind wurde vom Auto auf dem Zebrastreifen erfasst. □

### **Aufgabe 3:**

- a) Formulieren Sie die folgenden Sätze **nach dem angegebenen Muster** um:  
*1976 führte die Bundesrepublik die Gurtpflicht für Autofahrer ein.*  
→ *1976 wurde von der Bundesrepublik die Gurtpflicht für Autofahrer eingeführt.*

#### **oder**

→ *Es wurde 1976 von der Bundesrepublik die Gurtpflicht für Autofahrer eingeführt.*

**Passen Sie auf, nicht alle Sätze lassen sich transformieren!**

**b) Berichten Sie laut ins Mikrofon darüber, was Sie dazu gebracht hat, einige Sätze zu transformieren, andere aber nicht. Fangen Sie mit Satz 1 an und berichten Sie über jeden Satz einzeln.**

#### **Macht Sicherheit sorglos?**

1. Seit 1985 bestraft man die Autofahrer ohne Gurt mit Bußgeld.
2. Gegner der Anschnallpflicht zitieren gerne Statistiken.
3. Die Zahl der tödlichen Unfälle von Autofahrern geht seit der Einführung der Gurtpflicht zurück.
4. Es starben aber mehr Radfahrer und Fußgänger bei Unfällen.
5. Die angeschnallten Autofahrer zählt man zu einer besonderen Risikogruppe.
6. Man weiß das aus verschiedenen Untersuchungen.
7. Menschen fühlen sich sicherer und werden immer risikobereiter.
8. Es gibt verschiedene gefährliche Studien zu diesem Thema.
9. Psychologen berichteten bereits 1976 davon.

## Anhang 2

### Unmittelbarer Posttest

#### Aufgabe 1:

Lesen Sie sich bitte die Sätze genau durch. Was glauben Sie, welche Sätze sind **sprachlich akzeptabel** und **grammatisch richtig**? **Kreuzen Sie an.**

1. Das Mädchen wurde auf offener Straße vom Auto ergriffen.
2. Die besten Plätze wurden von den ersten Fußballfans reserviert.
3. Nach dem Sturm wurde es an Nahrung gemangelt.
4. Der Brief wurde der alten Dame vom Briefboten gegeben.
5. Von einem Meteoriten wurden alle Lebewesen vernichtet, die mehr als 20 Kilogramm gewogen wurden.
6. Die Vorspeise wurde von der Köchin probiert.
7. Von ihm wird schon lange in die Schule gemusst.
8. Es wird ein guter Facharzt für diese Krankheit von ihr gekannt.
9. Den ganzen Morgen wurde im Sprachunterricht geredet.
10. Das Gemüse wurde von der Verkäuferin gewogen.

#### Aufgabe 2:

Lesen Sie sich bitte die Sätze genau durch. Kreuzen Sie **nur** die sprachlich akzeptablen und grammatisch **richtigen Sätze** an. Erklären Sie kurz, warum Sie glauben, dass genau diese Sätze sprachlich akzeptabel und grammatisch richtig sind, oder warum, sie nicht sprachlich akzeptabel und nicht grammatisch richtig sind. Sie müssen ihre Erklärung **nicht aufschreiben**. Denken Sie **laut nach** und **sprechen Sie dabei ins Mikrofon**.

1. Als von der Klasse auf den Sportplatz gegangen wurde, waren alle gut gelaunt.
2. Das Kind wird von der Mutter getragen.
3. Kleinkinder werden von ihren Eltern regelmäßig umsorgt.
4. Dann wurden sich noch schnell die Hände gewaschen und es ging ab zum Mittagessen.
5. Von ihm wurde die Besinnung verloren, als er auf der Treppe fiel.
6. Als vom Unfall erfahren wurde, waren alle traurig.
7. Jeden Tag wird eine andere Tierart ausgestorben, ohne dass von den Menschen etwas Ernsthaftes dagegen unternommen wird.
8. Es wurde vom Mädchen ein Liebesbrief bekommen.
9. Die Schüler werden von ihren Lehrern herzlich begrüßt.
10. Es wurde heftig darüber diskutiert.

### **Aufgabe 3:**

**a) Formulieren Sie die folgenden Sätze nach dem angegebenen Muster um:**  
*200 Millionen Jahre beherrschten die Saurier die Welt.*

→ *Die Welt wurde 200 Millionen Jahre von den Sauriern beherrscht. oder*

→ *200 Millionen Jahre wurde die Welt von den Sauriern beherrscht.*

**Wenn die Transformation nicht möglich ist, erklären Sie kurz warum.**

**b) Berichten Sie darüber, was Sie dazu gebracht hat, einige Sätze zu transformieren, andere aber nicht. Fangen Sie mit Satz 1 an und berichten Sie über jeden Satz einzeln.**

### **Warum starben die Saurier aus?**

1. Die Saurier zählen zu den größten Tieren, die die Menschheit kennt.
2. Vor 65 Millionen Jahren verschwanden sie dann plötzlich.
3. Dafür gibt es zahllose Erklärungen.
4. Vor 65 Millionen Jahren traf ein riesiger Meteorit die Erde.
5. Dieser Meteorit vernichtete fast alle Lebewesen, die mehr als 20 Kilogramm wogen.
6. Die Erde erholte sich davon erst nach Millionen von Jahren.
7. Heute bedroht der Mensch mit seinem Verhalten viele Tierarten.
8. Jeden Tag stirbt eine Tierart auf der Erde aus.
9. Viele Politiker und Organisationen versuchen, eine Lösung zu finden.

## **CROATIAN GFL LEARNERS: ON THE ROLE OF DEPTH OF PROCESSING UNDER EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT INSTRUCTIONS WHILE PROCESSING VERBS THAT (CAN)NOT BE USED IN THE PASSIVE VOICE**

### **Summary:**

The present study aimed to examine 92 Croatian learners of German as a foreign language in regard to depth of processing under explicit and implicit instruction when being exposed to a complex grammar form, German verbs that (can)not be used in the passive voice. Depth of processing was measured by employing offline think-aloud protocols. The experiment followed a pre-, immediate post-, and delayed test design with 2 months between tests consisting each of two grammatical interpretation tasks and a controlled transformation task. Overall, results showed that participants in the explicit condition showed deeper instances of processing correlating with better immediate and delayed test results. These results

led to pedagogical implications to be considered for the GFL classroom context concerning complex grammatical structures.

**Key words:** language awareness; explicit instruction; implicit instruction; depth of processing

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ČASOPIS  
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UTUZLI

## TURKOLOGIJA

**Edina Solak, Mirza Bašić, Asja Mešić**

NEKA ZAPAŽANJA U VEZI S PROŠIRENIM GLAGOLSKIM

ADVERBIJALIMA NAMJERNOGA ZNAČENJA S POSTPOZICIJOM

*IÇIN (ZA, RADI) / OBSERVATIONS REGARDING EXPANDED VERBAL*

ADVERBIALS WITH THE MEANING OF INTENTION ACCOMPANIED

BY THE POSTPOSITION *IÇIN (FOR, IN ORDER TO)* ..... 807



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Review paper

**Edina Solak, Mirza Bašić, Asja Mešić**

## **NEKA ZAPAŽANJA U VEZI S PROŠIRENIM GLAGOLSKIM ADVERBIJALIMA NAMJERNOGA ZNAČENJA S POSTPOZICIJOM İÇİN (ZA, RADI)<sup>1</sup>**

U radu se analiziraju gramatičke i značenjske osobitosti proširenih glagolskih adverbijala namjernoga značenja koji se oblikuju postpozicijskim konstrukcijama u okviru kojih postpozicija  *için (za, radi)* vrši funkciju postpozicijske komponente. Analiza je podijeljena na tri dijela i zasniva se na analitičko-deskriptivnoj i kontrastivnoj analizi. U analizi se kao temeljni izvor grade koriste primjeri iz romanâ Kemala Tahira *Esir Şehrin İnsanları*, *Esir Şehrin Mahpusu* i *Yol Ayrımı*. U prvome se dijelu rada analiziraju gramatičke i značenjske osobitosti jednosubjekatskih rečenica u kojima je identičan subjekt proširenoga glagolskog adverbijala namjernoga značenja s postpozicijom  *için (za, radi)* i korelativnoga predikata kojem je namjerna adverbijalna skupina podređena. Drugi se dio rada bavi analizom višesubjekatskih rečenica u kojima nije identičan subjekt proširenoga glagolskog adverbijala namjernoga značenja s postpozicijom  *için (za, radi)* i korelativnoga predikata kojem je adverbijalna skupina namjere podređena. U trećem se dijelu rada analiziraju primjeri u kojima su prošireni glagolski adverbijali namjernoga značenja s postpozicijom  *için (za, radi)* podređeni infinitnome korelativnom predikatu. U okviru kontrastivne analize prošireni glagolski adverbijali namjernoga značenja s postpozicijom  *için (za, radi)* uspoređuju se sa značenjski bliskim sintaksičkim konstrukcijama

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1 Ovaj rad predstavlja djelimično izmijenjeni i dopunjeni oblik jednoga dijela magistarskoga rada *Gramatičke i značenjske strukture proširenih glagolskih adverbijala namjernoga značenja u romanima Kemala Tahira*, koji je kandidatkinja Asja Mešić odbranila na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Zenici 20. 6. 2024. godine pred komisijom koju su činili prof. dr. Edina Solak, prof. dr. Ömer Aksoy i mentor doc. dr. Mirza Bašić. U jednome dijelu navedenoga magistarskog rada analiziraju se gramatičke i značenjske osobitosti proširenih glagolskih adverbijala namjernoga značenja koji se oblikuju postpozicijskim konstrukcijama u okviru kojih postpozicija  *için (za, radi)* ima funkciju postpozicijske komponente. Ovaj rad predstavlja djelimično izmijenjenu, korigiranu i dopunjenu verziju tog dijela magistarskoga rada.



u bosanskome jeziku. Jedna takva analiza daje doprinos boljem spoznavanju i lakšem razumijevanju proširenih glagolskih adverbijala namjernoga značenja koji se iskazuju postpozicijskim konstrukcijama u kojima postpozicija *çin (za, radi)* obavlja funkciju postpozicijske komponente.

**Ključne riječi:** prošireni glagolski adverbijali; namjerno značenje; postpozicijske konstrukcije; postpozicija *çin (za, radi)*; jednosubjekatske rečenice; višesubjekatske rečenice

## UVOD

U turskome jeziku prošireni glagolski adverbijali namjernoga značenja mogu se oblikovati različitim sintaksičkim konstrukcijama. Naime, prošireni glagolski adverbijali namjernoga značenja mogu se oblikovati postpozicijskim konstrukcijama u okviru kojih postpozicija *çin (za, radi)* ili postpozicija *üzere (radi)* obavlja funkciju postpozicijske komponente, dok funkciju leksičkoga jezgra preuzima imenska skupina u kojoj je upravni član glagolska imenica na *-mAk* ili pak glagolska imenica na *-mA* s odgovarajućim prisvojnim sufiksom. Namjerne adverbijalne skupine mogu se oblikovati i u formi druge genitivne veze. U takvim genitivnim vezama namjernoga značenja funkciju atributske komponente vrši imenska skupina u okviru koje glagolska imenica na *-mAk* preuzima funkciju upravnoga člana. Funkciju upravne komponente u takvim genitivnim vezama namjernoga značenja obavlja leksema *amaç (cilj), maksat (svrha, namjera)* ili *niyet (namjera, cilj)* na čiji se korijen dodaje prisvojni sufiks za treće lice jednine i padežni nastavak za instrumental. U turskome jeziku značenje namjere može se iskazivati i namjernim zavisnim klauzama koje se za glavnu klauzu vežu kvaziveznicom *diye* ili subjunktorom *ki*. U romanima Kemala Tahira *Esir Şehrin İnsanları*, *Esir Şehrin Mahpusu* i *Yol Ayrımı* evidentirano je najviše primjera u kojima se značenje namjere izražava postpozicijskim konstrukcijama u kojima postpozicija *çin (za, radi)* obavlja funkciju postpozicijske komponente, dok funkciju leksičkoga jezgra ima imenska skupina u kojoj je upravni član glagolska imenica na *-mAk*. U ovome se radu analiziraju kontekstualni primjeri iz navedenih romanâ, i to primjeri u kojima se upotrebljavaju prošireni glagolski adverbijali namjernoga značenja koji se oblikuju postpozicijskim konstrukcijama u kojima postpozicija *çin (za, radi)* ima funkciju postpozicijske komponente.

U gramatičkoj strukturi turskoga jezika postpozicije jesu nepromjenljive i nesamostalne riječi. Postpozicije nemaju svoje samostalno značenje i ne mogu samostalno

obavljati funkciju bilo kojega rečeničnog člana. Kada se govori o funkciji postpozicija, njima se određuju različiti odnosi između riječi u rečenici. Smještaju se poslije imenske riječi ili pak sintagme čiji odnos određuju prema drugim riječima u rečenici (v. Deny 1941; Banguoğlu 1979; Aksan 1983; Bolulu 1990). Prema svojim značenjskim osobitostima postpozicije su bliske prijedlozima u bosanskome jeziku. Turske postpozicije smještaju se u postpoziciji u odnosu na imenske riječi čiji odnos određuju prema drugim riječima u rečenici, dok bosanski prijedlozi stoje u prepoziciji u odnosu na samostalne riječi čiji odnos određuju prema drugim riječima u rečenici (v. Jahić, Halilović, Palić 2000).

U gramatičkoj strukturi turskoga jezika postpozicijske konstrukcije predstavljaju sintaksičke konstrukcije koje se sastoje od dvije komponente. Jednu komponentu čini postpozicija, dok je druga komponenta leksičko jezgro odnosno imenska dopuna. U postpozicijskim konstrukcijama funkciju leksičkoga jezgra može obavljati imenska riječ ili imenska skupina (v. Öner 1999; Özkan, Sevinçlii 2017; Demir 2019; Hunutlu 2019).

Upotreba postpozicije  *için (za, radi)* evidentira se u najstarijim sačuvanim pisanim spomenicima na turskome jeziku. Navedena postpozicija koristila se u različitim oblicima u svim fazama historijskoga razvoja turskoga jezika. Tako se bilježi upotreba ove postpozicije u formi *uçun, için, için* i  *için*. Kada se govori o etimološkome porijeklu postpozicije  *için (za, radi)*, primjećuje se da turkolozii u vezi s tim nemaju jedinstven stav. Ipak, najzastupljenija je tvrdnja da etimološko porijeklo postpozicije  *için (za, radi)* dolazi od lekseme *uç*, koja je nosila značenje *uzrok, razlog*. Navodi se da je postpozicija *uçun* oblikovana dodavanjem prisvojnoga sufiksa *te* staroga i neproduktivnoga padežnog nastavka za instrumental *-(I)n* na korijen lekseme *uç*, koja je nosila značenje *uzrok, razlog*. Kasnije su se, pod utjecajem fonetsko-fonoloških promjena, koristili oblici  *için* i  *için*, dok se u savremenome turskom jeziku upotrebljava oblik  *için (za, radi)* (v. Hacıeminoğlu 1992; Korkmaz 1995a; Nalbant 2012).

U savremenome turskom jeziku postpozicija  *için (za, radi)* svrstava se u skupinu postpozicija koje zahtijevaju dopunu u apsolutnome padežu imenica i genitivu zamjenica. Ako imenska riječ ili imenska skupina obavlja funkciju leksičkoga jezgra postpozicijske konstrukcije u okviru koje postpozicija  *için (za, radi)* ima funkciju postpozicijske komponente, leksičko jezgro stoji u apsolutnome padežu. S druge strane, ako zamjenica vrši funkciju leksičkoga jezgra postpozicijske konstrukcije u okviru koje postpozicija  *için (za, radi)* ima funkciju postpozicijske komponente, leksičko jezgro stoji u genitivu. Kada su u pitanju značenjske osobitosti postpozicije  *için (za, radi)*, njome se označava odnos namjere, namjene ili cilja (v. Čaušević 1996;

Li 2004; Aykut 2007). Stoga je navedena postpozicija značenjski bliska bosanskim prijedlozima *za* i *radi*, kojima se označava odnos namjere, namjene ili cilja (v. Jahić, Halilović, Palić 2000).

Budući da se postpozicijom  *için (za, radi)* označava odnos namjere, namjene ili cilja, postpozicijskim konstrukcijama s postpozicijom  *için (za, radi)* mogu se oblikovati prošireni glagolski adverbijali namjernoga značenja. U takvim postpozicijskim konstrukcijama funkciju postpozicijske komponente vrši postpozicija  *için (za, radi)*, dok funkciju leksičkoga jezgra preuzima imenska skupina u okviru koje se na upravni član dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mAk* ili pak glagolska imenica na *-mA* s odgovarajućim prisvojnim sufiksom. U romanima *Esir Şehrin İnsanları*, *Esir Şehrin Mahpusu* i *Yol Ayrımı* prošireni glagolski adverbijali namjernoga značenja s postpozicijom  *için (za, radi)* upotrebljavaju se i u jednosubjekatskim i u višesubjekatskim rečenicama. U jednosubjekatskim rečenicama identičan je subjekt proširenoga glagolskog adverbijala namjernoga značenja i korelativnoga predikata kojem je namjerna adverbijalna skupina podređena. S druge strane, u višesubjekatskim rečenicama nije identičan subjekt adverbijalne skupine namjere i korelativnoga predikata kojem je ona podređena.

## PROŠIRENI GLAGOLSKI ADVERBIJALI NAMJERNOGA ZNAČENJA S POSTPOZICIJOM *İÇİN (ZA, RADI)* U JEDNOSUBJEKATSKIM REČENICAMA

Kada se prošireni glagolski adverbijali namjernoga značenja s postpozicijom  *için (za, radi)* upotrebljavaju u rečenicama u kojima je identičan subjekt namjerne adverbijalne skupine i korelativnoga predikata kojem je ona podređena, glagolska imenica na *-mAk* dodaje se na upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro adverbijalne skupine namjernoga značenja. U takvim primjerima glagolskom imenicom na *-mAk* ukazuje se na to da je upravni član imenske skupine koja predstavlja leksičko jezgro adverbijalne skupine namjere istovjetan u kategoriji lica i broja s korelativnim predikatom kojem je namjerna adverbijalna skupina podređena.

(1) Ben kalp hastalığımı *doktoru kandırmak için* tutturmuşum. (II: 321) = *Da bih prevario doktora*, pravio sam se da imam srčano oboljenje. (dosl. *Radi varanja doktora*, pretvarao sam se da imam srčano oboljenje.)<sup>2</sup>

(2) Sen, (...) *beş, on para kazanmak için* bu işe girdin. (I: 314) = Ti si ušao u taj posao (...) *da zaradiš nešto novca*. (dosl. Ti si, *radi zarađivanja pet, deset*

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2 Sve prijevode potpisuju autori rada.

*novčanica, ušao u taj posao.)*

(3) Murat, *kivranarak kelimeleri seçmeye çalışan kadına cesaret vermek için gülümsedi.* (III: 406–407) = Murat se nasmijao *da ohrabri ženu koja je u grču pokušavala izgovoriti riječi.* (dosl. *Radi ohrabrivanja žene koja je, grčeci se, pokušavala izabrati riječi,* Murat se nasmijao.)

(4) Aslında biz, Cumhurbaşkanlığına *Selim Bey'i sanatoryuma yatırmak için* mektup yazdık. (III: 408) = Zapravo, napisali smo pismo kabinetu predsjednika *da smjestimo gospodina Selima u sanatorij.* (dosl. *Zapravo, radi smještanja gospodina Selima u sanatorij,* napisali smo pismo kabinetu predsjednika.)

(5) Siz *Nedime Hanım'ı kurtarmak için* fedakarlığa kalkıyorsunuz. (I: 301) = Vi se žrtvujete *da spasite gospođu Nedimu.* (dosl. *Radi spašavanja gospođe Nedime,* vi se žrtvujete.)

(6) *Faytoncu'yu zindandan kurtarmak için* numara yapıyorlar. (II: 259) = Pretvaraju se *kako bi izbacili kočijaša iz tamnice.* (dosl. *Radi izbavljanja kočijaša iz tamnice,* pretvaraju se.)

U primjerima (1), (2), (3), (4), (5) i (6) prošireni glagolski adverbijali namjernoga značenja s postpozicijom  *için (za, radi)* koriste se u jednosubjekatskim rečenicama u kojima je identičan subjekt namjerne adverbijalne skupine i finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je ona podređena. Uprkos tome što glagolska imenica na *-mAk* u svojoj strukturi ne sadrži obilježja gramatičkih kategorija lica i broja, u primjerima (1), (2), (3), (4), (5) i (6) može se primijetiti da se glagolskom imenicom na *-mAk* označava istovjetnost u kategoriji lica i broja upravnoga člana leksičkoga jezgra postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja i korelativnoga predikata kojem je ona podređena. U primjeru (1) prošireni glagolski adverbijal namjernoga značenja jeste postpozicijska konstrukcija *doktoru kandırmak için (da bih prevario doktora [dosl. radi varanja doktora])*. U toj postpozicijskoj konstrukciji namjernoga značenja postpozicija  *için (za, radi)* ima funkciju postpozicijske komponente, dok funkciju leksičkoga jezgra obavlja imenska skupina *doktoru kandırmak (varanje doktora)*. Finitni korelativni predikat kojem je namjerna adverbijalna skupina podređena jeste glagol *tutturmak (slijediti, insistirati, pretvarati se)*, koji se navodi u potvrdnome obliku prvoga lica jednine neodređenoga perfekta kojim se označava radnja koja se realizirala prije trenutka govora, ali radnja čijoj realizaciji govornik nije svjedočio niti je aktivno učestvovao u njenoj realizaciji (v. Korkmaz 2007; Bulduk 2018). U imenskoj skupini *doktoru kandırmak (varanje doktora)*, koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere, funkciju upravnoga člana vrši glagol *kandırmak*

(*obmanjivati/obmanuti, varati/prevariti*), na čiji se korijen dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mAk*. Glagolskom imenicom na *-mAk* ukazuje se na činjenicu da je glagol *kandırmak* (*obmanjivati/obmanuti, varati/prevariti*), koji ima funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije, istovjetan u kategoriji lica i broja s glagolom *tutturmak* (*slijediti, insistirati, pretvarati se*), koji obavlja funkciju finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je namjerna adverbijalna skupina podređena. To pokazuje da u primjeru (1) glagoli *kandırmak* (*obmanjivati/obmanuti, varati/prevariti*) i *tutturmak* (*slijediti, insistirati, pretvarati se*) stoje u prvome licu jednine te da lična zamjenica prvoga lica jednine vrši funkciju subjekta namjerne adverbijalne skupine i finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je ona podređena.

U primjeru (2) prošireni glagolski adverbijal namjernoga značenja iskazuje se postpozicijskom konstrukcijom *beş, on para kazanmak için* (*da zaradiš nešto novca [dosl. radi zarađivanja pet, deset novčanica]*). U navedenoj postpozicijskoj konstrukciji namjernoga značenja postpozicija *çin (za, radi)* jeste postpozicijska komponenta, a leksičko je jezgro imenska skupina *beş, on para kazanmak* (*zarađivanje nešto novca [dosl. zarađivanje pet, deset novčanica]*). Finitni korelativni predikat kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena jeste glagol *girmek* (*ulaziti/ući*), koji stoji u potvrdnome obliku drugoga lica jednine određenoga perfekta kojim se iskazuje radnja koja se realizirala prije trenutka govora, i to radnja kojoj je govornik svjedočio ili pak aktivno učestvovao u njenoj realizaciji (v. Gencan 2007). U imenskoj skupini *beş, on para kazanmak* (*zarađivanje nešto novca [dosl. zarađivanje pet, deset novčanica]*), koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja, funkciju upravnoga člana vrši glagol *kazanmak* (*zarađivati/zaraditi, osvajati/osvojiti*), na čiji se korijen dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mAk*. Glagolskom imenicom na *-mAk* označava se da je glagol *kazanmak* (*zarađivati/zaraditi, osvajati/osvojiti*), koji obavlja funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije, istoznačan u kategoriji lica i broja s glagolom *girmek* (*ulaziti/ući*), koji ima funkciju finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je postpozicijska skupina namjernoga značenja podređena. Na taj se način pokazuje da u primjeru (2) glagoli *kazanmak* (*zarađivati/zaraditi, osvajati/osvojiti*) i *girmek* (*ulaziti/ući*) stoje u drugome licu jednine te da lična zamjenica drugoga lica jednine obavlja funkciju subjekta namjerne postpozicijske skupine i finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je ona podređena.

U primjeru (3) adverbijalna skupina namjernoga značenja izražava se postpozicijskom konstrukcijom *kıvranarak kelimeleri seçmeye çalışan kadına cesaret vermek*

*için (da ohrabri ženu koja je u grču pokušavala izgovoriti riječi [dosl. radi ohrabri- vanja žene koja je, grčeći se, pokušavala izabrati riječi]).* U toj postpozicijskoj konstrukciji namjere postpozicija  *için (za, radi)* vrši funkciju postpozicijske komponente, dok je leksičko jezgro imenska skupina *kıvranarak kelimeleri seçmeye çalışan kadına cesaret vermek (ohrabri vanje žene koja je u grču pokušavala izgovoriti riječi [dosl. ohrabri vanje žene koja je, grčeći se, pokušavala izabrati riječi]).* Finitni korelativni predikat kojem je postpozicijska skupina namjere podređena jeste glagol *gülümsemak (smješhati se / nasmiješiti se, smijati se / nasmijati se)*, koji stoji u potvrdnome obliku trećega lica jednine određenoga perfekta. U gramatičkoj strukturi turskoga jezika kompozitni glagoli jesu glagoli koji se sastoje od dvije komponente. Jednu komponentu čini pomoćni glagol, dok je druga komponenta imenska dopuna (v. Korkmaz 2009). Glagol *cesaret vermek (ohrabrivati/ohrabriti [dosl. davati/dati hrabrost])* jeste kompozitni glagol u okviru kojega glagol *vermek (davati/dati)* preuzima funkciju pomoćnoga glagola, dok leksema *cesaret (hrabrost)* ima funkciju imenske dopune. U imenskoj skupini *kıvranarak kelimeleri seçmeye çalışan kadına cesaret vermek (ohrabri vanje žene koja je u grču pokušavala izgovoriti riječi [dosl. ohrabri vanje žene koja je, grčeći se, pokušavala izabrati riječi]),* koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije, funkciju upravnoga člana obavlja kompozitni glagol *cesaret vermek (ohrabrivati/ohrabriti)*, na čiju se osnovu dodaje glagolska imenica na *-Ak*. Glagolskom imenicom na *-Ak* ukazuje se na činjenicu da je kompozitni glagol *cesaret vermek (ohrabrivati/ohrabriti)*, koji vrši funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja, istovjetan u kategoriji lica i broja s glagolom *gülümsemak (smješhati se / nasmiješiti se, smijati se / nasmijati se)*, koji preuzima funkciju finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je postpozicijska skupina namjere podređena. To pokazuje da u primjeru (3) glagoli *cesaret vermek (ohrabrivati/ohrabriti)* i *gülümsemak (smješhati se / nasmiješiti se, smijati se / nasmijati se)* stoje u trećem licu jednine te da vlastito ime *Murat* ima funkciju subjekta postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja i finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je ona podređena.

U primjeru (4) namjerna adverbijalna skupina oblikuje se postpozicijskom konstrukcijom *Selim Bey'i sanatoryuma yatırmak için (da smjestimo gospodina Selima u sanatorij [dosl. radi smještanja gospodina Selima u sanatorij]).* U navedenoj postpozicijskoj konstrukciji namjernoga značenja postpozicija  *için (za, radi)* ima funkciju postpozicijske komponente, dok je leksičko jezgro imenska skupina *Selim Bey'i sanatoryuma yatırmak (smještanje gospodina Selima u sanatorij).* Finitni korelativni predikat kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena jeste



glagol *yazmak* (*pisati/napisati*), koji stoji u potvrdnome obliku prvoga lica množine određenoga perfekta. U imenskoj skupini *Selim Bey'i sanatoryuma yatırmak* (*smještanje gospodina Selima u sanatorij*), koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja, funkciju upravnoga člana preuzima glagol *yatırmak* (*polagati/položiti, smještati/smjestiti*), na čiju se osnovu dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mAk*. S obzirom na to da se glagolska imenica na *-mAk* dodaje na osnovu glagola koji obavlja funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere, to ukazuje na činjenicu da je upravni član istoznačan u kategoriji lica i broja s finitnim korelativnim predikatom kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena. Zapravo, to pokazuje da u primjeru (4) glagoli *yatırmak* (*polagati/položiti, smještati/smjestiti*) i *yazmak* (*pisati/napisati*) stoje u prvome licu množine te da lična zamjenica prvoga lica množine obavlja funkciju subjekta adverbijalne skupine namjernoga značenja i finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je ona podređena.

U primjeru (5) prošireni glagolski adverbijal namjernoga značenja jeste postpozicijska konstrukcija *Nedime Hanım'ı kurtarmak için* (*da spasite gospođu Nedimu [dosl. radi spašavanja gospođe Nedime]*). U toj postpozicijskoj konstrukciji namjernoga značenja postpozicija *çin (za, radi)* jeste postpozicijska komponenta, dok je leksičko jezgro imenska skupina *Nedime Hanım'ı kurtarmak* (*spašavanje gospođe Nedime*). Funkciju finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena vrši frazem *fedakarlığa kalkmak* (*žrtvovati se*), koji stoji u potvrdnome obliku drugoga lica množine prezenta na *-(I)yor* kojim se označava jednokratna trenutna radnja koja se realizira u trenutku govora (v. Čaušević 1996). U imenskoj skupini *Nedime Hanım'ı kurtarmak* (*spašavanje gospođe Nedime*), koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere, funkciju upravnoga člana ima glagol *kurtarmak* (*spašavati/spasiti, oslobađati/osloboditi, izbavljivati/izbaviti*), na čiju se osnovu dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mAk*. Glagolskom imenicom na *-mAk* označava se da je glagol *kurtarmak* (*spašavati/spasiti, oslobađati/osloboditi, izbavljivati/izbaviti*), koji obavlja funkciju upravnoga člana leksičkoga jezgra namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije, istovjetan u kategoriji lica i broja s frazomom *fedakarlığa kalkmak* (*žrtvovati se*), koji preuzima funkciju finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je adverbijalna skupina namjere podređena. To pokazuje da u primjeru (5) glagol *kurtarmak* (*spašavati/spasiti, oslobađati/osloboditi, izbavljivati/izbaviti*) i frazem *fedakarlığa kalkmak* (*žrtvovati se*) stoje u drugome licu množine te da lična zamjenica drugoga lica množine vrši funkciju subjekta namjerne adverbijalne skupine i finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je ona podređena.

U primjeru (6) prošireni glagolski adverbijal namjernoga značenja iskazuje se postpozicijskom konstrukcijom *Faytoncu'yu zindandan kurtarmak için (kako bi izbacili kočijaša iz tamnice [dosl. radi izbacjivanja kočijaša iz tamnice])*. U navedenoj namjernoj postpozicijskoj konstrukciji postpozicija *çin (za, radi)* jeste postpozicijska komponenta, a leksičko je jezgro imenska skupina *Faytoncu'yu zindandan kurtarmak (izbacjivanje kočijaša iz tamnice)*. Finitni korelativni predikat kojem je postpozicijska konstrukcija namjere podređena jeste frazem *numara yapmak (pretvarati se, folirati se)*, koji stoji u potvrdnome obliku trećega lica množine prezenta na *-(I)yor*. U imenskoj skupini *Faytoncu'yu zindandan kurtarmak (izbacjivanje kočijaša iz tamnice)*, koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije, funkciju upravnoga člana obavlja glagol *kurtarmak (spašavati/spasiti, oslobađati/osloboditi, izbacjivati/izbaciviti)*, na čiju se osnovu dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mAk*. Na taj se način pokazuje da je glagol *kurtarmak (spašavati/spasiti, oslobađati/osloboditi, izbacjivati/izbaciviti)*, koji ima funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja, istoznačan u kategoriji lica i broja s frazomom *numara yapmak (pretvarati se, folirati se)*, koji vrši funkciju finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je postpozicijska konstrukcija namjere podređena. To pokazuje da u primjeru (6) glagol *kurtarmak (spašavati/spasiti, oslobađati/osloboditi, izbacjivati/izbaciviti)* i frazem *numara yapmak (pretvarati se, folirati se)* stoje u trećem licu množine te da lična zamjenica trećega lica množine ima funkciju subjekta postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere i finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je ona podređena.

U prijevodu primjera (1), (2), (3), (4), (5) i (6) bosanske namjerne zavisne klauze koje se za glavnu klauzu vežu namjernim veznicima *da* i *kako* navode se kao prijevodni ekvivalenti turskih proširenih glagolskih adverbijala namjernoga značenja koji se oblikuju postpozicijskim konstrukcijama u kojima postpozicija *çin (za, radi)* obavlja funkciju postpozicijske komponente. U gramatičkoj strukturi bosanskoga jezika namjerne zavisne klauze vežu se za glavnu ili osnovnu klauzu namjernim veznicima *da* i *kako* i njihov se predikat navodi u obliku prezenta ili pak u obliku potencijala. U namjernim zavisnim klauzama koje se za glavnu ili osnovnu klauzu vežu namjernim veznikom *da* predikat stoji u obliku prezenta ili pak u obliku potencijala. S druge strane, u namjernim zavisnim klauzama koje se za glavnu ili osnovnu klauzu vežu namjernim veznikom *kako* predikat se uvijek navodi u obliku potencijala (v. Jahić, Halilović, Palić 2000). U prijevodu primjera (6) navodi se namjerna zavisnosložena rečenica u kojoj se namjerna zavisna klauza veže za glavnu klauzu namjernim veznikom *kako* i u kojoj se predikat namjerne zavisne klauze



navodi u obliku potencijala. U prijevodu primjera (1), (2), (3), (4) i (5) navode se namjerne zavisnosložene rečenice u kojima se namjerne zavisne klauze vežu za glavnu klauzu namjernim veznikom *da*. U primjeru (1) predikat namjerne zavisne klauze stoji u obliku potencijala, dok se u primjerima (2), (3), (4) i (5) predikat namjerne zavisne klauze navodi u obliku prezenta.

U gramatičkoj strukturi turskoga jezika podređeni rečenični članovi uvijek se smještaju u prepoziciji u odnosu na svoje nadređene članove. Stoga se i postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja uvijek smještaju u prepoziciji u odnosu na korelativni predikat kojem su podređene. U gramatičkoj strukturi bosanskoga jezika zavisne klauze smještaju se u postpoziciji u odnosu na glavnu ili osnovnu klauzu. Međutim, gramatička struktura bosanskoga jezika dozvoljava inverziju u okviru koje se zavisne klauze smještaju u prepoziciji u odnosu na glavnu ili pak osnovnu klauzu. Takva se inverzija označava zarezom (v. Bulić 2022). Primjećuje se da se u prijevodu primjera (2), (3), (4), (5) i (6) namjerne zavisne klauze smještaju u postpoziciji u odnosu na glavnu klauzu i ne odvajaju se zarezom od glavne klauze. U prijevodu primjera (1) namjerna zavisna klauza smješta se u prepoziciji u odnosu na glavnu klauzu od koje se odvaja zarezom.

## PROŠIRENI GLAGOLSKI ADVERBIJALI NAMJERNOGA ZNAČENJA S POSTPOZICIJOM İÇİN (ZA, RADI) U VIŠESUBJEKATSKIM REČENICAMA

Kada se prošireni glagolski adverbijali namjernoga značenja s postpozicijom  *için (za, radi)* upotrebljavaju u rečenicama u kojima nije identičan subjekt namjerne adverbijalne skupine i korelativnoga predikata kojem je ona podređena, na upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro adverbijalne skupine namjernoga značenja dodaje se glagolska imenica na *-mA* s odgovarajućim prisvojnim sufiksom. U takvim se primjerima prisvojnim sufiksom ukazuje na distinkciju u kategoriji lica i(li) broja između upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja predstavlja leksičko jezgro adverbijalne skupine namjere i korelativnoga predikata kojem je namjerna adverbijalna skupina podređena.

- (7) *Kan dökülmemesi için kolayca teslim olduk.* (I: 48) = Lahko smo se predali *da se ne prolijeva krv.* (dosl. *Radi neprolijevanja krvi, lahko smo se predali.*)  
(8) *Buradaki derneğin gelişmesi için memleketimizin ünlü rahiplerinden biri çalışıyor.* (I: 50) = Jedan od poznatih sveštenika iz našeg kraja radi *da se ov-*

*dašnje udruženje unaprijedi.* (dosl. *Radi unapređenja ovdašnjeg udruženja,*  
radi jedan od poznatih sveštenika našeg kraja.)

(9) *Hemen kalkması için* emir verebilirim. (I: 264) = Mogu mu narediti *da*  
*odmah krene.* (dosl. *Radi njegovog kretanja odmah,* mogu dati naredbu.)

(10) *Kimliğinizi isbat etmeniz için,* vesika sorarsa hiç şaşmam! (III: 233) = Ne  
bih se iznenadio i da pita za dokumente *kako biste dokazali svoj identitet!* (dosl.  
Ne bih se iznenadio da pita za dokumente *radi vašeg dokazivanja vašeg*  
*identiteta!*)

(11) *Vatanın tehlikeye atılması için* açılmadı o parti... (III: 372) = Ta stranka  
nije osnovana *da se domovina dovede u opasnost.* (dosl. *Radi bacanja*  
*domovine u opasnost,* ta stranka nije osnovana.)

U primjerima (7), (8), (9), (10) i (11) prošireni glagolski adverbijali namjernoga značenja s postpozicijom  *için (za, radi)* upotrebljavaju se u rečenicama u kojima nije identičan subjekt namjerne adverbijalne skupine i korelativnoga predikata kojem je ona podređena. U primjeru (7) prošireni glagolski adverbijal namjernoga značenja jeste postpozicijska konstrukcija *kan dökülmemesi için (da se ne prolijeva krv [dosl. radi neprolijevanja krvi])*. U navedenoj postpozicijskoj konstrukciji namjernoga značenja postpozicija  *için (za, radi)* jeste postpozicijska komponenta, dok je leksičko jezgro imenska skupina *kan dökülmemesi (neprolijevanje krvi)*, u kojoj se na upravni član dodaje negacijski sufiks te glagolska imenica na *-mA* i prisvojni sufiks za treće lice jednine. To pokazuje da upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije stoji u trećem licu jednine te da nije istovjetan u kategoriji lica i(li) broja s korelativnim predikatom kojem je postpozicijska konstrukcija namjere podređena. Finitni korelativni predikat kojem je postpozicijska konstrukcija namjere podređena jeste kompozitni glagol *teslim olmak (predavati se / predati se, kapitulirati)*, koji stoji u potvrdnome obliku prvoga lica množine određenoga perfekta. U imenskoj skupini *kan dökülmemesi (neprolijevanje krvi)*, koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere, funkciju upravnoga člana vrši glagol *dökülmek (prolijevati se / proliti se, biti prolijevan / biti proliven)*, na čiju se osnovu dodaje negacijski sufiks *-mA*, glagolska imenica na *-mA* i prisvojni sufiks za treće lice jednine. Dakle, glagol *dökülmek (prolijevati se / proliti se, biti prolijevan / biti proliven)*, koji obavlja funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja, stoji u trećem licu jednine, dok se glagol *teslim olmak (predavati se / predati se)*, koji ima funkciju finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena, navodi u prvome licu množine. Budući da upravni član imenske skupine koja

čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije i finitini korelativni predikat kojem je postpozicijska konstrukcija namjere podređena nisu istovjetni u kategoriji lica i broja, na upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije ne dodaje se glagolska imenica na *-mAk*, već tu funkciju preuzima glagolska imenica na *-mA* na koju se dodaje odgovarajući prisvojni sufiks kojim se označava gramatička kategorija lica i broja. S obzirom na to da u primjeru (7) upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere i finitini korelativni predikat kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena nisu istovjetni u kategoriji lica i broja, to ukazuje i na činjenicu da nije identičan subjekt postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja i finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je ona podređena. Leksema *kan (krv)* vrši funkciju subjekta imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja, dok lična zamjenica prvoga lica množine obavlja funkciju subjekta finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena. Primjećuje se da se u apsolutnome padežu navodi leksema *kan (krv)*, koja preuzima funkciju subjekta imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere.

U gramatičkoj strukturi turskoga jezika imenske skupine predstavljaju sintaksičke konstrukcije koje u procesu nominalizacije nastaju preoblikom ishodišnih rečenica s finitnim predikatom. Subjekt imenske skupine može biti u genitivu ili pak u apsolutnome padežu. Temeljni kriterij prema kojem se određuje da li subjekt imenske skupine stoji u genitivu ili apsolutnome padežu jeste obavijesni ustroj ishodišne rečenice s finitnim predikatom koja se u procesu nominalizacije preoblikuje u imensku skupinu. Ako imenska skupina nastaje preoblikom ishodišne rečenice čiji je subjekt tematski ili fokusirani dio obavijesti, subjekt takve imenske skupine navodi se u genitivu. S druge strane, ako imenska skupina nastaje preoblikom ishodišne rečenice čiji je subjekt rematski dio obavijesti, subjekt takve imenske skupine stoji u apsolutnome padežu (v. Čaušević 2018).

U imenskoj skupini *kan dökülmemesi (neprolijevanje krvi)* leksema *kan (krv)* ima funkciju subjekta i navodi se u apsolutnome padežu, prvenstveno zato što je neodređena i što predstavlja rematski dio obavijesti.

U primjeru (8) adverbijalna skupina namjernoga značenja jeste postpozicijska konstrukcija *buradaki derneğin gelişmesi için (da se ovdašnje udruženje unaprijedi [dosl. radi unapređenja ovdašnjeg udruženja])*. U toj postpozicijskoj konstrukciji namjernoga značenja pospozicija *çin (za, radi)* jeste postpozicijska komponenta, dok je leksičko jezgro imenska skupina *buradaki derneğin gelişmesi (unapređenje ov-*

*dašnjeg udruženja*), u kojoj se na upravni član dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mA* i prisvojni sufiks za treće lice jednine. Finitni korelativni predikat kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena jeste glagol *çalışmak (raditi / uraditi, truditi se / potruditi se)*, koji stoji u potvrdnome obliku trećega lica jednine prezenta na *-(I)yor*. Bez obzira na to što u trećem licu jednine stoje i glagol *gelişmek (razvijati se / razviti se, rasti/narasti, unapređivati se / unaprijediti se, poboljšavati se / poboljšati se, napredovati)*, koji obavlja funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere, i glagol *çalışmak (raditi/uraditi, truditi se / potruditi se)*, koji vrši funkciju finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena, može se vidjeti da nije identičan subjekt imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja i finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena. Sintagma *buradaki dernek (ovdašnje udruženje)* ima funkciju subjekatske sintagme imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja, a sintagma *memleketimizin ünlü rahiplerinden biri (jedan od poznatih sveštenika iz našeg kraja)* vrši funkciju subjekatske sintagme finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena. Stoga se na upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja ne dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mA*, već tu funkciju preuzima glagolska imenica na *-mA* na koju se dodaje prisvojni sufiks za treće lice jednine, kojim se označava gramatička kategorija lica i broja. Primjećuje se da se u genitivu navodi sintagma *buradaki dernek (ovdašnje udruženje)*, koja obavlja funkciju subjekatske sintagme imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske skupine namjernoga značenja. Sintagma *buradaki dernek (ovdašnje udruženje)* stoji u genitivu zato što označava referencijalan i određen pojam i što predstavlja tematski dio obavijesti.

U primjeru (9) namjerna adverbijalna skupina jeste postpozicijska konstrukcija (*onun hemen kalkması için (da [on] odmah krene [dosl. radi njegovog kretanja odmah]*). U toj namjernoj postpozicijskoj konstrukciji postpozicija *çin (za, radi)* jeste postpozicijska komponenta, a leksičko je jezgro imenska skupina (*onun hemen kalkması (njegovo kretanje odmah)*), u okviru koje se na upravni član dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mA* i prisvojni nastavak za treće lice jednine. Funkciju finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je postpozicijska konstrukcija namjere podređena obavlja kompozitni glagol *emir vermek (naređivati/narediti)*, koji se navodi u prvome licu jednine posibilitativne forme prezenta na *-r*.

U gramatičkoj strukturi turskoga jezika prezent na *-r* predstavlja jednostavno glagolsko vrijeme kojim se označava trajna radnja koja se kontinuirano ponavlja prelazeći u svojstvo i naviku (v. Ergin 1993). S druge strane, u turskome se jeziku analitičkom formom posibilitativnosti iskazuje sposobnost, kompetentnost i spremnost gramatičkoga subjekta da izvrši radnju koja se označava osnovnim glagolom. Analitička forma posibilitativnosti sastoji se od dvije komponente. Jedna je komponenta osnovni glagol koji prima konverbnii nastavak *-A*, a druga je komponenta glagol *bilmek (znati/saznati, razumijevati/razumjeti, poznavati/poznati)*, koji u analitičkoj formi posibilitativnosti preuzima funkciju pomoćnoga glagola. U analitičkoj formi posibilitativnosti pomoćni glagol *bilmek (znati/saznati, razumijevati/razumjeti, poznavati/poznati)* može se konjugirati kroz sva glagolska vremena i načine te može primati i nastavke infinitivnih glagolskih oblika (v. Eker 2005; Mehmet 2007).

U primjeru (9) kompozitni glagol *emir vermek (naređivati / narediti)* stoji u prvome licu jednine posibilitativne forme prezenta na *-r* i vrši funkciju finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je podređena postpozicijska konstrukcija namjernoga značenja (*onun*) *hemen kalkması için (da [on] odmah krene [dosl. radi njegovog kretanja odmah])*. U primjeru (9) glagol *kalkmak (ustajati/ustati, polaziti/poći, krenuti)*, koji ima funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije, stoji u trećem licu jednine, a kompozitni glagol *emir vermek (naređivati/narediti)*, koji preuzima funkciju finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je postpozicijska konstrukcija namjere podređena, navodi se u prvome licu jednine. Budući da upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije i finitini korelativni predikat kojem je postpozicijska konstrukcija namjere podređena nisu istovjetni u kategoriji lica i broja, na upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja ne dodaje se glagolska imenica na *-mAk*, već tu funkciju preuzima glagolska imenica na *-mA* na koju se dodaje odgovarajući prisvojni sufiks kojim se označava gramatička kategorija lica i broja. S obzirom na to da u primjeru (9) upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije i finitini korelativni predikat kojem je postpozicijska konstrukcija namjere podređena nisu istovjetni u kategoriji lica i broja, to ukazuje i na činjenicu da nije identičan subjekt postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja i finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je ona podređena. Lična zamjenica trećega lica jednine ima funkciju subjekta imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije, a lična zamjenica prvoga lica jednine vrši funkciju subjekta finitnoga kore-

lativnog predikata kojem je postpozicijska konstrukcija namjernoga značenja podređena. Da se u imenskoj skupini koja u primjeru (9) čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije navodi lična zamjenica trećega lica jednine, koja ima funkciju subjekta imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere, ona bi stajala u genitivu zato što su lične zamjenice uvijek referencijalne i određene.

U primjeru (10) prošireni glagolski adverbijal namjernoga značenja iskazuje se postpozicijskom konstrukcijom (*sizin*) *kimliğinizi isbat etmeniz i*čin (*kako biste [vi] dokazali svoj identitet [dosl. radi vašeg dokazivanja vašeg identiteta]*). U navedenoj postpozicijskoj konstrukciji namjernoga značenja pospozicija *i*čin (*za, radi*) jeste postpozicijska komponenta, dok je leksičko jezgro imenska skupina (*sizin*) *kimliğinizi isbat etmeniz* (*vaše dokazivanje vašeg identiteta*), u kojoj se na upravni član dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mA* i prisvojni sufiks za drugo lice množine. To ukazuje na činjenicu da upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere stoji u drugome licu množine i da nije istoznačan u kategoriji lica i(li) broja s korelativnim predikatom kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena. Funkciju infinitivnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena vrši glagol *sormak* (*pitati / upitati*), koji se navodi u potvrdnome obliku trećega lica jednine realnoga kondicionala, koji predstavlja glagolski način u okviru kojega se iskazuje realna pogodba za realizaciju sadržaja koji se označava korelativnim predikatom kojem je kondicionalna forma podređena (v. Gülsevin 1990; Korkmaz 1995b; Türkyılmaz 1999). U imenskoj skupini (*sizin*) *kimliğinizi isbat etmeniz* (*vaše dokazivanje vašeg identiteta*), koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije, funkciju upravnoga člana preuzima kompozitni glagol *isbat etmek* (*dokazivati/dokazati*), na čiju se osnovu dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mA* i prisvojni sufiks za drugo lice množine. Uočava se da se glagol *isbat etmek* (*dokazivati/dokazati*), koji preuzima funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere, navodi u drugome licu množine, dok glagol *sormak* (*pitati/upitati*), koji vrši funkciju infinitivnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena, stoji u trećem licu jednine. Budući da upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere i infinitni korelativni predikat kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena nisu istoznačni u kategoriji lica i broja, na upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije ne dodaje se glagolska imenica na *-mA*, već tu funkciju preuzima glagolska imenica na *-mA* na koju se dodaje odgovarajući prisvojni sufiks kojim se označava



gramatička kategorija lica i broja. S obzirom na to da u primjeru (10) upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije i infinitni korelativni predikat kojem je postpozicijska konstrukcija namjere podređena nisu istoznačni u kategoriji lica i broja, to pokazuje da nije identičan ni subjekt postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja i infinitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je ona podređena. Lična zamjenica drugoga lica množine ima funkciju subjekta imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja, dok lična zamjenica trećega lica jednine vrši funkciju subjekta infinitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena. Da se u imenskoj skupini koja u primjeru (10) čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije navodi lična zamjenica drugoga lica množine, koja obavlja funkciju subjekta imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere, ona bi bila u genitivu jer su lične zamjenice uvijek referencijalne i određene.

U primjeru (11) prošireni glagolski adverbijal namjernoga značenje izražava se postpozicijskom konstrukcijom *vatanın tehlikeye atılması için* (*da se domovina dovede u opasnost [dosl. radi bacanja domovine u opasnost]*). U toj namjernoj postpozicijskoj konstrukciji postpozicija *çin (za, radi)* jeste postpozicijska komponenta, a leksičko je jezgro imenska skupina *vatanın tehlikeye atılması* (*dovođenje domovine u opasnost [dosl. bacanje domovine u opasnost]*), u kojoj se na upravni član dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mA* i prisvojni sufiks za treće lice jednine. Funkciju finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je postpozicijska konstrukcija namjere podređena obavlja glagol *açılmak* (*otvarati se / otvoriti se, biti otvaran / biti otvoren, osnovati se, biti osnovan*), koji se navodi u odričnome obliku trećega lica jednine određenoga perfekta. Uprkos tome što u trećem licu jednine stoje i kompozitni glagol *tehlikeye atılmak* (*biti doveden u opasnost*), koji ima funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere, i glagol *açılmak* (*otvarati se / otvoriti se, biti otvaran / biti otvoren, osnovati se, biti osnovan*), koji vrši funkciju finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena, može se primijetiti da nije identičan subjekt imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja i finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena. Leksema *vatan* (*domovina*) ima funkciju subjekta imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja, dok sintagma *o parti* (*ta stranka*) obavlja funkciju subjekatske sintagme finitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena. Stoga se na upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske

konstrukcije namjernoga značenja ne dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mAk*, već tu funkciju preuzima glagolska imenica na *-mA* na koju se dodaje prisvojni sufiks za treće lice jednine, kojim se označava gramatička kategorija lica i broja. Uočava se da u genitivu stoji leksema *vatan (domovina)*, koja vrši funkciju subjekta imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije. Leksema *vatan (domovina)* navodi se u genitivu jer predstavlja tematski dio obavijesti.

U prijevodu primjera (7), (8), (9) i (11) upotrebljavaju se namjerne zavisnosložene rečenice u kojima se namjerne zavisne klauze vežu za glavnu klauzu namjernim veznikom *da* i u kojima predikat namjernih zavisnih klauza stoji u obliku prezenta. U prijevodu primjera (10) koristi se namjerna zavisnosložena rečenica u kojoj se namjerna zavisna klauza veže za glavnu klauzu namjernim veznikom *kako* i u kojoj se predikat namjerne zavisne klauze navodi u obliku potencijala.

## **PROŠIRENI GLAGOLSKI ADVERBIJALI NAMJERNOGA ZNAČENJA S POSTPOZICIJOM İÇİN (ZA, RADI) I INFINITNI KORELATIVNI PREDIKAT**

U gramatičkoj strukturi turskoga jezika infinitni glagolski oblici predstavljaju proširene rečenične članove kojima se izražava rečenična subordinacija. Takav način iskazivanja rečenične subordinacije specifičan je za gramatičku strukturu turskoga jezika. U turskome jeziku infinitni glagolski oblici ne preuzimaju funkciju predikata zavisne klauze u zavisnosloženoj rečenici, već služe za tvorbu proširenih rečeničnih članova koji su značenjski bliski zavisnim klauzama u zavisnosloženim rečenicama u bosanskome jeziku. Glagolske imenice, participi, proparticipi, konverbi i kvazikonverbi uvrštavaju se u skupinu infinitnih glagolskih oblika (v. Čaušević 2018; Solak, Bašić 2020). Glagolske imenice jesu prošireni rečenični članovi kojima se iskazuje sintaksička subordinacija i koji preuzimaju funkciju upravnoga člana imenskih skupina koje u procesu nominalizacije nastaju preoblikom ishodišnih rečenica s finitnim predikatom (v. Čaušević 2018; Solak, Bašić 2020). Participi i proparticipi jesu prošireni rečenični članovi kojima se izražava rečenična subordinacija i koji preuzimaju funkciju upravnoga člana atributskih konstrukcija koje u procesu atribucije nastaju preoblikom ishodišnih rečenica s finitnim predikatom (Ergin 1993; Bayraktar 2004; Čaušević 2018). Konverbi i kvazikonverbi jesu prošireni rečenični članovi kojima se označava sintaksička subordinacija i koji preuzimaju funkciju upravnoga člana adverbijalnih skupina koje u procesu adverbijalizacije nastaju preoblikom ishodišnih rečenica s finitnim predikatom (v. Korkmaz 2009; Čaušević 2018). Prošireni



glagolski adverbijali namjernoga značenja s pospozicijom  *için (za, radi)* mogu biti podređeni infinitivnim glagolskim oblicima. Takvi se primjeri bilježe u romanima koji su bili predmet analize.

(12) Ben *bir kadını kurtarmak için* nasıl davranacağımı bilirim! (I: 132) = Ja znam kako ću se ponašati *da spasim ženu!* (dosl. Ja znam to kako ću se ponašati *radi spašavanja žene!*)

(13) Ben senin, buraya, *karıları gözetlemek için* geldiğini bilmez miyim? (II: 126) = Zar misliş da ja ne znam da si ti došao ovamo *da gledaš žene?* (dosl. Zar ja ne znam to da si ti došao ovamo *radi nadgledanja žena?*)

(14) “*Karadayı*” *idarehanesine gitmek için* evden çıkarken çok heyecanlıydı. (I: 157) = Bio je mnogo uzbuđen dok je izlazio iz kuće *kako bi otišao u redakciju “Karaday”*. (dosl. Bio je mnogo uzbuđen dok je izlazio iz kuće *radi odlaženja u redakciju “Karaday”*.)

(15) *Biraz para vermek için* elini cebine atınca parasızlığını hatırladı. (II: 169) = Kad je gurnuo ruku u džep *kako bi mu dao nešto novca*, sjetio se da nema novca. (dosl. Kad je bacio svoju ruku u svoj džep *radi davanja malo para*, sjetio se svoje besparice.)

U primjerima (12), (13), (14) i (15) prošireni glagolski adverbijali namjernoga značenja s pospozicijom  *için (za, radi)* podređeni su infinitivnim glagolskim oblicima. U primjeru (12) funkciju finitnoga predikata obavlja glagol *bilmek (znati/saznati, razumijevati/razumjeti, poznavati/poznati)*, koji stoji u potvrdnome obliku prvoga lica jednine prezenta na *-r*. Funkciju subjekta ima lična zamjenica prvoga lica jednine, dok funkciju objekatske sintagme vrši imenska skupina (*benim*) *bir kadını kurtarmak için nasıl davranacağım (to kako ću se [ja] ponašati da spasim ženu [dosl. to kako ću se ja ponašati radi spašavanja žene])*. Primjećuje se da postpozicijska konstrukcija namjernoga značenja *bir kadını kurtarmak için (da spasim ženu [dosl. radi spašavanja žene])* nije neposredno podređena glagolu *bilmek (znati/saznati, razumijevati/razumjeti, poznavati/poznati)*, koji vrši funkciju finitnoga predikata, već je podređena glagolu *davranmak (ponašati se, prihvata se / prihvatiti se)*, koji preuzima funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja se u primjeru (12) upotrebljava kao objekatska sintagma. Imenska skupina (*benim*) *bir kadını kurtarmak için nasıl davranacağım (to kako ću se [ja] ponašati da spasim ženu [dosl. to kako ću se ja ponašati radi spašavanja žene])* nastaje preoblikom ishodišne rečenice (*Ben*) *bir kadını kurtarmak için nasıl davranacağım (Kako ću se [ja] ponašati da spasim ženu [dosl. Kako ću se ja ponašati radi spašavanja žene])*. Predikat ishodišne rečenice koja se u procesu nominalizacije preoblikuje u imensku skupinu jeste glagol *davranmak (po-*

*našati se, prihvatati se / prihvatiti se*), koji stoji u potvrdnome obliku prvoga lica jednine futura kojim se označava radnja koja se povezuje sa sferom budućnosti (v. Korkmaz 1959; Čaušević 1996). Budući da se predikatom ishodišne rečenice koja se u procesu nominalizacije preoblikuje u imensku skupinu izražava radnja koja se povezuje sa sferom budućnosti, glagolska imenica na *-(y)AcAk*, koja u svojoj značenjskoj strukturi pokriva sferu budućnosti, dodaje se na korijen glagola *davranmak (ponašati se, prihvatati se / prihvatiti se)*, koji preuzima funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja se u primjeru (12) koristi kao objekatska sintagma. S obzirom na to da predikat ishodišne rečenice koja se u procesu nominalizacije preoblikuje u imensku skupinu stoji u prvome licu jednine, na glagolsku imenicu na *-(y)AcAk* dodaje se prisvojni sufiks za prvo lice jednine. Na taj se način naznačava da su subjekt i upravni član imenske skupine istovjetni u kategoriji lica i broja sa subjektom i predikatom ishodišne rečenice koja se u procesu nominalizacije preoblikuje u imensku skupinu. U postpozicijskoj konstrukciji namjernoga značenja *bir kadını kurtarmak için (da spasim ženu [dosl. radi spašavanja žene])* postpozicija  *için (za, radi)* jeste postpozicijska komponenta, dok je leksičko jezgro imenska skupina *bir kadını kurtarmak (spašavanje žene)*. Upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije jeste glagol *kurtarmak (spašavati/spasiti, oslobađati/osloboditi, izbavljivati/izbaviti)*, na čiju se osnovu dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mAk*. To pokazuje da je glagol *kurtarmak (spašavati/spasiti, oslobađati/osloboditi, izbavljivati/izbaviti)*, koji obavlja funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere, istovjetan u kategoriji lica i broja s glagolom *davranmak (ponašati se, prihvatati se / prihvatiti se)*, koji vrši funkciju infinitivnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena.

U primjeru (13) funkciju finitnoga predikata vrši glagol *bilmek (znati/saznati, razumijevati/razumjeti, poznavati/poznati)*, koji se navodi u upitno-odričnome obliku prvoga lica jednine prezenta na *-r*. Lična zamjenica prvoga lica jednine ima funkciju subjekta, a funkciju objekatske sintagme obavlja imenska skupina *senin, buraya, karıları gözetlemek için geldiğin (to da si ti došao ovamo da gledaš žene [dosl. to da si ti došao ovamo radi nadgledanja žena])*. Uočava se da namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija *karıları gözetlemek için (da gledaš žene [dosl. radi nadgledanja žena])* nije neposredno podređena glagolu *bilmek (znati/saznati, razumijevati/razumjeti, poznavati/poznati)*, koji ima funkciju finitnoga predikata, već je podređena glagolu *gelmek (dolaziti/doći)*, koji preuzima funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja se u primjeru (13) koristi kao objekatska sintagma. Imenska skupina *senin, buraya,*

*karuları gözetlemek için geldiğin* (to da si ti doşao ovamo da gledaş žene [dosl. to da si ti doşao ovamo radi nadgledanja žena]) nastaje preoblikom ishodišne rečenice *Sen, buraya, karuları gözetlemek için geldin* (Ti si doşao ovamo da gledaş žene [dosl. Ti si doşao ovamo radi nadgledanja žena]). Predikat ishodišne rečenice koja se u procesu nominalizacije preoblikuje u imensku skupinu jeste glagol *gelmek* (*dolaziti/doći*), koji je u potvrdnome obliku drugoga lica jednine određenoga perfekta. Dakle, predikatom ishodišne rečenice koja se u procesu nominalizacije preoblikuje u imensku skupinu označava se radnja koja se povezuje sa sferom prošlosti. Stoga se na korijen glagola *gelmek* (*dolaziti/doći*), koji vrši funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja se u primjeru (13) upotrebljava u funkciji objekatske sintagme, dodaje glagolska imenica na *-Dik*, koja u okviru svoje značenjske strukture pokriva sferu sadašnjosti i prošlosti. Predikat ishodišne rečenice koja se u procesu nominalizacije preoblikuje u imensku skupinu stoji u drugome licu jednine. Stoga se na glagolsku imenicu na *-Dik* dodaje prisvojni sufiks za drugo lice jednine kojim se naznačava da su subjekt i upravni član imenske skupine istoznačni u kategoriji lica i broja sa subjektom i predikatom ishodišne rečenice koja se u procesu nominalizacije preoblikuje u imensku skupinu. U postpozicijskoj konstrukciji namjernoga značenja *karuları gözetlemek için* (da gledaş žene [dosl. radi nadgledanja žena]) postpozicija  *için* (za, radi) jeste postpozicijska komponenta, a leksičko je jezgro imenska skupina *karuları gözetlemek* (*gledanje/nadgledanje žena*). Upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere jeste glagol *gözetlemek* (*pratiti, gledati/nadgledati, kontrolirati, motriti*), na čiju se osnovu dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mAk*. Na taj se način naznačava da je glagol *gözetlemek* (*pratiti, gledati/nadgledati, kontrolirati, motriti*), koji ima funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije, istoznačan u kategoriji lica i broja s glagolom *gelmek* (*dolaziti/doći*), koji predstavlja infinitni korelativni predikat kojem je namjerna postpozicijska skupina podređena.

U primjeru (14) sintagma *çok heyecanlı* (*mnogo uzbuđen*) ima funkciju predikatske sintagme, lična zamjenica trećega lica jednine obavlja funkciju subjekta, dok funkciju adverbijalne odredbe vremena preuzima konverbna adverbijalna skupina “*Karadayı*” *idarehanesine gitmek için evden çıkarken* (*dok je izlazio iz kuće kako bi otişao u redakciju “Karaday”* [dosl. dok je izlazio iz kuće radi odlaženja u redakciju “Karaday”]). Može se vidjeti da namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija “*Karadayı*” *idarehanesine gitmek için* (*kako bi otişao u redakciju “Karaday”* [dosl. radi odlaženja u redakciju “Karaday”]) nije neposredno podređena finitnome predikatu, već je podređena glagolu *çıkılmak* (*izlaziti/izaći*), koji preuzima funkciju upravnoga

člana konverbne skupine s konverbom na *-ken*, koja se u primjeru (14) upotrebljava kao adverbijalna odredba vremena. U gramatičkoj strukturi turskoga jezika konverbom na *-ken* označava se istovremenost vršenja radnje konverbne skupine i radnje koja se iskazuje korelativnim predikatom kojem je konverbna skupina podređena. Turske konverbne skupine s konverbom na *-ken* značenjski su bliske bosanskim vremenskim zavisnim klauzama koje se za glavnu ili osnovnu klauzu vežu vremenskim veznicima *dok* i *kad* (v. Čaušević 2018; Solak, Bašić 2020). U postpozicijskoj konstrukciji namjernoga značenja “*Karadayı*” *idarehanesine gitmek için (kako bi otišao u redakciju “Karadayı” [dosl. radi odlaženja u redakciju “Karadayı”])* postpozicija *için (za, radi)* jeste postpozicijska komponenta, dok je leksičko jezgro imenska skupina “*Karadayı*” *idarehanesine gitmek (odlaženje u redakciju “Karadayı”)*. Upravnici član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije jeste glagol *gitmek (odlaziti/otići, ići)*, na čiji se korijen dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mAk*. To ukazuje na činjenicu da je glagol *gitmek (odlaziti/otići, ići)*, koji vrši funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere, istovjetan u kategoriji lica i broja s glagolom *çikmak (izlaziti/izaći)*, koji obavlja funkciju infinitnoga korelativnog predikata kojem je postpozicijska konstrukcija namjernoga značenja podređena.

U primjeru (15) funkciju finitnoga predikata obavlja glagol *hatırlamak (sjećati se / sjetiti se, pamtiti/zapamtiti)*, koji se navodi u potvrdnome obliku trećega lica jednine određenoga perfekta. Lična zamjenica trećega lica jednine vrši funkciju subjekta, leksema *parasızlık (besparica)* ima funkciju određenoga objekta, dok funkciju adverbijalne odredbe vremena preuzima konverbna adverbijalna skupina *biraz para vermek için elini cebine atınca (kad je gurnuo ruku u džep kako bi mu dao nešto novca [dosl. kad je bacio svoju ruku u svoj džep radi davanja malo para])*. Primjećuje se da namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija *biraz para vermek için (kako bi mu dao nešto novca [dosl. radi davanja malo para])* nije neposredno podređena glagolu *hatırlamak (sjećati se / sjetiti se, pamtiti/zapamtiti)*, koji ima funkciju finitnoga predikata, već je podređena glagolu *atmak (bacati/baciti, stavljati/staviti, gurati/gurnuti)*, koji preuzima funkciju upravnoga člana konverbne skupine s konverbom na *-(y)IncA*, koja se u primjeru (15) koristi kao adverbijalna odredba vremena. U gramatičkoj strukturi turskoga jezika konverbom na *-(y)IncA* iskazuje se anteriornost u odnosu na radnju koja se izražava korelativnim predikatom kojem je konverbna skupina podređena. Turske konverbne skupine na *-(y)IncA* značenjski su bliske bosanskim vremenskim zavisnim klauzama koje se za glavnu ili osnovnu klauzu vežu vremenskim veznicima *kad* i *çim* (v. Čaušević 2018). U namjernoj postpozicijskoj konstrukciji-

*biraz para vermek için* (kako bi mu dao nešto novca [dosl. radi davanja malo para]) postpozicija için (za, radi) jeste postpozicijska komponenta, dok je leksičko jezgro imenska skupina *biraz para vermek* (davanje nešto novca [dosl. davanje malo para]). Upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere jeste glagol *vermek* (davati/dati), na čiji se korijen dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mAk*. Na taj se način naznačava da je glagol *vermek* (davati/dati), koji ima funkciju upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja, istoznačan u kategoriji lica i broja s glagolom *atmak* (bacati/baciti, stavljati/staviti, gurati/gurnuti), koji predstavlja infinitni korelativni predikat kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena.

U prijevodu primjera (12) navodi se zavisnosložena rečenica s objekatskom klauzom u kojoj se načinska zavisnoupitna objekatska klauza veže za glavnu klauzu veznikom *kako* i u kojoj se predikat zavisnoupitne objekatske klauze navodi u obliku futura I. U primjeru (12) zavisnoupitna objekatska klauza preuzima i funkciju osnovne klauze za koju se namjernim veznikom *da* veže namjerna zavisna klauza u kojoj predikat stoji u obliku prezenta. U prijevodu primjera (13) upotrebljava se zavisnosložena rečenica s objekatskom klauzom u kojoj se izrična objekatska klauza veže za glavnu klauzu izričnim veznikom *da* (...) i u kojoj se predikat objekatske klauze navodi u obliku perfekta. U primjeru (13) izrična objekatska klauza preuzima i funkciju osnovne klauze za koju se namjernim veznikom *da* veže namjerna zavisna klauza u kojoj je predikat u obliku prezenta. U prijevodu primjera (14) koristi se vremenska zavisnosložena rečenica u kojoj se vremenska zavisna klauza veže za glavnu klauzu vremenskim veznikom *dok* i u kojoj predikat vremenske zavisne klauze stoji u perfektu. U primjeru (14) vremenska klauza preuzima i funkciju osnovne klauze za koju se namjernim veznikom *kako* veže namjerna zavisna klauza u kojoj se predikat navodi u obliku potencijala. U prijevodu primjera (15) navodi se vremenska zavisnosložena rečenica u kojoj se vremenska zavisna klauza veže za glavnu klauzu vremenskim veznikom *kad* i u kojoj predikat vremenske zavisne klauze stoji u obliku perfekta. U primjeru (15) vremenska klauza ima i ulogu osnovne klauze za koju se namjernim veznikom *kako* veže namjerna zavisna klauza čiji se predikat navodi u obliku potencijala.

## ZAKLJUČAK

U radu su analizirane gramatičke i značenjske osobitosti proširenih glagolskih adverbijala namjernoga značenja koji se oblikuju postpozicijskim konstrukcijama u okviru kojih postpozicija *çin (za, radi)* ima funkciju postpozicijske komponente. Analiza se zasnivala na primjerima evidentiranim u romanima Kemala Tahira *Esir Şehrin İnsanları*, *Esir Şehrin Mahpusu* i *Yol Ayrımı*. Analiza konkretnih primjera iz romanâ Kemala Tahira potvrdila je činjenicu da leksičko jezgro postpozicijskih konstrukcija namjernoga značenja s postpozicijom *çin (za, radi)* ima drugačiju strukturu u jednosubjekatskim i višesubjekatskim rečenicama. Ako se postpozicijska konstrukcija namjernoga značenja upotrebljava u jednosubjekatskoj rečenici u kojoj je identičan subjekt namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije i korelativnoga predikata kojem je ona podređena, prošireni glagolski adverbijal namjernoga značenja oblikuje se postpozicijskom konstrukcijom u okviru koje postpozicija *çin (za, radi)* ima funkciju postpozicijske komponente, dok funkciju leksičkoga jezgra vrši imenska skupina u kojoj se na upravni član dodaje glagolska imenica na *-mAk*. U takvim se primjerima glagolskom imenicom na *-mAk* označava da je upravni član imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere istovjetan u kategoriji lica i broja s korelativnim predikatom kojem je namjerna postpozicijska konstrukcija podređena. Ako se postpozicijska konstrukcija namjere koristi u višesubjekatskoj rečenici u kojoj nije identičan subjekt postpozicijske konstrukcije namjere i korelativnoga predikata kojem je ona podređena, prošireni glagolski adverbijal namjernoga značenja iskazuje se postpozicijskom konstrukcijom u okviru koje postpozicija *çin (za, radi)* vrši funkciju postpozicijske komponente, dok funkciju leksičkoga jezgra obavlja imenska skupina u kojoj se na upravni član dodaje glagolska imenica na *-MA* s odgovarajućim prisvojnim sufiksom. U takvim se primjerima prisvojnim sufiksom označava gramatička kategorija lica i broja upravnoga člana imenske skupine koja čini leksičko jezgro postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja. U analizi primjerâ iz romanâ Kemala Tahira moglo se vidjeti da postpozicijske konstrukcije namjernoga značenja mogu biti podređene infinitnim glagolskim oblicima. U takvim kontekstualnim situacijama namjerne postpozicijske konstrukcije nisu neposredno povezane s finitnim predikatom, već su podređene infinitnome korelativnom predikatu.

Kada se govori o značenjski bliskim sintaksičkim konstrukcijama u bosanskome jeziku, kontrastivna analiza pokazala je da su bosanske namjerne zavisne klauze koje se za glavnu ili osnovnu klauzu vežu namjernim veznicima *da* i *kako* značenjski bliske turskim proširenim glagolskim adverbijalima namjernoga značenja koji se oblikuju



postpozicijskim konstrukcijama u kojima postpozicija *için (za, radi)* obavlja funkciju postpozicijske komponente. Stoga su se u prijevodu analiziranih primjera koristile namjerne zavisnosložene rečenice u kojima se namjerne zavisne klauze vežu za glavnu klauzu namjernim veznicima *da* i *kako* i u kojima predikat namjernih zavisnih klauza stoji u formi prezenta ili pak potencijala.

Rezultati analize doprinose boljem spoznavanju i lakšem razumijevanju turskih proširenih glagolskih adverbijala namjernoga značenja i značenjski bliskih sintaksičkih konstrukcija u bosanskome jeziku. Pored toga, rezultati analize predstavljaju dobar temelj i dobro polazište za daljnja istraživanja u vezi s gramatičkom strukturom turskoga i bosanskoga jezika.

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## **OBSERVATIONS REGARDING EXPANDED VERBAL ADVERBIALS WITH THE MEANING OF INTENTION ACCOMPANIED BY THE POSTPOSITION *İÇİN* (FOR, IN ORDER TO)**

### **Summary:**

This paper analyzes grammatical and semantic features of expanded verbal adverbials with the meaning of intention, which are formed through postpositional constructions where the postposition  *için*  (for, in order to) functions as the postpositional component. The analysis is divided into three parts and it is based on descriptive analytics as well as contrastive approach. The primary source consists of examples from Kemal Tahir's novels titled  *Esir Şehrin İnsanları* ,  *Esir Şehrin Mahpusu*  and  *Yol Ayrımı* . The first part of the paper analyzes grammatical and semantic features of single-subject sentences, where the subject of the expanded verbal adverbial with the meaning of intention accompanied by the postposition  *için*  (for, in order to) is identical to the subject of the correlative predicate to which the adverbial group with the meaning of intention is subordinated. The second part of the paper deals with the analysis of multi-subject sentences in which the subject of the expanded verbal adverbial accompanied by the postposition  *için*  (for, in order to) is not identical to the subject of the correlative predicate to which the adverbial group with the meaning of intention is subordinated. The third part analyzes examples where

expanded verbal adverbials with the meaning of intention accompanied by the postposition *için* (for, in order to) are subordinated to an infinitive correlative predicate. Within the framework of contrastive analysis, expanded verbal adverbials with the meaning of intention accompanied by the postposition *için* (for, in order to) are compared with semantically similar syntactic constructions in Bosnian language. Such analysis contributes to a better and easier understanding of expanded verbal adverbials with the meaning of intention, which are expressed through postpositional constructions where the postposition *için* (for, in order to) functions as a postpositional component.

**Key words:** expanded verbal adverbials; meaning of intention; postpositional constructions; postposition *için* (for, in order to); single-subject sentences; multi-subject sentences

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društvene i humanističke studije

ČASOPIS  
FILOZOFSKOG  
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UTUZLI

## SOCIOLOŠKE STUDIJE

**Bojan Ćorluka, Biserka Košarac**

TRANSFORMACIJA PORODICE U SAVREMENOM DRUŠTVU: NEKI  
OSNOVNI INDIKATORI / TRANSFORMATION OF THE FAMILY IN  
CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY: SOME BASIC INDICATORS ..... 837

**Enes Pašalić**

PRILOG POIMANJU (BOSANSKE) NACIJE: VAŽNO JE ZVATI SE  
BOSANAC/BOŠNJAK / CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONCEPT OF  
THE (BOSNIAN) NATION: IT IS IMPORTANT TO BE CALLED  
BOSNIAN/BOSNIAK ..... 855

**Asja Mandić**

RUŠEVINA KAO STANJE GRADA POD OPSADOM /  
RUIN AS THE STATE OF A CITY UNDER SIEGE ..... 897



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**Bojan Ćorluka, Biserka Košarac**

## **TRANSFORMACIJA PORODICE U SAVREMENOM DRUŠTVU: NEKI OSNOVNI INDIKATORI**

Porodica kao jedan od temeljnih i najvažnijih društvenih podsistema od druge polovine XX vijeka pa do danas doživljava korjenitu transformaciju. Ona spada u one društvene fenomene čije se promjene odigravaju sporo i neprimjetno, bilo da je riječ o promjenama u intimnoj sferi ili o promjenama njenog oblika, strukture i funkcija. Ti trendovi promjena zahtijevaju od istraživača da odrede njihove uzroke, smjer, dubinu i posljedice. Transformacija porodice prije svega se ogleda kroz trend rekonstrukcije tradicionalnog braka, u povećanom broju razvoda, kao i u povećanju alternativnih formi bračnog i porodičnog života. Brak je izgubio svoju karakteristiku univerzalnosti, a nuklearna porodična forma prestaje da bude jedini obrazac porodičnog života. Predmet ovog rada je da odredi koje su to ključne promjene, kakve su im karakteristike i koji su im društveni, ekonomski i kulturni uzroci kroz praćenje statističkih podataka za određene indikatore – stopu nupcijaliteta, stopu divorcijaliteta i broj jednoroditeljskih porodica, i to kroz teorijske koncepte Entonija Gidensa, Urliha Beka i Elizabet Bek-Gernshajm.

**Ključne riječi:** porodica; brak; razvod braka; stopa nupcijaliteta; stopa divorcijaliteta; jednoroditeljske porodice

## UVOD

Porodica je predmet istraživanja različitih nauka, ali njeno sistematsko proučavanje vezuje se sa sociologiju, odnosno posebnu sociološku disciplinu, jednu od najstarijih i najrazvijenijih – sociologiju porodice. Obično burne društvene, ekonomske i promjene u kulturnoj sferi aktualizuju proučavanje porodice. Ta zainteresovanost je posljedica i činjenica da porodica u velikoj mjeri određuje svakodnevni život pojedinca. Posmatrajući savremeno društvo možemo zaključiti da dolazi do velikih promjena u okviru porodice. U javnom prostoru dominiraju informacije o padu broja sklopljenih brakova, padu nataliteta i fertiliteta, povećanju broja razvoda, povećanju broja jednoroditeljskih porodica i sl. Takve informacije često podstiču formiranje katastrofičnih stavova o porodici: porodica se kao osnovna ljudska zajednica urušava, a sa njom i povezani vrijednosni i moralni normativni sistemi. Sociolozi su opezniji u svojim predviđanjima i analitički fokus usmjeravaju na otkrivanje onih uzroka u porodici i društvu koji uslovljavaju transformaciju porodice. Takođe, treba naglasiti da se porodica mijenja pod uticajem društvenih procesa dugog trajanja čije je djelovanje često nevidljivo i teško se otkriva, jer djeluju izvan svakodnevnih porodičnih rutine (Milić 2001).

Ako su procesi modernizacije koji su zahvatili evropska društva u XVII i XIX vijeku uslovljili nastanak moderne porodice<sup>1</sup>, kraj prošlog i početak XXI vijeka obilježile su promjene koje porodicu transformišu na način koji do sada nije bio poznat: „Brak kao institucija izgubio je svoju univerzalnost, razvile su se nove forme bračnih i porodičnih odnosa, sve ubrzaniji je porast razvoda brakova, broj ponovljenih brakova je veći, fertilitet je u stalnom padu“ (Košarac 2019: 18). To zahtijeva od istraživača da odredi uzroke, smjer i dubinu tih promjena, i nanovo definiše porodicu, njene funkcije, strukturu, forme. Treba naglasiti i to da dubina i smjer porodičnih promjena uvijek zavise od konkretnih uslova u svakom pojedinačnom društvenom i kulturnom kontekstu. Na primjer, neki ustaljeni trendovi u razvijenim zapadnim društvima u Bosni i Hercegovini ili nisu zastupljeni ili se javljaju u manjem obimu.

Predmet ovog rada je ukazati na osnovne trendove porodične transformacije u savremenom društvu kroz određene indikatore: pad broja sklopljenih brakova, povećanje broja razvoda i povećanje broja jednoroditeljskih porodica upoređujući zvanične statističke podatke, kao i da ukaže na osnovne socijalne, ekonomske i kulturne činioce takve transformacije.

1 Promjene koje su evropska društva zahvatila u tom periodu na našim prostorima su se ispoljile između dva svjetska rata, a najsnažnije nakon Drugog svjetskog rata u periodu izgradnje socijalističke države, i bile su posljedica urbanizacije, industrijalizacije, izraženih migracija selo-grad i napuštanja tradicionalnih, patrijarhalnih obrazaca porodičnog života (Erllich 1971; Milić 2010)

## 1. OSNOVNI TRENDOVI I SOCIJALNI, EKONOMSKI I KULTURNI ČINIOCI TRANSFORMACIJE PORODICE

Proučavanje promjena u porodici je složeno samo po sebi, a proučavati ih u periodu značajnih i dubokih društvenih promjena čini problem još složenijim (Tomanović 2010). Porodica spada u one društvene fenomene čije se promjene odigravaju sporo i neprimjetno, bilo da je riječ o promjenama u intimnoj sferi, o promjeni oblika, sastava i funkcije. Brzina promjena u društvu ne dozvoljava pojedincima ni porodicama stvaranje nikakvih dugoročnih strategija.

Kao što nema društva bez čovjeka, isto tako nema društva bez porodice. Društvo i porodica su dvije strane čovjekovog života. „Porodica predstavlja najčešći, najpoznatiji, nama najbliži društveni prostor i sa njom su uvijek povezane snažne emocije“ (Košarac 2021: 9). Sa promjenama i preobražajem društva odvija se i promjena i preobražaj porodice i braka. Tada se javljaju određene krize braka i porodice, ali to ne znači da se porodica ukida.

Koncept i praksa moderne porodice u Evropi zaživljavaju od XVII do XIX vijeka i odgovaraju datim istorijskim okolnostima. Nastankom industrijskog društva, urbanizacijom, masovnim migracijama selo-grad i modernizacijom porodica dobija modernu, nukleranu strukturu koja je bila svojevrsan spoj tradicionalnih vrijednosti i nove strukture. Riječ je o „bazičnom patrijarhalnom obrascu odnosa između polova koji je prenijet i saobražen novoj formi moderne nuklearne porodice u građanskom društvu“ (Milić 2010: 17-18). Pred modernim, industrijskim društvom porodica i brak se iskazivala kao spoj baziran na individualizmu i slobodnom izboru, ali je unutrašnja struktura i dalje bila tradicionalna, zasnovana na podijeljenim porodičnim ulogama. Ova protivrječnost odredila je dalji razvoj porodice, a potpuno vidljiva je postala jačanjem feminističkog pokreta 60-tih godina prošlog vijeka.

Druga polovina XX vijeka obilježena je intenzivnim promjenama u porodici, zbog čega Kastels [Manuel Castells] taj period naziva i revolucijom u sferi porodičnog života (Castells 2003). Transformacija porodice prije svega se ogleda kroz trend rekonstrukcije tradicionalnog braka, odnosno u padu njegove univerzalnosti. U brak se ulazi sve kasnije, iz njega se izlazi brže i lakše i u njemu polako nestaju (mada pokazuju žilavost i otpornost) patrijarhalni obrasci i vrijednosti. Sa druge strane, „enormno rastu očekivanja od drugoga, kao i zahtjevi koje partneri postavljaju jedan prema drugome u polju seksualnosti, emotivnog ispunjenja, komunikacije, ekonomskog obezbjeđenja, socijalnog statusa i sl.“ (Bobić 2003: 62). Posljedica ovih promjena je odvajanje seksualnosti od braka i reprodukcije tj. dolazi do seksualne i



natalitetne dekompozicije braka (Milić 2001). Postavlja se pitanje uzroka koji dovode do seksualne i natalitetske dekompozicije braka u modernom društvu? Većina autora se slaže da su uzroci vezani za temeljne strukturalne i društvene promjene koje zahtijevaju razvijena društva, ali se brzo sele i u manje razvijena područja. Među bitnim promjenama izdvajaju se: seksualna revolucija iz 60-ih godina prošlog vijeka, emancipacija žena koja počinje od drugog svjetskog rata, ali ubrzanje dobija 70-ih godina, kao i proces individualizacije.

Transformacija braka i seksualnosti vodi ka promjenama u porodici, njenoj strukturi i funkcijama, kao i u svim aspektima porodičnih uloga i odnosa. Nuklearna porodična struktura se rastače i pojavljuju se nove porodične forme (jednoroditeljske porodice, LAT forme<sup>2</sup>, rekonponovane porodice, homoseksualne i sl.). Što se tiče funkcija, potrošačka funkcija porodice postaje dominantna. U globalizirajućem društvu, „potrošački životni stil postaje dominantni obrazac života za sve porodice. Eksplozija potrošačkih tržišta i komercijalizacija ljudskih vrijednosti kao globalizacijske tendencije bitno mijenjaju načine ponašanja porodice i pojedinaca u njoj“ (Milić 2010: 14).

Prakse i norme roditeljstva takođe su izložene brojnim promjenama. Socijalizacijski proces, koji je bio jedna od glavnih funkcija moderne porodice, se mijenja. Naime, porodice i dalje zadržavaju značajnu ulogu u socijalizaciji djece, ali pored nje u taj proces se „uključuje čitava plejada društvenih institucija, agenasa i organizacija koji svojim direktnim, ali još više indirektnim uticajima, proizvode identitete ličnosti mladih osoba u porodici“ (Milić 2010: 14).

Transformacija se desila i na unutrašnjem porodičnom planu, u okviru porodičnih odnosa. Naglašena individualizacija dovodi do emocionalne nepovezanosti, nedostatka uzajamne podrške i solidarnosti, pojačanih sukoba, manjka tolerancije, odnosno dolazi do urušavanja onih porodičnih vrijednosti koje omogućavaju da porodica funkcionise kao grupa. „Jačanje egoizma i individualizma, smanjenje porodične solidarnosti kao i opadanje značaja srodničkih veza i susjedstva“ (Košarac 2014: 18) vode ka dezintegraciji porodice.

Tokom čitavog prošlog vijeka u svim državama bivše Jugoslavije, odvijala se porodična transformacija koja je vodila modernizaciji porodičnog života. Neki od parametara promjena povezani su sa industrijalizacijom i modernizacijom koje su praćene procesima dezaagrarijacije, urbanizacije, masovnog školovanja, sve većeg zapošljavanja žena u industriji i sl. Prema shvatanju Anđelke Milić (2004: 319), „takvi

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2 LAT - living apart together

trendovi naglo su prekinuti 1991. godine zbog ratnih dešavanja, kada se pod snažnim udarom dramatičnog društvenog i ličnog osiromašenja, reprodukcijских gubitaka i egzistencijalne ugroženosti porodica usmjerila ka strategijama dnevnog preživljavanja i vratila se nekim prethodno odbačenim, tradicijskim oblicima i načinima porodičnog života“. Sa druge strane, porodice su bile zahvaćene i nekim procesima karakterističnim za razvijene zemlje Zapada kao što su: seksualna emancipacija mladih, pad nataliteta, porast vanbračnih rađanja, pojava različitih oblika kohabitacija. Zbog ovih pojava, može se govoriti o izvjesnoj transformacijskoj mješavini: usvajanje nekih trendova sa Zapada uz istovremeni proces retradicionalizacije.

Duboke promjene u vezi sa statusom žena povezane su sa sve većom emancipacijom, individualizacijom i zapošljavanjem. Roditeljstvo se i dalje snažno naturalizuje i podvlači se da je materinstvo osnovna ženska uloga, ali se upliće i orijentacija ka karijeri. Žene sada ravnopravno sa muškarcima doprinose prihodima domaćinstva. Budući da svoje vrijeme ne provode u domaćinstvu, mijenja se i njihov odnos sa djecom. Djeca su prinuđena da provode vrijeme sa dadiljama, babama ili sa ocem. To je vrlo bitna činjenica koja uslovljava promjene u roditeljstvu (moderno roditeljstvo). Majke i očevi se međusobno usklađuju tj. postoji podjela poslova u domaćinstvu što uslovljava i promjene u porodici. Nema više hijerarhije koja je dominirala u tradicionalnoj porodici, već postoji ravnopravnija podjela dužnosti karakterističnih za modernu porodicu. Žene sve više izražavaju slaganje s tim da imaju djecu, a pri tome ne žive sa muškarcem. Dakle, promjene u tradicionalnom rodnom režimu dovode do promjena u tradicionalnoj porodici, braku i roditeljstvu (Bobić i Stanojević 2014).

Izlazak žene iz porodice stvara uslove i za revolucionisanje života i rada u porodici i domaćinstvu. Ova pojava dovodi do radikalnih izmjena u položaju žene i njenom odnosu prema društvu kao i prema mužu i djeci. Žena stiče sve veću slobodu, veću samostalnost, više obrazovanja i veća prava. To je proces poznat pod nazivom emancipacija žena. Osnovi uslov njene emancipacije predstavlja ekonomska samostalnost. Da bi se emancipacija proširila i na druge oblasti potrebne su i druge pretpostavke. Jedna od glavnih jeste oslobađanje žene od neproaktivnih i neekonomičnih poslova u domaćinstvu i veća briga države o djeci zaposlenih roditelja. Osim toga, neophodne su i pravna, duhovna i moralna emancipacija žena. Tradicionalni brak služio je djevojkama da uredi svoj život. Međutim, takav brak gubi na cijeni jer su stekle autonomiju u pogledu seksualnosti, materinstva i rada. Žive u kohabitaciji, a zatim biraju kada će se udati, roditi djecu, kako bi zaštitile svoju profesionalnu budućnost.

Objašnjenja porodične transformacije kreću se u širokom luku. Kastels (Castells 2003) zastupa tezu o demisioniranju kapitalističkog sistema koji svojom propašću vuče na dno moderno društvo i njegove institucije, pa i porodicu. Drugi, pak ističu jačanje kapitalizma kroz procese globalizacije, što uslovljava duboke promjene u ekonomskoj sferi, a onda posljedično i u porodičnoj sferi (Volerstin 2005). Entoni Gidens [Anthony Giddens] zastupa optimističku tezu po kojoj globalna transformacija društva vodi ka sve većoj individualizaciji i slobodi pojedinca, posebno u sferi intimnih, partnerskih i porodičnih odnosa. Po njegovom mišljenju, ova transformacija vodi do „čistih odnosa“ u interakcijama među ljudima (Gidens 2005).

Najznačajniju teoriju dali su Urlieh Bek [Ulrich Beck] i Elizabet Bek-Gernshajm [Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim]. Počiva na dvije teze – tezi o rizičnom društvu i tezi o individualizaciji (Bek 2001). Teza o rizičnom društvu prije svega se odnosi na ekonomiju i tržište rada u postindustrijskom društvu. Stvari koje su se podrazumijevale u industrijskom društvu – puna zaposlenost, zagarantovane penzije, privilegije države blagostanja i dr. – sada postaju neizvjesne. Plaćeni rad postaje fleksibilan i nesiguran, osnovne mjere države blagostanja prestaju da se primjenjuju tako da se pojedinci i porodice nalaze u veoma nesigurnom položaju. Rizici u postmodernom društvu raspoređeni su tako da ih država i ekonomija prebacuju na pojedince i porodice. Drugu tezu o individualizaciji ovi teoretičari preciznije nazivaju „institucionalna individualizacija“ (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 20). Ovaj pojam ima dvije ključne karakteristike. S jedne strane tradicionalne društvene veze, odnosi i sistemi koji su nekada oblikovali ljudske živote gube na značaju, posebno porodica i brak. S druge strane, ljudi su povezani u institucije kao što su država, tržište rada, obrazovanje i dr., a te institucije upućuju zahtjeve prema pojedincu. „Presudna karakteristika ovih novih oblika regulacije je da oni pozivaju pojedince da žive sopstvenim životom izvan veze sa porodicom ili drugim grupama i zapravo ih podstiču da se oslobode takvih veza i da djeluju bez obzira na njih“ (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 21). Ovi procesi direktno utiču na brak, seksualnost, roditeljstvo, porodicu stvarajući sve složenije oblike. Da bi objasnili ove promjene Bek i Bek-Gernshajm upoređuju porodice u predindustrijskom, industrijskom i postindustrijskom društvu. Predindustrijska porodica bila je zajednica zasnovana na potrebama (prije svega ekonomskim, održavanje domaćinstva) koju drži obaveza solidarnosti (utemeljena u religiji i moralu tadašnjeg društva).

„Kao što mnogi istorijski dokumenti svjedoče, članovi porodice nisu bili vezani samo na osnovu ljubavi i naklonosti. Napetost i nepovjerenje, pa čak i mržnja i nasilje nisu bili rijetki. Ipak,

osnovna osobina je uzajamna zavisnost kojoj su u slučaju sukoba morale biti podređene lične želje i nesvidanja. Tada nije bilo puno prostora da pojedinac napusti porodicu. Jeste bilo moguće, ali samo uz visoku cijenu“ (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 89).

U industrijskom društvu je postojao opšteprihvaćeni model porodice koju su činili odrasli par (nikada istog pola) i njihova djeca. U okviru porodičnog modela uloge su bile podijeljene i segregirane, onako kako ih je Parsons [Talcott Parsons] opisao: instrumentalna za muža i oca i ekspresivna za ženu i majku (Milić 2001). To ne znači da u tom periodu nije bilo drugačijih životnih stilova (vanbračne veze, homoseksualnost, razvodi, ponovljeni brakovi i sl.), ali se na njih gledalo kao na devijantne pojave i postojali su relativno u uskim granicama. U postmodernom društvu, društvu rizika, ovaj model porodice nije potpuno nestao, ali pored sebe, potpuno legitimno, postoje brojni drugi oblici. Odstupanja od nuklearne porodice postaju sve češća (kohabitacije, LAT forme, homoseksualne zajednice i brakovi i sl.) pa dolazi do normalizacije različitosti u vrijednosnom i normativnom sistemu. Druga promjena nastala u postindustrijskom društvu tiče se promjena u životnom toku porodica i pojedinaca. Normativni životni tok nije više obavezujući. Partnerstvo se ne mora završiti brakom, bračni partneri ne moraju postati roditelji, brak se može bez sankcija razvesti, roditelji mogu postati i samci, pojedinci mogu sklopiti i po nekoliko uzastopnih brakova (serijska monogamija) i dr. Na ovaj način nastaju složeni porodični i srodnički sistemi. Porodica postaje stvar izbora, udruživanje pojedinaca koji imaju svoje posebne interese, iskustva, planove i koji su pod uticajem različitih rizika. Individualizacija podstiče intimnost i bliskost i većina ljudi će se opredijeliti za neku vrstu partnerstva, ali te veze nisu iste kao ranije ni po obimu ni po trajnosti. To naravno ne znači da tradicionalna porodica nestaje, ali gubi monopol koji je imala dugo vremena. Nove forme partnerstva i porodice predstavljaju „budućnost porodica ili ono što se naziva postporodična porodica“ (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 98).

### **2.1. Brak i razvod braka**

Brak, kao i srodstvo, predstavlja univerzalnu ustanovu u ljudskom društvu i kulturi (Milić 2001). Najčešće se definiše kao „društvena legitimacija seksualne aktivnosti partnera sa ciljem rađanja potomstva“ (Milić 2001: 113). I pored toga što brak i partnerski odnosi imaju univerzalan karakter, oni se razlikuju prema društvenim i kulturnim kontekstima, ali i prema istorijskoj dimenziji. Moderno, industrijsko društvo uslovalo je promjene u braku kao instituciji: slobodan izbor bračnog partnera

baziran na romantičnoj ljubavi i privrženosti, rijetkost brakova među srođnicima, smanjenje autoriteta muža i liberalizaciju razvoda (Košarac 2021). Druga polovina XX vijeka donijela je nove promjene. Brak gubi na svojoj univerzalnosti što se ogleda u padu stope nupcijaliteta, povećanju stope divorcijaliteta, povećanju godina za stupanje u brak i povećanje broja kohabitacija i drugih bračnih i porodičnih formi. „Brak je, na silaznoj putanji, postao neka vrsta afektivnog braka. (...) Brak se sklapa sve kasnije, promišljen je, svečan ili koristan, a često mu prethodi period slobodne veze, konkubinata ili višestrukog iskustva individualnog života ili života u zajednici“ (Rudinesko 2012: 191). U Tabeli br. 1 date su stope nupcijaliteta za evropska društva (EUROSTAT 2024: Crude marriage rate).

**Tabela br. 1** Stope nupcijaliteta u pojedinim evropskim društvima

	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Albanija	8,1	7,9	6,2	7,8	6,8
Belgija	3,9	3,9	2,8	3,5	4,2
Bosna i Hercegovina	5,1	5,3	4,7	5,6	5,9
Danska	5,6	5,3	4,7	4,9	4,7
Francuska	3,5	3,3	2,3	3,2	3,6
Norveška	4,3	4,0	3,3	4,0	4,0
Njemačka	5,4	5,0	4,5	4,3	4,2
Poljska	5,1	4,8	3,8	4,5	4,2
Srbija	5,2	5,1	3,4	4,8	4,9
Turska	6,8	6,6	5,8	6,9	6,8
Švedska	5,8	4,7	3,6	3,7	4,6

Podaci u tabeli nam pokazuju da po pravilu ekonomski razvijenija društva imaju nižu stopu nupcijaliteta, od tradicionalnih i manje razvijenih. Tako je u 2022. godini u Turskoj i Albaniji ta stopa 6,8, Bosni i Hercegovini 5,9, a u Francuskoj 3,6, Norveškoj 4. Takođe, na osnovu podataka uočava se i trend konstantnog pada stope bračnosti. Na primjer, u Bosni i Hercegovini ta stopa je 1960. godine bila 10,1, a u 2022. godini 5,9 (COUNTRYECONOMY, Bosnia and Herzegovina – Marriages). To potvrđuje našu tezu da brak prestaje da bude obavezujući za pojedinca, a postaje stvar ličnog izbora i životnog stila, ali ta promjena zavisi od konkretnog socijalnog i kulturnog konteksta.

Danas ljudi manje stupaju u brak nego što je to bio ranije slučaj, a i kada se na to odluče, uglavnom to čine u kasnijim godinama. Prosječne godine stupanja u brak se stalno povećavaju. U Bosni i Hercegovini prosječne godine stupanja u prvi brak nevjeste su u 1996. godini iznosile 24, a mladoženje 28. U 2022. godini prosječna starost nevjeste je bila 27, a mladoženje 30 godina (Agencija za statistiku Bosne i Hercegovine 2023, Sklopljeni brakovi prema dobnoj skupini).

Drugi indikator koji ukazuje na korjenitu transformaciju porodice i braka su povećane stope razvoda. Razvod je rezultat dezintegrativnih procesa kako između bračnih partnera, tako i u porodici, odnosno rezultat kriza koje nisu mogle da se razriješe, pa su dovele do sloma braka i rekonpozicije porodične grupe. Razvod braka predstavlja univerzalnu društvenu činjenicu, jer sva društva u svom istorijskom razvoju poznaju neke oblike razvoda. U predmodernim društvima teže se dolazilo do razvoda „jer se time rušio ustaljeni društveni poredak i odnosi među grupama i pojedincima“ (Milić 2001: 128). U većini savremenih društava razvod braka je doveden do puke formalnosti, jer se brak u sistemu vrijednosti društva i pojedinca tretira kao stvar lične odluke i izbora. Istovremeno, savremena društva su u svojim zakonodavstvima liberalizovala proces razvoda. Povećane stope razvoda pod dubokim uticajem su društvenih, ekonomskih, političkih, institucionalnih i kulturnih promjena.

„Muškarci i žene su ranije posmatrali brak i porodicu kroz prizmu dužnosti, obaveza i žrtvovanja; finansijska zavisnost i društveni pritisak doveli su do toga da parovi ostanu u braku iako su nesrećni. (...) U savremenom pristupu bračnom životu bračni uspjeh nije definisan ispunjavanjem obaveza prema supružniku i djeci, već snažnim osjećajem subjektivne sreće u braku“ (Ruspini 2016: 1).

Par u razvodu je u ozbiljnoj, često dugotrajnoj krizi čiji ishodi, posmatrani u ravni doživljavanja i psihosocijalnog funkcionisanja pojedinca, mogu biti različiti u zavisnosti od motivacije za razvod, nivoa sopstvene zrelosti i oformljenosti ličnog identiteta, te načina pristupanja samoj situaciji (Polovina i Žegarac 2005). Kako je razvod braka proces prije nego izdvojen životni događaj, proces koji uključuje emocionalne, motivacione, socijalne, ekonomske i pravne aspekte koji su međusobno isprepletani i jedni na druge povratno djeluju, jasno je da je okončanje i zaokruženje ovog procesa veoma zahtjevno i iscrpljujuće. Prema mišljenju Elizabet Abot [Elizabeth Abbott] „promjena društvenih stavova uklonila je stigmatu sa razvoda i iznjedrila veće mogućnosti i bolje prilike za zaposlenje razvedenih osoba, naročito žena“ (Abot 2014: 335). Visoka stopa razvoda postala je činjenica u većini razvijenih zapadnih društava i „malo je vjerovatno da ćemo se vratiti na nizak nivo razvoda iz prošlosti“ (Amato 2014: 5).

U Tabeli br. 2 date su stope divorcijaliteta za pojedina evropska društva (EUROSTAT 2024, Crude divorce rate).

**Tabela br. 2** Stope divorcijaliteta u pojedinim evropskim društvima

	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Albanija	1,7	2,1	1,5	1,1	---
Belgija	2,0	2,0	1,8	1,9	1,7
Bosna i Hercegovina	0,8	0,7	0,7	0,8	0,8
Danska	2,6	1,8	2,7	2,2	---
Francuska	1,9	---	---	---	---
Norveška	1,9	1,9	1,8	---	---
Njemačka	1,8	1,8	1,7	1,7	---
Poljska	1,7	1,7	1,4	1,6	1,6
Srbija	1,4	1,6	1,3	1,4	1,5
Turska	1,7	1,9	1,6	---	2,1
Švedska	2,5	2,5	2,5	2,3	2,1

Podaci Eurostata nam pokazuju da visoko razvijena društva imaju više stope divorcijaliteta. Najviše stope imaju skandinavske zemlje Švedska i Danska. Bosna i Hercegovina ima dva puta manju stopu od većine društava kao i od stope u Evropskoj uniji (1,8). Niska stopa razvoda u BiH ukazuje na činjenicu da se brak u sistemu vrijednosti visoko cijeni i da se od odraslih ljudi očekuje da uđu u brak. Što se tiče razvijenih društava zapadne Evrope podaci potvrđuju tezu da brak prestaje da bude centar porodičnog podsistema društva i da pojedinci biraju druge forme partnerskog odnosa. Trendovi porasta nisu svuda isti i zavise od konkretnog sociokulturnog konteksta. Razvod je postao realan scenarij za parove, jer su uklonjene pravne, vrijednosne i normativne prepreke za razvod. Međutim, iako je razvod prestao da bude stigmatizovan, on i dalje može ostaviti negativne socijalne, ekonomske i psihičke posljedice kako na bivše supružnike, tako i na djecu. Visoke stope razvoda utiču i na šire društvene procese, a teško je pretpostaviti kako će se stvari odvijati u budućnosti. Ono što sa sigurnošću možemo istaći je da brak nije više jedina osnova porodičnog sistema.

Podaci Eurostata dati u tabelama 1 i 2 ukazuju na još jedan trend koji nije predmet ovoga rada, ali bi bilo dobro dati pojašnjenje. U toku 2020. godine tokom pandemije Covid 19 uočavaju se smanjene stope i nupcijaliteta i divorcijaliteta u svim posmatranim društvima. Naime, većina država proglasila je vanredno stanje, zatvorila svoje granice i ograničila brojne društvene aktivnosti što se odrazilo na svakodnevni život pojedinaca, pa tako i na sklapanje i razvod braka. Pojedinci su u tom periodu neizvjesnosti i egzistencijalnog straha bili prinuđeni da prilagode svoje aktivnosti.



## 2.2. Jednoroditeljske porodice

Procjena je da jednoroditeljske porodice danas čine između jedne četvrtine i jedne trećine svih porodica u svijetu (Tomanović 2009). Nagli porast njihovog broja predstavlja jednu od najznačajnijih, a svakako najvidljiviju promjenu porodičnog života sa posljedicama i uticajem na savremeno društvo u cjelini. Uzroci nastanka i velike raširenosti ovog u strukturalnom, funkcionalnom i interakcionom smislu osobenog oblika porodice leže u naglom i izraženom porastu broja razvoda i rađanja od strane nevjenčanih majki, koji su se odigrali od 70-tih godina XX vijeka pa do danas. Krupne promjene u okviru tradicionalne porodice, kao što su obrazovanje žena, njihovo sve veće zapošljavanje, pad fertiliteta, porast broja razvoda, rast vanbračnih rađanja i sve rasprostranjenije nove forme bračnog života, uslovile su transformacije u okviru nje. Promijenili su se stavovi o braku i potreba njegovog očuvanja po svaku cijenu, roditeljstvo više nužno ne podrazumijeva neophodnost stupanja u bračnu zajednicu, pa se kao rezultat ovih promjena javljaju jednoroditeljske porodice. Nagli porast njihovog broja predstavlja jednu od najznačajnijih, a svakako najvidljiviju promjenu porodičnog života sa posljedicama i uticajem na savremeno društvo u cjelini. Jednoroditeljske porodice utiču na promjenu tradicionalnih uloga. Osoba, bilo majka ili otac, koja vodi domaćinstvo mora da se izbori sa odgovornostima koje su nekada bile podijeljene između supružnika.

Jednoroditeljske porodice posebno su prisutne u razvijenim zemljama: SAD imaju najveće učešće (34% u 1998. godini), a prate ih Kanada (22%) i Australija (20%). U zemljama u razvoju, učešće jednoroditeljskih porodica varira, pa tako imamo 5% u Kuvajtu do preko 40% u Botsvani i na Barbadosu. U zemljama Evropske Unije je 2008. godine 13,6% djece mlađe od 18 godina živjelo u jednoroditeljskim porodicama: najrjeđe u Grčkoj (4,8%), Rumuniji (6,5%) i Španiji (7,1%), a najčešće u Latviji (23,3%), Irskoj (23,2%) i Ujedinjenom Kraljestvu (20,89%) (Tomanović 2010).

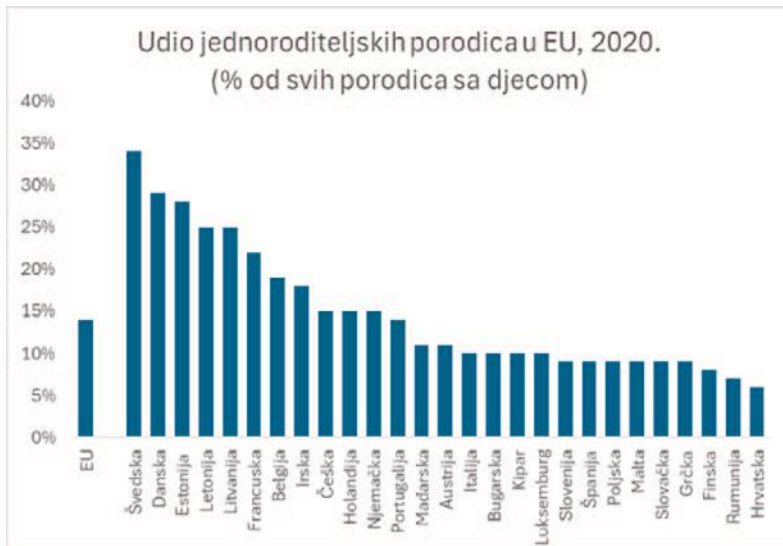
Povećanje broja jednoroditeljskih porodica djelimično je i posljedica promjena stavova i odnosa prema vanbračnim rađanjima. Tako je npr. učešće vanbračnih rađanja u SAD utrostručeno: sa jednog u deset na jedno od tri od 1970. do 1995. godine. Visoke stope vanbračnih rađanja imaju i Kanada, Francuska, Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo, Švedska, ali i iz bitno različitih razloga i neke centralnoameričke zemlje (Gvatemala, El Salvador, Honduras), dok se u Japanu kao vanbračno rodi samo 1% dece (Tomanović 2010).

Noviji podaci o učešću jednoroditeljskih porodica u društvima Evropske Unije



dati su na slici 1. (EUROSTAT 2024, How many single-parent households are there in the EU?).

**Slika 1.** Procenat jednoroditeljskih porodica u društvima Evropske Unije



Na nivou Evropske unije zastupljenost jednoroditeljskih porodica je skoro 15%. Jasno se izdvajaju regioni sa najvišim procentom, to su skandinavske zemlje (Švedska skoro 35%, Danska 29%), dok je u južnoevropskim i postsocijalističkim društvima taj procenat niži (Grčka i Hrvatska manje od 10%). U Bosni i Hercegovini učešće jednoroditeljskih porodica po popisu iz 1991. godine je bilo 9,4%, a po popisu iz 2013. godine 15,8% (SeConS 2020, Analiza stanja stanovništva u Bosni i Hercegovini).

Proučavajući jednoroditeljske porodice, posebno one „samih majki“, mogu se izdvojiti četiri diskursa: prema prvom te porodice predstavljaju društvenu prijetnju, prema drugom društveni problem, prema trećem alternativni životni stil, a prema četvrtom one su specifično bjekstvo od patrijarhata (Tomanović 2009). Jedan od najizrazitijih i najvećih problema jednoroditeljskih porodica je materijalna deprivacija, koja se ispoljava kao finansijska i stambena. Mnoga istraživanja pokazuju da su jednoroditeljske porodice najsiromašnija demografska grupa, koja dugo ostaje u takvom položaju. One su disproporcionalno siromašne u poređenju sa drugim porodicama, posebno u manje razvijenim društvima (Tomanović 2009).

Jednoroditeljske porodice su ranije bile tretirane kao nešto što odstupa od norme, što je devijantno. Međutim, u savremenom društvu došlo je do normalizacije jednoroditeljskih porodica kao legitimnog porodičnog oblika. To ima uticaja i na javne politike koje imaju za cilj da ovim porodica obezbijede siguran i bolji položaj u društvu.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Procesi temeljnih promjena porodice započeti polovinom XX vijeka u savremenom društvu doživljavaju svoj vrhunac. Navedene promjene se u različitim društvima dešavaju različitim tempom, a i različito se manifestuju u zavisnosti od konkretnog socijalnog, kulturnog, normativnog, vrijednosnog i religijskog konteksta. Dubina i smjer ovih promjena dovode istraživače pred zahtjevan zadatak, jer „izgleda kao da istraživači ciljaju u stalno pokretnu metu“ (Waite 2005: 104).

Postindustrijsko globalizacijsko društvo uslovalo je rastakanje tradicionalne porodice sa svojom nuklearnom formom i nastajanje novih porodičnih i partnerskih formi. To posljedično vodi i promjenama u funkcijama porodice, roditeljstvu i intimnom porodičnom životu. Sve ove transformacije pratili smo kroz tri indikatora: stope nupcijaliteta, stope divorcijaliteta i broj jednoroditeljskih porodica. Podaci nam govore da se u većini razvijenih evropskih društava stope nupcijaliteta smanjuju, dok stope divorcijaliteta rastu. Ta činjenica ukazuje na pad univerzalnosti braka i nastanak novih partnerskih formi, a može se objasniti Gidensovom tezom o većoj individualizaciji i slobodi pojedinaca da intimne, partnerske odnose organizuju prema vlastitim željama, odnosno stvaranjem „čistih odnosa“ (Gidens 2005). Takođe, zvanični statistički podaci odgovaraju Bekovoj teoriji po kojoj porodica postaje stvar izbora i procesa individualizacije. Sama individualizacija podstiče intimnost i veliki broj pojedinaca se opredjeljuje za neku vrstu partnerstva, ali te veze ni po obimu ni po trajnosti nisu iste kao ranije. To naravno ne znači da tradicionalna porodica nestaje, ali gubi monopol koji je imala dugo vremena.

Gidensova teorija i teorija koju su ustanovili Bek i Bek-Gernshajm ima ograničenu primjenu na ona društva koja su manje razvijena, kao što je bosanskohercegovačko društvo. Naime, statistički podaci pokazuju da je stopa nupcijaliteta u BiH i dalje visoka, a stopa divorcijaliteta i više od dva puta manja nego u razvijenim evropskim društvima. To nam govori da brak u BiH nije izgubio na svojoj univerzalnosti i da je taj način organizacije partnerskog života visoko vrednovan. Dakle, proces individualizacije u društvima koja su na nižem socioekonomskom razvoju nije isti

kao u visoko razvijenim društvima. Ovdje je ustvari riječ o socioekonomskim osnovama koje omogućavaju proces individualizacije. U manje razvijenim društvima kao što je naše, veliki broj pojedinaca nema osnovne socijalne i ekonomske preduslove za slobodan izbor životnog stila.

Promjene porodičnih formi dovele su do povećanja broja jednoroditeljskih porodica. Nagli porast njihovog broja predstavlja najznačajniju i jednu od najuočljivijih promjena porodičnog života koja na svoj način utiče i na važne promjene u ostalim segmentima savremenog društva. Jednoroditeljske porodice su posebno prisutne u razvijenim zemljama. Smatra se da uzroci nastanka i sve veća prisutnost ovog u strukturalnom, funkcionalnom i interakcionom smislu osobenog oblika porodice leže u naglom i izraženom porastu broja razvoda, kao i povećanog rađanja od strane nevjenčanih majki od sedamdesetih godina prošlog vijeka. Procenat učešća jednoroditeljskih porodica raste, najveći je u skandinavskim, a najniži u južnoevropskim i postsocijalističkim društvima. U BiH učešće jednoroditeljskih porodica iznosi 15,8%. Međutim, zvanična statistika ne bilježi način formiranja jednoroditeljskih porodica, bilo da je riječ o razvodu ili vanbračnim rađanjima.

Transformacija porodice i porodičnog života je nova realnost koju živimo. Ove promjene dešavaju se globalno, mada obim i varijacije zavise od konkretnih socijalnih i kulturnih uslova. Najdalje su odmakla visoko razvijena, postmoderna društva. Promjene su vidljive i u društvu Bosne i Hercegovine. Naime, porodice kod nas su u određenom protivrječnom položaju: između nedovršene modernizacije i prvih iskoraka ka postmodernim porodičnim oblicima.

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## TRANSFORMATION OF THE FAMILY IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY: SOME BASIC INDICATORS

### Summary:

The family, as one of the fundamental and most important social subsystems, has experienced a radical transformation since the second half of the 20th century until today. It belongs in those social phenomenon, whose changes happen slowly and invisible, it doesn't matter if it is about changes in intimate sphere or about their shape, structure and functions. Those trends of change request from the researcher to find out their cause, direction, deep and consequences. The transformation of the family is primarily reflected in the trend of reconstruction of traditional marriage, the increased number of divorces, as well as the increase in alternative forms of married and family life. Marriage has lost their characteristic of universality, nuclear family stops to be only form of family life. The subject of this paper is to determine what are the key changes, what are their characteristics and what are their social,

economic and cultural causes through monitoring statistical data for certain indicators: marriage rate, divorce rate and number of single-parent families, from the theoretically concept of Anthony Giddens, Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim.

**Key words:** family; marriage; divorce; marriage rate; divorce rate and number of single-parent families

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Review paper

**Enes Pašalić**

## **PRILOG POIMANJU (BOSANSKE) NACIJE: VAŽNO JE ZVATI SE BOSANAC/BOŠNJAK**

Ideja bosanstva i bosanskog identiteta stalni je pratilac bosanske povijesti od srednjeg vijeka, osmanske i austrougarske vladavine, preko Jugoslavije do današnjih dana, ali istovremeno prisutno je i njeno negiranje kao jeretičke ideje. U novije vrijeme među najistaknutijim promotorima ideje bosanske nacije su Senadin Lavić i Slavo Kukić, koji sa različitih teorijskih pozicija razumijevaju pojam nacije: jedne koja vidi naciju kao zajednicu porijekla i druge koja vidi naciju kao zajednicu građana-državljana. Za razliku od ova dva pristupa naciji, koji se međusobno isključuju, Schnapperova smatra da ne postoje dva pristupa ideji nacije. Nacija, smatra ona, predstavlja specifičan vid „političkog jedinstva“, a njen ideal je transcendencija partikularnosti integracijom različite populacije u zajednicu slobodnih i jednakih građana. Političko jedinstvo je ontološka osnova koja naciju, kao specifičnu društvenu grupu, drži zajedno. Ako je socijalno vezivno tkivo nacije političko, kojim se razdvaja prijatelj od neprijatelja, i ako se u slučaju bosanskih Srba, Hrvata i Bošnjaka političko (nacionalno) izvodi iz konfesionalnog, postavlja se pitanje da li je moguće iz tri konfesionalno-nacionalna partikulariteta uzdići se na nivo univerzalnog i izgraditi političku zajednicu prijatelja, formalno jednakih i slobodnih građana, odnosno da li je BiH kao moderna demokratska država moguća. Bosanska nacija, kao politička zajednica, koju autor zagovara, izvodi se iz bosanskog mita (vjerovanja) u zajedničko porijeklo svih autohtonih stanovnika srednjovjekovne Bosne, koji su se nazivali Bošnjani, Bošnjaci, Bosanci, a kojim se imanentno transcendiraju konfesionalna pluralizacija Bosanaca i uspostavlja historijski supstancijalni kontinuitet jedinstva i različitosti bosanskog identiteta. Ali, ostaje pitanje realiteta ideje bosanske nacije.

**Ključne riječi:** etnička nacija; građanska nacija; etnos; narod; nacija; politika; država, pravo; demos; Bošnjak; Bosanac; religija; bosanstvo; mit o porijeklu; idealitet; realitet



Staviti u naslov dilemu oko imenovanja (imena) jednog kolektiviteta znači prizvati u fokus latinsku izreku „nomen est omen“ (sve je u imenu) koja govori da je ime znamen i da se možda u imenu krije sudbina imenovanog. Ako i relativiziramo ovaj onomastički determinizam, ime je zasigurno priča u koju je teško do kraja proniknuti, ali koja otkriva porijeklo imenovanog, njegov identitet, uslovljava rakurs iz kojega rekonstruirati prošlost i predviđa sopstvenu budućnost.

Jezik je inherentan ljudima, a imenovanje je jedna od najbitnijih i nezaobilaznih ljudskih jezičkih funkcija.<sup>1</sup> Mateos, pozivajući se na Kripkea, smatra da imena nisu deskriptivnog karaktera, niti imaju metonimijsku funkciju oznake koja zamjenjuje ono što imenuje (Morary 2000: 53). Ime je „referentni fiksator“, jer imenovanje ima moć da fiksira odnos imena sa imenovanim subjektom (Mateos 2014: 37). Tako imenovanjem, ime i imenovani, jezični izraz i biće u svijetu, jezik i realnost, postaju dvije strane istoga. No, na koji način se uspostavlja ta fiksna veza između imena i njegovog referenta? Po Kripkeu (1997) veza između imena i imenovanog se uspostavlja na dva načina: 1. Imenovanjem; 2. Komunikacijskim lancem prenošenja imena kroz vrijeme, što čini tradiciju upotrebe imena, a koje ide unazad do momenta imenovanja. Ipak, time se ne određuje na koji način se utvrđuje veza između imena i njegovog referenta i da li je ta veza kontingentna ili nužna.

Novotny (2005) smatra da se fiksna identitetska veza između imena i imenovanog ne uspostavlja na osnovu samog značenja imena, nego na osnovu „logičkih povezanih karakteristika“ imenovanog subjekta. Mišćević, u Uvodu Kripkeovoj knjizi *Ime i nužnost*, na tragu Platona i Aristotela, te karakteristike imenovanog naziva „bitnim svojstvima“<sup>2</sup> bez kojih to što jeste ne bi bilo to što jeste. Dakle, imenovanjem se određuju i fiksiraju „bitna svojstva“ imenovanog po kojima on jeste to što jeste.

Funkcija imena je da kategorizira bitna svojstva imenovanoga i na taj način ga homogenizira, određujući mu identitet. Istovremeno, na osnovu tih bitnih svojstava (identiteta) uspostavlja se razlika spram drugih i okruženja.<sup>3</sup> Tu se ne radi o formalnom identitetu  $A=A$ , Bosanac = Bosanac, nego se identitet uspostavlja na osnovu odnosa  $A$  i  $ne-A$ , Bosanca i  $ne-Bosanca$  (Bošnjaka, Srbina, Hrvata). Na taj

1 Darwin u svom kapitalom djelu *Porijeklo vrsta* navodi paralelizam između evolucije jezika i ljudi sugerišući da genealoška struktura ljudi slijedi taksonomiju jezika (Mateos 2007).

2 Nenad Mišćević u Uvodu za Kripkeovu knjigu *Ime i nužnost* navodi da su bitna svojstva one odrednice koje moraju ostati iste (nepromijenjene) da bismo govorili o istom subjektu (Kripke 1997). Lerotić(1983), na tragu Kanta, Lyotarda i Husserla, smatra da bi postojao identitet, da bi postojala povijest (vrijeme), mora postojati  $ne$ -povijesni identitet (bitna svojstva), odrednice subjekta koje se ne mijenjaju, vrijeme koje ne podliježe promjeni.

3 Arleen Ionescu (2011), na tragu Derride i Blanchota, smatra da je imenovanje ontološko-performativna akcija kreiranja oznake, pojma, esencije jednog kolektiviteta kojom se uspostavlja njegovo unutarnje jedinstvo, ali istovremeno i povlači razlika spram drugih kolektiviteta sa različitim imenovanim oznakama.

način, odnosom identiteta i razlike, je određen obim pojmovnog sadržaja imena (imenovanog), na osnovi njegovih samoodređenih bitnih svojstava.

Ta bitna svojstva koja određuju identitet jedne društvene grupe povezana su sa njenim porijeklom, ili etnicitetom<sup>4</sup>. Porijeklo ili etnicitet zasnovano na bitnim svojstvima se veže za ime („the name based ethnicity“) određene društvene grupe, smatra (Mateos 2014). Weber (1976: 327, 330, 334) definira etnicitet (etničku grupu) na sljedeći način:

„Bez obzira na to da li objektivno postoji krvna veza, mi ćemo ‘etničkom’ grupom nazvati onu grupu ljudi koja na osnovu sličnosti u spoljnjem izgledu ili u običajima ... ili na sjećanju na kolonizaciju i seobe gaje subjektivnu vjeru u zajedničko porijeklo, tako da vjera postaje značajna za formiranje zajednice. ... Etnička zajednica sama ne predstavlja zajednicu, već samo faktor koji olakšava udruživanje u zajednicu, a prije svega u političku zajednicu. ... Pojmu ‘nacionalnosti’ je zajednička nejasna predstava da osnova svega što se osjeća kao ‘zajedničko’ mora biti zajedničko porijeklo.”

Ovdje Weber ističe da se etnička zajednica zasniva na „vjeri u zajedničko porijeklo“, a da ta vjera za pretpostavku ima neka bitna zajednička određenja ljudi kao što su fizički izgled, običaji, jezik, historija, vjera... Koja će od tih zajedničkih osobina imati ulogu bitnih svojstava na kojima se gradi vjera u zajedničko porijeklo zavisi od (samo)određenja te grupe, smatra Weber. Dakle, imenovanjem se ime fiksira za referenta na osnovu vjerovanja u zajedničko (etničko) porijeklo zasnovano na (samo)određenim bitnim svojstvima koja profiliraju identitet, prije svega političke (nacionalne) zajednice.

Ime je moćno sredstvo identifikacije (identiteta) društvenih grupa<sup>5</sup> u vremenu i prostoru. Bez imenovanog identiteta nema doživljaja vremenskog kontinuiteta po kojem jedna društvena grupa ostaje nepromjenljiva u historijskim promjenama. Kroz memorijsku mrežu imenovani kolektiviteti rekonstruišu prošlost, jer ime nosi historiju svih ljudi koji pripadaju tom imenu, i uspostavlja se veza sa mjestom porijekla predaka koji nose isto ime.

Imenovanjem se, dakle, (samo)određuju bitna svojstva identiteta imenovanog („the name based ethnicity“), a time i njegovo porijeklo, jezik, kolektivno sjećanje, socijalno, kulturno i političko određenje, kao i odnos sa drugima i okruženjem, što

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4 Lerotić (1983) navodi da prvobitno stanje iz kojeg je zajednica nastala se stalno obnavlja u izmjenama pokoljenja i da u tim izmjenama uvijek ostaje isto. To prvobitno stanje iz kojeg je zajednica nastala i na kojem gradi svoj identitet Lerotić naziva etnicitetom.

5 Otto Krogseth (2012) izdvaja tri aspekta kolektivnog identiteta: konstantnost, koherenciju i individualnost (osobenost), a njihove suprotnosti su: promjenljivost, fragmentacija i standardizacija.

dovodi imenovanje u vezu sa moći.<sup>6</sup>

No, kada ime dolazi pod udar, to je nešto veoma uznemirujuće, nešto što može dovesti do isključivanja iz formi zajedničkog života, isključivanja iz zajedničkog prostora, kulture, sjećanja onih čije se ime našlo na udaru (Morary 2000).

## FENOMENOLOGIJA SPORA OKO IMENA

Između Scila i Haribda raskola kršćanstva, ekstremnog konfesionalnog univerzalizma, velikosrpske i velikohrvatske nacionalne ideologije, muslimansko-bošnjačkog ekskluzivizma, pojavljivala se kao ponornica ideja bosanstva i bosanskog nacionalnog imenovanja oblikovana na supstratu srednjovjekovne narodnosne forme Bošnjana i Bošnjaka, bosanstvom franjevacu, etničkim integralnim bošnjaštvom Osman Topalpaše, etničkim bosanstvom B. Kallaya, spontanom bosanstvom „svijeta života“, „bratstva i jedinstva“ (Vera Kržišnik-Bukić 1997), poetikom Makovog *Kamenog spavača*, „bosanskim duhom“ Muhameda Filipovića... Mada sama pojavnost (fenomenologija) ovih ideja može voditi u privid i parcijalnu istinu, ne treba zaboraviti da se suština neke stvari krije u samoj pojavnosti, te stoga u pojavnosti treba tražiti logički nužne implikacije koje vode raz-otkrivanju njene istine.<sup>7</sup> U posljednje vrijeme fenomenologija spora oko imena Bosanac dobija pervertirane i paradoksalne pojavne forme.

Tako reis-ul-ulema Kavazović na svečanom otvaranju novoizgrađene džamije u Sapni, opominjući prisutne da neki žele unijeti zabunu u bošnjački narod, izjavljuje: „Mi smo Bošnjaci, zapamtite, nikako Bosanci. Naš narod se zove Bošnjaci. Polazemo nadu u naš narod i u naše nane i dede da znaju ko smo, kako ćemo i s kim ćemo... U Bosni se čovjek zove Bošnjak, a konj Bosanac“. Osudu bosanstva (Bosanača), samo sa drugih pozicija, izrekao je Dobrica Ćosić, jedan od tvoraca velikosrpske ideologije: „Srbi nemaju šta više tražiti u Bosni ukoliko se usvoji i proglasi bosanska nacija, Bosanci. Glavni naš prioritet je po svaku cenu sprečiti to službeno priznanje bosanske nacije“ (SANU 1989).

Kako objasniti činjenicu da se dvije istaknute javne ličnosti, iz sasvim različitih i suprotstavljenih pozicija razumijevanja bosanstva i bosanske države, slažu kako u

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6 Prema biblijskoj predaji o stvaranju Bog je dao čovjeku pravo da imenuje životinje kako bi vladao njima (Benjamin 2008). To vodi pitanju ko imenuje socijalne kolektivitete kako bi vladao njima? Bodenhorn i Bruck (2006) kažu da se iza imena krije apsolutna politička moć locirana u sposobnosti imenovanja.

7 Hegel pravi razliku između realnosti i njene pojavnosti smatrajući da se realnost ne može u potpunosti svesti na njenu pojavnost, ali da je pojavnost jedan od oblika samotkrivanja realnosti te da sama pojavnost sadrži klicu nove forme koja vodi samootkrivanju istine (Lauer 1998).

Bosni treba spriječiti proglašenje (imenovanje) bosanske nacije. Već u samom manifestnom sadržaju ovih javnih izjava sadržane su protivrječne logičke implikacije koje valja eksplicirati kako bi se razotkrila suština spora oko imenovanja jednog naroda.<sup>8</sup> Oba ova narativa, Ćosićev i Kavazovićev, razumijevaju bosanstvo i bosansko ime isključivo iz rakursa sopstvenog nacionalnog horizonta. Ćosić iz rakursa velikosrpske ideologije, Kavazović iz rakursa muslimansko-bošnjačke nacije. One su na nivou pojavnosti suglasne, osporavaju bosanstvo i bosansko ime. U njemu vide opasnost, s jedne strane za velikosrpsku ideologiju i stvaranje Velike Srbije, s druge strane za muslimansko-bošnjački nacionalni identitet.

Već na fenomenološkom nivou ovih dvaju narativa pojavljuje se logička kontradiktornost kada se one poimaju u međusobnoj vezi u odnosu na ideju bosanstva. Taj kontradiktorni logički sadržaj impliciran u ovim izjavama ogleda se u tome što se Kavazovićev muslimansko-bošnjački ekskluzivizam i Ćosićeva velikosrpska ideologija slažu u odnosu na negaciju bosanstva i bosanskog nacionalnog imena, ali se međusobno isključuju, što vodi predočavanju novog implicitnog sadržaja, pa time i boljem poimanju ovoga spora.

## IDEJA BOSANSKE NACIJE

Ideja bosanstva stalni je pratilac bosanske povijesti od srednjeg vijeka, osmanske i austrougarske vladavine, preko Jugoslavije do današnjih dana, ali cijelo vrijeme je prisutno i njeno negiranje kao jeretičke ideje. U novije vrijeme njeni najistaknutiji protagonisti su Rusmir Mahmutćehajić, Senadin Lavić, Zlatko Hadžidedić, Esad Duraković, Suad Kurtćehajić i drugi, uz podršku dijela javnosti u medijima, na društvenim mrežama, javnim skupovima, bosanskim saborima... Afirmacija ove ideje u javnosti oblikovala se kroz zahtjeve za priznavanjem bosanstva definiranog kao bosanski narod, bosanska nacija, bosansko građanstvo, po logici, ako postoji hrvatska država i hrvatski narod, srpska država i srpski narod... onda, ako postoji bosanska država, treba da postoji i bosanski narod. Razlog postojanja bosanskog naroda se izvodi iz postojanja bosanske države, a postojanje bosanske države iz postojanja bosanskog naroda, i tako ukруг. Narod se izvodi iz države, država iz naroda, što je

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8 Već sama činjenica da se u državi koja se zove Bosna (BiH) tako ostrašćeno i militantno osporava zahtjev za imenovanjem stanovnika Bosne Bosancima, a da istovremeno u okruženju gotovo svi stanovnici Bosne se prepoznaju i imenuju kao Bosanci, i to ne samo zato što su državljani Bosne (BiH), jer bi se u tom slučaju i Bošnjaci, Hrvati i Mađari u Srbiji nazivali Srbijancima, Bošnjaci i Srbi u Hrvatskoj Hrvatima, a Srbi u C. Gori Crnogorcima, nego na osnovu njihovog socio-kulturnog habitusa, ukazuje na potrebu dubljeg analiziranja ovoga spora oko bosanskog imena.

vodilo u „circulus vitiosus“ i nejasno tumačenje pojmova koji se koriste. Akademski zajednica je na to reagovala konstatacijom da se u javnoj upotrebi koriste pojmovi nejasnog (nedefinisanog) značenja, te zahtjevom da se prvo definiraju pojmovi koji se koriste kako bi se u ovu raspravu uvelo reda.

## DEFINIRANJE POJMOVA DŽEVADA JAHIĆA

Dževad Jahić (2020) ukazuje da su u javnoj upotrebi suštinske odrednice i pojmovi, nazivi i termini Bosna, Bošnjani, Bošnjak, Bosanac koji se neupućeno i nestručno koriste, te stoga treba široj javnosti, s aspekta filologije, odnosno lingvističke nauke, objasniti značenje ovih pojmova. U definiranju ovih pojmova Jahić u prvi plan stavlja naziv Bosna koji je predslavenskog porijekla, etimološki izveden iz ilirskog i tračanskog jezika, a koji je hidronim (odrednica rijeke Bosna), a potom naziv prostora, odnosno države Bosne (Ibidem).

Naziv Bošnjani, smatra Jahić, označava etničku grupu karakterističnog jezika i kulture koji je izveden iz naziva prostora (države) Bosna, jer je etnikum mlađi od hidronima i toponima. Poznato je, navodi Jahić, da su bogumili sebe nazivali ovom odrednicom kojoj su u skladu sa svojim vjerskim učenjem dodali epitet Dobri (Bošnjani). Bošnjak je mlađi naziv za etnikum Bošnjani, ali se odnosi na isti etnikum (Bošnjane) i vezan je za prostor i državu Bosnu. Bosanac je najmlađi naziv koji se tvori iz iste osnove BOS uz dodatak slovenskog sufiksa „anac“ u skladu sa „ne lako shvatljivim jezičkim tvorbenim kombinacijama“, a označava matični etnos jednog prostora koji se zove Bosna. U novije vrijeme dobio je šire značenje sa cjelokupnim stanovništvom porijeklom iz Bosne, bez obzira da li se radi o historijskom kontinuitetu sa matičnim etnosom.

Lingvistički nema razlike između ovih pojmova, smatra Jahić, a u značenjskom smislu svi se izvode iz naziva zemlje Bosne. Tako se i bosanski jezik izvodi iz odrednice zemlje Bosne, jer jezik ne imenuje narod već teritorij na kojem se jezik govori, smatra Jahić. Ovome treba dodati i pojam bh. državljanina koji je u upotrebi kako bi se, smatra Jahić, gurnulo u drugi plan preciznije određivane pripadnosti bošnjačkom narodu (Ibidem).

Temeljni predmet nesporazuma oko imenovanja, koji Jahić pokušava razjasniti, mogao bi se svesti na odnos imena države (prostora) i imena domicilnog stanovništva koje u njoj živi, te podređivanje etnonima (naziva stanovnika) hidronimu i toponimu (nazivu prostora i države) tvrdnjom „da etnici po svom nastanku nikad ne mogu biti stariji od hidronima i toponima, već da se oni izvode iz njih“, jer „jezik historijski ne

‘imenuje’ narod već teritorij, prostor na kojem se jezik govori“ (Jahić 2020). Tako, shodno Jahićevim konstatacijama, neimenovan narod imenuje zemlju i državu, da bi onda, po tim imenima zemlje i države narodi bili imenovani, što implicira čitav niz logičkih poteškoća i otvara vrata spekulacijama o imenu etnikuma koji je naselio ove prostore prije nastanka bosanskog prostora i bosanske države.

Jahić pristupa definiranju ovih pojmova (imena) kao zasebnim cjelinama bez namjere da uspostavi vezu među njima i sa njihovim graničnim pojmovima (imenima), na osnovu implicitnog sadržaja njihovih referenata.<sup>9</sup> Logička matrica je slična onoj na društvenim mrežama. Hipostazira se naziv teritorija, odnosno države Bosne, kao odrednice „causa sui“, iz koje se historijski, lingvistički... izvode imena (pojmovi) Bošnjani, Bošnjak, Bosanac. Referent ovih imena se svodi na jedan te isti etnikum određen, prije svega, vjerskom pripadnošću. Tako imena Bošnjani, Bošnjak, Bosanac, po Jahiću, bivaju imenske modifikacije u različitim periodima istog etnikuma, čija su bitna svojstva pripadnost Crkvi bosanskoj, pa onda islamu.

Glasovnu promjenu unutar naziva Bošnjani u Bošnjak i Bosanac objašnjava „ne lako shvatljivim“ tvorbenim kombinacijama u bosanskom jeziku“ (Jahić 2020), ne spominjući pri tome da je došlo do historijskih promjena bitnih svojstava referenta imena Bošnjak. Referent imena Bošnjak odnosio se na svo starosjedilačko stanovništvo srednjovjekovne Bosne<sup>10</sup>, da bi se 1993. godine na Bosanskom saboru bitna svojstva referenta imena Bošnjak svela isključivo na pripadnike islama. Tu promjenu bitnih svojstava naziva Bošnjak Jahić implicite osporava tvrdeći da se radi o kontinuitetu jednog istog etnikuma (Jahić 2020).

Svoje izvođenje imena etnikuma iz naziva teritorija, odnosno države, Jahić generalizira, mada takvu generalizaciju demantuju imena susjednih etnikuma, Hrvata i Srba<sup>11</sup>. Uz to ostaje nejasno šta Jahić podrazumijeva pod etnikomom Bosanac. Da

9 Jahić referente imena Bošnjani-Bošnjak-Bosanac svodi isključivo na etnikum, definirajući ga kao društvenu grupu karakterističnog jezika i kulture, što je isuviše općenito određenje koje može važiti i za narode i nacije, ne ulazeći u kompleksnost pojma etnikum. Pri tome etničke Bošnjane, Bošnjake, a izgleda i Bosance veže, isključivo za pripadnike islamske konfesije ne ulazeći u njihov odnos sa imenima susjednih etničkih zajednica, Srbima i Hrvatima, i njihovim bitnim etničkim karakteristikama. Naravno, ovdje treba imati na umu da se radi o kraćem tekstu gdje nije bilo moguće do kraja eksplicirati korištene pojmove.

10 Edin Radušić (2011) u svojim istraživanjima etničkog porijekla bosanskog stanovništva navodi da se etnikum Bošnjani i Bošnjak nije koristio samo sa muslimane u Bosni. Bandžović (2010) navodi da se naziv Bošnjak u katastarskim popisima iz osmanskog perioda koristio za sve stanovnike Bosne.

11 Bez namjere da ovdje ulazimo u kompleksan odnos etnonima i toponima želimo samo spomenuti da postoji veliki broj autora koji smatraju, za razliku od Jahića, da se toponimi isto tako izvode iz etnonima jer se etnonim (ime plemena, etnosa, naroda) prenosi na zemlju, državu, titule vladara (Grčević 2019; Milanović 2008; Ćirković 1964, 2004; Budak 1995; Malcolm 1995). Naravno, postoje i autori koji relativiziraju ovakav pristup (Božić 2018). Nesporno je da su etnonimi i toponimi povezani jer etnosi prenose svoje ime na mjesta življenja, ali isto tako bivaju nazivani po mjestima koja nasele (Milanović 2008). Stoga su, smatra Strauss, lična imena

li se tu radi o evoluciji naziva etnikuma Bošnjani (Bošnjaci) u Bosanci, ili se radi o posebnom etnikumu?

## NACIJA KAO ZAJEDNICA GRAĐANA-DRŽAVLJANA SENADINA LAVIĆA

I Senadin Lavić (2019) ukazuje na problematično korištenje određenih pojmova u političkom vokabularu i znanstveno-stručnim raspravama, prije svega odrednica narod i nacija. Tako se nacija pogrešno definira, smatra Lavić, kao društvena grupa zasnovana na etno-religijskim određenjima, pozivajući se pri tome na neistinit mit da samo etničke grupe tvore naciju, što je dovelo do vladavine militantnog nacionalizma i etnocentrizma koji sprečavaju afirmaciju svijesti o bosanstvu (Ibidem). Za Lavića su narod i nacija dvije odvojene stvarnosti. Narod svodi isključivo na etničku i religijsku komponentu (kultura), smatrajući da svaka njena politizacija vodi „etno-kulturnom nacionalizmu“ ili u „sektarijanski tip nacionalizma“, dok nacija izražava građanski nacionalizam (patriotizam) kao „politička nacija državljana“<sup>12</sup>.

Time što naciju definira kao zajednicu građana-državljana, koju separira od naroda, kao zajednice zasnovane na porijeklu, jeziku, vjeri, kulturi, podvodeći bh. Srbe, Hrvate i Bošnjake pod odrednicu narod, Lavić želi prevladati etno-religijsko oblikovanje nacije (države) u BiH i pod egidom nacionalnog građanstva politički integrirati etno-religijski bosanski pluralizam u bosansku naciju građana (državljana).<sup>13</sup> No, ovo Lavićevo izjednačavanje nacije sa državom i zajednicom građana-državljana otvara pitanje subjekta konstitucije države, koja je uslov mogućnosti formiranja nacije

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i mjesta življenja zamjenjiva (Alia 2009). No, ako prihvatimo tezu da je imenovanje univerzalno, te da neimenovano ne postoji, jer tek, kako kaže Geertz (1973; 366), „imenovanjem bilo ko (niko) postaje neko“ onda je teško razumjeti da neimenovana društvena grupa dobija svoje ime iz teritorija/države tek u 12. vijeku kada se već uveliko iz etničkih skupina formiraju narodi. To bi prije vodilo zaključku da nema historijskih podataka o etničkom imenu Bošnjana. Pri tome treba reći da su etnička imena Srba i Hrvata poznata prije njihovog dolaska i po dolasku Slavena na ove prostore, što je otvorilo vrata spekulacijama oslonjenim na sad već sporne tvrdnje Porfirogeneta da su prostore Bosne naselili etnički Srbi i Hrvati, te da su njihova imena potisnuta sa stvaranjem bosanske države (Čirković 1964).

- 12 Lavić (2012: 121) izjednačava naciju, državu i zajednicu građana-državljana pa tako navodi da je „nacionalnost izraz javno-pravnog odnosa pojedinca/državljanina i njegove države... državljanini čine jednu naciju“, ne uočavajući tananu pojmovnu razliku između ovih pojmova i njihovu međusobnu vezu na osnovu njihovog implicitnog sadržaja. Nacija je politička kategorija, država političko-pravna, a građanin-državljanin pravna kategorija, koje su međusobno povezane (Cohen 2016; Turner 2014; Bockenforde 2017; Šmit 2015; Schmitt 2007).
- 13 Ovakvo Lavićevo nacionalno bosanstvo može se podvesti pod odrednicu „narodnog bosanstva“ Vere Križnik-Bukić (1997) kojom nacionalno identificira sa zemljom-državom Bosnom, a koje je ujedno i „anacionalno“, ili čak „antinacionalno“ jer sadrži nastojanje da ‘denacionalizira’ narodnosne identitete bosanskih Srba, bosanskih Hrvata i dijelom bosanskih Muslimana.



kao zajednice građana-državljana. Paradoksalno, Lavićeva bosanska nacija, kao zajednica građana-državljana BiH, za koju se on zalaže, već postoji. To su svi državljani BiH.<sup>14</sup> Isto tako, nominalno određenje Srba, Hrvata i Bošnjaka kao naroda, ne mijenja njihova bitna svojstva, svijest o tome ko su (samoodređenje) i volju da, kao takvi, kroz državu upravljaju sami sobom (samozakonodavstvo). A to su bitna određenja nacije.<sup>15</sup>

Definiranjem pojmova naroda i nacije, etnosa i demosa, odrednicama koje se međusobno isključuju, Lavić pokušava Srbe, Hrvate i Bošnjake nominalnim svođenjem na narode (etnose), delegitimizirati kao konstituente države BiH, koju želi zasnovati na jedinstvenoj zajednici formalno jednakih građana. Pri tome se poziva na J. S. Milla, Dominique Schnapper i Veru Kržišnik-Bukić, mada nijedan od ovih autora ne isključuje vezu između ova dva pojma, nego upravo suprotno, smatraju da se u moderno doba do zajednice građana upravo dolazi uzdizanjem zajednice porijekla na nivo nacije, koja biva nosilac ideje univerzalne jednakosti građanstva.<sup>16</sup>

- 14 Lavić (2012) i sam konstatira da nema potrebe da se pravi bosanska nacija kad ona već postoji, jer postoji država BiH i njeni državljani Bosanci. Pored toga, izgleda da Lavić ne uvažava razliku između postojanja zajednice građana (državljana) i njihove ustavne pozicije. U svakoj državi formalno-pravno egzistira zajednica građana koju čine svi građani te države, no samim tim nije određena njihova ustavna pozicija. Pravo pitanje jeste koja je ustavna pozicija te zajednice formalno jednakih građana, odnosno da li je ona ustavni konstituent i suveren države ili su to etno-nacionalne (narodne) zajednice, kao što je to slučaj u BiH.
- 15 Na prvi pogled može biti nejasno šta Lavić želi postići time što će bh. Srbe, Hrvate, i Bošnjake nominalno nazvati narodima (etnosima), a nacionalno imenovati građane-državljanu BiH. Sama promjena imena ovdje ne mijenja sadržaj imenovanih, odnosno njihov politički potencijal u odnosu na državu BiH. Nazvati miša lavom, ne znači miša učiniti lavom.
- 16 Mill (1977) pod nacijom podrazumijeva zajednicu ljudi koji su ujedinjeni na međusobnim simpatijama zasnovanim na jezičkom, religijskom identitetu, zajedničkom porijeklu, historiji, memoriji i posebno zajedničkim imenom što omogućava kooperaciju i želju da sami sobom upravljaju, što ne isključuje i takvu mogućnost da različite nacionalnosti imaju zajedničku vlast. No, Mill preporučuje da ako se žele slobodne institucije poželjno je da granice vlasti najvećim dijelom koincidiraju sa nacionalnim granicama. Vera Kržišnik-Bukić (2012) razlikuje pojmove naroda i nacije tako što ih međusobno ne isključuje jer se oni međusobno pretpostavljaju, pa tako naciju vezuje za državu, a narod posmatra evolutivno (razvojno) vezujući ga za etnos i narodni kulturni identitet, da bi se u moderno doba oblikovao kao suvereni subjektivitet koji teži svojoj državi i pravu na vlastitu i samostalnu državu. Za nju nacija ima dva sloja, jedan narodni, a onaj drugi nacionalni (državni). Treba ipak napomenuti da se Kržišnik-Bukić u nekim svojim tekstovima ideološkog sadržaja (2003) zalaže za formiranje bosanske nacije kao zajednice građana-državljana kako bi se razvijalo političko tkivo na temelju zemlje-domovine. No, ona ovu zajednicu građana vidi na jednoj tračnici bosanskog kolosijeka da bi na drugu stavila etno-nacionalni kompleks. Tako se njeni pojmovi međusobno zapliću jer političko jedinstvo izvodi iz zajednice građana, odnosno države, što implicira da država nema političko jedinstvo koje je opet uslov njenog (državnog) nastanka. I Schnapperova (1996) razlikuje narod i naciju. Narod određuje kao zajednicu utemeljenu na kulturi, dok naciju definira kao zajednicu zasnovanu na političkom jedinstvu čiji je ideal građanska jednakost. No, nacija ne nastaje ni iz čega, navodi Schnapperova, nego pretpostavlja narodnosnu (etničku) zajednicu koja je transcendirala svoju partikularnost i uzdigla se, kako kaže Hegel (1989), do univerzalnog. Naciju ne treba izjednačavati sa narodom (etnosom), ali ni sa državom, kaže Schnapperova. Ona je definira u dvostrukom dijalektičkom odnosu i sa etničkom zajednicom i sa državom. Država građana ne može opstati ako ne postoji volja pojedinaca da žive zajedno, jer, kako kaže Schnapperova, da bi nacija obezbijedila svoje postojanje i životnost, mora održavati elemente etničkog reda.



Osnovna Lavićeva teza je da se moderna demokratska pravna država ne može konstituirati na naciji kao etno-religijskom (kulturnom) supstratu, nego na naciji kao zajednici građana-državljana. No, pri tome ne uviđa da je moderna pravna demokratska država uslov mogućnosti formiranja zajednice građana-državljana, te da se stoga konstituent (konstituirajuća moć) takve države ne može izvoditi iz zajednice građana<sup>17</sup>, nego se mora tražiti na drugoj strani. „Racionalno“ jezgro Lavićevog tumačenja bosanske nacije, koje bi moglo poslužiti kao paradigmatička ilustracija široko rasprostranjenog intelektualnog i zdravorazumskog razumijevanja bosanske nacije, kao zajednice građana-državljana<sup>18</sup>, može se svesti na sljedeće: nacionalno je uvijek ono bosansko, a bosansko je uvijek ono nacionalno, kao državno, kao zajednica državljana koja je radikalno suprotstavljena etnosu, zajednici porijekla, biologije, religije, kulture.

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17 Građanin je etimološki (citizen, civitas, civitatis, cite) povezan sa gradom, odnosno sa licima koji žive u gradu i učestvuju u procesu kultivacije, a onda sa pojavom nacionalne države (Turner 2002). Historijski distinktivno jezgro građanina u zapadnoj političkoj tradiciji je formalni status članstva u političkom i legalnom entitetu, modernoj državi. Pretpostavka modernog građanina je demokratska pravna država koja je izraz političkog jedinstva i političke volje onoga što Hegel naziva „etički duh“<sup>17</sup>, Američka revolucija „We the People“, a Francuska revolucija „Nacijom“ koja se kroz državne organe u formi modernog zakona samodefinira kao zajednica građana državljana. Tako je u koncept građanina involvirana, kako to Parsons primjećuje, tranzicija od zajednice zasnovane na askriptivnim kriterijima (etnos) ka društvu zasnovanom na kriterijima postignuća (demos), odnosno prelazak sa partikularnog na univerzalno (Turner 1993). Status građanina kao persone je određen apstrahiranjem od svih njegovih konkretnih određenja (etničkih, religijskih, rasnih, klasnih, spolnih...) i sveden na univerzalnog apstraktnog građanina koji je definiran zakonom kojim mu država dodjeljuje određeni set prava i obaveza i kojeg definira kao nosioca suvereniteta. Država zakonima institucionalizira čvrst obrazac prava i obaveza građanina koji transcendirira tradicionalno zasnivanje socijalne solidarnosti na srodstvu i etnicitetu. Tako se kroz status građanina uspostavljaju socijalne veze i socijalna solidarnost modernog društva (Trevino 2008). Građanin, dakle, nije politički nego juristički pojam, legalna persona slobodna da djeluje po zakonima koje sam donosi, zaštićen tim zakonima (Cohen 2016). Pojam zakona je neraskidivo vezan s pojmom jednakosti, svi građani su pred zakonima jednaki. U bitnome građanin kao nosilac prava i obaveza se pojavljuje u dvojnoj funkciji, pasivnoj i aktivnoj. S jedne strane se pojavljuje kao skup građana na koji se primjenjuju zakoni kojima se definiraju njegov status i prava i obaveze, a s druge strane kao subjekt donošenja zakona koji ga definiraju i određuju njegova prava i obaveze. Time se realizirala moderna ideja slobode, odnosno Aristotelov koncept građanina po kojem je građanin istovremeno onaj koji vlada i kojim se vlada, kao i Rousseauov pojam samozakonodavne moći (Habermas 2015).

18 Ovdje treba spomenuti da su promotori ideje bosanske nacije kao zajednice građana-državljana, pored Lavića, i Šarčevića i Duraković kao i mnogi drugi intelektualci i javni radnici. Oni, kao i Lavić, smatraju je je jedini način da se zaustavi dalja podjela BiH koju generiraju srpski, hrvatski i bošnjački etno-nacionalizam, formiranje bosanske nacije koju bi činili svi njeni građani, jer sama nominacija neke društvene grupe kao nacije, kako neki od njih smatraju, daje im pravo da imaju svoju državu. Među promotorima ideje bosanske nacije treba svakako spomenuti i Kurtćehajića koji smatra da bosansku naciju treba da čine apstraktni građani-državljeni, ali za razliku od Lavića i ostalih, on se zalaže i za formiranje bosanskog naroda na tradiciji Bošnjaka (dobrih Bošnjana) koji su 1993. godine na Bosanskom saboru izjednačeni sa Muslimanima. Bosanskom narodu (naciji) bi pripadali i Bošnjaci Sandžaka, smatra Kurtćehajić, jer su bili u četiri stotine godina dugo vezu sa Bosanskim, a ne bošnjačkim Sandžakom, pašalukom, vilajetom, a neki dijelovi Sandžaka nisu bili u sastavu srednjovjekovne bosanske države. Tako i Kurtćehajić bosanski narod i naciju izvodi iz bosanske države.

Lavić hipostazira državu kao zajednicu građana-državljana<sup>19</sup>, pretvarajući ih u „causa sui“, apriornu supstancu, koju onda neoprezno izjednačava sa nacijom<sup>20</sup>. Pošto je BiH internacionalno priznata država, bosanska ideja nije prazna ideja, tvrdi Lavić (2021), jer je ona već tu. Tako Bosna, kao zemlja i država za Lavića biva osnova svega bosanskog, pa tako i bosanske nacije, da bi naknadno i narodni (etnički) partikulariteti, dobili svoj legitimitet ako su izvedeni iz zemlje i države Bosne.

Nakon radikalnog razdvajanja etnosa (naroda) i nacije, Lavić tvrdi da pojmovi narod i nacija nisu suprotstavljeni, ali pod uslovom da narodi svoj nacionalni identitet ne izvode iz religijskog (etničkog) identiteta. Bošnjaci kao narod, po Laviću, nisu razvili mit o neakvim praplemenima jer su svoj identitet vezali za Bosnu, dok se Srbi (i Hrvati) nisu oslobodili rasnog shvatanja nacije. Tako, po Laviću, ispada da samo Bošnjaci, kao narod (etnos) bivaju kompatibilni sa bosanskom nacijom kao zajednicom građana-državljana. Pravi problem koji muči Lavića, a koji on na pogrešan način želi riješiti glasi: Zašto su u BiH suvereni (konstitutivni) narodi, kao etničko-religijske zajednice Srbi, Hrvati i Bošnjaci, a ne nacija, kao zajednica građana-državljana? Odgovor na to pitanje krije se u konstituciji (ustavu) BiH, odnosno u bosanskom suverenu, onome ko donosi ustav i ko ustavom definira ko je nosilac suvereniteta<sup>21</sup>. A subjekt državnog suvereniteta se ne određuje nominalno, kao što bi to Lavić želio.

- 19 Politološka teorija od Rusoa i Hegela smatra da u okviru moderne demokratske države treba razlikovati građanina, kao člana građanskog društva (bourgeois) i građanina, kao državljanina (citoyen) (Lowith 1988), pri čemu treba imati na umu da su obje ove odrednice pravni konstrukti koji za pretpostavku imaju pravnu državu..
- 20 Dominique Schnapper, na koju se Lavić često poziva, upozorava da se pojmovi „nacije“ i „države“ često izjednačavaju. Države su, navodi Schnapper (2013), sistemi institucija koje se pojavljuju od srednjeg vijeka u Francuskoj, Engleskoj i Španiji a mnoge države od II svjetskog rata zahtijevaju da budu izraz demokratske nacije što dovodi do konfuzije.
- 21 Za razliku od većine promotora ideje bosanske nacije kao zajednice građana-državljana Edin Šarčević (2010) pitanju nacije, kao zajednice državljana, prilazi sa aspekta njihovih ustavnih prava, s aspekta pitanja ko odlučuje u državi, ko je izvorni nosilac ustavnog poretka i državne vlasti, a ne sa aspekta apsurdnog zahtjeva za formiranjem zajednice državljana u državi koja kao takva već postoji. Demokratska pravna država može funkcionirati, smatra Šarčević, samo ako je izvedena i legitimirana zajednicom formalno jednakih građana-državljana. No, ta prava državljana su definirana ustavom i operacionalizirana izbornim zakonom, što i sam Šarčević navodi, mada, pri tome, stavlja u drugi plan činjenicu da izvornu ustavnu konstituciju ne uspostavlja zajednica građana-državljana, kao konstituirana moć, nego „We the people“ (nacija), kao konstituirajuća moć, koja može suspendirati ustav, što već dugo radi Dodik pozivajući se na srpski narod kao izvornog nosioca suvereniteta. U osnovi demosa (zajednice građana) je etnos koji pristaje na njegovu vladavinu samo dotle dok se njegovi partikularni interesi ostvaruju kroz univerzalnu formu građanina, priznajući tada univerzalno kao svoj interes (Knowls 2002). Problem je u tome što vladavina univerzalnog legalnim etabliranjem suvereniteta zajednice građana može biti opozitna pravu po sebi partikularnog Hegelovog „etičkog duha“ ili nacije (Duguit 1917), a tada se „etički duh“ (nacija) ponovo pojavljuju na političkoj sceni, što dešavanja u BiH potvrđuju. Sama činjenica da je univerzalno, kao zajednica građana-državljana, postalo, još od Francuske revolucije, civilizacijski standard konstitucije liberalno-demokratskih država, ne demantuje ove činjenice.

## KUKIĆEVA KRITIKA BOSANSKE NACIJE GRAĐANA

Svoju kritiku koncepta bosanske nacije kao zajednice građana-državljana elaborirao je Slavo Kukić u svojoj knjizi *Narod i nacija* (2023). No, umjesto argumentovane kritike građanskog koncepta bosanske nacije Senadina Lavića, kojem pridodaje Edina Šarčevića, Zlatana Hadžidedića i Mustafu Imamovića kao zastupnike istog ili sličnog stanovišta, Kukić svoje osporavanje ovih autora, najvećim dijelom, svodi na ideološko (dis)kvalificiranje, etiketirajući ih kao sljedbenike „velikodržavnog programa bošnjačkog nacionalizma“, zasnovanog na „etno-političkom“, „etno-religijskom“ i „religijskom radikalizmu“, koji je opasniji i od hrvatskog i od srpskog nacionalizma (Kukić 2023: 94).<sup>22</sup>

Kukić kritiku poimanja bosanske nacije spomenutih autora temelji na njihovom apsolutiziranju iskustva konstituiranja nacija zapadnih demokratskih država, te uspostavljene logike pravnog formalizma i standarda međunarodnog prava. Pri tome se slaže sa svojim oponentima da postoje dva modela nacije, jedan zapadnoevropski, koji izjednačava naciju sa državom i zajednicom građana-državljana (građanski nacionalizam), i drugi istočni, koji izjednačava naciju sa narodom, odnosno zajednicom porijekla, kulture (etnički nacionalizam). Sopstveno optiranje za istočnu varijantu nacije kao zajednice porijekla i kulture (etnički nacionalizam) obrazlaže uvažavanjem povijesnih uslova konstituiranja nacija na ovim prostorima (Kukić 2023; 72). Uz to, Kukić pod najmanji zajednički nazivnik sopstvenog definiranja nacije eklektički podvodi veliki broj određenja različite teorijske provenijencije, tako da se pod taj nazivnik mogu svesti gotovo sve društvene grupe, čime se izgubila ona *differentia specifica* po kojoj se nacija razlikuje od naroda.<sup>23</sup>

Kvintesencija Kukićeve (2023) kritike bosanske nacije kao zajednice građana-državljana sadržana je u tome da on iza takvog koncepta vidi bošnjački nacionalizam

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22 Mada neke Kukićeve kritičke opservacije sadrže „zrno razuma“, kao što je kritika Šarčevićevog „pravnog formalizma“ i „standarda međunarodnog prava“ po kojima je nacija isključivo zajednica građana-državljana, Hadžidedićevog stava da je dovoljno imenovati jednu grupu nacijom pa da ona stekne pravo da ima svoju državu, te Lavićevog shvatanja da je nacija zajednica građana-državljana, a da Srbi, Hrvati i Bošnjaci, kao zajednice porijekla, mogu biti samo narodi koji će participirati u bosanskoj naciji samo ako svoj identitet izvode iz države BiH, ipak njegova diskvalifikacija spomenutih autora kao sljedbenika ideologije religijskog radikalizma Alije Izetbegovića, u najmanju ruku je nedovoljno argumentirana i denuncijacijska, te kao takva gura u drugi plan to „zrno soli“ koje njegova kritika sadrži...

23 Kukić (2023: 55) pod najmanji zajednički nazivnik sopstvenog određenja nacije podvodi „ekonomsku povezanost, kompaktnost teritorija, jezik, istu ili srodnu kulturu, svijest o nacionalnoj pripadnosti, cjelovitost“, te je određuje kao „specifičnu zajednicu nastalu iz naroda, zapravo dvaju ili više naroda, kao zajednicu života... kao historijski formiranu zajednicu...“, na osnovu čega je nemoguće izvesti specifičnu razliku nacije od naroda i etnosa, što bi trebao da bude osnovni zadatak definiranja.

koji dobija formu velikodržavnog projekta, u okviru kojeg bi Srbi i Hrvati bili depolitizirane narodnosne skupine. Umjesto promocije „bošnjačkog velikodržavnog projekta“ u formi bosanske nacije, treba reafirmirati, smatra Kukić, poštivanje nacionalnih posebnosti i afirmaciju državnog patriotizma. A da bi se to ostvarilo moramo se vratiti univerzalnim vrijednostima kombinacije građanskog i nacionalnog, koji su sadržani u odlukama ZAVNOBiH-a i koju su egzistirali u socijalističkoj BiH, te ih treba samo izvaditi iz ladice i primijeniti u realnom životu, zaključuje Kukić (2023:122).<sup>24</sup> No pri tome Kukić zaboravlja da je iz ladice potrebno izvaditi i KPJ/SKJ koji je vladao kao avangarda radničke klase na principu demokratskog centralizma, i AVNOJ, jer su bh. partikulariteti integrirani sa jugoslovenskim partikularitetima ne na građanskom principu, nego na ideologiji proleterskog internacionalizma, što, zasigurno, više nije moguće.<sup>25</sup>

- 24 Mada postoji državno-pravni kontinuitet BiH od ZAVNOBiH-a do Daytonskog ustava, pozivanje na ZAVNO-BiH i socijalističko ustavno rješenje bh. nacionalnog pitanja kao prototipa za suvremenu bosansku naciju koja u osnovi ima građanina-državljanina, u najmanju ruku je sporno. Prvo zato što su u tumačenju ZAVNOBiH-a dekontekstualizirana ustavna rješenja AVNOJ-a. Volja onih koji su donijeli ZAVNOBiH bila je spojena sa voljom ostalih naroda Jugoslavije tako da je ZAVNOBiH sastavni dio AVNOJ-a. Drugo, samo rješenja nacionalnog pitanja zasnovanog na ZAVNOBiH-u da BiH nije „ni srpska ni hrvatska ni muslimanska nego i srpska i hrvatska i muslimanska“, kao i Ustava iz 1974. da se BiH zasniva na SUVERENITETU I RAVNOPRAVNOSTI Srba, Hrvata i Muslimana, daleko je od građanskog modela, a mnogo bliže (kon)federalnoj i konsocijacijskoj demokratiji. Treće, u svim rješenjima od ZAVNOBiH-a do Ustava iz 1974. BiH je zasnovana na vlasti i samoupravljanju radničke klase i svih radnih ljudi, što znači da je konstituirana moć, odnosno ustavni suveren bila radnička klasa predvođena KP koja je vladala na principu demokratskog centralizma pozivajući se na ideologiju proleterskog internacionalizma. Taj ustavni suveren je već odavno detroniziran. Četvrto, čak i pod uslovom da se iz bh. ustavnih normi mogu izvoditi neki građanski koncepti, što se čini besmislenim, treba imati na umu da neka sila uvijek podupire zakon, da je suveren uvijek u zakonu i izvan zakona i da bez suverene volje zakon postaje fikcija, ili, kako je to Norris (2017: 240) konstatirao, „nijedan zakon ili pravilo ne može se opravdati, interpretirati ili primijeniti samim sobom“. A kada se zakoni ne mogu primijeniti, što slučaj BiH svjedoči, onda odlučuje suveren, a suvereni u BiH zasigurno nisu građani BiH, što slučaj Republike Srpske i političkog djelovanja Milorada Dodika najbolje potvrđuje.
- 25 Poseban napor da se na tekovinama ZAVNOBiH-a i socijalističke revolucije gradi bosanska nacija kao zajednica građana-državljana učinio je Omer Ibrahimagić kojeg vrijedi ovdje spomenuti. On je svakako jedan od suvremenih pionira, na kojeg se često pozivaju i Kukić i Lavić i Zgodić, koji je, na tekovinama ZAVNOBiH-a, pokušavao teorijski utemeljiti obnovu suvremene države BiH koja bi u osnovi imala Bosance (i Hercegovce), kao politički (državni) narod (demos). Temeljni inicijalni akt na koji se Ibrahimagić poziva u svojoj nakani (re)afirmacije bosanskog političkog (državnog) naroda je Proglas Prvog zasjedanja AVNOJ-a narodima Jugoslavije od 27. novembra 1942. godine, u kojem se kaže: „Bosanci i Hercegovci samo ujedinjeni i složni, preko svojih narodnooslobodilačkih odbora a u redovima Narodnooslobodilačke vojske možete sebi ostvariti jednu ljepšu i zajedničku budućnost... Vama svima i Srbima i Hrvatima i Muslimanima potrebna je iskrena i bratska saradnja da bi BiH kao jedinica u našoj bratskoj zajednici mogla napredovati na zadovoljstvo svih bez razlike na vjeru i stranku“ (prema Ibrahimagić 2003: 24). Ibrahimagiću je od ključne važnosti stav Proglasa da u obnovu države BiH, kojoj će u osnovi biti Bosanci (i Hercegovci) kao politički (državni) narod (demos), Srbi, Hrvati i Muslimani moraju biti ujedinjeni i složni. Slažemo se sa ovom konstatacijom uz pitanje, koje Ibrahimagić eksplicitne ne postavlja, a koje glasi: Na kojim osnovama je moguće ujedinjenje i sloga Srba, Hrvata i Muslimana u BiH kako bi ostvarili političko jedinstvo i uspostavili politički (državni) narod? Pri tome treba napomenuti da samo političko jedinstvo već samim sobom ne određuje formu vladavine, ne određuje narod (demos) kao

Na kritici Lavićevog koncepta nacije Kukić izvodi sopstveni model ustrojstva države BiH kao „multinacionalne građanske države“, čiji unutarnji suverenitet izvodi i iz demosa kao zajednice građana-državljana, ali i iz etno-nacionalnih partikulariteta, koji temelji na modelu Esada Zgodića, navodeći da su razlike među njima irelevantne.

## ZGODIĆEVO POIMANJE NACIJE

Svoje viđenje BiH kao „multinacionalne građanske države“ Kukić temelji na Zgodićevom tekstu „Država bez političke nacije“ u kojem Zgodić nudi model multinacionalne države, u slučaju „ireverzibilnosti formiranja nacija na prostoru BiH“ i nemogućnosti formiranja bosanske nacije, kojim bi se zaustavila nacionalna teritorijalizacija BiH i njena podjela (Zgodić 2022: 378). Po tom modelu BiH bi bila građanska država koja nije ni anacionalna ni nadnacionalna, čiji bi se unutarnji suverenitet izvodio iz političkog subjektiviteta naroda kao državljanske nacije, ali isto tako i iz političkog subjektiviteta građana kao nacionalnih individua, te bi tako

nosio vlasti (suverena) jedne države, mada ta forma u mnogome zavisi od vrste političkog jedinstva. Konstitucija (ustav) je ta koja određuje vrstu i način političkog jedinstva, prirodu i karakter jedne države, pa samim tim i formu (suverena) vladavine (Šmit 2015). U samom Proglasu se kaže da Bosanci i Hercegovci treba da budu ujedinjeni i složni kroz narodnooslobodilačke odbore, kako bi uspostavili političko jedinstvo koje će predstavljati ZAVNOBiH na čelu sa KPJ i Titom (prema Ibrahimagić 2003; 37-38). Dakle, princip političkog jedinstva koji se zagovara u Proglasu i ZAVNOBiH-u, i koji je narodnooslobodilačkom borbom i revolucijom realiziran, je klasnog karaktera, zasnovan na ideologiji proleterskog internacionalama koji povezuje ne samo radničku klasu BiH, nego i bratske narode Jugoslavije, pa i šire. Pošto ni socijalistička BiH, kao ni socijalistička Jugoslavija nisu bile demokratske države koje impliciraju vladavinu naroda (demosa), tako ni ovo „ujedinjenje i sloga“ Srba, Hrvata i Muslimana ne znači uspostavu demokratskog poretka sa suverenitetom naroda kao demosa, nego vladavinu (monopol) radničke klase na čelu sa komunističkom partijom, koji su doveli do ujedinjenja i sloge Srba, Hrvata i Muslimana u BiH (bratstva i jedinstva) na ideologiji proleterskog internacionalizma i vladavine komunističke partije, na principima demokratskog centralizma. Ono što je u početku bilo implicitno, zbog međunarodnih okolnosti, vremenom je postalo eksplicitno. Tako narod postaje radni narod, pa onda radnička klasa predvođena KPJ/SKJ koji je bio subjekt konstitucije državne zajednice i subjekt konstitucije državne vlasti, a Srbi, Hrvati i Muslimani ujedinjeni i složni kroz narodno-oslobodilačke odbore, Ustavom BiH 1974. dobijaju suveren i ravnopravan status. Nakon što je došlo do urušavanja socijalističke Jugoslavije, pa onda i socijalističke BiH, zasnovanih na ZAVNOBiH-u i AVNOJ-u i silaska sa vlasti komunističke partije (SKJ), u tom vanrednom stanju Srbi, Hrvati i Muslimani su potvrdili svoj suveren status, kao narodi-nacije, i do danas nisu pronašli novi princip ujedinjenja i sloge koji bi ih vodio boljoj budućnosti. Sve to ne znači da se u svim ovim fazama državno-pravnog razvoja BiH nisu, bar rudimentarno, pojavljivale socio-kulturne forme bosanskog naroda, forme zajedništva bosanskih različitosti, koje nisu uspjevale da nađu adekvatan izraz svog političkog ispoljavanja. Na kraju prof. Ibrahimagić zaključuje da je neophodno razlikovati između naroda (etničke zajednice) u njegovom kulturnom značenju i naroda (političke zajednice), u njenom značenju državnog naroda državljana, građana Bosne (i Hercegovine), ako se želi da Bosna ostane održiva i funkcionalna. A da bi postala stabilna i prosperitetna država, smatra Ibrahimagić, treba da budu razdvojeni kulturni i politički identiteti njene tri etnije koje treba da postanu državni politički narod Bosne, uz očuvanje postojećih etno-kulturnih zajednica i kulturnih identiteta. Ovakvo razumijevanje nacije postalo je paradigma, u okviru koje se kreću i Jahić, Lavić, Zgodić, Kukić. ali i mnogi drugi, najvećim dijelom bošnjački univerzitetski profesori i akademici.

etnos bio inkorporiran u demos. Zgodićev „multinacionalni federalizam“ mogao bi se uslovno svesti na model koncipiran u preambuli Daytonskog ustava gdje se unutarnji suverenitet izvodi iz konstitutivnih naroda, Bošnjaka, Hrvata i Srba (zajedno sa ostalima), i građana...“ (Ustav BiH), pa se onda postavlja pitanje čemu uopće ovaj predloženi model „multinacionalne građanske države“.

No, ako bi se i prihvatio ovakav državni model BiH izgrađen na pojmovnom galimatijasu etnosa, naroda, nacije, politike, države, prava, demosa, ostaje pitanje subjekta konstitucije takvog modela države. Po Zgodiću „naciju sačinjava zajednička država, politička volja...“ (2022: 360). Na pitanje iz čega izvodi zajedničku državu, odgovor bi mogao biti iz političke volje. Ali na pitanje iz čega izvodi političku volju, odgovor bi se teško dobio, jer je po njemu „političko državljanstvo oslobođeno kulturnih i etničkih identiteta“ (2022: 360), tako da ostaje nejasno iz čega izvodi političko<sup>26</sup> jedinstvo (volju) koje je pretpostavka države, prava i demosa. Da bi demos bio moguć u multinacionalnim državama mora postojati ili zajednički supstrat koji povezuje nacionalne partikularitete ili konsenzus tih partikulariteta da se živi zajedno u takvom državnom modelu ili suverena moć koja će ih na to prisiliti.

Simptomatično je da se Kukić u odbrani svojih stavova poziva isključivo na jedan Zgodićev tekst („Država bez političke nacije“), mada Zgodić u mnogim svojim knjigama i tekstovima zastupa stavove slične onima koje iznosi Lavić, samo što to radi suptilnije i opreznije. Posredstvom „Programskog mišljenja o ideji bosanske nacije“ grupe profesora Fakulteta političkih nauka u Sarajevu kao jedan od koautora Zgodić (2022: 359) propituje da li se može „zamisliti da se sadašnje nacionalne identifikacije utemeljene na vjersko-etničkim istorodnostima (...) mogu povijesno transformirati u formu etničko-vjerskih i kulturnih subidentiteta jedne nove

26 Problem je u tome što naša akademska zajednica najvećim dijelom još uvijek ne uviđa razliku između pojmova „političko“ i „politika“. Termin „politika“ se koristi difuzno, tako da se pod njega može podvesti sve i ništa, ili se izjednačava za odrednicom država, iz čega nikakvo smisleno razumijevanje pojma politika ne može da proizađe. Za Heideggera se „političko“ odnosi na ontološku dimenziju ljudske egzistencije, na način kako je društvo institucionalizirano, dok se „politika“ odnosi na ontičko, na konvencionalnu politiku unutar politički institucionaliziranog društva ili države (Mouffe 2005). Političko je slobodna egzistencijalna odluka kojom se definira socijalno jedinstvo (političko, kao osnova kolektivnog identiteta) ili politička zajednica (država), uključivanjem prijatelja (Mi) i isključivanjem neprijatelja (Oni), u okviru kojeg se uspostavlja sfera politike i politički poredak (Schmitt 2013). Političko je mjesto iz kojeg se izvodi moderno zajedništvo (politička priroda socijalnog bića) i uspostavlja kontingentni poredak konstituiranjem identiteta i političkog subjektiviteta na kojem se uspostavlja demokratski pluralizam (Heywood 2013). Kriterij političkog ne može se anticipirati zakonom jer prethodi državi i pravnom poretku. Država kao politička i legalna organizacija je utemeljena u političkom kojim se razdvajaju Mi i Oni u različitim socijalnim formama (Noris 2017). Unutar tog političkog jedinstva (države) razlike među članovima se prihvataju kao legitime, kao i pravila koja definira politička zajednica (država) po kojima se osvaja ili gubi vlast (Mouffe 2005). Dakle, političkom odlukom se definira političko jedinstvo (državna zajednica) unutar kojeg se odvija politika. Pretpostavka politike je ono političko koje je njena ontološka osnova.



identifikacije s bosanskom nacijom“. Program preferira model države sa više subidentiteta kako bi se očuvale tri bosanska vjersko-kulturna identiteta, uz zaključak da je „iskustvo političke nacije ili nacije državljana podrazumijeva razdvajanje političko-državnog identiteta od etničko-religijskog-kulturnog identiteta“ (Zgodić 2022: 361), što sasvim korespondira Lavićevom određenju nacije i naroda. Problem sa ovakvim stavovima je u tome što hipostaziraju državu kao demijurg „causa sui“, koji je sposoban svojom voljom i znanjem, neovisno o volji i znanju njegovih građana, stvoriti bosansku naciju građana-državljana, tako što, „pod određenim pretpostavkama (...) država može bitno sudjelovati u prevladavanju neprirodnih nacionalnih identiteta formiranjem bosanske nacionalne svijesti vezane primarno za državotvornu samosvijest i identifikaciju sa državom BiH“ (Zgodić 2022: 354).

Tako i Lavićevo optiranje za naciju kao zajednicu građana-državljana, kao i Kukićevo zalaganje za naciju, kao zajednicu porijekla, kojima se mogu priključiti i Zgodić, kao i mnogi drugi bh. profesori i akademici, bivaju eklatantan primjer dviju jednostranih, suprotstavljenih i međusobno isključujućih paradigmi razumijevanja nacije koja su duboko ukorijenjene ne samo u našim akademskim i intelektualnim krugovima<sup>27</sup>, koje ostaju na nivou „razumijevanja“ izolovanih aspekata nacionalnog ispoljavanja.<sup>28</sup> Takvo razumijevanje nacije svodi se na percepciju neovisnih,

27 Različita razumijevanja nacije oblikovala su u posljednjih 200 godina dva modela koja je Rogers Brubaker (1994) paradigmatično predstavio kao francuski i njemački model razumijevanja nacije. Francuski model razumijeva naciju u relaciji sa državom i državnim institucijama i teritorijom, definirajući naciju univerzalistički, unitaristički i sekularno. Nacija je konstituirana kroz političko jedinstvo koje teži i kulturnom jedinstvu. Njemački model razumijeva naciju kao „etnocentričnu“ i diferencirajuću. Nacionalni osjećaj je razvijen prije stvaranja nacionalne države, a nacionalne ideje nisu izvorno političke, niti su vezane za apstraktnog građanina. Nacija je organska kulturna i lingvistička zajednica u potrazi za državom, tako da je njena osnova etno-kulturni, a ne politički fakt (Ibidem). Na osnovu ova dva modela razumijevanja nacije uspostavljena je dihotomija pojmova univerzalno/partikularno, kozmopolitsko/etno-kulturno, prosvjetiteljsko-racionalno/romantičarsko-iracionalno koji su međusobno mehanički suprotstavljeni i isključujući. Mada Brubaker uviđa da nacija sadržava oba određenja, etno-kulturno (partikularno) i građansko (univerzalno), koja sporadično pokušava povezati tako što na mjesto „građanske nacije“ stavlja „državnu naciju“ koju povezuje sa etno-kulturnom nacijom, ipak, najvećim dijelom, Brubaker ova dva modela razumijeva „antitetično, kao da funkcioniraju na različitim nivoima socijalnih i političkih procesa“ (Brubaker 1996: 81), odvojena i međusobno suprotstavljena (isključujuća), tako da ne uspijeva opojmiti naciju na osnovu njenih implicitnih veza etno-partikularnog i građanskog-univerzalnog, koje je Calhoun (1993) pregnantno izrazio navodeći da je „naciju nemoguće odvojiti od etnosa, a da je isto tako naciju nemoguće objasniti kao nastavak etnosa“. Kao takvo Brubakerovo dihotomno razumijevanje nacije kao etno-kulturne zajednice i zajednice građana-državljana, uz redukcionističko čitanje samog Brubakera, gotovo je u potpunosti prihvaćeno u našoj akademskoj zajednici.

28 Hegel, na tragu Kanta, razlikuje razumijevanje (Verstand, Understanding) od umnog poimanja (Vernunft, Reason) svijeta. Razum razumije svijet kao mnoštvo razgraničenih stvari tako da je svaka jasno odvojena i njeno predstavljanje je izolirana refleksija. Um teži uspostavljanju cjeline utvrđujući veze i razlike između pojedinačnih stvari, sjedinjavajući ih na višem nivou tako da svaka dobija smisao i značenje iz međusobnog odnosa i u odnosu na cjelinu (Marcuse 1987). Razumijevanje fiksira pojavne objekte kao date, nepromjenljive i zgotovljene, videći među njima samo spoljnu vezu međusobnog negiranja i isključivanja, tako da je osuđeno

samodovoljnih, međusobno isključujućih aspekata nacionalnog ispoljavanja (etnos, narod, nacija, politika, država, pravo, demos), ne primjećujući njihovu međusobnu ontološku ovisnost, zasnovanu na integrirajućoj realnosti same nacije.

Ovakva epistemološka pozicija spoznavanja nacije apriori je data kao zadani normativni okvir u kome se koriste već unaprijed stvoreni pojmovi zasnovani na pretpostavkama koje unaprijed utvrđuju fundamentalnu strukturu stvari<sup>29</sup>, a ne na osnovu imanentnog konceptualnog razvoja pojma nacije i međusobno nužnih odnosa njenih esencijalnih određenja, što upravo čini naciju onim što jeste, a ne onim kakvu je mi vidimo u njenoj pojavnosti (Thompson 2019).

## POIMANJE NACIJE

Da ne bismo ostali na pojavnom razumijevanju, potrebno je definirati naciju na osnovu njenog bitnog implicitnog sadržaja i odnosa sa njenim graničnim pojmovima, s jedne strane pojmovima „političke zajednice“, „države“ „prava“ i „građanina“, a s druge strane „naroda“ i „etničke zajednice“, te iz tog dijalektičkog odnosa pojmova i njihovih implicitnih bitnih određenja pokušati (o)pojmiti<sup>30</sup> naciju. Promotori bosanske nacije naciju izjednačavaju sa državom i zajednicom građana-državljana, a suprotstavljaju je narodu kao zajednici kulture i religije, i etnicitetu kao zajednici porijekla. Stoga ćemo za početak, uz pomoć Hegela, definirati pojam države.<sup>31</sup> Hegel u *Filozofiji prava* sa &257 započinje prikaz imanentnog pojmovnog razvitka države.

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birati jedan ili drugi aspekt pojavnosti, gubeći iz vida njihovu međusobnu tranziciju i prelazak jednog aspekta pojavnosti u drugi. Umno poimanje dohvata tranzicioni moment među separatno razumljenim aspektima pojavnosti koji povezuje različite, opozitne i kontradiktorne aspekte u konkretnu cjelinu (Limnatis 2006).

- 29 Svaka ozbiljna analiza bi pokazala da veliki broj naših profesora i akademika problemu nacije i države pristupa iz horizonta sopstvenog nacionalnog kolektiviteta, a ne tako rijetko i iz rakursa aktualne nacionalne politike, tako da za njih nacija i država bivaju ono što se nadaje kao interes sopstvenog naciona, a ne ono što nacija i države objektivno jesu.
- 30 Za Hegela (1989: 20, &1) „pojam je ...jedino ono što ima zbiljnost, i to tako da on sebi ovu sam daje. Sve što nije ta, samim pojmom postavljena zbiljnost jeste prolazno opstojanje, spoljašnja slučajnost, mnijenje, pojava bez biti, neistina, obmana itd“.
- 31 Ovdje nećemo definirati državu na osnovu njenih generalnih karakteristika kao politički aparat koji upravlja na određenoj teritoriji, čiji se autoritet oslanja na legalni sistem i koji ima kapacitet upotrebe sile da implementira svoje odluke, te da je moderna država nacionalna država koja ima suverenu vlast na određenoj teritoriji i čiji stanovnici u okviru države imaju status građana-državljana, što bi vodilo isključivo “razumijevanju” pojavnog.



&257

„Država je aktualnost etičke ideje - etički duh<sup>32</sup> kao supstancijalna volja koja je manifestna i sama sebi jasna, koja misli i zna sebe i implementira to što zna... Ona ima neposrednu egzistenciju u običajima, a svoju posredovanu egzistenciju u samosvijesti individua, u individualnom znanju i aktivnosti, upravo kako samosvijest, na osnovu svojih dispozicija, ima supstancijalnu slobodu u državi kao svojoj esenciji, svom cilju, kao produktu svoje aktivnosti“ (1991: 275).

&258

„Država je aktualnost supstancijalne volje, aktualnost koju ona ima u partikularnoj samosvijesti kada je ona dosegla svoju univerzalnost i kao takva ona je racionalna po sebi i za sebe“ (1991: 275).

Ono bitno što valja istaći kod ovog određenja države jeste da Hegel razlikuje „etički duh“ od države, koja je produkt njegove djelatnosti, tako da je „etički duh“<sup>33</sup> ontološki i logički implicitna pretpostavka države. Kod Hegela priroda duha je esencijalno socijalna (Ruggiu 2016) jer duhovno pripada društvenom životu (Neuhouser 2016).<sup>34</sup> To znači, kao što primjećuje Seyla Benhabib (1984), da država pretpostavlja zajednicu individua koje su doogle međusobno priznanje, a koju Hegel naziva „etički duh“. Za Hegela je „etički duh“ određena zajednica ljudi koja zna i hoće sebe i koja svoju supstancijalnu slobodu ostvaruje (aktualizira) u državi. Da

32 „Etički duh“ je prevod njemačke riječi „Sittlichkeit“, nastale od „Sitte“ što znači običaj i kao apstraktna imenica izražava za određene običaje, navike. U rječnicima se prevodi kao moral i etika (običajnost), a u engleskom kao „ethical life“, „objective ethic“, „concrete ethic“ (Jansson 2019: 2-3). Engleski prevod Hegelove Filozofije prava koristi odrednicu „ethical spirit“ koji smo i mi preuzeli i preveli kao „etički duh“.

33 Za Hegela je „duh“ način života ljudi čija je *differentia specifica* (samo)svijest. Ispoljava se kao subjektivni, objektivni i univerzalni duh koji se ne mogu posmatrati odvojeno, nego u uzajamnoj povezanosti. Osnova duha je (samo)svijest čija je suština socijalna. Tako je duh socijalni (etički) život jednog naroda koji je prolazeći kroz različite životne oblike došao do (samo)svijesti o onome što jeste (Pinkard 2016). Kao takav, smatra Hegel (1986: 258), „duh je nepomirljiv i neuništiv osnov i polazna tačka djelovanja svih ljudi, njihova svrha i njihov cilj a kao mišljenje onog po sebi ljudi on je samosvijest. Neposredna forma duha, smatra Hegel, je etički život jednog naroda jer je duhovni život subjektivitet koji je svjestan svoje esencije kao univerzalne supstancije koju dijeli s drugim članovima, a ta supstancija egzistira u običajima i zakonima same zajednice (Dudley 2008). U životu jednog naroda, ističe Hegel, pojam aktualizacije samosvjesnog uma ima svoj potpuni realitet tako što u samodovoljnosti drugoga vidi svoje kompletno jedinstvo (Bykova 2016). To jedinstvo sa drugima je zajedničkost ili socijalna priroda duha koja je historijski produkt koji ima različite životne forme koje se kod Hegela ispoljavaju kroz svijest, samosvijest, um. U moderno doba ta zajedničkost ili socijalna priroda duha je dobila umnu životnu formu kroz jedinstvo pojedinačnog, partikularnog i univerzalnog te aktualizirala se kroz modernu pravnu demokratsku državu.

34 Duh je ljudsko društvo kao svjesni (samosvjesni, umni) život (Testa 2017). Kao takav, socijalni kolektivitet kao svjesni život (duh) nam je uvijek već zadan kao pretpostavka u okviru koje je svijest (samosvijest, um) ekspresija socijalnog života (Ruggiu 2016).

bismo preciznije i potpunije odradili ovu društvenu grupu koju Hegel naziva „etički duh“ moramo odgovoriti na temeljno pitanje socijalne ontologije: Šta jednu društvenu grupu drži zajedno, šta je osnova njihova zajedništva? Zavisno od vrste ontološke osnove zajedništva društvene grupe ćemo podijeliti na etničke zajednice, narode i nacije.

Pogledajmo prvo, na osnovu implicitnog sadržaja Hegelove definicije države koja je *differentia specifica* onoga što Hegel naziva „etičkim duhom“. Država je, po Hegelu, rezultat aktualizacije „etičkog duha“ koji, kao zajednica ljudi, misli i zna sebe (samoodređenje) i koji, to što jeste, na osnovu slobodno izražene volje, hoće i može kao političko jedinstvo da objektivizira, tako da svoj partikularitet aktualizira na nivo univerzalnog kao modernu demokratsku državu u kojoj ostvaruje svoju „supstancijalnu slobodu“ (autonomiju). Volja i moć „etičkog duha“ da se, na osnovu onoga što jeste (samoodređenje), aktualizira kroz modernu demokratsku pravnu državu i tako vlada samim sobom izraz je „političkog<sup>35</sup> jedinstva“ koje je ontološka osnova ili vezivno tkivo zajedničkosti te društvene grupe. Mi ćemo tu društvenu grupu, Hegelov „etički duh“, koja u osnovi ima „političko jedinstvo“, nazvati konstituirajuća moć<sup>36</sup>, koja je u moderno doba sa Američkom revolucijom promovirana kao „We the People“, a sa Francuskom revolucijom imenovana nacijom<sup>37</sup>. Državnim ustavom, kao svojim instrumentom, „konstituirajuća moć“ kao partikularni „etički duh“, kao nacija („We the People“) se normativno redefiniira univerzalno kao zajednica formalno jednakih i slobodnih građana i tako postaje „konstituirana moć“<sup>38</sup>

35 Carl Schmitt navodi da pojam države pretpostavlja pojam političkog. Specifično razlikovanje na koje se mogu svesti sve političke radnje i motivi jeste razlikovanje prijatelja i neprijatelja. Smisao razlikovanja prijatelja od neprijatelja je da označi krajnji stepen intenziteta vezivanja ili razdvajanja, asocijacije ili disocijacije ljudi. Svaka religijska, moralna, ekonomska, etnička ili neka druga suprotnost pretvara se u političku suprotnost ako je dovoljno snažna da efektno grupiše na prijatelje i neprijatelje (Šmit 2001). Kada je u pitanju nacija, političko biva ono vezivno tkivo koje jednu društvenu grupu (prijatelja) drži zajedno i razdvaja od drugih društvenih grupa (neprijatelja) bilo na osnovu etničkih, religijskih, klasnih ili nekih drugih suprotnosti.

36 Teoriju o „konstituirajućoj moći“ („pouvoir constituant“) prvi je formulisao Sieyes. On je označio revolucionarnim činom to što je Francuska revolucija odmah na svom početku uspostavila razliku između konstituirajuće i konstituirane moći (Schmitt 2008).

37 Schmitt kaže da se „konstituirajuća moć“ („subjekt ustavotvorne vlasti“) naziva narod ili nacija. Ta dva pojma se često tretiraju kao jednoznačni pojmovi. Ipak, za Schmitta, riječ nacija je pregnantnija i manje se pogrešno razumijeva. Ona, naime, označava narod kao akciono sposobno jedinstvo, koje je svjesno svoje političke posebnosti i ima volju za političkom egzistencijom, dok narod, koji ne egzistira kao nacija, označava samo neku etničku ili kulturnu zajedničku vezu koja nije nužno politički egzistirajuća veza (Šmit 2015).

38 Jedan od problema je što naši, ranije spomenuti profesori i akademici naciju izjednačavaju sa državom, odnosno sa zajednicom građana-državljana (demos), suprotstavljajući je naciji kao zajednici porijekla (etnosu), a da pri tome ne problematizuju odnos između konstituirajuće moći („pouvoir constituant“) i konstituirane moći („pouvoir constitue“), koji se može svesti na odnos etnosa i demosa, te ne povlače jasnu pojmovnu razliku između politike, države i prava (norme). Derrida (2002) na primjeru Američke revolucije problematizira zasnivanje bilo kojeg utemeljujućeg akta. Da li je američki narod (We the people), pita Derrida, doveden u bivstvo (egzistenciju) reprezentacijom kroz Deklaraciju o nezavisnosti, koja je postala konstitutivni akt SAD-a, ili je on eg-

koja je u modernoj demokratskoj pravnoj državi nosilac suvereniteta.

Tako nacija dobija Janusovo lice<sup>39</sup>. S jedne strane, kao „konstituirajuća moć“, ona izražava političko jedinstvo pozivajući se na etnos (porijeklo) i kulturu i religiju (narod), a s druge strane kao „konstituirana moć“ na zajednicu formalno jednakih i slobodnih građana-državljana, koji svoj status izvode iz pravne države. Kakav će status u državi imati ta zajednica formalno jednakih građana-državljana, umnogome zavisi od kriterija (etničkih, religijskih, klasnih...) na kojima se zasniva to političko jedinstvo koje pretpostavlja razdvajanje Nas od Njih, prijatelja od neprijatelja. Stepenn uzdizanja partikularnog (nacija kao etnos) na nivo univerzalnog (nacija kao demos), izražen kroz ustav države, zavisi i od toga koliko univerzalno (demos) izražava interese partikularnog (etnosa).<sup>40</sup>

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zistirao prije samog momenta konstitucije. Derrida je smatrao da „Mi“ Deklaracije reprezentira „We the People“, ali da reprezentacija ne reflektira nešto što je egzistiralo prije njenog donošenja. No, ima i onih koji smatraju da se ove dvije forme konstitucije pretpostavljaju (co-originality), kao i onih koji smatraju da je pretpostavka konstitucije politička odluka konstituirajuće moći koja se kroz konstituciju reprezentira kao konstituirana moć (Breckman 2012). U Njemačkoj se između 1928. i 1931. godine vodila poznata rasprava između Hansa Kelsena i Carla Schmitta o čuvaru ustava koja je implicirala problematizovanje odnosa politike, države i prava (norme), odnosno konstituirajuće i konstituirane moći. Za Kelsenov legalni pozitivizam pravo je sistem legalnih normi koje se ne izvodi iz ideologije i politike (konstituirajuće moći), nego je zasnovano na „bazičnoj normi“ (Grundnorm). Nasuprot njemu, Schmitt je smatrao da je ustavna konstitucija zasnovana na fundamentalnoj političkoj odluci i da konstituirajuća moć (nacija kao etnos) političkom odlukom donosi ustav kroz koji oblikuje svoje političko jedinstvo kao konstituiranu moć (nacija kao demos), te da se konstituirana moć ponovo pojavljuje u svom izvornom obliku u vanrednom stanju (Kahn 2006; Schmitt 2008; Spang 2014; Vinx 2015; Bockenforde 2017; Scholz-Karl 2021).

- 39 Nacija ima, smatra Habermas, Janusovo lice, kao nacija slobodnih građana koji su izvor demokratske legitimacije, i kao takva nacija je istovremeno preskriptivno zasnovana na etničkom članstvu koje joj osigurava socijalnu integraciju. Tenzija između egzaltiranog univerzalizma legalne zajednice i partikularizma zasnovanog na historijskom nasljeđu je ugrađena u sam koncept nacionalne države (Habermas 2014). Vraja Calhoun (2016) tvrdi da je nacija sinteza Gemeinschaft (zajednica) i Gesellschaft (društva), slično Habermasu koji navodi da se nacija transformirala iz vanredno-političkog kvantiteta u konstitutivnu zajednicu političkog identiteta građana demokratske države (Habermas 1996). Demokratska nacija, smatra i Habermas (2014), povezuje etnos i demos. Nacionalizam je forma kolektivne svijesti koja refleksivno prisvaja kulturnu tradiciju koja se od 18. vijeka transformira u politički organiziranu naciju čiji se identitet više ne izvodi iz kulturnih i etničkih osobina nego iz prakse građanina koji implementira svoja građanska prava.
- 40 Taj odnos partikularnog (nacije kao političkog jedinstva koje se zasniva bilo na etnosu, religiji, kulturi...) i univerzalnog kao zajednice formalno jednakih i slobodnih građana je u bh. uslovima kompleksan i složen i njegova elaboracija nadrađa intencije ovoga rada tako da ćemo ga samo ilustrirati kroz našu tezu da je važno zvati se Bosanac.

## ETNOS, NAROD, NACIJA

Da bi mogli razlikovati etnos, narod i naciju<sup>41</sup> kao različite oblike društvenog života moramo odrediti koje vrste socijalnih veza su ontološka osnova njihova zajedništva. Talcott Parsons socio-kulturnu evoluciju dijeli na tri razdoblja: prvobitno, prelazno i moderno društvo<sup>42</sup>, u okviru kojih se oblikuju specifični oblici ljudskog zajedništva, a koja ćemo mi nazvati etničke zajednice, narodi i nacije (Rakić 1983). Parsons (1991) smatra da jezgro ljudskog zajedništva čini normativni poredak kojim se određuju bitne karakteristike društvene grupe na osnovu kojih se pravi razlika između onih koji pripadaju toj društvenoj grupi i onih koji joj ne pripadaju. Normativni poredak ima funkciju konstitutivnog simbolizma koji leži u osnovi identiteta društvenih grupa i bliskih socijalnih veza između njenih članova. Tu vezu između konstitutivnog simbolizma i kolektivnog organizovanja Parsons naziva „socijetalna zajednica“ (1991: 31). Socijetalna zajednica je ontološka osnova koja jednu grupu ljudi drži zajedno i koja sprečava da se ljudski odnosi pretvore u „rat svih protiv svih“ (Ibidem: 164). Za Durkheima osnova socijetalne zajednice prvobitnih društava je religijskog karaktera.<sup>43</sup>

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41 Ovdje nećemo ulaziti u elaboraciju ovih društvenih grupa nego ćemo samo specificirati njihovu različitu ontološku osnovu po kojoj na posebne načine egzistiraju za-jedno, kako bismo istakli specifično ontološko određenje nacije.

42 Pod „društvom“ Parsons podrazumijeva različite forme društvenih kolektiviteta koje karakterizira „najveći stepen samodovoljnosti“ (1991: 13).

43 Durkheim je sjajno ukazao u svojim *Elementarnim oblicima religijskog života* (1995) da je u osnovi socijalnog svijeta religija, čiji je elementarni oblik totemističko vjerovanje. Totem je ime jedne društvene grupe, simbolička oznaka, amblem, svetih osobina, na osnovu kojeg se jedna skupina ljudi integrira, uspostavljajući esencijalne veze sa onim koji nose isto ime, a istovremeno diferencira od onih drugog imena, na osnovu vjerovanja u zajedničko porijeklo koje simbolički reprezentira totemsko ime. Imenovanjem, kao materijalnom simboličkom reprezentacijom društvene grupe, se konstituše svijest i savjest društvene grupe, kao i njen unutrašnji poredak, ne na osnovu prirodnih krvni veza, nego na osnovu vjerovanja u zajedničko porijeklo koje ime simbolički reprezentira (Ibidem). Identitet po imenu nije identitet samo na osnovu zajedničkog spoljnog znaka, imena, nego identitet na osnovu esencijalnih određenja same društvene grupe. Durkheim smatra da je socijalni život ljudi jedino moguće zasnovati na njihovoj grupnoj simboličkoj reprezentaciji, koja dobija formu mitskog sjećanja. Totemskim imenom kao posebnim oblikom kolektivne reprezentacije konstituira se društvena grupa zajedno sa njenom mentalnom reprezentacijom, što zahtijeva minimum moralnog, ali i logičkog konsenzusa. Simboličkom predstavom ko smo uspostavlja se odnos sa drugima, kao i sa svijetom koji nas okružuje i započinje proces apstraktnog mišljenja. Totemsko imenovanje društvene grupe, koje je jedna od prvobitnih formi religijskog vjerovanja, polazište je distinktivnog određenja ljudske vrste, polazište uma, identiteta i zajednice, smatra Durkheim.

### *Etnos*

Etnička zajednica<sup>44</sup> predstavlja jezgro i prvu fazu svakog daljnjeg „narođavanja“ većih skupina etničkog tipa (Rakić 1983). Srodnički odnosi i religijska orijentacija predstavljaju konstitutivni simbolizam etničkih zajednica koji im daje kolektivni identitet i odgovora na pitanje ko su i što su (Parsons 1991). Simbolički sistem je tako povezan sa sistemom srodstva (pozivanje na pretke) uspostavljajući normativni poredak njihovog djelovanja. Sistem srodstva, simbolički predstavljen, je ontološka osnova socijetalne konstitucije etničke zajednice, smatra Parsons (Ibidem).

Vjera u zajedničko porijeklo<sup>45</sup> je prvobitno stanje i prvi uzrok nastanka etničke zajednice koje je bitno zbog toga što je osnova na kojoj etnička zajednica stiče identitet koji ostaje isti, bez obzira na promjene u vremenu. Da bi jedna zajednica imala povijest (trajala u vremenu) mora postojati jedan ne-povijesni identitet koji tu povijest spoznaje, doživljava i prenosi novim generacijama. Bez etničkog identiteta, koji ne podliježe promjeni, nema kontinuiteta u vremenu, navodi Lerotić (1983). Taj transgeneracijski kontinuitet, kao život zajednice koji traje, kao vječni život, kao izvjestan oblik besmrtnosti, može biti osiguran samo preko nekog trajnog kulturnog oblikovanja svoga sopstva koje nadživljava i državu i pravni poredak (Vlaisavljević 2012). Ta kulturna oznaka je etničko ime, jer je etničko ime srodstvo po imenu. Nema etničkog sopstva bez etničkog imena, zaključuje Vlaisavljević.

### *Narod*

Prijelaz sa primitivnih na predmoderna ili feudalna društva, koja smo nazvali narodima<sup>46</sup>, zasnivao se na religijskim i kulturnim promjenama uspostavom transcendentnog religijskog poretka, tako što je transcendentni sveti ideal vodio racionalizaciji koja je odbacivala tradicijski normativni poredak (Parsons, Lidz 1972). Institucionalizirana religija spasenja (kršćanstvo) kroz koju individua uspostavlja

44 Od samog početka upotrebe odrednice „etnicitet“, smatra Malešević (2004), on je bio i ostao „vruć krompir“ (hot potato) koji je sadržavao mnoštvo značenja (etnička grupa, etnička manjina, rasa, nacija...) što je vodilo njenom dubokom nerazumijevanju. Mi ćemo se u ovom radu držati određenja koja su dali Weber, Parsons, Barth, Smith i Lerotić.

45 Weber (1976) smatra da je vjera u zajedničko porijeklo, bez obzira da li objektivno postoje krvne veze, presudna u formiranju etničke zajednice.

46 Odrednica narod u južnoslovenskim jezicima, pa i u bosanskom, je višeznačna (Rakić 1983). Često se izjednačava sa kulturnom i etničkom zajednicom, ali i sa nacijom kao demosom. Dodatni problem je što se subjekt Američke revolucije „We the people“ kod nas prevodi kao narod koji se razumijeva kao nosilac univerzalne misije slobode. Tako narod dobija dva bitna značenja: partikularno kao etnos, i univerzalno kao demos, što se onda prenosi i na naciju sa kojom se on često izjednačava, mada je veoma bitno razlikovati te dvije zajednice (Yack 2001).

smislenu vezu sa transcendentnim, posredstvom institucionaliziranih religijskih organizacija, glavni su obrazac transcendentnog legitimiranja normativnog poretka. Socijalna zajednica i društvena lojalnost postali su manje ovisni od parcijalnih socijalnih oblika, kao što je etnicitet (Ibidem).

Kroz transcendentni religijski okvir pojavljuju se privilegirane grupe zasnovane na krvnosrodničkim odnosima kraljevskih i aristokratskih loza, koje postaju čuvari poretka i glavni faktori razvoja. Racionalizacija normativnog poretka oslobodila je političke lidere partikularističkih tradicionalnih kontrola što je davalo privilegirani uticaj centralnoj vlasti koja je bila heteronomno organizirana sa različitim međusobno preklapajućim autoritetima pod univerzalnom ideologijom Crkve (Lopez 2023). Političku vlast je predstavljao suvereni monarh, u obliku kralja ili cara, sa pratećim dominantnim grupama kao što je aristokratija i religijske elite (Eisenstadt 1972).

Glavna institucija predmodernog feudalnog društva je crkva. Institucionalno crkva zaposjeda centralno mjesto u organizaciji zajedništva kroz religijske obrede i kroz vladajuću strukturu koja egzistira paralelno sa sekularnom vlasti, sa kojom je često u sukobu i koju često nadvladava. Isto tako, crkva ima glavnu ulogu u konstituiranju socijalnog i kulturnog identiteta i kao takva je osnovno vezivno tkivo socijalne zajednice srednjovjekovnog predmodernog društva, što je vodilo u razne antagonizme i konflikte sa drugim konfesijama i njihovim pripadnicima (Lopez 2023). Ljudska subjektivnost koja ima svoju beskrajnu vrijednost u ljubavi spram transcendentnog koje se ovaplotilo, oslobađa se partikularnosti, smatra Hegel, mijenja oblik kada je nastani Božji duh ljubavi i postaje združena intersubjektivnost stvarajući zajednicu ujedinjenu u vjeri, kao modusom spoznaje, koja je institucionalizirana u crkvi (Hodgson 2005). Narod kao zajednica u vjeri ne zasniva više svoje zajedništvo na preskriptivnim etničkim vezama, nego na unutrašnjoj subjektivnoj vjeri na kojoj je zasnovana spiritualna zajednica ili zajednica duha koju predstavlja crkva.

Sa reformacijom, Vjerskim ratom, Vestfalskim mirom i Lutherovim suprotstavljanjem univerzalizmu Rimske Crkve, koje je vodilo razbijanju kulturnog jedinstva rimskog kršćanstva (Lopez 2023), sa prosvjetiteljstvom i sekularizmom, sa uvođenjem pravnog sistema i teritorijalne jurisprudencije, normativna kontrola postaje neovisna od pripadnosti etničkoj socijalnoj zajednici (Parsons 1991). Javlja se svijest naroda o sebi kao zasebnom entitetu koji zna sebe i hoće sebe kao političku zajednicu – postaje nacija „po sebi“. Onda kada narod, kao „nacija po sebi“, ima volju i moć da se slobodno izraženom voljom aktualizira kroz državu i putem nje normativno upravlja sobom postaje, rečeno Hegelovim rječnikom, nacija „po sebi i za sebe“.

## *Nacija*

Pogledajmo na kojim ontološkim osnovama (socijalnim vezama) Dominique Schnapper, na koju se Lavić voli pozivati u potkrepljivanju sopstvenih stavova, definiira naciju. Ako se pažljivo čita, može se zapaziti da ona potvrđuje gore iznesene Hegelove stavove, mada se direktno ne poziva na Hegela. Za Schnapperovu (2013) ne postoje dva pristupa ideji nacije. Postoji samo jedna ideja nacije, smatra ona. Nacija predstavlja specifičan vid „političkog jedinstva“<sup>47</sup>, a njen ideal je transcendencija partikularnosti integracijom različite populacije u zajednicu slobodnih i jednakih građana. Dakle, i za Schnapperovu je „političko jedinstvo“ ontološka osnova koja naciju, kao specifičnu društvenu grupu, drži zajedno. Historijski, navodi Schnapperova, naciju konstituiraju prije postojeće etničke grupe. Tako nacija sadržava oba momenta, i etnički i građanski, između kojih postoji odnos napetosti, napetosti između partikularnog i univerzalnog. Stvar je u tome da se etnički partikularitet uzdigne na nivo univerzalnosti (općosti), a za to sam princip građanskog nije dovoljan, smatra Schnapperova. Etnički nacionalizam je samo ilustracija tog neuspjeha da se iz etničkog partikulariteta uzdigne do univerzalne formalne slobode i jednakosti građana-državljana (Ibidem).

Nacija dolazi na povijesnu scenu raskidajući veze sa spolja zadatim autoritetima (Bog, kralj, crkva), te mora iz sebe same odrediti svoj identitet. Etnička zajednica, vjerovanje u zajedničko porijeklo, je najčešća osnova na kojoj nacija gradi svoje političko jedinstvo (Veber 1976).<sup>48</sup> Kriteriji na osnovu kojih se gradi političko jedinstvo nacije sabiranjem „prijatelja“ i separiranjem od „neprijatelja“ su jedan od ključnih faktora koji određuju s kim će i kako će se nacija iz svog partikulariteta uzdići na nivo univerzalnog, konstituirajući državu suverenih i formalno jednakih građana.

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47 U *Zajednici građana* (1996) Schnapperova navodi da je sa nacionalnim političko postalo socijalno (la social). Društvena povezanost je postala politička, odnosno nacionalna, stoga naciju valja analizirati u političkom smislu. Ono što ostaje van detaljnije elaboracije ovoga rada, a koje potpuno gubi iz vida naša akademska zajednica koja se bavi fenomenom nacije, su kriteriji na kojima se uspostavlja političko jedinstvo, a koji u bitnom određuju sadržaj i formu tog jedinstva..

48 Hauggard (2022) smatra da je nacionalizam moderna forma Gemeinschafta (etničke zajednice) koja je odgovor na ontološku potrebu za sigurnošću nastalu zbog ontološke nesigurnosti moderne.



## NACIONALNA EMANCIPACIJA BOSANSKIH SRBA, HRVATA I BOŠNJAKA

Južnoslavensko nacionalno buđenje, koje se dešavalo u formi nacionalnih pokreta na tlu BiH, podrazumijevalo je nacionalnu emancipaciju i političku autonomiju stvaranjem sopstvenih država. Započeli su je kulturnom i političkom emancipacijom od osmanske vlasti, u okviru rješavanja „Istočnog pitanja“<sup>49</sup>. Južnoslavensko rješavanje nacionalnog pitanja, koje je „par excellence“ državno pitanje, odvijalo se na prijelazu 18. u 19. stoljeće i traje i danas. Započelo je „srpskom revolucijom“ 1804. godine koja se širila i na prostore BiH (Džaja 1999).

Kao i većina nacionalnih pokreta i ovi na prostorima BiH svoj legitimitet su pokušavali izvesti iz historijskog prava pozivajući se na etničko porijeklo i etničku posebnost. No, kako je to Srećko Džaja (1999: 15-16) konstatirao, u etnogenezi bosanskih Srba, Hrvata i Bošnjaka postoji „srednjovjekovni diskontinuitet“. Nacionalna ontološka osnova bh. Srba, Hrvata i Bošnjaka datira iz osmanskog perioda u kojem se kategorija identiteta izvodila iz konfesionalne pripadnosti islamu, katoličanstvu i pravoslavlju.<sup>50</sup> Tako se ovdje prije može govoriti o narodnosnom oblikovanju muslimana, katolika i pravoslavaca na osnovu konfesionalnih razlika, a ne na osnovu etničkih razlika po porijeklu.<sup>51</sup> Nacionalna emancipacija bosanskih pravoslavaca i bosanskih katolika odvijala se najvećim dijelom pod uticajem Beograda i Zagreba, koji su vodili politiku integralnog rješenja nacionalnog pitanja Srba i Hrvata na južnoslavenskim prostorima. Osnova na kojoj se ono rješavalo bila je konfesionalna pripadnost na kojoj su se stvarale nacionalne države (Ekmečić 2008). Tako su se pravoslavci i katolici u Bosni nacionalizirali (imenovali) kao Srbi odnosno Hrvati na osnovu svog konfesionalnog identiteta<sup>52</sup>, a mit o etničkom porijeklu gradili

49 Pod „Istočnim pitanjem“ Fikret Karčić (2004) podrazumijeva paradigmu u okviru koje se rješavala politička sudbina Balkana nakon povlačenja Osmanskog carstva, paradigma „deosmanizacije Balkana“.

50 U okviru Osmanskog carstva vladao je miletski sistem koji je u bitnome odredio političke sisteme na Balkanu, a posebno u Bosni. Konfesionalna pripadnost određivala je društveni, kulturni i politički status; crkva je bila strukturalno povezana sa društvenim, administrativnim i političkim ustrojstvom države. Konfesionalna pripadnost se apsolutizirala pošto je miletski sistem izjednačavao etnicitet (naciju) sa religijskom (konfesionalnom) pripadnošću (church-nation) (Bardos 2013).

51 Pogrešno je bosanske Srbe, Hrvate i Bošnjake razlikovati na osnovu etničkog porijekla. Ovdje se radi o razlikama srednjovjekovnih naroda koji su se identificirali sa različitim konfesijama i shodno tome različitim vjerskim običajima koji su u određenom historijskom periodu evoluirali u nacionalne (političke) razlike.

52 Srbizaciju bosanskih pravoslavaca Džaja (1999) smješta u osmanski period kada pravoslavna crkva u Bosni na crkvenom kultu Nemanjića i njihove vladajuće ideologije postaje sastavni dio „ekleziologije“ kojom pučke pravoslavne mase bivaju osvojene za srpstvo. Kroatizaciju bosanskih katolika kojom se mijenjalo historijsko pamćenje iz bosanskog u hrvatsko ozvaničeno je, navodi Lovrenović (2013), na Prvom hrvatskom katoličkom kongresu 1900. godine u Zagrebu kojim započinje kroatizacija bosanskog srednjovjekovlja na principima ka-



na „posuđenoj tradiciji“ etničkih Srba i Hrvata ili pozivanjem na sporne<sup>53</sup> historijske izvore o sopstvenom srpskom i hrvatskom etničkom porijeklu.<sup>54</sup> Nacionaliziranjem bosanskih pravoslavaca i katolika na osnovu konfesionalne pripadnosti kao Srba i Hrvata i zahtjev muslimana za vlastitim nacionalnim identitetom na osnovama islama dovelo je u njihovoj etnogenezi do diskontinuiteta u odnosu na srednjovjekovnu bosansku državnu tradiciju. Konfesija je prevedena u nacionalnost tako da je svaka promjena vjere vodila promjeni nacionalnog identiteta (Džaja 1999).

Bosanski muslimani, koji su svoj posebni narodnosni identitet izgradili u osmanskoj epohi, pokušali su svoju nacionalnu zasebnost graditi na sintezi islama i bosanske srednjovjekovne tradicije.<sup>55</sup> Svoj etnički supstrat pokušavali su naći gradeći neku vrstu bogumilskog (Crkva bosanska) i islamskog sinkretizma (Džaja 1999). No, u datim historijskim uslovima, kao nosioci stigme „poturica“, najviše što su mogli dobiti u nacionalnom smislu bilo je veliko M u nacionalnom smislu koje je vjersku grupu nominiralo u naciju (Muslimani).

U vrijeme agresije na BiH 1993. godine, na Bošnjačkom saboru, nacionalno ime Musliman, zasnovano na konfesionalnoj pripadnosti, zamijenjeno je imenom toličkog hrvatstva.

53 Tako Ćorović, pozivajući se na Porfirogeneta, navodi da su današnje prostore BiH najvećim dijelom naselila dva najistaknutija slovenska plemena Srbi i Hrvati. Srpska plemena su se grupisala u planinskim predjelima od Save i Plive do Lima i zapadne Morave i od Cetine do Bojane, dakle poglavito na području današnje BiH, Novog Pazara, zapadne Srbije, južne Dalmacije i Crne Gore. Pored Srba i Hrvata koji su se naselili na prostoru BiH, od ostalih slovenskih plemena spominju se još Duljebe i Smoljane (Ćorović 1999; 104-105).

54 Kada je u pitanju tumačenje doseljavanja Srba i Hrvata na ove prostore, pa i na prostore Bosne, u početku bješe, a i sada za mnoge jeste, glavni autoritet i izvor djelo vizantijskog cara Konstantina VII *Porfirogeneta De administrando Imperio* (944-959). Iz Porfirogenetovih navoda, posebno u 30. poglavlju, izvodilo se tumačenje da su u drugoj seobi među doseljenim južnoslovenskim plemenima bili Srbi i Hrvati, tako što su Srbi naselili Zahumlje a Hrvati Bosnu (Hadžijahić 2004), ili, kako je to tumačio Ćorović (1999), da se u Bosni susreću Srbi i Hrvati tako što su Srbi naselili središnji i istočni dio, a Hrvati zapadni dio Bosne. No, već od kraja 19. i početka 20. vijeka a posebno u novije doba, preispitivanja ključnih premisa o dolasku Srba i Hrvata na Balkan, pa i na prostore Bosne, su iskazala sumnju u istinitost tih navoda (Vedrić 2010). U novije vrijeme, posebno Danijel Džino, Mladen Ančić i Florian Curta iskazuju sumnju u Porfirogenetove navode smatrajući da njegovi navodi predstavljaju propagandu (Curta), te da su se događaji iz ranosrednjovjekovne srpske i hrvatske historije uopće desili (Džino), odnosno da predstavljaju autorovu konstrukciju (Ančić). I Tibor Živković (2012), koji se također temeljno bavio ovim Porfirogenetovim djelom, iznosi čitav niz argumentovanih sumnji u njihovu istinitost. Ako bi se i prihvatile Porfirogenetove tvrdnje da su etnički Srbi i Hrvati naselili prostore Bosne onda bi važila čudna logika da su oni bili etnički Srbi do 12 vijeka, kada su postali Bošnjani, slično Porfirogenetovoj tvrnji da su Travunjani bili Srbi do arhonta Vlastimira, što je malo vjerovatno jer su u to vrijeme etnički Srbi i Hrvati živjeli u susjednim državama i teško da bi se tako lako asimilirali, a da pri tome nisu ostavili nikakve srpske i hrvatske eponime na tim prostorima (Hadžijahić 2004). Prije će ipak biti da je na prostorima Bosne živjela neka druga etnička skupina za koju se zna da se u 12. vijeku nazivala Bošnjani.

55 Da bi prevladali diskontinuitet između srednjovjekovne i osmanske Bosne neki bošnjački autori koriste Crkvu bosansku kao argument (Kvaerne 2003) tako što ovu Crkvu i njene sljedbenike izdvajaju iz evropskog kršćanskog konteksta i premještaju u takav heretički kontekst prema kojem bi srednjovjekovni bosanski krstjani duhovno stajali bliže islamu negoli ortodoksnom kršćanstvu svog vremena (Džaja 2003).

Bošnjak<sup>56</sup> čime su implicite dodijelili sebi ekskluzivitet da na osnovama sopstvene konfesionalne pripadnosti (islam), koji, navodno, baštini vezu sa srednjovjekovnom Crkvom bosanskom budu ekskluzivni nosioci srednjovjekovne bosanske tradicije, pa samim tim i prava na bosansku državu.<sup>57</sup>

No, ako je socijalno vezivno tkivo nacije političko, kojim se razdvaja prijatelj od neprijatelja, i ako se u slučaju bosanskih Srba, Hrvata i Bošnjaka političko (nacionalno) izvodi iz konfesionalnog, postavlja se pitanje da li je moguće iz tri konfesionalno-nacionalna partikulariteta uzdići se na nivo univerzalnog i izgraditi zajednicu formalno jednakih i slobodnih građana, odnosno da li je BiH kao moderna demokratska država moguća. Bosanski nacionalizam zasnovan na konfesionalnoj osnovi, koji je izgubio vezu sa srednjovjekovnim socio-kulturnim, etničkim i narodnosnim supstratom, može voditi samo ka dogovornoj zajednici (konfederaciji) tri historijski i ideološki nacionalno (konfesionalno) suprotstvaljena identiteta, koji se lakše politički (nacionalno) integriraju sa pripadnicima istih konfesija u okruženju, nego među sobom.

## VAŽNO JE ZVATI SE BOSANAC

Za razliku od Srba, Hrvata i Bošnjaka koji svoje nacionalno samoodređenje izvode iz konfesionalne pripadnosti pravoslavlju, katoličanstvu i islamu, nacionalno samoodređenje Bosanaca<sup>58</sup> treba da se zasniva na vjerovanju u zajedničko porijeklo od autohtonih starosjedilačkih stanovnika srednjovjekovne Bosne, koji su se nazivali Bošnjanima<sup>59</sup>. No, time još uvijek nismo odredili ono bitno, etničko porijeklo i etničko ime Bošnjana. Bošnjani su bosanski srednjovjekovni narod koji se tako (samo)imenovao<sup>60</sup> i na kojeg su se pozivali bosanski vladari u svojim poveljama. No,

56 Smatra se da je ime Bošnjak turska transliteracija imena Bošnjaniin. (lat. Bosnenses, tal. Bosnesi, slav. Bošn'an) (Džaja 1999) koje se odnosilo na autohtone stanovnike srednjovjekovne Bosne. Imenovanjem isključivo pripadnika islama kao Bošnjaka prekinuta je veza sa srednjovjekovnim Bošnjacima (Bošnjanima) jer se sada samo pripadnici jedne konfesionalne zajednice, muslimani, imenuju tim imenom. Radušić (2010) smatra da su dva muslimanska nacionalna imenovanja, ono 60-tih, muslimansko, i ono 90-tih, bošnjačko, prošlog stoljeća definitivno, formalno i simbolički, osudili na smrt viševjekovno multikonfesionalno bošnjaštvo. Godine 1993. bh. muslimani su za sebe rezervisali bošnjačku nominaciju ne dajući mogućnost drugima, koji se tako osjećaju, da se identificiraju kroz bošnjaštvo.

57 Muhsin Rizvić u svojoj knjizi *Bosna i bošnjaštvo-jezik i pismo* (1996) prati historijske izvore bošnjaštva, od vlastitog imenovanja autohtonog stanovništva Bosne, do jezika i pisma, koje se u moderno doba nacionalno partikulariziralo na pravoslavne Srbe i katolike Hrvate, tako da se bošnjaštvo sve više svodilo na pripadnike islamske vjere.

59 Lovrenović (2013) navodi da naziv Bošnjaniin nije bio neki drugostepeni, drugorazredni ili sporedni naziv, nego naziv za autohtono stanovništvo srednjovjekovne Bosne.

60 Na osnovu uvida u izjave i pisma iz perioda srednjovjekovne bosanske države („ja, Dabiživ Vuković Bošnjaniin

etničko porijeklo i etničko ime ostali su nepoznati<sup>61</sup>. A etničko porijeklo, simbolički predstavljeno etničkim imenom, su upravo ona bitna identitetska određenja koja obezbjeđuju unutarnje političko jedinstvo, kontinuitet u vremenu i neku vrstu besmrtnosti moderne nacije.<sup>62</sup>

Etnički identitet, pored toga što sadrži bitna svojstva imenovanog, istovremeno uspostavlja razliku spram onih koji se ne mogu podvesti pod ta bitna svojstva. Barth smatra da identitet nije fiksiran, ni kulturno ni biološki, nego ovisi o percepciji razlike spram drugih i isključivanjem drugih, tako da se grupa definira prije svega isključivanjem razlike. Emile Benveniste navodi da etničko ime karakterizira diferenciranje i isključivanje opozitne razlike (Armstrong 1982), a Malešević (2002) da identitet ne znači samo biti identičan sa članovima grupe, nego i biti različit od članova drugih grupa. Tako etnički identitet Bošnjana biva odnos identiteta i razlike, odnos Bošnjana i ne-Bošnjana (Srba, Hrvata...) koji dovodi do isključivanja razlike iz identiteta Bošnjana.<sup>63</sup> Stoga Bošnjani zasigurno ne mogu biti ni etnički Srbi, ni etnički Hrvati, kao što se pokušava predstaviti na osnovu spornih historijskih izvora. Očigledno da su se srednjovjekovni Bošnjani etnički identificirali isključivanjem etničkih Srba i Hrvata, kao opozitne razlike. Među njima, povijesno, nema identitetskog zajedništva. Postoje bitne razlike, prije svega po imenu, a onda i one etničke, narodnosne, političke, koje su se međusobno isključivale. Tako da je logično pretpostaviti da su iz relativno jedinstvene etničke osnove historijski nastali Bošnjani, kao srednjovjekovni narod, koji je imao svoju državu, svoje vjerske institucije i svoje vladare. Sa dolaskom Osmanlija naziv Bošnjani nestaje i najvjerovatnije transliteracijom u turskom jeziku „mutira“ u naziv Bošnjak<sup>64</sup>, ali se ponovo odnosio

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iz Borča“, Codex 2023: 674, 723), može se pretpostaviti da se tu ne radi o imenovanju, nego o samoimenovanju, odnosno o samoidentifikaciji u etničkom (narodnosnom) smislu sa imenom Bošnjani.

58 Interesantno je da gotovo nemamo ozbiljne lingvističke analize kako je došlo do toga da naziv naroda Bošnjana i Bošnjaka nije jezički identičan sa nazivom rijeke, prostora i države Bosne, mada se smatra da su oba naziva izvedena iz iste jezičke osnove, te da bi jezički naziv za srednjovjekovni bosanski etnonim (narod) u našem jeziku trebao biti Bosanac. Bosanac je u lat. Bosnenses, tal. Bosnesi, slav. Bošn'an, mađ. Bosnyk, tur. Bošnjak (Džaja 1999). Do jezičkih promjena je došlo, smatra Džaja, transliteracijom u mađarskom i turskom jeziku. Ono što je izvjesno jeste da se narodnosna imena Bošnjani i Bošnjak odnose na svo autohtono stanovništvo srednjovjekovne bosanske države, kao što bi se naziv Bosanac trebao odnositi na sve stanovnike BiH koji baštine tradiciju i vjeruju u zajedničko porijeklo od srednjovjekovnih Bošnjana (Bošnjaka).

61 Muhamed Hadžijahić (2004) navodi da je Bosna do 10. st. bila bezimeno područje te da su tako i etnička određenja njenih slavenskih doseljenika ostala bezimena.

62 Anthony Smith (1986) smatra da je etnička zajednica imenovana ljudska populacija koja dijeli zajednički mit o porijeklu. Bez etničke osnove, smatra Smith, nema prostora iz kojeg bi započeo proces formiranja nacije.

63 Razlika je esencijalni moment identiteta. Ono što jeste priziva ono što nije. Tako logički modalitet identiteta biva odnos A i ne-A, odnos Bosanaca i ne-Bosanaca (Srba, Hrvata, Bošnjaka...) (Pašalić 2017).

64 Lovrenović (2013) primjećuje da naziv Bošnjak ulazi u upotrebu tek sa osmanskim osvajanjem, ali da se ne

na sve autohtone stanovnike srednjovjekovne bosanske države<sup>65</sup>, koje se konfesionalno diferenciralo pod osmanskom upravom i tako stvorilo pretpostavke za kasnije partikularno, srpsko, hrvatsko i bošnjačko nacionaliziranje.

No, bosanska nacija, kao politička zajednica, ne izvodi svoja bitna svojstva iz konfesionalne pripadnosti, nego iz bosanskog mita<sup>66</sup> o zajedničkom porijeklu kojim se uspostavlja veza sa prošlim događajima (vremenom porijekla) za sadašnje i buduće svrhe (Smith 1998). Tako se bosanskim mitom o porijeklu, koji ireverzibilne prošle događaje čini reverzibilnim (Levi-Strauss 1977), imanentno transcendiraju konfesionalna pluralizacija Bosanaca i uspostavlja historijski supstancijalni kontinuitet jedinstva u različitosti bosanskog identiteta.<sup>67</sup>

Mit, posebno mit o porijeklu ili „vremenu nastanka“, igra značajnu ulogu u kreiranju modernog nacionalnog identiteta (Stuge 2003). Nacionalna ideologija pozivanjem na svoje mitsko etničko porijeklo oživljava mitsko vrijeme (hijerofanija). A mitsko vrijeme je sveto vrijeme kojim se uspostavlja veza svetog i profanog, nacije i etnosa. Mitsko oživljavanje svetog vremena porijekla ima funkciju obnavljanja zajedništva tako da profana zajednica dobija mjesto u svetom vremenu iz kojeg se obnavlja (Fishley 2017).

Dubravko Lovrenović (2006) je lucidno primijetio da Bosna nema svoj mit i svoju mitologiju i iz toga izveo zaključak da mit u Bosni nije moguć jer naprosto nema bosanske nacije, pa samim tim Bosna sebe i svoju povijest ne može doživljavati

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veže za Hrvate (i Srbe) nego za bosanske katolike, muslimane i pravoslavce.

- 65 Radušić (2011), analizirajući britansku konzularnu i diplomatsku građu koja se odnosila na BiH u periodu 1857-1878. godina, zaključuje da se u BiH nisu koristili nazivi Srbin i Hrvat za domaće hrišćansko/kršćansko stanovništvo, dok su se ti nazivi koristili za istovjernike u Srbiji i Hrvatskoj. Cjelokupno bh. stanovništvo je imenovano kao Bošnjaci (Bosniaks, Bosniaacs) i Bosanci (Bosnians), zemljaci, domaći i jasno su diferencirani od stranaca iz drugih provincija Osmanskog carstva koji su živjeli u BiH. Unutar zemlje bosansko stanovništvo se grupiralo prema vjerskoj pripadnosti kao hrišćani/kršćani (Christians) i muslimani (Mussulmans), ili na muslimane, pravoslavce i katolike.
- 66 Rogers M. Smith (2001) smatra da stvaranje i očuvanje svake političke zajednice zahtijeva „konstitutivni narativ“ (constitutive story) kojim se jednom kolektivitetu daju distinktivna obilježja. Mitovi su jedna vrsta „konstitutivnih narativa“ kojim ljudski kolektiviteti uspostavljaju temelje svog postojanja tako da onaj koji vjeruje u mit prihvata članstvo u kolektivitetu i pravila zajedničkog života (Schopflin 1997). Rollo May (1991) navodi da je mit obrazac u formi narativa koji učvršćuje zajedništvo i uspostavlja kolektivni identitet dajući uputstva ko pripada „Mi grupi“ i koje vrijednosti treba respektirati. U mitskoj imaginaciji je impliciran akt vjerovanja čime se zamagluje dihotomija Mita i Logosa (Cassirer 1946).
- 67 Moderna nacija pokušava da prekine svaku vezu sa prošlim vremenima pa i sa vremenima svog nastanka tako da dominira sekularno vrijeme u kojem je vječno vrijeme izbrisano iz kolektivnog imaginarija. Jedan od načina povratka svetom modernog čovjeka, kako navodi Taylor, na tragu Eliadea, jeste vraćanje „vremenu porijekla“ koje označava obnavljanje veze sadašnjeg profanog vremena sa svetim vremenom porijekla dajući sadašnjem vremenu dimenziju svetosti. Vrijeme porijekla je vrijeme kada je zajednica nastala odvajanjem profanog poretka svari. Obnavljanjem (sjećanjem) na „vrijeme porijekla“ ili mit o porijeklu obnavlja se veza svetog i profanog tako da se sveto, bezvremeno vrijeme pojavljuje u profanom obliku (Fishley 2017).

mitski. Ovaj Lovrenovićev uvid ćemo dopuniti tako što ćemo reći da Bosna nema svoj mit ne samo zato što nema bosanske nacije, nego zato što nema bosanske nacije koja se poziva na svoje etničko ishodište, na mit (vjerovanje) u svoje zajedničko porijeklo. U Bosni ima mnogo nacija, ali nema ni jedne koja se poziva na svoje etničko porijeklo, jer svoj nastanak izvode iz vremenskog diskontinuiteta između srednjovjekovne bosanske države i osmanske vladavine u Bosni kada su se iz jedinstvene bosanske narodnosne osnove, na osnovama osmanskog miletskog konfesionalnog sistema diferencirale tri narodnosne vjerske skupine, muslimani, katolici i pravoslavci, koji su se u 19. i 20. stoljeću nacionalizirali kao Bošnjaci, Srbi i Hrvati. Tako njihovo nacionalno sjećanje dopire samo do osmanskog perioda, a tu se ne može govoriti o mitskom vremenu porijekla.<sup>68</sup>

Na osnovu prethodno navedenog može se zaključiti da bi bosansku naciju trebali činiti oni koji se samoodređuju tako što se imenuju kao Bosanci koji baštine tradiciju autohtonog stanovništva srednjovjekovne bosanske države koji su se nazivali Bošnjani (Bošnjaci), koji vjeruju u njihovo zajedničko etničko porijeklo<sup>69</sup> čuvajući sjećanje na tu zajedničku prošlost, koji su voljni da kao konstituirajuća moć, zajedno sa drugima kao prijateljima, sa kojima dijele zajedničku etničku i narodnosnu osnovu<sup>70</sup>, uspostave političko jedinstvo na kojem će graditi, čuvati i promicati, kao konstituiranu moć, državu BiH kao političku zajednicu svih njenih građana-državljana u okviru koje će se politički reprezentirati i njeni konfesionalno-nacionalni partikulariteti.

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68 Ibrahim Pašić (2008) je dobro primijetio na primjeru nacionalnog identiteta Bošnjaka da bošnjački, srpski i hrvatski nacionalni korijeni (porijeklo) u Bosni dopiru do srednjeg vijeka i da su utemeljeni u konfesionalno podijeljenom stanovništvu iz vremena osmanske vladavine, mada je jasno da srednjovjekovno bosansko stanovništvo ima svoje pred-srednjovjekovne korijene koji su, po logici stvari, stariji od srednjeg vijeka.

69 Postoje određeni aspekti ljudskog svijeta koji se ne mogu obuhvatiti konvencionalnom racionalnošću. Mitovi su jedan od načina da se definiraju ti aspekti ljudskog života (Schopflin 1997). Nedostatak historijskih izvora o etničkom porijeklu Bošnjana otvorio je vrata mitu. Ono bitno kod mita je percepcija, a ne historijski valjana istina (ako takva uopće postoji) o načinu na koji zajednica nešto prihvata kao normalno i poželjno (Schopflin 1997). U kulturama koje imaju mitove istinitost mita je dana vjerovanjem u sam mit (Cassirer 1946). Jedan od nacionalnih mitova o porijeklu Bosanaca može se izvesti iz navoda Envera Imamovića (1998) koji kaže da je u antičko doba u Bosni živjelo ilirsko pleme koje se zvalo Boseni (Bassani, Boseni) od kojih su srednjovjekovni Bošnjani naslijedili svoje ime, ili iz Pašičeve (2003; 2012) hipoteze da je ime Bosna etničkog porijekla tj. izvedeno iz imena predslavenskog tračkog plemena Besi (Bosi, Basanisani, Basanise, Bosani) koji predstavljaju etnički supstrat koji baštine svi srednjovjekovni Bošnjani, bez Imamovićevog bošnjačko-muslimanskog ekskluzivizma.

70 U osnovi bosanskog nacionalnog bića neophodno je respektirati i uvažavati činjenicu da su se iz jedinstvene narodnosne osnove Bošnjana u 19. i 20. vijeku po liniji konfesionalne pripadnosti bosanski katolici nacionalizirali kao Hrvati, bosanski pravoslavci kao Srbi, a bosanski muslimani kao Bošnjaci, te da je neophodno nje govati i uvažavati palimpsestnu, pluralnu i dijalogičnu formu bosanskog bića.

Bosanska nacija kao takva treba da prekorači hijatus između vremena srednjovjekovne bosanske države i vremena osmanske vladavine u Bosni, pozivajući se na vrijeme svog nastanka, kako bi iz vizure bosanskog iskona, svetog vremena etničkog porijekla, uspostavila kontinuitet kulture sjećanja na zajedničko mitsko porijeklo, na srednjovjekovne Bošnjane (Bošnjake), pripadnike Crkve bosanske, muslimane, katolike i pravoslavce, Srbe, Hrvate, Bošnjake i ostale nacije koje baštine bosansku tradiciju, i tako na zajedničkoj bosanskoj osnovi sabirala prijatelje gradeći političko jedinstvo ili političku zajednicu svih građana-državljana, s one strane konfesionalnog ekskluziviteta nacionalnog ustrojavanja države BiH, od neki toliko zaziru<sup>71</sup> <sup>72</sup>. No, ostaje pitanje realiteta ideje bosanske nacije.

## EPILOG

Ostaje pitanje da li postoji socijalni, kulturni i politički subjekt koji se samodefinira kao Bosanac, baštini tradiciju srednjovjekovnih Bošnjana i Bošnjaka zasnovanu na mitu o zajedničkom etničkom porijeklu i koji ima volju i moć da to što smatra da jeste politički artikulira i otjelotvori kroz državu?

Dominira stav da je etnogeneza na bosanskim prostorima završena oblikovanjem tri nacionalna kolektiviteta koji se samoidentificiraju kao Bošnjaci, Hrvati i Srbi, te da je promocija ideje bosanske nacije zakašnjela. Njeni promotori su danas pojedinci i manje društvene grupe koje imaju marginalni uticaj na socio-kulturnu i političku stvarnost Bosne i Hercegovine. Oni su, po pravilu, Bošnjaci što dodatno iritira teško izboreno bošnjačko nacionalno jedinstvo, otvara traumatsko pitanje nacionalnog statusa muslimana Bošnjaka u Sandžaku (Srbiji i Crnoj Gori), što dodatno radikalizira otpor spram bosanske nacionalne ideje. Tom otporu ide u prilog i činjenica da i probosanski orijentirani Srbi i Hrvati ne samo da se ne identificiraju sa idejom bosanstva, nego je nerijetko osjećaju kao atak na sopstveni, srpski i hrvatski

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71 Izjava reisa Kavazovića je Bosanac naziv za konja, u gore navedenom kontekstu razumijevanja bosanske nacije, mogla bi se odčitati u refleksiji na Mažuranićev (u Vukomanović 1956: 28) *Pogled u Bosnu* u kojem piše da se „krišćani ne smiju zvati Bošnjacima: jer kad se reče Bošnjaci, onda muhamedanci samo sebe razumiju, a hrišćani su samo raja bošnjačka“, ili kao zapažanje Mehmeda Handžića da Bošnjaci nemaju ni malo interesa za istinom o svom predslavenskom porijeklu jer je za njih glavno da ostanu osvjedočeni muslimani, pa makar u prošlosti bili ne znam šta (prema Pašić 2008: 20).

72 Nacionaliziranjem na konfesionalnoj osnovi konfesije stiču ekskluzivno pravo nacionaliziranja svih muslimana, pravoslavaca i katolika koji govore isti ili sličan jezik na južnoslavenskim prostorima, a paralelno s tim ide i srpski i hrvatski integralizam nacionalne srbizacije i kroatizacije svih pravoslavaca i katolika, što je osnovna ideologije stvaranja velike Srbije i velike Hrvatske.

nacionalni identitet. Tako ideja bosanstva i bosanske nacije praktično vodi novim podjelama isključivo u bošnjačkom nacionalnom korpusu.

Ove činjenice samo potvrđuju tezu da ideja bosanske nacije spletom historijskih okolnosti nema relevantnog socijalnog, kulturnog i političkog promotora (nosioca) u bosanskoj zbilji<sup>73</sup>. No, i kao takva, ideja bosanske nacije, ideja bosanstva u kontinuitetu nastavlja živjeti u svome idealitetu. A idealitet, bez obzira što mu je gotovo nedostižno da se otjelotvori u realnosti, nije himera, tlapnja zalutalih, niti iluzija<sup>74</sup>, nego je, kako je to još Platon spoznao, najmoćnije polazište da se realnost mijenja i usavršava.<sup>75</sup> Idealiteti, bez obzira što u realnosti nemaju socijalni, kulturni i politički korelat koji bi ih mogao otjelotvoriti su arhetipovi, kao kolektivno nesvjesno, supstrat i osnova etičkog života, do kojih se ne dolazi empirijskim znanjem, jer su idealiteti etički transcendentalni aprioriji (Englert 2002), regulativni principi samog iskustva etičkog života koji kao transcendentalni standard daje tom iskustvu u idealitetu sistemsko etičko jedinstvo u kojem će se svako tretirati kao cilj, a ne kao sredstvo (Ibidem).

Bosanski idealitet je „arhe“, prapočetak i izvor bosanske etičnosti<sup>76</sup> iz kojeg su nastali bosanski partikulariteti i kao takav je regulativni princip i osnova etičkog života Bosne u odnosu na koji se mjeri etičnost svake bosanske zasebnosti i koji je, bez obzira da li ga osporavali ili afirmirali, prešutni etički standard, kolektivno etičko

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73 Naravno, ovakve tvrdnje treba empirijski provjeriti kako bi se egzaktno znalo da li postoje oni koji se kao Bosanci prepoznaju i imaju volju i moć da to što znaju da jesu, politički afirmiraju.

74 Kant koncepciju idealiteta zasniva, navodi Klepec (1994), na razlikovanju pojmova razuma i uma. Pojmovi uma, među koje Kant ubraja ideje i ideale, nisu dati u iskustvu. Um treba ideje kako bi iskustvo učinio sistemski jedinstvenim. Ideali, koji su, za razliku od ideja, udaljeniji od realnosti, ne mogu se izjednačiti sa iluzijama i produktima imaginacije, smatra Kant, jer i kao takvi imaju praktičnu moć da kao arhetip budu standardi naših akcija u odnosu na koje upoređujemo i sudimo naše sopstveno djelovanje, kako bi ga poboljšali.

75 U Zapadnoj tradiciji od Platona dimenzija idealiteta je uspostavljena kao pandan dimenziji realiteta. Kant u *Kritici čistog uma* (1998) razlikuje idealitet od ideja, upravo na osnovu njihove distance spram realnosti. Dok su ideje povezane sa realnošću, jer se kao takve mogu odjelotvoriti preko svojih socijalnih nosilaca, idealitetu je realnosti beskrajno nedostižna, jer nema svog socijalnog korelata, kao što ga nema idealitet bosanstva, a da upravo sama ta nedostižnost objektivizacije u realitetu čini idealitet esencijalnim upravo za tu realnost. Dok ideje upućuju kako da se djeluje, idealitet zasniva samu mogućnost etičkog života tako što se: a) konstantno iz ciklusa idealiteta razotkrivaju etičke manjkavost realnog svijeta; b) otkriva potencijal za poboljšanje tog svijeta (Chiodo 2015; Englert 2002). Upravo taj zadatak ima idealitet bosanstva koji kao etička osnova, arhetip, standard raz-otkriva etičke manjkavosti bosanskih partikulariteta, Bošnjaka, Srba, Hrvata, ostalih i nudi mogućnosti njihova otklanjanja i poboljšanja.

76 Ovdje pod „etičkim“ mislimo na Hegelovo *Sittlichkeit*, etički život (ethical life), koji označava, za razliku od individualne moralnosti (Moralität) zasnovane na ličnom moralu, svijesti i osjećajima, ukupnost socijalnog života, zajednički praktični život objektiviziran u etičkim normama, običajima i institucijama jednog društva koji prethodi individualnom moralu. Partikularni moral pretpostavlja etičke norme koje bivaju dio samog morala individua, jer u protivnom samo društvo ne može opstati isključivo na individualnim interesima ili sili (Inwood 1992).



nesvjesno svake bosanske partikularnosti. Tek u odnosu na taj transcendentni apriorni bosanski idealitet<sup>77</sup>, bošnjački, srpski i hrvatski partikulariteti mogu sagledati manjkavosti etičkih postulata sopstvenog djelovanja, mogućnosti njegovog poboljšanja, kao i poboljšanja etičnosti zajedničkog svijeta života. Zato je osporavanje idealiteta bosanstva i bosanske nacije, osporavanje same Bosne i zajedničkog života u njoj. Očuvanje bivstvovanja idealiteta bosanstva je uslov mogućnosti očuvanja same Bosne.

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77 Idealitet bosanstva (bosanske nacije) ne egzistira empirijski nego kao idealna generalna volja (volonté générale) i može se označiti kao apriorna pretpostavka svakog bosanskog partikulariteta koji želi ostvariti svoja politička prava, a koja se moraju legitimirati upravo idealitetom bosanske „volonté générale“. Idealitet bosanske generalne volje se ne sastoji u tome da bude u svijesti onih koji vladaju, jer nema supstancijalni realitet, nego da bude kritički princip za utvrđivanje nelegitimnog političkog djelovanja. Bez samog idealiteta politička realnost i njeni partikulariteti koji nemaju idealnu predstavu o općosti vode u kaos, anarhiju i disoluciju (Marey 2018).



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## **CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONCEPT OF THE (BOSNIAN) NATION: IT IS IMPORTANT TO BE CALLED BOSNIAN/BOSNIAK**

### **Summary:**

The idea of Bosnia and Bosnian identity is a constant companion of Bosnian history from the Middle Ages, Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian rule, through Yugoslavia to the present day, but at the same time, its denial as a heretical idea is also present. In recent times, among the most prominent promoters of the idea of the Bosnian nation are Senadin Lavić and Slavo Kukić, who understand the concept of nation from different theoretical positions: one that sees the nation as a community of origin and the other that sees the nation as a community of citizens-citizens. Unlike these two approaches to the nation, which are mutually exclusive, Schnapper believes that there are no two approaches to the idea of the nation. The nation, she believes, represents a specific form of "political unity", and its ideal is the transcendence of particularity by integrating a diverse population into a community of free and equal citizens. Political unity is the ontological basis that holds the nation together as a specific social group. If the social connective tissue of a nation is political, which separates friend from foe, and if in the case of Bosnian Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks the political (national) is derived from the confessional, the question arises whether it is possible to rise from the three confessional-national particularities to the level of the universal and build a political community of friends, formally equal and free citizens, or is BiH as a modern democratic state possible? The Bosnian nation, as a political community, which the author advocates, is derived from the Bosnian myth (belief) in the common origin of all indigenous inhabitants medieval Bosnia, who were called Bosnians, Bosniaks, Bosnians, and which immanently transcends the confessional pluralization of Bosnians and establishes a historically substantial continuity of the unity and diversity of Bosnian identity. However, the question of the reality of the idea of the Bosnian nation remains.



**Keywords:** ethnic nation; civic nation; ethnos; people; nation; politics; state, law; demos; Bosniak; Bosnian; religion; Bosnianness; myth of origin; ideality; reality

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## **RUŠEVINA KAO STANJE GRADA POD OPSADOM**

Poimanje grada kao ruševine u slučaju opkoljenog Sarajeva (1992-1996) nije toliko vezano za njegovu materijalnu destrukciju kao ni za ono što ruševine u teorijskom diskursu i književnom izrazu obično predstavljaju — estetizaciju propadanja i smrti, romantični spokoj i nostalgiju. U Sarajevu se ruina odnosi na jedno cjelokupno fizičko i duhovno stanje nastalo procesom cijepanja, fragmentiranja, sknavljenja strukture njegovog urbanog tkiva, što uključuje i doslovno svodenje pojedinih objekata na ruševine, ali najviše na strateško onesposobljavanje grada kao socijalnog organizma i na anihilaciju svega onoga što ga čini modernim i civilizovanim gradom. Urbani prostor, što kroz artefakte konkretizira i koncentrira historiju, memoriju, značenja i simbole, što je sačinjen na način da okuplja ljude i dovodi ih u komunikaciju, sistematski se uništavao tokom četverogodišnje opsade. Poništavala se suština grada kao sredstva što organizira društvo, što različite elemente dovodi u interakciju, što ih spaja, povezuje. Iako Sarajevo nije bilo do temelja ruinirano u materijalnom smislu, u mnogim aspektima se može smatrati analognim ruševini, što se odnosi i na leksiku koja opisuje njegovo stanje tokom rata, odnosno koncept propadanja, napuštenosti, odbačenosti, prolaznosti i privremenosti građenja i življenja.

**Ključne riječi:** arhitektura; memorija; opsada Sarajeva; ruševina; urbana sociologija; urbicid

## UVOD

U odnosu na impozantan korpus literature koji se bavi fenomenom ruševina, Sarajevo se, u ratu, u vrijeme opsade, teško može posmatrati kroz uobičajeno poimanje tog fenomena. U tom kontekstu možemo jedino govoriti o ruševini kao procesu, ne objektu, odnosno posmatranju grada u procesu ruiniranja, djelovanja aktivnih sila destrukcije koje ga dovode u stanje propadanja, marginalizacije, fragmentarnosti, onemogućavanja njegovih osnovnih funkcija, narušavanja njegovih prostornih oblika i životnog organizma. U ovom poimanju ruševine nema nikakve estetike kontemplacije, nostalgije niti spokoja. Nema propadanja kao kontemplativnog povratka izvornom, odnosno romantičarske „poetike ruševina“ (Diderot 2011: 95-97) u ljepotama njihovog postepenog sjedinjavanja s majkom prirodom. Destruktivna sila, njena rušilačka brzina i razorna moć kroz četverogodišnji period razaranja upravo je dovela do potpuno suprotnog poimanja ruševine, koje se opire pitoreskno propadanju, melankoliji i nostalgiji, pa tako i evokativnoj poetici moderne eurocentrične tradicije gdje se u ruševinama priziva nešto što je izgubljeno, što nestaje u procesima rapidnog industrijskog razvoja i progressa.

Poimanje grada kao ruševine u slučaju Sarajeva nije toliko vezano za njegovu materijalnu destrukciju - kako je to slučaj sa Mostarom (1992. i 1993. godine) ili sa njemačkim gradovima koji su bombardovani pred kraj Drugog svjetskog rata i srušeni gotovo do temelja ili na najrecentnije primjere ruiniranja gradova koje pratimo preko TV ekrana (na nemilosrdno sistematsko uništavanje Gaze, koje je poprimilo neviđene razmjere u stepenu devastacije i broju ljudskih žrtava, kao i destrukciju ukrajinskih gradova od strane ruskih vojnih snaga) - već na proces ruiniranja, odnosno na aktivne sile destrukcije koje dovode do ruševnog stanja. Dakle, fokus je više usmjeren na čin rušenja i uopće nasilja koje dovodi grad u stanje urušavanja – od cijepanja njegovog urbanog tkiva, razbijanja strukture i slike, do degradacije javnog prostora – odnosno na rušilački proces koji djeluje na ljude, društvene relacije i na sve ono što je akumulirano u gradskom prostoru.

## 1. SARAJEVSKI OBRUČ

Topografske specifičnosti Sarajeva, prirodne karakteristike koje su determinirale strukturu njegovog urbanog tkiva, odredile razvoj i tok i odigrale značajnu ulogu u stvaranju identiteta grada, načinile su ga podložnim različitim oblicima nasilja i destrukcije, odnosno formiranja vojnog obruča kojim je grad četiri godine bio

zatvoren, presječen, izoliran i kontroliran. Planine i brda, što su oduvijek štitali kotlinski prostor, dolinu rijeke Miljacke i grad koji se u njemu gotovo organski stoljećima oblikovao, postale su zonama kontrole i koncentracije teškog naoružanja srpsko-crnogorskih vojnih postrojbi, odnosno Jugoslavenske Narodne Armije koja se ubrzo transformirala u Vojsku Republike Srpske.

Opasano cijevima teške artiljerije i snajperima, što su permanentno nadzirali njegov urbani prostor u gotovo svim tačkama, Sarajevo je sistematski granatirano, rušeno, ubijano, i to sa lokacija koje su ga stoljećima štatile, s olimpijskih planina, njihovih obronaka i okolnih brda, gdje se posebno izdvaja Trebević, zbog neposredne blizine starom dijelu grada i centru, a njegovu stratešku poziciju, prepoznala je još austrougarska vlast gradeći odbrambene utvrde na nekoliko lokacija. Trebević je do rata i opsade bio i strateška i odbrambena tačka, prirodni bedem grada što je opasavao mahale, koje su se formirale na njegovim sjevernim padinama još u osmanskom periodu, dakle štitiu njegovu nutrinu od vanjskog i nepoznatog.

Međutim, u ratu su planine, njihove padine i ogranci, što su oduvijek prirodno zatvarali Sarajevo, izgubili funkciju zaštitne membrane što je čuvala jezgro grada, funkciju tog poroznog, rubnog, liminalnog prostora ili granice kojom, kako tvrdi Heidegger (2009), grad ne prestaje, već započinje svoje postojanje. Determinirane obručem, zonama vojne demarkacije, pojasima razdvajanja, odnosno fronta, granice više nisu okrenute ka nečemu i ka nekome već protiv nečega i nekoga.<sup>1</sup> Pretvorile su se u mjesta razdvajanja, rascjepa, prekida komunikacije. Kako više nemaju posredovateljsku ulogu, postale su nemjestima. Jer ukoliko se mjesto može definisati kao „identitetsko, relaciono i istorijsko“ (Ože 2005: 75), nemjesto predstavlja prostor gdje se prekida komunikacija, narušava relacija, dijalektika između unutra i vani. Stoga su granice prirodnog, topografski definiranog prostora, planinskog obruča, rubnih šuma i brežuljaka, postale zonama gdje grad prestaje, gdje se gubi komunikacija s onim što je izvan, gdje se narušava veza i s prirodnim okruženjem s kojim je grad oduvijek bio povezan, prema kojem se usmjeravao, fenomenološki otvarao. Transformirane u zone gdje se u prirodno tkivo upisuju granične linije ili rubni rovovi, koji se uvijek iznova naznačuju, kopaju i zidaju, i povlače crtu između nosioca ili subjekta nasilja i njegove žrtve – grada koga uništava (Musabegović 1998: 17), postale su međama koje označavaju razdiobu između unutrašnjeg i vanjskog, nemoćnog i moćnog, civiliziranog i divljeg.

Ispisivanjem međa, granica, linija razgraničenja, odnosno iscrtavanjem obrisa

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<sup>1</sup> Navedenu karakterizaciju granice, koja proizilazi iz italijanske riječi *frontiera*, odnosno sadrži imenicu *front* ponudio je Piero Zanini (2002: 21).

obruča, grad je bio hermetički zatvoren, odsječen, izopćen od civilizacije i od ostatka svijeta, ogoljen i degradiran, reduciran na golo preživljavanje, na neki vid geta ili logora u kome su se testirale granice fizičke i psihičke izdržljivosti. Sarajevo je bilo logor, kako to kaže Nermina Kurspahić (1995: 3), s tim što „metodi mučenja njegovog stanovništva nisu, možda tako direktni i grubi (zbog same činjenice da, ipak direktno ne srećete svoje krvnike) kao u stvarnim ... logorima“. Jer svakodnevnim granatiranjem, snajperisanjem i presijecanjem svih vidova snabdijevanja (hrane, vode, struje, gasa), blokadom saobraćaja (željeznice, avio i putnog saobraćaja) i komunikacija (pošta i telekomunikacija), Sarajevo je i fizički i psihički iscrpljivano i iznurivano, uništavano i ubijano.

Opsada se stoga može opisati i kao oblik ratovanja koji strateški pogađa urbanu infrastrukturu,<sup>2</sup> jer taj nevidljivi mrežni skelet koji održava mobilnost, zdravlje, dotok energije, vode, hrane, kao i odvoz otpada, omogućava postojanje modernog urbanog života. Uništavanjem i onemogućavanjem infrastrukturnog sistema u gradskom tkivu, kao i onog što ga povezuje s njegovom izvanjstinom, odnosno prekidom rada „krotoka savremenog grada“ i njegovog „metabolizma“ (Graham 2010a: 2), svakodnevni život se sveo na borbu protiv tame, hladnoće, nemobilnosti, gladi, bolesti (epidemije enterokolitisa, žutice...), straha od kriminala i nasilja (Ibidem; Kapić 2000). Ta strateška paraliza grada predstavljala je još jedno sredstvo za ubijanje, pogotovo slabijih, starijih i bolesnih (Graham 2010b). Njome se dodatno povećao i osnažio destruktivni potencijal obruča, jer se takav vid nasilja vršio permanentno.

Nasilje nad gradom, urbicid ili „ritualno ubijanje grada“ kako je to opisao Bogdan Bogdanović (2008: 35-39), sprovedeno je nad svim onim što je Sarajevo činilo gradom, od sakaćenja njegovog urbanog pejzaža, arhitektonsko-urbanističke fizionomije i slike, do ružiranja njegovih kulturnih i civilizacijskih vrijednosti. Ubijano je samo poimanje grada kao socijalnog prostora, koji stvaraju ljudi svojim kretanjem, navikama, običajima, komunikacijom i društvenom interakcijom. Proces decidnog ubijanja grada spolja i njegovog postepenog umiranja iznutra, gubljenje osnovnih funkcija koje su srž njegovog bitka, a to je činjenica da je „sazdan po mjeri života ljudske zajednice“ (Musabegović 1998: 15), transformirao ga je u ruinu, svedenu na krhotine normalnog života.

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2 O namjenskom uništavanju urbane infrastrukture kao moćnoj strategiji ratovanja, čija je posljedica demodernizacija savremenih gradova koja najviše pogađa civilno stanovništvo, pisao je Stephen Graham (2005).

## 2. SKRNAVLJENJE URBANOG PEJZAŽA

Opsada je razotkrila apsolutnu ranjivost grada smještenog u planinskoj kotlini, jer u odnosu na morfologiju terena, čak i nasumičnim granatiranjem rušio se i ubijao grad i njegovi stanovnici. Ipak Sarajevo je planski i strateški uništavano. U periodu od manje od dvije godine, ruinirani su neki od najznačajnijih objekata, od poslovno-industrijskih, do stambenih i vjerskih, kulturne i obrazovne ustanove, škole, bolnice, kulturno-historijski spomenici. O tome svjedoči dosje Asocijacije arhitekata Bosne i Hercegovine DAS – SABIH i Zavoda za izgradnju grada, objavljen 1993. godine, gdje je detaljno popisano obim destrukcije arhitektonskih objekata koji su od „vitalnog značaja za urbani razvoj, funkcioniranje i identitet grada“.<sup>3</sup> Njihova publikacija, pod nazivom *WARCHITECTURE: Sarajevo Urbicid*, promovirana u aprilu 1993. godine u Sarajevu – kada je upriličena i izložba fotografija Milomira Kovačevića<sup>4</sup> koje predstavljaju ključni dokument ovog kataloškog dosjea – sistematizirana je prema razvojnim etapama grada. Ona daje kataloški pregled dokumentovanog stepena destrukcije za svaki odabrani objekat, čime svjedoči o sistematskom uništavanju arhitektonskog krajolika.

U dosjeu su izdvojeni pojedinačni objekti koji karakteriziraju grad i njegov historijski razvitak, razvoj i rast tokom vremena, od osmanskog, preko austrougarskog pa sve do perioda moderne i savremenih arhitektonskih rješenja. Ti objekti ili urbani elementi što su tvorili grad, oblikovali njegovu fizičku strukturu i imali kvalitet trajnosti, historijske i kulturno-historijske vrijednosti, sada oštećeni i ruinirani razbili su i prostorni i vremenski kontinuitet Sarajeva. Njihovo prisustvo, stvaralo je odsustvo, tenziju između strukturalnog jedinstva grada i njegove nasilne fragmentacije.

Tako publikacija *WARCHITECTURE: Sarajevo Urbicid* bilježi ružiranje objekata od historijske vrijednosti i značaja za grad, koji svjedoče o njegovoj prošlosti, to jest onih što su imali ne samo kvalitet trajnosti, već i spomeničke vrijednosti. U tom smislu mogu se razmatrati porušeni spomenici osmanske arhitekture, kao što su Šejh Magribijina džamija i Tabacki mesdžid, kao i oni što su ostavili trag o prisustvu austrougarskih utjecaja na urbanu strukturu Sarajeva. Granatiranjem i korištenjem zapaljivih projektila uništeni su znameniti objekti austrougarske arhitekture: Vijećnica, Glavna pošta, Muzej XIV Zimskih olimpijskih igara, kao i oni što predstavljaju rijetke primjere geometrijske secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini – stambeno-

3 *WARCHITECTURE: Sarajevo Urbicide* (Sarajevo: Asocijacija arhitekata DAS-SABiH, 1993), bez paginacije.

4 „Izložbe: Urbicid Sarajevo“ *Oslobođenje*, 11. 04. 1993.

poslovne zgrade Isaka Saloma i Racher-Babić. Kada se govori o spomeničkoj vrijednosti, smisao i značenje spomenika ovim objektima ne pripada zbog njihove izvorne predodređenosti, jer su oni, kako to objašnjava Alois Riegl (2006: 356-357), za razliku od „namjernih“, „nenamjernih“. Kvalitet spomenika dobili su zbog svoje historijske, starosne i komemorativne vrijednosti (Ibidem), a svojim prisustvom stvarali su kolektivnu predstavu o gradu. Međutim, svedeni na skelete, zatrpane ostacima zidova, otpacima destrukcije, njihovo fizičko prisustvo ostalo je samo kao sablasna nakupina prošlog života, fragmentarni podsjetnik na sve ono što je izgubljeno. Ruševni objekti postali su označiteljima propadanja i umiranja grada, brisanja njegove historije i memorije.

U tom kontekstu najeklatantniji primjer je ljuštura zapaljene i ruinirane Vijećnice u čiju utrobu su se koncentrirali ostaci destrukcije, razvaline, fragmenti kamenih stubova, metalne konstrukcije i krhotina stakla njene grandiozne kupole što se samo urušila u unutrašnjost objekta. Sada otvorena ka nebeskom prostranstvu, Vijećnica se izložila dodatnim procesima propadanja i urušavanja, što od prirodnih procesa (kiše, snijega), što od novih projektila koji su „padali s neba“. U ostacima ovog gradskog simbola i spomenika ostali su samo fragmenti nasljeđa, dok su bespovratno uništeni pisani spomenici, koji su čuvani u njegovim prostorijama. Požar izazvan zapaljivim razornim projektilima progutao je značajan dio građe Narodne i univerzitetske biblioteke – brojne rukopise, veći dio kartografske zbirke, fond muzičkih zapisa, zbirku razglednica, grafika i brojnih dokumenata od velikog kulturnog i historijskog značaja (Žujo et al.sar. 2014), a vjetar je raznosio smrad garotine, pepela i komadiće nagorenog papira. Fragmenti spaljene prošlosti, kulturne memorije i kolektivnog sjećanja dopirali su i do udaljenijih dijelova Starog Grada i Centra,<sup>5</sup> tako da su i oni građani, koji se nisu izložili riziku u akciji spašavanja bibliotečkih fondova, direktno svjedočili tim monstruoznim procesima planskog i strateškog brisanja historije i memorije.

Uništena biblioteka građa također je imala spomeničku vrijednost, kao pisani spomenik, koji se, s Rieglovog gledišta, također može smatrati nenamjernim spomenikom i to ne samo zbog starosne i povijesne vrijednosti, već i vrijednosti:

„... zbog drukčijega jezika, neobičnih izraza, pojmova i sudova koje čak i netko tko nije povijesno obrazovan odmah prepoznaje kao zastarjele, kao pripadnike prošlosti. Zanimanje je

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5 Vjetar je ostatke knjiga i raznih pisanih dokumenata nosio i na razdaljinu od 2 kilometra, što se može zaključiti iz dnevnika Ivana Štrausa, koji je 26. 08. 1992. godine zapisao: „...do nas, u Nemanjinoj ulici, dopiru, nošeni vjetrom, dijelovi spaljenih listova knjiga“ (1995: 133).

bez sumnje i u ovim slučajevima ukorijenjeno u komemorativnoj vrijednosti, odnosno i s ovoga gledišta promatramo djelo kao spomenik i to kao nenamjerni spomenik...“ (Riegl 2006: 358).

Ruiniranje Vijećnice, kao i Orijentalnog instituta i njegovih bibliotečkih i arhivskih fondova, govori o decidnom uništavanju pisanih spomenika, odnosno o brisanju historije i memorije grada, onoga što Krzysztof Pomian naziva mentalnom topografijom, koja uključuje „ono što je zabeleženo u dokumentima kao deo kolektivnih verovanja ili kolektivnog sećanja ili ono što se nalazi u književnim, umetničkim, istorijskim ili naučnim delima“ (Pomian 2010: 49). Međutim, Vijećnica pored svoje spomeničke vrijednosti ima i neprocenjivu vrijednost za grad, za njegovu urbanu strukturu, kao i za njegovu sliku i identitet. Vijećnica ima kvalitet jedinstvenog urbanog artefakta i funkciju oblikovatelja grada, kako bi za takve objekte rekao Aldo Rossi; ona spada u gradski element dominantne prirode, jer je prepoznatljiva ne samo zbog svoje individualnosti, nepravilnosti i zanimljivosti, već i položaja unutar urbanog krajolika (Rossi 1999). Vijećnica dominira horizontom grada, otvara ga s njegovog istočnog ulaza, funkcioniše kao njegova okosnica i smatra se ikoničnim objektom Sarajeva, odnosno nečim po čemu se grad prepoznaje i pamti.

Međutim kako se zgradama-ikonama smatraju i visoki objekti, koji predstavljaju akcente u strukturi gradskog krajolika, te su same za sebe postale simbolima, možemo reći da u ikonične objekte spadaju i soliteri Upravne zgrade i štamparije *Oslobođenja* te Poslovni centar Unis / “Unisovi neboderi“, koji su kao i Vijećnica uništavani, zapaljeni sistematskim granatiranjem. Upravna zgrada novinske kuće *Oslobođenje* bila je svedena na ruševinu u doslovnom smislu. U okviru kompleksa, jedan neboder bio je potpuno srušen, dok je drugi ostao ogoljen, raščerečen, otvorene „utrobe“ iz koje su stršali „unutrašnji organi“, žice, dovodni i odvodni kanali, cijevi, dok su se s njegovog skeleta, infrastrukture na kojoj sve visi, stubovi i zidovi gulili kao meso.<sup>6</sup> Rascvjetala čelično-betonska konstrukcija, iskomadana, svedena na krhotine koje se razlistavaju iz skeletnih ostataka vertikalne, narušila je vizuru novog dijela grada.

Ruševine, pogotovo ikoničnih objekata, sknavile su sliku grada, razbile je, fragmentirale. Tako su i garotine Unisovih nebodera – što su predstavljale neki vid centra urbanog krajolika, ako promatramo grad u njegovoj cijelosti, duž longitudinalne linije kojom se proteže, ali isto tako i liniju prelaza, kojom od Marijin Dvora počinje noviji dio grada — postale vizualnim akcentima destrukcije. U neposrednoj blizini nebodera je i oštećena i djelomično zapaljena Zgrada Skupštine

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6 Navedeni opis ruševine preuzet je od Tima Edensora koji vrlo slikovito opisuje materijalnost industrijskih ruševina (vidjeti Edensor 2005).



i Vlade Republike BiH, vertikalni akcent nagrađenog arhitektonskog kompleksa vladinih institucija i trga, arhitekta Juraja Neidhardta.<sup>7</sup> Ali ukoliko razmišljamo o vertikalama u kontekstu slike grada, slične posljedice imali su: rušenje ili otkidanje vrhova džamijskih munara kao što je to slučaj sa Šejh Magribijinom džamijom i Bijelom džamijom; granatiranje crkvenih tornjeva kao što je Župna crkva Sv. Josipa na Marijin dvoru; kao i brojnih vertikalna stambenih objekata i hotela (nebodera na Trgu heroja, Hotela Bristol, Hotela Holiday Inna...) i poslovnih objekata...

Dakle, sistematski se uništavao arhitektonski urbani krajolik, odnosno gradski život i prostor organiziran prema zadovoljavanju čovjekovih potreba (stanovanje, rad, rekreacija, odmor i komunikacija) o čemu svjedoče i razoreni stambeni i poslovno-industrijski objekti (Poslovna zgrada Energoinvesta, Zgrada Elektroprivrede BiH...); bolnice (Klinika za ginekologiju i akušerstvo „Zehra Muđidović“<sup>8</sup>); dječji vrtići (Dječji vrtić „Mladen Stojanović“); kina (Kino Sutjeska / Dom Crvenog krsta); hoteli (Evropa i Bristol); vjerski objekti (Župna crkva Uznesenja Marijina na Stupu i već spomenuti Šejh Magribijina džamija i Tabački mesdžid); olimpijske sportske dvorane (Zetra i Mojnilo) i Dom mladih Kulturno-sportskog centra Skenderija<sup>9</sup>... Međutim, dosije daje uvid samo u odabrane individualne objekte, koji, ukoliko se posmatraju kao izdvojeni primjeri u urbanom krajoliku, ne daju kompletnu sliku rušenja urbanog tkiva.

U slučaju razorenih pojedinačnih arhitektonskih zdanja možemo govoriti o ruševinama u pravom smislu te riječi, o razvalinama, ostacima srušene građevine, beživotnim strukturama koje podsjećaju na smrt, odnosno mjestima gdje se gube granice između unutra i vani, gdje se dešava tenzija između fragmenta i cjeline. Međutim, sarajevske ruine i garotine, skeletni ostaci zgrada, njihove šuplje mračne betonske ljuške, svedene na hrpe materijala (cigle, metala, drveta), gdje svaka i evocira propadanje i smrt, ne mogu se posmatrati kao pojedinačne, izolovane strukture, što je čest slučaj u promišljanju o ruševinama i njihovom odnosu prema ostatku uređenog i usklađenog urbanog ambijenta. One nisu okružene reguliranim prostorima i tu nema jakog kontrasta između razvalina, rupa i otpadaka i glatkih čistih površina, tj. nisu do te mjere „izopačene“. Naime, i ostatak urbanog ambijenta bio je

7 Juraj Neidhardt dobija prvu nagradu na jugoslovenskom natječaju za ovaj kompleks 1955. godine, međutim prvobitno konkursno rješenje je modificirano u odnosu na potrebe i kompleks je izgrađen tek 1980. godine. Projektno rješenje za trg radio je skulptor Dušan Džamonja. (vidjeti Štraus 1998).

8 Arhitekt Bogoljub Kurpjel je za projekat Klinike za ginekologiju i akušerstvo dobio republičku nagradu „Borba“ za najbolje arhitektonsko ostvarenje u 1977. godini (vidjeti: Štraus 1998).

9 Za zgradu Kulturno-sportskog centra Skenderija, sagrađenu 1969. godine, arhitekti Živorad Janković i Halid Muhasilović dobili su Šestoaprilsku nagradu 1970. godine, ali i mnogo značajniju, Saveznu nagradu „Borba“ za „najuspjelije arhitektonsko ostvarenje u zemlji“ (vidjeti: Štraus 1998).

pun nestabilnih struktura koje su se urušavale. Bio je pun ožiljaka, imprinta granata, rupa i šupljina što su unakažavale fasade ili lica zgrada, rascvjetalih limova na krovovima, tramvajskih i trolejbuskih žica što su visile, dok su glatke čiste okolne površine i ulice postale nakupinama krhotina i paljevina urbanog mobilijara, automobila i tramvaja, kao i polomljenih stakala, cigli, kamenja i raznih otpadaka. Dakle, tu ne možemo govoriti o odnosu između reda i nereda jer je čitav arhitektonski krajolik bio izložen rušilačkim silama, gotovo svaka zgrada imala je direktni pogodak, stakla popucala od granata, a ulice su se permanentno nagomilavale krhotinama koje su čekale da se uklone.

Ideja da je urbani prostor što ovisi o arhitekturi, nečemu što je stabilno, stalno, statično, sačinjeno od trajnih materijala, što je vječno, izgubila se u procesu njegove stalne transformacije, u brzim i radikalnim promjenama, u procesima destrukcije, urušavanja i propadanja. Osim toga, posmatran u totalitetu, opsadom i ratnim dejstvima, raščerečen i rascjepkan, unakažen i pocijepan, urbani prostor je zapao u fragmentarnost. Odsječena su naselja Grbavica, Vraca, Nedžarići i Vogošća, dok je Dobrinja raščerečena na dijelove i potpuno otkinuta od ostatka grada. Ti dijelovi, sada amputirani od gradskog tkiva, transformirali su se u linije razgraničenja, linije sukoba i zone odakle su nad opkoljenim gradom destruktivne sile sprovodile svoju ubilačku moć.

### **3. SISTEMI NADZORA I KONTROLE KAO MEHANIZMI DESTRUKCIJE URBANITETA**

Opsada je nametnula novi prostorni poredak, ne samo u fizičkom smislu fragmentiranja i destrukcije arhitektonskog krajolika, uništavanja njegove infrastrukture, tog skrivenog krvotoka što moderni grad čini živim, već i načina kako se urbani prostor koristi i doživljava. Jer opkoliti, omeđiti, okružiti Sarajevo, značilo je potpuno ga zatvoriti i onemogućiti, zaustaviti mu krvotok i kretanje, onesposobiti ga, učiniti ga nemoćnim objektom nad kojim se demonstrira sila i moć. Opsada bi se stoga mogla posmatrati i kroz Michel de Certeauov koncept strategija, što pretpostavlja manipulaciju prostorom kroz ustanovljavanje mjesta kojim se upravlja izvana, ustanovljavanjem meta, uspostavljanjem prijatni (De Certeau 2002) kroz različite mehanizme represije. Jedna od najprisutnijih tehnologija moći, odnosno nasilja i agresije, što je gotovo neprekidno djelovala tokom četverogodišnje opsade, bila je snajperska ubilačka mašinerija. Ona je pretpostavljala „ovladavanje mjestom pomoću vida“ gdje: „Podjela prostora omogućuje *panoptičku praksu* počevši od

mjesta s kojega pogled preobražava strane snage u predmete koje se može promatrati, mjeriti, nadzirati, dakle i ‘uključiti’ u svoje viđenje“ (Ibidem 89).

Osmatrački pogledi, dolazili su ne samo iz vanjštine grada, s olimpijskih planina i brda kojima je okružen, već i iz unutrašnjosti njegovog tkiva – s okupirane Grbavice i rubnih gradskih naselja, koja su bila pod kontrolom Vojske Republike Srpske, kao što su Nedžarići i dijelovi Dobrinje, ali i iz snajperskih gnijezda što su početkom opsade bila raspoređena po čitavom gradu, posebno u neboderima i višekatnicama. Snajperske cijevi, najviše skoncentrisane na prostoru Grbavice, u neboderima duž rijeke Miljacke i istočno od ovog naselja, na Jevrejskom groblju, svojom destruktivnom ubilačkom moći, koja se manifestirala velikim brojem civilnih žrtava, strateški su kontrolirale, ubijale i rušile živote građana. U kontekstu potpune izloženosti i nemoći, kao i najvećeg broja snajperskih žrtava, posebno se izdvaja glavna ulica koja se proteže od Marijin Dvora prema novijim dijelovima grada, zajedno sa svojim sjecištima pozicioniranim naspram Grbavice i Jevrejskog groblja, odnosno Tršćanske ulice, ulice Franje Račkog i većih raskrnica (kod Pofalića i kod Hotela Bristol). Ta ulica smrti u ratu je dobila naziv „Aleja snajpera“ što potpuno subvertira sve ono što pretpostavlja aleja, tj. uređen i humaniziran ulični prostor, omeđen drvoredima, nečim što je vezano za život i rast, za materiju i energiju.

U odnosu na morfologiju terena, dispoziciju urbanog tkiva i blizinu lokacija odakle su djelovale ubilačke cijevi, snajperski pogledi bili su sveprisutni u svakom segmentu grada, internalizirani u tijela njegovih stanovnika kao mehanizmi kontrole ponašanja i kretanja. Kažnjavanje je najviše sprovedeno nad onim tijelima koja su se usudila kretati unutar prostora stalnog nadzora, vidnog polja snajperiste (raskrsnica, trgova, mostova) ili se grupirati, okupljati, stupati u interakciju i komunikaciju tj. uključivati se u procese i situacije koje prema Lefebvreu čine suštinu urbanog (Lefevr 1974).

Pogledi što su kroz dvoglede, nišane snajperista i ostalih kontrolora cijevi bili upereni u zgrade, kuće, u stanove i u dvorišta, a najviše u otvoreni javni prostor, postali su upisani u tijela građana. Stoga je izaći iz doma i kretati se, posebno stati u red za vodu i hranu, odnosno grupirati se, značilo izložiti se, postati metom. Najveće stradanje civila, odnosno masakri, ubijanje i kasapljenje tijela sprovedeno je nad skupinama građana koji su čekali u redovima za vodu i hranu, kao što je to bilo u najprometnijoj pješačkoj ulici u gradu, Ferhadiji i na pijaci Markale (Karović Babić 2014), potom ispred cisterni s vodom te jednom od rijetkih gradskih izvora koji nije bio pod kontrolom Vojske Republike Srpske, gradskom Pivarom. Čak su i skupine djece koja su se igrala u dvorištima, ispred svojih zgrada ili kuća, nemilosrdno granatirane (Mastalić-Košuta 2014). Tako se grad transformirao u neki vid poligona

za vježbanje bojevog gađanja, za demonstraciju sile i terora, a posebno u onim dijelovima koji su se otvarali prema prirodnom krajoliku okolnih planina i brda.

Kroz permanentni nadzor, kontrolu, ubijanje i zastrašivanje civili su se duhovno sakatili i ubijali, uništavao se život grada, razarala se živost i dinamika Sarajeva, odnosno njegov društveni karakter. Stoga se u kontekstu Sarajeva urbicid odnosi na uništavanje njegovog urbanog i društvenog tkiva, na ružiranje ne samo prostornog krajolika, već i na socijalne relacije upisane u njegovu datost. Jer destrukcija dezintegriše ne samo materiju već i društveno tkivo, utiče na ljudska tijela, na društvene prakse, na forme društvenog života. Upravo su se oblici nasilja koji su provedeni nad opkoljenim gradom manifestirali kroz decidno uništavanje grada kao socijalnog prostora, grada kao mjesta što spaja, organizira, okuplja, dovodi ljude u interakciju i komunikaciju.

Struktura urbanog tkiva, njegova fizička dimenzija, raspored ulica, trgova, urbanih artefakata zapravo nudi samo platformu koja predstavlja preduvjet za kreiranje dinamike grada. Ukoliko se pozovemo na Mumfordovu ideju da je grad „pozorište društvenih aktivnosti” (Mumford 2009), onda ta struktura predstavlja neki vid scenografije na kojoj se odigrava teatar. Taj, možemo reći, performativni aspekt prostora kao “prakticiranog mjesta” (De Certeau 2002: 183) pretpostavlja uigrane aktivnosti vezane za funkcionalno korištenje urbanog prostora, ali isto tako i one koje su slučajne, nepredvidive, razigrane i nesvršishodne. Upravo se vitalnost jednog grada mjeri kroz performativni aspekt ili njegovu dinamiku, koju stvaraju tijela, odnosno “izvode” ljudi svojim kretanjem, odnosima prema fizičkoj strukturi urbanog prostora, ali i prema drugim tijelima, u mimoilaženju, interakciji, okupljanju.

Sarajevo je oduvijek bilo prepoznatljivo po svojoj dinamici, koja se posebno ogledala u javnim prostorima. Grad, pogotovo njegova čaršija, pješačke zone u njegovom centru, zelene pijace, kafanske bašte na trgovima, ulicama i trotoarima, bile su ispunjene vitalnošću, živošću, nekom posebnom atmosferom. Kroz dinamiku tih javnih prostora proizvodio se socijalni prostor, odnosno proizvodili su ga ljudi svojim kretanjem, ponašanjem, običajima, kulturom. Međutim, u vrijeme opsade nestala su neka mjesta okupljanja i socijalizacije, dok su se druga transformirala u zone nadzora i kontrole ili zone terora koje su sistematski granatirane, gdje su građani kažnjavani jer su se okupljali. Mogućnosti za slučajne susrete na ulici, na mostu, trgu ili raskršnicima, na otvorenim zelenim gradskim pijacama i u pješačkim zonama, za interakciju s poznanicima ali i neznancima, reducirane su uspostavljanjem novog urbanog poretka. Kretanje je većinom bilo svršishodno, usmjereno na zadovoljavanje osnovnih potreba, na potragu za hranom, vodom i ogrevom, i užurbano, ograničeno

fizičkim i mentalnim barijerama. Ulice, gotovo lišene svojih prometnih i trgovačkih funkcija (što u nedostatku robe, što destrukcijom i pljačkanjem trgovina), bile su opustošene i ogoljene od uobičajenog ljudskog prisustva. Većinom su nestale gradske bašte, odnosno kafane, a po mostovima i raskrsnicama se trčalo. Društvena interakcija bila je „zabranjena“ i „kažnjavana“, a onemogućavanjem upravo onoga što se smatra suštinskom definicijom grada, a to je da je on pozornica za društvene aktivnosti, uništavalo se ne samo biće grada, već se i osporavalo „pravo na grad“. Jer pravo na grad, kako objašnjava Lefebvre, označava pravo na susretanje i okupljanje, koje se suprotstavlja segregaciji i fragmentaciji. Opsada se tako može promatrati i kao napad na ono što istinski konstituira grad kao centar u Lefebvreovom smislu, kao mjesto susreta, okupljanja, komunikacije, razigranog i neočekivanog, napad na ono što predstavlja njegov urbanitet, što gradskom životu daje njegov specifičan karakter (Lefebvre 1996).

Dakle, destrukcija urbaniteta ne odnosi se samo na razgradnju fizičke strukture grada i infrastrukture koja ga održava, na razbijanje forme i materije, na ubijanje i kasapljenje tijela, već i na to kako su mehanizmi destrukcije narušili atmosferu, karakter i biće grada. Jer urbanitet ne čine samo prostorni odnosi objekata, mreže ulica i javnih prostora, već različiti oblici socijalnosti koji održavaju grad u društvenom, kulturnom i psihološkom smislu. U tom kontekstu potrebno je razmotriti kako su destruktivne sile uticale i na prakse korištenja urbanog prostora, na način kako se on percipira i doživljava, kako utiče na ljudska tijela.

#### **4. KORIŠTENJE I DOŽIVLJAJ URBANOG PROSTORA**

Narušavanjem strukture urbanog tkiva, njegove fizičke dimenzije, odnosno arhitektonskih objekata, hijerarhije ulica i drugih otvorenih javnih prostora i njihovih međusobnih odnosa, uspostavio se novi poredak u urbanom prostoru, što je utjecalo i na ono što ljudi doživljavaju kao svakodnevni život. Poremećene su relacije između izgrađenog krajolika i življenja, odnosno društvenog i fizičkog poimanja grada, njegovog prostora i doživljaja tog prostora, a samim tim i načini njegovog korištenja.

Jedan prostor, a pogotovo otvoreni javni prostor, poima se kroz njegovu životnost, dinamičnost, vitalnost, što pretpostavlja prostor oživljen aktivnostima, kretanjem, cirkulacijom tijela. Jer izgrađeni okoliš nudi samo pozornicu na kojoj se odvija svakodnevni život, koji se “izvodi” ili producira u interakciji s fizičkim i prostornim determinantama, ali i u socijalnoj interakciji, odnosno “socijalnoj produkciji socijalnog prostora” (Soja 1996: 46). Prolasci kroz urbane prostore neodvojivi su od

načina obitavanja u gradu, što pretpostavlja izvjesna kretanja, ponašanja i aktivnosti koje su često ustaljene, određene nekim uhodanim ritmovima, „repeticijama prostornih demarkacija zasnovanih na uobičajenim obrascima korištenja i orijentacije” (Amin 2008: 12), jer kretanje u urbanom prostoru uglavnom je vođeno navikama. Postoje uobičajeni motivi za kretanje i djelovanje u gradskom prostoru, koje je uvjetovano nekim postojećim smjerovima, linijama kretanja, ali i fiksnim tačkama, odnosno strukturom urbanog tkiva.

Mrežu ustaljenih ili potencijalnih pravaca kretanja kroz grad određuju ulice sa svojim specifičnim strukturama, fiksnim arhitektonskim objektima, urbanim mobilijarom, odnosima prema gradskom zelenilu, kao i onom što je temporalno, a to je frekvencija korisnika te mreže. Ali u okviru te mrežne strukture postoje i osnovne linije koje imaju neki poseban kvalitet, kako objašnjava Lynch (Linč 1974: 121): „... neku koncentraciju izvesnih delatnosti posebne vrste ili pak neki karakteristični prostorni kvalitet, naročitu teksturu svog pločnika ili kućnih fasada, nešto osobito u načinu osvetljavanja, jedinstvenu kombinaciju mirisa ili uličnog sazvučja...”. Upravo je taj prostorni kvalitet putanjā posebno značajan za one koji se stalno njima kreću, koji ih koriste kao pravac koji vodi ka nečemu, nekom cilju. U njima je oslikano obitavanje pojedinca, građani se identificiraju s njima, stvaraju uspomene, mentalne matrice pri čemu se formira „specifična memorija mjesta“ (Čaldarović 2011: 19). Međutim, suočenjem s ožiljcima u teksturi pločnika i fasada, ruiniranim gradskim artefaktima i uličnom opremom (kioscima, semaforima, znakovima...), posjećenim stablima, nestankom uobičajenih mirisa i zvukova, nedostatkom ulične rasvjete, i uopće nestankom tih specifičnih kvaliteta, subvertirao se odnos prema takvim mjestima.

Kretanjem po gradu, hodanjem po krhotinama stakla, cigli, različitim otpacima, fragmentima destrukcije, stvarima koje propadaju ili se raspadaju, povećavao se osjetilni doživljaj njegovih materijalnih struktura, otkrivala se „skrivena taktilnost“ (Edensor 2005: 120), koju ne susrećemo u reguliranim urbanim prostorima. U stvarima koje propadaju ili se raspadaju javlja se i neka vanjska materija ili proces (prašina, trulež, prljavština), narušava se „osjetilna sterilnost” urbanog prostora (Sennett 1996: 15), odnosno aktiviraju se i druga čula koja nadilaze vizuelni doživljaj. Za razliku od nekih zapadnoevropskih gradova, Sarajevo nije bilo sterilno u toj mjeri, jer je prostor Čaršije upravo bio karakterističan po mirisima kafe i ćevapa i zvukovima koji su prodirali iz Kazandžiluka i Kujundžiluka. Međutim, ta jedinstvena kombinacija mirisa i sazvučja zamijenjena je nekim drugim osjetilnim stimulansima. U urbanom prostoru Sarajeva stvorio se jedan novi osjetilni pejzaž koji početkom

opsade opisuje Miljenko Jergović:

„Nakon jednog od brojnih masakara ... sišao sam u Grad. Ulice su bile pune stakla i razbijenih crjepova. To sam uostalom i očekivao. Međutim, nikako nisam sebi mogao objasniti grozan i povraćajući zadah i smrad koji se širio prizorom. Posvuda se osjećalo pokvareno meso. Kao kad dugo nema struje pa se otopi zamrzivač. Zastao sam, ukočio se i neshvatao. Prijatelj mi je pokazao prstom: „Ono!“ A „Ono,“ to što je tako grozno vonjalo, bila je ogromna lokva zgrušane ljudske krvi.“<sup>10</sup>

Taj užasan vonj o kome piše Jergović, smrad od zgrušane krvi, raspadanja, truleži, miješao se s mirisima dima, prašine, gareži, kao i smradom što je izbjicao iz gradskih odvoda i smeća koje se nagomilavalo u gradskim kontejnerima. U kombinaciji s novim sazvučjem, uobičajeni auditivni pejzaž grada – žamor i kakofonija vozila kao i ono nešto što je na izvjestan način „kontrolisano“ (prisustvo jakih zvukova) – zamijenjen je zvukovima eksplozija, fijucima granata i metaka, sasipanja stakala, pljuštanja komada metala, cigle, ili pak prekinut nekom sablasnom tišinom. A u mjesecima koji su prethodili već prvoj ratnoj zimi, zapamćenoj po ekstremnoj hladnoći, u opkoljenom gradu pojavio se jedan novi, uznemiravajući element auditivnog pejzaža koji u priči „Ranjeni parkovi“ opisuje Semezdin Mehmedinović: „Podstaknuti strahom od zime, stanovnici Sarajeva režu drva u parkovima; ako izuzmemo granate, dominantan zvuk u gradu je onaj od motorne testere“ (Mehmedinović 2004: 17). Taj stravičan zvuk destrukcije koja se dešavala iznutra, u borbi za preživljavanje, izmjenjivao se sa onim koji je dolazio izvana. Fijuci granata prožimali su se s brujanjem motornih testera, a zvukovi eksplozije, pri udaru razornog projektila, s tupim udarcima drvenog trupla o tlo. A kada se stablo izbriše, „ukine“, kada nestane i padne njegova krošnja, tada se iz ranjenog parka otvori vidik prema okolnim šumama.<sup>11</sup>

Međutim, pogledom iz gradske nutrine prema vani, prema tim prirodnim granicama, ne stvara se više osjećaj sigurnosti i zaštićenosti. Širina vizuelnog pogleda u odnosu na graničnu liniju gradskog pejzaža, što je građanima pomagala da uspostave jasnije relacije između gradskog jezgra i njegove ovojnice, da se osjećaju „kod kuće“ postala je nekim vidom mentalne granice, jer otvoreni prostori značajni za sagledanje odnosa između skoncentrisanog urbanog tkiva kotline i njenih prirodnih

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10 Miljenko Jergović (1992), „Dolina zlatnih ljiljana“, *Herceg-Bosna*, 5. 7. 1992. (vidjeti: Hozić 2008: 110).

11 „Svakodnevi prizori: muškarci sajlom vuku na svoju stranu, topola se opire, njiše se lijevo i desno, djeca okolo trče i navijaju, neko za muškarce neko za topolu, a kada krošnja padne, tada prsne vidik prema šumama Trebevića...“ (Mehmedinović 2004: 17).



bedema, transformirali su se u zone opasnosti. Opsadom se ne samo izgubila dinamična ravnoteža između čovjeka i njegove okoline, već i prostorni i osjetilni kvalitet vezan za memoriju mjesta, ono što omogućava “prostornost sjećanja” (Edensor 2005: 126), jer pored spomenika i pisanih dokumenata, sjećanje je uhvaćeno, zadržano i materijalizirano i u prostoru. Upisano u gradsko tkivo, oblikovano i proizvedeno učestalim percipiranjem i korištenjem urbanog prostora, interakcijom s njegovim senzornim i materijalnim aspektima, kao i tijelima koja se njime kreću, sjećanje je nešto što utiče na svakodnevni život pojedinca, što ga determinira. Sjećanje, definirano s filozofskog stanovišta kao sposobnost pamćenja, pretpostavlja još jedan aspekt koji je upravo povezan s tom prostornošću, a to je prisjećanje, „sposobnost da prizovemo u sećanje prošle događaje i prepoznamo ljude, mesta i činjenice“ (Todorova 2010: 168). O pamćenju u svijesti i tijelima onih koji su dugo vremena živjeli u Sarajevu, kao i memoriji utjelovljenoj u specifičnim mjestima, u kontekstu destruktivnosti opsade, Karahasan kaže sljedeće:

„A kad se u takvome vremenu grad u kojem ste proveli najveći dio života počne sistematski uništavati, kad takoreći pozornica Vašeg života, kad mjesta koja Vas pamte i svjedoče Vašu prisutnost na svijetu počnu nestajati, kad se Vi sami počnete pitati jeste li zaista proživjeli život kojeg se sjećate – u takvom trenutku je nesumnjivo pogubno i za Vas nepodnošljivo pretvaranje Vašega grada u simbol. Odbrana sjećanja na sasvim konkretna mjesta i događaje, potvrda da je svijet u kojem ste boravili stvaran ili da je barem bio takav – to Vam postaje temeljni uvjet za očuvanje duševnog zdravlja jer Vam dokazuje da ste zaista doživjeli to čega se sjećate. A temeljni uvjet za povjerenje u doživljeno i u sjećanje jeste da ste boravili u stvarnosti, a ne u simbolu. I gotovo zato i s manijakalnom preciznošću rekonstruirate ulicu kojom ste išli na posao, klupu na kojoj ste prvi put poljubili djevojku, krčmu u kojoj ste slavili studentske uspjehe i tješili se zbog neuspjeha... Svijet koji ste upamtili blijedi ako boje i oblici nisu vezani za neki smisao, za značenja, za radnju, za događaje koji su vam nešto značili.“ (Karahasan 2017: 37-38)

Možemo reći da se kroz strateško „ubijanje grada“ ubijala i memorija vezana za njegove prostorne, materijalne i senzualne kvalitete, ona koja je nastala taloženjem događaja i iskustava (Edensor 2007). Neka iskustva su jedinstvena, a neka ponovljena u svakodnevnom korištenju urbanog prostora, jer kretanje po gradu obično je zasnovano na nekim predvidivim rutinama, smjerovima vođenim najčešće obavezama i zadacima (Edensor 2010) (put od/ do kuće, radnog mjesta, trgovine ili slično) i izvođenje tih rutinskih sekvenci pokreta, odnosno utjelovljenih formi kretanja, kreira obrasce koji determiniraju osjećaj pripadanja nekom urbanom prostoru. To svakako ima i jednu egzistencijalu dimenziju, o kojoj govori Edensor: „Upisivanje



individualnih i kolektivnih putanja u gradsko tkivo omogućava svakodnevni, normativni način postojanja u svijetu: 'iz utjelovljenja navike, daje se dosljednost sopstvu...' (Ibidem 80-81). Internalizirane u tijelima građana u procesima interakcije s drugim i s gradskom sredinom navike predstavljaju i nešto što „konsolidira parametre identiteta“ (Ibid.), odnosno one stvaraju povezanost s poznatim okruženjem, sa kojim se pojedinac identificira. Ta veza nastaje i rutinskim prolascima kroz grad, kroz njegove prostorne segmente.

Međutim, opsadom su poremećene ustaljene rutine korištenja urbanog prostora. Nestalo je uobičajenih zvukova i mirisa koji su stvarali osjećaj mjesta, usmjeravali kretanje, upućivali na određene lokacije u gradu.<sup>12</sup> Uspostavom novog prostornog poretka u senzornom i materijalnom smislu, uzurpirane su linije kretanja tih ustaljenih pravaca, puteva koji su omogućavali prolaskе kroz prostorne cjeline grada. Ali ipak, osjećaj dezorijentiranosti Sarajlija u svome gradu najviše je stvorio strah od gubitka jedine koliko toliko čvrste tačke i oslonca koji je „još preostao i koji je postao jedini garant života, garant da se realnost još uvijek nije sasvim raspršila, da nije iščezla“ a to je, kako dalje navodi Senadin Musabegović (2019: 143), bilo njihovo vlastito tijelo. Svijest o životu postala je svijest o vlastitom tijelu, gdje je osnovni instinkt za preživljavanje bio da se taj čvrsti oslonac zaštititi od ranjavanja i od smrti. Time je strah za vlastito tijelo postao osnovnim orijentiranjem koji je usmjeravao, determinirao kretanje i limitirao ga, odnosno stvarao osjećaj dezorijentiranosti u vlastitom gradu, gdje su poznata mjesta odjednom postala nepoznata i strana.<sup>13</sup>

I u tom smislu je bila narušena usmjerenost puteva o kojoj govori Lynch (Linč 1974), njihova funkcionalnost vezana za sisteme orijentacije, za stvaranje kontinuiteta i identiteta, odnosno onih kvaliteta na koje se ljudi oslanjaju, koje im daje prijatno osjećanje povezanosti s dijelovima grada. Korištenje glavnih i širokih ulica, tih najfrekventnijih saobraćajnica i putanja, što daju jasnu i usmjerenu liniju prolaska kroz gradske cjeline, uzurpirano je tehnologijama nadziranja i kažnjavanja – od glavnih prilaznih puteva, saobraćajnica koje su pratile tok rijeke Miljacke, zatim glavne ulice koja je povezivala centar grada sa novijim dijelovima (nazvane „Alejom snajpera“), te ulica koje su se penjale uz strme bokove grada (Dalmatinska,

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12 U kom kontekstu zanimljivo se osvrnuti na priču Miljenka Jergovića „Gong“ u kojoj opisuje zvonjavu tramvaja svaki put kada dođu na okuku kod Higijenskog zavoda (Jergović 2008: 46-51).

13 O tome upravo govori izvadak iz dnevnika Ede Hozića: „U gradu si, a nisi u gradu. Prostor po kojem se krećem manji je od najmanje kasabe u Bosni“ (3. avgust 1992). Taj usađeni strah koji je također limitirao i modificirao kretanje, poznate dijelove grada je činio nepoznatim i stranim. Opisujući dio Sarajeva gdje je bilo Kino „Partizan“ ovaj autor navodi: „Za mene je to potpuno nepoznat kraj, tamo nisam išao od početka rata. Ne znam gdje se smije preći ulica, koji put je siguran“ (2. novembar 1993) (Hozić 2008: 127, 291).

Logavina...). Kretanje više nije moglo biti usmjereno, determinirano uobičajenim putanjama kojim se stvarao kontinuitet, već isprekidano ili „vijugavo“, kako je to napisao novinar Mladen Paunović opisujući trenutak kada je krećući se na posao ranjen snajperskim hicem.<sup>14</sup> Izgubio se ritam kretanja, odnosno uspostavio se novi koji je diktiralo stanje opsade. Tako su neki, nekada frekventni dijelovi grada, kao naprimjer zona Marijin Dvora, modificirani u smislu korištenja prostora ulica i raskršća, što se vidi na mapama Nihada Čengića (2010) kojim je autor predstavio odnos između fizičkog prostora i socijalnih aktivnosti s posebnim naglaskom na ekonomiju kretanja, prije i za vrijeme opsade. Redistribucija protoka ljudi u navedenoj zoni ilustrativno pokazuje jednu urbanu (trans)formaciju, odnosno situaciju u kojoj nestaju jedni prostori socijalne prakse, dok se uspostavljanjem novih pravaca kretanja socijalno produciraju drugi.

U gradsku strukturu su se počele upisivati neodređene i nepredvidive putanje, koje nisu sukladne sagrađenom, arhitektonsko-urbanistički oblikovanom prostoru prilagođenom čovjekovim potrebama. Stvorila su se neka nova pravila kretanja i ponašanja vođena isključivo instinktom izbjegavanja smrti ili jedan novi „saobraćajni kodeks“ koji je Semezdin Mehmedinović pretočio u pisanu riječ, opisujući svoje vlastito iskustvo gradskih puteva i putanja u opkoljenom gradu:

„Sada se prisjećam utabanih puteva kroz travnjake i svi prolaze njima, niko za to namijenjenim, asfaltiranim stazama. Jedan sarajevski ratni put vodi kroz razrušenu kino-salu; ovdje se staze račvaju same, ne urbanističkim projektima, i ne autizmom stanovnika u svom konformističkom hodu. Ne biti izložen, to je sav saobraćajni kodeks i on je u potpunosti suprotnosti sa zahtjevima u miru; a to znači: biti na glavnoj ulici i biti viđen. Ali, nove staze nemaju svoju asfaltiranu konačnost; imaju svoje metamorfoze u mjeri u kojoj granate mijenjaju sliku grada. Stalna nepredvidivost (možda te ima, možda te nema), stalni pritisci novih utisaka, čine ih (te staze) neprestano novim.“ (Mehmedinović 2004: 8)

Nove putanje su se stvarale, utabavale po travnjacima, između drveća i žbunja, građani su prolazili kroz ruševine, sakrivali se od snajperskog pogleda u betonskim ljuskama, preskakali ograde, koristili tunele, pasaže, unutrašnja dvorišta, stražnje ulaze i prostore između zgrada, koji su mogli ponuditi samo psihološki osjećaj sigurnosti, jer zaštita od snajpera nije pretpostavljala sigurnost od ubilačke moći granata. Stanje opsade je urbanističko-arhitektonske kvalitete pretvorila u nedostatke: u zgradama čiji su ulazi svojom otvorenom dispozicijom u odnosu na ulični prostor,

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14 Paunović, Mladen (1992), „Srpskom snajperisti lično“, *Oslobodenje* 20. 07. 1992. (Hozić 2008: 119-120).

zbog vidljivosti, nekada imali kvalitet sigurnosti (od kriminala, vandalizma),<sup>15</sup> zatim višekatnicama i naseljima koja su imala širinu pogleda (mahalske kuće sa svojim doksatima), a pogotovo prostorima ulice, trga ili parka, čija je osnovna karakteristika da su pristupačni, dostupni i vidljivi.

Panoptičko-destruktivna mašinerija stvorila je niz barijera koje su bile usmjerene na rušenje urbanog prostora Sarajeva, njegovog korištenja, u individualnom i u socijalnom smislu. Od toga da je „svaka zgrada na nišanu“<sup>16</sup> da je svaki korak po gradu, svaki susret, susret sa smrću, do toga da se osjećaj sigurnosti stvara u momentu kada se ne vidi nebesko prostranstvo. Te psihološke barijere neminovno su ograničile, limitirale građane da se kreću, da stupaju u interakciju i komunikaciju.

Doživljaj takvog urbanog prostora, u kome se permanentno nastojao ukinuti život – onesposobljavanjem grada kao prostora javnosti, ludičkog, dinamičkog, otvorenog i nesputanog – koji je napušten od civilizacije, od ostatka svijeta i od stalnog ljudskog prisustva, pokreta, strujanja tijela, izgubio i svoju životnost, postao opustošen – uz taj permanentni susret s odbačenim materijalom, s otpacima, ugarcima, skeletima zgrada i urbanog mobilijara – kod građana je stvarao osjećaj da im se život pretvarao u ruševinu, svedenu na ljusku, koja je zapravo bila njihovo vlastito tijelo što je egzistiralo na rubu propadanja i opstajanja.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Četverogodišnja opsada Sarajeva, koja se manifestirala i kroz destrukciju i panoptičku mašineriju, odnosno strateško uništavanje urbanih artefakata, strukture i slike grada, ali i grada kao socijalnog prostora, što je imao svoju specifičnu atmosferu ili duh mjesta, dovela je do njegove degradacije, negacije, do postupnog odumiranja, preobražavanja u ruinu. Baš kao i ruševina, razvalina što utjelovljuje ideju fragilnosti života i materijalnog svijeta (Edensor 2005), što je permanentno u pokretu, procesu morfiranja (Trigg 2006), i opkoljeno Sarajevo je isto tako bilo podvrgnuto gubljenju svoje suštine i forme, transformaciji kojom se izobličavalo, kojom je postepeno umiralo, iz koga se istiskivao život. Sama opsada grada, zapravo, stvara ruševine i tamo gdje ih nema, avetinjske gradske prostore, napuštene, mrtve prostore. Tako ulice, opustošene od ljudskog prisustva, beživotne, često zakrčene smećem i ostacima

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15 O tim prostornim kvalitetima stambenih objekata pisao je Oscar Newman u kontekstu prevencije kriminala u gradovima u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama. Iako prvi put objavljena 1972. godine, njegova je studija i danas zanimljiva, pogotovo za urbaniste i arhitekte, odnosno one koji se bave prostornim planiranjem, projektovanjem i izgradnjom stambenih naselja (Newman 1972).

16 Kantardžić, Elevedin (1992), „Svaka zgrada na nišanu,“ *Oslobodenje* 06. 08. 1992. (Hojić 2008: 136-139).

destrukcije i zapuštene, baš kao i ogoljeni od stabala i zarasli parkovi i zelene površine, postaju ruševine same po sebi.

Sarajevo, iako nije bilo razrušeno u fizičkom smislu, odnosno svedeno na formu svoje sadržine, na skelet, ono se – opustošeno, razdijeljeno i onespobljeno da izvrši svoju osnovnu funkciju, a to je da pruži sigurnost, sredinu u kojoj se nesmetano odvija svakodnevni život – postepeno urušavalo, raspadalo, u njemu su ostale samo krhotine urbanog načina života. Degradacija, destrukcija, radikalna negacija grada, reflektirala se na ljudske živote, ruinirane, reducirane na golo preživljavanje, osakaćene do stanja neprepoznatljivosti. Ruševina tako postaje i jedno cjelokupno urbano stanje u kome prebivaju ili, radije, preživljavaju građani Sarajeva.

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## RUIN AS THE STATE OF A CITY UNDER SIEGE

### Summary:

The notion of the city as a ruin, in the case of besieged Sarajevo (1992-1996), extends beyond mere material destruction and diverges from the conventional meanings of ruins found in theoretical discourse and literary expressions – such as the aestheticization of death and decay and the romantic tranquility evoking feelings of nostalgia. In Sarajevo, ruin refers to a profound physical and psychological state resulting from fragmentation, disintegration, and the desecration of its urban fabric. This encompasses not only the literal reduction of certain buildings to ruins but, more significantly, the strategic incapacitation of the city as a social organism and the annihilation of everything that defines it as a modern and civilized place. Urban space, through its artifacts, concentrates and embodies history, memory, meaning, and symbols; it is designed to gather people and facilitate communication. However, this fundamental quality was systematically destroyed during the four years of the siege. The essence of the city, as a means of organizing society, facilitating interaction among diverse elements, and connecting them, was being increasingly undermined. While Sarajevo was not completely physically devastated, it can still be viewed as analogous to ruin in many ways. This comparison ties into the language used to describe its wartime state, evoking themes of decay, abandonment, neglect, transience, and the temporality of both building and living.

**Keywords:** architecture; memory; siege of Sarajevo; ruin; urban sociology; uricide

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## POLITOLOŠKE TEME

### **Adis Arapović**

ETHNIC DIVISIONS AND POWER POLITICS: UNRAVELLING THE BARRIERS TO MANAGING DIVERSITY AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN POST-CONFLICT BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA / ETNIČKE PODJELE I POLITIKA MOĆI: RAZOTKRIVANJE BARIJERA ZA UPRAVLJANJE RAZLIČITOSTIMA I DEMOKRATIZACIJU U POSTKONFLIKTNOJ BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI ..... 921

### **Jelisaveta Blagojević**

CRNA GORA: POLITIKA OTVORENIH VRATA PREMA UKRAJINSKIM IZBJEGLICAMA / MONTENEGRO'S OPEN-DOOR POLICY TOWARDS THE UKRAINIAN REFUGEE CRISIS ..... 955

### **Shahzad Dastgir Nousherwani, Adis Maksic**

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF US OFFICIAL DISCOURSE ON PAKISTAN *VIS-A-VIS* AFGHANISTAN UNDER THE BIDEN PRESIDENCY / KRITIČKA ANALIZA SLUŽBENOG DISKURSA SAD-A O PAKISTANU *VIS-A-VIS* AFGANISTANA POD BIDENOVIM PREDSEDNIŠTVOM..... 975





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**Adis Arapovic**

## **ETHNIC DIVISIONS AND POWER POLITICS: UNRAVELLING THE BARRIERS TO MANAGING DIVERSITY AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN POST-CONFLICT BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

This article critically investigates the factors leading to the stagnation of democratization and the persistence of societal divisions in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina (BH), with a particular focus on the role of political elites. Employing a mixed-methods approach, the research combines historical comparative analysis with qualitative content analysis of political developments, media reports, and public statements. The research uncovers that political elites in BH have systematically exploited and deepened ethnic divisions as a means to consolidate and maintain power supporting the hypothesis that insufficient success in managing diversity is influenced by the interests of political elites to maintain political power through ethnic divisions. This process of homogenizing ethnic groups for political leverage is identified as a significant barrier to democratization and societal integration. The study also examines the lingering effects of ex-Yugoslav socialism and regional geopolitical influences, particularly the relationships with Serbia and Croatia, in shaping the nation's political and ethnic landscape. The main findings highlight that the deliberate actions of political elites, aimed at reinforcing their power bases through ethnic polarization, are the principal contributors to the failed democratization and the continuation of a divided society. The study underscores the necessity for policy interventions that target the root causes of ethnic division, emphasizing the need for political reforms that diminish the power of elites to manipulate ethnic identities for their gain. These insights are vital for understanding the challenges in BH and offer valuable lessons for other post-conflict and multi-ethnic societies grappling with democratization and ethnic reconciliation.

**Keywords:** democratization and transition; diversity management, post-conflict societies, Bosnia and Herzegovina, European Union integration, nationalism and ethnicity, social cohesion

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The journey towards democratization in post-conflict societies often unfolds within a complex matrix of historical legacies, ethnic heterogeneity, and political maneuvering. This is particularly evident in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country emerging from the ravages of conflict in the 1990s, where the path to democracy has been hindered by deep-seated ethnic divisions and the strategic actions of political elites. This article aims to dissect these intertwined challenges, providing a nuanced understanding of the barriers to democratization in a post-conflict setting.

At the heart of Bosnia and Herzegovina's struggle lies a paradox: the very mechanisms established to bring about peace and democracy post-conflict have, in some respects, perpetuated divisions. The Dayton Peace Accords, while instrumental in ending the Bosnian War, inadvertently laid the groundwork for a political system that often exacerbates ethnic segmentation. This system has been skillfully exploited by political elites who, driven by the desire to consolidate their power, have continued to stoke ethnic tensions, thereby hampering efforts towards building a unified, democratic state.

To explore this complex landscape, the article employs a mixed-methods approach. It begins with a historical comparative analysis, tracing the socio-political evolution of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the ex-Yugoslav era to its current state. This historical perspective is crucial in understanding the deep-rooted nature of ethnic divisions and their exploitation by political forces. The study then delves into a qualitative content analysis of recent political developments, media narratives, and public discourses, particularly following the significant political shifts in the 2022 general elections in order to evaluate the main narratives of political elite in Bosnia and Herzegovina and put them in context of their role in management of diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Moreover, the research examines the role of the European Union integration process and its impact on the nation's political dynamics and ethnic relations. The EU's involvement has been a double-edged sword: on one hand, offering a path to greater integration and reform, and on the other, sometimes exacerbating existing tensions or failing to address the underlying issues of ethnic division as different actors use these pressures towards reforms to block the EU path and increase tensions.

Through this exploration, the article seeks to unravel the complex web of factors that impede democratization in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In doing so, it sheds light on the broader challenges faced by post-conflict societies in navigating the path from division to democracy, highlighting the crucial role of political structures, elite behavior, and international influences in this transformative process to test hypothesis that insufficient success in managing diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina is influenced by the interests of political elites to maintain political power through ethnic divisions. The insights gained from this study not only contribute to the understanding of Bosnia and Herzegovina's unique situation but also offer valuable lessons for other nations grappling with similar post-conflict dynamics.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

The democratic management of diversity and relationship to success of democratization in post-conflict societies have been identified to have relationship to various factors such as ideology, political system, media, and economic processes and these are reviewed in this section. The methodological approaches used in studies that relate managing diversity and democratization in post-conflict societies are presented next in order to posit our study within the field and finally identify the gaps in research which this study fills out and contributes to the field by relating role of elites and power politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina as root causes to slow democratization and abuse of diversity in society towards maintaining of status quo in post-conflict society.

### ***2.1. Democratic management of diversity and democratization in post-conflict societies***

The relationship between democratic management of diversity and the success of democratization in post-conflict societies is a critical area of study. Research indicates that the way diversity is managed in these societies significantly influences their democratization trajectories.

Varshney (2002) emphasizes the role of interethnic networks and associations in mitigating conflict and fostering democratization. In his analysis of ethnic conflict and civic life, he argues that ethnically heterogeneous networks and civil organizations can play a pivotal role in promoting peace and democracy in multiethnic societies. This perspective is crucial for understanding how the management of ethnic

diversity through inclusive institutions and civic engagement can facilitate democratization.

Lijphart (1969) contributes to this discourse by advocating for consociational democracy as a strategy for managing diversity in divided societies. He posits that power-sharing, group autonomy, proportional representation, and minority veto rights are essential components of successful democratization in ethnically divided societies. His work underscores the importance of institutional arrangements that acknowledge and accommodate diversity, thereby enhancing democratic stability and inclusivity.

Horowitz (2000) challenges this view, arguing that while consociationalism addresses ethnic divisions, it may also entrench them, potentially hindering democratization. He suggests alternative approaches like centripetalism, which incentivizes interethnic cooperation and competition. Horowitz's critique highlights the complexities of managing diversity in a way that promotes democratization without reinforcing divisions.

Kymlicka (2007) expands on these arguments by exploring the role of multicultural policies in post-conflict democratization. He asserts that recognizing and supporting cultural diversity through policies and institutions can build trust among ethnic groups, thereby facilitating the democratization process. This approach aligns with the view that acknowledging and valuing diversity is key to building a democratic society in post-conflict settings.

Paris (2004) discusses the challenges of implementing liberal democracy in post-conflict societies, cautioning against rapid democratization and marketization which can exacerbate ethnic tensions and undermine stability. He advocates for a gradual approach to democratization, with careful management of ethnic diversity and attention to building inclusive institutions.

Mansfield and Snyder (2005) provide a critical perspective on the timing of democratization in ethnically diverse post-conflict societies. They argue that premature democratization, particularly in the presence of strong ethnic divisions, can lead to intensified conflict. Their work suggests that the sequencing of democratization, alongside effective management of diversity, is crucial for the successful transition to democracy.

Varshney's (2002) emphasis on the role of interethnic networks in mitigating conflict aligns closely with the argument that institutional settings and democracy *per se* do not present obstacle to democratization in Bosnia and Herzegovina and effective management of diversity presents solution to the post conflict society. Varshney's findings support the notion that fostering interethnic collaboration and civic engagement is pivotal for democratization. This perspective validates this article's emphasis

on the role of civic society and interethnic cooperation in Bosnia and Herzegovina as essential elements for peace and democracy.

Lijphart's (1969) "Consociational Democracy" is advocated and highlighted due to power-sharing and group autonomy which suggests the necessity of inclusive political structures in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The presence of diverse ethnic groups in the country necessitates a political system that accommodates this diversity, thereby enhancing democratic stability and inclusivity. This study echoes Lijphart's argument by relating how Bosnia and Herzegovina's approach to managing its ethnic divisions through political frameworks impacts its democratization process.

Horowitz's (2000) critique of consociationalism and his advocacy for centripetalism offer a perspective that is particularly relevant to Bosnia and Herzegovina. This critique aligns with article's exploration of the complexities in managing ethnic divisions without entrenching them further. Horowitz's insights into incentivizing interethnic cooperation present an alternative approach that our study considers when examining the dynamics of ethnic relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and suggesting strategy to effective management of diversity in section 5 of the paper.

Kymlicka's (Kymlicka 2007) exploration of multicultural policies in post-conflict democratization presents the argument that cultural diversity as a strength. His assertion that recognizing and supporting cultural diversity through policies builds trust among ethnic groups is a key concept this study explores in the context of BiH. This approach underlines the importance of culturally inclusive policies for the democratization process.

Berman's (Berman 2017) examination of the role of civil society in democratization is basis for the inclusion of civil society role as a factor in management of diversity in BiH. Her argument that civil society organizations are instrumental in advocating for inclusive policies and fostering a culture of tolerance is mirrored in the section 5 of the paper, which identifies civil society participation as a vital component for successful democratization.

Challenges of rapid democratization presented by Paris (2004) and also Mansfield & Snyder (2005) suggest the caution against rapid democratization but the timing of democracy is less relevant after the plunge into transition already occurring in Bosnia and Herzegovina long time ago. However, it provides the perspective that the society was perhaps prematurely thrown into open society and provide critical context to this study. These insights are particularly relevant to the analysis of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the complex ethnic landscape and post-conflict status demand careful sequencing of democratic reforms and management of diversity.

In summary, these studies collectively provide a theoretical and empirical foundation that posits management of diversity as a key factor in successful democratization in complex post conflict society of BiH. They underscore the importance of inclusive institutions, the role of civil society, the need for balanced political structures, and the careful management of ethnic diversity as key components for the successful democratization of complex, post-conflict societies like Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## ***2.2. The role of political system in democratic management of diversity and democratization in complex societies***

The hypothesis evaluated in this study focusing on the democratic management of diversity in post-conflict societies, is significantly reinforced by the arguments presented in studies which collectively provide a robust theoretical and empirical justification for the vital role of democratic systems in managing diversity effectively.

Dunn and Singh (2014) introduce the concept of pluralistic conditioning, positing that exposure to diversity under democratic conditions breeds tolerance and inclusivity. This perspective aligns with our thesis, which considers the impact of Bosnia's democratic evolution on its ability to manage ethnic and cultural differences. The idea that democratic systems, through diverse opinions and fair elections, foster an awareness and acceptance of difference is a fundamental aspect of the strategies for effective management of diversity presented in this paper.

Anderson (2006) delves into the epistemic powers of democratic institutions, highlighting how they utilize the diversity of participants for collective learning. This concept of leveraging diverse experiences through free discourse and accountability is integral to the analysis in this paper. It suggests that democratic norms are essential in creating an environment where diverse groups can coexist and contribute to the collective good, a key consideration in this paper's analysis of Bosnia and Herzegovina's post-conflict society.

Tartasiuk (2020) emphasizes the diversity of legal systems in democratic societies, underscoring the importance of freedom of expression and a free media. This analysis supports our studies' focus on the role of legal frameworks and media in shaping public discourse and policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina, illustrating how these elements allow for the expression and management of diverse opinions, which are crucial for democratic governance.

In conclusion, the insights from these studies provide a basis for the treatment of political system as determinant of management of diversity and democratization in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They collectively affirm the importance of democratic structures, legal frameworks, inclusive political processes, and the recognition of diverse narratives in effectively managing the complex tapestry of post-conflict societies like BH. Also, these studies collectively underscore the pivotal role of democratic political systems in managing diversity and promoting democratization. They highlight how democratic structures, legal systems, and norms facilitate the inclusion and tolerance of diverse groups, contributing to the stability and harmony of complex societies.

Research into the structural deficiencies of Bosnia and Herzegovina's political system reveals a consensus among scholars like Keil and Bieber that the Dayton framework, while ending the war, embedded ethnic divisions into the governance model, creating a stasis that hampers effective policy-making (Keil 2015; Bieber 2002). Zdeb's analysis further argues that the persistence of ethno-nationalism exacerbates political paralysis, making it challenging to advance beyond the status quo (Zdeb 2019). Similarly, Murtagh's (Murtagh 2018) work on party politics elucidates how ethno-political parties exploit these divisions, prioritizing ethnic agendas over national unity and development. These studies suggest that post-conflict BH faced socio-political challenges that could have interplayed with inability to transcend ethnic lines and hence were contributing to insufficient success in managing of diversity.

### ***2.3. Role of ideology in democratic management of diversity and democratization in complex societies***

The insights from the previous studies suggest role of ideology in analyzing the democratic management of diversity and democratization in complex societies like Bosnia and Herzegovina. These studies weave a narrative that underscores the multifaceted impact of ideology on democratic processes and diversity management.

Anderson (2006) and Landemore (2012) both accentuate the role of democratic institutions and processes in harnessing the collective intelligence of diverse groups. Anderson's focus on how democratic norms facilitate learning from diverse experiences provides the basis for this study's our approach of analyzing Bosnia and Herzegovina's democratic structures and their responsiveness to diverse ideological perspectives. Landemore's emphasis on the 'democratic reason' and the epistemic benefits of inclusivity in decision-making processes echoes the suggestion that this



study provides that inclusive political practices can enhance the collective intelligence and governance quality in a pluralistic society.

The conditioning effects of social tolerance discussed by Dunn and Singh (2014) provide a nuanced perspective on how exposure to diversity under different ideological contexts can shape attitudes towards diversity. This insight is instrumental in understanding the complex interplay between Bosnia and Herzegovina's socio-political environment and its citizens' attitudes towards diversity and democratization. It underscores the importance of fostering a positive ideological environment to promote tolerance and inclusivity and the role that media and political elites have in this process in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Syed (2008) further enrich this discourse by illustrating how specific ideological foundations and concepts can inform effective diversity management strategies. Syed's model, based on Jinnah's vision, highlights the role of democratization, egalitarianism, and the rule of law in managing diversity, while Zhang's analysis of Rawls' overlapping consensus concept reveals how ideological pluralism can be harmoniously accommodated in diverse societies. These perspectives support the notion in this study that the ideological underpinnings of Bosnia and Herzegovina's approach to diversity management and democratization are important factor to consider.

#### ***2.4. Role of economic processes in democratic management of diversity and democratization in complex societies***

Economic development, market dynamics, and the integration of democratic practices within economic institutions are essential for creating inclusive and sustainable democratic environments. The interplay between economic processes and the management of diversity in the context of democratization in complex societies is a multifaceted issue that has been examined from various angles by scholars. The economic framework of a society can significantly influence how diversity is managed and how democratization processes unfold. The studies highlighted here collectively provide a robust underpinning for the hypothesis that economic factors have shaped the outcome that political elites have abused economic processes, emphasizing the integral role of economic processes in the democratic management of diversity and the success of democratization, particularly in complex societies like Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ocampo (2006), with his focus on the interplay between democracy and economic institutions, considers the economic framework as a pivotal factor in shaping the

democratic landscape. His emphasis on integrating economic and social rights within democratic frameworks support the thesis that Bosnia and Herzegovina's economic policies and structures impact its democratization journey. This perspective is vital in understanding the balance between market forces, social cohesion, and democratic processes.

Langmead's (Langmead 2017) examination of democratic practices in economic institutions, particularly worker cooperatives, offers an insight into how economic models can contribute to democratic diversity and interdependence. This perspective highlights the potential of democratic economic practices in contributing to the broader democratization process, a key aspect in understanding Bosnia and Herzegovina's economic and political landscape.

Lastly, Fish, and Brooks (2004) challenge the view that diversity impedes democratization. Their findings that economic and social diversity may not necessarily be detrimental to democratic processes support this study's premise that Bosnia and Herzegovina's ethnic and cultural diversity, within a suitable economic framework, can coexist with a thriving democratic system.

Integrating these arguments, this study acknowledges the multifaceted influence of economic factors on democratization and diversity management. The economic development, market dynamics, democratic practices within economic institutions, and the interplay between economic growth and democracy form a complex web that shapes the democratic landscape of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These insights from various scholars provide a comprehensive backdrop against which the economic and democratic evolution of Bosnia and Herzegovina is analyzed in Section 4. to evaluate their critical role in the democratic management of diversity and the success of democratization in this complex society

### ***2.5. Role of media in democratic management of diversity and democratization in complex societies***

The collection of studies focusing on the role of media in democratic societies significantly bolsters the inclusion of this factor into research on democratic management of diversity and democratization, particularly in the complex context of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The theory of media dependency, as explored by Loveless (2008), and the role of mass media in developing democratic political culture, are particularly relevant to this argument. These perspectives enrich our understanding of the media's influence

in transitional societies like Bosnia and Herzegovina, where media can act as both a facilitator and a barometer of democratization progress.

Furthermore, Kaul (2012) offer insights into the media's responsibility in representing diverse opinions and its potential roles in different democratic models. Their analyses contribute to our identification of media as an important factor in management of diversity by underpinning the importance of media in reflecting a society's diverse voices and in managing democratic discourse effectively.

The media's role in shaping public opinion, facilitating diverse viewpoints, and supporting democratic engagement is a complex yet vital component of this study. These insights emphasize the importance of a media landscape that supports diversity and democratic values, a critical aspect of managing diversity and fostering democratization in the intricate tapestry of Bosnia and Herzegovina's post-conflict society.

## ***2.6. Methodological approaches for studying democratic management of differences in complex post-conflict democracies***

The complexity of studying democratic management of differences in post-conflict societies like Bosnia and Herzegovina requires a nuanced methodological approach that can capture the multifaceted nature of these environments. A mixed-methods approach, combining historical comparative analysis with qualitative content analysis, is particularly suited for this purpose.

Kostovicova (2016) demonstrates the effectiveness of mixed-methods research in understanding regional post-conflict justice by analyzing civil society deliberations in the Balkans. This approach allows for a deep exploration of the regional dimension of post-conflict justice, integrating quantitative text analysis with qualitative examination of discursive frames.

Thaler (2017) underscores the value of mixed methods research in studying violence and conflict, highlighting how it can provide a richer understanding of the structures, agency, and processes related to these issues. This approach is particularly beneficial in capturing the complexities of social reality and enhancing our understanding of the causes, consequences, and potential remedies of violence and conflict. Hence this paper utilizes this approach which is presented it in the next section.

The above literature review has provided theoretical basis for relating the various factors to democratization. This paper fills the research gap in connecting the power politics and role of political elites in management of diversity to test the hypothesis that insufficient success in managing diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina is influ-

enced by the interests of political elites to maintain political power through ethnic divisions.

### 3. THE METHODOLOGY

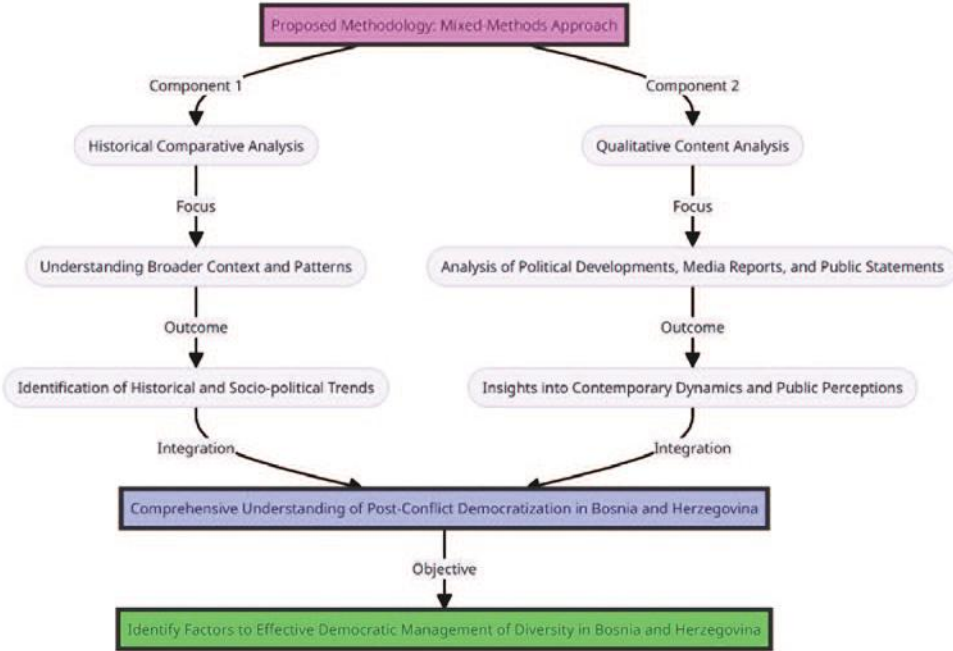
In addressing the challenge of democratic management of diversity in complex post-conflict societies like Bosnia and Herzegovina, a mixed-method approach, integrating both historical and qualitative analyses, offers a comprehensive framework. This methodology is justified by its ability to encapsulate the multifaceted nature of post-conflict democratization, encompassing socio-political dynamics, historical contexts, and the subjective experiences of diverse groups.

Quantitative analysis, as employed by Fish and Kroenig (2006) is instrumental in elucidating broad patterns and relationships between social fractionalization, civil conflict, and democratization. This approach provides empirical evidence to understand the macro-level dynamics in post-conflict societies, offering insights into how diversity and conflict impact democratic processes. However, there is no quantitative support that higher diversity is obstacle to the democratization as provided by multi-ethnic studies in Fish and Brooks (2004) and in this study it is assumed that diversity is not obstacle to democratization and study proceeds to identify factors that should lead to better management of diversity through combining qualitative analysis of historical trends in Section 4 and 5.

Complementing this, qualitative methodologies, particularly those based on theoretical frameworks like those proposed by Ercan (2017) delve into the underlying mechanisms and narratives that shape these dynamics. Ercan's work on deliberative democracy and agonistic pluralism highlights the importance of democratic communication in managing conflicts, providing a lens to understand the role of dialogue and discourse in post-conflict settings. Zhang's analysis of Rawls' concept of overlapping consensus in pluralistic societies offers a theoretical foundation to explore consensus-building among diverse ideological and moral perspectives, which is crucial for sustaining social stability and harmony.

This mixed-method approach which combines historical comparative analysis and qualitative content analysis is used in this study and is considered particularly relevant for Bosnia and Herzegovina, where complex historical legacies, ethnic divisions, and political transformations interplay. The combination of historical and qualitative methodologies enables a holistic understanding of the challenges and potentials in managing diversity and advancing democratization in such a nuanced context and

enable us to identify factors crucial for successful management of diversity and deepening of democratization in Bosnia and Herzegovina.



**Figure 1.** Methodological approach

The graph depicted above visualizes the proposed mixed-methods methodology for studying the democratic management of diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina as performed in Section 4 and 5. The methodology is built on two primary components: Historical Comparative Analysis and Qualitative Content Analysis applied together to identify factors that are crucial for democratic management of diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Historical Comparative Analysis component is focused on understanding the broader historical context and patterns that have shaped the post-conflict society of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It delves into the historical events, socio-political developments, and legacies that have influenced the current state of the nation such as Dayton Peace Agreement, EU integrations, underlying economics processes, political system structure. In other words this analysis aims to identify historical and socio-political trends that have a bearing on the present-day dynamics of diversity management in the country as presented in Section 4.

Qualitative Content Analysis segment of the methodology involves a detailed analysis of contemporary political developments, media reports, and public statements in the period from 2022 to 2024. It seeks to gain insights into the current dynamics, public perceptions, and narratives that are shaping the democratic management of diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This part of the study is crucial for understanding the real-time implications of political decisions and societal attitudes.

The outcomes of these two components, when integrated, provide a comprehensive understanding of the democratization process in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The historical comparative analysis offers a backdrop against which the current state can be understood, while the qualitative content analysis provides a more immediate picture of ongoing dynamics as shown from the public discourse and analyzed media reports. The daily articles analyzed include daily press reports from main political party actors as presented in daily press and portals such as: “Dnevni Avaz”, “Klix”, “Slobodna Bosna”, “Faktor”, “Bljesak”, “N1”, “BN”, “Nezavisne”, “FRTV”, “RTRS”.

This mixed-methods approach, combining historical comparative analysis with qualitative content analysis, allows us to effectively understand and address the challenges of democratic management of diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina and test the main hypothesis of this study that insufficient success in managing diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina is influenced by the interests of political elites to maintain political power through ethnic divisions. This hypothesis posits that a comprehensive understanding of both the historical context and current socio-political dynamics is essential for understanding the lack of effective managing of diversity and fostering of democratization in this complex, post-conflict society. The study also provides a valuable insight into the mechanisms and strategies that can support the development of a more inclusive and democratic society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, this study contributes to the field by combining the factors of economic and political power motives together with role of the media in the way they interrelate and influence failure to manage diversity in democratic ways in post-conflict society of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

#### **4. ANALYSIS: UNDERLYING FACTORS IN DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF DIVERSITY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

This section utilizes methodology described in Section 3 to deduce the factors that underly democratic management of diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

##### ***4.1. Trust as a catalyst of social cohesion***

At the end of 2022, Bosnia and Herzegovina finally received the status of a candidate country for EU membership, and at the beginning of 2024 it is expected to determine the date of the start of negotiations for full membership, which are major positive changes that can have an effect on the correction of confrontational and Eurosceptic narratives in the public area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which have become increasingly pronounced in recent years (TI-BiH 2023). This development of events in perspective brings a greater probability of internal consolidation, more unity when it comes to reform priorities, harmonization of public policies with the legal acquis of the EU, and the necessary harmonization of internal inter-ethnic, political and other relations, which is a prerequisite for the intensification of the EU integration process. Candidate status contributes to the strengthening of faith in a common European future and conflict transformation as suggested by Gromes (2009), with a real chance to reduce over time the effect of external influences on the creation and implementation of an authentic and sovereign policy in the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its constituent parts.

The European path of Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the rare strategic goals around which there is a very broad consensus of political elites of all ideological and ethnic prefixes, as well as the citizens and peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina as suggested by the poll on Bosnia and Herzegovina's citizens' support for EU accession which is conducted annually by the Directorate for European Integration (VPI 2021). Although, due to the multi-year blockade of the integration process, the original enthusiasm was increasingly replaced by Euro-scepticism, EU integration is definitely a key cohesive social element and a topic around which it is possible to build political, inter-ethnic and overall social trust. The social trust has been proven possible to build in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to depend on positive conditioning by initiatives and projects that have fostered interethnic dialogue and cooperation and education reforms towards ethnic reconciliation that have been conducted to promote multiculturalism and reducing ethnic prejudices among younger generations.



After the general elections held in October 2022, parliamentary majorities were formed with a slightly different party and personal composition, with affirmative messages about changing the focus from divisive topics to goals that can be reached together, and to reforms that benefit citizens, such as is the intensification of the EU integration process (EUnews 2024).

Although incomplete, neither the constitutional nor the administrative framework in Bosnia and Herzegovina is an obstacle for a functional and just legal order, the rule of law and equality before the law, if the elites strive to find solutions and not to create divisions, fears, mistrust and problems. Trust, as a key concept discussed in this section, refers to the role of the holders of the highest political positions, through the role of the media, the educational and academic system, the judicial apparatus, civil society, and “ordinary citizens”, where everyone has both the responsibility and the power to contribute to building trust. The findings of this paper therefore provide argument for the public lobbying activities, as a kind of “road map” for the future action of the listed actors in the process of catalysing internal social cohesion and accelerated accession to the European family of nations and states.

#### ***4.2. The past and future of diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina***

Democracy as a form of political rule, but also as an approach and a way of life in contemporary societies and states is facing great challenges when it comes to differences and diversities – ethnic, religious, cultural and others. The first challenge is how to relate to differences and resolve them, without them calling into question one of the essential foundations of democracy – the equality of all before the law. Second, how to satisfy one of the principles of democracy – that everyone is equally represented and represented at all levels of government and in all public institutions. The third is related to the problem of centralization and decentralization, that is, effective autonomy in a democratic order.

All three listed contemporary democratic challenges are present in Bosnian society, and at the same time they are points of separation of different social groups, ideologies and policies, but also points of convergence, because the management of these challenges is a direct assumption of a peaceful, prosperous and modern plural society.

However, before analyzing the listed challenges of contemporary democratic orders in the context of today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is worth opening up the authentic dilemmas of Bosnia and Herzegovina: why society has been trapped in the



past for decades, why trust among people is at a very low level and finally, why are the differences that abound in Bosnian society understood and treated as a burden and a point of separation, rather than wealth, opportunity and a point of convergence?

Soon, a great jubilee will be marked in Bosnia and Herzegovina – 30 years since the “beginning of peace”, since the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement, which put an end to the three-and-a-half-year war in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of 1995. Thirty years of post-war reconstruction of the state, society and interpersonal relations in many fields did not produce the expected results, despite the fact that it is indeed a long period of time (Belloni 2004). By way of comparison, 30 years after the Second World War, in the mid-seventies, Europe was going through an economic boom, and political, social and cultural integration among former enemies was reaching the highest historical level. The basis of the formation of the European communities, and ultimately the European Union, was certainly mutual trust, built, improved, innovated and strengthened over several decades.

In the same interval of three decades, Bosnia and Herzegovina went through a difficult period of post-war reconstruction, establishment of a completely new ideological, political, legal and economic framework, simultaneously going through economic-political transition and post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation.

Even today, the biggest burden of the war past is the frozen conflict syndrome, i.e. an atmosphere in which the war goals of all warring parties remained unachieved. About ten years after the war, with the strong leadership of the international community and the agreement of all parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina, major steps were taken in internal integration, when joint armed forces, a unified electoral system, a unified tax system, identification documents, and a number of other elements were formed. Raised the level of efficiency and functionality of the central institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is a huge success that, with the exception of only a few isolated cases, no organized, large-scale or recurring incidents with the character of war revenge, ethnic or religious hatred were recorded, which is an important proof of relatively successful reconciliation among ordinary people.

On the other hand, the legacy of Yugoslav socialism and the totalitarian state, the one-party system, the planned economy, and almost five decades of ideologization of society left a deep mark on the mentality, so even without the war trauma, the transition period would have been slow and difficult with many more obstacles and unusual resistance than in some other post-socialist countries. Collective consciousness and the dominant narrative often labeled democratization itself and the introduction of multi-party elections, as well as the free-market economy and capitalism, as the

culprits or reasons for the painful transition, and even as the cause of war conflicts. Thus, the idea of Yugoslav “brotherhood and unity” was often interpreted by ordinary people as a strong state of social justice, a demonstration of state power and control of individual and group freedoms, as the only ways to rein in excessive collective differences, conflicting interests of social groups, as well as suppressed nationalism and religious intolerance. There is however no proof that diversity promotes conflict and harms democratization as the empirical data did not support the link between diversity and division in multinational studies (Fish and Brooks 2004) giving support support for the hypothesis that divisions are modus for keeping power and not due to diversity present in Bosnian society. Nevertheless, the political system which is dividing power among ethnic groups hampers the country’s EU accession progress (Jahn 2015) also indicates that willingness of political elites representing different ethnic groups is a major determinant in changing the BH political reality and successful management of diversity in BH society.

### ***4.3. Fabricating social peace***

The ideal of social justice and large public spending that nourishes social peace, ahead of the ideal of productivity, excellence, competition, free market and “minimum state” marked the entire post-war period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This fictitious social peace, identified by Drygiel-Bielinska (2023) as fragile peace, is financed indiscriminately from huge social expenditures, combined with the partiocratic manner of government with the concentration of power at the top of the ruling political parties and the capillary corruption that necessarily results from such government, create the tacit consent of the majority of citizens to the current state of affairs as observed in lack of public protests. This agreement through the budgetary clientelism of larger social groups such as war veterans and numerous other categories resulting from the war, pensioners, people with disabilities, social cases, up to a large number of employees of public institutions and large state companies who most often got jobs or promotions through the line party loyalty, and not market currentness, represents a brake on more rapid social progress, because any change would also mean a radical curbing of state clientelism.

By doing so, this study creates a causal connection between the historically inherited narrative about the inevitability of a “strong state”, necessary social justice, linear equality, “the state as the largest employer” on the one hand, and citizens who are accomplices, clients and consumers of such expensive, ineffective and unsustain-

able policies, with the other side. This new syndrome, the syndrome of the “trapped state” does not allow the end of the transition, modernization and Europeanization of society, because the current state fully favors the newly formed social elites, which survive thanks to the production of fears and the fabrication of political conflicts in order to always keep the public’s focus away from the standard of living and progress, and in order for the so-called protection of collective ethnic (national) interests and a constant state of readiness which keeps their own ethnic group homogenized, unprepared for (self) criticism and unwilling to question the responsibility primarily of their own political elites, including organized crime and corruption. Only in recent period since 2023 the media have been filled with reports of fighting organized crime which came out from Sky Application investigation fallouts.

Permanent re-traumatization and collective victimization on war themes, victims, crimes and criminals throughout the post-war years established another conflict – a conflict of narratives with two extremes – that there is collective guilt and, accordingly, collective responsibility for war crimes, which must be legal and political adequately sanctioned; and another narrative about the equalization of guilt, because victims and crimes were recorded on all sides, regardless of the plan, scope and intensity, that is, the verdicts of domestic and foreign courts on war crimes. With the gap between these two narratives, without any intention or need to hear and understand the other side, the political elites are used as a catalyst for mass homogenization, thereby prolonging, deepening and refreshing the traumas of war, which does not contribute at all to building trust and a common future. On the contrary corruption and elite capture of institutions are break on BH moving forward (Siljak and Nielsen 2022).

#### ***4.4. Privatization and formation of new social elites***

The social order constructed in this way is caused by another phenomenon, namely the positioning of new social elites that arose in the war and post-war chaotic times. Considering the reduced history of capitalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 19th and 20th centuries, during the 1990s and 2000s, an unfinished socio-economic process took place, namely the original accumulation of capital, partly through mass privatization of social property, and partly through capitalization and investments from abroad. Most of the large companies in former social ownership were thus privatized, although very few of them survived on the market, especially in the production sectors. The aforementioned privatizations often took place with minimal use of money,

mostly using securities such as “certificates” mass-issued as a form of non-monetary compensation for war mobilization in the nineties, which were then partly traded on the official, and more significantly on the black market, many times below the price. In the end, ordinary people, owners of certificates, received smaller amounts of cash for them, and owners of capital, by purchasing certificates far below the price, received enormous wealth for a minimal price, thus rounding off the first major process of capital accumulation, the so-called certificate privatization (Omerbegovic Arapovic 2015).

Similar to the formation of the economic elite, the formation processes of other social elites, such as academic, religious, political, where ethnic, party or family connection often took precedence over the criteria of excellence, meritoriousness or professional biography. This created a large gap in society for many years, without significant differences within the three ethnic communities, which devalued human capital, with the insistence on particular ethnic-party criteria when deciding on issues of state or social interest, from the appointment to the highest political positions, through state financing, public procurement of large and small “state” jobs, all the way to public services and public budgets, which are treated as election spoils. Thus, excellence, work and effort became secondary qualities, which, along with chronic poverty, capillary corruption and general insecurity in society, became the terminal reason for the large outflow of young people from the country. Bosnia and Herzegovina is officially on the global map among the first countries in terms of “brain drain”, which makes the lack of human capital, educated and young labor force one of the biggest challenges for the country.

The acquired positions of power of the new social elites, networked interests and close relations between big capital, politics, the judiciary and the media, defend their own positions for many years with the same methods and techniques, so the issue of positive politics and building trust is actually opposed to the interests of the current elites, which maintaining the status quo is the best guarantee of maintaining the acquired positions of power. Such a corrupt and manipulative political elite has been a brake on the European prospects of Bosnia and Herzegovina for many years, because every reform priority, the elites latently or manifestly declare a danger for some collective interest, renew victimization and create a fictitious internal or external enemy of their own ethnic group, hiding their real motives for slowing down modernization and reforms that necessarily lead to the rule of law, equality before the law, strengthening of institutions, while at the same time weakening the power of political and non-institutional actors close to them.

#### **4.5. Regional context**

Lastly, but not least, we must understand the broader, regional, and often overall global context that strongly influences social processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina. First of all, it is a very close connection of Serbian and Croatian political elites from Bosnia and Herzegovina with their own national centers in Belgrade and Zagreb. The symbiosis between the elites on these two separate tracks does not necessarily have to be a priori negative for the internal processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but each of the three ethno-national political corps from this symbiosis uses segments for confrontation with third parties and homogenization of its own ethnic corps. Bosnia and Herzegovina still does not have an established interstate border with the Republic of Serbia, the use of existing hydropower plants on the border river Drina is a matter of dispute, while projects for the construction of new joint hydropower facilities have been pending for several years primarily due to political disputes.

However, the biggest reason for political disputes between Bosnia and Herzegovina and its neighbours, Serbia and Croatia, is again the war legacy of the 1990s. The judgments of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, as well as domestic courts, have undoubtedly established the involvement and guilt of the then leadership of Croatia and Serbia in the war events in BiH, mass war crimes, as well as political, military command and personal responsibility in dozens of individual judgments. However, instrumentalization, relativization, and even the rehabilitation and glorification of war crimes and criminals essentially nullify any success on the economic, cultural or other level of cooperation and building mutual trust.

The question of the final status of Kosovo is a critical point of regional politics that is reflected almost daily on the relations between political elites in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The attitude of the Republic of Serbia towards the status of Kosovo, through not accepting any form of recognition of independence, has its identical reflection in the political circles of Bosnia and Herzegovina entity Republika Srpska, while on the other hand, Croat and Bosniak political circles advocate a completely opposite point of view, thus contributing to the burdensome regional context. The Western Balkans, as a neuralgic point of global international relations, has been a place of confrontation between global actors from the East and the West for many years, so the overall social relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina must always be placed in a wider, sometimes regional, and sometimes even global geopolitical and geostrategic context.

It is regional relations that are of crucial importance for understanding the relationship towards the NATO (*North Atlantic Treaty Organization*) integration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, because as long as Serbia does not have an affirmative attitude towards NATO integration, so will the political elites, and consequently the majority of citizens, BH entity Republika Srpska be against integration.

Now it is partly easier to answer the questions why society has been trapped in the past for decades, why trust between people is at a very low level and finally, why diversity is still an obstacle, not an opportunity.

Apart from the historical legacy of the former socialist system, which is reflected in the hybrid socio-economic order with many recurrences of the now distant past and the associated narrative that is much closer to the older generations, the captivity in the past is primarily a consequence of a carefully shaped national construct by which political elites maintain a distance between the three great ethnic/national groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Widespread poverty, a high rate of unemployment, corruption and organized crime over a long period of time have become a characteristic of social relations, in which the low standard of living as a consequence of the aforementioned deviations is compensated by a nationalist, confrontational and collectivist narrative, according to which the culprit is always on the other side of the ethnic or state borders. Poverty, on the other hand, is an instrument for preventing or slowing down emancipation, so an impoverished, unenlightened, uneducated and manipulation-prone nation or ethnic group is a strategic and vital interest in maintaining existing power relations among political and other elites.

The existence of the Office of the High Representative (OHR), which is de facto incorporated into the legal and political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina, represents the most serious obstacle to the establishment of democratic sovereignty and the completion of representative democracy with accompanying mechanisms of political responsibility. It is an indisputable fact that the development of the legal and political order in BiH and a higher level of EU integration will lead to a reduction in the role and final transformation of the OHR from an active political to a monitoring mission of the international community in BiH.

No less important segment of the cause-effect analysis is the character and function of the educational system. By contaminating the educational system from the earliest stage to higher education, creating parallel histories and shaping threats coming from other ethnic groups, for almost three decades new generations of followers of such ideology and indoctrination have been raised. When you add to that the extremely intense contaminating political practice without public responsibility, reinforced by

media sensationalism and the culture of spectacle, it is clear that there is basically no political will or interest in internal social cohesion, pragmatic integration and unique policies aimed at a common and progressive future.

The organic process of connection and cooperation among ordinary people, especially on the economic level and in meeting the basic needs of life, is thus opposed in practice to the conflict and segregation narrative that is produced in a targeted, systematic and long-term manner by political elites. Latent apartheid becomes both a goal and a means to prevent faster internal integration, subordination and rapprochement with the European family of states.

We thereby prove that low trust among people is a dominant ideological-political construct, because by insisting on a complex of small differences, a very wide space has been opened for the elites to round up the unenlightened masses within the framework of their own particular interests and maintaining the status quo.

The wealth of diversity on which the idea of the European Union rests, due to its historical, cultural, ethnic, religious and ideological heritage, can and should be of capital importance for the new socio-political paradigm, if Bosnia and Herzegovina, its peoples and citizens, but primarily the elites, want to build a prosperous future. It is obvious, and three decades of stalemate prove it best, that none of the mono-ethnic national policies can win any victory at the expense of the other two, that hidden national goals, as a rule, derived from war goals, cannot be realized without radical legal – political interventions or a new mass conflict, for which there is no humane or any other capital. This then means that the state of cold political war, frozen conflict and maintaining the status quo for as long as possible is the common interest of the political elites, who through such a state can continue to usurp social wealth and the future of their own citizens.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a plural, but also divided and post-conflict society dominated by the perception of a conflict of national interests of Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats. This conflict, or the dominant perception of it, can also be seen as religious, because Islam, Orthodoxy and Catholicism were the most important factors in shaping the collective identities of the three nations/ethnicities and the most powerful instrument used by political elites to prevent the building of collective trust. The connections between the three ethno-national elites and their own religious communities are the strongest social axes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which often form key social issues and even social divisions.

The party system of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a consequence of the aforementioned lines of social cleavages and has centrifugal tendencies. They are reflected in



the opposition of the national-party blocs of Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats, who cannot reach a consensus regarding the statehood and self-sustaining state organization of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially regarding its history and culture, and indirectly also its future. On the other hand, the political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina is building a tri-national and two-entity quasi-federation which, although complex and highly decentralized, has centripetal tendencies in relation to its party system.

Thus, centrifugal tendencies in the party system of Bosnia and Herzegovina came into conflict with centripetal tendencies and actors in its political system. This has made this country unstable and weakly functional, which is then fuel for political elites to deepen mistrust and negatively manage diversity.

This represents a theoretical anomaly, because logic and practice dictate that the party system, that is, the agreement of the elites within it, creates the political system as a product of their consensus. This theoretical oddity has its practical political consequences. They are most visible in the phenomenon of the failure of consociational democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Regardless of the fact that it is a model of democracy suitable for divided societies, for which Belgium is a role model, the way it was established in Bosnia and Herzegovina was also the cause of its failure. The path to the realization of institutionalized consociationalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina was “imposed from above” (through the Dayton constitutional arrangement), not “consensus from below” (through the creation and acceptance of constitutionalism by the sovereign citizens and peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e. their political elites).

Thanks to the conflict between the centrifugal in the party and the centripetal in the political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a series of political and social phenomena occur that prevent the creation of a more stable and functional system. In such a setting of social and political processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a strong partocracy, clientelism, bad economy, lack of freedom is created, inequality, non-reciprocity, general dissatisfaction of citizens and apathy, which, as we explained earlier, is a targeted construction for the sake of particular party interests and maintaining acquired positions of power and further exploitation of social wealth.



## **5. RECOMMENDATIONS: IDENTIFYING FACTORS FOR SUCCESSFUL MANAGEMENT OF DIVERSITIES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

Diversity is the basic democratic value, the achievement of modern society and the success of modern political development. Having the right to diversity, in a wide range from the choice of clothing style, through the choice of gender orientation, to the choice of group identities at the worldview or political level, is an achievement and a basic characteristic of a pluralistic democratic society, as Bosnia and Herzegovina is, or aspires to be. Free highlighting of differences is the basis of social plurality, appreciation and recognition of the diversity of the “other”, regardless of whether this diversity is at the individual or group level. The right to difference is, and it is very important to emphasize, an anti-totalitarian and anti-authoritarian discourse, it is possible and achievable only in societies that have made a political transition from totalitarianism to liberal democracy. Our society is like that, no matter how dissatisfied we are with its achievements. Where there is unity, where there are no differences, Hegel would say that *we are in the night where all the cows are black* or, where unity reigns there is no opinion as provided in Beiser’s (Beiser 2005) interpretation of his philosophical ideas.

The right to difference is institutionally standardized, legitimized and legislatively guaranteed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and according to these provisions, Bosnia and Herzegovina as a state and as a society belongs to the category of democratic environments. The question is what are the boundaries of differences, who determines these boundaries, who establishes the so-called red lines, when can it be appreciated that in exercising one right, that imaginary line of endangering the rights of another has been crossed? On a personal level, in their moral sense, all individual citizens should know when insisting on their own right threatens the same right of another. People possess this moral feeling as anthropological beings of the community, as political beings according to Aristotle, by their own and family education, by humanistic and civilizational education and belonging, by their own tradition, by the positive influence of religious doctrines on our mutual identity relations.

Today, it is quite evident that at the local level in Bosnia and Herzegovina there is sustained self-regulation of the identity differences of the individuals who make up that community, and that all individuals, people, citizens, regardless of their group or ethno-religious affiliation, have what is important in common, a common package of values: personal and property security, a good standard of living, a basic set of so-

cial measures and rights, excellent and free education and healthcare, quality communal services, cheap energy, freedom of movement, freedom of choice, etc. At the individual level, citizens of the entire state and society prefer the same values. How to extrapolate that level to the general, social and state level is a key question, since forms of group identity appear on the non-individual level within which real or artificial differences occur.

The Bosnian-Herzegovinian society is very heterogeneous, both in terms of current and historically inherited conditions. This heterogeneity and these differences are neither possible nor wise to be leveled by any ideological means. Democratic forms of conversation, consensus and compromise, as well as modern democratic methods of building trust across the social vertical and horizontal, have been tested as means of confronting differences and harmonizing different interests. In such circumstances, the basic collective/group rights of all the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina are basically satisfied, there is less and less denial of identity, and no one forces anyone to any forms of assimilation, neither on the ethnic nor on the religious level of identity.

A large number of identity differences at the group level are artificial in nature, they are the work of political and party elites, ideologized narratives that in their essence stem from the lack of will, ignorance or inability of political elites to realize or fulfill the basic life needs of citizens, ordinary people, imaginary members of those groups' identity. Differences at the group level between peoples and their cultural expressions really do exist, but the problem lies in their instrumentalization and ideologization. Such a situation should be accepted as a starting point for any conversation about managing differences. In doing so, objective analysis can and should be used to identify objective differences, their contents and forms of expression, and analytically separate them from subjectivized, imagined and ideologized group differences that have become the refuge of nationalized policies.

In the initial phase of achieving greater stability and functionality in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is necessary to adopt an evolutionary approach that implies the gradual construction of patterns of cooperation and trust in the conditions of a divided and post-conflict society. In the coordination process, the existing Dayton framework is the starting point, just as multi-layered plurality is an unquestionable characteristic of Bosnia and Herzegovina itself. However, plurality does not have to be a factor in the production of bad if it is channeled in the right direction. It can be useful because in conditions of high political awareness it is possible to build sophisticated models of political behavior that achieve greater agreement than that offered in classic representative democracies.

From a policy of high degree of consensus, it is necessary to give birth to several generational compromises, to create several essential assumptions for a sustainable and prosperous society of diversity that builds trust among different ethnic groups, social elites, political representatives and other actors of social importance using modern democratic methods. This series is neither chronological nor definitive, but can serve as a basis for a broader and more detailed analysis and public debate.

- To face the fundamental challenges of the democratic order, which even after 30 years of international recognition has not been completed in the political, legal and other forms of social organization of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The fundamental challenges of representative democracy, which is the topic with which we opened this analysis, should be based on the paradigm of the new and functional political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first and fundamental prerequisite for a successful, democratic and plural society is the equality of all before the law. The rule of law, not the rule of individuals, is the presupposition of an order that will not generate injustice, discrimination or underrepresentation. Second, balanced and proportional representation at all levels of government and in all public institutions, which should be a constitutional and legal obligation, without geographical, ethnic or political limitations or stretching. And third, is the imperative of decentralization, local and regional self-government, up to effective autonomy within the limits of constitutional possibilities. Any strong centralization or unitarization without organic consent and logical reasoning usually produces resistance, autonomy and separatism, which can have fatal consequences for the internal coherence of society.
- The rule of law is the *conditio sine qua non* of any systemic reform undertaking. The transfer of power from institutions to political parties and other decision-making centers has disrupted the institutional order, and the first priority of any systemic reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the strengthening of institutions, their de-politicization and de-partisanization, and legal certainty, which are prerequisites for the rule of law and equality before the law.
- Education must not be a means of indoctrinating new generations with retrograde and confrontational narratives stemming from the war conflicts of the 1990s. The educational system, from preschool to university, must be a space of freedom, knowledge, excellence, nobility and (self) criticism. The educational system must be decontaminated from collectivist, totalitarian, nationalist and other negativist narratives that undoubtedly generate tensions, social frustrations and potential conflicts in a plural society.

- The media in the modern era have a crucial role in the formation of public opinion, so insisting on the educational function of the media, in addition to the informative and entertaining, is of utmost importance. In the era of wide availability of all types of content to everyone, the task of competent institutions is to regulate the media space in the function of building a culture of peace, tolerance, solidarity and nurturing diversity. Strict control of hate speech, and other forms of national, religious and other intolerance primarily towards all minorities, and then control of any media manipulation, production of fake news, and fake content, must not contaminate public space and must be reduced to a minimum. Media literacy of the population, especially at school age, must be ranked among the priorities in future development programs.
- Reconciliation as a prerequisite for managing diversity in a democratic, efficient and sustainable way is still a very live topic in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian context. Confronting the past, effective memorialization and building trust is the only way to overcome the malignant influence of politicization of public space and fabricated ethno-nationalism that have permeated all spheres of life, both public and private.
- The economy and meeting the living needs of ordinary people, improving the standard of living and economic integration from the inside and towards the external environment is a process that takes place despite, and not thanks to, the political elites. Policies that will improve the unique economic space, the flow of people, goods and capital, improve the environment for business and investment, and improve the position of workers and employers through the fifth industrial revolution, modernization and digitization, are the policies of the future and it is unquestionable that these priorities must dictate the reform agenda in the future.
- In recent years, culture and sports have contributed to positive branding of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as internal integration, more than any public policy. Modern country branding can therefore be framed by cultural, traditional, historical, religious, sports and other content that will emphasize the uniqueness and exoticism of a small but endlessly interesting European country at the crossroads of East and West, past and future.
- The role of non-political actors such as religious communities, watch-dog organizations, trade unions and other civil society organizations is probably of crucial importance, because precisely these civil associations have the highest degree of independence from political actors for an integrative social role in

the future. OHR as a quasi-institutional and quasi-political actor, in parallel with the consolidation of the legal-political order and the intensification of the EU integration process, in the future should be transformed into a monitoring mission of the international community, and its role must be taken over by domestic judicial, legislative and executive authorities.

- The electoral system, is a generator of slow democratization, partocracy and politicization of institutions, so the modernization of the electoral process is definitely in the order of priorities that would guide society into the future. The axioms are certainly primarily fair and honest elections, equal value of the vote, proportional geographical and ethnic representation, stabilization of parliamentary majorities, a simple process of implementing election results, the mechanism of extraordinary elections – i.e. the change of government, limiting the number of successive mandates in all directly elected positions, etc.
- Constitutional reforms are necessary for at least two reasons – the abolition of any discriminatory provisions or elements of the constitution that are not in accordance with the European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and the improvement of the constitutional structure of the state and its institutions so that decision-making and the upcoming process integration into the EU was as fast and painless as possible in the legal and political sense.
- Lastly, but still equally important – integration into the EU (and in the perspective of NATO), can undoubtedly contribute to internal stabilization, strengthening of security and mutual trust. No matter how much the political elites resist this integration process, it necessarily brings only good for the state, society and citizens, thereby strengthening the perspective of trust and effective management of diversity in a different, more certain and positive environment. Although there is no political or social consensus on NATO integration, it is inevitable that every step on the EU integration path will help NATO integration, and vice versa, and the regional context will determine when this issue will stop being a stumbling block and become a point of cohabitation.

## **6. CONCLUSION: NAVIGATING DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT IN POST-CONFLICT BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

This study hypothesizes that insufficient success in managing diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina is influenced by the interests of political elites to maintain political power through ethnic divisions. By reviewing the historical context and through qualitative analysis of public discourse the study identifies that main factors that influence management of diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina are political system, socio-economic condition, role of media and education system among the most important. Hence, the journey of Bosnia and Herzegovina towards effective management of its diverse post-conflict society, as illuminated by a comprehensive mixed-methods analysis, highlights a nation standing at a crossroads between its divided past and a potentially unified future. Central to this transition is the cultivation of trust among its ethnic groups, which is paramount for healing and fostering a sense of national identity that transcends historical ethnic divisions.

Equally critical is the role of economic development and integration. Economic progress, characterized by inclusivity and equity, can serve as a bridge across ethnic divides, addressing the socioeconomic disparities that often underpin conflict. The process of EU integration, in which Bosnia and Herzegovina has taken significant strides, presents not only a unifying goal but also a catalyst for essential reforms. These reforms, in line with European standards, promise to streamline laws, drive sustainable development, and embed peace within the societal fabric.

Further, the establishment of a robust and just legal framework is indispensable for the flourishing of democracy. A system where equality before the law is not just a principle but a practice will instill confidence in governance and lay the groundwork for transparent and accountable institutions. Complementing these structural changes, educational reforms that advocate for multiculturalism and tolerance are vital. Such reforms are necessary to nurture a generation that appreciates the nuances of their shared history and values democratic principles.

Lastly, the media's role cannot be overstated in its capacity to shape public opinion and narratives. Media freedom, coupled with responsible journalism, is essential for creating an informed society where sensationalism and divisive rhetoric find no place.

In sum, Bosnia and Herzegovina's path towards managing its diversity and reinforcing its democratic framework is intricate and necessitates a holistic approach. The interplay of historical legacies with emerging opportunities for change presents a unique scenario. Through the concerted efforts in building trust, promoting inclusive

economic growth, upholding the rule of law, committing to EU integration, implementing educational reforms, and ensuring responsible media practices, Bosnia and Herzegovina can navigate its complex landscape towards a future marked by peace, prosperity, and inclusivity.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- BH: Bosnia and Herzegovina  
EU: European union  
NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
OHR: Office of the High Representative

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## ETNIČKE PODJELE I POLITIKA MOĆI: RAZOTKRIVANJE BARIJERA ZA UPRAVLJANJE RAZLIČITOSTIMA I DEMOKRATIZACIJU U POSTKONFLIKTNOJ BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

### Sažetak:

Ovaj članak kritički istražuje faktore koji dovode do stagnacije u demokratizaciji i opstajanju društvenih podjela u postkonfliktnoj Bosni i Hercegovini (BiH), s posebnim fokusom na ulogu političkih elita. Koristeći pristup mješovitih metoda, istraživanje kombinuje historijsku komparativnu analizu sa kvalitativnom analizom sadržaja političkih dešavanja, medijskih izveštaja i javnih izjava. Istraživanje otkriva da su političke elite u BiH sistematski iskorištavale i produbljivale etničke podjele kao sredstvo za konsolidaciju i održavanje vlasti, podržavajući hipotezu da na nedovoljan uspjeh u upravljanju različitostima utiču interesi političkih elita koje političku moć održavaju kroz produbljivanje etničkih podjela. Ovaj proces homogenizacije etničkih grupa radi političke poluge identificiran je kao značajna prepreka demokratizaciji i društvenoj integraciji. Studija takođe ispituje dugotrajne efekte bivšeg jugoslovenskog socijalizma i regionalnih geopolitičkih uticaja, posebno odnosa sa Srbijom i Hrvatskom, na oblikovanje političkog i etničkog pejzaža države i nacije. Glavni nalazi ističu da su namjerne akcije političkih elita, usmjerene na jačanje svojih baza moći kroz etničku polarizaciju, glavni doprinos neuspjehu demokratizacije i nastavku podjele društva. Studija naglašava potrebu za političkim intervencijama koje ciljaju na ključne uzroke etničke podjele, naglašavajući potrebu za političkim

reformama koje umanjuju moć elita u manipulaciji etničkim identitetima. Ovi uvidi su od vitalnog značaja za razumijevanje izazova u BiH i nude vrijedne lekcije za druga postkonfliktna i multietnička društva koja se suočavaju s izazovima demokratizacije i međuetničkog pomirenja.

**Ključne riječi:** demokratizacija i tranzicija; upravljanje različitostima; postkonfliktna društva; Bosna i Hercegovina; integracije u Evropsku uniju; nacionalizam i etnička pripadnost; socijalna kohezija

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Review paper

**Jelisaveta Blagojević**

## **CRNA GORA: POLITIKA OTVORENIH VRATA PREMA UKRAJINSKIM IZBJEGLICAMA**

Cilj rada je da ukaže na to na koji način se Crna Gora suočila sa ukrajinskom izbjegličkom krizom, imajući u vidu da predstavlja zemlju Zapadnog Balkana sa najvećim brojem primljenih izbjeglica. Teorijski okvir rada zasniva se na Haasovoj teoriji migracija, kao i FitzGerald Ararovoj studiji razumijevanja pojma izbjeglica. U skladu sa tim, a primjenom metoda analiza slučaje i analize sadržaja dostupnih dokumenata, interpretirana su kako normativna rješenja u Crnoj Gori koja se odnose na privremenu zaštitu lica iz Ukrajine, tako i dostupni podaci u vezi sa pristupom osnovnim pravima iz ovog režima. Zaključili smo da su ukrajinske izbjeglice dolaskom u Crnu Goru ostvarile „pozitivnu slobodu”, odnosno dobile zaštitu u samostalno odabranoj zemlji odredišta u skladu sa nacionalnim pravnim okvirom usklađenim sa evropskim zakonodavstvom.

**Ključne riječi:** Ukrajina; Crna Gora; izbjeglička kriza; privremena zaštita; migracija

### **1. UVOD**

Dvogodišnje ratno stanje na teritoriji Ukrajine, posebno u njenom južnom i istočnom dijelu, suočava njeno stanovništvo sa stalnim prijetnjama granatiranjem, oružanim napadima, minama, razdvajanjem porodice, pljačkama, rodno zasnovanim nasiljem i trgovinom ljudima. Pored toga, ključna infrastruktura, energetska, saobraćajna, zatim zdravstvene i obrazovne ustanove, luke, skladišta žita i druga skladišta i

postrojenja izložena su čestim napadima, čime se u pitanje dovode mogućnosti ispunjavanja osnovnih životnih potreba. To je dovelo do iseljavanja značajnog dijela ukrajinskog stanovništva u potrazi za bezbjednijim, mirnijim, boljim i kvalitetnijim okruženjem za život i rad. Prema dostupnim podacima iz januara 2024. godine, 14,6 miliona ljudi (40% trenutne populacije) i dalje ima potrebu za humanitarnom pomoći i zaštitom (IOM 2024).

Iako se Crna Gora ne graniči sa Ukrajinom i nije joj geografski blizu kao neke druge zemlje, značajan broj Ukrajinaca utočište je našao na crnogorskoj teritoriji. Cilj ovog rada je da pruži odgovor na pitanje kako je Crna Gora pravno-institucionalno odgovorila na priliv izbjeglica, te da li su one integrisane u društvo kroz ostvarenje osnovnih prava i obaveza koje proizlaze iz statusa privremene zaštite. Konceptualno-teorijski okvir rada zasniva se na Haasovoj teoriji migratornih kretanja koja naglašava ulogu samih migranata, u ovom slučaju izbjeglica, odnosno njihovih odluka i djelovanja, a koja je povezana sa FitzGerald Ararovim konstruktivističkim i realističnim pristupom konceptualizaciji pojma izbjeglica. Kroz navedenu teorijsku eksplanaciju, a posredstvom metode analize sadržaja i analize slučaja, predstavljena su pravna rješenja u pogledu zaštite ukrajinskih izbjeglica na crnogorskoj teritoriji, kao i podaci u vezi sa tim, u kojoj mjeri lica pod režimom zaštite imaju pristup garantovanim pravima, pri čemu su predstavljeni rezultati istraživanja Međunarodne organizacije za migracije (*International Organization for Migration, IOM*) zasnovani na jasno razrađenoj metodologiji. U zaključnim razmatranjima ukazano je na ekonomske i demografske uticaje priliva izbjeglica, kao i na njihovo kretanje od tzv. negativnih ka tzv. pozitivnim slobodama.

## 2. KONCEPTUALNO-TEORIJSKI OKVIR ANALIZE

Definisanje pojma izbjeglica od izuzetne je važnosti imajući u vidu da može postati pitanje života i smrti, zavisno od toga da li će je odgovarajuće vlasti priznati određenom pojedincu ili grupi (FitzGerald i Arar 2018: 3). U tom cilju dat je prikaz osnovnih teorijskih perspektiva kada su u pitanju migratorna kretanja kao osnova razumijevanja i tzv. „prisilnih“ migracija u koje se ubrajaju izbjeglička kretanja. Jedna od novijih studija koja se bavi migratornim kretanjima jeste naučna analiza Haasa (2021) koja sintetiše više teorijskih pravaca i autora (Frank 1966; Mabogunje 1970; Harris i Todaro 1970; Wallerstein 1974, 1980; Piore 1979; Skeldon 1990; Massey 1990, 2019; Sassen 1991; Cohen 1997; Vertovec 2009; Zhang et al. 2018) te na bazi toga nudi novi teorijski pristup koji uzima u obzir individualna iskustva, odluke i

aspiracije onih koji se kreću sa dvije vrste slobode: pozitivna ('sloboda za' *freedom to*) i negativna ('sloboda od' *freedom from*). Kombinujući taj pristup sa konstruktivističkim i realističnim pristupom kategorizaciji pojma izbjeglica definisali smo analitički okvir razumijevanja priliva ukrajinskih izbjeglica u Crnoj Gori.

Proučavanje migratornih kretanja je, kako ocjenjuje Haas (2021), već decenijama u pat-poziciji. Njihovo razumijevanje predstavlja istraživačko pitanje za više naučnih disciplina, uključujući sociologiju, geografiju, istoriju, politiku, pravo i ekonomiju. Stoga su i teorije koje se bave interpretacijom procesa koji pokreću migracije nastale u različitim disciplinama društvenih nauka od početka XIX vijeka do danas. Haas (2021: 4) ih dijeli u dvije teorijske paradigme: „funkcionalističke”, koje migracije interpretiraju kao strategiju optimizacije pojedinca ili porodice koji vrše analizu troškova i benefita, i „istorijsko-strukturalne”, koje naglašavaju oblikovanje migracija strukturnim ekonomskim nejednakostima, kao i ulogu migracija u jačanju takvih nejednakosti.

Funkcionalističke migracijske teorije percipiraju migracije kao pozitivan fenomen koji doprinosi produktivnosti, prosperitetu, i većoj jednakosti u društvima porijekla i odredišta kroz dvosmjerne tokove resursa, odnosno novca, robe i znanja. Glavni problem ove teorije je njen redukcionistički karakter, tj. zanemarivanje siromaštva, nejednakosti, imigracionih restrikcija, represije vlada i nasilja (Haas 2021: 6). S druge strane, istorijsko-strukturalne teorije objašnjavaju ulogu društvenih, ekonomskih, kulturnih i političkih struktura u povećanju nejednakosti i siromaštva. Na primjer, u najsiromašnijim zemljama Afrike i Azije, mogućnost legalnih migracija u Evropu, Sjevernu Ameriku i druge bogate zemlje uglavnom predstavljaju privilegiju elitnih grupa, dok su drugi prisiljeni na ilegalne migracije čime se produbljuju nejednakosti u društvu porijekla. Osnovni problem ovakvog pristupa je interpretiranje migracija kao nečeg izazvanog globalnim makro silama i zanemarivanje stvarnih odnosa i uzroka. Sagledavanje migracija kao 'očajničkog bijega od bijede', ili prikazivanje migranata kao pasivnih žrtava krijumčara i trgovaca ljudima, ne pridaje značaj činjenici da većina migranata kreće svojevóljno (Haas 2021: 8).

Haas naglašava da je u cilju postizanja sveobuhvatnog teorijskog razumijevanja migracija potrebno sagledati migracije kao dio niza širih društvenih, političkih, kulturnih, ekonomskih, tehnoloških i demografskih promjena, odnosno društvenih transformacija, trendova razvoja i globalizacije. U tom smislu migranti se posmatraju kao aktivni činiooci koji donose sopstvene odluke uzimajući u obzir manje ili više ograničenja. Ograničenja postoje kada su u pitanju i dobrovoljne i prisilne migracije sa tim što su u slučaju prisilnih migracija (izbjeglištvo, ropstvo, deportacije) ta

ograničenja veća i mogućnosti samostalnog djelovanja značajno manje ili čak odsutne. Izbjeglice su prisilni migranti jer nemaju opciju da ostanu u zemlji porijekla zbog opasnosti da budu krivično gonjeni, povrijeđeni ili ubijeni. S druge strane, imaju pristup sredstvima potrebnim za odlazak iz zemlje i dobijanje legalnog boravišta u drugoj zemlji, oni koji nemaju takva sredstva obično odlaze u bliže susjedstvo, gdje su izloženi pritiscima države porijekla, i ostaju u „nevoljnoj nepokretnost“ (*involuntary immobility*, Lubkemann 2008).

Konceptualna deteminacija pojma izbjeglica često podrazumijeva potpunu distinkciju od pojma migrant. Naime, Agencija Ujedinjenih nacija za izbeglice (UNHCR) insistira na tome da „izbeglice nijesu migranti“, a sve u cilju njihove zaštite od restriktivnih politika (FitzGerald i Arar 2018: 388). Kada su transokeanske evropske imigracije zapljusnule Novi svijet krajem 19. i početkom 20. vijeka nijesu postojali posebni međunarodni režimi za prijem izbjeglica. Konsekvntno, izučavanje pitanja statusa izbjeglica, njihovih prava i integracije u društvo predstavlja relativno nov naučni poduhvat. Britanski akademici su 1980-ih distinkciju objasnili različitim faktorima koji uzrokuju njihovo kretanje i jedinstvenim pravnim obavezama države koja treba da zaštiti izbjeglice (Ibid.).

Pojam izbjeglica pojavio se u engleskom jeziku u 17. vijeku kako bi objasnio progon Hugenota iz Francuske (Ibid. 389). Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, usvojena je Konvencija o statusu izbjeglica 1951 koja se odnosila samo na izbjeglice Evropljane koji su napustili svoje domove nakon rata, što je izmijenjeno Protokolom 1967. godine. Konvencija je izmijenjena samo jednom, ovim Protokolom, a predstavlja centralnu osnovu današnjeg međunarodnog režima zaštite izbjeglica (Goodwin-Gill 2008). No, Hathaway (2016: 93) ističe da je Konvencija sve više marginalna u smislu obezbjeđenja zaštite izbjeglica širom svijeta, budući da ne žive svoje živote slobodno i nezavisno.

Problem kategorizacije pojma izbjeglica proizlazi i iz različitog značenja u različitim državama. Naime, ista osoba koja je u Keniji „izbjeglica“, može biti „gost“ u Jordanu, „tražilac azila“ u Njemačkoj, ili „radnik migrant“ u Ujedinjenim Arapskim Emiratima (FitzGerald i Arar 2018: 391). Osim toga, raseljena lica nekada odbijaju naziv izbjeglica i/ili ga koriste samo u komunikaciji sa organima vlasti. Prema IMO (2019: 55), raseljena osoba je osoba koja je bila primorana ili obavezana da pobjegne ili napusti svoj dom ili mjesto stalnog boravka, ili preko međunarodne granice ili unutar jedne države, posebno kao rezultat ili radi izbjegavanja posljedica oružanog sukoba, situacija opšteg nasilja, kršenja ljudskih prava ili prirodnih ili ljudskim faktorom izazvanih katastrofa. Sa druge strane, termin izbjeglica se odnosi na osobu

koja se, zbog opravdanog straha od progona zbog rase, religije, nacionalnosti, pripadnosti određenoj društvenoj grupi ili političkog mišljenja, nalazi izvan zemlje svog državljanstva i nije u mogućnosti ili zbog straha ne želi da koristi zaštitu te zemlje; ili osoba koja nema državljanstvo i nalazi se izvan zemlje svog nekadašnjeg stalnog boravišta kao rezultat takvih događaja te nije u mogućnosti ili zbog straha ne želi da se vrati u nju (IOM 2019: 171). Jedna od rasprava prilikom donošenja Konvencije odnosila se na to da li u definiciju izbjeglica uključiti interno raseljene osobe<sup>1</sup>, ali je radi poštovanja principa suvereniteta država i neintervencije ostala definicija da su izbjeglice samo osobe koje su prešle međunarodnu granicu (Fitzgerald i Arar 2018: 390).

Ko što smo vidjeli kod Haasa (2021), prilikom definisanja pojma izbjeglice često se koriste izrazi prisilnog, nedobrovoljnog, reaktivnog kretanja, pri čemu se u istu kategoriju kao lica koja odlaze zbog rata stavljaju lica koja su napustila dom zbog prirodnih nepogoda, deportovanja, trafikinga i slično. Bec (2013) je razvio koncept „migracija opstanka“ (*survival migration*), koji kao osnovni razlog odlaska identifikuje egzistencijalne uzroke, a ne težnju za maksimiziranjem potrošačke koristi. U tom smislu FitzGerald i Arar (2018) insistiraju na povezivanju studija fokusiranih na izbjeglice sa teorijama migracija kao i ispitivanje ekonomskih uslova, nasilja, njihove povezanosti. Ovaj pristup implicira realističnu konceptualizaciju izbjeglica koja podrazumijeva da priznavanje statusa izbjeglice ne čini nekog izbjeglicom, već deklariše postojeće stanje. Drugim riječima, dato lice ne postaje izbjeglica zbog priznanja, već je priznat jer je izbjeglica.

FitzGerald i Arar (2018) ukazuju na problem integracije izbjeglica u društva zemalja odredišta, gdje se uz pomoć međunarodnih agencija i NVO sektora obezbjeđuje pristup osnovnim pravima smještaja, rada, obrazovanja i zaposlenja, dok pitanje političkih i građanskih prava i sticanja državljanstva ostaje neriješeno iz generacije u generaciju. Zapravo, većina izbjeglica mora da se oslanja na norme ljudskih prava i međunarodnu zaštitu koja ograničava suverenitet zemalja koje su primile izbjeglice.

Uzimajući u obzir Haasovu teoriju migratornih kretanja kao širu osnovu, te primjenom Fitz Gerald i Ararovog razumijevanja pojma izbjeglica, kao i njihove integracije, u nastavku teksta ćemo analizirati prihvata i integraciju ukrajinskih izbjeglica u crnogorsko društvo kroz pregled osnovnih normi, kao i njihovog individualnog iskustva u vezi sa zaštitom u Crnoj Gori.

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1 Interno raseljene osobe su osobe ili grupe osoba koje su bile primorane ili obavezane da pobjegnu ili napuste svoje domove ili mjesta stalnog boravka, posebno kao rezultat ili radi izbjegavanja posljedica oružanog sukoba, situacija opšteg nasilja, kršenja ljudskih prava ili prirodnih ili ljudskim faktorom izazvanih katastrofa, a koje nijesu prešle međunarodno priznatu državnu granicu (IOM 2019: 109).



### 3. PRAVNA RJEŠENJA PRIVREMENE ZAŠTITE UKRAJINACA

Pravni i institucionalni osnov upravljanja migracionim kretanjima i pritiscima, uključujući priliv izbjeglica i postupanja sa licima koja traže međunarodnu i privremenu zaštitu u Crnoj Gori usklađen je sa zahtjevima i kriterijumima ulaska Crne Gore u Evropsku uniju. S tim u vezi ispunjenju obaveza u pogledu viza, upravljanja granicom, azila i migracija, kao i ilegalnih migracija i Sporazuma o readmisiji koje proizlaze iz Sporazuma o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju Evropskoj uniji (članovi 82 i 83),<sup>2</sup> nadovezuju se, *inter alia*, i zahtjevi koji su obučeni pregovaračkim poglavljem 24 „Pravda, sloboda i bezbjednost”.

Na bazi međunarodno preuzetih obaveza, odnosno međunarodnog i evropskog prava u ovoj oblasti, te ustavnih odredbi,<sup>3</sup> definisana su i usvojena dva krovna zakona: Zakon o međunarodnoj i privremenoj zaštiti stranaca<sup>4</sup> i Zakon o strancima.<sup>5</sup> Pored zakonskih rješenja, u cilju uspješnog, kvalitetnog i integrisanog upravljanja migracionim kretanjima Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova CG (MUP 2021, 2019)<sup>6</sup> pripremi je i usvojilo: Strategiju o migracijama i reintegraciji povratnika u Crnoj Gori, 2021-2025. godina, kao i Strategiju integrisanog upravljanja granicom 2020-2024.

Ovakvim normativnim okvirom upravljanja migracijama Crna Gora se približila ispunjenju kriterijuma za ulazak u Uniju. Preciznije, Evropska komisija je u sklopu Izvještaja o napretku Crne Gore za 2023. godinu (European Commission 2023: 62-63), ocijenila da je pravno kvir Crne Gore o azilu, kao i u oblasti legalnih i nezakonitih migracija u velikoj mjeri usklađen sa pravnom tekovinom EU. Ukazano je i na ojačan sistem azila, te istaknuto izdvajanje značajnih budžetskih sredstva na proširenje kapaciteta za prijem. Kao posmatrač, pridružila se Evropskoj mreži za

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2 *Sporazum o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju Crne Gore EU*, Ministarstvo ekonomskog razvoja, preuzeto sa: <https://www.gov.me/dokumenta/027ba344-ba95-4f17-9ec6-88b6e9ba3ea7>, pristup 08. 02. 2024.

3 Član 44 *Ustava Crne Gore*, “Službeni list Crne Gore”, br. 001/07 od 25. 10. 2007, 038/13 od 02. 08. 2013.

4 *Zakon o međunarodnoj i privremenoj zaštiti stranaca*, “Službeni list Crne Gore”, br. 002/17 od 10. 01. 2017, 003/19 od 15. 01. 2019. Usaglašen je sa Direktivom 2013/32/EU o zajedničkim postupcima za odobravanje i oduzimanje međunarodne zaštite i Direktivom 2011/95/EU o standardima za kvalifikaciju državljana trećih zemalja ili lica bez državljanstva za ostvarivanje međunarodne zaštite, za jedinstveni status izbjeglica ili lica koja ispunjavaju uslove za supsidijarnu zaštitu i sadržaj odobrene zaštite (Koprivica 2021).

5 *Zakon o strancima*, “Službeni list Crne Gore”, br. 012/18 od 23. 02. 2018, 003/19 od 15. 01. 2019, 086/22 od 03. 08. 2022. Usaglašen je sa Direktivom 2008/115/EZ o zajedničkim standardima i postupcima država članica za vraćanje državljana trećih zemalja s nezakonitim boravkom (Koprivica 2021).

6 *Uredbom o organizaciji i načinu rada Državne uprave*, “Službeni list Crne Gore”, br. 098/23 od 31. 10. 2023, 102/23 od 17. 11. 2023, 113/23 od 15. 12. 2023, utvrđeno je da Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova vrši poslove u ovoj oblasti.

migracije u septembru 2022. godine, a zaključila je 12 sporazuma o readmisiji sa zemljama koje nijesu članice Unije.

Kako je predviđeno Zakonom o strancima, stranci u Crnoj Gori mogu da borave do 90 dana, privremeno ili stalno. Takođe, mogu da traže međunarodnu zaštitu u skladu sa Zakonom o međunarodnoj i privremenoj zaštiti stranaca pri čemu ona obuhvata azil i supsidijarnu zaštitu, kao i privremenu zaštitu. S obzirom na to da je fokus ovog rada na objašnjenju pozicije ukrajinskih izbjeglica u Crnoj Gori, te da je Crna Gora omogućila odobravanje privremene zaštite licima iz Ukrajine, u nastavku teksta biće dat pregled osnovnih zakonskih rješenja u vezi sa privremenom zaštitom (članovi 92-105).<sup>7</sup>

U slučajevima masovnog priliva ili predstojećeg masovnog priliva stranaca iz trećih zemalja koji se ne mogu vratiti u zemlju svog porijekla, u skladu sa ovim zakonom može se odobriti privremena zaštita tih lica. U tom smislu strancima se smatraju državljani trećih zemalja i lica bez državljanstva koja su bila prisiljena da napuste područje ili zemlju porijekla, odnosno koja su bila evakuisana, a koja se ne mogu vratiti trajno u sigurne uslove života zbog situacije koja vlada u toj zemlji, a naročito ako su: napustili područja oružanih sukoba ili lokalnog nasilja; ili su u ozbiljnom riziku od sistematskog ili opšteg kršenja ljudskih prava ili su bili žrtve takvog kršenja ljudskih prava. Odluku o odobravanju privremene zaštite donosi Vlada na prijedlog Ministarstva, a može je donijeti i u slučaju kad Savjet Evropske unije utvrdi postojanje masovnog priliva lica.

Privremena zaštita odobrava se na vrijeme od jedne godine, nakon čega se može produžavati na šest mjeseci, a najduže do jedne godine. Izuzetno, privremena zaštita se može produžiti na osnovu odluke Savjeta Evropske unije, a najduže za još jednu godinu. Privremena zaštita prestaje istekom propisanog vremena trajanja zaštite ili odlukom Savjeta Evropske unije.

Stranac pod privremenom zaštitom ima pravo na: boravak u Crnoj Gori za vrijeme trajanja privremene zaštite; primjeren smještaj, neophodnu pomoć i osnovna sredstva za život (hrana, odjeća, higijenska sredstva i dr.), ako ne posjeduje novčana sredstva; zdravstvenu zaštitu (hitnu medicinsku pomoć, neophodno liječenje bolesti i ozbiljnih mentalnih poremećaja); osnovno i srednje obrazovanje i prekvalifikaciju i dokvalifikaciju pod istim uslovima kao crnogorski državljanin; informacije o boravku, pravima i obavezama na razumljivom jeziku; pravo na rad bez dozvole za

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<sup>7</sup> Određene zakonske odredbe predstavljene su integralno u cilju preciznosti i jasnoće razumijevanja ovog vida zaštite. Detaljnije pogledati u Zakonu odredbe koje se odnose na obaveze lica pod privremenom zaštitom kao i razlozima zbog kojih njihov zahtjev može biti odbijen.

boravak i rad ili potvrde o prijavi rada u smislu zakona kojim se uređuje boravak stranaca; spajanje porodice; ispravu koja se smatra dozvolom boravka u Crnoj Gori; pravo na podnošenje zahtjeva za međunarodnu zaštitu.

U skladu sa navedenim zakonskim odredbama, Vlada Crne Gore je 2022. godine donijela Odluku o odobravanju privremene zaštite licima iz Ukrajine<sup>8</sup>, kojom se odobrava privremena zaštita u trajanju od jedne godine državljanima Ukrajine licima bez državljanstva kojima je posljednje boravište bilo u Ukrajini i licima kojima je Ukrajina odobrila međunarodnu zaštitu, a koja se ne mogu vratiti u Ukrajinu koju su bili prisiljeni da napuste zbog oružanih sukoba. S obzirom na zakonske odredbe koje se odnose na trajanje privremene zaštite od jednu godinu, data Odluka je izmijenjena i dopunjena 2023. i 2024. godine kako bi se ukrajinskim izbjeglicama boravak produžio za još godinu dana (Ibid).

Odlukom o odobravanju privremene zaštite licima iz Ukrajine, *inter alia*, propisano je da radi nadzora nad sprovođenjem ove odluke Vlada Crne Gore obrazuje Koordinaciono tijelo<sup>9</sup> čije se obaveze odnose na praćenje i koordinaciju aktivnosti i mjera koje preduzimaju nadležni organi i institucije u cilju sprovođenja Odluke; saradnju sa međunarodnim organizacijama i Crvenim krstom Crne Gore (CKCG); preduzimanje aktivnosti radi revidiranja Plana djelovanja u slučaju mogućeg priliva izbjeglica i migranata i slično.<sup>10</sup> Koordinaciono tijelo o sprovođenju Odluke informiše Vladu Crne Gore,<sup>11</sup> pri čemu iznosi podatke sa terena, analizira ih i konstatuje stepen ostvarenosti prava u skladu sa zakonom utvrđenim obimom istih. S obzirom na to da se navedeni izvještaji mogu pronaći na internet stranicama Vlade Crne Gore (Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova 2023) i da sadrže opšte podatke, u ovom radu neće biti izloženi njihovi zaključci, već rezultati istraživanja koje je sproveo IOM kroz intervjuisanje samih korisnika režima privremene zaštite. To je u skladu sa postavljenim teorijskim okvirom, gdje se naglašava odlučivanje i djelovanje na individualnom nivou samih izbjeglica, kao i FitzGerald Ararovim razumijevanjem priznanja statusa izbjeglica i njihove integracije u društvo zemlje odredišta.

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8 Odluka o odobravanju privremene zaštite licima iz Ukrajine, "Službeni list Crne Gore", br. 026/22 od 11. 03. 2022, 019/23 od 20. 02. 2023.

9 Odluka o obrazovanju Koordinacionog tijela za vršenje nadzora nad sprovođenjem Odluke o odobravanju privremene zaštite licima iz Ukrajine, "Službeni list Crne Gore", br. 036/22 od 06. 04. 2022, 103/22 od 21. 09. 2022, 030/23 od 17. 03. 2023.

10 Ibid, član 4.

11 Član 4, stav 4 Odluke o odobravanju privremene zaštite licima iz Ukrajine, "Službeni list Crne Gore", br. 026/22 od 11. 03. 2022, 019/23 od 20. 02. 2023.

#### 4. PRISTUP OSNOVNIM PRAVIMA IZ PRIVREMENE ZAŠTITE

Prema procjenama UNHCR-a (2024) na dan 15. februar 2024 u Evropi je bilo registrovano 6.004.100 izbjeglica iz Ukrajine, van Evrope 475.600, a na globalnom nivou 6.479.700. Kada su u pitanju evropske zemlje, najveći broj se nalazi u ukrajinskom susjedstvu, odnosno u zemljama obuhvaćenim Planom regionalnog odgovora na izbjegličku situaciju u Ukrajini. Kao što je predstavljeno u tabelarnom prikazu (Tabela 1), najveći broj izbjeglica iz Ukrajine nalazi se u Poljskoj, Republici Češkoj, Slovačkoj, Rumuniji, Bugarskoj, Mađarskoj, Litvaniji, Letoniji i Estoniji. Značajan broj se nalazi i u zemljama koje nijesu dio ovog Plana, posebno u Rusiji (1.212.585, Tabela 2). Što se tiče zemalja Zapadnog Balkana, najveći broj izbjeglica u odnosu na broj stanovnika primila je Crna Gora. To je ocijenjeno i u Izvještaju Evropske komisije o napretku Crne Gore za 2023. godinu (European Commission 2023). Naime, Crna Gora je na dan 29. 01. 2024 imala 65.105 izbjeglica iz Ukrajine, dok je ukupan broj izbjeglica koje su podnijele zahtjev za dobijanje azila, privremene zaštite ili sličan program zaštite do naznačenog datuma bio 10.380 (Tabela 3). U 2022. godini podnijeto je 7.702 zahtjeva za odobrenje privremene zaštite, a u 2023. godini 2.575 novih i 4.299 zahtjeva za produženje ranije odobrene privremene zaštite licima iz Ukrajine (Vlada Crne Gore 2024).

**Tabela 1:** Broj ukrajinskih izbjeglica u zemljama koje su dio Plana regionalnog odgovora na izbjegličku situaciju u Ukrajini

Zemlja	Datum podataka	Broj izbjeglica iz Ukrajine	Broj izbjeglica iz Ukrajine koje su tražile azil, TP ili sličan program zaštite	Broj prelazaka granice iz Ukrajine od 24. februara 2022.	Broj prelazaka granice u Ukrajinu od 24. februara 2022.
Poljska	15.12.2023.	956.635	1.640.510	17.293.665	14.741.500
Republika Češka	31.01.2024.	381.400	589.285	/	/
Republika Moldavija	18.02.2024.	116.195	38.000	1.023.385	735.535
Slovačka	18.02.2024.	115.875	137.755	2.088.050	1.948.720
Rumunija	19.02.2024.	78.745	157.220	4.044.015	3.456.595
Bugarska	14.02.2024.	67.770	177.080	/	/
Mađarska	18.02.2024.	65.585	41.065	4.309.740	/
Litvanija	31.01.2024.	52.670	83.750	/	/
Letonija	31.12.2023.	43.825	52.120	/	/
Estonija	04.02.2024.	38.245	57.725	/	/

Izvor: UNHCR (2024)

**Tabela 2:** Broj ukrajinskih izbjeglica u susjednim zemljama koje nijesu dio Plana regionalnog odgovora na izbjegličku situaciju u Ukrajini

Zemlja	Datum podataka	Broj izbjeglica iz Ukrajine	Broj izbjeglica iz Ukrajine koje su tražile azil, privremenu zaštitu ili sličan program zaštite	Broj prelazaka granice iz Ukrajine od 24. februara 2022.	Broj prelazaka granice u Ukrajinu od 24. februara 2022.
Bjelorusija	31.12. 2023.	39.900	3.400	16.70 5	/
Ruska Federacija	30.06.2023.	1.212.585	34.265	2.852. 395	/

Izvor: UNHCR (2024)

**Tabela 3:** Broj ukrajinskih izbjeglica u zemljama Zapadnog Balkana

Zemlja	Datum podataka	Broj izbjeglica iz Ukrajine	Broj izbjeglica iz Ukrajine koje su tražile azil, privremenu zaštitu ili sličan program zaštite
Albanija	07.11.2023.	7.495	35
Bosna i Hercegovina	31.01.2024.	215	215
Crna Gora	29.01.2024.	65.105	10.380
Sjeverna Makedonija	28.01.2024	18.915	405
Srbija i Kosovo: S/RES/1244 (1999)	31.01.2024.	4.245	2.350

Izvor: UNHCR (2024)

Značajnu ulogu u procesu obezbjeđenja pristupa pravima iz privremene zaštite ima Predstavništvo UNHCR-a u Crnoj Gori, CKCG, Kancelarija IOM-a u Crnoj Gori, Ambasada Ukrajine u Crnoj Gori, nevladin sektor i drugi zainteresovani i uključeni akteri. U saradnji sa Međunarodnom federacijom Crvenog krsta i Crvenog polumjeseca CKCG obezbjedio je višenamjenska gotovinska sredstava (*Multipurpose Cash, MPC*, OCHA 2024), čiji je fokus na ranjivim grupama. Pokrenut je i program finansijske podrške putem samoregistracije, poznat kao *Access RC* koji omogućava pružanje pomoći za 3.000 najranjivijih pojedinaca (OCHAApr 2023).

U cilju boljeg uvida u profile onih koji napuštaju Ukrajinu i dolaze u Crnu Goru, kao i razumijevanja njihovih osnovnih potreba i iskustva u vezi sa podnošenjem zahtjeva za privremenom zaštitom u Crnoj Gori, IMO je sproveda istraživanje o privremenoj zaštiti za ukrajinske izbjeglice u Crnoj Gori. U periodu između 3. i 23. marta 2023. godine intervjuisane su 173 osobe u opštinama Herceg Novi, Bar i

Budva, kao i predstavnici MUP-a, Ministarstva zdravlja, NVO „Građanska alijansa“, Ambasade Ukrajine u Podgorici i četvero ukrajinskih državljana sa boravištem u Crnoj Gori (OCHA, Jun 2023: 1). Ukrajinski državljani činili su 98,3% uzorka, a preostalih 1,7 posto državljani Ruske Federacije sa stalnim boravištem u Ukrajini. Većina uzorka (81,5%) bile su žene, najstariji ispitanik imao je 92, a najmlađi 16 godina, malo više od polovine (50,3%) ispitanika u ovom uzorku napustilo je Ukrajinu u februaru, martu i aprilu 2022. godine. Većina ispitanika (56,6%) bila je u braku, dok je 20,8% bilo razdvojeno ili razvedeno, 13,9% samaca, 6,4% udovaca, a 2,3% je živjelo u nekom vidu vanbračne zajednice. Kada je u pitanju obrazovanje, ispitanici ukrajinski državljani imali su visok nivo obrazovanja, više od tri četvrtine završilo je neki fakultet, pri čemu je skoro polovina posjedovala master diplome (Ibid. 2-3).

Većina ispitanika (93,1%) podnijela je zahtjev za privremenu zaštitu, dok je 6,9 posto izjavilo da planira da to uradi. U prosjeku, čekali su 45 dana prije nego što su dobili status privremene zaštite, dok je četvrtina ispitanika čekala između 60 i 120 dana. U sklopu programa privremene zaštite Vlada Crne Gore obezbijedila je smještaj za 80 osoba, uključujući 25 djece u hotelu „Sato“ u Sutormu.<sup>12</sup> Osim toga, ukrajinske izbjeglice često iznajmljuju i privatni smještaj čija je cijena u prosjeku oko 500 eura mjesečno (Ibid.).

Uprkos činjenici da je znatan dio ukrajinskih državljana visokoobrazovan, poslodavci često oklijevaju da ih zaposle na osnovu statusa privremene zaštite, gdje se posebno problematizuje proces priznavanja diploma, kao i nepoznavanje lokalnog jezika. U tom kontekstu skoro tri četvrtine (72,2%) ispitanika izjavilo je da nije zaposleno u Crnoj Gori (Ibid.).

Kada je u pitanju pohađanje crnogorskih vaspitno-obrazovnih ustanova, 213 ukrajinske djece je pohađalo škole, dok su javni vrtići prebukirani, a privatni često neprihvatljivo skupi. Većina lica (66,4%) nije ni pokušala da ostvari pristup osnovnom i/ili srednjem obrazovanju u Crnoj Gori (Ibid.).

Što se tiče zdravstvene zaštite, lica sa statusom privremene zaštite imaju pristup primarnoj zdravstvenoj zaštiti, pri čemu ljekari moraju ručno da ispunjavaju recepte budući da identifikacioni brojevi ovih lica nijesu validni prema Zakonu o osiguranju i samim tim se ne mogu registrovati u elektronskom sistemu. Dešavalo se da nijesu dobili dovoljno informacija o datim pravima. Većina ispitanika istakla je da je pokušala pristupiti zdravstvenim uslugama – 64,8, od čega je samo 10 posto prijavilo neki od gore navedenih problema (Ibid.).

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12 Osim u ovom hotelu, lica pod privremenom zaštitom bila su smještena i u hotelu „Onogošt“ u Nikšiću, kao i u hotelu „IlSole“ u Beranama (Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova 2023: 4-5).

Kada su u pitanju ostala prava u skladu da zakonskim odredbama: većina ispitanika, 62%, izjavilo je da nije bilo informisano o pravima i obavezama; velika većina, 92,4%, nije pokušala spajanje porodice, od onih koji su pokušali 77,8% navelo je da nijesu imali problema u tom pogledu (Ibid.).

Navedeni podaci su odabrani kao relevantni i primjenjivi za prezentaciju i razumijevanje date problematike budući da ih je prikupila vodeća međunarodna organizacija u oblasti migracija koja djeluje u okviru sistema Ujedinjenih nacija (IOM 2024).<sup>13</sup> Cilj nije potpuna generalizacija na sve ukrajinke izbjeglice u Crnoj Gori, s obzirom na uzorak od 173 intervjuisane osobe, ali uzimajući u obzir i strukturu uzorka podaci svakako daju određeni uvid u mogućnosti ostvarivanja garantovanih prava iz sistema privremene zaštite. Štaviše, slični osnovni statistički podaci (bez ispitanog mišljenja lica pod zaštitom) o pristupu obrazovnim, zdravstvenim i drugim uslugama sadržani su i u izvještajima Koordinacionog tijela za vršenje nadzora nad sprovođenjem Odluke o odobravanju privremene zaštite licima iz Ukrajine.

Prema ovim zvaničnim podacima od 14. marta 2022. godine do 01. decembra 2023. godine MUP je izdao 9.752 isprave za strance pod privremenom zaštitom (Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova 2023: 6). Od toga smještaj i osnovna sredstva za život zatražilo je 155 lica, od kojih je 27 lica bilo zbrinuto u smještajnim kapacitetima Centra za prihvatanje stranaca koji traže međunarodnu zaštitu u Spužu, dok se za 128 lica smještaj našao u gore navedenim kapacitetima koje je obezbijedio MUP kroz javne nabavke. U 2022. godini ukupan broj zdravstvenih usluga pružen licima iz Ukrajine pod privremenom zaštitom bio je 6.973, odnosno na primarnom nivou (domovi zdravlja) 1.883, na sekundarnom nivou (bolnice) 2.048 i na tercijarnom (Klinički centar) 2.759 (Ibid. 5). U tekućoj školskoj godini 2022/23. pravo na obrazovanje ostvarilo je 162 djece iz Ukrajine pod privremenom zaštitom, od čega u osnovnim školama 142, a u srednjim 20 djece (Ibid. 6). Pravo na radu u periodu od 14. marta 2022. godine do 10. oktobra 2023. godine ostvarilo je 474 lica, dok trenutno 241 lice iz Ukrajine pod privremenom zaštitom ostvaruje pravo na rad kod jednog poslodavca, dva lica su zaposlena kod dva poslodavca (Ibid. 9). U toku 2022. godine odobrena je privremena zaštita po osnovu spajanja porodice za 13 lica državljana trećih zemalja, od kojih za 12 lica državljana Ruske Federacije i za jedno lice koje je državljanin Moldavije, čiji su članovi porodice državljani Ukrajine sa odobrenom privremenom zaštitom u Crnoj Gori (Ibid.).

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13 IOM (2024), *Who we are*, <https://www.iom.int/who-we-are>



## 5. RASPRAVA I KRITIČKI OSVRT NA REZULTATE ISTRAŽIVANJA

Podaci IOM-a, kao i MUP-a Crne Gore o pristupu lica iz Ukrajine garantovanim pravima iz režima privremene zaštite, ukazuju na to je 2/3 lica ostvarilo pristup uslugama zdravstvene zaštite, da je vrlo mali broj tražilo usluge smještaja, da je procenat upisane djece u osnovne i srednje škole vrlo nizak, da velika većina lica pod zaštitom nije zaposlena u Crnoj Gori, te da je vrlo mali broj iskoristio pravo na spajanje porodice. Evidentno je da usluge države uglavnom koriste lica pod privremenom zaštitom iz Ukrajine koja nijesu u stanju da ih privatno ostvare, pri čemu se to prvenstveno odnosi na pristup zdravstvenoj zaštiti. S druge strane, većina iznajmljuje smještaj u privatnoj režiji, dok se djeca školuju online, po ukrajinskom obrazovnom sistemu. To je uslovljeno i visokom kupovnom moći Ukrajinaca, koji su, između ostalog, značajno doprinijeli povećanju budžetskih prihoda Crne Gore<sup>14</sup> (Vuković 2024). Sve to ukazuje da je Crna Gora za njih jedna vrsta „tranzitne zemlje“ u kojoj borave dok se ne steknu uslovi za povratak u Ukrajinu, odnosno dok ne prestane oružani sukob zbog kojeg su prisiljeni da napuste zemlju kako je to utvrđeno zakonskim odredbama i Odlukom o privremenoj zaštiti.

Posmatrano kroz funkcionalistički teorijski pristup migracijama prepoznajemo da je dolazak ukrajinskih izbjeglica pozitivno uticao na budžet Crne Gore, dok su, sa druge strane, ukrajinske izbjeglice dobile privremenu zaštitu i pristup osnovnim pravima. No, ovaj pristup, kako ističe Haas, isključuje sagledavanje eventualne represivnosti i prisile koje samo kretanje izbjeglica nosi sa sobom, kao i same uzroke dolaska. S druge strane, istorijsko-strukturalne teorije naglašavaju uticaj ukupnih opštih i globalnih tokova na sama kretanja, pri čemu „ljude u pokretu“ posmatraju kao pasivne činioce. Nasuprot tome, Haas naglašava ulogu u ovom slučaju izbjeglica kao aktivnih aktera koji samostalno donose odluke pri čemu vrše sopstvene analize troškova i dobiti u odnosu na odabranu zemlju odredišta.

U ovom slučaju Crna Gora je odabrana kao finalna destinacija do smirivanja sukoba u zemlji porijekla iz sljedećih razloga: adekvatnog opisanog pravnog okvira upravljanja migracijama usaglašenog sa zahtjevima ulaska u članstvo Evropske unije, ranijih turističkih boravaka Ukrajinaca u Crnoj Gori (Stekić 2022), te zvaničnog stava Crne Gore prema ratu u Ukrajini. U strukturi noćenja stranih turista, turisti iz Ukrajine

14 Posebno u četiri kategorije: porez na dodatu vrijednost, porez na dobit, akcize, te doprinose za Fond penzijskog i invalidskog osiguranja Crne Gore (Vuković 2024). No pitanje implikacija dolaska ukrajinskih izbjeglica na cmogorsku demografiju, ekonomiju i slično bi predstavljao predmet posebnog rada s obzirom na potrebni prostor analize i prezentacije.



su, posebno nekoliko godine pred početak rata, ostvarili znatan broj noćenja u Crnoj Gori. Naime, 2021. godine turisti iz Ukrajine su ostvarili 9,2% (871.314) noćenja (MONSTAT 2022: 4), u 2020. godini 8,5% (189. 699) noćenja (MONSTAT 2021: 4), u 2019. godini 3,3% (463.551) noćenja (MONSTAT 2020: 4), u 2018. godini 3,9% (482.958) noćenja (MONSTAT 2019: 5).<sup>15</sup> Što se tiče odnosa Crne Gore kao članice NATO saveza prema ratu u Ukrajini, izražena je „čvrsta i nedvosmislena podrška“ Ukrajini koja mora „izaći iz rata kao pobjednik“, kako se sukob ne bi „proširio na evroatlantsko područje“ (Ministarstvo odbrane CG 2024). Stoga ukrajinske izbjeglice spadaju u grupu onih koji su od, po Haasu definisane „negativne slobode“ odnosno „slobode od“ straha od oružanih napada i kršenja ljudskih prava išli ka „pozitivnoj slobodni ka“ životu bez opasnosti. Takva odluka je determinisana pristupom osnovnim sredstvima za odlazak iz Ukrajine.

U odnosu na osnovnu konceptualizaciju pojma raseljeno lice i pojma izbjeglica ukrajinski državljani koji su bili prisiljeni da napuste zemlju zbog oružanih napada više spadaju pod definiciju raseljenih lica nego klasičnih izbjeglica kojima prijeti progon na osnovu rase, vjeroispovijesti, nacionalne pripadnosti i slično (vidjeti str. 5-6). No, u ovom radu se koristi termin izbjeglica (*refugee*) budući da je kao takav dat u svim dostupnim materijalima koji se odnose na ovu temu. Integrisanje konceptualizacije pojma izbjeglica sa predstavjenim teorijskim pristupima omogućilo je razumijevanje pozicije ukrajinskih izbjeglica koje su i pored početnih ograničenja, odnosno prisilne migracije i napuštanja svojih domova, došli u poziciju slobodnog odlučivanja i odabira zemlje odredišta koja im je pružila mogućnosti normalnog življenja.

Shodno FitzGerald Ararom razumijevanju integracije izbjeglica u društva zemalja odredišta ukazano je na pomoć međunarodnih agencija u obezbjeđivanju pristupa osnovnim pravima, gdje se Crna Gora mora oslanjati na norme ljudskih prava i međunarodnu zaštitu.

## **6. ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA: IMPLIKACIJE PO NAUKU, DRUŠTVO I PRAKSU**

Naučne implikacije rezultata ovog rada odražavaju se kroz primjenu teorijsko-konceptualnog aparata analize datog predmete istraživanja – pozicije ukrajinskih izbjeglica u Crnoj Gori. Zasnovan je na jedinstvenoj sintezi više teorijskih pravaca

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15 Statistika o dolascima i noćenjima turista u Crnoj Gori 2010-2017. Može se pogledati na sajtu Uprave za statistiku Crne Gore (MONSTAT 2023-2010).

izučavanja migratornih kretanja, odnosno funkcionalističkog i istorijsko-strukturalnog pristupa razumijevanju migracija sa Haasovom teorijom sagledavanje migracija kao dijela širih društvenih transformacija gdje su migranti aktivni akteri koji samostalno donose odluke sa manje ili više ograničenja. Osim toga, u ovaj teorijski aparat je integrisana konceptualna determinacija pojma izbjeglica (konstruktivistički i realistični pristup) s obzirom na razliku u značenju pojma migrant i izbjeglica, pojma raseljeno lice i izbjeglica itd.

Sljedeća implikacija rada sastoji se u objedinjavanju najnovijih i primjenjivih normativnih rješenja kada je u pitanju status lica iz Ukrajine, kao i aktuelnih podataka relevantnih institucija koji se odnose na pristup osnovnim pravima iz sistema privremene zaštite. Ovo je jedan od prvih radova koji se bavi ovom tematikom na području Zapadnog Balkana, a konsekvantna prezentacija podataka i njihova analiza reflektuju nova shvatanja migranata/izbjeglica kao aktivnih kreatora svog putovanja, a ne samo pasivnih žrtava progona.

U društvenom i praktičnom kontekstu rad kroz obezbijeđeni uvid u poziciju Crne Gore u ukrajinskoj izbjegličkoj krizi daje osnovu za razumijevanje ove problematike, te predstavlja izvor informacija u pogledu pripreme i definisanja politika, programa i strategija kako u oblasti unutrašnje politike, tako i odnosa prema drugim zemljama. Indirektno ukazuje na odnos Crne Gore sa Evropskom unijom, sa Rusijom, a direktno sa Ukrajinom. Pored toga ukazuje koliko Crna Gora poštuje međunarodne standarde u oblasti ljudskih prava kroz njihovu implementaciju u svoje zakonodavstvo i saradnju sa međunarodnim partnerima.

Rezultati rada daju osnovu za dalja i dublja izučavanja više aspekata ukrajinske izbjegličke krize i njenih implikacija za zemlje odredišta, kao i pozicije i integracije izbjeglica/migranata u društvo prijema.

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## **MONTENEGRO’S OPEN-DOOR POLICY TOWARDS THE UKRAINIAN REFUGEE CRISIS**

### **Summary:**

The aim of this work is to highlight how Montenegro has dealt with the Ukrainian refugee crisis, considering it represents the Western Balkan country with the highest number of refugees received. The theoretical framework of the work is based on Haas’s migration theory, as well as Fitzgerald and Arar’s study on understanding the concept of refugees. Accordingly, using methods of case analysis and content analysis of available documents, there is interpreted both the normative solutions in Montenegro related to the temporary protection of individuals from Ukraine and the available data regarding their access to fundamental rights under this regime. There is concluded that Ukrainian refugees, upon arriving in Montenegro, have achieved “positive liberty,” meaning they have received protection in a self-chosen destination country in line with a Montenegro’s legal framework aligned with European legislation.

**Keywords:** Ukraine; Montenegro; refugee crisis; temporary protection; migration

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## **A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF US OFFICIAL DISCOURSE ON PAKISTAN *VIS-A-VIS* AFGHANISTAN UNDER THE BIDEN PRESIDENCY**

Language is important in the formulation and construction of perceptions regarding allies and foes. In the case of US-Pakistan relations, conflicting themes based on oxymorons have been routinely used to depict the inherent complexities and contradictions in the relations. Using the theoretical framework of discourse analysis, this paper critically analyzes the corpus of US official discourse on Pakistan on the issue of Afghanistan under the Biden Presidency. The corpus of official statements is analyzed with reference to the wider US political culture as well as previous ‘texts’ / older discourse, thereby creating a degree of intertextuality. In this regard, the US official discourse shows four major themes, some of which are in tension with others, which inform overall US-Pakistan relations. They are also, in part, reflective of the tensions within US policies in the region and the War on Terror.

**Key words:** United States; Pakistan; Afghanistan; war on terror; discourse analysis

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

The political world is in the eye of the beholder. Whether the relations between states are friendly or adversarial is a matter of perceptions that never have one-to-one correspondence with objective conditions. Sometimes these are longstanding and may sediment into conceptions of shared identity. In other cases, perceptions may reflect situational interpretations that vary across contexts and administrations. In



certain rare cases like US-Pakistan relations, we see conflicting elements existing together in mutual tension with each other. If we are to understand “war on terror”, a central theme in US foreign policy over the last couple of decades, we must examine the use of language that constructs perceptions of allies and foes across time and space. In this regard, relations between the United States and Pakistan are of particular importance, considering Pakistan’s large role in the “war on terror” discourse.

When searching for implicit meanings of political discourse, we would be well advised to pause over metaphorical language. Metaphors are powerful, and powerful metaphors have the ability to withstand the vicissitudes of time and remain relevant across different historical contexts. A cursory look the titles of books written on US-Pakistan relations echo conflicting themes, such as disenchanting allies<sup>1</sup>, and magnificent delusions<sup>2</sup>. Many such descriptions with oxymorons are routinely repeated over the years, such as *mesalliance*, ‘tangled web’ or a ‘bad marriage’ (Nawaz 2020) to describe this relationship across different historical epochs.

Such oxymoronic descriptions featuring words such as disenchantment, delusions and misunderstandings are indicative of a relationship of distrust; great highs and lows, an on-again-off-again alliance, with both sides harbouring a sense of misgiving, while also harbouring a desultory ‘what might have been’ if only the other acted right. As far as similes and metaphors go, a ‘bad marriage’ not only encapsulates precisely these tensions but additionally signifies much more. For one, while marriage is always, in part, a civil contract between equal consenting parties in theory, it is seldom ever equal in terms of actual power dynamics. Much like bilateral relations that always are, in theory, based on the principles of sovereign equality with alliances being consensual, but the latent power dynamics, nevertheless, always remain relevant.

At the same time, the fact that the ‘marriage’ still somehow remains intact despite problems and misgivings is also indicative of a desire by both sides to continue the alliance for greater reasons. This can be attributed, in part, to mutual utility and needs and the lack of an alternative suitable partner that could fulfill the same utility/role. However, it is also often based on past achievements/glories, as well as certain shared values that bind the partners together. In the case of US official discourse on Pakistan, we see all these shades existing together.

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1 The book by a former US Diplomat Dennis Kux, who served in Pakistan and on the South Asia bureau, on Pakistan-US relations is titled *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies* (Kux 2001).

2 Former Pakistani Ambassador to the US, Hussain Haqqani’s book is titled *Magnificent Delusions – Pakistan, the United States, and an Epic History of Misunderstanding* (Haqqani 2015).

Relations between Pakistan and the US have always occupied a contested plane, with Afghanistan being, if not the foremost then, one of the major issues that has, both, brought the two countries together, as well as tore them apart, often at the same time. While these conflicting themes were repeated throughout the Cold War *Afghan Jihad* and the Post 9/11 *War on Terror*, they are also key in understanding and deciphering official discourse under the Biden Presidency despite the ‘forever war’ now being over.

While ‘official discourse’ such as State Department Press Releases, Media Question & Answers sessions, and carefully curated speeches by traditional International Relations speaking agents such as the Secretary of State, appear reflective, pensive and often dull articulations of US foreign policy at first viewing, they cannot be fully understood and contextualized without reference to the larger discursive fields that they reside in. With discourse analysis precepts increasingly being used under the framework of Post-Structuralist International Relations, such critical analysis of official discourse aims to draw upon the particular foreign policy culture and *weltanschauung* of a country and, in the process, moves beyond traditional taxonomies of national interest, power dynamics, and polarity.

Foregoing in view, this paper critically analyzes official US discourse, mainly State Department Press Releases, Spokesperson Question and Answers and formal speeches by traditional IR speaking agents such as the President and the Secretary of State, pertaining to Pakistan on the issue of Afghanistan in the first three years of the Biden Presidency (2021-23). By critically analyzing this corpus, the objective of this paper is to shed light on how official discourse could be analyzed and contextualized as being part of a wider discursive field that generates what we know as US-Pakistan relations.

## 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Over the last couple of decades, a wealth of literature has shown the promise of discourse analysis to offer insights into the operation of the political. One set of this literature offers a conceptualization of what we mean by discourse. O’Tuathail thus defines ‘discourse’ as a “set of capabilities that allow us to organize and give meaning to the world and our actions and practices within it” with the proviso that “there is no agreed and paradigmatic ‘discourse analysis’ but a heterogeneous mix of approaches, perspectives and strategies” (ÓTuathail 2002: 605). Subjects are not “prior to the language games or discursive fields they utilize” but rather “discourses

constrain and enable subject-positioning” (Ibidem 606). Further, as political leaders and foreign policy professionals construct arguments and positions that resonate with popular common sense to create social consensus, more regularized and coherent ‘storylines’ are produced that gain greater “coherence, clarity and consistency” over time (Ibidem 607).

Similarly, Lene Hansen uses a Foucauldian definition of ‘discourse’ as “linguistic systems through which meaning is generated” (Hansen 2016: 96). She posits that post-structuralist IR perspective “theorizes foreign policy as a discursive practice” (Hansen 2016: 96) while noting the “strong nexus” between post-structuralism and discourse analysis in IR (Ibidem 97). Hansen problematizes the relationship between foreign policy and discourse by noting that “foreign policies have to be connected, through discourse, to justification for why these policies are necessary, plausible and possible” (Ibidem 102) and that “discourse analysis” seeks to provide a ‘road map’ that shows as accurately as possible the main foreign policy positions and the representations that sustain them” (Ibidem 102-3).

On the issue of situating ‘official discourse’, she notes that “post-structuralist discourse analysis argues that foreign policy decision-makers are situated within a larger political and public sphere” (Ibidem 6) and, therefore, reside within the wider ‘discursive fields’ of the representations articulated by a larger number of individuals, institutions and media outlets (Ibidem 6-7). Therefore, an ‘inter-textual understanding of foreign policy’ is based on the links of the new texts (or current discourse) with older texts thereby producing ‘new meaning’ (Ibidem 7).

Like all discourse, official discourse does not exist and is not created in a vacuum. On one level, it is a partly bureaucratic function whereby descriptors undergo a process of accretion over time. On another level, it is an attempt at a coherent formulation and articulation of a foreign policy position. Similarly, given that the aim is a representation that resonates with popular common sense, official discourse is also a response to particular cultural conventions and, therefore, forms part of a wider cultural milieu. Based on the above factors, official discourse cannot be meaningfully interpreted without reference to historical antecedents and the wider political culture of a country.

Using this theoretical framework, we aim to interpret ‘official’ US discourse with respect to Pakistan on the issue of Afghanistan under the Biden Administration as the ‘War on Terror’ drew to a close and the post-US withdrawal from Afghanistan phase began. By situating the official discourse (i.e. speeches, State Department Spokesperson statements during Q&A’s, Press Releases etc.) within wider discursive

fields, such as Pak-US relations and the ‘War on Terror’, and the wider political culture of the US, the goal is to critically analyse the corpus of text with reference to older ‘texts’/discourse in the above-defined discursive fields, in order to produce new meanings and create a coherent storyline that would not be possible in a traditional realist or liberal framework alone.

### **3. BIDEN ADMINISTRATION’S POSITIONING OF PAKISTAN ON THE ISSUE OF AFGHANISTAN**

The corpus of public statements forming the ‘official’ US discourse on the issue reveals four major themes. The first narrows the Pakistan-US relationship to being purely a function of US interests in Afghanistan alone as opposed to being a broader relationship that stands on its own merits. In this sense, there is a coldness and curtness in the statements that belie a sense of US dissatisfaction and misgivings about Pakistan’s role in Afghanistan with the result that the US only engages with Pakistan out of necessity owing to the Afghanistan situation and does not desire broad-based relations encompassing other issues.

Linked to the first, there is a second theme that flows from the US withdrawal from Afghanistan where Pakistan, despite US misgivings, is required to play a role to protect US interests in the troop withdrawal phase, especially with regards to evacuation efforts. Here, while allusions to past dissatisfaction with Pakistan are made, yet, its role is also praised and acknowledged and these interests remains an enduring prong of US engagement with Pakistan in this phase.

Co-existing in tensions with the first and second themes, however, there is a third theme that acknowledges the complexity and difficulty of the Afghanistan situation and the fact that it is in Pakistan’s own interest to see security and stability in Afghanistan. Here, both US and Pakistan have shared interests in preserving peace and stability in Afghanistan, with Pakistan requiring US help in achieving that aim. In this regard, US and Pakistan are partners.

Lastly, there is a fourth theme, that is again in tension with the first theme, which speaks of Pakistan and the US jointly belonging to the ‘free world’. The historical alliance against the Communist *threat* during the Cold War-era Afghan jihad has Pakistan sharing certain *universal* values with the US that endure even today, implying an element of character beyond a narrow focus on temporary and sectional overlapping ‘interests’, such as their convergence of views on the issue of human rights and girls education in Afghanistan.

These themes, often at odds and in tension with each other, are characteristic of the wider Pakistan-US relations depicted in metaphors based on oxymorons and unresolved complexities, such as a bad marriage and disenchanted allies, that have persisted over the years and continue to hold utility, meaning and relevance today. We now turn to considering each of the themes in greater length.

### ***3.1. Theme I: ‘A Very Specific and Narrow Purpose’ vs. a ‘Broad Relationship’***

On 07 October 2021, nearly 10 months into the Biden Presidency, the first high-level visit from the US to Pakistan under the Biden Administration was set to take place. In the afternoon, Wendy R. Sherman, who, as Deputy Secretary of State was the second-highest ranked US Diplomat in the State Department, was in Mumbai where she was due to fly out to Islamabad the same night to undertake a one-day visit. In an interview to Indian think-tank Ananta Centre, she was asked a relatively straightforward question about her upcoming visit to Pakistan. Her response was:

“It is for a very specific and narrow purpose. We don’t see ourselves building a broad relationship with Pakistan and we have no interest in returning to the days of a hyphenated India, Pakistan; that’s not where we are, that’s not where we are going to be. But we all need to know what’s going on in Afghanistan, we all need to be of one mind to approach the Taliban... and so I’m gonna have some very specific conversations, continuing conversations that Secretary Blinken has had...” (The Express Tribune 2021)

The actual video of the interview has Sherman displaying cold curtness evidently showing a distaste at having to engage with Pakistan, yet finding it necessary to do so due to Afghanistan. This is one theme echoed throughout State Department Press Releases and Statements under the Biden administration: State Department read-outs of the phone calls between Secretary Blinken and Foreign Minister Qureshi in 2021 are each short, curt, and to the point, with Afghanistan remaining predominant, both in terms of space and order of priority showing a focus solely on engaging on and due to Afghanistan and not much else.

For instance, the readout from the 16 May 2021 phone call, from the beginning, lists “the importance of continued cooperation on the Afghan peace process” (Office of the Spokesperson 2021c) as the very first topic broached between the two, with not much else to write home about. While the 09 July 2021 read-out uses almost the same lines (Office of the Spokesperson 2021d), the 16 August 2021 phone call read-out made the situation abundantly clear: as the Taliban stormed into Kabul on 15

August 2021, the short 28-word statement simply says: “Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken spoke today with Pakistani Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi. Secretary Blinken and Foreign Minister Qureshi discussed Afghanistan and the developing situation there.” (Office of the Spokesperson 2021e): as business-like a focus on Afghanistan as possible, with not a single other topic mentioned at all, which is usually customary for such high-level engagements, nor any mention or affirmation of a shared goal/outcome.

The stark contrast in this regard comes out when such transcripts are compared with other Readouts of phone calls to regional leaders: for example, with two of Pakistan’s neighbours, India and Afghanistan. The Press Release for the Indian External Affairs Minister Jaishankar phone call (Office of the Spokesperson 2021b) starts off effusively with Secretary Blinken speaking to Minister Jaishankar “to reaffirm the growing US-India partnership”. Secretary Blinken then “underscored India’s role as a preeminent US partner in the Indo-Pacific and the importance of working together to expand regional co-operation” with the read-out ending with “both agreed to coordinate closely on global developments and look forward to meeting in person at the earliest opportunity”. The texture, tenor and content of this read-out is drastically different compared to the ones with FM Qureshi.

Similarly, the Readout of the phone call with President Ghani of Afghanistan (Office of the Spokesperson 2021a) also starts off with Secretary Blinken speaking to President Ghani “regarding the US commitment to an enduring US-Afghan partnership”. It also talks about the Afghan peace process, “reviewing the February 2020 US-Taliban Agreement and whether the Taliban are living up to their commitments” and ending with stating “the Secretary committed to consultations with the Government of Afghanistan, NATO allies, and international partners regarding a collective strategy to support a stable, sovereign, democratic, and secure future for Afghanistan”. Again, a much broader set of issues listed in the read-out compared to the cold and curt tenor of the ones with Pakistan.

This latent tension and singular focus on Afghanistan and Afghanistan alone when it came to Pakistan could also be seen when Foreign Minister Qureshi was in New York to attend the High-level Segment of the United Nations General Assembly where he met Secretary Blinken on the sidelines of the event. Their brief remarks to the Press before their meeting (Blinken 2021) make for interesting reading.

Secretary Blinken opens his remarks by expressing his pleasure at meeting “my friend and counterpart from Pakistan” while noting their phone calls in previous months. Wasting no time though, he outrightly gets to the issue that for him is the

most pertinent: “... a lot to focus on, starting with Afghanistan and the importance of our countries working together and going forward on Afghanistan. (Inaudible) appreciate the work that Pakistan has done to facilitate the departure of American citizens who wish to leave as well as others” before moving on to the tokenism of “but a lot to talk about there as well as our own bilateral relationship, including the economic relationship between our countries and working in the region as a whole”.

In response, Foreign Minister Qureshi appears to accept the *fait accompli* of having to engage mainly on Afghanistan despite wanting a broader-spectrum discussion: “I’m glad to be meeting face-to-face with you. As you said, we’ve had three telephone phone conversations discussing the regional situation, the Afghan situation. I thought a time would come where we’d be talking beyond Afghanistan, but it seems Afghanistan is there, we can’t wish it away, and we have to find a way of collectively working to achieve our common objective, which is peace and stability”. It is only after this that Foreign Minister Qureshi also mentions, almost in passing, of the meeting being a “good opportunity to... discuss our bilateral relations, and the delicate situation in South Asia”, with the last part enough to indicate that Foreign Minister Qureshi would want to discuss India as well.

Nevertheless, even if Foreign Minister Qureshi would have raised South Asia (a clear euphemism for India), the State Department Press Release (Office of the Spokesperson 2021f) only gives out, what for them, was the main and only emphasis of the meeting: “Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken met today with Pakistani Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi and discussed the way forward in Afghanistan. Secretary Blinken reiterated the importance of coordinating our diplomatic engagement and facilitating the departure of those wishing to leave Afghanistan. The Secretary noted that the United States appreciates Pakistan’s support and assistance with both of these efforts”; no India, no bilateral relations and no tokenisms of ‘regional connectivity’ nor ‘Covid-19 assistance’, only business.

At the same time, we know that such muted allusions are not something that the United States Foreign Policy culture is typically known for regarding those who they are not pleased with. Usually, for the United States, using brash over-the-top adjectives to describe countries in colourful terms such as terrorist allies and the Axis of Evil, or describing foreign Heads of States as stone cold killers, is a norm, with such discourse commonly meted out for countries like Russia, Iran and North Korea. In contrast, despite evident coldness, there is even a bit of praise for Pakistan here with gritted teeth.



In the unique and peculiar foreign policy culture of the US, however, we should remember that such rough treatment is usually reserved for those on the “other side” and, despite often teetering on the edge, Pakistan has never been fully considered beyond the proverbial pale by the US and, therefore, deemed worthy of such treatment; it remains one of ‘our own’, though perhaps sometimes ‘misguided’. It has routinely been given a degree of understanding and leeway despite major misgivings and continues to do so.

A realist interpretation would reason that the US needed Pakistan’s assistance as a supply corridor for its forces in Afghanistan and, therefore, could not ‘cut the cord’ despite its misgivings on Pakistan’s seemingly ‘dubious’ role. Nevertheless, this cannot explain the entire story as the end of the “forever war” would also have ended this dependence and, therefore, allowed the US to fully ‘unleash’ its proverbial wrath on Pakistan, if not in deeds then at least in discourse. Yet, that was not the case under the Biden Presidency despite the coldness it, nevertheless, displayed.

### **3.2. Theme II: “It is time to end the forever war”**

*War in Afghanistan was never meant to be a multi-generational undertaking. We were attacked. We went to war with clear goals. We achieved those objectives. Bin Laden is dead, and al Qaeda is degraded in Iraq – in Afghanistan. And it’s time to end the forever war*

~ President Biden, 14 April 2021 (Biden 2021)

Within 4 months of taking up the mantle of the US Presidency, President Biden laid down, what would be, his marker on among the most important issues, if not the sole driving force, of US Foreign Policy in the South Asia/West Asia region: ending the War in Afghanistan. In his 14 April 2021 speech in the Roosevelt Treaty Room of the White House, he announced the drawdown of US troops from Afghanistan.

While listing down the things the US would continue to do – supporting the training of Afghan National Army, peace talks between Taliban and the Afghan Government, and protecting the rights of Afghan women and girls through humanitarian assistance – he added a meaningful “and we will ask other countries – other countries in the region – to do more to support Afghanistan, especially Pakistan, as well as Russia, China, India and Turkey” (Biden 2021).

The ‘especially Pakistan’ holds special import here for two reasons: firstly, it not only required for more from Pakistan, given the nature of the beast at hand (i.e. being



an immediate neighbour), but also expected more, given the nature of relations between the two countries (being the only major non-NATO ally in the War on Terror out of these countries that played an active role as well as their long history).

In terms of the frustration, it also brought Biden full-circle from his time as Vice President in one sense. This need for Pakistan to ‘do more’ on Afghanistan alluded to as President in 2021 has echoes of the then-Vice President Biden’s comments in 2011 in a joint Press Conference with President Karzai to assess progress made: recounting the gains of the military and civilian efforts in the country, he noted “these gains, as you pointed out to me, Mr. President, as we know, are fragile and reversible... and it’s going to require more pressure – more pressure on the Taliban, from Pakistan’s side of the border, than we’ve been – we’ve been able to exert so far” (Biden 2011).

However, on the other hand, this paradox continued to show that, despite the discomfort and unhappiness of Pakistan not doing enough on its side of the border, there was always US willingness to ‘play ball’ with Pakistan, and we see the same echoes in State Department read-outs under President Biden’s tenure despite the end of the ‘forever war’. It somehow continues to be described as an ‘important partner’. Despite allusions of misgivings, it is routinely described as having “shared interests” on Afghanistan and has often been described as being ‘useful’ and ‘helpful’.

State Department Spokesperson, Ned Price, encapsulates these latent tensions in an answer to a question on Pakistan’s role to bring the Taliban to the negotiating table in July 2021 (Price 2021a):

“Well, I think what is true is that Pakistan is an important partner across any number of fronts. Of course, we have shared interests when it comes to Afghanistan, when it comes to peace and stability in Afghanistan. We have – and this goes over the course of successive administrations now – encouraged Pakistan to be a constructive partner when it comes to Afghanistan ... Pakistan has been helpful in – recently when it comes to this shared interest ...”

Yet, in the same answer, the paradoxical nature of US-Pakistan relations comes out, as if it could not be helped:

“What we know to be true is that all of Afghanistan’s neighbors need to play a constructive role in helping to bring about a just and durable political settlement as well as a comprehensive ceasefire. For far too long, some of Afghanistan’s neighbors have not played that role. They had been happy to let – content, I should say, to let other countries take responsibility. And right now, we have made clear that we are going to be working very closely to ensure that

Afghanistan's neighbors do play that constructive role, knowing that it will be a necessary ingredient to what I think we all collectively hope to see in Afghanistan.” (Price 2021a)

Going back to the larger rubric of US-Pakistan relations being described in the beginning as a ‘bad marriage’ where the partners cannot live with each other, yet cannot live without the other, it remains a powerful metaphor as we continue to see its echoes in official discourse despite US troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. Constant allusions of being an important partner despite misgivings and disagreements; the partnership continues, yet one cannot but help make veiled allusions to the troubled history.

Speaking at a ceremony, jointly with Pakistani Foreign Minister Bilawal Bhutto-Zardari, to celebrate the 75th anniversary of US-Pakistan relations, Secretary of State Anthony Blinken said “this is a resilient relationship. It’s capable of overcoming challenges that we’ve had to confront” (Blinken 2022). In the same speech, Secretary Blinken spoke at length about US-Pakistan co-operation, in helping victims of floods, economic and cultural co-operation, US development assistance to Pakistan, and vast people-to-people contacts.

However, the only issue where such an occasion usually kept for unreserved bonhomie and where the paradox did come out was Afghanistan: “We continue to work closely on counterterrorism issues. We have a shared stake in Afghanistan’s future after two decades of war. We’ve had our differences; that’s no secret. But we share a common objective: a more stable, a more peaceful, and free future for all of Afghanistan and for those across the broader region” (Blinken 2022).

There is no doubt that certain US interests continued to remain relevant with Pakistan despite the US withdrawal from Afghanistan: notably, the issue of evacuation of US nationals and others at-risk Afghans for which Pakistan’s assistance was both required and appreciated. Secretary Blinken made this clear in his remarks to the Press before his meeting with Foreign Minister Qureshi in September 2021 quoted above where he said “appreciate the work that Pakistan has done to facilitate the departure of American citizens who wish to leave as well as others” (Blinken 2021) with the same being repeated in the Press Release for the meeting (Office of the Spokesperson 2021f).

The fact that this ‘interest’ remained an important topic of discussion and a driver of engagement with Pakistan in the post-withdrawal phase for the US can also be seen in its appearance in Press Releases of other US engagements with Pakistan under the Biden Presidency. The curtain raiser for the US Under Secretary of State Zeya’s

March 2022 visit to Pakistan, *inter alia*, stated “the Under Secretary’s bilateral meetings will address regional security developments, Pakistan’s generous hosting of Afghan refugees and support for Afghan relocation efforts” (Office of the Spokesperson 2022).

Similarly, the Media Note of the December 2023 visit to Pakistan of the US Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration Julieta Valls Noyes also states, *inter alia*, that she would “discuss shared efforts to protect vulnerable individuals and accelerate safe, efficient relocation and resettlement of Afghan refugees in the U.S. immigration pipeline” (Office of the Spokesperson 2023).

Therefore, echoing the first theme, while there are misgivings and dissatisfaction with Pakistan that are continually alluded to, yet the door to engagement is not closed. In fact, the US still has the need for engagement with Pakistan and, on this count, Pakistan is described as helpful. A purely realist analysis would be able to explain these first two themes. Nevertheless, there are two further prongs of US discourse on Pakistan vis-a-vis Afghanistan under President Biden that are of an intersubjective nature and beyond the horizon of realist analysis.

### ***3.3. Theme III: “This is Wild Country; this is Wilder than the Wild West”***

*Now, there’s another part of our strategy I want to share with you... We’re going to work Pakistan and Afghanistan to enhance cooperation to defeat what I would call a common enemy. Taliban and al Qaeda fighters do hide in remote regions of Pakistan — this is wild country; this is wilder than the Wild West. And these folks hide and recruit and launch attacks.*

*People say, well, do you think President Musharraf really understands the threat of extremists in his midst? I said, yes, I do. You know how I know? They’ve tried to kill him. Al Qaeda has launched attacks against the President of this country. He understands. He also understands that extremists can destabilize countries on the border, or destabilize countries from which they launch their attacks.*

~ George W. Bush, 2007 (Office of the Press Secretary 2007)

One of the reasons the above quote in President Bush’s 2007 speech remains so pertinent to understand the US-Pakistan paradox on Afghanistan on a deeper level is because, one, it alludes to an admission of the fact by the US how hard the terrain and the job at hand were i.e. wilder than the wild west, and there was no one to better

understand that than the US itself having had ‘boots on the ground’ for 6 years by then. Secondly, and most importantly, on an innate level, the US knew that instability in Afghanistan was not in Pakistan’s interests and that Pakistan, too, had a legitimate stake in, if not a prosperous but at least, a stable and peaceful Afghanistan.

In a foreign policy culture of universal truths that are self-evident, the US saw this maxim resonating, if not with the whole of Pakistan, then at least, an important part of Pakistan and its foreign policy/military establishment through the years. This again remains a theme that we see persisting in official discourse under the Biden administration despite the passage of more than 14 years.

On a question on whether the State Department or the US administration had, after the end of the 20-year war, undertaken a review on Pakistan’s role in aiding the Taliban, State Department Ned Price said: “It would be difficult for me to attempt to summarize 20 years of U.S.-Pakistani relationships – relations between 2001 and 2021. I suppose what I would say broadly, of course, is that Pakistan was not a monolith during that time. We saw different governments, and we saw with the passage of years different approaches to the Taliban and to Afghanistan at the time... we recognize and one of the many reasons we’re meeting with Pakistan is because of the shared security interests that we do have. It is neither in our interests nor in Pakistan’s interest to see instability, to see violence in Afghanistan” (Price 2022b).

Similarly, on a question regarding a terrorist attack in Pakistan in December 2022, he said “the broader point is that the Government of Pakistan is a partner when it comes to these shared challenges, including the challenge of terrorist groups – terrorist groups inside of Afghanistan, terrorist groups along the Afghan-Pakistan border. We have partnered with our Pakistani friends to take on – to help them take on this challenge. We stand ready to assist, whether with this unfolding situation or more broadly” (Price 2022c).

Such motifs can be seen across numerous statements throughout the Biden Presidency: the complexity of the Afghanistan issue and Pakistan’s past role notwithstanding, there is an acknowledgment that security in Afghanistan was in Pakistan’s own interest as well. In the classic paternalism of US Foreign policy culture, therefore, Pakistan might need urging and reminding of its own national interest, and thus, Pakistan needed help from one of its long-standing partners in this regard. After all, the two countries had worked on the same objectives for a long time in different eras, current misgivings notwithstanding.

### 3.4. Theme IV: “*The Triumph of the Free World*”

Hot on the heels of 9/11, the then-Pakistan President (General) Musharraf undertook a visit to the US in November 2001 to formally cement Pakistan’s alliance with the US in the ‘War on Terror’ where the very first line of the Joint Statement read as follows: “President Bush and President Musharraf reaffirmed the benefits of 50 years of friendship and close cooperation between Pakistan and the United States and recalled the pivotal role of the Pakistan-U.S. alliance in the triumph of the free world at the end of the cold war” (Department Of State. The Office of Electronic Information 2001).

Reference to the ‘triumph of the free world’ and the ‘pivotal role’ that the US-Pakistan alliance played in it in the very first line of a Joint Statement to cement another long international war where the two joined hands again is a powerful metaphor in itself. By joining hands *back then*, Pakistan was on not just the US side, but on the side of the ‘free world’ and played a key role in the Afghan jihad, the demise of the Soviet Union, and, therefore, the proverbial ‘end of history’. As the new millennium brought another cataclysmic civilizational war, the two had joined hands again in pursuit of victory, not just for the US or Pakistan as countries, but, as joint members of the ‘free world’, for certain universal self-evident truths.

In the particular universe of the US foreign policy culture, the mention of the universal values is an undying and regular theme. These universal values are something that the US continues to espouse and, despite the end of the “forever war” in Afghanistan, they continue to find their way as a motif in US official discourse on Pakistan *vis-a-vis* Afghanistan. While the US was no longer in Afghanistan, asking the Taliban to live up to their ‘commitments’ was one of its repeated demands. Of course, one part of those commitments consisted of cold hard counter-terrorism: not allowing Afghan soil to be used by terrorists. This was a definite point of intersection/convergence between the US and Pakistan *vis-a-vis* Afghanistan (as echoed in the previous theme).

As Ned Price explained in September 2022: “The support for the people of Afghanistan is something we discuss regularly with our Pakistani partners – our efforts to improve the lives and livelihoods, the humanitarian conditions of the Afghan people, and to see to it that the Taliban live up to the commitments that they have made. And of course, Pakistan is implicated in many of these same commitments – the counterterrorism commitments, commitments to safe passage, commitments to the citizens of Afghanistan. The unwillingness or the inability on the part of the

Taliban to live up to these commitments would have significant implications for Pakistan as well, and so for that reason we do share a number of interests with Pakistan regarding its neighbor” (Price 2022b).

However, there is yet another prong that goes beyond terrorism, safety and security, on that trilateral US-Pakistan-Afghanistan axis of intersecting interests that are value-based: “We have heard both publicly and privately from our Pakistani counterparts that they too have an interest in seeing to it that the gains, including among Afghanistan’s minorities, including among its women and girls, over the past 20 years not be squandered. And so there is quite a bit of alignment of interest when it comes to Afghanistan” (Price 2021b).

Similarly, in November 2021, on a question pertaining to the Troika Plus meeting in Islamabad (an international mechanism on Afghanistan that includes US, Russia, China and Pakistan), Ned Price said “... it is especially critical with countries that have a good deal of leverage with the Taliban... It is incumbent on all of these countries to use that leverage to push the Taliban in the right direction. When it comes to this issue, our interests are aligned with the members of the “Troika,” and that includes when it comes to the imperative of seeing girls return to secondary schools and encouraging inclusive governance” (Price 2022a). While Pakistan may be far from perfect, suffice it to say that, between China, Russia and Pakistan, the country that the US could associate most closely on human rights and girls education was Pakistan.

Therefore, the alignment of the US with Pakistan on the question of ‘values’ is also something that is important to understand and acknowledge to have a well-rounded view of US official discourse on Pakistan, especially vis-a-vis Afghanistan. Allusions to such shared values, and not just interests, again explain part of the reason why Pakistan has not been considered beyond the pale despite repeated calls by many quarters. Yes, it has had its problems and its role has been questionable and dubious at times, but for the US, Pakistan has not merely been a useful partner; their alliance has been based, not merely on shared interests, but a degree of shared values as well. Such a ‘storyline’ on Pakistan from the eyes of the US given its particular political culture is something that gives a much richer depiction of the Pakistan ‘paradox’ for the US without descending into reductionisms on the use of naked power and alignment of national interests alone.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

In his 1991 article taking stock of security studies, Walt warned against the field being ‘seduced’ by post-structuralism while saying that it was ‘a prolix and self-indulgent discourse that is divorced from reality’ (Hansen 2016: 96). Nevertheless, as discourse analysis in International Relations has grown over the years, it is hoped that discourse scholarship is not still seen as deviant, marginal and ‘dissident’ scholarship (Milliken 1999: 227).

By analyzing official discourse as being part of a wider discursive field, aspects and nuances of bilateral relations, especially for a country as peculiar as the US, come out to the fore that enrich analysis and are able to portray complex and paradoxical relationships, behaviours and discourses viz. countries such as Pakistan. The case of US-Pakistan relations on the issue of Afghanistan is especially curious given the long history of the subject, with reams upon innumerable reams of literature and books written on the subject, and people holding strong views and opinions on the matter across both sides of the spectrum.

For those with a realist frame of mind, the advice is always for the US to cut the proverbial cord with Pakistan and punish it for its seemingly errant role in Afghanistan. On the other hand, there are those who preach ‘strengthening democracy’ and civilian rule in Pakistan which would automatically make Pakistan see the ‘errors’ of its ways in Afghanistan and bring it in a closer alliance with the US. However, as we have seen, practical geopolitics is never solely based on realist reductionism nor liberal normativism; it is always much more complex.

Complexities and contradictions in discourse are reflective of complexities and contradictions in the material domain. Seen as part of a wider discursive field, US official discourse on Pakistan is no exception to the contradictions and paradoxes of the War in Terror and US policies in the region. As we have seen in the above analysis, under the Biden Presidency, in the first theme, there are shades of previous US misgivings about Pakistan’s role in the War on Terror in Afghanistan which is seen in a tenor of coldness and insistence on engaging with Pakistan only on the issue of Afghanistan out of necessity; there is no desire for a ‘broader relationship’ beyond these narrow confines.

In the second theme, while there are constant allusions to past differences between US and Pakistan, yet, instead of closing off engagement, there is a role that Pakistan has been asked to play in the post-withdrawal phase pertaining to evacuations from Afghanistan. Here, Pakistan is depicted as useful and helpful. In the third theme, the



complexity of the Afghanistan imbroglio is acknowledged along with the fact that it is in Pakistan's own interest to have stability and security in Afghanistan. In this regard, the US wants to help Pakistan achieve that which is in its own national interest and, therefore, both countries are partners (putting it in direct tension with the first theme).

Lastly, in the fourth theme we see that, beyond having overlapping interests regarding peace and security in Afghanistan (echoing the third theme), the US and Pakistan also see eye-to-eye on certain shared values, such as human rights and girls education in Afghanistan. Underlying this convergence is the fact that both countries belong to the 'free world', having partnered for the same values in Afghanistan before.

These tensions and contradictions exist together in the discourse which explains part of the reason why successive US administrations have continually repeated the same hopes and aspirations, as well as frustrations and bitterness about Pakistan's role in Afghanistan. While many different approaches and strategies have been tried over the years, the US has neither cut the proverbial cord with Pakistan, nor has it entered into a closer alliance/union with Pakistan on the Afghanistan issue. Perhaps this is why the US continues to engage with and call Pakistan a partner on Afghanistan, despite often having gritted teeth; an unhappy marriage indeed.

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## KRITIČKA ANALIZA SLUŽBENOG DISKURSA SAD-A O PAKISTANU *VIS-A-VIS* AFGANISTANA POD BIDENOVIM PREDSDJEDNIŠTVOM

### Sažetak:

Jezik je važan u formuliranju i izgradnji percepcija o saveznicima i neprijateljima. U slučaju američko-pakistanskih odnosa konfliktne teme temeljene na oksimoronima rutinski su korištene za opisivanje inherentne složenosti i proturječnosti u tim odnosima. Koristeći teorijski okvir analize diskursa ovaj rad kritički analizira korpus američkog službenog diskursa o Pakistanu vis-a-vis Afganistana za vrijeme Bidenovog predsjedništva. Korpus službenih izjava analiziran je s obzirom na širu američku političku kulturu, kao i na prethodne tekstove / stariji diskurs, čime je uspostavljen određeni stupanj intertekstualnosti. U tom smislu službeni diskurs SAD-a pokazuje četiri glavne teme koje oblikuju sveukupne američko-pakistanske odnose, od kojih su neke u napetosti s drugima. One također djelomično odražavaju i napetosti unutar američke politike u regiji i ratu protiv terorizma.

**Ključne riječi:** Sjedinjene Države; Pakistan; Afganistan; rat protiv terorizma; analiza diskursa.

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## PRAVNA MISAO

**Rebeka Kotlo, Ivan Tomić**

LOKALNA SAMOUPRAVA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI – ANALIZA  
NORMATIVNOG OKVIRA KROZ PRIZMU MEĐUNARODNIH  
STANDARDA S POSEBNIM OSVRTOM NA GRAĐANSKU PARTICIPACIJU /  
LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA –  
ANALYSIS OF THE NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK THROUGH THE  
INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO  
CITIZEN PARTICIPATION..... 997

**Emir Mehmedović, Admir Selesković**

MODALITETI PRAVNE ZAŠTITE U SLUČAJEVIMA  
„ŠUTNJE UPRAVE“ U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI /  
MODALITIES OF LEGAL PROTECTION IN  
CASES OF “ADMINISTRATIVE SILENCE”  
IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ..... 1019



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Review paper

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## **LOKALNA SAMOUPRAVA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI – ANALIZA NORMATIVNOG OKVIRA KROZ PRIZMU MEĐUNARODNIH STANDARDA S POSEBNIM OSVRTOM NA GRAĐANSKU PARTICIPACIJU**

U članku autori analiziraju normativni okvir lokalne samouprave u Bosni i Hercegovini prema međunarodnim standardima s posebnim osvrtom na građansku participaciju. U radu se obrađuje normativna regulacija lokalne samouprave uz analizu relevantnih akata Kongresa lokalnih i regionalnih vlasti koji se odnose na Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Pored postojećeg normativnog okvira autori istražuju mogućnosti primjene deliberativne demokracije kroz analizu pilot projekta *Razvoj demokratskog sudjelovanja u gradu Mostaru* te mogućnost uvođenja mehanizama elektroničke demokracije. Rezultati istraživanja ukazuju da se osnovni problemi u funkcioniranju lokalne samouprave ogledaju u složenom višestupanjskom normativnom okviru, neadekvatnom sustavu financiranja lokalne samouprave te nedovoljnom korištenju postojećih demokratskih mehanizama koji promoviraju građansku participaciju u jedinicama lokalne samouprave. Radi efikasnijeg korištenja postojećih mehanizama i jačanja građanske participacije autori predlažu primjenu nekonvencionalnih modela demokracije, deliberativne i elektroničke demokracije. Primjena tih mehanizama mogla bi osnažiti demokratičnost lokalne samouprave i doprinijeti jačanju povjerenja građana u lokalnu vlast.

**Ključne riječi:** lokalna samouprava; Europska povelja o lokalnoj samoupravi; građanska participacija; deliberativna demokracija; elektronička demokracija

## 1. UVOD

Lokalna samouprava najbliži je i najefikasniji način ostvarivanja društvenih funkcija države. Različita istraživanja pokazala su da građani najviše očekivanja imaju od jedinica lokalne samouprave, čak i u onim poslovima koji ne predstavljaju nadležnosti lokalne samouprave (Martinović 2013). Upravo zbog blizine te razine vlasti građanima relevantni europski akteri nastoje normativnom inkorporacijom načela supsidijarnosti u unutarnje pravne sustave promovirati dodjeljivanje i vršenje ovlasti od jedinica lokalne samouprave.

Bosna i Hercegovina suočava se s mnogim iskušenjima ostvarenja efikasne lokalne samouprave kako zbog složenosti državnog uređenja, tako i zbog manjka privrženosti europskim načelima lokalne samouprave. Iako je ratificirala Europsku povelju o lokalnoj samoupravi, i dalje postoje ozbiljni propusti na koje upozoravaju nadzorna tijela Vijeća Europe.

S obzirom na složenost problematike autori će se u radu fokusirati na analizu demokratskog potencijala normativnih rješenja o lokalnoj samoupravi u Bosni i Hercegovini. U radu će se koristiti normativna metoda. Uz postojeći regulatorni okvir lokalne samouprave analizirat će se preporuke i izvješća Kongresa lokalnih i regionalnih vlasti o stanju lokalne i regionalne samouprave u Bosni i Hercegovini. Osim toga, analizirat će se uvođenje i implementacija modela deliberativne demokracije u Gradu Mostaru. *De lege ferenda*, ukazat ćemo na značaj preporuke Odbora ministara Vijeća Europe o elektroničkoj demokraciji te ispitati mogućnost uvođenja elektroničke demokracije na razini lokalne samouprave u Bosni i Hercegovini. Deliberativna i elektronička demokracija mogu biti pogodno sredstvo za jačanje građanske participacije na lokalnoj razini čime bi se istodobno osnažio demokratski potencijal jedinica lokalne samouprave, a potencijalno i povećalo zadovoljstvo građana s ovom razinom vlasti.

## 2. LOKALNA SAMOUPRAVA I DEMOKRACIJA – POJAM I POVEZANOST

Iako se nastanak lokalne samouprave kakvu danas poznajemo vezuje uz modernu državu na prijelazu iz feudalizma u kapitalizam, njezine začetke možemo tražiti u najranijim vremenima civilizacije. U suvremenom smislu lokalna samouprava se uspostavlja u građanskoj revoluciji koja je srušila feudalni poredak i apsolutnu monarhiju (Mujakić 2016). Koprić (2018) navodi da je lokalna samouprava utemeljena

u Engleskoj u kojoj se njeni začeci mogu tražiti još početkom 13. stoljeća dok ee moderna lokalna samouprava javlja u 19. stoljeću.

Lokalna samouprava shvaća se kao „izraz i sredstvo autonomije lokalnog stanovništva i, na toj osnovi, oblik ograničenja i protuteže središnjoj državnoj vlasti“ (Koprčić 2018: 3). Među mnoštvom definicija lokalne samouprave, ističe se ona iz članka 3. Europske povelje o lokalnoj samoupravi:

„Pod lokalnom samoupravom podrazumijeva se pravo i mogućnost lokalnih jedinica da, u okvirima određenim zakonom, uređuju i upravljaju, uz vlastitu odgovornost i u interesu lokalnog pučanstva, bitnim dijelom javnih poslova.“

Iz navedene definicije posebno proizlazi da lokalna samouprava ne podrazumijeva samo dodjeljivanje ovlasti jedinicama lokalne samouprave, nego jedinice lokalne samouprave moraju biti u mogućnosti zbiljski takve ovlasti provoditi. Takvo ozbiljenje podrazumijeva da jedinice lokalne samouprave imaju učinkovita sredstava za ostvarivanje javnih poslova [Report CG-FORUM(2020)02-05: 11].

U stavku drugom navedenog članka predviđeno je da će se ovo pravo ostvarivati posrednim sudjelovanjem građana kroz izbor članova vijeća ili skupština na temelju općeg i jednakog biračkog prava. Osim posrednog sudjelovanja, u Povelji je istaknuta i nemogućnost ograničavajućeg tumačenja predmetne odredbe u odnosu na primjenu zborova građana, referendum ili drugih oblika neposrednog sudjelovanja građana kada je to dopušteno zakonom. Iz ovog stavka najjasnije proizlazi veza između lokalne samouprave i lokalne demokracije: koncept lokalne samouprave ne podrazumijeva puki prijenos ovlasti sa središnje razine na lokalnu nego postavlja zahtjev pred jedinice lokalne samouprave da izravno ili neizravno izraze volju lokalnog stanovništva [Report CG-FORUM(2020)02-05: 13].

Lokalna samouprava u većoj ili manjoj mjeri podrazumijeva građansku participaciju koja se najlakše ostvaruje upravo na lokalnoj razini. Participaciju kao element lokalne samouprave ističu mnogi autori, pri čemu se pod tim pojmom podrazumijeva „način na koji pojedinci sudjeluju u političkom procesu“ (Sadiković 2008: 205).

„Kao jedno od temeljnih načela lokalne demokracije, pravo na sudjelovanje građana u demokratskim procesima podrazumijeva implementaciju načela supsidijarnosti, pravo svih građana da budu informirani, uporabu novih informacijsko-komunikacijskih tehnologija radi pružanja građanima jasnih informacija kao i primanja informacija o njihovim potrebama i problemima te stvaranje sustava suradnje temeljenog na povjerenju između kvalificiranog osoblja te građana i njihovih predstavnika“ (Musa, Dobrić Jambović 2018: 286).



Sudjelovanje građana u obavljanju poslova jedinica lokalne samouprave odvija se kroz različite oblike. Kao tradicionalni oblici participacije izdvajaju se referendum, građanska inicijativa, deliberativne skupštine, različiti oblici sublokalnog upravljanja te povremeni savjetodavni sastanci građana (Koprić, Klarić 2015). Aktivno sudjelovanje građana naglašeno je i u samom terminu samouprave. Neki autori posebno ističu terminološku razliku između vladanja (*eng. government*) i upravljanja (*eng. governance*) pri čemu se pod vladanjem misli na hijerarhijski način odlučivanja i vođenja političkog procesa, dok se kod upravljanja naglasak stavlja na decentralizirani i participativninačin odlučivanja (Zlokapa 2009). Prema tome, razlika nije samo terminološka, nego se očituje u načinu odlučivanja na lokalnoj razini. Ovakva terminološka razlika može se komparirati s modelima uspostave lokalne samouprave ovisno o tome smatra li se lokalna samouprava izvornom institucijom odvojenom od centralnog državnog sustava ili kao sastavni dio državnog sustava uspostavljen kao vid administrativne decentralizacije (Živanović 2012).

Između lokalne samouprave i demokracije postoji snažna povezanost i međuu-vjetovanost. Demokracija u najjednostavnijem značenju podrazumijeva takav politički sustav u kojem o vršenju vlasti ili povjeravanju vlasti izabranim predstavnicima odlučuje narod. Budući da lokalna samouprava predstavlja ostvarivanje javne vlasti na razini najbližoj građanima, evidentno je da su građani najviše zainteresirani ostvariti demokraciju na lokalnoj razini. Martinović (2013) navodi da građani većinu svojih interesa ostvaruju upravo na lokalnoj razini. Iz navedenog proizlazi da bi građani ponajprije trebali biti zainteresirani za ostvarivanje vlasti ili utjecaja na vlast na lokalnoj razini uz poštivanje i promicanje demokratskih procedura i praksi koje će im omogućiti najviši stupanj ostvarenja njihovih potreba i interesa. Prema Živanoviću (2012) stupanj ostvarenja prava na lokalnu samoupravu u nekom društvu predstavlja istinski test prave demokracije.

Povezanost demokracije i lokalne samouprave snažno je naglašena i u preambuli Europske povelje o lokalnoj samoupravi koja se poziva na načela i ideale zajedničke baštine članica Vijeća Europe među koja nesumnjivo pripadaju načela demokracije i lokalne samouprave. U preambuli se ističe da su lokalne jedinice jedan od glavnih temelja svakog demokratskog sustava, izrijeком se poziva na pravo građana na sudjelovanje u upravljanju javnim poslovima kao jedno od demokratskih načela. U preambuli se zaključno iskazuje uvjerenje da je snaženje lokalne samouprave važan doprinos izgradnji Europe utemeljene na načelima demokracije i decentralizacije vlasti, a posebno se ističe potreba postojanja demokratski oblikovanih odlučujućih tijela na lokalnoj razini.

Uspostava lokalne samouprave u nekoj državi može se promatrati i kao oblik samoograničenja centralne vlasti koja kroz ustavne i zakonske akte povjerava građanima da takvu vlast nadziru, ograničavaju, a posebice participiraju u njoj. Termin samoograničenja u ovom kontekstu podrazumijeva da centralni državni organi, svjesno da se potrebe građana mogu najbolje ostvariti na najnižoj razini upravljanja, svjesno dodjeljuju nadležnosti nižim razinama čije izvršavanje centralne vlasti neće moći preispitivati sa stajališta svrsishodnosti, ali također dodjeljuju pravo građanima da nadziru takvu vlast te osiguravaju normativne pretpostavke građanske participacije. Države koje na takav način svjesno samoograničavaju vlast središnjih organa u korist nadzornih uloga građana u teoriji se nazivaju otvorenim lokalnim samoupravama.

### **3. LOKALNA SAMOUPRAVA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI**

#### ***3.1. Normativni okvir***

Ustav BiH kao najviši pravni akt, izuzev statusa Brčko Distrikta, ne sadrži druge odredbe o lokalnoj samoupravi. Na državnoj razini ne postoji niti zakonska regulacija lokalne samouprave. Jedini pravni dokument koji važi na cijelom teritoriju države je Europska povelja o lokalnoj samoupravi koju je BiH ratificirala 2002. godine.

Ustav FBiH ne navodi lokalnu samoupravu kao načelo, nego u pojedinim odredbama regulira da se lokalna samouprava ostvaruje u općini. Ustav RS lokalnu samoupravu navodi kao element na kojemu se temelji ustavno uređenje ovog entiteta. Na zakonskoj razini u FBiH lokalna samouprava regulirana je Zakonom o načelima lokalne samouprave u FBiH, dok je u RS regulirana Zakonom o lokalnoj samoupravi RS. Pored navedenih akata, s obzirom da se entitet FBiH sastoji od 10 federalnih jedinica, materija lokalne samouprave regulirana je i propisima tih razina vlasti. Osim akata koji izravno reguliraju lokalnu samoupravu, normativni okvir lokalne samouprave u Bosni i Hercegovini čine i zakoni kojima se regulira pripadnost javnih prihoda, zakoni o proračunima, zakonski akti o slobodi pristupa informacijama te drugi akti kojima se (ne)izravno regulira predmetna materija.

Zbog kompleksnog normativnog okvira lokalne samouprave nerijetko i stručnjaci nisu sigurni kojoj razini vlasti je dodijeljena određena nadležnost. Česti su pozitivni, ali i negativni sukobi nadležnosti između različitih razina vlasti. U pravilu više razine pokazuju intenciju prisvajanja „poželjnih“ nadležnosti, dok nižim razinama prenose „nepoželjne“ pri čemu takav prijenos često ne prati osiguravanje odgovarajućeg financijskog okvira za realizaciju istih. U takvim uvjetima nejasne raspodjele nadlež-

nosti, neodgovarajuće fiskalne decentralizacije, nerazumijevanja državnog i društvenog uređenja od različitih aktera koji participiraju u donošenju odluka o lokalnoj samoupravi ne iznenađuje nizak stupanj sudjelovanja građana. Ovakav zaključak potvrđuju i preporuke Kongresa lokalnih i regionalnih vlasti o stanju lokalne i regionalne demokracije u Bosni i Hercegovini. Iako su preporuke dane u vremenskom razmaku od sedam godina (Recommendation 324, 2012; Recommendation 356, 2014; Recommendation 442, 2019), u svim preporukama Kongres sa zabrinutošću konstatira da nije ostvarena jasna raspodjela nadležnosti između različitih razina vlasti, posebno između federalne, kantonalne/županijske i lokalne razine. U svim preporukama naglašena je i potreba osiguravanja odgovarajućeg financijskog okvira uključujući dodjelu dovoljnih financijskih sredstava lokalnim vlastima razmjerno njihovim ovlastima i odgovornostima. Ovakav stav Kongresa ujedno je i obveza BiH na temelju Europske povelje o lokalnoj samoupravi koja stipulira obvezu razmjernosti financiranja i nadležnosti, ali i raznolikosti i evolutivnosti sustava financiranja kako bi mogli slijediti promjene stvarnih troškova obavljanja lokalnih ovlasti. Potreba jasnije regulacije lokalne samouprave istaknuta je i u Akcijskom planu Vijeća Europe za BiH u razdoblju 2018–2021. godina u skladu s preporukama Kongresa i najboljoj europskoj praksi, ali i potreba jačanja kapaciteta lokalnih samouprava u svrhu razvijanja upravljanja ljudskim potencijalima, potreba poboljšanja građanske participacije kao i međusobne suradnje između općina.

Akcijski plan Vijeća Europe za BiH u razdoblju 2022–2025. na polju demokracije posebno ističe važnost jačanja građanske participacije kroz podršku razvoju lokalne demokracije. Navedeni cilj planira se, *interalia*, ostvariti razvijanjem inovativnih formi deliberativne demokracije. Građanska participacija i građanska vijećanja kao mehanizmi deliberativne demokracije omogućavaju preraspodijeliti ovlasti i moć, uspostaviti mehanizme za identificiranje i ciljanje interesa, osigurati provedbu odluka, prevladati sukobe, poticati pomirenje i depolitizirati društvo.

### **3.2. Posredno sudjelovanje građana**

Osnovno i najznačajnije sudjelovanje građana u lokalnoj samoupravi odvija se na neizravan način, putem izbora predstavnika lokalne vlasti. Takav način sudjelovanja građana predviđen je Europskom poveljom o lokalnoj samoupravi prema kojoj se lokalna samouprava provodi preko skupština ili vijeća sastavljenih od članova koji su izabrani na slobodnim i neposrednim izborima, tajnim glasovanjem na temelju općeg i jednakog biračkog prava. U BiH organi jedinica lokalne samouprave su vijeće i na-

čelnik pri čemu se normativnim rješenjima odlučujući karakter daje vijeću, dok se pozicija načelnika pozicionira u vidu izvršnog organa. Među najznačajnijim odlukama koje donosi vijeće mogu se istaknuti priprema i usvajanje statuta jedinice lokalne samouprave, usvajanje proračuna, donošenje propisa o porezima, taksama, naknadama i doprinosima jedinice lokalne samouprave, donošenje odluke o upravljanju i raspolaganju imovinom jedinice lokalne samouprave. U odnosu na sudjelovanje građana u javnim poslovima vijeće ima posebno značajne dvije nadležnosti: donošenje odluke o organizaciji mjesne samouprave i raspisivanju referendumu. Članom 16. Zakona o načelima lokalne samouprave u FBiH propisano je da se međusobni odnosi vijeća i načelnika zasnivaju se na načelima međusobnog uvažavanja i suradnje, uz pojedinačnu odgovornost za ostvarivanje vlastitih nadležnosti i zajedničku odgovornost za funkcioniranje jedinica lokalne samouprave. Iako je načelnik izvršni organ, člankom 18. istog zakona ojačana je njegova uloga. Naime, ukoliko vijeće ne usvoji proračun u roku od 90 dana od početka proračunske godine, načelnik proglašava proračun jedinice lokalne samouprave.

Načelnik i vijeće biraju se neposredno od strane građana za razliku od ranijih rješenja kada je načelnika biralo vijeće. Gradonačelnik se bira posredno, od strane članova gradskog vijeća, osim kada je u pitanju grad koji u svom sastavu nema općine. Analogno rješenje se primjenjuje i kod izbora članova gradskog vijeća, posredan izbor kao pravilo, neposredan izbor vijećnika gradskog vijeća ukoliko je u pitanju grad koji u svom sastavu nema općinu.

Logički proizlazi da je utjecaj građana veći u onim jedinicama lokalne samouprave kod kojih se organi jedinica lokalne samouprave formiraju neposrednim izborom građana. Uvođenjem neposrednog izbora načelnika nastojalo se povećati stupanj utjecaja građana na lokalne vlasti, posebno s obzirom na činjenicu da je razvoj lokalne samouprave pokazao jaču poziciju načelnika u odnosu na vijeće zbog brojnih razloga. Stoga se opravdano postavlja pitanje u kojoj mjeri načelnici utječu na stupanj lokalne demokratije u Bosni i Hercegovini? Na ovo pitanje teško je dati jednoznačan odgovor, iako bi se, *prima facie*, moglo reći da je neposrednim izborom načelnika povećan stupanj utjecaja građana na vlast.

Da bi se procijenio stupanj utjecaja građana na izbor načelnika potrebno je uzeti u obzir proces kandidiranja neke osobe za navedeno mjesto. Analize pokazuju da je u pretežnom broju slučajeva pobjedu na lokalnim izborima odnosio stranački u odnosu na nestranačkog kandidata.

„Natjecanje za kandidaturu (op. a. stranačku) odvija se podzemno i izvan utjecaja običnih članova stranaka. Iako osnovne stranačke organizacije imaju pravo istaknuti svoje prijedloge za općinskog načelnika, do konačnog imena koje će se naći na listi dolazi se u pregovorima lokalnog i centralnog stranačkog rukovodstva. Naime, sve bosanskohercegovačke stranke su vrlo centralizirane i kadrovska rješenja se ne prepuštaju slučaju niti presudnom utjecaju članova – kadrovska politika je stvar centralnih organa ili, što je mnogo vjerojatnije, ovisi od odnosa snaga unutar stranačkog vrha.“ (Zlokapa 2009: 59-60)

Iz navedenog proizlazi da je kandidat za načelnika biran među elitama unutar političke stranke na čiju kandidaturu članovi stranke, građani, imaju mali ili nikakav utjecaj. Ovakav razvoj ukazuje na činjenicu da je lokalna demokracija u Bosni i Hercegovini još uvijek u povojima te da je, kao pretpostavku jačanja lokalne demokracije, nužno demokratizirati procese unutar političkih stranaka kao aktera koji imaju presudan utjecaj u donošenju kako lokalnih, tako i državnih politika.

Ipak, nesumnjivo je da je neposredan izbor načelnika povećao stupanj utjecaja građana na odlučivanje na lokalnoj razini. Budući da je morao dobiti podršku većine građana na izborima, načelnik treba održavati konstantnu interakciju s onima koji su ga izabrali – građanima. I građani neposredan izbor načelnika smatraju važnim, približno svaki šesti ispitanik smatra takav izbor vrlo važnim ili uglavnom važnim (Pejanović, Sadiković 2022).

Važan doprinos demokratiziranju lokalne samouprave predstavljaju normativna rješenja koja omogućavaju opoziv načelnika. Prema članku 6. Zakona o izboru, prestanku mandata, opozivu i zamjeni načelnika općina u FBiH inicijativu za pokretanje postupka opoziva načelnika može uputiti 1/3 vijećnika općinskog vijeća ili 10% registriranih birača na području općine pri čemu odluku o pokretanju opoziva načelnika donosi općinsko vijeće većinom glasova od ukupnog broja vijećnika, a konačnu odluku o opozivu donose birači – građani, neposrednim tajnim glasovanjem, dakle putem referendumu. Ovakvo rješenje doprinosi pojačanom utjecaju građana na lokalnu vlast, a posljedično i na ozbiljniji angažman izabраниh načelnika u prihvaćanju i poticanju participacije građana.

Anketiranje koje je u svrhu istraživanja proveo Centar civilnih inicijativa pokazalo je alarmantne podatke o povjerenju građana u rad načelnika: tek 11,8% građana potpuno vjeruje u rad načelnika, dok u rad načelnika uopće ne vjeruje 15,7% građana (Zlokapa 2009: 64). U okviru istog istraživanja na pitanje koliko predstavnici vlasti u općini omogućuju građanima da izraze svoje mišljenje o odlukama koje se odnose na općinu u kojoj žive čak 58,4% izjasnilo se s odgovorom malo, a 21,6% odgovorom

nimalo (Ibidem 79). Ovakva istraživanja mogu potvrditi zaključak o potrebi i korisnosti postojanja normativnih rješenja koja reguliraju postupak opoziva načelnika s ciljem da građani mogu zamijeniti osobu koju su birali, a što u konačnici predstavlja samu bit demokracije. Pored toga, potrebno je jačati povjerenje, ali i obrazovati načelnike i druge nositelje javnih dužnosti o korisnosti uključivanja građana u procese odlučivanja. Uključivanje građana ne samo da je nužna pretpostavka jačanja lokalne demokracije, nego bi moglo povećati povjerenje i zadovoljstvo građana, a u konačnici načelnici koji bi prihvatili takav stav bili bi prepoznati od strane građana – birača.

Kako bi se osnažila građanska participacija, nužno je da organi vlasti u jedinicama lokalne samouprave ostvaruju kvalitetnu komunikaciju s građanima. Novija istraživanja pokazuju da su građani zadovoljniji glede komunikacije s (grado)načelnicima nego li s vijećnicima: skoro svaki četvrti ispitanik ocijenio je komunikaciju s vijećnicima kao vrlo lošu ili uglavnom lošu dok je 35% ispitanika dalo takvu ocjenu u odnosu na komunikaciju s (grado)načelnikom (Pejanović, Sadiković 2022: 226-227). U istom istraživanju iskazano je i veliko nepovjerenje građana glede iskrenosti lokalnih vlasti za uključivanjem građana u procese odlučivanja. Samo 10% građana smatra da su pozivi lokalnih vlasti iskreni, 41% građana smatra da bi njihovo uključivanje organi vlasti smatrali smetnjom, a 49% građana takve pozive smatra kao formalno ispunjavanje zakonskih obveza (Pejanović, Sadiković 2022: 205).

### **3.3. Neposredno sudjelovanje građana**

Na državnoj razini u Bosni i Hercegovini pozitivno pravo ne regulira niti predviđa oblike neposrednog sudjelovanja građana. Važeće zakonodavstvo u oblasti lokalne samouprave u FBiH predviđa neposredno sudjelovanje građana putem referendumu, mjesnog zbora građana, građanske inicijative i drugih oblika neposrednog izjašnjavanja pri čemu je ostavljena ovlast jedinicama lokalne samouprave da mogu predvidjeti i druge mehanizme participativne demokracije koji nisu zabranjeni zakonom. U entitetu Republika Srpska predviđeni su i sati građana u skupštini te mjesna zajednica kao oblici neposrednog sudjelovanja građana.

Najznačajniji mehanizam neposrednog sudjelovanja građana je referendum. Referendum se može definirati kao oblik neposrednog odlučivanja građana o određenim pitanja od posebne važnosti za pojedinu razinu vlasti (Ademović, Marko, Marković 2012: 62). Osim referendumu, značajan oblik neposrednog odlučivanja građana predstavlja i građanska inicijativa. Ključna razlika prema referendumu ogleda se u tome

što kod građanske inicijative građani predlažu, ali ne donose konačnu odluku (Hunčak-Pita 2011).

Prema članku 44. Zakona o načelima lokalne samouprave FBiH referendum se može raspisati radi odlučivanja o prijedlogu o promjeni statuta, o prijedlogu općeg akta ili drugih pitanja iz nadležnosti organa jedinica lokalne samouprave, kao i o drugim pitanjima određenim zakonom i statutom. Odluka donesena na referendumu obavezna je za vijeće jedinice lokalne samouprave. Za razliku od ovakvog rješenja gdje se referendum spominje u jednom članku, u Republici Srpskoj pitanje referenduma regulirano je, pored ustavnih odredbi, posebnim zakonom. Prema članku 2. Zakona o referendumu i građanskoj inicijativi referendum u jedinicama lokalne samouprave može se raspisati radi prethodnog izjašnjavanja građana o pitanjima iz njihove nadležnosti utvrđenih zakonom i statutom jedinica lokalne samouprave. Prijedlog za raspisivanje referenduma na lokalnoj razini mogu podnijeti 1/3 članova predstavničkog tijela jedinica lokalne samouprave, načelnik, odnosno gradonačelnik, najmanje 10% birača upisanih u birački spisak jedinice lokalne samouprave ili 3.000 birača ako je u birački spisak upisano više od 30.000 birača. Referendum je valjan ako je na njemu glasovala natpolovična većina građana koji imaju biračko pravo, a referendumsko pitanje je usvojeno ukoliko je za njega glasovala natpolovična većina građana koji su sudjelovali na referendumu. Ukoliko je se većina građana pozitivno izjasnila, nadležni organ dužan je u roku od 6 mjeseci od dana održavanja referenduma donijeti odgovarajući akt o kojem se izjašnjavalo o referendumu.

U odnosu na građansku inicijativu zakonodavstvom u FBiH propisano je da građani imaju pravo organu jedinice lokalne samouprave podnositi inicijative za donošenje određenog akta ili rješavanje određenog pitanja iz njegovog djelokruga s tim da o predmetnoj inicijativi vijeće mora raspravljati ako ga potpisom podrži određeni broj građana upisanih u birački spisak jedinice lokalne samouprave. Pri tome Statutom kao uvjet ne smije biti propisano da minimum traženih potpisa bude veći od 5% ukupnog broja građana upisanih u birački spisak. U Republici Srpskoj sadržana su slična rješenja u odnosu na građansku inicijativu. Razlike se odnose prije svega na detaljnije reguliranje kako ovog pitanja, tako i pitanja referenduma. Zanimljivo je da građani, iako rijetko koriste građansku inicijativu, istu smatraju učinkovitim sredstvom – više od polovice ispitanika se izjasnilo u tom pravcu (Pejanović, Sadiković 2022: 246).

Unatoč normativnom propisivanju instituta neposredne demokracije mnogi autori smatraju da instituti izravne demokracije još uvijek nisu dovoljno iskorišteni. U tom smislu Šmitran (2018) navodi da, iako su formalno propisani, instituti direktne de-



mokracije nisu u stvarnosti zaživjeli na prostoru lokalnih zajednica u FBiH. Mali broj lokalnih referenduma snažan je pokazatelj nedovoljne informiranosti i zainteresiranosti građana za mogućnosti ostvarivanja određenih prava kroz oblike izravne demokracije. Do sada se najčešće na lokalnim referendumima u odlučivalo o opozivu načelnika pojedinih lokalnih zajednica, a prema istraživanju iz 2022. godine samo 18 % ispitanika je sudjelovalo na referendumu o nekom pitanju od lokalnog značaja (Ibidem).

U okviru istraživanja o odnosu načelnika i skupština u BiH koje su proveli Centri civilnih inicijativa jedna od preporuka u cilju unapređenja postojećeg normativnog okvira odnosi se na uvođenje peticije kao osnove za obvezatno raspisivanje izvanrednih izbora u određenoj općini koju bi potpisalo minimalno 50%+1 građana koji su izašli na prethodne lokalne izbore u toj općini. Prema navedenim preporukama kao glavna prijetnja prepoznaje se mogućnost odbijanja inicijative od strane lokalnih vijeća što obezvređuje ovaj mehanizam (Centri civilnih inicijativa 2009).

Specifičnost trenutka i način nastanka Ustava BiH može u određenoj mjeri objasniti propuštanje reguliranja mehanizama izravne demokracije. Osim toga, mogućnost primjene neposredne demokracije na razini države upitna je zbog složenog državnog i društvenog uređenja koje čine tri konstitutivna naroda zajedno s ostalim, dva entiteta od kojih je jedan federacija deset kantona/županija te poseban status Brčko Distrikta. Primjena referenduma i sličnih mehanizama potencijalno bi bila opterećena nacionalnom pripadnošću uslijed čega se otvara strah od preglasavanja. Međutim, zajedničko je svim razinama vlasti normiranje neposrednog sudjelovanja građana na razini jedinica lokalne samouprave. Upravo na navedenoj razini postoji potencijal razvijanja i jačanja neposredne demokracije budući da lokalna razina, u najvećem broju slučajeva, podrazumijeva pitanja koja su podjednako značajna za sve građana, neovisno o njihovim posebnim i drukčijim identitetima. Navedeno bi posebno moglo vrijediti u mjesnim zajednicama kao obliku mjesne samouprave.

U RS mjesna zajednica je predviđena kao poseban oblik neposrednog sudjelovanja građana. Unatoč normativnim rješenjima mjesna zajednica predstavlja specifičan oblik predstavničke demokracije s obzirom na to da mjesna zajednica ima savjet, a članovi savjeta biraju se na razdoblje od četiri godine. U FBiH mjesna samouprava ostvaruje se u mjesnoj zajednici kao obveznom obliku mjesne samouprave koju osniva vijeće. Građani u mjesnoj zajednici putem organa mjesne zajednice odlučuju o poslovima značajnim za život i rad na području mjesne zajednice kroz iniciranje i sudjelovanje u javnim raspravama o navedenim pitanjima. Pri tome, predviđene su obvezne konzultacije organa mjesne zajednice o pitanjima o kojima vijeće jedinice lokalne samouprave odlučuje dvotrećinskom većinom, kao i u postupku donošenja



planova jedinice lokalne samouprave. Iz navedenog se može zaključiti da mjesne zajednice predstavljaju institut predstavničke demokracije budući da zakonodavac izriječno spominje organe mjesne zajednice koji nju predstavljaju.

Od oblika neposredne demokracije unutar mjesnih zajednica posebno je istaknuta javna rasprava.

„Javne rasprave su mehanizam putem kojeg parlamenti dolaze do informacija, stručnih mišljenja, alternativnih stavova u vezi s propisom u postupku donošenja za koji je procijenjeno da ima poseban značaj za javnost. Stavovi izneseni u javnoj raspravi koriste se za informiranje zastupnika, te predstavnika izvršne vlasti i javnosti, o posljedicama donošenja zakona, za predstavljanje mogućih rješenja, ali prije svega za poboljšanje predloženih propisa“. (Bulić, Čilimković 2014: 17)

Iako se prethodna definicija u prvom redu odnosi na zakonodavna tijela, ona se ipak na njih ne ograničava, nego je sasvim opravdano proširiti njezinu primjenu i do najniže razine organiziranja, razine mjesne samouprave. Javne rasprave u mjesnoj samoupravi mogu biti prikladan način uključivanja građana s područja te mjesne zajednice u proces odlučivanja. Budući da u Bosni i Hercegovini ne postoji zakonski okvir javnih raspravi, *de lege ferenda* predlažemo zakonsko reguliranje ove materije s ciljem jačanja pravne sigurnosti, ali i obvezivanja svih institucija da provedu javnu raspravu prije donošenja značajnih akata ili odluka. Zakonska regulacija odrazila bi se na jačanje ovog mehanizma, a time bi se posredno doprinijelo jačanju građanske participacije.

#### **4. MOGUĆNOSTI PRIMJENE DELIBERATIVNE DEMOKRACIJE**

Jačanje sudjelovanja građana u procesu odlučivanja najčešće obuhvaća istraživanje i promociju različitih oblika i mehanizama participativne demokracije. Pored predstavničke i participativne demokracije u recentnom razdoblju sve se više proučava deliberativna demokracija kao poseban oblik demokracije koji se smatra i najutjecajnijim pomakom unutar teorija demokracije (Smith 2008; Janković 2022). Prema Laucu (2016: 521), za razliku od participativne demokracije koja poziva sve građane, „deliberativna demokracija je blizu Aristotelovoj „aristokratskoj“ demokraciji, gdje moderna informatička tehnologija otvara neslućene mogućnosti komuniciranja zainteresiranih“. Prema Bohmanu (1998: 401) deliberativna demokracija je „svako razmišljanje prema kojem je javno savjetovanje slobodnih i jednakih građana srž legitimnoga donošenja odluka u politici i samovladi“.

„Deliberativna demokracija utemeljena je na idealu u kojem se ljudi, jednakog statusa i međusobnog poštovanja, okupljaju kako bi razgovarali o političkim pitanjima s kojima se suočavaju i, na temelju tih rasprava, odlučivali o politici koja će potom utjecati na njihove živote“ (Bächtigeretal 2018: 21)

Temeljni uvjeti koje navodi Reese-Shäefer (2004) u klasifikaciji koncepta deliberativne demokracije prema Cohenu odnose se na sljedeće: deliberacija je slobodna pri čemu se misli na odsutnost vezanosti sudionika autoritetom ili normama; sudionici pretpostavljaju da će se na kraju deliberacije također osjećati vezani rezultatima i provoditi ih; deliberacija se mora temeljiti na argumentima; dopuštena je samo nenasilna prisila boljega argumenta; svaka bi se kolektivna odluka trebala donositi na deliberativan način; svatko ima jednako pravo govora i glasovanja; već postojeći pravni zahtjevi unutar skupine članova nemaju obvezatan učinak, nego se mogu u svakome trenutku staviti na raspolaganje – s jednom iznimkom: mora se sačuvati okvir deliberacije među jednakima.

Deliberativnu demokraciju možemo definirati kao poseban oblik demokracije koji ima za cilj jačanje sudjelovanja građana u procesu javnog (političkog) odlučivanja utemeljenog na konstruktivnoj raspravi slobodnih i jednakih građana. Budući da je jedan od ciljeva deliberativne demokracije promicanje aktivnog i odgovornog participiranja građana, za stanje lokalne demokracije u BiH od posebne važnosti je pilot projekt implementacije deliberativne demokracije u Gradu Mostaru.

#### ***4.1. Projekt „Razvoj demokratskog sudjelovanja u gradu Mostaru“***

Kongres lokalnih i regionalnih vlasti u sklopu Akcijskog plana Vijeća Europe za BiH u razdoblju od 2018. do 2021. godine implementirao je projekt „Razvoj demokratskog sudjelovanja u Gradu Mostaru“. Cilj projekta bio je omogućiti građanima sudjelovanje u procesu deliberacije i donošenju odluka na lokalnoj razini kako bi se obnovilo povjerenje građana prema vlastima nakon višegodišnjeg neprovođenja lokalnih izbora. Očekivani ishodi projekta odnosili su se na implementaciju deliberativnih mehanizama, povećanje razine znanja o demokratskim praksama, te stvaranje povoljnijih uvjeta za kvalitetniju uključenost građana (*Razvoj demokratskog sudjelovanja u gradu Mostaru*).

Proces deliberacije sastojao se od četiri glavne faze: odabir građana, učenje, jačanje kapaciteta i deliberacija. Na osnovu poduzetih aktivnosti organizirana je prva Skupština građana kao poseban oblik demokratskog djelovanja koji se formira nasu-

mičnim odabirom građana uz primjenu demografskih kriterija, a njezina zadaća podrazumijevala je analiziranje određene teme, razmatranje različitih rješenja i donošenje konačne odluke. Teme za skupštinu građana odabrane su nakon online anketiranja građana, radionica s civilnim društvom i konzultacija s akademskom zajednicom te lokalnim vijećnicima i predstavnicima gradske uprave. Konačna tema čistoća i održavanje javnih prostora izabrana je glasovima nasumično odabranih građana koji su dobili pozivnicu za sudjelovanje na skupštini. Konačan odabir članova skupštine (47 od 250 registriranih građana) temeljio se na kriteriju demografske strukture grada uz nasumičan odabir. Skupštinu građana koordinirali su neovisni eksperti-facilitatori koji su osigurali uvažavanje mišljenja svakog sudionika tijekom svih faza rada skupštine te su uz njihovu podršku izradili 32 preporuke za gradske vlasti Mostara (Skupština građana Mostara). Ishod projekta ogleda se u usvajanju Akcijskog plana za implementaciju preporuka od strane Gradskog vijeća Grada Mostara uz podršku Kongresa lokalnih i regionalnih vlasti te zaključka o provedbi preporuka Skupštine građana Grada Mostara (*Akcijski plan za implementaciju preporuka Skupštine građana Mostara*).

Prikaz i analiza ishoda predmetnog projekta ukazuju na potencijal razvoja i jačanja sudjelovanja građana kroz inovativne forme deliberativne demokracije. Značajnu ulogu u razvoju lokalne demokracije općenito, a posebno u implementaciji novih mehanizama deliberativne demokracije, ima Kongres lokalnih i regionalnih vlasti. Nesumnjivo je da je medijacija ovog tijela pospješila implementaciju rezultata projekta kroz formalne institucije vlasti.

Sudjelovanje vanjskog tijela, kakav je Kongres, čini se nužnim kako bi se novi modeli demokracije implementirali u Bosni i Hercegovini. Deliberativna demokracija podrazumijeva visok stupanj vlastitog angažmana građana, detaljna istraživanja određenog pitanja, uvažavanje drugih sudionika, uvažavanje snage argumenata uz odsustvo vezanosti izvanjskim autoritetima. Nedavna istraživanja (Pejanović, Sadiković 2022) utvrdila su nekoliko faktora koji uzrokuju apstinenciju od građanske participacije. Među faktorima koji su uzrok apstinencije, pored nedostatka vremena za angažman, uvjerenje građana da je sve već unaprijed odlučeno i nedostatak povjerenja u iskrenost lokalnih vlasti za građanskom participacijom su na drugom i trećem mjestu. Značajan broj ispitanika se izjasnio i kao nedovoljno kompetentan kao i da nema dovoljno prilika za uključivanje u procese participacije.

Sve navedeno upućuje na zaključak da su novi oblici demokracije potrebni i nužni kako bi se povećao stupanj građanske participacije, a samim time unaprijedila lokalna demokracija u Bosni i Hercegovini. Međutim, da bi se novi modeli demokracije im-

plementirali, nužno je otkloniti uzroke koje su građani naveli kao uzroke apstinencije iz procesa građanske participacije. Prije svega, potrebno je osnažiti građane glede njihove kompetentnosti, slobodnog vremena i povjerenja u vlastite snage kao temeljnih preduvjeta deliberativne demokracije, a potom poduzeti i druge mjere koje su potrebne za osnaživanje sudjelovanja građana.

## 5. ELEKTRONIČKA DEMOKRACIJA

Digitalna transformacija svijeta, razvoj informacijskih tehnologija, svakodnevni rast utjecaja navedenih tehnologija na sva životna područja nesumnjivo su postavili nova pitanja i izazove pred tradicionalne oblike demokracije. Za razliku od potonjih koji podrazumijevaju propisane forme izravnog ili neizravnog sudjelovanja građana i njihovog utjecaja na donositelje političkih i pravnih odluka, elektronička demokracija predstavlja relativno novi fenomen u ovom području. Prva rečenica Rezolucije o e-demokraciji Kongresa lokalnih i regionalnih vlasti potvrđuje gore iznesene zaključke: „elektronička demokracija (e-demokracija) transformira politički krajolik diljem Europe. To je fenomen odozdo prema gore (*bottom – up*), pri čemu se većina aktivnosti događa na lokalnoj razini“ [Resolution 290 (2009)]. U navedenoj rezoluciji elektronička demokracija prepoznata je kao sredstvo pomoću kojega lokalne vlasti mogu unaprijediti efikasnost i transparentnost, ali i građansku participaciju u cilju poboljšanja kvalitete života. U tom svjetlu Kongres je preporučio osmišljavanje odgovarajućih struktura za online konzultacije, omogućavanje građanima online nazočnost procesima deliberacije, rasprave i odlučivanja nositelja vlasti. Kongres u rezoluciji naglašava važnost osiguranja besplatnog internetskog pristupa, internetskog opismenjavanja, ali i zaštitu privatnosti korisnika aplikacija e-demokracije. Potencijali jačanja građanske participacije kroz elektroničku demokraciju prepoznati su i u Preporuci o e-demokraciji. Prema točki 4. Preporuke snaga demokracije leži u razini sudjelovanja u političkom procesu, a korištenje tehnologije prilika je za proširenje sudjelovanja pri čemu se mora se paziti da se istovremeno ne stvaraju nove skupine marginaliziranih građana (Recommendation 274, 2009).

Na elektroničku demokraciju odnosi se i Preporuka Odbora ministara Vijeća Europe iz 2009. godine [Preporuka Rec(2009)1]. Navedenim aktom preporučuje se državama članicama da razmotre i primjenjuju e-demokraciju kao potporu i jačanje demokracije, demokratskih institucija i demokratskih procesa pomoću IC tehnologije, a sve povezano s angažiranjem i ponovnim angažiranjem građana u demokraciji. Države trebaju prilikom uvođenja e-demokracije osigurati da se dopunjuje i da je pove-

zana s tradicionalnim demokratskim procesima, ali istodobno voditi računa o izazovima, rizicima i preprekama e-demokraciji tako da ih počinju rješavati i uklanjati, smanjiti digitalni jaz (između onih koji imaju i onih koji nemaju računala) sveobuhvatnim i nediskriminatornim pristupom i snaženjem ljudi preko pomoći u obuci i obrazovanju, uključujući i obuku osposobljavanja za e-pismenost, te javnim mjerama informiranja, kombinirajući elektronički i neelektronički pristup.

S obzirom na trenutno stanje lokalne demokracije u BiH, pri čemu se prije svega misli na nedovoljnu iskorištenost raspoloživih mehanizama neposrednog sudjelovanja građana, predlažemo normativnu regulaciju elektroničke demokracije u svrhu oživljavanja i podupiranja tradicionalnih oblika demokracije. Lokalna razina može biti najpogodnija razina za iniciranje i uvođenje spomenutih oblika e-demokracije. Uz korištenje digitalnih tehnologija predstavnici jedinica lokalne samouprave mogli bi osigurati aktivnije sudjelovanje građana u svakodnevnom odlučivanju. Budući da nove tehnologije pružaju neslućene mogućnosti, ali i velike rizike, nužno je pri normativnoj regulaciji uzeti u obzir prednosti i nedostatke elektroničke demokracije. U tom pravcu je i Odbor ministara preporučio domaćim vlastima da prilikom uvođenja mehanizama za elektroničko glasovanje procijene i razviju mehanizme za suprotstavljanje specifičnim rizicima koji su karakteristični za elektroničko glasovanje [Recommendation CM/Rec(2017)5, p. 1]. Proces uvođenja e-glasovanja treba biti postupan i transparentan, a države članice trebaju osigurati pouzdanost i sigurnost sustava za elektroničko glasovanje [Recommendation CM/Rec(2017)5, 27-49]. Nadalje, nužno je osigurati potrebna financijska sredstva koja bi bila usmjerena ostvarivanju jednakosti u korištenju digitalnih tehnologija, provođenju obuka o korištenju spomenutih tehnologija i općenito razine elektroničke pismenosti. Ovakav prijedlog ima za cilj potaknuti intelektualnu raspravu o potrebi takvog oblika demokracije u Bosni i Hercegovini kako bi ista ishodila konkretne modele i rješenja za jačanje lokalne demokracije, a posljedično snaženje participacije građana na svim razinama vlasti.

## 6. ZAKLJUČAK

Uspostava lokalne samouprave u nekoj državi može se promatrati kao oblik samooograničenja centralne vlasti koja kroz ustavne i zakonske akte povjerava građanima da kroz sudjelovanje takvu vlast nadziru, ograničavaju, a posebice participiraju u njoj. Lokalna samouprava predstavlja najbližu razinu vlasti u okviru koje građani nastoje zadovoljiti osnovne životne potrebe. Kako bi lokalna samouprava ispunila funkciju

jedinica lokalne samouprave moraju imati, pored normativno dodijeljenih nadležnosti, i zbiljske mogućnosti za njihovo ostvarivanje.

Lokalna samouprava u BiH nalazi se pred brojnim izazovima. Ostvarivanje postojećih normativnih mehanizama lokalne demokracije na niskoj je razini. Kao prepreke u radu istaknuli smo nejasnu raspodjelu nadležnosti, neujednačenu normativnu regulaciju lokalne samouprave na različitim razinama vlasti, nedostatak napora u provođenju financijske decentralizacije kao i nedovoljnu promociju građanske participacije što je prepoznato i u Akcijskom planu Vijeća Europe za BiH 2022–2025. u kojemu je istaknuta važnost primjene novih formi demokracije, kao što je deliberativna demokracija.

U radu smo prikazali model deliberativne demokracije u vidu Skupštine građana Mostara kao pilot projekt na razini neke jedinice lokalne samouprave u Bosni i Hercegovini. Prema mišljenju autora, za implementaciju ovog projekta, u okviru kojega su izrađene preporuke i usvojen akcijski plan za njihovu implementaciju u gradskom vijeću, od posebne važnosti bilo je posredovanje Kongresa lokalnih i regionalnih vlasti između građana i gradskih vlasti. Domaće vlasti nerijetko pokazuju nedovoljnu zainteresiranost za implementaciju novih modela demokracije zbog čega je ovakva vrsta posredovanja nužna i u budućim sličnim projektima.

Zaključno, autori su analizirali i predložili uvođenje mehanizama elektroničke demokracije u domaći normativni sustav. Elektronička demokracija prepoznata je i od Kongresa lokalnih i regionalnih vlasti kao sredstvo pomoću kojega lokalne vlasti mogu unaprijediti efikasnost i transparentnost, ali i građansku participaciju u cilju poboljšanja kvalitete života. S obzirom da se centar događanja preselio u digitalni svijet, nadležne vlasti trebaju prepoznati potencijal novih tehnologija u cilju promocije i jačanja građanske participacije. Prilikom uvođenja modela elektroničke demokracije potrebno je voditi računa o izazovima, rizicima i preprekama e-demokraciji. U tom kontekstu nadležne vlasti trebaju voditi računa da pri uvođenju mehanizama e-demokracije smanje digitalni jaz između građana kroz osiguravanje besplatnog internetskog pristupa, pristup računalima te provođenje obuka o korištenju e-alata. Uz navedeno potrebno je jamčiti sigurnost elektroničke infrastrukture te poštivati dosegnute demokratske standarde u pogledu općeg, jednakog, slobodnog i tajnog biračkog prava sukladno preporukama Odbora ministara Vijeća Europe.

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## **LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - ANALYSIS OF THE NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CITIZEN PARTICIPATION**

### **Summary:**

In the article, the authors analyze the normative framework of local self-government in Bosnia and Herzegovina according to international standards with special reference to citizen participation. The authors analyze the normative regulation of local self-government along with the relevant acts of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities that refer to Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition to the existing normative framework, the authors examine the possibilities of applying deliberative democracy through the analysis of the pilot project Development of Democratic Participation in the City of Mostar and the possibility of introducing electronic democracy mechanisms. The results of the research indicate that the basic problems in the functioning of local self-government are reflected in a complex multi-level normative framework, an inadequate system of local self-government financing, and insufficient use of existing democratic mechanisms that promote citizen participation in local self-government units. In order to make more efficient use of existing mechanisms and strengthen citizen participation, the authors suggest the implementation of unconventional models of democracy, deliberative and electronic democracy. The implementation of these mechanisms could strengthen the democracy of local self-government and contribute to the strengthening of public trust in local government.

**Keywords:** local self-government; European Charter on Local Self-Government; citizen participation; deliberative democracy; electronic democracy

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## **MODALITETI PRAVNE ZAŠTITE U SLUČAJEVIMA „ŠUTNJE UPRAVE“ U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI**

Savremena uprava ostvaruje neposrednu saradnju sa građanima i privrednim subjektima te u okviru i na osnovu zakona odlučuje o njihovim pravima i obavezama. Njena zakonska obaveza je da zahtjeve stranaka rješava u propisanim rokovima. Ipak, u određenim situacijama oni propuštaju da u zakonom propisanom roku odluče o zahtjevu stranke, odnosno da donesu upravni akt. To je pretpostavka za nastanak specifičnog upravno-procesnog instituta zvanog „šutnja uprave“. Ovaj institut predstavlja svojevrsan test principa vladavine prava, zakonitosti i dobre uprave. S obzirom na to da se radi o društveno štetnom postupanju predviđeni su određeni mehanizmi pravne zaštite koji se ostvaruju kroz više različitih instrumenata: pravo na žalbu drugostepenom organu, pravo na pokretanje upravno-sudskog postupka, te pravo na pravično zadovoljenje. Osim toga, mogu se koristiti i druga sredstva, poput inspeksijskog nadzora od strane upravne inspekcije, te zahtijevati intervencije institucije ombudsmana za zaštitu ljudskih prava. Postojanje efikasne pravne zaštite u slučaju šutnje uprave od velikog je značaja jer služi ne samo zaštiti subjektivnih prava stranke, nego postaje korektivni faktor rada uprave, što doprinosi ostvarivanju objektivne zakonitosti. Na osnovu provedene analize, autori nude i određene *de lege ferenda* prijedloge u cilju daljeg unapređenja nivoa zaštite građana od šutnje uprave.

**Ključne riječi:** šutnja uprave; razuman rok; upravni postupak; upravna inspekcija; ombudsman

## 1. UVOD

“Šutnja uprave” poseban je upravno-procesni institut koji ima za cilj otkloniti negativne posljedice društveno štetne situacije kada se organi uprave oglašuju o zahtjeve stranaka. Do toga dolazi onda kada organi u upravnim postupcima ne postupaju u propisanim rokovima. Ovakvo ponašanje onemogućava građanima ostvarivanje njihovih prava i interesa, te kao takvo predstavlja kršenje načela zakonitosti i vladavine prava, a time i prava na dobru upravu. To iz razloga jer dobra uprava u osnovi pretpostavlja transparentan i efikasan odnos stranke i organa uprave, sa ciljem zaštite javnog interesa i povećanja nivoa povjerenja u upravu (Batalli 2017). Dakle, “šutnja uprave” negativno utiče kako na pojedinačna prava stranaka, tako i na ostvarenje javnog interesa (Kovač, Tolsma i Dragos 2020). Osim toga, složiti ćemo se i sa stavom Šikića (2006: 122) da šutnja uprave „potkopava načelo vladavine prava i dovodi do nepovjerenja građana u institucije državne vlasti, što u konačnici pogoduje razvoju korupcije”.

U cilju prevazilaženja problema “šutnje uprave” teorija upravnog prava je razvila dva koncepta: koncept pozitivne i negativne presumpcije. Prema konceptu pozitivne ili afirmativne presumpcije, presumira se da je zahtjev stranke (na koji su se organi uprave oglašili) osnovan, te da je kao takav usvojen (Ljubanović 2010). To se zasniva na shvatanju da šutnja znači pristanak.<sup>1</sup> Međutim, i pored nesumnjive koristi koju stranka može imati od ovakvog koncepta, postoji mnogo ozbiljnih kritika protiv uvođenja pozitivne presumpcije, budući da bi njena primjena ozbiljno ugrožavala neka osnovna upravno-procesna načela poput načela zakonitosti, materijalne istine i dr.

„Na primjer, u Italiji pozitivna presumpcija se ne može primjenjivati na akte i postupke koji se odnose na kulturno naslijeđe, okoliš, nacionalnu odbranu, javnu sigurnost, imigracije, javno zdravlje i sve slučajeve u kojima evropsko pravo zahtijeva formalni akt. U Francuskoj ona se neće primjenjivati ako bi to bilo protiv javnog reda, međunarodnog prava, zaštite sloboda ili drugih ustavnih prava ako uključuju finansijski zahtjev (osim socijalnog osiguranja). U Portugalu pak, nije moguće stvoriti pozitivnu presumpciju u slučajevima urbanističkog i državnog planiranja, ako bi to značilo kršenje naredbi ili zabrana namijenjenih zaštiti životne sredine, zaštiti historijskog i kulturnog naslijeđa, regionalnih, urbanističkih i seoskih standarda i dr.“ (Jansen 2015: 22).

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1 lat. *Qui tacet, consentire videtur* – Onaj koji šuti, čini se da odobrava.

Kako to navodi i Šikić (2008: 158), „primjenom koncepta pozitivne presumpcije može se doći u situaciju da očito neosnovani zahtjevi, kao i oni zahtjevi koji su u suprotnosti sa pozitivnim pravom, (namjernom ili slučajnom) neaktivnošću organa uprave, protekom vremena budu usvojeni”. Složit ćemo se i sa stavom da ovaj koncept „samo prividno doprinosi procesnoj pravednosti i rasterećuje stranku od trpljenja dugotrajnih upravnih postupaka, favorizujući pri tome interes stranke da se o njenom zahtjevu riješi pozitivno, a ne dovodeći do pronalaženja konkretnih razloga za procesnu neaktivnost uprave” (Ibidem 159). Uprkos tome što je ovaj koncept postavljen kao opće pravilo u nekim jurisdikcijama, dostupne analize pokazuju da zemlje poput Španije, Rumunije, Francuske ili Italije, koje su ga prihvatile, predviđaju brojne izuzetke, propisane sektorskim zakonima u oblasti životne sredine, javne sigurnosti, urbanističkog planiranja i dr. (Kovač, Tolsma i Dragos 2020: 23). I kada je prihvaćena pozitivna presumpcija, ona mora zahtijevati izuzetke i ne može biti generalno pravilo u velikom broju upravnih postupaka, izuzev onih sa malim značajem ili u kojima se ne dira u javni interes ili interes trećih lica (Kovač, Tolsma i Dragos 2020).

S druge strane, koncept negativne presumpcije pretpostavlja da “šutnja uprave” znači odbijanje zahtjeva stranke (Ljubanović 2010). Pravna priroda negativne odluke može biti fiktivno odbijanje, kao što je slučaj u većini istočnoevropskih zemalja, ili samo propust da se postupi, kao npr. u Njemačkoj ili Litvaniji (Kovač, Tolsma i Dragos 2020). Općenito, negativna presumpcija ne postiže materijalne efekte *per se*, već se uzima samo kao procesni preduslov za podnošenje žalbe ili tužbe (Ibidem). Dakle, negativna presumpcija tretira “šutnju uprave” kao okolnost koja „nikako ne može izmijeniti pravnu poziciju stranke, pa presumirajući zahtjev kao da je odbijen, stranci omogućava dalju zaštitu njenih prava, koju ostvaruje ulaganjem pravnih lijekova i putem sudske zaštite” (Šikić 2008: 160).

Instrumente pravne zaštite stranaka zbog neblagovremenog upravnog rješavanja u pravnom sistemu Bosne i Hercegovine možemo podijeliti na klasične instrumente koji se ostvaruju u okviru upravnog postupka i spora te posebne instrumente koje se ostvaruju u specifičnim postupcima. U prvu kategoriju spada institut žalbe drugostepenom organu i pokretanje upravnog spora pred nadležnim sudom, dok u drugu spadaju apelacija Ustavnom sudu Bosne i Hercegovine, inicijativa za vršenje inspekcijuskog nadzora podnesena nadležnoj upravnoj inspekciji, te prigovor Instituciji ombudsmana za zaštitu ljudskih prava. Svaki od navedenih instrumenata ima za cilj povećanje nivoa zaštite prava građana od „šutnje uprave“.

## 2. ŽALBA

Zakoni o upravnom postupku na svim nivoima u BiH prihvataju koncept negativne presumpcije. Tako, kada nadležni prvostepeni organ protiv čijeg je rješenja dopuštena žalba ne donese rješenje i ne dostavi ga stranci u zakonom propisanom roku, stranka ima pravo izjaviti žalbu, kao da je njen zahtjev odbijen. Žalba u upravnom postupku je procesno-pravno sredstvo „kojim se stranci i drugim osobama daje mogućnost da pred drugostepenim organom pokrenu pitanje zakonitosti i pravilnosti prvostepenog rješenja i time zaštite svoja prava i interese koji takvim rješenjem mogu biti povrijeđeni” (Borković 2002: 458). Izjavljivanjem žalbe se kod organa višeg stepena (instance) pokreće postupak instancione kontrole rada prvostepenog organa (Stojanović i Mehmedović 2023).

U slučajevima kad se postupak pokreće povodom zahtjeva stranke, odnosno po službenoj dužnosti, ako je to u interesu stranke, a prije donošenja rješenja nije potrebno sprovoditi poseban ispitni postupak niti postoje drugi razlozi zbog kojih se ne može donijeti rješenje bez odgađanja (npr. rješavanje prethodnog pitanja i sl.), nadležni prvostepeni organ dužan je da donese rješenje i dostavi ga stranci što prije, a najkasnije u roku od 30, odnosno 15 dana, računajući od dana predaje urednog zahtjeva, odnosno od dana pokretanja postupka po službenoj dužnosti, ako posebnim propisom nije određen kraći rok. U ostalim slučajevima, nadležni organ dužan je da donese rješenje i dostavi ga stranci najkasnije u roku od 60, odnosno 30 dana, ako posebnim propisom nije određen kraći/drugi rok.<sup>2</sup> Kad se radi o skraćenom postupku, nadležni organ dužan je da rješenje po zahtjevu stranke donese najkasnije u roku od 15, odnosno 7 dana od dana prijema zahtjeva.<sup>3</sup>

U slučaju kada prvostepeni organ nije u propisanom roku donio rješenje po zahtjevu stranke, odnosno po službenoj dužnosti, a u interesu stranke, stranka ima pravo izjaviti žalbu. Naravno, ovo pravo stranka ne može koristiti u svim slučajevima. To se prvenstveno odnosi na postupke u kojima je zakonom isključena mogućnost

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2 ZUP-ovi u Bosni i Hercegovini kompatibilni su u pogledu određivanja rokova za donošenje prvostepenog rješenja, izuzev što ZUP na nivou Brčko distrikta BiH propisuje kraće rokove što i nije iznenađujuće jer je javna uprava Distrikta manje kompleksna nego na ostalim nivoima. ZUP-ovi na nivou BiH, FBiH i Distrikta određuju da se posebnim propisom može predviđjeti kraći rok za donošenje rješenja, dok ZUP RS ovu odredbu postavlja nešto šire, pa utvrđuje da poseban propis može odrediti drugi rok za donošenje rješenja, što bi značilo da on može biti i duži.

3 ZUP RS nema posebnu odredbu kojom utvrđuje rok u skraćenom postupku, iako predviđa vođenje ovog postupka.

izjavljivanja žalbe. Jedan od takvih primjera je postupak akreditacije visokoškolskih ustanova. Tako, na osnovu preporuke o akreditaciji Agencije za razvoj visokog obrazovanja i osiguranje kvaliteta BiH, Ministarstvo obrazovanja i nauke Tuzlanskog kantona donosi rješenje kojim se odlučuje o zahtjevu za akreditaciju. Rješenje je upravni akt protiv kojeg nije dopuštena žalba, ali se, u roku od 30 dana od dana prijema istog, može pokrenuti upravni spor pred nadležnim sudom. U svakom slučaju, žalba zbog „šutnje prvostepenog organa“ može se izjaviti samo ako je žalba i inače dopuštena.

### 3. UPRAVNI SPOR

U slučaju kad nadležni organ po zahtjevu, odnosno po žalbi stranke nije donio odgovarajući upravni akt, osigurana je sudska zaštita putem upravnog spora koju propisuju zakoni o upravnom sporu u BiH:

- a) Prvi slučaj je kada u upravnom postupku drugostepeni organ nije u roku od 30, odnosno 60 dana ili u posebnim propisom određenom kraćem roku donio rješenje po žalbi stranke protiv prvostepenog rješenja, a nije ga donio ni u daljem roku od 7, odnosno 15 dana po pismenom/ponovljenom traženju ili po zahtjevu upravne inspekcije kojoj se stranka obratila, stranka može pokrenuti upravni spor kao da joj je žalba odbijena.
- b) Drugi slučaj je kada u upravnom postupku prvostepeni organ po zahtjevu nije donio rješenje protiv čijeg akta zakonom nije dozvoljena žalba, stranka može pokrenuti upravni spor na način naveden u tački a).
- c) Treći slučaj, izuzev na nivou Distrikta, je kada u upravnom postupku prvostepeni organ protiv čijeg akta je dozvoljena žalba nije u roku od 60 dana ili u posebnim propisom određenom kraćem roku donio rješenje, pa se stranka obratila svojim zahtjevom drugostepenom organu. Pod uslovima iz tačke a) stranka može pokrenuti upravni spor ako drugostepeni organ nije donio rješenje u propisanom roku.

Pokretanje upravnog spora u FBiH dodatno je uslovljeno obavezom stranke da se prethodno pisano obrati nadležnoj upravnoj inspekciji. Tek ukoliko upravna inspekcija u roku od 30 dana nije postupila po njenom zahtjevu, može se pokrenuti upravni spor. Ukoliko bi stranka propustila izvršiti tu dodatnu obavezu, sud bi tužbu za pokretanje upravnog spora odbacio kao nedopuštenu, odnosno preuranjenu.



Ukoliko bi nadležni organ u toku sudskog postupka naknadno donio (*konačni*)<sup>4</sup> upravni akt, taj organ je dužan, osim tužioca, istovremeno pismeno izvijestiti i sud pred kojim je spor pokrenut, s tim da sudu dostavi i novi upravni akt. Sud će u tom slučaju pozvati tužioca da u roku od 15, odnosno 8 dana, pismeno izjavi da li je naknadno donesenim upravnim aktom zadovoljan ili ostaje pri tužbi i u kojem obimu/obliku, odnosno da li tužbu proširuje i na novi upravni akt (i upozoriti ga o posljedicama propuštanja ovog roka – u Brčko distriktu BiH). Ukoliko tužilac izjavi da je naknadno donesenim upravnim aktom zadovoljan ili ako ne da izjavu u propisanom roku, sud će donijeti rješenje o obustavljanju postupka. Ukoliko pak izjavi da ni sa novim upravnim aktom nije zadovoljan, sud će nastaviti postupak. Prethodno spomenuti (*kraći*) rok od 8 dana u slučaju dostavljanja izjave sudu o naknadno donesenom upravnom aktu, koji propisuje ZUS RS, smatramo dobrim zakonskim rješenjem koje barem djelimično doprinosi ekonomičnosti sudskog postupka. Također, propisivanje obaveze suda u Distriktu da u svom pozivu stranku upozori o posljedicama propuštanja roka za dostavljanje ove izjave, sjajna je mogućnost da se stranka uputi u pravila postupka i na koji način može da realizuje određena procesna prava koja joj pripadaju.

Kada se u upravnom sporu tužba zbog “šutnje uprave” ima uvažiti, različita su zakonska rješenja o načinu postupanja sudova u Bosni i Hercegovini. Na državnom i nivou Distrikta, ukoliko sud nađe da je tužba opravdana, presudom će uvažiti tužbu, poništiti osporeni upravni akt i odrediti u kom će smislu nadležni organ donijeti rješenje ili će presudom sam riješiti upravnu stvar. U Federaciji sud će presudom tužbu uvažiti i odrediti u kojem smislu će nadležni organ donijeti rješenje, dok će sud u Republici Srpskoj tužbu također uvažiti i naložiti nadležnom organu da donese odgovarajuću odluku u roku koji ne može biti duži od 30 dana od dana dostavljanja presude. Iz navedenog se može zaključiti da sudovi na državnom i na nivou Distrikta imaju i kasacijsku i reformacijsku ovlast (ovlast pune jurisdikcije), odnosno da mogu meritorno riješiti stvar. S druge strane, na entitetskom nivou nije zastupljen spor pune jurisdikcije po tužbama zbog “šutnje uprave”.

„Kasacija ili poništavanje upravnog akta najraširenija je sudska ovlast. Njome je sud ovlašten s učinkom *ex tunc* staviti van snage odluku uprave, ali bez mogućnosti da je izmjeni i tada sud prepušta upravi da, kada to smatra potrebnim, donese novu odluku prema sudskoj odluci o poništavanju” (Đerđa 2010: 448).

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4 ZUS BiH normirao je da se naknadno donesenim upravnim aktom u toku sudskog postupka može smatrati samo *konačni upravni akt*. Zakoni na ostalim nivoima normiraju termin *upravni akt*.

Kako to navode Britvić Vetma i Malenica (2023), u teoriji se prilikom proučavanja razlike između spora o zakonitosti i spora pune jurisdikcije može primijetiti da su tradicionalno upravni suci primjenjivali spor o zakonitosti onda kada su apsolutno percipirali temeljno načelo zakonitosti, zanemarujući pri tome druge parametre za donošenje uravnotežene i pravedne upravnosudske odluke, poput dobre uprave i interesa građana. Međutim, posljednjih godina, pod uticajem prakse Evropskog suda za ljudska prava evidentno je sve veće vođenje sporova pune jurisdikcije, kako bi dobra uprava došla u prvi plan i sporovi se riješili što učinkovitije, djelotvornije i brže (Ibidem). Staničić, Britvić Vetma i Horvat (2017: 14) su to dobro kazali da „smisao sudskog nadzora uprave treba tražiti u ideji da uprava ne može biti konačni sudac u vlastitoj stvari”. Naravno, moramo imati u vidu da način rješavanja spora prvenstveno ovisi o prirodi stvari i specifičnostima određene jurisdikcije. Ipak, ne vidimo razlog da se u entitetske zakone o upravnom sporovima ne uvede mogućnost meritornog odlučivanja po tužbama zbog “šutnje uprave”, cijeneći stav Đerđe i Pičuljana (2014: 116) da „meritorno rješavanje upravnih stvari umjesto donošenja samo kasacijskih odluka značajno ubrzava ostvarivanje prava građana”. Osim toga, složiti ćemo se da danas, više nego ikada, „spor pune jurisdikcije ‘apsorbira gledište poništenja’, ostavljajući tužbu za ocjenu zakonitosti u svom tradicionalnom obliku samo za određene sporove za koje još uvijek ni ne pomišljamo da mogu biti predmet tužbe u sporu pune jurisdikcije” (Britvić Vetma i Malenica 2023: 365).

#### **4. APELACIJA USTAVNOM SUDU BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE**

Pored klasičnih pravnih sredstava za zaštitu od “šutnje uprave” postoje i posebni instrumenti zaštite. Jedan od njih, koji se može podnijeti samo izuzetno, jeste apelacija Ustavnom sudu Bosne i Hercegovine. Do toga može doći kada usljed “šutnje uprave” dođe i do “šutnje suda”. “Šutnja suda”, odnosno nepostupanje suda, u većini slučajeva dovodi do kršenja prava na suđenje u razumnom roku, zagarantovano čl. 6. Evropske konvencije za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda. Konvencija ne definira značenje “razumnog roka”. Međutim, Evropski sud za ljudska prava uspostavio je svoju praksu za suđenje u razumnom roku. Razumnost dužine postupka, prema praksi Suda, utvrđuje se u svjetlu posebnih okolnosti slučaja i u vezi sa kriterijima utvrđenim praksom Suda, posebno složenošću predmeta, ponašanja „podnosioca prijave“ i nadležnih vlasti, kao i okolnosti šta je to u postupku dovedeno u pitanje za „podnosioca prijave“. No, kako tema ovog rada nije analiza suđenja u razumnom

roku *sensu lato*, ovaj institut ćemo promatrati u okviru upravnog spora, a u vezi sa “šutnjom uprave”.

U BiH Ustavni sud može izuzetno razmatrati apelaciju i kada nema odluke nadležnog suda, ukoliko apelacija ukazuje na ozbiljna kršenja prava i sloboda koje štiti Ustav ili međunarodni dokumenti koji se primjenjuju u BiH. Pred Ustavnim sudom se vodilo mnogo postupaka zbog “šutnje uprave” i povrede prava na suđenje u upravnom sporu u razumnom roku. Kroz brojne odluke Ustavni sud je utvrdio da u BiH postoji sistemski problem zbog prekomjernog trajanja sudskih postupaka.<sup>5</sup>

Uprkos mjerama koje se preduzimaju za rješavanje prekomjerne dužine sudskih postupaka, isto je posljedica nedostataka u organiziranju pravosuđa i efektivnom ostvarivanju nadležnosti raznih nivoa javne vlasti u ovoj oblasti, zbog čega postoji sistemsko kršenje ovog prava pred redovnim sudovima (Manojlović Andrić i Miljan 2021). Bosna i Hercegovina je u svrhu prevazilaženja ovog problema, posljednjih godina provodila zakonodavne aktivnosti na reguliranju zaštite prava na suđenje u razumnom roku. Rezultat toga su usvojeni zakoni o zaštiti prava na suđenje u razumnom roku na nivou BiH, RS i BdBiH, koji imaju za cilj spriječiti nastajanje povrede prava na suđenje u razumnom roku i pružiti sudsku zaštitu u slučaju njegove povrede. U FBiH isti zakon se još uvijek nalazi u proceduri usvajanja. Zanimljivo je naglasiti da zakoni predviđaju nove pravne lijekove za rješavanje pretjerane dužine postupka poput zahtjeva za ubrzanje postupka, tužbe za utvrđivanje povrede prava na suđenje u razumnom roku i na pravično zadovoljenje. U svakom slučaju, ovo je veliki korak u europeizaciji zakonodavnog okvira BiH, jer donošenjem ovakvih *sui generis* zakona zasigurno će se poboljšati nivo zaštite instituta suđenja u razumnom roku.

## 5. POSTUPANJE UPRAVNE INSPEKCIJE

Značajnu ulogu u zaštiti stranaka od neblagovremenog upravnog rješavanja ima i upravna inspekcija, koja, u okviru svojih nadležnosti, može poduzeti mjere za utvrđivanje odgovornosti u slučaju kršenja zakonskih rokova u upravnim postupcima. Naime, u obavljanju svake djelatnosti moguće su pogreške, ali i svjesna, voljna odstupanja od zakonom utvrđenih pravila. Kako bi se takvo, društveno neprihvatljivo postupanje otklonilo, potrebno je vršenje stalnog nadzora u pogledu primjene propisa. Zbog pretpostavke da su greške i postupanja protivno propisima u upravi moguća, vrši se upravni nadzor u pogledu rada organa uprave. Jedan od načina upravnog

<sup>5</sup> v. Odluka Ustavnog suda BiH br. AP-4417/18, 2018, Odluka Ustavnog suda BiH br. AP-1948/06, 2008

nadzora je inspekcijski nadzor, a on se u odnosu na organe uprave vrši, između ostalog, i putem upravne inspekcije (Stojanović i Mehmedović 2021). U pravilu, upravna inspekcija je nadležna za vršenje nadzora nad primjenom propisa kojima se uređuju organizacija i rad organa uprave, radni odnosi u organima uprave, upravni postupak i posebni upravni postupci, te kancelarijsko poslovanje (Ibidem). Prema Tomiću (1990: 167), upravna inspekcija vrši nadzor nad neautoritativnim aktivnostima uprave, koje su “pretežno vezane za upravni postupak, ali ne i za samo odlučivanje u upravnoj stvari”. Polazeći od pozitivno-pravnih normi možemo zaključiti da je uloga upravne inspekcije vršenje nadzora nad provođenjem zakona, drugih propisa i postupanjem organa uprave.

U uporednom pravu možemo vidjeti da npr. u Republici Srbiji stranka koja se suoči sa “šutnjom uprave” može od upravne inspekcije zatražiti pokretanje kontrole rada pojedinog organa uprave i službenog lica (Cucić 2020). Ako inspekcija utvrdi da organ ne izvršava svoje dužnosti na vrijeme, naložit će mu da ispravi svoje postupanje ili ako organ ne postupi po nalogu upravne inspekcije, prekršajno će se prijaviti lice odgovorno za rad tog organa (Ibidem). Isto tako, u Republici Sloveniji u slučaju “šutnje uprave” postoji mogućnost da se o povredi rokova obavijesti upravna inspekcija. Radi postizanja veće efikasnosti inspektor može, kada je službeno lice ili rukovodilac organa prekršio propisane rokove, odlučiti da to lice prođe dodatnu obuku (Sever, Kovač i Pečarić 2020). Osim toga, inspektor može predložiti pokretanje disciplinskog postupka po aktima koji uređuju status zaposlenih u javnom sektoru ili radne odnose (Ibidem 328). Ovdje inspekcija pravi razliku između objektivnih razloga za kašnjenje i subjektivne odgovornosti, za razliku od procjene “nerazumnog roka” za donošenje odluke iz Evropske konvencije za zaštitu temeljnih prava i sloboda, kada nedostatak osoblja u upravi ili u nacionalnom sudu ne oslobađa od odgovornosti (Ibidem).

Zakoni o upravnom postupku na nivou BiH, FBiH i BdBiH, naglašavaju odgovornost rukovodioca organa uprave, odnosno institucija koje imaju javna ovlaštenja, za pravilnu i dosljednu primjenu zakona, a naročito da se upravne stvari rješavaju u zakonom propisanim rokovima, pa se isto tako predviđa da u cilju pravilnog i efikasnog rješavanja stvari u upravnom postupku odgovorna lica moraju preduzeti mjere da se kontinuirano osigurava i sprovodi stručno usavršavanje službenika i drugih lica koja rade na rješavanju upravnih stvari. Službeno lice koje je ovlašteno za preduzimanje radnji u upravnom postupku, odnosno koje je ovlašteno za rješavanje upravnih stvari, dužno je da u roku od tri dana od dana isteka roka za izdavanje rješenja po žalbi pismeno obavijesti stranku o razlozima zbog kojih rješenje

nije doneseno i o tome koje će radnje preduzeti radi donošenja rješenja te poući stranku koja pravna sredstva može koristiti. Ta obavijest istovremeno mora se dostaviti i odgovornim licima u organu uprave, odnosno instituciji koja ima javna ovlaštenja, radi preduzimanja mjera da se rješenje donese bez odgađanja. Službeno lice koje propusti da izvrši prethodno spomenute obaveze čini težu povredu radne obaveze, ako je njegovom krivicom došlo do neizvršenja određenih procesnih radnji u upravnom postupku, radi kojih se rješenje nije moglo donijeti u zakonskom roku. Nadležna upravna inspekcija ima pravo da zahtijeva pokretanje postupka odgovornosti kod nadležnog organa protiv rukovodioca organa uprave, odnosno rukovodioca institucije koja ima javna ovlaštenja, koji propusti vršenje dužnosti pravilne i dosljedne primjene zakona, rješavanja u propisanim rokovima ili preduzimanja mjera da se kontinuirano obezbjeđuje i sprovodi stručno usavršavanje službenika i drugih lica koja rade na rješavanju upravnih stvari, kao i pokretanje disciplinskog postupka protiv službenog lica čijom krivicom je došlo do neizvršenja određenih procesnih radnji u upravnom postupku, radi kojih se rješenje nije moglo donijeti u zakonskom roku. Zanimljivo je naglasiti da Zakon o opštem upravnom postupku RS uopće ne uređuje pitanje odgovornosti u slučaju rješavanja upravnih stvari izvan zakonom propisanih rokova, pa time ni intervenciju upravne inspekcije.

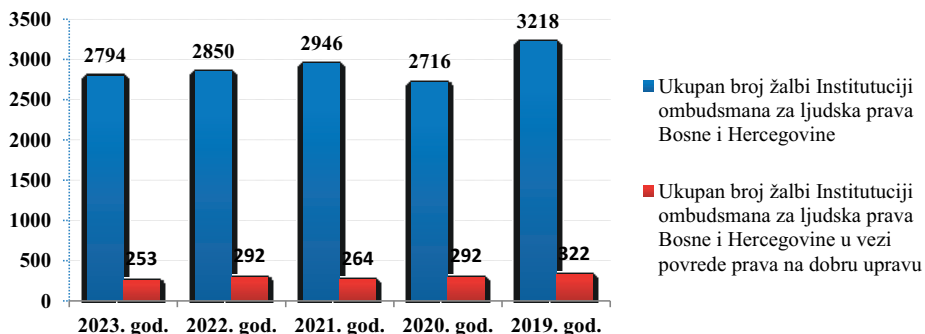
## 6. POSTUPANJE OMBUDSMANA ZA LJUDSKA PRAVA

Ombudsman za ljudska prava Bosne i Hercegovine u okviru svojih nadležnosti utvrđenih Zakonom o ombudsmenu za ljudska prava BiH vrši nadzor u pogledu ostvarivanja prava i sloboda građana (Pobrić 2017). Zaštita od „šutnje uprave“ kroz intervenciju ombudsmana izuzeno je važna s obzirom na to da ombudsman može istražiti i „pojediinačne prekršaje i sistemske propuste“ (Kovač, Tolsma i Dragos 2020: 28). Kroz izvještaje ove institucije, „koja vrlo često stoji između primjene različitih mehanizama pravne zaštite građana, može se dobiti jasnija slika prisutnog jaza između zaprimljenih slučajeva i istraženih žalbi“ (Veny, Carlens i Verbeeck 2009: 158).

Analizom Izvještaja o radu institucije ombudsmana u BiH za period od 2019. do 2023. godine možemo primjetiti da se najveći broj žalbi u vezi sa povredom prava na dobru upravu odnosi na trajanje upravnog postupka, „šutnju uprave“, neučinkovitu reakciju inspeksijskih službi i nepostupanje organa u zakonom propisanim rokovima prilikom odlučivanja o zahtjevima stranaka. Broj žalbi u vezi sa kršenjem prava na dobru upravu među koje spada i „šutnja uprave“, u odnosu na ukupan broj žalbi

Instituciji ombudsmana prikazan je na Grafikonu 1. Može se zaključiti da u BiH nije primjetan veći trend pada broja žalbi u posljednjih pet godina, što ukazuje da se pravo na dobru upravu itekako sistemski krši.

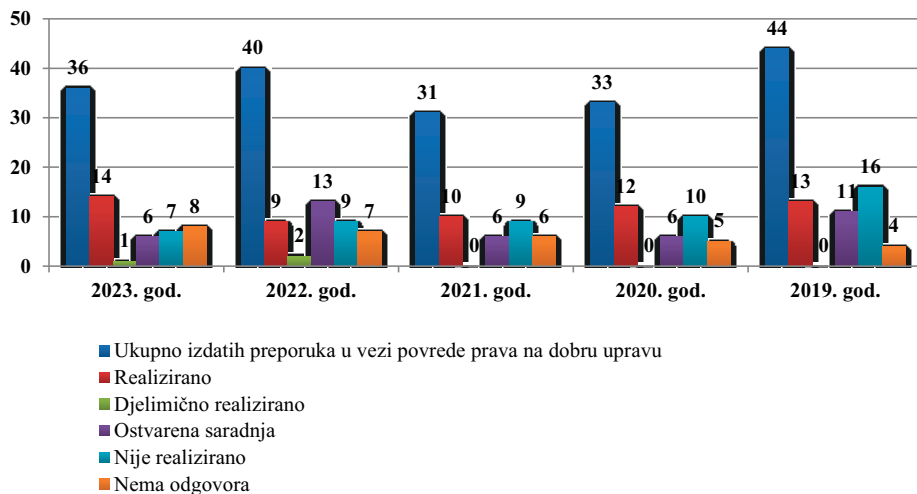
Grafikon 1.



Godišnji izvještaji o rezultatima aktivnosti Institucije ombudsmana za ljudska prava Bosne i Hercegovine za 2023, 2022, 2021, 2020. i 2019. godinu

Ombudsmani nakon provedenog postupka istraživanja odgovornom organu mogu dati preporuke sa ciljem otklanjanja uočenih povreda ljudskih prava. Organi koji dobiju takve preporuke dužni su da pismeno odgovore i obavijeste ombudsmana o učinku preporuka u roku koji je ombudsman odredio. Ako uzmemo u obzir ukupan broj preporuka izdatih po žalbama koje se tiču povrede prava na dobru upravu i nivo njihove realizacije, lako je zaključiti da se u velikom broju slučajeva preporuke ombudsmana ne realizuju, pa čak i da organi kojima su iste upućene uopće ne dostave odgovor, što su zaista zabrinjavajući podaci. Navedeno je vidljivo na Grafikonu 2.

Grafikon 2.



Godišnji izvještaji o rezultatima aktivnosti Institucije ombudsmena za ljudska prava Bosne i Hercegovine za 2023, 2022, 2021, 2020. i 2019. godinu

## 7. ZAKLJUČAK

Jedna od bitnijih aktivnosti koje se mogu i trebaju poduzeti u cilju smanjivanja broja slučajeva „šutnje uprave“ jeste podizanje nivoa svijesti i odgovornosti kako službenika, tako i njihovih rukovodilaca. Preventivna aktivnost koja bi imala za cilj promociju blagovremenog postupanja, uz istovremeno sankcioniranje onih lica koja usljed neblagovremenog postupanja u upravnom postupku uzrokuju „šutnju uprave“, podigla bi nivo svijesti ovom izuzetno važnom pitanju. Do smanjenja broja slučajeva „šutnje uprave“ moglo bi doći i značajnijim angažmanom upravnih inspekcija. U kontekstu njihove nadležnosti da nadziru primjenu zakona o upravnim postupcima poseban fokus bi se mogao staviti na sprečavanje „šutnje uprave“. Zakon o upravnim sporovima FBiH vođenje spora zbog „šutnje uprave“ uvjetovao je prethodnim obraćanjem stranke nadležnoj upravnoj inspekciji. Nesumnjivo da ovakvo rješenje utiče na smanjenje broja sudskih postupaka jer je izvjesno da će inspekcija po zahtjevu stranke poduzeti mjere da se rješenje koje nije donijeto, donese, pa samim time nema ni osnova za vođenje upravnog spora. Time se smanjuje značajan broj nepotrebnih sudskih postupaka, te olakšava rad i postiže efikasnost pravosuđa u širem smislu. Ipak, treba istaći da se ne smije doći u situaciju da se obligatornim

postupanjem upravne inspekcije uvodi samo dodatni korak za vođenje sudskog postupka, što bi samo po sebi dodatno odužilo proces. Stoga se ovom načinu rješavanja „šutnje uprave“ treba pristupiti krajnje obazrivo, pa bi se u traženju adekvatnog rješenja trebala imati u vidu analiza donesenih rješenja inspekcije i njihov uticaj na priliv predmeta nadležnim sudova.

U svakom slučaju, radi ostvarivanja pravne sigurnosti i načela legitimnih očekivanja, normativna rješenja u vezi sa „šutnjom uprave“ trebalo bi ujednačiti u svim zakonima o upravnim sporovima u BiH. Tako bi Zakon o upravnim sporovima Distrikta trebao prepoznati mogućnost pokretanja upravnog spora kada u upravnom postupku prvostepeni organ, protiv čijeg akta je dozvoljena žalba, nije u roku donio rješenje po zahtjevu stranke, pa se ona obratila svojim zahtjevom Apelacionoj komisiji, nakon čega ni ona nije donijela rješenje u propisanom roku. Zakonom o opštem upravnom postupku RS trebala bi se propisati obaveza službenih lica da upravne stvari rješavaju u zakonom propisanim rokovima, kao i obaveza rukovodioca i drugih odgovornih lica da poduzmu one mjere koje će osigurati takvo djelovanje, utvrđujući pri tome i odgovornost istih lica. Time bi se dodatno istakao značaj i primjena načela zakonitosti, profesionalizma, ekonomičnosti i efektivnosti upravnog postupka. U odnosu na nivo Bosne i Hercegovine trebalo bi urediti one situacije u upravnim sporovima pokrenutim zbog „šutnje uprave“ kada je moguća situacija da nadležni upravni organ u toku postupka naknadno donese upravni akt i dostavi ga sudu, pa stranka-tužitelj po pozivu suda ima pravo da izjavi da li je tim aktom zadovoljna ili ostaje pri tužbi u cijelosti ili djelimično. Zakon o upravnim sporovima BiH ograničio je zaštitu stranaka zbog „šutnje uprave“ samo na *konačni* upravni akt. S tim u vezi bilo bi poželjno uskladiti ovaj zakon sa zakonima na entitetskom i na nivou Distrikta, kod kojih se zaštita proteže na *prvostepeni* upravni akt.

Mnogo je drugih različitih zakonskih rješenja u BiH koja su nelogična i sasvim neprihvatljiva. Tako npr. na nivou BiH i Distrikta normirano je da sud presudom može poništiti upravni akt koji zapravo nije ni donesen. S druge strane, na nivou entiteta ne postoji mogućnost meritornog rješavanja stvari u slučajevima „šutnje uprave“. Iako Zakon o upravnim sporovima RS u određenoj mjeri ublažava ovaj nedostatak propisujući rok od 30 dana u kojem je nadležni organ dužan da donese odgovarajuću odluku po presudi suda, vođenje spora pune jurisdikcije trebalo bi biti normirano u oba entiteta, ostavljajući sudovima mogućnost da kada god to ocijene potrebnim, meritorno riješe stvar. Konačno, poštivanje propisanih rokova u upravnom odlučivanju nesumnjivo predstavlja jedan od aspekata efikasne i odgovorne uprave, dok je suđenje u „razumnom roku“ garant prava na brzu i efikasnu pravdu. Pronalaženje



adekvatnih zakonskih rješenja u cilju osiguranja blagovremenog upravnog odlučivanja i suđenja bez svake sumnje pruža oslonac za jačanje pristupa pravdi. Bez obzira na postojeća, ali i ponuđena rješenja poboljšanja upravno-procesnog okvira, regulacija instituta šutnje uprave i dalje je veliki izazov Bosne i Hercegovine u procesu evropskih integracija.

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## **MODALITIES OF LEGAL PROTECTION IN CASES OF “ADMINISTRATIVE SILENCE” IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

### **Summary:**

The modern administration achieves direct cooperation with citizens and business entities and, on the basis of the law, decides on their rights and obligations. Its legal obligation is to resolve the requests of the parties within the prescribed time limits. However, in certain situations, they fail to decide on the party's request within the prescribed time, that is, to pass an administrative act. This is a prerequisite for the emergence of a specific administrative-procedural institute called “administrative silence”. This institute represents a kind of test of the principles of the rule of law, legality and good administration. Given that it is a socially harmful act, certain mechanisms of legal protection are foreseen through several different instruments: the right to appeal to a second instance authority, the right to initiate administrative-court proceedings, and the right to fair satisfaction. In addition, other means can be used, such as inspection supervision by the administrative inspection, and the intervention of the ombudsman institution. The existence of effective legal protection in case of „administrative silence“ is of great importance because it serves not only to protect the subjective rights of the party, but also becomes a

corrective factor in the work of the administration, which contributes to the achievement of objective legality. Based on the analysis, the authors offer certain *de lege ferenda* proposals in order to further improve the level of protection of citizens against the „administrative silence“.

**Keywords:** administrative silence; reasonable time; administrative procedure; administrative inspection; ombudsman

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društvene i humanističke studije

ČASOPIS  
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UTUZLI

## EKONOMSKA MISAO

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KREIRANJE NOVCA U SISTEMU POTPUNIH BANKARSKIH REZERV I  
ODVAJANJE NOVCA OD KAMATE – PREZENTACIJA BILANSA STANJA  
CENTRALNE BANKE I KOMERCIJALNIH BANAKA U BOSNI I  
HERCEGOVINI / CREATION OF MONEY IN A FULL RESERVE  
BANKING SYSTEM AND THE SEPARATION OF MONEY FROM  
INTEREST – PRESENTATION OF THE BALANCE SHEETS OF THE  
CENTRAL BANK AND COMMERCIAL BANKS IN BOSNIA AND  
HERZEGOVINA .....

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**Adisa Omerbegović Arapović**

## **KREIRANJE NOVCA U SISTEMU POTPUNIH BANKARSKIH REZERV I ODVAJANJE NOVCA OD KAMATE – PREZENTACIJA BILANSA STANJA CENTRALNE BANKE I KOMERCIJALNIH BANAKA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI**

Ovaj rad evaluira uticaj promjene paradigme u monetarnom sistemu uvođenjem modela potpunih rezervi, fokusirajući se na ishod odvajanja generiranja novca od kamate koji je moguće ostvariti jedino dokidanjem sistema kreiranja novca kroz stvaranje duga u bankarskom sistemu. Glavna teza tvrdi da sadašnji sistem, u kojem privatne komercijalne banke stvaraju novac putem izdavanja kredita, rezultira depozitima koji miješaju štednju ostvarenu putem ekonomske aktivnosti sa novostvorenim novcem, što dovodi do ekonomske neefikasnosti i potencijalne nestabilnosti jer su dug i kamata uvijek veći od stvorene ekonomske vrijednosti. Sistem 100% državnog novca to ispravlja tako što će obezbijediti da samo centralna banka ima ovlaštenje da stvara novac, čime se pojednostavljuje finansijski pejzaž i vraća novac u svoj zakoniti status općeg javnog dobra i stabilne mjerne jedinice. Studija koristi komparativnu analizu između trenutnog bankarskog sistema sa djelimičnim rezervama i predloženog bankarskog sistema sa 100% državnim novcem koji je u potpunosti *rezervni* novac. Modeliranje bilansa stanja demonstrira uticaj segregacije investicionih i depozitnih računa na knjige banaka i centralne banke. Metodologija uključuje hipotetsku prezentaciju bilansa stanja po novom sistemu, naglašavajući računovodstveno razdvajanje “depozitnih” i “investicionih” računa kako bi se okončalo stvaranje novca od strane privatnih komercijalnih banaka. Analiza bilansa stanja ukazuje da usvajanje 100% državnog novčanog sistema zahtijeva intervenciju države putem državnih depozita u bankarski sistem kako bi se postigao željeni nivo kreditne aktivnosti.

**Ključne riječi:** pune rezerve; bilans stanja; centralna banka; komercijalne banake



## 1. UVOD

U rastućem pejzažu nekonvencionalne monetarne politike i alternativnih finansijskih sistema kontrast između 100% državnog novca i konvencionalnih monetarnih sistema predstavlja izazovan predložak za studiju alternativne ekonomske teorije i prakse. Ovaj rad nastoji istražiti i razjasniti osnovne razlike i potencijalni uticaj koji bi 100% državni novac imao na finansijski sistem i ekonomiju u odnosu na postojeći sistem kroz prezentaciju bilansa stanja centralne banke i komercijalnih banaka u Bosni i Hercegovini.

U središtu ovog kontrasta leži rasprava o kontroli i izdavanju novca. Konvencionalni monetarni sistemi, koji karakterišu bankarstvo sa djelimičnom rezervom, omogućavaju komercijalnim bankama da stvaraju novac kroz kreditiranje, što je praksa koja je kamen temeljac modernih ekonomija. Ovaj sistem, iako olakšava likvidnost i ekonomski rast, kritikovan je zbog svojih inherentnih rizika, kao što su stvaranje neplaćenog duga i širenje ekonomskih nejednakosti. Nasuprot tome, 100% državni novčani sistem, za koji se zalažu ekonomisti poput Milтона Fridmana, Lorensa Kotlikofa i Mareja Rotbarda, predlažu model u kojem država ima potpunu kontrolu nad stvaranjem novca. To podrazumijeva bankarski pristup sa punom rezervom, naglašen 100% rezervnim zahtjevom (jer je sav novac rezervni novac), koji eliminiše sposobnost komercijalnih banaka da kreiraju novac, stavljajući cjelokupnu odgovornost na državu ili centralnu banku. Zagovornici ovog sistema smatraju da on ima potencijal da donese stabilnost i pravičnost finansijskom sistemu, posebno nakon finansijske krize 2007-2008, koja je razotkrila ranjivosti konvencionalnog sistema.

Historijski primjeri 100% državnih novčanih sistema, kao što je upotreba suverenog stvaranja novca tokom američkog građanskog rata i u stambenim projektima Novog Zelanda 1930-ih godina, nude uvid u praktičnu primjenu ovog pristupa. Slično tome, historijska uloga Banke Engleske u direktnom kreditiranju Vlade početkom 2000-ih odražava djelimičnu primjenu ovih principa.

100% državni novčani sistem pa i moderna monetarna teorija koja naglašava sposobnost države da se bezgranično finansira, iako se razlikuju u svojim specifičnim receptima konvergiraju u odnosu na ideju da je tradicionalni pristup stvaranja novca neadekvatan za rješavanje modernih ekonomskih izazova. Oni predlažu aktivnije uloge države u monetarnom sistemu, iako u različitim kapacitetima. Međusobna povezanost između ovih teorija naglašava rastuće raspoloženja za reformu načina na koji se novac stvara i njime upravlja.

Elektronski novac tj. Central Bank Digital Currency (tzv. CBDC-evi) samom tehnologijom njegovog izdavanja također rezultira u 100% državnom novcu i onemogućava bankama da kreiraju novac knjigovodstveno što stvara problem za bankarski sistem koji bi mogao ostati bez depozita u postojećem sistemu ukoliko depoziti bježe u elektronski novac. Međutim u sistemu potpunih rezervi i 100% državnog novca gotovina ili elektronski novac bi bili samo različito tehnološko rješenje ali bi predstavljali istu valutu i ukinuli bi konkurenciju između konvencionalnog novca i CBDC-a.

Ovaj rad će procijeniti 100% model državnog novca, posebno njegov uticaj na bilanse stanja komercijalnih banaka i centralne banke. Ispitivanjem ovog koncepta u kontekstu šireg diskursa o monetarnoj reformi i uvođenju digitalnog novca, rad ima za cilj pružiti razumijevanje potencijala ovog modela da olakša prelaz na elektronski novac, doprinoseći tekućoj debati o optimalnom dizajnu monetarnih sistema u savremenim ekonomskim pejzažima i u kontekstu novih tehnologija novca poput CBDC-eva ali i cilju postizanja efikasnije monetarne politike izbjegavanjem povezanosti novca i kamate, te novac učini stabilnijom mjernom jedinicom i vrati ga u status javnog dobra.

## 2. PREGLED LITERATURE

Nalazi istraživanja u oblasti monetarne ekonomije pružaju uvjerljive argumente da bi odvajanje stvaranja novca od kamatnih stopa moglo imati značajan uticaj na monetarnu politiku, omogućavajući *ravnotežnim kamatnim stopama (ravnotežnim realnim stopama povrata)* da preuzmu balansirajuću ulogu u makroekonomskom kontekstu. Bruggeman i Donnay's (2003) u svom monetarnom modelu naglašavaju isprepletenu prirodu bankarskih kamatnih stopa sa kratkoročnim tržišnim stopama, ističu složenu interakciju između bankarskih praksi i tržišnih sila. Ova međuzavisnost podrazumijeva da trenutni mehanizam stvaranja novca, pod uticajem bankarskih kreditnih aktivnosti, inherentno utiče na kamatne stope. Razdvajanjem stvaranja novca iz ovog procesa kamatne stope bi se mogle osloboditi direktnog uticaja kreditnih aktivnosti banaka, što potencijalno dovodi do tržišno i ravnotežno orijentisanog okruženja kamatnih stopa.

Kritikom klasičnog IS-LM modela Omerbegović Arapović (2022) dodatno podržava ovu perspektivu. Otkrivanjem paradoksa u sadašnjem sistemu u kojem realne kamatne stope, vođene monetarnom politikom, bivaju spuštene na nivo niži od potrebnog za makroekonomsku ravnotežu, studija sugerije da trenutna povezanost

stvaranja novca i kamatnih stopa komplikuje efikasno upravljanje makroekonomskom ravnotežom. Razdvajanje bi moglo omogućiti monetarnoj politici da se više fokusira na stabilnost, a manje na upravljanje nusproizvodima mehanizama za stvaranje novca, što bi omogućilo da se kamatne stope prirodno prilagode ekonomskim uslovima i uravnoteže tržište kapitala.

Lioui i Poncet's (2008) istraživanjem Sidrauskog modela dolaze do otkrića da monetarna politika nije superneutralna dovodeći u pitanje tradicionalni pojam neutralnosti kamatnih stopa. To sugeriše da sadašnji sistem, gdje je stvaranje novca vezano za monetarnu politiku, nehotice utiče na kamatne stope. Razdvajanje bi omogućilo da kamatne stope odražavaju prave tržišne uslove i potrebe, a ne da budu artefakt kreiranja novca zasnovanog na politici.

U suštini, ovi akademski uvidi kolektivno zagovaraju reformu u pristupu kreiranju novca i određivanju kamatnih stopa. Razdvajanjem ova dva aspekta monetarna politika bi se mogla fokusirati na osiguranje ekonomske stabilnosti i rasta, dok bi kamatne stope mogle efikasnije obavljati svoju prirodnu funkciju ravnoteže u ekonomiji. Takvo razdvajanje moglo bi dovesti do transparentnijeg, efikasnijeg i odgovornijeg monetarnog sistema, gde se kamatne stope mogu prilagoditi na osnovu dinamike tržišta i ekonomskih osnova, bez direktnih uticaja procesa stvaranja novca. Generalno, iz literature proizilazi narativ koji sugeriše da bi odvajanje stvaranja novca od upravljanja kamatnim stopama moglo značajno povećati efikasnost monetarne politike. Ovaj narativ ima uporište u različitim studijama i modelima koji kritički ispituju složenu interakciju između monetarnih mehanizama i kamatnih stopa.

Kao temeljni u ovoj priči prepoznat je model koji je predložio Khandker (2013) jer predstavlja nijansirani pristup koji usklađuje preferencije likvidnosti sa teorijama kreditnih fondova, čime se otkriva složeni odnos između monetarne i fiskalne politike i njihovog naknadnog uticaja na kamatne stope. Ova složenost, kao što ilustruje Khandkerov model, implicitno podržava ideju razdvajanja stvaranja novca od kontrole kamatnih stopa. Takvo razdvajanje moglo bi omogućiti monetarnu politiku koja dinamičnije odgovara tržišnim uslovima, neopterećena direktnim uticajima novčane mase.

Dotadno pojačavajući ovu perspektivu, analitički diskurs Bhattacharya i Singha (2010) o ciljanju inflacije u odnosu na monetarno ciljanje dodaje snagu ovom narativu. Njihova studija, postavljena u okviru modela generacija koje se preklapaju, naglašava kritičnu važnost razmatranja različitih ekonomskih šokova u oblikovanju efikasne monetarne politike. Zamršena veza između novčane mase i kamatnih stopa, kako su objasnili Bhattacharya i Singh, naglašava potencijalne koristi od odvajanja

procesa stvaranja novca od određivanja kamatnih stopa. Ova segregacija bi monetarnoj politici mogla ponuditi fleksibilnost da se bolje prilagodi ekonomskim fluktuacijama bez vezanja za mehaniku promjena novčane mase.

Eijffinger i Masciandaro (2014) dodatno proširuju narativ predstavljajući evoluirani pogled na monetarnu politiku. Njihov rad naglašava blisku vezu između kratkoročnog upravljanja kamatnim stopama i šire monetarne arhitekture. Zalažući se za integrisani pristup monetarnoj politici, njihova perspektiva podrazumijeva da razdvajanje funkcija stvaranja novca i upravljanja kamatnim stopama može osnažiti centralne banke svestranijim i sveobuhvatnijim alatima politike. Ovo razdvajanje bi omogućilo centralnim bankama da efikasnije riješe širi spektar ekonomskih izazova, prilagođavajući monetarne odgovore specifičnim potrebama privrede uz zadržavanje strukturnog integriteta.

U sintezi ovih različitih perspektiva literatura kolektivno sugerise da je odvajanje stvaranja novca od kontrole kamatnih stopa ne samo izvodljivo, već i potencijalno poželjno sa stanovišta monetarne politike. Takvo strateško razdvajanje moglo bi dovesti do prilagodljivije, svrsishodnije i efikasnije monetarne politike, bolje usklađene sa složenom realnošću modernih ekonomija i dinamikom tržišta.

Kolektivni uvidi iz studija o bankarstvu potpunih rezervi (Full Reserve Banking - FRB) značajno pojačavaju naš metodološki pristup koji ima za cilj uporediti model 100% državnog novca sa trenutnim sistemom stvaranja novca kroz prikaz bilansa stanja centralne banke i komercijalnih banaka. Fontana i Sawyer (2016) u kritičkoj analizi FRB-a otkrivaju zamršenu prirodu stvaranja novca pod takvim sistemom. Njihova saznanja su ključna za naš uvid u bilanse stanja komercijalnih banaka u sistemu potpunih rezervi i ističu značaj državnih depozita kako bi se zadržao željeni kapacitet banaka da kreditiraju privredu. Ovaj rizik ima ključno mjesto u razumijevanju kako bi pomak od trenutnog sistema djelimičnih rezervi mogao da utiče na finansijsku stabilnost i ekonomsku dinamiku.

Ricksovo istraživanje praktičnih izazova u implementaciji FRB-a informiše naš pristup naglašavajući operativne i regulatorne prepreke sa kojima bi se mogao susresti prelazak na 100% državni novac. Njegov fokus na izvodljivost i praktične implikacije služi kao kontrapunkt teorijskim prednostima, omogućavajući utemeljenije poređenje teorijskih ideala FRB-a i pragmatične realnosti trenutnog sistema (Ricks 2015).

Lainàina istorijska perspektiva i analiza zasnovana na modelima (2015, 2018) također značajno doprinose našem razumijevanju pružajući dugoročni pogled na implikacije FRB-a. Njegovo istraživanje efekata stvaranja novca kroz državnu potrošnju u okviru FRB modela nudi dragocjen uvid u to kako model 100 % državnog

novca može uticati na kreditna tržišta i državni dug, što je od suštinskog značaja za poređenje sa pristupom sadašnjeg sistema upravljanju ovim aspektima.

Različiti stavovi koje su predstavili Dyson, Hodgson i van Lerven (2016), Tekdogan (2020) i Sawyer (2015) donose različite perspektive o uticaju i održivosti FRB-a. Ove perspektive odmjeravaju etičke, kulturne i ekonomske argumente za i protiv 100% državnog novca, pružajući tako holističnije poređenje sa postojećim sistemom stvaranja novca.

Na kraju, Palleyevo (2004) zagovaranje rezervnih zahtjeva zasnovanih na imovini nudi alternativno gledište koje je instrumentalno u komparaciji 100% državnog novca s trenutnim sistemom. Njegov prijedlog pruža sredinu između FRB-a i trenutnog sistema, omogućavajući uvid u spektar mogućnosti, a ne samo binarni izbor između dva sistema.

U suštini, ove studije kolektivno usmjeravaju naš metodološki pristup poređenja 100% državnog novca sa trenutnim sistemom kroz prikaz uticaja na bilansu centralne banke i komercijalnih banaka na primjeru Bosne i Hercegovine. Komparacija uvidom u bilanse stanja centralne banke i komercijalnih banaka daje jasniju sliku razumijevanja efekata koje bi odvajanje kreiranja novca od kamate imalo prelaskom na 100% državni novac.

### **3. METODOLOGIJA**

Istraživanje novog monetarnog i finansijskog sistema, pri čemu tekući računi u bankama nisu dio bilansa stanja banaka, a samo centralna banka stvara novac, što ima za cilj da se prebaci sa tradicionalnog bankarskog sistema sa djelimičnom rezervom na sistem sa 100% državni novac u njegovoj kreaciji koji rezerve čini irelevantnim jer je sav novac državni novac (tj. rezervni novac), bazira se na komparativnoj analizi, modeliranju koraka izdavanja novca i državnih depozita u bankarski sistem, te hipotetskoj prezentaciji bilansi stanja centralne banke i komercijalnih banaka u novom sistemu.

Početni korak uključuje prezentaciju trenutnog bankarskog sistema sa djelimičnom rezervom prikazom bilansa stanja centralne banke i komercijalnih banaka u 2022. godini u Bosni i Hercegovini. Nakon toga prezentiramo predloženi sistem 100% državnog novca prezentacijom hipotetskih bilansi stanja centralne banke i komercijalnih banaka. Ova analiza će ukazati na ključne razlike u stvaranju novca, ulozi komercijalnih banaka i u implikacijama na monetarnu politiku usljed odvajanja novčanih računa od investicijskih računa u komercijalnim bankama.

Kao dio razvoja teorijskih modela vezano za simulaciju funkcionisanja finansijskog sistema u kojem samo centralna banka stvara novac izvodimo hipotetički bilans stanja za komercijalne banke i centralnu banku u novom sistemu. To uključuje redizajniranje struktura imovine na bilans stanja i odgovornosti unutar bankarskog okvira sa punom rezervom.

1. Komercijalne banke: Prema novom sistemu, bilansi komercijalnih banaka više neće uključivati depozite tekućeg računa kao obaveze. Umjesto toga, ovi računi će se držati u centralnoj banci u vanbilansnom registru, a komercijalne banke će poslovati sa sredstvima eksplicitno predviđenim za kreditne svrhe.
2. Centralna banka: Bilans stanja centralne banke u novom sistemu će odražavati njen jedini autoritet u kreiranju novca. Depoziti na tekućem računu biće obaveza u bilansu stanja centralne banke i imaće odgovarajući iznos imovine (državne hartije od vrijednosti, krediti komercijalnim bankama itd.).

Ova metodologija ima za cilj da obezbijedi okvir za istraživanje održivosti i potencijalnog uticaja na bankarski sistem gdje je centralna banka jedini kreator novca i tekući računi nisu dio bilansa stanja komercijalnih banaka. Cilj je da damo odgovarajući okvir u kojem testiramo hipotezu da je novac u sistemu 100% državnog novca u svojoj kreaciji efektivno odvajen od kamate. Također, model omogućava da pokažemo novi kanal monetarne politike koja može biti protuciklična u odnosu na postojeći sistem.

#### **4. ANALIZA: PREGLED SADAŠNJEG SISTEMA KREIRANJA NOVCA U BANKOVNOM SISTEMU GDJE JE NASTAJANJE NOVCA VEZANO UZ KAMATU**

Sadašnji sistem stvaranja novca karakteriše značajna uloga privatnih banaka, što je u suprotnosti sa uobičajenom zabludom da su države ili centralne banke jedini kreatori novca. U stvarnosti proces stvaranja novca uglavnom vode komercijalne banke kroz svoje kreditne aktivnosti. U ovom sistemu novac se prvenstveno stvara kada banke izdaju kredite. Suprotno tradicionalnom mišljenju da banke pozajmljuju samo depozite koje dobijaju, banke samim činom kreditiranja generišu novi novac. Ovaj proces počinje kada banka odobri kredit zajmoprimcu. Umjesto prenosa postojećeg novca, banka stvara novi novac pozajmljujući račun zajmoprimcu stvaranjem novog depozita. Ova akcija povećava količinu novca u opticaju. U suštini, iznos kredita postaje novi novac koji ranije nije postojao.

Ključni aspekt ovog sistema je model frakcionih rezervi u bankarskom sistemu. Banke su dužne da drže samo dio svojih obaveza na depozite kao rezerve. Ovaj model omogućava bankama da pozajmljuju mnogo više od svojih stvarnih rezervi, pojačavajući proces kreiranja novca. Na primjer, ako je zahtjev za rezervom 10% banka može teoretski da pozajmi deset puta veći iznos u odnosu na rezerve, značajno povećavajući novčanu ponudu u privredi.

Međutim, ovaj sistem uključuje i banke u ciklus ekonomskog procvata i propasti. Tokom perioda ekonomskog rasta banke mogu povećati kreditiranje, što dovodi do širenja novčane mase. S druge strane, u vrijeme ekonomskog pada banke mogu smanjiti kreditiranje zbog većih rizika od bankrota, što dovodi do smanjenja novčane mase. Ova ciklična priroda bankarskog kreditiranja može pogoršati ekonomske fluktuacije.

Kamata koja se naplaćuje na kredite predstavlja još jedan kritičan aspekt ovog sistema. Kamata služi kao trošak pozajmljivanja novca, ali označava i povrat kapitala za banke. Budući da se novac stvara kao dug, ekonomija mora kontinuirano rasti kako bi išla u korak sa plaćanjem kamata, što može dovesti do problema neodrživosti duga i ekonomske nestabilnosti.

Zaključno, postojeći sistem kreiranje novca, koji se u velikoj mjeri oslanja na komercijalne banke i proces kreditiranja, ima ključni uticaj na novčanu masu, a time i na širu ekonomiju. Ovaj sistem, pored olakšavanja ekonomske aktivnosti i rasta, takođe predstavlja izazove i rizike, posebno u pogledu ekonomske stabilnosti jer onemogućava realnoj kamatnoj stopi da ispuni svoju ulogu ravnotežne makroekonomske transmisiona varijable, ali dovodi i do nepravičnog akumuliranja bogatstva samom prirodom mehanizma okamaćivanja.

#### ***4.1 Prezentacija bilansa stanja centralne banke i komercijalnih banaka u postojećem sistemu***

U sadašnjem sistemu stvaranja novca unutar Bosne i Hercegovine, koji je prikazan u Grafikonu 1, svaka instanca izdavanja kredita od strane komercijalnih banaka rezultira stvaranjem odgovarajućeg depozita. Na ovaj način banke same kreiraju depozite od kojih je samo frakcija obavezna kao rezerva. Ovo je ključna karakteristika bankarskog sistema sa djelimičnom rezervom, gdje se od banaka zahtijeva da drže samo djelić svojih depozitnih obaveza u rezervi, omogućavajući im da značajno prošire iznos kredita iznad stvarnog novca koji drže.



**Grafikon 1.** Bilans stanja centralne banke i komercijalnih banaka u trenutnom sistemu (iznosi su približni poziciji u bilansima centralne banke i komercijalnih banaka u Bosni i Hercegovini)

Centralna banka BiH (milijarde KM) 2022			
Novac (gotovini u stranoj valuti)	0.5	Novac (novčanice i kovanice)	7.5
Depoziti u stranim bankama	8.2	Depoziti banaka	7.2
		Depoziti vlada	1
Obveznice	7	Inicijalni kapital i reserve	0.5
Monetarno zlato	0.1		
Ostala sredstva	0.4		
UKUPNO	16.2	UKUPNO	16.2

*Centralna banka: tabela predstavlja pojednostavljenu bilansu stanja centralne banke BiH u 2022. godini.*

Na primjer, u 2022. godini na osnovu zbira potraživanja vlada, kompanija i drugih domaćih sektora (uključujući domaćinstva) uočeno je da su banke kroz proces izdavanja kredita kreirale depozite u ukupnom iznosu od 24,2 milijarde KM. Istovremeno, ukupni depoziti iznosili su 29,5 milijardi KM. To ukazuje da pored depozita ostvarenih iz kredita izdatih u nekom prethodnom trenutku, u okviru sistema postoji približno 5,3 milijarde KM depozita koji premašuju vrijednost postojećih kredita. Ovim snimkom trenutnog stanja nemoguće je otkriti način geneze ovih depozita jer isti miješa depozite koji potiču od izdavanja kredita sa onima koji ulaze u banku iz spoljnih aktivnosti i ničim ne sprečava odvajanje štednje ostvarene ekonomskom aktivnošću od novog novca izraženog kao depozit u vrijeme stvaranja novca.

Također, jasno je da je iznos depozita nastalih kreditiranjem na neki način „lažan” jer ovaj novac nastaje niotkuda a izjednačen je s postojećom štednjom. To dovodi do pitanja potrebe preispitivanja pravednosti u pristupu kreditiranju i novom novcu. Ali, još nepovoljnija posljedica je da vrijednost u kreiranom novcu u odnosu na trošak nastajanja tog novca, koji nazivamo *seigniorage* i koji bi trebao pripadati društvu, biva dodijeljena privatnim bankama. Drugim riječima javno dobro je dodijeljeno privatnoj banci bez ikakvog povrata za društvo osim servisa kreditiranja na osnovu uspostavljenih pravila u bankarskom sistemu.

Iznad svega, trenutno “miješanje” tekućih računa i štednih računa dio je sistema kreiranja novca. Kada banka izdaje kredit, ona istovremeno evidentira kredit na strani obaveza i depozit po viđenju na strani imovine svog bilansa. Sa računovodstvene



tačke gledišta razdvajanje “depozitnih” i “investicijskih” računa je od ključnog značaja jer zaključuje proces stvaranja novca od strane privatnih komercijalnih banaka.

U suštini, razdvajanje depozita i investicijskih računa bi okončalo stvaranje novca od strane privatnih komercijalnih banaka, osiguravajući da depoziti predstavljaju istinsku predstavu sačuvane ekonomske vrijednosti, a ne novog novca stvorenog putem izdavanja kredita. Ova predložena promjena predstavljala bi fundamentalni pomak u monetarnom sistemu, uspostavljajući računovodstveno razdvajanje i pružajući jasniju razliku između novca koji je zarađen i ušteđen u odnosu na *knjigovodstveni* novac koji su stvorile banke u svojim bilansima.

Ovaj rad postavlja teren za detaljno istraživanje složenosti i posljedica trenutnog finansijskog sistema i težnju za pravednijom ekonomskom arhitekturom. Misija nove arhitekture je finansijski sistem u kojem početni povrat od novog novca koristi društvu u cjelini, a ne samo vlasnicima privatnih banaka.

#### ***4.2 Uticaj modela 100% državnog novca na bilanse centralne banke i komercijalnih banaka***

Prijedlog o reformi u smjeru podržavljanja novca, gdje bi državni novac postao glavno sredstvo plaćanja, podrazumijeva ekskluzivno pravo državne centralne banke na stvaranje novca, kako fizičkog tako i knjigovodstvenog, čime se monetarna moć centralizira u rukama države. Model 100% državnog novca, koji su razvili Felber (2017) i Huber (2010), predstavlja radikalnu transformaciju finansijskog sistema, predviđajući da centralna banka ima isključivo pravo na stvaranje novca, a sve banke moraju držati pune rezerve, te eliminirajući mogućnost bankarskog stvaranja novca. Sav novac u opticaju bi bio izdat od centralne banke, čime bi profit od stvaranja novca direktno koristio javnosti. Ovaj model bi također osigurao da je svaki novac u opticaju bez obzira na njegovu formu zapravo novac centralne banke.

Grafikon 2. predstavlja bilanse stanja komercijalnih banaka u sistemu 100% državnog novca. Gore prezentirani koncept 100% državnog novca, odnosno 100% državnog novca, predviđa značajnu transformaciju u finansijskom sistemu, prelazeći iz tradicionalnog bankarstva sa djelimičnom rezervom u bankarski sistem isključivo državnog novca. U ovom redizajniranom okviru, centralna banka se pojavljuje kao jedini autoritet za stvaranje novca, fundamentalno mijenjajući uloge i funkcije komercijalnih banaka i same centralne banke.

## Grafikon 2. Bilans stanja komercijalnih banaka

Banke (pojednostavljena konsolidirana bilansa) 2022 (milijarde KM)			
Rezerve	8.5	Depoziti (po viđenju)	17
Strana sredstva/imovina	5	Depoziti (štedni računi)	10
Potraživanja od vlada	4	Dionice i Vlasnički kapital	5
Potraživanja od kompanija	9.2	Depoziti vlada	2.5
Potraživanja od ostalih domaćih sektora	11	Strane pozajmice	1.8
		Ostalo	1.4
UKUPNO	37.7	UKUPNO	37.7

*Banke: Banka upisuje kredit na strani obaveza istovremeno kao depozit po viđenju na strani sredstava. U 2022. godini po sumi potraživanja od vlada, kompanija i ostalih domaćih sektora (uključujući domaćinstva) znamo da su banke dajući kredite kreirale u nekom trenutku na strani depozita iznos od 24.2 milijarde KM.*

*U istom trenutku ukupni depoziti iznose 29.5 milijardi, što znači da se iznad depozita nastalih od kredita u nekom prošlom trenutku sada u sistemu našlo i nekih 5.3 milijarde KM depozita koji su iznad vrijednosti iznosa kredita. Ovo je trenutni presjek stanja, ali miješanje depozita koji nastanu u trenutku kreditiranja i depozita koji 'uđu' u banku izvan ove aktivnosti nam onemogućava da odvojimo štednju vrijednosti nastale ekonomskom aktivnošću od novog novca iskazanog kao depozit u trenutku kreiranja novca.*

*Iznad svega, aktuelno "miješanje" tekućih računa i štednih računa je dio sistema kreiranja novca. Banka upisuje kredit na strani obaveza istovremeno kao depozit po viđenju na strani sredstava. Računovodstveno razdvajanje "depozita" i "investicija", koje bi se uvelo u sistemu 100% državnog novca okončava kreiranje novca od strane privatnih komercijalnih banaka.*

Prema ovom novom sistemu centralna banka ekskluzivno izdaje valutu, obuhvatajući i fizičke oblike kao što su kovanice i novčanice, i digitalne formate poput e-valute tj. CBSC-eva. Ona igra ključnu ulogu u ubrizgavanju novca u ekonomiju, fokusirajući se na direktno finansiranje projekata koji obuhvataju međugeneracijske i fiskalne politike koje direktno koriste građanima. Odgovornost centralne banke se proširuje na regulisanje ukupnog nivoa kredita u privredi, čime se održava ravnoteža u novčanoj masi kako bi se osigurala ekonomska stabilnost.

Komercijalne banke u ovom sistemu prolaze kroz radikalnu promjenu u svom poslovanju. One više ne mogu da kreiraju depozite putem izdavanja kredita, umjesto toga posluju sa 100% rezervama za sve kredite po automatizmu. Njihovi izvori kreditnih sredstava ograničeni su na depozite stanovništva ili zaduživanje sa novog tržišta novca, gdje je centralna banka primarni distributer sredstava. Dok komercijalne

banke i dalje funkcionišu kao posrednici u produženju kredita, njihova moć da umnože novčanu masu je eliminirana.

Ključna karakteristika novog sistema je restrukturiranje računa klijenata i bankovnih bilansa. Računi klijenata, uključujući novčane račune, čuvaju se u centralnoj banci i ne čine dio bilansa stanja komercijalnih banaka. Ovo razdvajanje osigurava sigurnost sredstava klijenata u slučaju bankarske insolventnosti, jer banke samo djeluju kao elektronski čuvari tih računa.

Bilans stanja centralne banke i komercijalnih banaka odražava njihove revidirane uloge. Bilans stanja centralne banke pokazuje svoju poziciju jedinog kreatora novca i menadžera likvidnosti ekonomije. U međuvremenu, bilansi komercijalnih banaka su restrukturirani kako bi se uskladili sa njihovom novom ulogom posrednika, lišenih moći stvaranja novca.

Ovaj novi finansijski sistem daje centralnoj banci veću kontrolu nad monetarnom politikom, što potencijalno dovodi do stabilnijih ekonomskih ciklusa i smanjenja rizika kao što su propast banaka i finansijske krize. To dovodi u pitanje tradicionalnu ulogu komercijalnih banaka, prebacujući se na sigurniji i stabilniji bankarski sistem koji minimizira sistemske rizike svojstvene bankarskom sistemu sa djelimičnom rezervom. U suštini, model 100% državnog novca predstavlja pomak ka stabilnijem, transparentnijem i pravednijem finansijskom sistemu.

Specifični koraci koji opisuju protok novca u novom sistemu su:

**Korak 1:** Ilustruje proces u kojem klijent uplaćuje depozit, prenoseći novac sa svog računa na bilans stanja komercijalne banke, čime se povećava nivo suverenog novca dostupnog za kreditiranje.

**Korak 2:** Opisuje proces izdavanja kredita, gdje se suvereni novac prenosi sa imovine banke na račun zajmoprimca, efektivno pretvarajući imovinu banke iz suverenog novca u potraživanje kredita. Ovaj korak potvrđuje našu hipotezu da je novac odvojen od kamatne stope od svog nastanka i povezuje se s kamatom tek kada klijent odluči pretvoriti svoj novčani račun u investicijski račun koji nosi određenu kamatnu stopu ili stopu povrata.

**Korak 3:** Prikazuje ubrizgavanje novca od strane centralne banke kao depozit tj. dodatna sredstva u sistem koja omogućavaju kreditiranje preduzeća i pojedinaca, što omogućava državi potencijalno učešće u povratima od tog novca nakon što se stvori vrijednost u realnoj ekonomiji.

**Korak 4:** Izdavanje elektronske valute od strane centralne banke, ističe njenu ulogu u monetarnom sistemu ekvivalentnu gotovini i knjigovodstvenom novcu, i osigurava da ne postoji motivacija da bankovni depoziti prelaze u e-valutu jer samo investicijski računi zarađuju povrate povezane s kamatom.

**Grafikoni 3.** Bilans stanja centralne banke, komercijalnih banaka i registar novčanih računa u modelu 100% državnog novca

Centralna banka (milijarde KM)			
Novac (u gotovini ili ne-gotovinski)	500		
1.	450	Novac u opticaju	900
4. E valuta 100 izdata	550		
Depoziti kod banaka	50		
3.	350		
UKUPNO	900	UKUPNO	900

*Nota: brojevi u tabeli označavanju dolepisane korake*

*Centralna banka: Novac putem državnih izdataka odlazi ka privrednim društvima i građanima koji donose novac u banku i tamo ga deponuju na novčane račune koji su gotovinska ili negotovinska potraživanja od Centralane banke. Ovi tekući novčani računi su u posjedu klijenta banke i banka služi samo kao elektronski sef, te isti nije imovina banke. Ovi digitalni sefovi mogu biti i u nezavisnoj instituciji koja je dio nove finansijske arhitekture.*

Komerijalne Banke (milijarde KM)			
Investicijski račun fizičko lice 1 (koji je novčano potraživanje prema CB -iz registra novčanih računa)		Obaveza prema fizičkom licu 1	
1.	50	1.	50
2.	0		
Kredit fizičkom licu 2 (koji je potraživanje od kreditnog klijenta)			
2.	50		
3. Investicijski račun CB	300	3. Obaveza prema Centralnoj banci	300
3. Krediti fizičkim licima	300		
UKUPNO	50	UKUPNO	50
2.	50	2.	50
3.	350	3.	350

Registar novčanih računa (kod banaka, centralne banke, ili nove agencije) (milijarde KM)			
Firma 1 gotovina	100	Obaveza prema Centralnoj banci	
4. E valuta	100		500
		1.	450
Fizičko lice 1	100		
1.	50		
Vlada 1	200		
Firma 2	100		
UKUPNO	500	UKUPNO	500
1.	450	1.	450
4.	550	4.	550

*Nota: brojevi u tabeli označavanju dolje opisane korake*

*Banke: Korak 1. Onog trenutka kada klijent napravi štedni depozit u iznosu od 50 KM državni novac prelazi s njegovog novčanog računa ili skladišta na stranu imovine banke na bilans stanja, gdje se povećava nivo državnog novca kao potraživanja od strane centralne banke i dostupan je za kreditiranje. Na strani obaveza, potraživanje klijenta na banku je uknjiženo, pri čemu novac postaje vlasništvo banke i u slučaju nesolventnosti banke postoji rizik da bude izgubljen.*

*Korak 2. Izdavanjem kredita, državni novac se s imovinske strane banke prenosi na gotovinski račun klijenta, pretvarajući se u kreditno potraživanje. Ovaj proces smanjuje saldo državnog novca kod centralne banke. Ovo je zamjena imovine na lijevoj strani bilansa stanja: državni novac se isplaćuje i prebukira kao potraživanje od kreditnog klijenta. Tokom ovog procesa smanjuje se bilans državnog novca s centralnom bankom i konvertuje se u kreditno potraživanje od kreditnog klijenta (drugi račun na istoj strani – strani imovine - bilansa stanja banke). Državni novac se 'prenosi' na javnost preko imovinske strane posredničke komercijalne banke. Finansije ostaju nepromijenjene, ništa se ne dešava na strani obaveza u bilansi stanja banke. Jedina izmjena je da iznos državnog novca više ne duguje komercijalna banka već direktno klijent preko svog novčanog računa.*

*Korak 3: Centralna banka ubrizgava novac u sistem u iznosu od 300 KM putem depozita kod banaka koji su dostupni za kreditiranje firmi i fizičkih lica. Ovo je akcija nove monetarne politike koja je usmjerena na povećanje ekonomske aktivnosti, ali ovaj novi novac je direktno kreiran od strane države.*

*Korak 4: Centralna banka izdaje i elektornsku valutu u iznosu od 100 KM: u ovom sistemu to je samo tehnologija novca i sve njegove forme, Gotovina, Knjiški novac i Elektronska valuta imaju jednak efekat, one su samo tehnološki iskaz jednakog državnog novca. Ovo rješava probleme koji nastaju kada se različite forme novca takmiče međusobno i omogućava prelazak na e-novac tj. CBDC-eve bez ugrožavanja klasične gotovine i vice versa.*

Prelazak na 100 % državni novac, u svim njegovim tehnološkim formama uključujući i/ili elektronski novac, rezultira koncentracijom monetarne politike isključivo u rukama države jer u trenutku ekonomske krize putem koraka 3 može ubrizgati u bankarski sistem željenu sumu investicijskog novca centralne banke. Međutim, potpuna kontrola monetarne politike od strane centralne banke kreira i potencijalni problem u političkim sistemima koji su nedemokratski jer motiviraju prekomjerno kreiranje novca u situacijama kada vlade potencijalno finansiraju svoj opstanak kroz kreiranje fiskalne politike koja im donosi pozitivne političke ishode. Dakle, prelazak na 100 % državni novac bi mogao biti efikasniji ukoliko bi postojali jasni mehanizmi za ograničavanje količine novca u odnosu na realnu ekonomiju ili finansiranje međugeneracijski važnih projekata.

## 5. ZAKLJUČAK

Istraživanje 100% državnog novčanog sistema, za razliku od sadašnjeg bankarskog sistema sa djelimičnom rezervom, pružilo je dragocjen uvid u to na koji način monetarni sistem može biti fundamentalno restrukturiran kako bi se novac odvojio od kamate, poboljšala finansijska stabilnost usljed protucikličnosti monetarne politike, veće kontrole nad novčanom masom ali i pravičnost u ekonomiji jer se novac uspostavlja kao javno dobro i stabilna jedinica mjere vrijednosti poput kilograma, metra ili bilo koje druge uspostavljene jedinice mjere. U radu su istaknute značajne teorijske i praktične koristi koje bi mogle nastati iz takve transformativne promjene, uključujući pojačanu kontrolu novčane mase od strane centralne banke, smanjenje ciklične ekonomske ranjivosti te pravedniju i transparentniju raspodjelu ekonomskih koristi od stvaranja novca.

Analiza bilansa stanja u sadašnjim i hipotetičkim 100% državnim novčanim sistemima otkrila je duboke razlike u načinu na koji će se novac stvarati, alocirati i upravljati. U sadašnjem sistemu komercijalne banke igraju ključnu ulogu u stvaranju novca kroz izdavanje kredita, što je suštinski povezano sa dugom i inherentno ciklično i potencijalno destabilizujuće. Prelazak na sistem u kojem je centralna banka jedini tvorac novca mogao bi ublažiti ove rizike, što bi potencijalno moglo dovesti i do stabilnijeg ekonomskog okruženja koje direktno usklađuje stvaranje novca sa stvarnim ekonomskim potrebama, a ne sa ciklusima kreditiranja vođenim profitom.

Međutim, takav sistem predstavlja i velike izazove. Praktična primjena sistema 100% državnog novca uključivala bi značajne strukturne promjene postojećih finansijskih institucija i mehanizama, zahtijevajući snažne pravne okvire, tranzicione strategije i široku političku i javnu podršku. Pored toga, implikacije za bankarski sektor, koji bi trebalo da se prilagodi ulozi koja isključuje stvaranje novca, mogle bi dovesti do otpora aktera iz sfere ukorijenjenih finansijskih interesa. Štaviše, potencijalne globalne implikacije prelaska na sistem 100% državnog novca bile bi značajne. On bi mogao da redefiniše međunarodne monetarne odnose i zahtijeva nove oblike saradnje i regulacije za upravljanje protokom novca stvorenog od strane države preko granica.

U zaključku, iako 100% državni novčani sistem nudi obećavajuća rješenja za mnoga pitanja inherentna trenutnom monetarnom sistemu, njegova primjena nije bez značajnih prepreka. Ova transformacija zahtijeva pažljivo razmatranje, temeljito planiranje i fazni pristup reformi. Kako se debata o ovoj temi nastavlja, dalja istraživanja su od suštinskog značaja za potpuno razumijevanje potencijalnih uticaja i

razvoj strategija koje obezbjeđuju nesmetanu tranziciju. Angažovanje na ovim idejama je od ključnog značaja jer se krećemo ka digitalno integrisanim i globalno povezanim finansijskim sistemima. Ovaj rad nastoji doprinijeti toj debati ukazivanjem da državni depoziti mogu predstavljati mehanizam da se kreditna aktivnost banaka ne umanjí prelaskom na sistem potpunih rezervi dok u isto vrijeme omogućava da se povrat od kreiranja novca vrati u vlasništvo društva u cjelini.

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## **CREATION OF MONEY IN A FULL RESERVE BANKING SYSTEM AND THE SEPARATION OF MONEY FROM INTEREST – PRESENTATION OF THE BALANCE SHEETS OF THE CENTRAL BANK AND COMMERCIAL BANKS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

### **Summary:**

This paper evaluates the impact of a paradigm shift in the monetary system by introducing a model of full reserve banking, focusing on the outcome of separating the generation of money from interest, which can only be achieved by abolishing the system of creating money through debt creation in the banking system. The main thesis argues that the current system, in which private commercial banks create money by issuing loans, results in deposits that mix savings achieved through economic activity with newly created money, leading to economic inefficiency and potential instability because debt and interest are always greater than the economic value created. The 100% sovereign money system corrects this by ensuring that only the central bank has the authority to create money, simplifying the financial landscape and restoring money to its rightful status as a public good and stable unit of measure. The study uses a comparative analysis between the current banking system with fractional reserves and the proposed banking system with 100% sovereign money, which is entirely reserve money. Balance sheet modeling demonstrates the impact of segregating investment and deposit accounts on the books of banks and the central bank. The methodology includes a hypothetical presentation of the balance sheet under the new system, emphasizing the accounting separation of “deposit” and “investment” accounts to end the creation of money by private commercial banks. The balance sheet analysis indicates that adopting a 100% sovereign money system requires state intervention through state deposits into the banking system to achieve the desired level of credit activity.

**Keywords:** full reserves; balance sheet; Central Bank; commercial banks

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## PEDAGOŠKO-DIDAKTIČKI PRILOZI

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UTJECAJ SOCIO-EMOCIONALNOG UČENJA NA ŠKOLSKI USPJEH  
I PONAŠANJE UČENIKA / THE IMPACT OF SOCIO-EMOTIONAL  
LEARNING ON SCHOOL SUCCESS AND STUDENT BEHAVIOR ..... 1059
- Sanja Živanović, Ranka Perućica, Bojana Vuković,  
Slađana Čalasan, Bojana Mastilo**  
ULOGA RODITELJA I NJIHOVE PROCJENE PODSTICANJA ASPEKATA  
RAZVOJA DJECE RANOG UZRASTA / THE ROLE OF PARENTS AND  
THEIR ASSESSMENTS IN ENCOURAGING ASPECTS OF THE  
DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY CHILDREN ..... 1083
- Marijana Prodanović, Asta Pukiene, Ieva Brazauskaite-Zubavičiene**  
AI VS HUMANS DEALING WITH LANGUAGE TASKS: UNLOCKING  
SOME NEW PEDAGOGICAL DIMENSIONS IN TEFL PRACTICES /  
KO SE BOLJE SNALAZI SA JEZIČKIM ZADACIMA – VEŠTAČKA  
INTELIGENCIJA ILI STUDENTI: NEKI NOVI PEDAGOŠKI UVIDI  
U NASTAVI STRANOG JEZIKA ..... 1101
- Filduza Prušević Sadović, Esma Demirović,  
Alma Trtovac Dedeić, Hana Karaahmetović**  
KVALITET I EDUKATIVNA VREDNOST POPULARNIH DIGITALNIH  
IGARA U MLAĐEM ŠKOLSKOM UZRASTU / QUALITY AND  
EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF POPULAR DIGITAL GAMES IN  
YOUNGER SCHOOL AGE ..... 1119

<b>Jasmina Damnjanović, Stanko Cvjetičanin, Gordana Kozoderović</b> LABORATORIJSKO-EKSPERIMENTALNA METODA UZ INSTRUKTIVNI PRISTUP – „HANDS-ON“ EKSPERIMENTI / LABORATORY EXPERIMENTAL METHOD WITH INSTRUCTIONAL APPROACH – “HANDS-ON” EXPERIMENTS .....	1133
<b>Nedim Čirić, Melisa Hozanović, Ahmed Hatunić</b> PROFESIONALNO SAGORIJEVANJE U ODGOJNO-OBRAZOVNOM RADU NASTAVNIKA I STRUČNIH SARADNIKA / PROFESSIONAL BURNOUT IN EDUCATIONAL WORK OF TEACHERS AND EXPERT ASSOCIATES .....	1149
<b>Gorana Vojčić, Maja Bosanac</b> UPOTREBA DIGITALNIH TEHNOLOGIJA I UČENJE U DIGITALNOM OKRUŽENJU: PRIMER STUDENATA UNIVERZITETA U NOVOM SADU / THE USE OF DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES AND LEARNING IN A DIGITAL ENVIRONMENT: AN EXAMPLE OF STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NOVI SAD .....	1169
<b>Martin Kalamković, Stanko Cvjetičanin</b> MULIMEDIJALNO I MOBILNO UČENJE U POČETNOJ NASTAVI PRIRODNIH NAUKA / MULTIMEDIA AND MOBILE LEARNING IN PRIMARY NATURAL SCIENCE TEACHING .....	1195
<b>Ester Vidović</b> APPLYING THE SITUATIONAL APPROACH IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE COMMUNICATION WITH CHILDREN IN PRESCHOOL INSTITUTIONS: AN OVERVIEW / PRIKAZ PRIMJENE SITUACIJSKOG PRISTUPA U KOMUNIKACIJI NA STRANOM JEZIKU S DJECOM PREDŠKOLSKE DOBI .....	1215
<b>Merjem Sušić</b> ZNAČAJ PLANIRANJA RAZVOJA VJEŠTINA KRITIČKOG MIŠLJENJA U OČEKIVANIM ISHODIMA UČENJA PREDMETNIH KURIKULUMA / THE IMPORTANCE OF PLANNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF CRITICAL THINKING SKILLS IN THE EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES OF SUBJECT-BASED CURRICULA .....	1231
<b>Aleksandra Golubović</b> NEKE IDEJE ZA UNAPREĐENJE NASTAVE FILOZOFIJE U DIGITALNOM OKRUŽENJU – PRILOZI IZ HRVATSKOG SUVREMENOG SREDNJOŠKOLSKOG ODGOJNO-OBRAZOVNOG SUSTAVA / SOME IDEAS FOR IMPROVING PHILOSOPHY TEACHING IN A DIGITAL ENVIRONMENT – CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE CONTEMPORARY CROATIAN SECONDARY EDUCATION SYSTEM (KS4, KS5) .....	1249
<b>Tanja Gradečak</b> USPJEŠNO STARENJE I UČENJE STRANOG JEZIKA / SUCCESSFUL AGING AND LEARNING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE .....	1271

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## **UTJECAJ SOCIO-EMOCIONALNOG UČENJA NA ŠKOLSKI USPJEH I PONAŠANJE UČENIKA**

Ovaj rad detaljno istražuje utjecaj socio-emocionalnog učenja (SEL) na školski uspjeh i ponašanje učenika, s posebnim naglaskom na analizu integracije SEL programa u školski kurikulum. Tema rada usmjerena je na prikaz koristi koje socio-emocionalno učenje donosi učenicima, od poboljšanja školskih rezultata do razvoja socijalnih vještina i smanjenja problematičnog ponašanja. Svrha istraživanja je ukazati na važnost SEL-a u obrazovanju, uz isticanje ključnih pedagoških i društvenih implikacija koje proizlaze iz njegovog provođenja. U uvodom dijelu rada predstavljen je koncept SEL-a, definirajući njegove osnovne komponente poput samosvijesti, samoregulacije, socijalne svijesti, vještina odnosa i odgovornog donošenja odluka. Zatim se analizira utjecaj SEL programa na školske rezultate i ponašanje učenika, pri čemu se ističe kako SEL može značajno smanjiti problematično ponašanje i unaprijediti socijalne interakcije među učenicima. Rad se bavi i izazovima implementacije SEL-a, uključujući nedostatak resursa i obuke za nastavnike te potrebu za uključenjem roditelja i šire zajednice. Rad donosi preporuke za daljnje istraživanje dugoročnih učinaka SEL programa, te ističe kako je kontinuirana obuka nastavnika i aktivno uključivanje roditelja ključ za uspješnu implementaciju SEL-a. Pedagoške implikacije rada ukazuju na potrebu sustavne integracije SEL-a u obrazovni sustav, što može dugoročno poboljšati školski uspjeh i emocionalnu dobrobit učenika.

**Ključne riječi:** obrazovanje; ponašanje učenika; školski uspjeh; socio-emocionalno učenje; SEL programi

## UVOD

Socio-emocionalno učenje (Social and Emotional Learning, SEL) postaje sve važniji aspekt obrazovanja jer istraživanja pokazuju da razvoj socio-emocionalnih vještina može značajno doprinijeti školskom uspjehu i boljem ponašanju učenika. SEL se odnosi na proces stjecanja i primjene znanja, stavova i vještina potrebnih za razumijevanje i upravljanje emocijama, postavljanje i postizanje pozitivnih ciljeva, osjećanje i pokazivanje empatije prema drugima, uspostavljanje i održavanje pozitivnih odnosa te donošenje odgovornih odluka. Cilj ovog članka je istražiti kako integracija SEL programa u školski kurikulum utječe na učenike te identificirati ključne prednosti i izazove takvog pristupa. Članak će definirati što je socio-emocionalno učenje i zašto je važno u kontekstu obrazovanja, analizirati različite programe i strategije SEL-a koji se trenutno koriste u školama, te istražiti kako razvoj socio-emocionalnih vještina (kao što su samosvijest, samoregulacija, socijalna svijest, vještine odnosa i odgovorno donošenje odluka) može pozitivno utjecati na školske rezultate učenika. Također, analizirat će se kako SEL programi mogu smanjiti problematična ponašanja i poboljšati socijalne interakcije među učenicima te istražiti prepreke s kojima se škole susreću prilikom uvođenja SEL programa, uključujući nedostatak resursa, obuke za nastavnike i podrške roditelja. Na kraju, prikazat će se primjeri škola koje su uspješno implementirale SEL programe, uključujući analizu njihovih strategija i postignutih rezultata. Za ovaj rad podaci su prikupljeni pregledom literature o školama koje su implementirale SEL programe (Casel 2022). Analizirani su detaljni izvještaji, studije slučaja i članci koji su pružili uvid u iskustva i stavove učenika, nastavnika i roditelja. Kvalitativni podaci su kodirani i analizirani tematski kako bi se utvrdili obrasci i ključne teme.

## 1. DEFINICIJA SOCIO-EMOCIONALNOG UČENJA

Socio-emocionalno učenje je proces kroz koji pojedinci, posebno djeca i mladi, stječu i učinkovito primjenjuju znanja, stavove i vještine potrebne za:

- razvijanje sposobnosti prepoznavanja vlastitih emocija, razumijevanja njihovih uzroka i posljedica, te upravljanja emocionalnim reakcijama na konstruktivan način;
- definiranje jasnih, realističnih ciljeva i rad na njihovom ostvarivanju uz korištenje samodiscipline i motivacije;

- razvijanje sposobnosti razumijevanja i dijeljenja osjećaja drugih ljudi, te ponašanje u skladu s tim razumijevanjem;
- razvijanje socijalnih vještina koje omogućuju uspostavljanje i održavanje zdravih i konstruktivnih odnosa s vršnjacima i odraslima;
- sposobnost donošenja etičkih, konstruktivnih odluka u različitim situacijama, uzimajući u obzir vlastite i tuđe osjećaje, potrebe i posljedice (OECD 2022).

### ***1. 1. Važnost SEL-a u kontekstu obrazovanja***

Socio-emocionalno učenje pozitivno utječe na školski uspjeh učenika (Durlak i dr. 2011.). Istraživanja pokazuju da učenici koji sudjeluju u SEL programima imaju bolje rezultate na standardiziranim testovima i bolje ocjene u školi (OECD 2022). Razvijene socio-emocionalne vještine pomažu učenicima u boljoj koncentraciji, organizaciji i upravljanju vremenom (Brackett 2014). SEL pomaže učenicima da razviju ključne socijalne i emocionalne vještine, poput empatije, suradnje, upravljanja konfliktima i samosvijesti. Ove vještine su važne za izgradnju pozitivnih odnosa i zdravih socijalnih interakcija, što je ključno za uspjeh u životu. Integracija SEL programa u školski kurikulum može smanjiti incidenciju problematičnog ponašanja, uključujući nasilje, zlostavljanje i nepristojno ponašanje. Učenici koji razviju bolje vještine upravljanja emocijama i socijalne vještine imaju manju vjerojatnost za uključivanje u destruktivna ponašanja. SEL promiče emocionalnu dobrobit i smanjuje simptome anksioznosti i depresije kod učenika. Programi SEL-a pomažu učenicima da bolje upravljaju stresom, razviju otpornost i izgrade pozitivan pogled na život. Razvijanje socio-emocionalnih vještina priprema učenike za uspjeh u budućnosti, kako u osobnom tako i u profesionalnom životu. Te vještine su ključne za učinkovit rad u timu, vođenje, rješavanje problema i prilagodljivost u promjenjivom svijetu. SEL doprinosi stvaranju inkluzivnog i podržavajućeg školskog okruženja gdje se svi učenici osjećaju prihvaćenima i poštovanima. Takvo okruženje potiče angažiranost učenika, smanjuje diskriminaciju i promiče kulturnu kompetenciju. Socio-emocionalno učenje je, dakle, ključna komponenta suvremenog obrazovanja koja ne samo da poboljšava školske ishode, nego i doprinosi cjelokupnom razvoju učenika, pripremajući ih za izazove i prilike u životu (Domitrovich 2017).

## ***1. 2. Pregled postojećih programa SEL-a<sup>1</sup>***

Socio-emocionalno učenje implementira se kroz različite programe i strategije koje su osmišljene kako bi pomogle učenicima u razvoju ključnih socijalnih i emocionalnih vještina. Ovi programi imaju različite ciljeve, metode i ishode, ali svi dijele zajednički cilj: unapređenje ukupnog razvoja učenika. U nastavku su neki od najpoznatijih programa i strategija SEL-a koji se trenutno koriste u školama.<sup>2</sup>

### *1. 2. 1. SecondStep*

SecondStep je program koji je razvila organizacija Committee for Children i jedan je od najraširenijih programa socio-emocionalnog učenja u školama diljem svijeta. Ciljevi programa su smanjenje problematičnog ponašanja, poboljšanje školskog uspjeha i promicanje pozitivnih odnosa među učenicima. Program koristi raznolike metode kao što su interaktivne lekcije, video materijali, grupne diskusije i igre uloga. Istraživanja pokazuju da učenici koji sudjeluju u programu SecondStep poboljšavaju socio-emocionalne vještine, smanjuju nasilničko ponašanje i ostvaruju bolje školske rezultate (Committee for Children 2020). Program se često koristi u osnovnim školama gdje je fokus na ranoj intervenciji i razvoju osnovnih socio-emocionalnih vještina. U srednjim školama, program se prilagođava kako bi odgovarao potrebama starijih učenika, s naglaskom na složenije socijalne situacije i emocionalne izazove.

### *1. 2. 2. PATHS*

PATHS (Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies) je program namijenjen učenicima od predškolske dobi do 6. razreda, usmjeren na razvijanje emocionalne svijesti, kontrole impulsa i socijalnih vještina (Greenberg 1995). Program je dizajniran kako bi učenici naučili identificirati emocije, rješavati sukobe i donositi odgovorne odluke. Metode uključuju strukturirane lekcije koje se provode nekoliko puta tjedno. Istraživanja pokazuju da PATHS program značajno smanjuje agresivno ponašanje, poboljšava emocionalnu regulaciju i socijalne kompetencije te doprinosi boljem škol-

- 1 SEL svoje korijene vuče iz SAD-a. Ideja o razvijanju socio-emocionalnih vještina u obrazovanju započela je krajem 1960-ih i 1970-ih godina, kada su istraživači i psiholozi počeli prepoznavati važnost emocionalne inteligencije za uspjeh u životu i školi. Razvoj SEL-a ubrzao se 1990-ih, kada je osnovana organizacija CASEL (Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning) u Chicagu 1994. godine. CASEL je postao ključni pokretač u istraživanju i primjeni SEL-a u obrazovanju diljem svijeta. SAD su, dakle, vodeća zemlja u razvoju i implementaciji SEL-a, a modeli i programi razvijeni tamo, poput SecondStep, PATHS, i RULER, proširili su se i na druge dijelove svijeta, uključujući Europu, gdje su prilagođeni lokalnim potrebama i obrazovnim sustavima.
- 2 Vidjeti ovdje odlomak 4. 1. *Primjeri dobre prakse u implementaciji SEL programa.*

skom uspjehu. Učenici koji sudjeluju u programu pokazuju bolje sposobnosti upravljanja emocijama i izražavanja empatije (Domitrovich, Cortes, Greenberg 2007). Fokus je na osnovnim emocionalnim vještinama poput prepoznavanja emocija i osnovne kontrole impulsa (Kam 2004). U starijim razredima, naglasak je na složenijim socijalnim vještinama i strategijama za rješavanje sukoba.

### *1. 2. 3. RULER*

RULER (Recognizing, Understanding, Labeling, Expressing, and Regulating) je program socio-emocionalnog učenja koji su razvili stručnjaci s Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence. Ciljevi programa uključuju unapređenje emocionalne pismenosti učenika, nastavnika i roditelja, te smanjenje anksioznosti i depresije te poboljšanje školskog uspjeha. Program koristi specifične alate kao što su Mood Meter, Charter, Meta-Moment i Blueprint, koji pomažu učenicima prepoznati, razumjeti, imenovati, izražavati i regulirati svoje emocije. Mood Meter je alat za praćenje emocija koji pomaže učenicima prepoznati i imenovati svoje osjećaje. Charter je grupni dogovor o tome kako se članovi zajednice žele osjećati i ponašati se. Meta-Moment je strategija za zaustavljanje i razmišljanje prije reagiranja u stresnim situacijama. Blueprint je vodič za rješavanje sukoba i promicanje pozitivnih odnosa. Istraživanja pokazuju da program RULER poboljšava emocionalnu inteligenciju učenika, smanjuje anksioznost i depresiju te poboljšava školski uspjeh (Brackett i dr. 2012). Uvođenje RULER alata kao dio dnevne rutine, u osnovnim školama, omogućuje učenicima da svakodnevno prate i reguliraju svoje emocije. U srednjim školama RULER alati se integri-  
raju u školski kurikulum i radionice za rješavanje sukoba.

### *1. 2. 4. MindUP*

MindUP je program socio-emocionalnog učenja temeljen na principima mindfulnessa<sup>3</sup>, razvijen s ciljem unapređenja socijalnih, emocionalnih i školskih vještina učenika (Schonert-Reichl 2010). Program je osmišljen kako bi učenicima pomogao poboljšati pažnju i koncentraciju, smanjiti stres i anksioznost, te razviti pozitivno razmišljanje i emocionalnu regulaciju. Metode ovog programa uključuju vježbe mind-

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3 Mindfulness je praksa svjesne prisutnosti u trenutku, koja uključuje namjerno usmjeravanje pažnje na sadašnji trenutak bez prosuđivanja. To je tehnika koja pomaže pojedincima da postanu svjesniji svojih misli, osjećaja i tjelesnih osjeta, te da ih prihvate bez potrebe za mijenjanjem ili izbjegavanjem. Mindfulness se može prakticirati kroz formalne meditativne vježbe, kao što je meditacija, ili kroz svakodnevne aktivnosti, kao što su jedenje, hodanje ili čak pranje posuđa, uz punu svjesnost svakog trenutka. Ova praksa je integrirana u zapadnjačke psihološke prakse i zdravstvene programe. Primjeri uključuju Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (MBSR) i Mindfulness-Based Cognitive Therapy (MBCT), koji su znanstveno dokazani kao učinkoviti u liječenju različitih psihičkih stanja i poboljšanju općeg blagostanja.



fulnessa, lekcije o funkcijama mozga i aktivnosti koje potiču ljubaznost i empatiju (Kuyken i dr. 2013). Program uključuje redovite prakse usmjerene svjesnosti koje pomažu učenicima u treniranju pažnje i prisutnosti. Program obuhvaća edukaciju učenika o neuroznanosti kako bi razumjeli kako funkcionira njihov mozak u kontekstu emocija i reakcija. Program provodi aktivnosti koje potiču ljubaznost i empatiju, radi se o vježbama i grupnim aktivnostima koje promoviraju pozitivne socijalne interakcije i emocionalne veze. Istraživanja pokazuju da MindUP program smanjuje simptome stresa, poboljšava školsku izvedbu i razvija socijalne vještine (Schonert-Reichli dr. 2015). U osnovnim školama uvodi se dnevna mindfulness praksa i integracija lekcija o funkcijama mozga u redovni kurikulum (Maloney i dr. 2016). U srednjim školama organiziraju se radionice i grupne aktivnosti koje su fokusirane na razvoj empatije i ljubaznosti među učenicima.

#### *1. 2. 5. Leader in Me*

Leader in Me je obrazovni program temeljen na načelima iz knjige *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People* Stephena Coveya (Covey 1989.). Program je usmjeren na razvoj voditeljskih vještina kod učenika, poticanje osobne odgovornosti, timskog rada i stvaranje pozitivne školske kulture (Covey 2008). Program pruža strukturirane lekcije, resurse i alate za nastavnike, roditelje i učenike. Program integrira „7 navika“ u školski kurikulum kroz lekcije i praktične aktivnosti (Covey 1989, 2008). Učenici sudjeluju u različitim projektima koji ih potiču na primjenu naučenih vještina u svakodnevnom životu. Leader in Me program koristi sveobuhvatan pristup koji uključuje cijelu školsku zajednicu u proces promjene. Fokusiran je na osnaživanje učenika da preuzmu odgovornost za vlastito učenje i ponašanje. Program pruža strukturirane lekcije, resurse i alate za nastavnike, roditelje i učenike. Studije su pokazale da Leader in Me značajno poboljšava samopouzdanje učenika, potiče pozitivno ponašanje, smanjuje disciplinske probleme i doprinosi boljim školskim rezultatima (Franklin Covey Education 2020). Program pomaže učenicima razviti ključne životne vještine koje su važne za njihov budući uspjeh.

#### *1. 2. 6. Child Development Project*

Program Child Development Project (CDP) usmjeren je na transformaciju škola u zajednice koje pružaju podršku i njegu učenicima. Ključne komponente uključuju poticanje razvoja prosocijalnih stavova, brige za druge, te balansiranje vlastitih potreba s potrebama drugih u konfliktnim situacijama. Program promovira zaštitne faktore i povezanost sa školom, stvarajući suradničko školsko okruženje i prepoznajući

ulogu socijalnog konteksta u postizanju pozitivnih razvojnih ishoda (Sanger, Osguthorpe 2009). Program se fokusira na promicanje prosocijalnog ponašanja i stvaranje podržavajućih školskih zajednica. Ovaj program namijenjen osnovnoškolcima nastoji poboljšati zaštitne čimbenike i povezanost sa školom kroz razvoj empatije, brige za druge i sudjelovanja u donošenju odluka. CDP se temelji na ideji da zadovoljenje osnovnih potreba učenika za pripadanjem i autonomijom vodi većoj privrženosti školi, što povećava predanost školskim normama i ponašanju. Program daje učenicima prilike za pružanje i primanje pomoći, razumijevanje i poštivanje tuđih potreba, osjećaja i perspektiva, te sudjelovanje u donošenju odluka o razrednim normama i aktivnostima (Ibidem). Kako bi stvorio brižnu zajednicu za učenje, CDP uključuje nekoliko elemenata. Temelji se na četiri principa: izgradnja stabilnih, podržavajućih odnosa; uključivanje socijalnih i etičkih dimenzija u učenje; poticanje aktivnog razvoja uma; te razvoj intrinzične motivacije učenika. Program promovira suradničko učenje, književni nastavni plan usmjeren na socijalna i etička pitanja, te razvojnu disciplinu koja naglašava samokontrolu i odgovornost (Battistichi dr. 2000). CDP također uključuje školsku komponentu koja gradi brižnu zajednicu na razini škole kroz ne-natjecateljske aktivnosti koje uključuju učitelje, učenike i roditelje, te vršnjačko mentoriranje. Obiteljska komponenta povezuje učenike sa školom kroz aktivnosti koje učenici obavljaju s roditeljima, potičući komunikaciju i razumijevanje obiteljskih vrijednosti (Ibidem).

## **2. UTJECAJ SEL PROGRAMA NA PONAŠANJE UČENIKA**

Socio-emocionalno učenje igra ključnu ulogu u smanjenju problematičnih ponašanja i poboljšanju socijalnih interakcija među učenicima. Različiti programi SEL-a pokazali su značajne rezultate u ovim područjima kroz razvoj emocionalne inteligencije, bolje upravljanje stresom i jačanje pozitivnih socijalnih vještina.

### ***2. 1. Smanjenje problematičnog ponašanja***

Programi društveno-emocionalnog učenja imaju značajan utjecaj na smanjenje problematičnog ponašanja među učenicima. Programi SEL-a pomažu učenicima razviti vještine samoregulacije i kontroliranja impulsa, što rezultira smanjenjem problematičnog ponašanja kao što su agresija, nasilje i nepristojno ponašanje. Kroz razvoj vještina samoregulacije i kontrole impulsa, SEL programi pomažu učenicima da bolje upravljaju svojim emocijama i ponašanjem, što rezultira smanjenjem incidenata poput

agresije, nasilja i nepristojnog ponašanja. Prema istraživanju Domitrovicha, Cortesa i Greenberga, učenici koji sudjeluju u programu PATHS pokazuju značajno smanjenje problema u ponašanju i bolju emocionalnu regulaciju. Ovo istraživanje pokazuje da učenici razvijaju bolje vještine rješavanja problema i izražavanja emocija, što rezultira smanjenjem impulzivnog i agresivnog ponašanja. Učenici uključeni u PATHS program imali su manje disciplinskih problema u usporedbi s učenicima koji nisu sudjelovali u programu (Domitrovich, Cortes, Greenberg 2007). Osim toga, učitelji su izvijestili o poboljšanoj atmosferi u učionici i smanjenju nasilnih incidenata. Drugi primjer uspješnog SEL programa je Second Step, koji koristi interaktivne lekcije i igre uloga kako bi potaknuo učenike na mirno rješavanje sukoba i smanjenje nasilničkog ponašanja. Prema izvješću Committee for Children, učenici koji sudjeluju u Second Step programu pokazuju značajno smanjenje sukoba i nasilničkog ponašanja te bolje razumijevanje i primjenu strategija za mirno rješavanje sukoba. Učenici koji sudjeluju u Second Step programu pokazuju pad nasilničkog ponašanja i veće razumijevanje empatije i vještine suradnje, što dovodi do smanjenja konflikata u učionici (Committee for Children, 2020). RULER program fokusira se na razvoj emocionalne pismenosti. Istraživanje pokazuje da učenici koji sudjeluju u RULER programu pokazuju smanjenje agresivnog ponašanja i poboljšanu školsku klimu (Brackett i dr. 2012). Program MindUP koristi mindfulness tehnike za poboljšanje pažnje i samo-regulacije među učenicima. Prema istraživanju Schonert-Reichla i Lawlor, učenici uključeni u MindUP program imaju smanjen stres i agresivno ponašanje te poboljšane socijalne vještine (Schonert-Reichl, Lawlor 2010).

## ***2. 2. Poboljšanje socijalnih interakcija***

SEL programi također značajno doprinose poboljšanju socijalnih interakcija među učenicima. Razvijanjem vještina kao što su empatija, suradnja i učinkovita komunikacija, učenici postaju sposobniji za uspostavljanje i održavanje pozitivnih odnosa. Program RULER pomaže učenicima prepoznati i razumjeti vlastite emocije i emocije drugih. Kroz ovaj program, učenici razvijaju emocionalnu inteligenciju koja im omogućava bolje međuljudske odnose i smanjenje socijalnih sukoba (Nathanson i dr. 2016). Istraživanje Bracketta, Riversa, Reyesa i Saloveya pokazuje da sudjelovanje u RULER programu poboljšava socijalne interakcije i smanjuje tenzije među učenicima. Učenici koji su sudjelovali u ovom programu pokazali su značajno poboljšanje u razumijevanju i izražavanju emocija, što je dovelo do boljih odnosa s vršnjacima i smanjenja sukoba u učionici (Brackett i dr. 2012). MindUP program, koji se temelji

na mindfulness tehnikama, također pokazuje pozitivne učinke na socijalne vještine učenika. Studije su pokazale da sudjelovanje u MindUP programu vodi do povećane ljubaznosti i suradnje među učenicima, te smanjuje simptome stresa koji često negativno utječu na socijalne interakcije. Prema istraživanju Schonert-Reichla i suradnika, učenici koji prakticiraju mindfulness kroz MindUP program pokazuju veću empatiju i bolje socijalne vještine (Schonert-Reichl i dr. 2015). U jednoj osnovnoj školi, učenici koji su sudjelovali u MindUP programu pokazali su veće razine suradnje i ljubaznosti, a učitelji su primijetili smanjenje stresa i agresivnog ponašanja među učenicima (Ibidem). Osim specifičnih utjecaja na ponašanje i socijalne interakcije SEL programi općenito doprinose stvaranju pozitivnijeg i inkluzivnijeg školskog okruženja. Program *Leader in Me*, na primjer, promovira razvoj voditeljskih vještina i odgovornosti među učenicima, što rezultira boljom atmosferom u razredu i školskom zajedništvu. Prema Franklin Covey Education, ovaj program potiče učenike da preuzmu odgovornost za svoje postupke i razvijaju vještine vođenja, što dovodi do poboljšanja općeg školskog ozračja. Škole koje su implementirale *Leader in Me* program izvijestile su o značajnom poboljšanju u međusobnom poštovanju među učenicima, povećanju sudjelovanja u razrednim aktivnostima i jačanju osjećaja zajedništva (Franklin Covey Education 2020). Drugi uspješan SEL program, *Second Step*, koristi interaktivne lekcije i igre uloga kako bi učenici naučili vještine suradnje i komunikacije. Istraživanja su pokazala da sudjelovanje u *Second Step* programu smanjuje socijalne sukobe i poboljšava sposobnost učenika za mirno rješavanje konflikata (Committee for Children 2020). PATHS također potiče razvoj socijalnih vještina i emocionalne inteligencije. Istraživanje je pokazalo da učenici koji sudjeluju u PATHS programu pokazuju bolje međuljudske odnose i manje problema u ponašanju (Domitrovich, Cortes, Greenberg 2007).

### **3. UTJECAJ SEL-a NA ŠKOLSKI USPJEH**

Razvoj socio-emocionalnih vještina ima značajan pozitivan utjecaj na školski uspjeh učenika. Te vještine obuhvaćaju samosvijest, samoregulaciju, socijalnu svijest, vještine u međudodnosima i odgovorno donošenje odluka. Programi SEL-a pomažu učenicima da se bolje nose sa stresom, razviju pozitivne odnose i usvoje učinkovite strategije za učenje, što sve doprinosi boljem školskom uspjehu.

### **3. 1. Samosvijest**

Samosvijest je ključna komponenta socio-emocionalnog učenja i odnosi se na sposobnost prepoznavanja vlastitih emocija i razumijevanja kako one utječu na ponašanje i odluke. Samosvijest pomaže učenicima u boljem upravljanju svojim reakcijama u školi, što vodi do poboljšanja školskih postignuća i općeg školskog uspjeha. Studije su pokazale da učenici s visokom razinom samosvijesti imaju bolje ocjene i bolje se nose sa školskim izazovima. Prema istraživanju Zinza, Weissberga, Wanga i Walberga učenici koji posjeduju razvijenu samosvijest lakše prepoznaju kada su pod stresom ili kada su anksiozni te koriste strategije koje im pomažu u smanjenju tih osjećaja, što im omogućava fokusiranije i efikasnije učenje. U longitudinalnoj studiji, učenici koji su sudjelovali u SEL programima koji naglašavaju razvoj samosvijesti pokazali su bolje školske rezultate u usporedbi s vršnjacima koji nisu sudjelovali u takvim programima (Zins i dr. 2004). Programi SEL-a, kao što su PATHS i Second Step, pomažu učenicima razviti vještine prepoznavanja i razumijevanja vlastitih emocija. Na primjer, PATHS program uključuje aktivnosti koje učenicima pomažu da identificiraju svoje osjećaje i razumiju kako ti osjećaji mogu utjecati na njihovo ponašanje i odluke u raznim školskim situacijama. Učenici koji su prošli PATHS program izvijestili su o smanjenju osjećaja anksioznosti prije testova i poboljšanom upravljanju stresom, što je rezultiralo boljim uspjehom na testovima (Domitrovich, Cortes, Greenberg 2007). Program MindUP koristi mindfulness tehnike koje učenike podučavaju kako biti svjesniji svojih trenutnih emocionalnih stanja. Ove tehnike uključuju vježbe disanja, meditaciju i refleksiju, koje pomažu učenicima da postanu svjesniji svojih emocija i reakcija te da ih bolje kontroliraju. Istraživanje Schonert-Reichla i suradnika pokazalo je da su učenici koji su sudjelovali u MindUP programu pokazali značajno poboljšanje u samosvijesti, što je rezultiralo boljim socijalnim interakcijama i školskim rezultatima (Schonert-Reichl i dr., 2015). Razvijanjem samosvijesti, učenici postaju sposobniji prepoznati i regulirati svoje emocije, što im omogućava bolje suočavanje sa školskim izazovima. Programi SEL-a pružaju učenicima alate za razvoj ovih vještina, što ima direktan pozitivan utjecaj na njihov školski uspjeh.

### **3. 2. Samoregulacija**

Samoregulacija se odnosi na sposobnost upravljanja vlastitim emocijama, mislima i ponašanjem u različitim situacijama. Razvijanje samoregulacije kroz programe društveno-emocionalnog učenja pomaže učenicima u boljem planiranju, organizaciji i

postizanju ciljeva. Program PATHS se fokusira na razvijanje samoregulacijskih vještina. Prema istraživanju Domitrovicha, Cortesa i Greenberga, učenici uključeni u PATHS program pokazuju značajna poboljšanja u samoregulaciji, što dovodi do boljeg školskog uspjeha. Učenici koji su sudjelovali u PATHS programu bili su u stanju bolje upravljati svojim vremenom i zadacima, što je rezultiralo višim ocjenama i boljim rezultatima na standardiziranim testovima (Domitrovich, Cortes, Greenberg 2007). Drugi uspješan program za razvoj samoregulacije je Second Step. Ovaj program koristi interaktivne lekcije i aktivnosti koje pomažu učenicima prepoznati i kontrolirati svoje emocionalne reakcije. Prema istraživanjima, učenici koji sudjeluju u Second Step programu pokazuju poboljšanja u školskim performansama zahvaljujući boljoj kontroli emocija i ponašanja. Učenici koji su prošli Second Step program izvijestili su o poboljšanom fokusu tijekom učenja i smanjenju impulzivnog ponašanja, što je pozitivno utjecalo na njihove školske rezultate (Committee for Children 2020). MindUP program, koji se temelji na mindfulness tehnikama, također značajno doprinosi razvoju samoregulacije. Kroz mindfulness vježbe, učenici uče kako se nositi sa stresom i održavati fokus, što pozitivno utječe na njihovu sposobnost regulacije emocija i ponašanja. Istraživanje Schonert-Reichla i suradnika pokazalo je da učenici uključeni u MindUP program imaju bolje sposobnosti samoregulacije, što se odrazilo na poboljšane školske rezultate i smanjene razine stresa (Schonert-Reichl i dr. 2015). Tools of the Mind<sup>4</sup> je još jedan program koji naglašava razvoj samoregulacijskih vještina kroz strukturirane aktivnosti i igre koje potiču planiranje, organizaciju i kontrolu impulsa. Studije su pokazale da ovaj program pomaže učenicima u postizanju boljih školskih performansi kroz poboljšanu samokontrolu i upravljanje zadacima. Učenici koji sudjeluju u programu Tools of the Mind pokazuju bolje sposobnosti samoregulacije, što rezultira boljim školskim uspjehom i većom sposobnošću suočavanja sa školskim izazovima (Barnett i dr. 2008). Razvijanjem samoregulacijskih vještina, učenici postaju sposobniji kontrolirati svoje emocije i ponašanje, što im omogućava bolje upravljanje vremenom i zadacima te postizanje boljih školskih rezultata. Pro-

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4 Tools of the Mind je obrazovni program koji se temelji na teorijama ruskog psihologa L. Vygotskoga. Cilj programa je poticanje kognitivnog razvoja djece kroz strukturirane aktivnosti koje promiču samoregulaciju, socijalnu interakciju i kreativno razmišljanje. Ovaj program najčešće se primjenjuje u predškolskim ustanovama i nižim razredima osnovne škole. Program se koristi u različitim obrazovnim okruženjima i pokazao je pozitivne rezultate u razvoju kognitivnih, socijalnih i emocionalnih vještina kod djece. Istraživanja sugeriraju da djeca koja sudjeluju u ovom programu često postižu bolje rezultate u područjima kao što su pismenost, matematika i socijalne vještine u usporedbi s djecom koja ne sudjeluju u sličnim programima (Barnett i dr. 2008). Općenito, Tools of the Mind predstavlja sveobuhvatan pristup ranom obrazovanju koji integrira kognitivni, socijalni i emocionalni razvoj djece, čineći ih bolje pripremljenima za buduće školske i životne izazove.

grami SEL-a pružaju učenicima alate za razvoj ovih vještina, što ima direktan pozitivan utjecaj na njihov školski uspjeh.

### **3. 3. Socijalna svijest**

Socijalna svijest uključuje sposobnost razumijevanja i suosjećanja s drugima, što je ključno za suradnju i timski rad u školskom okruženju. Razvijanje socijalne svijesti kod učenika pomaže u stvaranju pozitivne i podržavajuće školske atmosfere, koja je temelj za uspješno učenje i razvoj. Program RULER pomaže učenicima u razvijanju socijalne svijesti kroz vježbe koje potiču razumijevanje i izražavanje emocija. Prema istraživanju Bracketta, Riversa, Reyesa i Saloveya učenici koji sudjeluju u RULER programu pokazuju značajna poboljšanja u međuljudskim odnosima i dobivaju veću podršku od strane vršnjaka i nastavnika. Učenici uključeni u RULER program bolje razumiju emocije svojih vršnjaka, što dovodi do smanjenja sukoba i povećanja suradnje u učionici. Učitelji također primjećuju povećanu empatiju među učenicima, što rezultira boljom podržavajućom okolinom i boljim školskim rezultatima (Brackett i dr. 2012). Program Second Step fokusira se na razvijanje socijalno-emocionalnih vještina, uključujući socijalnu svijest. Kroz interaktivne lekcije i igre uloga, učenici uče kako prepoznati i razumjeti osjećaje drugih ljudi, što poboljšava njihove socijalne interakcije i sposobnost suradnje. Studije su pokazale da učenici koji sudjeluju u Second Step programu imaju bolje razvijene vještine empatije i razumijevanja, što dovodi do smanjenja nasilničkog ponašanja i poboljšanih odnosa s vršnjacima (Committee for Children 2020). MindUP program koristi mindfulness tehnike kako bi učenici postali svjesniji svojih emocija i emocija drugih. Ovaj program pomaže učenicima u razvoju socijalne svijesti kroz refleksivne vježbe i meditaciju. Prema istraživanju Schonert-Reichla i suradnika, učenici uključeni u MindUP program pokazuju povećanu socijalnu svijest, što vodi do poboljšanih međuljudskih odnosa i veće kohezije unutar razreda (Schonert-Reichl i dr. 2015). Korisne su i praktične aktivnosti za razvoj socijalne svijesti, kao što su grupne diskusije. Npr. učenici sudjeluju u vođenim diskusijama gdje dijele svoja iskustva i osjećaje, učeći kako slušati i razumjeti perspektive drugih. Ove aktivnosti promiču empatiju i razumijevanje, što je ključno za razvoj socijalne svijesti. Zatim i role-playing igre, kroz igre uloga učenici preuzimaju različite uloge i situacije koje im pomažu bolje razumjeti i suosjećati s drugima. Ove aktivnosti pomažu u razvijanju empatije i sposobnosti za suradnju. Razvijanjem socijalne svijesti, učenici postaju sposobniji za razumijevanje i suosjećanje s drugima, što je ključno za stvaranje pozitivne školske atmosfere. Programi SEL-a poput



RULER-a, Second Step-a i MindUP-a pružaju učenicima alate za razvijanje ovih vještina, što ima direktan pozitivan utjecaj na njihov školski uspjeh i međuljudske odnose.

### **3. 4. Odnosi među učenicima u razredu**

Vještine odnosa, kao što su komunikacija, suradnja i rješavanje sukoba, ključne su za uspjeh u grupnim zadacima i projektima. Programi društveno-emocionalnog učenja poput Second Step, fokusiraju se na razvoj ovih vještina, što pomaže učenicima u učinkovitijem radu s drugima. Razvijanjem vještina odnosa, učenici poboljšavaju svoju sposobnost međusobne suradnje, što dovodi do uspješnijih grupnih radova i bolje izvedbe na projektima. Program SecondStep koristi interaktivne lekcije koje uključuju igre uloga i grupne aktivnosti, s ciljem razvijanja ključnih socijalnih vještina. Prema istraživanju koje je proveo Committee for Children, učenici koji sudjeluju u Second Step programu pokazuju značajna poboljšanja u komunikaciji, suradnji i rješavanju sukoba. Učenici uključeni u Second Step program bolje komuniciraju tijekom grupnih projekata, što rezultira učinkovitijim timskim radom i boljim školskim rezultatima. Osim toga, ovi učenici pokazuju veću sposobnost mirnog rješavanja sukoba, što smanjuje napetosti i omogućava produktivniji radni okoliš (Committee for Children 2020). Responsive Classroom Approach<sup>5</sup> pristup također naglašava važnost razvoja socijalnih vještina kroz strukturu učionice i dnevne rutine. Ovaj pristup pomaže učenicima razviti osjećaj zajedništva i međusobnog poštovanja. Učionice koje koriste Responsive Classroom pristup bilježe smanjenje problema u ponašanju i poboljšanje školskih rezultata jer učenici bolje surađuju i podržavaju jedni druge tijekom grupnih aktivnosti (Rimm-Kaufman, Chiu 2007). RULER program pomaže učenicima prepoznati i regulirati svoje emocije te razviti empatične odnose s vršnjacima. Prema istraživanju Bracketta, Riversa, Reyesa i Saloveya, učenici uključeni u RULER program pokazuju poboljšanu emocionalnu regulaciju i empatične vještine, što rezultira boljim međuljudskim odnosima i suradnjom u grupnim zadacima (Brackett i dr. 2012). Praktične aktivnosti za razvoj vještina međusobnih odnosa su i grupe dis-

5 Responsive Classroom Approach je obrazovni program koji naglašava važnost povezivanja školskog učenja s razvojem socijalno-emocionalnih vještina. Program je dizajniran za učitelje i školsko osoblje kako bi stvorili pozitivno, podržavajuće i učinkovito školsko okruženje. Ovakav pristup se koristi u osnovnim školama diljem svijeta i pokazao je pozitivne rezultate u poboljšanju školskih i socijalnih ishoda za učenike. Program nudi obuku i resurse za učitelje kako bi im pomogao implementirati ove strategije u svojim učionicama. Istraživanja su pokazala da škole koje koriste ovaj pristup bilježe poboljšanja u ponašanju učenika, povećanje angažiranosti učenika i bolje školske rezultate. Učitelji također izvještavaju o većem zadovoljstvu poslom i učinkovitijem upravljanju razredom.



kusije i aktivnosti. Kroz strukturirane diskusije i grupne aktivnosti, učenici uče kako učinkovito komunicirati i surađivati. Ove aktivnosti potiču učenike da dijele ideje, slušaju jedni druge i zajednički rješavaju probleme. Kroz igre uloga, učenici vježbaju rješavanje sukoba i razvoj empatičnih vještina. Ove igre simuliraju stvarne situacije u kojima učenici trebaju surađivati i rješavati nesuglasice, čime se potiče razvoj važnih socijalnih vještina. Razvijanjem vještina odnosa kroz programe SEL-a učenici poboljšavaju svoju sposobnost učinkovitog rada u grupama, što pozitivno utječe na njihov školski uspjeh (Sklad i dr. 2012). Programi kao što su Second Step, Responsive Classroom i RULER pružaju učenicima alate za razvijanje ovih vještina, što rezultira uspješnijim grupnim radom i boljom izvedbom na projektima.

### **3. 5. Odgovorno donošenje odluka**

Odgovorno donošenje odluka odnosi se na sposobnost donošenja etičkih, konstruktivnih odluka koje uzimaju u obzir posljedice za sebe i druge. Razvijanje ove vještine kod učenika ima značajan utjecaj na njihov školski uspjeh jer im omogućuje promišljeno pristupanje učenju i ponašanju. Jedan od temeljnih okvira za društveno-emocionalno učenje je CASEL<sup>6</sup> (Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning), koji naglašava važnost odgovornog donošenja odluka. Programi koji koriste ovaj okvir pomažu učenicima u razvijanju kritičkog razmišljanja i vještina rješavanja problema (Collaborative 2020). Učenici koji sudjeluju u programima temeljenim na CASEL okviru pokazuju poboljšane vještine donošenja odluka, što dovodi do boljih školskih rezultata (CASEL 2013). Prema istraživanju Taylora, Oberlea, Durlaka i Weissberga učenici s razvijenim vještinama donošenja odluka bolje se nose sa školskim izazovima i donose promišljenije odluke u vezi s učenjem i ponašanjem (Taylor i dr. 2017). PATHS program također naglašava razvoj vještina odgovornog donošenja odluka. Kroz strukturirane lekcije učenici uče kako procijeniti različite opcije i odabrati najbolju moguću odluku koja je u skladu s etičkim normama i uzima u obzir posljedice. Studije su pokazale da učenici uključeni u PATHS program

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6 CASEL je vodeća organizacija posvećena unapređenju društveno-emocionalnog učenja u školama. Osnovana 1994. godine, CASEL ima za cilj pomoći školama i školskim zajednicama da implementiraju učinkovite programe SEL-a kako bi učenici razvili ključne socio-emocionalne vještine. CASEL-ov okvir za društveno-emocionalno učenje predstavlja sveobuhvatan pristup razvoju ključnih vještina koje su potrebne za uspjeh u školi i životu (CASEL 2015.). Integriranjem SEL-a u školski kurikulum, učitelji i administratori mogu pomoći učenicima da razviju vještine koje će im omogućiti da postanu uspješni, odgovorni i empatični pojedinci.

imaju bolje razvijene vještine kritičkog razmišljanja i problem-solvinga<sup>7</sup>, što im pomaže u donošenju informiranih i odgovornih odluka u školskim i socijalnim situacijama (Domitrovich, Cortes, Greenberg 2007). Praktične aktivnosti za razvoj odgovornog donošenja odluka mogu biti scenariji i simulacije. Učenici sudjeluju u scenarijima i simulacijama gdje moraju donijeti odluke koje imaju etičke i praktične posljedice. Ove aktivnosti pomažu učenicima razumjeti važnost promišljanja o posljedicama svojih odluka. Zatim sudjelovanje u diskusijama i debatama. Kroz vođene diskusije i debate, učenici istražuju različite perspektive i uče kako donositi odluke koje su utemeljene na etičkim principima i kritičkom razmišljanju. Ove aktivnosti potiču učenike na razmišljanje o dugoročnim posljedicama svojih izbora. Razvijanjem vještina odgovornog donošenja odluka kroz programe SEL-a učenici postaju sposobniji donositi promišljene i etičke odluke. Ove vještine su ključne za njihov školski uspjeh jer im pomažu u rješavanju problema i donošenju odluka koje pozitivno utječu na njihovo učenje i ponašanje. Programi kao što su CASEL i PATHS pružaju učenicima potrebne alate za razvijanje ovih vještina, što rezultira boljim školskim uspjehom.

#### **4. IZAZOVI IMPLEMENTACIJE SEL PROGRAMA**

Implementacija socio-emocionalnih učenja u školama može biti izuzetno korisna za učenike i njihove školske, socijalne i emocionalne vještine (Oberle 2016). Međutim, uvođenje SEL programa često se suočava s brojnim izazovima. Ti izazovi uključuju nedostatak resursa, obuke za nastavnike i podrške roditelja. Jedan od glavnih izazova u implementaciji SEL programa je nedostatak resursa, uključujući financijska sredstva, materijale, vrijeme, kao i prilagođavanje nacionalnih kurikulumu. Programi SEL zahtijevaju financijska ulaganja za izradu kurikulumu, nabavku materijala i obuku nastavnika. Prema istraživanju koje su proveli Oberle i Schonert-Reichl mnoge škole nemaju dovoljno financijskih sredstava za kupnju kvalitetnih SEL programa i za osiguranje kontinuirane profesionalne obuke za nastavnike (Oberle 2017). Osim toga, škole često nemaju dovoljno vremena u rasporedu da u potpunosti integriraju SEL aktivnosti u svakodnevnu nastavu. Obuka nastavnika je ključna za uspješnu implementaciju SEL programa. Nastavnici moraju biti adekvatno obučeni da bi mogli učinkovito prenijeti socio-emocionalne vještine učenicima. Međutim, mnoge škole

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7 Solving je engleski izraz koji doslovno znači „rješavanje“. U različitim kontekstima solving se može odnositi na proces pronalaženja rješenja za različite vrste problema. U suštini, solving se odnosi na analizu problema, traženje mogućih rješenja, evaluaciju tih rješenja i implementaciju najboljeg rješenja za dani problem.

nemaju dovoljno sredstava ili mogućnosti za osiguranje odgovarajuće obuke. Weissberg i O'Brien ističu da su nastavnici i kreatori obrazovnih politika često nedovoljno pripremljeni za integraciju SEL-a u svoje kurikulume, što može rezultirati slabijom implementacijom i manjim učincima programa (Weissberg 2004). Podrška roditelja također igra ključnu ulogu u uspješnoj implementaciji SEL programa. Roditelji koji razumiju i podržavaju ciljeve SEL-a mogu doprinijeti jačanju socio-emocionalnih vještina kod kuće. Međutim, mnogi roditelji nisu svjesni važnosti SEL-a ili nemaju dovoljno informacija o tome kako mogu podržati te programe. Studija koju su proveli Elias i Arnold pokazala je da je uključivanje roditelja i zajednice ključno za održivost SEL programa, ali također naglašava da škole često nemaju strategije za učinkovito uključivanje roditelja (Elias 2006). Kulturalne i kontekstualne razlike mogu također predstavljati izazov za implementaciju SEL programa. Programi koji su razvijeni u jednom kulturnom kontekstu možda neće biti učinkoviti ili prikladni u drugom. Potrebno je prilagoditi SEL programe kako bi odgovarali specifičnim potrebama i vrijednostima različitih zajednica. Prema istraživanju koje su proveli Jagers, Rivas-Drake i Williams, kulturalna prilagodba SEL programa može poboljšati njihovu učinkovitost i prihvaćanje u različitim školskim okruženjima (Jagers 2019). Iako implementacija SEL programa može poboljšati školski i socijalno-emocionalni razvoj učenika, škole se suočavaju s brojnim izazovima. Rješavanje tih izazova zahtijeva povećanje financijskih sredstava, osiguranje adekvatne obuke za nastavnike, uključivanje roditelja i prilagodbu programa specifičnim kulturnim i kontekstualnim potrebama.

#### ***4. 1. Primjeri dobre prakse u implementaciji SEL programa***

Uspješna implementacija SEL programa može značajno unaprijediti školske, socijalne i emocionalne vještine učenika. U nastavku su prikazani primjeri škola koje su uspješno implementirale SEL programe. Navedeni primjeri iz Chicago Public Schools, Austin Independent School District i Anchorage School District pokazuju da uspješna implementacija SEL programa zahtijeva sveobuhvatan pristup koji uključuje kontinuiranu obuku nastavnika, integraciju SEL-a u školski kurikulum i aktivno uključivanje roditelja i zajednice. Rezultati ovih škola potvrđuju da SEL programi mogu značajno smanjiti problematično ponašanje i poboljšati školske rezultate učenika.

#### *4. 1. 1. Chicago Public Schools*

Chicago Public Schools (CPS) je jedan od najvećih školskih distriktâ u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama koji je uspješno implementirao SEL programe u svim svojim školama. CPS je integrirao SEL u svoj kurikulum koristeći program Second Step. Strategija uključuje kontinuiranu obuku nastavnika, korištenje SEL koordinatora u svakoj školi i integraciju SEL ciljeva u školske planove. Prema izvještaju CASEL-a, škole u CPS-u koje su u potpunosti implementirale SEL programe bilježe smanjenje problematičnog ponašanja, poboljšanje atmosfere u školama i povećanje školskog uspjeha učenika (CASEL 2015).

#### *4. 1. 2. Austin Independent School District*

Austin Independent School District (AISD) u Teksasu implementirao je SEL programe kroz sve razrede, od vrtića do srednje škole. AISD koristi kombinaciju različitih SEL programa, uključujući Second Step, MindUP i Leader in Me, te provodi redovite treninge za nastavnike i osoblje. Primijenili su strategije korištenja SEL vodiča i koordinatora u svakom kampusu. Provodili su redovite obuke i poticali profesionalni razvoj za nastavnike. Uključili su roditelje i zajednicu kroz radionice i informativne sesije. Istraživanje koje je proveo AISD pokazuje značajno smanjenje disciplinskih prijava, poboljšanje školskog uspjeha, te povećanje osjećaja pripadnosti i sigurnosti među učenicima (AISD 2016).

#### *4. 1. 3. Anchorage School District*

Anchorage School District na Aljasci implementirao je SEL programe kroz strategiju pod nazivom „SEL for All“. Ova strategija uključuje integraciju SEL-a u svakodnevne aktivnosti i kurikulum, profesionalni razvoj za nastavnike i angažman zajednice. Strategije koje su koristili su: stvaranje sveobuhvatnog plana za integraciju SEL-a u sve aspekte školskog života, kontinuirana obuka nastavnika i osoblja, aktivno uključivanje roditelja i zajednice kroz razne događaje i aktivnosti. Evaluacija provedena od strane Anchorage School District pokazuje smanjenje problema u ponašanju, poboljšanje školskog uspjeha i poboljšanje socio-emocionalnih vještina učenika (Dusenbury, Weissberg 2017).

#### 4. 1. 4. *International School of Stuttgart*

Jedan primjer škole u Europi<sup>8</sup> koja je uspješno implementirala socio-emocionalno učenje (SEL) je International School of Stuttgart u Njemačkoj. Ova škola koristi RULER program razvijen na Yale University, koji se fokusira na emocionalnu inteligenciju kroz razvoj vještina poput prepoznavanja, razumijevanja, izražavanja i regulacije emocija. Program RULER je integriran u cijeli školski kurikulum te pomaže učenicima u razvijanju emocionalne pismenosti i rješavanju sukoba (ESEP, Encouraging... 2022).

#### 4. 1. 5. *Skagerak International School*

Drugi primjer je Skagerak International School u Norveškoj, koja koristi integrirane SEL programe kako bi unaprijedila mentalno zdravlje i emocionalnu dobrobit učenika. Ova škola također koristi pristupe usmjerene na mindfulness i grupni rad kako bi razvijala socio-emocionalne vještine među učenicima (ESEP, Making... 2022.).

## ZAKLJUČAK

Rezultati ovog rada ukazuju na značajan utjecaj socio-emocionalnog učenja na školski uspjeh učenika i smanjenje problematičnog ponašanja. Učinkovita implementacija SEL programa zahtijeva podršku nastavnika, roditelja i šire zajednice. Pedagoške implikacije ovog istraživanja naglašavaju potrebu za integracijom SEL-a u školski kurikulum, kontinuiranu obuku nastavnika te pružanje podrške učenicima u razvoju socio-emocionalnih vještina. Preporuča se daljnje istraživanje dugoročnih učinaka SEL-a, kao i prilagodba programa specifičnim kulturnim i obrazovnim kontekstima. Implementacija socio-emocionalnog učenja (SEL) u školske sustave pokazala se izu-

8 Primjeri uspješne implementacije SEL-a u europskim školama uključuju nekoliko projekata i programa koji su integrirali SEL u školske kurikulume diljem Europe: PROMEHS (Promoting Mental Health at Schools) projekt, koji je uspostavljen u više europskih zemalja, razvija univerzalni kurikulum za mentalno zdravlje u školama. Njegov cilj je poboljšati socijalne i emocionalne vještine učenika, smanjiti rane probleme mentalnog zdravlja, te omogućiti kontinuiranu obuku nastavnika u cilju podržavanja mentalnog zdravlja kod učenika. Hand in Hand projekt provodi se u Sloveniji i drugim europskim zemljama, s naglaskom na razvoj socio-emocionalnih vještina nastavnika, kako bi oni mogli učinkovito upravljati sve raznovrsnijim učionicama. Ovaj projekt pomaže nastavnicima da razviju vlastite emocionalne vještine kroz participativne vježbe i aktivnosti koje mogu implementirati u nastavi. SEEVAL (Social and Emotional Education and Learning) projekt usmjeren je na treninge za edukatore te razvijanje smjernica za pristup cijeloj školskoj zajednici u implementaciji SEL programa. SEEVAL podržava obrazovne stručnjake s pedagoškim alatima za promicanje socijalne i emocionalne pismenosti kod učenika. BOOST projekt, koji se provodi u nekoliko europskih zemalja, bavi se jačanjem mentalne otpornosti mladih putem SEL programa, s posebnim naglaskom na smanjenje bullyinga i cyberbullyinga te izgradnju socijalnih vještina (Springer Link 2024).

zetno korisnom za školski uspjeh i ponašanje učenika. Socio-emocionalne vještine, kao što su samosvijest, samoregulacija, socijalna svijest, vještine odnosa i odgovorno donošenje odluka pozitivno utječu na sposobnost učenika da upravljaju emocijama, nose se sa stresom i razvijaju pozitivne odnose (Payton i dr. 2008). Studije navedene u članku pokazuju da učenici koji sudjeluju u SEL programima postižu bolje rezultate na standardiziranim testovima, imaju bolje ocjene i rjeđe pokazuju problematična ponašanja. Programi SEL-a poput PATHS, Second Step i Leader in Me pomažu učenicima u razvoju ključnih socijalnih i emocionalnih vještina koje omogućuju bolju regulaciju emocija, smanjenje agresivnog ponašanja i poboljšanje socijalnih interakcija. Kontinuirana obuka nastavnika i aktivno uključivanje roditelja i zajednice mogu značajno unaprijediti školsko okruženje, stvarajući podržavajuću i inkluzivnu atmosferu koja potiče školski i osobni rast učenika. Preporučuje se daljnje istraživanje utjecaja SEL programa na različite demografske skupine učenika, uključujući učenike s poteškoćama u razvoju i različitim kulturnim pozadinama, te provođenje longitudinalnih studija kako bi se procijenili dugoročni učinci SEL programa na školski uspjeh i socijalne vještine učenika. Također, potrebno je istražiti kako se SEL može integrirati s drugim obrazovnim i psihološkim pristupima radi maksimalizacije pozitivnih učinaka na učenike.

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## THE IMPACT OF SOCIO-EMOTIONAL LEARNING ON SCHOOL SUCCESS AND STUDENT BEHAVIOR

### Summary:

This paper provides a detailed examination of the impact of social-emotional learning (SEL) on students' school performance and behaviour, with a special focus on analysing the integration of SEL programs into the school curriculum. The subject of the paper is aimed at showcasing the benefits that SEL brings to students, ranging from improved school performance to the development of social skills and the reduction of problematic behaviour. The purpose of the research is to highlight the importance of SEL in education while emphasizing key pedagogical and social implications arising from its implementation. The structure of the paper begins with an introduction to the concept of SEL, defining its core components such as self-awareness, self-regulation, social awareness, relationship skills, and responsible decision-making. It then analyses the impact of SEL programs on school performance and student behaviour, highlighting how SEL can significantly reduce problematic behaviours and improve social interactions among students. The paper also addresses the challenges of implementing SEL, including a lack of resources and teacher training, as well as the need for involving parents and the broader community. The paper provides recommendations for further research on the long-term effects of SEL programs, emphasizing that continuous teacher training and active parental involvement are key to the successful implementation of SEL. The pedagogical implications of the study point to the need for the systematic integration of SEL into the education system, which can, in the end, improve students' school performance and emotional well-being.

**Keywords:** education; school success; SEL programs; social-emotional learning; student behavior

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## **ULOGA RODITELJA I NJIHOVE PROCJENE PODSTICANJA ASPEKATA RAZVOJA DJECE RANOG UZRASTA**

Porodica je primarna ljudska zajednica u kojoj svaki pojedinac stvara svoja prva iskustva, prvi agens socijalizacije koji ima značajnu ulogu u formiranju i podsticanju holističke mreže aspekata dječijeg razvoja. Cilj ovog istraživanja je bio ispitati roditeljske procjene o podsticanju aspekata razvoja njihove djece. Uzorak čini 79 roditelja djece uzrasta od tri do šest godina i ima karakteristike namjernog i prigodnog uzorka. U radu je korištena metoda teorijske analize i metoda empirijskog neeksperimentalnog istraživanja, a od tehnika korišteno je anketiranje i skaliranje. Rezultati pokazuju da postoje statistički značajne razlike u procjenama podsticanja različitih aspekata dječijeg razvoja u zavisnosti od pola roditelja, zaposlenosti roditelja, stručne spreme očeva, stila roditeljstva kao i samoiskaza u kakvoj je porodici roditelj odrastao. Razlike nisu registrovane kada su u pitanju varijable godine roditelja i stručna sprema majke. Pedagoške implikacije se ogledaju u ukazivanju na sociodemografska obilježja koja mogu uticati na stimulisanje dječijeg razvoja, u preporukama i smjernicama za aktere vaspitno-obrazovne prakse koji rade na saradnji sa roditeljima, te sam savjetodavni doprinos sa pedagoškog aspekta u pogledu porodične stimulacije za kvalitetan razvoj djeteta.

**Ključne riječi:** aspekti razvoja; porodica; rani rast i razvoj; stimulacija

## UVOD

Vaspitanje je društvena pojava i uvijek je društveno uslovljena. Način življenja u 21. vijeku ostavlja roditeljima malo vremena za bavljenje djecom jer se očekuju polivalentne uloge na profesionalnom planu sa jedne strane, a sa druge adekvatna vaspitna funkcija u porodici shodna savremenim shvatanjima razvoja djeteta. Cjeloživotno učenje kao potreba društva znanja neophodna je i u profesionalnim ulogama ali i u bračnoj i roditeljskoj ulozi.

Dijete u porodici provodi najviše vremena i doživljava najveći broj razvojnih promjena i vaspitnih uticaja (Ilić 2013). Ono što se formira u ranom djetinjstvu predstavlja bazu ili temelj za sve što dolazi poslije (Živanović i Vladičić 2022). Porodica je primarna ljudska zajednica, polifunkcionalna jer zadovoljava potrebe svojih članova, sopstvene i društvene ciljeve (Ilić 2013), ali se njene dominirajuće funkcije često i suprotstavljaju jedna drugoj (npr. ekonomska i vaspitna). Marija Montessori isticala je kako nije dovoljno samo da odrasli budu uzor i model. Pored tog uzora koji služi kao podsticaj neophodan je i trud, napor koji samo dijete ulaže. „Da bi dete postalo pijanista, nije dovoljno puko oponašanje nekoga ko već svira. Ono mora beskonačno dugo da vežba kako bi se njegovi prsti pripremili i stekli neophodnu spretnost“ (Montessori 2013: 214). Stoga je neophodno podržavati dječije aktivnosti, biti posrednik u njima i podstaći mnogobrojne akcije, a roditelji su ti koji stvaraju mogućnosti za holistički razvoj. Na osnovu iskustva i podsticajnih aktivnosti u sopstvenom okruženju nastaje prirodni, spontani proces učenja u kojem je djetetu potrebno pomoći djetetu da „upija“ (Montessori 2013).

Ljudsko biće rađa se bez sposobnosti govora i komunikacije, bez kulture i morala. U kasnijem razvoju različiti izazovi ometaju njegov socijalni život. Živeći sa drugim ljudima, uči se živjeti i djelovati u društvu s ciljem da postane socijalno razvijena ličnost. Kao agens socijalizacije, porodica ima primarnu ulogu u formiranju djetetove ličnosti (Selimović i Karić 2011). S obzirom na to da je porodica prva društvena sredina u koju dijete dolazi, dužnost joj je da stimuliše rast i razvoj djeteta.

Rano učenje ostavlja nekad ‘neizbrisiv pečat’ na razvoj individue. To učenje je izrazito trajno, djelimično i teško promjenljivo. Zato vaspitanju predškolske djece treba prići pravovremeno, intencionalno i organizovano. Na značaj ranog učenja ljudi su odavno ukazivali. Poznata je narodna poslovice: „Drvo se savija dok je mlado“. Kamenov (2002) ističe da, ukoliko se moždani neuroni ne izgrade u ranom djetinjstvu, postoji pretpostavka da će proći nešto slično kao mišićna atrofija. U tom pogledu predškolski period je važan za stimulisanje cjelokupnog razvoja.

Porodica je neizostavan elemenat svakodnevnog života djeteta i vaspitanje je glavna obaveza roditelja. Pored promjena karaktera porodice u novim ekonomskim i demografskim uslovima, izmjenjene su i njene funkcije pa se dijete shvata kao specifično, posebno biće kome se treba posvetiti posebna pažnja u različitim aspektima (Kamenov 2006).

Geni "slušaju" i kao odgovor na unutrašnje i vanjsko okruženje tijela stvaraju različite strukture i funkcije. To je poput gradnje kuće, gdje je potrebno izgraditi jake temelje kako bi se mogla podići funkcionalna građevina. Sve navedeno implicira da postoje prilike za djelovanje na razvoj djece i da je jednostranost bilo kog uticaja isključena.

## **DIJALEKTIČKO JEDINSTVO FAKTORA RAZVOJA DJECE RANOG UZRASTA**

Predstavnici dva konceptualna modela u objašnjenju psihičke ontogeneze označeni su kao organizmičari (maturacionisti) i mehanističari (empiristi). Prvi, kao pokretače psihičkog razvoja vide unutrašnje činioce endogene prirode. Drugi, daju primat egzogenoj prirodi i spoljašnjim faktorima. Oba pristupa posmatraju organizam u interakciji sa sredinom, uz razliku smjera, odnosno da li idu od organizma, ili ka organizmu (Matejić Đuričić 2010). Mi posebno akcentujemo komplementaran odnos između endogene i egzogene prirode, jer postoji potencijal koji ide od samog organizma (npr. razvoj mišića) i potencijal koji ide ka organizmu (uticaj roditelja, pravilna ishrana, ohrabrivanje, baci-donesi loptu). Naslijeđene osobine su samo mogućnosti koje se postepeno razvijaju pomoću vaspitanja (Branković i Ilić 2003). Pored unutrašnjih i vanjskih faktora (pod kojima podrazumijevamo i vaspitanje, porodicu i društvenu sredinu) odlučujuća je i akcija pojedinca. Ako su stvoreni adekvatni uslovi i podsticaji, rezultat aktivnosti vaspitanika je zagarantovan. Dakle, možemo zaključiti da je za aktivnost vaspitanika od krucijalnog značaja, iako su svi faktori u međusobnoj povezanosti. Samo biološka baza zajedno sa stečenom može da urodi najboljim plodovima: „Studije o razvoju dece koja su odrasla u ekstremno teškoj socijalnoj izolaciji pokazuju da dete ne razvija uspravan hod čime se dokazuje da se bez minimalnih sredinskih uslova genotip ne može fenotipski ispoljiti“ (Matejić Đuričić 2010). Pojednostavimo analogijom, naime, sjeme kivija ima isti potencijal prije sadnje, ali se neće dobiti isti plod na primorju i na planinskom području, odnosno nisu pruženi isti uslovi za razvoj potencijala.

Čovjek je u toku evolucije ostao bez instinkata i njihove unutrašnje transmisije tako da se mora oslanjati na ono što se stiče spoljašnjim transmisijama (Pijaže 1967, prema Kamenov 2002). Pojedini autori ističu da Pijažeovu teoriju razvoja u najmanjoj mjeri pogađa kritika samog organizmičkog (maturacionističkog) stanovišta (Matejić Đuričić 2010). U vezi s tim opravdano je zapitati se zašto je to tako? Uz postojanje prirodnog plana razvoja, Pijažeova teorija uzima u obzir interakcionizam, odnosno interakciju organizma i sredine. Djetetu su potrebne informacije iz sredine i ono ih prima samo ukoliko je u stanju da ih razumije. Međutim, postavljaju se pitanja: ko može pružiti adekvatno stimulativno okruženje djetetu? Na koji način? Pomoću čega? To bi trebao da bude vaspitni plan razvoja. Bez obzira na relativnu nerazvijenost i nespretnost, kod djeteta su uvijek prisutne spontane akcije izazvane unutrašnjom prirodnom motivacijom za aktivnostima. Tu spontanu aktivnost i unutrašnju motivaciju potrebno je podržati uticajima iz okoline što implicira da su u razvoju djeteta važne zajedničke aktivnosti djeteta i odraslog. Svaka funkcija u kulturnom razvoju djeteta prvo se javila na socijalnom, a zatim na psihološkom planu, odnosno prvo kao interpsihološka kategorija a zatim kao intrapsihološka kategorija (Vigotski 1960, prema Kamenov 2002). Sve to ukazuje na značaj vaspitanja i kvalitetne stimulacije sa kojom dijete stupa u dodir, zadovoljava potrebu za iskustvom, a istovremeno ga i bogati. Period od rođenja do polaska u školu je doba najburnijeg rasta i razvoja kada se funkcionalno razvijaju sva osnovna tkiva i organi, odvija se proces mijelinizacije nerava i uspostavljaju uslovi za višu nervnu djelatnost, masa mozga kao i tijela se uvećava, a pored kvantitativnih svojstava karakterišu ga i kvalitativna (Kamenov 2002). Mogli bismo reći da se radi o integrisanim uticajima kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih svojstava ličnosti. Ima autora koji ističu da promjene na planu ponašanja zahtijevaju strukturalni rast (organski rast) i funkcionalni rast (učenje) (Matejić Đuričić 2010). U kontekstu pojma učenja, možemo govoriti i o podsticajima u socijalnoj interakciji sa odraslima (roditeljima, starateljima, vaspitačima i sl.).

## **ULOGA RODITELJA I ODRASLIH U PODSTICANJU DJEČIJEG RAZVOJA**

Jedna od temeljnih kompetencija onih koji se bave vaspitanjem jeste posjedovanje nužnih pedagoških i psiholoških znanja o djeci te vještina potrebnih za vaspitanje djece primjerenih njihovoj dobi i sposobnostima. Međutim, kako je porodica sredina u kojoj dijete provodi najveći dio svoga vremena i roditelji trebaju biti usmjereni na

stalno sticanje novih i proširivanje postojećih znanja, vještina i stavova u vezi s djecom, vaspitanjem i humanim vrijednostima. Profesionalce u vrtićima niko ne može zamijeniti u pogledu kompetencija, ali sve više postaje nužno i aktivno podržavanje roditelja i izgradnja njihovih kompetencija (Travar i Spasojević 2018).

Materijalni svijet je djetetu nužno posredovan od strane odraslih, ali pri tome nije važna količina i bogatstvo objekata već način na koji ih odrasli unose u svijet djeteta (Matejić Đuričić 2010). Ne moramo nužno imati skupu didaktičku igračku poznate marke da bismo sa djetetom radili, npr. klasifikaciju. Za to nam mogu poslužiti predmeti koje svakodnevno koristimo u domaćinstvu poput kantica, poklopaca, štipaljki i sl.

Roditelji trebaju biti svjesni da se u vaspitanju djece radi o složenim i razovrsnim zadacima, koji ne podrazumijevaju samo brigu za fizičko-zdravstveni razvoj, već i o intelektualnom, moralnom, emocionalnom, socijalnom i radnom vaspitanju. Vaspitni zadatak odnosi se na izlaženje u susret dječijim potrebama i stimulaciju fizičkog, socijalnog, emocionalnog i sazajnog razvoja djeteta, a dijete stupa u interakcije sa odraslima čitavom lepezom različitih potreba koje ne može samostalno da zadovolji (Matejić Đuričić 2010). Ako su zadovoljeni osnovni egzistencijalni uslovi, moguće je da nisu zadovoljene potrebe djeteta i vaspitna podsticanja emocionalnog, kognitivnog i socijalnog razvoja (Giesecke 1993).

Optimalna sredina za dijete podrazumijeva bogate izvore senzorne motoričke i socio-emocionalne stimulacije sadržane u organizaciji prostora, ali najviše u organizaciji stalnih i trajnih interakcija sa odraslima, pri čemu je manje značajna količina i bogatstvo objekata, a više značajan način sticanja iskustva djeteta (Matejić Đurić 2010). Izvore za podsticanje mreže aspekata razvoja možemo pronaći i u neposrednom okruženju. Pošto je igra dominantna metoda sticanja iskustva u predškolskom uzrastu, najbolji načini učenja su upravo kroz igru, jer kako ističe Spasojević (2013) ona je dobrovoljna, slobodna i dinamična, a povezana sa neposrednim okruženjem može biti od krucijalnog značaja za holistički razvoj djeteta. Igra kao dominantna metoda je značajna i za socijalni razvoj ali i za opažanje, pamćenje, mišljenje i druge psihičke funkcije (Čokorilo i Čokorilo 2010). Djetetu je potrebno opažanje u konkretnim situacijama i neposrednoj djelatnosti jer je čulnost značajna osobina malog djeteta (Kamenov 2002). Provodeći vrijeme u porodičnom okruženju i sa članovima porodice dijete svakodnevno stiče bogato perceptivno iskustvo. Iz tog razloga neophodno je stimulisati perceptivna iskustva kako bi ona dobila nove oblike. Izgraditi osnove različitih aspekata razvoja djece znači stvoriti uslove za uspješno uključivanje u vaspitno-obrazovni proces (Kovačević 2017).



Intelektualno osposobljavanje predstavlja cjelovito pedagoško djelovanje na vaspitanika i usmjeravanje na usvajanje osnovnih znanja o čovjeku, prirodi i društvu i razvoj intelektualnih sposobnosti: analitičkog, logičkog i kritičkog mišljenja (Mikanović 2016). U *Programu predškolskog vaspitanja Republike Srpske* (2007), kao i inoviranoj verziji (2022), akcentuje se da odrasli imaju obavezu kod svake djevojčice ili dječaka razvijati specifične sposobnosti, i to prema teoriji multiple inteligencije (Stojaković 2000). U tom smislu i roditelji mogu u porodičnom okruženju podsticati razvoj intelektualnog vaspitanja predškolskog djeteta. Ciljevi intelektualnog razvoja usmjereni su ka podsticanju prirodne radoznalosti djeteta, sazrijevanju senzorno-motoričke inteligencije kao prvog signalnog sistema, razvoj sazajnih interesovanja, sposobnosti posmatranja i razumijevanja pojava, njihovog upoređivanja, opisivanja, klasifikovanja, eksperimentisanja, dokazivanja (Spasojević, Pribišešev Beleslin i Nikolić 2007).

Motorna aktivnost je mišićna radnja pri kojoj se tijelo kreće u prostoru, a potreba za različitim vidovima fizičke aktivnosti spada u osnovne ljudske potrebe koja je naročito izražena u djetinjstvu. Oko treće godine motorika je dostigla znatan stepen razvoja, a značaj je višestruk: stvaranje samopouzdanja, nezavisnost, izvor je zabave i igre, utiče na socijalizaciju, zdravstvena vrijednost i jačanje organizma (Kamenov 2002). Kako je igra prirodna aktivnost djeteta, i razvoj bilo kog aspekta moguće je usaglasiti sa igrom.

Fizička vježba promovise zdravlje kardiovaskularnog sistema i stimuliše procese koji dovode do novih neuronskih veza i povećanog protoka krvi u mozgu koji poboljšavaju pamćenje i raspoloženje (National Scientific Council on the Developing Child 2020). Branković i Ilić (2010) naglašavaju da se fizičkim aktivnostima ostvaruje sveukupna briga za zdravlje, podstiču se biološki procesi rasta i razvoja, stiču se osnovne motoričke sposobnosti, brzina, snaga i izdržljivost, razvija smisao za lijepo kroz tjelesne pokrete, utiče na moralno oblikovanje ličnosti i ostvaruje fizička zabava i razonoda. Socio-emocionalni razvoj djeteta roditelji mogu podržati svakodnevno uključivanjem djece u zaduženja i u rad. Koliko je važno da dijete progovori, toliko je važno podsticati dalji razvoj govora i komunikacije uopšte. Govor se nalazi u najužem jedinstvu sa razvojem mišljenja, zato razvijati govor znači ujedno razvijati intelektualnu sposobnost (Pregrad 1980), ali i socio-emocionalni razvoj.

## METODOLOŠKI OKVIR ISTRAŽIVANJA

### *Cilj i zadaci istraživanja*

Cilj ovog istraživanja je bio ispitati roditeljske procjene o podsticanju aspekata razvoja njihove djece (uzrasta od 3 do 6 godina). Na osnovu postavljenog cilja proizilazi nekoliko istraživačkih zadataka i to: 1) Ispitati roditeljske procjene o podsticanju aspekata razvoja djece u zavisnosti od pola roditelja; 2) Ispitati roditeljske procjene o podsticanju aspekata razvoja djece u zavisnosti od toga u kakvoj je porodici roditelj odrastao; 3) Ispitati roditeljske procjene o podsticanju aspekata razvoja djece u zavisnosti od stila roditeljstva; 4) Ispitati roditeljske procjene o podsticanju aspekata razvoja djece u zavisnosti od stručne spreme roditelja; 5) Ispitati roditeljske procjene o podsticanju aspekata razvoja djece u zavisnosti od zaposlenosti roditelja; 6) Ispitati roditeljske procjene o podsticanju aspekata razvoja djece u zavisnosti od godina roditelja.

### *Metode, tehnike i instrumenti istraživanja*

Shodno naučno-istraživačkim metodama te postavljenim zadacima istraživanja u radu je korištena metoda teorijske analize i metoda empirijskog neeksperimentalnog istraživanja. Od tehnika korištena je tehnika anketiranja i skaliranja. Strukturu instrumenta (konstruisan za potrebe istraživanja) čini anketni upitnik za prikupljanje podataka o sociodemografskim karakteristikama i skala procjene sa šest subskala (primjer ajtema subskale intelektualni aspekt: *U svakodnevnim aktivnostima upoređujemo šta je duže a šta kraće; Pokazujem djetetu šta je tanko a šta je debelo; Razgovaramo o sličnostima među životinjama*; primjer ajtema za subskalu fizički aspekt: *Dopustim djetetu da preskoči prikladnu prepreku; Dopuštam i insistiram da se dijete kreće po kamenju i pijesku*; primjer ajtema za subskalu radni aspekt: *Zajedno sa djetetom bacam đubre u kontejner; Insistiram da dijete učestvuje u raspreamanju doma*; primjer ajtema za subskalu moralni aspekt: *Insistiram da dijete dijeli igračke/slatkiše sa drugima; Kada nešto pogriješim i sam/a kažem izvini*; primjer ajtema za subskalu higijensko-zdravstveni aspekt: *Insistiram da dijete pere zube poslije jela; Zajedno sa djetetom provjetravam prostoriju*; primjer ajtema za subskalu estetski aspekt: *Izražavamo se crtežom; Zajedno sa djetetom plešem uz muziku*). Roditelji su imali zadatak da na petostepenoj skali Likertovog tipa procijene u kojoj mjeri podstiču razvoj djeteta (od 1 – nikada do 5 – uvijek). Dobijene

vrijednosti Smirnov-Kolmogorovljeveg testa za sve subskale pokazuju da naše distribucije odstupaju od normalne te su u skladu sa tim korišteni neparametrijski testovi. Kronbah alfa za subskalu intelektualni aspekt iznosio je 0,93, za estetski 0,86, za fizički 0,90, zdravstveno-higijenski 0,92, radni 0,91 i moralni 0,94. Podaci su obrađeni u statističkom paketu SPSS 21.

### ***Varijable i uzorak istraživanja***

Kao zavisna varijabla u istraživanju tretirane su roditeljske procjene o podsticanju aspekata razvoja djece, dok status nezavisne varijable imaju: pol roditelja, godine roditelja, zaposlenost roditelja, stručna sprema roditelja, samoprocjena roditeljskog stila vaspitanja te porodična sredina u kojoj je roditelj odrastao. Uzorak istraživanja činilo je 79 roditelja djece uzrasta od 3 do 6 godina na području Opštine Foča.

## **REZULTATI ISTRAŽIVANJA I DISKUSIJA**

U prvom zadatku istraživanja pošli smo od pretpostavke da postoje razlike u roditeljskim procjenama podsticanja mreže aspekata razvoja u zavisnosti od njihovog pola. U Tabeli broj 1 prikazani su rezultati procjena s obzirom na pol ispitanika.

**Tabela 1.** Man-Vitnijev test razlika u procjenama roditelja u zavisnosti od pola

	Pol roditelja	N	Srednji rang	z	p
Estetski aspekt	muški	10	22,50	-2.602	0,009**
	ženski	69	42,54		
	ukupno	79			
Intelektualni aspekt	muški	10	28,60	-1.685	0,092
	ženski	69	41,65		
	ukupno	79			
Fizički aspekt	muški	10	25,30	-2.178	0,029*
	ženski	69	42,13		
	ukupno	79			
Zdravstveno-higijenski aspekt	muški	10	32,05	-1.187	0,235
	ženski	69	41,15		
	ukupno	79			
Radni aspekt	muški	10	29,50	-1.557	0,119
	ženski	69	41,52		
	ukupno	79			
Moralni aspekt	muški	10	27,80	-1.848	0,065
	ženski	69	41,77		
	ukupno	79			

\*p < .05; \*\* p < .01

Razlika u roditeljskim procjenama podsticanja aspekata dječijeg razvoja s obzirom na pol roditelja značajna je kada je riječ o fizičkom i estetskom aspektu. Blizu nivoa značajnosti je i moralni aspekt. Dobijena razlika govori da roditelji ženskog pola, odnosno majke više podstiču navedene aspekte razvoja od očeva. Postavlja se pitanje da li razlog leži u rodnim ulogama te pretpostavci da je ženski pol, odnosno majke, više odgovoran za vaspitanje djece. Majke kao senzitivniji pol više podstiču estetski aspekt razvoja, zatim fizički kao roditelj koji više vremena provodi sa djetetom na svježem vazduhu, a blizu nivoa značajnosti je i moralni aspekt razvoja. Naime, potrebno je istaći da je u ovom uzorku ispitanika neujednačen uzorak po polu, pa dobijene podatke ne možemo u potpunosti generalizovati. Podaci jedne studije dobijeni direktnim posmatranjem interakcije roditelja i njihove djece, kao i audio

zapisom, pokazuju da iako roditelji dominiraju u interakcijama, mogu značajno uticati na interesovanje djeteta za sadržaj priče, orijentaciju ka slušanju, razumijevanje događaja, likova i okruženja, produblјivanje leksičkog znanja djeteta, kao i povezivanje razgovora sa sopstvenim iskustvom (Gavora i Krivankova 2021), a sve to govori o podsticanju intelektualnog aspekta vaspitanja i razvoja. Studija koja je ispitivala uopšteno stavove roditelja o ranom učenju (Travar i Spasojević 2018) pokazuje da nema statistički značajne razlike s obzirom na pol roditelja, mada prema srednjim vrijednostima očevi pokazuju veće povjerenje u mogućnosti ranog učenja. Jedna studija u Hrvatskoj pokazuje da su djeca predškolske dobi tokom epidemije Covid-19 vremenski najviše koristila medije i vrlo malo vremena provodila sa roditeljima u igri, na otvorenom i u motoričkim aktivnostima, što govori o njihovom fizičkom aspektu u tom vremenskom periodu (Bistrić 2020). Studija koja je ispitivala stavove roditelja o fizičkoj aktivnosti djece pokazuje da roditelji podstiču djecu na fizičku aktivnost prosječno četiri dana u sedmici, ali da nijedan dan djeca nisu aktivna ukupno 20-30 minuta. Registrovane su razlike ali u korist pola djeteta, ne i roditelja (Đorđić 2006). Takođe, jedno istraživanje ispituje razlike u procjenama roditelja djece o dječijoj uključenosti u porodične aktivnosti s obzirom na pol (Ljubetić, Reić Ercegovac i Draganja 2019). Nije registrovana značajna razlika, a uključenost u porodične aktivnosti se velikim djelom podudara sa radnim aspektom u našem istraživanju. Radi ekonomičnosti i preglednosti rada, kao i tabela, u nastavku ćemo ćemo u tabelama prikazivati samo statistički značajnu razliku.

**Tabela 2.** Man-Vitnijev test razlika u procjenama roditelja u zavisnosti od zaposlenosti roditelja

	Zaposlenost roditelja	N	Srednji rang	z	p
Fizički aspekt	oba roditelja zaposlena	59	36,96	-2.034	0,042*
	jedan roditelj zaposlen	20	48,98		
	ukupno	79			
Radni aspekt	oba roditelja zaposlena	59	36,42	-2.393	0,017*
	jedan roditelj zaposlen	20	50,55		
	ukupno	79			
Moralni aspekt	oba roditelja zaposlena	59	37,12	-1.969	0,049*
	jedan roditelj zaposlen	20	48,50		
	ukupno	79			

\*p < .05; \*\* p < .01

Registrovana je značajna razlika u tri aspekta razvoja prikazana u Tabeli broj 2. U sva tri područja podsticanje je manje kada su i otac i majka zaposleni. Ukoliko je samo jedan roditelj zaposlen, podsticanje moralnog, fizičkog i radnog aspekta razvoja djece je veće. Dobijeni podaci mogu da impliciraju logički zaključak da su roditelji važni činioci u razvoju djeteta i da tzv. društvo znanja, emancipacija žena i mnoge druge društvene promjene mogu da utiču na mlade naraštaje. Rezultati indirektno govore i o jazu i suprostavljenosti zaštitno-ekonomske i vaspitne uloge roditelja u današnjem društvu. U našem istraživanju nismo dobili značajnu razliku u intelektualnom aspektu. Iako se ne može tvrditi da zaposlenost jednog roditelja sama po sebi označava ekonomski status porodice, rezultati jednog istraživanja pokazuju da slabe kognitivne sposobnosti pokazuju djeca koja odrastaju u slabijim ekonomskim uslovima, odnosno uslovima koji nisu stimulatивно okruženje. Finansijski status porodice imao je značajan uticaj na prepoznavanje i imenovanje pojmova (Jovanović, Smederevac i Tovilović 2009), a to nije ništa drugo do razvoj i podsticanje intelektualnog aspekta vaspitanja. Navedeni nalazi su u suprotnosti sa našim istraživačkim podacima.

**Tabela 3.** Kruskal-Volisov test razlika u procjenama roditelja u zavisnosti od samoiskaza u kakvoj je porodici roditelj odrastao

	Samoiskaz roditelja	N	Srednji rang	$\chi^2$	Df	p
Fizički aspekt	Strogi roditelji / patrijahalni	42	45,73	5.974	2	0,050*
	Demokratski	33	34,26			
	Popustljivi / malo zahtjeva	4	27,25			
	Ukupno	79				

\*p < .05; \*\* p < .01

Od svih pomenutih aspekata razvoja, ova varijabla se pokazala statistički značajna jedino kada je riječ o fizičkom aspektu razvoja. Roditelji odrasli u patrijahalnoj porodici procjenjuju da u svom roditeljstvu više podstiču fizički razvoj pa se postavlja pitanje da li se dominacija tradicionalnih shvatanja o zdravom i jakom tijelu prenosi sa generacije na generaciju?

**Tabela 4.** Man-Vitnijev test razlika roditeljskih procjena u zavisnosti od samoiskaza sopstvenog stila roditeljstva

	Vaspitni stil roditelja	N	Srednji rang	z	p
Intelektualni aspekt	strog / zahtjevan roditelj	67	42,60	-2.390	0,017*
	partner/demokratski	12	25,46		
	ukupno	79			
Zdravstveno-higijenski aspekt	strog / zahtjevan roditelj	67	43,72	-3.444	0,001**
	partner/demokratski	12	19,25		
	ukupno	79			
Radni aspekt	strog / zahtjevan roditelj	67	41,99	-1.834	0,067*
	partner/demokratski	12	28,88		
	ukupno	79			

\*p < .05; \*\* p < .01

Na osnovu prikazanih rezultata u tabeli možemo zaključiti da roditelji koji se-be procjenjuju kao stroge i zahtjevne prema djetetu više podstiču intelektualni i

zdravstveno-higijenski aspekt razvoja, a blizu nivoa značajnosti je i radni aspekt. Naime, vrlo je zanimljivo da moralni aspekt razvoja nije pokazao statistički značajnu razliku, a razvijenost moralnih osobina rezultat je patrijahalnog, odnosno autokratskog stila vaspitanja (Ilić 2013). Napominje se i to da je u instrumentu bio ponuđen i popustljiv stil roditeljstva, međutim nismo imali nijednog takvog ispitanika koji je sebe označio popustljivim roditeljem, te statističku obradu sa tri kategorije ne bi imalo smisla raditi. U većini istraživanja koja se baziraju na samoprocjenama ili samoiskazu može postojati vjerovatnoća da će odgovori biti subjektivni, što ujedno smatramo jednim od nedostataka ovog istraživanja.

**Tabela 5.** Kruskal-Voliov test razlika roditeljske procjene u zavisnosti od stručne sprema roditelja

	Stručna sprema oca	N	Srednji rang	$\chi^2$	df	P
Radni aspekt	osnovna škola	2	1,50	6.224	2	0,045*
	srednja škola	43	42,43			
	viša ili fakultet	34	39,19			
	ukupno	79				
Zdravstveno-higijenski aspekt	osnovna škola	2	3,00	7.080	2	0,029*
	srednja škola	43	38,05			
	viša ili fakultet	34	44,65			
	ukupno	79				
Intelektualni aspekt	osnovna škola	2	2,50	5.512	2	0,064
	srednja škola	43	41,14			
	viša ili fakultet	34	40,76			
	ukupno	79				

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$

Statistički značajna razlika, s obzirom na stručnu spremu roditelja, registrovana je u zdravstveno-higijenskom i radnom aspektu. S obzirom na to da je intelektualni aspekt blizu nivoa značajnosti, prikazan je u tabeli. Naime, očevi sa srednjom stručnom spremom više podstiču radni i intelektualni aspekt razvoja i vaspitanja djece. Da li razlog može ležati u ličnom nezadovoljstvu roditelja njihovom stručnom spremom (obrazovni neuspjesi) pa kod svoje djece više podstiču radni i intelektualni aspekt razvoja? Sa druge strane imamo visoko obrazovne roditelje koji više podstiču aktivnosti vezane za brigu o zdravlju i higijenske navike. U drugim istraživanjima



(Travar i Spasojević 2018; Štironja Borić, Roščić, Sedmak, Šepčević i Keresteš 2011) varijabla stručne spreme se nije pokazala kao statistički značajna iako se nisu ispitivali pojedinačni aspekti već uopšteno stavovi roditelja ili pozitivno roditeljstvo. Za razliku od našeg istraživanja, radni aspektat i varijabla stručne spreme roditelja se nije pokazala značajna ni u drugim istraživanjima (Ljubetić, Reić Ercegovac i Draganja 2019; Golubović i Slavković 2018).

Kada je riječ o varijablama: godine roditelja i stručna sprema majke, nisu registrovane statistički značajne razlike, te ih nismo prikazivali tabelarno.

## **ZAKLJUČAK I PEDAGOŠKE IMPLIKACIJE**

Na osnovu sprovedene teorijske, ali i empirijske studije, potvrđujemo zaključak da je porodica društvena zajednica koju karakteriše jedinstvo planskih i sponatnih uticaja na vaspitanje djeteta te da razvijenost aspekata razvoja djece ranog uzrasta u okviru porodičnog vaspitanja može zavisi od određenih sociodemografskih obilježja roditelja. Kompleksnost faktora porodične sredine i njihova međuzavisnost može povoljno i nepovoljno da utiče na razvoj različitih aspekata razvoja djece. Takođe, rezultati mogu biti korisni vaspitačima predškolskih ustanova, pedagogima, defektolozima, psiholozima odnosno i ovo i slična istraživanja mogu da budu korisna vodilja vaspitačima tokom saradnje sa roditeljima i to u smjeru: savjetodavnog rada i adekvatnog savjetovanja roditelja bez obzira na stručnu spremu roditelja, obrazovanja roditelja u postavljanju jasnih granica i razgraničavanja stilova vaspitanja. Neophodan uslov za navedeno jeste osluškivanje sopstvene prakse i praćenje djece kako bi se moglo pristupiti savjetodavnom radu sa roditeljima. Prema dobijenim podacima našeg istraživanja majke i dalje ostaju zadužene za „podizanje“ djece i rani uticaj, međutim zaključak se ne može generalizovati, ali je svakako korisno apelovati na podršku i promociju aktivnije uloge oca u vaspitanju djece od najranijeg uzrasta. Da je prisustvo roditelja značajno u odrastanju govore i podaci da je podsticanje pojedinih aspekata razvoja veće ukoliko nisu zaposlena oba roditelja. S obzirom da nisu dobijene značajne razlike kod varijable u kakvoj porodici je roditelj odrastao, to mogu biti pohvalne činjenice iz razloga što i sami roditelji ne vaspitaju svoju djecu na isti način kao što su oni vaspitavani. Navedeni rezultat implicira da je proces vaspitanja u direktnoj vezi sa društvenim kretanjima. Međutim, vaspitni stil roditeljstva se pokazao kao značajna varijabla u podsticanju pojedinih aspekata razvoja djece. Rezultati govore da svi oni koji se na bilo koji način bave vaspitanjem djece moraju uzeti u obzir različita sociodemografska obilježja porodica, kao i znanja

i iskustva porodica te na taj način doprinijeti unapređivanju saradnje sa roditeljima, a sve u cilju kvalitetnijeg razvoja djeteta kao i kvalitetnijeg savjetodavnog rada sa roditeljima. Rezultati mogu poslužiti i kao osnova za kvalitativno i kvantitativno veća istraživanja, za potencijalne programe cjeloživotnog učenja i odgovornog roditeljstva u oblasti predškولstva te savjetodavni doprinos sa pedagoškog aspekta u pogledu porodične stimulacije za kvalitetan razvoj djeteta kao i unapređivanja različitih oblika partnerstva između porodice i predškolske ustanove. Sažimanjem ove teorijsko-empirijske studije dolazimo i do njenih nedostataka: prikupljene su procjene samo jednog roditelja, a roditelji se mogu nalaziti u različitim situacijama i imati različita poimanja podsticanja razvoja djece, zatim i samoprocjene roditelja uvijek sa sobom nose mogućnost subjektivnog iskaza, a i uzorak istraživanja je neujednačen. U tom smislu korisno bi bilo prikupiti i uporediti stavove vaspitača i roditelja ili koristiti druge metode i tehnike te prikupiti podatke direktno od djece o podsticanju aspekata njihovog razvoja od strane različitih aktera vaspitno-obrazovne djelatnosti.

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## THE ROLE OF PARENTS AND THEIR ASSESSMENTS IN ENCOURAGING ASPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY CHILDREN

### Summary:

The family is the primary human community in which each individual creates his first experiences, the first agent of socialization that has a significant role in forming and encouraging a holistic network of aspects of child development. The aim of this research was to examine parents' assessments of encouraging aspects of their children's development. The sample consists of 79 parents of children aged three to six years and has the characteristics of a deliberate and opportunistic sample. The paper used the method of theoretical analysis and the method of empirical non-experimental research, and the techniques used were surveying and scaling. The results show that there are statistically significant differences in assessments of the encouragement of various aspects of child development depending on the gender of the parents, employment of the parents, vocational training of the fathers, parenting style, as well as the self-report of the family in which the parent grew up. Differences were not registered when it comes to the variables of parents' age and mother's education. Pedagogical implications are reflected in the indication of socio-demographic characteristics that can influence the stimulation of children's development, in recommendations and guidelines for the actors of educational practice who work on cooperation with parents, and the advisory contribution from the pedagogical aspect in terms of family stimulation for quality child development.

**Keywords:** aspects of development; early growth and development; family; stimulation

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Original scientific paper

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## **AI VS HUMANS DEALING WITH LANGUAGE TASKS: UNLOCKING SOME NEW PEDAGOGICAL DIMENSIONS IN TEFL PRACTICES**

In the era where AI has become an omnipresent phenomenon influencing many spheres of human endeavour, it appears that education, and within its borders, language teaching-learning practices, are no exception. With the strong potential of AI in mind, but also taking into consideration the fact that language is a fluid, and delicate concept, the paper aims to contrast some AI with human practices. Namely, it sheds light on how potentially successful the compared entities, i.e. AI supported technology and EFL students, can be when solving some language tasks brimming with collocations and idioms, known as challenging and usually requiring deeper understanding of the intended message. Upon comparing the collected samples, and commenting on strengths and weaknesses of both sides, the paper concludes by pointing to some pedagogical implications that could potentially improve our existing TEFL practices.

**Keywords:** TEFL; language tasks; idiomatic expressions; collocations; AI; students

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

We have already witnessed the dawn of the artificial intelligence era and no matter whether ready or not, we are now able to see it spreading over all the spheres of human endeavour – education included (Owoc, Sawicka & Weichbroth 2021). The field of education – both teaching and learning practices included has always welcomed novelties; the shelf belonging to language teaching seems to be at the forefront

– information and communication technologies are at the heart of many language teaching methods<sup>1</sup> and can, undoubtedly, enhance many of such practices.

In order to develop both receptive and productive skills, language teachers usually rely on all the tools available – and it has been like that for decades; while e.g. cassettes, CDs, tapes, Walkman and MP3 players, projectors, translation booths, etc. were among the first that entered our classrooms, and were succeeded by more developed PC, whiteboards, interactive boards, and an ocean of applications available and aimed to facilitate, improve or make our teaching-learning experiences more engaging (Mullamaa 2010; Prodanovic & Gavranovic 2021a; Prodanovic 2022). Among those that have recently knocked on our door – there is the one of artificial intelligence – underpinning many of the novelties we both want and sometimes dread to explore.

Adequate recognition, interpretation, translation, and transfer – they are all needed when we (irrespective of our roles) deal with the extensive world of (abstract) language patterns; TEFL practices offer an abundance of ways that show/evaluate whether we have acquired such language material properly (Gavranovic & Prodanovic 2024; Prodanovic & Gavranovic 2021b; Weir 2005). While some of the assessment tasks are open, others are of more closed nature, providing us with a helping hand; anyhow, whatever the form is – the underpinning goals are pretty similar – evaluating language proficiency with regard to four language skills – where, the realm of metaphorical language has always seemed to be very challenging (Chen 2019; Gyllstad 2009)

As suggested earlier, ICT have penetrated foreign language teaching-learning practices and have proved to be successful in many regards; apart from relying on machines to share some video, audio, and other visual or auditory materials with their students, teachers also have also started relying on some novel ideas, keeping pace with the developments around us; and the same goes for students when working independently. None of them, in this respect, have failed to notice the expansion and AI in the modern era and the fact that it is at the doors of our classrooms.

Resting on selected theoretical views, and assuming that, despite all the growing potential and popularity – students might outperform, the paper has set the objectives – to expose AI and EFL students to a language task, compare the answers obtained, and contrast their respective strengths and weaknesses.

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<sup>1</sup> Explore further in Lightbown & Spada (2021)

## 2. LANGUAGE SUPPORTED BY MACHINES

Long before we have started using all the interactive, digital tools in our language classrooms around the world, there was machine translation. The introduction of machine translation, that, at first, seemed rather extra-terrestrial, came as a source of vast possibilities – for teachers, practitioners, language learners, translators themselves, linguistics and all the other people who might opt for using it just to communicate in a foreign language.

Machine translation came at play during the middle of the previous century, commonly defined as “the process by which computer software is used to translate” (Al-haisoni & Alhasysony 2017: 73). Back in 1954, IBM proved that a machine can actually translate whole sentences – but despite the enormous potential, there was still so much room for improvement (Hutchins 1995). The early stages of machine translation development experienced both positive and negative critics; However, although the first decades into its development were pretty rocky, AI – in the background of such practices, did not cease to develop.

It seems that the world we visualised and connected with the computer-assisted practices (language learning included) and machine supported language processing has taken a totally new direction in 2022, with the launch of ChatGPT. This generative pre-training transformer, in the form of an AI-chatbot that can communicate with humans, providing them with human-like answers to all the questions they pose, has found its use among those posing questions pertaining to language; we do know that ChatGPT can successfully paraphrase, summarise, give synonyms, antonyms, word definitions, illustrative examples, and many more; language-wise, it is equally knowledgeable about grammatical concepts as it is when it comes to those of lexical nature. It is expected that our usage of this newly-discovered potential can have both positive and negative sides; anyhow, it has also become clear that the sooner we all (both as students and teachers, parents, and instructors) learn how to deal with it – the better; this need has been embodied via the fact that many educational systems around the globe have started addressing it via their guidelines, as a medium the power of which we should be aware and ready to use it for improvement of our classroom practices not for their weakening. The cutting-edge phenomenon encompasses it all when it comes to language – it helps you with word order, corrects your mistakes, fills out the gaps, transforms, reorganises, etc. the list is almost a limitless one. Unequivocally, we can all benefit from this immense potential – although constantly aware of the threat it might impose on transparency, authenticity, originality, as well as critical and creative thinking processes we would like to activate.



## **2.1 Some Pros and Cons We Are Aware of**

Both advantages and disadvantages have always characterised both human and machine-run processes; as for the latter, what we have discovered so far is that it can help us (whatever the position/role we hold is) with several perspectives – it alleviates stress, giving us some starting points in our work; it could enhance our lexical and grammatical competences and skills; also, working with machines in this regard, might give us more independence in self-studying activities; then, it can facilitate reading comprehension procedures as well, etc. (Alhaisoni & Alhaysony 2017; Amaral & Meurers 2011; Baraniello et al. 2016; Groves & Mundt 2015; Lewis 1997; Wong & Lee 2016).

This all took place prior to the introduction of ChatGPT – and given the fact it has been with us for less than two years now, there is not much research to rely on; anyhow, an available study by Ngo (2023) has revealed that students in Vietnam are aware of ChatGPT mechanisms and believe it can facilitate their practice by, inter alia, translating, offering definitions, making it all less time-consuming at the same time.

Haglund (2023) explored the views of Swedish students who also find ChatGPT rather useful, highlighting its potential vis-à-vis research of information, problem solving tasks, as well as work on their texts, i.e. composing or modifying them.

In a similar vein, Liu and Ma (2023), as well as Zeng and Mahmud (2023), investigating the views of Chinese and Swedish EFL learners respectively, concluded that students opt for using ChatGPT with the goal of improving their writing and/or reading skills.

In a slightly different TEFL surrounding, Jeon (2022) examined the attitudes of young learners towards the use of AI supported chatbot in the process of language learning; the interviewed Korean primary students showed *mixed feelings*, i.e. the chatbot convenience was seen through the eyes of their individual preferences.

Song and Song (2023) explored the efficiency of ChatGPT in the context of the productive language skill of writing; it was found that Chinese EFL learners show greater motivation and progress in writing when supported by AI instructions; apart from that, however, the participants shared their doubts concerning AI precision, context recognition, and spoke in favour of a constant need for it to be further developed.

On the other side of the fence, however, it seems that teachers are not thrilled to see the engine as an active participant in their classrooms; The study of Iqbal, Ahmed, and Azhar (2022), observing the sector of higher education in Pakistan, and the views of teachers vis-à-vis ChatGPT use, showed somewhat hesitant attitudes towards the

novelty – usually justified by fears of misconduct, i.e. its use to enable some cheating practices rather than purely educational purposes. Taking into account the fact that the engine has just arrived among us – it remains to be tested by both teachers and students – meaning that only the future holds some more reliable answers pertaining to both advantages and disadvantages.

Hang (2023) looked at EFL teachers' views concerning ChatGPT in writing classes, at university level. The study revealed the interviewed teachers' readiness for embracing the novelties that might support teaching-learning practices; nevertheless, the EFL teachers also highlighted the need to obtain more training in the field of AI tools application – so that they can use the potential adequately, as well as prevent any possible misconduct.

Bin-Hady et. al (2023), relying on data obtained from views of a limited set of respondents, international EFL teachers, confirmed the vast potential of AI, embodied via ChatGPT, in today's language classrooms; learner's autonomy, language support, fostering and organising the existing knowledge were listed as some of ChatGPT strengths; in this regard, the study raised additional questions about the application of AIALL model – and closed by underlining the need for it all to be further elaborated, engrained into our teaching-learning practices and tested on more complex sets.

### 3. THE CASE

With the aim to shed some light on language potential of EFL students and AI supported tools, namely a chatbot ChatGPT<sup>2</sup>, in the process of recognising the language of metaphors – i.e. idioms, collocations, and phrasal constructions, while assuming that human potential, despite all the AI developments, will yield better results, a research was conducted;

A total of 76 students, with English language proficiency ranging from Level B2 to C1, were tasked with reading two original (designed specifically for the purpose of this study) texts related to the tourism industry (travelling in general) and completing gap-fill exercises (illustrated with answers below) in a pen-and-paper form. The students participating in the investigation come from the study fields of *language studies* – English for Public Relations, Business English. The same texts were tested by the said artificial intelligence system, which was first assigned the identical task, with the prompt *Fill the gaps in the text below*; to test its potential of working with items in both context and isolation – the chatbot was also given another prompt *Com-*

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<sup>2</sup> A free version of ChatGPT was used.

plete the expression below (repeated for all the expression appearing in the two texts). The methodology employed in this research focused on evaluating the comprehension of the aspects of figurative language among humans in contrast to artificial intelligence.

TEXT 1

Dear Sarah,

I hope you're doing well, savouring the final days of the summer somewhere tranquil and warm.

I'm writing to tell you something more about our recent Spanish experience. We've just returned and keep reminiscing \_\_\_\_\_ (ABOUT) the days well spent there.

For the very first time, instead \_\_\_\_\_ (OF) opting for some urban areas, we visited a quaint Spanish village that took our \_\_\_\_\_ (BREATH) away. Despite the fact el pueblo is literally \_\_\_\_\_ (OFF) the \_\_\_\_\_ (BEATEN) track, we enjoyed the fortnight spent there to \_\_\_\_\_ (BITS). Hiking, fresh, mountain air, organic, local food – it was just like what the \_\_\_\_\_ (DOCTOR) ordered. My decision to travel \_\_\_\_\_ (LIGHT) proved to be the right one, since el pueblo is not rich \_\_\_\_\_ (IN) night life – even if they wanted, our hosts couldn't wine and \_\_\_\_\_ (DINE) us.

However, if John contacts you, his words can take you by \_\_\_\_\_ (SURPRISE), so get ready! He's actually the only one who didn't like the adventure of ours and I bet he'll tell you el pueblo is nothing to \_\_\_\_\_ (WRITE) home about, but don't forget that's his teenage spirit seeking adventure. Anyways, should you decide to \_\_\_\_\_ (RECHARGE) your batteries, you have my biggest recommendation.

Hope to see you soon and enjoy a relaxing chat over a cup of coffee.

XOXO,

Jane

TEXT 2

When it comes to travelling, what is on your \_\_\_\_\_ (BUCKET) list? Choosing a dream vacation spot could be challenging – as it seems that the offer has never been so rich. While some people book their trips \_\_\_\_\_ (ON) a whim, some other people, anyhow, always think \_\_\_\_\_ (TWICE) before spending any money. Also, there are, on the one hand, those adventur-

ous who usually prefer exploring every nook and \_\_\_\_\_ (CRANNY) of the place they visit; on the other hand, many of us, tired of everyday dynamics, just want some peace and quiet, and to \_\_\_\_\_ (GET) away from it \_\_\_\_\_ (ALL). The available budget certainly plays an important role and one always questions himself whether the chosen destination will give \_\_\_\_\_ (BANG) for your buck. People on limited budgets often travel on a \_\_\_\_\_ (SHOESTRING) and during \_\_\_\_\_ (LOW) season. They think that \_\_\_\_\_ (HIGH) season, when the prices generally go through the \_\_\_\_\_ (CEILING), is for people \_\_\_\_\_ (ROLLING) in dough. Whatever you choose, what matters is you have a \_\_\_\_\_ (WHALE) of a time, enjoy it to the \_\_\_\_\_ (FULLEST) and \_\_\_\_\_ (MAKE) some remarkable memories.

### 3.1 Results and Discussion

**Table 1.** Overview of students' responses to Task/Text 1

<i>TEXT 1</i>		
<b>IDIOM</b>	<b>MEANING (Oxford Learner's dictionary)</b>	<b>RESULTS</b>
Reminisce ABOUT	to think, talk or write about a happy time in your past	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 28 correct answers (mostly 3-year students)</li> <li>• A lot of empty gaps</li> <li>• Other provided answers: ON, OF, ALL</li> </ul>
Instead OF		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All answers are correct</li> </ul>
take one's BREATH away	to be very surprising or beautiful	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All answers are correct</li> </ul>
OFF the BEATEN track	far away from other people, houses, etc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 correct answers</li> <li>• Other provided answers: ON, IN, RIGHT, MAIN, WRONG track</li> <li>• some gaps</li> </ul>
Enjoyed there to BITS	<i>(informal)</i> very much	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No correct answers</li> <li>• Other provided answers: RELAX, EXPLORE, CHILLAX</li> </ul>
DOCTOR ordered		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 8 correct answers</li> <li>• Other provided answers: GROUP, BOSS, LOCALS, MIND, HEART, WE, BODY</li> </ul>
Travel LIGHT	to take very little with you when you go on a trip	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No correct answers</li> <li>• Other provided answers: THERE, TOGETHER, OFTEN, WAS, AROUND or HAS (present perfect)</li> </ul>
Rich IN		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most answers are correct</li> <li>• Other provided answers: OF, ON</li> </ul>

Winne and DINE	to go to restaurants, etc. and enjoy good food and drink; to entertain somebody by buying them good food and drink	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most answers are correct</li> <li>• Other provided answers: CHEER and FIND</li> </ul>
By SURPRISE		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All answers are correct</li> </ul>
nothing to WRITE home about	<i>(informal)</i> not especially good; ordinary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 12 correct answers</li> <li>• Other provided answers: LEAVE, BRAG, TELL, BOAST</li> </ul>
RECHARGE your batteries	to get back your strength and energy by resting for a while	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 51 answers are correct</li> <li>• Other provided answers: CHARGE (very common), TAKE, USE, GIVE, FEEL</li> </ul>

**Table 2.** Overview of students' responses to Task/Text 2

<i>TEXT 2</i>		
<b>IDIOM</b>	<b>MEANING (Oxford Lerner's dictionary)</b>	<b>RESULTS</b>
BUCKET list	a list of things that you want to do before you die	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 18 correct answers</li> <li>• Other provided answers: MAIN, WISH, TRAVEL, TO DO, GO-TO, CHECK, TOP</li> </ul>
ON a whim	a sudden wish to do or have something, especially when it is something unusual or unnecessary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Either a lot of empty gaps</li> <li>• or correct answers 27</li> <li>• Other provided answers: FOR, WITH, IN (just a few)</li> </ul>
think TWICE	to think carefully before deciding to do something	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 correct answers</li> <li>• 19 empty gaps</li> <li>• Other provided answers: HARD, AHEAD, CAREFULLY, RIGHT, THROUGH, WELL</li> </ul>
every nook and CRANNY	<i>(informal)</i> every part of a place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 10 correct answers</li> <li>• 30 misspelled CRANNY</li> <li>• 15 gaps</li> <li>• Other provided answers: CORNER, INCH, HOOK, DETAIL</li> </ul>

GET away from it ALL	<i>(informal)</i> to have a short holiday in a place where you can relax	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Almost all correct answers with GET away</li> <li>• some variations: RUN away (5)</li> <li>• it ALL 65 correct</li> <li>• the others are empty or one variation: FOR A WHILE</li> </ul>
BANG for your buck	better value for the money you spend	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 correct answers</li> <li>• A lot of empty gaps</li> <li>• Other provided answers: ADVICE, ALL</li> </ul>
travel on a SHOESTRING	<i>(informal)</i> using very little money	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 correct answer</li> <li>• Other provided answers: BUDGET, WHIM, TRAIN, PLANE</li> <li>• A lot of empty gaps (23)</li> </ul>
LOW season	the time of year when a hotel or tourist area receives fewest visitors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No correct answers</li> <li>• Other provided answers: OFF, COLD, WARM, SUMMER, HOLIDAY, PEAK</li> </ul>
go through the CEILING	suddenly increase very rapidly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No correct answers</li> <li>• Other provided answers: ROOF (a lot of answers), DOWNFALL</li> </ul>
ROLLING in dough	Rich, very prosperous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 14 correct answers</li> <li>• A lot of empty gaps</li> <li>• Other provided answers: SHOWERING, STUCK, SWIMMING</li> </ul>
Enjoy to the FULLEST	As much as possible	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most answers are correct</li> <li>• Other provided answers: MAXIMUM, LIMITS</li> </ul>
Have a WHALE of time	<i>(informal)</i> to enjoy yourself very much; to have a very good time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 correct answers</li> <li>• Other provided answers: HELL (a lot of cases), MATTER, LOT, PLENTY, HECK</li> </ul>
MAKE some remarkable memories		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• a lot of correct answers</li> <li>• Other provided answers: DO, EXPERIENCE, CREATE</li> </ul>

First of all, the data analysis based on students' responses reveals a high level of their comprehension and accuracy in understanding and completing collocations with prepositions. Specifically, the prepositions used in conjunction with the phrases "instead OF" and "rich IN" were predominantly correct, with most students providing the correct answer. This suggests a solid comprehension of the syntactic structures associated with these linguistic units.

However, less common phrases, such as "reminisce ABOUT" and "ON a whim" posed some challenge to students, especially of lower level, with only half providing

the correct preposition. Additionally, a significant number of cases remained unanswered, indicating potential uncertainty or lack of familiarity with the phrase. Furthermore, variations in responses were observed, including the prepositions “reminisce ON”, “reminisce OF”, “reminisce ALL” or “FOR a whim”, “WITH a whim”, “IN a whim”, suggesting a degree of confusion or divergence in understanding among the student cohort.

Furthermore, in the case of the expression “by surprise”, the students demonstrated a strong understanding of the phrase, as the word “SURPRISE” was consistently used correctly. This indicates that the students were able to recognize and appropriately pair the preposition “by” with the noun “surprise” in the given context reflecting a thorough understanding of this particular idiomatic construction.

A similar pattern was observed in some other idiomatic expressions characterized by strong collocability. Notably, idiomatic phrases such as “take one’s BREATH away”, “wine and DINE”, “RECHARGE your batteries” and “enjoy to the FULLEST” were quite accurately understood and employed by the students.

In the case of “take one’s breath away” which refers to experiencing something very surprising or beautiful, all students correctly utilized the word “BREATH” indicating a comprehensive understanding of this idiomatic expression. Similarly, with “wine and dine” all students accurately identified the term “WINE”, while in the expression “enjoy to the fullest”, the superlative form “FULLEST” was recognized by the vast majority of students, demonstrating a consistent accuracy in their ability to recognize these idioms.

Moreover, the students’ proficiency is evident in their correct use of “RECHARGE” in the expression “recharge your batteries”. Although some variations were observed among the provided answers, such as a frequent use of “charge” and occasional cases of “use” and “take”.

The data analysis also revealed variations in the recognition and completion of certain idiomatic expressions among students. For instance, in the case of “bucket list”, while most students correctly identified the word “BUCKET”, a number of alternative responses were provided as well, including “MAIN list”, “WISH list”, “TRAVEL list”, “TO DO list”, “GO-TO list”, “CHECK list”, and “TOP list” among others.

Similarly, while completing the phrase “MAKE some remarkable memories together”, besides the correct responses, students gave other variations, such as “DO”, “EXPERIENCE” and “CREATE”. Likewise, in the context of “every nook and CRANNY” while some students used “CRANNY” accurately, others misspelled it



as “CRANY” and provided alternatives “CORNER”, “INCH”, “HOOK”, and “DE-TAIL”. Furthermore, in the phrase “nothing to WRITE home about”, variations such as “LEAVE”, “BRAG”, “TELL” and “BOAST” were indicated by student. This variety in responses indicates individual interpretations and understandings of the idiomatic expression among the students.

There were also instances where students struggled to grasp the intended meaning of idiomatic expressions, with only a minority correctly identifying them. For instance, the phrase “DOCTOR ordered” was accurately responded to by only a minority of students, while others provided alternative responses such as “GROUP ordered”, “BOSS ordered”, “LOCALS ordered”, “MIND/HEART/BODY ordered”, etc. Similarly, with the phrase “think TWICE,” only a few students provided correct answers, while many offered variations including “think HARD”, “think AHEAD”, “think CAREFULLY”, “think RIGHT”, “think THROUGH” and “think WELL”.

Finally, certain idiomatic expressions proved to be particularly challenging for all students, as no correct responses were provided. For instance, “spent there to BITS” yielded variations such as “RELAX”, “EXPLORE”, and “CHILLAX”. Similarly, “travel LIGHT” prompted alternatives like “THERE”, “TOGETHER”, “OFTEN”, “WAS”, and “AROUND”; “LOW season” provided responses such as “COLD”, “WARM”, “SUMMER”, “HOLIDAY” and “PEAK”; “go through the CEILING” was answered with “ROOF” and “travel on a SHOESTRING” elicited responses like “BUDGET”, “WHIM” or a means of transport, like “TRAIN” and “PLANE”. These instances underscore the considerable difficulty students encountered in accurately interpreting and responding to these specific idiomatic expressions.

The following expressions proved to be particularly challenging for all students, as no correct responses were provided.

- “Spent there to BITS” yielded variations such as “RELAX”, “EXPLORE”, and “CHILLAX”.
- “travel LIGHT” prompted alternatives like “THERE”, “TOGETHER”, “OFTEN”, “WAS”, and “AROUND”.
- “LOW season” provided responses such as “COLD”, “WARM”, “SUMMER”, “HOLIDAY” and “PEAK”.
- “go through the CEILING” was answered with “ROOF”.
- “travel on a SHOESTRING” elicited responses like “BUDGET”, “WHIM” or a means of transport, like “TRAIN” and “PLANE”.

The inability of students to recognise these idiomatic expressions could stem from several factors. Firstly, idiomatic expressions often rely on cultural context or colloquial usage, which may not be familiar to all students, especially those from different linguistic or cultural backgrounds. Secondly, the complexity or obscurity of the idioms themselves may have posed a challenge, particularly if they are less commonly encountered in everyday language or if their meanings are not immediately apparent.

The testing of the same activity using the tool of artificial intelligence (specifically, the free version of ChatGPT) demonstrates that nearly all responses were provided accurately. The chatbot was given the prompt to *Fill the gaps in the text below* and proved very successful in all the aspects – collocations, idioms, phrasal constructions included. All highly collocable idioms were identified precisely, with only minor variations in certain phrases. For example, “travel LIGHT” was referred to as “travel THERE”, “BANG for your buck” was indicated as “VALUE for your buck”, “LOW season” was substituted with “OFF season”, and “a WHALE of a time” was presented as “a BLAST of a time”.

Idioms are stable expressions or phrases that have a fixed meaning that is different from the literal interpretation of the individual words. There is no doubt that AI models have been trained on vast amounts of text data, which includes numerous instances of idiomatic expressions. They can learn the patterns and contexts in which idioms are used, enabling them to recognise and understand them more effectively. Anyhow, the texts distributed to the students and ChatGPT are of original nature, created for the purpose of this research; it was due to that reason, less precision of the chatbot in context had been anticipated. To examine its potential when dealing with constructions in both isolation and context, the engine was asked to complete each of the used expression line by line – without any context provided. This task yielded spotless outcome as well – it proved equally potent when recognising idiomatic, prepositional expressions, as well as collocations in context as it was when seeing them without it.

#### **4. CONCLUSION**

All the technological developments have facilitated many of our practices – both those we regard as major, and those we see as minor – some of which belong to our everyday lives. Among them – how we communicate in a foreign language has also been hugely simplified – many business meetings, email exchanges, just like conversations run in hotels, shops, cafes – have been supported by an ocean of applica-

tions available today. While some of them are used to help us acquire language patterns, others provide us with instant translation from one language to another – offering a wide spectrum of languages to choose from. Communicating in a foreign language – with or without any support of modern technologies, can go without a hitch – before the moment some culture-bound, abstract, metaphorical components come to forefront. It is then when we might become lost – not knowing what some of the exchanged messages actually mean. Previous decades have also shown that, just like humans, machines (we might rely on when translating language material) can struggle with the world of abstract language. Given the rapid developments that have taken place in recent time, this paper wanted to explore whether machines and humans are on a par when recognising such language, complex, intangible language constructions. Contrary to the initial assumption that, in spite of all the AI progress, humans (EFL students) are still superior, the results showed that machines, i.e. AI overperform, with almost no mistakes made. Through the TEFL prism – although we must not generalise, given the limitations of the research (only two texts containing several metaphorical expressions examined, and with only 76 students whose work has been observed), the conclusion could be a worthy one – showing us we might trust AI more than we might have thought and even integrate it in some educational practices – student projects, flipped classroom, just-in-time teaching practices, etc. On a different, note, from the angle of intercultural communication, such results (again taken with a pinch of salt) prove that intercultural encounters do not have to rely on some simplified, Globish-like language versions, anymore, i.e. that some more complex, even abstract notions might come at play. What, however, should not be neglected is the fact that AI, in this case, has been exposed to the patterns depicting the English language, undoubtedly the one, prevailing over exchanges, as well as the world of AI; some future research could focus on testing this potential on some other, less productive languages, that, it is expected, might lead to some rather different outcome.

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## KO SE BOLJE SNALAZI SA JEZIČKIM ZADACIMA – VEŠTAČKA INTELIGENCIJA ILI STUDENTI: NEKI NOVI PEDAGOŠKI UVIDI U NASTAVI STRANOG JEZIKA

### Sažetak:

U vremenu kada je veštačka inteligencija, bez ikakve sumnje, postala fenomen koji nas okružuje u svim sferama delovanja, čini se da ni sfera obrazovanja, a u njenim okvirima i nastava stranog jezika, ne uspeva da odoli njenoj integraciji. Imajući u vidu snažan potencijal koji veštačka inteligencija nosi, ali i činjenicu da je jezik jedan fluidan, živ i istovremeno osetljivi organizam, ovaj rad nastoji da kontrastira neke od mogućnosti veštačke inteligencije sa aktivnostima čoveka – studenata. Na tom putu, rad dodatno osvetljava koliko su dve suprotstavljene strane uspešne u rešavanju jezičkih zadataka koji obiluju metaforičnim, apstraktnim izrazima, koji se kriju iza kolokacija, idioma, predloških konstrukcija itd., a imajući u vidu kako upravo pobrojane mogu zahtevati posebnu pažnju i poznavanje jezičkih nijansi. Nakon upoređivanja učinka, rad se zaokružuje ukazivanjem na određenje pedagoške implikacije koje bi mogle unaprediti praksu nastave stranog jezika.

**Ključne reči:** nastava stranog jezika; jezički zadaci; idiomatski izrazi; veštačka inteligencija; studenti

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## **KVALITET I EDUKATIVNA VREDNOST POPULARNIH DIGITALNIH IGARA U MLAĐEM ŠKOLSKOM UZRASTU**

Savremeno doba promenilo je način na koji se deca igraju. Polazeći od činjenice da je igra osnovna dečija aktivnost kroz koju deca uče i razvijaju se, želeli smo da se upoznamo sa novim igrama koje su iz realnog prešle u digitalno okruženje. U radu su predstavljeni rezultati istraživanja čiji predmet su bili intenzitet i učestalost igranja digitalnih video igara, kao i opis najčešće igranih igara u mlađem školskom uzrastu. Kroz istraživanje smo se upoznali sa najviše zastupljenim igrama među ciljnom grupom – Roblox i Stumble Guy, njihovim sadržajem, načinom igranja. Direktnim igranjem ovih igara istražili smo i njihove eventualne edukativne aspekte. Istraživanje pokazuje da deca mlađeg školskog uzrasta provode između jednog i tri sata dnevno igrajući ove igre, da najviše vole da igraju sinhrono sa vršnjacima, a da najčešće igrane igre imaju zajedničke osobine kao što su takmičenje u osvajanju određenih ciljeva, atraktivnu grafiku i skromne edukativne vrednosti.

**Ključne reči:** digitalna igra; Roblox; Stumble Guy; mlađi školski uzrast



## UVODNA RAZMATRANJA

Igra predstavlja prirodnu aktivnost deteta kroz koju se najbolje uči i stiču nova iskustva. Sa obrazovnog, kao i sa medicinskog aspekta, igra je nezamenljiv faktor razvoja deteta. U izveštajima kliničkih istraživanja objavljenih u periodu od 2007. do 2018. godine Američka pedijatrijska akademija preporučuje da se deca, kako bi mogla učiti, moraju igrati u školi, kod kuće i u zajednici (Sahlberg & Doyle 2023). Igrajući se sa svojim vršnjacima, da li je to u školi ili van škole, da li su to slobodne ili vođene igre, dete se uči mnogim vrednostima. Prvenstveno, postaje aktivan deo jednog društva, razvija kooperativne veštine, veštine pravljenja strategije, uči kako da sledi uputstva. Ono uči i napreduje u društvu, socijalizuje se i shvata šta je igra, timski rad, šta se očekuje od njega (Prušević Sadović 2018). Međutim, primetno je da se deca danas sve manje igraju tradicionalnih igara, a da je sfera njihovih interesovanja prešla u digitalno okruženje, odnosno na digitalne igre. Video igre jesu deo svakodnevnog života, one postaju deo rutine dece kako u ranijem uzrastu, tako i mnogo kasnije.

Poslednjih godina sve je više istraživača koji se bave fenomenom digitalnih igara, njihovim dizajnom, kao i njihovom upotrebom u obrazovne svrhe. Mnoštvo istraživanja pokazuje da je učenje putem digitalnih igara efikasan način obrazovanja i da ima pozitivne efekte na poboljšanje akademskih postignuća učenika u različitim oblastima (Clark, Tanner-Smith & Killingsworth 2016; Cai et al. 2023; Thompson & von Gillern 2020), utiče pozitivno na motivaciju za učenje (Fadda, Pellegrini, Vivanet & Zandonella Callegher 2022), angažovanje učenika, razvoj emocija (Dondio, Gusev & Rocha 2023), kao i razvoj učeničkih veština za 21. vek (Qian & Clark 2016). Ipak, i dalje postoji opasnost i izazov na koji način izbalansirati zabavu u igri i učenje kroz igru kako bi učenici mogli da fokusiraju svoje kognitivne resurse na sadržaje učenja, a manje na sporedne, zabavne elemente igre (Plass, Maier & Homer 2020). Istraživači su došli do zaključka da performance i mogućnosti digitalnih igara integrisane u nastavni proces, mogu dovesti do pozitivnih efekata u učenju (Bainbridge et al. 2022; Vouters & van Ostendorp 2013). Takođe, one mogu dovesti i do boljih socijalnih veština, poželjnih u savremenom društvu, pa poslednjih godina obrazovne metodologije zasnovane na igricama koriste se za razvoj i negovanje otvorenog uma i socijalnih veština mladih (Bilancini et al. 2023). Igre često zahtevaju poštovanje unapred definisanih pravila i saradnju među učesnicima, negovanje kooperativnih akcija i sposobnost da se konflikti rešavaju prijateljskim putem.

## METODOLOGIJA ISTRAŽIVANJA

### *Predmet istraživanja*

Polazeći od pozitivnih kao i negativnih aspekata korišćenja video igara u mlađem školskom uzrastu, kao i svesti o prisutnosti video igara u svakodnevnom životu dece, uradili smo istraživanje čiji su predmet video igre koje deca najčešće igraju, njihova zastupljenost i osobenosti. Istraživanje ima kvantitativni i kvalitativni karakter jer je korišćena deskriptivna metoda u prvom delu istraživanja u kome se kroz anketni upitnik došlo do saznanja koliko sati dnevno deca mlađeg školskog uzrasta igraju digitalne igre kao i koje su to igre koje najčešće igraju. U drugom delu istraživanja bavili smo se teorijskom i kvalitativnom analizom igara za koje su se ispitanici izjasnili da najčešće igraju.

### *Zadaci istraživanja*

Iz postavljenog predmeta istraživanja, proizašli su sledeći zadaci:

1. ispitati učestalost igranja digitalnih igara u mlađem školskom uzrastu;
2. utvrditi koje video igre deca mlađeg školskog uzrasta najčešće igraju;
3. izvršiti analizu najčešće igranih video igara;
4. proceniti edukativnu vrednost najčešće igranih video igara.

### *Hipoteze istraživanja*

Na osnovu zadataka istraživanja, polazimo od sledećih pretpostavki:

1. Pretpostavljamo da deca mlađeg školskog uzrasta provode više od tri sata dnevno igrajući video igre.
2. Najčešće prisutne igre su one koje igraju i pripadnici iste vršnjačke grupe.
3. Deca mlađeg školskog uzrasta najčešće igraju video igre koje su takmičarskog karaktera, sa primamljivom grafičkom obradom.
4. Najčešće igrane digitalne igre imaju skromnu edukativnu vrednost.

### *Ciljna grupa*

Istraživanjem je obuhvaćeno 80 učenika trećeg i četvrtog razreda dve osnovne škole u Novom Pazaru. U istraživanju su učestvovali i dečaci i devojčice tri odeljenja četvrtog i jednog odeljenja trećeg razreda. Od ukupnog uzorka devojčica je bilo 44, a dečaka 36. Ispitanici su uzrasta od 8 do 11 godina. Istraživanje je sprovedeno deskriptivnom metodom, kao i metodom posmatranja. Korišćen je anketni upitnik koji sadrži 10 pitanja zatvorenog i otvorenog tipa. Kao početni napor da se ciljna

grupa približi predmetu istraživanja počeli smo od istraživanja opštih navika igranja i imenovanja najčešće igranih igara. Pre samog sprovođenja ankete sa učenicima, u prisustvu učitelja i pedagoga, razgovarano je o učestalosti i igrama koje najčešće igraju u školi i kod kuće. Nakon razgovora i upoznavanja učenika sa ciljem istraživanja, gde je naglašeno da su njihovi odgovori anonimni i da se ne ustručavaju da odgovore na postavljena pitanja u anketi, pristupljeno je realizaciji testiranja. Osim pitanja o polu i godinama u anketi se nalazilo skrining pitanje „Da li volite da igrate video igre?“ i pitanje „Koliko često igrate video igre“?, gde su bili ponuđeni odgovori bili intervali od jednog, dva, tri ili više sati dnevno. Na osnovu tog pitanja pristupilo se daljoj analizi. Prikupljanje podataka u ovom istraživanju pridržavalo se strogih procedura anonimizacije.

### *Rezultati istraživanja*

Od ukupnog broja ispitanika 78 njih, ili 97,5% je dalo pozitivan odgovor na skrining pitanja, što nam je ukazalo na podatak da su kod ispitanika razvijene navike igranja video igara, te su se njihovi odgovori smatrali pogodnim za dalju analizu. Rezultati ankete mogu se podeliti na tri različita dela za analizu i dalje istraživanje.

Što se tiče opštih igračkih navika ciljne grupe, primećeno je da učenici obično provode 1,3-2 sata dnevno igrajući video igre na mobilnim telefonima i personalnim računarima. Ovaj podatak opovrgava našu hipotezu da učenici provode mnogo više vremena, više od tri sata dnevno, igrajući igre na elektronskim uređajima. Ovakav podatak može ukazati na to da roditelji u velikoj meri ograničavaju vreme provedeno uz igre i da učenici svoje slobodno vreme provode ispunjavajući ga i na druge načine. Najčešći žanrovi igara identifikovani su kao igre pucanja, strateške igre i slagalice. Ove igre ne zahtevaju prevelik intelektualni napor učenika i više su zabavnog karaktera, što ih ne čini preterano edukativnim. Time je potvrđena naša pretpostavka da igre kojima deca popunjavaju svoje slobodno vreme nemaju značajan edukativni karakter.

Rezultati ankete su pokazali da 7,5% ispitanika voli da igraju igre sami, dok 30% više voli da igra zajedno sa drugovima. Najveći broj ispitanika, 62,5%, je izrazilo želju da igra ili sa prijateljima ili sama. Ovaj podatak može ukazati da su deca mlađeg školskog uzrasta druženje iz realnog preneli u virtuelni prostor u kome sa drugovima i drugaricama koji nisu ili čak i jesu u istoj prostoriji, igraju iste igre koje imaju takmičarski karakter. U neposrednom razgovoru koji je prehodio realizaciji ankete od učenika smo saznali da oni učestvuju na određenim turnirima u igranju digitalnih igara i imaju timove vršnjaka koje čak lično ni ne poznaju, ali ostvaruju saradnju kroz

virtuelno druženje. Međutim, interesantan je podatak da je za njih 62,5% svejedno da li će igrati sami ili u društvu, što ipak ukazuje na otuđenost dece u virtuelnom okruženju.

Zatim je učenicima postavljeno otvoreno pitanje da navedu tri do pet igara koje najčešće igraju i dobili smo spisak od deset igara koje su se najčešće pojavljivale u odgovorima učenika. Nakon obrade materijala napravili smo redosled igara po njihovoj učestalosti u odgovorima ispitanika. Anketa je pokazala da igre koje su najzastupljenije među decom mlađeg školskog uzrasta su:

1. Roblox - sveobuhvatna igračka platforma
2. Stumble guys
3. Brawl stars
4. Meincraft
5. Toca Boca world
6. PSG
7. Car parking
8. Fifa
9. Ne ljuti se covece
10. Duolngo

Iako bi trebalo uraditi detaljnu analizu svake od nabrojanih igara, odlučili smo da u radu predstavimo samo prve dve sa spiska najčešće igranih video igara.

## **PREDSTAVLJANJE NAJČEŠĆE IGRANIH IGARA I NJIHOVA KVALITATIVNA ANALIZA**

U cilju istraživanja kvaliteta i edukativnih vrednosti popularnih video igara u mlađem školskom uzrastu izvršili smo teorijsku analizu o nastanku i referencama igara, a zatim nedelju dana igrali ove igre kako bismo se kvaliativnom analizom upoznali sa njihovim sadržajem. Rezultati do kojih smo došli biće predstavljeni opisom dve najčešće igrane igre.

**ROBLOX** (Robloks) predstavlja sveobuhvatnu igračku platformu. Prvo izdanje ove platforme datira još iz 2006. godine, što znači da se već 17 godina svakodnevno koristi kako u inostranim podnebljima tako i u našim. U avgustu 2019. godine Roblox je imao preko 100 miliona aktivnih korisnika koji se pridružuju i postaju deo ove platforme (Yaden 2020). Poslednji podaci nam otkrivaju da je u maju 2022. godine broj korisnika porastao na 210 miliona (Patel 2023), dakle, broj korisnika za nepune

dve godine se udvostručio, i taj broj i dalje raste. Ovaj podatak potvrđuje i činjenicu da se u toku pandemije COVID19 kao posledica izolacije i viška slobodnog vremena povećao broj onih koji su svoje vreme ispunjavali pronalazeći nove vidove zabave (Smajović 2023).

Ovu platformu kreirao je Dejvid Bazucki (David Baszucki) koji je svoje studije završio na jednom od uglednih univerziteta u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama. Njega često nazivaju i „neimarom“ ovog sistema. Pored Dejvida zaslugu za ovaj kompleks video igara ima i Erik Kasel (Roblox Compani Informations 2019). Oni su kreirali Roblox 2004. godine a realizacija ovog projekta okončana je 2006. godine. Roblox ne podrazumeva samo platformu koja obuhvata ekosistem različitih igara različitih žanrova već podrazumeva i platformu u kojoj korisnici mogu da kreiraju sopstvene igre pomoću njihovih alata za izradu igara. Na ovoj platformi se može pronaći niz različitih žanrova uključujući avanture, simulacije, arkade i mnoge druge žanrove što daje mogućnost korisniku da na jednom mestu pronađe sve ono što je u njegovim interesovanjima i željama. Informacije o broju video igara u Robloxu nisu ažurirane niti postoje statistike koju su istraživale isto. Taj broj se stalno menja s obzirom da se konstantno kreiraju nove igre a uklanjaju starije. Roblox se može igrati online na računaru ili na mobilnom telefonu gde je potreban samo pristup internetu. Tokom igranja bilo koje video igre na ovoj platformi Roblox igrači mogu da vide i čuju druge korisnike uz pomoć opreme koja to omogućuje, i na taj način mogu da sarađuju i da se druže. Populacija koja najviše upotrebljava ovu platformu, kako kaže David Bazucki u intervjuu, jesu deca uzrasta 15 godina (Baszucki 2023). Naravno, to ne isključuje i mlađe i starije koji rado igraju i svoje slobodno vreme provode na ovoj platformi. Samim tim jedno od glavnih pitanja postaje koliko je bezbedna ova platforma za decu mlađeg uzrasta? S obzirom da se deca mogu povezati i komunicirati sa ljudima koji su im nepoznati, koji nisu deo njihovog stalnog okruženja, roditelje je često brinulo koliko je ova platforma ograđena od mogućih negativnih uticaja. Dobra stvar u svemu je da se vrši automatsko filtriranje poslatih i primljenih poruka. To znači sledeće: ukoliko Roblox sistem prepozna pokušaj otkrivanja ličnih podataka kao što je ime, prezime, adresa, biće izbrisane (Roblox Privacy and Cookie Policy 2023). Još jedan od termina koji su poznati u Robloxu i tako ga čine drugačijim jeste valuta koju ova platforma koristi. Govorimo o Robuxu. To ustvari podrazumeva virtuelni novac koji korisnik može koristiti ako želi da ulepša svog avatara (virtuelnog igrača). Robux se može akumulirati kroz igru, a može se i kupiti za pravi novac. Trenutno 1000 Robuxa iznosilo bi 3.5 dolara. To znači da korisnik može da ukrade njihovu virtuelnu svojinu, a za to može koristiti razne tehnike. Ovu platformu čini

zanimljivom i to što svaki korisnik može kreirati sopstvene igre u Robloxu. Potrebno je da se instalira Roblox Studio i započne dizajniranje igrice. Za sve to postoje različiti tutorijali ali zahtevaju dobro poznavanje engleskog jezika. Ukoliko korisnici žele da naprave ozbiljnije igrice potrebno je savladati programski jezik Lua. Program je u potpunosti zasnovan na engleskom jeziku što znači da će svaki korisnik ili znati jezik ili će kroz upotrebu ove platforme naučiti i savladati jezik. To znači da će s ovom platformom deca mlađeg uzrasta, ukoliko postanu korisnici, biti prinuđena da znaju jezik, što za njih na neki način može biti motivišuće.

Dizajnirati i osmisлити video igru nije jednostavno. Onaj ko se opredelili za to postaje jedan od kreatora i kreativca koji svoje vizije i maštu predočava na svoj način, a da pritom uči šta su promenljive, tipovi podataka, operatori, petlje, funkcije i druge koncepte koji se koriste i u ostalim programskim jezicima. Time možemo dobiti jednog naprednog i pripremljenog pojedinca za IT sektor i druge oblasti. Naravno, uz sve to postoji mogućnost novčane isplate za svaku napravljenu video igru. U nekolicini video igara na ovoj platformi primećuje se da ne postoje nivoi kao u ostalnim igrama, već se podrazumeva vid funkcionisanja igrača u svakodnevним životnim situacijama. Recimo, video igra u kojoj grade kuće, obilaze kuće svojih prijatelja, čitaju knjigu, kupaju se u bazenu. Čak postoji opcija da se zaposle i tako koriste mogućnost prikupljanja Roboxa, a nakon toga unapređuju svog avatara.

Jedan od interesantnijih delova ove platforme jeste da postoji veliki broj igara pomoću kojih deca mogu učiti tablicu množenja gde za svaki tačan odgovor dobijaju neki deo izgradnje svoje kuće. Ista stvar je i za poznavanje zastava država, učenje sabiranja... Međutim, istraživanje pokazuje da se deca uglavnom ne opredeljuju za ovakvu vrstu igre. Učenicima je ova platforma interesantna jer je interaktivna, daje brze odgovore, grafički veoma atraktivna i stalno se osvežava novim sadržajima prateći interesovanja populacije koja je koristi. Igre angažuju više čula, vid, sluh, pokrete, animacije su realne, što dečju pažnju zaokuplja izazivajući reakcije kao što su ljutnja, bes, radovanje, strah, strepnja.

#### *Edukativna vrednost analizirane platforme*

Ako razmotrimo edukativne vrednosti Roblox platforme, nameće se zaključak da na platformi postoji veliki broj video igara koje su usmerne na usvajanje određenih oblasti matematike, geografije, jezika. Međutim, tih aktuelnost tih video igara je na niskom nivou. One su prema procentima učestalosti korišćenja veoma nisko, slabo su igrane, što znači da se deca retko opredeljuju da ih odaberu kao svoje favorite. Neke od tih igara sa ove platforme su Guess the century (Pogodi državu), Escape

Math Teacher (Preživi profesora matematike), Guess the math (Pogodi izraz u matematici). Interesantno je analizirati nazive ovih igara u kojima se primećuje negativan kontekst koji se vezuje za školu i školske predmete, na primer: Preživi profesora matematike, Pogodi matematiku ili umri, Strašna škola. Ove video igre su bazirane na nivoima koje treba preći kako bi se napredovalo ka sve težim i težim nivoima. Međutim, ukoliko se nivo ne pređe, pojavljuju se scene padanja sa zgrade, padanja u vodu, ili pak proganjanje učeničkih avatara od strane „učitelja”, uz strašne zvuke. Na ovaj način pojačava se utisak neuspeha u toku procesa učenja, koji može inhibirajući da deluje na učenike. Netačan zadatak se poistovećuje sa „gubljenjem života“. Ono što se može prepoznati kao edukativno i korisno u ovim igrama jeste potreba da se poznaje engleski jezik na kome je zasnovana cela platforma, kao i veštine koje učenici mogu da razviju tokom igranja, kao što su pažnja, brzina reagovanja, razvoj određenih veština programiranja i slično.

**STUMBLE GUYS** (Stambl gajs) je video igra koja je u potpunosti zaludela decu i postaje pored Robloxa jedna od najigranijih video igara. Prevod naziva igre Stumble guys znači „spotaći momke”. Ovim nazivom opisana je namera korisnika da u toku igre pobedi ostale igrače, dođe do prvog mesta i bude jedan od najboljih. Adrenalin i osećaj zadovoljstva da se dostigne cilj privlačan je i postaje pokretač najvećem broju korisnika. Vrijedi se osvrnuti se na karakteristike i kategorije koje daje ova video igra. Stumble guys je video igra koja je razvijena od strane finske kompanije Kitka Games (kitkagames.com). Ona je imala nekoliko etapa evolucije. Prvo je objavljena na Google Play prodavnici (platforma za preuzimanje video igara) i to 24. septembra 2020. godine. Nakon toga se pojavljuje na App Store-u (platforma za preuzimanje video igara) godinu dana kasnije i to 12. februara 2021. godine. Par meseci poslije ona postaje otvorena za sve posetioce interneta koje mogu dobiti pristup ovoj video igri bez preuzimanja na mobilnom telefonu ili računaru. Vlasnik ove video igre se promenio i danas je to kompanija Scopely. U ovoj video igri se pritiskom na taster „play” korisnici uključuju u prvu avanturu u kojoj server pronalazi prvih 32 igrača koji su u tom trenutku onlajn. Kada server prepozna korisnike, nasumično dodeljuje prvu avanturu i igrači se automatski nalaze na startu. Potrebno je preći sve prepreke ili izbeći mogućnost pada u vodu ili vatru sa visine i to u određenom periodu. Kada se pređe prva avantura, prvih 16 igrača koji dođu do cilja se kvalifikuju za sledeću avanturu prepreka. Nakon toga server bira sledeći niz prepreka u kojoj se takmiče sledećih 16 igrača. Ukoliko igrač izgubi u prvom krugu kreće ispočetka. U poslednjem krugu ostaje samo 8 igrača koji kao i u prethodnim krugovima dobijaju



sledeću avanturu za igru. U tom zadnjem krugu pobeđuje onaj koji ostane poslednji. Naravno, prilikom instaliranja ove video igre dodeljuje se avatar kom možemo dati ime i on predstavlja nas u svim tim igrama. Kao i u svim igrama danas, postoje komande za kretanje napred, nazad, levo i desno i to sa leve strane, a sa desne se nalazi komanda za skok. Postoji mogućnost za kupovanje odeće za avatara, međutim za to je potrebno ubaciti funkcionalnu karticu na kojoj se nalazi novac. S obzirom na to da korisnici nemaju komunikaciju sa ostalim igračima, kao što je bilo u Robloxu, u ovoj igri deci ne pretil opasnost od zloupotrebe podataka. Na ovoj platformi ne postoji nikakva valuta kao što je bila valuta Robux u platformi Roblox već se jednostavno prelaze tri nivoa i ukoliko pređu svatri bori se za mesto pobjednika i dobija se virtuelna nagrada. Nakon toga nju se može koristiti za kopovinu ponuđenih kostima koji se otvaraju ukoliko se ima dovoljan broj novčića.

Često se organizuju i turniri na kojima uzimaju učešće oni koji su savladali tehniku igranja, i gdje se dodjeljuju novčane nagrade za najuspešnije igrače. Turniri se igraju sa 8 prijavljenih korisnika od kojih će samo jedan biti pobjednik. Turniri se snimaju pa ostali ljubitelji video igara mogu uživo gledati ova takmičenja. Ova video igra je znatno drugačija od platforme Roblox jer ima samo jedan okvir, nekoliko pravila koja se prate i to je sama suština. Stumble guys je igra za one koji voli izazove, prepreke, razne algoritme i naravno pobjede. Izazovi se dešavaju u virtuelnom okruženju kao što su recimo košnica meda, sneg, veliki tobogani ispunjeni vodom, otvoreno more gde brodovi usmeravaju bombe na igrače.

#### *Edukativna vrednost analizirane igre*

Ova igra i njena organizacija može biti način pripremanja učenika za novi nastavni predmet koji bi se zvao Digitalni svet. Deca savladavaju komande i igrajući ovu igru razmišljaju na koji način mogu doći do cilja. Svaki pogrešan korak može dovesti do gubljenja rezultata na nivou na kojem su se našli. Ovakav način učenja i savladavanja prepreka se pojavljuje i u programiranoj nastavi. Učenici dobijaju raznovrsne zadatke koje moraju rešavati, svaki zadatak koji se ne reši ili ne bude tačan učenike vraća na prethodni sve dok ne urade tačno i pređu sljedeći nivo. Razvija se algoritamsko razmišljanje, vežba pažnja i upornost u rešavanju problema. Takođe, razvija se takmičarski duh.



### ***Analiza dobijenih rezultata istraživanja***

Polazeći od postavljenih zadataka i hipoteza možemo zaključiti sledeće:

- Deca mlađeg školskog uzrasta provode manje vremena igrajući digitalne video igre od naše pretpostavke. To ukazuje da deca ovog uzrasta imaju ograničen pristup sadržajima video igara i da roditelji kontrolišu upotrebu digitalnih sredstava. Ovaj podatak predstavlja srednju vrednost dobijenih odgovora, što znači da ipak ima dece koja provode i više od tri sata dnevno uz video igre, ali ima i onih koji to čine manje od sat vremena.
- Učenici mlađeg školskog uzrasta najčešće igraju digitalne igre koje su popularne u njihovoj vršnjačkoj grupi. Posebno su interesantne i popularne one igre koje omogućavaju zajedničku igru i saradnju. Na ovaj način učenici su sa realnog prešli na virtuelni nivo druženja. Takođe, učestvuju na turnirima na kojima nastupaju kao ekipe. Ono što jeste zabrinjavajuće je da postoji veliki procenat dece kojoj je svejedno da li igraju sami ili u grupi, što može da ukaže na usamljenost i otuđenost od vršnjaka.
- Digitalne igre koje deca mlađeg školskog uzrasta najčešće igraju su grafički atraktivne, lako dostupne, uključuju takmičenje, brzinu u reagovanju i nadmetanje. Ovim osobinama video igre podstiču kod dece takmičarski duh, zaokupljaju njihovu pažnju. Igre se stalno inoviraju, osvežavaju, usavršava se grafika, likovi su realni što može dovesti do osećaja da je realni svet dosadan, da se sporo menja i nije zabavan kao video igre.
- digitalne igre koje smo igrali i sa kojima smo se upoznali kroz provedeno istraživanje utiču na razvoj određenih veština kao što su algoritamsko mišljenje, sagledavanje faktora i pravljenje strategija, brzina u reagovanju. S druge strane, ove igre nemaju edukativnih vrednosti u smislu sticanja novih znanja, razvijanja interesovanja za realan svet koji nas okružuje, njegove izazove i zakonitosti. Čak i ako postoje igre u okviru opisanih platformi koje omogućavaju učenicima učenje ili utvrđivanje određenih nastavnih sadržaja, zbog svoje nedovoljne atraktivnosti ti delovi aplikacija su minimalno korišćeni. Iz tog razloga naša pretpostavka da opisane igre imaju ograničen edukativni smisao i karakter potvrđuje se kao tačna.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Deca mlađeg školskog uzrasta vole osećaj sreće i uzbuđenja koji im pružaju video igre, pa će i izabrati igre koje im to omogućavaju. S obzirom na to da postoji veliki broj video igara na platformi, ispitanici su uglavnom davali iste ili slične odgovore o tome kakve igre igraju i koje su im omiljene. Uglavnom je to postizanje cilja i pobeđe jednog klanā ukoliko se reše svih ostalih klanova s tim da na raspolaganju imaju razna oružja i oruđa. To nas usmerava na razmišljanje koliko je to dobro za taj uzrast učenika i kakvu perspektivu daje. Posebno u periodu 7-11 godina treba vaspitanike usmeravati na razne aktivnosti, druženja, sekcije i radionice kako bi se stvorila radna navika, uspostavila komunikacija sa ostalima i stvarala prava perspektiva života. Vaspitanici koji provode 4-5 sati bez roditeljske kontrole uz video igre ne razvijaju pravu perspektivu života. Oni će živeti video igre, za njih neće postojati nikakva obaveza sem igranja i prelaženja nivoa radi sopstvene zabave i zadovoljstva. Nivoi koje prelaze ih samo mogu motivisati da što bolje odigraju, da se potrudu, a igre koje su bazirane na jednostavnim nivoima uglavnom nisu meta igrača jer ono što je njima jednostavno brzo postaje nezanimljivo. Privlačnih video igara u Robloxu ima u velikom broju. Video igre su veoma realistične, prilagođene svakodnevnom životu pa se tako u video igri vrši smena dana i noći, u igrama možeš raditi neki posao, negovati svog ljubimca, promeniti svoj stil oblačenja... Interesantno je da se i devojčice zajedno sa dečacima pre opredeljuju da igraju vožnje, upadanje u klanove, uništavanje drugih klanova nego za one tipične video igre koje su ranije bile popularne kao što je oblačenje lutke, odlazak na revije... Od 2005. godine video igre su u potpunosti drugačije koncipirane i podeljenost na polove gotovo da i ne postoji. A to se dešava tačno od perioda razvoja Robloxa i široke mogućnosti pristupa ovoj platformi.

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## QUALITY AND EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF POPULAR DIGITAL GAMES IN YOUNGER SCHOOL AGE

### Summary:

Modern times have changed the way children play. Starting from the fact that play is a basic activity for children through which children learn and develop, we wanted to get acquainted with new games that have moved from the real world to the digital environment. The paper presents the results of a research whose subject was the intensity and frequency of playing digital video games, as well as a description of the most frequently played games in younger school age. Through research, we became familiar with the games Roblox and Stumble Guy, which are the most popular among the target group, their content, and the way they play. By directly playing these games, we explored their potential educational aspects. The research shows that children of younger school age spend between one and three hours a day playing these games, that they like to play synchronously with their peers the most, and that the most frequently played games have common features such as competitions to achieve certain goals, attractive graphics and modest educational values. .

**Keywords:** digital game; Roblox; Stumble Guy; younger school age

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Review paper

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## **LABORATORIJSKO-EKSPERIMENTALNA METODA UZ INSTRUKTIVNI PRISTUP – „HANDS-ON“ EKSPERIMENTI**

Primena laboratorijsko-eksperimentalne metode (LEM) u nastavi prirodnih nauka podrazumeva primenu eksperimenata. U početnoj nastavi prirodnih nauka, za uzrast od 7 do 11 godina (nastava integrisanih prirodnih nauka), eksperimenti se u dostupnoj literaturi najčešće nazivaju HOE (hands-on experiments). Ne postoji jedinstveni stav među istraživačima da li u realizaciji sadržaja prirodnih nauka treba uvek primeniti jednu ili obe vrste instrukcija (eksplicitnu ili implicitnu) pri realizaciji eksperimenata u nastavi diferenciranih, odnosno nastavi integrisanih prirodnih nauka, kao i da li dati prednost LEM u odnosu na druge metode učenja ili LEM kombinovati sa drugim metodama. Cilj rada je analiza i evaluacija dosadašnjih istraživanja LEM-a u nastavi prirodnih nauka sa posebnim osvrtom na primenu HOE u početnoj nastavi prirodnih nauka kako bi se jasnije sagledale smernice za njihovu primenu u realizaciji različitih sadržaja prirodnih nauka u diferenciranom i integrisanom obliku. Odabrana su istraživanja koja u sebi uključuju sistemske preglede i metaanalizu primene LEM-a, odnosno HOE u nastavi diferenciranih i integrisanih prirodnih nauka do aprila 2024. godine. Rezultati su sistemski objedinjeni u narativnom obliku. Korišćeni su sistemi preporuka, procena i evaluacije za analizu naučnih istraživanja na ovu temu. Korišćene su sledeće naučne baze podataka: Scopus, Web of Science (WOS), Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), Directory of Open Access Books (DOAB), OPEN J-Gate, srpski nacionalni citatni indeks (SCIndeks) i Hrčak portal naučnih časopisa Republike Hrvatske (Hrčak). U istraživanjima rezultati uglavnom navode na prednosti primene LEM i HOE u odnosu tradicionalni pristup radu i da se LEM može kombinovati sa savremenim nastavnim metodama, dok se u poređenju primene različitih vrsta instrukcija uočavaju pozitivne strane oba pristupa, što upućuje na šire sagledavanje primene navedenih obrazovnih pristupa.

**Ključne reči:** laboratorijsko-eksperimentalna metoda; „Hands-on“ eksperimenti; eksplicitna instrukcija; implicitna instrukcija; nastava prirodnih nauka

## 1. UVOD

Učenje i ponavljanje sadržaja u početnoj nastavi prirodnih nauka (nastava integrisanih prirodnih nauka) i diferenciranoj nastavi prirodnih nauka (hemija, fizika, biologija, ekologija i druge) zahteva primenu laboratorijsko-eksperimentalne metode (LEM) koja učeniku omogućava da do novih saznanja o prirodnoj pojavi, procesu i sl. dođe pomoću istraživačkih aktivnosti. Učenici treba što samostalnije da istražuju prirodne pojave i procese jer se na taj način podstiče njihova motivacija, zainteresovanost za učenje (Maričić et al. 2019) kao i razvijanje naučnih stavova prema praktičnom radu tokom sticanja novih znanja (Akani 2015). LEM pomaže učenicima da jasno shvate kako se sve u prirodi nalazi u uzročno-posledičnim odnosima kao i da sve prirodne pojave i procesi direktno ili indirektno utiču jedni na druge kao i na živi svet. Primena LEM utiče na razvijanje učenčkih eksperimentalnih i istraživačkih veština koje će im pomoći da lakše istražuju prirodu (Hirča 2013). Eksperimenti moraju biti prilagođeni svakom učeniku, da ih učenici lako shvate, da budu jednostavni i bezbedni. U diferenciranoj nastavi mogu pri izvođenju eksperimenata da se koriste hemikalije i laboratorijsko posuđe, dok se u nastavi integrisanih prirodnih nauka mogu koristiti samo supstance sa kojima se učenici susreću u svakodnevnom životu (npr. so, šećer, brašno, sirće, mleko i drugo) kao i pribor iz svakodnevne upotrebe. Zbog toga se eksperimenti koji se primenjuju u nastavi integrisanih prirodnih nauka u literaturi često nazivaju jednostavni praktični eksperimenti (eng. „Hands-on“ experiments) – HOE.

## 2. TEORIJSKI OKVIR RADA

U stručnoj literaturi nailazi se na različite teorije nastave i učenja koje su polazna osnova i podrška nastavnom procesu i koje podstiču aktivnosti i učenje kroz istraživački proces. Plan i program nastave i učenja zasnovan na nekoj od teorija učenja (npr. teorije kognitivnog opterećenja, teorije konstruktivizma...), odnosno teoriji čija primena je relevantna u učionici za izučavanje određenih sadržaja prirodnih nauka, ima određene činioce koji se odnose i na učenike i njihovo angažovanje i na nastavnike i njihovu metodičku pripremljenost.

Polazeći od teorije konstruktivizma, posebno obrazovnog konstruktivizma, kao teorije učenja 21. veka koja svoju istoriju ima još iz antičke grčke utemeljenu na Sokratovim (Socrates, 470–399. p.n.e.) uverenjima da se uči preispitivanjem sopstvenog razmišljanja, u fokus je stavljen učenik i njegovo učenje zasnovano na ličnom iskustvu. Mnogi teoretičari su imali značajnu ulogu u razvoju konstruktivizma [Pijaže (Jean Piaget), Ausbel (David Paul Ausubel), Bruner (Jerome Seymour Bruner), Djui (John Dewey) i Vigotski (Lev Semionovich Vygotsky)], koji je od teorije učenja kroz epohe napredovao do teorije ličnog i naučnog znanja (Matthews 2002). Prema autorima Singh & Yaduvanshi (2015), učenici u konstruktivističkoj učionici samostalno konstruišu svoja znanja kroz aktivnosti u nastavnom procesu, kreiraju simboličke predstave, prenose svoje konstruisano znanje vršnjacima, pokušavaju da razjasne nepoznato i nerazumno. Stoga je, u praksi, kada se govori o nastavi prirodnih nauka (diferenciranih i integrisanih) u okviru konstruktivističkog učenja, uloga nastavnika da omogući učenicima prikladan vid aktivnosti tokom izučavanja nastavnih sadržaja uz određeni stepen instruktivnog vođenja, te podstakne istraživački rad učenika sa posebnim akcentom na primenu eksperimenata.

Eksperimenti u diferenciranoj i nastavi integrisanih prirodnih nauka se u odnosu na cilj nastave i sadržaja koji se izučava, dele na različite kategorije: na *osnovne* (odnose se na sticanje osnovnih znanja), *uporedne* (poređenje eksperimenata koji se realizuju u istim uslovima sa različitim supstancama) i *model eksperimente* (izvode se prilikom izučavanja složenijih procesa). Prema subjektu koji izvodi eksperimente mogu se podeliti na *demonstracione*, koji se odnose na pokazivanje određenih pojava (izvodi ih učitelj ili učenici sa boljim eksperimentalnim veštinama) i *učeničke* (izvode ih učenici uz nadzor učitelja), s tim što i jedni i drugi prema dužini trajanja mogu biti *kratkotrajni* i *dugotrajni*. U okviru navedenih osnovnih podela, mogu se realizovati različite vrste eksperimenata: *heuristički* (primenjuju se za usvajanje novih i nepoznatih pojmova), *eksperimenti iznenađenja* (primenjuju se kada su ishodi suprotni od predstave učenika o izučavanom pojmu), *indukcioni eksperimenti* (koriste se za uopštavanje činjenica), *uvodni eksperimenti za potvrđivanje* (koriste se za potvrđivanje predstava učenika o izučavanim pojmovima), *istraživački* (primenjuju se radi razvijanja naučno-istraživačkih veština i dolaženja do novih saznanja), *kvantitativni* (koriste se za izučavanje prirodnih pojava uz razvijanje matematičkog mišljenja pri različitim merenjima), *eksperimenti za primenu naučenog sadržaja*, *eksperimenti za ponavljanje i prisećanje naučenog gradiva* i *eksperimenti verifikacije* (koriste se za potvrđivanje i dokazivanje ispitivanog sadržaja) (Cvjetićanin 2017).



Za izvođenje eksperimenata koriste se dve vrste instrukcija – eksplicitna i implicitna. Ključni cilj instruktivnog pristupa učenju je da učenici ovladaju naučnim konceptima kroz praktične aktivnosti, da budu zainteresovani i da izraze pozitivan stav za učenje sadržaja prirodnih nauka, a što bi se odrazilo i na ishode učenja u smislu postignuća, izraženo u kvantumu, kvalitetu i retenciji znanja. U literaturi se mogu pronaći i termini za instrukcije, uputstvo za učenike, vođenje učenika tokom učenja i poučavanja, strategije zasnovane na upitima i slično (Ibidem).

Eksplicitnu instrukciju definiše viši stepen vođenja od strane učitelja, koji dizajnira pristup kako bi učenici mogli nesmetano i olakšano da usvoje naučne koncepte, ali većim delom stavlja učenika u pasivan položaj (Martin & Evans 2018; Stockard et al. 2018). Za razliku od eksplicitne, implicitnu instrukciju definiše minimalni stepen vođenja tokom sticanja znanja, učenici su misaono aktivni i više usmereni na sadržaj koji se izučava, te su u poziciji da sami uočavaju koncepte, konstruišu i izvode zaključke, a opisuje je i mogućnost povratne informacije o realizovanoj aktivnosti (Loibli & Rummel 2013). O prednostima i nedostacima oba pristupa se često raspravlja, kako bi se mogao steći uvid u prednosti pristupa koje bi mogle uticati na ishode učenja.

Intenzitet vođenja u okviru svake instrukcije može da varira od jakog do slabog vođenja (Kaneza et al. 2023). Pojmove direktna (eksplicitna) i indirektna (implicitna) instrukcija Saeverot (2022) je definisao kao dve „linije“. Eksplicitnu je razjasnio kao pravu liniju, kao kraći i brži put za stizanje do cilja, pri čemu nastavnik govori učeniku koje postupke primenjuje u radu i učenju, dok je implicitnu razjasnio kao krivu liniju, gde nastavnik samo navodi učenika na postupak u radu i učenju i time podstiče učenike na razmišljanje i samostalno zaključivanje. Autor zaključuje da su obrazovanju potrebne obe instrukcije.

Empirijski podaci (Kiran 2022; Strat et al. 2023) ukazuju da bi trebala postojati veza između ishoda učenja primenom instrukcija i adekvatne pripremljenosti i kompetentnosti nastavnika za primenu nastavnih strategija. Relevantna literatura o primeni različitih vrsta instrukcija u realizaciji eksperimenata ukazuje na istraživanja koja ispituju kompetencije nastavnika i njihovu spremnost za primenu laboratorijskih aktivnosti u nastavi prirodnih nauka (Valls-Bautista et al. 2021), spremnost da izgrade svoje znanje u podučavanju kroz ovakav vid nastave, odnosno da ulože veći trud i više praktičnog iskustva (Irwanto Saputro et al. 2019). S druge strane, polazeći od preferencija nastavnika u vezi sa dizajniranjem instrukcija, Saribas (2015) je u svom istraživanju došao do rezultata da nastavnici imaju poteškoće u dizajniranju implicitne instrukcije jer zahteva viši nivo kompleksnosti, a što se može vezati za nedostatak

iskustva u tom domenu, te da više primenjuju direktnu/eksplicitnu instrukciju. S tim u vezi, pregledom vladajućih stavova u okviru ove tematike, ukazuje se da je neophodno dalje unapređivanje nastavne prakse kroz stručne seminare, radionice, kurseve, odnosno profesionalne podrške nastavnicima (Oguoma et al. 2019).

### **3. METOD RADA**

Pretražena su istraživanja o primeni LEM-a i HOE u diferenciranoj i integriranoj nastavi prirodnih nauka objavljena do aprila 2024. godine u časopisima, zbornicima i akademskim knjigama u bazama: Scopus, Web of Science (WOS), Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), Directory of Open Access Books (DOAB), OPEN J-Gate, Srpski nacionalni citatni indeks (SCIndeks) i Hrcak portal naučnih časopisa Republike Hrvatske (Hrcak). Pri pretraživanju su korišćene ključne reči: LEM, HOE, eksperimenti, nastava prirodnih nauka, integrirana nastava prirodnih nauka, hemija, fizika, biologija, ekologija, učenje prirodnih nauka. Analizirana je sva literatura koja je objavljena na engleskom, srpskom, hrvatskom, bosanskom i crnogorskom jeziku. Posle identifikacije istraživanja koja se odnose na primenu LEM-a i HOE u nastavi diferenciranih i integriranih prirodnih nauka pristupilo se analizi istraživanja primenom sistema preporuka, procena i evaluacije za analizu naučnih istraživanja (GRADE). Prioritet je dat istraživanjima koji u sebi obuhvataju sistemski pregled i metaanalizu istraživanja.

### **4. LEM UZ EKSPPLICITNE I IMPLICITNE INSTRUKCIJE U NASTAVI PRIRODNIH NAUKA**

#### *Komparativna analiza istraživanja primene LEM i drugih nastavnih metoda*

Pregledom relevantnih naučnih istraživanja koja su se bavila uporednom analizom primene LEM-a u nastavi diferenciranih prirodnih nauka u odnosu na druge nastavne metode na različitim varijablama istraživanja, uviđaju se različiti rezultati i zaključci autora. Uporednim doprinosom primene LEM i tradicionalnog pristupa nastavi u kategorijama kognitivnog i afektivnog domena bavi se nekoliko studija. Tako u istraživanju Ateş & Eryilmaz (2011) koje je sprovedeno sa učenicima devetog razreda podeljenim u dve grupe – eksperimentalnu, gde su primenjene praktične aktivnosti, i kontrolnu, gde je primenjen tradicionalan pristup, kako bi se ispitala efikasnost praktičnih aktivnosti i utvrdili stavovi učenika o jednostavnim električnim kolima, rezultati su potvrdili efikasnost praktičnih aktivnosti kod veće angažovanosti i

postignuća učenika u odnosu na tradicionalan pristup, dok kod iskazanih stavova o načinu usvajanja znanja nema značajne razlike između grupa. U sličnoj istraživačkoj studiji Hashim et al. (2015) ispitivan je uporedni odnos primene praktičnih eksperimentalnih aktivnosti u kontekstu istraživačkog rada i tradicionalnog pristupa vezano za postignuća i razvijanje stavova učenika srednje škole prema prirodnim naukama. Rezultati su pokazali da su učenici eksperimentalne grupe koji su se bavili eksperimentalnim radom pokazali bolje postignuće u odnosu na učenike koji su slušali nastavnikova predavanja, ali da nema značajne razlike u promeni stava prema prirodnim naukama u odnosu na postignuće. Slični rezultati dobijeni su i kod drugih istraživača (Kibirige Maake & Mavhunga 2014; Prokop & Fančovičová 2017).

Primena LEM u okviru praktičnog rada učenika pokazala se posebno značajnom u podsticanju i razvoju kreativnosti učenika i nastavnika, a naročito kritičkog razmišljanja i snažne motivacije učenika (Shana & Abulibdeh 2020). Pri ispitivanju razvijanja i podsticanja radoznalosti učenika za praktične aktivnosti sadržaja iz hemije, uočava se radoznalost učenika samo kod grupnog oblika rada, a autori Kibga et al. (2021) ukazuju na značaj uključivanja svakog učenika u ceo postupak rada. Kada se uporedi doprinos primene LEM i drugih nastavnih metoda postignuću i retenciji znanja učenika, interesovanju za eksperimentalni rad, motivaciji i slično, rezultati navode na različite zaključke o obrazovnim ishodima. U istraživanju Husnaini & Chen (2019) poređena je primena laboratorijskih eksperimenata realizovanih u virtuelnoj laboratoriji i eksperimenata realizovanih u fizičkoj laboratoriji kada se učilo o fizičkom klatnu u cilju ispitivanja konceptualnog razumevanja nauke, procesa istraživanja i motivacije za rad. U virtuelnoj laboratoriji korišćeni su simulacioni modeli klatna, dok su u fizičkoj laboratoriji korišćene aplikacije primenom digitalnih tehnologija. Rezultati su pokazali da su oba pristupa bila podjednako efikasna kod usvajanja jednostavnijih koncepata, dok se virtuelna laboratorija pokazala efikasnijom kod usvajanja složenijih koncepata.

### *Komparativna analiza istraživanja primene različitih vrsta instrukcija u nastavi*

Kod uporedne analize tri nastavna pristupa i to eksperimenata uz eksplicitnu instrukciju, eksperimenata uz implicitnu instrukciju u okviru LEM i tradicionalnog pristupa radu vezano za postignuće učenika i razvoj veština kada se izučavaju sadržaji iz hemije, autori Kaneza et al. (2023) su došli do rezultata koji ukazuju da nema statistički značajne razlike između efikasnosti primene eksperimenata uz različite instrukcije. S druge strane, rezultati ukazuju da laboratorijski rad podstiče i razvija

veštine kod učenika u odnosu na tradicionalan pristup radu. Studija Kiran (2022) o realizaciji nastave prirodnih nauka imala je za cilj da ispita uverenja nastavnika o efikasnosti laboratorijskog kursa zasnovanog na različitim vrstama instrukcija kao i identifikovanje načina na osnovu kojih je došlo do promena u efikasnosti nastavnog pristupa. Rezultati dobijeni kvalitativnom analizom podataka pokazali su malu i skoro beznačajnu razliku u efikasnosti nastave koja se povezuje sa nedostatkom nastavne prakse nastavnika i neprilagođenošću laboratorijskoj metodi zasnovanoj na instrukcijama. Istraživanjem Irinoye et al. (2015) o uticaju različitih nastavnih pristupa (istraživački zasnovanog učenja, gde se akcenat stavlja na samostalnost učenika u radu i demonstracionih eksperimenata, gde se primenjuje eksplicitna instrukcija) na postignuća učenika i trajnost njihovog znanja kada se uče sadržaji iz oblasti hemije, dobijeni su rezultati koji pokazuju prednosti samostalnog rada učenika. Dakle, učenici koji su nastavne sadržaje iz hemije usvajali primenom vođenog istraživanja na testovima znanja su pokazali bolje postignuće i dugotrajnija znanja u odnosu na učenike koji su vođeni demonstracionom metodom rada. S druge strane, u istraživanjima autora Kruit et al. (2018) učenici petog i šestog razreda osnovne škole podučavani su eksplicitnom i implicitnom instrukcijom, a rezultati njihovog postignuća na testovima znanja pokazali su da sticanje i razvoj istraživačkih veština ide u prilog eksplicitne instrukcije. U drugoj studiji autora Kalthoff et al. (2018) o primeni eksplicitnog podučavanja učenika, zaključeno je da se podučavanjem eksplicitnom instrukcijom, u zavisnosti od stepena instrukcije, kod učenika ne utiče značajno na sticanje eksperimentalnih i sadržajnih veština.

*Komparativna analiza istraživanja povezanosti doprinosa nastavnih metoda sa postignućima učenika, njihovom motivacijom i zainteresovanosti za učenje*

S obzirom na širok spektar nastavnih tema o prirodnim pojavama i procesima istraživači su se bavili ispitivanjem različitih varijabli, posebno kako bi se sagledala efikasnost eksperimenata na različitim kognitivnim i afektivnim obrazovnim domenima. U ispitivanju angažovanja i praktičnih veština učenika primenom praktičnih aktivnosti iz hemije rezultati su pokazali pozitivne ishode u smislu većeg angažovanja i pozitivnijeg iskustva tokom realizacije hemijskih sadržaja kroz praktičan rad (Iyamuremye et al. 2023). Takođe, učenici su radoznaliji za časove hemije kada manipulišu poznatim materijalom tokom praktičnih aktivnosti (Kibga et al. 2021). U poređenju demonstracionih i učeničkih eksperimenata, učenici iskazuju da više vole kada samostalno izvode eksperimente (Logar & Ferek Savec 2011).

Angažman učenika je veći nakon intervencije zasnovane na instrukcijama (Maxwell et al. 2015). Učenici podučavani o fizičkim konceptima putem virtuelne laboratorije takođe su pokazali bolje rezultate na posttestu od učenika podučavanih tradicionalnom metodom (Umukozi et al. 2023).

## **5. HOE U OKVIRU LEM UZ EKSPPLICITNE I IMPLICITNE INSTRUKCIJE**

U uzrastu od 7 do 11 godina u početnoj nastavi prirodnih nauka učenici u većini obrazovnih sistema prirodne pojave i procese usvajaju u integrisanom obliku. Primena HOE tokom realizacije sadržaja integrisanih prirodnih nauka ima značajnu ulogu u postizanju pozitivnih ishoda usvajanja znanja, a posebno uz određeni nivo instrukcije. Uporedo sa eskalacijom nastavnih zahteva i složenosti sadržaja nastavnih predmeta, u cilju smanjenja kognitivnog opterećenja učenika, menja se i stepen instrukcije (Sweller 2020) pomoću koje se realizuje eksperiment.

### *Komparativna analiza istraživanja primene HOE uz različite vrste instrukcija i drugih nastavnih metoda*

Neuporedivo je manje istraživanja o doprinosu različitih vrsta instrukcija pri realizaciji eksperimenata u nastavi integrisanih prirodnih nauka u odnosu na diferenciranu nastavu prirodnih nauka. Najpre, uporednom analizom HOE i tradicionalnog pristupa u nastavi integrisanih prirodnih nauka u dostupnim istraživačkim radovima uviđaju se uglavnom prednosti HOE na različitim varijablama istraživanja kognitivnog i afektivnog domena.

U istraživačkoj studiji Cvjetićanin i sar. (2010), čiji je cilj bio da se ispita doprinos primene HOE uz implicitnu instrukciju kvalitetu i kvantumu znanja učenika, rezultati su pokazali da je primena HOE znatno doprinela učeničkom postignuću na testovima znanja u odnosu na predavački pristup. U sličnoj studiji autora Cvjetićanina (2017a) ispitivan je uporedni odnos doprinosa HOE uz implicitna instruktivna uputstva od strane učitelja i tradicionalnog pristupa radu gde je primenjena verbalno-tekstualna metoda tokom izučavanja sadržaja o vazduhu. Istraživanje pokazuje da su učenici koji su samostalno izvodili eksperimente u manjim grupama uz uputstva na instruktivnim listićima iskazali kvalitetnija i trajnija znanja na posttestu i retestu i to na nivou analize, evaluacije i sinteze u odnosu na učenike koji su iste sadržaje učili primenom verbalno-tekstualne metode i frontalnog oblika rada. Preporuka autora je

da HOE budu češće zastupljeni kada god se izučavaju nastavni sadržaji koji su pogodni za takav vid rada.

*Komparativna analiza istraživanja primene HOE uz različite vrste instrukcija i povezanost doprinosa nastavnih pristupa sa postignućima učenika, motivacijom i zainteresovanošću za učenje*

Pored značajnog postignuća učenika kada su podučavani višim stepenom vođenja, gde je primenjena direktna instrukcija i upućena istraživačka pitanja, u odnosu na niži stepen vođenja uz istraživačka pitanja bez direktne instrukcije, rezultati studije autora Matlen & Klahr (2013) pokazali su da su učenici vođeni višim stepenom instrukcije stekli bolje razumevanje u odnosu na učenike koji su podučavani minimalnim stepenom vođenja od strane učitelja. U istraživačkoj studiji Maričić et al. (2023), čiji je cilj bio ispitati korelaciju između postignuća učenika i njihovog angažovanja kada primenom simulacionih eksperimenata i uz različite vrste instrukcija (eksplicitnu i implicitnu) usvajaju sadržaje o statičkom elektricitetu, rezultati su pokazali da učenici koji su podučavani primenom simulacionih HOE uz implicitnu instrukciju pokazuju viši nivo konceptualnog razumevanja sadržaja. Takođe, simulacioni HOE imaju veći uticaj na percipirano angažovanje učenika koji su podučavani uz implicitnu instrukciju u odnosu na učenike koji su podučavani primenom HOE uz eksplicitnu instrukciju.

U poređenju doprinosa primene HOE uz eksplicitnu instrukciju i HOE uz implicitnu instrukciju na kvalitet znanja učenika trećeg razreda osnovne škole iskazan na testovima znanja (pretest, posttest i retest), autori Cvjetićanin i Maričić (2022) zaključuju da oba pristupa treba primenjivati tokom realizacije sadržaja integrisanih prirodnih nauka. Naglašavaju da prioritet ipak treba dati implicitnom pristupu, gde se po rezultatima uočava statistička značajnost i viši nivo postignuća kada su u pitanju kritička prosuđivanja učenika, odnosno na kognitivnom nivou „evaluiram“. Kod naučne studije čiji je predmet istraživanja takođe bio usmeren na poređenje oba instruktivna pristupa kada se izučavaju sadržaji integrisanih prirodnih nauka i pored postignuća na testovima znanja, Zhang (2019) je došao do rezultata koji pokazuju da učenici bolje znaju, razumeju i primenjuju stečena znanja kada se podučavaju eksplicitnom instrukcijom. U istraživačkoj studiji Maričić et al. (2022) ispitivan je uticaj HOE uz eksplicitnu instrukciju, bez zadržavanja odgovora i fizičke manipulacije, i HOE uz implicitnu instrukcije uz zadržavanje odgovora i uz fizičku manipulaciju na konceptualno razumevanje učenika tokom izučavanja sadržaja o

magnetizmu. Autori su došli do rezultata koji pokazuju da je primena HOE uz implicitnu instrukciju uz zadržavanje odgovora i uz fizičku manipulaciju priborom doprinela boljem konceptualnom razumevanju učenika u području višeg kognitivnog nivoa – „stvaram“ u odnosu na poređenu grupu učenika, a kako autori zaključuju, rezultati doprinose većoj motivaciji učenika za samostalnost u nastavnim aktivnostima. S druge strane, u kontekstu istraživanja koje utvrđuje nivo razumevanja naučenih sadržaja i postignuća učenika na testovima znanja, dobijeni rezultati ukazuju da nema značajne razlike u primeni obe instrukcije kada je u pitanju transfer znanja, te ukazuju da bi ovi pristupi trebali da budu uslovljeni različitim nastavnim kontekstom (Chase & Klahr 2017). Kada se sagleda doprinos HOE uz različite instrukcije u području afektivnog domena uočavaju se rezultati koji pokazuju veću motivaciju i zainteresovanost učenika za učenje integrisanih prirodnih nauka kada uče uz pomoć HOE (Golubović-Ilić 2011; Dhanapal & Wan Zi Shan 2014) u odnosu na slušanje predavanja od strane nastavnika.

## 6. ZAKLJUČAK

Kada se sumiraju rezultati dostupnih naučnih istraživanja o doprinosu LEM-a pri realizaciji različitih sadržaja diferenciranih prirodnih nauka (biologija, hemija, fizika, ekologija i druge) u odnosu na druge nastavne metode (tradicionalna, istraživačka...) zaključuje se da LEM više doprinosi postignućima, trajnosti znanja učenika o prirodnim sadržajima kao i njihovoj unutrašnjoj motivaciji i angažovanju da uče.

Neuporedivo je više naučnih istraživanja o diferenciranoj nastavi prirodnih nauka u odnosu na nastavu integrisanih prirodnih nauka o primeni LEM-a za realizaciju sadržaja, koja se bave uporednom analizom doprinosa LEM-a naspram drugih metoda učenja kao i razlikom u doprinosu eksplicitnih i implicitnih instrukcija uz primenu eksperimenata na postignuća i trajnost znanja učenika. Dosadašnja istraživanja o primeni LEM-a u realizaciji sadržaja integrisanih i diferenciranih prirodnih nauka ukazuju da primena HOE u odnosu na druge metode učenja neuporedivo više doprinosi postignućima i trajnosti znanja učenika kao i na razvijanje njihovih istraživačkih i eksperimentalnih veština. Ne postoji jedinstven stav istraživača kojoj vrsti instrukcija dati prednost pri realizaciji eksperimenata u diferenciranoj nastavi prirodnih nauka, odnosno HOE u nastavi integrisanih prirodnih nauka. Mnogi istraživači ukazuju na prednosti i jednog i drugog pristupa. Fokus istraživača je i na strukturiranju, odnosno dizajnu instruktivnog pristupa u nastavi, što ukazuje da se instrukcije mogu realizovati na različite načine u različitim kontekstima.



Sagledavanjem ishoda oba instruktivna pristupa, važno je obratiti pažnju na uzroke koji mogu dovesti do slabosti u efektima primene jedne ili druge instrukcije i raditi na otklanjanju tih slabosti u cilju što veće aktivnosti učenika i njihovog značajnijeg postignuća u sticanju znanja. Autori nalaze i različita objašnjenja kada su u pitanju slabosti pojedinih instrukcija, ali iz svega proizilazi jedan osnovni cilj – da se svakom učeniku omogući učenje zasnovano na ličnom iskustvu, da samostalno uviđa, rezonuje, zaključuje i kritički preispituje, odnosno da aktivno učestvuje u nastavnom procesu.

U istraživanjima se sugerije da treba unaprediti i nastavne kompetencije nastavnika za instruktivno vođenje, posebno za dizajn instrukcija i razmenu iskustava tokom horizontalnog učenja. Važno je nastaviti istraživanje na svim nivoima obrazovanja u prirodnim naukama (integrisanoj i diferenciranoj nastavi prirodnih nauka) o uticaju instrukcija pri realizaciji eksperimenata različite složenosti kako bi se dobio jasniji uvid kada dati prednost eksplicitnoj, odnosno implicitnoj instrukciji za realizaciju eksperimenata pri obradi određenog sadržaja, a sve kako bi učenici ostvarili maksimalna postignuća i trajnost znanja, te razvijali istraživačke i eksperimentalne veštine.

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## **LABORATORY EXPERIMENTAL METHOD WITH INSTRUCTIONAL APPROACH – “HANDS-ON” EXPERIMENTS**

### **Summary:**

The application of the laboratory experimental method (LEM) in the teaching of natural sciences implies the application of experiments. In the initial teaching of natural sciences, for ages 7 to 11 (teaching of integrated natural sciences), experiments are most often called (hands-on experiments) HOE in the available literature. There is no unified opinion among researchers as to whether one or both types of instruction (explicit or implicit) should always be applied in the realization of the content of natural sciences when conducting experiments in the teaching of differentiated or integrated natural sciences, as well as whether to give preference to LEM over others learning methods or LEM to combine with other methods. The goal of the work is the analysis and evaluation of previous research LEM in natural

science teaching with special reference to the application of HOE in the initial teaching of natural sciences in order to see more clearly the guidelines for their application in the realization of different contents of natural sciences in a differentiated and integrated form. Researches that include systematic reviews and meta-analysis of the application of LEM, that is, HOE in the teaching of differentiated and integrated natural sciences until April 2024, were selected. The results are systematically consolidated in a narrative form. Recommendation, assessment and evaluation systems were used to analyze scientific research on this topic. The following scientific databases were used: Scopus, Web of Science (WOS), Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), Directory of Open Access Books (DOAB), OPEN J-Gate, Serbian National Citation Index (SCIndeks) and Hrčak Portal of Science magazine of the Republic of Croatia (Hrčak). In the research, the results mainly point to the advantages of applying LEM and HOE in relation to the traditional approach to work and that LEM can be combined with modern teaching methods, while in the comparison of the application of different types of instruction, the positive sides of both approaches are observed, which points to a broader view of the application of the mentioned educational methods. approaches.

**Key words:** Laboratory experimental method; “Hands-on” experiments; explicit instruction; implicit instruction; teaching of integrated natural sciences

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Review paper

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## **PROFESIONALNO SAGORIJEVANJE U ODGOJNO- -OBRAZOVNOM RADU NASTAVNIKA I STRUČNIH SARADNIKA**

Prve opservacije o posljedicama dugotrajnog profesionalnog stresa zabilježene su sedamdestih godina prošlog stoljeća u profesionalnom radu zdravstvenih radnika. Sindrom sagorijevanja na poslu (burnout), koji se karakterizira kao stanje emocionalne, mentalne i fizičke iscrpljenosti, u mnogim studijama predstavljen je kao posljedica dugotrajnog iscrpljivanja i preopterećenja stručnjaka tokom obavljanja posla. Cilj ovog rada bio je da se kroz dosadašnja istraživanja predstave rezultati koji ukazuju na prisutnost, prirodu i posljedice profesionalnog sagorijevanja stručnih saradnika i nastavnika u odgojno-obrazovnom kontekstu. Rezultati istraživanja ukazuju da profesionalno sagorijevanje nastavnika i stručnih saradnika često ukazuje na prisustvo osjećaja iscrpljenosti, odsustva motivacije, znakove frustriranja, bespomoćnosti i sl., što često ostavlja posljedice na produktivnost u radu, odnose s drugima i opću dobrobit. S obzirom na to da profesionalno sagorijevanje može dovesti do gubitka želje za akademskim napredovanjem, socijalnim odnosima, komunikacijom i dr., što mogu biti prepreke i poteškoće koje će otežavati profesionalan i kvalitetan odgojno-obrazovni rad, nužno je definisati nove preporuke koje mogu prevenirati profesionalno sagorijevanje, kao i preduprijeti simptome sagorijevanja i njegovog manifestiranja u svim sferama života profesionalaca uključenih u odgojno-obrazovni rad.

**Ključne riječi:** burnout; nastavnici; stručni saradnici; odgojno-obrazovni rad

## UVOD

Različit spektar faktora može utjecati na nastanak i razvoj burnouta, a najčešće obuhvata prekomjeran rad, nedostatak podrške na poslu, nedostatak balansa između poslovnog i privatnog života, nedostatak autonomije u odlučivanju i sl. Od izuzetne je važnosti prepoznati simptome, a kako bi se prevenirao nastanak i razvoj profesionalnog sagorijevanja. Bjelopoljak i Midžić (2022, prema Freudenger Herbert 1981) definiraju „burnout“ kao sindrom emocionalne i fizičke iscrpljenosti usljed profesionalnog sagorijevanja na poslu. Popov i sur. (2015) sagorijevanje na poslu određuju kao sindrom emocionalne iscrpljenosti, depersonalizacije i doživljaja smanjenoga osobnog postignuća, karakterističnog za humanistička i pomagačka zanimanja.

Razmatrajući sindrom sagorijevanja Maslach (1997) ističe da je riječ o složenom konstrukt koji se sastoji od triju dimenzija: *emocionalna iscrpljenost* (reakcija organizma na stres) – kontinuirano „trošenje“ afektivnih resursa osobe uz disfориčno raspoloženje; *depersonalizacija* – prisustvo ciničnih stavova i doživljaja otuđenosti od ljudi na radnome mjestu; *smanjeno lično postignuće* – prisustvo negativne evaluacije produktivnosti i doživljaj smanjene samoefikasnosti. Kada je riječ o burnoutu u odgojno-obrazovnom radu, važno je napomenuti da on predstavlja problem čiji rizični faktori nastanka mogu biti povezani sa varijablama dob, spol, radni staž i dr. Imajući u vidu da rad u odgojno-obrazovnim ustanovama zahtijeva mnogo napora, odricanja i požrtvovanosti, to često utječe na različite aspekte života nastavnika i stručnih saradnika. Simptome profesionalnog sagorijevanja nije uvijek moguće jednostavno prepoznati, jer i nastavnici i stručni saradnici simptome posmatraju kao dio njihove svakodnevnice, koja im postaje uobičajena i prihvatljiva.

Kroz profesionalni rad u odgojno-obrazovnim ustanovama nastavnici i stručni saradnici nerijetko nailaze na prepreke i poteškoće koje se manifestuju kao emocionalne poteškoće, fizička i psihička iscrpljenost, socijalne poteškoće i dr. Iako postoje različite definicije burnouta, većinom se sve odnose na iscrpljenost nastavnika i saradnika, manjak energije, emocionalne poteškoće i sl. Zbog prirode posla nastavnika i stručnih saradnika, u odgojno-obrazovnim ustanovama se od njih očekuje raspoloženost, emocionalna i socijalna kompetentnost, spremnost za rad i participativnost u svakom trenutku. Međutim, i ukoliko se primijete simptomi profesionalnog sagorijevanja često se od strane samih nastavnika i stručnih saradnika pribjegava potiskivanju i negiranju postojanja istih zbog mogućih negativnih reakcija socijalne okoline i radnog okruženja.



Prema Maslahovu (1981), psihička stanja emocionalne iscrpljenosti, depersonalizacije i doživljaja smanjenog ličnog postignuća, koja su karakteristična kod profesionalnog sagorijevanja, često su povezana i sa drugim simptomima, npr. osoba ne vidi lični napredak, ne smatra svoj radni učinak bitnim i značajnim, stalno osjeća napetost, ulaže mnogo napora i truda u izvršavanje obaveza, ali ne vidi rezultate. Maslach i Leiter (1997) su konstruirali model sagorijevanja nastavnika na poslu prema kojem se kod nastavnika prvo javlja emocionalna iscrpljenost, zatim povišena depersonalizacija, dok se smanjeno lično postignuće javlja posebno. Javlja se i osjećaj frustracije, pomanjkanje interesa u komunikaciji s drugim ljudima, što može dovesti i do odustajanja od samog posla (Martinko 2010). Također treba napomenuti da je sindrom sagorijevanja prepoznat i u psihijatriji, gdje je prema Klasifikaciji mentalnih poremećaja i poremećaja ponašanja (ICD-10) uključen u dijagnozu pod nazivom Poremećaji prilagođavanja (F 43.2) koja uključuje poremećaje u socijalnom ili radnom, odnosno akademskom funkcioniranju (WHO 1992).

Razmatrajući problem profesionalnog sagorijevanja i njegovu klasičnu definiciju Čurčić (2015) ističe da su Girdino, Everly i Dusek sindrom sagorijevanja definisali kao stanje psihičke, fizičke ili psihofizičke iscrpljenosti uzrokovane pretjeranim i produženim stresom, razlikujući tri stupnja sagorijevanja:

- početna načetost stresom – u kojoj se javljaju psihološke i fiziološke reakcije kao što su razdraženost, anksioznost, palpitacije srca, probavni problemi, škripanje zubima u snu, nesanicu, zaboravljanje, problemi koncentracije itd.;
- reaktivna kompenzacija stresa s očuvanjem energije – u kojoj se javlja kašnjenje na posao, odgađanje poslova, izbjegavanje zadataka, stalan umor, pad seksualne želje, porast cinizma, izolacija od prijatelja i obitelji, pretjerivanje u pušenju, ispijanju kafe, opijanju ili upotrebi lijekova i psihoaktivnih supstanci do potpune apatije;
- faza istrošenosti – u kojoj se javlja doživljaj posla i poslovnih obaveza kao opterećenje, hronična depresija, pad otpornosti uz stalno poboljšavanje, hronični želučani i crijevni problemi, hronična psihička i fizička izmorenost, glavobolje ili migrene, želja za bijegom, učestale suicidalne primisli.

Čurčić (2015) ističe da su različita istraživanja potvrdila prisustvo pojave ovog sindroma u radnim sredinama u kojima se pojedinci susreću s problemom nesigurnosti za svoje radno mjesto, gdje nedostaje kontrole rada kao i odgovarajuće zaštite radnika, te tamo gdje su zahtjevi radnoga mjesta takvi da radnike prisiljavaju na duže radno vrijeme, iznenadne promjene u procesu rada i hitnost intervencija, bez mogućnosti dovoljnoga odmora. Pored navedenog, ovaj sindrom se često locira u



sredinama s neadekvatnim plaćama, s kritičnim šefom, tamo gdje su radni zadaci bez kraja, gdje postoji osjećaj besmislenog posla i gdje je nastavnik, stručni saradnik i sl. prisiljen na dvoličnost i kontradiktornost uloga s nekompatibilnim zahtjevima (ako izvršiš jedan, onemogućuješ izvršenje drugog).

## **METODE I POSTUPCI**

U radu se razmatra profesionalno sagorijevanje kod nastavnika i stručnih saradnika u odgojno obrazovnom radu. Cilj rada bio je predstaviti rezultate dosadašnjih istraživanja, a koja ukazuju na prisutnost, prirodu i posljedice profesionalnog sagorijevanja nastavnika i stručnih saradnika u odgojno-obrazovnom kontekstu. Korištena je analitičko-deskriptivna metoda i postupak analize sadržaja. Za istraživanje su korišteni pretraživač Google Scholar, Online platform for Taylor & Francis Group content, Web of Science, ResearchGate u elektornskim bazama podataka Taylor & Francis, Routledge, CRC Press, Psychology Press, Garland Science, Focal Press, Hrcak, Blackwell Synergy, DOAJ i Master FILE Premier. Pregledani su i radovi objavljeni u štampanim časopisima, te dostupni zbornici radova sa naučnih konferencija. Pretraživanje baza podataka je provedeno u maju i junu mjesecu 2024. godine, a temeljilo se na sadržajnoj analizi sažetaka publikovanih radova koji su sadržavali sljedeće ključne riječi: profesionalno sagorijevanje, burnout kod nastavnika, burnout kod stručnih saradnika, burnout u odgojno-obrazovnom radu. Razmatrani su radovi koji su publikovani na bosanskom, hrvatskom, srpskom i engleskom jeziku. Za separaciju i razvrstavanje članaka korišten je postupak analize sadržaja. Sadržajni kriterij za razvrstavanje radova bila je tematska kompatibilnost radova sa problemom profesionalnog sagorijevanja nastavnika i stručnih saradnika. Za potrebe pisanja rada ukupno 19 publikovanih radova zadovoljilo je sadržajni kriterij. U analizu sadržaja su uključeni radovi koji zadovoljavaju sljedeće kriterije: radovi publicirani u periodu od januara 2009. godine do januara 2024. godine, radovi koji tretiraju burnout sindrom u odgojno-obrazovnom radu, radovi čiji rezultati istraživanja su predstavljeni i kvantitativnim i kvalitativnim metodama, radovi čiji ispitanici su bili nastavnici i stručni saradnici u odgojno-obrazovnom radu. Za teorijsku elaboraciju problema istraživanja razmatrani su radovi čiji sadržaj tretira profesionalno sagorijevanje nastavnika i stručnih saradnika u odgojno-obrazovnom radu, a ne predstavljaju samo empirijska istraživanja. Korištena je i relevantna udžbenička literatura za objašnjavanje i elaboraciju problema burnout sindroma u području odgojno obrazovnog rada.

## PREGLED REZULTATA ISTRAŽIVANJA

**Tabela 1.** Sistematski pregled studija

Autor(i) i god.	Rezultati istraživanja
Bjelopoljak, Midžić (2022)	Rezultati su pokazali da najveći dio stručnih saradnika (pedagoga, psihologa i pedagoga-psihologa), tačnije njih 26 (40,62%) nema sagorijevanja na poslu, odnosno kod tih stručnih saradnika su prisutni izolirani znakovi stresa. Zatim slijedi grupa stručnih saradnika kod kojih je prisutno početno sagorijevanje. Njih 21 (32,81%) ima ozbiljne znakove upozorenja zbog trajne izloženosti stresu. Što se tiče stručnih saradnika kod kojih je evidentno prisutno profesionalno sagorijevanje, takvih je 17 (26,57%). Kod svih ispitanika, bez obzira da li se nalaze u kategoriji prisustva ili odusustva profesionalnog sagorijevanja, prisutni su emocionalni, ponašajni i kognitivni znakovi profesionalnog stresa.
Koludrović i sur. (2009)	Rezultati su pokazali da općenito učitelji i nastavnici ne doživljavaju visoku razinu sagorijevanja na poslu, ali da postoje razlike u nekim dimenzijama sagorijevanja između učitelja razredne nastave i ostalih nastavnika. Učitelji razredne nastave su, naime, značajno zadovoljniji odabranim zanimanjem od ostalih nastavnika, a imaju i značajno pozitivniji stav prema učenicima. Nadalje, procjene sudionika o zadovoljstvu poslom u značajnoj su negativnoj korelaciji sa svim dimenzijama sagorijevanja na poslu. Pokazalo se da većina sudionika u ovom istraživanju doživljava vrlo nisku ili nisku razinu sagorijevanja na poslu.
Slišković i sur. (2016)	Rezultati su pokazali da radni staž može biti značajan prediktor sagorijevanja na poslu, pri čemu pojedinci s više godina staža doživljavaju više razine iscrpljenosti i otuđenosti. Dobijeno je i to da i samoefikasnost učitelja značajno pridonosi objašnjenju zadovoljstva poslom i profesionalnog sagorijevanja.
Mihajlov i sur. (2024)	Rezultati su pokazali da su najprisutniji simptomi profesionalnog izgaranja u domeni osobnog postignuća (76%), zatim slijede emocionalna iscrpljenost (63,6%) i depersonalizacija (62%). Ne postoji statistički značajna razlika u ispitivanim aspektima profesionalnog izgaranja s obzirom na dob, radni staž i spol. Rezultati također ukazuju da nema statistički značajnih razlika između školskih pedagoga i školskih psihologa u pogledu emocionalne iscrpljenosti, ali da pedagozi u većoj mjeri iskazuju negativan stav prema korisnicima (depersonalizacija) kao i veći prosječan skor na ljestvici osobnog postignuća.
Peron Carballo i sur. (2023)	Rezultati su pokazali da postoji velika vjerovatnoća pojave sagorijevanja među učiteljima, a kao razlozi i rizični faktori za se navode: prevelika količina posla, manjak autoriteta, loš kvalitet odnosa, fizičko i psihičko nasilje doživljeno u školi i sl.

Panagouli i sur. (2019)	Rezultati su pokazali da radno okruženje u školskim jedinicama za specijalno obrazovanje može dovesti do sindroma sagorevanja osoblja kod različitih profesionalaca koji rade u ovoj oblasti. Prema rezultatima multivarijantne linearne regresije stalno (koeficijent $b=8,0$ , 95% CI=3,2-12,9, $p=0,001$ ) i ugovorno osoblje (koeficijent $b=15,4$ , 95% CI=8,4-22,4, $p<0,001$ ) pokazuju viši nivo ličnog sagorevanja u odnosu na zamjensko osoblje. Stalno osoblje (koeficijent $b=8,9$ , 95% CI=3,9-13,9, $p=0,001$ ) i ugovorno osoblje (koeficijent $b=10,0$ , 95% CI 95=2,9-17,2, $p=0,006$ ) pokazalo je viši nivo profesionalnog sagorijevanja u poređenju sa zamjenskim osobljem. Konačno, što je veće radno iskustvo u specijalnosti, to je veći i stepen sagorevanja koji se odnosi na studente (koeficijent $b=0,4$ , 95% CI=0,01-0,7, $p=0,042$ ). Osoblje školskih jedinica za specijalno obrazovanje pokazalo je nizak nivo sagorijevanja.
Koropetska i sur. (2024)	Rezultati su pokazali da znakovi profesionalnog sagorijevanja kod socijalnih radnika se prepoznaju kao insomnija, pretjerano konzumiranje hrane, negativan odnos prema radnim kolegama, prijateljima, porodici. Sindrom sagorijevanja se manifestuje kroz stanja depresije, propadanja, gubljenja interesa za profesionalni rast, aktivnosti i općenito život.
Martinko (2010)	Rezultati su pokazali da je općenita razina sagorijevanja niska, ali upućuju na određen broj nastavnika u obrazovanju odraslih koji iskazuju simptome sagorijevanja u najmanje jednom od tri aspekta sagorijevanja: emocionalnoj iscrpljenosti, depersonalizaciji i osobnom postignuću. Nadalje, rezultati pokazuju da ispitanici koji osjećaju veću emocionalnu iscrpljenost na poslu ujedno imaju i veći osjećaj depersonalizacije u radu s ljudima.
Vlahović-Štetić, Kolega (2015)	Rezultati su na Maslachinom upitniku profesionalnog sagorijevanja pokazali srednju razinu emocionalne iscrpljenosti i osobnog postignuća, i nisku razinu depersonalizacije. Nema razlika u sagorijevanju s obzirom na dob i radni staž sudionika, ali sudionici koji rade u gradu postižu manje rezultate na dimenziji depersonalizacije i veće rezultate na dimenziji osobnog postignuća od onih zaposlenih na selu/naselju.

Silajdžić (2015)	Rezultati su pokazali da najslabiju i pozitivnu povezanost s kriterijskom mjerom fiziološki simptomi stresa pokazuje percipirano opterećenje u radu, što znači da je za učesnike koji percipiraju više opterećenja u radu karakteristična i viša razina fizioloških simptoma stresa. Skala opterećenja koje nastavnici opažaju u svom radu ispituje različite aspekte koji mogu doprinijeti izraženom stresu. Brojnost učenika u odjeljenjima, obimni nastavni programi, dodatni rad sa učenicima i pripreme različitih aktivnosti, administrativni rad i saradnja sa roditeljima, između ostalog, mogu kod nastavnika izazvati osjećaj da ne mogu udovoljiti svim zahtjevima, da gube povjerenje u vlastite sposobnosti, da ne vladaju situacijom.
Spittle, Kremer i Sullivan (2015)	Rezultati su pokazali nivoe sagorijevanja među nastavnicima fizičkog vaspitanja u srednjim školama, te da su sveukupno nastavnici fizičkog vaspitanja prijavili umjerene, niske i nisko umjerene nivoe sagorijevanja na emocionalnu iscrpljenost (M=21,0), depersonalizaciju (M=4,7) i dimenzije ličnog postignuća (M=38,6). Rezultati sagorijevanja nisu se razlikovali za spol i samo rezultati na dimenziji ličnog postignuća su se razlikovali po godinama, pri čemu su mlađi nastavnici prijavili niže nivoe postignuća, što ukazuje na veće sagorijevanje. Nisu uočene značajne interakcije spol i starosna grupa ni za dimenziju emocionalne iscrpljenosti ni za dimenziju ličnog postignuća, ali je efekat bio značajan za dimenziju depersonalizacije; mlađi nastavnici su prijavili više rezultate (umjereni nivo) za depersonalizaciju od starijih nastavnika (nizak nivo), dok su i mlađe i starije učiteljice prijavile jednako niske rezultate (niski nivoi).
Pavić, Milutinović (2021)	Rezultati su pokazali da najviše nastavnika zdravstvene njege ima umjereno ispoljeno sagorijevanje. Prosječan rezultat na skali sagorevanja bio je 56.1. čime je utvrđeno da ne postoji značajna razlika u ispoljavanju sindroma sagorijevanja kod nastavnika u odnosu na demografske karakterisitike (pol, bračno stanje, godine radnog iskustva i vrsta nastave u medicinskoj školi). Analizom rezultata dvije skale utvrđeno je da nema značajne povezanosti između intenziteta sagorijevanja i stepena rezilijentnosti kod nastavnika zdravstvene njege. Nalazi ove studije pokazali su umjeren nivo sagorijevanja kod nastavnika. To može poslužiti kao podsticaj za razvoj strategija za sprečavanje nastanka sindroma sagorijevanja.

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Boljat (2020)	Rezultati su pokazali da na uzorku od 2829 nastavnika osnovnih i srednjih škola iz svih hrvatskih županija kod otkrivanja percepcije radnih uvjeta kao potencijalnih stresora te njihovog odnosa prema motivaciji za rad, simptomima izgaranja i namjeri da napuste posao, postoje razlike u stavovima u pogledu pola, godina radnog staža i nivoa škole u kojoj su zaposleni, vrste studija koje su završili i napredovanja nastavnika. Kvalitativna analiza komentara nastavnika otkrila je glavne izvore nezadovoljstva iz perspektive nastavnika. Dodata su pitanja o opterećenosti nastavnika u online nastavi tokom pandemije COVID-19, o pritisku direktora i roditelja na nezavisnost nastavnika, te o socijalnom statusu nastavnika.
Tatalović Vorkapić i sur. (2018).	Rezultati su pokazali da je preduvjet očuvanja dobrobiti djece i mladih očuvanje mentalnog zdravlja odgojno-obrazovnih djelatnika. Naglašava se važnost sistemskog proučavanja korelacije profesionalnog sagorijevanja odgajatelja, osobina ličnosti i kompetentnosti, te mogućnosti njegova predviđanja. Utvrđene su niske razine svih dimenzija profesionalnog sagorijevanja, srednja razina samoprocijenjenih kompetencija za rad s djecom s teškoćama u razvoju u redovnim skupinama, te visoke razine svih osobina ličnosti osim neuroticizma. Korelacijske su analize pokazale značajnu povezanost između snižene samoprocijenjene kompetentnosti za rad s djecom s teškoćama u razvoju u redovnim skupinama i povećanog neuroticizma i profesionalne opterećenosti, te značajno snižene ugodnosti. Sve dimenzije povišenog profesionalnog sagorijevanja pokazale su značajnu povezanost s povišenim neuroticizmom i značajno sniženom ugodnošću, dok je povišena ekstraverzija značajno povezana sa sniženom profesionalnom opterećenošću. Snižena razina samoprocijenjene kompetentnosti za rad s djecom s teškoćama i visoki neuroticizam su značajni prediktori svih dimenzija profesionalnog sagorijevanja, dok se ugodnost pokazala značajnim prediktorom samo za profesionalnu neispunjenost.
Rodrigues, Carlotto (2017)	Rezultati su pokazali prediktore sindroma sagorijevanja na uzorku od 518 psihologa koji rade u državi Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. Korišteni istraživački instrumenti su Cuestionario para la Evaluación del Síndrome de Quemarse por el Trabajo (Upitnik za procjenu sindroma izgaranja na poslu); baterija za procjenu psihosocijalnog rizika; COPE inventar – skala za procjenu strategija suočavanja; skala emocionalnog rada i upitnik za procjenu sociodemografskih i radnih varijabli. Rezultati analize višestruke linearne regresije pokazuju da su prediktori sa najvećom snagom objašnjenja dimenzija sagorevanja bili preopterećeni rad i strategije suočavanja sa fokusom na emocije. Prediktivni model otkriva da rizici od razvoja sagorevanja proizlaze iz korelacije između ličnih i poslovnih varijabli.

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Pas i sur.  
(2010)

Rezultati su pokazali da raste zabrinutost zbog faktora kao što su izgaranje ili niska efikasnost nastavnika, za koje se pretpostavlja da utiču na rezultate učenika kao što su postignuća ili problemi sa disciplinom. U radu se ispitivalo kakav odnos ima izgaranje i efikasnost na disciplinske mjere učenika (npr. upućivanje direktoru i suspenzije) i upućivanje na usluge podrške u školi (npr. podrška učenicima i specijalno obrazovanje), uz prilagodavanje za škole, nastavnike, i varijable na nivou učenika. Podaci su prikupljeni tokom jeseni i proljeća jedne školske godine od 491 nastavnika za 9.795 učenika u 31 osnovnoj školi. Suprotno očekivanjima, niska efikasnost nastavnika u jesen je bila povezana sa smanjenjem upućivanja učenika na tim za podršku. Također neočekivano, manje je vjerovatno da će nastavnici sa visokim sagorijevanjem u jesen imati učenike koji su do proljeća dobili isključenje iz škole. Ovi nalazi mogu poslužiti za razvoj skrininga i intervencija usmjerenih na nastavnika.

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Ghanizadeh,  
Jahedizadeh  
(2015)

Rezultati su pokazali da je burnout sindrom, koji je posljedica oblika hroničnog stresa, povezan s čestom interakcijom i bliskim kontaktima sa drugima. Nastava kao interaktivna i stresna profesija je veoma sklona sagorijevanju. Mnoštvo studija u oblasti sagorevanja nastavnika pokazalo je da sindrom pod uticajem različitih faktora može stvoriti različite posljedice. Podaci iz 30 studija objavljenih u Elsevier, Sage, Taylor & Francis, Wiley i Springer bili su kodirani na osnovu šeme kodiranja prilagođene prethodnim sistematskim pregledima. Studije su bile široko klasifikovane u one koje se sprovode u oblasti općeg obrazovanja i jezika obrazovanja. Fokus pregleda bio je usmjeren na uzroke i posljedice sagorijevanja nastavnika. Analiza je pokazala višedimenzionalnu prirodu sagorijevanja nastavnika uzrokovanu mnoštvom varijabli koje izazivaju mnoštvo posljedica na individualnom i na organizacijskom nivou. Na osnovu ovih nalaza predstavljene su neke preporuke i strategije za ublažavanje sagorijevanja nastavnika.

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Sarıçam, Sakız (2014) Rezultati su pokazali kakav je odnos između samoeфикаsnosti nastavnika i sagorijevanja među nastavnicima specijalnih škola u Turskoj. Na uzorku od 118 nastavnika nalazi su pokazali da postoje značajne veze između samoeфикаsnosti nastavnika i sagorijevanja. Nastavnici su bili u programu psihološkog savjetovanja i vođenja, u osnovnom obrazovanju, u programu specijalnog obrazovanja, programu obrazovanja učenika sa mentalnim oštećenjima, programu obrazovanja učenika sa oštećenjem sluha, programu obrazovanja učenika sa oštećenjem vida, u muzičkom i likovnom obrazovanju. Također, utvrđene su značajne razlike između spola i grana u smislu sagorijevanja i samoeфикаsnosti nastavnika. Indeksi modeliranja strukturnih jednačina ukazuju na to da su domene sagorijevanja snažno predviđene samoeфикасношću. Nalazi naglašavaju važnost uvjerenja o samoeфикаsnosti u nivou emocionalne uključenosti, osjećaja postignuća i angažmana osoblja za specijalno obrazovanje.

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Duli (2016) Rezultati su pokazali da je profesionalno sagorijevanje povezano sa grupnim simptomima kao što su emocionalna iscrpljenost, depersonalizacija i lična dostignuća. Nastavnici koji rade u službama specijalnog obrazovanja percipiraju nizak nivo zadovoljstva poslom i negativnu evaluaciju ishoda posla, a doživljavaju i visok nivo depresije, psihičkih disfunkcija i sukob uloga. Rezultati istraživanja su dali odgovore na pitanje da li su godine radnog iskustva kao demografska varijabla važan prediktor za doživljavanje emocionalne iscrpljenosti i depersonalizaciju kao glavni simptom profesionalnog sagorijevanja. Podaci su prikupljeni u školama za specijalno obrazovanje u Tirani, Skadru, Draču, Valoni, Korči i Elbasanu. U istraživanju je učestvovalo 115 ispitanika. Nađene su značajne korelacije između godina iskustva, emocionalne iscrpljenosti i depersonalizacije. Godine iskustva mogu se smatrati varijablom posrednika među ove tri varijable, što je važan prediktor emocionalnosti, iscrpljenosti i depersonalizacije.

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## DISKUSIJA

Rad nastavnika i stručnih saradnika u ustanovama odgojno-obrazovnog tipa predstavlja ozbiljan izazov sa aspekta kompetentnog investiranja vlastitih resursa s ciljem dostizanja pozitivnih i očekivanih ishoda i učinaka. Izazovi su kompleksni s obzirom na sve veće zahtjeve i očekivanja od nastavnika i stručnih saradnika koji dolaze izvan radnog okruženja (najčešće od djece, roditelja itd.). Uvidom u različita istraživanja diferenciraju se razni rizični faktori koji mogu podsticati nastanak i razvoj sindroma sagorijevanja kod nastavnika i stručnih saradnika.

Nastavnici, pedagozi, socijalni pedagozi, psiholozi i ostali stručni saradnici koji učestvuju u različitim aktivnostima odgojno-obrazovnog rada izloženi su svakodnevnom stresu, ogromnom obimu poslova, prekomjernosti grupa s kojima rade i sl., a što izlazi iz okvira standarda uobičajenih profesionalnih zadataka. Najčešće su to poslovni zadaci koji se odnose na prekomjerno posvećivanje vremena djelatnostima čiji je fokus na preobimnoj administraciji (pedagoškoj dokumentaciji, izvještajima itd.). Između ostalog, Silajdžić (2015) u svom istraživanju ukazuje da su brojnost učenika u odjeljenjima, obimni programi, dodatni rad sa učenicima i pripreme različitih aktivnosti, administrativni rad i saradnja sa roditeljima neki od faktora koji kod nastavnika izazivaju osjećaj da ne mogu udovoljiti svim zahtjevima, gube povjerenje u vlastite sposobnosti te stvaraju osjećaj da ne vladaju situacijom.

Istraživanja o profesionalnom sagorijevanju nastavnika i stručnih saradnika u odgojno-obrazovnom radu su izuzetno značajna jer mogu kreirati osnovu za preveniranje ozbiljnih posljedica za zaposlene nastavnike i stručne saradnike u institucijama obrazovanja. Razumijevanje prirode i uzroka sagorijevanja nastavnika i stručnih saradnika pomaže u identificiranju ključnih faktora koji doprinose ovom problemu i omogućava razvoj strategija za prevenciju i adekvatnu intervenciju. Nastavnici i stručni saradnici igraju ključnu ulogu u odgojno-obrazovnom procesu sa aspekta svrhe i zadataka institucionalnog odgoja i obrazovanja. Istraživanja koja su proveli Pas i sur. (2010), Rodrigues i Carlotto (2017) i Ghanizadeh i Jahedizadeh (2015) ukazuju na činjenicu da ako su nastavnici i stručni saradnici pogođeni sagorijevanjem, to može uticati na kvalitet usluga u odgojno-obrazovnom radu, odnosno na njihovu sposobnost da se angažuju i motivišu učenike. Shodno tome, razumijevanje sagorijevanja pomaže u očuvanju kvalitete usluga u području institucionalnog odgoja i obrazovanja.

Profesionalno sagorijevanje može izazvati ozbiljne posljedice kaka je u pitanju fizičko i mentalno zdravlje nastavnika i stručnih saradnika. Od izuzetnog značaja je blagovremeno identificirati simptome i potencijalne rizike, kao i razvijati programe prevencije i podrške kroz resurse za očuvanje zdravlja i dobrobiti. Sa aspekta prevencije mentalnog zdravlja posebno su zanimljivi rezultati istraživanja Koropetska i sur. (2024), koji su pokazali da se znakovi profesionalnog sagorijevanja kod socijalnih radnika prepoznaju kao insomnija, pretjerano konzumiranje hrane, negativan odnos prema radnim kolegama, prijateljima, porodici. Sindrom sagorijevanja se manifestuje kroz stanja depresije, propadanja, gubljenja interesa za profesionalni rast, aktivnosti i općenito život. S druge strane rezultati istraživanja Silajdžić (2015) pokazali su pozitivnu povezanost s kriterijskom mjerom fiziološki



simptomi stresa, što upućuje na opterećenje u radu. Iz navedenog proizlazi da je za učesnike koji percipiraju više opterećenja u radu karakteristična i viša razina fizioloških simptoma stresa. I Ghanizadeh i Jahedizadeh (2015) naglašavaju da je burnout sindrom posljedica hroničnog stresa, povezanog s čestom interakcijom i bliskim kontaktima sa drugima, te da je nastava kao interaktivna i stresna profesija veoma sklona sagorijevanju. Tatalović Vorkapić i sur. (2018) u svom istraživanju ističu da je preduvjet očuvanja dobrobiti djece i mladih zapravo očuvanje mentalnog zdravlja odgojno-obrazovnih djelatnika.

Rad u toksičnom okruženju (prisustvo napetosti, konstantnih zahtjeva za maksimalnom angažiranošću, pretjeran i bespotreban nadzor, stalni pritisci i sl.), a gdje paralelno izostaje pružanje podrške i relaksirajuća radna atmosfera, i gdje se ne inzistira na pozitivnim međuljudskim odnosima, ugodnoj i prijatnoj radnoj atmosferi, dovodi do smanjenja želje i motivacije za radom na takvim poslovima, stresa, anksioznosti, pa čak i želje za potpunim prestankom bavljenja profesionalnim djelatnostima u području odgoja i obrazovanja.

Analiza uzroka i posljedica profesionalnog sagorijevanja u pojedinim istraživanjima može poslužiti kao osnova za prijedloge adekvatnih promjena u organizacijskim praksama i politikama u obrazovnim institucijama. To prvenstveno može uključivati poboljšanje radnih uvjeta, podršku u profesionalnom razvoju i pružanje resursa za bolju ravnotežu između posla i privatnog života. Istraživanja čiji rezultati su prethodno istaknuti, obezbjeđuju platformu za razvoj strategija i intervencija koje mogu pomoći u prevenciji sagorijevanja i podršci onima koji su pogođeni. Strategije mogu uključivati obuke za upravljanje stresom, poboljšanje radnih uvjeta i jačanje profesionalne mreže podrške. S tim u vezi, rezultati istraživanja treba da budu u funkciji korektivnog djelovanja na obrazovne politike i odgojno-obrazovne prakse. Oni treba da pomognu u hrabrijem donošenju odluka koje mogu poboljšati status, radne uslove i profesionalni razvoj za nastavnike i stručne saradnike.

Korištenje relevantnih baza podataka i izvora, uključujući radove iz štampanih časopisa i konferencijskih zbornika, omogućava obuhvatan pregled trenutnog stanja istraživanja profesionalnog sagorijevanja i može koristiti u oblikovanju temeljnijih i utemeljenijih preporuka za rješavanje problema profesionalnog sagorijevanja. Većina istraživanja koji su provedena u oblasti burnout sindroma, uglavnom se bave detekcijom, modelima prevencije i eventualnim preporukama za prevazilaženje specifičnih situacija u kojima se uočava burnout sindrom. Rezultati istraživanja uglavnom ukazuju da se uzroci profesionalnog sagorijevanja kod nastavnika i stručnih saradnika sastoje od više faktora koji utječu na razne aspekte života pojedinca, sa

vrlo opasnim posljedicama po zdravlje. Međutim, postoje i značajni nedostaci u postojećim istraživanjima o profesionalnom sagorijevanju kod nastavnika i stručnih saradnika. Uočava se nedostak dugoročnih studija. Većina istraživanja fokusira se na trenutne ili kratkoročne efekte profesionalnog sagorijevanja, a nema studija koje prate učinke sagorijevanja tokom vremena i procenjuju njegove dugoročne posljedice na profesionalni i lični život. Mnogi pristupi se fokusiraju na specifične aspekte sagorijevanja, kao što su emocionalna iscrpljenost ili stres, dok holistički pristupi, koji uključuju sve aspekte života pojedinca, uključujući socijalne, porodične i lične aspekte, nisu dovoljno istraženi. Pored navedenog, istraživanja često ne uzimaju u obzir različite demografske karakteristike i radne okoline. Na primjer, studije koje istražuju sagorijevanje samo u jednoj vrsti obrazovne ustanove ili specifičnoj zemlji mogu zanemariti varijacije koje se javljaju u različitim kontekstima. Iako se mnoge studije bave modelima prevencije i preporukama, postoji manjak empirijskih istraživanja o efikasnosti različitih intervencija i strategija u stvarnim radnim okruženjima, što ukazuje na potrebu provođenja istraživanja koja će empirijski testirati koje strategije prevencije i podrške su najučinkovitije. Također, većina istraživanja koristi kvantitativne metode, dok kvalitativne studije, koje pružaju dublje uvide u iskustva i percepcije nastavnika i stručnih saradnika o sagorijevanju, nedostaju. Kvalitativne studije mogu otkriti nijanse i detalje koji nisu uvijek evidentni u kvantitativnim istraživanjima. Istraživanja koja koriste interdisciplinarnu pristupe, integrirajući psihologiju, sociologiju, pedagogiju i druge oblasti kako bi se dobio sveobuhvatan uvid u profesionalno sagorijevanje, također su relativno rijetka. Neka istraživanja možda ne uzimaju u obzir specifične radne uslove i izazove s kojima se suočavaju nastavnici i stručni saradnici, kao što su visoki broj učenika, administrativne obaveze ili nedostatak resursa, što može značajno uticati na rezultate istraživanja. Jedan od nedostataka je i to što istraživanja često ne uzimaju u obzir kulturne i kontekstualne varijacije koje mogu uticati na prevalenciju i manifestaciju sagorijevanja. Kulture i radni konteksti u različitim regijama ili zemljama mogu značajno uticati na iskustva sagorijevanja. Ovi nedostaci ukazuju na potrebu za dubljim i sveobuhvatnijim istraživanjima koja mogu pružiti bolje razumijevanje i efikasnije strategije za prevenciju i intervenciju u slučaju profesionalnog sagorijevanja kod nastavnika i stručnih saradnika.

## ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA I PREPORUKE

Izazovi u preveniranju nastanka i razvoja profesionalnog sagorijevanja s kojima se suočavaju nastavnici i stručni saradnici ukazuju na vrlo složenu i multidimenzionalnu kompleksnost ovog problema. Na temelju pregleda različitih rezultata istraživanja može se zaključiti da je jedan od ključnih aspekata u prevenciji sprečavanje nastanka profesionalnog sagorijevanja. Sprečavanje nastanka ovog sindroma može poboljšati radne uslove tako što se identifikuju specifični stresori i prepreke u radnom okruženju, a može uključivati smanjenje administrativnog opterećenja i jasnije definisanje radnih zadataka, što su ključni elementi koji osiguravaju da radno okruženje bude podržavajuće. Razmatranje količine i obima preuzetog posla te pravilan raspored zadataka može pomoći da se izbjegne preopterećenje i osigura ravnoteža. Istraživanja su pokazala da sagorijevanje dovodi do konflikata i napetosti, a za posljedicu ima emocionalnu iscrpljenost i smanjeno strpljenje. Strategije za prevenciju sagorijevanja mogu uključivati obuke za komunikaciju i timski rad, kao i inicijative koje promoviraju suradnju i međusobnu podršku.

Implementacija strategija za upravljanje stresom i emocionalnom regulacijom može pomoći u smanjenju emocionalne opterećenosti, a može se obezbijediti kroz tehnike relaksacije, mindfulness i pristupe koji podržavaju emocionalno zdravlje i ravnotežu. Također i depersonalizacija, odnosno gubitak empatije i brige prema kolegama ili djeci i mladima, može se smanjiti kroz razvoj profesionalnih vještina i strategije koje omogućavaju održavanje zdravih granica i empatije, dok se istovremeno njeguju i lični resursi. Balansiranje između očekivanja i stvarnih resursa zahtijeva jasnu komunikaciju o realnim ciljevima i ograničenjima. Uvođenje realnih ciljeva i postavljanje očekivanja koja su usklađena sa dostupnim resursima može smanjiti frustraciju i osjećaj nesposobnosti. Postavljanje kratkoročnih i dugoročnih ciljeva, upravljanje vremenom i prioritizacija zadataka mogu pomoći u smanjenju osećaja preopterećenosti uz razumijevanje vlastitih limita i mogućnosti.

Mlađi nastavnici i stručni saradnici mogu imati koristi od mentorstva i supervizije koja im pomaže da realno procijene očekivanja i razviju potrebne vještine. Redovno mentorstvo i supervizija omogućavaju profesionalcima da razmotre svoje izazove i dobiju povratne informacije o svom radu, što može pomoći u prevenciji sagorijevanja.

Edukacija o simptomima sagorijevanja i strategijama prevencije može pomoći u ranom prepoznavanju problema i omogućiti proaktivne korake ka rješavanju izazova prije nego što postanu ozbiljni. Kontinuirano profesionalno usavršavanje može pomoći u izgradnji otpornosti i smanjenju stresa povezanog s radom kroz razvoj

vještina upravljanja vremenom, organizacijske sposobnosti i sposobnosti za efikasno upravljanje stresom. Preveniranjem sagorijevanja obrazovne institucije mogu stvoriti radno okruženje koje ne samo da poboljšava kvalitetu obrazovanja, već i unapređuje opće blagostanje i zadovoljstvo nastavnika i stručnih saradnika. Također, identifikovanje i slavljenje pozitivnih aspekata posla i ličnih postignuća može poboljšati motivaciju i zadovoljstvo. Pored toga, potrebno je kontinuirano istraživanje o tome kako specifični stresori mogu biti povezani sa simptomima sagorijevanja, anksioznosti i depresijom, što omogućava pravovremenu intervenciju. Važno je i lično angažovanje u aktivnostima koje doprinose mentalnom blagostanju, kao što su hobiji, kreativni izrazi i socijalne aktivnosti.

Efikasna prevencija sagorijevanja uključuje integraciju svih ovih elemenata u sveobuhvatan pristup koji pomaže profesionalcima da ostanu zdravi, motivisani i produktivni. Stvaranje podržavajućeg okruženja, razvijanje ličnih vještina i stalna evaluacija i prilagođavanje strategija su ključni za održavanje dugoročne otpornosti na stres i prevenciju sagorijevanja. Preporuke za prevenciju profesionalnog sagorijevanja u odgojno-obrazovnim ustanovama ključne su za očuvanje zdravlja i efikasnosti nastavnika i stručnih saradnika.

Odgojno obrazovne institucije mogu implementirati neke od slijedećih preporuka, a kako bi smanjile rizik od sagorijevanja. S tim u vezi, neophodno je:

- unaprijediti radne uslove kroz razuman broj učenika po nastavniku/saradniku i ravnomjerna raspodjela administrativnih zadataka;
- učiniti funkcionalnim prostorni ambijent kroz udobne radne prostore sa adekvatnom opremom i resursima za obavljanje posla;
- podržavati razvoj karijere kroz mentorski program (mentorski sistem) za nove nastavnike i stručne saradnike kako bi se olakšao prelazak u novu sredinu i pružila podrška u profesionalnom razvoju;
- omogućiti podršku promociji mentalnog zdravlja kroz programe koji nude savjetovanje, terapiju i podršku zaposlenima u suočavanju sa stresom i emocionalnim izazovima;
- organizovati aktivnosti koje promovišu fizičko zdravlje kroz sport, šetnje i pješačenja, jogu itd;
- maksimalno racionalizirati sve procese kroz smanjivanje nepotrebne administracije i pružanje alata i resursa koji olakšavaju radne zadatke;
- postavljati realne ciljeve i pomoći nastavnicima i stručnim saradnicima da postave realistične i dostižne ciljeve, kao i pružati podršku u njihovom os-tvarivanju;

- razvijati kulturu otvorenosti kroz otvorenu komunikaciju za slobodno izražavanje brige i predlaganja poboljšanja;
- tazvijati i održavati timsku koheziju kroz timske aktivnosti i pružiti prilike za međusobnu saradnju;
- promovirati fleksibilnost u radu i omogućiti fleksibilne radne aranžmane kao što su rad od kuće ili fleksibilno radno vrijeme kad god je to moguće i prikladno;
- razvijati politike koje podržavaju zaposlenike tokom i nakon perioda profesionalnog sagorijevanja, uključujući mogućnosti za povratak na posao i period odmora.

Kontinuirano je potrebno vršiti procjene radnih uslova, nivoa stresa i opterećenja među zaposlenima, a kako bi se pravovremeno identifikovali i rješavali problemi, te koristiti povratne informacije od zaposlenih za prilagođavanje politika i procedura, kao i za unapređenje uslova rada. Neophodno je razviti sistematske pristupe koji nagrađuju trud i uspjeh, a ne samo ostvarene rezultate, čime se smanjuje pritisak na nastavnike i stručne saradnike. Implementacijom ovih preporuka, obrazovne institucije mogu značajno smanjiti rizik od profesionalnog sagorijevanja i stvoriti zdravije i podržavajuće radno okruženje koje poboljšava i profesionalnu efikasnost i ličnu dobrobit nastavnika i stručnih saradnika.

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## PROFESSIONAL BURNOUT IN EDUCATIONAL WORK OF TEACHERS AND EXPERT ASSOCIATES

### Summary:

The first observations about the consequences of long-term professional stress began in the seventies of the last century in the professional work of health workers. The syndrome of burnout at work (burnout), which is characterized as a state of emotional, mental and physical exhaustion, has been presented in many studies as a consequence of long-term exhaustion and overload of experts during work. The goal of this paper was to present results that indicate the presence, nature and consequences of professional burnout of professional associates and teachers in the educational context through previous research. Research results indicate that professional burnout of teachers and professional associates often indicates the presence of feelings of exhaustion, lack of motivation, signs of frustration, helplessness, etc. which often has consequences for productivity at work, relationships with others and general well-being. Given that professional burnout can lead to a loss of desire for academic advancement, social relationships, communication, etc. which can be obstacles and difficulties that will hinder professional and quality educational work, it is necessary to define new recommendations that can prevent professional burnout, as well as prevent the reduction of symptoms of burnout and its manifestation in all spheres of life of professionals involved in educational work.

**Keywords:** burnout; teachers; professional associates; educational work

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## **UPOTREBA DIGITALNIH TEHNOLOGIJA I UČENJE U DIGITALNOM OKRUŽENJU: PRIMER STUDENATA UNIVERZITETA U NOVOM SADU<sup>1</sup>**

Analogno okruženje za učenje neretko se kombinuje ili u pojedinim slučajevima i potpuno zamenjuje sa digitalnim okruženjem, što je posebno aktualizovano pandemijom COVID-19. U cilju ostvarivanja uvida u percepcije, prakse i iskustva studenata u vezi sa upotrebom digitalnih tehnologija i učenjem u digitalnom okruženju realizovano je kvalitativno istraživanje u kom je primenjena tehnika dubinskih intervjua. Uzorak istraživanja činilo je 14 studenata Univerziteta u Novom Sadu, pri čemu su studenti društveno-humanističkih, prirodno-matematičkih, tehničko-tehnoloških, medicinskih nauka, kao i umetnosti bili zastupljeni u podjednakoj meri. Našim istraživanjem nastojali smo da, sagledavanjem perspektive studenata, doprinesemo korpusu istraživanja sprovedenih u postpandemijskom periodu. Rezultati istraživanja su interpretirani u okviru četiri celine, počevši od sagledavanja šireg konteksta i upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija u svakodnevnom životu studenata, kao sredstva zabave i opuštanja, sredstva komunikacije i povezivanja, pa sve do sredstva informisanja i učenja. Druga celina usmerena je na upotrebu digitalnih tehnologija u kontekstu učenja, dok je treća celina posvećena primeni digitalnih tehnologijai učenju u digitalnom okruženju u toku nastavnog procesa. Nakon toga istražene su percepcije i mogućnosti koegzistencije različitih modela nastave. Na osnovu proučene literature i rezultata sprovedenog istraživanja izvodi se zaključak da je pandemija, kao kontekstualni faktor, potencijalno uticala na negativne stavove studenata prema onlajn obrazovanju, budući da se radilo o „hitnom obrazovanju na daljinu”, a ne obrazovanju koje je planirano da bude

<sup>1</sup> Tekst je nastao u okviru projekta *Pedagoške, psihološke i sociološke dimenzije napredjenja kvaliteta visokoškolske nastave: mogućnosti i izazovi* za čije ostvarivanje je deo sredstava obezbedio Pokrajinski sekretarijat za visoko obrazovanje i naučnoistraživačku delatnost Vojvodine rešenjem broj: 142-451-3379/2023-02.

onlajn. Sa druge strane, kao primarna svrha upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija i učenja u digitalnom okruženju navodi se preuzimanje materijala za učenje. U tom kontekstu, pitanje proučavanja Otvorenih obrazovnih resursa (OOR) bi u budućnosti moglo da dobije sve više na značaju. Iako svi studenti izveštavaju o upotrebi digitalnih tehnologija u kontekstu učenja i nastave, primetno je i postojanje razlika u obimu, učestalosti i načinu njihove primene. Među proučenim varijablama pripadnost određenom obrazovnom polju pokazala se kao relevantnija za odgovore učesnika u odnosu na pol i prosek.

**Ključne reči:** digitalno okruženje; analogno okruženje; studenti; obrazovno polje

## 1. UVODNA RAZMATRANJA

Obrazovanje je, kao društveni podsistem, oduvek bilo podložno društvenim uticajima i promenama. Analizirajući „anatomiju“ univerziteta u cilju identifikovanja promena u njegovim karakteristikama kroz istoriju, McCowan (2016) navodi da savremeni univerzitet odlikuje ulazna i izlazna propustljivost, odnosno lakoća protoka aktera i ideja iz društva u univerzitet i obrnuto. U tom smislu univerziteti mogu biti propustljivi u odnosu na znanje iz drugih sektora; ili obrnuto, mogu aktivno prenositi i komunicirati proizvedeno znanje partnerima van univerziteta. U tom kontekstu možemo posmatrati i zahtev za digitalnom transformacijom obrazovanja koji poslednjih decenija postaje imperativ. Razvijene zemlje, ali i zemlje u razvoju, ulažu značajne napore kako bi što uspešnije integrisale tehnologiju u obrazovanje i unapredile nastavni proces i učenje. Pored pozitivnih efekata tehnologije na obrazovanje, nacije su prepoznale i ključnu ulogu koju tehnologija ima u osiguravanju poslova na tržištu 21. veka, a samim tim i osiguravanju konkurentnosti zemalja u globalnoj ekonomiji zasnovanoj na znanju i informacijama (Jhurree 2005). Kao jedan od ključnih pokretača za integraciju tehnologije u obrazovanje navodi se potreba za prilagođavanjem današnjim mladima (Bower 2017). Deca i mladi koji su rođeni okruženi digitalnim tehnologijama u literaturi su prepoznati pod nazivom „digitalni urođenici“ (Prensky 2001), pri čemu se navodi da su specifičnosti njihovog odrastanja uslovile fundamentalno drugačiji način mišljenja i obrade informacija u odnosu na njihove prethodnike, tzv. „digitalne imigrante“ (Prensky 2001). Međutim, takve tvrdnje osporene su istraživanjima koja nisu pronašla dokaze o promenama u kognitivnim sposobnostima kod čitavih generacija dece i mladih (Mertala i sar. 2024). Ipak, debata o „digitalnim urođenicima“ otvorila je brojna pitanja i intenzivirala istraživanja koja se tiču učenja i poučavanja mladih koji

rastu okruženi digitalnim tehnologijama, kao i implikacija koje to može imati na obrazovni proces.

Pandemija COVID-19 može se smatrati važnom prekretnicom kada je u pitanju digitalna transformacija obrazovanja. Iako je pomenuta tematika bila aktuelna i ranije, period pandemije je intenzivirao primenu digitalnih tehnologija u obrazovnom procesu. Obrazovni sistemi prošli su kroz različite faze potpunih i delimičnih zatvaranja i ponovnih otvaranja, što je dovelo do različitih modela nastave – onlajn, hibridnih i kombinovanih (Otto i sar. 2023). U tom kontekstu u naučnoj literaturi skovan je termin „hitno obrazovanje na daljinu” (eng. *emergency remote teaching – ERT*), kako bi se napravila razlika između alternativnog načina odvijanja nastave usled kriznih okolnosti i iskustava koja su od početka planirana i kreirana da se sprovede onlajn (Hodges i sar. 2020). Iako „hitno obrazovanje na daljinu” ne možemo u potpunosti poistovetiti sa onlajn obrazovanjem, ono je otvorilo put ka inicijalnim digitalnim obrazovnim iskustvima, na čijim temeljima se može razvijati „nova normalnost“ u praksama visokog obrazovanja (Otto i sar. 2023; Rapanta i sar. 2021). U literaturi se kao najperspektivniji ističe kombinovani model, koji bi potencijalno mogao da prevaziđe ograničenja tradicionalnog i onlajn modela nastave (Banihashem i sar. 2023; Konkin i sar. 2021; Rapanta i sar. 2021). Williamson i Hogan (2020) ističu da je prelazak na „onlajn obrazovanje“ i „hitno obrazovanje na daljinu“ postavio obrazovnu tehnologiju (*edtech*) kao ključnu komponentu obrazovanja na globalnom nivou, dovodeći privatni sektor i komercijalne organizacije u središte pružanja osnovnih obrazovnih usluga, što bi moglo da ima dugoročni uticaj. Obrazovna tehnologija, između ostalog, obuhvata i veliki broj obrazovnih resursa koji se mogu koristiti i kao dopuna svakodnevnim nastavnim praksama u obrazovanju, uključujući i onlajn udžbenike, programe gejmfikacije, softvere za kodiranje, alate za kreiranje kvizova i ocenjivanja, digitalne komunikacione alate i različita iskustva virtualne realnosti (Williamson i Hogan 2020). Pored shvatanja digitalizacije kao prilike za unapređenje obrazovnog procesa, prisutni su i istraživači koji izražavaju skepticizam i problematizuju digitalizaciju visokog obrazovanja zbog njenog potencijalnog doprinosa socijalnim nejednakostima i smanjenju kvaliteta obrazovanja (Zaimakis i Papadaki 2022).

Našim istraživanjem nastojali smo da sagledavanjem perspektive studenata doprinesemo korpusu istraživanja sprovedenih u postpandemijskom periodu. Cilj istraživanja odnosio se na ostvarivanje uvida u percepcije, prakse i iskustva studenata u vezi sa upotrebom digitalnih tehnologija i učenjem u digitalnom okruženju. Nakon uvodnih razmatranja i kratkog prikaza rezultata prethodno sprovedenih istraživanja,

predstavljena je metodologija istraživanja u kojoj je detaljno opisan postupak kvalitativne studije sprovedene na uzorku studenata Univerziteta u Novom Sadu. U narednom poglavlju, ključni nalazi istraživanja predstavljeni su i interpretirani. Konačno, na osnovu realizovanog istraživanja i proučene literature izvedena su i zaključna razmatranja.

## **2. REZULTATI PRETHODNO SPROVEDENIH ISTRAŽIVANJA**

Istraživanja koja se bave upotrebom digitalnih tehnologija od strane studenata već dugo su aktuelna. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da je upotreba digitalnih tehnologija široko rasprostranjena među studentima, ali i da je spektar tehnologije koju studenti koriste prilično ograničen. Na primer, u jednom istraživanju (Thompson 2013) navodi se da od osam istraživanih kategorija, studenti najčešće izveštavaju o korišćenju brze komunikacione tehnologije i veb resursa, poput traženja činjenica, istraživanja određene tematike, gledanja onlajn video zapisa i slušanja muzike. Kada je reč o digitalnim tehnologijama koje smatraju najkorisnijim za potrebe studija (Henderson i sar. 2015), studenti najčešće navode prakse koje su povezane sa organizacionim pitanjima, dok su prakse koje su eksplicitno povezane sa učenjem ređe navođene. Jedna od najistaknutijih praksi u vezi sa učenjem odnosila se na ponovno gledanje digitalno zabeleženih nastavnih materijala, najčešće snimaka predavanja. Takođe, značajna je i upotreba digitalnih tehnologija za istraživanje informacija. Iako ređe spominjana, navođena je i mogućnost digitalnih tehnologija da studentima obezbede pristup informacijama u vizuelnom formatu. Na osnovu metaanalize sprovedenih istraživanja o obrascima ponašanja mladih u digitalnom okruženju (Lasić-Lazić, Špiranec i Banek Zorica 2012) zaključuje se da mladi koriste digitalne tehnologije u obrazovne svrhe, ali da je često reč o horizontalnim ili površnim interakcijama koje su usmerene na kvantitet podataka umesto na njihovo kvalitetno tumačenje i kritičko razmatranje. Takvi rezultati su u suprotnosti sa karakteristikama koje se pripisuju digitalnim urođenicima, zbog čega se naglašava značaj digitalnog opismenjavanja mladih generacija, kao i uloga formalnog obrazovanja u tom procesu (Ibidem).

S obzirom na to da je pandemija COVID-19 dovela do široke primene digitalnih tehnologija u obrazovanju, veliki broj istraživanja posvećen je analizi načina na koje su tehnologije korišćene, proceni njihove efikasnosti i ispitivanju dugoročnih uticaja. Značajan broj istraživanja koji se odnosi na period pandemije sproveden je i u našem regionu. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da studenti kao pozitivne strane onlajn nastave najčešće navode prostornu i vremensku fleksibilnost, dostupnost nastavnih

materijala i uštedu vremena i novca (Feldvari, Mičunović i Gašo 2022; Osmanović Zajić, Maksimović i Lazić 2022; Popović, Glišić i Jorgić 2023; Šuvaković, Nikolić i Petrović 2022). Pored toga u istraživanjima se navodi da je onlajn nastava uticala na intenzivnije korišćenje digitalnih tehnologija, što je uticalo i na razvoj digitalnih veština i kompetencija studenata (Feldvari, Mičunović i Gašo 2022; Popović, Glišić i Jorgić 2023). Iako vide određene prednosti onlajn nastave, studenti ističu i njene mane koje se odnose se na tehničke prepreke, a najčešće obuhvataju probleme sa internet konekcijom i neposredovanje adekvatne tehnike, u nekim slučajevima i nedovoljnu digitalnu kompetentnost nastavnika i/ili studenata (Feldvari, Mičunović i Gašo 2022; Osmanović Zajić, Maksimović i Lazić 2022; Popović, Glišić i Jorgić 2023; Šuvaković, Nikolić i Petrović 2022). Pored navedenog, studenti kao važno ograničenje navode i preobimno gradivo koje nije bilo adekvatno prilagođeno kontekstu, kao i preopterećenost dodatnim zadacima i predispitnim obavezama (Popović, Glišić i Jorgić 2023). Ono što se u najvećoj meri ističe kao mana, jeste nedostatak socijalne interakcije i komunikacije među učesnicima onlajn nastave, što je uticalo na nivo motivacije studenata i njihovo učestvovanje u nastavnim aktivnostima (Feldvari, Mičunović i Gašo 2022; Osmanović Zajić, Maksimović i Lazić 2022; Popović, Glišić i Jorgić 2023; Šuvaković, Nikolić i Petrović 2022). U kontekstu interakcije, važno je spomenuti i koncept „prisustva“ u onlajn kursevima, koji se odnosi na osećaj prisutnosti i pripadnosti grupi, kao i na sposobnost komuniciranja sa drugim studentima i nastavnicima iako fizički kontakt nije moguć. Vremenom, napravljena je distinkcija između interakcije i prisustva, pri čemu interakcija može ukazivati na prisustvo, ali je takođe moguće da student komunicira, a da se pritom ne oseća nužno kao deo grupe, što može uticati na njegov učinak (Picciano 2002). Moguće je i da je sam kontekst koji je podrazumevao smanjenje broja socijalnih kontakata, kao i nemogućnost kretanja van kuće, intenzivirao percepciju socijalne interakcije i komunikacije kao najistaknutije mane onlajn nastave, zbog čega se onlajn nastava studentima čini prihvatljivom samo u vanrednim situacijama ili kao dodatni oblik nastave ukoliko je to neophodno (Feldvari, Mičunović i Gašo 2022; Šuvaković, Nikolić i Petrović 2022).

### **3. METODOLOGIJA ISTRAŽIVANJA**

U cilju ostvarivanja uvida u percepcije, prakse i iskustva studenata u vezi sa upotrebom digitalnih tehnologija i učenjem u digitalnom okruženju realizovano je kvalitativno istraživanje, čiji učesnici su bili studenti Univerziteta u Novom Sadu.

Uslov za učešće u istraživanju bio je da su učesnici studenti viših godina ili viših nivoa studija, kako bismo osigurali da imaju iskustvo pohađanja nastave tokom pandemije COVID-19, budući da ta iskustva imaju kako direktan, tako i indirektan uticaj na proučavanu tematiku. Pored toga, polazeći od pretpostavke da i programsko-sadržajne specifičnosti polja studija mogu uticati na odgovore učesnika, nastojali smo da obuhvatimo studente iz svakog obrazovno-naučnog odnosno obrazovno-umetničkog polja. Kontakt sa potencijalnim učesnicima istraživanja uspostavljen je uz pomoć preporuka univerzitetskih nastavnika različitih fakulteta, nakon čega se dolazak do novih učesnika zasnivao na primeni metoda „grudve snega“. Ukupan uzorak činilo je 14 studenata Univerziteta u Novom Sadu, od čega šest mladića i osam devojaka. Uzorak je sačinjen od po troje studenata iz polja društveno-humanističkih nauka, umetnosti, medicinskih i tehničko-tehnoloških nauka i dvoje studenata iz polja prirodno-matematičkih nauka. Navedena podela u skladu je sa članom 37 Zakona o visokom obrazovanju (2023), prema kom se studijski programi ostvaruju u okviru pomenutih obrazovno-naučnih odnosno obrazovno-umetničkih polja. Pre intervjuisanja, učesnicima su predočene sve važne informacije u vezi sa istraživanjem, uključujući princip dobrovoljnosti i mogućnosti prekida intervjua u bilo kom trenutku. Učesnici su pročitali i potpisali saglasnost koja se odnosila na učešće u razgovoru, snimanje razgovora i korišćenje dobijenih nalaza u naučno-istraživačke svrhe.

Podaci su prikupljeni tokom januara 2023. godine primenom tehnike dubinskih intervjua. Intervjui su sprovedeni na osnovu prethodno konstruisanog Vodiča za razgovor<sup>2</sup>, koji se sastojao od tri celine: digitalna pismenost i snalaženje u digitalnom okruženju; prepreke i (ne)mogućnosti u digitalnom okruženju; učenje u digitalnom okruženju. Razgovori su vođeni uživo, a realizovale su ih autorke ovog rada. Nakon realizovanih intervjua, na osnovu audio zapisa izvršena je transkripcija svih 14 intervjua. Polazeći od stava da svaka transkripcija, u izvesnoj meri, već podrazumeva gubljenje podataka (Cohen, Lawrence i Morrison 2007), intervjui su transkribovani doslovno. U okviru kvalitativne metodologije primenjena je interpretativna fenomenološka analiza. Odgovori učesnika grupisani su u četiri celine: digitalne tehnologije u svakodnevnom životu studenata; digitalne tehnologije i učenje u digitalnom okruženju; digitalne tehnologije i učenje u digitalnom okruženju u toku nastavnog procesa i tradicionalni, onlajn i/ili kombinovani model nastave – percepcije i mogućnosti. Prilikom navođenja odgovora za svakog učesnika navedeni su podaci o polu, fakultetu i proseku.

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<sup>2</sup> Kao rezultat dela intervjua nastao je rad pod nazivom „Vođenje beleški u toku nastavnog procesa – analogno i digitalno okruženje“, koji je prihvaćen je za objavljivanje u časopisu *Nastava i vaspitanje*. U ovom radu, deo koji se odnosi na vođenje beleški isključen je iz analize.

## 4. INTERPRETACIJA REZULTATA ISTRAŽIVANJA SA DISKUSIJOM

### 4.1. Digitalne tehnologije u svakodnevnom životu studenata

Nalazi našeg istraživanja pokazuju da digitalne tehnologije predstavljaju integralni deo svakodnevnih iskustava učesnika istraživanja. Svi učesnici istraživanja navode da ih koriste, pri čemu vremenski raspon njihovog korišćenja seže od par do čak deset sati dnevno. Učesnici prave razliku između aktivnog i pasivnog korišćenja, naglašavajući da ih digitalne tehnologije prate kroz svakodnevne aktivnosti i da su im dostupne u svakom trenutku. Na osnovu dobijenih odgovora može se reći da studenti digitalne tehnologije najčešće posmatraju kroz tri funkcije: kao sredstvo zabave i opuštanja, sredstvo komunikacije i povezivanja i sredstvo informisanja i učenja.

Iako se učesnici istraživanja međusobno razlikuju po primarnim motivima zbog kojih najčešće koriste digitalne tehnologije, saglasni su u stavu da ih, bar povremeno, koriste radi zabave i opuštanja. U tom kontekstu, najčešće navode upotrebu društvenih mreža, slušanje muzike i podkasta, gledanje serija i filmova, a jedan učesnik navodi i igranje igrice. Kako navode, korišćenje digitalnih tehnologija im omogućava privremeno distanciranje od svakodnevnih briga i stresa kojima su izloženi:

*Privlačnost je u sadržajima koji omogućavaju da se isključi mozak i gledaju gluposti (ž, Medicinski fakultet, 9,46).*

*...pomažu da ne sedim sa svojim mislima i paničim o nekim stvarima o kojima ne bi trebalo da paničim, ali jednostavno mozak ide ka tome. Nekako, pomažu da se isključim od svega (ž, Akademija umetnosti, 9,50).*

Učesnici istraživanja važnost digitalnih tehnologija vide i u održavanju kontakta sa porodicom i prijateljima koji su daleko, ali i sa ljudima iz neposrednog okruženja što im *štedi vreme i olakšava organizaciju*. Pored toga, učesnici izdvajaju i značaj digitalnih tehnologija u budućim profesionalnim prilikama. Na primer, jedan učesnik navodi:

*Verujem da će mi koristiti u budućem životu, pošto zamišljam da ću se posvetiti davanju privatnih časova jezika. Tako da, ako sam ja u Novom Sadu, a neko je van države, moći ću i tako da budem produktivan u svom radu. Nove tehnologije daju tu povezanost među ljudima kada je ona fizički nemoguća. Inače preferiram uživo, ali ako uslovi ne dozvoljavaju onda svakako da su nove tehnologije tu. Dosta su i*



*razrađene... tehnologija je dovoljno napredovala da nesmetano može da se održi sat vremena nekog časa (m, Filozofski fakultet, 7,80).*

Pored zabave i komunikacije, učesnici istraživanja navode da društvene mreže koriste i za informisanje i učenje, spajajući ugodno sa korisnim. Na primer:

*Na LinkedInu sam našao dosta ljudi koje zanima forenzika i tu čitam dosta novosti i svega iz forenzike... I na Instagramu može da se nađe dosta zanimljivih stvari i može dosta da se nauči, naravno prvenstveno je za zabavu, ali naiđem i na nešto zanimljivo (m, Prirodno-matematički fakultet, 8,90).*

*I na Instagramu ja pratim puno nekih naučnih profila... i sa medicinom povezanih i sa nekim ostalim stvarima koje me interesuju... I što se tiče Tik Toka, i tamo ima puno profila koji se bave medicinom, nekim informacijama... (m, Medicinski fakultet, 9).*

Ključnu prednost u informisanju i učenju putem interneta i društvenih mreža učesnici vide u brzom i lakom pristupu informacijama. Ipak, prepoznaju i neke od potencijalnih rizika koji se pre svega odnose na (ne)pouzdanost dostupnih informacija. Kako jedan učesnik objašnjava:

*Instagram, Reels, Tik Tok i tako te stvari... izuzetno je privlačno i može da ima veliku korist zato što neko ko je stručan u nečemu može za minut, bukvalno za minut, da ti objasni nešto, da tebe to zainteresuje, da ti posle to proučiš, istražiš, šta god. Opet, možda nije sve to provereno, ali to je ono što je jako privlačno i može da bude jako dobro. Ono što je odbojno je to što može da se nađe jako veliki broj gluposti i netačnih informacija za koje je neko ko je sam sebe proglasio stručnjakom rekao da je to tako... (m, Fakultet tehničkih nauka, 7,20).*

Prikazani rezultati nisu iznenađujući i u skladu su sa rezultatima prethodnih istraživanja koja su se bavila navikama u upotrebi digitalnih tehnologija u svakodnevnom životu studenata (Deniz i Geyik 2015; Thompson 2013). U pomenutom istraživanju (Thompson 2013) navodi se da je spektar tehnologija koje studenti koriste prilično ograničen, što je u suprotnosti sa popularnim verovanjima da su mladi univerzalno vešti u korišćenju digitalnih tehnologija. U našem istraživanju, pored navedenih kategorija, jedna učesnica navodi da digitalne tehnologije koristi za širi spektar aktivnosti koji uključuje društvene mreže, ali i različite aplikacije za obradu fotografija i dokumenata, kao i specijalizovane programe za programiranje, što bi se potencijalno moglo dovesti u vezu i sa specifičnostima njenog obrazovnog polja:

*Pored društvenih mreža najčešće koristim Adobe aplikacije za uređenje slika i ostalo. Koristim Google aplikacije za uređenje dokumenata: Google Docs, Data Sheets, koristim isto Google kalendar... Na računaru pretežno koristim Microsoft Office paket i koristim neke određene aplikacije za programiranje. Ne znam sad, Vivado, Visual Studio i tako (ž, Fakultet tehničkih nauka, 8,70).*

#### **4.2. Digitalne tehnologije i učenje u digitalnom okruženju**

U predstojećoj celini predstavljeni su odgovori učesnika o tome da li i u kojoj meri, u postpandemijskom periodu, pribegavaju upotrebi digitalne tehnologije u kontekstu učenja, odnosno pripreme za nastavu, predispitne i ispitne aktivnosti. Učesnici istraživanja navode da digitalne tehnologije koriste i kao sredstvo učenja za potrebe fakulteta. Jedan učesnik navodi da mu je to primarni razlog upotrebe, dok ih petoro učesnika koristi podjednako za slobodno vreme i za učenje. Preostalih osmoro učesnika izveštava o nešto manjoj upotrebi digitalnih tehnologija u kontekstu učenja.

Svega jedan učesnik izričit je u stavu da digitalne tehnologije koristi isključivo za potrebe preuzimanja materijala za učenje, pri čemu kao razlog navodi naviku i preferenciju ka učenju sa papira:

*Ne volim da učim preko telefona i laptopa, lakše mi je sa papira. Navikao sam da učim iz knjige i sa papira... Koristim isključivo da bih preuzeo materijale. Ukoliko nešto nije jasno uglavnom se obratim kolegama sa fakulteta... (m, Fakultet tehničkih nauka, 7,23).*

Još troje učesnika istraživanja u svojim odgovorima ističe preferenciju ka posedovanju štampanih materijala prilikom učenja:

*...koristim tehnologiju da sastavim neki materijal i da to bude celina koju ću ja najverovatnije odštampati i onda učiti u pisanoj formi pošto počne da me boli glava ako više od tri sata gledam u ekran (m, Filozofski fakultet, 7,80).*

*...ja sve čitam iz knjige pošto nekako i dalje održavam, kako bih rekao, privlačnost tome, običnoj knjizi – kako izgleda, kako se lista i sve to. Svakako imam i sa strane PDF ako mi stvarno nešto zatreba, ali uvek imam preporučenu literaturu u fizičkoj verziji pošto mi je nekako to privlačnije (m, Medicinski fakultet, 9).*

Naše istraživanje nije obuhvatilo detaljnije razumevanje razloga zbog kojih neki učesnici daju prednost učenju sa štampanih materijala, što može biti korisna smernica za dalja istraživanja. Jedna učesnica kao razlog navodi probleme sa pažnjom prilikom

korišćenja digitalnih tehnologija, što je u skladu sa nalazima brojnih istraživanja koja se bave potencijalnim negativnim efektima upotrebe tehnologije na učenje (Dontre 2020; Patil i sar. 2019).

*Ja sam osoba koja voli da ima sve na papiru... Pažnja mi mnogo odluta ukoliko je to u elektronskoj formi... Volim sve na papiru, onako mi je urednije, preglednije i onda se isključim i pri procesu učenja gledam da se odaljim od interneta koliko god je moguće jer mi jako može oduzeti pažnju* (ž, Filozofski fakultet, 8,30).

Kada je reč o razlozima zbog kojih učesnici navode da koriste digitalne tehnologije za učenje, evidentno je da je preuzimanje materijala aktivnost koja je karakteristična za sve učesnike istraživanja. Pored preuzimanja, nekoliko učesnika (4/14) kao primarni razlog navodi proveravanje informacija ili traženje dodatnog materijala:

*Kad učim iz skripte, knjige i onda ako mi nešto nije jasno ću na guglu samo ukucati da vidim šta je to otprilike... Ima jako puno stvari koje u nekim knjigama pišu ovako, u drugom onako, na internetu piše treće i onda nađem neku sredinu. Ako nešto nije jasno, ako nije dobro objašnjeno na materijalu koji imamo, ima par ljudi koji na jutjubu prave ozbiljno dobre videoe, prezentacije...* (ž, Medicinski fakultet, 9,12).

*Internet znam često da koristim ukoliko dođe do terminologije za koju nisam sigurna za značenje ili ukoliko ne mogu iz konteksta da shvatim u kom smislu se koristi određen termin* (ž, Filozofski fakultet, 8,30).

I drugi učesnici ističu kako, iako ne posežu odmah za internetom, ne ignorišu ga u potpunosti jer smatraju da i tamo može da se pronađe mnogo korisnih stvari:

*Ako se radi neki seminarski ili neka predispitna obaveza, prva stanica mi je seminarska biblioteka... ali, svakako je zgodno pogledati i proverene informacije po internetu, a ne prva stvar koja mi iskoči odmah da je lepim u seminarski rad* (m, Filozofski fakultet, 7, 80).

Ipak, ističu kako primarno obraćaju pažnju na ono što profesori traže i šta formalno stavljaju na sajtove: *Primarno, svakako, prvo se treba voditi računa o tome šta profesori traže sa njihovih prezentacija.* (m, Medicinski fakultet, 9). Međutim, iako se primarno oslanjaju na literaturu, kada postoje nejasnoće posežu za dodatnim izvorima: *Često tražim ili na guglu ili na jutjubu i tako dalje, pogotovo ako mi nešto nije jasno...* (m, Medicinski fakultet, 9).

Navedeni odgovori u skladu su sa podacima istraživanja (Henderson i sar. 2015) u kom se navodi da studenti često digitalnoj tehnologiji pristupaju „strateški”,

isključivo u cilju uspešnog obavljanja predviđenih akademskih zadataka. U jednom istraživanju uočeno je i da studenti teže ka brzom, ekspeditivnom pretraživanju interneta i pristupu „uđi - dobij odgovor - izađi“ (Thompson 2013), zbog čega se dovodi u pitanje upotrebljavaju li studenti digitalne tehnologije na način da podrže dubinski pristup učenju. U istom istraživanju navodi se i značaj uloge nastavnika i njihovih eksplicitnih instrukcija u cilju efikasnije upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija kod studenata. Ohrabrenja nastavnika i pedagoški saveti prepoznati su kao pozitivni prediktori usvajanja tehnologije za učenje od strane studenata (Lai, Wang i Lei 2012), a značaj uloge nastavnika primetan je i u odgovorima učesnika našeg istraživanja. Više od polovine učesnika (8/14) u svojim odgovorima navodi da ih nastavnici bar ponekad podstiču na upotrebu interneta i digitalnih tehnologija, upućuju na pouzdane stranice, prosleđuju linkove i slično. Na osnovu dobijenih odgovora stiče se osnova za postavljanje hipoteze da u trenutnoj fazi razvoja učenja u digitalnom okruženju, studenti u velikoj meri očekuju direktne instrukcije od nastavnika koji ih upućuju na odgovarajuće sadržaje.

Nekoliko učesnika (4/14) navodi da su skloniji upotrebi digitalnih tehnologija u situacijama kada ih određena tematika interesuje, što ukazuje na njihov samoinicijativni angažman i otvara pitanje da li je samim tim i njihov pristup učenju drugačiji od gore pomenutog pristupa. Na primer, učesnici navode:

*Tražim sama često, zavisi koliko me interesuje predmet i koliko me interesuje to što učim. Ako me zaista interesuje onda tražim sama i baš volim da se udubim u materiju da tako kažem, ali ako je nešto što bih samo da položim i da se ne obazirem mnogo onda samo preuzmem materijal i učim (ž, Prirodno-matematički fakultet, 9,50).*

*Prezimam gotov sadržaj pa ga onda ja menjam ili prosto koristim za istraživanje pa ga onda ja sama stvaram. Većinom nešto dodatno tražim zato što me zanima ovo što mi učimo ovde pa onda mi nije problem (ž, Akademija umetnosti, 8,90).*

Još jedna učesnica navodi da redovno koristi digitalne resurse kako bi produbila svoje razumevanje određene tematike, koristeći ih čak i prilikom predavanja:

*Stalno nešto pretražujem za fakultet... Pronalazim jutjub snimke, čitam nešto što je objašnjeno u tri-četiri pasusa. Ukoliko mi je potreban neki pojam ili lek... Uvek pronalazim dodatno da pretražim ono o čemu profesori pričaju, čak i u toku predavanja koristim telefon da bih pretraživala ono o čemu se govori (ž, Medicinski fakultet, 9,46).*

Više od polovine učesnika (8/14) navodi da prilikom pretraživanja interneta koriste naučne baze poput Gugl Akademika (Google Scholar), naučne radove ili doktorske disertacije. Pored toga, u odgovorima učesnika (6/14) najčešće se ističe Jutjub (Youtube), koji im omogućava vizuelni prikaz sadržaja učenja, što možemo dovesti i u vezu sa specifičnostima obrazovnog polja učesnika. Na primer, studenti Medicinskog fakulteta i Akademije umetnosti ističu da im video sadržaji pomažu u razumevanju praktičnog izvođenja određenih postupaka, dok studenti Fakulteta tehničkih nauka i Prirodno-matematičkog fakulteta navode da im video sadržaji olakšavaju razumevanje apstraktnih i kompleksnih koncepata. I u ranijim istraživanjima primećeno je da studenti platforme na kojima mogu da gledaju video zapise svrstavaju među najkorisnije digitalne resurse, budući da im omogućavaju da *vizualizuju koncepte i vide informacije na drugačiji način* (Hendeson i sar. 2015; Maziriri, Gapa i Chucu 2020). Na primer, učesnici našeg istraživanja navode:

*Koristim da bih istraživala i sporedno, ali to je najčešće u nekom vizuelnom vidu... na primer, za crtanje ili slikanje je bitno da gledamo druge umetnike da bismo videli kako oni rešavaju neke probleme koje mi možda ne znamo da rešimo na taj način i da vidimo neku drugu vrstu pristupa* (ž, Akademija umetnosti, 9,50).

*Pošto sam ja na molekularnoj biologiji, to je sve prilično apstraktno. Treba da se zamisli interakcija molekula, reakcije hemijske i to, onda profesori nama obično ostave par linkova ili kažu da sami pronađemo na jutjubu te animacije pošto su one mnogo lepše nego da neko rukom crta* (ž, Prirodno-matematički fakultet, 9,50).

Takođe, dve učesnice korišćenje digitalnih tehnologija dovode u vezu sa načinom polaganja ispita, pri čemu iskazuju različita mišljenja, koja potencijalno možemo dovesti u vezu sa stavom koji imaju prema digitalnim tehnologijama. Stav prema tehnologiji prepoznat je kao jedan od ključnih prediktora upotrebe tehnologije za potrebe učenja (Lai, Wang i Lei 2012), posebno kada je reč o dobrovoljnom usvajanju tehnologije od strane studenata. Na stav prema tehnologiji utiče i percipirana korisnost njene upotrebe (Saadé i Galloway 2005). Na primeru učesnica našeg istraživanja, možemo videti da prva učesnica izveštava o dobrovoljnoj primeni digitalne tehnologije u kontekstu pripreme za usmeni ispit, budući da tehnologiju smatra korisnom za proširenje osnovne literature, dok druga učesnica za potrebe usmenog ispita pouzdanijom smatra literaturu preporučenu od strane nastavnika.

*Ako pripremam usmeni ispit onda ću više da se usredsredim, onda ću više da tražim te neke sekundarne izvore, neka dodatna objašnjenja jer, ipak usmeni je drugačija vrsta interakcije nego pismeni i volim da na usmenom ispitu pokažem svoje*

znanje i volim da pokažem da sam se potrudila (ž, Prirodno-matematički fakultet, 9,50).

*Kada su pismeni ispiti onda sam slobodnija što se tiče korišćenja interneta i tih izvora... za usmeni ispit više cenim izvore koji su nam dati u smislu stručne literature, jer su mi onda nekako oni pouzdaniji i imam više samopouzdanja (ž, Filozofski fakultet, 8,30).*

#### **4.3. Digitalne tehnologije i učenje u digitalnom okruženju u toku nastavnog procesa**

U ovoj grupi odgovora predstavljena su iskustva učesnika u vezi sa upotrebom digitalnih tehnologija i učenja u digitalnom okruženju u toku realizacije nastavnog procesa u postpandemijskom periodu. Učesnici istraživanja navode da je u postpandemijskom periodu zadržana upotreba digitalnih platformi, čime je poboljšan aspekt koji se odnosi na komunikaciju između studenata i profesora. Na primer, učesnici navode:

*Mislim da se zadržalo mnogo stvari u smislu da imamo mnogo bržu i bolju komunikaciju sa profesorima, da se više ne oslanjamo na predavanja ili vežbe kako bismo kontaktirali profesore, što je pre bio slučaj... Smatram da je izuzetno pozitivna stvar što smo imali priliku u neprilici da dođemo u dodir sa takvim situacijama... Mislim da nikada ne bismo ni koristili te alate koji nam i te kako mogu biti korisni, koji su nam se pokazali kao mnogo praktičniji nego čekanje konsultacija, predavanja... (ž, Filozofski fakultet, 8,30).*

*...recimo ta Gugl učionica, shvatili smo da nismo ni znali koliko su korisni dok nam nisu bili potrebni – da se potpišemo, prijavimo za kolokvijum, da nam tu stignu rezultati, da ne moramo kad neko dobije rezultate da se šalje po raznim grupama, da ne moramo da vijamo informacije nego jednostavno svi smo u toj učionici za taj predmet i dobijaju se informacije vezano za to. Sad mislim da polako primenjujemo taj kombinovani model (m, Filozofski fakultet, 7,80).*

Pored poboljšane komunikacije, učesnici navode da su digitalne platforme obezbedile i veću dostupnost materijala za učenje. Kako jedna učesnica navodi, dostupnost materijala u digitalnom okruženju doprinela je i smanjenju troškova obrazovanja:

*Sovu i sad koristimo kad idemo uživo, tu nam kače materijal. Vratilo se sve osim toga da nam materijal prosleđuju onlajn i onda nismo u obavezi da kupujemo neke*

*knjige koje je inače trebalo da imamo u fizičkom formatu. To nam je sad dostupno u PDF formatu i to je ušteda jer knjige na fakultetu realno jesu skupe (ž, Fakultet tehničkih nauka, 8,70).*

*Dosta stvari je i dalje onlajn, recimo konsultacije su onlajn. I dalje koristimo slične sisteme kao i pre, sada smo na aplikaciji Tims (Teams) i tamo se kače i materijali i sve, dok recimo pre korone se materijali nisu kačili na internet (m, Ekonomski fakultet, 9).*

U tom kontekstu, postavlja se i pitanje primene tzv. Otvorenih obrazovnih resursa (eng. *Open Educational Resources – OER*), koji u inostranoj literaturi predstavljaju aktuelnu i često istraživanu tematiku. Otvorene obrazovne resurse, u širem smislu, možemo posmatrati kao skup digitalno oblikovanih materijala za učenje i nastavu koji su javno i besplatno dostupni za korišćenje i ponovnu upotrebu, pri čemu su objavljeni pod licencom koja to omogućava (Gajin i sar. 2022). Primeri OOR-a uključuju kompletne kurseve, posebne module kurseva, silabuse, predavanja, domaće zadatke, kvizove, aktivnosti u laboratorijama i učionicama, pedagoške materijale, igre, simulacije, i druge digitalne resurse (Curić 2014). Uz uvažavanje činjenice da OOR predstavljaju repozitorijume didaktičkih materijala, od posebnog značaja je i upućenost u sledeće karakteristike OOR-a (Gajin i sar. 2022): bez dozvole autora OOR uključuju prava *posedovanja* odnosno preuzimanja, kopiranja, snimanja i upravljanja resursom; *korištenja* – bilo da je reč o predavanju, učenju, pripremi za čas, proveru znanja i slično; *promene* – pravo na adaptiranje prepravke, prevode i slično; *kombinovanja* – bilo da je reč o kombinovanju originalnog ili izmenjenog materijala sa drugim sadržajima; *redistribucije* – prava na deljenje.

Najčešće digitalne platforme koje učesnici našeg istraživanja navode su Gugl učionica (Google Classroom), SOVA, Trelo (Trello) i Tims (Teams). Iako su pomenute platforme pospešile komunikaciju između studenata i profesora i dostupnost materijala, učesnici navode da je način izvođenja nastave ostao manje-više isti. Kako jedna učesnica objašnjava: *Od uticaja su ostali obaveštajni momenti više nego nastavni* (ž, Akademija umetnosti, 9, 12). Nastavni proces se uglavnom vratio na prethodni način rada, u kom se predavanja izvode uživo, uz pomoć prezentacija. Potrebna su dalja istraživanja kako bismo stekli jasniju sliku o dugoročnim efektima pandemije COVID-19 na nastavni proces. U inostranoj literaturi, istraživanja koja pružaju podatke o promenama izazvanim pandemijom još uvek su malobrojna. U jednom takvom istraživanju (Broadbent i sar. 2023), navodi se da je pedeset pet (82%) nastavnika izjavilo da su u postpandemijskom periodu



zadržali bar jednu promenu u aktivnostima učenja koja se razlikovala od njihovih nastavnih praksi iz 2019. godine. Najčešće navođene promene odnosile su se na primenu prethodno snimljenih video materijala, onlajn interakciju sa studentima, pružanje onlajn materijala koje studenti mogu da proučavaju vlastitim tempom, mogućnost onlajn postavljanja pitanja i odgovora i diskusionih sesija, onlajn aktivnosti koje studenti mogu da izvršavaju sopstvenim tempom, kao i snimanje predavanja/seminara realizovanih na fakultetu. Na osnovu navedenih aktivnosti, autori rada (Broadbent i sar. 2023) zaključuju da su nastavnici time obezbedili veći nivo fleksibilnosti, čime nisu uklonjeni tradicionalni načini učenja, već su dopunjeni dodatnim mogućnostima.

Kada je reč o preferencijama učesnika u vezi sa audiovizuelnim i tekstualnim sadržajima, učesnici najadekvatnijom smatraju kombinaciju navedenih sadržaja, pri čemu tekstualnim sadržajima daju prioritet kada je reč o učenju, dok audiovizuelne sadržaje smatraju korisnim za bolje razumevanje gradiva i zadržavanje pažnje tokom nastavnog procesa. Ipak, iako je u prethodnom poglavlju navedeno da učesnici video materijale smatraju jednim od najkorisnijih digitalnih resursa, kada je reč o njihovoj primeni u nastavnom procesu, nekoliko učesnika (3/14) ističe negativan stav i/ili važnost njihove umerene i pravovremene upotrebe:

*...najčešće profesori koriste prezentacije sa tekstom i nekim slikama, a da profesor ubaci snimak neki to se ne dešava. Mislim da mi ne bi olakšalo učenje zato što prvenstveno dolazimo na predavanja i vežbe da slušamo profesora, a ne da gledamo neke snimke koje bi mogli sami kod kuće da pogledamo (m, Medicinski fakultet, 9).*

*...lakše je i nama da se udubimo u gradivo ako vidimo da se profesor potrudio da nam predstavi to gradivo na neki zanimljiv način koji do sad nismo videli. Ali ako pribegava tome da menja svoje predavanje za tuđe, odnosno samo da okači nekoliko videa... to me odbija (ž, Prirodno-matematički fakultet, 9,50).*

*...mislim da je zgodna stvar malo, ajde da kažem, razbiti monotoniju ukoliko predavanje traje već sat i petnaest minuta... onda recimo oni ubace video od pet minuta čisto onako malo da nam vrate pažnju i da mogu lepo da završe predavanje (m, Filozofski fakultet, 7,80).*

Takvi nalazi u skladu su sa rezultatima istraživanja u kom se ističe da studenti vole da gledaju video snimke tokom predavanja ukoliko ti video snimci nisu predugi i ukoliko su dobro i smisleno integrisani u određeni predmet i tok predavanja (Alpert i Hodkinson 2018). Takođe, odgovori učesnika se razlikuju i u zavisnosti od obrazovnog polja, što možemo videti u sledećim primerima:



*U našem slučaju, većina nastave se i odvija preko računara, jer su to razne vrste programiranja... Audiovizuelnih sadržaja na mom smeru baš i nema zato što ne izučavamo mi neku nauku koja može da se predstavi slikama, naše slike su električne šeme... (ž, Fakultet tehničkih nauka, 8,70).*

*Ako treba da naučim neko delo da sviram ili da dirigujem, to ni ne mogu nekako tekstualno... treba mi da pogledam kako će neko to dirigovati, da čujem kako je neko nešto odsvirao, da mi profesor sugerise... Na primer, solfeđo – to možda iz neke literature da vidim metodičke postupke kako bi to trebalo da se uradi, ali generalno više mi znači taj praktični deo (ž, Akademija umetnosti, 9,12).*

Na osnovu do sada navedenih podataka možemo zaključiti da je prilikom istraživanja upotrebe digitalnih tehnologija u kontekstu nastave i učenja neophodno uzeti u obzir i kontekstualne faktore, poput obrazovnog polja, prilikom čega treba imati u vidu da je moguće postojanje različitih praksi i iskustava i unutar istog obrazovnog polja i/ili fakulteta.

#### **4.4. Tradicionalni, onlajn i/ili kombinovani model nastave – percepcije i mogućnosti**

Odgovori učesnika istraživanja obuhvatili su i njihova iskustva i percepcije o tradicionalnom, onlajn i kombinovanom modelu nastave, s obzirom na to da svi učesnici imaju iskustvo studiranja u uslovima izazvanim pandemijom COVID-19. Učesnici su saglasni u stavu da onlajn model nastave ne predstavlja pogodan način realizacije obrazovnog procesa. Prednost daju tradicionalnom i/ili kombinovanom modelu nastave, što je u skladu sa nalazima ranije realizovanih istraživanja (Feldvari, Mićunović i Gašo 2022; Nikolopoulou 2022; Osmanović Zajić, Maksimović i Lazić 2022; Šuvaković, Nikolić i Petrović 2022; Zhang i sar. 2023).

Iako ne smatraju da je onlajn model nastave pogodan za organizaciju celokupnog obrazovnog procesa, učesnici prepoznaju i neke njegove prednosti. Četvoro učesnika u svojim odgovorima (4/14) ističe značaj snimanja sadržaja predavanja i mogućnost kasnijeg preslušavanja. Na primer, jedna učesnica navodi:

*To je na primer stvar koja nam je dosta pomogla jer možete da preslušate po pet puta isto predavanje ili ako ste propustili neko predavanje možete jednostavno da ga odslušate naknadno. To je možda jedina mana ovog uživo sistema, što ne možeš da premotaš sve, tako da ako propustite predavanje, propustili ste. Ne možete nadoknaditi (ž, Fakultet tehničkih nauka 8,70).*

Pored dostupnosti materijala, učesnici naglašavaju i fleksibilnost koju onlajn nastava omogućava – dvoje učesnika govori o uštedi vremena, navodeći da nema gubljenja vremena na spremanje i odlazak na fakultet, što im omogućava više vremena za druge stvari. Jedna učesnica navodi i finansijske benefite, u smislu stanovanja i prehrane. Slični nalazi pronađeni su i u drugim istraživanjima (Feldvari, Mičunović i Gašo 2022; Osmanović Zajić, Maksimović i Lazić 2022; Popović, Glišić i Jorgić 2023; Šuvaković, Nikolić i Petrović 2022; Zhang i sar. 2023).

Iako učesnici istraživanja kao prednost navode dostupnost materijala, jedan učesnik navodi da to u isto vreme može biti i mana:

*S jedne strane, ono što tu može biti dobro je što se sve to može snimati, može se ponovo videti, pregledati i ostalo. S druge strane, nema te prave komunikacije ni sa jedne ni sa druge strane, svima je samo u cilju da se to završi i kao pogledaćemo ga posle (m, Fakultet tehničkih nauka, 7,20).*

Upravo takvi, psihološki i socijalni faktori, poput nedostatka motivacije, pažnje i komunikacije, predstavljaju najčešće navođene mane onlajn modela nastave, koje navodi čak 11 učesnika istraživanja (11/14). Na primer, učesnici navode:

*Nisam se osećala kao deo kolektiva i bilo mi je dosta neprijatnije da se uključujem u nastavu... Osećala sam mnogo veću odgovornost o sopstvenom uključivanju i sopstvenoj motivaciji nego što je to inače na fakultetu. Drugačije je kada dođemo na fakultet, opet se ubacimo u neku klimu koja je radna... ovako kada sedim kod kuće u krevetu ili za stolom nekako nemam taj dojam da radim nešto bitno, nego prosto sam eto u pozivu. Neretko mi se dešavalo da odlutam u sred predavanja, pa onda pokušavam da se vratim na tematiku predavanja... (ž, Filozofski fakultet, 8,30).*

*Sad kad studiram vidim da mi je potreban kontakt sa ljudima, profesorima. Sad tek vidim koliko je bitna praksa i živa reč. Nije mi to za studiranje. ... Ja lično ne bih mogla tako da funkcionišem jer ja stvarno volim i da provodim vreme sa ljudima i nekako to realno utiče i na psihičko stanje kod čoveka i meni je realno lepše kad znam da idem negde da nešto naučim, a ne samo da sedim ispred kompjutera i kao, ne znam... (ž, Akademija umetnosti, 9,12).*

Prilikom interpretacije ove grupe odgovora treba imati u vidu da se učesnici retroaktivno prisećaju perioda pandemije, te je na njihove odgovore potencijalno uticao celokupan društveni kontekst u okviru koga su kontakti bili ograničeni i u drugim sferama života. U preglednom istraživanju u kom su analizirani radovi iz oblasti visokog obrazovanja tokom perioda pandemije (Bozkurt 2022) jedna od

identifikovanih tema ističe kako je uticaj pandemije COVID-19 na visoko obrazovanje prevazišao samu pedagogiju, budući da je, pored svog uticaja na obrazovanje i obrazovne institucije, pandemija značajno uticala i na mentalno blagostanje studenata.

Pored pomenutih faktora učesnici smatraju i da je kvalitet nastave lošiji kada se ona realizuje onlajn, što dovode u vezu i sa predmetnim specifičnostima (8/14). Posebno naglašavaju problem sa izvođenjem praktične nastave u onlajn okruženju, što je problematika koje se dotiču i druga istraživanja (Broadbent i sar. 2023; Šuvaković, Nikolić i Petrović 2022; Zagkos i sar. 2022). Na primer:

*Nemam toliko pozitivnih utisaka zato što... ja sam na biologiji i nama baš dosta vežbi je bilo neophodno da se izvedu uživo. Na primer, ispitivanje enzimske aktivnosti proteina ili neke laboratorijske tehnike koje ne mogu da se simuliraju ili mogu, ali vrlo, vrlo loše. Znači ne može nama neko da pokaže kako mi rukama da pipetiramo...* (ž, Prirodno-matematički fakultet, 9,50).

*Na primer, solfeđo. Tu treba da pevamo, da pišemo diktate, da možda nešto i odsviramo zajedno sa profesorom... Nama je to sve nekako bilo dosta drugačije. Oni nam sviraju, a mi ono, prekida nam se zvuk, pa nam onda šalju glasovne ili kao, snimljen zvuk. Za dirigovanje, morali smo da se snimamo, a na predavanju bi to mogli odmah sa profesorom da vidimo...* (ž, Akademija umetnosti, 9,12).

Sa druge strane, pomenute nedostatke onlajn nastave učesnici ističu kao prednosti tradicionalnog modela, pri čemu najčešće navode važnost fizičkog prisustva i motivaciju; komunikaciju sa nastavnicima i kolegama i osećaj zajedništva; mogućnost izvođenja praktične nastave. Nekoliko učesnika ističe i značaj kombinovane nastave, koja ima potencijal da prevaziđe ograničenja onlajn i tradicionalne nastave. Jedna učesnica zaključuje:

*Mislim da je sad, poslednjih godinu - godinu i po dana dosta... počelo je da me frustrira što se onlajn učenje i tradicionalno učenje često stavljaju kao suprotne strane. Mislim da bi se najviše benefita dobilo kombinovanjem oba, mislim da je to neka najveća čar koja se desila posle perioda onlajn učenja, jer nekako deli se odgovornost i na predavanja i profesore, ali i na same studente i mislim da bi to bio benefit za obe strane* (ž, Filozofski fakultet, 8,30).

## 5. ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Cilj realizovanog istraživanja odnosio se na ostvarivanje uvida u percepcije, prakse i iskustva studenata u vezi sa upotrebom digitalnih tehnologija i učenja u digitalnom okruženju u periodu nakon pandemije COVID-19. Istraživanje je realizovano primenom dubinskih intervjuua u kojima je učestvovalo 14 studenata Univerziteta u Novom Sadu iz različitih obrazovno-naučnih odnosno obrazovno-umetničkih polja studija. Rezultati istraživanja su pokazali da upotreba digitalnih tehnologija predstavlja sastavni deo svakodnevnog života svih učesnika istraživanja. Učesnici izveštavaju i o primeni digitalnih tehnologija u kontekstu učenja i nastave, iako postoje primetne razlike u obimu, učestalosti i načinu njihove primene, koje možemo dovesti u vezu sa različitim kontekstualnim i ličnim faktorima koje je potrebno dodatno istražiti. Takođe, učesnici su saglasni u stavu da onlajn model nastave ne predstavlja pogodan način realizacije obrazovnog procesa, što je posebno naglašeno kod studenata u okviru čijih studijskih programa se realizuje i praktična nastava. Ipak, učesnici uočavaju određene benefite u primeni digitalnih resursa koji imaju potencijal da unaprede kvalitet tradicionalnog modela nastave. Na osnovu proučene literature i sprovedenog istraživanja zaključuje se da negativni stavovi učesnika potencijalno mogu biti posledica nespremnosti i kvaliteta realizacije obrazovnog procesa u toku trajanja pandemije, budući da se radilo o „hitnom obrazovanju na daljinu”, a ne obrazovanju koje je planirano da bude onlajn. Nedovoljna opremljenost univerziteta, nedostatak iskustava kako nastavnika, tako i studenata u korišćenju digitalnih tehnologija, nedovoljna primena interaktivnih metoda u nastavi, kao i tip nauke koja se izučava, samo su neki od faktora koji su mogli da utiču na percepciju i odgovore učesnika istraživanja. U skladu sa tim, postavlja se pitanje da li je pandemija doprinela povećanoj i kvalitetnijoj upotrebi digitalnih tehnologija i učenja u digitalnom okruženju ili je samo privremeno povećala učestalost njihove upotrebe.

Učesnici istraživanja kao najčešću aktivnost u kontekstu učenja u digitalnom okruženju navode preuzimanje materijala. Dostupnost materijala za učenje u digitalnom obliku, uz poboljšanu komunikaciju sa profesorima, predstavlja i najčešće navođenu promenu koja se u obrazovnom procesu zadržala i nakon pandemije COVID-19. U tom kontekstu pitanje proučavanja Otvorenih obrazovnih resursa bi u budućnosti moglo da dobije sve više na značaju. Pomenuta tematika je u značajno većoj meri istraživana u inostranoj literaturi u odnosu na našu zemlju, što može da bude polazna osnova za aktualizovanje ove tematike i u okviru naše akademske zajednice. Sa druge strane, na osnovu odgovora učesnika istraživanja, stiče se osnova

za postavljanje hipoteze da u trenutnoj fazi razvoja učenja u digitalnom okruženju studenti u velikoj meri očekuju direktne instrukcije od univerzitetskih nastavnika koji ih upućuju na odgovarajuće sadržaje. Takav nalaz ukazuje na važnost pedagoškog vođenja u kontekstu učenja u digitalnom okruženju, što je u suprotnosti sa čestim uverenjima o „digitalnim urođenicima“. Pored preuzimanja materijala, učesnici koriste digitalne tehnologije i kao dodatno sredstvo pri učenju, u cilju proveravanja informacija i traženja dodatnih materijala, ali i dubljeg istraživanja određene tematike podstaknutog unutrašnjom motivacijom. Takođe, korišćenje digitalnih resursa u cilju pronalazjenja vizuelnih prikaza sadržaja učenja može se pokazati značajnijim u poljima studija koja zahtevaju veći stepen vizualizacije. Na osnovu rezultata našeg istraživanja možemo pretpostaviti da obrazovno polje predstavlja jedan od ključnih kontekstualnih faktora koje je potrebno uzeti u obzir prilikom daljih istraživanja. Pored kontekstualnih, ne treba zanemariti ni druge faktore, kao što je stav prema tehnologiji kako studenta, tako i univerzitetskih nastavnika.

Kao ograničenje realizovanog istraživanja ističe se nedovoljno poznavanje percepcije, praksi i iskustava studenata u vezi sa upotrebom digitalnih tehnologija i učenjem u digitalnom okruženju u periodu pre pandemije COVID-19. Ipak, predstavljena iskustva mogu da budu od koristi i u cilju daljeg praćenja toga koji aspekti se menjaju, a koji ostaju konstantni. Sledeće potencijalno ograničenje odnosi se na mali broj učesnika istraživanja, odnosno činjenice da je iz svakog polja učestvovalo svega dva do tri učesnika, zbog čega je nemoguće steći potpuniji uvid u situaciju u različitim poljima studija. Sa druge strane, ovakav pristup doprineo je tome da se se tematici pristupi šire, čime se otvaraju brojna i raznovrsna pitanja za dalji istraživački rad na ovu temu.

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## THE USE OF DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES AND LEARNING IN A DIGITAL ENVIRONMENT: AN EXAMPLE OF STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NOVI SAD

### Summary:

Analog learning environments are often combined with, or in some cases completely replaced by digital environments – a trend that has been particularly accelerated during the COVID-19 pandemic. To gain insight into students' perceptions, practices, and experiences regarding the use of digital technologies and learning in digital environment, a qualitative study was conducted employing in-depth interview techniques. The research sample consisted of 14 students from the University of Novi Sad, with equal representation from the different fields: social sciences and humanities, natural and mathematical sciences, technical and technological sciences, medical sciences, and the arts. By exploring students' perspectives, our study aimed to contribute to the body of research conducted in the post-pandemic period. The research results were interpreted within four sections, starting with an examination of the broader context and the use of digital technologies in students' daily lives, including entertainment and relaxation, communication and connectivity, and extending to information and learning. The second section focuses on the use of digital technologies in the context of learning, while the third section is dedicated to the application of digital technologies and learning in a digital environment during the teaching process. Following this, the study explores perceptions and possibilities for the coexistence of different teaching models. Based on the reviewed literature and the results of the conducted research, the conclusion is drawn that the pandemic, as a contextual factor, potentially influenced students' negative attitudes toward online education, given that it was a case of "emergency remote education" rather than planned online education. On the other hand, the primary purpose of using digital technologies and learning in digital environment is identified as accessing learning materials. In this context, the study of Open Educational Resources (OER) may gain increasing importance in the future. Although all students report using digital technologies in the context of learning and teaching, differences in the scope, frequency, and manner of their application are noticeable. Among the variables studied, affiliation with a specific field of study was found to be more relevant for participants' responses compared to gender and average grade.

**Keywords:** digital environment; analog environment; students; field of study

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## **MULIMEDIJALNO I MOBILNO UČENJE U POČETNOJ NASTAVI PRIRODNIH NAUKA**

Ovo istraživanje se bavi poređenjem efikasnosti multimedijalnog i mobilnog učenja u procesu usvajanja znanja iz prirodnih nauka kod dece nižeg uzrasta. Uzorak je obuhvatio dve grupe učenika uzrasta devet godina (treći razred osnovne škole), pri čemu je jedna grupa koristila multimedijalne materijale, dok je druga grupa učila pomoću mobilnih telefona. Istraživanje je sprovedeno kroz tri faze testiranja: pretest, post-test i retest, pri čemu je pretest imao za cilj da se utvrde početna predznanja učenika i izjednače grupe. Nakon prezentovanja obrazovnih sadržaja, sproveden je post-test, kako bi se procenio trenutni nivo usvojenog znanja. Retest je obavljen nakon 30 dana, kako bi se utvrdila trajnost znanja. Rezultati su pokazali da su učenici koji su koristili multimedijalno učenje postigli značajno bolje rezultate na post-testu i retestu u poređenju sa učenicima koji su koristili mobilne telefone. Ovi nalazi sugerišu da multimedijalno učenje nudi efikasniji način za postizanje dubljeg razumevanja i dugoročnog zadržavanja informacija kod dece nižeg uzrasta, posebno u kontekstu učenja prirodnih nauka.

**Ključne reči:** multimedijalno učenje, mobilno učenje; prirodne nauke

## UVOD

Uvođenje u savremene pristupe obrazovanju neizbežno podrazumeva analizu i upotrebu različitih tehnologija koje transformišu način na koji učenici usvajaju znanja. U obrazovnom kontekstu, dve tehnologije koje su značajno oblikovale nastavu u poslednjim decenijama su multimedijalno i mobilno učenje. Multimedijalno učenje, koje kombinuje različite forme medija poput teksta, zvuka, slike i animacije, dugo se koristi kao efikasan alat za prenošenje složenih informacija na intuitivan i vizuelno stimulativan način. S druge strane, mobilno učenje, koje se oslanja na upotrebu pametnih telefona, tableta i drugih prenosivih uređaja, omogućava učenicima pristup obrazovnim sadržajima bilo kada i bilo gde, čime se proširuju mogućnosti za učenje van tradicionalne učionice (Ozdamar 2011). Ovo istraživanje ima za cilj da uporedi ova dva oblika usvajanja znanja, te da da preporuke za upotrebu istih u svakodnevnom radu.

## TEORIJSKO RAZMATRANJE PROBLEMA

Mobilno i multimedijalno učenje postaju sve značajniji aspekti savremenog obrazovanja, reflektujući promene u načinu na koji pristupamo znanju u digitalnom dobu (Yousafzai 2016). S obzirom na sve veći broj digitalnih uređaja i aplikacija dostupnih učenicima i nastavnicima, istraživanja u ovoj oblasti postaju ključna za razumevanje njihovih efekata na obrazovni proces. U tom kontekstu, naime, promene u obrazovnom procesu suočavaju se s brojnim izazovima i problemima, naročito kada govorimo o direktnoj primeni tehnoloških akvizicija u svakodnevnom radu.

Jedan od osnovnih problema u istraživanjima mobilnog i multimedijalnog učenja jeste brzina tehnoloških promena. Tehnologije koje su aktuelne danas, mogu biti zastarele već sutra, što istraživanja čini prolaznim i često nedovoljno relevantnim za dugoročne obrazovne strategije (Butler 2016). Pored toga, nedostatak standardizacije u korišćenju mobilnih uređaja i multimedijalnih alata dovodi do poteškoća u komparativnoj analizi različitih studija. Ovi problemi naglašavaju potrebu za kreiranjem univerzalnih kriterijuma i metodoloških okvira koji bi omogućili konzistentnost i validnost istraživanja.

Drugi značajan problem je teorijska praznina u razumevanju efekata mobilnih i multimedijalnih tehnologija na učenje. Iako postoje mnoge studije koje ukazuju na pozitivne ili negativne aspekte ovih tehnologija, manjak teorijskih modela, koji bi objasnili ove efekte, otežava formulisanje generalnih zaključaka. Ovaj problem

dodatno komplikuje i činjenica da su mnoge studije fokusirane na kratkoročne efekte, dok dugoročni uticaji ostaju nedovoljno istraženi.

Takođe, postoji i pitanje etike i sigurnosti u korišćenju mobilnih uređaja u obrazovanju (Traxler 2011). Sa sve većim prisustvom tehnologije u svakodnevnom životu, postavlja se pitanje privatnosti i sigurnosti podataka učenika. Istraživači moraju da pronađu ravnotežu između inovacije i zaštite privatnosti, što predstavlja značajan izazov, posebno u kontekstu sve strožih regulacija o zaštiti podataka.

Pored toga, demografski faktori igraju ključnu ulogu u razumevanju uticaja mobilnog i multimedijalnog učenja. Varijacije u pristupu tehnologiji, digitalnoj pismenosti i kulturnim kontekstima mogu značajno uticati na ishode istraživanja. Na primer, učenici iz različitih socioekonomskih sredina mogu imati različite nivoe pristupa kvalitetnim digitalnim resursima, što može dovesti do povećanja obrazovnih nejednakosti. Retka su istraživanja koja su sprovedena u našoj zemlji o ovoj tematici.

Na kraju, sveobuhvatna evaluacija mobilnog i multimedijalnog učenja zahteva interdisciplinarni pristup, koji uključuje ne samo obrazovne nauke, već i psihologiju, sociologiju, informatiku i druge oblasti. Ovi izazovi ukazuju na kompleksnost istraživanja u ovoj oblasti, ali i na potrebu za dubinskim i sveobuhvatnim studijama, koje bi mogle da unaprede kvalitet obrazovanja u digitalnom dobu.

Da bi se izbegle nejasnoće u upotrebi pojmova multimedijalno i mobilno učenje potrebno je objasniti i definisati oba pojma. U savremenoj obrazovnoj praksi multimedijalno učenje i mobilno učenje se često preklapaju (Ruixia 2023). Iako se oba oslanjaju na upotrebu digitalnih tehnologija za unapređenje obrazovnih procesa, važno je razlučiti njihove specifičnosti i međusobni odnos.

Multimedijalno učenje, koje podrazumeva upotrebu različitih medija kao što su tekst, slike, animacije, video i zvuk za prenošenje obrazovnog sadržaja, može se koristiti na različitim platformama poput računara, interaktivnih tabli ili tableta. Njegova ključna prednost leži u mogućnosti kombinovanja različitih formata prezentacije, što omogućava bogatiju i složeniju interpretaciju obrazovnih tema.

Sa druge strane, mobilno učenje predstavlja poseban oblik učenja koje se odvija putem mobilnih uređaja kao što su pametni telefoni ili tableti i omogućava učenicima pristup obrazovnim sadržajima bilo gde i bilo kada. Ključna prednost mobilnog učenja je njegova fleksibilnost i dostupnost, što učenicima omogućava da samostalno organizuju svoje vreme i mesto učenja (Dias 2022). Mobilno učenje često uključuje upotrebu multimedijalnih sadržaja, ali se razlikuje od klasičnog multimedijalnog učenja po tome što je specifično dizajnirano za mobilne uređaje i prilagođeno dinamičnom načinu života učenika. Mobilno učenje se može smatrati podskupom

multimedijalnog učenja, jer koristi multimedijalne alate, ali u specifičnom, mobilnom kontekstu, dok multimedijalno učenje omogućava bogatiju prezentaciju i bolji prikaz kompleksnih tema u formalnom obrazovnom okruženju.

Nakon detaljne pretrage relevantne literature nisu pronađena istraživanja koja se specifično bave upoređivanjem efekata multimedijalnog i mobilnog učenja u osnovnoj školi. Iako postoje studije koje ispituju ove metode pojedinačno, poređenje između njih, posebno u kontekstu učenika osnovnoškolskog uzrasta, ostaje neistraženo područje. Ovo istraživanje stoga ima za cilj da popuni tu prazninu u literaturi i pruži nove uvide u efikasnost različitih tehnoloških pristupa obrazovanju.

### ***Multimedijalno učenje***

Multimedijalno učenje je pristup obrazovanju koji koristi različite vrste medija, uključujući tekst, slike, video, audio, animacije i interaktivne elemente, kako bi se poboljšalo razumevanje i zadržavanje informacija kod učenika (Mayer 2002). Ovaj metod je postao sve popularniji s razvojem digitalnih tehnologija, koje omogućavaju jednostavan pristup i kombinovanje različitih formi medija.

Istorija multimedijalnog učenja je usko povezana sa razvojem tehnologija koje omogućavaju korišćenje različitih formi medija u obrazovanju. Ideja korišćenja više medija za obrazovanje može se pratiti unazad, a od 19. veka su prvi put počele da se koriste slike i grafički prikazi u obrazovnim materijalima. U to vreme, crteži, dijagrami i slike su postali sastavni deo udžbenika, omogućavajući učenicima da vizuelno prate gradivo (Friedland 2007). U prvim decenijama 20. veka, film i radio postali su novi mediji koji su uneli revoluciju u obrazovanje. Filmovi su korišćeni za demonstraciju složenih procesa i ideja, posebno u nauci i industrijskom obrazovanju, dok je radio bio ključan za pružanje obrazovnih programa širim masama, posebno u ruralnim oblastima, gde pristup obrazovnim ustanovama nije bio široko dostupan.

Pravi procvat multimedijalnog učenja započinje s razvojem personalnih računara i softverskih aplikacija tokom 1980-ih i 1990-ih godina. Prvi kompjuterski bazirani treninzi (*CBT – Computer-Based Training*) koristili su jednostavne tekstualne i grafičke prikaze, ali s vremenom su postali sve sofisticiraniji, uključujući animacije, zvuk i interaktivne komponente. Jedan od ključnih momenata u istoriji multimedijalnog učenja bilo je uvođenje CD-ROM-ova, koji su omogućili skladištenje i distribuciju velikih količina multimedijalnih podataka.

Dolaskom interneta krajem 20. i početkom 21. veka, multimedijalno učenje doživelo je pravu transformaciju. Online platforme, poput *Coursera*, *Khan Academy*

i *YouTube*, omogućile su besplatan i masovan pristup obrazovnim materijalima, koji često uključuju video lekcije, interaktivne kvizove i simulacije. Danas, multimedijalno učenje koristi najnovije tehnologije poput veštačke inteligencije, proširene (*AR*) i virtuelne stvarnosti (*VR*), koje omogućavaju sticanje još bogatijih i interaktivnijih obrazovnih iskustava. Ovi alati imaju potencijal da transformišu obrazovanje i dalje, pružajući učenicima priliku da uče kroz simulacije i interaktivne scenarije (Adurangba 2023).

Ključne prednosti multimedijalnog učenja su:

- poboljšano razumevanje i zadržavanje informacija: kombinovanje vizuelnih i auditivnih elemenata pomaže učenicima da lakše razumeju i pamte gradivo, na primer kada se tekst objašnjava uz pomoć ilustracija ili animacija, učenici često bolje povezuju teoriju sa praksom;
- podsticanje različitih stilova učenja: svaki učenik ima jedinstven način na koji najbolje uči – neki preferiraju vizuelne prezentacije, dok drugi više vole auditivne ili kinestetičke metode; multimedijalno učenje omogućava prilagođavanje različitim stilovima učenja, čineći proces obrazovanja efikasnijim i usklađenijim s individualnim potrebama;
- veća angažovanost učenika: multimedijalni sadržaji često su dinamični i interaktivni, što povećava angažovanost učenika; korišćenjem animacija, video materijala ili interaktivnih simulacija, učenici se aktivnije uključuju u proces učenja, što može poboljšati motivaciju i smanjiti dosadu (Mayer 2022);
- praktične primene i simulacije: multimedijalno učenje omogućava korišćenje simulacija i virtuelnih laboratorija, što može biti posebno korisno u disciplinama kao što su nauka, inženjering ili medicina; na primer, studenti mogu da koriste simulacije za vežbanje hirurških procedura ili eksperimenata u kontrolisanim uslovima (Çeken 2022);
- dostupnost i fleksibilnost: multimedijalni materijali mogu biti dostupni online, što omogućava učenicima da pristupaju sadržaju u bilo koje vreme i sa bilo koje lokacije, što posebno pogoduje učenicima koji imaju obaveze van škole ili univerziteta, jer mogu učiti tempom koji im odgovara.

Iako multimedijalno učenje donosi brojne prednosti, postoje i određeni izazovi. Kvalitet multimedijalnih sadržaja može značajno varirati, a preopterećenje informacijama može dovesti do smanjenja efikasnosti učenja. Takođe, tehnički problemi ili manjak digitalne pismenosti kod učenika i nastavnika mogu ometati



proces učenja. Pored toga, potrebno je pažljivo dizajnirati multimedijalne materijale kako bi se osiguralo da različiti mediji međusobno podržavaju i pojačavaju informacije, a ne da stvaraju konfuziju ili suvišne informacije (Huang 2005). Korišćenje multimedije zahteva i adekvatnu obuku nastavnika, koji moraju biti sposobni da efikasno integrišu ove tehnologije u svoje nastavne planove.

### ***Mobilno učenje***

Mobilno učenje, ili m-učenje, predstavlja savremeni obrazovni pristup koji se oslanja na mobilne uređaje poput pametnih telefona, tableta i laptopa za pristup obrazovnim sadržajima (Motiwalla 2007). Ovaj oblik učenja omogućava učenicima da se obrazuju u pokretu, prilagođavajući proces svojim individualnim potrebama, vremenu i mestu. Fleksibilnost koju nudi mobilno učenje transformiše tradicionalni način obrazovanja, čineći ga dostupnim gotovo u svakom trenutku i na svakom mestu.

Istorija mobilnog učenja usko je povezana sa razvojem mobilnih tehnologija i promenama u obrazovnim paradigama koje su se dogodile tokom poslednjih nekoliko decenija. Početak priče o mobilnom učenju datira iz vremena kada su prvi prenosivi uređaji počeli da postaju dostupni široj javnosti (Crompton 2013). U 1980-im godinama prvi prenosni računari, poznati kao "laptopi", otvorili su mogućnosti za rad i učenje van tradicionalnih okvira. Prava prekretnica u istoriji mobilnog učenja dogodila se s razvojem mobilnih telefona u 1990-im godinama. Razvoj pametnih telefona u 2000-im godinama označio je još jednu ključnu fazu u istoriji mobilnog učenja. Pametni telefoni su kombinovali funkcionalnosti računara s mobilnošću telefona, omogućavajući korisnicima da pristupaju bogatim multimedijalnim sadržajima, koriste aplikacije za učenje jezika, matematike, nauke i drugih predmeta i da komuniciraju s nastavnicima i vršnjacima u realnom vremenu. Ovaj period je, takođe, obeležen razvojem mobilnih mreža, koje su omogućile brži i pouzdaniji pristup internetu, čime su stvoreni uslovi za masovnu primenu mobilnog učenja.

Ono što mobilno učenje čini posebno značajnim jeste njegova sposobnost da odgovori na sve veću potrebu za personalizovanim obrazovanjem. Učenici danas nisu ograničeni na klasične učionice niti na striktno rasporede (Hameed 2024). Umesto toga, mogu birati kada i kako će učiti, koristeći širok spektar digitalnih alata i aplikacija. Ove aplikacije često omogućavaju prilagođavanje sadržaja prema nivou znanja i interesovanjima učenika, što povećava efikasnost učenja i motivaciju za dalje napredovanje.

Interaktivnost je još jedna ključna komponenta mobilnog učenja. Korišćenjem mobilnih uređaja, učenici imaju pristup različitim oblicima multimedijalnih sadržaja, uključujući video lekcije, audio zapise, infografike i animacije. Ovi sadržaji pomažu u boljem razumevanju i zadržavanju informacija, a interaktivni elementi, poput kvizova i simulacija, podstiču aktivno učešće učenika u procesu učenja. Pored toga, mobilno učenje često uključuje mogućnosti za kolaboraciju, omogućavajući učenicima da se povežu sa svojim vršnjacima i nastavnicima putem društvenih mreža, foruma i aplikacija za razmenu poruka, čime se podstiče saradnja i razmena ideja.

Međutim, mobilno učenje nije bez svojih izazova. Iako su mobilni uređaji postali široko dostupni, nejednakosti u pristupu kvalitetnim uređajima i brzom internetu i dalje predstavljaju prepreku za mnoge učenike. Takođe, mobilni uređaji, iako veoma praktični, imaju ograničenja u poređenju sa računarima, kao što su manji ekrani i manjak funkcionalnosti za određene zadatke, što može otežati neke aspekte učenja. Pored tehničkih izazova, mobilno učenje može dovesti do preopterećenja informacijama. Učenici su često suočeni sa velikim količinama podataka, što može otežati fokusiranje i dubinsko razumevanje sadržaja.

Jedan od najvažnijih aspekata mobilnog učenja jeste potreba za očuvanjem privatnosti i sigurnosti podataka učenika (Kambourakis 2013). Korišćenje mobilnih uređaja za obrazovanje otvara pitanja o tome kako zaštititi lične podatke i osigurati sigurno okruženje za učenje, posebno u kontekstu sve većih pretnji u digitalnom svetu.

Unapređenje tehnologije i dalje doprinosi razvoju mobilnog učenja. Sa pojavom veštačke inteligencije, proširene stvarnosti i virtuelne stvarnosti, mobilno učenje postaje još dinamičnije i prilagodljivije, omogućavajući učenicima da uče kroz simulacije i scenarije koji su ranije bili nezamislivi (Ally 2014). Ove inovacije obećavaju da će dodatno transformisati način na koji učenici pristupaju obrazovanju, pružajući im priliku da uče na način koji je interaktivniji, personalizovaniji i u skladu sa njihovim individualnim potrebama i interesovanjima.

Mobilno učenje, kao integralni deo savremenog obrazovnog okruženja, predstavlja most između tradicionalnog obrazovanja i potreba digitalnog doba. Njegova sposobnost da učini obrazovanje pristupačnim, fleksibilnim i prilagođenim učenicima čini ga ključnim alatom za budućnost učenja, iako se suočava sa izazovima koji zahtevaju stalno unapređenje i prilagođavanje novim tehnološkim i društvenim okolnostima.

## METODOLGIJA ISTRAŽIVANJA

### *Cilj istraživanja*

Cilj istraživanja je ispitivanje efikasnosti multimedijalnog u odnosu na mobilno učenje u procesu usvajanja znanja iz prirodnih nauka kod učenika nižeg uzrasta (treći razred, devet godina), kao i utvrđivanje koliko dugo traje usvojeno znanje kroz retest nakon 30 dana. Ova metodologija omogućava ne samo procenu trenutnog napretka učenika, već i da se ispita dugoročnua održivost usvojenog znanja. Centralno istraživačko pitanje je: *Koji metod učenja, mobilno ili multimedijalno, doprinosi boljem usvajanju i dugoročnom pamćenju nastavnih sadržaja iz prirodnih nauka kod učenika mlađeg uzrasta?* Istraživanje je osmišljeno da odgovori na ovo pitanje kroz eksperiment, upotrebom kvantitativnih metoda za merenje učeničkog napretka.

### *Metode istraživanja i uzorak ispitanika*

Uzorak istraživanja činilo je 60 učenika trećeg razreda (devet godina) Osnovne škole “Prva vojvođanska brigade” u Novom Sadu. Izbor ispitanika za svaku od eksperimentalnih grupa izvršen je slučajnim rasporedom koji su sproveli učiteljice i učitelji. Oni su, bez uvida u individualne karakteristike učenika koje bi mogle uticati na rezultate, nasumično raspodelili učenike u dve grupe (po 30 učenika), vodeći računa o ravnomernoj zastupljenosti učenika. Ovim postupkom je osigurana slučajna distribucija učenika, u skladu s ciljevima istraživanja. Jedna grupa koristila je mobilne telefone, a druga multimedijalnu tablu. U obe grupe se vodilo računa o ravnomernoj zastupljenosti polova, kako bi se izbegle pristrasnosti. Treba napomenuti da su svi učenici bili iz iste škole, te da su predavači pratili identični Plan i program tokom realizacije nastave i za to su koristili iste udžbenike, čime su eliminisane moguće razlike u prethodnim iskustvima sa materijalom. Randomizacija uzorka osigurava reprezentativnost i validnost rezultata, a veličina uzorka je dovoljna za postizanje statistički značajnih rezultata u analizama.

Istraživanje je bilo eksperimentalnog tipa sa dve grupe: grupa koja koristi multimedijalne materijale za učenje i grupa koja koristi mobilne uređaje za učenje. Svaka grupa je bila izložena identičnom sadržaju iz prirodnih nauka i sadržaj je bio prilagođen uzrastu. Konkretno, radilo se o nastavnoj oblasti ***Kruženje vode u prirodi***. Razlog za odabir ovog dizajna je mogućnost direktne komparacije dve različite metode učenja pod kontrolisanim uslovima. Dizajn istraživanja omogućava merenje

kratkoročnih i dugoročnih efekata tehnologija na učenje, čime se istražuje efikasnost obe metode u različitim vremenskim okvirima.

Kontrolisani uslovi su ključni za ovo istraživanje, jer omogućavaju izolaciju nezavisne promenljive – metode učenja (mobilno ili multimedijalno). Spoljne varijable, poput nastavnika, vremena učenja i sadržaja lekcije su kontrolisane, kako bi rezultati bili pouzdani.

Za istraživanje je odabrana kvantitativna metoda za prikupljanje podataka. Kvantitativne metode uključuju upotrebu testova znanja iz prirodnih nauka, koji se sprovode pre i posle obrazovnih intervencija, omogućavajući merenje napretka učenika u učenju. Za prikupljanje podataka korišćeni su standardizovani testovi znanja iz prirodnih nauka, koji su razvijeni i prilagođeni uzrastu učenika. Testovi su kreirani u saradnji sa stručnjacima iz oblasti obrazovanja (učitelji, pedagog, stručnjaci sa fakulteta) i pokrivaju ključne koncepte iz nastavne oblasti ***Kruženje vode u prirodi***. Prvo je izvršena identifikacija osnovnih obrazovnih ciljeva i koncepata koji se odnose na kruženje vode u prirodi, nakon čega su testni zadaci osmišljeni tako da obuhvate različite aspekte znanja, od faktografskih informacija do razumevanja i primene pojmova. Nakon početne faze kreiranja, testovi su prošli kroz proces validacije i prilagođavanja, gde su stručnjaci sa fakulteta pregledali zadatke kako bi se osigurala njihova jasnost i prikladnost za učenike osnovnih škola. U konkretnom istraživanju učenici su tri puta testirani (pretest, post-test i retest). Testiranja su realizovana sa testovima u papirnoj verziji.

**Pretest:** Pre početka obrazovnih intervencija svi učenici su uraditi pretest kojim je procenjeno učeničko početno znanje iz oblasti prirodnih nauka koje će biti obuhvaćeno nastavnim sadržajem. Pretest se sastojao od 10 pitanja, koja su pokrivala ključne koncepte iz materije koju su učenici usvajali u predhodnim razredima iz oblasti prirodnih nauka. Pretest je bio namenjen ujednačavanju grupa učenika koji učestvuju u istraživanju.

**Obrazovna intervencija:** Nakon pretesta učenici su podeljeni u dve grupe. Jedna grupa je koristila multimedijalne resurse, koji su prezentovani na multimedijalnoj tabli, dok je druga grupa koristila mobilne aplikacije za usvajanje istih sadržaja. Intervencija je trajala tri školska časa, s tim da su učenici radili u istim vremenskim intervalima i pod nadzorom nastavnika, kako bi se osigurali slični uslovi za učenje.

**Post-test:** Odmah nakon završetka obrazovne intervencije učenici su, ponovo, radili test, kako bi se utvrdilo koliko su napredovali u usvajanju znanja. Ovaj test je omogućio istraživaču da izmeri efekat različitih metoda učenja. Test se sastojao od 10 pitanja, koja su pokrivala glavne segmente obrađenog gradiva.

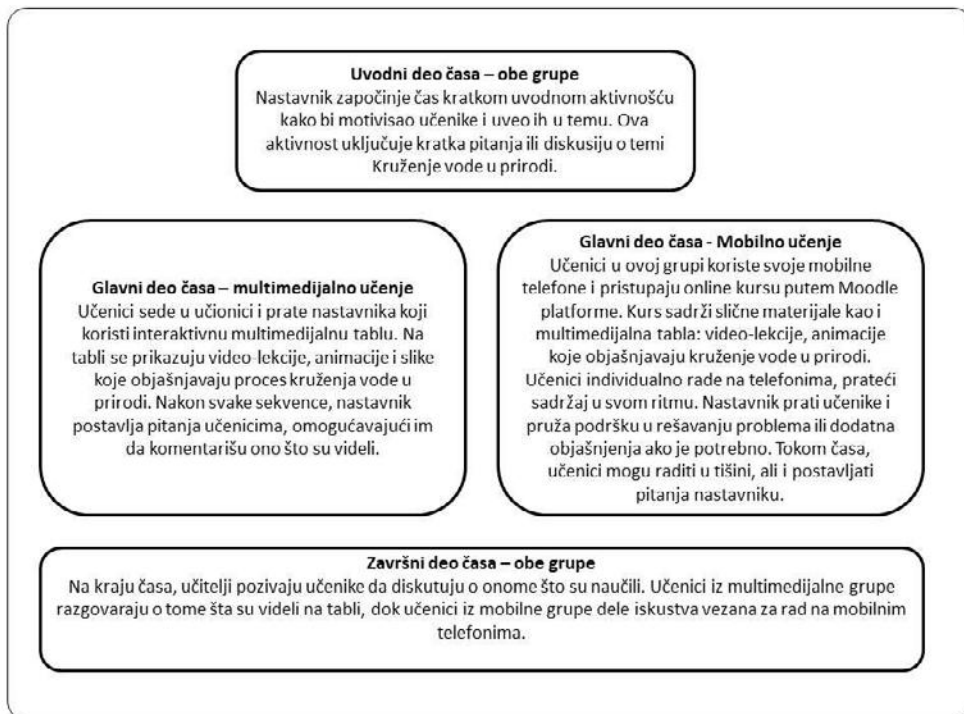
**Retest:** Nakon 30 dana učenici su radili retest. Cilj retesta je utvrđivanje koliko dugo učenici zadržavaju usvojeno znanje i da li postoje razlike u dugoročnoj efikasnosti između multimedijalnog i mobilnog učenja. Retest se sastojao od 10 pitanja, koja su pokrivala glavne segmente obrađenog gradiva.

Obrazovni materijali za istraživanje pažljivo su razvijeni, kako bi odgovarali obrazovnim ciljevima i uzrastu ispitanika (učenika). Za grupu koja je koristila multimedijalne materijale razvijene su video lekcije, animacije i prezentacije, koje objašnjavaju prirodne pojave i fenomene na način koji je razumljiv i zanimljiv deci. Za izradu multimedijalnih materijala korišćeni su provereni resursi sa Interneta, kao što su *You tube* i *GIPHY*. U pripremi materijala učestvovali su učitelji, informatičar, pedagog, psiholog, kao i stručnjaci sa fakulteta.

Za mobilnu grupu je razvijen specijalno dizajniran online kurs na platformi *Moodle*, koji je uključivao sličan obrazovni sadržaj u formi animacija, video zapisa i pitanja za samoprocenu. Ovaj kurs je zasnovan na principima linearnog programiranog učenja. Materijal je takođe kreiran uz doprinos stručnjaka iz obrazovnih institucija, čime je osigurano da sadržaj bude primenljiv i relevantan za uzrast učenika.

Materijal za učenje kod obe grupe je pažljivo kreiran, kako bi obuhvatio slične sadržaje i koncepte, čime su se obezbedili isti obrazovni uslovi za sve učenike. Ova sličnost materijala omogućila je da se fokus istraživanja usmeri na poređenje metoda učenja, bez uticaja razlika u obrazovnim sadržajima. Cilj je bio da učenici iz obe grupe dobiju jednaku priliku za usvajanje istih obrazovnih ciljeva, kako bi rezultati istraživanja bili objektivni i relevantni. Razlika između grupa odnosila se isključivo na nastavno sredstvo putem kojeg je obrazovni sadržaj isporučen. Oba pristupa su koristila sličan obrazovni materijal, ali je jedna grupa primala sadržaj putem multimedijalne table, dok je druga koristila mobilne telefone.

Grupa koja je koristila multimedijalni pristup imala informacije je primala pomoću multimedijalne table dimenzija 190cm (dijagonala) rezolucije 32767 x 32767. Tabla je bila opremljena zvučnicima za prenos audio materijala. Učenici koji su koristili mobilno učenje posedovali su savremene *smart* telefone. Svaki učenik je koristio svoj telefon. Pre eksperimenta provereno je da svi učenici ove grupe imaju telefone sličnih performansi, te da mogu da se povežu na školski Internet. Na Slici 1 se može videti shema scenarija časa tokom sprovođenja eksperimenta.



Slika 1. Scenario časa

Nakon završetka obrazovnih intervencija sproveden je post-test, kako bi se utvrdilo da li postoji značajna razlika u nivoima usvojenog znanja između dvaju pristupa. Tokom analize rezultata korišćene su sledeće statističke metode: *Krombah alfa koeficijent*, *Jednofaktorska analiza varijanse* i *Koeficijent varijacije*. Istraživanje je sprovedeno u skladu sa etičkim standardima uz obezbeđenje saglasnosti roditelja svih učenika koji su učestvovali u istraživanju. Poverljivost podataka je osigurana, a rezultati su predstavljeni u agregatnoj formi, radi zaštite privatnosti ispitanika (učenika, dece).

## REZULTATI ISTRAŽIVANJA

Pouzdanost testova utvrđena je izračunavanjem *Krombah alfa koeficijenta*. Rezultati testova koji su upotrebljeni u istraživanju ispunjavaju zahteve pouzdanosti. Smatra se da vrednosti u intervalu  $0.7 \leq \alpha < 0.9$  predstavljaju dobru pouzdanost testova. Dobijene vrednosti nalaze se u Tabeli 1.

**Tabela 1.** Krombah alfa koeficijenti svih testova

	Krombah alfa koeficijent
Pretest	0,817
Post-test	0,808
Re-test	0,736

### *Pretest*

Pretest se sastojao od 10 pitanja, koja su pokrivala teme iz prirodnih nauka, koje su učenici obrađivali u predhodnim razredima. Svako pitanje je bodovano sa po jednim bodom. U Tabeli 2 prikazani su rezultati (ukupan broj bodova) napretestu.

**Tabela 2.** Ukupan broj bodova učenika svih grupa napretestu

	Mobilno učenje	Multimedijalno učenje
Pretest	215	221

Analizom broja bodova na pretestu može se zaključiti da su obe grupe učenika ostvarile približno isti uspeh, Upoređivanje kvaliteta znanja između grupa na pretestu izvršeno je pomoću *Jednofaktorske analize varijanse* i prikazano je u Tabeli 3. Zaključuje se da ne postoji statistički značajna razlika između grupa:  $p=0,997$  ;  $p>0,05$ .

**Tabela 3.** Jednofaktorska analiza varijanse razlika u znanju svih grupa na pretestu

Grupe	M	SD	SE	Grupe	$\Sigma$ Kvadrata	df	F	p
Mobilno učenje	3,09	1,27	0,16	Unutar grupa	296.033	60	0,02	0,977
Multimedijalno učenje	3,13	1,22	0,15	Ukupno	296.109	60		

### *Post-test*

U Tabeli 4 prikazan je ukupan broj bodova obe grupe ostvaren na post-testu.

**Tabela 4.** Ukupan broj bodova obe grupe ostvaren na post testu

	Mobilno učenje	Multimedijalno učenje
<b>Post-test</b>	220	232

Grupa koja je gradivo usvajala multimedijalnim učenjem ostvarila je bolje rezultate u odnosu na grupu koja je primenjivala mobilno učenje.

Upoređivanje kvaliteta znanja između grupa učenika na post-testu izvršeno je pomoću *Jednofaktorske analize varijanse* i prikazane su u Tabeli 5. Zaključuje se da postoji statistički značajna razlika između grupa:  $p=0,000$  ;  $p >0,05$ .

**Tabela 5.** Jednofaktorska analiza varijanse razlika u znanju svih grupa na post-testu

Grupe	M	SD	SE	Grupe	$\Sigma$ Kvadrata	df	F	p
Mobilno učenje	3,891	0,830	0,106	Unutar grupa	129,245	60	17,314	0,000
Multimedijalno učenje	4,311	0,742	0,095	Ukupno	154,109	60		

Uočeno je da su učenici, koji su znanje usvajali pomoću multimedijalnog učenja, ostvarili bolje rezultate u odnosu na grupu koja je primenjivala mobilno učenje.

Izračunavanjem *Koeficijenta varijacije* utvrđene su varijacije u kvalitetu znanja na post-testu, što je prikazano u Tabeli 6. Grupa koja je usvajala znanje pomoću multimedijalnog učenja pokazala je veću ujednačenost znanja učenika na post-testu u odnosu na grupu koja je primenjivala mobilno učenje.

**Tabela 6.** Koeficijent varijacije(%) na post-testu – obe grupe

	Mobilno učenje	Multimedijalno učenje
<b>Post-test</b>	22	20

### **Retest**

Na retestu učenici obe grupe ostvarili su slabije rezultate u odnosu na post-test. Rezultati su prikazani u Tabeli 7. Uočeno je da su učenici koji su znanje usvajali pomoću multimedijalnog učenja ostvarili bolje rezultate u odnosu na grupu koja je primenjivala mobilno učenje.



**Tabela 7.** Ukupan broj bodova obe grupe ostvaren na retestu

	Mobilno učenje	Multimedijalno učenje
<b>Retest</b>	199	211

Upoređivanje trajnosti znanja obe grupe učenika na retestu izvršeno je pomoću *Jednofaktorske analize varijanse* i prikazano je u Tabeli 8. Zaključeno je da postoji značajna statistička razlika u trajnosti stečenih znanja ( $r=0,042$ ).

**Tabela 8.** Jednofaktorska analiza varijanse razlika u znanju svih grupa na retestu

Grupe	M	SD	SE	Grupe	$\Sigma$ Kvadrata	df	F	p
Mobilno učenje	3,327	1,106	0,141	Unutar grupa	12,207	60	5,222	0,042
Multimedijalno učenje	3,475	1,026	0,131	Ukupno	210,393	60		

Izračunavanjem *Koeficijenta varijacije* utvrđene su varijacije u kvalitetu znanja na retestu, što je prikazano u Tabeli 9. Grupa koja je usvajala znanje pomoću multimedijalnog učenja pokazala je veću ujednačenost znanja učenika na post-testu u odnosu na grupu koja je primenjivala mobilno učenje.

**Tabela 9.** Koeficijent varijacije (%) znanja učenika na retestu za obe grupe

	Mobilno učenje	Multimedijalno učenje
<b>Re-test</b>	29,5	28,2

## DISKUSIJA

Analiza rezultata pokazuje efikasnost multimedijalnog i mobilnog učenja kod dece nižeg uzrasta (treći razred osnovne škole, devet godina) u procesu usvajanja znanja iz prirodnih nauka i otkriva nekoliko ključnih nalaza koji doprinose razumevanju ovih metoda učenja. Rezultati post-testova i retestova jasno pokazuju da su učenici koji su koristili multimedijalne materijale postigli bolje rezultate u odnosu na one koji su koristili mobilne uređaje za učenje, što ima značajne implikacije za odabir obrazovnih tehnologija u osnovnom obrazovanju.

Jedan od najvažnijih nalaza ovog istraživanja je superiornost multimedijalnog učenja u postizanju dubljeg razumevanja i dugoročnog zadržavanja znanja. Učenici u grupi koja je koristila multimedijalne resurse ostvarili su bolje rezultate na post-testu, što ukazuje na to da su odmah nakon prezentovanja gradiva imali bolji uvid u ključne koncepte prirodnih nauka. Ovi rezultati mogu se delimično objasniti činjenicom da multimedijalni materijali, kao što su video zapisi, animacije i interaktivne simulacije, omogućavaju vizuelnu i auditivnu stimulaciju koja može olakšati razumevanje složenih tema (Mayer 2022). Učenje kroz različite medije podstiče sinesteziju, gde se informacije simultano obrađuju kroz više čula, a što može poboljšati kognitivnu obradu i memorisanje (Evans 2007).

Još jedan značajan aspekt istraživanja je analiza retesta, koji je sproveden 30 dana nakon inicijalnog učenja. Rezultati retesta pokazali su da su učenici iz multimedijalne grupe zadržali veći deo usvojenog znanja u poređenju sa učenicima iz mobilne grupe. Ova razlika u dugoročnoj zadrživosti znanja može biti povezana s prirodom multimedijalnog sadržaja, koji često uključuje ponavljajuće elemente i mogućnosti za interaktivno istraživanje gradiva, čime se omogućava dublje ukorenjivanje informacija u dugoročnoj memoriji (Sameeran 2024).

Nasuprot tome, iako mobilno učenje ima značajnu prednost u pristupačnosti i fleksibilnosti, rezultati sugerišu da može biti manje efikasno u kontekstu formalnog obrazovanja kod dece nižeg uzrasta, posebno kada je reč o složenijem gradivu poput onog iz prirodnih nauka. Moguće je da mobilni uređaji, zbog svoje prirode, koja često uključuje kraće vremenske intervale učenja i potencijalne distrakcije, ne omogućavaju istu dubinu obrade informacija kao multimedijalni sadržaji dizajnirani za formalno učenje (Costabile 2008). Takođe, interfejs i format mobilnih aplikacija mogu ograničiti interakciju sa sadržajem na način koji nije optimalan za razvoj složenog konceptualnog razumevanja (Sönmez 2018).

Dodatno, u razmatranje treba uzeti i fizičke aspekte korišćenja mobilnih uređaja u učenju, poput ergonomije sedenja i karakteristika ekrana. Deca koja koriste mobilne uređaje za učenje često su izložena nepravilnim položajima sedenja, što može dovesti do nelagodnosti ili smanjenja koncentracije tokom učenja (Petit 2014). Ovaj faktor može negativno uticati na njihov kognitivni učinak, jer nepravilno sedenje može izazvati napetost i umor, ometajući njihovu sposobnost da se fokusiraju na sadržaj koji uče.

Veličina i rezolucija ekrana mobilnih uređaja predstavljaju još jedan važan faktor koji može ograničiti efikasnost mobilnog učenja (Daesang 2012). Manji ekrani, tipični za mobilne telefone i tablete, često otežavaju preglednost i interakciju sa

složenim sadržajem, posebno u oblastima kao što su prirodne nauke, gde je vizuelizacija procesa i fenomena ključna za razumevanje. Niža rezolucija ekrana može dodatno smanjiti jasnoću prikaza, što može otežati usvajanje i zadržavanje znanja (Maniar 2008).

Nasuprot tome, multimedijalno učenje koje se odvija na većim ekranima, poput interaktivnih tabli, omogućava prikaz složenijih i detaljnijih vizuelnih materijala u visokoj rezoluciji. To ne samo da poboljšava vizuelni doživljaj već i omogućava učenicima da lakše prate i razumeju obrazovne sadržaje. U kombinaciji sa pravilnom ergonomijom sedenja, gde su učenici u mogućnosti da sede u udobnijem položaju, multimedijalno učenje obezbeđuje optimalnije uslove za koncentraciju i učenje.

Jedno od ograničenja ovog istraživanja predstavlja broj učesnika u eksperimentu. Bilo bi ineresantno ispitati veći broj učenika različitih uzrasta iz različitih demografskih sredina. Još jedno važno ograničenje odnosi se na relativno kratko trajanje obrazovnih intervencija, koje su sprovedene tokom tri školska časa. Iako je retest nakon 30 dana omogućio uvid u dugoročno zadržavanje znanja, duži period praćenja mogao bi pružiti dublji uvid u održivost i efikasnost metoda učenja. Takođe, trebalo bi tokom istraživanja obuhvatiti i veće nastavne celine. Uzevši u obzir da ne postoje studije koje se bave upoređivanjem multimedijalnog i mobilnog učenja u nižim razredima, ovo istraživanje predstavlja izazov za dalji rad kroz buduća istraživanja koja bi mogla pružiti širi i dublji uvid u efikasnost različitih metoda učenja.

## ZAKLJUČAK

U skladu sa ovim nalazima, može se zaključiti da, iako mobilno učenje ima svoje mesto u obrazovnom procesu, multimedijalno učenje nudi više prednosti kada je reč o usvajanju i dugoročnom zadržavanju znanja iz prirodnih nauka kod dece nižeg uzrasta (treći razred, devet godina). Ovi rezultati sugerišu potrebu za daljim istraživanjima koja bi detaljnije ispitala kako se različite karakteristike ovih obrazovnih tehnologija mogu kombinovati da bi se maksimalizovala efikasnost učenja. Takođe, ovi nalazi mogu imati značajne implikacije za obrazovne politike i praksu, sugerišući da bi škole mogle imati koristi od integracije multimedijalnih materijala u svoje nastavne planove i programe, posebno u ranom obrazovanju.

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## MULTIMEDIA AND MOBILE LEARNING IN PRIMARY NATURAL SCIENCE TEACHING

### Summary:

This research deals with the comparison of the effectiveness of multimedia and mobile learning in the process of acquiring knowledge from natural sciences among children of a lower age. The sample included two groups of students nine ages, where one group used multimedia materials, while the other group studied using mobile phones. The research was conducted through three phases of testing: pretest, post-test and retest, where the pretest aimed to determine the initial prior knowledge of the students and equalize the groups. After the presentation of the educational content, a post-test was conducted to assess the current level of acquired knowledge. A retest was performed after 30 days to determine the durability of the knowledge. The results showed that students who used multimedia learning achieved significantly better results on the post-test and retest compared to students who used mobile phones. These findings suggest that multimedia learning offers a more efficient way to achieve deeper understanding and long-term retention of information in younger children, especially in the context of science learning.

**Keywords:** multimedia learning; mobile learning; natural sciences

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Review paper

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## **APPLYING THE SITUATIONAL APPROACH IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE COMMUNICATION WITH CHILDREN IN PRESCHOOL INSTITUTIONS: AN OVERVIEW**

The paper addresses the problem of foreign language communication in preschool institutions. The processes of L1 and L2 acquisition undergo similar stages, which facilitates acquisition of a foreign language at a young age. There are many advantages of learning a foreign language at a young age, the most important being children's brain plasticity and the flexibility of their speech apparatus. The Situational Approach to foreign language learning ensures learning L2 is a pleasurable experience for children, one that should aim at freedom of language choice, establishing an optimal learning environment, and imitation of L1 learning mechanisms. It is very important that educators are proficient in the foreign language that they are teaching, that they are able to sustain an enjoyable atmosphere in the preschool institution and that they promote cooperation with other children in a playgroup, as well as the children's parents. The paper provides an overview of the most important points of communication in a foreign language with children of an early age. It also emphasises the importance of the continuity of learning foreign languages, from preschool institutions up to the university level. Such an approach makes it possible for learners to achieve a high level of fluency in a particular language at an adult age and empowers them to build a successful career in their chosen field.

**Key words:** language choice; preschool institution; educator; Situational Approach



## 1. INTRODUCTION

In order to cope with the hectic pace of modern life, it is of utmost importance to be fluent in at least one foreign language. This is particularly important in the context of one's future career advancement and educational opportunities. In Croatia, foreign languages are taught as early as in preschool institutions, which offer full-day and half-day foreign language programmes to children of an early age. Many children attend language learning programmes in preschool institutions, in particular English language programmes. English is subsequently taught from the first grade of primary school, throughout secondary school and up to the university level.

Young children learn foreign languages differently than adults do – they learn them spontaneously, through play, with a lot of interaction with their educators, peers and with their parents. In Croatia, formal and structured contexts for learning a foreign language are being abandoned, with more contemporary approaches gaining popularity. The *Situational Approach* to teaching a foreign language provides an optimal opportunity for young children to learn the language in daily situations such as arriving at kindergarten, getting ready for lunch, etc. The foreign language is learnt in a similar way as the mother tongue. The learning mechanisms of the mother tongue and foreign language will be elaborated on, with emphasis on the characteristics of young children that facilitate the process of language learning. The focus will be on the communication aspect of the Situational Approach to learning. The communication principles of the Situational Approach will be specially addressed, with an emphasis on the importance of continuous communication with educators, peers and parents.

## 2. THE CHILD'S COMMUNICATION WITH THEIR ENVIRONMENT

Children are exposed to language from the moment of their birth. Communication between the child and the people from their environment is bidirectional from the very start. At the beginning, the child establishes affective communication with the people in the immediate surrounding by utilising diverse means of affective communication, such as gestures, facial expressions, and look (Silić 2007a). Affective bidirectional communication leads to social bidirectional communication and to the formation of early communicative competence (Silić 2007a). Brewster and co-authors (Brewster et al. 1994: 696) define it as

“... knowledge that users of a language have internalised to enable them to understand and produce messages in the language...it [communicative competence] entails both linguistic competence (for example, knowledge of grammatical rules) and pragmatic competence (for example, knowledge of what constitutes appropriate linguistic behaviour in a particular situation)”.

Affective communication is a prerequisite for semiotic communication. While affective communication is based on expression, semiotic communication is rooted in denotation and primarily relays information about the environment. The role of the adult is crucial at this stage, since it is through the adult that the child is introduced to the cultural and social systems of semiotic communication (Silić 2007a). Silić distinguishes another mode of pre-semiotic (non-verbal) communication, and that is practical-situational communication, which is conducted via mutual activities of adults and children in the form of exchange of cognitive meanings and messages within the child’s environment (Silić 2007a). Through this kind of communication, the child learns about the meaning of practical actions, while creating its first verbal expressions. Verbal communication is at first related to a particular context, and only at a later stage does it obtain the character of independent codes.

The child’s verbal expression follows its cognitive development, which undergoes similar stages: at first it has an affective character, at a later stage it becomes situational in nature, while finally it obtains a verbal-logical character (Silić 2007a).

### **3. MOTHER TONGUE, SECOND LANGUAGE AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE**

The child tries to replicate the information acquired from its environment with all of its senses (Kotarac 2017). In order to achieve that, children have to be continually stimulated by the speech models from their immediate environment. The child subsequently develops the ability to use language as an essential means of communication, thereby creating messages which enable them to sustain successful communication with adults (Selimović and Karić 2011). According to *the National Curriculum for Early and Preschool Education (Nacionalni kurikulum za rani i predškolski odgoj i obrazovanje)*, children actively acquire languages (mother tongue and foreign language) from a linguistically rich environment (*Nacionalni kurikulum za rani i predškolski odgoj i obrazovanje* 2014). The first language the child comes into contact with at the moment of birth is called *mother tongue, first language, source*

language or L1 (Kraš and Miličević 2015). Children acquire their mother tongue mainly from their mothers or other participants in the process of language development (Pavličević Franić 2005).

The language that the child acquires, in most cases later than they start acquiring their mother tongue, is either a *second language*, a *foreign language* or L2 with *second language acquisition* being the umbrella term that is used in English terminology for both foreign language and second language acquisition, point out Kraš and Miličević (2015). The main difference between second language and foreign language is, assert the authors, that the former is acquired in a natural environment where that language is spoken as the first language, while a foreign language is learnt outside such an environment (usually in the context of the classroom). According to Medved Krajnović and Juraga, second language acquisition is characterised by a person's spontaneous acquisition of a language spoken by speakers of a community with whom the person has regular interlinguistic contact. Those are, continue Medved Krajnović and Juraga, mainly situations where the speaker of a minority language acquires the language of the majority, for example, Croatian immigrants in the USA, who acquire English in that country (Medved Krajnović and Juraga 2008).

Foreign language learning (but also *foreign language acquisition*, *second language acquisition* or *second language learning*), stresses Medved Krajnović, is conducted in an institutionalised context, where the stress is on a *formal, structured* approach to the linguistic corpus, while the acquired language is not present in the nearer environment, such as, for example, Croats learning English in Croatian schools (Medved Krajnović 2010). Such an approach is not appropriate for teaching a foreign language to children of an early age since it is not advisable to pressure children to express themselves in a foreign language (Commission Staff Working Paper – European Strategic Framework for Education and Training European Commission 2011). To be more precise, children are encouraged to notice similarities between their mother tongue and the foreign language they are learning, thereby *freely* choosing which language they want to use (Commission Staff Working Paper – European Strategic Framework for Education and Training 2011). In this paper I intend to focus on a more contemporary approach to teaching a foreign language at an early age, namely the *Situational Approach*. In order to better understand the main principles of the Situational Approach to teaching foreign languages, it is necessary to elaborate on the stages and mechanisms of L1 and L2 acquisition.

#### 4. STAGES OF L1 AND L2 ACQUISITION

Jean Brewster et al. (2004) distinguish between six stages through which children acquire their L1: 1) *babbling* (producing a wide array of noises and sounds), 2) *the first word* (naming objects and people, at the beginning sound combinations produced by chance, like *mama* or *dada*), 3) *two words* (putting two words together to create new meaning, ex. *look Daddy, Mummy gone*), 4) *phonological, syntactic and lexical norms* (grammatical norms resemble those of adults, basic language elements put in place, all vowel sounds and consonants acquired with minor problems in articulating some), 5) *syntactic and lexical complexity and richness* (continue to expand their vocabulary, unable to understand complex grammatical structures), and 6) *conversational skills* (may not understand directions, may carry on without showing lack of understanding or asking questions). The last stage, which corresponds to the onset of teenage years, marks the commencement of the independent and eloquent use of L1. These stages are phases of a spontaneous process of L1 acquisition. We can now pose the question whether it is possible to imitate these stages in L2 acquisition.

When it comes to learning foreign languages, Rod Ellis distinguishes three stages: 1) *the Silent Period*, 2) *Formulaic Speech* and 3) *Structural and Semantic Simplification* (Ellis, 2024). Similar to L1 acquisition, during the Silent Period the child first listens to the speech of adults, gets familiar with it and memorises it (Devčić and Fišer 2023). During this period, the child is exposed to a foreign language but does not speak it (Ellis 1994). The child listens attentively, explores and becomes acquainted with the language, thereby creating their own inner speech (*private speech*). The child understands a lot, but cannot reproduce the same quantity of language and takes time to process it before reproducing it.

During the Formulaic Speech phase, the child learns ready-made phrases (for example *I don't know*), which they use in communication with other children. These phrases are usually connected with routines in the child's life. The acquisition of these phrases helps the child structure sentences in the future.

Finally, during the Structural and Semantic Simplification phase, the child uses simple words and joins them out of context, without applying grammatical rules (ex. *Clean floor*). This elliptic language is the result of the child's lack of knowledge of grammatical and linguistic structures in the target language (Ellis 1994). In order to facilitate the process of answering, Haynes (2021) advises parents to ask closed questions (Yes/No questions).

Scientists of diverse orientations in science have different views of the similarities and differences between the acquisition of the mother tongue and foreign language acquisition (Brewster et al. 2004). Thus behaviourists perceive the processes as similar due to two features common to both processes, i.e. practice and imitation. Cognitivists, on the other hand, emphasise that children learning a foreign language are cognitively more developed than children that are only learning their mother tongue. They explain this phenomenon with the fact that children start learning the lexical and grammatical structures of a foreign language once they have acquired them in their mother tongue. The proponents of the social interactionist view, on the other hand, emphasise that a foreign language, unlike the mother tongue, which we acquire spontaneously, is learnt in artificial conditions that have been set up especially for that purpose (Brewster et al. 2004). Besides the stages, it is important to elaborate on the language learning mechanisms of children of an early age.

## **5. HOW DO YOUNG CHILDREN LEARN FOREIGN LANGUAGES?**

Young children are motivated to learn by their inherent curiosity to understand the world and obtain new knowledge (Šarčević 2017). Moreover, they quickly obtain diverse information (Kralj 2022). When it comes to learning foreign languages, children possess an inherent ability to spontaneously and effortlessly (unlike adults) pick up language by listening to adults from their environment (Šarčević 2017).

According to Eric Lenneberg (1967), the founder of the theory of the *Critical Period Hypothesis*, the ideal age to commence learning a foreign language is between the age of two and puberty. Lenneberg supports his notion by the fact that, during this period, children effortlessly internalise the structures of a foreign language, especially the rhythm, pronunciation and intonation, due to the plasticity of their brain and the flexibility of their speech apparatus. This in turn results in the near-native intonation and pronunciation (Prebeg Vilke 1990; Kralj 2020). This is the main reason why a number of linguists opine children should start learning foreign languages as soon as possible or, more precisely, during the preschool period (Lenneberg 1967; Pavličević Franić 2001; Singleton 1987).

## **6. CONTINUITY OF THE ACQUISITION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN CROATIA – THE INSTITUTIONAL (FORMAL) CONTEXT**

Children in Croatia are increasingly exposed to foreign languages for many reasons. In the era of the rapid development of technology, with distances between people becoming smaller and with an increased need for global communication, fluency in more than one language has become a must. This is the reason why a growing number of parents are enrolling their children in language programmes already at a preschool age. Children thus learn European and non-European languages within language programmes specialised for young children in whole-day or half-day programmes in kindergartens. Foreign language instruction is continued throughout their education, i.e. in primary school, secondary school and at university. Fluency in foreign languages significantly enhances careers, as well as helps develop a positive attitude towards diverse cultures, communities and languages (Šarčević 2017).

### ***6.1. Institutional Learning Based on the Situational Approach***

Compared to learning a foreign language at an adult age, when the process is deliberate and is often marked with the exhausting trait of memorising various language structures, foreign language learning at a young age utilises a wide array of characteristics all young children have, including playfulness, intrinsic motivation and spontaneity (Silić 2007a). Moreover, claims Silić, concrete actions undertaken by adults and children together accompanied by practical and situational communication arising from these actions set a pretext for successful foreign language learning. This learning is aided by the cognitive development of the child, which at first is of affective character and later obtains a situational and then abstract verbal and logical character (Silić 2007a).

The main aim of the *Situational Approach* is to make foreign language acquisition as similar to the acquisition of the mother language as possible. This approach was proposed by Jürgen Zimmer and its main principles are the following: 1) learning for life situations; 2) connecting social and concrete learning; 3) learning in groups consisting of children of different ages; 4) growing together; 5) cooperation of parents and adults; 6) cooperation with other preschool institutions and the community and 7) open planning (Zimmer 1984).

His approach relies on the fact that there are numerous similarities between the processes of L1 and L2 acquisition. Brewster et al. distinguish between four corresponding stages of the two processes: 1) working out how language works, 2) generalising across a group of similar instances, 3) over generalising or using rules where they are not appropriate (ex. saying *putted* or *goed* instead of *put* and *went*) and 4) using language items correctly (Brewster et al. 2004).

## **6.2. Kindergarten as a Setting for Foreign Language Learning**

Preschool institutions play an important role in applying the Situational Approach to learning foreign languages, since they provide a setting that abounds in practical life situations in which children can talk about topics relevant to them, such as arrival at the preschool institution, changing clothes, playing with toys, eating routines and others (Silić 2007a). In this manner, there is no need to create artificial situations of play, but rather utilise the reality and everyday manner of living of preschool children (Ibidem). Additionally, such a natural way of foreign language acquisition is in accordance with the child's creative, active and spontaneous nature. In that manner, points out Silić, all practices that are not in accordance with the child's nature or which exert pressure or concern upon the child, are not likely to be embraced by the young learner (Ibidem).

In present-day Croatia, more and more parents are inquiring about the availability of foreign language programmes in kindergartens when enrolling their child in a preschool institution (Koporčić et al. 2023). As is reported by the authors, the languages most in demand are English, German and Italian.

The introduction of whole-day programmes, as well as half-day programmes for teaching foreign languages in Croatian preschool institutions paved the path for the implementation of a different and more natural manner of foreign language instruction. Thus, in 1992, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport launched language programmes in English, German, Italian and French. Fourteen Croatian kindergartens were involved in the initiative and 323 preschool children took part in a foreign language learning programme. The English programme was, continues Silić, particularly successful and showed that preschool children could successfully acquire the basics of a foreign language (Silić 2007a).

Kindergartens proved to be a good setting for foreign language learning, since teaching is conducted in a natural, appropriate manner. If, for example, the teacher praises the child's new jacket by saying *Your new blue jacket is beautiful*, the child



will connect the words with its own experience, which will open an emotional dimension and help it develop a positive attitude toward learning L2 (Silić 2007a). The natural way of foreign language learning thus brings to the surface the *affective* component of its cognitive growth. Children enjoy talking about topics relevant to them in such an environment, both in their mother tongue and foreign language (2007).

### **6.3. The Language Choice**

Silić (2007a) emphasises that children equally enjoy their L1 and L2 in communication. Communication in L2 should be in accordance with the real nature of each child, continues Silić. It is of utmost importance that children are *not forced* to speak in L2, otherwise they may develop a negative attitude towards that language, which is difficult to rectify later on (Ibidem).

Despite the fact that children of an early age have a limited vocabulary in L2, they often desire to participate in foreign language classroom activities. According to Roy Vasta et al., pre-pubescent children are naturally active and like participating in various language activities (Vasta et al. 2005). If they are unable to maintain the conversation in L2, they are likely to sustain it in their L1.

In Croatia, it is not precisely defined whether and to what extent L1 should be used in the foreign language classroom (Carević 2010). Some teachers opine that the use of L1 when teaching L2 is unnecessary, or even detrimental since they believe that the use of L1 hinders the process of thinking in the foreign language (Petrović 1995). Others believe resorting to L1 is perfectly acceptable since children of an early age do not have a wide vocabulary range in L2 yet and therefore find it difficult to express themselves in the target language (Sironić Bonefačić 1992). According to Pavličević Franić, children instinctively try to communicate in different languages to their interlocutors and there is always a reason for their language choice (Pavličević Franić 2001).

Scientists (Moon 2005; Prebeg Vilke 1991) warn of the pitfalls we can fall into if pressure is exerted upon a child in its language choice, as well as of the consequences these pressures can have on the child. Childhood is a sensitive period in one's life and initial negative attitudes that can result from pressure related to language choice can mark a young person for the rest of their life.



#### **6.4. Case Studies Related to Motivating Children to Use L2 Via Peer Support and Stimulating Environment**

A stimulating environment is of utmost importance in foreign language learning, while the cooperation between younger and older children makes the process of foreign language learning faster (Fućak and Vujičić 2013). The structure of a child's interaction and communication significantly changes with the commencement of preschool education in a preschool institution (Miljak 1987). According to Miljak (1987), the quantity and quality of speech directed towards the child changes, while the child's communication with peers and older children increases. Gopnik et al. (2003) point out that a growing number of scientists agree that older children are very successful in teaching foreign languages to their younger friends. Utilising these opportunities in the context of teaching a foreign language at the institutional level gives room for monitoring and documenting these activities by preschool teachers.

Activities related to peer support of a mixed-age group of children were monitored in the kindergarten *Podmurvice* in Rijeka. The children were involved in the language learning programme in which Italian was taught as a foreign language. New arrivals had not learnt Italian before. One of them was a three-year old girl who missed her mother. Older children in the group tried to soothe her by feeding her soup. When that did not work, the older children started singing the Italian song *La canzone della felicità* (*The Happiness Song*) and the girl cheered up (Fućak and Vujičić 2013). In this manner, children who are new in the playgroup can be exposed to the new language with the help of their peers, not only adults.

Another episode in the same kindergarten refers to an educator asking a girl a question in Italian (*Come ti chiami? – What's your name?*). The child did not understand the question. An older boy was passing by and told the girl that the educator had asked about her name, to which she replied in Croatian, i.e. *Zovem se E. M.* (Fućak and Vujičić 2013). The boy advised her to respond in Italian, i.e. to say *Io mi chiamo E. M. – My name is E. M.*) and the girl replied in Italian.

The teachers documented the children's interactions with note taking, keeping transcripts of the children's dialogues and monologues, keeping a diary but also by filming (Fućak and Vujičić 2013). Documenting interaction between preschool children in kindergarten gives educators the opportunity to reflect upon the activities they conducted, but also to plan future activities (Fućak and Vujičić 2013).

Another example of documenting activities in a preschool institution was the action research entitled *Stvaranje poticajnoga okruženja u dječjem vrtiću za*

*komunikaciju na stranome jeziku (Creating A Stimulating Environment in the Kindergarten for Communication in a Foreign Language)*, which was conducted in the kindergarten *Potočnica in Zagreb*. The sample included 19 children (10 girls and 9 boys) aged between 3 and 6, while the people who conducted the research were at the same time the teachers in the playgroup. The aim of the research was to establish and subsequently reflect upon, evaluate and alter the conditions which would stimulate communication in English in a playgroup. One of the objectives was to identify the advantages and disadvantages of conducting activities that stimulate communication in English in a mixed-age group. The research was carried out between 2000 and 2001 (Silić 2007b).

The situations monitored included everyday situations children encounter during their stay in kindergarten: greeting upon arrival and departure, introductions while meeting new people, expressing thoughts, placing requests, expressing own needs and opinions while eating, taking part in various games and songs, making propositions, and others (Ibidem). The activities were recorded by filming with a camera, taking personal notes, taking photos and recording on a cassette recorder (Silić 2007).

The results of this research proved that the presence of other children in the playgroup improved the quality of communication in English. The children created activities themselves, while most of these activities were spontaneous. Moreover, what seemed to be the most relevant conclusion of the research was that using a foreign language in everyday, practical and life situations is the best way of perfecting a language (Silić 2007b).

### ***6.5. The Importance of the Role of an Educator in Teaching a Foreign Language***

The educator creates an optimal social and pedagogical environment and plans an educational process which will be well-suited to the needs of each child (Petrović-Sočo 2007). It is of utmost importance that the educator plans interesting activities, games and assignments for children, which they are able to select between according to their interests and abilities.

In order to establish a natural environment for learning a foreign language, the educator can apply different strategies such as involving the foreign language in everyday routines and common daily situations such as the child's arrival to the preschool institution, (un)dressing, greeting the educator and peers, conversations during breakfast and lunch, and many more (Silić 2007a).

The educator also needs to be proficient in the language they are teaching and speak it at least at level B2 (Common European Reference of Languages). This is necessary because the educator needs to provide the correct linguistic model and be able to sustain effective communication with the children (Selimović and Karić 2011). According to the European Commission, there are still a dearth of qualified educators for teaching foreign languages to children of an early and preschool age in the European Union, thus the need for training programmes for these professionals in all of the states within the European Union imposes itself (European Commission 2014).

Educators are advised to use L1 in situations in which children might feel language anxiety, such as giving instructions, explaining rules of a game, retelling jokes and similar (Koporčić et al. 2023). It is recommended educators translate everything that is said in L1. As children become more confident in their use of L2, they use it increasingly in various situations (Koporčić et al. 2023).

#### ***6.6. Cooperation between Educators and Parents***

Parents are important allies when it comes to helping the child learn a foreign language. They know their child the best and spend a considerable portion of time with them (Silić 2007a). Therefore it is important that the child is listened to and that their wishes and needs are respected (Ibidem).

Extended exposure in the child's home is a prerequisite for the efficient acquisition of a foreign language. It is a big bonus if a parent or both parents are proficient in the language the child is learning at the preschool institution. They are the most influential people when it comes to selecting the foreign language the child is going to learn (Moon 2005).

Both parents and educators provide continual exposure to the foreign language and monitor the child's progress. In order for the process of foreign language learning to be successful, good communication between parents and educators is necessary (Koporčić et al. 2023). Parents can be counselled by educators on how to enhance their child's linguistic progress (Gitsaki 2014). Another possibility is to create a questionnaire on the child's language progress, which parents can fill in at home. In that way, valuable information on the child's progress, their linguistic competences (Ellis and Brewster 2014) and other information can be obtained. Moreover, language portfolios with the child's contributions represent another possibility for monitoring the child's progress.

## CONCLUSION

The process of institutional foreign language acquisition was long considered to be unspontaneous and artificial. However, the Situational Approach to foreign language acquisition has helped us tackle this issue from a different angle.

The Situational Approach to teaching foreign languages advocates spontaneity in learning foreign languages, freedom of language choice, optimal learning environment, and cooperation between children and all their interlocutors in the process of foreign language learning. In present – day Croatia, there has been an increasing demand for foreign language programmes in preschool institutions. Considerable efforts have been put into creating optimal conditions for learning English and other foreign languages in Croatian preschool institutions. One of the prerequisites for successfully learning a foreign language is effective communication. The efforts focused on developing communication between preschool children and all interlocutors involved in the process of foreign language learning include imitating L1 language acquisition mechanisms while teaching L2, the parallel use of English (or another foreign language) and Croatian, the gradual development of language skills, and freedom of language choice. The young child's continual communication with educators, but also peers, older children and parents is of utmost importance for helping the child with their educational efforts and career choices in the future.

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## **PRIKAZ PRIMJENE SITUACIJSKOG PRISTUPA U KOMUNIKACIJI NA STRANOM JEZIKU S DJECOM PREDŠKOLSKE DOBI**

### **Sažetak:**

Rad proučava problem komunikacije na stranom jeziku u predškolskim ustanovama. Procesi usvajanja materinskog i stranog jezika prolaze kroz slične faze. To olakšava usvajanje stranog jezika u ranoj dobi. Mnoge su prednosti učenja stranih jezika u ranoj dobi, od kojih su najznačajnije plastičnost mozga i fleksibilnost govornog aparata u djece. Situacijski pristup učenju stranog jezika čini učenje stranog jezika ugodnim za djecu i čini da proces učenja stranog jezika u ovoj dobi stremi slobodi jezičnog odabira, optimalnom okruženju za učenje i imitaciji mehanizama za učenje materinskog jezika. Vrlo je važno da odgajatelji tečno govore jezik koji poučavaju, da održavaju ugodnu atmosferu u predškolskoj ustanovi i da promiču suradnju s djecom iz odgojne skupine, kao i roditeljima predškolske djece. Rad donosi prikaz najvažnijih elemenata komunikacije na stranom jeziku s djecom rane dobi. Također ističe važnost kontinuiteta u učenju stranih jezika, i to od predškolske dobi do sveučilišne razine. Ovakav pristup omogućuje djeci rane dobi da u odrasloj dobi postignu visok stupanj tečnosti u jeziku koji uče i da stvore uspješnu karijeru u odabranom području rada.

**Key words:** jezični odabir; predškolska ustanova; odgajatelj; situacijski pristup

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**Merjem Sušić**

## **ZNAČAJ PLANIRANJA RAZVOJA VJEŠTINA KRITIČKOG MIŠLJENJA U OČEKIVANIM ISHODIMA UČENJA PREDMETNIH KURIKULUMA**

Cilj ovog članka je napraviti teorijski osvrt na zahtjev za razvoj kritičkog mišljenja kao jedne od najvažnijih vještina današnjice, poznatih pod nazivom 4K vještine 21. stoljeća. Kritičko mišljenje leži u osnovi moralnog postupanja i autentičnog intelektualnog rasta, i kao takvo je presudno za prosperitet društva u cjelini. Složenost razmišljanja na kritički način ogleda se u tome što su potrebni brojni kognitivni procesi kako bi ga se pokrenulo te stekao specifičan skup znanja, vještina i vrijednosti koje bi trebalo da ga usmjeravaju. Kritičko mišljenje je generativna kompetencija čija relevantnost transcendirira prostor i vrijeme te se zbog ubikvitarnosti situacija u kojima postoji potreba za njim ne bi smjelo zanemariti u okviru ishoda školskog učenja i podučavanja. Metodologija izrade očekivanih ishoda učenja u kurikulumskom pristupu obično se vodi Bloomovom taksonomijom, no hijerarhija ove taksonomije nije kompatibilna sa hijerarhijom vještina kritičkog mišljenja, zbog čega bi prilikom definiranja očekivanih ishoda učenja bilo adekvatnije poslužiti se tablicom kompetencija kritičkog mišljenja koju predlaže Iva Buchberger. Iznalaženje najboljih raspoloživih načina uvježbavanja vještina kritičkog mišljenja u nastavi dužnost je savremene pedagogije, kako bi škola ispunila svoju obavezu formiranja ličnosti učenika koji su sposobni kompetentno odlučivati i djelovati.

**Ključne riječi:** kritičko mišljenje; 4K vještine 21. stoljeća; očekivani ishodi učenja; planiranje podučavanja



## 1. UVOD

Fascinantna ekspanzija mogućnosti diseminacije informacija koju su donijele savremene tehnologije i njihovo konstantno stremljenje k višim nivoima tehničke sofisticiranosti i učinkovitosti neumitno mijenjaju savremeni svijet i odnose među ljudima. Otvaraju se novi vidici i perspektive, te sada problem počesto ne predstavlja manjak, nego upravo višak informacija kojima smo zapljusnuti, a koje zahtijevaju visok stepen opreza i izgrađenu vještinu selekcije i trijaže između validnih izvora i onih koji to nisu. Miliša i Ćurko (2010) upozoravaju na opasnosti koje nosi puko usvajanje informacija bez prethodnog promišljanja o njihovoj istinitosti u preobimnoj količini plasiranih sadržaja i manipulacije putem medija.

No, unatoč odveć burnim promjenama čiji izazovi mogu imati kako poželjne, tako i negativne posljedice, iza svih tih kreacija ipak stoji ljudski um, čija je rasudna moć još uvijek izvor neograničenih potencijala za održanje integriteta ljudskosti i dostojanstva čovjeka. Stoga je od iznimne važnosti aktiviranje i uvježbavanje onih aspekata ličnosti koji će osigurati kontrolu pred naletima svega što nam galopom hrli u susret u vidu novih informacija i senzacija. Time obezbjeđujemo izgleda da postanemo i ostanemo gospodari korpusa vrijednih saznanja koja doprinose našem vlastitom blagostanju, umjesto da postanemo žrtve degradacije. Taj filter i mehanizam odbrane koji u ovom slučaju moramo razvijati potpada pod ono što nazivamo kritičkim mišljenjem, koje stoji na kapiji svih izazova i uticaja s kojima dolazimo u kontakt, a koji imaju potencijal da nas (trans)(de)formiraju.

Upotrebom kritičkog mišljenja proces učenja postaje djelotvorniji i kvalitetniji, jer gradivo prolazi kroz obradu koja će mu dati veću upotrebnu vrijednost, a retencija stečenih znanja biva trajnija. Da bi bilo aktivno, kritičko mišljenje mora evocirati prethodno pohranjene informacije, čime ih se revidira i štiti od blijeđenja i rasipanja, a um održava agilnim. Osim toga, istinskom kritičkom misliocu ono služi kao daljnja motivacija da zaroni u okean znanja i traga za dijelovima koji mu nedostaju u spoznaji, djelujući kao snažan poticaj za dalje učenje i aktiviranje kreativnih potencijala.

Razmišljanje na način da preispitujemo svoje zaključke i postupke moralni je imperativ kojim procjenjujemo ono što činimo ne samo u smjeru vlastite, nego i tuđe dobrobiti. U tom kontekstu, Paul i Elder (2004) naglašavaju da kritičko mišljenje ima obavezu nadjačati naš inherentni egocentrizam i sociocentrizam. Njime se pred našim očima izoštravaju futurističke perspektive u kojima će oni koji dolaze nakon nas nailaziti na ono dobro ili loše što ćemo im eventualno ostaviti kao ishode vlastitog djelovanja. Razvoju kritičkog mišljenja potrebno je zato dati što je moguće više poticaja,

osobito u kontekstu formalnog odgoja i obrazovanja, jer su odgojno-obrazovne institucije hramovi znanja koji počivaju na svetosti univerzalnih ljudskih vrijednosti te vječnih istina i provjerenih naučnih dokaza. Kako bi se to i realizovalo u nastavi, nužno je da predmetni kurikulumi imaju akcentiran razvoj ove kompetencije i da što je moguće detaljnije definišu strategije postizanja ovog cilja.

## 2. DEFINICIJA KRITIČKOG MIŠLJENJA

Opća enciklopedija jugoslavenskog leksikografskog zavoda (1978) pojam kritike objašnjava kao riječ izvorno poteklu iz starogrčkog jezika (*kritikē téchnē* – vještina suđenja, izvedeno iz κρίνειν *krínein* – razlikovati, razmotriti, u francuskom jeziku: critique) u značenju sposobnosti prosudbe i ocjenjivanja bilo koje pojave. U užem smislu kritiziranje govori o negativnoj procjeni nečega, koja može sadržavati sugestije namijenjene poboljšanju, čime postaje konstruktivnom kritikom. Kritiku usmjerenu na uništavanje nazivamo destruktivnom kritikom. U širem smislu kritika govori kako o nedostacima, tako i o prednostima nečega te podrazumijeva poznavanje teme o kojoj se govori ili piše. Samokritika se odnosi na propitivanje svog vlastitog ponašanja (JLZ 1978).

Različite nauke nude različite definicije kritičkog mišljenja jer ono podrazumijeva uključenost različitih vještina, aktivnosti, vrijednosti i stavova. U filozofiji se kritičko mišljenje sagledava s obzirom na učenja i djelovanja antičkih filozofa, osobito Sokrata, ili ga se svodi na logičku analizu argumenata, prosudbu i zaključivanje. Psiholozi kritičko mišljenje sagledavaju u kontekstu misaonih obrazaca koji se izučavaju u području kognitivne psihologije i kojima se bave empirijska istraživanja (Bušljeta Kardum 2020).

Razmatrajući filozofsku perspektivu, kritičkim mišljenjem se naziva postupak ispravnoga prosuđivanja, donošenje odluke, razdvajanje istine od neistine, razlikovanje dobra od zla (Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža 2013). Kritičko mišljenje prvobitno su razvili sofisti i Sokrat, razmišljajući o pitanjima etike i društvenog upravljanja. U svrhu razumijevanja stava o nekom pitanju, Sokrat bi najprije razjasnio definiciju dotičnoga, a potom je utvrđivao njenu istinitost (Bryan 1987 prema Regev 1997 prema Aizikovitsh-Udi, Diana Cheng 2015).

„Prvi predstavnik modernog kritičkog mišljenja John Dewey određuje kritičko mišljenje kao aktivno, ustrajno i temeljito propitivanje vjerovanja uz razmatranje onih postavki, osnova i dokaza koje podupiru to vjerovanje. Autor kritičko mišljenje naziva reflektivnim i uspoređuje

ga s običnim mišljenjem kojem pripisuje prihvaćanje vjerovanja utemeljenog na malo ili gotovo niti jednom dokazu. Nadalje, istaknuti savremeni teoretičar kritičkog mišljenja Robert H. Ennis (2011) određuje kritičko mišljenje kao proces odlučivanja u što vjerovati ili što učiniti. Autor ističe kako kritičko mišljenje uključuje vrijednosti intelektualnog poštenja i otvorenosti, autonomije i samokritičnosti, predanosti istini i osjetljivosti na kontekst. Pritom naglašava vještine razlikovanja činjenica i vrijednosti, eksplicitnih i implicitnih pretpostavki, argumentiranih i neargumentovanih tvrdnji, prepoznavanje grešaka u zaključivanju i određivanje snage argumenata“. (Ennis 2011 prema Buchberger, Bolčević, Kovač 2017: 112)

Kako navodi Bušljeta Kardum (2020), pomenute diskrepance pri definiranju pojma kritičkog mišljenja nastojale su se prevazići izvještajem pod nazivom *The Delphi Report*. Radilo se o projektu Američkog filozofskog udruženja, pri čemu je u izradi pomenutog dokumenta učestvovalo preko 40 eksperata iz različitih znanstvenih područja, sa najviše filozofa, te psihologa, sociologa i stručnjaka iz oblasti obrazovnih nauka. *The Delphi Report* je donio definiciju kritičkog mišljenja kojom se ono određuje kao:

„svrhovita i samoregulirana prosudba koja rezultira intepretacijom, analizom, procjenom i zaključivanjem, te objašnjenjem dokaznih, konceptualnih, metodoloških, kriterijskih ili kontekstualnih procesa razmatranja na kojima se ta prosudba temelji“ (prema Bušljeta Kardum 2020: 474).

Pored donošenja prijedloga definicije kritičkog mišljenja tom prilikom je *The Delphi Report* ponudio i prikaz te pojašnjenje temeljnih kognitivnih vještina koje obuhvata kritičko mišljenje, kao i načine kako ga podučavati i vrednovati. Zbog svega navedenog danas se ovaj izvještaj smatra okvirom razmatranja kritičkog mišljenja u odgojno-obrazovnom kontekstu, gdje se ono smatra sposobnošću za donošenje racionalnih odluka, zaključivanje na osnovu dokaza, procjenu izvora informacija, reviziju vlastitih sudova i promjenu stavova s obzirom na nove dokaze (Bušljeta Kardum 2020).

U ovom radu o kritičkom mišljenju će se govoriti u okviru definicije i elaboracije koje nalazimo u *The Delphi Reportu*.

### **3. KRITIČKO MIŠLJENJE KAO SLOŽENA KOMPETENCIJA**

Kritičko mišljenje je složena kompetencija generičke prirode, čiji razvoj podrazumijeva mobilizaciju nižih i viših kognitivnih procesa. Iva Buchberger (2020) kompilirala je kompetencije kritičkog mišljenja gdje su jasno specificirana znanja, vještine i vri-

jednosti koje ono iziskuje. Kao potrebna znanja Buchbergerova je navela znanja o kritičkom mišljenju, o pojmu i sudovima, o raspravi, o argumentu i njegovoj valjanosti, znanja o pravilima prirodne dedukcije, znanja o logičkim pogreškama, te o elementima pragmatike i različitim temama koje su podvrgnute kritičkom promišljanju i raspravi. U pogledu vještina autorica je istaknula analitičke vještine, vještine vrednovanja, argumentiranja, sinteze i strukturiranja, te komunikacijske vještine koje se odnose na vještine vođenja rasprave, postavljanja pitanja, aktivnog slušanja, kao i vještine odlučivanja, kreiranja vizije i predlaganja rješenja.

U temelju kritičkog mišljenja neizbježno stoje vrijednosti, od kojih su identifikovane sljedeće: „...otvorenost na raspravu, samopouzdanje, poduzetnost, odgovornost, uvažavanje tuđeg mišljenja, tolerancija, nediskriminacija, jednakost i sloboda” (Buchberger 2020: 7).

Sumirajući i analizirajući prethodno navedeno, moguće je iznijeti sljedeće opservacije i komentare:

Kritičko mišljenje najprije zahtijeva da njegov značaj bude osviješten sticanjem znanja o njemu te zauzimanjem pozitivnog stava prema promišljanju na kritički način. Nezaobilazna su i znanja iz opće kulture, što upućuje na to da, pored toga što kritičko mišljenje treba da bude zastupljeno u nastavi kao didaktički princip, ono treba da pronade svoje utemeljenje i u nastavnim sadržajima.

Kritičko mišljenje iziskuje praksilogijski pristup, odnosno, kontinuiranu vježbu kako bi se razvijalo i steklo sposobnost opstojnosti. Uvježbavanje vještine vođenja rasprave u okviru kritičkog mišljenja mora biti vođeno motivom traganja za istinom i usmjereno k zajedničkom kreiranju ideja kako bi se nešto učinilo boljim. Stoga je ovdje potrebno aktivno slušanje koje odlikuju poštovanje i strpljenje prema sagovorniku (iskazani kako verbalnim, tako i neverbalnim komunikacijskim znacima), te istančana sposobnost postavljanja relevantnih pitanja. Umijeće uspješnog vođenja rasprave iziskuje i racionalan odabir argumenata provjerene validnosti, da se ne bi izgubilo dostojanstvo i pravo na daljnje promoviranje vlastitog mišljenja.

Kritički um kao imperativ postavlja otvorenost za razmjenu mišljenja, umjesto apriornog zatvaranja mogućnosti da se inicira i vodi debata. Svako mišljenje ima pravo na slobodu svoje ekspresije unutar odgovarajućeg konteksta i medija i ne smije biti opstruirano nedostatkom tolerancije, niti diskriminacijom osim ukoliko su dokazi i argumenti koji se iznose neutemeljeni. Kritičko mišljenje sve izvore informacija i stavova treba da sagledava lišeno predrasuda, ističući princip jednakosti.

Sintetiziranje i strukturiranje podataka kojima se raspolaže važno je organizovati na fleksibilan način, kako bi ih se, u ime istine po potrebi restrukturiralo u korpuse

znanja s novim značenjem. Kao metavještina kojom je protkan svaki korak kritičkog mišljenja, nužna je oslobođenost od pristrasnosti usljed prenaplašenog afekta da bi se mogli donositi ispravni sudovi i odluke te djelovalo na temelju njih.

Optimalno razvijeno kritičko mišljenje nije mentalna aktivnost čiji produkti ostaju samo unutar intimnog prostora individualnog uma, kao zaključci bez odjeka na naše daljnje aktivnosti; istinsko kritičko mišljenje je pragmatično i svoju krajnju autentičnost ispoljava tek u konkretnom djelovanju u svrhu implementacije najboljih rješenja.

#### 4. KARAKTERISTIKE KRITIČKOG MISLILOCA

Dunning-Krugerov efekat koji se definira kao tendencija ljudi da precjenjuju svoju stručnost u različitim poljima društvenog i intelektualnog djelovanja u kojima nisu uspješni (Dunning 2011), nešto je što ne pogađa istinskog kritičkog mislioca. Objašnjenje za to nalazimo u sljedećim karakteristikama kritičkih mislilaca:

- *shvataju lična ograničenja;*
- *vide probleme kao uzbudljive izazove;*
- *za cilj postavljaju razumijevanje;*
- *koriste dokaze da bi donosili sudove;*
- *zainteresovani su za tuđe ideje;*
- *skeptični su prema ekstremnim pogledima;*
- *razmišljaju prije djelovanja;*
- *izbjegavaju emocionalnost;*
- *drže otvoren um;*
- *angažuju se u aktivnom slušanju.* (Ruggiero 2012, prema Murawski 2014)

Nužno je napomenuti da treba voditi računa kako se ne bi upalo u zamku gdje postajemo toliko osposobljeni za kritičko mišljenje da ga počinjemo primjenjivati automatski. Dwyer (2017) naglašava da kritički mislilac ne žuri sa svojom refleksijom i donošenjem odluka, premda one mogu biti ispravne i davati dobre ishode, jer u trenutku kad kritičko mišljenje postane automatsko, tad prestaje biti kritičko. Ukoliko prihvatimo McPeckovu vizuru kritičkog mišljenja kao vještina i dispozicija u službi reflektivnog skepticizma (McPeck 1981), tad možemo reći da kritički mislilac konstantno podvrgava sumnji ne samo argumentaciju na temelju koje treba da donese sud, nego i sebe kao procjenjivača.

## 5. KOMPETENCIJE ZA 21. STOLJEĆE

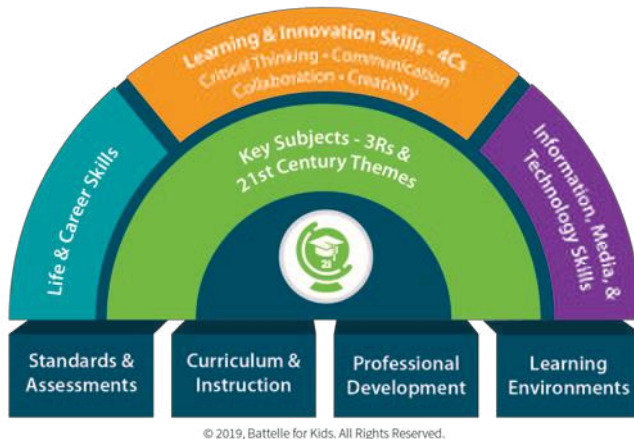
Riječju kompetencija (lat. *competere* – dolikovati, težiti na što) označava se područje u kojem neka osoba posjeduje znanja, iskustva (Klaić 2004: 715). Općeprihvaćena definicija pojma kompetencije nalazi se u brošuri Tuning projekta u kojoj su kompetencije objašnjene kao „dinamička kombinacija znanja, razumijevanja, vještina i sposobnosti” (Tuning 2005: 379).

Prema definiciji Evropske komisije:

„Ključne kompetencije su potrebne za lično ispunjenje i razvoj, zapošljivost, zdravstveno osviješteno vođenje života, socijalnu uključenost i aktivno građanstvo. Razvijaju se u perspektivi cjeloživotnog učenja, od ranog djetinjstva, kroz odraslu dob, i putem formalnog, neformalnog i informalnog učenja u svim kontekstima, uključujući, porodicu, školu, radno mjesto, susjedstvo i druge zajednice“ (Vijeće Evropske Unije 2018).

Skupina poznata kao Partnerstvo za učenje 21. stoljeća formirala je *Okvir učenja 21. stoljeća*, navodeći tri skupine vještina koje bi trebalo da stekne svaki učenik:

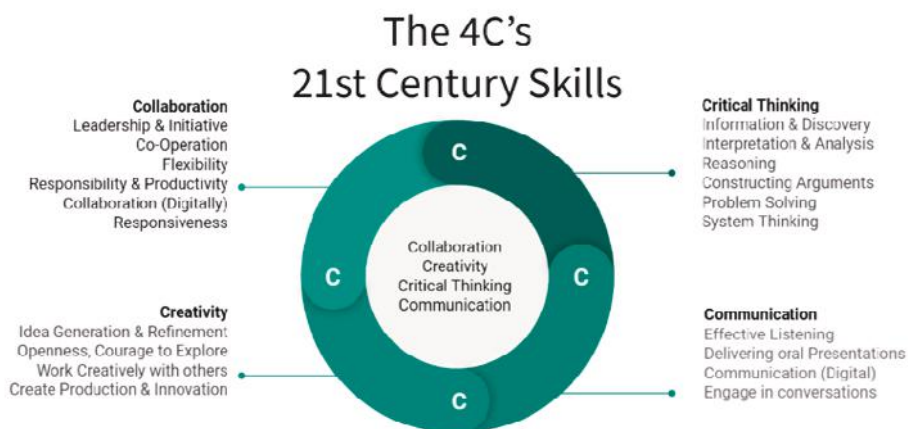
1. Vještine učenja i inovacija: kreativnost i inovacije, kritičko mišljenje i rješavanje problema, komunikacija i saradnja;
2. Informacijske, medijske i tehnološke vještine;
3. Životne i karijerne vještine. (Partnership for 21st Century Learning 2019)



Slika 1. Framework for 21st Century Learning

Napomena: *Framework for 21st Century Learning* (Okvir učenja 21. stoljeća) prikazuje ishode učenja, odnosno, znanja i vještine koje bi trebalo sticati u obrazovnom procesu, kao i sisteme podrške koje je pri tome potrebno pružiti učenicima. Iz *Framework for 21st Century Learning: A unified vision for learning to ensure student success in a world where change is constant and learning never stop*, Copyright 2019, Battelle for Kids, All Rights Reserved. [https://www.battelleforkids.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/P21\\_Framework\\_Brief.pdf](https://www.battelleforkids.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/P21_Framework_Brief.pdf)

Prva grupacija kompetencija poznata je kao 4C/4K vještine 21. stoljeća, a detaljnije su objašnjene na sljedeći način:



**Slika 2.** The 4Cs 21st Century skills

Napomena: The 4Cs 21st Century skills - Graphic Developed by C. Mazzola-Randles, 2020. [https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-4Cs-21st-Century-skills-Gra-pheric-Developed-by-C-Mazzola-Randles-2020-The-areas\\_fig1\\_341792689](https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-4Cs-21st-Century-skills-Gra-pheric-Developed-by-C-Mazzola-Randles-2020-The-areas_fig1_341792689)

1. Saradnja: vodstvo i inicijativa, kooperacija, fleksibilnost, odgovornost i produktivnost, digitalna kolaboracija, uzvratanje
2. Kreativnost: stvaranje i usavršavanje ideja, otvorenost, hrabrost da se istražuje, kreativan rad sa drugima, stvaranje proizvodnje i inovacije
3. Kritičko mišljenje: informacija i otkrivanje, interpretacija i analiza, rezonovanje, konstruiranje argumenata, rješavanje problema, sistemsko razmišljanje
4. Komunikacija: učinkovito slušanje, izlaganje i prezentacije, digitalna komunikacija, vođenje razgovora



Između ove četiri kompetencije ne postoji subordinalan odnos, nego se prožimaju i podupiru jedna drugu u međusobnoj izgradnji i jačanju. Važno je naglasiti da za razvoj svih kompetencija 21. stoljeća moraju biti osposobljeni i sistemi podrške, pa tako i razvoj kritičkog mišljenja, između ostalog, neumitno zahtijeva oslonac u kurikulumu i kompetentnom podučavanju.

## 6. PODUČAVANJE KRITIČKOM MIŠLJENJU U NASTAVI

### 6.1. Pregled istraživanja

Pregled istraživanja na temu *Strategije podučavanja učenika da misle kritički: Meta analiza* potvrdio je da se raznovrsne vještine i dispozicije mogu razvijati kod učenika na svim obrazovnim nivoima i u različitim disciplinama. U pogledu mogućih strategija podučavanja, dvije su se pokazale najefikasnijim: prva – davanje učenicima prilike za dijalog i izlaganje autentičnim i problemskim situacijama, osobito kad se primjenjuju metode rješavanja problema, i druga – igre uloga. Istaknuto je da se najbolji rezultati postižu kada se dijalogu i autentičnim intrukcijama doda mentorstvo od strane nastavnika (Abrami et al. 2014).

Akhbari Lakeh, Naderi i Arbabisarjou su istraživale povezanost između kritičkog mišljenja i emocionalne inteligencije sa akademskim postignućima studenata, uzevši za uzorak 50 polaznika studija sestrinstva u Iranu. Koristeći *California test kritičkog mišljenja (CCTST)* i *Bar-On model emocionalno-socijalne inteligencije (ESI)* ova deskriptivno-analička studija ukazala je na pozitivnu povezanost između sposobnosti kritičkog mišljenja i akademskog uspjeha ispitanika. Pozitivnom se pokazala i korelacija između kritičkog mišljenja i emocionalne inteligencije uzevši u obzir spol, dob, kvotu upisanih i bračni status. U zaključku ovog istraživanja se navodi preporuka da se na univerzitetu pozovu stručnjaci i kritičari kako bi se kod studenata unaprijedila vještina kritičkog mišljenja, a time i njihova akademska postignuća (Akhbari Lakeh et al. 2018).

Kvalitativna studija koja je obuhvatila 23 univerzitetska nastavnika engleskog jezika iz različitih područja Libije, na temelju upitnika sa otvorenim pitanjima, našla je da su sudionici davali različite definicije kritičkog mišljenja, od kojih su neke pokazale manjak razumijevanja pomenutog koncepta. Njih 17 izjasnilo se da u svoju nastavu integriraju kritičko mišljenje, navodeći različite aspekte implementacije. U pogledu izazova, naveli su da su uglavnom vezani za kontekst, studente, nastavnike, fakultet i porodični dom. Manjak vremena i kvalitetne komunikacije, izostanak po-



drške od strane fakulteta i porodičnog doma studenata u pravcu razvijanja dobrih mišljenja, kao i problem mjerenja sposobnosti kritičkog mišljenja, bili su neki od primjera, zajedno sa konstatacijom da pojedini studenti nisu sposobni nositi se s kritičkim mišljenjem. Kao prijedloge strategija razvijanja kritičkog mišljenja, naveli su davanje poticaja studentima da tragaju za razlozima, implikacijama i mogućnostima primjene naučenog, timski rad, više indirektnih, dubokih pitanja, oluju mozgov, davanje dovoljno vremena za kritičko promišljanje i postavljanje više zadataka usporedbe i kontrasta (Saleh 2019).

Istražujući barijere u podučavanju kritičkom mišljenju, ispitano je 100 nastavnika engleskog jezika školskog i univerzitetskog nivoa (48 ženskog i 52 muškog spola) iz dva grada u Iranu. Kao instrument je korišten *Anketa percipiranih barijera podučavanju kritičkog mišljenja* koji je dao Shell, a koji sadrži 23 pitanja s odgovorima na petostepenoj Likertovoj skali. Kao najveće barijere identifikovane su karakteristike učenika, nakon kojih slijede manjak samoučinkovitosti i znanja o konceptu kritičkog mišljenja kod samih nastavnika. Premda se skoro 95% nastavnika složilo da strategije podučavanja mogu doprinijeti razvoju kritičkog mišljenja kod učenika, 54% nastavnika nije se pokazalo voljnim da implementiraju nove strategije podučavanja, jer je 75% nastavnika izjavilo da im primjena novih strategija predstavlja teškoću. Čak 97% ispitanika se izjasnilo da im nije teško kombinirati svoja izlaganja s pokrivenošću sadržaja kako bi razvijali kritičko mišljenje, a 70% je izjavilo da izlaganje velike količine nastavnog sadržaja ne vide kao barijeru razvoju kritičkog mišljenja. U pogledu percepcije važnosti kritičkog mišljenja, dobijen je veoma nizak rezultat od 1,31. Manjak vremena za planiranje i pripremu aktivnosti namijenjenih razvoju kritičkog mišljenja 67% ispitanika naglasilo je kao značajnu barijeru (Aliakbaria, Sadeghdaghighib 2013).

Azizi, Sedaghat i Direkvand-Moghadam su za cilj svog istraživanja postavili utvrđivanje postojanja statistički značajne povezanost između vještine rješavanja problema (kao podvrste kritičkog mišljenja) i samopouzdanja učenika jedne iranske srednje škole te postojanje razlike između kontrolne i eksperimentalne grupe pomenutih ispitanica. Eksperimentalna grupa pohađala je osam radionica kritičkog mišljenja, a rezultati su pokazali statistički značajnu povezanost između vještine rješavanja problema i samopouzdanja učenika, kao i statistički značajnu razliku među grupama kad je posrijedi vještina rješavanja problema i samopouzdanja u korist eksperimentalne grupe (Azizi et al. 2018).

Iz predstavljenih istraživanja evidentno je da je podučavanje kritičkom mišljenju višestruko korisno, jer se njegovim razvijanjem unapređuje i akademski uspjeh onih

koji se podučavaju. Pri tome, pored specifičnih strategija podučavanja koje su identificirane i preporučene kao najproduktivnije, naglašava se važnost adekvatne pripremljenosti nastavnika za mentorsko vođenje.

## **6.2. Kurikulumski pristup u podučavanju kritičkom mišljenju**

Ranije pomenute 4K vještine 21. stoljeća podrazumijevaju da im se legitimnost i utemeljenje u nastavnom procesu dadnu putem kurikulumskog pristupa i jasnog definiranja ishoda učenja. *Tuning pojmovnik* nudi nam sljedeće definicije ishoda učenja i očekivanih ishoda učenja:

„Ishodi učenja su kompetencije koje je osoba stekla učenjem i dokazala nakon postupka učenja (znanja i vještine, te pripadajuća samostalnost i odgovornost).

Očekivani ishodi učenja (engl. *Intended learning outcomes*) su tvrdnje – napisane od strane akademskog osoblja – o tome što se od studenta očekuje da zna, razumije i/ili da je sposoban pokazati nakon završetka procesa učenja. Ishodi učenja moraju biti praćeni s prikladnim kriterijima vrednovanja prema kojima se može utvrditi jesu li ishodi ostvareni. Ishodi učenja, zajedno s kriterijima vrednovanja, određuju zahtjeve za dodjelu bodova, dok se ocjenjivanjem pokazuje je li postignuta razina iznad ili ispod tih zahtjeva. Akumulacija i prijenos bodova olakšani su ako su ishodi učenja jasno formulirani tako da je precizno naznačeno za koja se postignuća mogu dobiti bodovi (*Tuning pojmovnik*, n.d. prema *Priručnik za izradu ishoda učenja* 2018: 40).

Prilikom izrade kurikuluma, metodologija definiranja očekivanih ishoda učenja obično slijedi Bloomovu taksomiju koja poznaje šest hijerarhijski raspoređenih razina kognitivnih procesa. Prve tri razine – znanje, razumijevanje i primjena – obuhvataju niže kognitivne procese, dok u tri najviše razine spadaju analiza, sinteza i evaluacija. Ovdje nailazimo na problem koji izvire iz inkompatibilnosti hijerarhije pomenute taksonomije sa hijerarhijom vještina kritičkog mišljenja jer Bloomova hijerarhija znanje stavlja na dno ljestvice, dok se znanje smatra krajnjim ciljem kritičkoga mišljenja. Pored toga, učenje je proces, a ta primarna karakteristika učenja nije vidljiva i jasna iz taksonomije kakva je ona koju daje Bloom. Ona je i vrijednosno neutralna, a to je nespojivo s vrijednostima pretpostavljenim u podučavanju kritičkom mišljenju. Stoga bi se prilikom definiranja očekivanih ishoda učenja bilo adekvatnije poslužiti ranije predstavljenom tablicom kompetencija kritičkog mišljenja prema Buchbergerovoj, koja nije ustrojena hijerarhijski i razrađena je detaljnije nego Bloomova.

Buchbergerova (2020: 9) navodi sljedeće primjere ishoda učenja usmjerenih na razvoj kritičkog mišljenja, kao smjernice za planiranje nastave:

**Tabela 1.** Ishodi učenja orijentirani na razvoj kritičkog mišljenja

<b>ISHODI UČENJA ORIJENTIRANI NA RAZVOJ KRITIČKOG MIŠLJENJA</b>
<i>Student izdvaja relevantne informacije o temi.</i>
<i>Student razlikuje relevantne i irelevantne informacije o temi.</i>
<i>Student interpretira relevantne informacije o temi.</i>
<i>Student navodi primjere koji dodatno objašnjavaju temu.</i>
<i>Student vrednuje ključne fenomene vezane za temu (navodi prednosti i nedostatke).</i>
<i>Student opravdava tezu vezanu za određeni fenomen.</i>
<i>Student prepoznaje pouzdane izvore informacija.</i>
<i>Student navodi obilježja pouzdanih izvora informacija.</i>
<i>Student razlikuje pouzdane od nepouzdanih izvora informacija.</i>
<i>Student navodi primjer argumenta o temi. Student vrednuje valjanost argumenta o temi.</i>
<i>Student primjenjuje pravila prirodne dedukcije u zaključivanju.</i>
<i>Student prepoznaje logičke pogreške u zaključivanju.</i>
<i>Student prevladava logičke pogreške u zaključivanju.</i>
<i>Student primjenjuje načela kritičke diskusije.</i>
<i>Student argumentirano raspravlja o temi.</i>
<i>Student strukturira informacije u smislenu cjelinu.</i>
<i>Student vodi raspravu.</i>
<i>Student aktivno sluša sugovornike i postavlja pitanja za daljnju raspravu.</i>
<i>Student donosi odluke na temelju opravdanih razloga.</i>
<i>Student kreira viziju i predlaže rješenja.</i>
<i>Student osmišljava, inovira praksu.</i>
<i>Student pokazuje otvorenost na raspravu.</i>
<i>Student pokazuje poduzetnost u radu.</i>
<i>Student formulira vlastite stavove o temi.</i>
<i>Student opravdava vlastite stavove o temi.</i>
<i>Student brani vlastite stavove o temi.</i>
<i>Student kritizira različite stavove o temi.</i>
<i>Student uvažava tuđa mišljenja o temi.</i>
<i>Student promiče toleranciju i nediskriminaciju.</i>
...

Autorica naglašava da podučavanje za kritičko mišljenje u sadržajnom smislu mora biti dijelom zadano, a dijelom podložno fleksibilnosti. Fokus ne bi smio biti samo na kognitivnom, nego i na psihomotornom i afektivnom području te treba da obuhvati sve razine postignuća: zapamćivanje/prepoznavanje, razumijevanje, primjenu, analizu, vrednovanje i stvaranje. Kritičko mišljenje mora se protezati na sve dimenzije znanja – činjenično, proceduralno, konceptualno i metakognitivno znanje. Potrebno je kombinirati različite tehnike i metode učenja/podučavanja, kao i različite oblike rada. S obzirom na to da kurikulumski pristup neizostavno diktira i potrebu za evaluacijom učeničkih postignuća, sugerira se kombiniranje različitih vrsta i oblika vrednovanja – vrednovanje naučenog, vrednovanje za učenje i vrednovanje kao učenje, te primjena različitih zadataka (od zadataka objektivnog tipa do esejskih tipova zadataka). Kad je posrijedi razredno ozračje, potiče se dvosmjerna komunikacija te saradnja, otvorenost i učenička aktivnost (Buchberger 2020).

Nastojeći proniknuti u konkretne efikasne načine razvijanja kritičkog mišljenja u sveučilišnoj nastavi, Schim i Walczak (2012, prema Buchberger et al. 2017) su došli do zanimljivog nalaza da je postavljanje provokativnih pitanja davalo najbolje rezultate. Marin i Halpern (2011 prema Buchberger et al. 2017) ustanovili su da se direktnim podučavanjem kritičkog mišljenja u nastavi ostvaruju bolji učinci u odnosu na preostale pristupe.

Sumirajući navedeno može se zaključiti kako je gradivo svakog nastavnog predmeta prikladno kao osnova za razvijanje kritičkog mišljenja. Potrebno je samo izmijeniti pristup učenju i podučavanju, legitimirajući ga decidnim navođenjem ishoda učenja koji će biti parametri evaluacije uspjeha u sticanju ove vještine.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Sagledavanjem i analiziranjem kritičkog mišljenja kao jedne od ključnih kompetencija nazvanih 4K vještine 21. stoljeća moguće je samo bespogovorno potvrditi njegovu relevantnost u obrazovnim sistemima današnjice. Ku (2009) naglašava transferabilnost sposobnosti kritičkog mišljenja, jer takvo mišljenje nadilazi obrazovni kontekst i postaje aplikativno u mnoštvu različitih stvarnih i svakodnevnih društvenih situacija koje zahtijevaju donošenje ispravnih odluka i rješavanje problema.

Kritičko mišljenje kao kompetencija potrebna za ekonomsku, kulturnu i moralnu opstojnost pojedinaca i širih zajednica zahtijeva od škole, kao kredibilnog i legitimog nosioca intelektualnog autoriteta u društvu, da bude predvodnik u njegovom razvijanju. Kako to potencira Paulo Freire (2002), odgojno-obrazovne programe trebalo bi

kreirati kao „praksu slobode” u kojoj se njeguje kritički duh kod svih i ukida tzv. „kultura šutnje”, jer je to način da se progna socijalna obespravljenost i realiziraju humanistički ideali te nužan preduvjet uspješne borbe za bolji kvalitet života u svim njegovim aspektima. Brojni su dokumenti na međunarodnom nivou koji ističu značaj kompetencije kritičkog mišljenja i planiranje odgojno-obrazovnih aktivnosti koje bi vodile k njenom implementiranju. Problematika obrazovnih politika u bosanskohercegovačkom društvu jednim dijelom se manifestira u činjenici da kurikulumski pristup još uvijek nije zvanično etabliran u javnom obrazovnom sektoru te je razvijanje ideala kritičkog mišljenja u institucijama formalnog obrazovanja prepušteno uglavnom nastavnicima koji sami pokreću inicijativu u tom pravcu. Nažalost, ovakva inicijativa često izostaje jer biva prepuštena pojedincima koji nemaju svijest o važnosti kritičkog mišljenja, ili se dešava da se usljed nedovoljne educiranosti nastavnika razvija tek pseudokritičko mišljenje. Sve navedeno implicira da je uvođenje kurikulumske pristupa urgentna potreba bosanskohercegovačkog društva, ne zaobilazeći niti jedan nivo obrazovanja. Pri tome, sugerira se sprovođenje istraživanja koja bi ispitala potencijalne prednosti definiranja ishoda učenja korištenjem tablice kompetencija kritičkog mišljenja koju predlaže Buchbergerova.

Liu (2007) postavlja kritičko mišljenje kao obrazovni ideal, ali istovremeno ukazuje na diskrepancu između obrazovne prakse u odnosu na obrazovne ideale, uzevši u obzir sljedeće: sadržaje koji nisu u skladu sa razvojem i potrebama društva, podučavanje koje učenicima nameće poslušnost i pokornost umjesto kritičkog pristupa, te ustrojenost sistema obrazovanja koji marginalizira pitanja poput morala, saradnje, povjerenja poštovanja (Liu 2007, prema Bjelanović Dijanić 2011).

Zbog mnoštva lažnih “znanstvenih” tvrdnji koje se koriste u svrhu propagande, Haskins (2006) upozorava da kritičko mišljenje nije slijepo odano svemu što počiva na nauci. Dodiplomski studiji, kao diseminatori obrazovnih kadrova na kojima počiva eventualno naučavanje kritičkog mišljenja narednih naraštaja, ne bi smjeli dozvoliti gradivu iz stručnih područja da bude lišeno obrade kroz prizmu kritičkog promišljanja, jer tek odgojem/obrazovanjem sposobnosti (samo)kritičkog mišljenja moguće je steći istinsku naobrazbu.

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## THE IMPORTANCE OF PLANNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF CRITICAL THINKING SKILLS IN THE EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES OF SUBJECT-BASED CURRICULA

### Summary:

The aim of this article is to make a theoretical review of the requirement for the development of critical thinking as one of the most important skills today, known as the 4K skills of the 21st century. Critical thinking lies at the base of moral conduct and authentic intellectual growth, and as such is crucial to the prosperity of society as a whole. The complexity of critical thinking is reflected in the fact that it takes numerous cognitive processes to initiate it and the acquisition of a specific set of knowledge, skills and values that should conduct it. Critical thinking is a generative competence whose actuality transcends space and time, and due to the ubiquity of situations in which there is a need for it, it should not be neglected within the framework of school learning and teaching outcomes. The methodology for creating the expected learning outcomes in the curriculum approach is usually guided by Bloom's taxonomy, but the hierarchy of this taxonomy is not compatible with the hierarchy of critical thinking skills, which is why, when defining the expected learning outcomes, it would be more adequate to use the table of critical thinking competencies proposed by Iva Buchberger. Finding the best available ways of practicing critical thinking skills in class is the duty of modern pedagogy, so that the school fulfills its obligation to form the personality of students who are capable of competent decision-making and action.

**Keywords:** critical thinking; 4C's of 21st century skills; expected learning outcomes; teaching planning

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Pregledni rad  
Review paper

**Aleksandra Golubović**

## **NEKE IDEJE ZA UNAPREĐENJE NASTAVE FILOZOFIJE U DIGITALNOM OKRUŽENJU – PRILOZI IZ HRVATSKOG SUVREMENOG SREDNJOŠKOLSKOG ODGOJNO-OBRAZOVNOG SUSTAVA<sup>1</sup>**

U radu ćemo izložiti neke ideje za unapređenje nastave filozofije u srednjim školama, odnosno gimnazijama. Ideje se u prvom redu tiču unapređenja čitanja, posebice kritičkog i kreativnog čitanja filozofskih tekstova u nastavi filozofije jer su nam tekstovi, odnosno rad na tekstu – kada je riječ o poučavanju filozofije – jedan od ključnih alata. Osim toga izložiti ćemo i nekoliko prijedloga, tj. mogućnosti obrade studije slučaja u digitalnom okruženju, primjerice u nastavi filozofije, preciznije u domeni etike, koja u *novom* kurikulumu filozofije u Hrvatskoj, pored metafizike i epistemologije, predstavlja jednu od tri ključne domene koje se svake nastavne godine obvezno obrađuju. Osobito nam je važno da se nastava filozofije izvodi interaktivno, što drugim riječima znači kroz rasprave i dijalog s učenicima pa ćemo i taj element u radu dostatno vrednovati.

**Ključne riječi:** čitanje filozofskih tekstova; kritičko mišljenje; analiza slučaja; digitalno okruženje

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1. Rad je dio projekta *Kritičko mišljenje i društvo: obrazovanje, znanost, politika i religija* voditeljice prof. dr. sc. Majde Trobok (uniri-human-18-254).

## UVOD

Glavni cilj odgojno-obrazovnog sustava, tj. svakog školskog sustava ma gdje se on provodio, je optimalno osposobljavanje učenika/ca za svakodnevni život. To bi po bliže opisujući značilo: pomoći im da postanu samostalni, samosvjesni, autentični i odgovorni pojedinci koji će svoje sposobnosti, vještine i kompetencije koristiti na vlastitu i tuđu dobrobit. Drugim riječima, učenike (i studente, jer se to odnosi i na njih) potrebno je uz podršku kroz usavršavanje njihovih intelektualnih vještina osposobiti i za moralno i odgojno djelovanje, što znači usmjeriti ih ka izgradnji cjelovite osobnosti (i samoodgoju). Najčešće se sve navedeno odvija u odgojno-obrazovnim institucijama, odnosno u školama kao mjestima koja su ciljano fokusirana na odgoj i obrazovanje. Ipak, dodatno valja imati na umu razliku koja postoji između tzv. tradicionalnog i suvremenog pristupa obrazovanju (koje naravno uključuje i odgoj). Prvo je više oslonjeno na nastavnika i znanje koje on posjeduje, a drugo (suvremeni pristup) više na učenika i njegovo pro-aktivno sudjelovanje u nastavi. U prvom je u središtu nastavnik, a u drugom učenik (ponovno moramo napomenuti da ova podjela ima svojih manjkavosti, i pogrešno je tvrditi da se u prvom slučaju nastava oslanja isključivo na nastavnika, a u drugom ponajviše na učenike, no za potrebe ovog rada nije nužno ulaziti dublje u detalje). Podjela kao takva postoji i čini se da je u nekoj mjeri zaživjela u doba pandemije 2020. godine kada smo opet imali situaciju da nastava mora ponajviše ovisiti o nastavniku (i njegovom znanju).

Naime, zatečeni dolaskom pandemije Covid-19, poznate i kao pandemija koronavirusa, i *lockdownom* koji je nakon toga uslijedio – imamo saznanja o tome da su se mnogi nastavnici (kao i učenici i studenti) našli u neočekivanoj situaciji i okolnostima iz kojih nisu uvijek znali pronaći izlaz. Njihov dotadašnji način rada u školama (i na fakultetima) je naprasno prekinut i preko noći su se morali prilagoditi nastavi koja se isključivo odvija *online*. To je mnogima izazvalo velike poteškoće i nesnalaženja, a mnogima predstavljalo izazov s kojim su se morali uhvatiti u koštac. Dakle, u vrijeme pandemije je sve zadatke škole (i fakulteta) trebalo *preseliti* u *online* okruženje, a pitanje je bilo kako, a da pri tom temeljna misija škole (i fakulteta) ne bude ugrožena.

Drugim riječima, nastavnici su se suočili s problemom da u *online* okruženju trebaju ostvariti zadane ciljeve i ishode konkretnog programa, što uključuje i pouke u mnogim korisnim znanjima i vještinama od kojih u suvremeno doba valja osobito izdvojiti vještinu kritičkog mišljenja. O kritičkom se mišljenju, barem u Hrvatskoj, već dugo pruži period intenzivno govori, osobito kada je riječ o školi i o pojedinim predmetima

u kojima bi se učenike trebalo (po)učiti da misle kritički, što drugim riječima znači, da ne uzimaju ono što čuju, pročitaju ili pronađu na raznim portalima i internetskim platformama *zdravo za gotovo*, da ne dozvole da padnu pod utjecaj različitih oblika manipulacije, da odbace vlastite predrasude, stereotipe, krive stavove i uvjerenja itd. I ne samo to, nego da ih škola osposobi za prepoznavanje sumnjivih, neutemeljenih, neprovjerenih tvrdnji, da ih uvježba valjanom preispitivanju, pronalaženju pouzdanih izvora informacija/znanja, traženju argumenata i protuargumenata za tvrdnje koje žele/trebaju zastupati, traženju najprimjerenijih rješenja za probleme s kojima se suočavaju, nalaženju opravdanja, tj. dobrih razloga za svoja uvjerenja i sl. Jednostavnim riječima, da ono što uče u školi bude usko povezano s onim što će im koristiti u njihovim stvarnim životima. To, s jedne strane znači da treba raditi na oblikovanju njihovih intelektualnih vrlina, a s druge na načinu na koji dolaze do istine i znanja, ponovno napominjući da je sve to u novonastalim okolnostima širenja pandemije u 2020. godini trebalo raditi u *online* okruženju. Jedne sposobnosti tiču se rada na učeničkoj osobnosti, što je zadaća koja bi spadala u odgojnu domenu, a druge se tiču metoda dolaska do (sigurnog, pouzdanog) znanja koje je potrebno uvježbati. Prelazak na *online* nastavu pokazao je u kojoj mjeri je nastava u školi i na fakultetima – kontakti koji se u tom obliku ostvaruju, komunikacija koja se odvija između učenika, kao i između učenika i nastavnika, odnosi koji se pri tom uspostavljaju i razvijaju – nezamjenjiva i koliko utječe na sveopću motiviranost učenika i studenata za rad, kao i na njihovo mentalno i psihičko stanje/zdravlje.

## KRITIČKO MIŠLJENJE I ANALIZA TEKSTA U *ONLINE* OKRUŽENJU

Poučeni novonastalom situacijom u ovom radu ćemo izložiti nekoliko mogućnosti pomoću kojih se u *online* okruženju možemo bolje snaći kada su u pitanju spomenuti izazovi (izostanak socijalne komponente, izoliranost, pogoršanje u mentalnom i psihičkom stanju učenika i studenata itd.). Kritičko mišljenje spada u jednu od temeljnih kompetencija budućnosti, odnosno onih kompetencija koje se traže za poslove budućnosti i upravo iz tog razloga postoji inicijativa da se već u osnovnu školu u Hrvatskoj uvede predmet kritičko mišljenje, u kojem bi se učenike/ce od najranije dobi poučavalo kritičkom i kreativnom promišljanju, i to ponajviše kroz rad na tekstovima u kombinaciji sa dijalogom, odnosno različitim vrstama razgovora.<sup>2</sup> Usavršavati i

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2. U Hrvatskoj je u eksperimentalnoj fazi provedbe (u odabranim školama) novi predmet pod nazivom Svijet i ja (riječ je o predmetu koji je poznatiji pod imenom kritičko mišljenje, za učenike od petog do osmog razreda

uvježbavati kompetenciju kritičkog mišljenja moguće je i putem nastave koja se odvija *online* i to na više-manje istoj razini kvalitete kao i u školi. No, prije nego što uđemo detaljnije u temu treba objasniti što podrazumijevamo pod kritičkim mišljenjem i koje su njegove glavne komponente. Tim su se pojmom i njegovom definicijom bavili mnogi svjetski<sup>3</sup> i domaći stručnjaci, a mi ćemo se u ovom radu osvrnuti na dvoje autora iz Hrvatske. To su Iva Buchberger i Bruno Ćurko. Buchberger (2012: 13) kritičko mišljenje definira kao: „složeni proces i rezultat (i) analize i vrednovanja tvrdnji, (ii) pronalaženja opravdanja za tvrdnju, (iii) usporedbe s drugim i/ili suprotnim tvrdnjama i generiranje prigovora tvrdnjama te konačno (iv) zauzimanje stava“. Prvi priručnik o kritičkom mišljenju autorica je objavila 2012. godine, 2023. je objavljen i njezin drugi priručnik o istoj temi. Riječ je o priručniku pod naslovom *Kritičko mišljenje: Peace, Love & Rock and Roll. Priručnik za edukatore*, u kojem će mnoge zainteresirane strane pronaći izvrsne primjere za uvježbavanje kritičkog mišljenja, i to osobito kroz detaljnu analizu tekstova (vidi Buchberger 2023).<sup>4</sup> Drugi, za nas važan autor, je filozof Bruno Ćurko, iz razloga što je svojim dosadašnjim radom cjelovito obuhvatio i analizirao mogućnosti uvježbavanja kritičkog mišljenja od najranije dobi pa do završetka srednjoškolskog obrazovanja. Kao sveučilišni nastavnik i svoje studente poučava o tome kako implementirati kritičko mišljenje u školski sustav. A sve je započelo njegovim radom u udruzi „Mala filozofija“ iz Zadra, gdje kroz različite radionice djecu godinama poučava kritičkom mišljenju. No, za nas je osobito važan njegov doprinos proučavanju i poticanju kritičkog mišljenja kod srednjoškolaca i to kroz nastavu filozofije, logike i etike. To je tema kojom se Ćurko uspješno bavi već dugi niz godina, a i doktorirao je na njoj. Naime, 2017. godine Ćurko je objavio knjigu istovjetnu naslovu teme svoje doktorske disertacije – *Kritičko mišljenje u nastavi filozofije, logike i etike* (2017). Po njemu je jedan od temeljnih ciljeva nastave filozofije naučiti učenike/ce da misle kritički, tj. da svoja mišljenja oblikuju u skladu s bitnim obilježjima kritičkog mišljenja. A to je poželjno učiniti kombinirajući analizu teksta s dijalogom, odnosno s nekom od vrsta razgovora koji će nastavnik voditi s učenicima u razredu ili u *online* okruženju.<sup>5</sup> U svaku nastavnu jedinicu naime dobro je uklopiti različite aktivnosti i sve učenike/ce poticati na sudjelovanje. Primjerice, ukoliko u nastavi filozofije želimo započeti s obradom domene

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osnovne škole). Voditelj tima za izradu kurikuluma bio je Bruno Ćurko, a udžbenike za sva četiri razreda koji su objavljeni u 2023. godini napisale su autorice Iva Buchberger, Katarina Gamberger i Ines Skelac.

3. Usp. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/critical-thinking/> (pristupljeno 10. 10. 2020.)
4. Iva Buchberger dozvolila nam je da proučimo njezin novi priručnik prije same objave i na tome joj se najtoplije zahvaljujemo. Vjerujemo da će mnogim edukatorima biti od velike pomoći.
5. Više o različitim vrstama razgovora vidi u Jurić (1979). Vidi također Golubović i Angelovski (2017).

etike (dakle, treće, u hrvatskom kurikulumu, obvezne domene u filozofiji) poželjno je započeti obradu teme upravo – razgovorom. Za uvodni sat mogli bismo najprije kroz oluju ideja (usp. Jurić 1979) propitati učenike o tome što je moral, a što etika (nakon čega će se učenicima dati tekst). Na ploči bismo tako na lijevoj strani mogli napisati pojam moral, a na desnoj pojam etika i zatim u stupce bilježiti ideje koje učenici povezuju s tim konceptima. Nakon bilježenja svih izrečenih ideja (u stupce) učenike možemo pitati da nam kažu misle li da je ovdje riječ o dva istovjetna ili dva različita pojma. To znači da se na oluju ideja nastavnik može nadovezati razvojnim razgovorom (Ibidem) u kojem najprije učenike pita, zatim sluša i nadopunjuje njihove odgovore. Mogli bismo ih uvodno još priupitati tko je i zbog čega, prema njihovom mišljenju, moralna osoba, koje karakteristike takva osoba posjeduje i zašto. Dodatno je moguće i prikazati im kraći edukativni video u kojem će primjerice biti prikazani postupci moralne i nemoralne osobe (nakon čega će učenici prosuđivati o karakteristikama moralnosti). Slično možemo učiniti opisujući neki postupak, najprije moralne, a potom nemoralne osobe, i razgovarajući o tome koji su bitni elementi za prosudbu moralnosti.

Nakon toga dajemo im da pročitaju izvorni tekst Petera Singera koji se nalazi u udžbeniku filozofije Jurić i Stupalo (2021: 257):

„Problem je što većina ljudi ima vrlo nejasnu ideju o tome što znači živjeti etično. Oni shvaćaju etiku kao sistem pravila koja nam zabranjuju da radimo određene stvari, umjesto kao osnovu za razmišljanje o tome kako trebamo živjeti. Uglavnom žive prema vlastitim interesima, ne zato što su rođeni sebični, već zato što se alternative čine neugodnima, sramotnima ili jednostavno besmislenima. Oni ne mogu vidjeti nikakav način postizanja utjecaja na svijet, a čak i ako mogu, zašto bi se zamarali time? Odlučiti živjeti etično istovremeno je dalekosežnije i moćnije od političkog opredjeljenja tradicionalne vrste. Živjeti život ispunjen razmatranjem vlastite etičnosti nije stvar strogog poštivanja skupa pravila koja određuju što biste trebali, a što ne biste trebali činiti. Živjeti etično znači na određeni način razmatrati o tome kako živite i pokušati postupati u skladu sa zaključcima toga razmatranja (...).“

Ovaj su ulomak autori udžbenika preuzeli iz djela Petera Singera *How are We to Live: Ethics in an Age of Self-Interest* iz 1995.

Nakon pročitaneog teksta pitamo ih jesu li o etici imali slična razmišljanja, poklapa li se njihovo mišljenje, razmišljanje o tome što je etika s onim što su pročitali u tekstu. Vjerojatno će biti učenika/ca koji/e će reći da se poklapa i onih koji će reći da su etiku percipirali drugačije. Nastavnik bi ih dalje trebao usmjeravati na slobodno izražavanje o temi razgovora, tj. na dijalog u kojem će razmijeniti mišljenja baš svi su-

dionici (u *online* okruženju potrebno ih je sve, jednog po jednog prozivati, odnosno dati im riječ). Na taj način će se postići međusobno slušanje, uspoređivanje različitih stajališta, otvorenost za različiti pristup temi kao i za argumente koji su suprotni njihovom osobnom mišljenju, razumijevanje ključnih aspekata etike te ukazivanje na to da je etika u prvom redu razmatranje o tome kako živimo, valoriziranje različitih načina života i postupanje u skladu sa zaključcima koji se donesu (Golubović i Kopačić 2022). Kod etike je naime više istaknuto ono što mi mislimo i činimo, a ne ono što nam se pokušava nametnuti ili mislimo da nam se pokušava nametnuti izvana, i to najčešće u vidu dopuštenog i zabranjenog. Jer cilj je ovakve razmjene mišljenja (koja slijedi nakon pročitane teksta) reflektirati „o onome što nam se nadaje, kritičko procesuiranje u kojem se propituju samorazumljivosti, predrasude i stereotipovi, odbacuju nelogičnosti i neutemeljenosti, te se pokušava doći, koliko je to moguće, do kvalitetne prosudbe, konzistentnosti i valjanosti“ (Ćurko 2017: 13) – što nije ništa drugo nego kritičko mišljenje. A samim „učanjem za kritičko mišljenje – odnosno njegovanjem i razvijanjem kritičkog mišljenja – poboljšavaju se razumijevanje, komunikacija, logičko zaključivanje, vještine interpretiranja i slušanja drugih, ali i sumnja u sve ono što nije kvalitetno utemeljeno ili obrazloženo“ (Ćurko 2017: 13). Drugim riječima, razmjenom mišljenja otvara se mogućnost za razvoj – kritičkog, logičkog, reflektivnog, te skrbnog i kreativnog mišljenja (Škerbić 2022), a sve su to komponente izuzetno bitne za cjeloviti razvoj osobe.

Ono što filozofija propituje nerijetko su teme, kao što vidimo, usko povezane s našim životima, s onim što nam se događa, situacijama u kojima se nađemo ili bi se mogli naći i sl. Zapravo u filozofiji se najčešće želi pokazati da je problematično baš ono što na prvi pogled ne izgleda nimalo problematično, što se podrazumijeva ili u što se vjeruje bez percipiranja potrebe njegova preispitivanja, ono o čemu ne razmišljamo da može biti drugačije, ili ono što u nama izaziva divljenje, čuđenje, sumnju, nemir, tjeskobu, nevjericu itd. (Marinković 2008)<sup>6</sup>. „Sumnja, zbunjenost ili neizvjesnost uistinu jesu poticaji za dublje promišljanje o određenom uvjerenju, stavu ili događaju. To je prvi impuls u refleksiji mišljenja koji nakon toga potiče na daljnje istraživanje koje za cilj ima ili negaciju ili potvrdu našeg vjerovanja“ (Ćurko 2017: 67). Prvi filozof iz doba antike za kojeg možemo tvrditi da je na bazičnoj razini započeo s uvježbavanjem kritičkog mišljenja kod svojih sugovornika bio je Sokrat (Sadžakov 2022). On je uz pomoć tzv. majeutičke metode „pokušavao zbuniti svoje sugovornike, dovesti ih na ‘nesiguran teren’ i tu zbunjenost iskoristiti kako bi sugo-

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6. Sam početak nastave filozofije nerijetko započinje (što je i preporuka od strane metodičara) nekim od postupaka uvođenja u filozofsko mišljenje.

vornici posumnjali u dotad neprikosnovene stavove“ (Ćurko 2017: 67). A zašto je to uopće bitno? Zato što ćemo u suprotnom imati učenike koji će se oslanjati na neznanje umjesto znanja, vjerovati u nešto što je neutemeljeno ili za što se ne mogu pronaći čvrsti temelji/dokazi, učenike koji prihvaćaju ono što je neprovjereno ili što nisu sami provjerili itd.

„Ukoliko neko vjerovanje ili mišljenje prihvatimo kao takvo, a ono kod nas ne izazove neki oblik sumnje, te ga kritički ne preispitamo, prihvatili smo nešto što sami nismo proanalizirali, prihvatili smo jedan oblik dogme. Međutim, ako smo neko vjerovanje ili mišljenje preispitali te ga argumentirano opravdali, možemo reći da imamo refleksivno (ili kritički) obrađeno, procesuirano vjerovanje ili mišljenje, koje možemo braniti od nadolazećih kritika.“ (Ćurko 2017: 67-68)

Iz drugog dijela citata vidimo koliko je važno ne uzimati stvari *zdravo za gotovo* i što uopće znači kritički misliti. U tom smislu jedan od suvremenika kritičkog mišljenja na svjetskoj razini John Dewey, koji je promovirao tzv. refleksivno mišljenje (za koje se danas uvriježio naziv – kritičko mišljenje), ističe da „... uvježbati učenike za kvalitetno mišljenje nije samo jedan od ciljeva obrazovanja, već je to primarni zadatak obrazovanja“ (Ćurko 2017: 71). Sve do sada predloženo predstavlja preduvjete za učinkovit rad na tekstu (Dewey 1966).<sup>7</sup>

## **POVEZNICA IZMEĐU RADA NA TEKSTU I DIJALOGA (RAZLIČITIH VRSTA RAZGOVORA) U NASTAVI FILOZOFIJE**

Nastava iz predmeta Filozofija u svijetu se najčešće strukturira na tri načina: (i) tematski (poznatiji kao povijesni), (ii) problemski i (iii) kroz raspravu (koja u novije doba sve više prevladava). Kod nas u Hrvatskoj kao treća opcija do nedavno je službeno bila zastupljena kombinacija prvih dvaju načina (Ćurko 2017). Ćurko, a prije njega poznati hrvatski metodičar Josip Marinković, smatra, a mi se po tom pitanju u potpunosti s njime slažemo, da bi u suvremenoj nastavi i u Hrvatskoj, trebao prevladavati pristup koji se temelji na dijalogu (Marinković 2008) i raspravi, „jer ukoliko se sam nastavnik koncentrira i na poticanje kvalitetne rasprave o svim važnijim problemima koji postoje u nastavnim jedinicama, onda će i uvježbavanje kritičkog mi-

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7. John Dewey dao je veliki doprinos unapređenju odgoja i obrazovanja, ne samo u Americi nego i širom svijeta. Više o tome vidi u Djui [Dewey] (1966) [1970]. U glavnom svom djelu iz ovog područja *Vaspitanje i demokratija [Odgoj i demokracija]* Dewey izlaže temeljnu viziju školstva, koja sadrži i važnu komponentu vezanu za odgoj. Vidjeti također Dewey (1952), djelo u kojem se bavi ključnim utjecajem iskustva na odgoj. U ovom djelu naime ističe važnost iskustva, koje je ljudima jedan od temeljnih izvora znanja.



šljenja biti zastupljenije“ (Ćurko 2017: 83). Rasprava je u nastavi iznimno važna (Jurić 1979), no ukoliko se osim teme o kojoj se raspravlja (citata koji može potaknuti na raspravu ili pak kraćeg ili dužeg ulomka iz izvornog teksta, ili prezentirane dvojbe) sama rasprava dalje ne nadogradi *ozbiljnim* filozofskim sadržajem (Raunić 2023), onda se kod učenika razvijaju samo njihova vlastita razmišljanja, a izostaje važan dio koji se odnosi na stjecanje znanja (Ćurko 2017). Na primjeru uvodnog sata iz filozofije (iz domene etike) to bi značilo da nije dovoljno samo voditi raspravu jer učenici će dati mnoge primjere (međusobno nekompatibilne, razloge *za* kao i razloge *protiv* neke teze/teorije/argumenta) za poimanje morala i moralnog, etike i etičkog, no ako se nastavnik ne nadoveže na učenička razmišljanja znanjem proizvest će zbunjenost i učenici neće znati što je zapravo moral, što etika i u kakvom su oni međusobnom odnosu. Neće o tim stvarnostima imati znanje, što nije dobro. Jer učenicima je bitno pokazati da se njihove intuicije o moralu i etici mogu uvelike razlikovati od kritičkog i kreativnog mišljenja, odnosno od znanja, što ćemo malo kasnije pokazati i na primjeru analize slučaja u filozofiji (ponovno iz domene etike). Osim postupnog stjecanja znanja posredstvom uvježbavanja kritičkog mišljenja i nadopune koja dolazi od strane nastavnika, u nastavi je iznimno bitna i dobra komunikacija. Ta je komunikacija u velikoj mjeri moguća i izvediva i u *online* okruženju. Različiti mogu biti načini na koje se kroz komunikaciju<sup>8</sup> među svima uključenima analiza teksta u nastavi dodatno može obogatiti i nadograditi.

Komunikacija je u nastavi filozofije, ali i ostalih predmeta humanističke provenijencije, osobito važna, i po Raulu Rauniću (2023) predstavlja samo središte nastavnog procesa. Ključna je s obzirom na činjenicu da filozofija i jest „posebna vrsta komunikacije koja smjera njegovanju i razvijanju struktura mišljenja, razumijevanja, prosuđivanja i samosvijesti“ (Raunić 2023: 49). Važna i zbog toga što otvara prostor „zajedničkim istraživačkim nastojanjima te postupnom, iskustvenom i usmjeravanom dolaženju do obrazloženih samospoznaja i spoznaja o svijetu“ (Ibidem, 50). Uz to će u razrednom okruženju (kao i u okolnostima kada se nastava odvija *online*) međusobna otvorenost, povjerenje i uvažavanje među sudionicima dodatno osigurati kvalitetnu obradu teme. Pri tom dobra komunikacija mora uključiti kako onu između nastavnika i učenika, tako i onu učenika međusobno. Ukoliko nema dobre međusobne komunikacije ono što se obrađuje neće se obraditi u potpunosti (tema se neće iscrpiti do kraja, što zbog nepovjerenja, manjka uvažavanja, nedostatka interesa za zajedničko sagledavanje teme, izostanka potrebne emotivne komponente i sl.), a onda se kasnije mogu pojaviti i problemi s implementacijom. U razredu je iznimno bitno imati pozi-

8. Više o mogućnostima komunikacijskih procesa u nastavi i učenju vidjeti u Lavrnja (1998).

tivno ozračje pod kojim podrazumijevamo demokratsku klimu u kojoj se slobodno razmjenjuju ideje, razmišljanja, stavovi i uvjerenja. A sve je to moguće uz pomoć dijaloga, odnosno onoga što nam je u filozofiji poznatije pod imenom *sokratovski* dijalog.<sup>9</sup> Jedan od već ranije spomenutih *utemeljitelja* kritičkog mišljenja iz doba antike je zasigurno Sokrat koji je svoje sugovornike kontinuirano izazivao na promišljanje. Ukazivao im je na važnost načina kako se dolazi do informacija i znanja, truda koji je potrebno u tu svrhu uložiti, vrlina koje će govornik pri tom izgrađivati itd. (Sadžakov 2022). Nastavnik sa svoje strane treba učiniti sve, stvoriti dobru klimu u razredu (kao i u *online* okruženju). Potrebno je da što je moguće češće održava interaktivnu nastavu<sup>10</sup>. (na satu uživo, a možda još i više kada je u pitanju online nastava), da razumije svoje učenike (jer razumijevanje je ključno za učenje, a i poučavanje), da ih sluša, aktivno sluša, razmjenjuje s njima mišljenja, uvažava njihove stavove i uvjerenja i poštuje ih kao osobe: „... osamdeset posto učinkovitosti nastave – uspjeh učenika u nastavi – primarno se definira kvalitetom odnosa između nastavnika i učenika. Preduvjet za uspješnu nastavu u najboljem smislu riječi je dobar, povjerljiv odnos između nastavnika i učenika“ (Juul 2013: 13).<sup>11</sup> Ovaj zaključak izveden je na temelju dugogodišnjeg istraživanja odnosa učenika s nastavnicima. Također je bitno da ih nastavnik upućuje na pravilno, ispravno logičko promišljanje, da održava zanimljivu nastavu, uz stalno aktivno sudjelovanje svih uključenih strana uvodi učenike u nove sadržaje oslanjajući se na njihovo predznanje. Zatim da ih kroz različite aktivnosti vodi kroz središnji dio sata, tzv. razradu novog sadržaja i da ih na koncu kroz završni dio sata usmjerava na sintezu, zaključak ili na ponavljanje obrađenog gradiva (usp. Golubović i Angelovski 2017). Psiholozi konstantno provode istraživanja, od kojih su nam najinteresantnija ona vezana uz obrazovanje, odnosno uz različite aspekte odgoja i obrazovanja. Tako su nam primjerice pomogli da uvidimo kako fokus na znanju neće donijeti očekivane ishode jer bi naglasak trebalo staviti na učenike kojima se treba pristupati sveobuhvatno (pružiti podršku koja obuhvaća sve bitne aspekte čovjeka: intelekt, moralnost, emocije itd.). Naime, suvremena škola treba posvećivati sve veću pažnju brizi za učenike, za njihove emocije, izgradnju dobrih odnosa, poticanju njihovih, kako intelektualnih tako i emocionalnih kvaliteta itd. U tom smjeru

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9. O sveukupnom doprinosu Sokrata kako unapređenju školskog sustava tako i metodi dolaska do znanja više vidjeti u Brun (2007).

10. Ovdje ulazimo u domenu odgoja koja nije u fokusu ovog rada, ali preporučujemo literaturu kojom se odgojna domena može produbiti. Vidjeti više u Frankena (1965).

11. Ovaj je citat preuzet iz predgovora koji je napisao Mathias Voelchert.

djeluje i suvremena psihologica i filozofkinja Nel Noddings<sup>12</sup>, koja u svom radu promovira tzv. etiku skrbi, koju najjednostavnije rečeno možemo opisati kao posvećenost svim onim aspektima koji se tiču brige za osobnost učenika (za ono kako se učenik osjeća kada razgovara o određenoj temi, kada treba izraziti ili pokazati suosjećanje i sl.).<sup>13</sup>

## OSVRT NA NASTAVU FILOZOFIJE U DOBA PANDEMIJE

Prije nego što nastavimo s obradom naše teme potrebno je dati nekoliko napomena koje se tiču hrvatskog školstva, dakle njegove specifičnosti u odnosu na programe humanističkih predmeta zemalja u okruženju, a u kojem je posljednjih godina došlo do izrade, a onda i uvođenja novih kurikuluma u srednjoškolsko obrazovanje (ovdje se osvrćemo na one povezane s nastavom filozofije, logike i etike, odnosno u ovom radu izlažemo primjere vezane uz nastavu filozofije u gimnazijama). Kurikulumi su plod obrazovne reforme u Hrvatskoj koja je poznata pod nazivom škole za život (ukratko: ideja je da se za razliku od *starih* kurikuluma u novom kurikulumu pojave teme koje su više povezane sa životom, učenikovom svakodnevicom, tj. onim temama i problemima s kojima se kroz život pojedinac i društvo ponajviše susreću (Subotić i Golubović 2022), što znači da su izostavljene suvišne teme, nepotrebno produblji- vanje onih nastavnih jedinica i tematika koje nisu usko vezane uz uobičajene izazove društva/svijeta u kojem živimo itd.).<sup>14</sup> U nastavi humanističkih predmeta, posebice filozofije, logike i etike, došlo je do zaista značajnih i po našem sudu uvelike po- zitivnih promjena koje se tiču novog načina poučavanja filozofije (gdje su u fokus stav- ljeni ishodi učenja, dakle ono što će učenik moći učiniti nakon obrade teme, a ta je promjena možda i najviše uočljiva i dobrodošla), novih sadržaja za koje su onda na- pisani i uvedeni novi udžbenici. Tako u Hrvatskoj trenutno imamo tri službena udžbe- nika Filozofije:

1. Hrvoje Jurić i Katarina Stupalo (profesor Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu i profesorica iz zagrebačke gimnazije, bivša savjetnica za filozofiju na razini države, iz gimnazije Lucijana Vranjanina – oboje su sudjelovali i u izradi ku- rikuluma za predmet Filozofija)

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12. Doprinos Nel Noddings odgoju i senzibiliziranju za odgoj se u kratkim crtama može pronaći u Cahn (1997). Više o različitim aspektima povezanim s odgojem i obrazovanjem kod drugih autora vidjeti također u Cahn (1997).

13. Više o autorici Nel Noddings vidi u Cahn (1997).

14. Više o odgoju i obrazovanju u misli Johna Deweyja vidjeti u Subotić i Golubović (2022).

2. Bruno Ćurko i co. (Ines Skelac, Julija Perhat, Marina Novina, Marko Kardum, Sandro Skansi – profesori fakulteta i iz srednje škole)
3. Ivan Čehok (bivši srednjoškolski/sveučilišni profesor).

Jedna od specifičnosti kada je riječ o obrazovanju nastavnika filozofije, logike i etike u Hrvatskoj vezana je uz riječko sveučilište. Naime, Filozofski fakultet u Rijeci, odnosno njihov odsjek za filozofiju razlikuje se od ostalih fakulteta (i filozofskih pristupa) u državi. Riječki odsjek za filozofiju oduvijek njeguje tzv. analitički pristup filozofiji, tj. tematski, problemski pristup, za razliku od ostalih koji su, barem do sada, ponajviše bili okrenuti ka kontinentalnom. A novi kurikulumi odražavaju uvelike upravo tematski, problemski pristup u poučavanju filozofije, što znači da se filozofiju nastoji izlagati u najvećoj mjeri kroz rasprave, diskusije i debate u kojima se obrađuju pitanja, teme, napose problemi i argumenti (Ćurko 2017), i gdje do izražaja dolazi argumentacija (argumenti *za* i *protiv*). Uz to naglasak se stavlja na kritičko i kreativno promišljanje, kao i studije slučaja koje su se i s odgojne strane pokazale izrazito učinkovitima [činjenica je, a to pokazuju mnoga istraživanja koja provode psiholozi i pedagozi, da je kroz studije slučaja (usp. Mušanović, Vasilj i Kovačević 2010) i tzv. neizravni pristup odgoju moguće polučiti najbolje odgojne rezultate, odnosno, odgojni utjecaj].<sup>15</sup> Pored toga valja imati na umu da je u današnjem školstvu iznimnu važnost potrebno dati onim znanjima, kompetencijama i vještinama koje su povezane s poslovima budućnosti kao što su:

- 1) kritičko, logičko i kreativno mišljenje/promišljanje;
- 2) integrativno mišljenje;
- 3) orijentacija na rješavanje problema;
- 4) samoregulacija;
- 5) autonomnost;
- 6) odgovornost;
- 7) otpornost (između ostalog, spremnost na primanje kritika);
- 8) fleksibilnost.

Dakle, ideja je da se gradivo koje se obrađuje u školama (a, isto vrijedi i za online nastavu) što je moguće više poveže s poteškoćama, problemima i izazovima koje učenici susreću i u svakodnevnom životu (Subotić i Golubović 2022). A za uspješnost u njihovom rješavanju važne su gore navedene vještine koje je u velikoj mjeri moguće

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15. Riječ je o pristupu Wolterstorffa, značajnog autora iz ovog područja, u Peterson (1986). Više o moralnoj edukaciji vidjeti u Legrand (2001) i Morin (2002).

razvijati, ‘oblikovati’, usavršavati kroz nastavu filozofije, osobito kroz problemski pristup, koji je poželjno provoditi upravo kroz rasprave. Dodatno, u vrijeme pandemije koronavirusa u kojoj se prvu godinu zapravo cjelokupna nastava održavala online i gdje su se nastavnici suočili s neočekivanim izazovima – upravo je ta situacija postala dobra prilika za pružanje podrške učenicima. Ne smijemo pri tom zaboraviti niti važnost izgradnje, razvoja i usavršavanja i tzv. mekih vještina poput:

- 1) komunikacijskih;
- 2) prezentacijskih;
- 3) umijeća rada u timu, itd.

Kada se nastava odvija online, što je u doba pandemije bio slučaj, ali i zbog činjenice da je upravo takva nastava dovela do ozbiljnijih poteškoća (istraživanja koja je za vrijeme pandemije provodio tim psihologa s riječkog Sveučilišta ukazuju na porast straha, anksioznosti, depresije, suicidalnih misli u studenata/studentica, dakle ozbiljnih psiholoških pritisaka i smetnji, što vjerojatno znači još i većeg porasta nabrojanih poteškoća kod učenica i učenika osnovne i srednje škole) i stoga je potrebno naći adekvatan način postupanja (održavanja online nastave u kojoj će se voditi računa o ovim poteškoćama). Drugim riječima, nastavu treba prilagoditi novonastaloj situaciji u smislu da se nastavnici, neovisno o tome rade li u školama ili na fakultetima, posvete učenicima na način da zahvate njihove emocije, moralnost, obrazovanje i odgoj. Jedno bez drugoga ne ide. Psiholozi su tako iz faze u fazu pratili studentsku populaciju (ukupno kroz 4 faze, gdje se situacija iz faze u fazu samo pogoršavala). Zbog toga je na početku nastave (koja se odvija u školi ili online) najvažnije stvoriti dobru atmosferu, dakle, nastavnici su pozvani provoditi nastavu u ulozi *facilitatora* i *moderatora*, tj. onih koji će osmisliti i provoditi interaktivnu nastavu, nastavu u kojoj više od nastavnika aktivno sudjeluju i daju doprinos upravo učenici, a kojima će nastavnici u svim aspektima olakšavati proces učenja. Učenicima trebaju tijekom čitave nastave biti na raspolaganju opcije poput postavljanja pitanja, slobodnog izražavanja misli, mišljenja, stavova i uvjerenja jer je to važno, ne samo zbog uspjeha u učenju, nego i zbog njihovog psihičkog i mentalnog blagostanja.

Kada je o nastavi filozofije riječ, jedna od ključnih stavki je svakako analiza izvornog teksta (rad na tekstu) koju je poželjno uključiti u svaki nastavni sat, tj. u doslovno svako gradivo koje se obrađuje (Golubović i Angelovski 2017). Tekst u nastavi filozofije nam omogućuje bolju razradu teme, pomaže nam da uvidimo što su o temi koju obrađujemo rekli stručnjaci koji se dobro/najbolje razumiju u ono o čemu pišu, i zahvaljujući kojima će i učenici sigurno bolje razumjeti konkretno gradivo. Također

nam pomaže da bolje upoznamo filozofa koji je tekst napisao, zatim da proširimo i produbimo predmetnu tematiku, a nerijetko i da lakše donesemo vlastiti sud o temi (usp. Golubović i Kopajtić 2023). Moguće je da će nam tekst pomoći u iskorijenjivanju predrasuda, izgradnji postojanog/utemeljenog stava ili uvjerenja, opredjeljivanju u opcijama za ili protiv nekog argumenta i sl. Kod rada na tekstu mogu se primijeniti različite tehnike aktivnog čitanja, primjerice kada se učenicima zada da pročitaju određeni filozofski tekst (najčešće ulomak) važno je da oni naprave korisne bilješke kako bi u samoj nastavi mogli adekvatnije tj. aktivnije sudjelovati. Za tu prigodu izvrsna je Insert tehnika (Interactive Notating System for Effective Reading and Thinking) (usp. Benge Kletzien i Cota Bekavac 2005; Golubović i Kopajtić 2023). Prema toj tehnici dobro je da za zadani tekst učenici naprave bilješke kojima će u prvom redu označiti one dijelove koje ne razumiju i oko kojih bi se željeli konzultirati s nastavnikom, zatim one koje bi željeli dodatno produbiti ili koji su im potpuno nepoznati, jer ćemo tako učinkovitije interpretirati tekst koji čitamo, ali i ispravno ga analizirati.

## STUDIJA SLUČAJA U NASTAVI FILOZOFIJE

Poučavanje putem problema i/ili studije slučaja u velikoj mjeri se pokazuje efikasnim, a i u online okruženju dozvoljava da se postupno, korak po korak, zajedno s učenicima, prolazi kroz faze određenog problema. U filozofiji se naime pokazala vrlo učinkovitom upravo studija slučaja koja omogućuje učenicima da zajednički analiziraju, secirajući svaki segment do najmanjih detalja (npr. individualno, u paru ili manjoj grupi), nalazeći različite aspekte poteškoća koje pored glavnog problema slučaj može sadržavati, izdvajajući moguća rješenja, zatim analizirajući svako pojedino, vodeći uvijek računa o prednostima i nedostacima i izvlačeći zaključak koji je dobar *putokaz* za djelovanje (napose kada se studija slučaja odnosi na neki etički aspekt) (usp. Golubović i Angelovski 2017; Golubović i Kopajtić 2023). Analiza slučaja može se učenicima ponuditi na početku sata, tako primjerice možemo pred njih *staviti* misaoni eksperiment koji će nam poslužiti za uvođenje u tematiku koju želimo obrađivati (Golubović i Kopajtić 2023). Primjerice, ukoliko želimo obrađivati određeni etički problem dobro je da najprije preispitamo njihovo predznanje i registriramo njihove početne intuicije. Na taj način dobit ćemo uvid u njihova spontana razmišljanja, tj. viđenje slučaja iz njihove perspektive, a to je nastavniku dragocjeno radi osmišljavanja daljnjih koraka. Može se naime bolje orijentirati s obzirom na upoznatost učenika s građivom, dubinom u koju mora ući kako bi im što bolje približio temu,

utvrđivanjem onoga što može očekivati od učenika, uvidom u poteškoće koje iskazuju, a sve kako bi što bolje prilagodio svoj pristup, osobito kada je riječ o online nastavi.

Evo primjera obrade studije slučaja koji se gotovo jednako kvalitetno može provesti u školi kao i u online okruženju. Zamislimo sljedeći misaoni eksperiment: prolazimo parkom u središtu grada i uočavamo osobu kojoj je pozlilo, koja se srušila u našoj blizini. Osoba je lijepo, pristojno obučena i spontano priskačemo u pomoć. Uostalom, uvijek je dobro/poželjno pomoći osobi kojoj se nešto tako dogodi, i mi bismo očekivali da nam u istoj ili sličnoj situaciji netko pritekne u pomoć. No, hoćemo li to učiniti ili ne ovisi i o dojmu koji je na nas ostavila sama osoba. Mislimo konkretno na njezin vanjski izgled, jer nije isto je li riječ o pristojnoj osobi, ili primjerice alkoholičaru i sl. Naime, slični scenariji koji su snimani u edukativnim dokumentarcima i u kojima se propituju ljudske kvalitete, između ostalih i čovjekova moralnost, pokazuju kako odluka o tome hoće li ljudi priskočiti u pomoć ili ne ovisi, između ostalog i o izgledu unesrećene osobe, odnosno dojmu koji je na nas ostavila. Ako je *dobrog* izgleda, onda se najčešće ljudi zaustavljaju i pokušavaju pomoći, a kada je riječ o nekome tko izgleda kao primjerice beskućnik ili osoba sklona alkoholu onda jednostavno ignoriraju i nastavljaju dalje kao da ništa nisu primijetili. Ovakvi zamišljeni scenariji, odnosno, misaoni eksperimenti izvrsno mogu poslužiti u odgojne svrhe, posebice u etičkom obrazovanju, u smislu da je kroz njih moguće preispitati uočavanje relevantnih činjenica vezanih za slučaj koji se istražuje kao i mogućnosti senzibilizacije (usp. Berčić 2012).

Drugi primjer, tj. studija slučaja potječe iz popularno napisanog djela filozofa Fernanda Savatera *Etika za Amadora*, gdje otac piše sinu o temama koje su važne za njegov moralni rast, razvoj i usavršavanje, drugim riječima, odgoj (vidjeti Savater 1998). Između ostalog u djelu se opisuje slučaj koji je poznat još od Aristotelova doba, a riječ je o problemu koji je povezan s kapetanom broda koji je prevezio vrlo skup teret i, neovisno o tome što je znao da postoji veliki rizik da neće uspjeti doći od točke A do točke B, osobito ako se putem dogodi oluja, on je krenuo na put, doživio veliku oluju pa je na licu mjesta trebao odlučiti što učiniti – hoće li se riješiti skupog tereta, hoće li izbaciti pola tereta, npr. pola posade broda u more, hoće li čuvati isključivo ono materijalno, ili ljude itd. Pokušajte prije nego što dobijete tekst na analizu o ovom slučaju razmišljati iz pozicija svih zainteresiranih strana i donijeti najbolju moguću odluku. Primjer koji se pripisuje Aristotelu je sljedeći:



“Neka lađa prevozi važan teret iz jedne luke u drugu. Usred putovanja iznenadi je strašna oluja. Čini se da jedini način da se lađa i posada spase jest taj da se preko palube u more baci teret, koji je ne samo važan nego i težak. Zapovjednik lađe postavlja si sljedeći problem: “Trebam li izbaciti robu ili izložiti se pogibelji prkoseći nevremenu s teretom u potpalublju, u očekivanju da će se vrijeme popraviti odnosno da će lađa izdržati?””(Savater 1998: 37-38).

Tekst smo razlomili u nekoliko segmenata i s učenicima ga prolazimo postupno (dio po dio). Tako se zaustavljamo na prvom dijelu teksta i pitamo učenike što bi oni učinili na mjestu zapovjednika i zašto (trebaju dati obrazloženje razloga zbog kojih bi donijeli određenu odluku, koju će kasnije pretvoriti u akciju/djelovanje). Jer najbolje je da na početku rasprave o ovoj etičkoj poteškoći<sup>16</sup> vidimo koja su njihova spontana razmišljanja, tj. koji je njihov spontani odgovor na prikazanu poteškoću. Istovremeno ćemo imati priliku doznati imaju li sposobnosti uočiti relevantne informacije. Jer, kao što Berčić (2012: 282) tvrdi: moralno obrazovanje sastoji se primarno u uočavanju relevantnih karakteristika i razvijanju senzibiliteta. Njegovim riječima:

„Moralno obrazovanje ne sastoji se u usvajanju skupa moralnih pravila već u razvijanju senzibiliteta koji nam omogućava uočavanje moralno relevantnih karakteristika. Etika nije deduktivni skup principa te je se ne može tako ni učiti, etiku se uči razmatranjem pojedinih slučajeva i akumuliranjem iskustva, etiku se ne uči memoriranjem principa već izostravanjem sposobnosti procjene.“

Sam slučaj autor (Savater) dalje analizira i obrazlaže na sljedeći način:

“Dakako, ukoliko teret baci u more, onda će to učiniti jer više voli to uraditi negoli suočiti se s pogibelji, no bilo bi nepravilno naprečac reći da ga on želi baciti. Ono što on doista želi jest da stigne u luku s lađom, posadom i robom: to je ono što mu najviše odgovara. Međutim, s obzirom na olujne uvjete, radije spasava život sebi i svojoj posadi negoli sam teret, koliko god on bio dragocjen. Da se barem nije podigla ta prokleta oluja! No on ne može birati oluju, to je nešto što mu je nametnuto, nešto što mu se zbiva, htio on to ili ne htio; naprotiv, ono što on može birati jest način ponašanja kojim će se rukovoditi u pogibelji koja mu prijete. Baci li teret u more, onda to čini zato jer to želi ... a istovremeno on to i ne želi. Hoće živjeti, spasiti sebe i spasiti ljude koji o njemu zavise, spasiti lađu; ali ne bi želio ostati bez tereta i odgovarajuće zarade, te će se tek vrlo nevoljko lišiti iste. Bez sumnje više bi volio ne naći se u položaju da mora birati između gubitka vlastitih dobara i gubitka života. Međutim, ne preostaje mu drugo te se mora

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16. O temeljnim pristupima/teorijama u etici vidjeti više u Frankena (1998), McNaughton (2010) i Strahovnik (2018).



odlučiti: izabrat će ono što više želi, ono za što vjeruje da više odgovara. Mogli bismo reći da je slobodan jer nema mu druge mogućnosti već da slobodno bira u prilikama koje on nije sam sebi izabrao.” (Savater 1998: 37-38).

Prema gornjem opisu vidimo s čime se je sve zapovjednik morao suočiti: s vlastitom odgovornošću (racionalnošću, ili još preciznije razboritošću, odvagivanjem cjelokupne situacije, procjenom obveza odnosno dužnosti koje ima kao zapovjednik i onaj koji brine o cijelom brodu – njegovoj materijalnoj komponenti i ljudstvu, kao i krajnjem rezultatu odnosno posljedicama koje će uslijediti nakon njegove odluke itd.), ciljevima koje želi ispuniti, zadaćama ili obvezama koje treba ispoštovati (u striktno poslovnom smislu), s uvidom u cjelokupan kontekst situacije u kojoj se našao. Treba dobro odvagati elemente koje ima pod kontrolom od onih koje nema pod kontrolom. Usprkos znanjima i smjernicama koje nam mogu pomoći i orijentirati nas o najboljim opcijama/mogućnostima po kojima možemo ili trebamo djelovati (oslanjajući se na naše vrline, karakterne crte intelektualne i moralne, na dužnosti da se obveza, radna obveza mora/treba ispuniti, ili posljedice – što je u konkretnom slučaju najbolja posljedica ili posljedice i zašto?), etika, tj. ljudsko djelovanje na koncu se očituje u našoj slobodi. Ta sloboda je na djelu i kada ne želimo da je tako, ponekad smo jednostavno ‘osuđeni na slobodu’.

Nastavljajući se dalje na slučaj u ovoj analizi problema/poteškoće nastavnik nam može pomoći postavljajući tzv. vođena pitanja kojima ćemo kvalitetnije obuhvatiti, a onda i analizirati sam slučaj koji je pred nama i koji, između ostalog, a možda i najvažnije od svega, i nama samima pokazuje koliko je etika u svakodnevnom životu zahtjevna i da nikada ne znamo kada ćemo se susresti sa sličnom poteškoćom za koju samo mi možemo donijeti konačnu odluku i koja nas obvezuje na djelovanje. Savater (1998: 37-38) cijeli slučaj zaključuje konstatacijom: „Kad god u teškim ili važnim situacijama razmišljamo o onome što ćemo poduzeti, gotovo uvijek se nađemo u položaju sličnom onome u kakvome se našao zapovjednik lađe o kome priča Aristotel”. Ova poučna priča, tj. slučaj, nastavnicima može pomoći da provjere kako učenici razmišljaju, može ih usmjeriti ka dobrom, logičkom, kritičkom i kreativnom mišljenju, ali i ukazati im na činjenicu da je osoba, pojedini učenik taj koji odlučuje kojim će aspektima dati prednost i da je konačna odluka uvijek u njegovim rukama. A dobar nastavnik zna da ne može sve ostati samo na raspravi te da se svako gradivo na koncu treba zaokružiti znanjem (dobro je propitati učenikovo mišljenje, njegove stavove i uvjerenja, ali na kraju sat treba zaključiti pozivajući se na stvarno stanje stvari, tj. na

znanje).<sup>17</sup> Važno je pri tom da učenici postanu svjesni temeljne razlike koja postoji između intuitivnog, drugim riječima, spontanog razmišljanja i kritičkog moralnog rasuđivanja. „Dakle, intuitivna razina je ona razina na kojoj ne promišljamo ‘dublje’ o našim moralnim postupcima, jednostavno ih prihvaćamo, a probleme koji nastaju na toj razini prihvaćamo kao takve, bez nekog posebnog nastojanja da ih razriješimo“ (Ćurko 2017: 143). Učenik tako može imati *dobra* razmišljanja, no ponekad ona idu u potpuno pogrešnom smjeru u odnosu na stvarnu situaciju i stoga je iznimno važno da ih nastavnik nadopunjuje znanjem. Još jednom, ali uz bitnu napomenu: „Intuicija, odnosno intuitivna razina moralnog mišljenja, svoje sadržaje preuzima iz iskustva. Intuitivna razina moralnog mišljenja prestaje biti intuitivna kad prođe kroz proces kritičkog preispitivanja“ (Ćurko 2017: 149). Ovime dolazimo do važnog uvida da sama nastava koja bi u središte postavila raspravu jednostavno nije dovoljna, ključno je temeljito upoznavanje sa sadržajem, jer bez te komponente kritičko mišljenje kao jedan od glavnih *sastojaka* za dolazak do znanja ne bi se provodilo. Nastavnikova zadaća, da budemo do kraja konkretni, kada je o analizi slučaja riječ nije u tome da učenici misle i rade ono što on kaže, savjetuje, propagira, nego je njegova zadaća u tome da im pomogne da sami dođu do ispravnog logičkog zaključka. Dakle njegova je dužnost da ostane neutralan jer i obrazovanje bi trebalo biti neutralno:

„Neutralno etičko obrazovanje jest obrazovanje koje ne nudi gotove obrasce po kojima se mora djelovati, već potiče učenike da sami kritički promišljajući dođu do spoznaje kako bi trebali djelovati, da sami razviju stav o određenom problemu te da uz pomoć vlastitih umnih snaga zauzmu stav o pojedinim etičkim problemima. Ovakvom obrazovanju bi cilj trebao biti razvoj moralne svijesti i odgovornosti.“ (Ćurko 2017: 166-167).

A sada je pitanje kako to postići?

„To je naravno moguće uz suvremene pedagoške metode, pri čemu mislim prvenstveno na nastavu radioničkog tipa u kojoj će se na temelju neke studije slučaja (case study), primjera iz života, priča ili, recimo, filma, razvijati diskusija u kojoj će učenici biti potaknuti na kvalitetnije promišljanje o vlastitim i tuđim moralnim stavovima, da bi krajnji cilj bila kvalitetna etička refleksija.“ (Ibidem).

Naravno, pri tom treba biti svjestan činjenice da „neke osobe više negoli ostali već odmalena imaju istančaniji etički ‘sluh’ kao i spontano moralan ‘dobar ukus’, no taj ‘sluh’ i taj ‘dobar ukus’ mogu se potvrditi i razvijati praksom (jednako kao i glaz-

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17. Za detaljnije upoznavanje s temom preporučamo recentne članke dvojice autora u kojima se promišlja o stanju u školstvu, tj. o tome kakvo obrazovanje nam je potrebno. Vidjeti Radić (2021) i Vranešević (2021)..

beni sluh odnosno estetski dobar ukus)“ (Savater 1998: 96). A upravo zato i služe nastavnici – da taj naš istančani etički sluh bolje *izbruse* kroz različite metode, oblike rada i tehnike.

## UMJESTO ZAKLJUČKA – O IZAZOVIMA I PERSPEKTIVAMA NASTAVE FILOZOFIJE U ONLINE OKRUŽENJU

U ovom radu cilj nam je bio pokazati kako je *najbolje* provoditi nastavu filozofije u online okruženju, a gdje se praktičnom može pokazati upravo kombinacija rada na tekstu s nekom od vrsta razgovora jer nam se kroz komunikaciju i raspravu otvaraju mnoge mogućnosti za zahvaćanje svih komponenti učenikova bića – emocionalne, intelektualne, moralne i odgojne, i time omogućiti pozitivan utjecaj na učeničku i studentsku motivaciju te na njihovo mentalno i psihičko zdravlje koje je u vrijeme pandemije bilo prilično narušeno. To drugim riječima znači da se, osim na samo gradivo, sadržaj, tj. ono što će učenici (na)učiti, trebamo usmjeriti i na njihove emocije, moral i odgoj. Tradicionalna nastava je u većoj mjeri stavljala naglasak na sadržaj, odnosno na znanje (točnije, prijenos ‘znanja’ od strane nastavnika), a suvremena možda ide u drugi ekstrem prenaplašavajući ulogu učenika (usmjerenost na njegove stavove i uvjerenja, emocije, moral, odgoj). No za optimalne rezultate je potrebno napraviti ravnotežu između različitih, mahom suprotstavljenih, strana (komponenti). Tako je čitanje izvornih tekstova moguće kombinirati s raspravama, diskusijama i debatama koje će u prvom redu poslužiti za *ispipavanje terena* i stvaranje pozitivnog ozračja u razredu, kao i u online okruženju, na koje će se naknadno gotovo spontano, kroz argumentaciju, nadograđivati potrebno znanje. Niti jedan aspekt pri tom ne treba zanemariti. Dakle, nastava filozofije u online okruženju može se odvijati i dobro je da se što češće tako odvija, putem rasprava, diskusija i debata i to osobito ako će se rad na tekstu obogatiti nekom od spomenutih vrsta razgovora kojima se može poticati kvalitetna argumentacija i toliko spominjano kritičko mišljenje. Naravno, pod uvjetom da odnosi među svima uključenima počivaju na svekolikom uvažavanju, poštivanju, otvorenosti, fleksibilnosti, odnosno svim vještinama poželjnim za dobru komunikaciju i uspješno učenje.

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## **SOME IDEAS FOR IMPROVING PHILOSOPHY TEACHING IN A DIGITAL ENVIRONMENT – CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE CONTEMPORARY CROATIAN SECONDARY EDUCATION SYSTEM (KS4, KS5)**

### **Summary:**

In this paper will be presented some ideas for improving philosophy teaching in secondary education schools, i.e. gymnasiums (KS4 and KS5). The ideas primarily concern the improvement of reading, especially the critical and creative reading of philosophical texts in the teaching of philosophy, because texts, that is, work on the text – when it comes to teaching philosophy – is one of our key tools. In addition, we will present several proposals, that is the possibility of processing a case study in a digital environment, for example, in the teaching of philosophy, or more precisely, in the domain of ethics – which in the new philosophy curriculum in Croatia, in addition to metaphysics and epistemology, represents one of the three key domains out of which each is compulsory in every school year. It is particularly important for us that the teaching of philosophy is conducted interactively, which in other words means through discussions and dialogue with the students, so we will sufficiently value that element in our work.

**Keywords:** reading philosophical texts; critical thinking; case analysis; digital environment

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**Tanja Gradečak**

## **USPJEŠNO STARENJE I UČENJE STRANOG JEZIKA<sup>1</sup>**

Teorija aktivnosti koju je predložio Havighurst (1963) sugerira da se uspješno starenje ostvaruje kada starije odrasle osobe ostanu aktivne i održavaju društvene interakcije. Kvaliteta života, prilagodba pojedinca na starenje i osjećaj dobiti usko su povezani s očuvanjem prijašnjih društvenih navika, kao i sa stupnjem fizioloških, psiholoških i kognitivnih aktivnosti. Jedna od kognitivnih sposobnosti koja može pridonijeti održavanju zadovoljavajuće razine aktivnog starenja jest učenje stranog jezika, a ovo istraživanje pokazuje neke preliminarne rezultate o učincima učenja engleskog kao stranog jezika na osjećaj dobiti umirovljenih starijih osoba. Nakon rasprave o definiranju pojma 'starija odrasla osoba' i pregleda teorijske pozadine starenja kroz teoriju odvajanja, aktivnosti i kontinuiteta, predstavljeni su rezultati istraživanja provedenog na 80 polaznika tečaja engleskog jezika za umirovljene starije osobe putem upitnika s pitanjima otvorenog tipa i pitanjima procjene prema Likertovoj skali koji ispituje socio-afektivne čimbenike u procesu učenja engleskog jezika, a koji je u temeljnim elementima strukturiran prema Pfenninger i Polz (2017) o učinku tečaja stranog (L2) jezika na socio-afektivne čimbenike, tj. motivaciju za učenje engleskog jezika učenika starije životne dobi. Rezultati ukazuju na to da postoje izvjesna starosna ograničenja ljudske sposobnosti za učenje stranih jezika, kao i dobne razlike u učenju stranih jezika, ali da visoka motivacija i osjećaj intelektualnog zadovoljstva kao i interakcija s predavačem i ostalim polaznicima tijekom procesa učenja doprinose osjećaju dobiti sudionika.

**Ključne riječi:** uspješno starenje; učenici starije životne dobi; učenje jezika; engleski kao strani jezik

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<sup>1</sup> Rad je nastao na temelju istraživanja u sklopu znanstvenoistraživačkog projekta ZUP 2018 *Figurativni jezik u zdravstvenoj komunikaciji* (2019.-2021.), voditelja prof. dr. sc. Marija Brdara, a izložen je na međunarodnom znanstvenom skupu *Age Comm 2019* koji je 9. svibnja 2019. održan na Sveučilištu Corvinus u Budimpešti.



## 1. UVOD

Uspjeh je postao imperativ u suvremenom životu, stoga ne čudi da je pronašao svoj put u gotovo sve aspekte međuljudske interakcije. Ljudi se vrlo često ocjenjuju prema položaju u hijerarhiji poslova, materijalnom posjedu i društvenom utjecaju. Svi ovi aspekti ljudskog života akumuliraju se tijekom godina, pa se starije odrasle osobe<sup>2</sup> vrlo često prepoznaju kao istaknuti članovi zajednica u kojima žive i u kojima su aktivni. Istovremeno, međutim, ljudsko starenje podrazumijeva gubitak tjelesnih i kognitivnih funkcija, gubitak društvenih uloga i društvenih kontakata, iako neka istraživanja pokazuju da starije odrasle osobe, s određenim preduvjetima zadovoljenja osnovnih ljudskih potreba, ove gubitke ne doživljavaju kao prijetnju vlastitom osjećaju dobrobiti, pogotovo ukoliko su njihovo samopercipirano zdravlje i osjećaj mogućnosti kontrole nad vlastitim životom visoko rangirani (Fagerström i Aartsen 2013). Zbog produljenja životnog vijeka, modernizacije i industrijalizacije društva, dobna skupina starijih osoba raste i time postaje sve relevantnija kao društveni akter i determinator gospodarskih i kulturnih aktivnosti. Tako je dana 1. siječnja 2023. stanovništvo EU procijenjeno na 448,8 milijuna ljudi, a više od jedne petine (21,3%) bilo je u dobi od 65 godina i više. U razdoblju od 2023. do 2100. očekuje se pad udjela radno sposobnog stanovništva, dok će starije osobe vjerojatno činiti sve veći udio u ukupnom stanovništvu: oni u dobi od 65 godina i više činit će 32,5% stanovništva EU do 2100. godine, u usporedbi s 21,3% u 2023. (Eurostat 2024). U izvješću se ističe kako više pozornosti treba posvetiti aktivnostima kojima bi se očuvao i poboljšao financijski i društveni status te tjelesno i psihičko zdravlje starijih osoba, jer se oni međusobno uključuju i vrlo često i nadopunjuju. Rezultati istraživanja Hertzoaga i dr. (2008) i Murmana (2015) sugeriraju da u slučaju starijih odraslih osoba s normalnim kognitivnim funkcioniranjem, pa čak i kod onih s Alzheimerovom bolešću ili nekim oblikom demencije, uvođenje čak i minimalne tjelesne vježbe i kognitivne aktivnosti ili stimulacije može načelno poboljšati njihove kognitivne funkcije. Iz izvješća se može zaključiti da je kognitivno zdravlje došlo u

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<sup>2</sup> „Starija odrasla osoba“ kao kategorija stanovništva je vrlo fluidna, pa tako npr. Eurostat prepoznaje samo tri kategorije: djeca (0 do 14 godina), radno sposobne (15 do 64 godine) i starije osobe (65 godina i više). Američki Nacionalni institut za starenje općenito opisuje starije odrasle osobe kao osobe od 65 ili više godina, međutim, same definicije starije odrasle osobe razlikuju se od autora do autora i izraz se u službenim dokumentima većine europskih institucija uglavnom koristi kao eufemistička zamjena za izraz „stariji“, „stari“ i sl. Preporuka je ovog instituta koristiti izraz „starije odrasle osobe“, „osobe starije od X“ ili „osobe u dobi od X do Y“ umjesto „stari“, „stari“, „stariji“, „seniori“ ili „stariji građani“. Riječ „odrasla osoba“ promovira njihovu slobodu izbora i osobnost, kao što to i inače čini tzv. inkluzivni jezik koji koristi izraze s imenicom ‘osoba’ ili ‘ljudi’ na prvom mjestu, npr. ‘osobe s invalidnošću’ umjesto ‘invalidne osobe’ ili ‘invalidi’.

fokus istraživača i da se smatra jednakovrijednim onom tjelesnom (u smislu odsustva fizičke boli ili smanjenja fizioloških funkcija tijela općenito) i kako je potrebno sve snage usmjeriti k istraživanju načina poboljšanja i očuvanja kognitivnih funkcija kod starijih odraslih osoba.

Učenje stranog jezika i dvojezičnost zauzimaju visoko mjesto u skupu kognitivnih aktivnosti koje pridonose uspješnom starenju, kako su utvrdili Bialystok, Craik i Freedman (2007), Blumenfeld i dr. (2017), Morford i Mayberry (2000) te Muñoz (2010). Pri tome se prepoznaje da je motivacija jedna od najvažnijih predispozicija za učenje općenito, ali i za učenje jezika (Gardner 1985; Lamb i dr. 2019) jer u većini slučajeva za starije odrasle osobe ne postoji izvanjska, institucionalna prisila da se provodi neki oblik formalnog obrazovanja. Ova su istraživanja ukazala na činjenicu da se stariji učenici načelno dobrovoljno uključuju u učenje jezika, što zauzvrat znači da je njihova motivacija veća. Još jedan aspekt koji pomaže starijim učenicima u učenju jezika je njihovo životno iskustvo i sposobnost korištenja postojećeg znanja i izvlačenja zaključaka iz njega, kako tvrdi Muñoz (2010).

U globalnim okvirima može se uočiti da dolazi do povećanja broja organizacija i civilnih udruga koje starijim osobama pružaju strukturirane aktivnosti, fizičke i kognitivne, kao što su satovi gimnastike i aerobika ili tečajevi digitalnih tehnologija i stranih jezika. Preporuke Europske komisije (Tikkanen, Nyhan 2006) o potrebi promocije cjeloživotnog obrazovanja i preporučenim aktivnostima za starije odrasle osobe, kao i službena akcija Ujedinjenih naroda kojim je desetljeće 2021-2030 proglašeno desetljećem zdravog starenja (*UN Decade of Healthy Ageing: Plan of Action*) ukazuju na podizanje svijesti o potrebi da se više pozornosti posveti zdravom starenju.

Tečajevi učenja stranih jezika lako se mogu logistički, prostorno i kadrovski organizirati pa ne čudi što su i u gradu Osijeku vrlo česti i dobro posjećeni. Veliki porast broja tečajeva stranih jezika putem interneta uočen je tijekom pandemije COVID-19 kada se pokazala osobita potreba angažirati starije odrasle osobe kako bi u izolaciji održale društvene kontakte, iako je online nastava samo djelomice nadomještala prirodne potrebe za socijalizacijom (Tonković i dr. 2020), no ovaj ćemo aspekt obrazovanja ostaviti za neko daljnje istraživanje.

Potaknuti osobnim iskustvom predavanja engleskog kao stranog jezika osobama starije životne dobi, i uživo i *online*, u ovom ćemo radu predstaviti rezultate kvalitativnog istraživanja provedenog 2019. godine kojim se pokušala utvrditi povezanost proaktivnog stava prema učenju stranog jezika kao aktivnosti koja doprinosi dobrobiti, i kognitivnoj i emocionalnoj, a koja je temeljno obilježje us-

pješnog starenja. Ispitanici u dvije skupine starijih odraslih osoba koji pohađaju tečaj engleskog jezika u dvije udruge umirovljenika anketirani su s ciljem da se utvrdi postoji li kod njih afektivni stav prema učenju engleskog jezika, postoji li kod njih subjektivno procijenjeni utjecaj procesa učenja stranog jezika na njihove kognitivne sposobnosti i osjećaj općeg zadovoljstva, postoji li povezanost učenja stranog jezika s drugim aktivnostima i hobijima te je li im poznavanje engleskog jezika poticaj za aktivan stil života. Istraživačka su pitanja dio jednog većeg istraživanja o razini znanja engleskog jezika, hobijima i aktivnostima kojima se bave, a koja također imaju za cilj utvrditi elemente koji utječu na zdravo starenje u kontekstu modernog, informatiziranog društva. Nakon kratkog pregleda teorija starenja i uloge učenja jezika u drugom poglavlju, treće poglavlje nudi rezultate ankete s generičkim podacima o dobi i jezičnim vještinama, općim pitanjima o poznavanju jezika i hobijima, samoprocjeni njihovog znanja engleskog jezika i vrednovanju iskaza o stavovima prema učenju jezika. Slijedi i rasprava o određenim točkama koje proizlaze iz njihovih odgovora kao i opća rasprava o objektivnim i afektivnim aspektima učenja jezika u starijoj dobi dok četvrto poglavlje nudi neke okvirne zaključke s prijedlozima za promicanje uloge učenja jezika u uspješnom starenju.

## 2. TEORIJSKA POZADINA

### 2.1. Starije odrasle osobe

Povijesno gledano, starije odrasle osobe bile su poštovane i cijenjene zbog svoje mudrosti, a među ljudima su ih često nazivali 'starješinama' i 'vođama'. U današnjem društvu, međutim, s valom za valom industrijalizacije i modernizacije koje zamjenjuju ljudsku radnu snagu i postaju temeljni izvori informacija, oni postaju sve manje potrebni i cijenjeni. Ljudi često starijim osobama pripisuju određene stereotipe, poput lošeg zdravlja, invaliditeta i smanjenih kognitivnih sposobnosti. Taj se fenomen često označava kao *ageizam*, a Brossoie (2010) ga definira kao sustavno etiketiranje i diskriminaciju starijih osoba. To je u suprotnosti s tendencijama suvremene demografije koja bilježi porast starenja stanovništva, te neminovno promiče nužnost ozbiljnog proučavanja i analize njihovog statusa u društvu, u smislu i fizičke i društvene egzistencije.

Brossoie (Ibidem) predstavlja starenje u sklopu gerontologije kao znanstvenog proučavanja starenja koje ispituje biološke, psihološke i sociološke čimbenike povezane sa starošću i starenjem. Kao medicinski pojam *gerontologija* proučava

biološke čimbenike, uključujući fizičko zdravlje i genetiku, dok sociološki čimbenici uključuju odnose, kulturu i društvo, a psihološki mentalno zdravlje, kognitivne procese i opću dobrobit. Ona je zasebna grana studija posvećena dijagnostici i općenito liječenju bolesti i zdravstvenih problema koji se odnose na starije osobe, a već desetljeće unazad dio je jednog općeg znanstvenog pristupa, *geroznanosti*, koja se fokusira i na čimbenike koji utječu na usporavanje procesa starenja i poboljšanje cjelokupnog zdravlja u našim poznim godinama. Iz ovog se znanstvenog područja u društvene (pa posredno i u humanističke i primijenjenolingvističke) znanosti posuđuje i pojam ‘starije odrasle osobe’ za osobe u dobi od 65 i više godina, što će biti pojam korišten i u ovom radu. Phillipson (1998) je uočio da se koncept starosti i dobi u suvremenom društvu mijenja kako zbog porasta očekivanog životnog vijeka, tako i zbog promjena u životnim stilovima, te da su granice između dobnih skupina arbitrarne jer su društveno konstruirane. Kako bi se olakšalo definiranje “starije osobe”, većina je zemalja odabrala definiciju Svjetske zdravstvene organizacije (WHO 2018) koja se nadovezuje na gore spomenutu geroznanstvenu definiciju dobi od šezdeset ili šezdeset i pet godina jer u tome razdoblju ljudi većinom izlaze s tržišta rada i promijene društvenu ulogu ili status.

## **2.2. Teorije starenja**

Zadržavanje visoke razine neuralne plastičnosti i poboljšanje kognitivnih performansi postaje novo mjerilo uspjeha, a tradicionalno prihvaćena *teorija društvene neangažiranosti* starijih osoba polako se povlači iz žiže znanstvene javnosti nauštrb tzv. *teorije aktivnosti* (Havighurst 1963), koja promiče njihovu socijalnu interakciju i aktivan životni stil. Nova generacija takozvanih *uspješnih osoba* prepoznata je kao ona gdje starije odrasle osobe zadovoljavaju kriterije koje su iznijeli Rowe i Kahn (1987) u svom amblematskom članku “Ljudsko starenje: uobičajeno i uspješno”, a koji uključuju odsutnost bolesti i invaliditeta, visoku fizičku i mentalnu sposobnost i aktivan angažman u životu. Kao što je gore već rečeno, ove objektivno mjerljive vrijednosti moraju izdržati test pozitivne subjektivne procjene od strane samih starijih osoba, tako da etiketa uspješnih osoba u starijoj odrasloj dobi uvelike ovisi o njihovom pozitivnom afektivnom stavu prema vrstama aktivnosti i interakcija u kojima sudjeluju, te o intrinzičnoj motivaciji koja bi trebala iz njega i proizlaziti. U tom smislu je na ovom mjestu nužno napomenuti da se uspješnom starenju kao nadređeni pojam pojavljuje i *zdravo starenje*, koje može uključivati i bolesna stanja koja se mogu uspješno liječiti i koja mnogo realnije opisuju opće stanje tipično za

stariju populaciju (Wong 2018). Svjetska zdravstvena organizacija (*World Health Organisation*, WHO) definira zdravo starenje kao proces razvoja i održavanja funkcionalne sposobnosti koja omogućuje dobrobit u starijoj dobi, tako da se uspješno starenje puno češće povezuje s afektivnim stavom prema starenju gdje se tom procesu pristupa aktivno i asertivno, izražavajući otvorenu želju i proaktivnost, tj. angažiranost u pokušajima održavanja tjelesne i kognitivne funkcionalne sposobnosti. Prethodne studije su pokazale da postoji pozitivan odnos između aktivnosti učenja i zdravlja općenito te da učenje ima pozitivan učinak na psihološke, mentalne i socijalne aspekte zdravlja (Schoultz i dr. 2020).

Ne postoji jedinstvena teorija starenja, kako sa psihološkog, sociološkog tako i s neurokognitivnog stajališta, ali neka od sveprisutnijih i tradicionalno prihvaćenih stajališta prema starenju prisutna su u konceptima odvajanja, aktivnosti i kontinuiteta kao bitnih aspekata u procesu starenja koje su u podlozi mnogih suvremenih teorija starenja (Heinz i dr. 2017) i koje će nam poslužiti za interpretaciju rezultata našeg istraživanja.

### 2.2.1. Teorija odvajanja

Teorija odvajanja u razdoblju starenja koju su predložili 1961. godine Cumming i Henry, a koja je u međuvremenu opovrgnuta razvojem kasnijih teorija o starenju opisanima niže u tekstu, tvrdi da je prirodno i prihvatljivo da se starije osobe povuku iz društva i osobnih odnosa kako stare. Ovo je zapravo bila prva teorija starenja koju su razvili društveni znanstvenici, a sadržavala je neke osnovne postulate kao što su npr. gubitak veza s osobama u okolini, što je povezano s osjećajem neizbježnosti smrti i propadanja, gubitak društvenih normi kao posljedica gubitka društvene interakcije, starenje kao oblik promjene ega koje dovodi do kognitivnog propadanja, što sve zauzvrat promiče organizacije koje preferiraju mlade u procesu dobrog (pro)ocjenjivanja doprinosa društvu. Odvajanje se događa kada su ga i društvo i pojedinac spremni pokrenuti ili kada je društvo spremno, ali pojedinac nije ili kada je pojedinac svjestan gubitka energije ega i sam se iz toga društva povlači. Neki od postulata odnose se na razlike u neangažiranosti specifične za spolove i američko društvo, tako da napuštanjem središnjih uloga muškaraca u sferi rada i žena u braku i obitelji starije osobe mogu doživjeti krizu koju je moguće prevladati samo ako se preuzmu različite uloge koje neangažirano stanje zapravo i zahtijeva. Konačni postulat teorije odvajanja jest da se ona općenito definira kao neovisna o kulturi, ali je njezin oblik često oblikovan kulturom.

Iz nekoliko gornjih postulata jasno je da je teorija neizbježno povezana s geografskim (Sjedinjene Američke Države) i društvenim odrednicama razdoblja (uloga muškarca i žene u društvu 50-ih i 60-ih godina 20. stoljeća), a njezini specifični elementi jednako su indikativni za njezinu relevantnost kao što su i više univerzalni, kako i sam završni postulat tvrdi. Relevantnost ove teorije više se odnosi na činjenicu da je to bila prva znanstveno, tj. sociološki zaokružena teorija o starenju nego u samom njenom sadržaju koji je naknadnim istraživanjima u većem dijelu opovrgnut, no upravo je svojom kontroverznošću potaknula mnoga multidisciplinarna istraživanja procesa starenja.

### *2.2.2. Teorija aktivnosti*

Teorija aktivnosti koju je razvio Robert J. Havighurst pojavila se inicijalno također 1961. godine, kao reakcija na postulate teorije odvajanja i sugerira da se uspješno starenje događa kada starije odrasle osobe ostanu aktivne i održavaju društvene interakcije (Havighurst 1963). Teorija pretpostavlja pozitivan odnos između uvođenja novih fizičkih i kognitivnih aktivnosti i zadovoljstva životom. Havighurst je primijetio da te aktivnosti, osobito ako se percipiraju kao smislene, omogućuju starijim osobama da se suprotstave nametnutim i ograničavajućim društvenim ulogama zamjenjujući ih onim novima. Neke starije odrasle osobe možda nisu toliko spremne uključiti se u nove aktivnosti i hobije, osobito one društvene, i preferiraju osjećaj kontinuiteta, kao što je sugerirano u teoriji kontinuiteta u nastavku, što u određenoj mjeri ovisi o kulturnim i tradicionalnim čimbenicima svakog društva. To je pridonijelo nekim kritikama teorije koje sugeriraju druge čimbenike, kao što su osobnost, socioekonomski status i stil života kao poveznice između zadovoljstva životom i povećane razine aktivnosti (Heinz i dr. 2017).

### *2.2.3. Teorija kontinuiteta*

Teorija kontinuiteta starenja predlaže da će starije odrasle osobe obično zadržati iste aktivnosti, ponašanja, osobine ličnosti i odnose kao one koje su imale u ranijim godinama života. Ideju kontinuiteta prvi je 1968. godine upotrijebio George L. Maddox kada je primijetio da su ljudi skloni baviti se sličnim aktivnostima i nastaviti s poznatim životnim navikama kako stare, ali sama teorija kontinuiteta starenja, kao što primjećuje Diggs (2008), nije uvedena sve do 1989.

Kontinuitet se opisuje kao vanjski ili unutarnji, pri čemu Atchley (1989: 184) definira unutarnji kontinuitet kao „osobine pojedinca u odnosu na zapamćenu unutarnju strukturu, kao što je postojanost psihičke strukture ideja, temperamenta, afekata, iskustava, preferencija, sklonosti i vještina”. Vanjski kontinuitet definiran je u smislu „zapamćene strukture fizičkog i društvenog okruženja, odnosa uloga i aktivnosti”, a njegova je percepcija rezultat života u poznatim uvjetima koji uključuju poznate vještine, okolinu i ljude (Ibidem, 185).

Teorija se najviše kritizira zbog svoje definicije normalnog starenja. Kritičari ove teorije smatraju da bi teorija kontinuiteta mogla biti primjenjivija i korisnija za zdrave starije odrasle osobe budući da ona, općenito uzevši, zanemaruje one starije odrasle osobe koje boluju od kroničnih bolesti (Heinz i dr. 2017).

Što se tiče rezultata naše ankete i aspekata svake od gore navedenih teorija, koji se u mnogim slučajevima preklapaju, pretpostavljamo da teorija aktivnosti nudi neka prihvatljivija objašnjenja za izbore koje su naši sudionici napravili kada su se odlučili uključiti u aktivnost učenje stranog jezika, jer je većina njih krenula na tečaj engleskog nakon znatnog prekida i kao pokušaj ponovnog uspostavljanja svoje uloge u društvu ili održavanja društvenih veza. Mogli bismo se referirati i na teoriju modernizacije koju su razvili Cowgill i Holmes (1972). Oni uočavaju da kako društvo postaje modernije status starijih osoba opada, što je uočljivo u potrebi da se nadoknadi zaostatak u znanju engleskog jezika kao *linguae francae* suvremenog globaliziranog društva. Tu je i teoriji o uspješnom starenju blizak prijedlog o selektivnoj optimizaciji koju s teorijom kompenzacije kombiniraju Baltes i Baltes (1993) sugerirajući da se starije odrasle osobe mogu uspješno prilagoditi i nositi sa starenjem usredotočujući se na dobrobit i vlastite prednosti (umjesto na gubitke) i aktivirajući strategije kompenzacije kada se susreću sa životnim izazovima.

### **2.3. Učenje jezika kod starijih osoba**

Jedna od najdugotrajnijih teorija u području usvajanja drugog jezika, hipoteza kritičnog razdoblja, koju je popularizirao Lenneberg (1967), a prvi put predložili neurolozi Penfield i Roberts 1959. godine, navodi da postoji biološki određeno razdoblje života kada ljudi mogu lakše usvajati jezike, a koje se proteže od dobi od 2 godine do puberteta. Hipoteza ne navodi izričito da je učenje jezika nakon kritičnog razdoblja nemoguće, samo teže, no iako je tijekom desetljeća doživjela brojne kritike, svojim je postavkama ipak dugotrajno utjecala na pristupe poučavanju i učenju stranog jezika.



Nedavno su, međutim, uz slogan *što prije, to bolje*, kako napominje Rokita–Jaškow (2013), razvijena i stajališta *što stariji, to bolji* i *što mlađi, to bolji u nekim aspektima* i/ili o načelnoj kvalitativnoj promjeni pogleda na rano i kasnije usvajanje novog jezika. Blumenfeld i dr. (2017: 1) predlažu da „razumijevanje učenja jezika u kasnijem životu može razjasniti kako se jezična iskustva i kognitivne vještine specifične za dob mogu iskoristiti za usvajanje jezika, pružajući uvid u to kako cjeloživotna iskustva konfiguriraju našu sposobnost učenja”. Ovi, kao i mnogi drugi istraživači, identificirali su dob učenika – bez obzira na to je li njihovo usmjerenje teorijsko ili primijenjeno – kao jedno od ključnih pitanja u području usvajanja drugog jezika (L2) (cf. García Mayo, García Lecumberri 2003; Muñoz, Singleton 2011; Singleton, Pfenninger 2018). Muñoz (2010: 42) tako navodi da „stariji početnici napreduju brže u prvim fazama procesa usvajanja L2, što ih čini učinkovitijim učenicima u kratkom roku, to jest, imaju prednost u tempu učenja”. Isto tako, eksplicitna poduka u učionici favorizira eksplicitno učenje jezika, u kojem su stariji učenici superiorniji zbog svoje veće kognitivne zrelosti (Muñoz 2010).

Hu (2016) daje valjan argument da, osim čimbenika povezanih s dobi koji utječu na učenje drugog jezika kod djece i odraslih, postoje dodatni kognitivni, obrazovni i socijalno-psihološki čimbenici, kao i neurološki čimbenici koji utječu na proces učenja jezika, neke od kojih možemo naći u podacima iz istraživanja, iz čega se može zaključiti da učenje drugog jezika mogu i trebaju prakticirati starije odrasle osobe.

Sličan učincima učenja stranog jezika na održavanje kognitivnog funkcioniranja i odgađanje pojave simptoma demencije u starijoj dobi je i učinak dvojezičnosti, kako su utvrdili Bialystok, Craik i Freedman (2007). Kriterij za dvojezičnost u skupini starijih kanadskih pacijenata koje su proučavali bio je da su pacijenti proveli većinu svog života, barem od rane odrasle dobi, redovito koristeći najmanje dva jezika. Dvojezični pacijenti u uzorku pokazali su kašnjenje od 4,1 godinu u pojavi simptoma demencije u usporedbi s jednojezičnima (Bialystok, Craik, Freedman 2007). Više prednosti aktivne upotrebe dvaju ili više jezika bit će objašnjeno i ispitano u analizi anketnih pitanja u nastavku.

### 3. METODOLOGIJA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Kako bi se identificirale motivacije i stavovi starijih odraslih učenika prema učenju engleskog jezika konstruiran je upitnik koji ispituje socio-afektivne čimbenike u procesu učenja engleskog jezika, a koji je u temeljnim elementima strukturiran prema Pfenninger i Polz (2017) o učinku tečaja stranog (L2) jezika na socio-afektivne



čimbenike, tj. motivaciju za učenje engleskog jezika učenika starije životne dobi, kao što su želja da se komunicira s govornicima engleskog jezika, putovanja i novi životni izazovi. Upitnik se sastoji od uvodnih demografskih podataka o spolu i godinama starosti te stupnju obrazovanja, pitanjima samoprocjene vještina i poznavanja engleskog jezika gdje su brojevima 1 do 5 trebali označiti koje od jezičnih područja vide kao svoju jaču stranu pri učenju engleskog jezika, gdje je 1- najslabije, a 5 - najbolje, 10 pitanja otvorenog tipa i 5 pitanja s Likertovom skalom od 5 stupnjeva od 1 (*u potpunosti se ne slažem*) do 5 (*u potpunosti se slažem*) o afektivnim stavovima prema učenju engleskog jezika (Prilog 1.).

Istraživanje je provedeno u skladu s Helsinškom deklaracijom, odnosno ispitanici su bili obaviješteni o svrsi i anonimnosti istraživanja, te mogućnosti odustajanja od sudjelovanja u istraživanju u bilo kojem trenutku, kao i o davanju informiranog i dobrovoljnog pristanka na sudjelovanje u istraživanju. Upitnik je načelno kvalitativne naravi i kvantitativni rezultati u smislu postotaka pripadanja određenoj skupini ispitanika ili općih demografskih podataka, kao i Likertove skale kod subjektivne procjene stavova, samo su indikativni kako bi se dobila slika o odnosu učenika starije životne dobi ka učenju engleskog kao stranog jezika. Fokus našeg istraživanja, dakle, nije na određivanju razlike u L2 učenju starijih odraslih u odnosu na mlađe odrasle osobe, kao kod istraživanja čimbenika (npr. prethodno učenje nekog stranog jezika) koji objašnjavaju individualne razlike među starijim učenicima.

Polaznici pohađaju tečajeve engleskog jezika u dvije udruge koje se bave organiziranjem različitih aktivnosti za umirovljenike: *Ženska udruga Izvor* iz Tenje i *Klub 60+* iz Osijeka. Oni nude različite razine učenja engleskog jezika usporedive s razinama definiranim Zajedničkim europskim referentnim okvirom, u rasponu od početne razine A1 do srednje razine B1. Jezični predavači, u oba slučaja umirovljene profesorice engleskog jezika, koriste različite materijale koje same sastavljaju na temelju udžbenika engleskog jezika različitih izdavača i razina, prilagođene starijim polaznicima engleskog jezika.

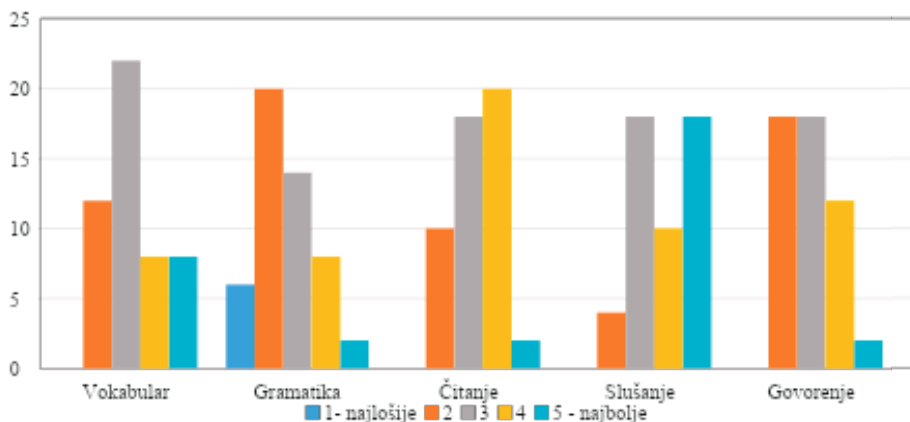
U anketi je sudjelovalo 80 sudionika tečajeva engleskog jezika, od kojih 24 u skupini B1 (32%), 20 u skupini A2 (28%), 18 u skupini A1+ (20) i 18 u skupini A1 (20%). Budući da se radi uglavnom o starijim polaznicima engleskog jezika, njihovi predavači su dodali i razinu A1+ za naprednije početnike. Ovi podaci korisni su za aspekt istraživanja koji se bavi jezičnim vještinama kod učenika starije životne dobi, no može ih se povezati i s nekim od odgovora o afektivnim elementima učenja koje ćemo obraditi niže u radu.

## 4. REZULTATI

**Tablica 1:** Opći demografski podaci o ispitanicima

Spol	Godine starosti	Razina obrazovanja	Broj stranih jezika	Dužina učenja stranog jezika	Pohadanje tečaja engleskog
M 7,5%	61-70 68%	Osnovna škola 8%	1 (40%) = eng/ njem	Nije učio 40%	>5 mjeseci 36%
Ž 92,5%	71-80 y 32%	Srednja škola 22%	2 (36%)= eng, rus	1 – 8 godina 24%	1-3 godine 40%
		Fakultet 70%	>3 (24%)= tal, špa, njem	> 8 godina 36%	>3 godine 24%

**Tablica 2:** Samoprocjena vještina i poznavanja engleskog jezika

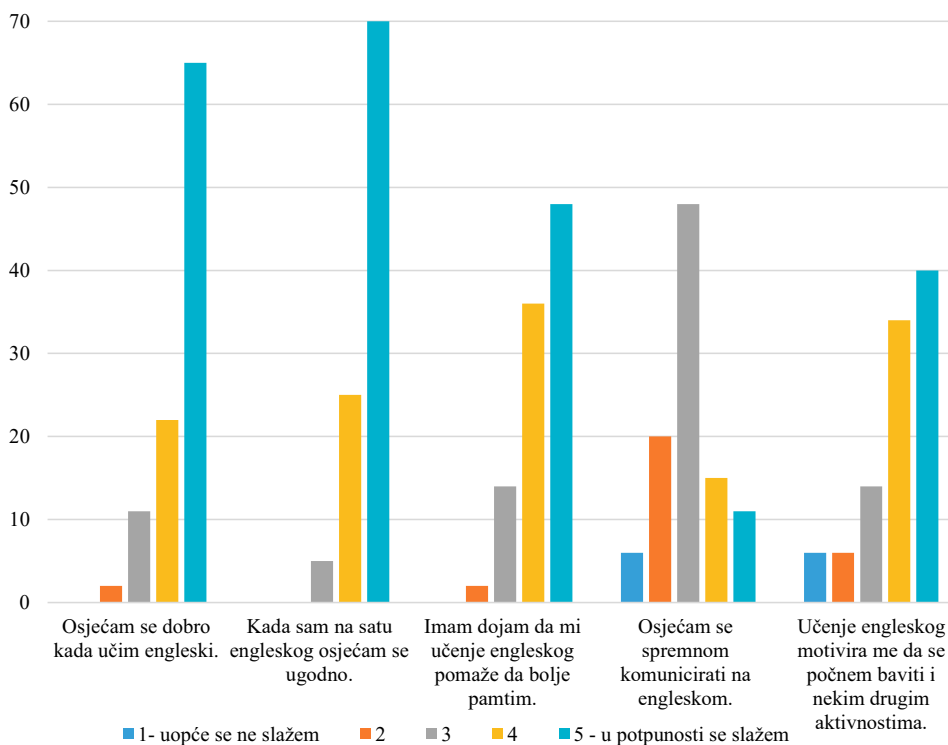


**Tablica 3:** Odgovori na pitanja otvorenog tipa o motivaciji za pohađanje tečaja i hobijima

Pitanja otvorenog tipa	Najčešći odgovori	%
<b>4. Zašto ste se odlučili upisati tečaj?</b>	Učenje engleskog jezika	25%
	Putovanja	23%
	Obnavljanje znanja	19%
	Volim engleski	18%
	Komunikacija s članovima obitelji u inozemstvu (unucima)	11%
	Učenje jezika za rad	4%
<b>5. Kako ste saznali za tečaj?</b>	Preko prijatelja koji su već pohađali tečaj ili putem medija (radio, novine)	40%
	Putem Interneta – Facebook stranica udruga	44%
	Ustanova koja organizira tečaj (klub, odnosno udruga)	10%
	Knjižnica	6%
<b>6. Pohađate li još neki tečaj i, ako da, koji?</b>	Ne pohađa niti jedan drugi tečaj	52%
	Njemački	2%
	Mađarski	3%
	Satovi glume	10%
	Terapija zvukom,	9%
	Tečajevi informatike,	5%
	Tečajevi pilatesa i plesa	19%
<b>7. Imate li neki hobi i, ako da, koji?</b>	hodaње	23%
	gimnastika	17%
	joga	15%
	vrtlarstvo	15%
	pletenje, šivanje, kukičanje,	14%
	čitanje	11%
	rješavanje križaljki	5%
<b>8. Koliko puta tjedno se bavite svojim hobijima?</b>	Svaki dan	26%
	Dva puta tjedno	28%
	Manje od dva puta tjedno	46%
<b>9. Imate li priliku koristiti engleski i, ako da, gdje?</b>	Nemam priliku koristiti engleski jezik	24%
	Na putovanju	31%
	Razgovori s obitelji (Skype, Facetime)	36%
	Ostalo	9%

10. Gdje biste još željeli koristiti engleski?		
	Na putovanju	48%
	Gledanje filmova i TV emisija bez titlova	14%
	Surfanje internetom	15%
	Čitanje na engleskom (22%).	13%
	Želim pomoći svojoj djeci i/ili unucima u školi, odnosno oko domaće zadaće iz engleskog	10%

**Tablica 4:** Afektivnim stavovi prema učenju engleskog jezika



## 5. DISKUSIJA

### 5.1. *Spol*

Uočen je značajan nerazmjer između polaznika i polaznica koji pohađaju tečajeve (vidi Tablicu 1). Rezultati se podudaraju s podacima u metaistraživanju o odnosu spola i cjeloživotnog učenja koje je provela Öz (2022), gdje je pokazano da je na globalnom planu vjerojatnije da će muškarci sudjelovati u edukacijama u okviru strukovnog osposobljavanja i tehničkih tečajeva, a da su žene vjerojatnije pohađale edukacije u područjima obrazovanja i skrbi u zajednici. Postoje nezanemarive razlike kulturološkog i društvenog utjecaja na ove tendencije u kontekstu pojedinih zemalja, ali u slučaju našeg istraživačkog uzorka ono se poklapa s općim tendencijama, kao i s podacima van der Silk i dr. (2015) koji pokazuju da su starije odrasle polaznice tečaja stranog jezika više profitirale od osposobljavanja na višim razinama obrazovanja nego muškarci, čime se potvrđuje korelacijski okvir genetskog utjecaja izraženije urođene sklonosti učenju jezika kod žena u interakciji s čimbenicima okoline kao što su motivacija, orijentacija, obrazovanje i strategije učenja.

### 5.2. *Dob*

Budući da su tečajevi prilagođeni starijim odraslim osobama, starost polaznika je primjerena očekivanjima, no iznenađujuće je velik postotak polaznika u rasponu od 71 do 80 godina života, što ukazuje na visoku kognitivnu fleksibilnost koja omogućava učenje novih sadržaja i u tako visokoj dobi. Kao što je navedeno kod Feinstein (2006), odrasli imaju važnu prednost: kognitivnu zrelost i njihovo iskustvo poznavanja općeg jezičnog sustava. Poznavanje materinskih jezika, kao i drugih stranih jezika, uspostavlja povoljniju pozadinu za učenje nego kod djece, i oni su spremniji usvojiti gramatička pravila i sintaktičke pojave. Nadalje, Kormos i Csizér (2008: 327) sugeriraju da je kod učenika srednjih škola „interes za kulturne proizvode na engleskom jeziku utjecao na njihovo motivirano ponašanje, dok je međunarodno držanje kao važna prediktivna varijabla bilo prisutno samo u dvije starije dobne skupine”.

### **5.3. Stupanj obrazovanja**

Postoji niz razina obrazovanja polaznika tečaja, od osnovnog obrazovanja do doktorata (vidi Tablicu 1). Većina ima srednjoškolsko ili visokoškolsko, sveučilišno obrazovanje. Polaznici s osnovnim obrazovanjem i doktoratom su u manjini. Rezultati meta-analize koju su proveli Babenko i dr. (2017) pokazali su da je sklonost prema cjeloživotnom učenju imala tendenciju postupnog povećanja tijekom obrazovanja i tijekom karijere, a čini se da se usmjerenost na cjeloživotno učenje nastavlja razvijati i nakon završetka formalnog obrazovanja. Sklonost stjecanju novih znanja, a time i učenju stranog jezika očito je rezultat i životnih potreba, ali i obrazovnog statusa, gdje se fakultetski obrazovnim pojedincima smatra normalnim nastaviti stjecati nova znanja ili osvježiti stara.

### **5.4. Samoprocjena vještina i poznavanja engleskog jezika**

Polaznicima je ponuđeno pet jezičnih područja za samoprocjenu: vokabular (pri čemu je naglasak bio da procijene koliko se prisjećaju riječi i izraza), gramatika, čitanje, slušanje i govor, pri čemu su trebali ocjenama od 1 (najslabije područje) do 5 (najbolje područje) ocijeniti svoje znanje o engleskom u tih pet kategorija (Tablica 2). Načelno se smatra da je za učenike općenito važno da razmišljaju o svom napretku i prepoznaju koji su područja ili vještina potrebni im za poboljšanje rezultata učenja kako bi bili u stanju usmjeriti svoje napore u neka područja za koja smatraju da su im manjkava.

Blanche (1988) uočava da je točnost samoprocjene uvjet autonomije učenika. Vjeruje da ako učenici mogu dovoljno točno procijeniti svoj vlastiti učinak, neće morati u potpunosti ovisiti o mišljenjima učitelja i istodobno će moći osvijestiti učitelje o svojim individualnim potrebama učenja.

Blue (1994) navodi da Oskarsson (1989) govori o šest različitih razloga zbog kojih postupci samoprocjene mogu biti korisni u učenju jezika: promoviranje učenja, podizanje razine svijesti o učinku učenja, poboljšanje orijentacije ka cilju, širenje raspona procjene (povećava se broj elemenata koje mogu ocijeniti), zajednički teret procjene (osjećaju se jednako vrijednima kao i nastavnici u procesu (pr)ocjene znanja) i blagotvorni učinci nakon tečaja (veća razina samouvjerenosti i sigurnosti u svoje znanje). Blue (Ibidem) uočava i još jednu korist od samoprocjene učenika, a to je da im to može pomoći da procijene napor koji ulažu, što bi ih moglo potaknuti da sljedeći put pokušaju više. To će im pomoći da prepoznaju koje su njihove jače strane, kao i upoznati vlastita ograničenja.

Kao što se može primijetiti u Tablici 2, vještina koja je ocijenjena najvišim ocjenama, uglavnom 4 i 5, je slušanje. To je ujedno i jedina vještina koju niti jedan pristupnik nije ocijenio s 1. Ovaj se rezultat može povezati s pitanjima u Tablici 1 o učenju engleskog jezika prije tečaja jer je većina njih, 60%, izjavilo da su učili engleski i prije zbog čega su se osjećali kao da razumiju i shvaćaju što se na satu govori. Najbolje ocijenjena vještina nakon slušanja bila je još jedna pasivna ili receptivna vještina, čitanje. Kao što se i pretpostavilo, učenici se osjećaju ugodnije s pasivnim vještinama od onih aktivnih, što dokazuje najniži rezultat koji se pripisuje govoru. U svojim ispitivanjima studija o samoprocjeni Blanche (1988) otkriva da su kod gotovo svih kategorija učenika u dva područja učenja jezika, izgovoru i gramatici, uočljivo niske procjene vlastitog znanja, kao što su i niske korelacije s objektivnim rezultatima ispitivanja ovih dviju vještina. Iako nismo tražili procjenu samog izgovora, već govorenja općenito, možemo ipak naći određenu vezu između Blancheove izjave i rezultata u Tablici 2 jer su te dvije produktivne vještine slično ocjenjivane.

### **5.5. Anketna pitanja otvorenog tipa i analiza odgovora**

#### **1. Koje strane jezike govorite?**

Od 80 sudionika, najveći postotak (37%) navodi da govori engleski jezik. Drugi najveći postotak, 23% polaznika, tvrdi da ne govori niti jedan strani jezik, pri čemu su to polaznici iz skupine A1 koji još uvijek nisu sigurni u svoju razinu znanja engleskog jezika. Ostali jezici koje su polaznici naveli su ruski, njemački, francuski i talijanski.

#### **2. Jeste li učili engleski prije ovog tečaja i koliko dugo?**

Većina polaznika (74%) navodi da su učili engleski prije tečaja, a samo 26% njih nije. Od onih koji su odgovorili potvrdno, njih 42% učilo je engleski u osnovnoj školi, 29% u srednjoj školi, a ostali ponuđeni odgovori su godinu, 6 mjeseci i 1 mjesec. Većina polaznika učila je engleski jezik u školi gdje nisu uspjeli postići zadovoljavajuću razinu znanja što govori u prilog ideji da su tečaj pohađali kako bi obnovili svoje znanje. Engleski jezik je u Jugoslaviji, kada su polaznici pohađali osnovnu i srednju školu, u nastavu ušao sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća, tako da nije za čuditi da postotci nisu veći. Njemački i ruski jezik, te donekle i francuski bili su drugi najzastupljeniji jezici u obrazovnom sustavu SFRJ, tako da se osjeti velika diskrepancija s praktičnim potrebama za znanjem engleskog jezika u 21. stoljeću i predznanja ovog jezika koji polaznici imaju (Petrović 2002).

### **3. Koliko dugo pohađate tečajeve koje nudi ova organizacija?**

S obzirom da je ovo pitanje strukturirano kao pitanje otvorenog tipa, polaznici su predložili mnogo različitih odgovora. Najveći postotak, odnosno 54% polaznika, navelo je da tečaj pohađa 4 mjeseca, koliko traje tečaj za jednu jezičnu razinu.

### **4. Zašto ste se odlučili upisati tečaj?**

Kao što je pretpostavljeno u pitanju 2, većina pristupnika navodi da je razlog zašto su upisali predmet obnavljanje znanja (29%) ili kao specifičniji razlog navode da je to učenje engleskog jezika (35%). Drugi zanimljiv ponuđeni odgovor je putovanje, 23%. Mnogi stariji ljudi, uglavnom oni koji su u mirovini, često putuju. Satow (2008) tako objašnjava da su putovanja dobra za održavanje kognitivnih funkcija jer problemi i pogreške koje nastaju boravkom u stranoj zemlji izazivaju mozak da pronađe rješenja i prilagodi se novoj situaciji. Daljnji odgovori sugeriraju da polaznici vole engleski (18%) što pridonosi relevantnosti pozitivnog afektivnog stava potvrđenog u daljnjim anketnim pitanjima, a učenje jezika za rad navelo je kao argument samo 4% ispitanika, potvrđujući nižu participaciju u radnoj snazi od strane starijih odraslih osoba u hrvatskom društvu. Svi daljnji odgovori koje su pristupnici dali ukazuju na različite afektivne motivacijske čimbenike koji im pomažu u usvajanju jezika, a posebno se ističe 11% njih koji navode da je motivacija za učenje engleskog jezika bila želja za komunikacijom s članovima obitelji, osobito unucima, koji žive i rade u inozemstvu, većinom Kanadi, Irskoj, Australiji i SAD-u.

### **5. Kako ste saznali za tečaj?**

Većina polaznika je za tečaj saznala preko prijatelja koji su već pohađali tečaj ili putem medija (40%). Ono što iznenađuje je da je kao izvor uz druge medije, poput radija ili novina, njih 44% za tečaj saznalo putem Interneta, na Facebook stranici udruga jer se starije osobe uglavnom percipiraju kao tehnološki nedovoljno potkovane. Norris (2001) sugerira da je "generacijski jaz" ključna značajka prilagodbe na Internet, pri čemu ga stariji dijelovi stanovništva počinju koristiti mnogo sporije. Naravno, to ovisi i o zemlji ili dijelu svijeta i njihovoj razvijenosti. Broj starijih osoba koje koriste internet vjerojatno je veći u SAD-u nego u Hrvatskoj, a ovisi i o nekim kulturnim i tradicionalnim normama, kao što je zajedničko kućanstvo s mlađim generacijama koje bakama i djedovima pomažu pri uporabi Interneta, a što neki od odgovora sugeriraju. Oba ova najčešća odgovora ukazuju na važnost socijalizacije i održavanja društvenih kontakata koji pomažu pri aktivaciji i angažmanu u različitim aktivnostima.

Izvor informacija za ispitanike bila je i ustanova koja organizira tečaj s 10% (klub, odnosno udruga) i knjižnica sa 6%, što dopušta tumačenje da bi mogla postojati



inherentna poveznica između inicijalno motiviranih starijih osoba da se uključe u daljnje aktivnosti, što treba biti podržano od strane institucija kako bi se ojačala mreža društveno angažiranih starijih osoba, ali i da bi se trebalo dodatno doseći starije osobe koje nisu uključene ni u jednu od institucionalno predviđenih aktivnosti kako bi se mreža proširila i njezine potencijalne koristi za širu zajednicu.

### **6. Pohađate li još neki tečaj i, ako da, koji?**

Većina učenika ne pohađa niti jedan drugi tečaj (52%), njih 2% uči njemački, 3% uči mađarski uz engleski, a ostatak postotka je raspoređen na aktivnosti kao što su satovi glume, terapija zvukom, tečajevi informatike, tečajevi pilatesa i plesa. Anna Leatherdale (2017), producentica u jednoj od plesnih zaklada, uočava da je rekreacijski ples popularan među starijim osobama, kao i da je koristan za njihovo zdravlje. Objasnila je da iako je ples oblik fizičke umjetnosti koji uključuje korištenje tijela, on nudi više od prilike za vježbanje: pruža mentalnu stimulaciju i angažman, mogućnost samoizražavanja kroz kreativni medij, fizičke izazove i nagrade i mogućnost upoznavanja drugih ljudi koji dijele zajednički interes i druženja u okruženju zajednice.

### **7. Imate li neki hobi i, ako da, koji?**

Pristupnici su naveli mnogo različitih hobija kao što su joga, gimnastika, hodanje, vrtlarstvo, pletenje, šivanje, kukičanje, čitanje, rješavanje križaljki itd. Toepoel (2015) tvrdi da slobodno vrijeme može biti važan alat za povećanje ili održavanje socijalne integracije u kasnijem životu. Svi ovi hobiji mogu se podijeliti u 2 skupine: tjelesni i kognitivni, od kojih se samo čitanje i križaljke mogu smatrati potonjim. Kako bi identificirali kako hobiji utječu na starije osobe Vergheze i dr. (2003) su utvrdili da su među aktivnostima u slobodno vrijeme čitanje, igranje društvenih igara, sviranje glazbenih instrumenata i ples povezani sa smanjenim rizikom od demencije. Prema njihovim modelima, starije osobe koje su rješavale križaljke četiri dana u tjednu (četiri dana aktivnosti) imale su 47 % manji rizik od demencije nego ispitanici koji su rješavali križaljke jednom tjedno (jedan dan aktivnosti). Također povezano s prethodnim pitanjem, ples se pokazao kao jedina tjelesna aktivnost povezana s manjim rizikom od demencije.

Pristupnici su naveli znatno više hobija za tjelesnu aktivnost. Tomioka i dr. (2016) u svojoj studiju o navikama japanskih starijih osoba zaključuju da je visoka angažiranost hobijima povezana sa smanjenom smrtnošću. Bavljenje hobijem produljuje dugovječnost i zdrav životni vijek starijih ljudi. To pokazuje da hobiji osim fiziološke prednosti imaju i onu psihološku.

## **8. Koliko puta tjedno se bavite svojim hobijima?**

Čak 26% ispitanika svojim se hobiem bavi svaki dan, a 28% dva puta tjedno, što je prosječna učestalost koja se preporučuje za zadovoljavajuću razinu angažmana. Studija koju su proveli Verbrugge, Gruber-Baldini i Fozard (1996: 30) opaža da se kako ljudi stare njihove aktivnosti mijenjaju zbog promjena u preferencijama, ograničenjima, sposobnostima i zdravlju. Studija se bavi učestalošću aktivnosti u životu ljudi različitih dobnih skupina. Zaključuje se da je potrebno utrošiti puno više vremena na osobnu njegu, spavanje i odmor, kupovinu, hobije i slobodno vrijeme kod starijih odraslih nego kod mladih i sredovječnih odraslih. Aktivnostima s najvećim fizičkim i psihičkim zahtjevima (kretanje, posao i druge angažirane aktivnosti, aktivno provođenje slobodnog vremena) starije osobe posvećuju manje vremena nego druge dobne skupine (Verbrugge i dr. 1996).

## **9. Imate li priliku koristiti engleski i, ako da, gdje?**

Najveći postotak izjavio je da su skloni koristiti engleski na putovanju (31%). Budući da je engleski danas postao jedan od najrasprostranjenijih jezika na svijetu, dobro dolazi na putovanjima te je pretpostavka da gotovo svi donekle razumiju engleski i da će moći komunicirati svoje potrebe. Putovanje je također korisno za učenje engleskog jer će ljudi biti stavljeni u situaciju da moraju iskoristiti svoje znanje kako bi komunicirali ono što žele na bilo koji način koji znaju. Još jedna prednost koja se može vidjeti u vezi s putovanjem, posebno u zemlje engleskog govornog područja, je izloženost izvornim govornicima i samom jeziku. Pri učenju novog jezika može biti vrlo zgodno biti okružen samo ciljnim jezikom i pokušati mu se prilagoditi koliko god je to moguće. Što se tiče zemalja engleskog govornog područja, mnogi od njih spomenuli su Kanadu jer tamo imaju članove obitelji.

Visoki postotak ispitanika naveo je Internet kao mjesto aktivnog korištenja engleskog jezika, ponajviše na društvenim mrežama koje se koriste za komunikaciju, a njih čak 24% nema priliku koristiti engleski, što je ozbiljan nedostatak koji bi vjerojatno trebao biti pokriven od strane organizatora tečaja kako bi se omogućio aktivniji vid angažmana u procesu učenja stranog jezika.

## **10. Gdje biste još željeli koristiti engleski?**

Na pitanje koje su još prilike u kojima žele pokazati svoje znanje, većina je opet izjavila da bi to željeli iskoristiti na putovanju (48%). Kako bismo izbjegli ponavljanje informacija iz prethodnog pitanja, usredotočimo se na drugi najpopularniji odgovor, tj. korištenje engleskog jezika u svakodnevnom životu. Mnogi ispitanici izrazili su želju da gledaju filmove i TV emisije bez titlova, da mogu surfati internetom i čitati na engleskom (22%). Osjećaju da je engleski vrijedan alat u njihovom svakodnevnom

životu zbog njegove rasprostranjenosti u ovom modernom društvu. Oko 12% također je izjavilo da bi željeli pomoći svojoj djeci i/ili unucima u školi, odnosno oko domaće zadaće iz engleskog. Kao što se vidi iz ovog i nekih drugih pitanja, mnogi od njih imaju rođake i djecu koji žive u inozemstvu, uglavnom u Kanadi, Irskoj i Australiji. To znači da mogu imati unuke koji govore engleski ili samo engleski. Neki od njih čak su rekli da imaju apartmane i kuće na obali koje ljeti iznajmljuju, a engleski im pomaže oko turista koji ne govore hrvatski.

Indikativno je da samo 10% ispitanika navodi želju za korištenjem engleskog jezika na poslu, što sugerira njihovu pasivnu ulogu u odnosu na aktivno uključivanje u suvremenu radnu snagu, što je vidljivo i iz prvog odgovora o njihovoj motivaciji za učenje engleskog jezika.

### ***5.3. Analiza pitanja o afektivnim stavovima prema engleskom jeziku***

Završni dio ankete sastojao se od 5 izjava osmišljenih za mjerenje stava učenika prema učenju engleskog i kako vjeruju da to utječe na njih. Tvrdnje su osmišljene kao Likertova ljestvica, što znači da su ispitanicima ponuđeni brojevi od 1 do 5, gdje 1 znači da se s njom uopće ne slažu, a 5 znači da se u potpunosti slažu (pogledati *Prilog 1* za potpunu provjeru zadatka).

#### **1. Osjećam se dobro kad učim engleski.**

Zamjetno visok broj učenika, njih 65%, tvrdi da se osjeća dobro dok uči engleski. Budući da je ovaj tečaj besplatan i otvoren za sve, nije obavezan, pa se može zaključiti da ukoliko se nisu osjećali dobro dok uče engleski, vjerojatno ne bi pohađali tečaj. Predavačica je u pred-intervjuu također otkrila da su mnogi od onih koji su upisali svoj prvi tečaj, A1, nastavili dolaziti i učiti, a neki su čak stigli do B1. Nitko od njih nije dodijelio najnižu ocjenu na ljestvici, a samo 2,5% dalo je izjavi broj 2 na ljestvici, što potvrđuje visoku pozitivnu razinu afektivnog stava prema učenju engleskog jezika.

#### **2. Osjećam se ugodno kada pohađam sat engleskog.**

Vrlo velik postotak pristupnika (70%) u potpunosti se slaže s ovom tvrdnjom. Tome može pridonijeti niz čimbenika. Prije svega to se može pripisati predavačicama i njihovom pristupu polaznicima i jeziku poučavanja. Ako je učitelj entuzijastičan i pristupačan, to može uvelike utjecati na volju pristupnika za učenjem i na to kako se pri tome osjećaju. Drugo, moglo bi to povezati s organizacijom učionice i atmosferom koja vlada u njoj. Ako je cjelokupna atmosfera ugodna i ohrabrujuća, polaznici će se osjećati spremniji i voljniji za učenje. Iz onoga što je primijećeno u praćenju njihove

nastave, čini se da se osjećaju vrlo otvorenima i opuštenima, ne boje se pogriješiti i podijeliti svoje mišljenje.

### **3. Imam dojam da mi učenje engleskog pomaže da bolje pamtim.**

Većina odgovora varira između 4 (36%) i 5 (48%), što znači da se uglavnom slažu s tvrdnjom. Slično kao i kod hobija, koji su ranije obrađeni u radu, dokazano je da učenje jezika pomaže u kognitivnim procesima kod starijih učenika. U svom članku „Kognitivne prednosti dvojezičnosti“ Marian i Shook (2012: 8) pokazuju da se čini kako dvojezičnost u svom općem smislu poznavanja dva jezika „osigurava sredstvo za obranu od prirodnog pada kognitivne funkcije i održavanje onoga što se naziva ‘kognitivnom rezervom’”. Pojam se također odnosi na učinkovito korištenje moždanih mreža za poboljšanje funkcije mozga tijekom starenja. Autori također potvrđuju da uz odgađanje kognitivnog pogoršanja koje često dolazi sa starenjem, dvojezičnost može zaštititi i od bolesti koje ubrzavaju taj pad, poput Alzheimerove bolesti (Ibidem).

### **4. Osjećam se spremnim/spremnom za komunikaciju na engleskom.**

Većina polaznika se ili ne slaže (20%) ili se niti slaže niti ne slaže (48%), što je povezano sa samovrednovanjem koje su napravili u prethodnom pitanju. Govorenje je u samoevaluaciji ocijenjeno najnižim ocjenama, pa ne čudi što se osjećaju nespremima za komunikaciju. Također, istraživanje je provedeno na polaznicima svih razina, što znači A1, A1+, A2 i B1. Možemo pretpostaviti da bi ti polaznici A1 razine bili manje spremni od možda onih u B1.

Spremnost na komunikaciju razlikuje se od osobe do osobe i može se povezati s osobnošću, samopercepcijom i samoevaluacijom. Oni koji imaju otvoreniju osobnost i ne boje se govoriti u javnosti vjerojatno bi bili spremniji pokušati komunicirati. Također, vjerojatnije je da će govoriti oni koji svoje znanje engleskog percipiraju i ocjenjuju kao zadovoljavajuće za komunikaciju. To također može ovisiti o okruženju i koliko se ugodno osjećaju govoreći u njemu. De Saint Léger i Storch (2009) zaključuju da je percepcija učenika o govornim aktivnostima i sebi kao učenicima u učionici stranog jezika utjecala je na njihovu spremnost da komuniciraju na niz načina. Općenito, kako je samopouzdanje učenika s vremenom raslo, rasla je i njihova spremnost da koriste L2 u nastavi. Međutim, želja učenika za komunikacijom s vršnjacima u malim grupama nije bila ujednačena i bila je pod utjecajem motiva pripadnosti skupini. Sudionice u istraživanju su pripadnice skupina s vrlo čvrstim prijateljskim vezama tako da tu ne bi trebalo biti prepreka za slobodno komuniciranje, no, kako je još uočio Krashen (1981), učinci koje proizvode sposobnosti izvedbe općenito su jači za učenike starije životne dobi nego za mlađe učenike. Starije odrasle

osobe imaju potrebu pravilno se, i gramatički i leksički, izraziti, te ih taj čimbenik vrlo često sputava u slobodnoj komunikaciji na stranom, u ovom slučaju engleskom, jeziku.

### **5. Učenje engleskog me motivira da se bavim i drugim aktivnostima.**

Većina od 40% sudionika u potpunosti se složila s ovom tvrdnjom, 34,5% ih je to smatralo u nešto manjem omjeru dok su ostale postotci gotovo ravnomjerno raspoređeni, što potkrjepljuju podaci iz pitanja o njihovim hobijima. U potonjem pitanju naveli su niz hobija i aktivnosti kojima se bave, a neki od njih motivaciju za dodatne hobije pripisuju učenju engleskog jezika. Nekima bi moglo biti i obrnuto, neke druge aktivnosti motivirale su ih da se okušaju i u engleskom jeziku. Budući da starije odrasle osobe pri učenju engleskog imaju uglavnom intrinzičnu motivaciju, što znači da obavljaju aktivnosti jer to žele ili se zbog toga osjećaju dobro obostrana povezanost ova dva procesa je samorazumljiva. Intrinzična motivacija za sudjelovanjem u aktivnostima u kojima se osjećamo dobro rezultira velikim unutarnjim zadovoljstvom. Iz toga proizlazi da je unutarnje zadovoljstvo veliki poticaj za nastavak i povećanje broja aktivnosti i hobija. Možemo spekulirati i da je kod ovih ispitanika riječ i o osobinama ličnosti gdje su svi u načelu proaktivni i angažirani, no za to bi trebalo provesti prethodno psihologijsko testiranje. Srivastava (2013) tako uočava da samoučinkovitost kao osobina ličnosti može djelovati kao podrška uspješnog starenja. Ostale psihološke i socijalne dimenzije uključuju nečiju sposobnost prilagodbe promjenama, mogućnost donošenja odluka te komunikacija s prijateljima i obitelji. Stoga društveni angažman postaje vrlo važna dimenzija uspješnog starenja.

## **6. ZAKLJUČCI**

S produljenjem životnog vijeka sve je veći interes za starost i starenje u javnosti, ali i među osobama starije životne dobi. Većina autora smatra da su do prije dva desetljeća u fokusu gerontoloških istraživanja bile samo negativne posljedice starenja, npr. rizik od kroničnih bolesti, usamljenosti i općeg tjelesnog i kognitivnog pada. Međutim, ako se zadržavanje zadovoljavajuće razine tjelesnog i psihičkog blagostanja prihvati kao novi oblik uspjeha, proces starenja mogao bi se promatrati kao prilika za primjenu vlastitih sposobnosti u novim okruženjima, pa čak i postizanje nekih novih.

Naše je istraživanje o afektivnim stavovima i učincima učenja engleskog kao stranog jezika ukazalo na neke indikativne činjenice koje ukazuju na različite

afektivne motivacijske čimbenike koji pristupnicima tečaja engleskog jezika u dvije osječke umirovljeničke udruge pomažu u usvajanju jezika, a posebno se ističe njihova želja za komunikacijom s članovima obitelji, osobito unucima, koji žive i rade u inozemstvu, kao i kontakt s pripadnicima mlađih generacija koji bakama i djedovima pomažu pri uporabi Interneta i svladavanju tzv. generacijskog ili digitalnog jaza (Zlomislić i dr. 2022), a što sugeriraju neki od odgovora. Oba ova najčešća odgovora ukazuju na važnost socijalizacije i održavanja društvenih kontakata koji pomažu pri aktivaciji i angažmanu u različitim aktivnostima. Većina pristupnika navodi da je razlog zašto su upisali predmet obnavljanje znanja učenje engleskog jezika kao suvremenog globalnog jezika. Drugi zanimljiv ponuđeni odgovor je putovanje i održavanje kontakata s ljudima, a činjenica da se bave mnogim različitim hobijima, uz kognitivnu angažiranost koju učenje jezika osobito potencira, ukazuje da postoji mogućnost produljenja dugovječnosti i zdrav životni vijek ovih starijih odraslih ljudi. To pokazuje da hobiji osim fiziološke prednosti imaju i onu psihološku. Intrinzična motivacija za sudjelovanjem u aktivnostima u kojima se osjećamo dobro rezultira velikim unutarnjim zadovoljstvom. Iz toga proizlazi da je unutarnje zadovoljstvo veliki poticaj za nastavak i povećanje broja aktivnosti i hobija. Pretpostavka da se pri tome radi i o osobinama ličnosti gdje su svi u načelu proaktivni i angažirani, ukazuje na ograničenje ovoga istraživanja, a za što bi trebalo provesti prethodno psihologijsko testiranje.

S obzirom na to da su starije osobe brzorastuća dobna skupina u našem društvu, postoji mnogo mogućnosti za istraživanje i napredak. Istraživanje je pokazalo da su stariji odrasli učenici sposobni učiti engleski, pa čak i napredovati kroz različite razine težine, pri čemu je vrlo važan afektivni element jer se u ugodnom okruženju polaznika i predavača postižu puno bolji rezultati gdje je uspješna komunikacija preduvjet bilo kakvog uspješnog poučavanja i učenja. Dodatno bi bilo potrebno istražiti i praktične aspekte poučavanja stranog jezika učenicima starije životne dobi, kao što su prikladnost nastavnih materijala, njihova prilagodba slabijem sluhu i vidu isl.

Ovaj je rad napravljen s namjerom da se ispita kako stariji odrasli učenici razmišljaju o učenju jezika, posebice engleskog, i koliko su u tome uspješni, pri čemu su bili bitni njihovi subjektivni, afektivni stavovi kao elementi intrinzične motivacije, vrlo bitne za polaznike ove dobi. Istraživanje pokazuje da čak i oni u dobnoj skupini od 71 do 80 godina mogu biti aktivni, sudjelovati i čak uspjeti u učenju jezika. Naravno da se ovim pitanjima ne može mjeriti razina stečenog znanja, što nam i nije bio cilj, no, s obzirom da se već duže vrijeme intenzivno promiče ideja cjeloživotnog učenja, ovo istraživanje može ponuditi neke signale o tome kako pristupiti

strategijama promicanja aktivnog starenja s ciljem donošenja informiranih odluka o obrazovnoj politici, ali i kako zajednice sa svojim mrežama podrške mogu pomoći u komuniciranju vrijedne ideje međugeneracijske podrške.

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## Prilog 1. Anketa

### SUGLASNOST

#### za provođenje istraživanja na sudionicima tečaja

Molimo Vas suglasnost za sudjelovanjem u anketiranju za potrebe istraživanja izv. prof. dr. sc. Tanje Gradečak o utjecaju i stavovima o učenju engleskog jezika s obzirom na starost učenika. Za popunjavanje upitnika trebat će Vam oko 15 minuta. Identitet ispitanika i rezultati ankete ostat će anonimni i dostupni samo istraživačici. U slučaju da imate bilo kakvih pitanja, slobodno se javite istraživačici na telefon broj 099xxxxxx. Zahvaljujem!

„Svojom potpisom izražavam svoj pristanak za sudjelovanje u istraživanju i potvrđujem da sam informiran(a) da je moje sudjelovanje u istraživanju dobrovoljno, da imam pravo odustati u bilo kojem trenutku, da su istraživači obvezni pridržavati se Etičkog kodeksa i da su dužni zaštititi tajnost podataka.“

U Osijeku, \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
(vlastiti potpis)



**Molimo Vas da brojevima 1 do 5 označite koje od jezičnih područja vidite kao svoju jaču stranu pri učenju engleskog jezika, gdje je 1- najslabije, a 5 - najbolje.**

vokabular (pamćenje riječi) \_\_\_\_\_ gramatika \_\_\_\_\_  
čitanje \_\_\_\_\_ slušanje \_\_\_\_\_ govor \_\_\_\_\_

**Molimo Vas da na skali od 1 (u potpunosti se ne slažem) do 5 (u potpunosti se slažem) označite slažete li se s tvrdnjom:**

Osjećam se dobro kada učim engleski.	1	2	3	4	5
Kada sam na satu engleskog osjećam se ugodno	1	2	3	4	5
Imam dojam da mi učenje engleskog pomaže da bolje pamtim.	1	2	3	4	5
Osjećam se spremnom komunicirati na engleskom.	1	2	3	4	5
Učenje engleskog motivira me da se počnem baviti i nekim drugim aktivnostima.	1	2	3	4	5

## SUCCESSFUL AGING AND LEARNING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

### Summary:

The Activity Theory proposed by Havighurst (1963) suggests that successful aging is achieved when older adults remain active and maintain social interactions. The quality of life, an individual's adaptation to aging and a sense of well-being are closely related to the preservation of previous social habits, as well as to the level of physiological, psychological and cognitive activities. One of the cognitive abilities that can contribute to maintaining a satisfactory level of active aging is learning a foreign language, and this research shows some preliminary results about the effects of learning English as a foreign language on the sense of well-being of retired older adults. After a discussion on the definition of the term 'older adult' and an overview of the theoretical background of aging through the Theory of Detachment, Activity and Continuity, respectively, the results of a study conducted on 80 participants of an English language course for retired elderly persons were presented using a questionnaire with open-ended questions and assessment questions which examines socio-affective factors in the process of learning English. It is structured in its basic elements according to the survey conducted in Pfenninger and Polz (2017: 6) on the effect of a foreign (L2) language course on socio-affective factors, i.e. students' motivation to learn English in the older age. The results indicate that there are certain age limitations of the human ability to learn foreign languages, as well as age differences in foreign language learning, but that high motivation and a sense of intellectual satisfaction as well as interaction with the lecturer and other participants during the learning process contribute to the feeling of well-being of the participants.

**Keywords:** successful aging, older adults, language learning, English as a Foreign Language

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društvene i humanističke studije

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## PRILOZI IZ PSIHLOGIJE

**Ljubica Dragišić, Zlatko Pavlović**

MOTIVACIJA ZA IZBOR STUDIJA KOD STUDENATA PSIHLOGIJE I  
STUDENATA STRANIH JEZIKA I NJIHOVO ZADOVOLJSTVO ŽIVOTOM /  
MOTIVATION FOR CHOOSING STUDIES AMONG PSYCHOLOGY  
STUDENTS, FOREIGN LANGUAGES STUDENTS AND THEIR LIFE  
SATISFACTION ..... 1305

**Jelena R. Krulj, Emilija I. Marković, Ivana B. Simijonović, Nataša R. Lazović**

INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC MOTIVATION WITHIN THE CONTEXT  
OF CREATING A STIMULATING LEARNING ENVIRONMENT /  
INTRINSIČNA I EKSTRINSIČNA MOTIVACIJA U KONTEKSTU  
STVARANJA STIMULATIVNOG OKRUŽENJA ZA UČENJE ..... 1329

**Anida Vrcić Amar**

MAJČINSKI BURNOUT-SINDROM: SAGOREVANJE U ULOZI  
MAJKE / BURNOUT SYNDROME IN MATERNAL ROLE ..... 1345

**Gorjana Vujović**

KRATKA SKALA POVEZANOSTI SA PRIRODOM (NR-6) –  
PREVOD I VALIDACIJA / SHORT SCALE OF CONNECTION  
WITH NATURE (NR-6) – VALIDATION STUDY ..... 1363



**Mirjana Nikolić, Isidora Korać, Tanja Panić**  
ZADOVOLJSTVO VASPITAČA POSLOM: IZAZOV ZA  
MENADŽMENT USTANOVE / JOB SATISFACTION OF  
PRESCHOOL TEACHERS: CHALLENGE FOR  
INSTITUTIONAL MANAGEMENT ..... 1377

**Antonio Topić, Dijana Ivanišević**  
ANTISOCIJALNI I GRANIČNI POREMEĆAJ LIČNOSTI:  
KULTURALNE I SPOLNE RAZLIKE U MANIFESTACIJI  
KRIMINALNOG PONAŠANJA / ANTISOCIAL AND  
BORDERLINE PERSONALITY DISORDER: CULTURAL  
AND GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE MANIFESTATION  
OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR ..... 1395

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## **MOTIVACIJA ZA IZBOR STUDIJA KOD STUDENATA PSIHLOGIJE I STUDENATA STRANIH JEZIKA I NJIHOVO ZADOVOLJSTVO ŽIVOTOM**

Kao faktori koji značajno opredjeljuju studente da izaberu studije psihologije u literaturi se često navode potreba da se pomaže drugima i potreba da se ljudi i njihovo ponašanje razumiju. Pri izboru studija važni su i pragmatični razlozi. Na manjem uzorku studenata koji su činili studenti psihologije i studenti koji studiraju strane jezike (N = 158), provjerili smo možemo li identifikovati tri vrste motivacije za izbor studija koje počivaju na tri pomenute potrebe (potreba da se pomaže ljudima, potreba da se razumiju ljudi i njihovo ponašanje i pragmatičke potrebe). Motivacija za izbor studija mjerena je skalom vlastite konstrukcije, dok je zadovoljstvo životom mjereno skalom zadovoljstva životom (Satisfaction With Life Scale SWLS). Kod studenata psihologije identifikovali smo sve tri vrste motivacije, dok smo kod studenata stranih jezika identifikovali pragmatističku motivaciju u izboru studija, ali se druge dvije komponente motivacije nisu ispoljile kao posebni faktori, već su činile jedan faktor. Zadovoljstvo životom nije pokazalo povezanost ni sa jednom vrstom motivacije kod studenata psihologije, a kod studenata stranih jezika pokazalo je blagu povezanost sa pragmatističkom motivacijom. U pragmatističkoj motivaciji razlika između dva poduzorka studenata nije registrovana, dok u zadovoljstvu životom jeste. Studenti psihologije pokazali su veće zadovoljstvo životom.

**Ključne riječi:** izbor profesije; motivacija studenata za izbor studija; zadovoljstvo životom kod studenata

## UVOD

Motivacija za izbor studija može se odnositi na širok dijapazon motivacionih faktora (Симић 2015). Interes za studije psihologije u mnogim zemljama pokazuje postojani rast (Jarvis 2012; Walker 2010; Banyard 2014). Motivi koji usmjeravaju mlade na izbor studija psihologije i buduće profesije u toj oblasti su takođe višestruki. Džervis navodi tri pretpostavke o razlozima zašto je psihologija popularna i zašto mladi često biraju studije psihologije: 1. alternativa koja je lakša od drugih studija; 2. interesovanje za psihologiju; 3. potreba za uspješnijim izlaženjem na kraj sa vlastitim mentalnim problemima (terapijska hipoteza) (Jarvis 2012).

Prva pretpostavka ne nalazi potvrdu (Jarvis 2012; Morris 2003). Istraživanja govore u prilog druge pretpostavke da su studenti izvorno zainteresovani za psihologiju (Hirschler & Banyard 2003; Hastie 2006; Nikolaenko, Lantratova & Volkodav 2018). Neki autori nalaze argumente za razmatranje treće pretpostavke (terapijska hipoteza). Kreig i Cinkievič konstatuju da je proporcija studenata sa nekim mentalnim teškoćama veća u populaciji studenata psihologije, nego u populacijama studenata nekih drugih oblasti i da bi to mogao biti svjesni ili nesvjesni razlog za izbor studija (Craig & Zinkiewicz 2010). Druga istraživanja ne nalaze potvrdu za takav stav (Walker 2004; Jacobson & Diseth 2020).

Volker konstatuje da je interesovanje za psihologiju kao motiv pri izboru studija previše uopšten i da se on sastoji od više posebnih razloga među kojima su i interesovanje za ljude uopšte, potreba da se oni bolje razumiju, želja da se sazna više o mentalnom funkcionisanju i mentalnom zdravlju (Walker 2010). Potreba za razumijevanjem sebe i drugih ljudi, kao i želja da se pomogne drugima u rješavanju njihovim problema, redovno se registruju kao motivi pri izboru studija psihologije (Hastie 2006; Morris 2003; Walker 2004; Stewart, Hill, Stewart, Bimler & Kirkland 2005; Mudhovozi & Maree 2012).

Harst i Karson govore o dva tipa studenata koji se opredjeljuju za studije psihologije. Označili su ih kao iscjelitelje povrijeđenih i introspektiviste (Hurst & Carson 2021). Prvi su oni kod kojih dominira želja za pomaganje drugim ljudima (altruistički motivi), a drugi su oni kod kojih dominira potreba za razumijevanjem sebe i drugih.

Izbor studija i osposobljavanje za određenu profesiju spadaju među najvažnije faktore koji određuju mjesto i položaj pojedinca u društvu, kao i njegov odnos prema drugim ljudima, ali i samom sebi. Zbog prirode studija, ovo je posebno karakteristično za studente psihologije. Zato je aktuelno pitanje odnosa motivacije studenata za

studiranje psihologije sa pokazateljima njihovog psihičkog funkcionisanja. Među takvim pokazateljima je i zadovoljstvo životom.

Jedno od ključnih pitanja svih nauka koje se bave čovjekom odnosi se na faktore koji određuju prilagođavanje pojedinca i njegovo uspješno funkcionisanje u zajednici. To je slučaj i sa psihologijom, posebno pozitivnom psihologijom koja svoje izvore ima u humanističkoj psihologiji (Diener, Kesebir & Tov 2010; Seligman 2002), ali i u nastojanjima da se potpunije shvati fenomen ljudskog zdravlja (Bowling 2005). U pozitivnoj psihologiji jedan od ključnih pojmova je subjektivno lično blagostanje. Dominirajući model subjektivnog blagostanja uključuje u njega dvije komponente – afektivnu i kognitivnu (Diener, Oishi & Lucas 2003; Lucas & Diener 2010). Afektivna se odnosi na balans između negativnog i pozitivnog afektiviteta, a kognitivna predstavlja procjenu osobe o zadovoljstvu sopstvenim životom.

Zadovoljstvo životom se određuje kao kognitivna evaluacija sopstvenog života u cjelini i/ili neke konkretne oblasti života (Huebner, Valois, Paxton & Drane 2005; Myers & Diener 1995; Shin & Johnson 1978). Takva evaluacija počiva na vjerovanju pojedinca o tome kakav bi njegov život trebao biti u poređenju sa procjenama o tome kakav on jeste (Paschali & Tsitsas 2010). U tom smislu se zadovoljstvo životom javlja kao subjektivna procjena o kvalitetu sopstvenog života (Sousa & Lyubomirsky 2001). Prema Penezić (2002), zadovoljstvo životom predstavlja kognitivnu evaluaciju cjelokupnog života kroz koju osoba procjenjuje vlastiti život.

Istraživanja pokazuju da je zadovoljstvo životom povezano sa brojnim faktorima od kojih zavisi funkcionisanje pojedinca. Visok nivo zadovoljstva životom praćen je visokom socijalnom podrškom, višim nivoom efikasnosti na emocionalnom, akademskom i socijalnom planu i nižim nivoom neuroticizma (Suldo & Huebner 2006), te manjom sklonošću ka anksioznosti i depresiji (Gilman & Huebner 2006). Nivo zadovoljstva životom je niži tamo gdje se češće javljaju depresije i samoubistva (Liu & Larose 2008). Viši nivo zadovoljstva životom djeluje i kao brana i zaštita od negativnih efekata stresa i razvoja psihopatoloških reakcija i agresivnog ponašanja (Suldo & Huebner 2004; Valois, Zullig, Huebner & Drane 2006). Uopšteno govoreći, zadovoljstvo životom pozitivno je povezano sa srećom i onim što većina ljudi smatra dobrim životom, a negativno sa nesrećom i depresijom (Proctor, Linley & Maltby 2009b). Zadovoljstvo životom povezano je sa pozitivnim stavovima prema školi i nastavnicima (Gilman & Huebner 2006), odnosno kod studenata je povezano sa većim zadovoljstvom studijama, nastavnicima i kolegama (Kovčo-Vukadin 2014).

Zadovoljstvo životom mjeri se ili kao opšte zadovoljstvo (jedna dimenzija) ili kao zadovoljstvo životom u nekoliko posebnih životnih oblasti (više dimenzija) (Proctor,

Linley & Maltby 2009a). Oba pristupa imaju argumente koji im govore u prilog, ali više autora ukazuje da je u mnogim slučajevima više opravdano mjeriti opšte zadovoljstvo životom nego zadovoljstvo životom u posebnim oblastima (Diener & Diener 1995; Pavot & Diener 1993; Pavot, Diener, Colvin & Sandvik 1991).

U literaturi je opisan veći broj instrumenata za mjerenje zadovoljstva životom. Neke od češće korištenih jednodimenzionalnih skala za mjerenje zadovoljstva životom su Skala zadovoljstva životom (Satisfaction With Life Scale – SWLS) (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin 1985); Skala temporalnog zadovoljstva životom (Temporal Satisfaction with Life Scale – TSWLS) (Pavot, Diener & Suh 1998); Skala percipiranog zadovoljstva životom (Perceived Life Satisfaction Scale – PLSS) (Adelman, Taylor & Nelson 1989; Smith, Adelman, Nelson, Taylor & Pares 1987). Među poznatijim multidimenzionalnim skalama za mjerenje zadovoljstva životom su Proširena skala za mjerenje zadovoljstva životom (Extended Satisfaction With Life Scale – ESWLS) (Alfonso, Allison, Rader & Gorman 1996); Sveobuhvatna skala zadovoljstva životom (Comprehensive Quality of Life Scale – ComQol) (Cummins, McCabe, Romeo & Gullone 1994) i Indeks lične dobrobiti (Personal Wellbeing Index – PWI) (Cummins & Lau 2005).

Veliki broj istraživanja koja se bave zadovoljstvom životom za ispitanike ima studente, ali se u većini slučajeva analize na vrše prema oblasti studija. Zato je malo istraživanja koja donose rezultate o zadovoljstvu životom kod studenata koji studiraju psihologiju. U istraživanju vršenom na studentima u Turskoj (među kojima su bili i studenti psihologije) dobijeno je da vrsta studija nema veći uticaj na zadovoljstvo životom. Oko 13% varijanse u zadovoljstvu životom zavisilo je od oblasti studija (Pekdoğan & Yurtçu 2022). Najveće zadovoljstvo pokazali su studetni koji se osposobljavaju za nastavnike na početnom nivou obrazovanja, a studenti psihologije su bili prema prosječnoj vrijednosti u zadovoljstvu životom u gornjoj polovini (autori ne daju rezultate analize pojedinačnih razlika). Posebno su oskudni izvori o istraživanjima koja zadovoljstvo životom kod studenata psihologije dovode u vezu sa njihovom motivacijom pri izboru studija. Pokazuje se da je zadovoljstvo životom pozitivno povezano sa različitim aspektima intrinzičke motivacije (Chirkov & Ryan 2001; Levesque, Zuehlke, Stanek & Ryan 2004). Istraživanja vršena na studentima psihologije, u kojima se zadovoljstvo životom i subjektivna dobrobit dovode u vezu sa motivacijom, po pravilu uzimaju u obzir akademsku motivaciju (motivacija za postignuća na akademskom planu). Takva istraživanja ukazuju na postojanje veze među tim varijablama. U Češkoj su dobijeni rezultati prema kojima je subjektivna dobrobit studenata psihologije pozitivno povezana sa njihovom intrinzičkom

akademsom motivacijom (Kotera, Maybury, Liu, Colman, Lieu & Dosedlová 2022). Kao što se akademska motivacija ne može izjednačiti sa motivacijom koja opredjeljuje izbor studija, tako bi bilo teško rezultate o zadovoljstvu životom dobijene na studentima drugih obrazovnih profila neupitno generalizovati i na studente psihologije. Otud ima mjesta za proučavanje odnosa između zadovoljstva životom kod studenata koji studiraju psihologiju i njihove motivacije za izbor studija, kao i za poređenje tog odnosa sa analognim odnosom kod studenata drugih studijskih profila. Naročito zbog toga što je to polje uveliko neistraženo. U jednom od rijetkih istraživanja koja se dotiču tog problema utvrđena je povezanost između zadovoljstva životom kod studenata psihologije i njihove motivacije za upis na fakultet (Bailey & Phillips 2016). Registrovana je pozitivna veza između intrinzičke motivacije za upis studija i zadovoljstva životom.

## **METODOLOŠKI DIO**

### ***Cilj istraživanja***

Cilj istraživanja je bio ispitati motivaciju studenata psihologije i studenata stranih jezika za izbor studija i ispitati povezanost te motivacije sa njihovim zadovoljstvom životom, kao i ispitati razlike u motivaciji za izbor studija i u zadovoljstvu životom između te dvije grupe studenata.

### ***Hipoteze***

Pošli smo od sljedećih pretpostavki:

1. Kod ispitanika ćemo moći identifikovati tri vrste motivacije za studij: a) motivacija koja počiva na potrebi za razumijevanjem ljudi i njihovog ponašanja, b) motivacija koja počiva na želji da se pomogne drugim ljudima u rješavanju njihovih problema i c) motivacija koja počiva na pragmatičnim razlozima.
2. Motivacija za studij kod studenata pozitivno je povezana je sa njihovim zadovoljstvom životom.
3. Postoje razlike u motivaciji za izbor studija između studenata koji studiraju psihologiju i studenata koji studiraju strane jezike u korist studenata psihologije, a u zadovoljstvu životom među njima nema razlike.

### **Metode, tehnike, varijable i instrumenti**

U okviru empirijske neeksperimentalne metode koristili smo tehniku skaliranja. Mjerali smo motivaciju za izbor studija i procjene o zadovoljstvu životom. Kao mjerne instrumente koristili smo skalu motivacije za izbor studija vlastite konstrukcije (SMIS) i skalu zadovoljstva životom (Satisfaction With Life Scale SWLS) (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin 1985). Skalu zadovoljstva životom koristili smo u prevodu koji navodi Zvezdan Penezić (2002), uz nekoliko sitnijih korekcija kako bi formulacije stavki bile usklađene sa govorom ispitanika. Stavke skale za mjerenje motivacije za izbor studija opisuju razloge kojima se studenti mogu rukovoditi pri izboru studija, a ispitanici su imali zadatak da za svaki od navedenih razloga označe koliko je on za njih bio važan kada su se opredjeljivali za studij. Procjene su vršili na četvorostepenoj skali: veoma važan, umjereno važan, malo važan, nevažan. Početni broj stavki je nakon preliminarne primjene skale sveden na njih 10. Četiri stavke mjere motivaciju za pomaganje ljudima, a po tri stavke motivaciju za razumijevanje ljudi i njihovog ponašanja i pragmatističku motivaciju (dobro zaposlenje, ugled i status u društvu). Faktorska struktura skale prikazane je na početku odjeljka *Rezultati istraživanja*.

Motivaciju usmjerenu na pomaganje drugima u rješavanju njihovih problema i tegoba nazvali smo altruističkom, a u skladu sa nazivom koji koriste Harst i Karson (Hurst & Carson 2021), motivaciju zasnovanu na potrebi da se razumiju drugi ljudi označili smo introspektivističkom. Naime, pomenuti autori introspektivistima nazivaju one koji pokazuju izraženu potrebu da razumiju i sebe i druge ljude, tj. ljudsku prirodu uopšte. Motivaciju usmjerenu na ostvarivanje nekih socijalno-statusnih ciljeva nazvali smo pragmatistička motivacija. Krobah-alfa koeficijenti pouzdanosti za tri subskale prikazani su u Tabeli 1.

**Tabela 1:** Kronbah-alfa koeficijenti pouzdanosti subskala koje mjere motivaciju za izbor studija

Poduzorak	Subskala		
	Altruistička	Introspektivistička	Pragmatistička
Psiholozi	0,86	0,77	0,74
Nepsiholozi	0,84	0,80	0,68

Kvalitet života mjereno je SWLS skalom (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin 1985). Skala je široko primjenjivana, a njena pouzdanost izražena Kronbah-alfa koeficijentom obično ima vrijednost preko 0,80. Vrijednosti se najčešće kreću u rasponu od 0,82 do 0,87 (Arrindell, Heesink & Feij 1999; Abolghasemi & Varaniyab 2010; Penezić 2002; Arrindell, Meeuwesen & Huyse 1991; Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin 1985), a u rjeđim slučajevima malo ispod 0,80 (Neto 1993). U našem istraživanju smo za SWLS skalu dobili sljedeće Kronbah-alfa koeficijente: 0,81 za sve ispitanike; 0,78 za poduzorak studenata psihologije; 0,82 za poduzorak studenata stranih jezika.

Autori SWLS skale daju preporuke za interpretaciju rezultata dobijenih na skali (Tabela 2) (Pavot & Diener 1993).

**Tabela 2:** Preporuke za interpretaciju skorova sa SWLS skale

Totalni skor	Nivo zadovoljstva
5-9	Izrazito nezadovoljstvo
10-14	Nezadovoljstvo
15-19	Umjereno nezadovoljstvo
20	Neutralna tačka
21-25	Umjereno zadovoljstvo
26-30	Zadovoljstvo
31-35	Izrazito zadovoljstvo

### *Uzorak*

Istraživanjem je obuhvaćeno 158 studenata Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Istočnom Sarajevu. Uzorak se sastojao od dva poduzorka: prvi je uključivao 77 studenata psihologije, a drugi od 81 studenata koji ne studiraju psihologiju (u pitanju su studenti stranih jezika). Drugi poduzorak je poslužio za poređenje rezultata dobijenih na studentima psihologije sa rezultatima dobijenim na ispitanicima koji ne studiraju psihologiju. Podaci o strukturi uzorka prema polu i godini studija ispitanika prikazani su u Tabeli 3.



**Tabela 3:** Struktura uzorka

		psiholozi		nepsiholozi		oba poduzorka	
		f	%	f	%	f	%
pol	ž	60	80,5	65	80,2	125	79,1
	m	17	19,5	16	19,8	33	20,9
godina studija	1	30	38,9	40	49,4	70	44,3
	2	24	31,2	13	16,0	37	23,4
	3	12	15,6	13	16,0	25	15,8
	4	11	14,3	15	18,5	26	16,5

Prosječna dob svih ispitanika zajedno iznosila je 20,7 godina. Prosječna dob ispitanika iz poduzorka studenata psihologije iznosila je 20,9 godina, a iz uzorka studenata stranih jezika 20,6 godina. Uzorak odražava uobičajenu strukturu studentskih populacija studijskih programa za psihologiju i jezike (proporcionalno veći udio studenata ženskog pola i studenata mlađih godina studija).

### ***Procedura istraživanja***

Istraživanje je bilo anonimno. Realizovano je u oktobru 2023. godine. Instrumenti su primijenjeni na časovima redovne nastave. Učešće u istraživanju bilo je dobrovoljno.

### ***Obrada podataka***

Pored faktorske analize, korištene za ispitivanje strukture motivacije za izbor studija, korištena je korelacija i testiranje razlika među aritmetičkim sredinama. Obrada podataka vršena je u statističkom programu za obradu podataka SPSS 17.0.

## **REZULTATI ISTRAŽIVANJA**

Rezultati sa stavki skale motivacije za izbor studija dobijeni na poduzorku studenata psihologije analizirani su metodom glavnih komponenti. Vrijednost Kajzer-Mejer-Olkinovog testa bila je 0,78 (više od minimalno potrebne 0,60), a Bartlettov test sferičnosti bio je statistički značajan ( $r = 0,000$ ) što govori da su podaci podesni za faktorsku analizu. Polazeći od matrice interkorelacija manifestnih varijabli, metodom glavnih komponenti izdvojena su tri značajna faktora koji kumulativno objašnjavaju 71,45% varijanse. Rezultati su prikazani u Tabeli 4.

**Tabela 4:** Karakteristični korijeni faktora i objašnjena varijansa (poduzorak psihologa)

Faktori	Karak. korijeni	Objašnjena varijansa	
		%	Kumulat.
1	<b>3,927</b>	<b>39,273</b>	<b>39,273</b>
2	<b>1,990</b>	<b>19,899</b>	<b>59,172</b>
3	<b>1,228</b>	<b>12,276</b>	<b>71,448</b>
4	,776	7,762	79,210
5	,522	5,222	84,432
6	,477	4,774	89,206
7	,387	3,874	93,080
8	,278	2,785	95,865
9	,231	2,310	98,175
10	,183	1,825	100,000

Prema Kajzerovom kriterijumu kao značajni tretirani su faktori čiji karakteristični korijeni imaju vrijednost veću od 1.

U Tabeli 5 prikazani su faktorske težine i korelacije stavki sa faktorima uz primjenu oblimin rotacije.

**Tabela 5:** Matrica faktorskih težina i korelacija stavki sa faktorima uz oblimin rotaciju (poduzorak psihologa)

Stavke	Faktorske težine			Korelacije sa faktorima		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
1	<b>,798</b>	,030	-,046	,783	,070	,232
2	<b>,874</b>	,012	,054	,893	,058	,359
3	,091	<b>,670</b>	-,109	,088	,673	-,069
4	<b>,480</b>	-,171	<b>,555</b>	,714	-,137	,672
5	<b>,785</b>	,046	-,048	,771	,086	,226
6	,112	<b>,880</b>	,000	,157	,885	,049
7	-,163	<b>,862</b>	,189	-,053	,856	,142
8	,189	-,016	<b>,807</b>	,470	,003	,873
9	-,099	,073	<b>,906</b>	,221	,079	,873
10	<b>,863</b>	,011	,058	,884	,056	,359

Kao značajne faktorske težine (u tabeli naglašene) tretirane su one sa vrijednošću iznad 0,35. Stavke skale navedene su u prilogu.

Očigledno je da prvi faktor konstitušu stavke koje se odnose na motivaciju usmjerenu na pomaganje drugima, tj. na altruističku motivaciju (stavke 1, 2, 5 i 10).

Značajnu težinu ima i jedna stavka koja se odnosi na potrebu za razumijevanjem ljudi (stavka 4), ali je njena težina veća na trećem faktoru. Drugi faktor konstituišu stavke koje upućuju na pragmatističku motivaciju za izbor studija – dobro plaćeno radno mjesto, ugled i status u društvu (stavke 3, 6 i 7), a treći faktor stavke koje se odnose na potrebu da se razumiju ljudi i njihovo ponašanje (stavke 4, 8 i 9). U skladu sa tim možemo konstatovati da je naša prva hipoteza potvrđena, tj. pokazali smo da se unutar motivacije za izbor studija psihologije mogu identifikovati tri opisana motiva.

Između prvog i drugog faktora nema korelacije ( $r = 0,051$ ), kao ni između drugog i trećeg ( $r = 0,012$ ), dok između prvog i trećeg faktora postoji korelacija koja nije visoka, ali nije ni zanemarljiva ( $r = 0,340$ ).

Faktorsku strukturu skale ispitali smo i na poduzorku studenata stranih jezika. Na tom poduzorku vrijednost Kajzer-Mejer-Olkinovog testa bila je 0,83, a Bartletov test sferičnosti bio je statistički značajan ( $r = 0,000$ ), što govori da su podaci podesni za faktorsku analizu.

Polazeći od matrice interkorelacija manifestnih varijabli metodom glavnih komponenti izdvojena su dva značajna faktora koji zajedno objašnjavaju 63,01% varijanse. Rezultati su prikazani u Tabeli 6.

**Tabela 6:** Karakteristični korijeni faktora i objašnjena varijansa (poduzorak studenata stranih jezika)

Faktori	Karak. korijeni	Objašnjena varijansa	
		%	Kumulat.
1	<b>4,642</b>	<b>46,421</b>	<b>46,421</b>
2	<b>1,659</b>	<b>16,590</b>	<b>63,011</b>
3	,937	9,369	72,380
4	,660	6,603	78,982
5	,573	5,727	84,709
6	,383	3,827	88,536
7	,349	3,485	92,022
8	,310	3,102	95,124
9	,285	2,852	97,976
10	,202	2,024	100,000

Prema Kajzerovom kriteriju, kao značajni tretirani su faktori čiji karakteristični korijeni imaju vrijednost veću od 1.

U Tabeli 7 prikazani su faktorske težine i korelacije stavki sa faktorima uz primjenu oblimin rotacije.

**Tabela 7:** Matrica faktorskih težina i korelacija stavki sa faktorima uz oblimin rotaciju (poduzorak nepsihologa)

Stavke	Faktorske težine		Korelacije sa faktorima	
	1	2	1	2
1	<b>,745</b>	-,120	,732	-,042
2	<b>,827</b>	-,104	,816	-,017
3	-,313	<b>,532</b>	-,257	,499
4	<b>,809</b>	,126	,822	,212
5	<b>,775</b>	-,029	,772	,053
6	,239	<b>,812</b>	,324	,837
7	,223	<b>,855</b>	,313	,879
8	<b>,731</b>	,139	,746	,216
9	<b>,695</b>	,186	,714	,260
10	<b>,863</b>	-,024	,861	,067

Kao značajne faktorske težine (u tabeli naglašene) tretirane su one sa vrijednošću iznad 0,35.

Na ovom poduzorku drugi faktor konstituišu iste stavke kao na poduzorku psihologa (faktor koji se odnosi na pragmatističku motivaciju za izbor studija). Ostale stavke, koje se odnose na razloge vezane za pomaganje drugim ljudima i razumijevanje tih ljudi, sada ne konstituišu dva posebna faktora nego jedan. Na poduzorku studenata stranih jezika između prvog i drugog faktora korelacija je zanemarljiva ( $r = 0,10$ ).

Možemo konstatovati da smo kod studenata koji ne studiraju psihologiju (u našem slučaju studenti stranih jezika) identifikovali dvije vrste motivacije za izbor studija: pragmatističku motivaciju i motivaciju koju nije jednostavno definisati, ali koja objedinjuje potrebu da se pomaže ljudima i potrebu da se oni razumiju. Zbog toga ćemo je za potrebe našeg istraživanja nazvati pro-humana motivacija. Sa druge strane, vidjeli smo da je kod studenata psihologije ta vrsta motivacije diferencirana na dvije komponente.

U tabelama 8 i 9 prikazane su korelacije između pokazatelja motivacije za izbor studija i zadovoljstva životom. Budući da smo kod studenata psihologije identifikovali tri faktora motivacije, a kod studenata stranih jezika dva, korelacije su prikazane u zasebnim tabelama, u skladu sa identifikovanim faktorima motivacije.

**Tabela 8:** Korelacije između pokazatelja motivacije za izbor studija, te između tih pokazatelja i zadovoljstva životom za studente psihologije

		Altru.	Intro.	Pragm.	Zad.
Altru.	r		<b>,507**</b>	,097	,031
	p		,000	,403	,791
Intro.	r	<b>,507**</b>		,045	,089
	p	,000		,697	,443
Pragm.	r	,097	,045		-,005
	p	,403	,697		,963
Zad.	r	,031	,089	-,005	
	p	,791	,443	,963	

Altru. - altruistička motivacija; Intro. - introspektivistička motivacija; Pragm. - pragmatistička motivacija; Zad. - zadovoljstvo životom

**Tabela 9:** Korelacije između pokazatelja motivacije za izbor studija, te između tih pokazatelja i zadovoljstva životom za studente stranih jezika

		Pragm.	Pro-hum.	Zad.
Pragm.	r		,163	<b>,289**</b>
	p		,146	,007
Pro-hum.	r	,163		,205
	p	,146		,067
Zad.	r	<b>,289**</b>	,205	
	p	,007	,067	

Pragm. - pragmatistička motivacija; Pro-hum. - pro-humana motivacija; Zad. - zadovoljstvo životom

Kod studenata psihologije pragmatistička motivacija za izbor studija nije pokazala povezanost ni sa altruističkom, ni sa introspektivističkom motivacijom. Takođe nije pokazala povezanost ni sa zadovoljstvom životom. Između altruističke i introspektivističke motivacije korelacija je pozitivna i statistički značajna. Obje te vrste motivacije nisu pokazale povezanost sa zadovoljstvom životom kod studenata psihologije.

Kod studenata stranih jezika nije registrovana povezanost između pragmatističke i pro-humane motivacije, kao ni između pro-humane motivacije i zadovoljstva životom. Pragmatistička motivacija pokazala je nisku ali statistički značajnu pozitivnu korelaciju sa zadovoljstvom životom.

U Tabeli 10 prikazane su razlike u motivaciji za izbor studija i u zadovoljstvom životom između studenata psihologije i studenata stranih jezika. Pošto je jedino

pragmatistička motivacija identifikovana na oba poduzorka, razlike u motivaciji odnose se samo na tu vrstu motivacije.

**Tabela 10:** Testiranje razlika među aritmetičkim sredinama skorova koje su na skali pragmatističke motivacije i skali zadovoljstva životom postigli studenti psihologije i studenti stranih jezika

Varijabla	Grupe	N	M	$\sigma$	t	p
Pragmatistička motivacija	Psiho.	77	9,18	2,06	,063	,950
	Str. jez.	81	9,16	2,20		
Zadovoljstvo životom	Psiho.	77	25,60	5,17	2,54	<b>,012</b>
	Str. jez.	81	23,23	6,46		

Psiho. - studenti psihologije; Str. jez. - studenti stranih jezika

Razlika u pragmatističkoj motivaciji između studenata psihologije i studenata stranih jezika nije registrovana. Značajna je razlika u zadovoljstvu životom. Studenti koji studiraju psihologiju pokazali su veće zadovoljstvo životom od studenata koji ne studiraju psihologiju (studenti stranih jezika).

## DISKUSIJA I ZAKLJUČCI

U istraživanjima motivacije za izbor studija polazi se od različitih teorijskih postavki, pa se onda mjere i različite komponente te motivacije. Često se obuhvata motivacija usmjerena na ostvarivanje socijalno-statusnih ciljeva (Kong, Dior Nima Ngapey & Ali Qalati 2020) ili se pored nje mjere i motivacioni faktori vezani za lični razvoj, npr. za samorealizaciju i samoodređenje (Haase & Lautenschläger 2011).

U profesijama koje rade sa ljudima (medicinsko osoblje, nastavnici, socijalni radnici) po pravilu se među motivima za izbor profesije sreću i altruistički motivi (Gąsiorowski, Rudowicz & Safranow 2015; Brookhart & Freeman 1992; Симић 2015, Liedgren & Elvhag 2015). Ispitanici u našem istraživanju pripremaju se za rad sa ljudima – studenti stranih jezika se osposobljavaju prvenstveno za nastavnički poziv (predavači stranih jezika), a rad psihologa gotovo uvijek podrazumijeva rad sa ljudima. Otud je logično očekivati da kod njih u nekom stepenu bude prisutna altruistička motivacija pri izboru profesije.

Jedan od važnijih rezultata našeg istraživanja ukazuje da je kod studenata psihologije pri izboru studija, pored altruističke (pomaganje ljudima), prisutna i motivacija zasnovana na potrebi da se razumiju ljudi i njihovo ponašanje. U tom

smislu naši rezultati podržavaju pristupe koji ističu te dvije vrste motivacije za izbor studija psihologije (Walker 2010; Hastie, 2006; Morris 2003; Stewart, Hill, Stewart, Bimler & Kirkland 2005; Mudhovozi & Maree 2012; Hurst & Carson 2021). Izgleda da se slični izvori zainteresovanosti za psihologiju mogu registrovati i kod srednjoškolaca. I kod njih se kao glavni motiv zainteresovanosti za učenje psihologije registruje želja za boljim razumijevanjem sebe, drugih ljudi i njihovog ponašanja (Sokolova 2023).

Kod naših ispitanika koji ne studiraju psihologiju (studiraju strane jezike), motivacija usmjerena na razumijevanje ljudi nije se izdvojila kao poseban faktor u odnosu na altruističku motivaciju. Nazvali smo je pro-humana motivacija. Moguće je da ima mjesta za pretpostavku da su i altruistička i introspektivistička motivacija izraz jedne dublje humanističke orijentacije (orijentacija ka ljudima nasuprot orijentacije ka stvarima). Neka istraživanja pokazuju da se kod ljudi može identifikovati dominacija orijentacije ka ljudima ili orijentacije ka stvarima (Woodcock, Graziano, Branch, Habashi, Ngambeki & Evangelou 2012). Vjerovatno kod oba poduzorka naših ispitanika dominira orijentacija prema ljudima, koja se kod studenata koji ne studiraju psihologiju manifestuje kao jedinstven entitet, dok je kod studenata psihologije ona više nijansirana, tako da se ispoljava u vidu dvije povezane, ali ipak prepoznatljive komponente. Naša prva hipoteza je potvrđena djelimično. Potvrđena je na poduzorku ispitanika koji studiraju psihologiju. Potvrđena je i na poduzorku ispitanika koji studiraju strane jezike, ali samo u segmentu koji se odnosi na identifikovanje pragmatističke motivacije. Na tom poduzorku, u segmentu koji se odnosi na identifikovanje altruističke i introspektivističke motivacije, nije potvrđena.

Istraživanja sugerišu da je zadovoljstvo životom pozitivno povezano sa altruističkom orijentacijom (Chan, Ou & Reynolds 2014; Kardos, Leidner, Pléh, Soltész & Unoka 2017; Wei, Yu-Hsin Liao, Ku & Shaffer 2011). Naši rezultati nisu u skladu sa takvim nalazima. Na poduzorku psihologa nismo registrovali korelaciju između altruističke motivacije za izbor studija i zadovoljstva životom. U prethodno pomenutim istraživanjima registrovana je veza između opšte altruističke motivacije i zadovoljstva životom, dok smo mi mjerili jedan uži segment altruističke motivacije – altruističku motivaciju za izbor studija. Moguće je da je to faktor koji je odredio karakter rezultata koje smo dobili. Zbog ograničenja našeg uzorka teško je izvoditi ozbiljnije generalizacije na ovom planu.

Pragmatistička motivacija za izbor studija nije pokazala povezanost sa zadovoljstvom životom kod studenata psihologije, ali jeste slabu povezanost kod studenata koji ne studiraju psihologiju. Moguće je da se kod njih pragmatistička

orijentacija prema svijetu (pa i kad je riječ o izboru studija) manifestuje i u nešto većem opštem zadovoljstvu životom, što je u skladu sa nekim istraživanjima. Npr. sposobnost pragmatičnog planiranja budućnosti pokazuje pozitivnu vezu sa zadovoljstvom životom (Eubanks, Reece, Liebscher, Ruscio, Baumeister & Seligman 2023).

Zanimljivo je podsjetiti da smo kod studenata koji studiraju strane jezike između zadovoljstva životom i pro-humane motivacije dobili pozitivnu korelaciju koja ne doseže prag značajnosti, ali je vrlo blizu tog praga. Zbog ograničenja našeg istraživanja, vezanih za veličinu uzorka, potrebno je biti veoma obazriv u pogledu mogućih pretpostavki, ali ne treba sasvim isključiti mogućnost da ovdje povezanost postoji. To bi bilo u skladu sa rezultatima prethodno pomenutih istraživanja o povezanosti zadovoljstva životom sa altruističkom orijentacijom.

Naša druga hipoteza nije potvrđena, izuzimajući segment rezultata koji se odnosi na povezanost zadovoljstva životom sa pragmatističkom motivacijom kod studenata stranih jezika.

Prema našim rezultatima, psiholozi i nepsiholozi se ne razlikuju u pragmatističkoj motivaciji za izbor studija. Takav rezultat se prilično dobro slaže sa nalazima dobijenim u studiji Čopkove i Janitorove (Čopková & Janitorová 2021). Mjerile su intrinzičku i ekstrinzičku motivaciju za izbor profesije. Uzorak je obuhvatao tri grupe studenata koji se pripremaju za neku od tri oblasti rada – zdravstvo (ljekari, medicinske sestre, stomatolozi), prosvjeta (vaspitači, učitelji, nastavnici) i društvena oblast (socijalni radnici i psiholozi). Dok su se u ekstrinzičkoj motivaciji studenti iz oblasti zdravstva razlikovali od studenata iz oblasti prosvjete, studenti koji studiraju socijalni rad i psihologiju nisu se razlikovali ni od jednih ni od drugih. U toj studiji su studenti psihologije posmatrani zajedno sa studentima socijalnog rada (naši rezultati odnose se samo na studente psihologije). Takođe, ekstrinzička motivacija za izbor profesije koje je mjerena u navedenoj studiji obuhvatala je više motivacionih faktora od pragmatističke motivacije koju smo mi mjerili. Ipak, uzorci i metodološki pristupi su dovoljno slični da se rezultati mogu smatrati donekle samjerljivim.

Razlika između psihologa i nepsihologa registrovana je u zadovoljstvu životom. Studenti psihologije pokazali su veće zadovoljstvo. U skladu sa ranije navedenim kriterijumima postavljenim od autora SWLS skale (Tabela 2), rezultati pokazuju da prosjek skorova studenata psihologije zalazi u kategoriju zadovoljstvo, dok je prosjek studenata stranih jezika u kategoriji umjereno zadovoljstvo. Takav rezultat nije u skladu sa tzv. terapijskom hipotezom prema kojoj je u populaciji studenata psihologije veća proporcija onih sa nekim mentalnim teškoćama, što ih onda podstiče da češće



biraju taj studij kao izraz traganja za rješenjima svojih teškoća (Craig & Zinkiewicz 2010). Za osobe sa izraženim mentalnim problemima karakterističan je manji stepen zadovoljstva životom (Headey, Kelley & Wearing 1993; Piko 2006; Guney, Kalafat & Boysan 2010; Dooley, Fitzgerald & Mac Giollabhui 2015), pa bi se u skladu sa terapijskom hipotezom moglo očekivati da studenti psihologije pokažu manje zadovoljstvo životom, što u našem istraživanju nije bio slučaj. Registrovana je suprotna tendencija: studenti psihologije su pokazali nešto veće zadovoljstvo životom.

Da studenti koji studiraju različite oblasti mogu pokazivati različito zadovoljstvo životom pokazuju rezultati istraživanja realizovanog u Češkoj (Kvintová, Sigmund & Hřebíčková 2014). Nije jednostavno izvoditi generalizacije o razlikama u zadovoljstvu životom između studenata psihologije i studenata drugih oblasti, jer je broj faktora koji potencijalno mogu posredovati u toj vezi očito veliki. Npr. studenti psihologije mogu pokazivati i niži nivo zadovoljstva životom od studenata drugih studijskih profila, konkretno od studenata farmacije i medicine (Franzen, Jermann, Ghisletta, Rudaz, Bondolfi & Toan Tran 2021). Zanimljivo je istaći da je nivo zadovoljstva životom kod studenata psihologije u našem istraživanju gotovo identičan nivou zadovoljstva životom dobijenom na studentima psihologije u Turskoj (Karayagiz 2020). U tom istraživanju su na SWLS skali dobijene vrijednosti :  $M = 25,37$ ;  $\sigma = 5,98$ ;  $N = 153$  (za naše rezultate vidjeti poslednji red u Tabeli 7).

Time naša treća hipoteza nije potvrđena. Nije registrovana razlika u onoj vrsti motivacije za koju je priroda naših podataka omogućila da je testiramo (pragmatistička motivacija), dok je razlika u zadovoljstvu životom registrovana.

## OGRANIČENJA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Najvažnija ograničenja našeg istraživanja povezana su sa karakteristikama uzorka. Radi se o manjem uzorku koji čine studenti sa jednog univerziteta. Za pouzdanije generalizacije o motivaciji studenata za izbor studija i o njihovom zadovoljstvu životom potrebna su istraživanja na većim uzorcima u čiji sastav bi ulazili studenti sa više različitih univerziteta.

Takođe, poduzarak studenata koji ne studiraju psihologiju u našem istraživanju uključivao je studente veoma bliskih usmjerenja (svi su studirali strane jezike). To ograničava domete generalizacija o razlikama između psihologa i nepsihologa. Naime, iznijeli smo pretpostavku da bi struktura motivacije za izbor studija, kakvu smo registrovali, potencijalno mogla biti povezana sa dubljim orijentacijama u odnosu ljudi prema svijetu (orijentacija prema ljudima ili prema stvarima). U tom smislu bi

bilo zanimljivo uporediti motivaciju za izbor studija kod studenata koji studiraju psihologiju sa studentima prirodnih i tehničkih nauka. Struktura našeg uzorka nam nije omogućila analize takve vrste.

## PRILOG

Tabela 11: Stavke skale za mjerenje motivacije za izbor studija

1	Pomaganje ljudima da budu uspješniji u životu i radu
2	Pružanje pomoći ljudima koji imaju probleme i tegobe
3	Mogućnost zaposlenja na dobro plaćenom radnom mjestu
4	Bolje razumijevanje drugih ljudi i njihovog ponašanja
5	Omogućavanje ljudima oko mene da budu sretniji
6	Sticanje profesije koja obezbjeđuje ugled i poštovanje
7	Ovladavanje profesijom koja omogućuje visok status u društvu
8	Razumijevanje ljudske prirode i faktora od kojih ona zavisi
9	Osposobljavanje da razumijem motive kojima se ljudi rukovode
10	Pomaganje drugim ljudima da budu zadovoljniji životom

Ispitanici dobili sljedeće uputstvo za popunjavanje skale:

U tabeli su navedeni su neki razlozi koji motivišu ljude pri izboru studija. Molimo Vas da stavljanjem znaka X u odgovarajuće polje za svaki od razloga označite koliko je on u Vašem slučaju bio važan kada ste se opredjeljivali za studij.

Procjene su vršili na četvorostepenoj skali: *veoma važan, umjereno važan, malo važan, nevažan.*

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## MOTIVATION FOR CHOOSING STUDIES AMONG PSYCHOLOGY STUDENTS, FOREIGN LANGUAGES STUDENTS AND THEIR LIFE SATISFACTION

### Summary:

As factors that significantly influence students to choose psychology studies, sources often cite the need to help others and the desire to understand people and their behaviour in the literature. One of the reasons for choosing a study program is generally pragmatic reasons. On a smaller sample of students that consisted of students studying psychology and students studying foreign languages (N = 158), we investigated whether could identify three types of motivation for choosing a study based on the three needs mentioned (needs to help others, needs to understand people and their behaviour, and pragmatic needs). Motivation for the choice of study was measured with a self-constructed scale, while life satisfaction was measured with the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS). In psychology students we identified all three types of motivation, while in foreign language students we identified pragmatist motivation for choice of studies and the other two components of motivation did not appear as separate factors, but formed one factor. Life satisfaction was unrelated with any type of motivation among psychology students, and in the other group of students it showed a slight correlation with pragmatic motivation. In pragmatist motivation, the difference between the two subsamples of students was not registered, while in life satisfaction it was. Psychology students showed higher life satisfaction.

**Key words:** Career choice; motivation for choosing studies; student life satisfaction

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Review paper

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## **INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC MOTIVATION WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF CREATING A STIMULATING LEARNING ENVIRONMENT**

The phenomenon of motivation is extremely important for the course and outcomes of teaching and can influence the action of other factors that are indispensable in the teaching process. For example, the general or specific abilities of an individual may be highly developed, but if the person is not motivated, these abilities will also be minimized, questioned or non-existent. However, it can be the other way around – good motivation can increase the development level of certain abilities. Motivation always strives towards a goal that a person strives for, towards knowledge or willingness to put in effort for achieving a certain goal, regardless of obstacles, compulsions or other various challenges. The aim of this paper is focused on the analysis of the importance of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, individual incentives for learning and their role in the process of creating a supportive learning environment. The essence of education and students' personality development, along with other factors, is also the development of motivation for learning. Reforming the teaching-learning process towards greater activation of students' internal strengths, that would occur freely, spontaneously and unobtrusively, is the task of dealing with motivation in the school context and it has a concrete social significance and contribution.

**Key words:** motivation; intrinsic motivation; extrinsic motivation; teaching; learning

## INTRODUCTION

Motivation is a powerful driver for performing any activity, including learning. The extent to which students will engage largely depends on their interests. There is a certain imbalance between a student's individual interest and imposed curriculum that is identical for all participants in the learning process at school. Therefore, it is important to distinguish between intrinsic (internal) and extrinsic (external) motivation. A student's individual interest can be conceptualized as disposition and as an actualized state (Herpratiwi & Tohir 2022). An individual's dispositional interests are enduring characteristics, permanent states that exist over time and express their deep interest in contents. As actualized state, interest arises from an interaction between internal and external factors, affective states, individual characteristics and attitudes and specific stimuli that arouse interests. A motivated student is the one who is willing to make efforts in order to achieve their goals, and these goals can be internally or externally oriented. The most successful students do not have to be those who have innate capacities to learn (intelligence), but those who possess characteristics related to motivation, among which Ur (Daskalovska et al. 2012) highlights the following: positive task orientation, ego-involvement, need for achievement, high aspirations, goal orientation, perseverance and tolerance of ambivalence. We can recognize these features in the elements of the self-efficacy theory that emphasizes its importance for achievement in the learning process. Research based on interaction theory has shown that high student outcomes are characterized by a rather high degree of teacher affiliation towards students and moderate teacher control (Wubbels & Brekelmns 2005), also the combination of autonomy-supportive behavior and structure (task orientation) gives similar results. It is known that motivation is the main driving force in work, teaching and learning. How much students will participate and how they will engage not only in class, but also how eager they will be to learn something, expand their knowledge and develop their abilities, certainly depends on motivation, and motivation itself depends on many factors: on student's personality characteristics, social environment, family environment, need for success, school, student's gender, age and the like.

## DETERMINATION OF MOTIVATION FOR LEARNING

Learning is the type of activity based on motivation. In order to better understand the motives of a person (such as drive, impulse, necessity, cause, reason, stimulus, in-

centive), it is necessary and important to discover one's needs (according to Maslow's theory of motivation, a person fulfills these needs according to a certain order, hierarchy) and goals that a person strives for and values (Rot & Radonjić 2008). Therefore, students need to develop a sense of challenge based on the sense of security in the classroom, involvement in the learning process, curiosity and self-confidence, to develop critical thinking about the content they learn (Aslam & Rawal 2019). We consider motivation to be anything that triggers an activity, directs that activity and gives it intensity and duration. In the academic context, motivation is defined as an internal state that instigates, directs and maintains an individual's behavior towards achieving a goal; therefore it plays a fundamental role in learning (Vizek-Vidović, Vlahović-Štetić et al. 2003). By discovering motives (the group of organic, psychological and related factors that participate in determining and establishing a certain human action and behavior), we can better understand why people do the things they do, and on that basis we can understand actions and act on them during the education of young people.

Motivation always strives towards the goal that a person strives for, towards knowledge or willingness to put in the effort for achieving a certain goal, regardless of obstacles, compulsions or other various challenges. Biljana Trebješanin (2009) believes that: "motivated behavior involves the pursuit of a goal that a person is striving for, dedication or willingness to make an effort in order to achieve that goal and certain persistence, the ability to sustain the effort until the goal is achieved, regardless of interruptions, other challenges or obstacles encountered". Therefore, motivation initiates an activity with a lesser or greater force and directs it to a certain goal, thus providing a person with the readiness to start the activity for a shorter or longer period of time, with stronger or weaker dedication and commitment, or with more or less will and effort. It also plays a big role in school learning, in fact there is no real learning without it. When it comes to motivation in education, the methods applied should be inventive, encouraging, interesting, should ensure students' well-being and achievement; school contents should be relevant and correct, well timed, stimulating and suitable for the current and future students' needs (Vero & Puka 2017). Brophy (1983: 16) points out: "that the motive for learning is a student tendency to find academic activities meaningful and worthwhile and (or) treat them as the means for achieving academic gains (certificates, grades), whether it is about specific school activities or general disposition that is manifested in a relatively permanent focus on learning". The five key ingredients impacting student motivation are: student, teacher, content, method and environment (Syamsuddin 2021).

The literature mentions several characteristics that have a motivational character and are responsible for learning success. These are: *positive task orientation* as a willingness to tackle challenges and tasks with faith in success; *ego-involvement* as the importance of success in learning for the purpose of maintaining a positive self-image; *the need for achievement* as the willingness to overcome difficulties on the way to success; *high aspirations* such as seeking challenges, striving for advancement, good grades, etc.; *goal orientation* as an awareness of one's goals and necessary learning activities that lead to a focus on achieving these goals; *perseverance* as exerting considerable effort in the school subjects, regardless of occasional difficulties; *tolerance of ambivalence* as a student's ability to avoid confusion and frustration when ambivalent situations and information appear, to patiently expect that the ambivalence will be resolved over time, for example, by acquiring new information (Daskalovska et al. 2012).

## INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC MOTIVATION

The main problem that teachers encounter at school is the problem of deepening, maintaining and developing internal motivation<sup>1</sup>, which is also one of the basic problems of pedagogy, psychology and teaching methods. Intrinsic motivation occupies (we would say) a central part in the works of many researchers, because it develops abilities, attitudes, value orientations, socio-ethical qualities, etc. through encouragement for learning. Some recent studies point out the following as the strongest generators of intrinsic motivation: *autonomy* as independence in deciding and change leading, *mastery* as a desire for advancement, *purpose* as a meaningful contribution to something bigger and *connection* through participation in joint activities with other students (Aslam & Rawal 2019). "Intrinsic motivation is an inner force that motivates students to engage in academic activities, because they are interested in learning and they enjoy the learning process as well" (Borah 2021: 550). On the other hand, extrinsic motivation is a motivation that is driven by external rewards, thus its action will be conditioned by rewarding situations. Students who have developed intrinsic motivation show a high involvement in learning activities, where a certain level of physical, intellectual and emotional maturity is a prerequisite (Wardani et al. 2020).

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<sup>1</sup> Internal - true, (intrinsic) motivation implies that the student learns without the influence of any external reason, that is, that he himself feels the need and desire to learn something, and that learning gives him pleasure, not difficulty and burden. While external (extrinsic) motivation, which is also called insent, is mainly incentive motivation that is used to motivate students to a certain activity.

The quality of the teaching process determines the possibility of influencing the intrinsic motivation and learning outcomes, and largely depends on them. Intrinsic motivation initiates an activity and directs it towards a certain goal with low or high intensity. According to B. Trebješanin, “it could be the basis of school learning as well, of the activities such as curious perceptive, manipulative and intellectual examination of new objects, which by their nature form the natural basis of knowledge and learning in the broadest sense and develop a person who is closely related to learning“ (2009: 63). Therefore, it is important to raise the quality of teaching in order that even students who lack intrinsic motivation are given the opportunity to reach the desired outcome in learning and performing in school. For the development of intrinsic motivation it is necessary that student’s basic needs are satisfied, where by teachers can use the existing curiosity in students by presenting content that is appropriate and meaningful to them. Students should be provided with opportunities to explore and discover meaningfulness of learning activities on their own (Wardani et al. 2020). Intrinsic motivation affects the wider, more complete and constant personality development in students, in addition to affecting the quality and quantity of learning. It enables students to increasingly realize themselves as subjects and less as objects of the educational process, thereby additionally influencing the humanization of interpersonal relationships.

One of the main influencing factors for successful learning is *goal orientation*. Internal goal orientation is conditioned by inner factors such as challenge and curiosity, in other words activities that are initiated by internal reasons. External goal orientation is conditioned by reward and punishment act, that is, student participation is initiated by external causes (Li & Lynch 2016). Some other important factors for successful learning are the *learning environment*, i.e. classroom’s physical appearance and the emotional atmosphere that prevails in the class, where teachers can do a lot by designing the classroom space and creating good relations among students; *making lessons interesting* by choosing interesting topics and activities that will hold students’ attention and provoke their interest (Daskalovska et al. 2012). Ryan and Deci cite the results of various research that contribute to the importance of intrinsic motivation, such as the connection of intrinsic motivation with high performance and better control of achievement (Taylor et al. in Ryan & Deci 2020), greater effort that is reflected in higher achievements (Worrell in Ryan & Deci 2020).

Intrinsic motivation is not important only for the immediate achievement of efficiency and quality of learning, but also for the conscious understanding of its components that contribute to the goals of overall personality development and the

realization of individual potential opportunities. Essentially, “the narrow and broad social environment influence that process in two ways: by determining the competence area valued in them and by determining the competence standard” (Trebješanin 2009: 46). The social conditions for the development of intrinsic motivation are reflected in the mitigation and elimination of social differentiations; in providing fairly equal educational outcomes; in the value that represents the basis for permanent – lifelong education; as well as in the development of socially desirable personal and social characteristics of people. This would certainly improve school work quality and efficiency.

Extrinsic motivation has its own sources, and it must also participate in the learning process because students cannot be intrinsically motivated for all school subjects and activities. According to Ur (2009), the sources of extrinsic motivation are the following: *success and its rewards* – learners who have succeeded in past tasks will be more confident in their abilities to succeed and will be more willing to engage with new tasks. The teacher’s function is to make sure that learners are aware of their own success; *failure and its penalties* – learners should be aware of their own failures, but also that occasional failures are inevitable and that they should learn from them and strive to overcome them; *authoritative demands* – learners, especially younger learners, can be motivated by teacher pressure, but the teacher’s authority should not be over-used in order not to make learners dependent on them and unlikely to develop responsibility for their own learning; *tests* – tests can motivate learners as long as they are not used too often, because learners who know they are going to be tested will study more than if they are not tested; *competition* – learners are ready to give their best in competitive situations, however, group contests are better than individual ones because they are motivational but less stressful for learners who are insecure and fear failure.

According to Self-determination Theory, motivation to learn lies on a continuum from highly controlled to autonomy-supportive (Syamsuddin 2021). Furthermore, autonomy-supportive teaching strategies emphasize and aim at developing intrinsic motivation and encourage student engagement. The bottom line is that in terms of learning outcomes, intrinsically motivated content acquisition has far-reaching effects on memory, transfer and application of acquired knowledge. There are four regulation forms of extrinsic motivation: external regulation based on rewards and punishments; introjected regulation based on internal rewards like self-esteem for success and avoiding anxiety due to failure; identification based on the recognition of the activity value that is thus carried out voluntarily; and integrated regulation in which the ac-

tivity value becomes an integral part of the entire value system (Ryan & Deci 2020). Ushioda (2010) emphasizes that it is not crucially important whether motivational factors are intrinsic or extrinsic, but whether they are internalized and self-determined, or externally imposed and regulated by others.

## **MOTIVATION AND FORMING OF STIMULATIVE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT**

The learning environment and the experience of this environment are associated with various affective and cognitive elements that influence learning outcomes. The learning environment can be defined as “a place where students and teachers communicate with each other, and many kinds of materials and knowledge are used for learning activities” (Wilson in Hafizoglu & Yerdelen 2019: 251). A stimulating learning environment allows students to experience a sense of their own success, which contributes to the development of the feelings of self-esteem and encourages mastery and achievement orientation and positive motivational beliefs. The development of positive motivational beliefs is possible through the translation of teaching content into the language of abilities and by discovering the student’s interests and goals in their future career (Beker in Marković 2019), by giving students the opportunity to demonstrate their competences and their skills that are evaluated by other students (Margolis & McCabe 2006), which certainly contributes to the development of motivation for learning. Attitude towards school is also a significant factor that influences student motivation. Research conducted on a sample of 230 respondents (Hayat et al. 2016) shows that students who have a greater sense of self-control over the learning process, who perceive their learning environment as supportive and the one that provides them with autonomy, and who see the purpose and meaning of their learning, show greater intrinsic motivation with a certain presence of extrinsic motivation.

Analyzing different viewpoints on the student motivation development, Dornyei and Muir (2019), point out the following: *encouraging the students’ values and beliefs* based on the fact that values and beliefs determine the approach to performing activities and preferences for certain activities; *raising the student’s expectations of success* because positive expectations are the foundation for action; *strengthening the students’ goal orientation* because the clarity of the goals and their understanding make the students’ engaging in learning meaningful; *creation and application of relevant learning materials* that make the learning process stimulating; *creation of realistic student beliefs* that reduce the learning process to realistic frameworks.



In the research conducted on a sample of 922 respondents, Hafizoglu and Yerdelen (2019) find that students who perceive their classroom learning environment as positive, state a significantly higher level of motivation for learning, while a negative learning environment, embodied in poor interaction among students and teachers' lack of care, weakens level of motivation. On the other hand, Kintu and his associates (Kintu et al. 2017) point out that a student with high educational achievements is more adaptable to any learning environment than students with low educational achievements. Various aspects of the classroom learning environment can affect students' motivation and self-regulation, and motivation and self-regulation are significant affective outcomes that influence the atmosphere and learning process in the classroom (Dorman & Adams 2004). Students are positively influenced by the environment where they have the freedom to ask questions, present and discuss ideas, which increases their capacity to develop faith in their own abilities and sense of self-efficacy. Velayutham and his associates (Velayutham et al. 2013) find that self-efficacy is a strong predictor of self-regulation that includes various cognitive and meta-cognitive strategies, as well as effort regulation as a tendency to persevere with assignments despite obstacles that may arise (Corno in Velayutham et al. 2013). Here, the paradigm of intrinsic motivation is embodied, which consists of the following: *challenge* - through the creation of optimally challenging tasks; *curiosity* - as the aspiration to achieve higher levels of knowledge and skills; *control* - as the ability to choose and a sense of power to manipulate the learning experience; *fantasy* - as the ability to develop mental models of situations that are not present (Rowe et al. 2007).

Considering that learning is one of the most elite forms of school engagement and a way to a certain goal, various incentives are applied in school to motivate students to learn more effectively and do better. Furthermore, incentives do not affect all students equally (some students respond to one type, others to some other type), it mostly depends on student personality structure, motivational beliefs (positive and negative) in terms of more or less interest in the activities for which a student feels competent (Beker 2005). Bandura also states that learning is a complex system that depends on the interaction of student characteristics, their behavior and social environment (Bandura in Hafizoglu & Yerdelen, 2019). On the other hand, Urdan and Schonfelder (2006) find that motivation is influenced by differences of individual characters of students, as well as by the social and academic characteristics of the classroom learning environment. That is why it is important that teachers, educators and parents come to know their students (children) characteristics, and the impact of incentive mechanisms on their motivation and learning activity. Motivation, being related to emotions

and incentive, is considered a permanent tool for student learning success; it is at the beginning of every new learning act and it imbues the entire learning process.

For the successful mastering of the teaching material and rational, organized and highly efficient school learning, the following is important: solid socio-physical potential, psychological-emotional incentives and provision of optimal, preferable didactic-methodical prerequisites-stimulators (which are mostly called didactic assumptions by didactics). The emphasis here is that if we know, provide and connect these didactic-methodical prerequisites (as stimuli) and use them effectively, conditions for activation of all potentials in the school learning process will be created, with an increased stimulating effect on the student. The learning environment, as a psychosocial environment in which teaching and learning activities happen, cannot be static in order to meet the needs of modern society, but instead curricula must be constantly innovated, adapted to the changes and to the student needs (Marković 2019). Therefore, the Theory of Change (Aslam & Rawal 2019) emphasizes that intrinsic motivation can be stimulated directly, through the direct strengthening of system structures and behavior change among teachers and students, and indirectly through the amplification of technical interventions.

Relying on Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, we can conclude that if the student is hungry, physically, mentally or emotionally insecure, unaccepted, if the teacher's excessive criticism does not allow the development of the student's self-esteem, the student's focus on investing effort in learning will probably be reduced (Vero & Puka 2017). If student's basic needs are not met, the capacity to help students fulfil their greatest potential (interests, talents, abilities) will be decreased. Even higher motivational levels, such as self-actualization, require supporting teacher behavior in order to optimally develop student potentials. In this sense, Seifert and Sutton (Seifert & Sutton 2009) emphasize the need for a *flexible curriculum* that is oriented towards flexibility and constant adaptation to students interests, as opposed to the set of prescribed tasks.

Regarding educational achievement, teachers generally believe that intrinsic motivation is more effective than extrinsic motivation. Research, however, gives ambiguous results. Some of them show that both types of motivation significantly influence educational achievement, while others emphasize that intrinsic motivation increases the learning effectiveness, while extrinsic motivation decreases it (Zaccone & Pedrini 2019). In a study that examined intrinsic and extrinsic goal orientation in learning a foreign language in junior and senior grades (Li & Lynch 2016), the authors concluded that intrinsic goal orientation is more present in younger learners, espe-

cially at the beginning when they meet with new content, while in older learners extrinsic orientation based on the achieved results (feedback) takes over. Learning methods at the beginning included singing songs, playing games, watching videos, and similar activities that were interesting to the learners. Herpratiwi and Tohir (2022) also find that discipline has a strong influence on learner motivation, treating discipline as a form of socially responsible behavior, a mental state of order and obedience of rules, including awareness of duties and responsibilities. This research shows that indiscipline makes students lose focus in activities and time management, lose respect for others and self-determination.

Furthermore, research based on self-determination theory provides a lot of evidence about learning in a stimulating environment. Ryan and Deci (2020) point out that more autonomous forms of motivation increase students' engagement and learning, and also their general wellness, and that the support of parents and teachers in satisfying psychological needs (autonomy, relatedness, competence) facilitates the development of more autonomous forms of motivation. Autonomy-supportive motivational strategies increase intrinsic motivation, and autonomy is facilitated by transfer of the responsibility in the learning process from the teacher to the students with creating meaningful and relevant learning activities, providing opportunities and choices, connecting with the student interests, etc., while the structure (task orientation) can be preserved by emphasizing clear expectations, directing, guiding through the process and setting boundaries by the teacher (Syamsuddin 2021). This is not controlled learning environment but the one that provides supportive guidance for autonomous, self-directed work. This autonomy-supportive behavior combined with structure contributes the most to the effectiveness of the learning process (Sierens et al. 2008). The basic driver of student learning and development is curiosity related to current events and problems, the desire to know and discover the world around them, which is known in pedagogical practice. However, the best incentive for activity and developmental success in general is experiencing the satisfaction of success after overcoming an obstacle and solving a problem, which the autonomously supportive environment provides to a large extent. Aslam and Rawal (2019) find that students get more motivated when they are among other motivated students, and this essentially represents a significant factor of a stimulating environment. Therefore, the teachers that are focused on establishing positive interaction, class ego-involvement in the class, they develop the need for understanding, not memorization, encourage effort and task mastery (Ames 1990), which also contributes to the development of self-efficacy as an important prerequisite for intrinsic motivation. When there is no mastery

goal orientation or positive expectations from students, then extrinsic incentives dominate and social comparison and competence are emphasized.

## CONCLUSION

Motivation is the driving force behind individual actions that determines the course of activity and leads to the satisfaction of the need that induced it. In the learning context, motivation includes values, skills, understandings and dispositions that help students realize the benefits that come from their engagement in learning. Motivation for learning can be intrinsic or extrinsic (internal or external), and both are the part of the learning process; however, it should be emphasized that the effects of intrinsic motivation are deeper, longer lasting, more effective and applicable because they come from a learner's deep inner need, from their personal interests.

There are numerous incentives for learning, some are internal and some external, and which will be more effective largely depends on the structure of the student's personality, their ego-strength, competence (real and self-perception of competence), level of self-confidence and self-efficacy, and sometimes their age. Learning effectiveness is also affected by the quality of the student's learning environment. All students do not have equal talents, abilities or interests, but teachers can contribute to the optimization of learning outcomes through their approach to students, their choice of learning materials and teaching methods, and their personal engagement in the entire process of creating the stimulating learning environment. Many studies show that more autonomous forms of motivation in the classroom and the satisfaction of the basic needs for autonomy, relatedness and competence improve student achievement, and they also show that the more internalized the motivation, the sooner it will become a part of the student's identity (Ryan Deci, 2020). A learning environment formed in this way has the potential to become a stimulating learning environment.

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## INTRINSIČNA I EKSTRINSIČNA MOTIVACIJA U KONTEKSTU STVARANJA STIMULATIVNOG OKRUŽENJA ZA UČENJE

### Sažetak:

Fenomen motivacije je izuzetno važan za tok i ishode nastave i može uticati na delovanje drugih faktora koji su neizostavni u nastavnom procesu. Na primer, opšte ili specifične sposobnosti pojedinca mogu biti visoko razvijene, ali ako osoba nije motivisana te sposobnosti će takođe biti minimizirane, dovedene u pitanje ili nepostojeće. Međutim, može biti i obrnuto – dobra motivacija može da poveća stepen razvijenosti određenih sposobnosti. Motivacija uvek povezana sa ciljem kome čovek teži, ka znanju ili spremnosti da uloži napor za postizanje određenog cilja, bez obzira na prepreke, prinude ili druge različite izazove. Cilj ovog rada je fokusiran na analizu značaja intrinzične i ekstrinzične motivacije, individualnih podsticaja za učenje i njihove uloge u procesu stvaranja podsticajnog okruženja za učenje. Suština obrazovanja i razvoja ličnosti učenika, pored drugih faktora, je i razvoj motivacije za učenje. Reformisanje nastavnog procesa ka većem aktiviranju unutrašnjih snaga učenika, koje bi se odvijalo slobodno, spontano i nenametljivo, zadatak je bavljenja motivacijom u školskom kontekstu i ima konkretan društveni značaj i doprinos.

**Ključne reči:** motivacija; intrinzična motivacija; ekstrinzična motivacija; nastava; učenje

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Review paper

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## **MAJČINSKI BURNOUT-SINDROM: SAGOREVANJE U ULOZI MAJKE**

Zadovoljstvo ispunjenjem roditeljske uloge smatra se važnom komponentom doživljaja roditeljske kompetentnosti. Pojam sagorevanja je prvi put definisan u domenu poslovne psihologije dok se u Evropi koncept roditeljskog sagorevanja pojavljuje početkom 21. veka i to u kontekstu roditelja deca sa poteškoćama u razvoju. Nakon roditeljskog sagorevanja u psihološkoj stvarnosti posebno se iskristalisao koncept majčinskog sagorevanja. Pojam majčinskog sagorevanja aktuelan je u poslednjih pet godina, a istraživačima je posebno atraktivan zbog posledica koje postaju sve transparentnije. U ovom radu biće predstavljen širi diskurs majčinstva sa posebnim akcentom na majčinsko sagorevanje. Budući da se korelati koncepta majčinskog sagorevanja još istražuju, smatramo važnim razumevanje konteksta majčinstva kroz kulturološko-psihološku dimenziju. Feminističke teorije majčinstva takođe pomažu da razumemo izazove savremene majke, dok je kompatibilnost postpartalne depresije sa majčinskim sagorevanjem posebno značajno istražiti.

**Ključne reči:** majčinsko sagorevanje; roditeljsko sagorevanje; majčinstvo; postpartalna depresija

## 1. UVOD

Istorijski posmatrano majčinstvo se u ranijim civilizacijama, najpre u staroj Grčkoj, posmatralo kao podređena uloga žene u društvu, osuđene isključivo i samo na brigu o deci i porodici te prostu reprodukciju. Slično razmišljanje je zahvaljujući crkvenoj dogmi održavano sve do generalnog procvata nauke u periodu između 18. i 19. veka. Odent (2007) nas je podsetio da smo 20. vek proveli u istraživanju potreba deteta, a da bi u 21. veku trebali se posvetiti istraživanju potreba majke. Posledično, brojna istraživanja na temu majčinstva su polarizovana i to tako da se danas možemo složiti u stavu da je majčinstvo jedan od temelja ličnog ispunjenja, razvoja i sreće, ali je istovremeno i izvor najvećeg straha, anksioznosti, ograničenja i podređenosti (Čudina-Obradović i Obradović 2006). Prema Višić (2013), majčinstvo se razume kao biološka nužnost i ideološki fundiran kriterijum za određivanje rodni uloga u društvu. Kulture dovode do (re)definisanja identiteta pojedinca kao neraskidivog dela porodice, ali je sudbina žene povezana s njenom biološkom ulogom u reprodukciji, čime ona prestaje biti samostalna osoba jer je povezana s drugom osobom – svojim detetom (Akujobi 2011).

Aktuelna su i pitanja postojanja materinskog instikta u biološkom smislu ili se pak govori o kulturološkom mitu koji različito tumače zapadne i istočne kulture. Krećući se od zapada prema istoku slika majke postaje sve idealnija te se majka nastoji prikazati kao primarni (neretko i jedini), pravi i ispravni negovatelj, preplavljena etikom brige o detetu i za dete, kroz neiscrpno davanje energije, ljubavi, sredstava i vremena za svoju decu (Leskošek 2011). Kulturološki okvir majčinstva kroz istoriju je predstavljao majčinstvo kao ispunjavajuću ulogu žene koje nijedno drugo iskustvo ne može nadomestiti. Na žene se, stoga, gledalo kao na osobe koje mogu bez napora da se uključe u zadatak emocionalnog davanja te će se verovatno osećati neadekvatno (osećati krivima) kada ne mogu ispuniti ovaj ideal ili kada njihova deca imaju problem. S druge strane majčinstvo je jedan od ključnih aspekata ženskog identiteta na individualnoj i socijalnoj razini (Srđić Srebro 2014) odnosno kriterijum društvene definicije prave žene. Ujedno je i ključni kriterijum polne podela rada jer upravo uloga majke snažno utiče na život žene, ideologiju o ženama i na reprodukciju polne nejednakosti (Vrcelj 2019).

Ne treba zanemariti ni novi trend *SMC – Single Mother by Choice*, koji podrazumeva majčinstvo bez prisustva partnera karakteristično za žene iznad trideset godina, finansijski situirane i sa stabilnim izvorom prihoda (Voglsten i Schmidt 2019). *SMC* model nastao je u Americi početkom 80-tih godina prošlog veka i podrazumeva

one majke koje su preuzele inicijativu i odlučile da postanu samostalne, a namera da postanu majke bez partnera realizuje se u potpunosti bez partnera i sa tendencijom da se ostvare u majčinstvu, što ih ujedno razlikuje od žena koje su razvodom ili raskidom postale samohrane majke.

Psihološka tumačenja gotovo je nemoguće započeti bez psihodinamskih teorijskih postavki, gde je uticaj majke jedan od značajnijih faktora u razvoju i izgradnji ličnosti. U duhu psihoanalize, psihoanalitičar Daniel Stern je proučavao šta znači postati majka, te je rituale prelaza na majčinski period života nazvao sazvežđe majčinstva (Ćeranić 2005) koje je definisano kao sopstveno biološko stanje spremnosti primarnog negovatelja. Stern tvrdi da se sazvežđe majčinstva pojavljuje tokom trudnoće i podrazumeva novi mentalni sklop koji oblikuje ženino viđenje sebe. Ritualni prelaz u majčinski period života uključuje niz psiholoških i bioloških promena za koje sve žene nisu spremne te je pojava psihopatoloških stanja poput depresije i anksioznosti očekivana (Ibidem).

Vinikot smatra da majke moraju razviti primarnu materinsku preokupaciju – senzitivnost koja se gradi nekoliko nedelja pre i nekoliko nedelja posle porođaja (Ibidem). Dakle, žene sa primarnom materinskom preokupacijom će biti u stanju da omoguće svojoj bebi da prolazi kroz spontano iskustvo i bude „vlasnik postojećih senzacija”, za šta dobija odobrenja na početku svog života. Ako majka svojim senzibilitetom izlazi u susret detetovim instinktivnim pulzijama, ako dozvoli da id funkcionisanje postane iskustvo ega bez straha, dete može razviti „pravi self” i takav self nije rezultat odbrane niti rezultat povinovanja majčinskoj nemogućnosti da reaguje na njegove potrebe empatijski i pouzdano. Onda kada majka ne uspe u svojoj ulozi, detetove najranije anksioznosti se doživljavaju kao pretnja od uništenja.

Nakon psihoanalitičara, psihološkoj stvarnosti majčinstva bili su posvećeni brojni eksperimenti u domenu razvojne psihologije, nastojeći da opišu proces stvaranja identiteta majke kao primarne negovateljice u prvih nekoliko godina razvoja deteta sa naglaskom na važnost prisustva, davanja i deljenja osećanja i potreba. Psihološka paradigma savremenog majčinstva nametnula je pitanja poput: imaju li žene imaju prostora da se pripreme za ulogu koja ih u psihološkom i kulturološkom aspektu razlikuje od muškaraca, da li uopšte istinski žele da podnesu teret majčinstva koje postaje sve kompleksnije te da li se plaše potencijalnih posledica nedovoljne spremnosti za ulogu? U ovom radu fokusiraćemo se na nekoliko savremenih pojmova trenutno aktuelnih u humanističkim naukama, gde ćemo kroz prikaz novih konstrukata pokušati da prikažemo složenost majčinstva danas.

## 2. MAJČINSTVO IZ UGLA FEMINIZMA – SENZITIVNOST POJMOVA

Feministička tumačenja i razumevanje majčinstva smatramo važnom komponentom u stvaranju šire slike o kompleksnosti pojma majčinskog sagorevanja budući da se slika žene (majke) u poslednjih 50 godina značajno menja. Oduvek su majčinstvo i reprodukcija bili u fokusu feminističkih spoznaja. U svom diskursu feminizam se, kada je u pitanju majčinstvo, može podeliti na tri perioda. Tokom prvog i drugog feminističkog talasa dominirala je paradigma majčinstva u smislu biološke reprodukcije, dok se u trećem talasu, liberarnog feminizma, insistira na odabiru slobode majčinstva u svetu savremene medicinski potpomognute oplodnje. Feministkinje tvrde da je pojava potpomognute oplodnje razgradila biološko majčinstvo isticanjem u prvi plan pojma reprodukcije, a za uzvrat se vraća momenat slobode u odabiru da li i u kojem momentu žena želi postati majka (Neyer i Bernardi 2011).

Jedan od aspekata feminističkog tumačenja majčinstva jeste proširenje i senzitivnost terminologije. Tako u anglosaksonskoj literaturi susrećemo dva pojma koji opisuju majčinstvo – *motherhood* i *mothering*. Ne koriste se nazimeno već se *motherhood* odnosi na *opresivnu instituciju pod kontrolom muškaraca koja getoizira i degradira potencijale žene*, dok se *mothering* odnosi na *žensko iskustvo bivanja majkom koje je izvor moći i osnaživanja žena*. U našoj terminologiji ova razlika ne postoji, a za identifikovanje pojma majčinstva je svakako prihvatljiviji pojam *mothering* (Pavliček 2016). Feministkinje se u suštini pitaju zašto se momenat povišene brige u roditeljstvu vezuje uglavnom ili isključivo za ženu.

Feministički pojmovnik dopunjuje pojam matricentrični feminizam (*eng. mantrientric feminism*) u trećem talasu feminizma. Ovaj koncept se definiše kroz princip osnaženog majčinstva koje karakteriše autonomija i sloboda izbora kroz prizmu blagostanja (O'Reilly 2016). Matricentrični feminizam omogućava majkama da izvrše stvarnu i trajnu promenu na personalnom i društvenom planu, a posebno kroz interakciju sa svojim detetom onda kada nemaju pritisak društvenih ili patrijarhatom uslovljenih institucija (Ibidem), što smatramo posebno važnim u kontekstu majčinskog sagorevanja. Feministkinje najčešće zameraju što se gotovo ne obraća pažnja na izneverena očekivanja koje majka može imati, a odnose se na primer na vaspitanje dece. Vaspitavanje dece može biti praćeno emocijama kao što su ravnodušnost, okrutnost, zavist, posesivnost i ogorčenost, a od majki se očekuje da instinktivno znaju kako odgajati svoju decu, dok se neretko negativne promene raspoloženja tumače kao zabranjene i nepoželjne. Posledično, kada stvari krenu u

suprotnom pravcu, obično se majke okrivljuju za neadekvatno ponašanje deteta (Green 2020), te je češće i sagorevanju u ulozi majke.

Pojam rodne ravnopravnosti je takođe značajan produkt feminističkog pokreta pa se pojam majčinstva i roditeljskog sagorevanja posmatrao i iz ove perpektive. Istraživanje sprovedeno na blizu 12.000 žena iz 40 zemalja imalo je nameru proveriti da li je u zemljama koje drže do principa rodne ravnopravnosti na društvenoj razini majčinsko sagorevanje izraženije. Budući da se princip rodne ravnopravnosti posebno ceni u zapadnoj kulturi sa tendencijom izjednačavanja rodnih uloga i zahteva koje društvo postavlja pred ženu i muškarca, pokazalo se da reprekusije sagorevanja mogu biti vidljive na individualnoj razini kroz sagorevanje majki te da je visok stepen rodne ravnopravnosti na društvenom nivou povezana sa visokim sagorevanjem na individualnom nivou, a posledice se očituju u domenu sagorevanje majki (Roskam i sar. 2021).

Majke su u većem riziku od sagorevanja zbog kontinuiranog prilagođavanja zahtevima svoje dece i ograničenja ličnih aktivnosti, što je u skladu sa O'Relijevim konceptom matricentričnog majčinstva. Nadalje, broj male dece u kući akumulira veći stres i niži nivo kontrole, a u konačnici monotonija beskrajnih svakodnevnih zadataka modelira nivo emocionalne, fizičke i instrumentalne iscrpljenosti (Le Vigouroux i sar. 2017). Analizirajući neravnu dimenziju roditeljstva, feministkinje podsećaju da je briga suštinski deo ljudskih odnosa i da ne bi trebala biti ograničena samo na majke u roditeljskoj dijadi (Climaco 2020). Stoga smatramo da je važno u kontekstu majčinskog sagorevanja stalno podsećati na ovu značajnu psihološku instancu.

Zaključno, pozicioniranje majčinstva u feminističkim teorijama kreće od radikalnog feminističkog odbacivanja majčinstva na osnovu inherentnog utiska o ženama izraženog stavom da „majčinstvo ima veze sa istorijom u kojoj žene ostaju nemoćne reprodukujući svet muškaraca“ (Allen 1983), do umerenijih prikaza te ambivalentnosti koji upozoravaju na „skorašnji pozitivan feministički fokus na majčinstvo“ koji romantizuje majčinstvo oslanjajući se u velikoj meri na seksističke stereotipe (Takševa 2018).

### **3. RODITELJSKO SAGOREVANJE**

Pre definisanja same sintagme osvrnućemo se na motivaciju za roditeljstvom. Koncept motivacije za roditeljstvom podrazumeva zadovoljenje minimum jednog od četiri motiva koji nas vode ka ostvarenju u roditeljskoj ulozi i to kroz: altruistički,

fatalistički, narcistički i instrumentalni motiv (Grijak Soleša i Fazlagić 2015). Istraživanja pokazuju kako žene prijavljuju instrumentalni motiv kao primarni roditeljski motiv, i u nešto manjoj meri narcistički motiv, dok su muškarci više skloni fatalističkim motivima (Ibidem). Instrumentalni motiv podrazumeva da je dete roditelju instrument da ostvari određene životne ciljeve i potrebe poput potvrđivanja sebe, produženja porodične loze, očuvanja braka i rodoljublja. Fatalistički motiv podrazumeva uverenje da je rađanje obaveza čoveka, sastavni deo života i sudbine svake odrasle osobe, dok narcistički motiv podrazumeva da dete potvrđuje roditeljsku reproduktivnu sposobnost ili socijalno-psihološku adekvatnost (Rabin 1965, prema Grijak Soleša i Fazlagić 2015).

Dominantnost instrumentalne motivacije za roditeljstvo kod studenkinja potvrđuje psihološko-emocionalnu i socijalno-normativnu dimenziju vrednosti koje dete ima za potencijalne roditelje (Suckow i Klaus 2002). U kontekstu ove motivacije detetom se razvija pojam o sebi, dostiže besmrtnost kroz porodično ime, kroz uverenja i običaje koje roditelji prenose na decu. Dakle, hereditetna i kulturološka uporišta roditeljstva uslovljavaju razvijanje svesti o roditeljstvu kao neodovojivom od sistema čovekovog funkcionisanja mnogo pre nego i postanemo roditelji. Međutim, često je na društvenom i individualnom planu neprihvatljivo izvestiti o poteškoćama i teskobnom stanju koje roditelji doživljavaju.

Značajno teorijsko uporište konceptu roditeljskog sagorevanja je Brofenbrennerov ekološki model (Ren, Chai i Wang 2024) prema kojem porodica čini jedan mikrosistem u kojem roditelji imaju ulogu u smislu da su crte ličnosti koje roditelji sa sobom nose odlučujuće za proces sagorevanja budući da modeliraju kvalitet roditeljstva. Crte ličnosti poput neuroticizma, savesnosti i prijatnosti čine bazične resurse koji adekvatnim doziranjem mogu zaštititi roditelje od sagorevanja. Posebno neuroticizam utiče na sagorevanje kod roditelja jer emocionalna nestabilnost utiče na regulaciju emocija i kontrolu impulsa, a emocionalno nestabilni roditelji su reaktivniji na životne događaje koji mogu dovesti do sagorevanja (Alarcon, Eschleman, Bowling 2009). Nadalje, visoka prijatnost kao crta ličnosti doprinosi višim nivoima pozitivnih i fleksibilnih kognitivnih strategija suočavanja i nižim nivoima izbegavajućih strategija. Na taj način stvara se stabilan recipročan sistem između dece i roditelja, jer roditelji dobijaju kvalitetnu relaciju sa detetom, a dete dobija osećaj kompetentnosti i samopouzdanja, što posledično smanjuje izgaranje kod roditelja.

Dugoročna prisutnost simptomatologije može voditi ka roditeljskom sagorevanju. Roditeljsko sagorevanje se definiše kao stanje intenzivne iscrpljenosti povezane sa roditeljskom ulogom u kojem osoba postaje emocionalno udaljena od svoje dece i

ima smanjen doživljaj roditeljskog postignuća (Paula i sar. 2021). Naime, početkom 20. veka, nakon uvida koji su stečeni u organizacijskoj psihologiji i spoznajama o profesionalnom burnoutu, istraživači i kliničari prijavljuju sličnu simptomatologiju i kod roditelja. Kao posledica dugoročne izloženosti stresu koji posledično vodi nemogućnosti kompenzacije ograničenih resursa i visokih zahteva, javlja se sindrom roditeljskog sagorevanja (Mikolajczak i sar. 2023). Kada roditelji kontinuirano prijavljuju iscrpljenost, umor i gubitak energije u roditeljskoj ulozi tada zadovoljavaju prvu kategorijalnu dimenziju sindroma roditeljskog sagorevanja iscrpljenost (Lebert-Charron i sar. 2021). Onda kada se postepeno smanjuje pažnja, uključenost u odgoj, gubitak volje za provođenje vremena sa decom te poteškoće u iskazivanju ljubavi prema deci, tada govorimo o dimenziji emocionalnog udaljavanja. Treća dimenzija se odnosi na osećaj smanjenog roditeljskog postignuća ili kompetentnosti u roditeljskoj ulozi koju karakteriše sumnja u vlastite roditeljske sposobnosti što podrazumeva spoznaju da je njihova kompetentnost oslabila te da se ne mogu nositi sa problemima i ispunjavati zahteve u roditeljskoj ulozi (Mikolajczak i sar. 2018a). Na posletku, četvrti faktor koji se odskora pojavljuje, uključuje još i dimenziju kontrasta koja podrazumeva nejednakost uvida u roditeljstvo nekada i sada (Roskam, Brianda i Mikolajczak 2018).

Istraživači navode da onda kada roditelji zadrže kompetentnost u roditeljskoj ulozi, ali izgube osećaj zadovoljstva i ispunjenosti roditeljskom ulogom, možemo govoriti o roditeljskom sagorevanju (Roskam, Brianda i Mikolajczak, 2018), dok učestalost ovih simptoma i intenzitet javljanja ukazuju na prisutnost sindroma i njegovu ozbiljnost (Mikolajczak i Roskam 2021).

Prema izveštajima istraživanja roditeljsko sagorevanje je povezano i sa zloupotrebom supstanci i poremećajima spavanja (Mikolajczak i sar. 2018a; Sarionandia-Pena 2019), depresijom i poremećajem rada hipotalamusne hipofizne osnove (Brianda, Roskam i Mikolajczak 2020). Depresija je zasigurno najjači korelat roditeljskog sagorevanja, što je podržano rezultatima koji govore u prilog smanjenom zadovoljstvu životom i opštim padom blagostanja (Zou i sar. 2022).

Kada su pitanju interpersonalne relacije u porodici u procesu sagorevanja je karakteristična pojačana agresivnost prema deci, zanemarivanje i nasilno ponašanje prema deci (Mikolajczak i Roskam 2021; Kalkan i sar. 2022), a na nivou relacija i odnosa sa partnerom smanjeno zadovoljstvo porodičnim i partnerskim relacijama među supružnicima (Mikolajczak i sar. 2018b; Chen i sar. 2019).

Trenutno su širom sveta aktuelna istraživanja koja pokušavaju identifikovati razinu, prisutnost i opravdanost postojanja ovog sindroma kao zasebnog entiteta.



Ranija istraživanja su upućivala na različite prevalencije koje se kreću od 1% do 30% (Lindström, Aman i Norberg 2011), a s obzirom na rasprostranjenost i mogućnosti dijagnostike noviji podaci su oprezniji u izveštavanju. Naime, u istraživanju provedenom u 42 zemlje roditeljsko sagorevanje proživi oko 5% sa tendencijom rasta u zapadnim zemljama na 9% (Ren, Chai i Wang 2024). Postavlja se pitanje zašto je rast prisutan u zapadnoj kulturi? Odgovor se može naslutiti kroz koncept društvenog uređenja gde je individualističko opredelenje značajan psihološki prediktor u procesu sagorevanja (Roskam i sar. 2022). Zapadne zemlje su sklonije propagandi (a i sam kulturološki okviru je takav) koja intezivira roditeljska očekivanja čime raste psihološki pritisak na roditelje (Faircloth 2014). Apostrofira se momenat instrumentalizacije roditeljstva u domenu normativnih propisa i opšteg javnog interesa, što svakako nije deo javne politike i tradicije nezapadnih kolektivističkih kultura (Geinger, Vandenbroeck i Roets 2014). Autori jedne studije izveštavaju da su samo evropski i američki roditelji protagonisti ere „intezivnog majčinstva/roditeljstva sa posebnim fokusom na dete“ a ovaj koncept karakteriše stručno vođeno, emocionalno upijajuće, radom intezivno i finansijski skupo roditeljstvo (Hays 1996, prema Roskam i sar. 2021).

#### **4. MAJČINSKO SAGOREVANJE**

Kako smo u uvodnom delu napomenuli, koncept majčinskog sagorevanja potiče iz domena profesionalnog sagorevanja. Autori Maslach i Jackson (1981) upućuju na paralelu između profesionalnog i roditeljskog sagorevanja kroz zadatke koje odrasli imaju na poslu i svakodnevne obaveze i zadatke u roditeljskoj ulozi. Koncept sagorevanja podržan je transakcionim modelom gde je proces izgaranja najčešće posledica povezanosti percipiranog stresa i emocionalne iscrpljenosti što vodi lošem izboru strategija. Kontinuirani stres povezan sa svakodnevnom brigom o detetu kod majki sa niskim ličnim postignućem i emocionalnom iscrpljenošću može pro-uzrokovati sagorevanje (Boujut i sar. 2016).

Majke su u većem riziku od sagorevanja u odnosu na očeve jer su uključnije i posvećenije ulozi majke (Norberg 2007). Jedno od objašnjenja može biti i u Helgesonovom i Fricovom (1998) modelu preterane posvećenosti drugima. Reč je o osobini ličnosti koja podrazumeva posvećenost drugima do isključenja samog sebe i karakteristična je za ženski rod. Dodatno, preterana posvećenost je pozitivno povezana sa negativnim međuljudskim interakcijama i socijalnom ranjivošću (Bruch 2002), te inter- i intrapersonalnim konfliktima koji vode ka sagorevanju. Prema

Séjourné i sar. (2018) sagorevanje majke je psihološko, emocionalno i fiziološko stanje koje nastaje kao rezultat akumulacije različitih stresora koje karakterišu umerena, ali hronična i ponavljajuća stanja premorenosti. Razlozi koji se najčešće navode kao uzroci povećane vulnerabilnosti odnose se na psihosomatske tegobe i značajni akutni ili hronični stresor roditeljstva kao što je npr. težak temperament deteta (Matvienko-Sikar, Murphy i Murphy 2018). Majke dece koja su preživela rak mozga (Norberg 2007), roditelji dece sa cerebralnom paralizom (Basaran i sar. 2013) kao i majke dece sa dijabetesom tipa 1 prijavljuju roditeljsko/majčinsko sagorevanje (Lindström, Aman, Norberg 2011) upravo zbog konstantne izloženosti stresorima povezanim sa neizvesnošću. Osiromašena ekspresija, regulacija i verbalizacija emocija povezana je sa većim sagorevanjem kod majki dece sa autizmom (Li 2012). Majke sa alekstimijom koriste više prekrivajućih strategija kao što su izbegavanje i samookrivljavanje da bi izbegle stres, ali dugoročno ih ove strategije vode ka sagorevanju (Aaron i sar. 2020). Kao mogući uzročnik majčinskog sagorevanja u literaturi se navodi i internalizacija majčinske motivacije kroz model autonomne motivacije koja pozitivno korelira sa odsustvom sagorevanja i kontrolišuće motivacije koja pozitivno korelira sa visokim nivoom sagorevanja. Dakle, majke koje sa više interesne motivacije prilaze deci i roditeljstvu imaće i manje sagorevanje u roditeljskoj ulozi (Chen, Gan i Guo 2014).

U studiji u kojoj je ispitivano 1306 francuskih majki starijih od 18 godina identifikovani su faktori majčinskog sagorevanja uz pokušaj određivanja granične linije između majki koje su u riziku i onih koje nisu (Lebert-Charron i sar. 2021). Analizom klastera je utvrđeno da se spram afektivnih varijabli (depresija, anksioznost, postpartalna depresija i teret) i ljubavnog odnosa u kojem se procenjivala intimnost strast i posvećenost, razlikuje pet grupa majki prema tipu sagorevanja. Prvu grupu čine majke bez roditeljskog sagorevanja, zatim majke sa srednjim nivoom sagorevanja, majke koje razvijaju emocionalnu distancu, potom majke sa visokom manifestacijom sagorevanja i na kraju majke sa ekstremnim nivoom sagorevanja. Visoka i ekstremno visoka manifestacija roditeljskog sagorevanja prisutna je kod majki koje imaju izraženu jednu ili više afektivnih dimenzija, dok takva razlika nije uočljiva kada se u pitanju ljubavni odnosi. Tako rezultati ove studije izveštavaju da je za majke koju pokazuju odsustvo roditeljskog sagorevanja karakterističan nizak nivo anksioznosti (Ibidem). Ovi rezultati u skladu sa sa ostalim istraživanjima koja dosledno pokazuju da majke koje imaju visok nivo majčinskog sagorevanja imaju i izraženiju dodatnu simptomatologiju (Kawamoto, Furutani i Alimardani 2018; Mikolajczak i sar. 2018b). Neka ranija istraživanja upućuju i na povezanost stila

vezivanja i majčinskog sagorevanja. Kada se suoče sa stresom roditeljskih aktivnosti majke sa anksioznom privrženosti češće imaju osećaj emocionalne iscrpljenosti i odvojenosti od deteta, što uzrokuje brže sagorevanje (Pines 2004).

Kada su u pitanju sociodemografske varijable značajnu povezanost sa nivoom sagorevanja pokazali su nivo obrazovanja i ekonomska (materijalna) situacija u porodici. Viši nivo obrazovanja povezan je sa nižim nivoom sagorevanja, gde se navodi da roditelji višeg obrazovanja uključuju i više strategija suočavanja sa potencijalnim stresorima koji vode ka sagorevanju. Logično, roditelji većeg obrazovanja imaju po pravilu i veća primanja koja posebno u situacijama kada porodice imaju jedno ili više bolesne dece, smanjuju broj stresogena povezanih sa materijalnim poteškoćama u lečenju (Vigouroux i Scola 2018).

Značajno bi bilo u budućnosti proveriti da li i na koji način zaposlenost majki utiče na razvoj sagorevanja. Oprečni nalazi govore da nezaposlene majke brže razvijaju majčinski burnout budući da nemaju "svoje" produktivno vreme, već su u kontinuitetu i u potpunosti posvećene deci, a time i izložene dodatnim stresorima. S druge strane, posebno je važno ispitati uticaj različitih društvenih normi koje mogu stvarati pritisak kod zaposlenih majki da "postanu i ostanu" dobre majke (Meeussen i Van Laar 2018)

#### ***4.1. Majčinsko sagorevanje i postpartalna depresija – sličnosti i razlike***

Postpartalna depresija se definiše kao depresivno raspoloženje majki karakteristično za period do šest nedelja nakon porođaja sa razlikama u prijavi simptoma u odnosu na društveni milje. U kolektivističkim kulturama porodilje prijavljuju simptome postpartalne depresije dve nedelje nakon porođaja, dok je za zapadnu individualističku kulturu karakterističan period do šest nedelja nakon porođaja sa prevalencom 6-20% (Mughal, Azhar, i Siddiqui 2022).

Majčinsko sagorevanje i postpartalna depresija nesumnjivo imaju sličnosti, a istraživači nastoje da potvrde potencijalne razlike tretirajući ova dva koncepta kao dva različita stanja, dok se deo istraživača slaže da je sagorevanje majke mogući oblik depresije (Schonfeld i Bianchi 2016). Kada se usporede ova dva koncepta postoje izvesna preklapanja u simptomatologiji. Naime, sagorevanje karakterišu ekstremna iscrpljenost, društveni zamor, smanjenje performansi, pad energije, poteškoće u koncentraciji, agitacija ali često i fizički problemi poput glavobolje (Mikolajczak i sar. 2018a). Simptomatologija postpartalne depresije uključuje perzistentno depresivno raspoloženje praćeno gubitkom volje za svakodnevne aktivnosti i aktivnosti

vezane za dete, nizak nivo zadovoljstva tokom dana, hipo- ili hipersomniju, psihomotornu agitaciju, bezvrednost i bezvoljnost, suicidalne ideje ili pokušaje suicida (Karl i sar. 2020). Uopšteno, majke sa simptomima depresije su emocionalno nestabilne što se prenosi i oseti u roditeljstvu, a neretko se nerado bave zahtevima vezanim za decu budući da ih smanjeni emocionalni i bihevioralni kapaciteti u tome sprečavaju (Huang i sar. 2023).

Razlika može biti u težini simptoma ali je sigurno da se kod majčinskog sagorevanja suicid ne prijavljuje kao učestali i značajni simptom. Jedna od razlika može i biti što sagorevanja utiče samo na to kako se majke osećaju i kako se nose sa stresnim situacijama na svakodnevnom nivou, dok depresija više perzistira kao stanje. Takođe, postpartalna depresija se može dijagnostikovati do šest meseci postpartalno, a majčinsko sagorevanje se može pojaviti i prijaviti u bilo kom period majčinstva. Razlike mogu biti u tretmanu budući da je za sagorevanje karakteristična socijalna podrška (Huang i sar. 2023). Hereditetno, postpartalna depresija je dokazano uzorkovana hormonskim promenama, dok kod majčinskog sagorevanja još uvek nemamo takve dokaze (Hem-Lee-Forsyth i sar., 2023).

Istraživanja pokazuju da je usled složenosti majčinske (roditeljske) uloge u postpartalnom periodu povećana vulnerabilnost za roditeljsko sagorevanje kod majki (Huang i sar. 2023). Najčešća objašnjenja jesu posledice koje stvaraju psihosomatske tegobe u postpartalnom periodu porodilje u kombinaciji sa roditeljskim stresorima vezanim za rast i razvoj novorođenčeta. Takođe u jednom istraživanju ispitivane su relacije između majki u postpartalnom periodu i roditeljskog sagorevanja na uzorku od 375 žena u postpartalnom periodu, a rezultati su pokazali da su simptomi postpartalne depresije u pozitivnoj korelaciji sa svim dimenzijama roditeljskog sagorevanja, što je slučaj i sa rezultatima na globalnom nivou (Séjourné i sar. 2018; Nisar i sar. 2020).

Uopšteno, poređenje ova dva fenomena usporava nedovoljan broj lognitudinalnih istraživanja majki sa postpartumom i reperkusije koje se mogu očitovati kasnije u majčinstvu. Stoga stoji preporuka budućim istraživačima da u formiranju svojih nacrti razmisle o ovom tipu istraživanja.

## 5. ZAKLJUČAK

Ovaj rad imao je cilj da u kontekstu majčinstva kroz istorijsku, psihološku, feminističku i roditeljsku dimenziju razume koncept majčinskog sagorevanja. Podsećanje populacije da je briga kao kognitivna komponenta izražena kod žena, ali

i da u dijadnom roditeljskom odnosu ona treba podjednako da se podeli na roditeljski savez kako bi se tokom rasta i razvoja i roditelji i deca osećali dobro, vidimo kao imperativ savremenog roditeljstva.

Kako bismo u potpunosti razumeli sindrom sagorevanja majki, opasnosti i uzroke, dodatno je važno istraživati i koncept savremenog roditeljstva i kulturološki okvir koji se stvara u procesu globalizacije kako u individualističkim, tako i u kolektivističkim društvima. Istraživanja prikazana u ovom radu sugerišu da su normativni diskurs i praksa majčinstva različiti s obzirom na kulturološki milje.

Iako se značajan broj istraživanja osvrće na sagorevanje kod majki dece sa teškoćama u razvoju ili somatskim teškoćama, verujemo da bi značajno bilo istražiti i kakvo je sagorevanje kod majki dece sa psihičkim poremećajima ili ograničenjima, kao i majki dece sa nekom sociopatijom.

U kontekstu postpartalne depresije istraživači bi se trebali usmeriti na razumevanje razlika između pojmova majčinskog sagorevanja i postpartalne depresije kako bi i dijagnostikovanje i tretman ovih poremećaja bili adekvatni. Pojačana vulnerabilnost u postpartalnom periodu i visok nivo sagorevanja u istom predstavljaju okosnicu za odabir istraživačkih ciljeva. Naime, većina istraživanja u domenu majčinskog burnouta rađena je sa majkama starije dece, dok je mali broj istraživanja tokom prve godine postpartuma. Stoga je preporuka autorima da fokus potencijalnih istraživačkih varijabli pozicioniraju u ovaj period jer bi razumevanje potreba i poteškoća porodilja dodatno pomoglo u kreiranju, adaptaciji i implementaciji stručnih programa podrške i/ili pripreme. Odustvo longitudinalnih studija onemogućava praćenje efekata postpartalne depresije na razvoj majčinskog sagorevanja, te bi veći broj istraživanja ovog tipa studija poboljšao uvid u uzročnost i eventualne posledice.

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## BURNOUT SYNDROME IN MATERNAL ROLE

### Summary:

Satisfaction with fulfilling the parental role is considered a crucial component of experiencing parental competence. The concept of burnout was initially defined within the domain of occupational psychology, while in Europe, the concept of parental burnout emerged in the early 21st century, particularly in the context of parents of children with developmental challenges. Following parental burnout, the concept of maternal burnout has become particularly crystallized in psychological reality. The concept of maternal burnout has been relevant in the past five years, attracting researchers due to increasingly transparent consequences. This paper will present a broader discourse on motherhood with a specific emphasis on maternal burnout. Since correlates of maternal burnout are still underresearched, understanding the context of motherhood through a cultural-psychological dimension is deemed important. Feminist theories of motherhood also assist in understanding the challenges faced by contemporary mothers, while the current moment highlights the compatibility of postpartum depression with maternal burnout as particularly significant to explore.

**Keywords:** maternal burnout; parental burnout; motherhood; postpartum depression

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## **KRATKA SKALA POVEZANOSTI SA PRIRODOM (NR-6) – PREVOD I VALIDACIJA**

Cilj istraživanja je prevod i validacija Kratke skale povezanosti sa prirodom, NR-6 (Nisbet i Zelenski 2013). S obzirom na to da su istraživanja u kojima je analiziran psihološki odnos čovjeka sa prirodom na našim prostorima malobrojna, validacija skale koja se pokazala kao jedan od najboljih mjernih instrumenata za ispitivanje ovog konstrukta je prvi korak u izučavanju tako značajnog fenomena. Realizovane su dvije studije. Prvom studijom je obuhvaćen uzorak od 272 ispitanika iz Bosne i Hercegovine, od kojih je 60.66% ispitanika bilo ženskog pola. Starost ispitanika je bila između 18 i 63 godine ( $M=33.18$ ;  $SD=13.38$ ). Dvosmjernom procedurom je NR-6 skala prevedena sa engleskog jezika na srpski jezik i opet sa srpskog na engleski jezik. Reprezentativnost ( $KMO=.890$ ) i pouzdanost ( $\alpha=.877$ ) skale su dobre. Diskriminativna moć stavki je zadovoljavajuća, na šta upućuje niska vrijednost kurtozisa ( $Ku=-.071$ ), te korigovani ajtem-total koeficijenti koji su iznad granične vrijednosti .30. Kriterijska valjanost je provjerena na osnovu odnosa između povezanosti sa prirodom kao prediktora i ekološki odgovornog ponašanja kao zavisne varijable. Kako je povezanost sa prirodom značajan prediktor ekološki odgovornog ponašanja ( $\beta=.542$ ,  $p<.01$ ), zaključak je da je kriterijska valjanost skale zadovoljavajuća. Kriterijska valjanost je provjerena i na osnovu analize odnosa između skora koji su ispitanici postigli na NR-6 skali i odgovora na posebno pitanje da procijene koliko su povezani sa prirodom. Na osnovu vrijednosti Jonkher-Terpsra testa ( $J-T=4.193$ ;  $p<.01$ ) evidentno je da postoji povezanost između rezultata koje su ispitanici ostvarili na NR-6 skali i samoprocjene povezanosti sa prirodom, čime je na još jedan način potvrđena kriterijska valjanost skale. Eksplorativnom faktorskom analizom je potvrđena jednodimenzionalnost skale i dobra faktorska valjanost. Druga studija je realizovana na uzorku od 145 studenata različitih fakulteta

iz Bosne i Hercegovine, od kojih je 69% ispitanika ženskog pola. Starost ispitanika je bila od 18 do 40 godina ( $M=20.36$ ;  $SD=2.36$ ). Konfirmativnom faktorskom analizom ( $\chi^2/df=.836$ ;  $CFI=.000$ ;  $RMSEA=.000$ ) je potvrđena jednodimenzionalnost skale i dobra faktorska valjanost. Identifikovane su pozitivne i statistički značajne korelacije između svih dimenzija psihološke otpornosti, koja je korištena kao pokazatelj mentalnog zdravlja ispitanika i povezanosti sa prirodom, što upućuje na dobru kriterijsku valjanost skale. Nije identifikovana statistički značajna korelacija između povezanosti sa prirodom i nivoa anksioznosti. Na osnovu dobijenih rezultata zaključak je da NR-6 skala ima zadovoljavajuće metrijske karakteristike, kao i da je prikladna za upotrebu u istraživačke i praktične svrhe u Bosni i Hercegovini.

**Glavne riječi:** povezanost sa prirodom; NR-6; validacija skale; metrijske karakteristike

## 1. UVOD

*Povezanost sa prirodom* (engl. nature relatedness – NR) se odnosi na međuzavisnost čovjeka, sa jedne strane, i žive i nežive prirode na planeti Zemlji, sa druge strane (Nisbet, Zelenski i Murphy 2009). Povezanost sa prirodom je relativno stabilan odnos u različitim okolnostima i u toku vremena. Autori konstrukta ističu da je u povezanost sa prirodom uključen i pozitivan i negativan aspekt čovjekovog kontakta sa prirodom. Pod pozitivnim aspektom se podrazumijeva uživanje i relaksacija u prirodnom okruženju ili ljubav prema pojedinim elementima prirode (npr. zalazak sunca). Interakcija čovjeka sa paukovima, zmijama ili jako iznenadno nevrijeme su primjeri negativnog aspekta tog kontakta.

Nisbet i Zelenski (2013) navode da je snažna povezanost sa prirodom u odnosu sa intenzivnijim osjećajem sreće i većom brigom za očuvanjem životne sredine i prirode. Ljudi koji imaju jaču povezanost sa prirodom ujedno su više zadovoljni svojim životom, vitalniji i imaju izraženiji osjećaj svrsishodnosti života, autonomije i ličnog rasta i razvoja. Objektivni kontakt sa prirodom nije uvijek srazmjeran subjektivnom osjećaju povezanosti. Osoba koja ne provodi mnogo vremena u prirodi može osjećati jaku povezanost sa prirodom, ali isto tako i osoba koja provodi mnogo vremena u prirodi može imati veoma slabu povezanost sa prirodom. Veliki broj ljudi je zbog savremenog načina života izgubio vezu sa prirodom, što je rezultiralo negativnim oblicima ponašanja prema životnoj sredini i subjektivnim osjećajem nezadovoljstva i nedostatka sreće (Ibidem).

U namjeri da izmjere konstrukt *povezanost sa prirodom* Nisbet, Zelenski i Murphy (2009) su konstruisali skalu pomoću koje su kroz samoiskaze ispitanika nastojali ispitati vezu između prirode i čovjeka. Oslanjajući se na različite aspekte do tada konstruisanih mjernih instrumenata, literaturu o odnosu čovjeka i prirode, te na teorijsko utemeljenje konstrukta *povezanost sa prirodom*, napravili su set potencijalnih stavki. Nakon pilot istraživanja provjerena je jasnoća i sadržaj svake stavke, pri čemu je nakon te provjere ostao set od 30 tvrdnji, čiji broj su autori opet nastojali da smanje.

Zadržane su stavke koje su na najbolji način predstavljale različite aspekte *povezanosti sa prirodom*. Autori ističu da nisu željeli izostaviti stavke kojima se mogu ispitivati slični konstrukti. Očekivalo se da će rezultati dobijeni NR skalom biti u korelaciji sa rezultatima dobijenim drugim mjerama koje ispituju konstrukte sa sličnom teorijskom osnovom. Ipak, ta korelacija ne bi trebala biti visoka, jer su u pitanju konstrukti koji se razlikuju. Cilj je bio konstruisati skalu koja će imati dobre metrijske karakteristike i kojom će biti moguće ispitati odnos između *povezanosti sa prirodom* i stavova o prirodnoj sredini (ekoloških stavova), ponašanja i osobina ličnosti.

Autori su ponovo realizovali istraživanje na uzorku od 831 studenta osnovnih studija psihologije iz Kanade. Ispitanici su popunjavali petostepenu NR skalu od 30 stavki. Nakon provjere metrijskih karakteristika, u konačnoj verziji NR skale zadržana je 21 stavka. Eksplorativna faktorska analiza je pokazala da skala ima tri dimenzije. Prvu dimenziju su autori nazvali *Ja – povezanost sa prirodom* (NR – Self; predstavlja interanlizovanu identifikaciju sa prirodom), drugi faktor su nazvali *Perspektiva – povezanost sa prirodom* (NR – Perspective; predstavlja brigu o ljudskom uticaju na prirodno okruženje i sva živa bića), a treći *Iskustvo – povezanost sa prirodom* (NR – Experience; predstavlja fizičku bliskost sa prirodom okruženjem i želju za boravkom u prirodi, bez obzira na okolnosti i uslove).

Kronbah-alfa koeficijent za cijelu skalu iznosio je .87, a test-retest koeficijent korelacija nakon perioda od šest i osam sedmica iznosio je .85, što ukazuje na dobru pouzdanost NR skale. Identifikovane su značajne korelacije između rezultata postignutih na NR skali i skalama koje mjere konstrukte koji bi se trebali odnositi na *povezanost sa prirodom*, kao što su različiti oblici ekološki odgovornog ponašanja, ljubav prema životinjama itd. Sve korelacije su bile značajne, ali manje od .70, što ukazuje na dobru kriterijsku valjanost skale.

Kako je interesovanje za ispitivanje konstrukta *povezanost sa prirodom* raslo, često se dešavalo da skala NR nije prikladna za istraživanja u kojima je mjereno više

konstrukata, s obzirom na to da ima 21 stavku. U cilju prilagođavanja potrebama istraživača kojima bi odgovarala kraća verzija skale, autori su odlučili da konstruišu skraćenu verziju koja će imati jednako dobre metrijske karakteristike, ali manji broj stavki (Nisbet i Zelenski 2013). U analizi odgovora 1.200 ispitanika autori su odabrali stavke koje su pravile značajne razlike između ispitanika sa visokom i niskom povezanošću s prirodom i stavke na kojima odgovori nisu statistički značajno odstupali od normalne raspodjele. Ispitali su i korelaciju između odgovora na stavkama i drugih sličnih konstrukata, kao što su stavovi o prirodnoj sredini i mentalno zdravlje, te odabrali stavke koje su visoko korelirale sa tim konstruktima. Na osnovu istaknutih kriterija autori su izabrali šest tvrdnji, koje su odražavale cijelu NR-skalu sa 21 stavkom.

Rezultati na NR-6 skali (kako su autori nazvali skraćenu verziju NR skale), kao i na originalnoj verziji NR skale, bili su u pozitivnoj korelaciji sa zadovoljstvom životom i različitim oblicima ekološki odgovornog ponašanja, što ukazuje na dobru kriterijsku valjanost skraćene skale. Korelacija između rezultata na NR-6 i NR skali (skali sa 21. stavkom) iznosila je .90, što ukazuje na to da obje skale mjere identičan konstrukt. Na osnovu rezultata eksplorativne faktorske analize zaključak je da je skraćena verzija skale jednodimenzionalna. Nisbet i Zelenski (2013) smatraju da skraćena verzija skale, iako ima dobre metrijske karakteristike, ipak je u manjoj mjeri povezana sa indikatorima mentalnog zdravlja u odnosu na verziju od 21 stavke. Ističu da skraćena verzija ne može biti zamjena postojećoj NR-skali, ali je moguće koristiti kada istraživač nema prostora i vremena da koristi skalu sa svim stavkama.

NR-6 skala je imala adekvatne metrijske karakteristike i u studijama koje su kasnije realizovane na ispitanicima iz drugih kulturoloških područja. Chew (2019) je na uzorku od 262 studenta iz Singapura eksplorativnom faktorskom analizom potvrdio jednofaktorsku strukturu skale, koju su predložili i autori. Kronbah-alfa koeficijent je iznosio .82 što upućuje na zadovoljavajuću pouzdanost skale. Chew zaključuje da NR-6 skala ima dobre metrijske karakteristike. Aruta (2021) je na uzorku od 449 dijada ispitanika (roditelj-adolescent) konfirmativnom analizom potvrdio jednofaktorsku strukturu NR-6 skale. Vrijednosti Kronbah-alfa koeficijentata su upućivale na zadovoljavajuću pouzdanost skale ( $\alpha=.85$  za roditelje i  $\alpha=.84$  za adolescente). Kleespies, Braun, Dierkes i Wenzel (2021) su takođe došli do istog rezultata o faktorskoj strukturi skale i zaključili da skala ima zadovoljavajuće metrijske karakteristike. Luong (2022) je primijenio konfirmativnu faktorsku analizu na podacima dobijenim kroz različite studije, na ukupnom uzorku od 1522 ispitanika. Analizom su dobijeni odgovarajući parametri i za jednofaktorsku i za dvofaktorsku

strukturu NR-6 skale, međutim bolji pokazatelji fita su bili za jednodimenzionalnu opciju skale.

S obzirom na to da nijedna verzija NR skale nije prevođena na srpski jezik i validirana na populaciji Bosne i Hercegovine, predmet ovog istraživanja jeste validacija skraćene verzije skale povezanosti sa prirodom – NR-6 skale. Kako su istraživanja i naučni radovi u kojima je analiziran psihološki odnos čovjeka sa prirodom na našim prostorima malobrojni, validacija skale koja se pokazala kao jedan od najboljih mjernih instrumenata za ispitivanje ovog konstrukta (Tam 2013) prvi je korak u naučnom pristupu tako značajnom fenomenu. Validacija je rađena kroz dvije studije. Cilj prve studije bio je ispitati faktorsku strukturu skale (eksplorativnom faktorskom analizom) i ispitati diskriminativnost, reprezentativnost, pouzdanost te kriterijsku valjanost. Cilj druge studije je bio konfirmativnom faktorskom analizom provjeriti latentnu strukturu skale koja je dobijena eksplorativnom faktorskom analizom, a time i faktorsku valjanost skale. Takođe, cilj je bio ispitati konvergentnu valjanost NR-6 skale.

## 2. STUDIJA 1

### *2.1 Uzorak istraživanja i postupak*

Istraživanje je realizovano na prigodnom uzorku od 272 ispitanika iz opšte populacije sa područja Bosne i Hercegovine. U uzorku je bilo 60.66% ispitanika ženskog pola. Hronološka dob ispitanika se kretala između 18 i 63 godine ( $M=33.18$ ;  $SD=13.38$ ). Najviše ispitanika (50.00%) je označilo da je u radnom odnosu, 39.34% je iz populacije studenata, dok je najmanje nezaposlenih (6.25%) i osoba koje su u penziji (2.21%).

Istraživanje su realizovali anketari koji su prvo prošli kratku obuku o primjeni ankete. U pitanju su bili studenti psihologije koji su anketiranje realizovali u sklopu praktične nastave iz predmeta Metodologija psiholoških istraživanja. Prvo su na osnovu unaprijed datih instrukcija samostalno popunili anketu, a zatim je zadatak bio da u mjestu u kom žive anketiraju 10 ispitanika različitih uzrasnih kategorija. Anketiranje je obavljeno uživo (papir i olovka). Svi ispitanici su bili punoljetni i dobrovoljno su učestvovali u istraživanju, uz napomenu da u svakom momentu istraživačkog procesa mogu odustati od učešća, kao i da se na anketu ne trebaju potpisivati. Time je obezbjeđena zaštita identiteta ispitanika, kao i djelimična objektivnost njihovih iskaza.



## **2.2 Instrumenti**

Od instrumenata za prikupljanje podataka korišteni su: Kratka skala povezanosti sa prirodom (NR-6), Skala za ispitivanje ekološki odgovornog ponašanja, kao i jedno pitanje koje se odnosilo na samoprocjenu ispitanika o tome koliko osjećaju da su povezani sa prirodom.

Kratka skala povezanosti sa prirodom (NR-6: Nisbet i Zelenski 2013) je prevedena na srpski jezik. Pored autora, skalu su preveli doktor kriminoloških nauka (sa dugogodišnjim iskustvom u oblasti naučnoistraživačkog rada) i diplomirani psiholog (asistent na Katedri za psihologiju na predmetu Metodologija psiholoških istraživanja). Nakon što su prevodi stavki usaglašeni i prilagođeni srpskom jeziku, sve stavke su ponovo prevedene na engleski jezik. Pregled ponovo prevedenih stavki na engleski jezik je izvršila autorka skale (E. Nisbet) u cilju provjere da li je smisao stavki ostao isti. Nakon nekoliko korekcija, napravljena je lista od šest stavki na srpskom jeziku na koje su ispitanici odgovarali na skali od 1 do 5, gdje broj 1 označava ekstremno neslaganje, a broj 5 ekstremno slaganje sa sadržajem stavke. Veći skor znači da osoba procjenjuje da je više povezana sa prirodom.

Skala samoprocjene ekološki odgovornog ponašanja se odnosi na ispitivanje učestalosti praktikovanja ponašanja koje za cilj ima zaštitu životne sredine. Skalu čini šest stavki koje se odnose na različite oblike ekološki odgovornog ponašanja, a ispitanici su imali zadatak da procjene koliko su često ta ponašanja praktikovali u posljednjih godinu dana. Broj 1 se odnosi na to da navedeni oblik ponašanja nisu nikako praktikovali, a broj 4 da taj oblik ponašanja praktikuju svakodnevno. Veći skor na skali znači da osoba češće praktikuje različite oblike ekološki odgovornog ponašanja.

## **2.3 Rezultati**

S obzirom na to da se odgovori ispitanika grupišu više ka pozitivnom polu ( $M=20.39$ ), to znači da češće procjenjuju da su više povezani sa prirodom. Distribucija je pomjerena ka pozitivnom polu i platikurtična, na šta ukazuju i vrijednosti skjunita i kurtozisa. Niska vrijednost kurtozisa upućuje na potencijalno dobru diskriminativnost skale. Deskriptivne statističke vrijednosti su prikazane u Tabeli 1.

**Tabela 1.** Deskriptivni statistički pokazatelji

	M	SD	Min	Max	Sk	Ku
Povezanost sa prirodom	20.39	5.41	6	30	-.519	-.071

Pouzdanost tipa unutrašnje konzistentnosti je provjerena pomoću Kronbah-Alfa koeficijenta i kako je dobijena vrijednost veća od granične 0.70 zaključak je da skala ima adekvatnu pouzdanost. Reprezentativnost je provjerena pomoću KMO koeficijenta i na osnovu dobijene vrijednosti od .890 može se reći da je adekvatna. Na osnovu korigovanih ajtem-total koeficijenata provjerena je diskriminativnost skale. Kako su sve vrijednosti veće od preporučene granične 0.30, može se zaključiti da je diskriminativnost skale adekvatna. Ovaj zaključak potvrđuje već istaknuta niska vrijednost kurtozisa. Svi dobijeni parametri prikazani su u Tabeli 2.

**Tabela 2.** Mjere pouzdanosti, reprezentativnosti i diskriminativnosti

	Kronbah Alfa	KMO	K-S	Korigovani ajtem-total
Povezanost sa prirodom	.877	.891	.090*	od .479 do .783

Napomena: \* $p < .01$ ;

U cilju testiranja valjanosti NR-6 skale provjerene su kriterijska i faktorska valjanost. S obzirom na to da su rezultati prethodnih istraživanja ukazali da se ekološki odgovorno ponašanje može predviđati na osnovu povezanosti sa prirodom (Nisbet, Zelenski i Murphy 2009; Nisbet i Zelenski 2013; Clayton i sar. 2021), kriterijska valjanost provjerena je pomoću linearne regresione analize. Na osnovu dobijenih vrijednosti (Tabela 3) povezanost sa prirodom je identifikovana kao statistički značajan prediktor ekološki odgovornog ponašanja, što upućuje na to da je kriterijska valjanost skale zadovoljavajuća.

**Tabela 3.** Regresioni koeficijenti modela povezanost sa prirodom kao prediktor ekološki odgovornog ponašanja

Varijable	Model		
	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>SG</i>
Povezanost sa prirodom	.267	.542*	.025
<i>R</i>	.542		
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.294*		

Napomena: \* $p < .01$ ;

S obzirom na to da u dostupnoj literaturi nije pronađena skala koja mjeri povezanost sa prirodom, kriterijska valjanost je provjerena i na osnovu analize odnosa između skora koji su ispitanici postigli na NR-6 skali i odgovora na pitanje da procijene koliko su povezani sa prirodom. Na osnovu vrijednosti Jonkher-Terpsra testa ( $J-T=4.193$ ;  $p<.01$ ) evidentno je da postoji povezanost između rezultata koje su ispitanici ostvarili na NR-6 skali i samoprocjene povezanosti sa prirodom. Kako je vrijednost testa pozitivna, to znači da veći skorovi na NR-6 skali znače i da su ispitanici češće odgovarali da osjećaju jaku povezanost sa prirodom. Dobijenim rezultatom je potvrđena adekvatna kriterijska valjanost NR-6 skale.

Kako autori navode da je NR-6 skala jednodimenzionalna, te kako je jednodimenzionalnost potvrđena i rezultatima kasnijih istraživanja (Nisbet i Zelenski 2013; Chew 2019; Aruta i Pakingan 2022; Kövi i sar. 2023), eksplorativnom faktorskom analizom (metodom glavnih osa) i na osnovu Gutman-Kaiserovog kriterija i u ovom je istraživanju potvrđen jedan faktor. Jednofaktorsko rješenje je potvrđeno i analizom srce plot grafikona. Identifikovani faktor objašnjava 63% ukupne varijanse. Faktorska zasićenja stavki i komunaliteti su prikazani u Tabeli 4.

**Tabela 4.** Matrica faktorskih zasićenja NR-6 skale

Stavke	$h^2$	Faktor
		1
5. Moj odnos prema prirodi važan je dio onoga što jesam.	.759	.871
3. Moja povezanost sa prirodom i životnom sredinom je dio moje duhovnosti.	.752	.867
6. Osjećam se vrlo povezano sa svim živim bićima i zemljom.	.706	.840
2. Uvijek razmišljam o tome kako moji postupci utiču na životnu sredinu.	.619	.787
4. Primjetim divlji životinjski i biljni svijet gdje god da se nalazim.	.592	.769
1. Moje idealno mjesto za odmor bilo bi udaljeno područje, negdje u divljini.	.354	.595

Sve stavke imaju zadovoljavajuće vrijednosti komunaliteta, što znači da imaju visoku zajedničku varijansu sa faktorom. Stavka pod rednim brojem jedan (*Moje idealno mjesto za odmor bilo bi udaljeno područje, negdje u divljini.*) ima najnižu, skoro graničnu vrijednost  $h^2$ . U analizi se pokazalo i da bi izostavljanjem ove stavke Kronbah alfa koeficijent cijele skale bio viši. Međutim, kako skala i sa tom stavkom ima adekvatne metrijske karakteristike, zaključak je da je ne treba isključivati.

## 3. STUDIJA 2

### 3.1 *Uzorak istraživanja i procedura*

Uzorak su činili studenti različitih fakulteta i studijskih programa (N=145) iz Bosne i Hercegovine. U odnosu na pol, 69% ispitanih su pripadnice ženskog pola. Hronološka dob ispitanika se kretala od 18 do 40 godina (M=20.36; SD=2.36). Najviše ispitanika je označilo da su trenutno na prvoj godini studija (60.69%), a najmanje je studenata četvrte i treće godine studija (7.59%). U odnosu na trenutni prosjek ocjena, najniža prosječna ocjena je 5.00, a najviša 10.00 (M=8.31; SD=0.89).

Podaci su prikupljeni online anketom, koja je putem društvenih mreža distribuirana ispitanicima. Učešće je bilo dobrovoljno. Uslov za pristup popunjavanju ankete je bio da ispitanici budu punoljetni, tj. da imaju 18 i iznad 18 godina.

### 3.2 *Instrumenti*

Od instrumenata za prikupljanje podataka korišteni su Kratka skala povezanosti sa prirodom, NR-6, koja je identična skali korištenoj u Studiji 1, Inventar multidimenzionalnog modela psihološke otpornosti (IMMPO) i subskala za procjenu anksioznosti iz Hopkinsonove ček-liste.

Inventar multidimenzionalnog modela psihološke otpornosti (IMMPO – Vujović 2021) čine tri dimenzije, a svaku od dimenzija čine subdimenzije. Bazična otpornost je prva dimenzija Inventara i operacionalizovana je kao proces koji se pokreće kada je osoba izložena faktorima koji narušavaju unutrašnju ravnotežu. Čine je dvije subdimenzije i to: adaptivno ponašanje (odnosi se na različite oblike ponašanja koje osoba manifestuje u momentu suočavanja sa faktorima koji dovode do narušavanja unutrašnje ravnoteže, kao i na sposobnost osobe da se brzo vrati u stanje u kome je bila prije djelovanja faktora) i reakcija (odnosi se na samoprocjenu osobe o reagovanju na faktore koji izazivaju stanje neravnoteže). Intrapsihička otpornost je druga dimenzija MMPO i operacionalizovana je kao percepcija stanja u kome se osoba nalazi i čine je dvije subdimenzije: očuvano mentalno zdravlje (odnosi se na indikatore očuvanosti mentalnog zdravlja i to percepciju o pozitivnoj budućnosti, unutrašnji lokus kontrole, kao i vedrinu i osjećaj kontrole nad sopstvenim životom) i strukturiranost (odnosi se na sklonost planiranju, organizovanost i samodisciplinu). Eksterna interpersonalna otpornost je treća dimenzija Inventara operacionalizovana kao ishod djelovanja različitih faktora zaštite iz okruženja koji su se u dosadašnjim

istraživanjima pokazali kao najznačajniji u kontekstu jačanja kapaciteta otpornosti i čine je tri subdimenzije: podrška porodice, podrška socijalnog okruženja i podrška prijatelja. Veći skorovi na skalama znače da ispitanici imaju viši rezultat na subdimenzijama Inventara.

Hopkinsonova ček-lista za ispitivanje depresivnih i anksioznih simptoma – HSCL-25 (Parloff, Kelman i Frank 1954) sadrži skalu od ukupno 25 stavki, pri čemu 10 stavki mjeri prisustvo simptoma anksioznosti, a 15 stavki prisustvo simptoma depresivnosti. Za potrebe istraživanja je korištena subskala za procjenu anksioznih simptoma. Ispitanici su odgovarali zaokruživanjem jednog od četiri ponuđena odgovora (od *nimalo*, preko *vrlo malo* i *prilično*, do *izrazio*) procjenjujući koliko su osjećali opisane simptome u proteklih mjesec dana. Veći skor na skali znači češće prisustvo anksioznih simptoma.

#### 4. REZULTATI

Konfirmativnom faktorskom analizom je provjeren model sa jednom latentnom dimenzijom. Svi statistički parametri (Tabela 5) ukazuju na to da NR-6 skala i u ovom istraživanju ima jednu dimenziju, te da model skoro savršeno pristaje podacima. Na ovaj način je potvrđena dobra faktorska valjanost skale.

**Tabela 5.** Parametri podudaranja za NR-6 skalu

Parametri	Model 1
$\chi^2$	7.526
df	9
$\chi^2/df$	.836
RMSEA	.000
CFI	.000
NFI	.982

*Napomena:  $\chi^2$  – hi-kvadrat test; df – stepeni slobode; RMSEA – greška aproksimacije; CFI – komparativni indeks podudaranja; NFI – normirani indeks podudaranja.*

Na osnovu vrijednosti korelacija koje su dobijene između odgovora koje su ispitanici davali na NR-6 skali i odgovora koje su davali na skalama kojima su ispitivani konstrukti za koje se očekuje da budu povezani sa konstruktom povezanost sa prirodom, evidentno je da su sve vrijednosti statistički značajne, osim korelacija sa stanjem anksioznosti (Tabela 6).

Najviša korelacija je dobijena između povezanosti sa prirodom i dimenzije bazične otpornosti koja se odnosi na različite oblike ponašanja koje osoba manifestuje u momentu suočavanja sa faktorima koji dovode do narušavanja unutrašnje ravnoteže, kao i na sposobnost osobe da se brzo vrati u stanje u kome je bila prije djelovanja tih faktora. Najniža korelacija je dobijena sa dimenzijom intrapsihičke otpornosti koja se odnosi na sklonost planiranju, organizovanost i samodisciplinu. Značajno je istaći i to da su obje vrijednosti korelacija najniže na obje subdimenzije intrapsihičke otpornosti.

**Tabela 6.** Vrijednosti korelacija između NR-6 skale i povezanih konstrukata

Varijable	B1	B2	I1	I2	E1	E2	E3	AN
NR-6	.301**	.188*	.172*	.166*	.235**	.211*	.243**	.061

*Napomena: \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$ ; B1-adaptivno ponašanje, B2-reakcija, I1-očuvano mentalno zdravlje, I2-strukturiranost, E1-podrška porodice, E2-podrška socijalnog okruženja, E3-podrška prijatelja, AN-anksioznost.*

## 5. DISKUSIJA

Nakon provjere metrijskih karakteristika NR-6 skale dobijeni rezultati su u skladu sa rezultatima prethodnih istraživanja koja su za cilj imala validaciju ovog mjernog instrumenta. Iako u validacionim studijama nije navođen podatak o diskriminativnoj moći stavki, autori skale su prilikom konstrukcije birali stavke na kojima su odgovori bili normalno distribuirani i stavke koje su pravile značajne razlike između ispitanika sa visokom i niskom povezanošću sa prirodom (Nisbet i Zelenski 2013), što upućuje na zaključak da je NR-6 skala imala dobru diskriminativnu moć kada je konstruisana. I u ovom istraživanju je diskriminativna moć stavki zadovoljavajuća, na šta upućuje niska vrijednost kurtozisa ( $Ku = -.071$ ), te korigovani ajtem-total koeficijenti koji su iznad granične vrijednosti 0.30. Reprezentativnost skale je takođe adekvatna. Vrijednost Kronbah-Alfa koeficijenta upućuje na zaključak da skala ima zadovoljavajuću pouzdanost tipa unutrašnje konzistencije, a približno slične vrijednosti su dobijene u i dosadašnjim istraživanjima (Chew 2019; Aruta 2021).

Kriterijska valjanost je adekvatna, s obzirom na to da se na osnovu rezultata na NR-6 skali može predvidjeti ekološki odgovorno ponašanje, što je ujedno i rezultat do kog su došli i autori skale (Nisbet i Zelenski 2013). Identifikovana je statistički značajna razlika između ispitanika koji su putem samoprocjene iskazali intenzitet

povezanosti sa prirodom i rezultata koje su postigli na NR-6 skali. Drugim riječima, ispitanici koji su u većem procentu označavali da su veoma povezani sa prirodom su ujedno postizali više skorove na NR-6 skali, čime je potvrđena kriterijska valjanost skale.

Konstruktna valjanost je provjerena na dva načina. Eksplorativnom i konfirmativnom faktorskom analizom ispitana je faktorska struktura skale i dobijena jedna dimenzija, koja je dobijena i u svim prethodnim istraživanjima (Nisbet i Zelenski 2013; Chew 2019; Kleespies i sar. 2021; Aruta i Pakingan 2022; Luong 2022). Na taj način je potvrđena dobra faktorska valjanost. Kako je povezanost sa prirodom u prethodnim istraživanjima identifikovana kao značajan korelat mentalnog zdravlja (Nisbet, Zelenski i Murpy 2009; Kövi i sar. 2023), ispitan je odnos između povezanosti sa prirodom i različitih dimenzija psihološke otpornosti i sve dimenzije su u pozitivnoj korelaciji. To znači da su osobe koje imaju razvijenu sposobnost brzog vraćanja u stanje ravnoteže nakon izloženosti jakom stresoru, te osobe koje imaju jaku socijalnu podršku prijatelja i porodice ujedno i osobe koje osjećaju jaču povezanost sa prirodom. Takođe, povezanost sa prirodom je značajan korelat i očuvanosti mentalnog zdravlja, sklonosti osobe ka planiranju i samodisciplini, adekvatnom reagovanju na stresne situacije, kao i socijalne podrške šireg socijalnog okruženja. Anksioznost kao stanje u kojem se osoba nalazila, a koje je uključivalo prisustvo određenih simptoma u proteklih mjesec dana nije u vezi sa povezanošću sa prirodom. Moguće je da bi rezultat bio drugačiji da je ispitivana anksioznost kao crta ličnosti, što je svakako nešto što je potrebno provjeriti u narednim istraživanjima. U skladu sa navedenim, zaključak je da je i konvergentna valjanost adekvatna.

Na osnovu svih analiziranih parametara NR-6 skala prevedena na srpski jezik ima zadovoljavajuće metrijske karakteristike. Doprinos realizovane studije je u tome što je sada dostupan mjerni instrument kojim je moguće ispitati psihološki odnos čovjeka prema prirodi, sa posebnim naglaskom na to da je u pitanju skala sa malim brojem stavki. To je pogodno za istraživanja kojima se ispituje veliki broj varijabli, te je istraživaču značajno da konstrukte ispita malim brojem pitanja. Nedostatak studije je u tome što nije korišteno više varijabli za procjenu kriterijske valjanosti, što je i preporuka za buduća istraživanja. Bilo bi dobro kao kriterijske varijable koristiti druge skale koje ispituju povezanost sa prirodom, te širi opseg ekološki odgovornog ponašanja. Opšti je zaključak da je NR-6 skala validirana, te da je prikladna za upotrebu u istraživačke i praktične svrhe u Bosni i Hercegovini, kao i da je prilagođena govornom području BHS jezika.

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## SHORT SCALE OF CONNECTION WITH NATURE (NR-6) – VALIDATION STUDY

### Summary:

The study aimed to standardize the short version of the Nature Relatedness Scale, NR-6 (Nisbet & Zelenski 2013). Studies on the connection between humans and nature in our region are rare. The first step in a scientific approach to such a significant phenomenon is the standardization of a scale that has proven to be one of the best measurement instruments for examining this construct. The validation process involved conducting two distinct studies. In the first study, the sample consisted of 272 respondents from Bosnia and Herzegovina aged between 18 and 63 ( $M=33.18$ ;  $SD=13.38$ ). 60.66% of respondents were female. The NR-6 scale was translated from English to Serbian and back to English using a two-way procedure. The representativeness ( $KMO=.890$ ) and reliability ( $\alpha=.877$ ) are good. Discriminateness of the items is satisfactory, as indicated by the low value of kurtosis ( $Ku=-.071$ ) and the corrected item-total coefficients above the threshold value of .30. Nature relatedness is a significant predictor of environmentally responsible behavior ( $\beta=.542$ ,  $p<.01$ ), which indicates that criterion validity is good. The analysis of the relationship between the score obtained by the respondents on the NR-6 scale and the answer to a question to assess how connected they are with nature ( $J-T=4.193$ ;  $p<.01$ ) indicates a connection between the results of these two variables. This result confirmed the criterion validity of the scale. Exploratory factor analysis confirmed the one-dimensionality and good factor validity of the scale. The second study involved a sample of 145 students from various faculties in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with 69% of the participants being female. The age of the respondents ranged from 18 to 40 ( $M=20.36$ ;  $SD=2.36$ ). Confirmatory factor analysis ( $\chi^2/df=.836$ ;  $CFI=.000$ ;  $RMSEA=.000$ ) confirmed the one-dimensionality and good factor validity of the scale. There are correlations between dimensions of psychological resilience and individuals' connection with nature. Psychological resilience served as a measure of the mental well-being of the participants. There is no correlation between the connection with nature and anxiety. The conclusion is that the NR-6 scale demonstrates robust psychometric properties, as well as that it is suitable for use for research and practical purposes in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Key words:** nature relatedness; NR-6; scale validation; psychometric characteristics

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## **ZADOVOLJSTVO VASPITAČA POSLOM: IZAZOV ZA MENADŽMENT USTANOVE**

Autorke u radu polaze od shvatanja da zadovoljstvo poslom predstavlja emocionalno-kognitivno-konativni način reagovanja zaposlenih, pri čemu afektivni segment zadovoljstva podrazumeva osećanja zaposlenog prema poslu s obzirom na sadržaj posla i uslove rada, kognitivni čine pretpostavke i verovanja zaposlenog o svom poslu, dok se konativni segment zadovoljstva poslom odnosi na subjektivne ocene posla zaposlenih i spremnosti na zalaganje na osnovu te procene. Cilj sprovedenog istraživanja je ispitivanje ukupnog zadovoljstva poslom i zadovoljstva različitim aspektima posla vaspitača kao i analiza razlika u proceni zadovoljstva poslom u zavisnosti od dužine radnog staža. Za potrebe istraživanja primenjena je skala Job Satisfaction Survey (JSS, Spector 1985). U istraživanju je učestvovalo 150 vaspitača koji su zaposleni u 14 objekata dve predškolske ustanove u Republici Srbiji. Rezultati pokazuju da su učesnici istraživanja iskazali nisko zadovoljstvo aspektima: plata, radne procedure i napredovanje; a visoko zadovoljstvo aspektima: saradnici, rukovođenje i priroda posla. Na skali ukupnog zadovoljstva poslom utvrđen je ambivalentan stav prema poslu. Vaspitači koji imaju do 10 godina radnog staža značajno su zadovoljniji poslom, u odnosu na vaspitače koji imaju duži radni staž. Dobijeni nalazi istraživanja značajni su u kontekstu osmišljavanja strategija koje menadžment ustanove može da primenjuje u cilju motivisanja zaposlenih za rad.

**Ključne reči:** zadovoljstvo poslom; motivacija za rad; menadžment; vaspitač

## 1. UVOD

Zadovoljstvo poslom podstavlja opšte osećanje zaposlenih prema poslu (Korać 2011; Singh, Tiwari 2011), emocionalno-kognitivno-konativni način reagovanja koji je rezultat njihovih iskustava na poslu (Katrina-Mitrović, Nikolić, Nikolić 2014). Afektivni segment zadovoljstva podrazumeva osećanja prema poslu u kontekstu sadržaja posla i uslova rada, kognitivni čine pretpostavke i verovanja o poslu, dok se konativni segment zadovoljstva poslom odnosi na subjektivne ocene posla zaposlenih i njihove spremnosti na zalaganje na osnovu te procene (Ibidem). Spektor (Spector 1996) smatra da je to osećaj zaposlenih o poslu ili pojedinim njegovim aspektima, tj. stepen u kojem se zaposlenima njihov posao sviđa (zadovoljstvo) ili ne sviđa (nezadovoljstvo) (Šimić-Šašić, Klarin 2011).

Fenomen zadovoljstva zaposlenih poslom je složen, te ga je moguće različito tumačiti i operacionalizovati. Ošagbemi (Oshagbemi 1999, prema Ibid: 66) ukazuje da ga možemo ispitivati, sa jedne strane, kroz prizmu različitih aspekata posla koji doprinose ukupnom zadovoljstvu poslom, ali i kao opšti stav prema poslu, što zapravo predstavlja više od zbira zadovoljstva pojedinim aspektima posla (zaposleni mogu biti nezadovoljni nekim aspektom posla, ali generalno zadovoljni svojim poslom).

Brojni su faktori koji utiču na zadovoljstvo zaposlenih poslom: opšte društveno-ekonomske prilike, zarada, razne beneficije, organizaciona klima i kultura, odnosi unutar organizacije, način upravljanja i rukovođenja i sl. Nalazi istraživanja pokazuju da na percepciju karakteristika određenog posla od strane zaposlenog utiču faktori sredine i osobine ličnosti (Judge, Heller, Mount 2002; Nohria, Groysberg, Lee 2008; Mirković, Čekrlija 2015). Grinberg (1998, prema Franceško, Mirković 2008), izdvaja *organizacione* i *lične faktore* zadovoljstva poslom. Autor navodi da *organizacione faktore* čini: *sam posao* – mentalno izazovniji posao stvara veće zadovoljstvo nego rutinski i jednostavan; *sistem nagrađivanja* – pored visine plate značajnija je pravična raspodela nagrade tj. sistem pravilnog nagrađivanja; *uslovi rada* – prijatniji radni uslovi doprinose većem uspehu na poslu; *dobri međuljudski odnosi* i topla socijalna atmosfera bez sukoba često su važniji nego visina plate; *decentralizovana organizaciona struktura* – veća mogućnost odlučivanja i participacije doprinosi većem zadovoljstvu zaposlenih. Od *ličnih faktora* se izdvajaju: sklad između ličnih *sposobnosti i interesovanja* i *osobina posla* koji vodi do boljih rezultata i nagrada, a posledično do većeg zadovoljstva poslom; *status i pozicija* zaposlenog – viša pozicija i status dovode do većeg zadovoljstva; zadovoljstvo *ukupnim životom* se visoko pozitivno odražava na zadovoljstvo poslom i obrnuto (prelivanje zadovoljstva); *radni*

*staž i starost* – stariji zaposleni i sa dužim radnim stažom su zadovoljniji poslom; oko 40-te godine zadovoljstvo poslom oscilira, da bi kasnije ponovo raslo (Mandarić, Vukušić, Krstulović 2024).

Brojne studije su utvrdile da zadovoljstvo poslom utiče na radnu efikasnost i produktivnost zaposlenih, kao i na fluktuaciju, apsentizam i druge pojave u radnim organizacijama koje su značajne za njeno funkcionisanje (Čukić 2004; Nagar 2012; Mirković, Čekrlija 2015; Lunenburg 2020). Zadovoljstvo poslom, organizacijska predanost, spremnost na promene, biranje novog zaposlenja i lakoća napuštanja organizacije predstavljaju pouzdane prediktore udaljavanja ili približavanja organizaciji, pružaju uvid u motivisanost i angažovanost zaposlenih, kao i u strukturu procesa dezintegriranja ili integriranja organizacije (Crant 2000; Stepanov, Paspalj, Butulja 2016; Lee, Lee, Choi, Kim 2022).

Prepoznajemo da je za naš rad važno i da rasvetlimo odnos fenomena motivacije zaposlenih za obavljanje posla i njihovog zadovoljstva poslom koji obavljaju. Motivisanost za rad je psiho-sociološka kategorija koja proizilazi iz odnosa pojedinaca prema radu i njegove spremnosti da se angažuje u ostvarenju ciljeva rada (Dobre 2013). Ona se ispoljava kroz stavove prema poslu i ciljeve zbog kojih se određeni poslovi pokreću, dok zadovoljstvo poslom proističe iz adekvatne motivisanosti (Ibid). Autori koji se bave izučavanjem odnosa motivacije zaposlenih i njihovog zadovoljstva poslom ukazuju da motivacija podrazumeva želju pojedinca za postizanjem određenih rezultata, dok je zadovoljstvo poslom posledica toga (Ahmed 2011; Singh, Tiwari 2011; Stepanov, Paspalj, Butulija 2016). Odnos motivacije i zadovoljstva poslom nije jednosmeran. Zaposleni, na primer, može da ima visoko zadovoljstvo poslom, ali da i dalje ima nizak nivo motivacije za realizaciju tog posla. Sa druge strane, visoko motivisan zaposleni može da bude nezadovoljan svojim poslom, što predstavlja rizik od napuštanja organizacije. U skladu sa prethodno navedenim, menadžment svake poslovne organizacije treba da bude zainteresovan za ispitivanje zadovoljstva poslom zaposlenih kako bi identifikovao stepen zadovoljstva različitim aspektima posla i dobijene rezultate koristio u svrhu njihovog motiviranja i radnog angažovanja.

### ***1.1. Zadovoljstvo poslom zaposlenih u obrazovanju***

Autori koji se bave istraživanjem ovog fenomena složni su u shvatanju da zadovoljstvo poslom nastavnika i vaspitača u velikoj meri utiče na motivaciju, postignuća i kvalitet procesa učenja, dobrobit dece/učenika tokom institucionalnog

predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja i njihovog daljeg školovanja (Nišević, Colić 2010; Katrina-Mitrović i sar. 2014; Buttran, Farley Ripple 2016). Zadovoljstvo poslom i motivacija za rad zaposlenih u obrazovanju, kao i njihova percepcija o karakteristikama radnog okruženja, mogu bitno određivati stepen zalaganja, efikasnosti i produktivnosti na poslu. Takođe, to su i važni faktori promena, na koje bi rukovodstvo ustanova moglo da se osloni, u procesu prepoznavanja problema u funkcionisanju škole / predškolske ustanove i osmišljavanja strategija za unapređivanje rada.

Analiza literature ukazuje da su istraživanja zadovoljstva poslom zaposlenih u obrazovanju prevashodno usmerena na zaposlene u osnovnim školama, manje na zaposlene u srednjim školama i na univerzitetima, a rezultati metaanalize ukazuju da je samo 2% istraživanja sprovedeno na nivou predškolskih ustanova (Kim, Loadman 1994, prema Šimić-Šašić, Klarin 2011).

Iako je predmet našeg istraživanja usmeren na zaposlene u predškolskim ustanovama, osvrnućemo se i na rezultate istraživanja zadovoljstva zaposlenih u školama. Razloge nalazimo u činjenici da se pitanja u vezi sa određenim faktorima, kao što su plata, nagrađivanje, priroda posla i radne procedure, u značajnoj meri podudaraju na različitim nivoima obrazovnog sistema.

Rezultati istraživanja sprovedenih u svetu (Brunetti 2001; Bogler 2002; Klecker, Loadman 1997; Peri et al. 1997, prema Ibidem) pokazuju da su nastavnici u osnovnim školama zadovoljniji svojim poslom nego nastavnici u srednjim školama. Nasuprot tome, u istraživanju koje je sprovedeno u Republici Srbiji utvrđeno je da su nastavnici zaposleni u srednjim školama zadovoljniji poslom od nastavnika zaposlenih u osnovnim školama (Majstorović, Matanović, Gligorijević 2017). Nastavnici u osnovnim i srednjim školama su najzadovoljniji prirodom svog posla, komunikacijom sa saradnicima i rukovodiocima, a najmanje zadovoljni platom, nagrađivanjem i radnim procedurama (Katrina-Mitrović i sar. 2014; Majstorović, Matanović, Gligorijević 2017; Panić i Panić 2024).

Percipiranje organizacione klime škole od strane zaposlenih takođe je značajan faktor njihovog zadovoljstva poslom. Nalazi istraživanja Korać (2011) ukazuju da je kod ispitanih nastavnika zaposlenih u osnovnim školama u Republici Srbiji zadovoljstvo poslom veće kod nastavnika koji pozitivnije ocenjuju organizacionu klimu škole i uspostavljenu dobru saradnju sa različitim akterima vaspitno-obrazovnog rada, a da je manje izraženo kod nastavnika koji procenjuju postojanje klika i većeg broja konflikata unutar nastavnog kolektiva.

Kada su u pitanju faktori zadovoljstva poslom zaposlenih u predškolskim ustanovama nalazi istraživanja ukazuju da su to najčešće: sigurnost posla, upravljanje ljudskim resursima, plata koja je adekvatna radnom angažovanju, podrška nadređenih, balans između posla i privatnog života zaposlenih (Kapur 2018; Mohanti 2009, prema Ugrinović i sar. 2024; Tsigilis i sar. 2006; prema Šimić-Šašić, Klarin 2011). Autonomija u radu (McCormack, Cotter 2013) i adekvatan broj dece (normativom propisan) unutar grupe (Wells 2015) takođe su prepoznati kao važni faktori zadovoljstva zaposlenih poslom.

Nalazi istraživanja Šimić-Šašić i Klarin (2011), u kojem su učestvovali zaposleni iz zadrskih predškolskih ustanova, ukazuju da su vaspitači, generalno, zadovoljni poslom, ali društveni ugled svoje profesije smatraju nezadovoljavajućim. Pored navedenog, vaspitači navode da su nezadovoljni poslom zbog velikog broja dece unutar vaspitnih grupa, kao i visinom lične zarade. Slični nalazi dobijeni su i u istraživanjima čiji su učesnici zaposleni u predškolskim ustanovama u Grčkoj (Tsigilis i sar. 2006, prema Ibidem).

Nadalje, nalazi istraživanja Hrupački i Sindik (2013), u kojem su učestvovali vaspitači iz tri vrtića u Zagrebu, a čiji je cilj bio da se utvrdi korelacija zadovoljstva životom vaspitača i karakteristika posla koji obavljaju, ukazuju kako vaspitači prepoznaju da psihološki zahtevi posla, kao što su mogućnost kontrole, socijalna podrška i zadovoljstvo poslom, statistički značajno predviđaju zadovoljstvo životom. Vaspitači prepoznaju da najznačajniji doprinos uspešnoj prognozi zadovoljstva životom jeste upravo zadovoljstvo poslom.

Rezultati istraživanja Mandarić, Vukušić i Krstulović (2024), u kojem su učestvovali zaposleni u predškolskim ustanovama na teritoriji grada Splita, ukazuju da su vaspitači najzadovoljniji neposrednim radom sa decom i saradnjom sa kolegama, a da su najmanje zadovoljni svojim mesečnim primanjima, mogućnošću formalnog stručnog usavršavanja, uslovima i organizacijom rada. Većina vaspitača je intrinzički motivisana za svoju profesiju, ali bi u cilju podsticanja kvaliteta njihove prakse trebalo raditi na dodatnom pružanju podrške ugledu profesije i stvaranju boljih mogućnosti za stručno usavršavanje.

Iako se zadovoljstvo zaposlenih u obrazovanju vrlo intenzivno istražuje već dugi niz godina i u Republici Srbiji, vrlo malo istraživanja je usmereno na zadovoljstvo poslom zaposlenih u predškolskim ustanovama. Nalazi istraživanja Nišević i Colić (2010), koje je imalo za cilj da se utvrde karakteristike stručnog profila vaspitača i učitelja, njihovo zadovoljstvo profesionalnim statusom i poslom koji obavljaju, te mogućnosti unapređivanja profesionalnog statusa, ukazuju da su vaspitači, u odnosu

na učitelje, više zadovoljni prostornim uslovima rada i opremljenošću ustanove, a da su manje zadovoljni velikim brojem dece u grupi. Autorke ukazuju da je najveći broj ispitanih učitelja i vaspitača veoma zadovoljan poslom koji obavlja, ali je gotovo trećina njih nezadovoljna statusom svoje profesije u društvu.

Istraživanjem Kiževski i Radović (2023), u kojem su učestvovali vaspitači predškolskih ustanova iz više gradova u Republici Srbiji, utvrđeno je relativno nisko opšte zadovoljstvo poslom vaspitača i izuzetno loša percepciju položaja profesije u društvu. Vaspitači iskazuju relativno visoku spremnost za promenu posla, a nespremnost da ga preporuče mladima. Oni procenjuju da su suočeni sa brojnim izazovima u profesionalnom radu kao što su: veliki broj dece unutar grupa (preko normativa), otežani odnosi i komunikacija sa roditeljima, neuvažavanje stručnog mišljenja i neprepoznavanje aktivnosti vaspitača i postignuća kao značajnih u kolektivu, nedovoljan broj stručnog i tehničkog kadra, kompleksan rad u inkluzivnom kontekstu, te neuvažavanje stručnog mišljenja vaspitača od strane kreatora obrazovne politike.

Budući da su odgovornosti koje vaspitači preuzimaju u svom profesionalnom radu velike, da profil savremenog vaspitača nosi heterogenost uloga, ispitivanje njihovog zadovoljstva poslom je važan podatak koji može doprineti ne samo utvrđivanju stavova o različitim aspektima posla koji obavljaju, već biti smernica u osmišljavanju različitih strategija za povećanje zadovoljstva poslom. Kao što se može zaključiti, status profesije vaspitač je nepovoljan i u Republici Srbiji i u Republici Hrvatskoj, ugled u društvu neadekvatan, materijalni položaj loš. Prepoznajući važnost izučavanog fenomena, a imajući u vidu da je nedovoljno sprovedenih istraživanja o zadovoljstvu poslom vaspitača u Republici Srbiji, cilj našeg istraživanja je ispitivanje ukupnog zadovoljstva poslom i različitim aspektima posla vaspitača zaposlenih u predškolskim ustanovama kao i analiza razlika u proceni zadovoljstva poslom u zavisnosti od dužine radnog staža.

## 2. METODOLOŠKI OKVIR ISTRAŽIVANJA

*Uzorak istraživanja.* U istraživanju je učestvovalo 150 vaspitača, ženskog pola<sup>1</sup>, zaposlenih u 14 objekata dve predškolske ustanove u Republici Srbiji. Starost vaspitača je u rasponu od 27 do 58 godina ( $AS=40,86$ ,  $SD=6,62$ ) od kojih 45

<sup>1</sup> Termin vaspitač koristimo za sve zaposlene na radnom mestu vaspitač, u skladu sa Pravilnikom o dozvoli za rad nastavnika, vaspitača i stručnih saradnika (*Sl. Glasnik RS, br.22/2005, 51/2008, 105/2015, 48/2016 i 9/2022*). Svi pojmovi koji su u tekstu upotrebljeni u muškom gramatičkom rodu obuhvataju muški i ženski rod lica na koja se odnose.



ispitanika (30%) ima do 10 godina radnog staža, 57 ispitanika (38%) od 10 do 20 godina staža i 48 ispitanika (32%) preko 20 godina staža. Svi učesnici istraživanja diplomirali su na osnovnim studijama u trajanju od tri godine (visoka strukovna škola). Uzorak je namenski u pogledu stručne spreme. U uzorak nisu uključeni vaspitači koji su završili i specijalističke studije ili master studije jer se plata vaspitača sa ovim nivoom studija razlikuje u dve opštine u kojima je vršeno istraživanje. Takođe, birane su ustanove koje su u periodu sprovođenja istraživanja (jesen 2021. godine) bile *centri klastera* u sklopu implementacije *Osnova programa predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja – Godine uzleta* (2019).

*Metod, instrumenti istraživanja i analiza podataka.* U istraživanju je primenjena deskriptivna metoda, instrument *Job Satisfaction Survey* (JSS, Spector 1985). Instrument predstavlja šestostepenu skalu stavova Likertovog tipa sa 36 ajtema, kojima se procenjuje devet aspekata zadovoljstva poslom: zadovoljstvo platom, mogućnost napredovanja, rukovođenje, beneficije, sistem nagrađivanja, zadovoljstvo radnim procedurama, saradnici, priroda posla i komunikacije unutar organizacije. Na osnovu podataka dobijenih putem ove skale možemo izračunati devet nezavisnih skorova koji predstavljaju rezultate ispitanika na pojedinačnim supskalama, a deseti skor je sumacioni skor ispitanika na svim ajtemima i predstavlja opštu/ukupnu meru zadovoljstva poslom.

Na našem uzorku koristili smo u daljoj analizi sedam supskala, budući da je za supskale mogućnost napredovanja i beneficije utvrđena nezadovoljavajuća pouzdanost, što je u skladu sa stavom da ove skale nisu primenjive u vaspitno-obrazovnom kontekstu, te su i u nekim drugim istraživanjima izostavljene (na primer Majstorović, Matanović, Gligorijević 2017). Pouzdanost ostalih skala je zadovoljavajuća i kreće se u rasponu od 0.68 do 0.85.

Način skorovanja i utvrđivanje normi preuzeti su iz radova autora instrumenta (Spector 1985). Ukoliko ispitanik na određenoj tvrdnji ima skor 4 i više to ukazuje na zadovoljstvo, skor 3 i manje ukazuje na nezadovoljstvo, dok skor između 3 i 4 ukazuje na ambivalentnost. Prevedeno u ukupne skorove na supskalama koje su sastavljene od po četiri ajtema: skor 4-12 ukazuje na nezadovoljstvo u tom aspektu posla, 12-16 na ambivalentan stav, a između 16 i 24 na zadovoljstvo. Na ukupnom zadovoljstvu poslom definisanom na osnovu 28 ajtema na našem uzorku teorijski raspon je od 28 do 168, nezadovoljstvo poslom je u okviru rezultata od 28 do 74, ambivalentiju definiše raspon od 74 do 112, dok su ukupni skorovi od 112 do 168 pokazatelji zadovoljstva poslom.



Analiza podataka vršena je deskriptivno-statističkom metodom, utvrđene su prosečne vrednosti (AS) na pojedinačnim aspektima zadovoljstva poslom i na skali ukupnog zadovoljstva poslom, a za utvrđivanje razlika u zadovoljstvu poslom u odnosu na godine staža ispitanika primenjena je ANOVA. Podaci su obrađeni u statističkom paketu SPSS 24.0.

### 3. NALAZI ISTRAŽIVANJA

Nalazi deskriptivne statistike za sedam aspekata zadovoljstva poslom i ukupan skor na skali zadovoljstva poslom prikazani su u Tabeli 1.

**Tabela 1.** Deskriptivna statistika skale zadovoljstva vaspitača poslom

Aspekti zadovoljstva poslom	Min	Max	AS	SD	N
Plata	4	17	10.00	4.080	150
Rukovođenje	4	24	18.46	4.630	150
Nagrađivanje	4	19	11.14	3.510	150
Radne procedure	6	19	11.24	2.846	150
Saradnici	10	24	17.74	4.144	150
Priroda posla	6	24	19.36	3.679	150
Komunikacija	9	23	14.86	3.758	150
Ukupno zadovoljstvo poslom	62	139	102.80	16.511	150

Razmatrajući prikazane rezultate u odnosu na norme koje definišu nisko zadovoljstvo poslom, ambivalentan stav i zadovoljstvo poslom može se uočiti da ispitanici iz našeg uzorka iskazuju nezadovoljstvo poslom u odnosu na aspekte plata (AS=10.00; SD=4.080), nagrađivanje (AS=11.14; SD=3.510) i radne procedure (AS=11.24; SD=2.846). Na supskali komunikacija skor je na donjoj granici ambivalentnog stava (AS=14.86; SD=3.758). Zadovoljstvo poslom ispitanici su iskazali na supskalama: rukovođenje (AS=18.46; SD=4.630), saradnici (AS=17.74; SD=4.144) i priroda posla (AS=19.36; SD=3.679). Kao što se može videti, na čak tri aspekta ispitanici iskazuju nezadovoljstvo poslom i to najviše u odnosu na platu.

Treba se osvrnuti i na ukupan skor zadovoljstva poslom koji je dobijen u ovom istraživanju. Rezultat ukazuje na ambivalentan stav zaposlenih vaspitača (AS=102.80; SD=16.511) i predstavlja prosek rezultata na pojedinačnim aspektima posla, a ne realan pokazatelj. Ako bi se izolovano tumačio ovaj rezultat mogli bismo zaključiti da vaspitači – učesnici istraživanja imaju ambivalentan stav prema poslu. Vaspitači, zapravo, na tri aspekta iskazuju nezadovoljstvo poslom, na tri aspekta zadovoljstvo, a samo na jednom aspektu ambivalentan stav. Dakle, vaspitači na pojedinim aspektima posla, koji prevashodno spadaju u faktore radnog okruženja, iskazuju nezadovoljstvo, dok su ostalim zaposlenima i prirodom posla zadovoljni.

U daljem toku nas je interesovalo da utvrdimo postoje li razlike u zadovoljstvu pojedinim aspektima posla i na ukupnom zadovoljstvu poslom, u odnosu na godine radnog staža vaspitača (Tabela 2).

**Tabela 2.** Testiranje značajnosti razlika između aritmetičkih sredina za tri grupe ispitanika podeljene u kategorije radnog staža

Aspekti zadovoljstva poslom	Radni staž	AS	SD	Suma kvadrata	df	F	p
<b>Plata</b>	Do 10 g.	11.533	3.923	412.076	2	14.877	<b>.000</b>
	Od 10-20 g.	10.789	3.989				
	Preko 20 g.	7.625	3.153				
<b>Rukovođenje</b>	Do 10 g.	20.333	3.884	279.694	2	7.159	<b>.001</b>
	Od 10-20 g.	18.315	5.349				
	Preko 20 g.	16.875	3.558				
<b>Nagrađivanje</b>	Do 10 g.	12.066	4.407	55.474	2	2.321	.102
	Od 10-20 g.	10.789	2.883				
	Preko 20 g.	10.687	3.046				
<b>Radne procedure</b>	Do 10 g.	11.533	2.051	127.979	2	8.846	<b>.000</b>
	Od 10-20 g.	12.105	2.813				
	Preko 20 g.	9.937	3.041				
<b>Saradnici</b>	Do 10 g.	18.800	3.448	87.147	2	2.628	.076
	Od 10-20 g.	17.631	4.442				
	Preko 20 g.	16.875	4.149				
<b>Priroda posla</b>	Do 10 g.	21.333	2.383	453.086	2	21.660	<b>.000</b>
	Od 10-20 g.	19.789	3.379				
	Preko 20 g.	17.000	3.713				
<b>Komunikacije</b>	Do 10 g.	16.400	4.041	243.105	2	9.748	<b>.000</b>
	Od 10-20 g.	15.052	3.681				
	Preko 20 g.	13.187	2.749				
<b>Ukupno</b>	Do 10 g.	112.000	18.060	4687.238	2	22.052	<b>.000</b>
	Od 10-20 g.	104.473	14.492				
	Preko 20 g.	92.187	10.448				

Na osnovu prikazanih rezultata vidimo da na gotovo svim aspektima posla kao i na ukupnom zadovoljstvu poslom najviše prosečne skorove postižu vaspitači koji imaju do 10 godina radnog staža, zatim vaspitači koji imaju između 10 i 20 godina staža, dok su najniži prosečni skorovi identifikovani kod vaspitača sa najdužim stažom i to na svih sedam aspekata posla, kao i na skali ukupnog zadovoljstva poslom. Statistički značajne razlike između tri grupe ispitanika utvrđene su na sledećim aspektima zadovoljstva poslom: plata ( $F=14.877$  ( $df=2$ ),  $p<.001$ ), rukovođenje ( $F=7.159$  ( $df=2$ ),  $p<.01$ ), radne procedure ( $F=8.846$  ( $df=2$ ),  $p<.001$ ), priroda posla ( $F=21.660$  ( $df=2$ ),  $p<.001$ ), ukupno zadovoljstvo poslom ( $F=22.052$  ( $df=2$ ),  $p<.001$ ). Na osnovu post-hoc testa (Scheffe) utvrđeno je da su vaspitači koji imaju do 10 godina radnog staža značajno zadovoljniji platom, radnim procedurama, prirodom posla i kada se posmatra ukupno zadovoljstvo poslom nego vaspitači koji imaju između 10 i 20 i preko 20 godina staža, a rukovođenjem su značajno više zadovoljni samo u odnosu na vaspitače koji imaju preko 20 godina radnog staža. Zanimljivo je da su na skali ukupnog zadovoljstva poslom identifikovane i statistički značajne razlike između vaspitača koji imaju između 10 i 20 godina staža i vaspitača koji imaju preko 20 godina staža, i to u korist ispitanika sa kraćim radnim stažom. Na aspektu posla nagrađivanje i saradnici nisu utvrđene razlike između ispitanih vaspitača, u odnosu na dužinu radnog staža.

#### **4. DISKUSIJA REZULTATA**

Nalazi istraživanja pokazuju da se stav prema poslu ispitanih vaspitača kreće od niskog do visokog zadovoljstva. Na skali ukupnog zadovoljstva poslom utvrđen je ambivalentan stav prema poslu. Vaspitači su, jednako kao i ispitanici učitelji i nastavnici u Republici Srbiji, (Katrina-Mitrović i sar. 2014; Korać 2011; Panić, Panić 2024) ali i u svetu (Kim, Loadman 1994, prema Šimić-Šašić, Klarin 2011), nezadovoljni, pre svega, platom. Nalazi ukazuju i na nisko zadovoljstvo nagrađivanjem unutar ustanove i mogu se tumačiti u skladu sa sistemom funkcionisanja predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja u domenu mehanizama materijalnog nagrađivanja zaposlenih u odnosu na zalaganje na poslu. Naime, plate zaposlenih su unapred definisane, a predškolske ustanove najčešće ne ostvaruju sopstvene prihode iz kojih bi mogle obezbediti dodatne stimulacije zaposlenima.

Nadalje, nalazi ukazuju da vaspitači nisu zadovoljni radnim procedurama, procenjujući da na poslu imaju previše obaveza, da su „zatrpani“ papirologijom, da im definisana pravila i procedure otežavaju realizaciju radnih aktivnosti. Veći broj dece

u grupi od broja propisanog normativima ustanove i poteškoće u obavljanju posla vaspitača u Republici Srbiji utvrdile su i Nišević i Colić (2010), a rezultati istraživanja Kiževski i Radović (2023) ukazali su da je slika, više od deceniju kasnije, još nepovoljnija, kako u pogledu plate i ugleda profesije u društvu, tako i po pitanju radnih procedura. Vaspitači, ne samo da nisu zadovoljni statusom svoje profesije, već je ne bi preporučili drugima.

Ako uporedimo pomenute rezultate istraživanja sprovedenih u Republici Hrvatskoj (Šimić-Šašić, Klarin 2011; Hrupački, Sindik 2013; Mandarić, Vukušić, Krstulović 2024) i Republici Grčkoj (Tsigilis 2006; prema Šimić-Šašić, Klarin 2011) sa rezultatima našeg istraživanja, možemo uočiti značajne podudarnosti. Naime, vaspitači nisu zadovoljni platom, ali su zadovoljni neposrednim radom sa decom, odnosima sa kolegama i rukovođenjem ustanovom. Zadovoljstvo prirodom posla koje su iskazali učesnici našeg istraživanja svakako ohrabruje, jer ukazuje da su motivisani za rad i intrinzičkim faktorima, kao i da vole posao kojim se bave. Intrinzička motivacija je značajan faktor u obavljanju svakog posla, a u obrazovnom sistemu je posebno značajno obratiti pažnju na načine kojima bi se ova vrsta motivacije mogla podržati. Podatak da su vaspitači zadovoljni rukovođenjem može se tumačiti samo u kontekstu predškolskih ustanova u kojima je istraživanje realizovano. Da bi se vršile generalizacije u odnosu na ovaj aspekt posla, potrebno je da uzorak istraživanja obuhvati zaposlene iz većeg broja predškolskih ustanova.

Zaposleni koji imaju preko 20 godina radnog staža značajno su nezadovoljniji poslom na gotovo svim aspektima u odnosu na zaposlene koji su na početku karijere, ali i zaposlene srednje dobi, što je u suprotnosti sa nalazima istraživanja koja ukazuju da se zadovoljstvo poslom pri završetku karijere povećava (Mandarić, Vukušić, Krstulović 2024). U skladu sa navedenim, buduća istraživanja bi mogla ići u pravcu utvrđivanja razloga zbog kojih su vaspitači sa najdužim radnim stažom najmanje zadovoljni poslom, da li se navedeno može dovesti u vezu sa profesijom vaspitača ili se javlja i u drugim profesijama i sl. Važno je imati u vidu da su se u predškolskom vaspitanju i obrazovanju u Republici Srbiji, u poslednjih nekoliko godina, dogodile značajne reformske promene na planu koncepcije predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja, pristupa planiranju, vođenja pedagoške dokumentacije, zahteva za transformacijom kulture vrtića kroz preispitivanje ključnih dimenzija prakse (Pavlović-Breneselović, Krnjaja 2018) i dr., pa postoji mogućnost da vaspitači koji imaju duži radni staž nemaju dovoljno razvijene potrebne kompetencije za pomenute promene (jer ih inicijalno obrazovanje nije dovoljno osnažilo za to), da nisu u motivisani za promene i stručno usavršavanje zbog skorog odlaska u penziju, te im

je zadovoljstvo prirodom posla, radnim procedurama (ali i ostalim aspektima posla) nisko.

Nalazi ukazuju da su vaspitači koji su na početku karijere najviše zadovoljni poslom. Verujemo da su vaspitači koji rade manji broj godina i dalje visoko unutrašnje motivisani za rad, ili se, pak, nadaju promenama u pogledu plate, nagrađivanja i drugih aspekata posla koje starije kolege prepoznaju kao izvore nezadovoljstva. Takođe se može promišljati da u kontekstu otežanog zapošljavanja u Republici Srbiji, posebno za mlade koji su se opredelili za profesije koje nisu deficitarne (kao što je profesija vaspitača), zadovoljstvo mlađih ispitanika što uopšte imaju posao determiniše visoko zadovoljstvo na gotovo svim aspektima posla. Zanimljiv nalaz jeste da vaspitači koji su na početku karijere imaju jedino na aspektu posla *radne procedure* manje zadovoljstvo u odnosu na vaspitače koji rade između 10 i 20 godina. Pretpostavljamo da se vaspitači zrele profesionalne dobi lakše nose sa zahtevnim radnim procedurama, a da je vaspitačima koji su na početku karijere potrebna podrška.

Svi navedeni nalazi istraživanja ukazuju da je menadžment predškolskih ustanova pred ozbiljnim izazovima. Pomenuti nalazi u vezi sa niskim zadovoljstvom vaspitača nagrađivanjem unutar ustanove otvaraju pitanje nematerijalnih mehanizmima nagrađivanja, kao što su javne pohvale zaposlenih, priznanja za rad, promovisanje rezultata rada na sastancima, svečanostima, internim i gradskim manifestacijama. Zaposleni bi za svoje dodatno zalaganje na poslu mogli biti nagrađeni i kroz preraspodelu posla unutar kolektiva, reorganizaciju radnog vremena i sl. Pored navedenog, važno je kreirati organizacionu klimu uvažavanja, promovisanja promena i profesionalnog učenja i usavršavanja (Korać, Đermanov 2022).

Nadalje, učesnici istraživanja imaju, kao što smo naveli, pozitivan stav prema rukovodstvu vrtića, što predstavlja važan preduslov da se različite ideje realizuju u praksi i ne dožive od strane zaposlenih kao nametanje novih obaveza. Treba uzeti u obzir da su zaposleni visoko zadovoljni svojim saradnicima, što je značajan resurs u organizaciji timskog rada i ostvarivanju zajedničkih ciljeva organizacije. Budući da je segment *komunikacija* nešto što su zaposleni okarakterisali prosečnim, postoji potreba za unapređivanje komunikacijskih veština zaposlenih kroz različite vidove stručnog usavršavanja (na sastancima stručnih aktiva, timova, kroz organizovanje okruglih stolova, tribina i akreditovanih programa stručnog usavršavanja iz ove oblasti).

Izdvajamo kao važan nalaz da su vaspitači iskazali visoko zadovoljstvo prirodom svog posla, što implicira da bi želeli ispoljiti svoje potencijale kroz posao koji vole

da rade, da budu kreativni, inovativni, da aktivno participiraju u donošenju odluka, definisanju vizije i misije organizacije i sl. Stoga je važno da rukovodilac ustanove dobro poznaje zaposlene, ali i različite strategije motivisanja kako bi obezbedio zadovoljstvo zaposlenih i uspešno obavljanje radnih zadataka.

Jedan od značajnih segmenata na kome treba raditi jeste i promovisanje profesije vaspitača, tačnije unapređivanje ugleda profesije koja je, čini se, u periodu tranzicije i društveno-ekonomske krize, značajno devalvirala. Menadžment predškolskih ustanova zajedno sa zaposlenima, a uz podršku različitih udruženja vaspitača, roditelja i drugih zainteresovanih aktera, treba kontinuirano da organizuje različite aktivnosti kojima bi se ugled profesije vaspitača reafirmisao.

## 5. ZAKLJUČAK

Sprovedeno istraživanje predstavlja samo početnu eksploraciju stavova vaspitača o zadovoljstvu poslom koja bi trebalo da podstakne i druge istraživače da se ovim pitanjem bave. Ograničenje istraživanja vidimo, pre svega, u malom uzorku koje je obuhvatilo zaposlene u dve predškolske ustanove iz dva grada, pa izvedene zaključke ne možemo generalizovati bez replikacije istraživanja na mnogo većem uzorku i široj teritoriji. Međutim, dobijeni podaci nedvosmisleno ukazuju na više mogućih pravaca intervencija koje bi menadžment predškolskih ustanova sprovedio u cilju održavanja motivacije zaposlenih vaspitača, negovanja dobre organizacione klime i međuljudskih odnosa unutar kolektiva. Posebnu pažnju treba posvetiti reafirmaciji profesije vaspitač u društvu, imajući u vidu sve složenije uloge i odgovornosti koje donose reformske promene u oblasti predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja u Republici Srbiji.

Pored navedenog, smatramo da naredna istraživanja treba usmeriti i na utvrđivanje prediktivnog uticaja različitih ličnih i organizacionih faktora zadovoljstva poslom u predškolskom vaspitanju i obrazovanju: osobina ličnosti, spremnosti na promene, organizacione klime, predanosti poslu i sl.

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## **JOB SATISFACTION OF PRESCHOOL TEACHERS: CHALLENGE FOR INSTITUTIONAL MANAGEMENT**

### **Summary:**

The authors of the study start from the understanding that job satisfaction represents an emotional-cognitive-conative way of reacting of employees, where the affective segment of satisfaction includes the employee's feelings towards the job concerning the job content and working conditions, the cognitive segment comprises the assumptions and beliefs of the employee about their job, while the conative segment of job satisfaction refers to the subjective job evaluations of employees and their willingness to exert effort based on that evaluation. The aim of the conducted research is to examine overall job satisfaction and satisfaction with different aspects of the job of preschool teachers, as well as to analyze differences in job satisfaction assessments depending on the length of service. For the research, the Job Satisfaction Survey (JSS, Spector, 1985) scale was used. The study involved 150 preschool teachers employed in 14 facilities of two preschool institutions in the Republic of Serbia. The results show that participants reported low satisfaction with aspects such as salary, work procedures, and promotion, but high satisfaction with aspects like colleagues, management, and the nature of the job. The overall job satisfaction scale revealed an ambivalent attitude towards the job. Preschool teachers with up to 10 years of service are significantly more satisfied with their job compared to those with longer service. The findings of the research are significant in the context of designing strategies that the institution's management can apply to motivate employees.

**Keywords:** job satisfaction; management; preschool teacher; work motivation

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## **ANTISOCIJALNI I GRANIČNI POREMEĆAJ LIČNOSTI: KULTURALNE I SPOLNE RAZLIKE U MANIFESTACIJI KRIMINALNOG PONAŠANJA**

Pitanje kriminalnog ponašanja često se isprepliće kompleksnim psihološkim stanjima, a antisocijalni poremećaj ličnosti (ASPL) i granični poremećaj ličnosti (GPL) predstavljaju dva takva primjera. Dok se oba poremećaja mogu manifestirati u raznim oblicima kriminalnog ponašanja, važno je prepoznati utjecaj spola i kulture na ove manifestacije. S tim u vezi istražene suspolne razlike u crtama ličnosti petofaktorskog modela, poznatije kao savjesnost, ekstraverzija, neuroticizam, ugodnost i otvorenost za nova iskustva, a na temelju prikupljenih podataka navedene crte dovedene su u korelaciju s graničnim i antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti. S obzirom da kulturalni kontekst određuje razliku u manifestaciji simptoma navedenih poremećaja ličnosti pronađene su indikacije koje ukazuju na to da se granični poremećaj ličnosti različito manifestira u zapadnom društvu s individualističkom i kompetitivnom orijentacijom u odnosu na tradicionalnija kolektivistička društva. Muškarci s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti češće se suočavaju s nasilnim deliktima poput napada, krađe i trgovine drogom. Također, njihova impulzivnost i agresivnost mogu ih potaknuti na riskantno i destruktivno ponašanje, često s tragičnim posljedicama. S druge strane, žene s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti sklonije su nenasilnim deliktima, kao što su varanje i promiskuitetno ponašanje.

**Ključne riječi:** prijestupničko ponašanje; antisocijalni poremećaj ličnosti; granični poremećaj ličnosti; delinkvencija

## UVOD

Antisocijalni i granični poremećaj ličnosti su poremećaji ličnosti koji pripadaju istom tzv. B-klasteru poremećaja ličnosti (Körner i Perry 2011) te se mogu manifestirati u raznim oblicima kriminalnog ponašanja. Razumijevanje utjecaja spola i kulture na ove manifestacije ključno je za razvoj učinkovitih strategija prevencije i intervencije. Stoga ovaj pregledni rad istražuje specifične aspekte antisocijalnog i graničnog poremećaja ličnosti u kontekstu kriminalnog ponašanja, s naglaskom na spolne i kulturalne razlike. Cilj je analizirati relevantnu literaturu i identificirati ključne trendove i obrasce.

„Ako je prelazak na akt, glavna razlika između onih koji čine delikte i onih koji ih ne čine, riječ je o očigledno spornoj činjenici. Naime, bez nekih većih sporova, svi će se složiti da su osobe koje nikad nisu prekršile zakon zaista veoma rijetke. Međutim, nesumnjiva činjenica da, za razliku od drugih koji možda o tome sanjaju, kriminalci „prelaze na akt“, upućuje na nešto što, uvjetno rečeno, možemo nazvati generalnim faktorom prestupničkog ponašanja. U kaznenopravnoj i kriminološkoj znanosti često se postavlja pitanje da li postoji razlika u strukturi ličnosti prestupnika i neprestupnika. Novija faktorska ispitivanja upućuju, i pored svih rezervi, na zaključak da takve, uvjetno rečeno, razlike ipak postoje. Prevedeno s jezika faktorske analize (čiji je nivo komunikacije s činjenicama takav da zahtijeva opsežna dodatna objašnjenja), osnovna razlika se nalazi u slabosti volje kod prestupnika. Oni se od neprestupnika najviše razlikuju po tome što nisu u stanju da kontroliraju svoje konativne funkcije (Kostić 2002: 30).

Prema dosadašnjim istraživanjima antisocijalni poremećaj ličnosti se češće javlja kod muškaraca nego kod žena. Muškarci s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti skloniji su nasilnim deliktima, kao što su napad, krađa i trgovina drogom, dok se žene s istim poremećajem ličnosti češće susreću u nenasilnim deliktima, kao što su razni oblici varanja, promiskuitetno ponašanje i prostitucija. Granični poremećaj ličnosti se češće javlja kod žena nego kod muškaraca. Ipak, sve osobe s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti sklonije su impulzivnom i riskantnom ponašanju, što može dovesti do kriminalnih aktivnosti. Osim toga, mogu doživjeti nestabilnost u međuljudskim odnosima, što čini ranjivijim na iskorištavanje od strane osoba s kriminogenim motivima. Također i kultura može utjecati na manifestaciju antisocijalnog i graničnog poremećaja ličnosti na različite načine. Društvene norme i očekivanja mogu utjecati na to kako se simptomi ovih poremećaja izražavaju i na to koje se vrste kriminalnog ponašanja smatraju prihvatljivim. K tome, dostupnost resursa za liječenje i podrška okoline mogu utjecati na način funkcioniranja i kvalitetu

života osoba s ovim poremećajima ličnosti. Ipak, važno je istaći da su antisocijalni i granični poremećaj ličnosti složena stanja s brojnim uzrocima, te da su spol i kultura samo neki od faktora koji mogu utjecati na njihovu manifestaciju.

## **ETIOLOGIJA DELINKVENTNOG PONAŠANJA U SOCIJALIZACIJSKOM PROCESU**

Polazeći od pretpostavke da primarna i sekundarna socijalizacija kao razvojne faze čovjekove ličnosti pružaju (ili ne pružaju) dovoljne resurse za samoaktualizaciju i sazrijevanje ličnosti, moguće je očekivati da igraju i odlučujuću ulogu u etiologiji, odnosno razvoju poremećaja ličnosti. S tim u vezi može se postaviti pitanje koji su to društveni faktori koji predisponiraju osobu ka devijantnom ponašanju.

Razvoj antisocijalnog ponašanja kroz prizmu socijalne interakcije ilustrativno su prikazali Patterson i sur. (1989). Prema ovom modelu, djeca koja će kasnije izraziti prijestupničko ponašanje odrastaju u miljeu koji ne pokazuje dovoljan kapacitet da se nosi s njihovim nasilnim ponašanjem. Manjak roditeljske supervizije ili pozitivnog podupiranja kada se djeca ispravno ponašaju učestao je zajednički element u ovakvim obiteljima. Ovo se registrira uporedo s nedosljednošću u uspostavljanju granica i sprovođenju odgojnih postupaka koji se posebno odnose na disciplinu. Model ističe kako se djeca mogu naučiti devijantnom i neodgovarajućem ponašanju putem direktnog iskustva ili promatranjem ponašanja ukućana, posebno ukoliko ova ponašanja registriraju kao efikasna u pogledu postizanja određenih ciljeva. Istovremeno, razvoj delinkventnog i kasnijeg prijestupničkog ponašanja u odrasloj dobi može biti potpomognut izostankom ohrabrenja i podrške u pogledu prosocijalnih vještina u obiteljima u kojima se registriraju različiti oblici zanemarivanja djece, posebno zanemarivanje emocionalnog tipa. Pri polasku u osnovnu školu, djeca odrasla u ovakvom ambijentu obično imaju izvjesne poteškoće u adaptaciji na društvo i autoritet, te ih i vršnjaci često izbjegavaju. A ukoliko i postoje vršnjaci koji ih prihvaćaju, to su najčešće djeca koja su, slično kao i oni, odrastala u disharmoničnim obiteljima. Situaciju komplicira činjenica da odrastanje u obiteljima gdje su naglašeni konfliktne odnosi može pokazati negativan efekt na sposobnost koncentracije i kapacitet za obavljanje školskih zadataka, što otežava akademski napredak i često vodi lošim rezultatima u školovanju. Uslijed poteškoća u obitelji, djeca često imaju problema s uspostavljanjem zdravih odnosa s vršnjacima, što može dugoročno utjecati na njihovo mentalno zdravlje. Pored toga, nedovoljna pripadnost obitelji djeteta u školskoj uzrasnoj dobi može usmjeriti ka traženju osjećaja pripadnosti u nekoj od lokalnih bandi. U ovom kon-

tekstu socijalno devijantno ponašanje uči se i izražava u svrhu dosezanja narušenog samopouzdanja, kao i pridobivanja simpatija drugih članova bande kako bi se stekao osjećaj pripadnosti, vrlo značajan u ovom uzrastu. Istovremeno, na nešto dubljoj razini ovo je i iskaz djetetova sukoba s autoritetom koji inicijalno predstavlja sliku njegovih roditelja. Kako bi se izbjegla zamka zapadanja u stereotip, važno je navesti kako se ipak manji broj djece iz ovakvih obitelji oda kriminalu, 26% u maloljetnoj dobi i 29% kao odrasle osobe (Widom 1989). Istraživanja kauzaliteta delinkventnog ponašanja upotpunjena su i istraživanjima kojima se nastoje utvrditi tzv. protektivni faktori, koji služe potpori u pravcu prevencije recidiva kod delinkvenata i mladih odraslih prijestupnika. Pozitivan odnos spram autoriteta i efektivno, kreativno usmjerenje u životu, odnosno osmišljeno organiziranje i korištenje slobodnog vremena, identificirani su kao faktori koji djeluju suprotno od faktora rizika (Sandić 2019).

Na osnovu dosadašnjih istraživanja i dobivenih rezultata može se vidjeti kako su zlostavljanje u djetinjstvu, poremećaji ličnosti i tendencije ka kriminalu neraskidivo povezani (Jiang i Zhang 2023), te da su emocionalno i fizičko zlostavljanje faktori s najznačajnijom povezanošću s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti (Schorr i sur. 2021), što je potvrđeno metodom programiranog učenja i tradicionalnom analizom. Također, Ling i sur. (2022) utvrdili su kako postoji povezanost između roditeljske antipatije, nesigurne privrženosti od strane majčinske figure i obilježja antisocijalnog poremećaja ličnosti u odrasloj dobi. A najznačajnija razlika, prema DiFrank (2022), između osoba s antisocijalnim i onih s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti u načinu na koji čine zločin je ta da će osobe s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti vjerojatnije počiniti dobro promišljen, te unaprijed planiran zločin protiv tuđe imovine u odnosu na osobe s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti koje su više sklone emocionalno vođenim, impulzivnim i nasilnim zločinima.

## **KOMORBIDITET ANTISOCIJALNOG I GRANIČNOG POREMEĆAJA LIČNOSTI**

Antisocijalni i granični poremećaj ličnosti različito se manifestiraju u prijestupničkom ponašanju. Ipak, utvrđeno je da dijele etiologiju i razvojni tijek te imaju sličnu stopu prevalencije u općoj i kliničkoj populaciji. Također, Chun i sur. (2017) referirajući se na ranija istraživanja utvrđuju da granični i antisocijalni poremećaj ličnosti pokazuju slične temperamentne ranjivosti disregulacije emocija, slabe inhibicijske kontrole i socijalne kognicije (Beauchaine, Klein, Crowell, Derbidge i Gatzke Kopp, 2009; Beene y i sur. 2015; Hicks, Vaidyanathan i Patrick 2010 ; Scott i sur. 2013) i povezani su

sa sličnim faktorima iz okoline, uključujući traume iz djetinjstva, neprilagođeno roditeljstvo i stresne životne događaje (Eitle i Turner 2002; Hicks i sur. 2010; Stepp, Olino, Klein, Seeley i Lewinsohn 2013; Zanarini i sur. 1997), te iako se mnogi od navedenih faktora rizika pojavljuju i u drugim psihopatološkim stanjima, određeni aspekti socijalne kognicije (tj. sposobnost predviđanja tuđeg ponašanja na temelju njihova uvjerenja, mentalizacije) jedinstveni su za granični i antisocijalni poremećaj ličnosti (Beeney i sur. 2015).

Različitim modelima u psihološkim istraživanjima objašnjavamo psihopatološka odstupanja kroz utjecaj općih i specifičnih faktora. Tako u istraživanju sprovedenom od strane Chun i sur. (2017) dobiveni su rezultati da je generalni faktor odgovoran za gotovo 66% zajedničke varijance kod žena i 60% kod muškaraca, a odnosi se na varijancu simptoma koji su povezani s graničnim i antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti. Ova varijanca predstavlja zajedničke faktore koji doprinose komorbiditetu između ta dva poremećaja ličnosti. Specifični faktori graničnog poremećaja ličnosti i antisocijalnog agresivnog ponašanja odgovorni su za samo 14%, odnosno 20% zajedničke varijance kod žena i 23%, odnosno 18% zajedničke varijance kod muškaraca. Pri tome je utvrđeno da bifaktorski model, koji uključuje prilično jak opći faktor psihopatologije i dva faktora specifična za poremećaj, pruža najbolji opis podataka. Navedeno je u skladu s prethodnim nalazima koji pokazuju da granični poremećaj ličnosti i antisocijalno agresivno ponašanje pokazuju fenotipsko, genetsko i okolišno preklapanje, iznad i izvan druge psihopatologije (Torgersen i sur. 2008), te sugerira da bi opći faktor mogao biti pouzdanija mjera spolnih razlika od bilo kojeg latentnog obilježja graničnog poremećaja ličnosti i antisocijalnog agresivnog ponašanja.

## **IMPULZIVNOST U GRANIČNOM I ANTISOCIJALNOM POREMEĆAJU LIČNOSTI**

Temeljna karakteristika crta ličnosti jest konzistentnost kroz vrijeme. Crte ličnosti odolijevaju faktoru vremena jer predstavljaju relativno trajna obilježja. Usprkos tome u određenim životnim razdobljima primjećujemo njihovo osciliranje kako kod muškaraca, tako i kod žena. Ipak, kada je riječ o impulzivnosti, istraživanja sprovedena na oba spola govore da impulzivnost kao jedna od crta ličnosti opada s godinama. S tim u vezi nameće se pitanje kako se simptomatologija graničnog i antisocijalnog poremećaja ličnosti, u čijim temeljima nalazimo impulzivnost, manifestira u prijestupničkom ponašanju.



Turner i sur. (2017) pozivajući se na ranija istraživanja navode da se impulzivnost kod graničnog poremećaja ličnosti obično odnosi na ponašanja koja su vrlo ograničena, kao što su nekontrolirano jedenje, kockanje, pretjerano trošenje novca ili hiperseksualno ponašanje (Jacob i sur. 2013). Koristeći mjere samoprocjene, prethodna istraživanja su također dosljedno pronalazila povišenu impulzivnost kod pacijenata s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti u usporedbi s kontrolnim skupinama (Sebastian i sur. 2013; Sebastian i sur. 2014). Međutim, impulzivnost i granična simptomatologija pokazuju negativnu povezanost s godinama, dovodeći u pitanje tradicionalno gledište da je granični poremećaj ličnosti kronično stanje s lošom prognozom (Arens i sur. 2013). Inhibicija odgovora jedna je potkomponenta kontrole impulsa koja je do sada dobila najviše pažnje u graničnom poremećaju ličnosti. Dok su dvije studije izvijestile o nedostatku inhibicije odgovora kod pacijenata s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti u usporedbi s kontrolnim skupinama (Feliu-Soler i sur. 2013; Van Dijk i sur. 2014), većina istraživanja nije uspjela pronaći značajne razlike.

Pored navedenog, važna komponenta koja bi mogla potaknuti povećani stres i posljedično povećanu impulzivnost kod pacijenata s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti jest neizvjesnost. Prethodna istraživanja su pokazala i da je kognitivno funkcioniranje, a posebno kontrola inhibicije, smanjeni ne samo kada su pacijenti s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti pod velikim stresom, već i kada su suočeni s neprijatnim emocijama (Silbersweig i sur. 2007). Ovaj odnos se odražava i u DSM-5 kriterijima za granični poremećaj ličnosti budući da je impulzivnost temeljna osobina ličnosti koja se često nalazi u skupini B poremećaja ličnosti. Međutim, čini se da su različite komponente impulzivnosti i kontrole impulsa prisutne kod antisocijalnog i graničnog poremećaja ličnosti. Stoga je predloženo da su ljudi s nedostatkom inhibicijskog odgovora manje sposobni kontrolirati neprilagođena ponašanja, povećavajući rizik od nasilnih i agresivnih radnji i ustrajnog kršenja zakona, čime se dodatno pojačava veza između deficita inhibicijskog odgovora i antisocijalnog poremećaja ličnosti. Ipak, ostaje nejasno u kojoj su mjeri ova kognitivna oštećenja posredovana komorbidnim poremećajima, kao što su SUD (engl. substance use disorder) i ovisnosti o određenom ponašanju (poput patološkog kockanja), a ne samim antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti (Turner i sur. 2017).

Za pacijente s obilježjima graničnog poremećaja ličnosti velika je vjerojatnoća da će biti uključeni u nasilne i nenasilne kriminalne aktivnosti u usporedbi s onima bez dijagnoze graničnog poremećaja ličnosti. Također, pretpostavlja se da je broj obilježja graničnog poremećaja ličnosti pozitivno povezan s brojem i težinom kaznenih djela. Pored navedenog, istraživanja pokazuju da osobe s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti mogu imati oštećenje centralnog nervnog sistema, što rezultira određenim po-

teškoćama kao što je učenje iz vlastitog iskustva (Martens 2002). Oštećenje prednjeg režnja (engl. frontal lobe), koje se često pronalazi kod počinitelja ubojstava, povezano je sa nemogućnošću kontrole emocionalnog ponašanja (Brewer-Smyth i Burgess 2019). Tako, ovi neurofiziološki procesi mogu usmjeriti osobe s dijagnosticiranim poremećajem ličnosti ka izazivanju frustracije, stalne hipervigilnosti i/ili povećanih procjena prijatni (Wojciechowski 2020).

## **NAJZASTUPLJENIJI KLASTER POREMEĆAJA LIČNOSTI U PRIJESTUPNIČKOM PONAŠANJU**

S razlogom osobe koje pate od poremećaja ličnosti iz tzv. B klastera poremećaja ličnosti nalazimo češće u zatvorskoj populaciji. Pored toga, opravdane su sumnje i da su osobe s poremećajem ličnosti iz tog klastera konzistentno zastupljenije u svim sferama kriminalnog ponašanja. Prema istraživanjima, poremećaji ličnosti klastera B uže su povezani s delinkventnim i kriminalnim ponašanjem. Poremećaje ličnosti klastera B karakteriziraju ljutnja, agresija, slaba kontrola nagona, poteškoće u regulaciji emocija i međuljudski sukobi, što su faktori rizika koji oblikuju ponašanja koja mogu povrijediti druge. S obzirom na to da su poremećaji ličnosti klastera B povezani s povećanim rizikom od kaznenih djela, znanstvena literatura koja ispituje zatvorsku populaciju ili povezanost između kriminala i poremećaja ličnosti uglavnom se fokusira na poremećaje ličnosti klastera B, dok su podaci o poremećajima ličnosti klastera A i C u ovom kontekstu relativno rijetki.

Prema Apostolopoulos i sur. (2018), u proučavanoj populaciji zatvorenika dijagnosticirano je 16,2% poremećaja ličnosti klastera A (paranoidni, shizoidni i shizotipni), dok su poremećaji klastera B (antisocijalni, granični, histrionički i narcistički) prisutni u 66,9%, a klaster C (opsesivno-kompulzivni, ovisnički i izbjegavajući) u samo 2,9%. Jedno od istraživanja iz te sfere sproveli su Teimuraz i Rusudan (2023), čiji uzorak su činili različiti poremećaji ličnosti. Pri tome, 77% ispitanika imalo je dijagnosticiran emocionalno nestabilan (granični) poremećaj ličnosti (F60.3), 5,6% imalo je dijagnozu mješovitih i drugih poremećaja ličnosti (F61), 5,2% paranoidni poremećaj ličnosti (F60.0), 5% shizoidni poremećaj ličnosti (F60.1), dok je 3% ispitanika bilo s anksioznim (izbjegavajućim) poremećajem ličnosti (F60.6). Ostali poremećaji ličnosti bili su prisutni u malom broju. U zaključku navedenog istraživanja stoji da poremećaji ličnosti klastera A čine 6,2% ukupnog uzorka istraživanja, poremećaji ličnosti klastera C čine 3,6% ukupnog uzorka istraživanja, dok su poremećaji ličnosti klastera B bili zastupljeni s najvećim postotkom – 79,2% od ukupnog uzorka istraživanja.

## KULTURALNI ASPEKTI RAZVOJA GRANIČNOG POREMEĆAJA LIČNOSTI

Budući da je bilo malo istraživanja o graničnom poremećaju ličnosti u nezapadnim kulturama, postoji rasprava o tome da li je granični poremećaj ličnosti isključivo “zapadnjački” poremećaj ličnosti i da je njegovo pojavljivanje na neki način „spriječeno“ u tradicionalnim i kolektivističkim društvima nezapadnih kultura. S namjerom testiranja ove hipoteze, ispitanici iz bolnice u Mumbaiju u Indiji koji su pokušali samoubojstvo ispitani su i na prisutnost graničnog poremećaja ličnosti (Pinto i sur. 2000, prema Munson i sur. 2022). Koristeći kriterije DSM-IV (American Psychiatric Association 1994), Pinto i sur. otkrili su da je 17,3% ispitanika s pokušajem suicida imalo dijagnozu graničnog poremećaja ličnosti, što sugerira da granični poremećaj ličnosti postoji i u Indiji, te da se možda nedovoljno prijavljuje. Ipak, i dalje postoji nepotpuno razumijevanje ostaje li granični poremećaj ličnosti nedijagnosticiran u nezapadnim kulturama ili jednostavno ne postoji u tim društvima. Dodatno, neke studije koriste drugačiju terminologiju za granični poremećaj ličnosti kao što su “emocionalna nestabilnost” ili “impulzivnost”, što može ukazivati i na različitu patologiju graničnog poremećaja ličnosti ovisno o kulturi (Nath i sur. 2008). Kina nije uključila granični poremećaj ličnosti u treće izdanje Kineske klasifikacije mentalnih poremećaja (CCMD-3; Wang i sur. 2001), ali je uključila “impulzivni poremećaj ličnosti” koji se značajno preklapa s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti (Wang i sur. 2012). Tako, postoje određena ponašanja koja definiraju granični poremećaj ličnosti, a koja možda nisu prikladna za kinesku kulturu, poput nesmotrene vožnje, promiskuitetnog seksa i zloupotrebe sredstava ovisnosti (Wang i sur. 2012) jer je posjedovanje automobila manje uobičajeno u Kini, seks je tabu tema u kineskoj kulturi, dok su mnoge droge u Kini pod strogom kontrolom (Wang i sur. 2012). Stoga određena ponašanja povezana s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti možda nisu prikladna za CCMD-3 (Wang i sur. 2001) te je opravdano i pitanje: Može li se dijagnoza graničnog poremećaja ličnosti koristiti za sve kulture ili je ona prvenstveno usmjerena na Zapad?

Tako su Munson i sur. (2022) sproveli pretraživanje baze podataka PubMed s ciljem obuhvatanja svih članaka koji su raspravljali o metodama samoozljeđivanja kod graničnog poremećaja ličnosti neovisno o kulturalnim faktorima. Podaci izvučeni iz članaka uključivali su metode samoozljeđivanja, psihološke stresore, veličinu uzorka, ruralnost, zemljopisni položaj i udio muškaraca i žena, a ključne razlike uočene su u metodama samoozljeđivanja. Naime, istočni narodi izvijestili su o višim stopama samotrovanja (60%) od zapadnih zemalja (11%), dok su zapadne nacije prijavile više

stope rezanja kože i samoozljeđivanja (100%) nego istočne nacije (80%). Također, primijećene su razlike u psihološkim stresorima jer su stope međuljudskih problema bile veće u zapadnim nego u istočnim zemljama (Munson i sur. 2022).

Nadalje, kako se granični poremećaj ličnosti različito manifestira u različitim kulturalnim kontekstima znamo na osnovu toga da li je društvo u kojem pojedinac živi više nastrojeno kolektivistički ili individualistički, odnosno kakav oblik socijalnih normi dominira u datom podneblju. S tim u vezi Munson i sur. (2022) pretpostavljaju da će talijanski pacijenti s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti pokazivati manje impulzivnosti i parasuicidalnih radnji, što se može objasniti talijanskom kulturom koja je pretežno kolektivistička. Navedena hipoteza zasnovana je na činjenici da kolektivistička i obiteljski orijentirana kultura može spriječiti talijanske pojedince u izražavanju klasičnog impulzivnog i suicidalnog ponašanja koje je snažno vezano uz granični poremećaj ličnosti. S tim u vezi izvjesno je da se granični poremećaj ličnosti pogrešno dijagnosticira ili se ne dijagnosticira uopće, ako se u obzir uzme kulturni kontekst pacijenta.

Budući da žene češće pokazuju simptome internalizacije, vjerojatnije je da će češće tražiti i usluge mentalnog zdravlja. Muškarci, nasuprot tome, imaju tendenciju doživjeti eksternalizirane simptome i stoga je vjerojatnije da će tražiti pomoć za probleme povezane s ovisnostima o alkoholu i raznim drogama. Ovaj oblik pristranosti uzorka u trenutnoj literaturi mogao bi doprinijeti i pristranosti u prevalenciji graničnog poremećaja ličnosti (Sansone i Sansone 2011) zbog toga što se muškarci prilagođavaju tradicionalnim „muškim“ normama, te su i manje voljni uključiti se u tretman izvjesnih poremećaja mentalnog zdravlja. Nalaze iz ovog pregleda potvrđuju i prethodne studije (Bayes i Parker 2017) koje ukazuju na to da postoji sklonost muškaraca s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti prema eksternaliziranim simptomima (tj. agresivnosti i impulzivnosti), dok žene s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti imaju tendenciju izražavanja internaliziranih simptoma (npr. afektivne nestabilnosti). Navedene razlike u skladu su s onima pronađenim u populacijskim i epidemiološkim studijama da će muškarci vjerovatnije pokazati agresiju i veliku otvorenost prema novim iskustvima (Barnow 2007; Staniloiu i Markowitsch 2012), dok žene, s druge strane, obično postižu više ocjene u izbjegavanju opasnosti, a niže u traženju novih iskustava (Barnow i sur. 2016; Deng i sur. 2016), te su sklonije izražavanju i razgovoru o emocijama (Liddon i sur. 2018). Stoga, patologija graničnog poremećaja ličnosti može povećati uobičajene razlike između spolova (Qian i sur. 2022).

Pored navedenog, utvrđene su značajne razlike i u psihološkim stresorima između istočnih i zapadnih naroda. Na temelju pregledanih studija samotrovanje i predozira-

nje češće se viđaju u istočnim zemljama (Munson i sur. 2022). Naime, članci koji su objavljeni u istočnim zemljama (Hong Kong, Indija, Japan) češće su izvještavali o samotrovanju ili predoziranju nego zapadne zemlje (Wong i sur. 2010; Hayashi i sur. 2017; Takeuchi i sur. 2018; Chartrand i sur. 2020). Također, Ronningstam i sur. (2018) kao i Haliczner i sur. (2019) izvijestili su i da su istočni Azijci skloniji potiskivanju emocija i smanjenoj reaktivnosti ponašanja na emocionalne podražaje u usporedbi s europskim Amerikancima. Osim toga, tradicionalna kineska kultura, koja je pod jakim utjecajem konfucijanske filozofije, potiče grupnu koheziju, kolektivizam, samokontrolu i stoicizam, te obično obeshrabruje impulzivne radnje i otvoreno izražavanje emocija (Wong i sur. 2010).

Osim toga, u svim zapadnjačkim člancima (istraživanja sprovedena u Hrvatskoj, Italiji, Norveškoj, Švedskoj, Sjedinjenim Državama i Zapadnoj Australiji) izvještavalo se o rezanju kože u višim stopama nego u istočnim zemljama jer su to vrlo ekspresivne metode samoozljeđivanja koje se uklapaju u koncept da su ljudi iz zapadnih zemalja skloniji biti i emocionalno ekspresivniji. Stoga u nastavku raspravljamo i o tome je li granični poremećaj ličnosti isključivo zapadnjački poremećaj i jesu li tradicionalnija društva uprkos globalizacijskom utjecaju zaštićena od ponašanja ljudi s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti.

Budući da se granični poremećaj ličnosti definira kao prožimajući obrazac nestabilnosti međuljudskih odnosa, slike o sebi, afekata i izrazite impulzivnosti, neki autori su pretpostavljali da više kolektivistička, tradicionalna društva sprečavaju razvoj patologije graničnog poremećaja ličnosti (Pariz 1996; Pinto i sur. 2000; Ronningstam i sur. 2018). Globalizacija je omogućila brzi prijenos ideja među kulturama, što je moglo povećati osjetljivost nezapadnih nacija na DSM-5 BPD patologiju. Ipak, malo je istraživanja o prezentaciji graničnog poremećaja ličnosti sprovedeno u ruralnim društvima s ograničenom izloženošću silama globalizacije. Tako je jedna nezapadna, ruralna studija (Chartrand i sur. 2020) identificirana u pregledu literature Munsona i suradnika (2022) promatrala suicidalno ponašanje u regiji Sundarban u Indiji. Pri tome su intervjuirali sudionike koji su manifestirali suicidalno ponašanje i ispitali ih o njihovoj namjeri da si oduzmu život, a odgovori mnogih sudionika ukazuju na to su "nesigurni" u svojoj namjeri da si oduzmu život jer ako bi izrekli da će to zaista učiniti, suočili bi se s pravnim komplikacijama, a ako bi rekli da neće, mogli bi se suočiti s društvenim poniženjem ili stigmom. Namjerno samoozljeđivanje bez namjere da si osoba oduzme život lokalno je poznato kao Jukhimara ili Jukhi, što znači da osoba želi priopćiti svoje patnje kao alarm ili želi nešto postići. U društvu Jukhi se smatra lošim karakterom i može negativno utjecati na izgled žene za brak (Char-

trand i sur. 2020). Dakle, ova kulturološka definicija parasuicidalnog ponašanja u relativno udaljenoj regiji svijeta sugerira da granični poremećaj ličnosti može postojati i bez utjecaja globalizacije. Međutim, čini se da se prezentacija graničnog poremećaja ličnosti razlikuje u ovoj kulturi budući da su mnogi sudionici sudjelovali u samotrovanju, ali ne i rezanju kože, pri čemu je ovo posljednje emocionalno izražajniiji oblik samoozljeđivanja. Pri tome je važno istaći da je samo 2 od 89 sudionika imalo dijagnozu graničnog poremećaja ličnosti, što može ukazivati na nedostatak svijesti o ovom poremećaju, zbog čega bi bilo korisno provesti dodatna istraživanja kako bi se dobio bolji uvid u prezentacije graničnog poremećaja ličnosti, posebno u ruralnim sredinama.

## **SPOLNE RAZLIKE U GRANIČNOM I ANTISOCIJALNOM POREMEĆAJU LIČNOSTI**

Postoji shvaćanje da je antisocijalni poremećaj ličnosti dominantno muški poremećaj, a granični poremećaj ličnosti najčešće rezerviran za žensku populaciju. Ipak, istraživanja novijeg datuma ukazuju na to da distinkcija nije baš tako jasna, te se navodi kako je prije svega potrebno staviti fokus na razlike u načinu na koji muškarci i žene manifestiraju simptomatologiju istog poremećaja ličnosti.

Tako, Alegria i sur. (2013) tvrde da je, unatoč omjeru prevalencije muškaraca naspram žena s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti koji iznosi 3:1, zapravo malo istraživanja o spolnim razlikama u antisocijalnom poremećaju ličnosti u općoj populaciji. U usporedbi s muškarcima, žene s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti prijavile su češće emocionalno zanemarivanje u djetinjstvu i seksualno zlostavljanje, te druga nepovoljna stanja i događaje povezane s roditeljima tijekom djetinjstvu (npr. poremećaj ovisnosti roditelja i nepovoljne događaje tijekom odrasle dobi). I iako žene s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti pokazuju manje nasilno antisocijalno ponašanje i veće stope agresivnosti i razdražljivosti, one imaju veće stope viktimizacije, veće teškoće i nižu društvenu podršku. Također, Goldstein i sur. (1996) su otkrili da su žene s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti pokazale veći psihijatrijski komorbiditet sa SUD-om (engl. substance use disorder) od muških ispitanika u kliničkom uzorku. Pored toga, među ispitanicima antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti i DUD-om (engl. drug use disorders), više je žena nego muškaraca prijavilo obiteljsku povijest DUD-a i veću prevalenciju anksioznosti i dodatnih poremećaja ličnosti, ali gotovo identične obrasce kriterija antisocijalnog poremećaja ličnosti (Goldstein, Compton i sur. 2007). Među onima s AUD (engl. alcohol use disorders) i komorbiditetnim antisocijalnim



poremećajem ličnosti nisu uočene spolne razlike u simptomatologiji antisocijalnog poremećaja ličnosti ili obrascima psihijatrijskih komorbiditeta (Goldstein, Dawson i sur. 2007). Prema tome, postojeći nalazi o spolnim razlikama u psihijatrijskom komorbiditetu ograničene su upotrebom uzoraka koji traže liječenje (Goldstein i sur. 1996) ili subuzorcima osoba s poremećajima ovisnosti o alkoholu ili drogama (Goldstein, Compton i sur. 2007; Goldstein, Dawson i sur. 2007; Mikulich-Gilbertson i sur. 2007).

Način na koji spol oblikuje ličnost i psihopatologiju može biti od pomoći i prilikom ispitivanja razlika između pacijenata s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti i graničnim poremećaj ličnosti. Najdosljednija i najprožimajuća razlika koja utječe na međuljudsko ponašanje povezana je s agresivnošću te su muškarci skloniji biti asertivniji i dominantniji, dok su žene sklonije biti usredotočene na privrženost (Feingold 1994). Ovi efekti spola na osobnost vidljivi su u kulturama širom svijeta. Tako u modelu Velikih pet, neuroticizam, susretljivost, savjesnost i ekstraverzija su češće prisutni faktori kod žena, dok je otvorenost iskustvu češća kod muškaraca (Costa i sur. 2001). Pri tome su navedene razlike vjerojatno intrinzične i potkrijepljene snažnom vezom između testosterona i agresije (Baghaei i sur. 2003). Rodne razlike također su očite u najosnovnijoj distinkciji u psihopatologiji tj. distinkcija između eksternalizirajućih i internaliziranih simptoma (Krueger 1999). Naime, tokom djetinjstva uočeno je da dječaci imaju znatni veću prevalenciju eksternalizirajućih poremećaja, kao što su poremećaj ponašanja i poremećaj pažnje, dok je vjerojatnije da će djevojčice razviti internalizirane poremećaje, kao što su anksioznost i poremećaji raspoloženja (Achenbach i McConaughy 1997). Također, u populaciji odraslih, muškarci imaju višu stopu zlouporabe supstanci (Helzer i sur. 1992), dok žene imaju višu stopu depresije u različitim kulturama (Weissman i Klerman 1985, prema Paris i sur. 2013).

U analizi Alegria i sur. (2013) žene s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti sklonije su pobjeći od kuće preko noći, izostati s posla/škole, češće lagati, krivotvoriti nečiji potpis, upustiti se u tučnjavu u kojoj je došlo do razmjene udaraca s partnerom, uznemiravati, prijetiti i/ili ucjenjivati. U neprilagođenim modelima (bez kontrole potencijalnih varijabli koje bi mogle utjecati na rezultate) i prilagođenim modelima (s kontrolom dodatnih varijabli), za žene s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti bilo je manje vjerojatno nego za muškarce s istim poremećajem ličnosti da su učinile nešto što bi lako moglo ozlijediti njih ili druge, dobile tri ili više prometnih kazni za nesmotrenost / izazivanje nesreća, bile suspendirane / oduzeta im vozačka dozvola, uništile tuđu imovinu, namjerno zapalile požar, nezakonito zaradile novac, učinile nešto za što su mogle biti uhićene, udarile nekoga toliko jako da ga je to ozlijedilo ili na-

mjerno povrijedile životinje. U prilagođenom modelu, bilo je manje vjerojatno da će žene nekoga prevariti za novac i upotrijebiti oružje u tučnjavi u usporedbi s muškarcima. Također, žene s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti imale su znatno lošije rezultate od muških ispitanika na skali mentalnog zdravlja, emocionalnog funkcioniranja i socijalnog funkcioniranja. Rezultati o višim stopama emocionalnog zanemarivanja u djetinjstvu, seksualnog zlostavljanja i CAE-a (engl. childhood adverse experiences) povezanih s roditeljima slični su studijama koje pokazuju jaču povezanost između obiteljske disfunkcije i antisocijalne devijacije kod žena nego kod muškaraca (Mulder, Wells, Joyce i Bushnell 1994), te između rane viktimizacije i poremećaja ovisnosti (McClellan, Farabee i Crouch 1997; Merikangas i sur. 1998).

Nalazi su također pokazali veće stope AAE (engl. adverse adult experiences) kod žena nego kod muškaraca. Iako je za žene i muškarce s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti bila podjednaka vjerojatnoća da će imati bilo kakav dodatni psihijatrijski poremećaj, žene s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti imale su znatno niže rezultate na svim skalama mentalnog zdravlja SF-12 (engl. short form health survey), što ukazuje na povećanu potrebu za mentalnom skrbi. Lošiji rezultati na SNI (engl. social network integration) kod žena koji su pronađeni u ovoj studiji mogu biti posljedica brojnih potencijalnih mehanizama uključujući: 1) više razine odbacivanja zbog poteškoća usklađivanja sa stereotipnim normama ponašanja specifičnim za spol; 2) veću vjerojatnoću relacijske agresije usmjerene na ljude u njihovoj društvenoj mreži (npr. obitelj, prijatelji i poznanici) i 3) viša očekivanja u pogledu društvenih veza s obitelji i prijateljima. Također, nalazi su u skladu s hipotezom o pragu rizika (poznatoj kao seksualni paradoks ili hipoteza grupnog otpora) koja kaže da je ženama potrebno veće opterećenje faktorima rizika kako bi manifestirale antisocijalni poremećaj ličnosti (Yang i Coid 2007). Viši prag za žene mogao bi pomoći u objašnjenju niže prevalencije antisocijalnog poremećaja ličnosti među ženama, kao i očitih većih poteškoća kod žena s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti. U skladu s prethodnim istraživanjima (Goldstein i sur. 1996; Mikulich-Gilbertson i sur. 2007; Robins i sur. 1991), muškarci s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti vjerojatnije su bili uključeni u nezakonite i nasilne radnje, dok su žene s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti vjerojatnije počinile nenasilna antisocijalna ponašanja (npr. izostanak s posla/škole). Nenasilna priroda antisocijalnih manifestacija prihvaćenih među ženama s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti podložna je nedovoljnom prepoznavanju ili pogrešnom dijagnosticiranju kod žena u kliničkim okruženjima. Naglasak na fenomenološkim razlikama u manifestaciji simptoma u DSM-5 (engl. diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders) može pomoći kliničarima u identifikaciji antisocijalnog poremećaja ličnosti, posebno



među ženama. Ove razlike u manifestacijama antisocijalnog poremećaja ličnosti mogu biti, barem djelomično, posljedica osobina ličnosti kao što su ekstraverzija i traženje uzbuđenja češće pronađenih kod muškaraca (Costa, Terracciano i McCrae 2001) ili faktora socijalizacije koji ublažavaju agresivno ponašanje kod žena.

U pregledu literature Qian i sur. (2022) su utvrdili da su muškarci s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti imali veću vjerojatnoću za pojavu eksternalizirajućih simptoma (npr. agresivnosti) i komorbiditetnih poremećaja (npr. korištenje droga), dok su žene s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti vjerojatnije pokazivale internalizirane simptome (npr. afektivnu nestabilnost) i komorbiditetne poremećaje (npr. poremećaje raspodjele i poremećaje u prehrani). Tako i DSM-5, na primjer, pokazuje da su približno 75% osoba s dijagnozom graničnog poremećaja ličnosti žene. Kao rezultat toga, izvorne studije liječenja graničnog poremećaja ličnosti uglavnom su bile usmjerene na žene (Linehan i sur. 2016). Novija istraživanja, međutim, pokazuju da se stope prevalencije ne razlikuju značajno između muškaraca i žena (Grant i sur. 2008; Sansone i Sansone 2011). Ipak, bez obzira ne navedeno, granični poremećaj ličnosti se i u istraživačkom i u kliničkom kontekstu još uvijek doživljava kao poremećaj karakterističan za žene.

Pored toga, u usporedbi s kontrolnim skupinama žene s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti pokazuju višu razinu testosterona (Bertsch i sur. 2018), kortizola (Rausch 2015; Cavelti i sur. 2022; Rausch i sur. 2021) i ukupni homocistein u plazmi (Kem i sur. 2022). Također je slabija aktivacija u lijevom dlPFC-u (engl. dorsolateral prefrontal cortex) i jača aktivacija u stražnjem klasteru desnog dlPFC-a zabilježena kod žena s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti (Bertsch 2018). Među uključenim studijama dominirala je literatura objavljena u zapadnim zemljama, točnije u SAD, što ukazuje na potencijalnu prazninu u literaturi u vezi s međukulturalnom generalizacijom nalaza na nezapadne populacije. Zanimljivo je da su dokazi za uočljive, bihevioralno manifestne simptome u ovom pregledu bili značajniji za simptome koji se javljaju kod muškaraca s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti (agresija i impulzivnost), ali umjereni do slabi za simptome koji se javljaju kod žena (afektivna nestabilnost, samoozljeđivanje, nestabilna veza, poremećaj identiteta i disocijacija). To bi se potencijalno moglo objasniti klasifikacijskim i dijagnostičkim kriterijima za granični poremećaj ličnosti u DSM-u jer postoji relativno više stavki za internalizirane simptome nego za eksternalizirane simptome, što može koncentrirati bodove za eksternalizirane simptome zbog uskog raspona klasifikacije. Također, studija koju su sproveli Michonski i sur. (2013) pokazala je da je vjerovatnije da će muškarci biti ocijenjeni kao osobe koje pokazuju simptome agresije i impulzivnosti nego žene, kada je riječ o istoj razini

sklonosti ka graničnom poremećaju ličnosti. Pored toga, podaci iz dostupnih studija sugeriraju i to da muškarci s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti imaju veću vjerojatnoću ispoljavanja komorbidnog poremećaja ovisnosti o drogama, dok žene češće imaju komorbidnu anksioznost i poremećaje prehrane, što je u skladu sa vanjskim razlikama u simptomatskoj manifestaciji. Tako na primjer, vjerojatnije je da će se muškarcima sa sličnim simptomima dijagnosticirati antisocijalni poremećaj ličnosti, dok je vjerojatnije da će se ženama dijagnosticirati granični poremećaj ličnosti (Skodol 2003). Navedeno bi moglo biti objašnjeno i razlikama u vrsti prijavljenog zlostavljanja jer se seksualno zlostavljanje češće prijavljuje kod žena (Cappelleri 2003). Za usporedbu, fizičko kažnjavanje se češće događa kod muškaraca u određenim kulturama (Peltzer i Pengpid 2016) i može se normalizirati do određene mjere, te samim tim ne doživljavati i ne prijaviti kao zlostavljanje. Nadalje, podaci bi mogli biti iskrivljeni jer su muškarci manje skloni prijaviti iskustva zlostavljanja (Lev-Wiesel i First 2018) čime se objašnjava veći udio žena s poviješću zlostavljanja u djetinjstvu. Također, žene s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti česte potraže i dobiju stručnu pomoć, dok muškarci češće bivaju upućeni na odvikavanje od droga i alkohola, te bi jedan dio varijance razlika u prikazanim simptomima mogao biti objašnjen i na taj način (Qian i sur. 2022).

## ZAKLJUČAK

Ovaj pregledni rad donio je analizu i sintezu dosadašnjih znanstvenih spoznaja o kulturnim razlikama u manifestaciji graničnog poremećaja ličnosti te spolu kao faktoru vezanom uz razlike u manifestaciji antisocijalnog i graničnog poremećaja ličnosti. Također, istraženi su i socioekonomski i psihološki faktori koji doprinose razvoju konkretnih poremećaja ličnosti i odražavaju se na prijestupničko ponašanje.

Neosporna činjenica je da ono što se smatra "normalnim" ponašanjem uveliko varira od kulture do kulture, te se i granice između normalnog i patološkog ponašanja mogu značajno razlikovati. Stoga se i simptomi određenih poremećaja mogu manifestirati na različite načine. Tako se npr. i impulzivnost kod osoba s graničnim poremećajem ličnosti može izraziti na više načina ovisno o kulturnim normama vezanim uz emocionalnu ekspresiju.

Iako su kriteriji za dijagnozu mentalnih poremećaja su uglavnom univerzalni, njihova primjena može biti kulturalno obojena, te kliničari ista ponašanja mogu interpretirati različito, ovisno o svom kulturnom kontekstu, zbog čega i terapijski pristupi i učinkovitost tretmana mogu varirati ovisno o kulturnim vrijednostima i preferencijama.

Osim graničnog poremećaja ličnosti i proučavanja osoba koje se često bore s impulzivnošću i emocionalnom nestabilnošću, što može dovesti do konflikata sa zakonom, važno je istražiti i antisocijalni poremećaj ličnosti koji se često povezuje s kulturama koje naglašavaju individualizam, kompetitivnost i materijalističke vrijednosti. Naime, u takvim kulturama, agresivno i manipulativno ponašanje može biti više tolerirano. S druge strane, osobe s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti često imaju smanjen osjećaj krivnje i empatije, što posljedično može biti dodatni poticaj na delikventno ponašanje.

Također, antisocijalni poremećaj ličnosti često se vezuje uz muški spol, što je u skladu s tradicionalnim stereotipima o muškoj agresivnosti i riziku za delikventno ponašanje. Međutim, istraživanja su pokazala da i žene često izražavaju antisocijalne osobine, ali na drugačiji način – kroz manipulaciju i emocionalnu agresiju, što može biti manje vidljivo i manje evidentirano od klasičnih oblika delikventnog ponašanja kod muškaraca. Uz prethodno navedeno, žene s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti u odnosu na muškarce s istim poremećajem ličnosti češće prijavljuju emocionalno i seksualno zlostavljanje u djetinjstvu, kao i poremećaj ovisnosti kod roditelja te više nepovoljnih događaja tijekom odrasle dobi. Žene s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti pokazuju manje nasilno ponašanje i veće stope agresije i razdražljivosti. Također, kod žena uočavamo veće stope viktimizacije i nižu društvenu podršku. Stoga, iako su muškarci zastupljeniji u pogledu klasičnog antisocijalnog ponašanja, važno je razmotriti i suptilnije oblike manifestacije antisocijalnog poremećaja ličnosti kod žena.

Što se tiče faktora koji doprinose razvoju ovih poremećaja ličnosti i njihovom utjecaju na prijestupničko ponašanje, postoje brojni faktori koji mogu imati izvjesnu ulogu u objašnjenju tog kompleksnog procesa. Tako, socioekonomski faktori kao što su siromaštvo, disfunkcionalna obiteljska dinamika i izloženost nasilju mogu povećati rizik od razvoja poremećaja, te se kao nezaobilazni faktori ističu i traumatski događaji u djetinjstvu, kao i zlostavljanje i/ili zanemarivanje. Rana trauma u djetinjstvu i razvoj nesigurne ili ambivalentne privrženosti često vode ka razdražljivosti, impulzivnosti i druženju s devijantnim vršnjacima što dalje može dovesti do toga da takve osobe neutralne podražaje iz okoline percipiraju kao prijeteće i na taj način razviju dodatni potencijal za agresivan pristup i prijestupničko ponašanje. Genetski faktori također mogu biti važni, budući da su utvrđene genetske predispozicije za ove poremećaje. Međutim, navedeni faktori ne samo da doprinose razvoju poremećaja ličnosti, već utječu i na prijestupničko ponašanje.

Stoga, s obzirom na složenu etiologiju graničnog i antisocijalnog poremećaja ličnosti gdje je nekoliko faktora rizika udruženo u razvoj i manifestaciju navedenih poremećaja, bilo bi korisno u budućnosti provesti određena longitudinalna istraživanja koja u obzir uzimaju i kulturološke faktore, te ne zanemaruju činjenicu da se isti poremećaj ličnosti može manifestirati na bitno izmijenjen način u različitom kulturalom kontekstu.

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## **ANTISOCIAL AND BORDERLINE PERSONALITY DISORDER: CULTURAL AND GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE MANIFESTATION OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR**

### **Summary:**

The issue of criminal behavior often intertwines with complex psychological conditions, and antisocial personality disorder (ASPD) and borderline personality disorder (BPD) represent two such examples. While both disorders can manifest in various forms of criminal behavior, it is crucial to recognize the influence of gender and culture on these manifestations. In this regard, we investigated the differences between men and women at the level of the five-factor personality model, which refers to personality traits known as conscientiousness, extraversion, neuroticism, agreeableness, and openness to new experiences. Based on the collected data, we correlated these personality traits with borderline and antisocial personality disorders. Given that the cultural context determines the difference in the manifestation of symptoms of these personality disorders, we found indications that borderline personality disorder manifests differently in Western societies with an individualistic and competitive orientation compared to more traditional collectivist societies. Men with ASPD are more prone to violent offenses, such as assault, theft, and drug trafficking. Their impulsivity and aggression can drive them towards risky and destructive behaviors, often with tragic consequences. On the other hand, women with ASPD are more inclined towards nonviolent offenses, such as cheating and prostitution.

**Keywords:** criminal behavior; antisocial personality disorder; borderline personality disorder; delinquency

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## KOMUNIKOLOŠKA I MEDILOŠKA ISTRAŽIVANJA

**Mirdin Zilić, Adem Olovčić**

DISCOURSE AND COMMUNICATION ANALYSIS OF THE  
MILOŠEVIĆ-TUĐMAN AGREEMENT: IMPLICATIONS FOR BOSNIA AND  
HERZEGOVINA / ANALIZA DISKURSA I KOMUNIKACIJE SPORAZUMA  
MILOŠEVIĆ-TUĐMAN: IMPLIKACIJE NA BOSNU I HERCEGOVINU..... 1417

**Tahani Komarica**

FEEDBACK U *ONLINE* NASTAVI – SLIJEP A PETLJA /  
FEEDBACK IN *ONLINE* EDUCATION – BLIND LOOP ..... 1441

**Mirjana Tankosic, Ljiljana Manic, Andrijana Mikic**

STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS AND SATISFACTION IN EVALUATING  
COMMUNICATION CHANNELS / PERCEPCIJA I ZADOVOLJSTVO  
STUDENATA U EVALUACIJI KOMUNIKACIONIH KANALA ..... 1463





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## **DISCOURSE AND COMMUNICATION ANALYSIS OF THE MILOŠEVIĆ-TUĐMAN AGREEMENT: IMPLICATIONS FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

The Karadžorđevo meeting in March 1991 between Slobodan Milošević and Franjo Tuđman holds profound historical significance in the context of escalating tensions in the former Yugoslavia. This paper employs a communicology perspective to comprehensively analyze the agreement, unveiling intricate negotiation dynamics and implications for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Analyzing the Milošević-Tuđman Agreement through communicology reveals communication patterns, rhetorical strategies, and implicit messages. This framework clarifies how language shapes perceptions, influences decisions, and impacts political contexts. The analysis examines the Karadžorđevo meeting's context, outlining political developments and rising nationalism leading to the negotiations. Using primary sources, it considers various stakeholders' arguments about the agreement's existence and implications. Expert teams' roles in discussing Bosnia's partition and key individuals' statements are scrutinized. Findings shed light on implicit messages, power dynamics, and nationalistic discourses. Results highlight the agreement's immediate and long-term consequences on Bosnia and Herzegovina, including its role in the Bosnian War. Critiques, controversies, and alternative interpretations are addressed. In conclusion, this paper summarizes key findings, underscores contributions to scholarship, and suggests avenues for future research. Analyzing the Milošević-Tuđman Agreement through communicology deepens our understanding of complex negotiation dynamics during a critical period in Bosnia and Herzegovina's history.

**Keywords:** Milošević-Tuđman agreement; discourse analysis; communication analysis; Yugoslavia's dissolution; nationalism and tensions; Bosnian war

## INTRODUCTION

History has long been regarded as a teacher of life, offering invaluable lessons that transcend time and shape the course of political processes. The significance of history in political realms cannot be overstated; it serves as a guiding force, offering insights into past events, policies, and societal structures that inform decision-making and shape future trajectories. The intrinsic link between history and politics is undeniable, as historical narratives often underpin political ideologies, policies, and identities. Nevertheless, historical knowledge is not an end in itself; it rather serves as a platform for comprehending complex sociopolitical dynamics. In doing so, it intertwines with diverse disciplines, placing it within real social currents and acquiring contemporary and comprehensive significance. One such, undoubtedly, is communicology, within which the significance of historical narratives in shaping political processes has gained considerable attention, especially in the last three decades.

Communication, encompassing language, discourse, and rhetoric, plays a pivotal role in how historical events are portrayed, interpreted, and utilized within political spheres. That is why the analysis of communication within historical contexts provides a deeper understanding of how language, statements, and narratives influence political decisions and public perceptions. The reason for this lies in language, which acts as a powerful tool in constructing historical narratives and shaping political discourse. The choice of words, rhetoric, and framing of events can significantly influence how history is remembered and interpreted. Political leaders often use language strategically to advance their agendas, manipulate public opinion, and legitimize their actions. Historical events are framed and communicated in ways that align with particular political ideologies or objectives. Furthermore, examining statements, speeches, and communications within historical contexts reveals the complexities of power dynamics, negotiations, and the interplay between different actors.

The meeting between Slobodan Milošević and Franjo Tuđman in Karadordevo in March 1991 holds significant historical importance in the context of the escalating tensions and conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. This paper aims to provide an in-depth analysis of the Milošević-Tuđman Agreement in Karadordevo, employing a communicology perspective to shed light on the complexities of the negotiations and the subsequent implications for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The field of communicology, rooted in the interdisciplinary study of communication, offers valuable insights into the dynamics of human interaction and the power of discourse. By applying a discourse and communication analysis to the Milošević-

-Tuđman Agreement, one can explore the underlying communication patterns, rhetorical strategies, and discursive practices employed by the key actors involved. This analysis seeks to uncover the deeper meanings and implications embedded within communicative acts, examining the explicit content and the implicit messages and power dynamics at play. It provides a framework for understanding how language, symbols, and gestures shape perceptions, influence decision-making processes, and impact social and political contexts.

In the context of the Karadžorđevo meeting, the given analysis offers a nuanced perspective on the motives and interpretations surrounding the negotiations. It helps us discern the underlying intentions, power struggles, and discursive tactics utilized by Milošević and Tuđman during their discussions. Furthermore, it enables one to identify the broader implications of their agreement on the subsequent political developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This paper will begin with a historical overview, providing the necessary background to understand the context in which the Karadžorđevo meeting took place. It will outline the political developments, the rise of nationalism, and tensions leading up to the negotiations. This historical backdrop sets the stage for a comprehensive analysis of the Milošević-Tuđman Agreement. The subsequent sections will delve into the specifics of the Karadžorđevo meeting, exploring the circumstances, motivations, and interpretations surrounding the event. Drawing upon primary sources and available records, one will examine the arguments put forth by various stakeholders regarding the existence and implications of the agreement. Additionally, the role of expert teams in discussing the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the statements made by key individuals involved will be explored. Utilising the tools of communicology analysis, one will scrutinise the communication patterns, rhetorical strategies, and discursive practices employed by Milošević and Tuđman during the negotiations. By dissecting their speeches and statements, the authors aim to uncover the implicit messages, power dynamics, and nationalistic discourses prevalent in their discourse.

The findings and interpretations derived from the communicology analysis will provide valuable insights into the immediate and long-term consequences of the Milošević-Tuđman Agreement. We will assess its impact on Bosnia and Herzegovina, examining how it influenced subsequent political developments and contributed to the Bosnian War. Finally, this paper will address the critiques and controversies surrounding the analysis, considering alternative interpretations and addressing ethical considerations. It will conclude by summarising the key findings, highlighting the contributions to scholarship, and providing recommendations for further research in

this field. By examining the Milošević-Tuđman Agreement in Karadžorđevo through the lens of communicology analysis, this paper aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics and communication strategies at play during this critical period in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## **BACKGROUND AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE KARADORĐEVO MEETING**

When examining the commencement of the Yugoslavian disintegration, many perceive it to be June 28, 1989, Vidovdan, when numerous Serbs congregated at Gazimestan, near Kosovo's capital, Priština, in order to commemorate the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo. In Serbia, Montenegro, Vojvodina, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and wherever a substantial Serbian populace resided, there was a profound national fervour leading up to this tragic commemoration. It appeared as though a novel Serbian saint had emerged on that day. Esteemed officials from the federal state and representatives from other republics and provinces were present at the ceremony. The crowd eagerly awaited the oration of their newfound leader, Slobodan Milosevic, who, after instigating nationalist tensions, promptly transitioned to practical politics, uttering a perilous statement, declaring, "After six centuries, we are once again preoccupied with battles and disputes. These may not be armed battles, but the possibility is not excluded." The crowd responded with fervent applause, and discerning politicians and analysts realized that Milošević was engaging in sabre-rattling, openly threatening warfare, which was already being diligently prepared within his inner circles (Bilandžić 2006).

Milošević firmly believed that he could attain supremacy by manipulating Serbian national matters and securing control over the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. He also aspired to assume the presidency of the SFRY and the leadership of its armed forces, relying on the backing of the JNA leadership. His vision incorporated the notion of a "Greater Serbia" and sought political support from Serbian populations in various territories. Nonetheless, his plans encountered opposition in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to some extent in Macedonia, where nationalism was burgeoning and the yearning to resist Greater Serbian hegemony, particularly Milošević's tactics, was intensifying (Malcolm 1995).

Bosnia and Herzegovina found itself caught during these developments, with an underdeveloped economy. Nationalism was on the upswing, but the official country policy wasn't attuned to these trends. The stage was being set for Bosnia and Herze-

govina to be depicted as an artificial political entity, AVNOJ's decisions undermined, and the validity of the 1974 Constitution challenged, all portrayed as aimed at subverting the interests of the Serbian people and Yugoslav unity. This period laid the foundation for subsequent territorial ambitions and nationalist conflicts. Slobodan Milošević's strategic manipulation of the populist movement and mass enthusiasm through large anti-bureaucratic rallies led to the removal of political entities opposing his vision of a unified, centralized Serbia. The "yogurt revolution" was aimed at addressing Kosovo and Vojvodina, introducing a new Serbian constitution to centralize authority, and challenging the 1974 Constitution as anti-Serbian, confederal, and part of alleged anti-Serbian conspiracies under Kardelj and Tito.

At that time, few questioned the need for Yugoslavia, but the fundamental disputes and increasingly heated arguments, with a distinct national tone, revolved around the question of "What kind of Yugoslavia?" Some reiterated the importance of supporting only those proposals for constitutional changes that ensure its socialist perspective, brotherhood and unity, and which as a whole respect the full equality of peoples and nationalities (Ribičić and Tomac 1989). Milošević's propaganda, however, persistently and openly created a political climate and mood that demanded a reopening of the discussion on the fundamental principles of the Yugoslav community, AVNOJ commitments in the Constitution, and the nature of Yugoslavia, with varying regional stances. Slovenia embraced a nationalist program, Croatia affirmed "MASPOK" theses, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia leaned towards preserving AVNOJ Yugoslavia with 1974 Constitution amendments. Montenegro initially wavered but later aligned with Milošević. The dispute centred on AVNOJ continuity, challenging the existing constitutional federation based on AVNOJ principles and raising issues of historical legitimacy and the rights of nations.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro saw a resurgence of great-power and nationalist ideas, undermining their political interests and challenging the Republic's legitimacy. The tightly controlled Belgrade press fueled campaigns laden with lies, fabrications, and sensationalism. Serbia and Kosovo faced harsh purges, while Vojvodina experienced a collective overnight purge. To secure Yugoslavia, gaining the support of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and reforming its Central Committee and Presidency was crucial. The focus remained on preserving socialism as the unifying factor within Yugoslavia.

## NEGOTIATIONS AND AGREEMENTS BETWEEN MILOŠEVIĆ AND TUĐMAN

On March 25, 1991, the Croatian President Franjo Tuđman and the Serbian President Slobodan Milošević convened in Karađorđevo. The following day, March 26, 1991, the front page of the news was reported by the daily newspaper *Oslobođenje*, stating that ahead of the upcoming summit of the six republic presidents, in Karađorđevo situated in the border region between the two republics, the presidents of the Republic of Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milošević and Dr. Franjo Tuđman, held a meeting (*Oslobođenje* 1991a). During the prolonged dialogue, as officially communicated, addressing critical issues of the political and economic crisis, as well as the future relations within Yugoslavia, the primary content of the forthcoming presidential summit was deliberated upon.

Despite well-documented disparities in fundamental matters concerning the interests of the Republic of Serbia and Republic of Croatia, and by extension, the Serbian and Croatian peoples, given the pivotal significance of relations between Serbia and Croatia, and the Serbian and Croatian peoples, for the entirety of diplomatic interactions and even the resolution of the state-political impasse, the discourse was conducted with an aim to eliminate courses of action that jeopardize the interests of either the Serbian or Croatian populace as a whole. Persistent efforts were made to seek enduring resolutions, all while fully respecting historical national interests. The establishment of a timeframe, not exceeding two months, for addressing existing Yugoslavian quandaries was deliberated upon, with a shared intention to present this proposition collectively at the upcoming presidential convocation. Furthermore, amidst the deepening economic crisis, proposals and solutions were examined, including those outlined by the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce, pertaining to modifications in the operations and composition of the Federal Executive Council during the transitional period, to safeguard the nation against economic collapse (*Oslobođenje* 1991a).

On the same day, March 26, 1991, in a statement provided to the Associated Press (AP), the then-Vice President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), Stipe Mesić, commented on the aforementioned meeting, asserting that the Yugoslav republican leaders would reach an agreement regarding the nation's future no later than April 15, 1991. *Oslobođenje*, which conveyed Mesić's statement, reported that Mesić confirmed that following the "secret meeting" between the presidents of Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milošević and Franjo Tuđman, Prime Minister Ante Marković was under pressure (*Oslobođenje* 1991b).

During an interview with the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera* on December 15, 1997, Dr. Franjo Tuđman addressed inquiries regarding the nature of his dialogues with Milošević, spanning from their initial meeting in Karadžorđevo to the present moment. In response, Dr. Tuđman underscored the media's tendency to emphasize his encounter with Milošević in Karadžorđevo. Dr. Tuđman articulated that his purpose throughout these discussions was to prevent a violent conflict from erupting in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He sought a resolution that would secure the well-being of the populace, with particular attention to the Croatian minority, which held a precarious position in Bosnia and Herzegovina, susceptible to vulnerabilities from both Serbs and Muslims. Dr. Tuđman emphasized his persistent effort in proposing and pursuing solutions that would garner consensus across all three ethnic groups. When queried about the existence of an agreement concerning the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Tuđman explicitly responds that there has never been any accord between him and Milošević, nor any discussions of Bosnia's division (Tuđman 1999). Interestingly, within Tuđman's transcripts, slightly over two months after the Karadžorđevo meeting, a clear intent to divide Bosnia and Herzegovina can be discerned. Hence, in a session of the Supreme State Council of Croatia on June 8, 1991, the "president of all Croats", during a discussion with close collaborators, accentuates the inherent unsustainability of Croatia's present borders, particularly in the context of defense. President Tuđman, from both a Croatian and Serbian perspective, acknowledges a problem and a necessity to address the essence of Bosnia and Herzegovina's conundrum, given that the post-World War II establishment of Bosnia and the delineation of its boundaries represent a historical absurdity, a revival of a colonial entity that had been crafted between the 15th and 18th centuries. Tuđman states, "Izetbegović, as the president of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is aware of his helplessness in the face of the Serbian movement dismantling Bosnia. Similarly, he is cognizant of the unrest among the Croatian Herzegovinians regarding this particular situation" (Lovrenović and Lucić 2005: 11).

Towards the close of the same year, during a meeting between Tuđman and a delegation from the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Zagreb on December 27, 1991, Tuđman took a step further by asserting that the sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina had no prospects. He advanced the belief that, in addition to Herceg-Bosna and Posavina, Croatia would also annex the regions of Cazinska and Bihaćka Krajina, as assured to him by Milošević. "This would be practically optimal for fulfilling Croatian national interests, not only in the present but for the future as well. From the remaining part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the



Muslims and a portion of Catholic Croats could establish a small state around Sarajevo, reminiscent of the historical entity of Bosnia. It would function as a buffer between Serbia and Croatia, naturally leaning more heavily towards Croatia under such circumstances” (Lovrenović and Lucić 2005: 87), articulated Tuđman.

Hrvoje Šarinić, the former head of the Office of President Franjo Tuđman of the Republic of Croatia, held secret meetings with the Serbian President on as many as 13 occasions between 1993 and 1995. This is extensively documented in his book titled “All My Secret Negotiations with Slobodan Milošević 1993-1995”. Šarinić actively participated in all significant sessions during which the demarcation lines between Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina were delineated. The dialogues between the two leaders were personally arranged by Šarinić through Slobodan Milošević’s Chief of Staff, Goran Milinović. An uncertainty exists in Šarinić’s accounts regarding whether the meeting took place on March 25 or 26, 1991.

Despite this, Šarinić leans toward March 26. In his brief reflection, he recalls that Tuđman and Milošević engaged in a two-and-a-half-hour conversation while strolling through the forests of Karadžorđevo. Šarinić is convinced that the division of Bosnia was indeed discussed during this meeting, and he deems it nearly certain. Additionally, he believes that the topic was addressed more substantively during their encounter in Tikveš, near Osijek, on April 15, 1991. During this Tikveš meeting, Šarinić asserts, Milošević and Tuđman spent considerably more time alone. He suggests that the Tikveš meeting, although less publicized, holds more significance than the Karadžorđevo meeting. Šarinić is confident that the central theme of the Tikveš encounter was the question of Bosnia’s partition. He emphasizes that during the Tikveš meeting, Milošević was much more direct, employing a rather coarse approach in his attempt to split Bosnia (Dnevni avaz 2011).

Indeed, Presidents Tuđman and Milošević convened once more, specifically on the 15th of April, 1991, in Tikveš, Baranja (Šarinić 1999). In a statement issued by the Office of the President of the Republic of Croatia, it is conveyed that on Monday, a discussion was held in the border region between the two republics, involving the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo Tuđman, and President of the Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milošević. Deliberations encompassed matters related to the Yugoslav state-political crisis, as well as issues concerning the relationship between the two republics. Perspectives were exchanged on the outcomes of collaborative efforts undertaken by the joint group of experts established by Presidents Dr. Franjo Tuđman and Slobodan Milošević, aimed at finding resolutions for outstanding matters in Croatian-Serbian relations and the relations between the two republics. In

the context of the peaceful and democratic resolution of the Yugoslav state-legal crisis, which also entails the implementation of a referendum, the two presidents concurred on the imperative of ensuring the respect of the interests of the Croatian and Serbian peoples as a whole, and the avoidance of any form of coercive action. The two presidents are in agreement to continue mutual discussions, as well as discussions at the level of joint expert groups, and they have also initiated an initiative for talks between the delegation of the Croatian Parliament (Sabor) and the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia (Vjesnik 1991).

The divergent interpretations presented by various newspapers, underscore the intricate nature of the diplomatic maneuvers and underlying political motivations that defined the Karadžorđevo meeting. This media-driven discourse reached beyond national confines, resonating throughout the Balkan region and potentially molding international perceptions of the ongoing crisis. The media's capability to spotlight key political figures and critically assess their actions, alongside its power to amplify specific narratives, significantly augmented its role within the broader political landscape. The analyses and assumptions offered by media outlets not only illuminated the complex interactions among political leaders but also accentuated the interplay between media portrayal, public discourse, and the overarching political agenda. The media coverage of the Karadžorđevo meeting can be seen as a convergence of the realms of politics and journalism, exercising substantial influence in shaping the trajectory of the Yugoslav crisis. This explanation highlights the media's multifaceted role in shaping public opinion and constructing social reality. As part of the broader social system, the media plays a pivotal role in influencing public perceptions, which, in turn, contribute to the collective understanding of the ongoing events. This concept resonates with the ideas of Niklas Luhmann (1995), a prominent sociologist, who discussed how different components of society, including the media, interact and intertwine to construct a unified social system. The media's role in shaping public opinion and intertwining with other societal sectors further emphasizes its significance in influencing political and social dynamics.

This sequence of events underscores the dynamic and intricate nature of the political developments during the time frame encompassing the Karadžorđevo meeting. The swift succession of significant gatherings and the mounting tensions within this period highlights the rapidly evolving landscape of regional and international relations. As the leaders of diverse Yugoslav republics engaged in these pivotal meetings, the intricate interplay of their actions, decisions, and discourse bore immense implications not only for their respective regions but also for the broader Yugoslav context.

The Karadžević meeting served as a focal point that ignited a chain reaction of diplomatic, geopolitical, and socio-political repercussions. The intensifying tensions before, during, and after this meeting revealed the underlying complexities of power dynamics, ethnonational interests, and the ever-present specter of secession and division.

The deliberations and interactions of these leaders transcended mere political engagements, resonating deeply within the fabric of public perception and societal cohesion. The interweaving of their statements, confrontations, and allegations created a tapestry of narratives that shaped not only how their constituencies viewed the unfolding events but also how international observers construed the Yugoslav crisis. The aftermath of the Karadžević meeting saw a surge in discourse, both within the media and diplomatic circles, as competing interpretations vied for prominence. This multifaceted discourse reverberated across borders and within the region, further accentuating the complexity of the issues at hand. In essence, the period around the Karadžević meeting marked a critical phase of shifting alliances, emerging ideologies, and the crystallization of deeply entrenched divisions. The culmination of these events serves as a pivotal turning point that illuminated the contours of a rapidly changing geopolitical landscape, ultimately shaping the trajectory of the Yugoslav crisis in a profound and enduring manner.

## **EXPERT TEAMS AND DISCUSSIONS ON THE PARTITION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

During the negotiations held in Karadžević, President Tuđman and President Milošević reached a mutual agreement to establish two expert teams with the objective of deliberating on the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The composition of these teams, consisting of advisors and professors, was made public through media outlets. The Croatian team included President Tuđman's advisors, namely Josip Šentija and Dušan Bilandžić, along with Professor Zvonko Lerotić from University of Zagreb and Smiljko Sokol. On the other hand, the Serbian team comprised the advisors of President Milošević, including academician Kosta Mihajlović and Vladan Kutlešić, alongside Professors Ratko Marković and Smilja Avramov from the University of Belgrade (Cohen 1995). Dr. Bilandžić, a member of the Croatian expert team, provides a detailed account of the proceedings and substance of these negotiations in his book titled *Povijest izbliza: Memoarski zapisi 1945-2005* (Bilandžić 2006). In his narrative, he elucidates how the division of Bosnia not only represented

one of the principal personal preoccupations but also a persistent strategic state plan devised by Dr. Franjo Tuđman. Bilandžić reveals that he was invited by President Tuđman to participate in the Croatian team responsible for discussing the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This invitation was extended following the prior agreement in principle on the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina reached between Milošević and Tuđman during the Karadžević meeting on March 25, 1991. Although Bilandžić had initially held optimistic expectations for the progress of Bosnia and Herzegovina, he asserts that he would never have willingly embraced the undertaking of dividing the region. However, he decided to accept the challenge based on his conviction that this endeavour would ultimately prove unsuccessful, firmly believing that Bosnia and Herzegovina could neither be nor should be partitioned (Bilandžić 2006).

The first meeting of the expert teams took place on April 10, 1991, in Tikveš, Baranja (Ibidem). During this meeting, Josip Šentija presented the thesis that the key to solving the Yugoslav crisis lies in the relations between Croatia and Serbia. Kosta Mihajlović supported this view and suggested that restoring the old federation would be the best choice. In response, Zvonko Lerotić argued that federations function effectively only in mono-national communities (Ibidem). Mihajlović rejected the idea of a confederation, seeing it as a pathway to the creation of independent states. Šentija proposed that it is legitimate for both Croats and Serbs to desire their own national states, and Mihajlović declared that Serbia would not obstruct the creation of a Croatian national state. Lerotić agreed with the Serbian perspective that Yugoslavia did not adequately represent the interests of either Serbia or Croatia, and he also concurred that the Federal Government should be overthrown (Ibidem).

At the subsequent meeting held on April 13, 1991, in the government villa Botić in Belgrade, it was agreed to continue the talks in three days instead of ten. Kosta Mihajlović opened the meeting by emphasising the importance of establishing the borders of both future Serbia and future Croatia. He argued that the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina was dictated by common interests and represented a potentially historic opportunity. Lerotić supported Mihajlović's theses, while Smilja Avramov expressed concerns about the perceived threat posed by Muslims, particularly those connected to global Islam, whom she believed posed a danger to both Serbs and Croats. Avramov referenced a NATO study group's identification of Balkan Muslims as bridgeheads for Asia's penetration into Europe. Mihajlović contended that Muslims were displacing both Serbs and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and he emphasised that any narrowing of Bosnia and Herzegovina with it remaining a republic was not an option (Ibidem).

In response, Bilandžić questioned the notion that NATO would support an attack on Muslims, pointing out that Turkey, a longstanding member of the NATO pact, would likely protest such an idea. Šentija welcomed Serbia's acknowledgment that Serbs and Croats did not necessarily have to live together, but he also raised the issue of Kninska Krajina and sought Serbia's position on this contentious matter. The Croats unanimously rejected discussions about "Krajina" and adamantly asserted that they would not relinquish any land from present-day Croatia. The Serbs argued that the right to self-determination belonged to the citizens rather than the republics, prompting the Croats to raise the question of applying that principle to Albanians in Kosovo and Hungarians in Vojvodina. The Serbs countered by claiming that Albanians and Hungarians, as non-South Slavic peoples, did not have the right to express themselves. The debate continued, with Bilandžić pressing for Serbia's stance on accepting the borders of Banovina Croatia as a basis for an agreement, to which Smilja Avramov categorically refused. In the midst of the polemical discussion, Bilandžić inquired how Serbia would maintain communication with the majority of the Serbian population located in western Bosnia in the event of the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina, suggesting that Bosnian Krajina would become akin to Nagorno-Karabakh or East Pakistan (Ibidem).

The Serbs responded by asserting their claim over the entire region of Posavina, citing an agreement reached between the two presidents. They argue that since Posavina belongs to Serbia, there is no need for a corridor, as Posavina would serve as the connection between Serbia and western Serbian land. Additionally, the Serbs propose population exchanges as a solution, suggesting the possibility of relocating Muslims from Cazinska Krajina to Knin. When directly questioned by Dušan Bilandžić, the Serbs state that Baranja does not belong to Croatia. They also request that "Krajina" should have an outlet to the Adriatic near Obrovac. Bilandžić strongly condemns this proposal, deeming it reminiscent of the Chetnik movement and the events of the Second World War. Surprisingly, the Serbs do not display anger in response. Bilandžić further raises the question of Muslim self-declaration, using the example of a municipality with 50 percent Muslims, 30 percent Croats, and 20 percent Serbs, asking to whom it would belong. The response is: "Muslims don't count – so it belongs to Croats" (Bilandžić 2006: 376).

The third round of talks took place on April 20, 1991, at Villa Weiss in Zagreb (Ibidem). Kosta Mihajlović emphasises the thesis that Yugoslavia was established by two Croats, Tito and Šubašić, and one Slovene, Kardelj, with the intention of undermining Serbia. He argues that Bosnia and Herzegovina was created against the inter-

ests of both Serbs and Croats. Mihajlović discusses Turkey's alleged plan to resettle four million Muslims from Asia Minor in Bosnia and Herzegovina, presenting this information as having been shared with both presidents. He claims that the Muslims in BiH intend to declare Bosnia a Jamahiriya on September 15, and highlights the significant number of Serbs (1,958,000) and Croats (1,281,000) residing outside their respective republics, suggesting that BiH must be divided. Although the teams engaged in three rounds of talks, each lasting approximately ten hours, no agreement was reached due to disagreements over territorial claims, majority populations in specific cities, and related issues (Bilandžić 2006: 377).

## **STATEMENTS AND INVOLVEMENT OF KEY FIGURES**

Josip Manolić, a former Croatian Prime Minister and Speaker of the Parliament, provides insights into the talks in Karadžorđevo regarding the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Tuathail and Dahlman 2004). He asserts that Croatian President Franjo Tuđman spearheaded the policy of dividing Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the goal of realising the Banovina of Croatia. Manolić highlights that Tuđman aimed to incorporate western Herzegovina into Croatia due to its ethnic purity and territorial proximity to Croatia (Index.hr 2006). Manolić's testimony regarding the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina, agreed upon in April 1991 in Karadžorđevo by Presidents Tuđman and Milošević, was confirmed during the Hague Court (ICTY) trial of former leaders of Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 2006). He stands by his statement about the Karadžorđevo meeting, emphasising the role of President Tuđman in the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Manolić reveals that after the meeting, Tuđman and Milošević established expert commissions tasked with preparing documents for the implementation of the agreed-upon division. Academician Dušan Bilandžić led the commission in Croatia, as entrusted by Tuđman (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 2006). Manolić further asserts that Tuđman's policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina was executed by the "Herzegovinian lobby" within the HDZ party, represented by figures such as Gojko Šušak, Vice Vukojević, Ivić Pašalić, Mate Boban, and Dario Kordić, along with Bosnian Croat leaders (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 2006). He acknowledges that the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina was a flawed policy, as expanding territory without encroaching on another country's territory is impossible, illogical, and unsustainable (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 2006).



Stipe Mesić, the former President of the Presidency of the Yugoslavia and later President of the Republic of Croatia, played a crucial role in the talks held in Karađorđevo. Mesić testified before the Hague Tribunal for war crimes in the former Yugoslavia, providing important insights into the discussions between Franjo Tuđman and Slobodan Milošević. He revealed that he organised the first meeting between Tuđman and Milošević in Karađorđevo in March 1991 (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 2002a). According to Mesić, the initial objective of the meeting was to prevent war, and participants were expected to include Mesić, Tuđman, Milošević, and Borisav Jović. However, Tuđman informed Mesić that only he and Milošević would meet in Karađorđevo, excluding Jović and Mesić. Mesić expressed his concerns about the meeting's location, as Karađorđevo held negative historical connotations. Nevertheless, Tuđman insisted that the meeting had to take place and that it did not matter where they met. Upon Tuđman's return, Mesić recalled him being happy and stating that Milošević agreed to allocate certain territories, such as Banovina and parts of Western Bosnia (Kladuša and Bihać), to Croatia (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 2002b). Mesić questioned the logic behind Milošević's agreement, as it seemed irrational for Serbia to wage war in Bosnia while Croatia gained territory without engaging in conflict (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 1998). Mesić's testimony suggests that the initiative for the partition of Bosnia originated from Milošević, and Tuđman's responsibility lies in accepting and participating in the planning of the partition, ultimately leading to the Bosnian war and its long-term consequences for Serbs, Croats, and Muslims (Balkan Transitional Justice 2022).

In an interview with Radio Slobodna Evropa in 2008, Mesić revealed that he initiated the conversation in response to the escalating tensions in Croatia caused by the arming of Serbs by the Yugoslav People's Army (Radio Slobodna Evropa 2008). Mesić recounted a conversation with Borisav Jović, who suggested that the Serbs in Croatia were Mesić's citizens and he could do whatever he wanted with them, even suggesting impalement. Mesić understood that the Serbs in Croatia were being used as a conduit to transfer the war to Bosnia and Herzegovina. He proposed to Jović that they try to solve the problem peacefully and suggested organising a meeting between Tuđman, Milošević, Jović, and himself (Radio Slobodna Evropa 2008). Mesić obtained Milošević's consent for the meeting, and Tuđman also agreed to meet privately in Karađorđevo in March 1991. Tuđman excluded Mesić from the meeting, as did Milošević with Jović. When Tuđman returned, he expressed enthusiasm, stating that he had reached an agreement with Milošević. According to Mesić, Tuđman claimed

that Croatia would receive territories such as Banovina, Cazin, Kladaša, and Bihać (Radio Slobodna Evropa 2008). Mesić questioned the possibility of changing borders without war and expressed scepticism about the logic behind such a division. Tuđman dismissed Mesić's concerns, claiming that historical agreements between Serbia and Croatia would be respected by others. Mesić's cooperation with Tuđman gradually faded following this meeting (Radio Slobodna Evropa 2008). Regarding the maps of the partition of Bosnia, Mesić mentioned that during the meeting, only the areas that would belong to Croatia were shown, while the commissions formed later likely discussed the details. Hrvoje Šarinić travelled to Belgrade, and Smilja Avramov came to Zagreb to work on the maps. Mesić speculated that the commissions met in other locations as well. He acknowledged that the partition plans were not unknown (Radio Slobodna Evropa 2008). Mesić's statements highlight the intentions of both Milošević and Tuđman to achieve territorial expansion through the division of Bosnia. They wanted to create a "greater Serbia" and a "greater Croatia" respectively, underestimating the possibility of a peaceful resolution and the international community's response to their plans. The outcome was a war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, driven by territorial ambitions rather than a peaceful partition (Malcolm 1994).

Stjepan Kljuić, former president of HDZ in Bosnia and Herzegovina, provides insights into the discussions surrounding the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He describes the Karadžević agreement as the most shameful moment in Croatian history and asserts that Franjo Tuđman did the agreement. Kljuić recounts a conversation with Tuđman where he mentioned that Milošević offered him Cazinska Krajina, but Kljuić emphasised that the territory did not belong to either of them. He criticises the agreement, stating that Serbia, which had lost the wars in the 1990s, received half of Bosnia as a reward (Deutsche Welle 2011). During a meeting in December 1991 in Zagreb, Kljuić expressed the preference of Bosnian Croats for a sovereign Bosnia and Herzegovina. He mentions a meeting with Radovan Karadžić where the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina was proposed. Kljuić notes that the Serbian side avoided direct discussions about partition but instead suggested areas with a significant Serbian population should belong to Serbia. He highlights that the proposed division left western Herzegovina to Croatia while Serbia claimed the remaining territory (Lovrenović and Lucić 2005). Kljuić reveals that he rejected negotiating independently and sought a written proposal instead. He suggests that the Serbian side subtly pushed for cantonization, with certain territories being given to Croats, which he would have accepted. Kljuić recalls Tuđman's response, where he argued that demarcation would be more suitable for Croats and proposed a demarcation plan that in-



cluded Croatian territories and parts of the Cazin and Bihac regions. Tuđman envisioned a buffer state between Serbia and Croatia that would rely heavily on Croatia and resemble the historical country of Bosnia (Ibidem).

Ivo Banac, a professor of history at Yale University and member of the Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, reveals in an interview with Feral that Tuđman discussed the partition of Bosnia with him on two occasions. The first conversation occurred in September 1990 during Tuđman's visit to the USA and Canada, well before the meeting in Karadžorđevo. Banac recalls Tuđman mentioning that the best solution for Bosnia and Herzegovina was a partition agreement similar to the one achieved by Pavelić and Stojadinović in Argentine emigration in the mid-1950s, where the border between Croatia and Serbia would follow the Bosnia and Neretva rivers, accompanied by a population exchange. The second conversation took place in May 1991, after Karadžorđevo, in Banski dvori in Zagreb. During this meeting, Tuđman referred to Izetbegović as an "Islamic fundamentalist" and emphasised that marking state borders by conquering an Asian power is not appropriate in the late 20th century (Minić 1998).

And finally, Ante Marković, the last president of SFRY, presented interesting details about Karadžorđevo during his testimony as a witness in the proceedings against Slobodan Milošević in The Hague (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 2003). Marković stated that in March 1991, Tuđman and Milošević met in Karadžorđevo and agreed on two things: the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the removal of Ante Marković himself. Marković opposed these agreements as he was against war and posed an obstacle to their plans (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 2003). Shortly after the meeting, Marković had private discussions with both Milošević in Belgrade and Tuđman in Zagreb, which lasted for several hours. During these meetings, Milošević expressed frustration with Marković, stating that it was difficult to work with him and reach an agreement, while Tuđman pointed out how quickly they had reached an agreement in Karadžorđevo. Both leaders admitted that they had agreed on the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the dismissal of Ante Marković (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 2003). Regarding Marković's removal, they attributed the proposal to each other and saw no reason to reject it, considering him to be causing trouble. As for the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina, they both acknowledged that they had agreed it should be divided between Serbia and Croatia (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 2003). Marković raised concerns about the implications of such a division, including the mixed population, legal borders, and

international opinion. He questioned whether they had considered the potential bloodshed and the risk of Bosnia and Herzegovina becoming a conflict-ridden region similar to Palestine. Tuđman remarked that Muslims were converted Catholics, while Milošević stated they were converted Orthodox Christians. Tuđman argued that Europe would not allow the existence of a Muslim state in the heart of Europe and that Europe supported the division. Milošević claimed that Bosnia and Herzegovina had no chance of survival as a state in Yugoslavia since it was an artificial creation of Tito (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 2003). When Marković asked them about the possibility of bloodshed, Tuđman replied, “Bosnia is falling with a whisper,” alluding to the historical saying, and Milošević stated that the division would not be a problem as Serbs and Croats were the majority, leaving an enclave for Muslims. Marković insisted they consider the scenario if their plans did not go as imagined, to which both remained silent. In the end, Milošević commented, “Even if that happens, which I doubt, then we’ll see what we do,” while Tuđman maintained that Marković would see how wrong he was. Marković expressed his disagreement and commitment to fighting against their proposals under any circumstances (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 2003).

This information highlights the aspirations of Greater Serbia and Greater Croatia (Keil 2016), which continue to pose long-term instability in the Balkan region and hinder the normalisation of relations between these new states created from the former Yugoslavia. It is evident that neither side has given up on their goals, despite the significant human cost suffered by the Bosniak, Serbian, and Croatian people in these wars (Miškovska Kajevska 2017). The resolution of these nationalist aspirations and goals is crucial for achieving lasting peace and stability in the region.

## **EXTERNAL REPERCUSSIONS AND IMPACT**

The story of the agreed partition of Bosnia was substantiated internationally by Warren Zimmerman, the former US ambassador in Belgrade from 1989 to 1992. In his article “The Last Ambassador” published in the magazine *Foreign Policy*, Zimmerman (1995) provided a significant testimony based on his personal knowledge of the events during the collapse of the SFRY. Zimmerman highlighted that neither Milošević nor Tuđman made any effort to hide their intentions towards Bosnia from him. Bosnia, as a place where Serbs, Croats, and Muslims had coexisted for centuries, represented an insult and challenge for these two ethnic hegemonists. Tuđman expressed his belief that Bosnia never really existed as a country and should be divided

between Serbia and Croatia. He criticised Izetbegović and the Muslims, accusing them of being dangerous fundamentalists using Bosnia as a training ground to spread their ideology. Zimmerman confronted Tuđman about his unfounded claims against the neighbouring republic and questioned his expectation of Western support while making undisguised territorial claims against Bosnia. Tuđman's response was a surprising statement of trust in Milošević (Ibidem).

Zimmerman further discussed Milošević's calculated strategy for Bosnia, contrasting it with Tuđman's emotional approach. Milošević, after Slovenia and Croatia declared independence and ceased participation in Yugoslav authorities, claimed to be the successor of Yugoslavia and advocated the right of those who wanted to remain in Yugoslavia to do so. He specifically highlighted the demographic distribution, stating that Serbs, who predominantly lived in rural areas and occupied 70% of the land, had the right to it. This laid the foundation for Serbian aspirations in Bosnia several months before the Bosnian Serb army and irregular forces from Serbia disrupted the peace in Bosnia. Milošević consistently emphasised the United States' strong opposition to any attempt by the Serbs to achieve their goals through force (Ibidem).

The information provided regarding the conversations between Milošević and Tuđman in Karadžorđevo in March 1991, as well as the discussions between Lord Carrington, Paddy Ashdown, and Tuđman, highlights the existence of discussions and potential agreements on the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Paddy Ashdown, during a press conference in August 1995, announced that he had seen a map drawn by Tuđman illustrating the partition of Bosnia between Croatia and Serbia. This drawing, made by Tuđman during a gala dinner, was published by the BBC (BBC News 1998) as evidence of a secret agreement between Tuđman and Milošević to redraw Bosnia's borders (Tuathail 2006).

The significance of the information provided lies in the confirmation that Franjo Tuđman, the Croatian president, did not abandon the nationalist program aimed at creating a greater Croatia through the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina in collaboration with Slobodan Milošević, the Serbian president. This corroborates the statements made by various individuals such as Dr. Dušan Bilandžić, Josip Manolić, Stipe Mesić, Stjepan Kljuić, Warren Zimmerman, Lord Carrington, and others, who have also discussed the understanding and potential agreements between Tuđman and Milošević concerning the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, it highlights that Milošević himself did not completely relinquish the Serbian nationalist program of creating a greater Serbia, which also included the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## CONCLUSION

The Karadžorđevo meeting stands as a seminal event within the tumultuous period of the Yugoslav dissolution and the subsequent Bosnian War. When viewed through the prism of communication and political strategy, it offers a compelling case study. As can be seen in the given analysis, this meeting was a microcosm of the complex dynamics and decision-making processes that were characteristic of this era.

In terms of its political backdrop, the meeting occurred against the backdrop of a disintegrating Yugoslavia. The leaders of Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milošević and Franjo Tuđman, respectively, were central figures in the unfolding drama. Their roles extended beyond their own nations, as their actions and decisions had the potential to shape the destiny of the entire Balkan region. The Karadžorđevo meeting represents an overt attempt to exert influence and dominance in a region already teetering on the precipice of conflict. This backdrop accentuates the high stakes of the meeting and its role in the broader geopolitical landscape. However, the consequences and implications of the Karadžorđevo meeting truly underscore its significance. It is suggested by some analysts and historians that pivotal agreements and plans for the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina may have been forged during this encounter. This notion, if true, would make the meeting a seminal moment in the lead-up to the Bosnian War, contributing significantly to the trajectory of the conflict.

From a communicative standpoint, the Karadžorđevo meeting exemplifies the multifaceted nature of political discourse during times of crisis. Behind the scenes, leaders engaged in a delicate dance of information exchange and diplomacy. The secretive nature of these discussions underscores the tactical nature of communication in such high-stakes contexts. The fact that these exchanges have been documented and made public in various forms highlights the enduring interest in understanding the nuances of political communication during conflict.

The statements shed light on the meeting in Karadžorđevo and its significance in the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the subsequent wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Slobodan Milošević and Franjo Tuđman, as the presidents of Serbia and Croatia, respectively, played pivotal roles as the main actors and initiators of events following their talks and agreements in Karadžorđevo in March 1991. Several conclusions can be drawn from this information:

Firstly, it is evident that the meeting took place when the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia still existed, yet Milošević and Tuđman disregarded its existence and agreed upon the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although Stipe Mesić's

statements about the disappearance of the factors that created SFRY are largely accurate, the Yugoslav federal institutions, including the Presidency and the government, were still in place, and no republics had formally seceded at that time. Despite this, Milošević and Tuđman proceeded with their plans for a “great Serbia” and a “great Croatia” by deciding how to divide the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Secondly, Milošević and Tuđman reached secret agreements on the restructuring of the existing federal state, keeping their intentions hidden from other Yugoslav republics, as well as their own legal leaderships and parties.

Thirdly, the issue of their historical responsibility remains open, and each of them bears responsibility regardless of the extent of their individual contributions to the tragic wars that ensued after the Karadžević meeting.

Fourthly, objective scientific research is crucial in placing the meeting and agreements between Milošević and Tuđman in their proper historical context within the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The intentions behind the meeting may have been to prevent war, but the intention to divide Bosnia and Herzegovina was a malicious and fatal one. Intentions alone cannot absolve the main actors from responsibility, as the consequences of their actions speak for themselves.

Lastly, comprehensive scientific research will provide a definitive and comprehensive understanding of the nature of the wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. It will determine whether they fought for the expansion of Serbian and Croatian territories and the establishment of ethnically homogeneous “Greater Serbia” and “Greater Croatia” with adjusted state borders, or if they arose from deep-seated national intolerance and the inability to coexist peacefully. There are differing opinions, but many argue that the war in Croatia aimed at creating new borders for a reduced Yugoslavia or, more precisely, for the territories and borders of a “greater Serbia,” while the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina sought to divide the region between Serbia and Croatia, leading to the creation of “greater Serbia” and “greater Croatia” with new borders between the expanded states of Serbia and Croatia.

The wars in the former Yugoslavia were characterized by the pursuit of Great Serbian and Great Croatian nationalist programs by the leaders and leaderships of Serbia and Croatia. These wars were driven by the use of force and aggression to solve the Serbian and Croatian national questions. The course of the wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina led Milošević, Tuđman, and their close associates to reassess their policies and war goals in relation to Bosnia. The determination of the major powers to preserve Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent state within its recognized borders forced

them to abandon their plans for territorial expansion and the creation of “greater Serbia” or “greater Croatia”. The realities of the domestic and international situation, as well as the Dayton and Paris Agreements, compelled them to accept the peace accords and assume the responsibilities outlined in these agreements.

This is why the Karadžorđevo meeting serves as a stark reminder of the intricate interplay of political interests, ethnic tensions, and territorial disputes that characterized this era. It is emblematic of the challenges that emerged as Yugoslavia disintegrated, and competing visions for the future of the region collided. The repercussions of the Karadžorđevo meeting continue to reverberate, both in terms of its impact on regional stability and its role in shaping the contemporary historical narrative of the Balkans.

Despite their subsequent claims as peacemakers, the actions and policies pursued by Milošević and Tuđman after the Karadžorđevo meeting and during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot be undone. Historical research into the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the wars in the region confirms the lasting consequences of their big-state nationalist agendas. The Serbian and Croatian people have paid a heavy price for their leaders’ pursuit of these ambitions, leading to internal conflict and warfare, as well as the suffering of the Bosniak people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who were subjected to wars waged by both Serbs and Croats. Numerous historical examples demonstrate that with the passage of time, even the most strained relationships can heal, as verified through experiences in various nations and countries. However, in the context of Croatia and Bosnia, the possibility of healing and fostering good neighbourly relations depends on the reduction of nationalist forces and the emergence of real democratic forces that prioritise the resolution of practical issues and the well-being of their respective peoples. It is crucial for Serbian and Croatian societies to reject big-state nationalist and hegemonic programs, marginalise the political and social forces promoting such ideologies, and create conditions conducive to the development of positive inter-state relations between Serbia and Croatia, as well as Bosnia and its neighbouring countries.

While certain aspects of the Karadžorđevo agreement, such as the creation of Republika Srpska, were partially implemented, Bosnia and Herzegovina remained intact as a whole. However, the lingering spirit of division and the ideas that fueled the agreement persist in various forms. Revivalist sentiments of Croatian self-government, the glorification of Herceg-Bosna, and the echoes of past threats are cause for concern. The statements made by political figures, even nowadays almost thirty years after conflict, resemble those of Slobodan Milošević and Radovan Karadžić. The cur-

rent climate raises worries about the reemergence of ideas that promote the disappearance and division of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It will take considerable time for the wounds inflicted upon the Serbian, Croatian, and Bosniak peoples to heal, and the tragic events of the war may never be forgotten.

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## **ANALIZA DISKURSA I KOMUNIKACIJE SPORAZUMA MILOŠEVIĆ–TUĐMAN: IMPLIKACIJE NA BOSNU I HERCEGOVINU**

### **Sažetak**

Susret između Slobodana Miloševića i Franje Tuđmana u Karadorđevu koji je održan marta 1991. godine ima dubok historijski značaj u kontekstu eskalacije tenzija u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Ovaj rad koristi perspektive komunikologije kako bi sveobuhvatno analizirao sporazum, otkrivajući zamršenu dinamiku pregovora i implikacije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Komunikološkom analizom sporazuma Milošević-Tuđman otkrivaju se komunikacijski obrasci, retoričke strategije i implikacijske poruke. Ovaj okvir omogućuje pojašnjenja kako jezik oblikuje percepcije, utiče na odluke i na politički kontekst. Analiza istražuje kontekst sastanka u Karadorđevu, naglašavajući politički razvoj i rastući nacionalizam koji je doveo do pregovora. Koristeći primarne izvore razmatra argumente različitih zainteresovanih strana o postojanju i implikacijama sporazuma. Ispituju se uloge stručnih timova u raspravi o podjeli Bosne i izjave ključnih pojedinaca. Istraživanje nailazi na implicitne poruke, dinamiku moći i nacionalističke diskurse. Rezultati ističu neposredne i dugoročne posljedice sporazuma na Bosnu i Hercegovinu, uključujući njegovu ulogu u ratu u BiH. Obrađuju se kritike, kontroverze i alternativna tumačenja. U zaključku, ovaj rad sumira ključne nalaze, naglašava doprinos nauci i predlaže mogućnosti za buduća istraživanja. Analizom diskursa i komunikacijskom analizom sporazuma Milošević-Tuđman produbljuje se naše razumijevanje složene pregovaračke dinamike tokom kritičnog perioda u historiji Bosne i Hercegovine.

**Ključne riječi:** sporazum Milošević-Tuđman; analiza diskursa; komunikacijska analiza; raspad Jugoslavije; nacionalizam i tenzije; bosanski rat

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**Tahani Komarica**

## **FEEDBACK U *ONLINE* NASTAVI – SLIJEPA PETLJA**

U radu su prikazani potencijalni uzroci problema koji nastaju u interpersonalnom komunikacijskom modelu učenik/student i nastavnik/predavač u *online* nastavi zbog limitiranosti *feedbacka* koji je jedan od osnovnih komunikacijskih alata za ostvarivanje interpersonalne komunikacije ključnih aktera nastavnog procesa. Najveće zamjerke *online* nastavi su ispoljene u ostvarivanju društvenog prisustva što dovodi do impersonalnosti u *online* nastavi, te je *feedback* alat kojim se pokušava prevazići ove nedostatke. Glavni nedostatak dosadašnjih istraživanja se ogleda u načinima i efektima koje proizvodi ograničen učenički/studentški *feedback* ka nastavniku/predavaču na moduliranje *feedbacka* nastavnika/predavača ka učeniku/studentu. Analiza *feedbacka* iz perspektive tri klasična modela interpersonalne komunikacije – linearni, interaktivni i transakcioni – indicira da *online* nastava ne obezbjeđuje potpuni transakcioni model komunikacije jer joj nedostaju elementi verbalne, a posebno neverbalne komunikacije učenika/studenta prema nastavniku/predavaču, što čini *feedback* djelomično slijepom petljom koja otežava interpersonalnu komunikaciju.

Ključne riječi: *online* nastava; *feedback*; interakcija; modeli komunikacije

## 1. UVOD

U *online* nastavi medij interneta se ne koristi samo za diseminaciju sadržaja već je središnji i obligatorni element da bi komunikacija aktera nastavnog procesa uopće bila moguća. U literaturi se često u kontekstu *online* nastave pojavljuju pojmovi interakcija i *feedback*. Za razliku od tradicionalne nastave koja podrazumijeva sinhrono odvijanje nastave u zajednički dijeljenom prostoru, uglavnom standardiziranom za potrebe nastave (učionica, amfiteatar, sala i slično), koji je odvojen od okruženja, u *online* nastavi ne postoji neposredni socijalni kontekst nego se on supstituira interakcijom kojom se „formira utisak“ (Weidlich i Bastiaens 2017: 17). *Online* nastava, je najnovija generacija nastave na daljinu utemeljena na razvoju informacijsko-komunikacijskih tehnologija koje omogućavaju komunikaciju učenik/student i nastavnik/predavač. *Online* nastava može biti sinhrona, ako su učenik/student i nastavnik/predavač istovremeno prisutni u nekom obliku *online* učionice, i asinhrona, ako učenik/student i nastavnik/predavač mogu obavljati svoje zadatke u različitom vremenu. Sinhrona *online* nastava omogućava interpersonalne interakcije između učenika/studenta i nastavnika /predavača, kao i učenika/studenata sa drugim kolegama, za razliku od asinhrona koja je usmjerena na zadatak, te se interpersonalna interakcija uopće ne mora ostvarivati. Stoga, sinhrona *online* nastava ima potencijal za veće mogućnosti *feedbacka*, gdje se pod pojmom *feedbacka* podrazumijeva „uzajamni odgovor studenta i profesora na poruku“ (Richmond i sar. 2020: 8).

Do 2024. godine istraživački korpus interakcije i *feedbacka* je obiman. *Feedback* je i u tradicionalnoj i u *online* nastavi jedan od komunikacijskih alata kojim se ostvaruje i kognitivno i afektivno socijalno prisustvo. Subkategorija istraživanja *feedbacka* u nastavi je i *feedback* pismenost (eng. *feedback literacy*) tj. „razumijevanje, kapaciteti i dispozicije potrebne za smisleno poimanje informacije i njeno korištenje za poboljšanje strategija rada ili učenja“ (Carless i Boud 2018: 1316). Društveno prisustvo se prema teoriji društvenog prisustva pojavljuje „kao kritično svojstvo komunikacijskog medija koji može odrediti način na koji ljudi komuniciraju“ (Lowenthal 2009: 1900). U literaturi susrećemo različite definicije društvenog prisustva. Tako dio naučnika društveno prisustvo definira „osjećajem“ kao afektivni dio ličnosti (Gunawardena 1995; Mardziah 2004; Kozan i Richardson 2014; Swan i Shih 2005), dok drugi dio naučnika ističe kognitivni aspekt prisustva (Garrison i sar. 2000). U svrhu istraživanja različitih aspekata društvenog prisustva razvijen je COI (*Community of Inquiry*) okvir koji polazi od kolaborativno-konstruktivističke

epistemologije učenja. Osmislili su ga Randy Garrison i sar. (2000), a podrazumijeva mjerenje društvenog prisustva koje uključuje sposobnost učenika/studenata da komunikacijom razviju pripadnost grupi i razumijevanje međuljudskih odnosa tako da projektuju svoju ličnost, dok se kognitivno prisustvo odnosi na sposobnost učenika/studenata da konstruiraju i potvrde značenja kroz refleksiju i diskurs, te nastavno prisustvo ili prisustvo u nastavi koje se odnosi na dizajniranje, usmjeravanje i kognitivnih i socijalnih procesa u svrhu postizanja ishoda učenja. Ono što su Garrison i saradnici definirali kao prisustvo u nastavi se zapravo odnosi na načine ostvarivanja kognitivnog i afektivnog društvenog prisustva učenika/studenata u nastavi, ali ne i na prisustvo nastavnika kao osobe.

*Feedback* ili povratna informacija u *online* nastavi dobija veliku pažnju jer je postaje istovremeno i ključni i sporni element ostvarivanja društvenog prisustva. Istraživački korpus je uglavnom usmjeren na to da li *feedback* predavača proizvodi kognitivno i afektivno socijalno prisustvo učenika/studenta, dok je povremeno u fokusu istraživanja i *feedback* vršnjaka. Preduslov da se desi *feedback* u nastavi, i tradicionalnoj i *online*, je postojanje neke vrste interakcije. Michael Moor (1989) je definirao tri tipa interakcije: student – sadržaj, student – predavač i student – student. Terry Anderson (2003) je poimanje interakcije proširio i sljedećim odnosima: nastavnik – sadržaj, nastavnik – nastavnik i sadržaj – sadržaj.

S obzirom na činjenicu da je jedna od glavnih zamjerki *online* nastavi impersonalnost (Picciano 2002; Iizuka i sar. 1989; Garrison 2017) *feedback* kao komunikacijski element koji omogućava postizanje kognitivnog i afektivnog društvenog prisustva nije slučajno u vrlo aktivnoj zoni istraživača. Istraživanja su pokazala da nedostatak *feedbacka* ima negativne učinke na rezultate učenja, te ishodi nižim nivoom motivacije i zadovoljstva *online* nastavom učenika/studenta (Boling i sar. 2012; Janicki i Liegle 2001; Northrup i sar. 2002; Mehall 2020; Richardson i Swan 2003; Muilenburg i Berge 2005; Poluekhtova i sar. 2020; Dietrich i sar. 2020; Đolović i Injac 2022; Kovačević i sar. 2021; Koso-Drljević i sar. 2022, Zawacki-Richter, 2009; Nussli i sar. 2024). Svrha ovog rada je da ukaže na potencijalne uzroke problema koji nastaju u interpersonalnom komunikacijskom modelu učenik/student – nastavnik/predavač u *online* nastavi limitiranošću *feedbacka* kao jednog od osnovnih komunikacijskih alata za ostvarivanje interpersonalne komunikacije aktera nastavnog procesa.

## 2. OSNOVNI MODELI INTERPERSONALNE KOMUNIKACIJE

Prije usvajanja digitalnih tehnologija i njihove upotrebe za socijalne kontakte razvijena su tri temeljna razumijevanja prirode interpersonalnih komunikacija i to kao sistema ponašanja, kao sistema kodiranja i dekodiranja te kao interakcije kroz modele interpersonalne komunikacije – linearni, interakcioni i transakcioni (Sereni i Mortensen 1970).

*Linearni model* komunikacije suštinski sačinjavaju tri osnovna elementa: pošiljalac, poruka i primalac. Matematička teorija komunikacija Clauda Shannona i Warrena Weavera (1948) uzima u obzir razumijevanje komunikacijskih tehnologija koje prenose poruku i uključuje 5 osnovnih elemenata:

- a) izvor informacije koji proizvodi poruku ili niz poruka tipa sekvence slova ili kao kombinaciju tipova i različitih funkcija;
- b) predajnik koji kodira poruku da bi proizveo signal pogodan za prenos preko kanala; (npr. moduliranje zvuka u proporcionalnu električnu struju kod telefonije);
- c) komunikacijski kanal odnosno medij za prenos poruke (kabl, frekvencija, snop svjetlosti i sl.) koja za vrijeme prijenosa može biti ometena šumom i dovesti do određene entropije;
- d) prijemnik koji dekodira poruku, odnosno vrši inverznu operaciju u odnosu na onu koji radi predajnik, dakle rekonstruira poruku iz signala;
- e) primalac ili odredište poruke, odnosno osoba ili mašina kojoj je poruka namijenjena.

Kada je o linearnim modelima komunikacije riječ, neophodno je spomenuti i model Harolda Lasswella nastao 1949. godine prema kojem komunikacija treba da odgovori na 5 pitanja: *ko* generira komunikaciju, *šta* se komunicira uključujući i verbalnu i neverbalnu komunikaciju, *kojim* komunikacijskim *kanalom*, *kome* je poruka komunicirana i sa *kojim efektom* odnosno koji rezultat proizvodi kod primatelja (Laswell 1971). Prema Lasswellu komunikacijski čin ima tri osnovne društvene funkcije: nadzor nad onim što će se komunicirati (sadržaj se ciljano odabire tako da utječe na vrijednosti zajednice), korelacija društvenih komponenti u proizvodnji odgovora i transgeneracijska kulturna transmisija.

Kako vidimo, prema linearnom modelu komunikacije pošiljalac je aktivan dok je primalac poruke pasivan. Lasswell promišlja o efektima koje poruke imaju na primaoca, odnosno da li komunikacija postiže svrhu, koji ima efekat na primaoca, da

li je djelotvorna, ali ne razmatra način provjere efekta. Linearni model je usmjeren na sadržaj poruke u jednom smjeru, a ne uzima u obzir povratnu informaciju ili *feedback*, te time ni potrebu da pošiljalac dizajnira poruku prema primaocu. Jednosmjernan model komunikacije nije dakle uključivao elemente *feedbacka* niti interakcije, te stoga u nastavnom procesu kako tradicionalne tako i *online* nastave nije primjenjiv jer ne omogućava dvosmjernost nužnu za provjeru usvojenih vještina i znanja, ali ni adekvatnu adaptaciju poruke u smislu ostvarivanje efekata učenja.

Interaktivni model komunikacije dolazi iz kibernetike teorije Norberta Wienera koji 1948. uvodi pojam kibernetike poimajući komunikaciju i adaptaciju sa aspekta tehničkih nauka. U svom djelu *Ljudska upotreba ljudskih bića* (1950) godine uvodi i pojam *feedbacka* ili povratne informacije: „Kada saobraćam s nekom osobom, ja joj predajem poruku. Zauzvrat, ta osoba mi šalje odgovarajuću poruku sa informacijama koje su prije svega dostupne njoj, a ne meni“ (Viner 1964: 30). Pod informacijom Wiener podrazumijeva sadržaje koje razmjenjujemo sa svojom okolinom u procesu samoadaptacije koja proizvodi efekte, gdje se informacije prenose porukom koju odlikuju struktura i organizacija koje predstavljaju „negaciju sopstvene entropije“ (Ibid. 38). Tehnički sistemi imaju sličnosti sa biološkim sistemima jer pomoću povratne informacije pokazuju stvarno, a ne očekivano stanje, te je *feedback* alat kojim se kontrolira težnja informacije ka entropiji, odnosno daje obavještenje da li je cilj komunikacije postignut. Wienerov pristup komunikaciji je stavio u aktivnu poziciju primaoca, dakle onoga koji kreira i šalje *feedback*, shodno informacijama koje su mu bile dostupne i koje je razumio. Razvoj koncepta *feedbacka* dalje možemo pratiti u interaktivnom modelu komunikacije Wilbur Schramm (1971) na kojeg je utjecao Charles Osgood postavljajući značenje poruke u socijalni kontekst zajedničkog iskustva i unutrašnjih procesa kodiranja i dekodiranja. Schrammov interakcijski model komunikacije uvodi *feedback* petlju koja omogućava interaktivnu cirkulaciju komunikacije, odnosno primalac i pošiljalac poruke izmjenjuju se u ulogama kodiranja i dekodiranja, interpretacije i odašiljanja *feedbacka* jedan drugome čime se komunikacija može nastavljati. Iskorak ovog modela u odnosu na linearni je u tome što je u komunikacijski proces uveo nove elemente: *feedback* i kontekst. Njegov nedostak je taj što i on previše pojednostavljeno predstavlja komunikacijski proces.

Interaktivni model komunikacije prepoznaje aktivne uloge i pošiljaoca i primaoca koje se smjenjuju kroz naizmjenično slanje i primanje poruka. Jedan od primjera gdje je aktivno prisutan ovakav vid komunikacije je recimo radio-amaterska komunikacija putem radio-stanica u koje su obično integrirani primo-predajnici ili transiveri koji

naizmjenično primaju pa zatim odašiljaju poruku, gdje pošiljalac, bilo telefonijom ili telegrafijom, odašilje poruku, ali u procesu odašiljanja ne može primiti poruku. Nakon što primalac primi poruku i kada emisija poruke pošiljaoca prestane, može vratiti odgovor odnosno slati svoju poruku. Dakle, istovremeno primanje i odašiljanje poruke nije moguće, već postoji latencija.

Transakcionim modelom, čiji začetnik je Dean Barnlund (1970), dopunjen je interaktivni model komunikacije. Prema Barnlundu postoje osnovni komunikacijski postulati:

- a) komunikacija opisuje evoluciju značenja; kroz transakciju koju komunikacija obezbjeđuje, svaki sudionik za sebe klasificira i pripisuje određena značenja, te se primljena poruka modificira u skladu sa prethodnim iskustvima, socijalnom sredinom i te vlastitim zahtjevima, tako da komunikaciju možemo posmatrati prije kao proizvodnju značenja, a ne poruka;
- b) komunikacija je dinamičan proces koji se mijenja shodno identitetu pojedinca, njegovom „perceptivnom diskriminacijom, otkrivanjem razlika između nas samih i drugih“ (Barnlund 1970: 89);
- c) komunikacija je kontinuirana, proces koji nema početka i kraja, dešava se stalno;
- d) komunikacija je kružna, odnosno elementi pošiljaoca, poruke i primaoca nisu linearno, već uzročno povezani, te među njima ne postoji linija razgraničenja; višestruke interpretacije se mogu dešavati u jednoj osobi, dok se ista poruka može različito interpretirati u više osoba istovremeno. Funkcije pošiljaoca i primaoca, koda i dekoda, se odvijaju simultano;
- e) komunikacija je neponovljiva, odnosno ista poruka neće proizvoditi ista značenja kod različitih individua, a niti u jednoj individi u različitim okolnostima; iako čovjek ima tendenciju zadržavanja obrazaca ponašanja „ljudskom organizmu je svojstvena modifikacija“ (Barnlund 1970: 92);
- f) komunikacija je ireverzibilna, odnosno ne može se vratiti u početno stanje, stalno teče naprijed; Barnlund za jedan od primjera reverzibilnog procesa uzima disanje, ali je čovjek sa svakim novim udahom stariji, tako da je starenje ireverzibilan proces;
- g) komunikacija je kompleksna i ova kompleksnost se ogleda u kodiranju i dekodiranju, različitim interpretacijama, socijalnim postavkama, načinu oblikovanja poruka, cjelokupnom okruženju u kojem se odvija neposredno ili posredno, evoluiranju značenja, različitim osobnostima, unutrašnjim i vanjskim okolnostima, te istovremenošću verbalne i neverbalne komunikacije koja može

odavati kongruentnost ili nekongruentnost poruke, zamagliti je ili učvrstiti njeno značenje.

Uzimajući u obzir karakteristike komunikacije, transakcioni model podrazumijeva da pošiljalac istovremeno dok šalje poruku, npr. verbalnu poruku, prima povratnu informaciju koju primalac emitira neverbalnom komunikacijom, te pošiljalac u toku komunikacije sa drugima adaptira poruku shodno efektima koje želi proizvesti, a na osnovu povratnih informacija koje je dobio od primaoca. Prema Barnlundu (1970: 101): „Cilj komunikacije je da smanji neizvjesnost. Svaki znak ima potencijalnu vrijednost u provođenju ove svrhe“. Dakle, paralelno se dešavaju procesi intrapersonalne i interpersonalne komunikacije.

Dopunu transakcijskog modela komunikacije nalazimo kod Edwarda Mysaka (1970) koji uvodi pojam višestrukih petlji unaprijed i povratnih informacija, koje mogu biti interne i eksterne. U internim petljama, prema Mysaku, može se prepoznati sedam procesa, iako se ne moraju svi desiti: a) širenje misli koje može biti izazvano vanjskim ili unutrašnjim faktorima; b) formiranje riječi; c) usporedba misaonog obrasca sa obrascem riječi što se obično naziva unutrašnjim govorom; d) proizvodnja riječi – pokretanje govornog aparata; e) usporedba stvarno proizvedenih riječi sa željenim čime se osigurava tačnost; f) usporedba proizvedenih riječi sa misaonim obrascem što omogućava viši stepen usaglašenosti između misli i riječi; g) recikliranje govora, odnosno ako nema grešaka dolazi do redukcije misli u govoru, dakle dovoljno je koristiti pojmove koji su već korišteni, a ukoliko postoji greška petlja se ponavlja. Eksterna petlja podrazumijeva procjenu reakcije primaoca i moduliranje poruke shodno reakciji kroz tri faze: a) usporedba proizvoda riječi sa reakcijom primaoca; b) usporedba stvarne reakcije primaoca sa željenom; c) recikliranje govora, odnosno ukoliko dolazi do slaganja komunikacija se dalje nastavlja.

U tradicionalnoj nastavi komunikacija između aktera se najčešće odvija po transakcijskom modelu na svakodnevnoj osnovi, recimo kada nastavnik/predavač objašnjava, on prati tok vlastitih misli i znakove neverbalne komunikacije koje kao *feedback* dobija od učenika/studenata, što utječe na poboljšanje adaptacije poruke za tu specifičnu grupu učenika/studenata, ili prati verbalnu komunikaciju pojedinog učenika/studenta koji je eventualno postavio pitanje. Isti ovaj proces prolazi i svaki učenik/student pojedinačno. U tradicionalnoj nastavi se povremeno komunikacija odvija interaktivnim modelom kao recimo kod pismenih testova gdje učenik/student pisanim zadatkom, dakle tekstualnom verbalnom komunikacijom, šalje poruku nastavniku/predavaču, potom nastavnik/predavač pregleda pisani zadatak i daje



*feedback* učeniku/studentu o procjeni kako je učenik/student uradio zadatak, što kod pismenog ispita poznajemo kao evaluaciju znanja. U ovom slučaju se komunikacija – slanje i primanje poruke – odvija naizmjenično, odnosno prema interaktivnom modelu komunikacije. U slučaju velikih grupa učenika/studenata u većim prostorima kao što je amfiteatar nastavniku/predavaču može biti otežano praćenje neverbalne komunikacije učenika/studenata zbog njihovog velikog broja i udaljenosti od pošiljaoca poruke, te je povratna informacija od velike grupe učenika/studenata gotovo nemoguća, adaptacija poruke je otežana, a vrlo često i onemogućena. Ovaj je model komunikacije uglavnom linearan s eventualnim potencijalom da pređe u interaktivan ako nastavnik/predavač ili neko od učenika/studenata započne diskusiju.

Dakle, u tradicionalnoj nastavi je dominantan transakcioni model komunikacije koji nije lahko prenosiv u *online* nastavu, ako je i moguć. Stoga je *online* nastava bazirana na interaktivnom modelu koji je uslovljen, ali i usložen digitalnim tehnologijama. Za razumijevanje *feedbacka* u *online* nastavi su pogodniji teoretski modeli koji uzimaju u obzir kompleksnost proširene paradigme komunikacija digitalnim medijima kao što je teorija mreže aktera prema kojoj svijet funkcionira kroz interakciju ljudskih i neljudskih aktera ne odbacujući *apriori* ulogu nijednog jer njihovo heterogeno djelovanje uslovljava i proizvodi efekte, kao i teorija socijalnog prisustva koja izučava socijalno prisustvo na daljinu, u kojoj digitalni alati služe za prevazilaženje udaljenosti u svrhu ostvarivanja samoprisutnosti i socijalne prisutnosti drugih.

Prema teoriji mreže aktera Bruna Latoura (2005), socijalnost proizvode kohezivne sile koje nastaju interakcijom heterogenih, ljudskih i neljudskih, entiteta kojima se ostvaruju efekti. Komunikacija je u mrežnom povezivanju heterogena i kompleksna, a efekti koje proizvode ljudski akteri, od kojih je naročito važan nastavnik/predavač koji je u direktnom kontaktu s učenicima/studentima, uslovljeni su atributima medija koji formiraju veze na određene načine i proizvode određene efekte u procesu prevođenja (eng. *translation*) „odnosa koji ne prenosi uzročnost, već indukuje dva posrednika u koegzistiranje“ (Latour 2005: 119). Teorija socijalnog prisustva, iako primjenjiva i u tradicionalnoj nastavi, u *online* nastavi dobija poseban značaj, jer digitalne tehnologije koje su ranije korištene za diseminaciju sadržaja u *online* nastavi imaju ulogu „posredovanja u društvenoj interakciji“ (Weidlich i Bastiaens 2017: 479). Atributi medija utječu u digitalnoj nastavi na način komuniciranja aktera, na to kako se samoprezentuju, percipiraju druge i ostvaruju socijalni kontekst upotrebom verbalne i neverbalne komunikacije. U *online* nastavi koncept socijalnog prisustva postaje kritičan zbog ograničavajućih atributa medija da prenesu kompletnu

neverbalnu komunikaciju, ali i verbalnu kod koje se u posredovanju pojavljuje latencija, buka i šum.

Iskorak ovih teorija je u tome što uzimaju kompleksnu komunikacijsku situaciju u razmatranje uključujući i neljudske entitete i njihove efekte koje proizvode na učenje, ali i efekte socijalnih kohezivnih sila koje imaju utjecaj na postizanje rezultata učenja. Ove teorije nastoje riješiti i problem supstituiranja nedostataka interaktivnog modela interpersonalne komunikacije neljudskim akterima, ali njihova je slabost što su fokusirane na učenika/studenta i heterogene načine na koje učenik/student prima informacije kako bi ostvarivao napredak, zanemarujući transakcioni model komunikacije učenik/student - nastavnik/predavač, gdje je nastavnik/predavač važan komunikator kojem su neophodne informacije od učenika/studenta da bi svoj posao mogao uraditi na najbolji mogući način.

### **3. FEEDBACK – KLJUČNI I SPORNI ELEMENT ONLINE NASTAVE**

U tradicionalnoj nastavi se odvija neposredovana verbalna i neverbalna komunikacija između ljudskih aktera, prema osnovnom transakcionom modelu. Atributi prostora kao što je ograđena učionica, raspored sjedenja, zatvorena vrata, sinhrono fizičko prisustvo svih sudionika omogućavaju sve ili većinu elemenata i verbalne i neverbalne komunikacije koji obezbjeđuju adaptaciju poruke u svim pravcima. U *online* nastavi se komunikacija odvija u internetskoj obrazovnoj ekologiji, putem različitih kanala, najčešće specijaliziranih platformi. Atributi internetskih platformi, u bilo kojoj varijanti *online* učionice, se značajno razlikuju od čvrsto ograđene tradicionalne učionice. U *online* učionicama komunikacija je posredovana medijem interneta, dakle nije neposredna kao u tradicionalnoj nastavi. U *online* nastavi postoje realne mogućnosti za ostvarivanje i tekstualne i govorne verbalne komunikacije, ali je neverbalna komunikacija, čak i uz upotrebu kamera, djelomična, budući da joj nedostaju proksemika, haptika, kompletna gestikulacija koja je uglavnom limitirana na portret, kao i olfaktorni elementi. *Feedback* u tradicionalnoj nastavi dešava se prirodno kao i svakoj neposredovanoj komunikaciji, dakle simultano i spontano, dok je u *online* nastavi suštinski komunikacijski element jer determinira interakciju ljudskih aktera u smislu kognitivnog i afektivnog socijalnog prisustva koje ima ključni značaj u akademskim postignućima studenata. Istraživanje Syeda Raza Zarreen (2023) pokazalo je da *online* nastava onemogućava ili otežava *feedback*. Razlog tome je izostanak neverbalne komunikacije od učenika/studenata ka nastavni-

cima/predavačima, ali i deficit verbalne komunikacije, jer su mikrofoni i kamere isključeni da bi se smanjilo opterećenje propusnog opsega, te nastavnici/predavači nemaju neformalnu povratnu informaciju o tome koliko učenici/studenti razumiju ili su im potrebna dodatna pojašnjenja, što je velika razlika u odnosu na neposredni transakcioni model komunikacije u tradicionalnoj nastavi. Istraživanja *feedbacka*, njegovih oblika, načina ostvarivanja i utjecaja u *online* nastavi izazvala su opsežan interes naučnika te je produkcija naučnih radova na ovu temu velika.

U *online* nastavi se *feedback* se često ostvaruje tekstualnom komunikacijom (Hrnjić Kuduzović i sar. 2024). Integralna tipologija *feedbacka* (Panadero i Lipnevich 2021) uključuje sadržaj (verifikacija, valencija pozitivna ili negativna, opterećenje koje se odnosi na količinu informacija i tip informacije ovisno o sadržajima), funkciju (učenje ili izvedba, motivacija, samoregulacija kognicije, ponašanja i emocija), prezentaciju (trenutna ili odgođena, jedan ili više pokušaja, prilagodljiva ili neprilagodljiva, unimodalna ili multimodalna) i isporučilac *feedbacka* (predavač, vršnjak, samoprocjena, kompjuterski generiran, sam izrađen zadatak, roditelj). Svi navedeni činioci podliježu mnoštvu kombinacija i potkategorija, ali je je evidentno da je i ova tipologija usmjerena uglavnom na učenika/studenta, na to kako učenik/student prima povratnu informaciju, dok je *feedback* učenika/studenta ka nastavniku/predavaču tretiran samo djelimično. Izrada učeničkog/studentuskog zadatka koji procjenjuje nastavnik/predavač je samo jedna vrsta *feedbacka* koju nastavnik/predavač prima od učenika/studenta, izostaje *feedback* u toku predavanja odnosno učenja kao i udio neverbalne odnosno verbalne, bilo tekstualne bilo auditivne, komunikacije u *feedbacku*.

Prema istraživanju Pyke i Sherlocka (2010) u studiji slučaja predavači su elektronsku poštu koristili uglavnom za tehničke informacije, dok je elektronska pošta za motivacijski *feedback* korištena u otprilike 1/5 slučajeva i to uglavnom putem opcije *chat*, dok se korektivni *feedback* koristio u 2/3 slučajeva i uglavnom je prisutan u pisanim zadacima iako su predavači u nešto manjoj mjeri za isporuku korektivnog *feedbacka* koristili i opciju *chat* i elektronske pošte. Također, korektivni *feedback* je češće isporučivan u timskom radu nego u individualnom, dok je motivacioni *feedback* češće isporučivan pojedincu nego grupi. Tekstualnim verbalnim *feedbackom* se bavilo i istraživanje Toti i Alipour (2021) koje je pokazalo da je nedostatak *online* nastave neažurnost nastavnika/predavača u odgovorima na učeničke/studentiske upite putem elektronske pošte.

Uglavnom su istraživanja *feedbacka* u *online* nastavi usmjerena na povratnu informaciju koju učenici/studenti dobijaju od nastavnika/predavača, kao važan

element za ostvarivanje boljih rezultata učenja. Rezultati istraživanja Eom i sar. (2006) su pokazali da povratne informacije nastavnika/predavača značajno utječu na ishode učenja. Istraživane su i preferencije učenika/studentata prema tipu *feedbacka*. Učenici/studenti su zadovoljniji personaliziranom povratnom informacijom više nego kolektivnom (Gallien i Oomen-Early 2008; Getzlaf i sar. 2009; Morrison i Jacobsen 2023). *Online feedback* od nastavnika/predavača kod učenja stranog jezika više utječe na kvalitet pisanja od automatski generiranog i vršnjačkog *feedbacka* (Lu i sar. 2021). Nalazi istraživanja Thai i saradnici (2024) pokazali su da učenici/studenti koji su dobijali dodatne povratne informacije u *online* nastavi postižu bolje rezultate od onih koji nisu imali dodatnih povratnih informacija. Istraživanje Getzlaf i sar. (2009) pokazalo je da učenici/studenti smatraju kako efektivan *feedback* treba uključivati aktivnost i učenika/studenta i nastavnika/predavača da bi nastavnik/predavač mogao odgovoriti na specifične zahtjeve pojedinačnog studenta, da *feedback* treba pružiti konstruktivne autentične smjernice koje su ohrabrujuće, pozitivne i podržavajuće što doprinosi izgradnji samopouzdanja a ne omalovažavanju, da *feedback* nastavnika/predavača vodi učenika/studenta ka jasno iskomuniciranom krajnjem cilju prateći informacije koje dobija od učenika/studenta. Ovo istraživanje ukazuje na komunikaciju cirkularnost i zahtjev za uvažavanje kompleksnosti komunikacije, gdje je jasno istaknuta potreba za elementima transakcionog modela komunikacije. Istraživanje koje su proveli Jiang i Ballenger (2023) pokazalo je tendenciju ispitanika da ulažu veći napor i postižu veću samoeфикаsnost u učenju ukoliko je *feedback* pun razumijevanja, ohrabrujući i psihološki podržavajući. Na poticanje ličnog angažmana učenika/studentata pozitivan efekat je imao strukturiran *feedback*, tj onaj u kojem su učenici/studenti trebali nakon svake lekcije odgovoriti na pitanja o tome šta znaju, šta žele znati i šta su naučili (Al-Obaydi i sar. 2023; Morrison i Jacobsen 2023), iz čega je evidentno da studenti imaju potrebu za dodatnim elementima transakcionog modela komunikacije koji uključuje i samoprocjenu, odnosno ono što je Mysak nazvao usaglašenošću koja se postiže komparacijom željenog i postignutog.

Sinhronost *feedbacka* nastavnika/predavača ka učenicima/studentima više nalikuje komunikaciji u tradicionalnoj učionici. Trenutačna povratna informacija i verbalna sinhrona komunikacija pozitivno se odražavaju na afektivno socijalno prisustvo i procjenu napretka studenta (Swan 2003; Peimani i Kamalipour 2021). Nedostatak *online* nastave je nedovoljna sinhrona komunikacija s drugim studentima što se negativno reflektuje na gradnju međusobnih bliskih veza (Peimani i Kamalipour 2021). Ipak su sinhrono *online* diskusije, bilo da su tekstualne ili govorne, percipirane kao efikasne u *online* nastavi. Iako većina ispitanika prepoznaje važnost korištenja

uključenih kamera tokom *online* nastave kako bi se ublažile posljedice ograničenosti neverbalne komunikacije, ipak ih polovina smatra da ne treba očekivati od njih da uključuju svoje kamere. Sinhrona komunikacija u *online* nastavi ima više elemenata transakcionog modela komunikacije, što više nalikuje komunikaciji u tradicionalnoj nastavi, te iako je studenti preferiraju, ipak su skloni limitirati neverbalnu komunikaciju zadržavajući je time na razini interaktivnog komunikacijskog modela. Prema istraživanju Hrnjić Kuduzović i sar. (2024) ispitanici preferiraju tradicionalnu nastavu u odnosu na *online* nastavu, te kao jedan od temeljnih nedostataka *online* nastave vide nedostatak komunikacije licem u lice i ograničenje verbalnih i neverbalnih elemenata komunikacije. Upotreba uključenih kamera ublažava deficit neverbalne komunikacije u *online* nastavi.

Vršnjački *feedback* se u *online* nastavi pojavljuje kao sporni element, iako je u tradicionalnoj učionici on sasvim prirodan i sačinjava ga u velikoj mjeri neverbalna komunikacija među učenicima/studentima koja se odvija i kada nastavnik/predavač ne može da uprati sve njene elemente. U *online* nastavi vršnjačka komunikacija je ograničena što učenici/studenti percipiraju kao nedostatak (Dietrich 2020; Hrnjić Kuduzović i sar. 2024). U onim slučajevima gdje se na neki način dizajnom kursa ili upotrebom alata koristio *feedback*, kao recimo u istraživanju Van der Pol (2008) gdje se pokazalo da korištenje interaktivnih alata za isporuku vršnjačkog *feedbacka* omogućuje više vršnjačke interakcije, to je potaklo učenike/studente da ulože više truda u poboljšanje vlastitog rada.

*Feedback* je i u tradicionalnoj i u *online* nastavi u pojedinim slučajevima obliogan, dakle nastavnici/predavači imaju obavezu evaluacije znanja i/ili vještina učenika/studenata. Prema rezultatima istraživanja Espaso i Menesen (2010), *feedback* nakon konačne ocjene nema retroaktivan utjecaj na rezultate učenja i postignuća, ali podiže nivo zadovoljstva studenta. *Feedback* koji se isporučuje tokom kontinuiranog procesa procjenjivanja povećava interaktivnost. Potrebu za razvrstavanjem *feedbacka* ističu i Winston i Boud (2020). Oni u svom radu problematiziraju različitu svrhu *feedbacka* kao procjene znanja i obrazloženja koja su dio procjene te *feedbacka* čija svrha je učenje. Navode da dominacija procjene inhibira povratne informacije. S obzirom na činjenicu da istraživanja potvrđuju važnu ulogu *feedbacka* koji utječe na zadovoljstvo učenika/studenata i njihov angažman, a do sada se u *online* nastavi pokazao kao neproduktivan i nezadovoljavajući, smatraju da je važno *feedback* „preoblikovati od procesa koji vode nastavnici/predavači ka procesu fokusiranom na učenje gdje su učenici/studenti aktivni igrači“ (Ibidem, 3). Fokusiranost učenika/studenata na ocjenu udaljava ih od usmjeravanja koje *feedback* može dati

za ostvarivanje boljih rezultata učenja. Također, ističu da su komentari nastavnika/predavača više usmjereni na obrazlaganje ocjene nego na razvoj znanja i vještina učenika/studenata, te da je evaluacijski *feedback* naknadan i tada učenik/student ne može modificirati svoj rad. Stoga je preporuka da se ove dvije aktivnosti – evaluacije znanja, vještina i kompetencija i povratne informacije – u svrhu učenja odvoje.

Rijetka istraživanja su se bavila *feedbackom* učenika/studenata ka nastavniku/predavaču s aspekta nastavnika/predavača. Ovaj *feedback* je ključan za adekvatno moduliranje poruke specifičnoj grupi učenika/studenata ili specifičnom pojedincu. U istraživanju Svinicki (2001) izdvojena su dva osnovna razloga zašto učenici/studenti ne daju *feedback*. Prvi je što vjeruju da njihov *feedback* neće utjecati na poučavanje, a drugi razlog je da nemaju razvijenu vještinu davanja povratne informacije, te lakše daju *feedback* svojim vršnjacima nego nastavnicima/predavačima. Leenknecht i Carles (2023) se bave istraživanjem literature o povratnim informacijama i razvojem vještina *feedback* pismenosti, odnosno načina njegovog prihvatanja i daljeg rada nakon dobijenog *feedbacka*. Istraživanje je pokazalo da traženje *feedbacka* od strane učenika/studenta, koje je proaktivni element u *online* nastavi, ovisi od specifičnih karakteristika pojedinca i gradnje pozitivne nastavne atmosfere. Studija prepoznaje tri osnovna motiva učenika/studenta da traži *feedback*: motivi učenja, motivi imidža koji mogu biti ambivalentni u smislu da dio učenika/studenta neće tražiti *feedback* kako ne bi narušio utisak koji ostavlja, dok će dio tražiti *feedback* da bi poboljšao svoj društveni imidž, te motivi ega kod onog dijela učenika/studenata koji neće tražiti *feedback* da bi zaštitili vlastiti ego. Autori ipak napominju da je ovo područje nedovoljno istraženo. Traženju *feedbacka* skloniji su učenici/studenti sa visokim uspjehom. Pozitivna nastavna atmosfera koja proizvodi osjećaj veće ugodnosti utječe na traženje *feedbacka*. Atmosferu poboljšava dostupnost davanja *feedbacka*, njegov kredibilitet, komunikacijske vještine i spremnost da pruži povratne informacije.

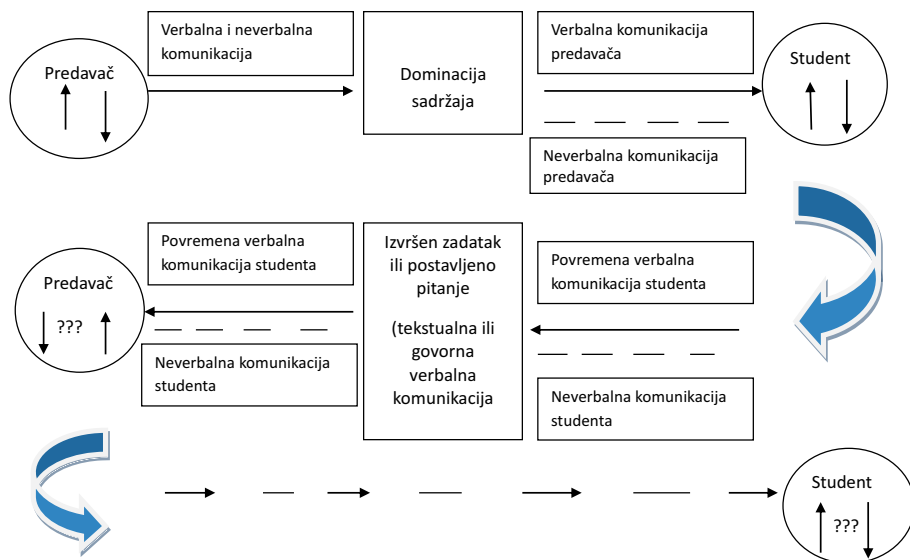
U tradicionalnoj učionici učenik/student ne mora uvijek eksplicitno tražiti dodatno pojašnjenje od nastavnika/predavača, s obzirom na činjenicu da nastavnik/predavač ima priliku pratiti i neverbalnu komunikaciju učenika/studenta, dok u *online* nastavi učenici/studenti limitiraju vlastitu verbalnu, a posebno neverbalnu komunikaciju.

U svakom slučaju fenomen *feedback* pismenosti i *feedback* u *online* nastavi istraživačko su polje koje ima potencijal otkrivanja tehnika i metoda kojima se kompetencije učenika/studenata mogu podstaći i razviti. Na tom tragu, ako shodno problematizaciji *feedbacka* (Winston i Boud 2020) odvojimo evaluacijski *feedback* od *feedbacka* čiji cilj je napredak učenika/studenta, odnosno ishodi učenja, uviđamo

da je trenutna slika *online* nastave dobrim dijelom u skladu s modelom Shannon-Weaverove jednosmjerne komunikacije. Iz većine istraživanja evidentno je zapravo da se *feedback* nalazi na pola puta između Wienerovog interaktivnog modela i Barnlundovog transakcionog modela komunikacije, što podrazumijeva da u *online* nastavi nastavnici/predavači isporučuju *feedback* učenicima/studentima na osnovu djelomičnih informacija koje imaju o učeniku/studentu. Informacije koje nastavnik/predavač ima o učeniku/studentu uključuju tekstualnu i nekad govornu verbalnu komunikaciju, zadatak koji je učenik/student izvršio i veoma limitiranu neverbalnu komunikaciju koja može predstavljati otežavajući faktor za kreiranje adekvatnog i učeniku/studentu razumljivog *feedbacka*. Za razliku od tradicionalne nastave koja je utemeljena na Barnlundovom transakcionom modelu komunikacije i *feedbacku* nastavnika/predavača prema učeniku/studentu, među učenicima/studentima, kao i od učenika/studenata ka nastavniku/predavaču (kontinuirano se emitira neverbalnom komunikacijom u smislu odavanja znakova umora, zainteresovanosti ili nezainteresovanosti, dosade, nervoze, razumijevanja, nerazumijevanja) koji omogućavaju nastavniku/predavaču da adaptira poruku, u *online* nastavi taj proces je gotovo sasvim slijep ili barem slabovidan, što može značajno ograničiti svrhovit *feedback* i otežati vođenje učenika/studenta ka postizanju rezultata učenja.

Shema komunikacijskog modela u *online* nastavi u interakciji učenik/student – nastavnik/predavač shodno kombinaciji tri osnovna komunikacijska modela, linearnog, interaktivnog i transakcionog, sa slijepom petljom *feedbacka* uzrokovanom digitalno posredovanom komunikacijom bila bi sljedeća:





**Grafikon 1:** Trenutna šema *feedbacka* u *online* nastavi (Izvor: izrada autorice)

U Grafikonu 1 je predstavljena u praksi najčešća trenutna šema *feedbacka* u *online* nastavi, gdje strelice gore-dolje u krugovima predavač i student predstavljaju intrapersonalnu komunikaciju komunikatora, vodoravne strelice predstavljaju smjer komunikacije koja se ostvaruje sa naglaskom da li se radi o verbalnoj ili neverbalnoj komunikaciji, dok isprekidane vodoravne crte predstavljaju nemogućnost ostvarenja uglavnom neverbalne komunikacije, te ograničenja i verbalne komunikacije koja su u grafičkom elementu navedena kao „povremena“. Kao grafički element su korišteni upitnici koji predstavljaju dekodiranje poruke na osnovu ograničenih informacija te dovode do nejasnih, nerazumljivih ili pogrešnih tumačenja.

Evidentno je da do nastavnika/predavača dolazi vrlo limitirana povratna informacija od učenika/studenta, te i *feedback* nastavnika/predavača ka učeniku/studentu može biti nepotpun ili neadekvatan s obzirom na činjenicu da mu nedostaju kompletne informacije od učenika/studenta. Slijepe petlje *feedbacka* proizvode nepouzdanost i manjak razumijevanja poruke među komunikatorima. Komunikaciju u *online* nastavi karakterizira interaktivnost s nepotpunim elementima transakcionog modela komunikacije.



## ZAKLJUČAK

Tradicionalna nastava je zasnovana na transakcionom modelu komunikacije koja omogućava istovremeno slanje i primanje poruka svih komunikatora. U *online* nastavi koja je usloženjena atributima digitalnih tehnologija transakcioni model komunikacije se ne podrazumijeva, niti se u potpunosti ostvaruje. U *online* nastavi je otežana istovremenost komunikacijskog akta, te su u mnogim slučajevima elementi neverbalne komunikacije limitirani ili onemogućeni, dok je verbalna komunikacija većim dijelom jednosmjerna. *Feedback* je jedan od alata u *online* nastavi kojim se može podići nivo razumijevanja poruke između učenika/studenta i nastavnika/predavača, ali ovaj proces nužno mora biti dvosmjernan kako bi nastavnik/predavač mogao adaptirati poruku spram specifičnog primaoca, odnosno učenika/studenta i osigurati njeno razumijevanje.

*Feedback* nastavnika/predavača ka učeniku/studentu i vršnjački *feedback* su važni elementi komunikacije koji utječu na rezultate učenja, motivaciju i zadovoljstvo. U literaturi je često istraživana ovaj *feedback* i njegovi efekti na rezultate učenja, motivaciju i zadovoljstvo učenika/studenata *online* nastavom, a djelomično su zastupljena i istraživanja vršnjačkog *feedbacka*. Glavni nedostatak dosadašnjih istraživanja se ogleda u tome što nisu dovoljno istraženi načini i efekti učeničkog/studentskog *feedbacka* ka nastavniku/predavaču u *online* nastavi na oblikovanje poruke, što je značajno za prilagođavanje poruke učeniku/studentu u svrhu postizanja rezultata učenja, motivacije i zadovoljstva.

U literaturi se pojavljuje jaz u istraživanju percepcije nastavnika/predavača o važnosti *feedbacka* učenika/studenata, koji je evidentno nedostatan u *online* nastavi jer ne sadrži elemente neposredne verbalne i neverbalne komunikacije, a imajući u vidu implikacije ovih nedostataka na adaptaciju poruke koju nastavnik/predavač emitira ka učenicima/studentima kako u obliku predavanja, tako i u obliku koncipiranja nastavničkog/predavačevog *feedbacka* pojedinačnom učeniku/studentu. Osim potrebe za istraživanjem načina i efekata *feedbacka* od učenika/studenta ka nastavniku/predavaču, ubuduće bi istraživanja *online* nastave trebala biti usmjerena i na kompetencije *feedback* pismenosti kako nastavnika/predavača tako i učenika/studenta. Također, nužno je identificirati pozitivne prakse komunikacije u *online* obrazovanoj ekologiji, zatim efektivne komunikacijske elemente koje učenik/student može koristiti da obezbijedi nastavniku/predavaču *feedback* koji ublažava deficite omogućava prevladavanje transakcionog modela komunikacije u *online* nastavi i prevladava slijepu petlju *feedbacka* uključujući i vršnjačku ko-

munikaciju, te motivaciju nastavnika/predavača za rad u *online* nastavi, njegovu spremnost na usavršavanje kao i komunikacijske vještine učenika/studenta i nastavnika/predavača u izmijenjenom nastavnom okruženju. Potrebno istražiti i koji atributi korištenih medija za komunikaciju u *online* nastavi i neljudski akteri imaju potencijale da omoguće kvalitetniji interpersonalni transakcioni model komunikacije.

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## FEEDBACK IN *ONLINE* EDUCATION – BLIND LOOP

### Summary:

The paper presents the potential causes of the problems in the interpersonal student-lecturer communication model in online education through the limitation of feedback, which is one of the basic communication tools for achieving interpersonal communication among the key human actors in online educational process. Usual complaints for online education are manifested in difficulties of achieving social presence which leads to impersonality in online classes, and feedback is one of the key communication tools trying to overcome these shortcomings. The elementary weakness of previous research is reflected in ways and effects produced by limited student feedback to lecturer to modulating the lecturer feedback to students. Feedback analysis through three fundamental models of interpersonal communication: linear, interactive and transactional, indicated that online education does not provide a complete transactional communication model because of a reduction of verbal and especially, nonverbal communication among student and lecturer which makes feedback a partially blind loop that makes interpersonal communication difficult.

**Key words:** online education; feedback; interaction; communication models

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## **STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS AND SATISFACTION IN EVALUATING COMMUNICATION CHANNELS**

The research examines effective communication strategies in higher education, focusing on their role in improving the market positioning of higher education institutions (HEIs). The study explores key communication channels, such as social media, email marketing, and events, within comprehensive marketing strategies. The results highlight the importance of tailoring communication to specific target audiences, including prospective students, current students, and alumni. The research analyzes student perceptions and satisfaction with their academic experience at the College of Social Work in Belgrade, using the Net Promoter Score (NPS) as a key metric for service quality evaluation. Findings indicate that flexibility in study options and the quality of teaching staff are critical factors in student satisfaction, while the institution's website had a significant influence on student perceptions. In contrast, social media played a lesser role in student engagement. The conclusions emphasize the need for tailored communication strategies to attract and retain students.

**Key words:** communication; higher education; digital marketing; strategies; student perception; social media; student experience.



## **1. INTRODUCTION – STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION HEADING**

Effective communication is the process of transmitting information or ideas in a manner that is understood and interpreted as intended. It involves clear and concise expression, fostering mutual understanding between the sender and the receiver. In the context of higher education, effective communication encompasses conveying the institution's values, offerings, and unique attributes to various stakeholders.

Effective communication plays a crucial role in conveying the mission, vision, and educational offerings of an institution. It extends to interactions with prospective students, current students, faculty members, alumni, and various stakeholders of higher education institutions (HEIs). Transparent communication helps build trust, foster engagement, and establish a positive reputation for the institution (Nguyen & Ha 2023). While this study primarily focuses on current students, it acknowledges the importance of tailored communication strategies for all stakeholders, including alumni, to meet their distinct needs and expectations.

Communication significantly impacts student recruitment, retention, and engagement (Lytle & Shin 2023). Clear communication establishes a strong institutional identity and enhances the overall student experience. Effective communication encourages collaboration, both internally among faculty and staff, and externally with the broader community (Thelen & Men 2023).

The higher education landscape is constantly evolving, presenting institutions with new challenges as they compete for students in an increasingly competitive marketplace (Barnawi 2023). The advent of technology and the growth of online education have also altered the higher education environment (Scherman et al. 2023), making it more essential than ever for institutions to effectively communicate their value to potential students. This study provides a novel contribution by examining the role of communication strategies in the context of an evolving educational environment, offering insights that differentiate it from similar research. Unlike previous studies, this research specifically investigates how effective communication can directly impact student engagement and recruitment. The study addresses gaps in existing literature by analyzing perceptions and attitudes toward communication practices within a higher education institution in Belgrade, utilizing a comprehensive approach to understand how these strategies influence student decision-making. Beyond traditional marketing methods, such as print and radio advertising, HEIs are now employing

social media, email marketing, and events to connect with their target audiences (Al Husseiny & Youness 2023). However, to succeed in these endeavors, institutions must strategically employ communication channels and customize their messages for specific target audiences.

The paper is organized in a structured manner, starting with an analysis of communication in higher education marketing and highlighting various channels and their integration into comprehensive marketing strategies. It then explores the definition of target audiences and the importance of tailored communication strategies, emphasizing their role in successful marketing campaigns. The research further examines the evolving landscape through technology and digital communication in higher education marketing. The final sections of the paper present a detailed study on students' perceptions at the College of Social Work in Belgrade, offering an in-depth look into the research methodology and presenting the obtained results. The discussion section provides thoughtful reflections and context, and the study concludes with a comprehensive reference list that contributes to a holistic understanding of the research endeavor.

## **2. COMMUNICATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION MARKETING**

The background and context of communication in higher education marketing are rooted in the increased competition that HEIs face in today's market. With the rise of online education and alternative educational options, traditional brick-and-mortar institutions encounter new challenges in attracting students. The advent of technology has significantly transformed the way students research and make decisions about their education.

One of the primary challenges that institutions face is effectively conveying their value proposition to potential students (Shaw et al. 2023). Given the multitude of choices available, it is important for institutions to communicate clearly and persuasively why they offer a superior option compared to their competitors. Strategic communication becomes vital in helping institutions establish a distinct identity and differentiate themselves within the competitive higher education landscape.

Another challenge is the shifting demographics of students. Today, a greater number of students come from diverse backgrounds and cultures, necessitating institutions to adjust their communication strategies accordingly. The aftermath of pandemics, economic downturns, and social movements can significantly influence enrollment patterns (Johnstone & Schexnider 2023), requiring institutions to adapt their communication to reflect these changing realities.

HEIs have a variety of communication channels at their disposal to reach their target audiences. The most commonly used channels include social media, email marketing, events, websites, advertisements, and public relations.

For these channels to be effective, they should be integrated into a comprehensive marketing strategy (Sudirjo 2023). This requires a strategic approach to identify the most effective channels for reaching specific target audiences and tailoring messages accordingly. It also involves measuring and evaluating the effectiveness of campaigns to make data-driven decisions (Al Adwan et al. 2023) for future communication efforts.

### **3. TARGET AUDIENCE AND COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES**

Different target audiences have different needs and preferences (Story 2023). Achieving effective communication with each group requires a careful understanding and consideration of these specific requirements. Prospective students are most likely interested in details concerning the institution's academic programs, student life, and admissions requirements. Clear and accurate information in these areas helps them to understand what the institution offers and why it's a suitable fit for them. On the contrary, current students are inclined to seek details regarding class schedules, examination timings, and campus events. Offering insights into available resources and opportunities for engagement can foster a greater sense of commitment among current students towards their college journey. Alumni (former students or graduates of a school, college, or university) may be more interested in information about networking opportunities, career services, and giving back to the institution (Gallo 2013).

When an institution demonstrates an understanding of the needs and preferences of a specific target audience, it fosters trust and credibility within that audience (Sudirjo 2023). This, in turn, can lead to increased engagement and enrollment.

### **4. THE POTENTIAL IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGY AND DIGITAL COMMUNICATION ON HIGHER EDUCATION MARKETING**

One of the main ways in which technology has impacted higher education marketing is through the rise of digital communication channels (Jakoet-Salie & Ramalobe 2023). Social media, email marketing and websites are now commonly used by HEIs to reach their target audiences. These digital channels allow institutions to connect

with potential students, current students, and alumni in new and more effective ways. The digital channels are cost-effective and have a wider reach than traditional marketing channels (Bellaaj 2023).

Another way in which technology has impacted higher education marketing is by data and analytics. Institutions can now collect and analyze data on how their target audiences interact with their digital communication channels (Al Adwan et al. 2023).

Technology allows institutions to deliver education in a flexible and personalized way (Alenezi 2023). The use of online learning platforms and mobile apps, for instance, enables students to access education from anywhere and at any time, making it more convenient and accessible (Shi 2023).

**Table 1.** Metrics for Measuring the Effectiveness of Communication Campaigns

Metrics	Description
<b>Reach</b>	The number of people who were exposed to the campaign.
<b>Engagement</b>	The level of engagement with the campaign, such as likes, shares, comments, and clicks.
<b>Conversion</b>	The number of people who took a desired action as a result of the campaign, such as filling out a form or making a donation.
<b>Return on Investment (ROI)</b>	The relationship between the cost of the campaign and the revenue generated by the campaign.
<b>Net Promoter Score (NPS)</b>	Measures customer loyalty and satisfaction by evaluating the likelihood of users recommending the service or institution to others.

*Source: Author's Research*

Table 1 provides metrics for institutions to measure the effectiveness of their communication campaigns, enabling them to identify trends and patterns for optimizing future efforts and achieving better results.

## 5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The primary objective of the study, conducted during the data collection phase from December 2023 to January 2024, was to investigate the perceptions and attitudes of students at a private HEI in Belgrade, which has approximately 700 students, regarding their academic experiences.

The main research question guiding this study is: *How do different communication channels impact student perception and satisfaction in higher education institutions?*

Based on this research question, the study hypothesizes the following:

- **H1:** Flexibility in study options and the quality of teaching staff significantly impact student satisfaction.
- **H2:** Social media has a lesser impact on student engagement compared to other communication channels such as email marketing and the institution's website.

The research employed contemporary methodologies and included a carefully selected sample of 100 respondents, representing about 14.29% of the institution's total student population. The sample was chosen using a stratified random sampling technique to ensure that various demographic segments within the student population were adequately represented, allowing for a comprehensive analysis of their perspectives. The criteria for sample selection were designed to ensure representation of students from various fields of study, providing a balanced view of the academic experience. The sample characteristics, including year of study, gender, and field of study, were carefully considered and recorded, as these factors can influence the results. However, demographic characteristics such as age were not included in this analysis. All collected questionnaires were fully completed and deemed valid for analysis, ensuring the reliability of the data.

Descriptive statistics were employed to analyze and interpret the collected data, providing insights into the trends, patterns, and central tendencies observed in the respondents' perceptions and attitudes. This approach allowed for a comprehensive understanding of the study's findings and facilitated a clear presentation of the data. This approach ensured that the sample accurately reflected the diversity of the student body in terms of gender, year of study, and academic program.

A structured 17-item questionnaire, comprising both closed and open-ended questions, was designed to capture the intricacies of students' experiences and attitudes. The Computer-Assisted Self-Interviewing (CASI) method was used, allowing respondents to complete the survey independently using computer support, which aligns with the study's focus on modernizing communication in HEIs.

To enrich the analysis, the Net Promoter Score (NPS) metric was applied, assessing service quality based on user recommendations and sentiments (Alismail et al. 2020). This metric provided valuable insights into the overall satisfaction and likelihood of students recommending the institution to others. The study's emphasis on technology, digital communication, and personalized experiences reflects contemporary communication strategies in HEIs.

Within this methodological framework and set objectives, the study contributes valuable insights into the evolving landscape of communication strategies in modern HEIs.

## 6. RESEARCH RESULTS AND ANALYSIS – IMPACT OF EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES ON THE MARKET POSITIONING OF HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

The research outcomes are systematically presented, focusing on the specific elements tested and their corresponding tasks.

**Table 2.** Enrollment Reasons at a Higher Education Institution in Belgrade

Reasons	Total	Percentage (%)
Flexibility of study (possible to study and work simultaneously, online)	60	60.0
Institution is accredited	56	56.0
Quality of education	37	37.0
Professional teaching staff	32	32.0
Recommendation from friends	16	16.0
Affordable tuition fees	16	16.0
Easier enrollment compared to other schools and faculties	12	12.0
Easier completion within the expected timeframe	10	10.0
Image of a Higher Education Institution in Belgrade	2	2.0
Other reasons	1	1.0

*Source: Author's Research*

Table 2 provides a comprehensive breakdown of the primary reasons influencing students to choose this HEI in Belgrade for their studies. Flexibility in study arrangements emerges as the leading factor, with 60% of respondents highlighting the ability to simultaneously work and study online. The result indicates that the flexibility of study options, especially the ability to combine work and online learning, is a critical factor for modern students, reflecting the growing trend toward work-study balance in higher education. The emphasis on accreditation (56%) and quality of education

(37%) demonstrates that students prioritize recognized and reputable institutions. The relatively low significance placed on the institution's image (2%) suggests a need for stronger branding and positioning efforts to enhance the institution's market perception. These findings align with global trends where students seek a combination of flexibility, quality, and official recognition in their educational journey. The institution's accreditation, quality of education, and a professional teaching staff also significantly contribute to the enrollment decision, as indicated by the corresponding percentages. Factors like recommendations from friends, affordable tuition fees, and the ease of enrollment and completion contribute to students' decision-making.

The findings from this study align with those of Shah, Nair, and Bennett (2013), who conducted research across five HEIs in Australia. Both studies identified flexibility in study arrangements as a critical factor influencing students' choice, with the Australian study highlighting 'access and opportunity' as an essential aspect, similar to the flexibility identified in this research. This suggests that the ability to balance study with other commitments is a universally important consideration for students in selecting an institution. The quality of teaching staff was recognized as a significant factor in both studies, demonstrating that the standard of education offered by an institution plays an important role in attracting students. These parallels suggest that certain aspects, such as flexibility and teaching quality, remain consistent determinants of student choice across different educational contexts.

Table 3 outlines the diverse sources students rely on for obtaining information.

**Table 3.** Information Sources for a Higher Education Institution in Belgrade

Source	Total	Percentage (%)
Website of the Institution	41	41.0
Recommendations from individuals outside the Institution	21	21.0
Social media	19	19.0
Recommendations from other students of the Institution	16	16.0
Personal recommendation from Institution professors	2	2.0
High school promotional events	1	1.0
TV advertisement	0	0.0
Total	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: Author's Research*

The data from Table 3 provides that the website of the HEI in Belgrade has a main role, with 41% of students relying on it for information. This highlights the critical importance of maintaining a user-friendly, informative, and engaging website as it serves as the primary communication channel with prospective students. The fact that social media only accounted for 19% indicates a potential gap in the institution's digital marketing strategy, suggesting room for expanding outreach and engagement via these platforms. Interestingly, the absence of reliance on TV advertisements (0%) reinforces the shift toward digital sources of information among today's student population, indicating that traditional advertising methods may be less effective for this demographic. This underscores the significance of an effective and informative website, aligning with mentioned discussion on the integration of digital channels into comprehensive marketing plans. Recommendations from individuals outside the institution and social media also emerge as influential sources, emphasizing the broader impact of word-of-mouth and online platforms in shaping students' perceptions.

Given the substantial reliance on the institution's website, optimizing its content and user experience becomes the most important communication channel. This aligns with the overarching theme where digital channels, including websites, are the most important in conveying an institution's value proposition and influencing enrollment decisions.

Building upon the insights gained from analyzing the various channels through which students acquire information about the institution, the attention turns to the evaluation of specific elements on the website. Table 4, Evaluation of HEI Website Elements, delves into the students' perspectives on the website's key features, including contemporary design, content, clarity, information comprehensibility, and overall utility.

These findings align with the research conducted by Constantinides and Zinck Stagno (2012) and Kisiołek, Karyy, and Halkiv (2021), which examined the role of digital marketing communication tools in higher education across different European contexts. Constantinides and Zinck Stagno's study, focusing on the Netherlands, demonstrated that social media is increasingly influencing the decision-making process of prospective students, complementing traditional marketing channels. Similarly, Kisiołek, Karyy, and Halkiv's research in Poland and Ukraine emphasized that websites remain the primary source of information, with both studies highlighting the importance of institutional websites in reaching prospective students. In line with these findings, 41% of students in this study indicated reliance on the institution's website for information, and 19% reported using social media, underscoring the grow-



ing importance of digital communication channels. Additionally, Kisiolek et al. (2021) found no significant differences in the use of simpler and more cost-effective online marketing tools between EU and non-EU institutions, suggesting a universal trend in the adoption of digital marketing strategies by higher education institutions. This aligns with the current study's findings, where digital communication channels, including websites and social media, play a crucial role in influencing student decisions.

**Table 4.** Information of Higher Education Institution Work Website Elements

Rating	1 (Very Poor)	2	3	4	5 (Excellent)	Mean±Std. Deviation
Modern Website Design	2.0%	5.1%	11.1%	33.3%	48.5%	4.21±0.97
Website Content	2.0%	4.0%	10.0%	32.0%	52.0%	4.28±0.24
Website Usability	3.0%	4.0%	20.0%	30.0%	43.0%	4.06±1.03
Clarity of Information	3.0%	1.0%	17.2%	22.2%	56.6%	4.28±0.99
Usefulness of Information	1.0%	1.0%	8.2%	32.7%	57.1%	4.44±0.77

*Source: Author's Research*

Table 4 evaluates the website elements of the HEI in Belgrade based on user ratings (1 – Very Poor to 5 – Excellent). The average ratings indicate overall satisfaction. The term “Mean ± Std. Deviation” refers to the average score (Mean) and the variability or spread of scores around the mean (Standard Deviation). A smaller standard deviation indicates that the responses were closer to the mean, while a larger deviation suggests greater variability in responses. The consistently high ratings, especially for ‘Usefulness of Information’ (mean = 4.44), suggest that the website successfully provides relevant and valuable content to students. However, ‘Website Usability’ received a slightly lower score (mean = 4.06), indicating that while the content is strong, there might be challenges in navigation or user experience that require attention. Improving usability could further enhance the overall digital engagement and support the website’s role as a key source of information.

Modern Website Design received an excellent rating from 48.5% of users, averaging  $M = 4.21 \pm 0.97$ . Website Content had a high satisfaction rate, with 52.0% rating it excellent, with averaging  $M = 4.28 \pm 0.24$ . Website Usability showed variability, but 43.0% rated it excellent, with an average of  $M = 4.06 \pm 1.03$ . Clarity of Information,

with 56.6% giving an excellent rating, averaging  $M = 4.28 \pm 0.99$ . The most highly regarded element was the Usefulness of Information with 57.1% rating it excellent and achieving the highest average of  $M = 4.44 \pm 0.77$ . These detailed evaluations provide a profound understanding of user perspectives, guiding potential enhancements to elevate the overall user experience and satisfaction with the website of the HEI in Belgrade.

Although the questions in Table 4 assessed key aspects such as design, content, usability, and clarity of information, the questions were not sufficiently operationalized. Further refinement of the questions to include specific elements, such as navigation, loading speed, mobile optimization, and integration with other digital tools, could have provided more precise insights into areas requiring improvement.

Understanding students' satisfaction with various aspects of their academic experience directly impacts institutions seeking to enhance competitiveness in higher education. The presented Table 5 provides insights into strengths and areas for improvement. Satisfied students become advocates for their institution (Wong & Chapman 2023), positively impacting word-of-mouth recommendations and the institution's brand image. Analyzing satisfaction levels aims to reveal patterns that guide marketing strategies in alignment with student expectations and preferences.

The findings from this study align with the research conducted by Baroudi, Alia, and Marashdih (2020), which assessed the accessibility and usability of higher education institution websites in Jordan. Their study found that many university websites were not easily accessible and required significant improvements to enhance user experience, as they did not fully comply with the WCAG 2.0 (World Wide Web Consortium 2.0) guidelines. Similarly, while the average ratings for the website elements in this study were generally positive, with 'Website Usability' receiving a mean score of 4.06, there remains room for improvement. Both studies highlight the importance of continuously improving website design, information clarity, and navigation to meet student needs and expectations, reinforcing the need for higher education institutions to prioritize user-friendly and accessible digital platforms.

**Table 5.** Satisfaction with various aspects of studies at a Higher Education Institution in Belgrade

Aspects of Study	1 (Very Poor)	2	3	4	5 (Excellent)	Mean±Std. Deviation
Teaching Staff	2.0%	2.0%	16.2%	33.3%	46.5%	4.20±0.92
Non-Teaching Staff	4.0%	4.0%	12.0%	21.0%	59.0%	4.27±1.08
Environment	3.1%	2.1%	15.5%	32.0%	47.4%	4.19±0.98
Study Organization	4.0%	6.1%	15.2%	32.3%	42.4%	4.03±1.09
Overall Satisfaction	1.0%	6.1%	14.1%	32.3%	46.5%	4.17±0.95

*Source: Author's Research*

Table 5 illustrates student satisfaction with various aspects of their studies at a HEI in Belgrade, ranging from 1 (very poor) to 5 (excellent). The highest satisfaction was observed in the 'Non-Teaching Staff' category (mean = 4.27), indicating strong approval of administrative support. This suggests the institution provides a supportive environment. Differences based on gender and year of study in relation to the academic experience were tested, but no statistically significant differences were found ( $p > 0.05$ ). These findings indicate consistent perceptions across demographic groups, contributing to overall satisfaction. However, the relatively lower score for 'Study Organization' (mean = 4.03) suggests room for improvement in managing academic programs and schedules. The overall average rating for general satisfaction is positive ( $M = 4.17 \pm 0.95$ ), with students expressing high satisfaction across all elements. This positive feedback can enhance the institution's appeal to prospective students through organic recommendations and advocacy.

The Net Promoter Score (NPS) presented in Table 6 serves as a metric for assessing the quality of a service by measuring the user experience based on a single, straightforward question: "How likely are you to recommend X to friends or colleagues?" User responses categorize them into three groups: promoters, passives, and detractors. Promoters express high satisfaction, speaking positively and readily recommending the service. Passives do not actively promote or criticize, while detractors are dissatisfied, often sharing negative feedback. The overall NPS score is derived by calculating the difference between the percentage of promoters and detractors (Baehre et al. 2022). A higher NPS score indicates higher service/product quality and customer loyalty, whereas a lower NPS suggests increased user dissatisfaction.

**Table 6.** Likelihood of recommending a Higher Education Institution in Belgrade

<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>
0,00%	1,0%	2,0%	2,0%	3,0%	5,0%	4,0%	3,0%	15,0%	10,0%	55,0%

*Source: Author's Research*

The findings of this study align with the research conducted by Wong and Chapman (2022), which provided an in-depth analysis of how different forms of student interactions – both formal and informal – contribute to various aspects of student satisfaction. Wong and Chapman identified that student-instructor interactions and student-peer interactions play a significant role in influencing overall student satisfaction, mirroring the importance placed on teaching staff, non-teaching staff, and overall study organization in this study's findings. Similar to Wong and Chapman's results, this study demonstrates that multiple dimensions, such as teaching quality, administrative support, and the learning environment, contribute to a holistic measure of student satisfaction. Both studies emphasize that fostering meaningful interactions within HEIs is essential for enhancing student satisfaction and retention.

**Table 7.** Distribution of Promoters, Passives, and Detractors

<b>Category</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
Detractors	17	17.0
Passives	18	18.0
Promoters	65	65.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: Author's Research*

Table 7 illustrates the distribution of respondents into categories based on their Net Promoter Scores (NPS), highlighting the proportion of detractors, passives, and promoters. The high percentage of Promoters (65%) is indicative of a generally positive student experience, suggesting that the majority of students are likely to recommend the institution to others, which is beneficial for word-of-mouth marketing. However, the presence of 17% Detractors should not be overlooked, as it represents a segment of students who are dissatisfied. Addressing the concerns of this group could significantly improve overall student satisfaction and further enhance the institution's reputation and recruitment potential. The majority, constituting 65%, fall

into the category of promoters, indicating a high level of satisfaction and a likelihood of recommending the institution to others. On the other hand, the presence of 17% detractors suggests a portion of students with less favorable experiences. The positive distribution of promoters aligns with the overarching goal of enhancing communication strategies. Satisfied students, acting as promoters, become essential advocates in the broader communication plan. This information underscores the importance of maintaining a positive student experience and leveraging it as a strategic asset in higher education marketing efforts.

The Total Net Promoter Score (NPS) serves as a quantitative representation of the overall satisfaction and loyalty among students at a HEI in Belgrade. The NPS, a widely recognized metric in gauging the quality of services, is derived from responses to a singular question: "How likely is it that you would recommend studying at this HEI in Belgrade to a friend or colleague?" The resulting percentage, in this case, is 48%. This metric is indicative not only of the current student satisfaction levels but also of their potential role as brand advocates. With a 48% Net Promoter Score (NPS), a positive sentiment prevails, signifying a substantial proportion of content students inclined to recommend the institution to others. In the broader context of higher education marketing, this resonates with the evolving approach of utilizing satisfied student experiences as influential communicative assets. In the pursuit of revolutionizing communication strategies, recognizing and capitalizing on the potential of these positive sentiments becomes paramount for cultivating brand loyalty and enticing prospective students.

The findings of this study align with research conducted by Kara and Zeren (2022), which investigated the relevance of the Net Promoter Score (NPS) in HEIs. Similar to the NPS analysis conducted in this study, Kara and Zeren found that NPS is a valuable metric for understanding students' likelihood to recommend their institution and academic programs. Their research revealed differences between the NPS scores of specific programs and the overall university experience, echoing this study's results where 48% of students were identified as promoters, suggesting that NPS can effectively capture nuances in student satisfaction. Both studies emphasize the importance of using NPS as a regular measure to inform strategies aimed at enhancing the student experience and ensuring that higher education institutions remain responsive to student needs and expectations.

The total NPS underscores the interconnectedness of student satisfaction, loyalty, and the broader communication strategies deployed by educational institutions.

The analysis of the data confirmed H1 and H2. Flexibility in study options and

the quality of teaching staff emerged as the most significant factors contributing to student satisfaction, confirming H1. The data showed that social media had a lesser impact on student engagement than other communication channels, supporting H2.

## **7. DISCUSSION – ENHANCING HIGHER EDUCATION COMMUNICATION THROUGH STUDENT-CENTRIC STRATEGIES**

The examination of research outcomes reveals important insights for enhancing communication strategies in higher education, particularly within a HEI in Belgrade, where the study was conducted. These findings are consistent with the study conducted by Shah, Nair, and Bennett (2013), which identified flexibility in study arrangements as a pivotal factor influencing student choice across multiple institutions. In both studies, flexibility emerged as a leading driver for student enrollment, confirming its universal relevance in higher education marketing. The discussion integrates key findings and identifies strategic opportunities to improve communication practices within the framework of higher education marketing.

The notable reliance on the website as a primary information source (41%) underscores the significance of cultivating an effective online presence. This is similar to the findings of Constantinides and Zinck Stagno (2012), who demonstrated that social media and institutional websites significantly impact students' decision-making processes. The current study builds upon this by providing specific insights into how these digital channels function within the context of higher education in Belgrade. Aligning with the broader integration of digital channels into marketing plans, institutions should prioritize enhancing website content, usability, and accessibility to meet the evolving expectations of tech-savvy students.

The evaluation of the website elements reveals a positive trend, particularly in modern design (average rating: 4.21) and information usefulness (average rating: 4.44). These findings indicate that a well-designed and informative website can contribute significantly to user satisfaction, emphasizing the need for ongoing improvements in content presentation and relevance. However, the questions regarding the analyzed website elements (Table 4) were not thoroughly operationalized. This limited the ability to pinpoint specific factors that require improvement. More detailed questions, addressing areas such as navigation, mobile optimization, loading speed, and integration with other digital tools, could provide more precise insights for actionable recommendations.

The Net Promoter Score (NPS) of 48% signifies a substantial number of satisfied students willing to recommend this institutions. This aligns with the work of Kara and Zeren (2022), who found that NPS serves as a reliable indicator of student satisfaction and loyalty within higher education settings. Similar to our findings, their study demonstrated that a higher NPS correlates with increased student advocacy and engagement. In the context of higher education marketing, this positive sentiment serves as a potent tool for word-of-mouth promotion. Recognizing the potential of satisfied students as brand advocates helps in building a positive institutional reputation and attracting new enrollments.

The discussion culminates in the understanding that communication strategies in higher education should be reimaged with a student-centric approach. Fostering positive student experiences, both online and offline, becomes instrumental in not only retaining current students but also in attracting new ones through organic, word-of-mouth promotion.

By prioritizing digital channels, refining website elements, and leveraging positive sentiments, institutions can revolutionize their communication approaches to meet the dynamic needs and expectations of contemporary students (Gupta & Jain 2017). This shift towards student-centric strategies is integral for staying competitive in the ever-evolving landscape of higher education (Aithal & Maiya 2023).

By integrating these findings with existing literature, this study not only corroborates the established importance of communication channels and student perceptions but also extends our understanding of how these elements function within the specific context of higher education in Belgrade. This localized perspective offers valuable insights for institutions aiming to refine their marketing strategies and student engagement efforts.

The confirmation of H1 highlights the critical role of flexibility in study options and high-quality teaching in enhancing student satisfaction, which aligns with previous studies, such as Shah et al. (2013). The confirmation of H2, which suggested that social media would have a lesser impact on student engagement, indicates that students still rely more on traditional communication methods like institutional websites and email marketing, despite the increased use of social media in other sectors (Constantinides & Stagno 2012).

## 8. CONCLUSION

In the contemporary landscape of competitive higher education marketing, the significance of effective communication cannot be overstated (Tankosic et al. 2017). This encompasses a nuanced understanding of the intricacies and challenges inherent in the current market, marked by heightened competition and evolving student demographics.

The study emphasizes that effective marketing strategies for institutions of higher education in the digital era require a thorough examination of factors including market characteristics, the use of social media and online platforms, educator quality, and the needs of current students. Consequently, these institutions should carefully analyze the preferences and experiences of their existing student body, customizing communication strategies and educational content that enhance engagement and satisfaction. This implies that, through the optimization of technology and online platforms and consideration of market demands, HEI can improve their reputation, elevate the quality of education, and enhance community engagement in promoting education.

The future trajectory of communication in higher education marketing will be intricately linked to technological advancements and the continuous evolution of digital channels (Smajlović et al. 2015). Staying abreast of emerging trends and innovations will be imperative for institutions seeking to effectively reach and engage their target audiences. The orchestration of tailored communication strategies, coupled with technological integration and meticulous evaluation, positions HEIs to attract, retain, and foster a sense of community among their student body.

It is important to acknowledge that this study was conducted within a single institution and focused solely on current students' perspectives, which may limit the generalizability of the findings. Future studies might consider a broader scope to encompass multiple institutions and a more diverse range of stakeholders.



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## PERCEPCIJA I ZADOVOLJSTVO STUDENATA U EVALUACIJI KOMUNIKACIONIH KANALA

### Sažetak:

Istraživanje ispituje efikasne strategije komunikacije u visokom obrazovanju, sa fokusom na njihovu ulogu u unapređenju tržišnog pozicioniranja visokoobrazovnih institucija (VOI). Studija analizira najvažnije komunikacione kanale poput društvenih mreža, imejl marketinga i događaja, u okviru sveobuhvatnih marketinških strategija. Rezultati ističu važnost prilagođavanja komunikacije specifičnim ciljnim grupama, uključujući buduće studente, trenutne studente i alumniste. Dodatno, istraživanje analizira percepciju i zadovoljstvo studenata njihovim akademskim iskustvom na Visokoj školi socijalnog rada u Beogradu, koristeći Net Promoter Score (NPS) kao glavnu metriku za evaluaciju kvaliteta usluga. Nalazi pokazuju da su fleksibilnost studijskih opcija i kvalitet nastavnog kadra najvažniji faktori zadovoljstva studenata, dok je internet stranica institucije imala značajan uticaj na percepciju studenata. Nasuprot tome, društvene mreže imale su manji uticaj na angažman studenata. Zaključci naglašavaju potrebu za prilagođenim komunikacionim strategijama kako bi se privukli i zadržali studenti.

**Ključne riječi:** komunikacija; visoko obrazovanje; digitalni marketing; strategije; percepcija studenata; društveni mediji; iskustvo studenata

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društvene i humanističke studije

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## STUDIJE SOCIJALNOG RADA I SOCIJALNE POLITIKE

**Sabira Gadžo-Šašić**

SAMOPROCJENA RAZVIJENOSTI KOMPETENCIJA STUDENATA  
SOCIJALNOG RADA ZA RAD S MARGINALNIM SKUPINAMA /  
SELF-ASSESSMENT OF SOCIAL WORK STUDENTS' COMPETENCE  
DEVELOPMENT FOR WORKING WITH MARGINAL GROUPS ..... 1487

**Vesna Huremović, Samra Mahmutović**

ULOGA SOCIJALNOG RADNIKA U POBOLJŠANJU SOCIJALNE  
PODRŠKE I KVALITETE ŽIVOTA KOD TRUDNICA SA VISOKORIZIČNOM  
TRUDNOĆOM / THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL WORKER IN IMPROVING  
SOCIAL SUPPORT AND QUALITY OF LIFE FOR PREGNANT WOMEN  
WITH HIGH-RISK PREGNANCIES ..... 1501



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## **SAMOPROCJENA RAZVIJENOSTI KOMPETENCIJA STUDENATA SOCIJALNOG RADA ZA RAD S MARGINALNIM SKUPINAMA**

Prema definiciji Međunarodne federacije socijalnih radnika (IFSW) socijalni rad je praktično utemeljena profesija i akademska disciplina koja promiče socijalne promjene i razvoj, socijalnu koheziju, te osnaživanje i oslobađanje ljudi. Potkrijepljena teorijom socijalnog rada, društvenih i humanističkih nauka te autohtonim znanjem, profesija socijalnog rada angažira ljude i strukture na rješavanju životnih izazova i povećanje blagostanja. Međutim, kontinuirane negativne promjene koje su obilježile moderna društva posebno pred socijalne radnike postavljaju izazov u iznalaženju rješenja za sve kompleksnije društvene probleme s kojima se posebno suočavaju marginalni članovi društva. Takav kontekst nameće neophodnost kontinuiranog razvijanja kompetencija onih koji se obrazuju za profesiju socijalnog rada. Stoga je cilj rada dobiti uvid u stavove studenata o nivou razvijanja kompetencija u toku studija za rad s marginalnim skupinama, te o tome koga smatraju najmarginalnijim članovima zajednice. S tim u vezi realizirano je istraživanje kojim je obuhvaćeno 50 studenata Odsjeka za socijalni rad Fakulteta političkih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu, a ključne spoznaje su da studenti, odnosno budući socijalni radnici, smatraju da su najmarginalniji Romi, osobe s invaliditetom i djeca s teškoćama u razvoju, ali da su mladi skupina s kojima bi najviše željeli raditi kao socijalni radnici. Došlo se i do saznanja da su razlozi takvog opredjeljenja: nedovoljni resursi za pružanje pomoći; nemogućnost da se pristupi svakom pojedincu zbog nedostatka i nedovoljne uvezanosti aktera od značaja za unapređenje položaja najmarginalnijih skupina. Također, nešto manje od pola učesnika u istraživanju (23 ili 46%) ističe važnost organiziranja dodatnih edukacija kao vid



kontinuiranog razvijanja kompetencija, što je posebno važno u vremenu sveprisutnih negativnih promjena.

**Ključne riječi:** socijalni rad; kompetencije; marginalne grupe

## UVOD

Socijalni rad je praktično utemeljena profesija i akademska disciplina koja promiče socijalne promjene i razvoj, socijalnu koheziju, te osnaživanje i oslobađanje ljudi (International Federation of Social Workers 2014) Pomoć koju pružaju visoko educirani stručnjaci, socijalni radnici, ogleđa se u koordinaciji i osiguravanju socijalnih usluga, što prema nekim autorima (Richmond 1917, prema Urbanac 2006) predstavlja "činjenje dobra". Među korisnicima usluga koje pružaju socijalni radnici nerijetko su marginalni pojedinci i grupe<sup>1</sup> među kojima se najčešće spominju osobe s invaliditetom, djeca s teškoćama u razvoju, starije osobe, ali i svi ostali koji se nađu u nepovoljnoj životnoj situaciji. Dakle, socijalni radnici pomažu ljudima u prevladavanju socijalnih nedaća do kojih može doći uslijed zdravstvenih i porodičnih problema, siromaštva, nezaposlenosti, kriminala, ovisnosti o alkoholu i drogama, kao i zbog ratnih stradanja ili elementarnih nepogoda. Oni nastoje direktnim savjetovanjem i konkretnim informiranjem pomoći porodicama i pojedincima da prepoznaju svoje prave probleme, razmotre moguća rješenja, te da prvo vlastitim snagama i mogućnostima, izađu s njima na kraj. Zbog svega navedenog, kako ističu neki autori (Družić Ljubotina, Friščić 2014: 6), „danas područje socijalnog rada ne obuhvaća samo područje socijalne skrbi i rješavanje socijalnih problema, već ono u širem smislu podrazumijeva socijalne intervencije koje zahtijeva socijalna politika i socijalni razvoj. Stoga socijalni radnici imaju vrlo važnu ulogu u prevenciji i rješavanju pojedinačnih i grupnih socijalnih problema“. Posebno je važno da, kao stručnjaci, svakom klijentu pristupe individualno i da u skladu s tim i kreiraju moguće puteve oporavka. Bitnost spomenutog su navodili i drugi autori (Kahn 1993; Zapf 2002) ističući da socijalna i humana dimenzija pristupanja svakom slučaju u socijalnoj zaštiti nalaže visoko specijalizirane intervencije u najintimnija i najsloženija područja

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<sup>1</sup> Pojam marginalizacija potječe od latinske riječi *margo* koja znači rub, odnosno *marginalis* koja znači rubni, te s tim u vezi marginalizirati znači potiskivati, svoditi na sporednost, onemogućavanjem, prešućivanjem i zaobilaženjem. Socijalna marginalizacija kao vid umanjivanja vrijednosti pojedinaca, ali i manjih ili većih grupa, jeste anomalija koja se može prepoznati u gotovo svim društvima. Iz navedenog proizlazi da je marginalizacija proces dovođenja pojedinca ili grupe u položaj na kojem im se pridaje ograničena društvena važnost (Gadžo-Šašić 2024, prema Kolesarić, Markasović 2020).

života pojedinaca iskupina koji su se našli ne svojom voljom na marginama društva. Stoga se u cilju što kvalitetnijeg pružanja usluga ističe važnost kontinuiranog razvijanja kompetencija socijalnih radnika (Mali 2010; Gadžo-Šašić 2022) i neophodnost stalnog stjecanja vještina za prilagođavanje novonastalim društvenim okolnostima koje dovode do novih rizika, što podrazumijeva kreiranje i realizaciju mjera koje odgovaraju zahtjevima korisnika usluga. Iz spomenutog proizlazi cilj ovoga rada, a to je analiza stavova studenata Fakulteta političkih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Odsjeka za socijalni rad, o mogućnostima razvijanja kompetencija tokom studija za rad s marginalnim skupinama, ali i stjecanje uvida u to koga smatraju najmarginalnijim pojedincima i skupinama.

## **ZNAČAJ RAZVIJANJA KOMPETENCIJA ZA SOCIJALNE RADNIKE**

Pojam „kompetencija“ ima porijeklo u latinskoj riječi *compententia* što znači postizati, biti sposoban. Stoga, kada se govori o kompetencijama socijalnih radnika to, u najširem smislu, može značiti sposobnost kreiranja i realizacije mjera za prevazilaženje poteškoća, rješavanje socijalnih problema, ali i sposobnost razvijanja suradnog odnosa s onim klijentima koji ne prihvataju profesionalnu pomoć unatoč potrebi za njom. Navedeno proizlazi i iz opisane prakse socijalnog rada gdje se navodi da „socijalni rad podržava rad s ljudima, a ne za ljude“. Međutim, krize koje su obilježile 21. stoljeće pred socijalne radnike stavljaju sve više zahtjeva za kreiranje i primjenu inovativnih ideja čija realizacija treba da doprinese očuvanju postojećeg nivoa društvenog razvoja, ali i njegovog unapređenja. U takvom ozračju posebnu pažnju privlače oni članovi zajednice koji su i ranije zbog invalidnosti, starosti, siromaštva bili pogođeni poteškoćama koje su im onemogućavale da vode život koji se smatra prosječnim za sredinu u kojoj žive.

Kako ističu Družić Ljubotina i Friščić (2014), od socijalnih radnika se očekuje da preuzmu brigu oko kreiranja mjera i njihove realizacije, što uvijek podrazumijeva uz redovne i složene poslove (nezaposlenost, siromaštvo, narušeni odnosi u porodici, razvodi brakova, bolest, invaliditet, psihičke teškoće, poremećaji ponašanja mladih i dr.) i dodatne zahtjevne obaveze kao što su: rad s migrantima, poslovi tokom tranzicije, kompletni postupci prilikom razvoda braka, iznalaženje smještajnih kapaciteta i dr. (Ibidem) Sve navedeno nameće potrebu razvijanja kompetencija posebno kod budućih socijalnih radnika koji su u obrazovnom procesu i od kojih će se očekivati djelotvorno obavljanje svih spomenutih zadataka koristeći stručna znanja

i vještine. Spomenuto posebno dobija na značaju ako se ima u vidu da osnovne odgovornosti i zadaci socijalnih radnika obuhvataju preko 140 različitih poslova. Neki autori (Milić-Babić i sur. 2021) smatraju da je taj broj i veći ističući da socijalni radnici u praktičnom radu imaju čak 150 javnih ovlasti.

Međutim, ukoliko se, uz spomenuto, uzme u obzir činjenica da se društva suočavaju sa sve kompleksnijim problemima koji proizlaze iz aktualnih kriza, te da je online obrazovanje u vrijeme pandemije ostavilo nesagledive tragove u sistemu obrazovanja za sva zanimanja, a samim tim i za socijalni rad (Gadžo-Šašić 2023), onda se sama po sebi nameće potreba konsolidiranja i dodatnog razvijanja kompetencija budućih socijalnih radnika od kojih se očekuje da odgovore složenim izazovima s kojima se savremena društva suočavaju.

Naime, socijalne radnike bi trebao krasiti zavidan nivo komunikativnosti, osjetljivosti na probleme drugih, tolerantnost, emocionalna stabilnost, dobre organizatorske sposobnosti, sposobnost dobrog usmenog i pismenog izražavanja.<sup>2</sup> Stoga, da bi se uistinu pružila mogućnost socijalnim radnicima da odgovore svim izazovima, ukazuje se neophodnost organiziranja specijalističkih edukacija koje bi pridonijele dodatnom stjecanju kompetencija, ali i razvijanju postojećih, posebno stručnjaka od kojih se očekuje da ponude moguća rješenja za sve kompleksnije i brojnije društvene izazove.

Postoji različiti načini kategorizacije i predstavljanja kompetencija koje je osoba stekla tokom svog učenja. Najčešće se kompetencije prikazuju kroz znanja i njihovu postignutu primjenu, što uključuje i kontekst odnosno uvjete u kojima se postiže primjena konkretnih znanja i vještina. Tako, znanje (engl. *knowledge*) označava skup stečenih i povezanih informacija, koje se mogu grupirati na činjenično i teorijsko znanje. Činjenično znanje (engl. *factual knowledge*) označava skup stečenih zasebnih informacija, a teorijsko (engl. *theoretical knowledge*) označava skup stečenih povezanih zasebnih informacija. Kao što proizlazi iz samog objašnjenja, spomenuta znanja (činjenično i teoretsko) sačinjavaju informacije koje se, da bi postale znanje, sumiraju, odnosno povezuju. Kada je riječ o kompetencijama neophodnim za učinkovit rad socijalnih radnika, to podrazumijeva stjecanje raznovrsnih informacija o mogućnostima i ograničenjima praktičnog rada s klijentima. Informacije mogu biti pojmovi, njihove definicije, te razna druga činjenična znanja koja sama po sebi ne otvaraju mogućnost stvaranja novih informacija na temelju ograničenog broja postojećih. Povezivanje zasebnih informacija može se odnositi na različite teorije, modele, te druga znanja kojima se otvara mogućnost stvaranja jednoznačnijih novih

<sup>2</sup> <https://poslovi.infostud.com/zanimanje/Socijalni-radnik/153>

i korisnih zasebnih informacija za kvalitetan rad s klijentima koje imaju značaj posebno u radu s najmarginalnijim članovima zajednice. Vještine (engl. *skills*) su skup sposobnosti primjene znanja i upotrebe poznatih načina rada u izvršenju zadataka i rješavanju problema. One se najčešće klasificiraju na spoznajne, psihomotoričke i socijalne. Spoznajne vještine (engl. *cognitive skills*) predstavljaju sposobnost logičkog i kreativnog razmišljanja, dok psihomotoričke vještine (engl. *practical skills*) označavaju stečenu fizičku spretnost u upotrebi poznatih metoda, instrumenata, alata i materijala. Za socijalne radnike od posebne važnosti su socijalne vještine (engl. *social skills*) koje označavaju skup sposobnosti potrebnih za stvaranje i razvijanje međuljudskih odnosa.<sup>3</sup> Generalno, vještine su sposobnosti odgovarajuće primjene znanja (činjenih i teorijskih), neovisno o tome da li se ta primjena odnosi na brzinu i količinu obrade informacija, odlučivanja ili fizičke reakcije, kao i ponašanja i odnose s drugima unutar različitih društvenih skupina ili pak kombinaciju navedenog. Pritom treba imati u vidu da podstruktura vještina, a i znanja, podrazumijeva da se sve kompetencije neke konkretne kvalifikacije ne moraju nužno nalaziti na jednakoj razini složenosti.

## CILJ I ISTRAŽIVAČKA PITANJA

Cilj istraživanja bio je utvrditi stav studenata Fakulteta političkih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Odsjek za socijalni rad, o nivou stjecanja kompetencija za rad s određenim marginalnim skupinama u toku studija.

U skladu s ciljem postavljena su sljedeća istraživačka pitanja:

1. Koga studenti smatraju najmarginalnijom skupinom?
2. Da li tokom studija studenti stječu dovoljno kompetencija za rad s marginalnim pojedincima i skupinama?
3. Koliko su bitne dodatne profesionalne edukacije za unapređenje kompetencija za rad s najmarginalnijim članovima zajednice?

## METODOLOGIJA

*Istraživački postupak, obrada podataka i uzorak*

Stavovi o nivou razvijenosti kompetencija studenata Fakulteta političkih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Odsjeka za socijalni rad, prikupljeni su anketnim upitnikom koji je obuhvatio pitanja koja se odnose na: opće podatke ispitanika (godina studija,

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.kvalifikacije.hr/sites/default/files/documents-publications/2017-08/Uvod%20u%20kvalifikacije.pdf>

informacije o tome da li pripadaju grupi redovnih ili vanrednih studenata), segmente bitne za analizu prvog istraživačkog pitanja koje se odnosi na stavove ispitanika o tome koga smatraju najmarginalnijim, te pitanja koja su se odnosila na samoprocjenu razvijenosti kompetencija tokom obrazovanja i značaj dodatnih edukacija za rad s tim skupinama. Istraživanje je realizirano online od 9. do 13. decembra 2023. godine, tačnije nakon održane konferencije koja je bila direktno vezana za dodatno jačanje kompetencija studenata za rad s marginalnim skupinama s posebnim fokusom na djecu i osobe s invaliditetom. Konferencija je okupila stručnjake koji direktno rade s određenom marginalnom skupinom uz mogućnost interaktivnog razgovora, gdje su studenti imali priliku da se informiraju o specifičnostima rada stručnjaka u praksi.

U obradi podataka korištene su kvantitativna i kvalitativna analiza. Kvantitativna analiza je korištena za interpretaciju zatvorenih pitanja koja su imala ponuđene odgovore, a ispitanici su imali mogućnost da izaberu jedan ili više ponuđenih odgovora. Za analizu ove grupe pitanja korištena je statistička metoda koja se koristi u prirodnim naukama u situacijama kada se istraživači susreću s individualnim i neindividualnim pojavama koje su determinirane raznovrsnim nepoznatim faktorima (Milosavljević, Termiz 1999). Kvalitativna analiza korištena je za otvorene odgovore na način da su odgovori sudionika sažeti i parafrazirani, a potom prikazani najfrekventniji odgovori.

Učesnici u istraživanju bili su studenti treće godine prvog ciklusa studija (BA) i prva godina drugog ciklusa studija (MA) Fakulteta političkih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Odsjeka za socijalni rad. Istraživanjem je obuhvaćeno ukupno 50 redovnih i vanrednih studenata. Učešće u istraživanju je bilo dobrovoljno tako da njime nisu bili obuhvaćeni svi studenti koji pohađaju spomenuti studijski program.

## **STAVOVI STUDENATA O NAJMARGINALNIJIM SKUPINAMA**

Marginalna skupina predstavlja u najširem smislu svaku društvenu skupinu koja se nalazi na „periferiji” društvene moći, ali i bez značajnog utjecaja na bitne društvene tokove i politička zbivanja. U različitim društvima postoje različite marginalizirane skupine (stanovnici ruralnih područja, manjinski povratnici, Romi, starije osobe, određene kategorije mladih, osobe s invaliditetom i sl.), a kojima socijalni radnici kroz svoje djelovanje i pružanje usluga trebaju pomoći da poboljšaju svoj položaj. Prateći stavove učesnika istraživanja, njih 17 (34%) smatra da su Romi najviše marginalizirani u Bosni i Hercegovini, a po 14 dijeli mišljenje da su to djeca s teškoćama (28%), te osobe s invaliditetom (28%). Samo njih troje (3 ili 6%) smatra

da su u BiH najviše marginalne starije osobe, te po jedno (1) smatra da su to manjinski povratnici (2%) i mladi (2%). Dobijeni rezultati ne iznenađuju, budući da neki autori (Kolesarić, Markasović 2020) ističu da se Romi, koji se nazivaju i Ciganima, u najvećem broju slučajeva ne pokušavaju integrirati u postojeću društvenu strukturu, ustrajavaju u nesuilnom načinu života, zadiru od organa vlasti i sl.

Učesnici u istraživanju su imali priliku da se izjasne i o kategoriji korisnika socijalnih usluga s kojima bi u budućnosti najviše voljeli raditi, a prema dobijenim rezultatima čak 36 (72%) učesnika se izjasnilo da bi nakon završenog studija socijalnog rada voljelo raditi s mladima. Samo tri (3 ili 6%) učesnika u istraživanju izjasnilo se da bi voljelo raditi sa starijim osobama, dvoje (2 ili 4%) sa stanovnicima ruralnih područja, te petero (5 ili 10%) s različitim marginalnim skupinama. Jedan (1 ili 2%) ispitanik se izjasnilo da bi želio kao socijalni radnik raditi s manjinskim povratnicima, te po jedan (1) s Romima (2%) i osobama s invaliditetom (2%). Jedan učesnik (2%) u istraživanju nije odgovorio na pitanje, što se može tumačiti činjenicom da se još, iako je završna godina (treća) prvog ciklusa ili prva godina drugog ciklusa, nije opredijelio za rad s nekom od skupina s kojima rade socijalni radnici.

Naime, dobijeni rezultati prema kojima se većina budućih socijalnih radnika ne planira baviti dobroćinstvom i pružanjem pomoći Romima, te djeci i osobama s invaliditetom, koji su po njihovom mišljenju najmarginalniji, mogu se objasniti prisutnim izostankom uvjerenja da se djelotvorno može pomoći onima za koje su se sami izjasnili da najviše trebaju pomoć. Razlozi zbog kojih nisu iskazali želju da rade sa, po njihovom mišljenju, najmarginalnijim skupinama su: nedovoljni resursi za pružanje pomoći (18 ili 36%), nemogućnost da se pristupi svakom pojedincu zbog nedostatka kapaciteta (17 ili 34%) i nedovoljna uvezanost aktera od značaja za unapređenje položaja najmarginalnijih skupina (15 ili 30%). Učesnici su navodili i: ograničavajuće mogućnosti razvijanja suradnog odnosa s klijentima, posebno s roditeljima djece s teškoćama u razvoju; zakonodavna ograničenja; komunikacijske prepreke; nedovoljnu profesionalnu osposobljenost stručnjaka, ali i manjak sistemske podrške.

Odgovori učesnika u istraživanju na neki način svjedoče da bh. stvarnost potresaju različite krize i da su ih aktualne neravnoteže samo produbile (Gadžo-Šašić 2023), što je sve skupa stvorilo ozračje u kojem su socijalni radnici kao stručnjaci sve više u poziciji da se od njih očekuje „nemoguće“, posebno u kontekstu rješavanja sve kompleksnijih socijalnih problema i prevazilaženja marginalizacije.

## STAVOVI STUDENATA O MOGUĆNOSTIMA RAZVIJANJA KOMPETENCIJA ZA RAD S MARGINALNIM SKUPINAMA TOKOM STUDIJA

Prema važećem Nastavnom planu i programu studija socijalnog rada Fakulteta političkih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu studentima se nude teoretska saznanja o specifičnostima rada s određenim marginalnim skupinama. S tim u vezi, već na drugoj godini studija počinju se proučavati predmeti kroz koje studenti mogu steći znanja o stručnom radu s određenim marginalnim grupama. Konkretno, studenti se u trećem semestru studija kroz sadržaj predmeta „Socijalno-pravna zaštita“ upoznaju s pravima koja mogu steći pojedinci koji se nađu u nepovoljnom položaju, odnosno oni koji su marginalizirani. U istom semestru upoznaju se sa sadržajem predmeta „Maloljetnička delinkvencija I“, a potom u četvrtom semestru kroz sadržaj predmeta „Maloljetnička delinkvencija II“ proširuju saznanja iz te oblasti. Također, u četvrtom semestru imaju priliku steći specifična saznanja o radu sa starijim osobama kroz sadržaj predmeta „Socijalni rad sa starijim osobama“, a u petom semestru sa sadržajem predmeta „Socijalni rad sa osobama s invaliditetom“. Oni koji se odluče nastaviti drugi ciklus studija imaju priliku proširiti saznanja o pristupima rada sa specifičnim marginalnim skupinama kroz predmete „Socijalni rad sa djecom s teškoćama u razvoju“ i „Nasilje u porodici“.<sup>4</sup> Također, u kontekstu mogućeg razvijanja kompetencija za rad sa specifičnim marginalnim grupama važno je spomenuti da studenti treće godine (peti semestar) kroz „Terensku praksu 2“<sup>5</sup> imaju mogućnost upoznati se sa specifičnostima rada s marginalnim skupinama u određenim ustanovama socijalne zaštite i u nevladinim organizacijama. Ipak, ne treba zanemariti činjenicu da se svi studenti ne opredjeljuju za praktičnu nastavu u ustanovama/organizacijama koje se bave pitanjima specifičnih marginalnih grupa kao što su djeca s teškoćama u razvoju, osobe s invaliditetom, starije osobe, Romi i sl., što može biti i objašnjenje za mali broj onih koji su naveli da bi voljeli raditi sa npr. starijima ili sa osobama s invaliditetom.

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<sup>4</sup> Iz aktualnog Nastavnog plana i programa izdvojeni su samo pojedini predmeti u okviru kojih se proučavaju specifični pristupi rada s određenim marginalnim skupinama, ali za puni uvid u ono što studenti imaju priliku da proučavaju tokom studija socijalnog rada na Fakultetu političkih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu potrebno je izvršiti uvid u cjelokupan NPP prvog ciklusa studija koji se može naći na linku <https://fpn.unsa.ba/b/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/ODSJEK-SOCIJALNI-RAD-NPP-20192020-I-ciklus-studija.pdf> i drugog ciklusa studija na linku <https://fpn.unsa.ba/b/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/ODSJEK-SOCIJALNI-RAD-NPP-20192020-II-ciklus-studija.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> „Terenska praksa 1“ realizira se u četvrtom semestru, a studenti se raspoređuju u centre za socijalni rad gdje imaju priliku da se upoznaju s radom socijalnih radnika u tim ustanovama.



Imajući u vidu činjenicu da su aktualnim Nastavnim planom i programom obuhvaćeni predmeti koji svojim sadržajem nude teoretska saznanja za rad sa specifičnim marginalnim skupinama, te da se, posebno u zadnje dvije akademske godine, nastoje aktivno uključiti stručnjaci iz prakse u nastavu, studenti su imali mogućnost odgovoriti na pitanje „Da li prvi i drugi ciklus studija nude dovoljno mogućnosti za stjecanje neophodnih vještina za rad s najmarginalnijim skupinama?“. Prema dobijenim rezultatima najviše je onih (19 ili 38%) koji su istakli da im studij omogućava djelomično stjecanje neophodnih vještina za rad s najmarginalnijim članovima zajednice. Također, ne mali broj je onih (15 ili 30%) koji su odgovorili da planiraju nastaviti s obrazovanjem, te da trenutno nemaju formiran stav o nivou stečenih kompetencija za rad s marginalnim članovima zajednice. Ukupno 10, odnosno 20% učesnika u istraživanju, je navelo da se kroz nastavne planove nastoji teoretski prenijeti potrebne vještine pružanja podrške svim kategorijama korisnika usluga socijalnog rada, ali da je za istinsko stjecanje vještina ključna praksa i uključivanje u volonterski rad, te da bi stoga trebalo povećati broj sati praktične nastave u toku studija i više zagovarati uključivanje studenata u volonterski rad. Na važnost uključivanja stručnjaka u nastavni proces na način kako se to prakticira u posljednjih nekoliko semestara ukazalo je 5 ili 10% ispitanika. Među ispitanicima samo je jedno (1 ili 2%) istaklo da aktualni Nastavni plan i program nudi stjecanje svih neophodnih kompetencija za rad s marginalnim skupinama.

## **STAVOVI STUDENATA O VAŽNOSTI DODATNIH EDUKACIJA**

Prema rezultatima nekih istraživanja (Buljevac, Opačić, Podobnik 2020), socijalni radnici u svom profesionalnom djelovanju susreću se s različitim skupinama korisnika kojima je potrebno pristupiti na maksimalno individualizirani način, te se stoga ističe potreba za posjedovanjem različitih profesionalnih kompetencija. Jedan od načina dodatnog stjecanja, ali i razvijanja kompetencija, kako ističu Buljevac, Opačić i Podobnik (Ibidem) je cjeloživotno obrazovanje. Imajući spomenuto u vidu, pitanje na koje su studenti imali priliku odgovarati je „Koliko su bitne dodatne profesionalne edukacije, odnosno programi dodatnog obrazovanja za unapređenje kompetencija za rad s najmarginalnijim članovima zajednice?“. Prema dobijenim rezultatima najviše je onih, 23 ili 46%, koji ističu važnost, uz aktualni NPP, uvođenja dodatnih edukacija u toku studija radi neophodnosti da se odgovori svim zahtjevima društva u turbulentnom vremenu u kojem živimo. Nešto manje je onih (14 ili 28%) koji smatraju da profesionalne edukacije kao mogući proces prenošenja općih i radnih



iskustava, znanja, društvenih normi i vrijednosti imaju važno mjesto, ali samo za one koji se u toku studija opredijele za rad sa specifičnim skupinama korisnika socijalnih usluga. Ukupno 6 ili 12% učesnika u istraživanju dijele stav da dodatne edukacije, ali ni dodatni program stjecanja vještina, nisu potrebni uz obrazloženje da aktualni program obuhvata sve predmete kroz čije se proučavanje mogu steći osnovne kompetencije za rad s marginalnim skupinama, odnosno za rješavanje društvenih problema. Među učesnicima u istraživanju je također bilo 8 ili 16% studenata koji nemaju formiran stav o važnosti dodatnih edukacija kojima bi se unaprijedile kompetencije za rad s marginalnim pojedincima i grupama, a što se može pripisati neopredijeljenosti za rad s tačno određenom skupinom korisnika usluga koje pružaju socijalni radnici.

Imajući u vidu prezentirano, i pored različitih stavova učesnika u istraživanju, može se konstatirati da stjecanje i pospješivanje kompetencija temeljenih na savremenim naučnim i stručnim spoznajama ima koristan efekat, posebno za one stručnjake koji se opredijele za rad sa specifičnim korisnicima usluga socijalnog rada, a na šta ukazuju i nalazi sličnih istraživanja (Mali 2010; Buljevac, Opačić, Podobnik 2020; Gadžo-Šašić 2022). Također, takve edukacije mogu pomoći studentima da dobiju bolji uvid u specifičnost rada s određenim pojedincima i skupinama kojima socijalni radnici pružaju usluge, te im pomoći da se na neki način profiliraju za rad s određenom skupinom.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Savremena društva koja su bremenita svakodnevnim, nažalost negativnim promjenama, karakteriziraju sve kompleksniji socijalni problemi i nedaće koji pogađaju mnoge članove društva, a posebno one koji zbog specifičnih okolnosti kao što su invaliditet, starost, razvojne teškoće i sl. trebaju poseban pristup različitih društvenih aktera, a posebno socijalnih radnika. Zapravo, socijalni radnici su stručnjaci od kojih se očekuje da maksimiziraju učinke, a minimiziraju socijalne troškove, s tim da ostanu vjerni etičkim načelima, profesionalnim standardima i najboljim primjerima profesionalne prakse (Gadžo-Šašić 2017). Sve to na neki način utječe da se budući socijalni radnici teže opredjeljuju za rad s najmarginalnijim članovima zajednice, a što je pokazalo i provedeno istraživanje kojim je obuhvaćeno 50 studenata završne godine prvog ciklusa studija i prve godine drugog ciklusa studija Odsjeka za socijalni rad Fakulteta političkih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu. Kako su istakli učesnici u istraživanju, navedenom posebno pridonose nedovoljni resursi koje imaju na

dispoziciji profesionalci koji rade s onima koji trebaju pomoć, ali i ne-dovoljna međuinstitucionalna saradnja s akterima koji rade na kreiranju politika koje određuju smjer djelovanja profesionalaca. Uz sve to ne treba zanemariti da je paralelno, kako ukazuju Buljevac, Opačić i Podobnik (2020), potrebno uložiti napore kako bi se izgradio okvir općih profesionalnih kompetencija socijalnih radnika, a koji bi u budućnosti mogao dati podlogu za: jasno artikuliranje uloge socijalnog rada u društvu i jačanje profesionalnog identiteta; za razvoj sistema profesionalnog usavršavanja i karijernog razvoja socijalnih radnika; lakše usklađivanje obrazovnih programa s praksom socijalnog rada i legitimitet stručnjacima da se njihova profesionalna uloga vidi i šire od zadataka propisanih zakonskim okvirima, otvaranje novih područja istraživanja u socijalnom radu, te razvoj specifičnih kompetencija.

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## **SELF-ASSESSMENT OF SOCIAL WORK STUDENTS' COMPETENCE DEVELOPMENT FOR WORKING WITH MARGINAL GROUPS**

### **Summary:**

According to the definition of the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW), social work is a practice-based profession and academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Underpinned by the theory of social work, social and humanistic sciences, and indigenous knowledge, the profession of social work engages people and structures to solve life's challenges and increase well-being. However, the continuous negative changes that have characterized modern societies pose a challenge to social workers in particular in finding solutions for increasingly complex social situations that are especially faced by marginal members of society. Such a context imposes the necessity of continuously developing the competencies of those who are being educated for the profession of social work. Therefore, the aim of the paper is to gain insight into students' views on the level of competence development during studies for working with marginalized groups, and on who they consider the most marginalized members of the community. In this connection, a survey was carried out, which included 50 students of the Department of Social Work, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Sarajevo. The key findings are that students, or future social workers, believe that the most marginalized are the Roma, people with disabilities and children with developmental disabilities, but that young people are the group they would most like to work with as social workers. It was also learned that the reasons for such a determination are: insufficient resources for providing assistance; the impossibility to approach every individual due to the lack and insufficient involvement of actors important for improving the position of the most marginalized groups. Also, slightly less than half of the participants in the research (23 or 46%) emphasize the importance of organizing additional education as a form of continuous development of competences, which is especially important in a time of ubiquitous negative changes.

**Key words:** social work; competences; marginal groups

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## **ULOGA SOCIJALNOG RADNIKA U POBOLJŠANJU SOCIJALNE PODRŠKE I KVALITETE ŽIVOTA KOD TRUDNICA SA VISOKORIZIČNOM TRUDNOĆOM**

Komunikacija sa socijalnim radnikom tokom hospitalnog tretmana pacijentica koje su pod kontinuiranim nadzorom stručnog medicinskog osoblja od posebnog je značaja za kvalitetniji i sveobuhvatniji pristup pacijentici u toku trudnoće. Poboljšanje kvalitete života tokom ali i nakon hospitalnog tretmana pacijentica sa visokorizičnom trudnoćom zajednički je cilj kako stručnog osoblja klinike za ginekologiju i akušerstvo, tako i sredine u kojoj pacijentica provodi vrijeme nakon otpusta sa bolničkog liječenja. Sveobuhvatna antenatalna briga u razvijenim zemljama smatra se jednim od temelja dobre socijalne i zdravstvene politike. Pristup socijalnog radnika u radu sa trudnicom koja je na liječenju pod dijagnozom visokorizične trudnoće prije svega mora biti empatičan, podržavajući i ispunjen uzajamnim povjerenjem. U toku komunikacijskog procesa sa trudnicom socijalni radnik najprije prikuplja sve relevantne činjenice o socijalnom statusu trudnice, potom pruža podršku u rješavanju prava iz oblasti socijalne zaštite te nastavlja sa savjetodavnim radom tokom hospitalnog tretmana. Cilj rada bio je istražiti ulogu socijalnog radnika u poboljšanju kvalitete života trudnica sa dijagnozom visokorizične trudnoće iz perspektive pacijentica koje su hospitalizirane na Klinici za ginekologiju i akušerstvo UKC-a Tuzla. U istraživanju je sudjelovalo N = 50 sudionica raspona godina 16-45. Sudionice su tokom istraživanja bile hospitalizirane radi čuvanja trudnoće koja je pod rizikom. Trajanje hospitalizacije pacijentica je od 7 do 21 dan. Prilikom istraživanja korištena je anonimna anketa koja se sastojala od slijedećih instrumenta za mjerenje: Upitnik kvalitete života WHOQOL – BREF, Višedimenzionalna ljestvica percipirane socijalne podrške MSPSS, Personal Wellbeing Index-Adult skala za procjenu zadovoljstva materijalnim stanjem, zdravljem, postignućima u životu, odnosima s porodicom i prijateljima, osjećajem fizičke sigurnosti, prihvaćanjem od

okoline i budućom sigurnošću. Upitnik sociodemografskih i zdravstvenih varijabli konstruisan je za potrebe ovog istraživanja. Istraživanje se provodilo metodom „papir-olovka“, pri čemu su sudionice dobile upitnik koji su popunjavale uz podršku anketara socijalnog radnika. Rezultati istraživanja nam pokazuju da je većina ispitanica zadovoljna tretmanom koji dobijaju na Klinici, odnosno u potpunosti je zadovoljno tretmanom 30 pacijentica/ispitanica ili 60%. 38 pacijentica se izjasnilo da je nije bilo u mogućnosti obaviti razgovor sa socijalnim radnikom. Navedeni podaci nam ukazuju da je potrebno dodatno angažovati socijalne radnike nakon prijema pacijentica. Također, rezultati pokazuju da se većina ispitanica izjasnila da bi usluge socijalnog radnika na Klinici za ginekologiju kao što su posredovanje i pomoć prilikom ostvarivanja prava iz oblasti socijalne zaštite i produžena socijalne terapija značajno utjecale na poboljšanje kvalitete života pacijentica.

**Ključne riječi:** pacijentice sa visokorizičnom trudnoćom; kvaliteta života; socijalni radnik; socijalna podrška

## UVOD

Visokorizična trudnoća predstavlja važan javnozdravstveni i medicinski problem kako u svijetu, tako i u Bosni i Hercegovini. Postupanje stručnog medicinskog osoblja sa pacijenticama kojima je dijagnostifikovana visokorizična trudnoća zahtijeva timski rad svih stručnjaka kako bi pacijentica koja je primljena na bolničko liječenje pod navedenom dijagnozom dobila adekvatnu njegu i podršku. Suvremena medicinska praksa holistički je orijentirana, obuhvata medicinsku, psihološku i socijalnu dimenziju, te počiva na temeljima timskog rada (Lončarić i sur. 2016). Organizirana briga za majku i dijete u većini razvijenih zemalja spada među temeljne mjere socijalne i zdravstvene politike. Pružanje medicinske njege pacijenticama koje su pod dijagnozom sa visokorizičnom trudnoćom uz kontinuirani rad sa socijalnim radnikom doprinosi jačanju kvalitetnije brige i njege pacijentica. Nadzor visokorizičnih trudnoća zahtijeva zajednički koordinirani rad stručnog medicinskog osoblja, socijalnog radnika, trudnice i porodice koja je u ovim situacijama jedan od faktora koji doprinose poboljšanju kvalitete života pacijentica.

Trudnoća je fiziološko stanje u kojem dolazi do raznih promjena u tijelu žene (Matoković 2017). Trudnoća se i dalje posmatra kao bitan period za razvoj djeteta u kasnijim fazama života (Banjari i sur. 2014). Različiti su faktori koji utječu na razvoj djeteta *in utero* (Habek 2013), a prehrana majke ima jednu od najvažnijih uloga (Banjari 2016). Među faktorima rizika koji djeluju za vrijeme poroda i neposredno

nakon njega mogu se izdvojiti prijevremeni porod, niska porođajna masa djeteta, makrosomija, način poroda i socijalni utjecaji (Matoković 2017).

Trudnice koje pored visokorizične trudnoće imaju dijagnostifikovanu i neku od hroničnih bolesti zahtijevaju posebnu pažnju kada se utvrdi takva trudnoća. Teško je predvidjeti što će se u trudnoći događati u slučaju raznih hroničnih bolesti. U skupinu visokorizičnih trudnoća spadaju: trudnoće žena starosne dobi preko 37 godina, žena koje su imale prethodne neuspješne trudnoće, žena koje boluju od hroničnih bolesti (dijabetes, hipertenzija, epilepsija, bolesti štitne žlijezde, trombofilija), žena koje u bližoj obiteljskoj anamnezi imaju slučajeve nasljednih bolesti kao što je Downov sindrom, žena sa srčanim manama, žena koje imaju urođene anomalije, žena koje su imale ginekološke operacije i koje boluju od ginekoloških bolesti, pretilih žena, žena s višestrukim trudnoćama i trudnoćama nakon liječenja neplodnosti. Sve učestalija pojava jesu malodobne pacijentice koje predstavljaju posebnu kategoriju za rad socijalnog radnika ali i medicinskog osoblja. Bolnicko liječenje trudnica donosi niz složenih izazova za djelatnost socijalnog rada. Klinički socijalni radnici se bave emocionalno intenzivnim slučajevima u zdravstvenom sektoru u kojem su često suočeni sa različitim izazovima tokom rada koji podrazumjeva uravnoteženost uloge zagovornika pacijenata sa institucionalnim potrebama, ali i praćenje modela pružanja zdravstvene zaštite koji su podložni kontinuiranim promjenama (Gregorian 2005). Uloga socijalnog radnika je da tokom tretmana radi na jačanju kapaciteta porodice za prihvatanje činjenice o pacijentici koja je hospitalizirana pod dijagnozom visokorizične trudnoće, stvaranju uvjeta za nastavak života majke porodilje nakon završenog hospitalnog tretmana ali i pružanju podrške u ostvarivanju prava iz oblasti socijalne zaštite uz posredovanje relevantnih institucija kao što su nadležni centri za socijalni rad, ministarstva za rad, socijalnu politiku i povratak, domovi zdravlja, domovi za djecu bez roditeljskog staranja, materinski domovi, nevladine organizacije i sl.

Osnovni zadaci socijalnog radnika tokom hospitalizacije pacijentice sa visokorizičnom trudnoćom su savjetodavni rad i sociološka procjena koja se vrši na zahtjev ljekara klinike za ginekologiju i akušerstvo. Socijalni radnik tokom tretmana obavlja savjetodavni rad sa pacijenticom i formulira socijalnu procjenu u što kraćem roku. Savjetovanje je objektivni i nepristrasni postupak socijalnog radnika, koji se sastoji od pružanja pomoći trudnici u definiranju konkretnih situacija, utvrđivanja želje pacijentice za nastavak tretmana ali i planiranja daljih aktivnosti nakon otpusta pacijentice. Jeleč-Kaker (2009, prema Šerić, Dudić i Šarić 2018) objašnjavajući suštinu rada socijalnog radnika s klijentom/pacijentom navodi mnogostruke poslove



– od stvaranja kontakata, socijalne procjene, planiranja i provođenja interventnih tehnika kako bi se osigurala podrška, poboljšalo pacijentovo djelovanje ili ga se podržalo u zadovoljenju potreba, do korištenja mogućnosti koje mu nude njegova okolina i društvo. Socijalni radnik posmatra pacijenta kao fokus svoga rada, pri čemu pacijent ima pravo da bude jasno informisan o svim aspektima svoje bolesti i da donosi odluke o kompletnom hospitalnom tretmanu tokom liječenja u zdravstvenoj ustanovi (Dawson 2005). Socijalni radnici u današnjem vremenu koriste se novim metodama u pristupu korisniku – preventivnim radom, hitnim intervencijama i sl. (Gehlert 2006).

Kada je o pristupu bolesti riječ, u teoriji su dominantna dva – tradicionalni koji uzročnike bolesti traži i isključivo vezuje s individuum/pacijentom, i savremeni koji uvažava specifičnosti individue, ali je ne izdvaja iz mikro i makrosistema u kojima živi. Treba naglasiti da je danas dominantan i gotovo općevažeći stav „da u proučavanju zdravlja i bolesti valja primijeniti bitno metodologijsko načelo dvostrukog diskursa, koje uključuje prirodnoznanstveni i socijalni diskurs kao jednakovrijedne“ (Staničić 2002: 165).

Socijalni rad u zdravstvu u našem društvu nije dovoljno razvijen. Zbog toga je neophodno ukazati na uloge socijalnog radnika u liječenju pacijentica sa dijagnozom visokorizične trudnoće, ali i na potrebu dodatne uključenosti i razvoja. Sve je veći broj pacijenata koji su uz uobičajene zdravstvene tegobe pogođeni i bolestima koje su posljedice socijalne ugroženosti, tako da se u liječenju nipošto ne smije izostaviti „socijalni moment“ (Dervišbegović 2003). Savremeni kritički socijalni rad podrazumijeva kolektivno osnaživanje, društvenu mobilizaciju i suzbijanje društvenih nejednakosti iz strukturalne perspektive socijalne zaštite (Adams, Dominelli i Payne 2002; Briskman i Pease 2009).

## **ISTRAŽIVAČKI PRISTUP I METODOLOŠKI OKVIR RADA**

Cilj rada bio je istražiti ulogu socijalnog radnika u poboljšanju kvalitete života trudnica sa dijagnozom visokorizične trudnoće iz perspektive pacijentica koje su hospitalizirane na Klinici za ginekologiju i akušerstvo UKC-a Tuzla. U istraživanju je sudjelovalo ukupno N = 50 sudionica, raspona godina 16-45, od kojih su sve bile pod dijagnozom čuvanja trudnoće zbog određenih rizika. Prilikom istraživanja korištena je anonimna anketa koja se sastojala od sljedećih instrumenta za mjerenje: Upitnik kvalitete života WHOQOL – BREF [(engl. The World Health Organization Quality of Life Group 1996) Ovaj upitnik generička je mjera kvalitete života (Zhou,

Wang i Wang 2009)]; Višedimenzionalna ljestvica percipirane socijalne podrške (engl. The Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support MSPSS) (Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet i Farley 1988) je ljestvica koja mjeri percipiranu podršku iz tri različita izvora – obitelj, prijatelji i značajne osobe (Pedersen i sur. 2009, Zimet i sur. 1988, Zimet i sur. 1990, Clara i sur. 2003, prema Wongpakaran i Ruktrakul 2011). U našem istraživanju korištenjem ove ljestvice dobili smo uvid u percepciju socijalne podrške pacijenticama sa visokorizičnom trudnoćom hospitaliziranim na Klinici za ginekologiju i akušerstvo UKC-a Tuzla; *Personal Wellbeing Index–Adult (PWI-A*; International Wellbeing Group 2013) se sastoji od sedam čestica kojima se procjenjuje koliko je osoba zadovoljna svojim materijalnim stanjem, zdravljem, postignućima u životu, odnosima s obitelji i prijateljima, osjećajem fizičke sigurnosti, prihvaćanjem od okoline i budućom sigurnošću; Upitnik sociodemografskih i zdravstvenih varijabli koji je konstruisan za potrebe ovog istraživanja, a sadržavao je čestice kojima su ispitane neke sociodemografske (npr. mjesto stanovanja, stupanj obrazovanja, finansijski status) i neke od zdravstvenih činjenica (npr. predviđeni način poroda, da li se raznim kliničkim ispitivanjima do sada pokazalo ima li dijete zdravstvenih problema, način kontakta i saradnje sa socijalnim radnicima koji su angažovani u bolničkim uslovima.

Analiza podataka se sastojala od nekoliko faza: upoznavanje s podacima, kreiranje inicijalnih kodova, grupiranje kodova u zajedničke teme, provjeravanje kreiranih tema, definiranje i imenovanje završnih tema, te naposljetku pisanje izvještaja (Braun i Clarke 2006). Nakon sistematizacije skala u jedan upitnik koji je primjenjivan tokom istraživanja tražena je suglasnost Službe za naučno-istraživački rad i stručno usavršavanje, Etičkog komiteta Univerzitetskog kliničkog centra Tuzla i suglasnost načelnika Klinike za ginekologiju i akušerstvo s obzirom da su pacijentice sa visokorizičnom trudnoćom hospitalizirane na navedenu kliniku. Istraživanje se provodilo metodom „papir-olovka“ gdje su sudionice dobile upitnik koji su popunjavale uz podršku anketara socijalnog radnika. Sudjelovanje u istraživanju je bilo na dobrovoljnoj bazi pa sve pacijentice koje su se nalazile na liječenju a nisu željele učestvovati u istraživanju mogle su se tako izjasniti.

## ETIČKA PITANJA

Ispitanicama je objašnjeno da je anketa anonimna i da će se rezultati koristiti isključivo u svrhu izrade naučnog rada. Istraživanje je provedeno u dogovoru sa načelnikom i glavnom sestrom Klinike za ginekologiju i akušerstvo, no osnovni

preduvjet za sudjelovanje u istraživanju bio je informirani pristanak pacijentica. Tokom istraživanja se poseban akcenat stavljao na poštivanje nekoliko odredbi koje su bitne za učesnice u istraživanju. Istraživač je upoznao pacijentice koje su učestvovala u istraživanju sa temom i svrhom istraživanja, anonimnosti i povjerljivosti podataka te načinu prezentacije rezultata. Cilj je bio dobijanje pismenog pristanka za sudjelovanje u istraživanju. Prije provedbe istraživanja ispitanice su dobile na uvid pisanu saglasnost o pristanku i obavijest o osnovnim podacima o istraživanju, gdje je navedena klauzula o čuvanju podataka i primjeni podataka dobijenih istraživanjem u kojoj je posebno istaknuto da će se podaci koristiti samo u svrhu izrade naučnog rada. Sudionice istraživanja pacijentice sa visokorizičnim trudnoćama smo informisali o mogućnosti odbijanja sudjelovanja u istraživanju u bilo kojem trenutku za vrijeme provedbe istraživanja. Istraživač je uzeo u obzir i mogućnost sekundarne traumatizacije ispitanika zbog osjetljivosti teme istraživanja te, ukoliko bi se ukazala potreba, ponudio pacijenticama mogućnost razgovora nakon provedenog istraživanja, a istraživač se na klinici zadržavao još neko vrijeme ukoliko je osobama koje su na hospitalnom tretmanu potreban razgovor neposredno nakon sudjelovanja. Osobe koje su učestvovala u istraživanju će biti informisane o dobijenim rezultatima nakon provedenog istraživanja.

## **REZULTATI ISTRAŽIVANJA**

Istraživanjem je obuhvaćeno 50 pacijentica životne dobi od 16 do 45 godina koje su se nalazile na tretmanu liječenja na Klinici za ginekologiju i akušerstvo Univerzitetskom kliničkom Centru Tuzla.

**Tabela 1.** Osnovna obilježja ispitanika

Spol		Broj ispitanica	%
	Ženski	50	100.0
<b>Obrazovna struktura</b>			
	Bez obrazovanja	0	0.0
	OŠ	3	6.0
	<b>SSS</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>78.0</b>
	VŠŠ	8	16.0
<b>Bračni status pacijentica</b>			
	Samac	0	0.0
	<b>U braku</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>86.0</b>
	Razveden/a	0	0.0
	Udovac/ica	0	0.0
	Izvanbračna zajednica	7	14.0
	ostalo	0	0.0
<b>Kako procjenjujete svoje materijalno stanje</b>			
	Vrlo loše	0	0.0
	Loše	1	2.0
	Prosječno	9	18.0
	<b>Dobro</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>74.0</b>
	Vrlo dobro	3	6.0

Rezultati prikazani u Tabeli br. 1. pokazuju da je u obrazovnoj strukturi pacijentica sa visokorizičnom trudnoćom najveći broj sa SSS, 39 pacijentica ili 78.0%. Kada je u pitanju materijalno stanje, evidentno je da veći broj pacijentica smatra svoje materijalno stanje „dobrim“, što nam ukazuje na činjenicu da su osnovne potrebe u većem postotku ispitanih pacijentica zadovoljene. Ostali rezultati prikazani su u tabeli.

**Tabela 2.** Dob pacijentica

Dob pacijentica	N	%
Od 16 do 25 godina	21	42.0
<b>Od 26 do 35 godina</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>50.0</b>
Od 36 do 45 godina	5	8.0
Ukupno	50	100.0

U prikazanoj Tabeli br. 2 nalaze se podaci o starosnoj dobi ispitanica i ona se kreće u rasponu od 16 do 45 godine. Najveći broj ispitanih je u dobi od 26 do 35 godina.

**Tabela 3.** Općina / Dom Zdravlja iz koje/g dolaze pacijentice

Općina/Dom Zdravlja	N	%
Općina Tuzla	<b>12</b>	<b>24.0</b>
Općina Banovići	7	14.0
Općina Gračanica	4	8.0
Općina Kladanj	4	8.0
Općina Živinice	4	8.0
Općina Srebrenik	4	8.0
Općina Lukavac	2	4.0
Općina Gradačac	5	10.0
Općina Doboј	1	2.0
Općina Kalesija	4	8.0
Općina Teočak	1	2.0
Općina Sapna	1	2.0
Općina Čelić	1	2.0
Ukupno	50	100.0

Na osnovu dobijenih podataka evidentno je da pacijentice dolaze iz 13 različitih općina. Najveći broj dolazi sa područja općine Tuzla 12 ili 24%, a najmanje iz Doboja, Teočaka, Sapne i Čelića po 1 ili 2 %.

**Tabela 4.** Izvor finansiranja pacijentica

Izvor prihoda	N	%
Redovna penzija	0	0.0
Plata	<b>45</b>	<b>90.0</b>
Novac od nekoga iz obitelji	1	2.0
Drugo	4	08/01/00

Primanja kojima se finansiraju ispitanice u najvećem broju dolaze zarađenom platom. 45 ili 90% njih ima redovna primanja po osnovu plate, na osnovu navedenog možemo konstatovati da se pacijentice većinskim dijelom samostalno izdržavaju te ostvaruju redovne mjesečne prihode.

**Tabela 5.** Mjesto boravka

Mjesto boravka	N	%
Urbano	21	42.0
Ruralno	<b>29</b>	<b>58.0</b>
Ukupno	50	100.0

Manji broj ispitanica izjasnile se da živi u urbanom području – 21 pacijentica, dok u ruralnom području živi 29 pacijentica ili 58% .

**Tabela 6.** Informiranost pacijentica o planiranom načinu porođaja

Informiranost pacijentica o načinu porođaja	N	%
Prirodnim putem	23	46.0
Carskim rezom	11	22.0
Nisam upoznata	16	32.0
Ukupno	50	100.0

Većina pacijentica zbog prirode dijagnoze visokorizične trudnoće je upoznata sa planiranim načinom porođaja. 23 pacijentice ili 46% se izjasnilo da je porođaj planiran prirodnim putem, 11 pacijentica ili 22% carskim rezom, dok 16 pacijentica ili 32% nije upoznato sa mogućim načinom porođaja.

**Tabela 7.** Zadovoljstvo tretmanom tokom bolničkog liječenja

Zadovoljstvo tretmanom tokom bolničkog liječenja	N	%
Nimalo	1	2.0
Malo	5	10.0
Ne znam	0	0.0
Dosta	14	28.0
U potpunosti	30	60.0
Ukupno	50	100.0

Većina ispitanica je bila zadovoljna tretmanom koji im je pružen na Klinici za ginekologiju i akušerstvo UKC-a Tuzla, odnosno u potpunosti je zadovoljno tretmanom 30 pacijentica ili 60%, dok se jedna pacijentica izjasnila da nije nimalo bila zadovoljna. Ostali rezultati prikazani su u tabeli.

**Tabela 8.** Da li ste tokom hospitalnog tretmana bili u mogućnosti razgovarati sa socijalnim radnikom UKC-a?

Mogućnost kontakta sa socijalnim radnikom	N	%
DA	12	24.0
NE	38	76.0
Ukupno	50	100.0

Veći broj pacijentica su se izjasnile da nisu bile u mogućnosti razgovarati sa socijalnim radnikom u toku hospitalnog tretmana, njih 38 ili 76%, dok se 12 pacijentica izjasnila da je bila u mogućnosti obaviti takav razgovor.

Analizirajući dobijene rezultate možemo zaključiti da je usluga individualnog savjetovanja i osnaživanja koju socijalni radnik ima mogućnost pružiti pacijenticama tokom tretmana u zdravstvenoj ustanovi nedovoljno zastupljena. Pacijenticama koje se nalaze na hospitalnom tretmanu sa dijagnozom visokorizične trudnoće izuzetno

je važno da ih neko sasluša, razumije i bude strpljiv, a da pritom ne osuđuje i kritikuje te da daje konkretne prijedloge. Usluge koje pruža socijalni radnik u zdravstvenoj ustanovi su različite i realizuju se u skladu sa potrebama pacijentice sa visokorizičnom trudnoćom. S obzirom na navedeno, neophodno je dodatno raditi na zastupljenosti i informiranosti medicinskog osoblja o ulozi i značaju profesionalnog angažmana socijalnih radnika u zdravstvenoj ustanovi.

**Tabela 9.** Mogući doprinos angažmana socijalnog radnika u toku hospitalnog tretmana

Doprinos angažmana socijalnog radnika	N	%
DA	48	96.0
NE	2	4.0
Ukupno	50	100.0

Veći broj ispitanih pacijentica smatra da bi socijalni radnik, ukoliko bi u većoj mjeri bio angažovan na Klinici za ginekologiju i akušerstvo, mogao doprinijeti povećanju kvalitete tretmana liječenja. Navedeni podaci potvrđuju prethodno ustanovljenu potrebu dodatnog angažmana socijalnog radnika u radu sa pacijenticama na Klinici za ginekologiju i akušerstvo.

**Tabela 10.** Usluge socijalnog radnika koje bi mišljenju pacijentica mogle doprinjeti kvaliteti tretmana

<i>Da li smatrate da bi socijalni radnik mogao doprinjeti kvaliteti vašeg tretmana?</i>	
Da li ste tokom hospitalnog tretmana bili u mogućnosti razgovarati sa socijalnim radnikom UKC-a?	<b>DA</b>
Produženi socijalni tretman	6
Socioterapijska seansa – individualna terapija	8
Ekspertiza socijalnog radnika / stručno mišljenje socijalnog radnika	7
Savjetovanje u oblasti ostvarivanja prava iz oblasti socijalne zaštite	5
Posredovanje i pomoć prilikom ostvarivanja prava iz oblasti socijalne zaštite	<b>19</b>

Među uslugama koje pruža socijalni radnik komparacijom odgovora na postavljena pitanja i dobijenih rezultata (Tabela 10.) možemo zaključiti da je najviše podudaranja na odgovoru *Posredovanje i pomoć prilikom ostvarivanja prava iz oblasti socijalne zaštite*.

Savremeni trendovi teže holističkom pristupu bolesti i zdravlju i podrazumjevaju medicinski segment uz tretiranje i analizu socijalnih faktora kao ključnih prediktora kvaliteta života ljudi. Povezanost socijalnog i zdravstvenog aspekta tokom liječenja pacijentica u zdravstvenoj ustanovi doprinosi boljoj kvaliteti same usluge koja se

pruža pacijentima u zdravstvu. Međutim, i dalje profesija socijalnog rada u zdravstvenom sistemu nije dovoljno razvijena niti prepoznata kao olakšavajući faktor tokom tretmana liječenja, a s tim u vezi je i nedostatan broj socijalnih radnika radno angažovanih u zdravstvenim ustanovama.

**Tabela 11.** Individualni stavovi ispitanica o kvaliteti života

<b>Lično mišljenje ispitanica o kvaliteti života</b>		<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Kakvom biste procijenili kvalitetu svog življenja	Vrlo lošom	0	0.0
	Prilično lošom	1	2.0
	Ni dobrom ni lošom	6	12.0
	Prilično dobrom	19	38.0
	Vrlo dobrom	<b>24</b>	<b>48.0</b>
Koliko ste zadovoljni svojim zdravljem	Vrlo nezadovoljan	0	0.0
	Prilično nezadovoljan	1	2.0
	Ni zadovoljan ni nezadovoljan	9	18.0
	Prilično zadovoljan	18	36.0
	Vrlo zadovoljan	<b>22</b>	<b>44.0</b>
		50	100.0

Kao što se može vidjeti sudionice su postizale visoke rezultate u domeni Samoprocjena kvaliteta življenja. Općenito govoreći, pokazalo se da je ukupna kvaliteta života, prilično visoka.

**Tabela 12.** Mišljenje pacijentica o doživljajima u protekle dvije sedmice

		<i>Uopće ne</i>	<i>Pomalo</i>	<i>Umjereno</i>	<i>U znatnoj mjeri</i>	<i>U najvećoj mjeri</i>
Koliko Vas bolovi sprečavaju u izvršavanju Vaših obaveza?	N	3	1	8	2	13
	%	6.0	2.0	16.0	50.05	26.0
Koliko Vam je u svakidašnjem životu nužan neki medicinski tretman?	N	7	1	6	19	17
	%	14.0	2.0	12.0	38.05	34.0
Koliko uživate u životu?	N	0	3	6	22	19
	%	0.0	6.0	12.0	44.0	38.0
Koliko osjećate da Vaš život ima smisla?	N	0	1	4	19	<b>26</b>
	%	0.0	2.0	8.0	38.0	<b>52.0</b>
Koliko se dobro možete koncentrirati?	N	0	0	9	18	23
	%	0.0	0.0	18.0	36.0	46.0
Koliko se fizički sigurnima osjećate u svakodnevnom životu?	N	1	1	7	18	23
	%	2.0	2.0	14.0	36.0	46.0
Koliko je zdrava vaša okolina u kojoj živite?	N	0	0	8	17	25
	%	0.0	0.0	16.0	34.0	50.0

U Tabeli 12. prikazani su rezultati koji se tiču dobi, doživljaja i osjećaja u protekle dvije sedmice (izvršavanje obaveza, nužnost medicinskog tretmana, kako uživamo u



životu, smisao življenja, osjećaji koj nas prate, fizička sigurnost i koliko je zdrav okoliš). Od svih navedenih pitanja na pitanje *Koliko osjećate da Vaš život ima smisla?* više od polovine ispitanica je odgovorilo *U najvećoj mjeri* – 26 ispitanica ili 52.0%, a najmanje odgovora *U najvećoj mjeri* dato je na pitanje *Koliko Vas bolovi sprečavaju u izvršavanju Vaših obaveza?* – 13 ispitanica ili 26.0%.

**Tabela 13.** Mišljenje ispitanica o različitim aspektima života u protekle dvije sedmice

		<i>Vrlo nezadovoljan</i>	<i>Prilično nezadovoljan</i>	<i>Ni zadovoljan ni nezadovoljan</i>	<i>Prilično zadovoljan</i>	<i>Vrlo zadovoljan</i>
Koliko ste zadovoljni svojim spavanjem?	N %	2 4.0	5 10.0	2 4.0	<b>34</b> <b>68.0</b>	1 2.0
Koliko ste zadovoljni svojim sposobnostima obavljanja svakodnevnih aktivnosti?	N %	1 2.0	3 6.0	3 6.0	32 64.0	11 22.0
Koliko ste zadovoljni svojim radnim sposobnostima?	N %	0 0.0	4 8.0	2 4.0	31 62.0	13 26.0
Koliko ste zadovoljni sobom?	N %	0 0.0	0 0.0	2 4.0	28 56.0	20 40.0
Koliko ste zadovoljni svojim odnosima sa bliskim osobama?	N %	0 0.0	0 0.0	1 2.0	16 32.0	33 66.0
Koliko ste zadovoljni svojim seksualnim životom?	N %	3 6.0	3 6.0	0 0.0	15 30.0	29 58.0
Koliko ste zadovoljni podrškom koju dobijate od Vaših prijatelja?	N %	0 0.0	0 0.0	2 4.0	16 32.0	32 64.0
Koliko ste zadovoljni uvjetima svog stambenog prostora?	N %	0 0.0	1 2.0	3 6.0	17 34.0	29 58.0
Koliko ste zadovoljni dostupnošću medicinskih usluga?	N %	1 2.0	1 2.0	3 6.0	21 42.0	24 48.0
Koliko ste zadovoljni svojim prijevoznim sredstvima?	N %	1 2.0	2 4.0	3 6.0	17 34.0	27 54.0

Odgovori ispitanica o različitim aspektima ličnog života (zadovoljstvo spavanjem, obavljanjem svakodnevnih aktivnosti, radnim sposobnostima, odnosom sa bliskim osobama, seksualnim životom, podrškom prijatelja, stambenim prostorom, medicinskim uslugama i prevoznim sredstvima) u protekle dvije sedmice prikazani su u Tabeli 13. Većina ispitanica, njih 34 ili 68.0%, je *Prilično zadovoljna* svojim spavanjem, takođe i 33 ili 66.0% je *Vrlo zadovoljna* svojim odnosom sa bliskim osobama.

**Tabela 14.** Koliko često su osjećale ili doživljavale negativne emocije u protekle dvije sedmice

		Nikad	Katkad	Uobičajeno	Prilično često	Uvijek
Koliko često doživljavate negativne osjećaje kao što su lose raspoloženje, očaj, tjeskoba i potištenost?	N %	10 20.0	<b>32</b> <b>64.0</b>	4 8.0	2 4.0	2 4.0

\*Mann Whitney U test

Rezultati pokazuju negativne osjećaje kao što su raspoloženje, očaj, tjeskoba i potištenost. Većina njih, 32 ispitanice ili 64.0%, je odgovorila *Katkad*, dok 10 ispitanica ili 20.0% nije nikako doživjelo neke od negativnih osjećaja u protekle dvije sedmice. S obzirom na to da je nivo značajnost  $P = 0,241 > 0,05$  prihvata se da ispitanici ne doživljavaju negativne osjećaje kao što su osjećaj lošeg raspoloženja, očaj, tjeskoba i potištenost.

**Tabela 15.** Percipirana socijalna podrška ispitanica

	U potpunosti se ne slažem	Izrazito se ne slažem	Umjereno se ne slažem	Imam neutralan stav	Umjereno se slažem	Izrazito se slažem	U potpunosti se slažem
<b>Porodica</b>							
Moja porodica se trudi pomoći mi	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	2 4.0	9 18.0	10 20.0	29 58.0
Dobijam emocionalnu podršku i pomoć od svoje porodice	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	2 4.0	10 20.0	11 22.0	27 54.0
Moja porodica je spremna pomoći mi u donošenju određenih odluka	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	2 4.0	4 8.0	11 22.0	33 66.0
Mogu pričati o svojim problemima sa svojom porodicom	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	3 6.0	7 14.0	10 20.0	30 60.0
<b>Bliski prijatelji</b>							

Moji prijatelji mi zaista pokušavaju pomoći	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	3 6.0	9 18.0	11 22.0	27 54.0
Mogu računati na svoje prijatelje kada nešto krene po zlu	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	3 6.0	8 16.0	14 28.0	25 50.0
Mogu pričati sa svojim prijateljima o problemima	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	1 2.0	4 8.0	10 20.0	<b>35</b> <b>70.0</b>
Imam prijatelje s kojima mogu podijeliti i sreću i tugu	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	2 4.0	8 16.0	9 18.0	31 62.0
<b>Postoji posebna osoba</b>							
Postoji posebna osoba koja je tu negdje kad mi je potrebno	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	2 4.0	7 14.0	12 24.0	29 58.0
Postoji posebna osoba s kojom mogu podijeliti svoju sreću i tugu	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	1 2.0	7 14.0	11 22.0	31 62.0
Postoji posebna osoba koja mi je pravi izvor utjehe	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	2 4.0	9 18.0	12 24.0	27 54.0
Postoji posebna osoba u mom životu koja brine o mojim osjećajima	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	1 2.0	5 10.0	12 24.0	32 64.0

Utjecaj socijalne podrške je posebno značajan jer se pokazalo da ova podrška može ublažiti efekte stresa (Ford i Ayers 2011), da značajno utječe na zdravstvene

ishode nakon poroda te da njen nedostatak utječe na promjene raspoloženja majki tokom razdoblja prilagodbe i pripreme za roditeljstvo (Bilszta i sur. 2008). Rezultati provedenog istraživanja potvrđuju da je od posebnog značaja podrška od strane porodice te se većina ispitanica izjasnila da se porodica trudi pomoći, pruža im emocionalnu podršku, sa članovima porodice mogu razgovarati i uvijek su spremni pomoći kod donošenja nekih odluka. Nije zanemariv podatak da od 50 ispitanica 54.0% do 70.0% navodi da sa bliskim prijateljima može pričati o problemima, što nam govori da pacijentice koje su hospitalizirane pod dijagnozom visokorizične trudnoće ostvaruju socijalne kontakte, ali imaju i podršku prijatelja.

**Tabela 16.** Mišljenje ispitanica o stepenu kvalitete života

	N	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Zadovoljstvo životom općenito	N %	0 .0	0 .0	0 .0	0 .0	1 .0	0 .0	0 .0	2 .0	6 2.0	1 3	1 2
Zadovoljstvo životnim standardom (materijalnim stanjem)	N %	1 .0	0 .0	0 .0	0 .0	1 .0	0 .0	2 .0	0 .0	1 2	1 3	1 3
Zadovoljstvo vlastitim zdravljem	N %	1 .0	2 .0	0 .0	0 .0	1 .0	1 .0	1 .0	1 .0	1 2	1 2	1 3
Zadovoljstvo postignutim životnim ciljevima	N %	1 .0	0 .0	0 .0	0 .0	2 .0	0 .0	0 .0	1 .0	7 4.0	2 4	1 4
Odnosi sa drugim ljudima	N %	0 .0	0 .0	0 .0	0 .0	1 .0	0 .0	0 .0	3 .0	7 4.0	1 3	2 4
Osjećaj sigurnosti	N %	1 .0	0 .0	0 .0	0 .0	1 .0	0 .0	0 .0	3 .0	1 2	1 3	1 3
Koliko ste zadovoljni kao član svoje zajednice?	N %	0 .0	1 .0	0 .0	0 .0	0 .0	0 .0	1 .0	3 .0	8 6.0	1 2	2 5
Koliko ste zadovoljni budućom sigurnošću?	N %	0 .0	1 .0	0 .0	0 .0	0 .0	0 .0	0 .0	4 .0	7 4.0	1 2	2 4
Zadovoljstvo duhovnošću i religijom	N %	0 .0	1 .0	0 .0	0 .0	0 .0	0 .0	0 .0	1 .0	6 2.0	8 6.0	3 6

Krizmanić i Kolesarić (1989, prema Pastuović 1993) definiraju kvalitetu života kao kompleksan, sintetičan doživljaj njegova zadovoljstva/nezadovoljstva životom koji nastaje permanentnom evaluacijom i reevaluacijom svoje uspješnosti u zadovoljavanju različitih potreba. Polazeći od ovog koncepta tokom istraživanja utvrđeno je da su pacijentice zadovoljne svojim životom i ocjenile su ga medijanom 9 (interaktivnog raspona 0 do 10), u rasponu od 4 do 10. Najveće zadovoljstvo pacijentice sa dijagnozom visokorizične trudnoće izražavaju svojom duhovnošću i religijom – medijana 10 (interaktivnog raspona od 1 do 34), u rasponu od 0 do 10, a najmanje su zadovoljne činjenicom koliko se sigurno osjećaju – medijana 9 (interaktivnog raspona od 1 do 16), u rasponu od 0 do 10. Medijana ocjene cijele skale je 9 (interaktivnog raspona od 1 do 22), u rasponu od 0 do 10. Prema broju hospitalizacija, dobi i saradnji sa stručnim osobljem nema značajnijih razlika.

Istraživanje o povezanosti kvalitete života, socijalne podrške i depresivnosti porodilja koje je radila Balić (2022) govori da na kvalitetu života utječu subjektivni i objektivni faktori. Objektivni su društveni, ekonomski i politički, a subjektivni su subjektivna percepcija i procjena materijalnog, fizičkog, društvenog i emocionalnog blagostanja, osobnog razvoja te svrhovite aktivnosti. Tokom provedbe ovog istraživanja također je potvrđena činjenica da su ukupna mjera zadovoljstva kvalitetom života i budućnosti povezane sa domenom fizičkog zdravlja.

## **ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA**

Tokom provedbe ovog istraživanja nastojala se provjeriti povezanost kvalitete života, socijalne podrške i uloge socijalnog rada tokom tretmana pacijentica na Klinici za ginekologiju i akušerstvo koje su na liječenju pod dijagnozom visokorizične trudnoće. Analizirajući dobijene rezultate možemo zaključiti da je usluga individualnog savjetovanja i osnaživanja, koju socijalni radnik ima mogućnost pružiti pacijenticama tokom tretmana u zdravstvenoj ustanovi, nedovoljno zastupljena. Pacijenticama koje se nalaze na hospitalnom tretmanu sa dijagnozom visokorizične trudnoće izuzetno je važno da ih se sasluša, razumije i bude strpljiv, a da ih se pritom ne osuđuje i kritikuje te da se daju konkretni prijedlozi. Usluge koje pruža socijalni radnik dok se pacijentica nalazi na liječenju u zdravstvenoj ustanovi su različite i realizuju se u skladu sa potrebama pacijentice. S obzirom na navedeno neophodno je dodatno raditi na zastupljenosti i informiranosti nadležnih o ulozi i značaju profesionalnog angažmana socijalnih radnika u zdravstvenoj ustanovi.

Rezultati provedenog istraživanja nam pokazuju da je većina ispitanica zadovoljna tretmanom koji im je pružen na Klinici za ginekologiju i akušerstvo UKC-a Tuzla, odnosno u potpunosti je zadovoljno tretmanom 30 pacijentica/ispitanica ili 60%, dok se jedna pacijentica izjasnila da nije nimalo bila zadovoljna. Na osnovu rezultata možemo zaključiti da su pacijentice zadovoljne tretmanom i uslugama liječenja koje im se pružaju na Klinici u toku hospitalnog tretmana. Rezultati također pokazuju da bi se razvojem holističkog pristupa tokom liječenja, odnosno većim stepenom zastupljenosti socijalnog rada u zdravstvenom sistemu značajno doprinijelo poboljšanju kvalitete usluga koju pacijentice dobijaju tokom hospitalnog tretmana.

Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da je samoprocjena kvaliteta življenja (opća slika kvaliteta života) *Vrlo dobar*. Tako se izjasnilo 24 pacijentice ili 48.0%. Kada je u pitanju zadovoljstvo zdravstvenim stanjem, 22 pacijentice ili 44.0%, *su prilično zadovoljne* trenutnim zdravstvenim stanjem. Na osnovu izloženih podataka možemo zaključiti da su ispitanice zadovoljne općom kvalitetom života / lična percepcija većine ispitanica.

Podrška od strane porodice tokom hospitalnog tretmana od posebnog je značaja, smatra većina ispitanica, te su se izjasnile da imaju podršku porodice, koja se trudi pomoći, pruža im emocionalnu podršku, sa članovima porodice mogu razgovarati i uvijek su spremni pomoći kod donošenja nekih odluka. Od 50 ispitanica 54.0% do 70.0% njih navodi da sa bliskim prijateljima može pričati o problemima, te da im prijatelji zaista pokušavaju pomoći. Također, kada je riječ o posebnoj osobi od 50 ispitanica 54.0% do 64.0% njih navodi da postoji posebna osoba koja mi je pravi izvor utjehe. Dobijeni rezultati ukazuju na činjenicu da pacijentice/ispitanice sa dijagnozom visokorizične trudnoće u većem stepenu imaju podršku porodice, socijalne sredine i prijatelja u procesu trudnoće. Posebna pozornost se obratila na socijalne aspekte kao što su psihosocijalna klima institucije ili socijalna podrška, međutim vrijedni su i nalazi u području individualnih karakteristika kao što su informacije o percepciji osobne dobrobiti od podrške socijalnih radnika koju je neophodno u budućem vremenu dodatno unaprijediti. Istraživanje time pruža mogućnost korištenja rezultata u svrhu poboljšanja i unapređenja rada s trudnicama sa visokorizičnom trudnoćom, ali i dodatnog unapređenja angažmana socijalnih radnika u sistemu zdravstvene zaštite.

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## **THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL WORKER IN IMPROVING SOCIAL SUPPORT AND QUALITY OF LIFE FOR PREGNANT WOMEN WITH HIGH-RISK PREGNANCIES**

### **Summary:**

Communication with a social worker during the hospital treatment of patients who are under the continuous supervision of professional medical staff is of particular importance for a better and more comprehensive approach to the patient during pregnancy. Improving the quality of life during and after hospital treatment of patients with high-risk pregnancies is the common goal of the professional staff of the Clinic for Gynecology and Obstetrics, as well as the environment in which the patient spends time after discharge from hospital treatment. Comprehensive antenatal care in developed countries is considered one of the foundations of good social and health policy. The social worker's approach in



working with a pregnant woman who is undergoing treatment under the diagnosis of high-risk pregnancy must first of all be empathetic, supportive and filled with mutual trust. During the communication process with the pregnant woman, the social worker first collects all the relevant facts about the social status of the pregnant woman, then provides support in resolving rights in the field of social protection and continues with advisory work during hospital treatment. The aim of the work was to investigate the role of the social worker in improving the quality of life of pregnant women with a diagnosis of high-risk pregnancy from the perspective of patients hospitalized at the Clinic for Gynecology and Obstetrics of the University Hospital Tuzla. N = 50 participants aged 16-45 took part in the research. During the research, the participants were hospitalized for the purpose of maintaining a pregnancy that is at risk. The duration of hospitalization of female patients is from 7 to 21 days. During the research, an anonymous survey was used, which consisted of the following measurement instruments: WHOQOL-BREF Quality of Life Questionnaire, Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support MSPSS, Personal Wellbeing Index-Adult scale for assessing satisfaction with material condition, health, achievements in life, relationships with family and friends, a feeling of physical security, acceptance from the environment and future security. A questionnaire of sociodemographic and health variables was constructed for the purposes of this research. The research was conducted using the "pencil-paper" method, whereby the participants received a questionnaire that they filled in with the support of a social worker interviewer. The results of the research show us that the majority of respondents are satisfied with the treatment they receive at the Clinic, that is, 30 patients/respondents or 60% are completely satisfied with the treatment. 38 patients declared that they were not able to have an interview with a social worker. The above data indicate that it is necessary to hire additional social workers after receiving patients. Also, the results show that the majority of respondents stated that the services of a social worker at the Gynecology Clinic, such as mediation and assistance in exercising rights in the field of social protection and extended social therapy, would have a significant impact on improving the quality of life of patients.

**Keywords:** patients with high-risk pregnancy; quality of life; social worker; social support

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DUBINSKO PRONICANJE SAVREMENIH DIKTATURA  
(SERGEJ GURIJEV, DANIJEL TRAJSMAN, *SPIN DIKTATORI:  
NOVO RUHO TIRANIJE U 21. VEKU*, ARHIPELAG, BEOGRAD, 2023) ..... 1525

**Alena Čatović**

PRVI SVEOBHVATAN PRISTUP IZUČAVANJU KNJIŽEVNOSTI  
NA OSMANSKOM TURSKOM JEZIKU U ZEMLJAMA BALKANA  
(MUSTAFA İSEN, TUBA DURMUŞ, *BALKANLARDA TÜRK  
EDEBIYATI TARIHI – BAŞLANGICINDAN GÜNÜMÜZE KADAR*,  
TÜRKIYE MAARIF VAKFI, TIRAN NEW YORK ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
YAYINLARI, İSTANBUL, 2023) ..... 1529

**Meysun Gharaibeh Simonović**

„GRAVITACIONO POLJE“ KUR’ANSKOG TEKSTA I NJEGOV  
„POZITIVITET“ (ESAD DURAKOVIĆ, *TEKST I KONTEKST:  
NUŽNOST REINTERPRETACIJE*, CENTAR ZA NAPREDNE  
STUDIJE, SARAJEVO, 2023) ..... 1533

**Elma Durmišević**

OD JEZIČKE POJEDINOSTI DO ULASKA U RADNU SOBU  
PJESNIKA (KREŠIMIR BAGIĆ, *FIGURE I STILOVI*, 2023,  
MEANDARMEDIA, ZAGREB) ..... 1539

<b>Zarfa Hrnjić Kuduzović</b> SIMBIOZA KOMUNIKACIJSKOG I DRUŠTVENOG (NAJIL KURTIĆ, <i>KOMUNIKACIJSKA VARIJABLA</i> , UNIVERSITY PRESS, SARAJEVO, 2024) .....	1545
<b>Rijad Šestan</b> KORISNA PROPEDEUTIČKA PRIPREMA ZA ČITANJE RUMIJEVE <i>MESNEVIJE</i> [ <i>NEVJESTINA NOĆ: MEVLANA –</i> <i>ZBORNİK RADOVA U POVODU 750 GODINA OD</i> <i>PRESELJENJA DŽELALUDINA MEVLANE RUMIJA,</i> EDIB KRAVIĆ (UR.), UDRUŽENJE DERVIŠKIH REDOVA “TARIKATSKI CENTAR” U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI, SARAJEVO, 2024] .....	1551
<b>Senad Arnaut</b> RETROSPEKTIVA GOVORNIŠTVA (SPAHIJA KOZLIĆ, <i>RETORIKA</i> , PENDULUM, ZENICA, 2024) .....	1559
<b>Sandra Cvikić</b> LOKALNO VS. GLOBALNO PROIZVEDENO ZNANJE O SJEĆANJU I NEGIRANJU GENOCIDA [ <i>NEGIRANJE:</i> <i>POSLEDNJA FAZA GENOCIDA</i> , JOHN COX, AMAL KHOURY I SARAH MINSLOW (UR.), DIALOGOS – ODBOR ZA OBILJEŽAVANJE GENOCIDA U SREBRENICI LUKSEMBURG; TUZLA, 2024] .....	1563
<b>Emina Dedić Bukvić</b> IZAZOVI I KREATIVNA RJEŠENJA U POUČAVANJU INTERKULTURALNE KOMUNIKACIJSKE KOMPETENCIJE (MARIJANA PRODANOVIĆ I BEGONA CRESPO, <i>TOWARDS SUCCESS IN COMMUNICATING AND</i> <i>TEACHING INTERNATIONALLY: TEACH AND</i> <i>TALK LIKE YOU WALK</i> , PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2024) .....	1567
<b>Erna Lučić</b> PREVENTIVNI PROGRAMI U SOCIJALNOM RADU I SOCIJALNOJ PEDAGOGIJI (ANITA BEGIĆ I KAROLINA TADIĆ LESKO, <i>SOCIJALNOPEDAGOŠKI</i> <i>PREVENTIVNI RAD</i> , SVEUČILIŠTE U MOSTARU, MOSTAR, 2024) .....	1571
<b>Senada Mujić</b> JEDINSTVO PEDAGOŠKIH KOMPETENCIJA, ŠKOLE I OBITELJI (ELMA SELMANAGIĆ-LIZDE, RASEMA SARIĆ, <i>PEDAGOŠKE KOMPETENCJE, ŠKOLA I OBITELJ</i> , SARAJEVO PUBLISHING, SARAJEVO, 2024) .....	1575

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IZNIMNO KORISNA KNJIGA O RELACIJI ČITANJA I  
FUNKCIONALNE PISMENOSTI (MIRELA OMERVIĆ I  
LEILA HAMZAGIĆ KOVAČEVIĆ, *JEZIČKA DJELATNOST  
ČITANJA – TEMELJ FUNKCIONALNE PISMENOSTI*,  
PEDAGOŠKI FAKULTET UNIVERZITETA U SARAJEVU,  
SARAJEVO, 2024) ..... 1581

**Mirza Džananović**

NA ŽELJEZNICI HIDROCENTRALA (DŽENITA SARAČ-RUJANAC,  
*IZGRADNJA U VRIJEME OBNOVE. HIDROCENTRALA U  
BOGATIĆIMA NA RIJECI ŽELJEZNICI – OD “OPĆINSKOG  
TRGOVAČKOG PREDUZEĆA” DO “OBJEKTA OPŠTEDRŽAVNOG  
ZNAČAJA”*, UNIVERZITET U SARAJEVU – INSTITUT ZA  
HISTORIJU, SARAJEVO, 2024) ..... 1587



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## DUBINSKO PRONICANJE SAVREMENIH DIKTATURA

**(Sergej Gurijev, Danijel Trajsman, *Spin diktatori: Novo ruho tiranije u 21. veku, Arhipelag, Beograd, 2023*)**

Knjiga *Spin diktatori – novo ruho tiranije u 21. veku* čiji je originalni izdavač Princeton University Press (originalni naziv: *Spin Dictators: The Changing Face of Tyranny in the 21st Century*; autori Sergei Guriev & Daniel Treisman) predstavlja jedan novi uvid u političke sisteme koje u današnje vrijeme nazivamo autoritarni. Autori knjige američki politolog Daniel Treisman i ruski ekonomista Sergei Guriev napisali su značajno djelo u kojem analiziraju nove političke sisteme, koji, naizgled, imaju demokratsku formu, ali izostaju demokratske prakse. Naslov i podnaslov otkrivaju relevantne determinante novih diktatura. Naime, spin je, prema definiciji Johna Mearsheimera, „kada osoba koja priča ističe određene činjenice i povezuje ih na načine koji idu u njegovu korist, dok istovremeno umanjuje ili ignorira neznatne činjenice. Spinovanje se svodi na tumačenje poznatih činjenica na način koji omogućava spinneru da ispriča povoljnu priču“.<sup>1</sup> Upravo ova definicija spina predstavlja suštinu knjige, odnosno suštinu vlasti novih diktatura u kojoj vlastiti prikaz predstavlja najvažniji element.

Kroz osam poglavlja dvojac tematizira način na koji spin diktatori, kako nazivaju nove vođe, čiji politički vijek znatno duže traje u odnosu na vođe u liberanim demokratijama, dolaze na vlast i način na koji se održavaju na vlasti. Za razliku od diktatura straha, spin diktatori baziraju svoju moć na popularnosti koja je utemeljena

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<sup>1</sup> Definicija preuzeta iz knjige *Why Leaders Lie: The Truth About Lying in International Politics* (Zašto lideri lažu: Istina o lažima u međunarodnoj politici), Oxford University Press, USA, 2011.

na kontroli narativa. Kao preduslov za takvo djelovanje jeste kontrola nad medijima s najvećim auditorijem uz poduzimanje mjera koje limitiraju kritičke medije, kao što je zatrpavanje tužbama za klevetu ili smanjenje doseg poruka iz tih medija. Drugim riječima, stav novih diktatora jeste da su zabrane kontraproduktivne i mogu izazvati revolt i povećati vanjski pritisak na države. Kako autori navode, „Umesto da zastrašuje građane, vešt vladalac može da ih kontroliše preoblikujući njihova shvatanja o svetu. Može ih zavarati i navesti na pokornost, pa čak i oduševljeno odobravanje. Umesto grube represije, novi diktatori manipulišu informacijom. Kao spin diktatori u demokratiji, oni spinuju vesti kako bi konstrusiali podršku sebi. Oni su spin diktatori“ (str. 26). Međutim, ono što je bitna razlika između starih diktatura i spin diktatura jeste postojanje izbora na kojima se vlast osvaja, u idealnom slučaju, 65 do 70 posto glasova, čime zadržavaju kontrolu u zakodavnim tijelima, uz postojanje opozicije koja nema institucionalni kapacitet za donošenje odluka ili sprečavanje donošenja odluka, ali ostaje privid demokratije.

Značajan dio studije odnosi se i na komparaciju sa diktatorima straha, kako nazivaju represivne režime 20. stoljeća u kojima su diktatori nasiljem održavali kontrolu nad stanovništvom i političkim protivnicima. Nužnost komparacije s dominantnim oblikom vladanja „čvrstorukaša“, kako ih autori nazivaju, ogleda se u činjenicama kojim se naglašava razlika u oblicima vladavine, ali i prilagođavanja diktatora 21. stoljeća novim izazovima, kao što je globalizacija i u informacionom i ekonomskom smislu, jer je postalo izuzetno teško izolirati informacije kojima su stanovnici neke države izloženi.

Autori navode primjere Singapura, Kazahstana, Mađarske, Perua, Venecuele i Rusije, dajući dosta dobar uvid u ova djelovanja. Brojni empirijski primjeri naglašavaju povezanost enormnog bogaćenja dominantnih medijskih vlasnika bliskih vlastima, kao što je slučaj u Mađarskoj, Rusiji ili Peruu, dok pozitivno izvještavaju o vođi u državi. Bliskost medijskih vlasnika vladajućim strukturama može biti i kobna za vlast, što je vidljivo iz primjera iz Perua. Naime, šef obavještajne službe Vladimiro Montesinos redovno je snimao vlasnike medija i opozicione političare kako uzimaju novce od njega radi pozitivnog izvještavanja o vlasti. Jedan takav snimak iz 2000. godine objavila je jedna televizijska stanica, što je bio i početak pada režima Alberta Fujimorija.

Nadalje, knjiga ukazuje i na „nagon“ da vlast kontrolira sve u državi i da bude obaviještena o svemu. Fujimori je, primjerice, imao 25 ekrana u vlastitoj kancelariji, na kojima je mogao pratiti brojna dešavanja, ali i izvještavanja o njemu i njegovoj vladavini. Pored toga, spin diktatori često su davali naloge za ispitivanje javnog

mnjenja, jer nužnost ostanka na vlasti zahtijevala je i podatke o mišljenju građana. U zavisnosti od mišljenja ti podaci su objavljivani ukoliko su prikazivali vlast u dobrom svjetlu, odnosno nisu objavljivani ukoliko su bili loši.

Nadalje, u djelovanju spin diktatora vidljiv je obrazac svojstven populistima gdje je „pravilo“ imati neprijatelja koji ugrožava interese države, a posebno se to odnosi na demokratske zemlje, dok ujedno na „ozloglašenom“ Zapadu nastoje popraviti svoj imidž kroz vlastite međunarodne medije, koji će izazivati dominantni narativ predstavljen u zapadnim medijima. Prema podacima Kremlja, do 2010. godine ruska vlast je trošila 1,4 milijarde dolara na međunarodnu propagandu (str. 243). Ujedno, bitno polje djelovanja je angažman PR kompanija u zapadnim zemljama. Prema nekim procjenama, u periodu od 2000. do 2016. ruske vlasti su potrošile oko 115 miliona dolara na inostrane PR kompanije.

U drugom dijelu knjige autori objašnjavaju promjene koje su dovele do pojave spin diktatura. Identificirali su dva uzroka. Prvi, koji nazivaju interni, pravi poveznicu između rasta broja visokoobrazovanih osoba u državama, što značajno otežava uspostavljanje kontrole bazirane na strahu, te zbog toga naginju da vladaju „demokratski“. Eksterni faktori koji su doveli do spin diktatura je povezan sa stranom pomoći, odnosno politika uslovljavanja koje zapadne države i međunarodne organizacije povezuju s poštivanjem ljudskih prava. Modernizacija i globalizacija su dakle, uveliko, doprinijele stvaranju pretpostavki za pojavu spin diktatura.

Premda obiluje empirijskim podacima, koji se odnose na mnoge općepoznate činjenice o političkim djelovanjima spin diktatora, jedna od vrijednosti ove knjige jeste i sistematični pristup u kojem su autori vješto identificirali postojeće obrasce kako preuzeti i zadržati vlast, bez obzira o kojem dijelu svijeta se radi. Autori su na temelju detaljne analize više slučajeva iz različitih historijskih i geografskih konteksta uspjeli kreirati obrazac koja objašnjava ključne korake i strategije koje spin diktatori koriste kako bi uspostavili i održali svoju dominaciju. Ovo uključuje manipulaciju medijima, kreiranje lažnih narativa, marginalizaciju opozicije, te korištenje državnog aparata za vlastite ciljeve.

Također, jedna od važnih značajki ovog djela je i činjenica da su autori uspjeli kompleksne političke procese predstaviti jednostavnim jezikom čime su otvorili prostor široj čitalačkoj publici. Ova studija izlazi iz užih akademskih okvira društvenih nauka i predstavlja odličnu priliku za razumijevanje savremenih političkih procesa kojima su izloženi milioni ljudi na svim kontinentima, ali i podsjetnik na nužnost kritičkog razmišljanja te koliko je informacija zapravo moć.



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## **PRVI SVEOBUH VATAN PRISTUP IZUČAVANJU KNJIŽEVNOSTI NA OSMANSKOM TURSKOM JEZIKU U ZEMLJAMA BALKANA**

**(Mustafa İsen, Tuba Durmuş, *Balkanlarda Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi –  
Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar*, Türkiye Maarif Vakfı, Tiran  
New York Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2023)**

Stoljeća osmanske vladavine ostavila su značajan trag u kulturnom životu Balkana, prevashodno zato što su se pismenost, obrazovanje i književnost tog prostora u velikoj mjeri razvijali na zvaničnom jeziku Carstva. Iako je do sada o književnoj baštini na osmanskome turskom jeziku pojedinih država i naroda Balkana objavljen značajan broj naučnih radova i knjiga, *Historija turske književnosti na Balkanu-od svojih početaka do danas (Balkanlarda Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi – Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar)* prva je studija koja nudi sveobuhvatan pristup izučavanju razvoja te književnosti od 15. stoljeća do danas. Kada je riječ o savremenoj turskoj književnosti, autori u odnosu na ostale balkanske zemlje razlikuju Bugarsku, Grčku, Kosovo, Rumuniju i Sjevernu Makedoniju kao područja gdje je još uvijek prisutno domicilno tursko stanovništvo koje u većoj ili manjoj mjeri učestvuje u književnom stvaranju na svom maternjem jeziku.

Studiju otvara poglavlje pod naslovom “Balkan i Turci” (“Balkanlar ve Türkler”), posvećeno predstavljanju geografskog položaja i historije Balkana s posebnim osvrtom na osmanska osvajanja koja su se odrazila na procese islamizacije, urbanizacije, razvoja ekonomije, kulture, obrazovanja te konačno jezika i književnosti. Navedene okolnosti utjecale su na to da je na području Balkana stasao

značajan broj stvaralaca koji su pisali na osmanskom turskom jeziku, a čiji su tačan broj i porijeklo İsen i Durmuş nastojali utvrditi na osnovu dostupnih izvora. Rezultate svojih istraživanja zorno su predstavili na grafikonima s brojčanom zastupljenošću književnih stvaralaca prema pojedinim gradovima i stoljećima u balkanskim zemljama (Albanija, Bosna i Hercegovina, Bugarska, Crna Gora, Grčka, Kosovo, Mađarska, Rumunija, Sjeverna Makedonija i Srbija). Zahvaljujući takvom prikazu rasprostranjenosti književne baštine na osmanskom turskom jeziku na području Balkana, već se na prvi pogled može učiti da posebno mjesto zauzima Grčka u kojoj je tokom gotovo šest stoljeća djelovalo čak sedamsto dvadeset i devet pisaca i pjesnika, ali i to da je i u ostalim zemljama Balkana postajao vrlo dinamičan književni život. Uvodno poglavlje završava sa dva potpoglavlja: “Turski jezik na Balkanu nakon Osmanlija” (“Osmanlı Sonrası Balkanlarda Türkçe”) i “Turska književnost na Balkanu danas” (“Günümüzde Balkanlarda Türk Edebiyatı”) u kojima se daje osvrt na kulturne prilike u novijoj historiji balkanskih država te posebna pažnja posvećuje Bugarskoj, Grčkoj, Kosovu, Rumuniji i Sjevernoj Makedoniji kao prostoru gdje se i danas u manjem ili većem opsegu zapaža književno djelovanje na turskom jeziku.

Centralni dio studije čini deset poglavlja u kojima su pojedinačno predstavljene književnosti na turskom jeziku u balkanskim državama (Albanija, Bosna i Hercegovina, Bugarska, Crna Gora, Grčka, Kosovo, Mađarska, Rumunija, Sjeverna Makedonija i Srbija). Svako poglavlje slijedi isti metodološki pristup te započinje prikazom historijskih i kulturnih prilika od početka osmanske vladavine u određenoj zemlji da bi se potom fokusiralo na gradove i mjesta iz kojih su potekli ili u njima djelovali pojedini književnici i pjesnici. Dakle, pregled književnog stvaranja dat je prema balkanskim gradovima s posebnim osvrtom na njihov historijski i kulturni razvoj. Također, pažnja je posvećena i osmanskim dužnosnicima (kadije, muderisi, naibi, sandžakbegovi i dr.) koji su počev od 15. stoljeća službovali na području Balkana i istaknuli se svojim djelovanjem na polju književnosti. Autori za svaki grad navode pisce i pjesnike koji su u njima stasali, odnosno pružaju detaljan uvid u njihove biografije i književno stvaralaštvo oslanjajući se mahom na podatke iz pjesničkih tezkira i novijih studija objavljenih u Turskoj. Metodološki pristup koji pjesnike prema mjestu rođenja svrstava u granice savremenih balkanskih država doveo je do toga da su neki autori, u historiji književnosti poznati pod atributom zavičajnog porijekla jedne, svrstani u kulturno nasljeđe neke druge države. Tako je, na primjer, pjesnik, u literaturi poznat kao Bosnali Sabit na osnovu svog mjesta rođenja, odnosno grada Užica, nekadašnjeg dijela Bosanskog ejaleta, u knjizi obra-

den u poglavlju “Turska književnost u Srbiji” (“Sırbistan’da Türk Edebiyatı”). Metodologija koju su slijedili İsen i Durmuş, odnosno svrstavanje pjesnika prema zavičajnom kriteriju, osigurala je da se u fokusu nađe razvoj gradova i njihovog kulturnog života u osmansko doba, a ne nacionalne granice savremenih balkanskih država. Zahvaljujući tome čitatelji imaju priliku doći do dragocjenih podataka o društveno-historijskim prilikama i književnom djelovanju u pojedinim, danas često zanemarenim gradskim sredinama Balkana.

Kada je riječ o poglavlju posvećenom Bosni i Hercegovini, zastupljeni su sljedeći gradovi i mjesta: Sarajevo, Mostar, Prusac (Akhisar), Tuzla, Stolac (Ustulçe), Livno (İhlivne), Gornji Vakuf, Nevesinje (Nevesin), Banja Luka, Blagaj, Varvara (Prozor-Rama), Foča, Travnik, Doboj, Čajniče, Bosanski Novi, Dobrun (Višegrad). Kriterij u redosljedu navođenja i obradi bosanskohercegovačkih sredina bila je brojčana zastupljenost pisaca i pjesnika koji su stvarali na tom području. Stoga na prvo mjesto dolazi Sarajevo sa stotinu i trinaest, potom Mostar sa trideset i šest, a na posljednje Blagaj, Bosanski Novi i Varvara sa po jednim poznatim književnim stvaraoцем. Zanimljivo je da se u poglavlju o Bosni i Hercegovini kao zavičaj pjesnika Šejha Mustafe, poznatog pod pseudonimima (mahlas) Gaibî i Gaybî, navodi hrvatski Klis, nekadašnji osmanski sandžak čiji je sandžakbeg stolovao u Livnu. Kao i ostala poglavlja u kojima su predstavljene književnosti na turskom jeziku u balkanskim državama i poglavlje posvećeno Bosni i Hercegovini završava sa dva grafikona, jednim o rasprostranjenosti pisaca i pjesnika po bosanskohercegovačkim gradovima i drugim o njihovoj zastupljenosti po stoljećima. Iz tih grafikona jasno se može uočiti da je 17. stoljeće kao najplodnije razdoblje u razvoju književnosti na osmanskome turskom jeziku iznjedrilo čak devedeset i tri autora.

U Zaključku İsen i Durmuş navode kako su upravo na Balkanu stasala mnoga vodeća imena klasične osmanske književnosti poput Meshija, Hajalija, Tašlidžali Jahje, Mezakije, Sukerije, Sabita, Hatema i dr. čija djela čine trećinu ukupnog osmanskog književnog nasljeđa. Premda se radi o tako značajnom kulturnom blagu, autori zaključuju kako je u većini balkanskih zemlja ono tek površno obrađeno, a kao izuzetak ističu bosanskohercegovačke istraživače koji jedini njeguju posvećen i naučno utemeljen pristup književnoj baštini na osmanskome turskom jeziku.

Knjiga *Historija turske književnosti na Balkanu – od svojih početaka do danas* rezultat je dugogodišnjeg predanog rada vrsnih turkologa koji su značajan dio svojih naučnih istraživanja sprovedli na prostoru Balkana. Navedena studija predstavlja izniman doprinos izučavanju balkanskih književnosti na turskom jeziku, a posebno osmanske književne baštine. S obzirom da *Historija turske književnosti na Balkanu*

– *od svojih početaka do danas* nudi detaljan opis razvoja i kulturnih prilika balkanskih gradova u osmanskome periodu, kao i detaljne podatke o stvaraocima tog područja, nesumnjivo će poslužiti kao referentni izvor i polazna osnova za dalja istraživanja iz oblasti turkologije, osmanistike i historije književnosti u zemljama Balkana.

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## **„GRAVITACIONO POLJE“ KUR'ANSKOG TEKSTA I NJEGOV „POZITIVITET“**

**(Esad Duraković, *Tekst i kontekst: nužnost reinterpetacije*,  
Centar za napredne studije, Sarajevo, 2023)**

Arabista Esad Duraković preveo je Kur'an s arapskog na bosanski jezik 2004. godine (Sarajevo: Svjetlost). Takav poduhvat nadahnuo ga je da se, u više navrata, posvećuje Tekstu kroz njegovo tumačenje (*tafsīr*) i razmatra njegovo dublje značenje (*ta'wīl*), posebno s poetološke i književnoistorijske tačke gledišta. U Durakovićeve radove ovog tipa ubraja se mnoštvo analiza različitih slojeva sakralnog teksta, okupljenih u delima *Orijentologija: univerzum sakralnog teksta* (Sarajevo: Tugra 2007) i *Stil kao argument: nad tekstem Kur'ana* (Sarajevo: Tugra 2009). Na njih se nadovezuju i radovi u njegovoj najnovijoj knjizi *Tekst i kontekst: nužnost reinterpetacije*, koju je 2023. godine objavio Centar za napredne studije iz Sarajeva.

Uz *Predgovor* i *Preludij* (o slovima arapskog jezika kao „česticama svjetlosti“) u knjizi se nalazi 18 radova koji su, izuzev posljednjeg, ranije objavljivani u različitim izvorima, naznačenim uz naslov teksta.<sup>1</sup> Objavljivani su u rasponu od 2009. do 2022. godine, ali u samoj knjizi nisu dati hronološki. Svaki od ovih radova može se čitati i interpretirati samostalno, ali ih u knjizi kao celini povezuje jedna osnovna, zajednička nit. Duraković, naime, s jedne strane nastoji da ukaže na semiotičko prostranstvo Kur'ana na razini sakralnog teksta, dok s druge strane neprestano pojašnjava i po-

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<sup>1</sup> U pitanju su časopisi *Takvim*, *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, *Pismo*, *Znakovi vremena*, novine *Preporod*, zbornik *Odnos religije spram politike i nacije* (zbornik radova sa istoimene konferencije u Zagrebu), dok je jedan tekst ponovljen iz Durakovićeve knjige *Stil kao argument*.

tencira sveprožimajuću i privlačnu silu *gravitacionog polja* Kur'ana čiji se uticaj očitava u orijentalno-islamskoj kulturi dijahronijski i sinhronijski.

Kako je pojašnjeno u *Predgovoru* (str. 8), autor svoje nadahnuće nalazi u mogućnostima razumevanja „(T)eksta u (K)ontekstu“, te otud i potreba za stalnom reinterpretacijom i rekontekstualizacijom i delova i celine Knjige, jer, kako smatra, Kur'an je „uvek isti, ali nije statičan već je dinamičan“. Dok deo uleme, nastavlja Duraković, pristupa Kur'anu kao statičnoj materiji, što dovodi do „sklerotizacije“ u tumačenju Teksta i „afirmacije negativiteta“ – on, nasuprot tome, nastoji da afirmiše „pozitivitet Kur'ana“, služeći se lingvističkom stilistikom i semiotikom, s namerom da dokaže tezu da sakralni tekst upućuje na ljubav prema Bogu i aktivizam, a ne na parališući strah i pasivizaciju.

Primeri kojima Duraković ilustruje učestalo potenciranje negativiteta u pristupu Kur'anu mogu se grupisati shodno uzrocima koji do toga dovode. Prvi uzrok negativne slike o islamu tiče se pogrešnog ili površnog razumevanja Kur'ana u kontekstu, kako kod onih koji ga čitaju u izvornom obliku, tako i kod onih koji ga čitaju u „prenosu“ (prevodu). Drugi izvor nalazi se u ukrnjenom prenosu Kur'ana na ostale jezike, s obzirom na to da arapski jezik ima „leksičko i semantičko izobilje“ koje „izmiče svakom prevodilačkom podvigu“.

Naime, baveći se generisanjem negativne slike o islamu, Duraković u više radova ukazuje na to da je ona posledica delovanja pojedinih grupa muslimana koji svoje nasilne akcije podupiru pogrešnim razumevanjem Teksta ili se pak njime služe kao paravanom. Na taj način se, tvrdi autor (40, 93, 239), izneverava sama suština islama, što dovodi i do dekadencije „muslimanskog sveta“. Pojam „muslimanski svet“ autor koristi kada želi da naglasi diskrepanciju između pozitiviteta islama i negativne prakse nekih njegovih sledbenika. Taj jaz se produbljuje i izjednačavanjem pobožnosti s obavljanjem rituala kao „najviše manifestacije i vrhovne akcije“, zbog čega je problem velikog dela muslimanskog sveta u „suficitu dove i deficitu akcije“ (40, 196). Štaviše, Duraković imenuje i grupe koje su izvođenjem „Teksta iz Konteksta“, svojom „mefistofelovskom destrukcijom“, postali „neprijatelji islama“ i „njegove najveće štetočine“, navodeći kao primer postupke ISIL-a, rigidnost selefija/vehabija, terorističke akcije po Evropi i statični pristup Tekstu velikog dela tzv. uleme (239–240).

Pored pogrešnog razumevanja sakralnog teksta, Duraković u jednom od svojih radova (v. 231–245) problematizuje „čudovišnu inverziju“ politike i religije, oličenu u politizaciji religije i, nasuprot tome, sakralizaciji politike. Takve pojave smatra blasfemijom i grehom najvišeg reda, s obzirom na to da je religija anacionalna i natpartijska, za šta nalazi dokaze i u samom Kur'anu, tumačeći jedan od njegovih ajeta (49: 13). Autor zaključuje da su „nacionalizam i njegoa uvjerenost u vlastitu ekskluziv-

nost neprimereni vjeri“, da mnogostrukost identiteta „nije nikakav hendikep našeg svijeta“ već bogatstvo, i da je insistiranje na partikularizmu i antagonizmu „neprimjereno religiji, čak je u sukobu s njom“ (234, 237, 242).

O sakralizaciji vlasti govori se i u posljednjem tekstu u knjizi (v. 247–259), u kojem se Duraković fokusira na krivotvorenje značenja Kur'ana iz interesa, što svoj predložak nalazi u shvatanju i prevodu sintagme *ʔūlī al-amri* iz jednog od ajeta (4:59). Kako autor pojašnjava nadalje, shvatanje ove sintagme kao „vladara“ ili „zapovednika“, bilo u izvoru, bilo u prevodu – koristilo se u krugovima politike i (korumpiranog) sveštenstva da bi se vlast predstavila sakralnom i dinastičkom, dakle neizbornom. Iako je u svom prevodu Kur'ana rešenje za pomenutu sintagmu našao u izrazu „oni koji vas vode“, Duraković ovde smatra da *ʔūlī al-amri*, uzevši u obzir njenu semantičku osnovu treba prevesti rečju „autoriteti“. *Autoritete* pojašnjava kao učene ljude „koji su kompetentni toliko da se autoritativno gradiraju odmah uz Boga i Poslanika“, dok bi *autoritet* u savremenom kontekstu bio intelektualac koji „svojom učenošću i obrazovanjem“ postaje korektiv društva, što se ne može odnositi na nasilne vladare bez etičnosti i vrline (v. 251–252, 256, 258–259).

Prema shvatanju Durakovića (39), islam predstavlja religiju koja ima „čvrsto uporište u duhovnosti, u intimi subjekta“, što je osnova za delovanje i u zajednici u različitim domenima. No, da bi suština islama bila pretvorena u „pozitivnost“, neophodna je, kako tvrdi autor (94), sposobnost za „kontekstualizaciju i reaktualizaciju vlastitih i (privremeno) tuđih vrijednosti, a to podrazumijeva, u isti mah, stalnu kreativnu reinterpretaciju“. On nalazi da tu vrstu odnosa afirmiše i sam Kur'an, kroz spuštanje iz Vertikale u ljudsku Horizontalu/Vremenitost/Kontekst, a pored toga i kroz instituciju derogacije (dokidanja nekih propisa iznesenih u Kur'anu), kojom je Tekst gradio novi Univerzum i tako postupno menjao sebe, a time i svet oko sebe (96). Takva je kontekstualizacija, čiji je ekvivalentan pojam *procesualnost*, vidljiva u upotrebi pojedinih reči u Kur'anu, čija je semantika neprenosiva u prevodu na druge jezike. Njihovo značenje on shvata metaforički a ne doslovno, kako to pokazuje na primeru reči *ḡāʔil*, *ḡalīfa*, *ʔabd* i *ʔubūdiyya* (v. 98–103, 125–133), nazivajući ih „veličanstvenim semiotičkim metaforama“ koje u sferi sakralnog preuzimaju pozitivne semantičke sadržaje.

Kumulacija pozitiviteta postiže se i binarnom opozicijom, što Duraković pokazuje na primeru odnosa reči i pojmova *dan–noć* (v. 149–158 i 199–216). Negativitet *noći* prolazi kroz semantički preobražaj u sakralnom tekstu, u kojem stiče „hijerarhijsku nadmoć u nekim bitnim aspektima čovjekove duhovne, intelektualne i Božije interventnosti“ (150). Šire gledano, to što su prvi ajeti spuštani *noću*, to što se *noć* pojavljuje na više mesta u Kur'anu kao trenutak prosvetljenja (npr. u suri 93), to što je



Poslanik (metaforički ili doslovno) putovao *noću* (Isrā'), i što je u islamu poznata tzv. *noćna* pobožnost – dokazuje da *noć* u semiotičkom ključu „nije vrijeme za pasivizaciju, nego se ona ovim eksplikacijama promiseće u aktivizam najvišeg reda“ (157, sl. 205, 214–215). Drugi primer binarne opozicije na kojem se autor zadržava jeste odnos *prašina-čovjek* (v. 191–198), prisutan u više ajeta u Kur'anu (npr. 22:5). Ova opozicija svedoči „o beskrajnim mogućnostima gradnje pozitiviteta“ koji se ogleda u kontrastu da se od nečeg, na prvi pogled beznačajnog, kao što je *turāb* (zemni prah ili prašina), stvori tako složeno biće kao što je čovjek (191).

Kako je već rečeno, drugi izvor koji dovodi do oslabljenog pozitiviteta i potenciranja negativiteta u islamu može se po Durakoviću naći u manjkavostima „prenosa“ Kur'ana s izvornog arapskog na druge jezike. To je ilustrovano postojećim prevodima pojedinih delova ili čitavih ajeta s arapskog na srpsko-hrvatski / bosanski jezik, pri čemu autor ne izuzima iz ove kritičke revizije ni sopstvena jezička rešenja u prevodu Kur'ana iz 2004. godine. Iz prve sure, *al-Fātiḥa*,<sup>2</sup> kao primere oslabljenog pozitiviteta ili nepotpunog prevoda, Duraković izdvaja sintagmu *Rabb al-ʿālamīn*, gde namesto prevoda „Gospodar svjetova“ predlaže „Uzgajatelj/Odgajatelj svjetova“ kao potpuniji prevodni ekvivalent, detaljno obrazlažući svoje (novo) rešenje (v. 24–27, 138–140). Isti je slučaj s Alahovim imenima, *al-Raḥm ān al-Raḥīm* za koja, namesto „Milostivog, Samilosnog“, predlaže „Svemilosni i Samilosni“ (v. 27–28, 141), zatim za ajet *Ahdinā al-širāt al-mustaqīm* predlaže „Pravouputi nas ka Putu uspravnome / Uputi nas na Put Uspravni“ namesto „Uputi nas na P/pravi put“ (v. 144–145, 196), dok za *ʿallamahual-bayān* predlaže „Lijepom izražavanju ga podučava“ namesto „i poučava ga govoru“ (v. 65).

Kada je reč o potenciranju negativiteta, Duraković nalazi da se prevodom pojedinih reči i sintagmi one izvrću u svoju suprotnost, tako što se „obremenjuju strahotnim konotacijama“, čime se daju „pogrešne informacije o Tekstu, o islamu i o Božijoj poruci pozitiviteta“ (108). U tom su smislu dati primeri prevoda ajeta *Mālik Yaum al-Dīn* za koji, namesto „Gospodaru Sudnjeg dana“, Duraković predlaže prevod „Vladaru Dana Vjere“ (v. 28–29, 106–107, 118, 141–143). Isto pretvaranje izvornog pozitiviteta u negativitet prilikom prenosa nalazi u sintagmi *Yaum al-qiyāma*, koja se prevodi kao „Sudnji dan / Strašni sud / Kijametski dan“, čime se iznova potencira strepnja i apsolutni užas, pa čak i pogrešno prevodi ono što je radosni „Dan/Čas ustanuća“ (v. 107, 109–111, 118). Tom nizu pripada i analiza reči od korena TQW, čija je semantika svedena na pojam *straha*, kao na primer u prevodu kur'anske naredbe

<sup>2</sup> U knjizi *Tekst i kontekst* najviše prostora posvećeno je analizi sure *al-Fatiha* (v. npr. 159–169), s namerom da se istaknu njene osobenosti, poput „raskoši u semantičkom preobilju“, „kumulacije pozitiviteta“ i „smisaone dubine teksta“, kojih ljudi prestaju da budu svesni zbog rutinskog izgovaranja *al-Fatihe* u svakodnevnom životu (25).

*Ittaqū Allāha* u „Bojte se Alaha!“, ne uzimajući u obzir primarna (pozitivna) značenja ovog korena – čuvati se ili zakloniti se (od) nekoga (v. 111–113).

Prethodno navedeni primeri iz izvornika i njihovi prevodni ekvivalenti ne svedoče samo o potenciranju negativiteta ili oslabljenom pozitivitetu prilikom prenosa Teksta na druge jezike, već i o nemogućnosti da se izvorna značenja, kur'anska „izuzetna stilogenost“, njegova „maksimalno oneobičena forma“ i „začudnost u pozitivnom značenju“ prenesu bez gubitka. Uzrok tome Duraković nalazi u činjenici da je Kur'an *otvoreno delo*, zbog čega je njegovo prevođenje osuđeno na nedovršenost (v. 23, 26, 29–30, 33–37). Još više od toga, i u skladu s tradicijom verujućih, Kur'an se percipira kao *poetičko čudo* (mu'ǧiza), što je kao postavka najopširnije interpretirano u radu „Estetička i poetička pozicija *Kur'ana* u orijentalno-islamskoj kulturi“ (39–91). U njemu autor ukazuje na koji način Kur'an deluje ne samo „na razini i sredstvima ideologije, iako mu je to primarni cilj, već i postulatima estetike i poetike kojima je krajnji cilj argumentativna afirmacija ideologijskoga“ (41). Estetizaciju u Kur'anu – njegovu jezičku i stilsku nadnaravnost (*i'ǧāz*) – kao sredstva u funkciji šire recepcije i savladavanja „receptijskog otpora“, autor pojašnjava kontrastirajući je s književnim nasleđem Arapa s kojim je kur'anska forma uporediva. Slično gramatičaru al-Džurdžaniju iz XI veka,<sup>3</sup> Duraković spoznaju veze Kur'ana i književnosti smatra neophodnom, jer je i sama „recepcija idžaza srazmjerna učenosti recipijenta“ (75).

Pored sprege poetičkog u Kur'anu i arapskom književnom nasleđu, autor *Teksta i konteksta* bavi se epicentralnom pozicijom Kur'ana u odnosu na druge poetičke forme u orijentalno-islamskoj kulturi, osvetljavajući moć njegove privlačne sile na primeru poezije i estetike sakralnog prostora.

U slučaju poezije, mesta koja u Kur'anu korespondiraju sa zatečenim pesništvo Arabljana (npr. 26:224–227) Duraković shvata kao „utvrđivanje odnosa prema umjetnosti općenito“ (54). Kako ističe u više navrata (57, 62, 84), Kur'an je diskvalifikovao „estetički i poetološki onu vrstu poezije [...] koja uobražava svoju profetsku medijalnu funkcionalnost“, ali joj i ostavio mogućnost da preživi ukoliko se pesnik „odrekne one vrste ideologije za koju se *Kur'an* smatra kompetentnim“ i prihvati „spasonosni postulat po kome estetsko nije nužno vezano za istinito“. Reviziji i očuvanju statusa poezije doprineo je i trenutak u kojem je Poslanik ogrnuo plaštem pesnika Kaaba Ibn Zuhejra (Kaʿb Ibn Zuhayr) nakon recitovanja kaside „Bānat Suʿād...“, što je jedan od ključnih „književnih događaja“ kojem se autor posvećuje u jednom od radova (v. 217–229). Ova dva događaja, silazak ajeta iz sure *al-Šuʿarāʾ* i ogrtanje pesnika Poslanikovim plaštom, sačuvali su arabljansku poetsku prošlost.

<sup>3</sup> V.ʿA. al-Ġurǧānī, *Dalāʾil al-i'ǧāz*, al-Qāhira: Maktabat al-Ĥānǧī, 1984, 27.

Funkcija poezije nadalje ipak nije svedena samo na estetsko uživanje i individualno obrazovanja, već je predislamsko pesničko nasleđe upregnuto i u naučne svrhe – kao izvor za tumačenje jezika i stila Kur'ana. S druge strane, Kur'an nije samo povod za retroaktivno konzerviranje poetskog nasleđa, već postaje gravitaciono polje koje usmerava i preoblikuje čitavu književnu poetiku u orijentalno-islamskoj kulturi, kako je to pokazano na primeru epohe lirizma u vreme Umajada (v. 69, 85–88, 224).

Uticao Kur'ana na uobličavanje prostora Duraković ilustruje semiotikom sakralnih objekata u islamu, koje poredi s drugim sakralnim objektima. Ovi *semiotički stilemi*, smatra autor (176), deluju „po načelu refrena u pjesničkoj strukturi“, zbog toga što se njihovo prisustvo ponavlja i ističe u prostoru, privlačeći pažnju i budeći divljenje vernika, turista i naučnika jednako. To su objekti kojima se „silno obogaćuje, stilski oneobičava poetika prostora“ (178), kako je to kazano i tumačeno u radu „Poetika prostora: minareti i zvonici kao semiotički stilemi“ (v. 171–179). Sledeći primer analize semiotike prostora dat je kroz kontrastiranje plošnog prostora gde je stasao Poslanik i pećine u kojoj je primao Objavu (v. 183–189). Pećina se u tom obzoru takođe javlja kao semiotički stilem za utočište duha i uma u kojem Poslanik doseže stvarnost višeg reda – svetlost idejnog, što je suprotno pećini kao *literarnoj stilemi* u Platonovoj alegoriji, gde ona postaje metafora za idejni negativitet.

Radovi okupljeni u knjizi *Tekst i kontekst* predstavljaju značajan izvor za proučavanje Kur'ana, s više aspekata. Kao prvo, izabrani tekstovi Esada Durakovića, zajedno s pređašnjim njegovim radovima o Kur'anu, građa su za proučavanje i shvatanje lingvostilističke argumentacije o nadnaravnosti Kur'ana iz perspektive verujućih. Kao drugo, Duraković skreće pažnju na neophodnost osavremenjivanja pristupa u egzezezi Kur'ana, zalažući se za *pozitivno* – plemenito i aktivno – shvatanje ideološke ravni islama i naznačujući smernice za njegov preporod. Kao treće, Duraković pojašnjava uticaj Kur'ana na razvoj novih formi u njegovom *gravitacionom polju*, obogaćujući razumevanje umrežavanja (književnih i prostornih) poetika u orijentalno-islamskoj kulturi.

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## **OD JEZIČKE POJEDINOSTI DO ULASKA U RADNU SOBU PJESNIKA**

**(Krešimir Bagić, *Figure i stilovi*, MeandarMedia, Zagreb, 2023)**

O čemu god da piše Krešimir Bagić, već odavno je jasno da je stilistika “istraživačko žarište” (str. 8) svih njegovih preokupacija. Kada pomislimo da je maksimum kreativnosti te osjećaja za detalje pokazao u prethodnim svojim naučnim i esejističkim djelima te pjesničkim zbirkama, on svakom novom knjigom i dalje kopa po nepresušnoj stilističkoj riznici, dokazujući da je *l’homme de lettres* i recipijente svog djela ostavlja bez daha.

Knjiga *Figure i stilovi* (str. 327) sastoji iz dva glavna poglavlja, jedno, uvjetno rečeno, lingvističko (str. 11–143) koje se odnosi na *figure* i drugo, književnoteorijsko (str. 147–285), čija su asocijacija *stilovi*, iako i sam autor naglašava kako je pisanje o figurama uvijek pisanje i o stilovima i obrnuto. Na početku knjige je Proslov (str. 7–8), a na kraju Bibliografska bilješka (str. 287–288), Literatura (str. 289–314), Indeks imena (str. 315–326) te O autoru (str. 327).

### I

Pisanje o *figurama* Bagić je zamislio (i uspješno ostvario) kroz pet rasprava koje se odnose na jezičke pojedinosti, a to su: parafraza, kriptogram, anagram, stopljenica i hifen. Kada piše *oparafrazi* (str. 11–35), on, zapravo, propituje da li postoji jezik fikcije, te kako se parafraza uspješno ostvaruje i u fikcionalnom i nefikcionalnom diskursu. Prilikom razlikovanja fikcionalnog od faktografskog teksta, kako tvrdi

Bagić, jezik nije kriterij razlikovanja, već su to diskursni i kulturalni kodovi te percepcija recipijenta, odnosno fiktionalna kompetencija koju stičemo iskustvom (i čitanjem). Međutim, na kraju pisanja o parafrazi, gdje želi i konačno odgovoriti postoji li jezik fikcije, Bagić se, pripovijedajući o dvjema biografskim knjigama o Mozartu i Marbotu, poigrava fiktionalnom kompetencijom recipijenta, negirajući postojanje jezika fikcije, ali i otvarajući novo pitanje, a to je ima li uopće jezika koji nije fiktionalan.

Parafrazu opisuje kao ključnu vježbu u obrazovanju budućih govornika, još u antičkoj Grčkoj i Rimu, da bi se zatim fokusirao na lingvističku, komentatorsku, literarnu i ludičku parafrazu. Lingvističku parafrazu objašnjava odnosom između aktivne i pasivne rečeničke konstrukcije te leksikografskom definicijom riječi, a može se prepoznati i konotacijom koja razbija denotativno ishodište nekog iskaza. Komentatorsku parafrazu prepoznaje u kritici, analizi i interpretaciji teksta, gdje parafrastričara vidi kao vlasnika ključeva izvornog teksta. Literarnu, pak, parafrazu smatra oblikovnim načelom književnosti, a kao primjer navodi tri Ujevićeve inačice pjesme *Oproštaj*, koje su prema Oraić Tolić (1990) citatna mistifikacija Marulića, kao i literarne pastiše kanonske poezije: *Voćka poslije kiše : Ovca : Gle duplu votku*. Literarne pastiše Bagić smatra sličnim ludičkim parafrazama čija je osnovna funkcija da ekspresivnim stilističkim sredstvima reaktueliziraju monotoni jezički kliše, pa tako navodi naziv filma *Diskretni šarm buržoazije* (1972) koji je postao nepresušni izvor parafrastričnih igara u različitim jezicima, ne zaboravljajući spomenuti i poetiku grafita koja se nerijetko temelji na ludičkoj parafrazi.

Komunikacijsku ulogu jezika i glavnu zadaću pisma da prenosi informacije i znanja kroz prostor i vrijeme, Bagić propituje u tekstu o kriptogramu, kriptografiji, kriptotvorcima i kriptolomcima (str. 37–62), citirajući Lundeua kako se jezik istovremeno koristi i za komunikaciju, ali i za prikrivanje. Bagićeva akribičnost ogleđa se u vještom predstavljanju nemalog broja činjenica o šifriranju, i to od 7. st. p. n. e. pa sve do savremenog doba, gdje ističe i uspješne literarne uratke kod Edgara Allana Poea, Julesa Verna, Tolstoja, Eca, Tolkiena a ne zaboravljajući ni slavnog literarnog detektiva Sherlocka Holmesa, kao ni kriptograme *Vjesnikovog kviza* (1982). Svakako, daje i osnovne informacije o međunarodnoj skupini pisaca, slikara, matematičara imena *Oulipo*, koji njeguju kriptogramsku inspiraciju.

Na tekst o kriptografiji Bagić prirodno vezuje tekst o anagramima (str. 63–92), otvarajući ga rečenicom o snazi slova, koja se najbolje prepoznaje u anagramu – stilskoj figuri koju objašnjava kao riječ, izraz ili rečenicu nastalu premještanjem slova neke druge riječi, izraza ili rečenice, a javlja se u pjesništvu, magijskim obredi-

ma, misticizmu, religijskim tekstovima, kriptografiji, nauci, društvenim igrama, enigmatični. Porijeklo anagrama smješta u staru Grčku, a najzanimljivije činjenice iznosi o anagramiranju i kabali gdje se anagram smatra ne samo igrom riječi nego ključem razumijevanja stvarnosti i egzistencije. Piše i o zlatnom dobu anagrama, a to je 17. stoljeće ili doba anagramskog manirizma koje su obilježili Thomas Billon, Pierre le Loyer, Galileo Galilei, Johannes Kepler, Giovanni Battista Agnese, Daniel Ernst Jabłoński i Pavao Ritter Vitezović koji iz latiniziranog imena Bosnia izvodi tri uzvične rečenice: *O bonis! O banis! Si bona!* (str. 74). Kada je riječ o anagramu u književnosti, Bagić izdvaja postupak anagramiranja imenā, a o De Saussureovom proučavanju anagrama izdvaja kako je iza ovog lingviste ostalo čak 15.000 stranica rukopisnih bilješki o anagramu, te kako je obogatio terminologiju novim terminološkim nazivima, kao što su paragram i hipogram. Ferdinand de Saussure u anagramu ne vidi samo manipulaciju grafemima nego postupak gdje se ispod pojavnog teksta pojavljuje mikrotekst. Za kraj ovog potpoglavlja, Bagić izdvaja enigmatički anagramski artizam čija je osnovna funkcija igra i zabava, te zanimljive primjere iz književnosti, ali navodi i najuspješnije studentske uratke sa svojih stilistističkih seminara.

O stopljenicama, koje su leksičko lice spektakla, Bagić piše u preposljednjem poglavlju prvog dijela knjige (str. 93–135). Za njih kaže da najbolje oslikavaju društvenu stvarnost i aktuelnost trenutka u kojem živimo. Stopljenice (blende, slivenice) dio su medijskog, reklamnog, razgovornog diskursa, žargona i književnosti, a dio su jezičke stvarnosti još od 16. stoljeća, kada navodi stopljenicu *sorbonagre* (nastalu od riječi *Sorbonne* (pariski univerzitet) i *onagre* (divlji magarac)), pronađenu kod Rabelaisa, što je aluzija na sorbonske teologe. Detaljno se bavi stopljenicom *familijunarno*, koja je čak zainteresirala i Sigmunda Freuda, koji se tim tvorbenim postupkom bavi, dovodeći u vezu tvorbu riječi i tumačenje snova. Matoša izdvaja kao prvog hrvatskog *stopljeničara*, koji je taj tvorbeni postupak obilato koristio u svojim polemičkim radovima. Dalje se Bagić stopljenicama bavi u kontekstu riječi, figure i kulture, na kraju nudeći i *Ogledni rječnik stopljenica* sa 150 primjera, kao potvrdu svega što je iznio u teorijskom dijelu o stopljenicama.

Lingvističko poglavlje zatvara rad o hifenu, raspravljačkom stilemu Petra Guberine (str. 137–143). Hifen je spojnica ili crtica koja spaja dvije riječi u polusloženički odnos. Kod Guberine hifen ujedinjuje pojmove kojima se objašnjavaju priroda i porijeklo jezika te odnos jezika i mišljenja: *pokret-zvuk, zvuk-pokret, simbol-značenje, rad-izraz, sadržaj-oblik* itd. Nerijetko koristi i izraze sa tzv. hifenskom atribucijom: *misaono-jezični izraz, zvukovno-pokretni izraz, lingvističko-stilistički*

*kriterij* itd. Sve ovo jasno dokazuje da je hifen kod Guberine, zapravo, njegov raspravljački tik, koji ne dopušta da se sastavnice pojma osamostale niti *slijepe*.

Kao što Bagić u čitanju i promišljanju djela Petra Guberine vidi pustolovinu, tako i mi, kao recipijenti Bagićevog djela, neprestano otkrivamo Bagićevo djelo kao lingvističko-stilističku pustolovinu.

## II

Pisanje o *stilovima* pretočeno je u pet potpoglavlja koja su posvećena varijantama pjesme *Smrt* A. B. Šimića, lirici Tina Ujevića, polemici Ljudevita Jonkea i Ranka Marinkovića, lirskoj dikciji publicistike Josipa Severa te pjesničkim praksama u autorskim zbkama objavljenim u periodu od 2019. do 2022. godine.

U potpoglavlju “Četiri teksta pjesme ‘Smrt’ A. B. Šimića” (str. 147–170) Bagić se bavi stilističkom interpretacijom pjesme “Smrt”, odnosom rukopisnih inačica te pjesme i sinonimima, leksičkim sintaksičkim i iskaznim varijantama u prostoru literature. Sve ovo nam je potvrda A. B. Šimićevog traganja za najprikladnijim umjetničkim izrazom kojim bi opisao određenu temu ili koncept. Šimićev jezik za Bagića odlična je uvertira za propitivanje aporičnosti i paradoksalnosti pojma sinonimije. Na kraju ovog teksta zaključujemo da istraživačke granice za Bagića ne postoje: on uspijeva doći do Šimićevih autografa kojima ne samo da uspješno završava ovaj naučni rad nego otvara nova i neočekivana pitanja na koja će, ne sumnjamo, odgovoriti u budućim svojim tekstovima.

Tekstom o Tinu Ujeviću (str. 171–214) Bagić potvrđuje Ujevićev vlastiti pjesnički put i individualizam, iako je to pjesnik i Parnasa i simbolizma te simultaneizma, futurizma i dadaizma, kao i vitalizma, bergsonizma i egzistencijalizma. Lirika Tina Ujevića gotovo je enciklopedijska, ali posebno se izdvajaju dvije teme: umjetnost i žena. Bagić se dalje u čitanju Ujevića bavi pojmom samosvijesti i lirskog subjekta, ali i samog Ujevića kao pisca i građanina. Njegov je jezik, tvrdi Bagić, kompleksan, artifičijelan i slojevit – namijenjen višestruko obrazovanom, radoznom i koncentriranom čitatelju, koji zna prepoznati važnost sinonimije, metafore te paradoksa u Ujevićevom jezičkom izrazu i iskazu. Kritika Ujevića vidi kao “kralja boema”, “roba vina”, “apostola mraka”, “gromadu koja leti”, “visokog razgranatog jablana u svemiru” itd. Na kraju rada Bagić nudi Ujevićev lirski rječnik sa stotinu riječi koje potvrđuju slojevitost njegovog izraza, a neke od njih su: *agape*, *bajadera*, *epinicij*, *gonfalon*, *hetera*, *nelumbo*, *tišma*, *žurnjava* itd.

“Polemika je sukob mišljenja o kakvu svjetonazoru, umjetničkom, znanstvenom, političkom ili etičkom pitanju” (str. 216), pa tako Bagić uspješno sučeljava i isprepli-



će polemička ostvarenja Ljudevita Jonkea, jezikoslovca, i Ranka Marinkovića, književnika (str. 215–235). Na osnovu pet polemičkih priloga, dva iz pera Lj. Jonkea i tri Marinkovićeve, bit ćemo oduševljeni visprenom artiljerijom izraza, ludičnošću i dijalogičnošću polemičkog odgovora književnika Marinkovića. Lj. Jonke, kao filolog, ipak, nastupa diplomatski u svojoj polemici, ne želeći uvrijediti pisca, već krivicu prebacuje na korektora zbirke pripovijedaka *Ruke*. Na kraju se Bagić pita o pobjedniku ove jezičke bitke, smatrajući da svaki izbor ima svoje *pro et contra*.

Preposljednje poglavlje drugog dijela knjige rezervirano je za osvrt na lirsku dikciju publicističkih priloga pjesnika Josipa Severa, i to onih objavljenih u rubrici “Što je vidio Josip Sever” časopisa *Okno* (str. 237–257). Bagić, kao vrsni poznavatelj Severova djela, njegove poetike, izraza i stila, s pravom nas u uvodu ovog teksta prvo upoznaje s pojmovima *publicistike* i *dikcije*. Severove priloge u *Oknu* odlikuje žanrovska kolebljivost: bilješka, crtica, panegirik, kritički portret, kratka priča, putopis, pismo, pjesma u prozi i sl. Bagić lirsku dikciju kod Severa prepoznaje u upotrebi jezika – specifični i autorski tropi, akustička gestualnost, rima i lirski ludičnost – postupci su Severovog pisanja, ali Bagić ne zanemaruje ni publicističke grafostileme koji se ostvaruju u tipografiji, pravopisu i prostornom rasporedu teksta. Ovaj tekst, kao i sve prethodne, recipijent tumači i uživa u njima na dva načina: prvo, diveći se umijeću pjesnika ili pisca koji je predmet Bagićeve naučne opservacije, a drugo: diveći se Bagićevom umijeću prepoznavanja stilskih obilježja poetike analiziranih djela.

Takav je i posljednji rad koji zatvara ispreplitanje *figura* i *stilova*: tekst posvećen pjesništvu – autorskim zbirkama objavljenim od 2019. do 2022. godine (str. 259–285), u kojem se on referira i na svoju knjigu *Republika stiha* (2023), odakle je crpio građu i za ovaj rad. Bagić ističe tri karakteristike tekućeg hrvatskog pjesništva, a to su: angažiranost (npr. pozicija žene u društvu i njena senzibilnost u zbirci *Lovostaj* pjesnikinje Monike Herceg), hipermetaforičnost (npr. zbirka pjesama *Vuk i breza* Ane Brnardić te pjesnička zbirka *Hotel za mrtve* Lane Derkač) i konceptualna narativnost (npr. pjesnik Marko Pogačar i njegova zbirka pjesama *Knjiga praznika*). No, na kraju prikaza on izdvaja i manirizam, ludizam i evokativnost kao elemente savremenog pjesništva.

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Knjiga *Figure i stilovi* Krešimira Bagića naučno je djelo koje će svako ko se bavi lingvistikom, stilistikom i naukom o književnosti čitati sa intelektualnim zanimanjem kao nezaobilazno štivo. No, originalan način na koji Bagić pristupa jezičkim, književnim i kulturnim fenomenima čini ovo djelo pristupačnim i otvorenim za čitanje svima zainteresiranima za jezik i svijet koji nas okružuju.



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## **SIMBIOZA KOMUNIKACIJSKOG I DRUŠTVENOG**

**(Najil Kurtić, *Komunikacijska varijabla*,  
University Press, Sarajevo, 2024)**

U tekstovima objedinjenim u knjigu *Komunikacijska varijabla* na 307 stranica autor Najil Kurtić tematizuje raznolike, relevantne i aktuelne komunikacijske fenomene poput govora mržnje, lažnih vijesti i drugih informacijskih poremećaja u javnom diskursu, zatim krize javnih medijskih servisa i uloge medija u demokratizaciji političkog odlučivanja. Iako se površnim uvidom može učiniti da se spomenuta relevantnost i aktuelnost ne mogu pripisati posljednjim trima poglavljima koja se bave medijskim i društvenim promjenama s kraja XIX i početka XX vijeka, njihov sadržaj razotkriva izrazitu sličnost i uzročno-posljedičnu povezanost sa savremenim zbivanjima. To se prvenstveno odnosi na društvenu ulogu medija u izgradnji bosanskog nacionalnog identiteta. Ono što povezuje svih osam poglavlja knjige je rasvjetljavanje uloge komunikacijske infrastrukture u tokovima i ishodima društvenih fenomena. „Komunikacijska varijabla je uvijek djelovala. Druga je stvar što je često u naučnim i laičkim interpretacijama ona zanemarivana ili marginalizirana u korist ekonomske ili geopolitičke varijable. U svim historijskim događajima, progresijama i regresijama, u kojim su presudnu ulogu igrale velike grupe ljudi, zahvaćene privlačnim, zavodljivim, ne i nužno moralnim idejama, svjesno je manipulirano komunikacijama; ne samo odnosima prema drugima i sa drugima, već i odnosom prema sebi“ (str. 11-12).

Suprotno popularnom narativu u kojem se u javnom prostoru komunikacija predstavlja kao univerzalno sredstvo za rješavanje društvenih problema, a nedostatak

komunikacijskih vještina i političke volje kao uzrok konflikata, autor uvjerljivom argumentacijom razbija taj mit. Znalачkim objašnjavanjem komunikacijskih fenomena u kontekstu političkih, ekonomskih i kulturoloških kretanja, Kurtić ukazuje na uslovljenost ishoda komunikacije, pa i učinaka medija, faktorima nekomunikacijske prirode. Takav pristup primjetan je u svih osam poglavlja, ali je najeksplicitniji u prvom naslovljenom „Diskurzivno komunikativno djelovanje: između koncepta i empirije”. Polazeći od Habermasove teorije komunikativnog djelovanja, autora, neupitno opredijeljenog za dijaloški model komuniciranja, zanimaju uslovi za ostvarivost i učinkovitost dijaloga. Kritikuje teleološku instrumentalizaciju komunikacije koju identifikuje kao glavni uzrok kolapsa dijaloškog modela u političkoj komunikaciji.

U drugom poglavlju „Instrumentalizacija laži u javnoj komunikaciji“ autor sistematično piše o lažnim vijestima. Identifikuje zajedničke elemente u definicijama lažnih vijesti, opisuje genezu ovog informacijskog poremećaja ukazujući na to da on nije novost, ali mapira njegove specifičnosti u mrežnom okruženju u odnosu na klasične medije. U objašnjavanju procesa i modela širenja lažnih vijesti s razlogom projevava skepticizam prema učinkovitosti aktuelnog pristupa njihovom suzbijanju. Referirajući se na obeshrabrujuće rezultate empirijskih istraživanja koja ukazuju na kognitivnu i emotivnu nespremnost publike da mijenja uvjerenja zasnovana na lažnim vijestima, kao i na kratkotrajne efekte razotkrivanja lažnih vijesti provjeravanjem činjenica, Kurtić upozorava da to ipak ne smije biti razlog za odustajanje od sistemskog suzbijanja informacijskih poremećaja. Njihove su posljedice isuviše ozbiljne po društvo da bi se odustalo. Jedna od najmanifestnijih konsekvenci informacijskih poremećaja je informacijska apatija građana koja će, upozorava autor, uzdrmati način na koji konzumiramo informacije. Objašnjava kako će zastupljenost i dometi informacijskih poremećaja sve manje zavisiti od novinara zbog brojnih profitnih igrača koji su se duboko involvirali u industriju vijesti.

Posebno vrijedno je treće poglavlje „Konceptualizacija monitoringa govora mržnje u bosanskohercegovačkim medijima“ u kojem je predstavljen model monitoringa govora mržnje kao rezultat originalnog istraživačkog rada autora. Zbog visoke frekventnosti govora mržnje u javnom diskursu, ne samo u BiH, nego širom svijeta, ovaj problem je visoko na agendi komunikoloških istraživanja, ali i projekata različitih organizacija civilnog društva. Međutim, metodološka valjanost mnogih od tih projekata je upitna. Zbog toga je izrazit pragmatični značaj ovog modela koji je vrlo koristan za buduća istraživanja. U njemu je fenomen govora mržnje temeljito operacionalizovan, a svi indikatori precizno definisani. Time je uveliko olakšano pre-

poznavanje sadržaja koje je opravdano podvesti pod govor mržnje, odnosno isključivanje onih iskaza koji odstupaju od komunikacijskog bontona ili etike javne riječi, ali nisu govor mržnje. Zahvaljujući temeljitom objašnjenju spomenutog modela – od konceptualizacije pojma govora mržnje do statističke obrade podataka i preporuka pri izvođenju zaključaka, moguće je pouzdano utvrditi indeks kontaminacije govorom mržnje.

“Javni medijski servis u krizi” tema je četvrtog poglavlja koje autor situira u širi društveni kontekst uvažavajući kako specifičnosti BiH tako i evropske tendencije koje ne pogoduju razvoju, pa ni opstanku javnih medijskih servisa. Ipak, osim tendencija u razvoju informacijsko-komunikacijske tehnologije, tržišnih imperativa i neblagonaklone medijske politike koji otežavaju poziciju javnih medijskih servisa i u drugim evropskim državama, javni servis Bosne i Hercegovine (BHRT) kao jedan od simbola državnosti, ukazuje Kurtić, izložen je godinama i političkim pritiscima. Dakle, stanje neodrživosti u koje je doveden BHRT nije posljedica primarno ekonomskih kretanja i tehnološkog razvoja, nego političkih opstrukcija. „... Dezintegracija javnog servisa se tretira kao instrument za dovršetak dezintegracije bosanskohercegovačkog društva, a u konačnici i državno-političke dezintegracije BiH” (str. 136).

Demokratsko i dijaloško opredjeljenje autora evidentno je i u petom poglavlju “Komunikacijska varijabla participacije građana u lokalnoj samoupravi” u kojem temeljito analizira ulogu lokalnih konvencionalnih i mrežnih medija u informisanju, odnosno participiranju građana u političkom životu. Poglavlje je potkrijepljeno rezultatima empirijskog istraživanja. Kvalitet izvještavanja lokalnih medija nerijetko je predmet analiza i različitih tipova istraživanja tokom predizbornih kampanja. Za razliku od istraživanja ograničenih na deskriptivne statističke nalaze ili pak na presmjela uopćavanja bez uporišta u kvantitativnim podacima, prezentovano istraživanje može poslužiti kao dobar model metodološki ispravnog istraživanja čiji rezultati omogućavaju uopćavanje zaključaka.

Šesto poglavlje “Aktuelnost Sulejmanpašićeve kritike žurnalizma” u kojem je Kurtić predstavio Dževada Sulejmanpašića, autora knjige *Žurnalizam razarač čovječanstva: novinarstvo sa najmanjom merom žurnalizma*, kao prvog komunikologa u tadašnjoj Jugoslaviji, te njegov društveni i kulturni angažman na prosvjećivanju bosanskih muslimana, rezultat je posvećenog istraživačkog rada autora o neistraženoj temi i prikupljanja teško dostupnih i dosad neobjavljenih podataka. „Objašnjenje za razorni utjecaj novinarstva na čovječanstvo Sulejmanpašić vidi prvenstveno u kvalitativnim karakteristikama novinarstva“ (str. 240). Sulejmanpašić je još 1936. godine,

kada je knjiga objavljena, kritikovao disfunkcionalno izvještavanje medija ispoljeno u senzacionalističkim, površnim i izmišljenim sadržajima.

Poveznica posljednja dva poglavlja – sedmog „Novine u Bosni u osmanskome periodu i nacionalna samoidentifikacija Bošnjaka“ i osmog „Bosanstvo i Bošnjaci u agendi «Bošnjaka» je rasvjetljavanje uloge štampe u razvoju bosanskog nacionalnog identiteta tokom osmanske, odnosno austro-ugarske vladavine. Autor elaborira makro i mikro faktore zbog kojih je taj proces ostao na pokušaju. „Dok je proces konstituiranja srpske i hrvatske nacije bio uveliko u toku, pa i na samoj teritoriji Bosne, bosansko muslimansko plemstvo, uljuljkano u predstvu o pripadanju svjetskom carstvu i preokupirano očuvanjem svojih staleških privilegija, nije pokazivalo poseban interes za nacionalno samoodređenje“ (str. 268). U procesu formiranja evropskih nacija važna je bila integrativna uloga štampe koja je pomogla u buđenju samosvijesti naroda pomažući mu da se prepozna po istom jeziku, kulturi, običajima, ali i da čita interpretacije društvenih događaja koje su u novinama nudili intelektualci iz tog naroda. Međutim, piše Kurtić, „...Bošnjaci u tom periodu nisu imali kulturne i političke, svjetovne inteligencije, formata Ljudevita Gaja, koji bi definirali i artikulirali, na evropski način, nacionalni identitet Bošnjaka, i drugo, u Bosni nije bilo štampe, novina niti književne periodike bez kojih je u to vrijeme bilo nezamislivo nacionalno samoidentificiranje i homogeniziranje, pa i jedinstveno djelovanje plemstva“ (str. 270). Mnogi od uzroka koje spominje poput nerazvijene političke javnosti u BiH i penetracije srbijanskih medija na prostor BiH prisutni su i danas. Otuda ova poglavlja nisu tek historijski osvrt nego analiza koja doprinosi razumijevanju, pa i prognoziranju ishoda aktuelnih političkih i medijskih procesa.

*Komunikacijska varijabla* je originalno naučno djelo u kojem Kurtić sistematično i argumentovano elaborira sopstvene teze ili pak, kod pozivanja na relevantne naučnike, nudi vlastite interpretacije njihovih teorija i nalaza. Bogato naučno iskustvo ogleđa se u sistematizaciji prezentovanih spoznaja, detektovanju uzročno-posljedičnih odnosa, objašnjavanju procesa i modela analiziranih fenomena, te ukazivanju na rješenja. To je rezultat posvećenog teorijskog i empirijskog istraživanja komunikoloških fenomena, odnosno njihovog situiranja u širi društveni kontekst. Knjiga je i metodološki vrijedna jer može poslužiti kao model za konceptualiziranje i provođenje empirijskih istraživanja, prvenstveno u poglavljima o govoru mržnje i participiranju građana u javnim politikama.

Knjiga će koristiti naučnicima i stručnjacima koji se bave javnim komunikacijama. Predstavnicima državnih institucija, međunarodnih i domaćih organizacija civilnog društva koje se bave govorom mržnje i lažnim vijestima može poslužiti u osmišlja-

vanju učinkovitijih strategija za suzbijanje različitih informacijskih poremećaja. Stručnim udruženjima novinara, kao i organizacijama civilnog društva koje se bave medijskim analizama bit će korisna u metodološkom smislu, kao svojevrsan vodič o tome kako konceptualizovati i provesti metodološki valjano istraživanje.

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## KORISNA PROPEDEUTIČKA PRIPREMA ZA ČITANJE RUMIJEVE *MESNEVIJE*

**[*Nevjestina noć: Mevlana – Zbornik radova u povodu 750 godina od preseljenja Dželaludina Mevlane Rumija, Edib Kravić (ur.), Udruženje derviških redova “Tarikatski centar” u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo, 2024*]**

U izdanju Udruženja derviških redova “Tarikatski centar” objavljen je Zbornik radova sa međunarodne naučne konferencije „750 godina od preseljenja Dželaluddina Mevlane Rumija”. Konferencija je održana u Tuzli u organizaciji tekije „Šejh Ahmed Nurdin“ u okviru 34. akademije Šebi Arus koja bilježi kontinuitet još od 1990. godine. Značajno je istaći da svoje aktivnosti nije prekidala ni za vrijeme ratnih dejstava. Datum njenog održavanja bio je na 750. godišnjicu od smrti Dželaluddina Mevlane Rumija – 17. decembra 2023. godine. Cilj naučne konferencije, a time i ovog Zbornika, bio je da se ukaže na bogat doprinos Dželaludina Mevlane Rumija muslimanskoj duhovnoj i mislećoj tradiciji. S obzirom na to da je riječ o ličnosti koja je svojim duhovnim genijem, intelektualnom pronicljivošću i plemenitim karakterom utkala svoj uticaj u brojne discipline, zasigurno je bilo opravdano organizirati jedan ovakav međunarodni multidisciplinarni znanstveni skup u Tuzli.

Također, jedan od ciljeva konferencije bio je da se ovom muslimanskom polihistoru pruži zaslužena pažnja i izvan tekija ali i drugih prigodnih mjesta gdje se *Mesnevija* čita i tumači. Diskurs o Mevlana Dželaluddinu Rumiju i njegovom djelu nije nepoznat na području Bosne i Hercegovine. Naprotiv, postoji na ovim prostorima tradicija čitanja i tumačenja *Mesnevijs* o kojoj se čitalac može informisati i u ovom



Zborniku. Tekstove su pisali autori različitih profila, diferentnog obrazovnog beackgrounda. Svoje radove zgotovili su filozofi, politolozi, pedagozi itd. S obzirom na imena učesnika (prof. dr. Enver Halilović, dr. Fuad Hadžimehmedović, doc. dr. Izet Hadžić, doc. dr. Nihad Čamdžić, doc. dr. Nedim Čirić, dr. Sead Seljubac, prof. dr. Gholamreza Salemian, prof. dr. Qobad Soleimani i mr. Zajim Kruško), njihova akademska postignuća i status u nauci i društvu uočava se namjera urednika da se ova tema ponudi široj znanstvenoj zajednici.

U prvom tekstu pod naslovom „Mevlana Dželaluddin Rumi i njegov ‘‘ljubavni’’ misticizam“ autor Fuad Hadžimehmedović razmatra pojam *irfan* te navodi poimanje istog kod tri muslimanska učenjaka Muhjuddina ibn Arebija, Imama Muhammeda Gazalija i Mevlane Dželaluddina Rumija. Mevlanina istinska ljubav je dar Božiji i postiže se samo kroz znanje koje prelazi granicu imanentnog u transcendentno i raskriva zastore iza kojih se krije stvarnost. Tako ne postoje riječi koje mogu opisati ljubav i život. Slikovito nam to pojašnjava kroz riječi Mevlane da su duša i tijelo međusobno povezani. Tijelo je svjesno postojanja duše i njenog uticaja ali nije u stanju vidjeti je. Tako je, navodi autor, i ljubav prisutna iako je nismo u stanju vidjeti.

U tekstu Envera Halilovića „S ljubavlju-znanjem k Bogu“ ukazuje se na lepršavost i bogatstvo Mevlanine misli kao i na to da ju je teško svrstati u jednu klasičnu filozofsku ili klasičnu teološku školu. Tekst *Mesnevijs* iščitava iz jednog drukčijeg rakursa i poredi ga, u nekim slučajevima, sa razumijevanjem pojmova u zapadno-evropskoj filozofskoj misli. Pored toga autor propituje razumijevanja sufizma. Primjećuje da sufizam nije oblik ljudskog bijega od svijeta i da se islam ne može reducirati isključivo na pokornost Bogu.

Ghobad Soleimani u radu „Ljubav u očima Mevlane“ ukazuje na duboko i prostrano razumijevanje ljubavi koje nije moguće obuhvatiti riječima. Kada naklonost postane toliko snažna, pojašnjava autor kroz riječi Hasnazadea Amolija, naziva se ljubavlju (‘išk). Koliko god se trudili opisati i definisati ljubav riječima, to se nikada neće postići jer ljubav se, prema Mevlani, mora iskusiti i doživjeti. Za ljubav se koriste različite metafore: svjetlo, sunce, svjetiljka, svijeća, vatra, more itd. Tarikat kod Mevlane, ističe autor, nije odvojen od puta Poslanika a.s. i utemeljen je u ašku, koji predstavlja oslobađanje od sebe, i u sema’u, koji je on smatrao znakom svjesnosti. Kako bi se Mevlanina misao bolje razumjela, autor je u posebnom poglavlju „Put formiranja Mevlanine ličnosti i misli“ prezentirao nekoliko detalja iz njegove biografije u kojoj posebno ističe susret s Šems Tabrizijem. Primijetio je da se Mevlana koristi kratkim ali sadržajnim izrazima u saopćavanju svoje misli. Koristeći se ajetima, predajama, alegorijama i parabolama znao bi, kaže autor, u jednom stihu pjesme ili jednim poređenjem prenijeti cijeli jedan svijet značenja. Navodi mišljenja

koja Mesneviju smatraju komentarom kur'anskih ajeta i Sunneta Božijeg Poslanika s.a.v.s. Mesneviju, smatra autor, može tumačiti samo neko ko je blizak Rumijevim uvjerenjima i ko je iskusio otkrovenje i to poezijom koja proizlazi iz gnostičkog duhovnog stanja. Mesnevija, prema riječima samog Mevlane, predstavlja osnove osnova vjere koje nam pomažu u otkrivanju tajni dostizanja Istine i potpune uvjerenosti (jekin). Cijela Mesnevija je prožeta kur'anskim idejama, argumentima i mislima, samo su u drugom "ruhu" i izgledu prezentirani. Autor zaključuje svoj rad konstatacijom da je Rumija učinilo slavnim i poznatim ljubav i iskreno djelovanje radi Gospodara svjetova i slijeđenje učitelja, šejhova, vodiča i muršida.

Nihad Čamdžić u radu „Heirat i akl u Mevlaninom duhovnom i intelektualnom univerzumu” ukazuje na proturječno razumijevanje pojma znanja i njegove vrijednosti kao jedne od glavnih prijepornih tačaka gdje se međusobno ne slažu tradicionalna islamska ulema, islamske apologete i filozofi, s jedne strane, i sufije, s druge strane. S tim u vezi, autor je kroz stihove u Mesneviji predstavio Mevlanino razumijevanje pojma *heiret* (duhovna zbuđenost i zapanjenost) i *'aql* (um, intelekt) i razloge zbog kojih postoje nesuglasice. Čamdžić naglašava da je razumijevanje pozicije razuma kod Mevlane otežano zbog pjesničkog karaktera njegovih glavnih djela u kojima autor čas veliča i uzdiže razum, a u nekim situacijama pjesničkog zanosa smatra ga bezvrijednim, teretom saliku i preprekom spoznaji uzvišenih istina. Dalje u svom radu govori o dva uma: univerzalnom i djelomičnom ili partikularnom umu. Partikularni um igra ključnu ulogu u osiguranju uspjeha čovjeka u ekonomskom, društveno-političkom životu i prirodnim znanostima. Ukoliko zanemari ovu ulogu razuma suočit će se sa mnoštvom tegoba, čak možda doživjeti i duhovno posrnuće jer siromaštvo vodi nevjerstvu. Ovom umu, ističe autor, Mevlana dodjeljuje ulogu nadzornika nefsa i kontrolora ljudskih prohtjeva i korektora ljudskog ponašanja. Ipak upozorava nas i na njegove manjkavosti: pogrešivost, ograničenost i samoobmanjujuće svojstvo što može dovesti do oholosti, ponosa, samodopadljivosti i osjećaja samodostatnosti partikularnog uma. Ovo je razlog zašto Mevlana i druge sufije često kritikuju partikularni um i pozivaju na njegovo odbacivanje, odnosno ograničavanje njegovog domena i opsega. Partikularnom umu potrebna je pomoć Univerzalnog uma, bilo u formi Božijih izaslanika, vjerovjesnika ili evlija i duhovnih učitelja, bilo u formi nadahnuća. Univerzalni um se ne otkriva svakom čovjeku niti u podjednakom stupnju i sa istim intezitetom. On je dar Božiji. U nastavku teksta autor objašnjava pojam *heyrat* (kolebanje, nedoumica, zapanjenost, smetenost) i pojašnjava da tamo gdje završava djelomični um započinje djelokrug univerzalnog uma, a ulaznica u tu sferu je *heyrat*. Za Mevlanu, primjećuje autor, *heyrat* nije samo poželjno već i prijeko potrebno stanje za svakog onog koji teži spoznaji

transcendentnih istina. Uloga vjere i jeste da ljude željne spoznaje uvede u stanje hejrata, potpune predanosti Allahovoj odredbi i volji, nakon čega se u srcu salika pojavljuje pronicavost (*besiret*) i duhovno viđenje.

Izet Hadžić i Mehmed Čaušević informišu čitaoca o vremenu u kojem je živio Mevlana (1207-1273) obilježenom surovim mongolskim osvajanjima i trima krstaškim ratovima. Njegovo porijeklo i duhovno zrijeenje predstavljeni su u kratkim crtama sa posebnim osvrtom na susret s Šemsedinom Tabrizijem. Njegov učenik Husamedin Čelebi posluzio je Mevlani kao inspiracija za poemu *Mesnevija*. Dalje primjećuju da je Mesnevija zbog svog jednostavnog jezika i pripovjedačkog stila prijemčiva širim masama kao i da je sva dotadašnja duhovna tradicija islamskog svijeta ponovno zablistala punim sjajem u Mevlaninoj *Mesneviji*. Jedan odsjaj te bujne tradicije reflektirao se i u razumijevanju vlasti i druženju sufija s vladarima o čemu se govori u nastavku teksta. Mevlana, kažu autori, poziva vladare da cijene i poštuju ljude jer je čovjek čista i prozirna voda u kojoj se zrcale svojstva Boga. Podsjeća na obavezu učenih i plemenitih da stanu u odbranu obespravljenih a za nasilnike i nepravednike najavljuje mračnu budućnost. U daljnjem tekstu autori informišu da su poznati osmanski vladari dali značajan doprinos širenju Mevlaninog učenja a i sami su bili pripadnici ovog reda. Također, dat je kratak pregled uticaja Mevlaninog učenja u Bosni i Hercegovini.

U radu Gholamreze Salemiana „Status irfanskih položaja (maqam) u Velikom divanu (Koliyate Shams)” saznajemo da Mevlana ima i druga djela osim *Mesneville*, poput *Velikog divana* koji je podsjetnik na njegovu čežnju usljed razdovjenosti od Šams Tabrizija. Autor obrazlaže da islamski tesavvuf i irfan ima dva dijela: teorijski i praktični koji predstavljaju dva krila irfana za let i dosezanje do istine. Značajni pojmovi za praktični i teorijski segment irfana su stanje (*hal*) i položaj (*maqam*). Autor pojašnjava da je *hal* utjecaj iz nevidljivog na srce arifa koji je prolazan i ne traje dugo. Međutim, ako arif vježbom, koncentracijom, samodisciplinom i spoznajom postigne da taj uticaj postane trajan onda ostvaruje položaj (*maqam*). U daljem tekstu prezentuju se ranija istraživanja o irfanskim aspektima *Velikog divana* poput *Rječnika irfanskih termina* Kej Manesha. Autor ističe značaj susreta Mevlane i Šemsa Tabrizija – susreta koji je promijenio njihov lični život ali i u mnogome uticao na preokret u islamskom irfanu i perzijskoj književnosti. Ključni elementi ovog rada su maqami koji se razmatraju u poglavlju *Refleksija sedam položaja u djelu Koliyate Shams*.

U radu Nedima Čirića prepoznaje se ozbiljan znanstveni pristup temi „Pedagogijske determinante odgojnog rasta u Rumijevoj misli i odgoju”. Rumijeva misao

o odgoju i odgojnom rastu pojedinca ističe značaj ljubavi, introspekcije, tolerancije i jedinstva. Ove vrijednosti, pojašnjava autor, kao resursi za razvoj ličnosti, doprinose duhovnom uzdignuću kroz koje se individua nastoji približiti okrilju Allahove dž.š. milosti i doprinijeti harmoniji društva. Čovjek je, naglašava autor, jedino biće koje ima potrebu za odgojem pa je odgoj u svim kulturama važan aspekt djelovanja porodice, odgojnih institucija i sl. Učenje je, napominje autor, nadređeni pojam svim pedagoškim nastojanjima, pa se i u pedagogiji čovjek tretira kao biće koje učenjem i odgojem postaje ihsanom (robovati Bogu kao da Ga vidiš, jer ako ti Njega ne vidiš On tebe uvijek vidi). Tijelo je, prema Mevlaninoj filozofiji, samo sredstvo duše, ističe autor, dok je funkcija života, misli, volje i različitih stanja i halova čovjeka uvjetovana isključivo dušom. Prema autoru, Mevlana je svoje odgojne misli izgradio na temelju prvenstva nematerijalne i besmrtnne duše. Tijelo je samo naizgled, dalje pojašnjava autor Mevlanino poimanje čovjekove zbilje, izvor ljepote, djelatnosti, veličanstva, misli, volje, ali da to nije ništa više od same obmane jer život, radost, svježina i ljepota tijela, kao i misao, vid, sluh, govor, svi učinci čovjekovog života jesu iz okrilja duše. Autor potom Mevlanino učenje dovodi u savremeni kontekst. Naglašava da je razvoj moderne tehnologije uticao na isključivanje roditelja iz procesa odgoja vlastite djece. Pod uticajem tehnološke revolucije aktualizirani su novi oblici socijalizacije i novi tipovi individualnog i kolektivnog identiteta, a obrazovni sistemi (porodica, škola i sl.) su se našli pred novim izazovom. Zatim prezentira koncept koji podrazumijeva integraciju četiri temeljna tipa učenja ukoliko obrazovanje želi ostvariti uspjeh u svojim zadacima (učiti znati, učiti činiti, učiti zajedno živjeti i učiti biti). Upravo u Mevlaninoj misli o odgoju ključni elementi su ljubav kao temelj, tolerancija i razumijevanje, traženje istine i učitelj kao vođa i uzor. Njegov holistički pristup odgaja uravnotežene i moralne individue. Odgojen čovjek je, konstatira autor, prema Rumijevoj filozofiji odgoja, ispunjen ljubavlju prema Bogu, ljudima i stvaranju. Ljubav je glavni pokretač i osnovna snaga u svakom odnosu pa i između odgajatelja i odgajanika i ona (ljubav) ima moć transformacije svega.

U radu Seada Seljubca „*Mesnevice* u tefsiru sure Jasin” razmatraju se komentari pet ajeta pomenute sure uz koje je Šejh Ismail Haki u svom tefsiru *Ruhul-bejan* koristio bejtove iz *Mesnevice*. Autor konstatira da je Ismail Haki koristio *Mesneviju* na četrnaest mjesta i da je izdvojio pedesetsedam bejtova iz pet tomova (izuzev drugog toma). Zbog obimnog materijala sagledava samo bejtove iz prvog toma tj. četrnaest bejtova koji su korišteni u komentaru pet ajeta sure Jasin (36: 8, 9, 34, 47, 53). Primijetio je da se prevodi *Mesnevice* kod tri prevodioca razlikuju – hadži Fejzullah-efendija primjenjuje opisno prevođenje, Ahmed Mešić također ali se još

služi i zgradama kako bi povezoao dijelove i ponudio kompletniju cjelinu, dok se Elvir Musić potrudio u svoj prevod unijeti poetičnost. Na kraju autor ukazuje na pouke iz odabranih ajeta i njihovih komentara potkrijepljenih bejtovima iz Rumijeve *Mesnevice*.

Zajim Kruško u radu „Mevlevijski šejhovi u BiH u posljednjih dvije stotine godina” predstavlja biografske podatke iz života mevlevijskih prvaka u Bosni i Hercegovini u posljednjih dvjesto godina. Autor je koristeći se arhivom Islamske zajednice u BiH obznanio nekoliko imena mevlevijskih šejhova Isa-begove tekije na Bentbaši koje nijedan autor do sada nije spominjao (šejh Osman Muladžaferović, šejh Husein ef. Glibo, šejh Mehmed Nuri efendija). Pojasnio je i specifičnosti mevlevijskog usula kao i to da su mevlevijski šejhovi, zahvaljujući centralizovanom sistemu tarikata u Osmanskoj državi, morali dobiti ovlaštenje centralne mevlevijske tekije u Konji. U radu su priložene i dvije fotografije. Na jednoj je zabilježen događaj sa dodjele menšure reisu Džemaludinu Čauševiću gdje su mevlevijski šejh Ruhi ef. Šehović i nekoliko derviša izvodili ilahije uz pratnju naja u haremu Careve džamije u Sarajevu. U tekstu koji slijedi autor prezentira biografske podatke šejhova.

Na kraju Zbornika nalaze se recenzije Amira Karića, Ćazima Hadžimejlića i Nedžada Grabusa sa vrijednim zapažanjima o prezentiranim radovima u Zborniku. Karić naglašava da je Rumijev univerzum oblikovan Kur'anom i Poslanikovom a.s. predajom, a da je njegova poezija poziv ka Bogu. Hadžimejlić ističe da Zbornik čine originalni i relevantni naučni radovi koji sagledavaju *Mesneviju* i duhovnost iz različitih akademskih perspektiva. Grabus primjećuje da su radovi u Zborniku pisani jasnim stilom, naučnom akribijom, utemeljeni na relevantnoj literaturi i metodologiji koja im daje izvornost i autentičnost u razumijevanju Mevlaninog učenja.

Zbornik prije svega predstavlja značajan doprinos u razumijevanju, ne samo *Mesnevice* i uopće Mevlaninog djela već i samog sufizma. Autori su se potrudili da na mnogim mjestima ukažu na pogrešnu percepciju i razumijevanje određenih segmenata i pojmova unutar tesavufske misli i prakse. Stoga ovaj Zbornik može se preporučiti i kao jedan vid propedeutičkog štiva prije čitanja same *Mesnevice*. Također, Zbornik je doprinos izučavanju islamske kulture i tradicije na ovim prostorima kao i suvremenoj historiografiji. S druge strane, sa *Mesnevijom* i poviješću njenog tumačenja na ovim prostorima sudjeluje se u kulturi pamćenja kao kontinuitetu truda naših prethodnika. Tumačiti *Mesneviju* i naučno je valorizirati najprikladniji je način aktualizacije Mevlaninih misli i ideja u ovom vremenu. Razmijevajući tekstove ovog Zbornika u kontekstu suvremenog doba može se uvidjeti aktualnost spomenutih tema i promišljanja. Autori su aktualizirali temu ljubavi nasuprot današnjeg

materijalizma, temu ljudskosti utemeljene u ljubavi nasuprot golog interesa i drugih niskih poriva, temu pravde, pravednog vladanja i upravljanja naspram nepravde i ugnjetavanja.

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## RETROSPEKTIVA GOVORNIŠTVA

(Spahija Kozlić, *Retorika, Pendulum, Zenica, 2024*)

*Preživjeće samo riječi  
– one što ih nikad nismo izgovorili  
– i po njima će, o Čudo,  
dugo da se pamti naš boravak ovdje.  
(Abdulah Sidran, U pustu maglinu)*

Nova knjiga Spahije Kozlića pod naslovom *Retorika* nudi retrospektivu razvoja govorništva od antičke Grčke pa do savremenog doba. Ovim djelom Kozlić čini iskorak na bosanskohercegovačkom filozofskom *Trgu*, pišući/kazujući historiju govorništva, prvu na bosanskom jeziku, te na taj način, kako to i Dževad Drino u svome pogovoru ovoj knjizi primjećuje, *popunjava realnu prazninu u našem izdavaštvu*. Govor i vještina govorenja, kako je to već i slavni grčki govornik Isokrat primijetio, predstavljaju dar ubjeđivanja i međusobnog razumijevanja, a koji su čovjeku dati da od sebe odbaci životinjski način života, te da uz to, kako navodi i Milan Uzelac u svojim predavanjima iz retorike, prigrli civilizacijski napredak, osnuje gradove, ispiše zakonike, iznjedri razvoj zanata i umjetnosti.

U svojoj analizi razvoja govorništva Kozlić nas upućuje na promišljanje govora kao ljudske poetičke aktivnosti neodvojive od čovjeka, smještajući govor u neposrednu blizinu našeg vlastitog bitka, jer dalo bi se postaviti pitanje jesmo li išta drugo nego govor, aktivni govor, jezik kao kuća bitka, dakle hajdegerovski kazano, temeljni način bitka u svijetu, jezik koji daje mogućnost početka mišljenja. Stoga se u knjizi



koja je pred nama dade iščitati i niz odnosa koje nam autor virtuzno ispisuje.

U prvom redu riječ je o odnosu govora i istine – da li retorika uspijeva dokučiti istinu? Može se iščitati više odgovora, ukoliko je riječ o transcendentnoj istini retorika u tom slučaju ima gotovo minimalnu vrijednost, štaviše, kako je to i Platon primijetio, retorika se u tom slučaju postavlja i kao prijetnja samoj istini. Ukoliko je riječ o istini kao društvenom i političkom fenomenu, u domenu onog praktičnog ljudskog djelovanja, retorika bi trebala imati glavnu ulogu u određivanju istine.

Drugi, reklo bi se prirodan odnos koji se da iščitati na stranicama ove knjige, jeste odnos retorike i etike. Retorika, još od sukoba sofista i Sokrata, u svojoj praksi postavlja etička i moralna pitanja. Ukoliko dokazi koje sebi priskrbljuje govornik zanemaruju etičku i moralnu odgovornost, onda je takva retorika u najmanju ruku manjkava i nalikuje na ono što autor ove knjige naziva karnevalizacijom govora – govorkanjem i logomanijom.

Treći odnos koji retorika uspostavlja jeste odnos spram političke moći. Retorika je oduvijek imala važan odnos sa političkom moći u društvu. Retorske viještine, a to nam je poznato još od sofista, sa sobom nose i određenu mjeru moći, a govorničke i stilističke prakse imaju važnu ulogu u koncentraciji, kanalisanju i distribuciji društvene moći. U ovom kontekstu, govor valja razumijevati dvojako, kao suveren, buntovan, revolucionaran i pustolovan govor, ono što su još Grci označili kao *parrhesia* (παρρησία) i kao moćan politički instrument i alat, zarobljen u različitim mrežama ideologija i takav govor autor označuje kao *ancilla ideologiae*.

Poglavitito, knjiga se bavi razvojem retorike u staroj Grčkoj, dajući naglasak na uslove i nastanak govorništva kod Helena, a u zasebnim dijelovima Kozlić pridaje pažnju prvim učiteljima i školama retorike, prije svega misleći tu na sofiste (Protagora i Gorgija). Potom autor analizira Platonov dijaboličan odnos spram retorike, gdje se retorika našla pred određenom vrstom strašnog suda. Na kraju prvog dijela knjige, autor nas uvodi u Aristotelovo viđenje retorike, kao poietičkog – stvaralačkog znanja – gdje se govor i jezik nadaju kao mogućnost i sredstvo objašnjenja svijeta.

U drugom dijelu knjige Kozlić piše o razvoju retorike u helenističko-rimskom periodu, baveći se autorima Hermagorom iz Temma, Markom Tulijem Ciceronom, koji postavlja jasne ciljeve retorike, koji pripada zlatnom periodu razvoja rimske retorike, i Kvintilijanom kao najmarkantnijim predstavnikom srebrenog perioda razvoj rimske retorike, koji u svome djelu *Obrazovanje govornika* kazuje o teoretskim, pedagoškim i praktičnim (etičkim) ciljevima retorike.

Treći dio knjige tematizira razvoj retorike u Srednjem vijeku, koja, slično i filozofiji u svome razvoju nosi određeni pečat kršćanstva, ali se ipak srednjovjekovna

retorika oslanjala na ranije grčke i rimske uzore, prije svega na Aristotelovu *Retoriku* i Ciceronov spis *De inventione*.

U četvrtom dijelu knjige autor nas podsjeća na novovjekovni period u razvoju retorike, dajući posebno naglasak na renesansni duh retorike, kada dolazi do revitalizacije Kvintilijanovih praktičnih i moralnih principa retorike. Ovdje nas autor podsjeća i na Montaigneov doprinos razvoju retorike, a koji se ogleda u naglašavanju mogućnosti da se sugovornik sluša, što funkcioniše kao pretpostavka dijaloga. Kao najznačajnijeg retoričara 18. stoljeća, autor navodi Giambattista Vica, profesora retorike koji u svome konceptu retorike naglašava važnost ispreplitanja etičkih, estetičkih i logičkih stajališta, čime se Vico naslanja na ideale grčko-rimske retorike. Kozlić u potpoglavlju ovog dijela knjige pažnju posvećuje i Arthuru Schopenhaueru i njegovom posthumno objavljenom djelu u kojem autor ukazuje na erističke i sofističke opasnosti govorenja.

U posljednjem petom dijelu knjige autor nas upoznaje sa razvojem retorike u savremenom dobu, prije svega referirajući na razumijevanje retorike kao susreta logike i stilistike. Dva su bitna autora za razvoj retorike u savremenom dobu. Hans Georg Gadamer je retoriku razumijevao kao hermeneutiku, tj. umijeće tumačenja, i retoriku kao težnju ka spoznaji istine, suprotstavljajući se svođenju retorike na elokvenciju. Drugi autor na kojeg nas Kozlić podsjeća je Jürgen Habermas, koji retoriku razumijeva kao komunikativno djelovanje, koje se u svojoj suštini oslanja na kantovsku potrebu za kategoričkim imperativom – u kojem svaki govor treba biti u saglasnosti sa kvalifikovanim većinom koja stremlji ka socijalnom idealitetu.

Posljednje potpoglavlje ovog dijela knjige problematizira važnost retorike za savremeno pravo, budući da se i pravo i retorika u svojoj praksi oslanjaju na argumente, a od snage argumenata i u sudskoj i u bilo kakvoj drugoj raspravi zavisi i krajnji ishod. Stoga, argumentovano zaključivanje i retorika u savremenom pravu dobijaju sve više na značaju. Pitanje valjanosti argumentacije problematizirao je belgijski filozof i pravnik Chaim Perelman, koji smatra da ispravna argumentacija treba počivati na principima pravednosti, a „koju on definiše kao način djelovanja prema kojem bića suštinski iste kategorije treba da budu tretirana na isti način“ (str. 121), ukazujući pri tome na principe Kantovog kategoričkog imperativa i podsjećajući nas na zahtjev uma da čovjek u govoru i djelu mora braniti univerzalne moralne vrijednosti.

Zaključno, čini se da je autor ove knjige uspio i više od onog što stoji u podnaslovu – da ponudi kratku retrospektivu govorništva. Uspio je, također, i u svome naumu da ukaže da su govor i jezik ono što čovjek jeste, biće jezika (pri tome naglašavajući i njegovu slušalačku prirodu koja upotpunjuje govor), a da je filozofija uzvišeni raz-

govor duše sa samom sobom. Vrijednost ove knjige nije samo u njenom retrospektivnom podsjećanju na historiju filozofije i retorike, što će za studente i one koji žele proširiti svoje znanje poslužiti kao odlična propedeutika u historiju retorike, već što su u njoj sadržani i temelji dubljeg razumijevanja i mogućnosti izgradnje budućeg istraživanja govora i retorike kojima se Kozlić ovdje iskreno posvetio. Stoga je ovim skromnim tekstom preporučujem na čitanje, njeno promišljanje i buduće dijalogiziranje.

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## **LOKALNO VS. GLOBALNO PROIZVEDENO ZNANJE O SJEĆANJU I NEGIRANJU GENOCIDA**

**[*Negiranje: posljednja faza genocida*, John Cox, Amal Khoury i Sarah Minslow (ur.), Dialogos – Odbor za obilježavanje genocida u Srebrenici Luksemburg; Tuzla, 2024]**

Čitajući ovu publikaciju koja je izašla u prijevodu na bosanski jezik 2024. godine nisam mogla ostati vrijednosno/interesno neutralna i objektivna u procjeni njezinog znanstvenog doprinosa boljemu razumijevanju *genocida* kao jednog iznimno kompleksnog društvenog fenomena. Kako sam i sama svjedok *genocidnih namjera* srbijske velikosrpske ideologije i jugoslavenske ratne mašinerije koja je u Vukovaru 1991. godine utrla put genocidu počinjenom nad Bošnjacima u Srebrenici četiri godine kasnije, držim da imam *pravo* ali i *obvezu* ne samo kao znanstvenica, nego i kao *preživjeli*, pristupiti osobnije razmatranju sadržaja knjige koja na interdisciplinarnan znanstvenoistraživački način pruža uvid u *naslijeđe* ali i *borbu* protiv suvremenog *negiranja genocida* diljem svijeta.

Ne ulazeći u detaljnije razmatranje svih pojedinih priloga – od uvoda koji potpisuje John Cox preko jedanaest poglavlja autora različitih znanstvenoistraživačkih disciplina i teorijskih pristupa – namjera je ovog prikaza problematizirati znanje koje je proizvedeno i objavljeno u publikaciji o genocidu i negiranju genocida, komemoraciji i kulturi sjećanja, genocidnosti kolonijalizma, poslijeratnoj traumi, sjećanju, povijesti i tranzicijskoj pravdi. Pomnim iščitavanjem objavljenih tekstova moguće je zaključiti kako su svi autori odabrali kritički pristup u analizi odabranih društvenih fenomena i problema. Od prvog priloga Henrya C. Theriaulta koji kritički interpretira postmo-

dernistički okvir epistemološke filozofske zajednice znanstvenika koji se bave problemima modernih društava Zapada – društvenog nasilja i genocida – do A. Jonesovog prikaza hrabrog propitivanja uvriježenih činjeničnih istina u društvenom kontekstu i sredinama koje negiraju genocid, očita je potreba autorā da se progovori o zatumljenim glasovima, istinama i povijesti koja u svojim korijenima ima rat, nasilje i genocid. Znanstvena izvrsnost kao i relevantnost tema kojima se autori bave neupitan je dokaz vjerodostojnosti interpretacija znanstvenoistraživačkih rezultata znanstvenika koji na taj način daju svoj doprinos boljem razumijevanju suvremenih društvenih fenomena vezanih za genocid, traumu, nasilje, rat, sjećanje i povijest.

Ipak se ne mogu odreći dojma kako autori znanstveno valorizirane istine o počinjenim zločinima, žrtvama i genocidu, te načinima na koji se društva i cijeli narodi nose s takvim naslijeđem, interpretiraju ponajprije kroz prizmu teorijsko-metodološkog okvira razvijenog *Globalnog Sjevera* koji neosporno vlada globalno proizvedenim znanjem. Dok je hvale vrijedan izvrstan prijevod knjige na bosanski jezik koji na taj način premošćuje jezičnu barijeru i omogućuje širenje znanja i činjeničnih istina o tamnoj i nasilnoj strani ljudske prirode široj i znanstvenoj javnosti na govornom području bivše socijalističke Jugoslavije; publikacija istovremeno ukazuje i na veliku moć u proizvodnji znanja koju posjeduje međunarodno priznata izdavačka kuća *Routledge*. Transfer znanja kroz *industriju znanja*<sup>1</sup> Globalnog Sjevera omogućuju izdavačke kuće kao što je Routledge, kojima je cilj distribuirati značenja, interpretacije i činjenične istine najvećim dijelom iz perspektive znanstvene izvrsnosti Zapada čija kritičnost ne ugrožava integritet znanstvenoistraživačkog režima globalno usvojenog jedinstvenog načina financiranja i publiciranja. I dok se puno toga može naučiti i spoznati o genocidu, genocidnim namjerama, negiranju genocida i genocidnom kolonijalizmu, te traumatičnom sjećanju, kulturi sjećanja i komemoraciji u okviru tranzicijske pravde na primjerima iz cijelog svijeta, istovremeno je vidljivo kako od 160 izlaganja na konferenciji čiji je direktan rezultat ova knjiga, samo dva rada u cijelosti progovaraju o genocidu u Srebrenici. Kakav je bio proces selektiranja i na temelju kojih kriterija su autori ove publikacije bili pozvani dostaviti svoje radove, te koliki je bio broj sudionika spomenute konferencije gdje su znanstvenici predstavljali rezultate istraživanja o genocidu u Srebrenici nije poznato. Ipak, važno je naglasiti kako je uvrštavanje rada Hikmeta Karčića od velike važnosti za malu znanstvenu zajednicu

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<sup>1</sup> Gibbons, Michael, Camille Limoges, Helga Nowotny, Simon Schwartzman, Peter Scott, Martin Trow (2010), *The New Production of Knowledge: The Dynamics of Science and Research in Contemporary Societies*; SAGE Publications Ltd.

Bosne i Hercegovine, jer on otvara vrata novim spoznajama i perspektivama mladih znanstvenika na rubu Globalnog Sjevera. Kao autor i pripadnik zajednice nad kojom je počinjen genocid u Bosni i Hercegovini, H. Karčić u radu „Trijumfalizam: Završna faza bosanskog genocida“ dokumentira proces negiranja srebreničkog genocida uporabom znanstvenih alata kojima interpretira činjenične istine kroz insajderski pristup. Diskurs sjećanja i negiranja genocida koji Karčić analizira predstavlja početni korak u priznavanju lokalno proizvedenog znanja koje može ravnopravno parirati onomu proizvedenom od strane međunarodnih znanstvenika.

Ovdje se namjerno izdvaja ovaj rad zbog toga što ni jedna znanstvena zajednica ne može biti više zainteresirana i interesno vođena od bošnjačke zajednice da činjenične istine o genocidu u Srebrenici distribuiraju unutar međunarodnih, kako znanstvenih, tako i društveno-političkih institucija i sustava. Zbog toga je ova publikacija od velike važnosti za bošnjačku zajednicu i cjelokupnu znanstvenu zajednicu koja svojim istraživanjima doprinosi utvrđivanju činjeničnih istina o genocidu u Srebrenici i suvremenom negiranju njezinoga naslijeđa u Bosni i Hercegovini, ali i u svijetu. Naime, lokalno proizvedeno znanje posjeduje najveću snagu i interes u borbi za istinu ali i protiv negiranja genocida. Kako to nedavni primjer usvajanja UN rezolucije za proglašenje 11. srpnja *Međunarodnim danom sjećanja i komemoracije genocida u Srebrenici 1995. godine* pokazuje međunarodna zajednica uslijed suvremenih globalnih geostrateških prestrukturiranja po prvi puta u Generalnoj Skupštini nije jednoglasno i neosporno usvojila jedan tako važan prijedlog koji se vezuje za genocid. Simboličko nasilje koje se na taj način stalno i iznova perpetuiraju i nanosi žrtvama i preživjelima ne ulijeva nadu da će svijet postati bolji i da će genocidne namjere vremenom nestati. Ovaj kratki i iznimno osoban prikaz knjige o negiranju genocida prema tome ukazuje u konačnici da svaki narod, pa tako i bošnjački, ima pravo komemorirati i sjećati se žrtava srebreničkog genocida na način kako to želi. Esencijalističko vezivanje i kolektivno sjećanje svakog 11. srpnja u kulturi sjećanja Bosne i Hercegovine može i ima potencijal povezati smisao i značenje patnje i žrtve sa simboličkim korijenom ratnih iskustava preživjelih na način da u kolektivnom sjećanju nacije ratna trauma nadilazi vlastiti kontekst viktimizacije, u čemu lokalno proizvedeno znanje ima ključnu ulogu. Iako je ova publikacija još jedan od primjera kako postmodernost ekonomski eksploatira podatke i ciljano proizvodi znanje o traumatiziranim populacijama kao što je bošnjačka, ipak, žrtve-preživjeli mogu opstati jedino u kulturi sjećanja kroz borbu protiv zaborava na temelju lokalno proizvedenog znanja i interesno pozicioniranih znanstvenika i istraživača.

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## **IZAZOVI I KREATIVNA RJEŠENJA U POUČAVANJU INTERKULTURALNE KOMUNIKACIJSKE KOMPETENCIJE**

**(Marijana Prodanović i Begona Crespo, *Towards Success in Communicating and Teaching Internationally: Teach and Talk like You Walk*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2024)**

*Ka uspješnoj međunarodnoj komunikaciji i podučavanju: Podučavaj i govori kao što se krećeš* djelo je autorica Marijane Prodanović i Begone Crespo objavljeno 2024. godine. Studiju čini devet poglavlja u kojima autorice na autentičan način nude priliku čitaocima da unaprijede interkulturalne kompetencije i osnaže se u komunikaciji sa pripadnicima drugih kultura. Svako poglavlje nudi sažetak, niz ključnih riječi i popis bibliografskih podataka. Kroz sedam poglavlja autorice uvezuju teorijske koncepte sa ilustracijama, iskustvenim primjerima, uz adekvatna pitanja i zadatke. Izuzetno vrijedno je što su autorice pričale priče o interkulturalnom razvoju nastavnika i nastavnica i osvijestile izazove s kojima se susreću osobe koje su iskusile interkulturalne susrete. Popisi bibliografskih podataka na kraju svakog poglavlja su značajni za sve čitaoce koji žele nastaviti istraživati o predmetnoj temi. Posljednje segmente poglavlja autorice ispisuju s ključnim porukama kako bi na kreativan način potaknule čitaoce da promišljaju o sadržaju teksta i osmisle vlastite verzije interkulturalne priče. Ključne poruke mogu podsjetiti na određene interkulturalne susrete sa prijatnim i neprijatnim ishodima, ali vrijednost istih jeste što predstavljaju etnopedagoške misli i narodne mudrosti o interkulturalnom odgoju. Knjiga je iznimno dragocjena jer nas uči kako da osvijestimo vlastita znanja, vještine i vrijednosti koje ispoljavamo u dodiru sa drugim i drugačijim od nas. Nudeći primjere u kojima



pojedinci opisuju interkulturalne susrete i propituju emocije, vrijednosti i događaje čine ovo djelo osebujnim.

Iako je knjiga prvenstveno namijenjena studentima – budućim nastavnicima i nastavnicima engleskog jezika – zaista je korisno štivo za sve koji izučavaju interkulturalne susrete i komunikaciju, jer omogućava uvid u poželjne obrasce ponašanja i komunikacije pri susretu sa pripadnicima drugih kultura.

Uvodno poglavlje nudi putokaz kroz knjigu na način da opisuje šta očekuje čitaoc, odnosno predstavlja elemente od kojih se sastoji knjiga. Unutar putokaza autorice nude kviz kojim čitaoci propituju svoja trenutna znanja i otkrivaju ideje o sadržaju knjige. Ključni koncepti iz kviza jesu važna pravila na kojima počiva interkulturalna kompetencija i interkulturalno obrazovanje, a njihovo razumijevanje jeste sastavnim dijelom interkulturalnog putovanja.

U drugom poglavlju autorice propituju šta to sve djeluje na razumijevanje kulture i na koji način osobe regulišu ponašanja u interkulturalnim susretima. Uticaji na ponašanja, preklapanja mentalne i fizičke bliskosti pripadnika različitih kultura i krugovi (interpersonalni, instiucionalni, lokalni i globalni) u kojima se kreću pojedinci, ukazuju da oni uspostavljaju odnose na svijesti o ličnom i mentalnom procesu. Tumačenje i prepoznavanje okruženja i uticaja koji djeluju na odnose među različitim kulturama olakšano je slikovitim i grafičkim prikazima, kao i zanimljivim ilustracijama.

Treće poglavlje usmjerava pažnju čitaoca na razumijevanje kulture kroz koncept „Ledenog brijega“ kao jednog od modela kulture. Ovaj model prikazuje kulturu kao ledenu santu čiji maleni dio viri iznad površine, dok veći i snažniji dio kulture se krije ispod površine. Modelom ledenog brijega priznajemo da smo izloženi veoma ograničenom pristupu kulturalnim elemenatima, a da sve „skriveno“ jeste ustvari glavni sadržaj kulture. Na istom tragu je i shvatanje vlastitog identiteta kao kompleksnog procesa koji obuhvata nekoliko slojeva što svakako utiče na proces poučavanja i kreiranja poticajne odgojno-obrazovne kulture. U ovom poglavlju autorice ukazuju na vezu kulture i stereotipa, predrasuda, uvjerenja, strahova i nada, te ukazuju na separaciju i marginalizaciju kao učestale društvene pojave. S namjerom osvještavanja svih segmenata kulture, kao i načina na koje djeluju osobe u susretu s pripadnicima drugih kultura, ovo poglavlje nudi slike i interaktivne scenarije kojima se predstavljaju lična iskustva i faze kulturnog šoka.

Pored modela "Ledenog brijega" autorice opisuju kulturu i uz podršku Hofstedovog modela kulturnih dimenzija. Ovim modelom u četvrtom poglavlju opisuju različitosti među kulturama kroz šest dimenzija koje nas uče kako postati kultur-

no svjesniji i otvoreniji, te kako graditi snažnije i empatičnije odnose s drugima. Autorice, uz adekvatne ilustracije, ohrabruju čitaoce da prepoznaju i kulturne dimenzije kao i karakteristike niskokontekstualnih i visokokontekstualnih kultura i njihovih pripadnika.

Uspješni i manje uspješni interkulturalni susreti opisani su u petom poglavlju. Na interesantan način je predstavljen pojam „lica“ koji na pozitivan i/ili negativan način djeluje u komunikaciji sa pripadnicima drugih kultura i jezika. Stoga važno je posvetiti pažnju u posmatranju vlastitog, kao i lica drugih ljudi kako bi kvalitetnije i efikasnije uspostavili i održavali komunikaciju. U ovom poglavlju autorice ističu koliko su građani svijeta navikli da koriste engleski jezik (Globish – pojednostavljena verzija engleskog jezika) za sporazumijevanje u interkulturalnim susretima, s tim da ne umanjuju značaj niti jednog drugog jezika, što potvrđuje savremena potreba pojedinaca da budu kompetentni razumjeti i koristiti više jezika odjednom. Međutim, kako ističu autorice, što bolje upoznajemo kulture s kojima se susrećemo, to pruža više prilika za uspješne interkulturalne susrete. Svakako, ističu i značaj kulturne inteligencije koju čine znanja o različitim kulturama, svjesnost odnosno otvorenost za istraživanje i analiziranje kultura i različitosti, te naposljetku vještine koje omogućavaju prikladan odnos sa drugima i prikladno ponašanje u određenim situacijama.

U fokusu šestog poglavlja prepoznaju se dva pojma: EMI (English as a Medium of Instruction) i CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning). EMI je skraćenica kojom se engleski jezik tumači kao sredstvo podučavanja, a CLIL je skraćenica za opis integriranog učenja sadržaja i jezika. Kako bi nastavnici koristili ova dva pristupa u nastavi neophodno je da razvijaju vještine koje podržavaju primjenu EMI-a i CLIL-a u razrednom okruženju. Vještine koje su im potrebne odnose se na znanje, praksu, refleksiju i angažman. Predloženi scenariji, pitanja i nastavne pripreme osnažuju nastavnike da primjenjuju navedene pristupe u nastavi ne samo jezika, već i drugih naučnih oblasti.

Sedmo poglavlje posvećeno je komunikaciji, tačnije osjetljivosti i greškama učinjenim u komunikaciji u multikulturalnom okruženju. Tumače se stereotipi, predrasude, kao i diskriminatorna ponašanja. U tu svrhu autorice su ponudile liste pitanja i tvrdnji kojima čitaoci mogu procijeniti vlastita mišljenja i stavove, što će omogućiti dublje razumijevanje komunikacije, kao i razloga koji dovode do čestih nesporazuma. U ovom poglavlju značajno mjesto zauzima interkulturalna osjetljivost, odnosno individualna sposobnost za nova iskustva i odgovore na kulturalne razlike. Interkulturalna osjetljivost je povezana sa emocionalnom sposobnošću prepoznavanja, poznavanja i poštovanja razlika među kulturama, što omogućava

odgovarajuću afektivnu interakciju među pripadnicima različitih kulturnih identiteta.

Osmo poglavlje tumači konflikte, rješenja i pregovaranja, a naglasak je na konfliktima koji se odvijaju među pripadnici različitih kultura, kao i pripadnicima iste kulturne skupine. Uz opisane situacije čitaoci su u mogućnosti da prepoznaju o kojoj vrsti konflikta je riječ te na koji način ih je moguće riješiti da svi učesnici budu zadovoljni rezultatom. Posebno je važno istaknuti AIR strategiju za rješavanje konfliktnih situacija, a čitaoci mogu naučiti kako da odaberu adekvatne riječi, uz podršku strategija BATNA i ZOPNA, s kojima će brižno pristupiti rješavanju konflikta i kako kvalitetno pregovarati. Dakle, komunikacijska kompetencija nije samo individualna odlika nego je alat za povezivanje dvije ili više osoba u kulturološki adekvatna ponašanja.

U posljednjem poglavlju autorice posvećuju pažnju digitalizaciji u obrazovanju s posebnim naglaskom na primjenu umjetne inteligencije u interkulturalnoj komunikaciji. Svjesne su da djeca i mladi uživaju u nastavi ukoliko je potpomognuta digitalnim alatima i adekvatnim aplikacijama. Iako podržavaju njihovu primjenu nastavi, ipak daju prednost nastavničkim kompetencijama u podučavanju jezika. Autorice tvrde da puki prevodi fraza ili nekih metaforičkih izraza koje nude određene aplikacije nisu dostatne za kvalitetno razumijevanje i uspostavljanje interakcije što može dovesti do nesporazuma u komunikaciji. U ovom poglavlju čitaoci imaju priliku propitati vlastito razumijevanje sadržaja knjige, kao i primijeniti naučeno u rješavanju određenih problemskih pitanja i situacija.

Knjiga autorica Prodanović i Crespo predstavlja značajan doprinos u poučavanju interkulturalne komunikacijske kompetencije i izazova u susretu sa drugima i drugačijima. Vrlo zanimljivim pristupom autorice vode čitaoce interkulturalnim stazama i predstavljaju ključne segmente koračanja kroz različite krajolike ohrabrujući ih da iskuse bogatstvo razlika i djeluju na poželjan način. Ovo djelo zaista je vrijedan materijal za razvoj komunikacijskih kompetencija u dodiru sa djecom i mladima u skladu s različitim kulturološkim obrascima i različitim poimanjima sebe i drugih.

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## **PREVENTIVNI PROGRAMI U SOCIJALNOM RADU I SOCIJALNOJ PEDAGOGIJI**

**(Anita Begić i Karolina Tadić Lesko, *Socijalnopedagoški preventivni rad*, Sveučilište u Mostaru, Mostar, 2024)**

Autorice knjige *Socijalnopedagoški preventivni rad* Anita Begić i Karolina Tadić-Lesko docentice su na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Mostaru. Knjiga je objavljena 2024. godine u izdanju Sveučilišta u Mostaru. Kako se navodi u predgovoru, ovim udžbenikom autorice su imale namjeru dublje zaroniti u socijalnopedagoška područja preventivnog rada, dati pregled aktualne problematike te inicirati procese prevencije i angažiranja odgovarajućih stručnjaka u odgojno-obrazovnim ustanovama. Unapređivanjem postojećih strategija, intervencija i alata prevencije, edukacijom i usavršavanjem stručnjaka koji se bave radom s djecom, odgojem i obrazovanjem, afirmacijom timskog rada, želi se dati doprinos i podrška u borbi s aktualnim društvenim rizicima.

Udžbenik je napisan na 132 stranice i strukturiran u četiri poglavlja: *Socijalnopedagoška zaštita djece u riziku*, *Prevenција u socijalnopedagoškom radu*, *Ovisnosti među djecom i mladima – istraživanje*, *Vježbe za opuštanje*. Navedenim poglavljima prethodi predgovor, a na kraju knjige nalaze se *Pogovor protiv novog demona ovisnosti o kocki i nasilja na internetu*, *Mali pedagoški pojmovnik*, popis literature, recenzije i biografije autorica. U izradi monografije korišteno je 125 bibliografskih jedinica, relevantni domaći i međunarodni izvori.

U prvom poglavlju pod naslovom *Socijalnopedagoška zaštita djece u riziku* s ciljem jasnijeg razumijevanja tematike sistematično se razrađuju rizični faktori. Na

početku se odgovara na pitanje *Tko su djeca u riziku?*, te raščlanjuju rizični faktori: u obitelji, kod djeteta, u vršnjačkim grupama, i u školi. Zatim se opisuju poremećaji u ponašanju i to: pasivni (internalizirani) poremećaji u ponašanju – plašljivost, povučenost, potištenost, nemarnost i lijenost; zatim neurotski uvjetovani pasivni (internalizirani) oblici poremećaja u ponašanju – pomanjkanje (deficit) pažnje ADD, poremećaji prehrane; te aktivni (eksternalizirani) poremećaji u ponašanju – nediscipliniranost, laganje, bježanje iz škole, od kuće i iz drugih odgojnih sredina, hiperaktivnost, agresivno ponašanje, delinkventno ponašanje i ostali aktivni (eksternalizirani) oblici poremećaja u ponašanju. Prvo poglavlje završava sa socijalnopedagoškim intervencijama. Dat je osvrt na intervencije u socijalnopedagoškom radu i procjena rizika i potreba u planiranju intervencija.

Autorice u drugom poglavlju pod naslovom *Prevenција u socijalnopedagoškom radu* nastoje odgovoriti na pitanje *Što je prevencija?* Opisuju školske preventivne programe; zdravstvene prevencije u školi, prevencije ovisnosti u školi. Posebno se govori o odabranim inozemnim preventivnim programima u školi. Prevencija elektroničkog nasilja u školi kao posebno aktualna tema obrađena je prema modelu Farrella i Flanneryja (2006) kroz četiri dimenzije programa prevencije elektroničkog nasilja: rad i razvoj socijalne mreže sustava na koji je preventivni program usmjeren, sadržaj i intenzitet rizičnih faktora u konkretnoj populaciji učenika, specifičnost dobnih skupina i svrha preventivnih programa. Smjernice za školsku prevenciju su obrađene kroz modele prevencije u zajednici; odabrane preventivne pristupe na razini obitelji, institucije i zajednice; značaj roditeljskih poruka i primjenu modela malih kreativnih socijalizacijskih skupina (MKSS) u preventivnom radu. Opisane su i male kreativne socijalizacijske skupine, obiteljska grupna konferencija, medijacija između žrtve i maloljetnog počinitelja kaznenog djela. Dat je osvrt i na smjernice za prevenciju seksualnog zlostavljanja u školi.

Treće poglavlje nosi naslov *Ovisnosti među djecom i mladima – istraživanje*. Na početku poglavlja daje se prikaz prevencije alkoholizma kod djece i mladih kroz ulogu društva, kulture i medija. Predstavljen je i prikaz rezultata istraživanja o pijenju alkoholnih pića među učenicima 8. i 9. razreda mostarskih osnovnih škola. U provedenom istraživanju među učenicima sudjelovalo ih je 150 u dobi od 13 do 15 godina, od čega je 76 djevojčica i 74 dječaka. Cilj istraživanja bio je istražiti zastupljenost konzumacije i vrsta alkohola među navedenim učenicima. Od 150 sudionika istraživanja njih 94 je konzumiralo i konzumira alkohol. Rezultati istraživanja govore o tome da učenice u najvećem broju (37,1%), a učenici čak 47,50%, počinju s konzumacijom alkohola u dobi od 12 do 13 godina, pri čemu 30,5 %

učenika, a 20% učenica konzumira alkohol tjedno. Više od polovine ispitanika alkohol kupuju u trgovinama, a najzastupljenija vrsta pića je pivo. Zabrinjavajući je i rezultat istraživanja da 45,70% učenica i 33,90% učenika alkohol konzumira u vlastitome domu. Autorice u ovom poglavlju prezentiraju i konkretne preventivne smjernice u svrhu sprečavanja konzumacije alkohola kod djece i mladih: osigurati kvalitetno provođenje slobodnog vremena djece i mladih, povećati razinu roditeljskog nadzora, povećati razinu kontrole u trgovinama na okolnosti prodaje alkoholnih pića maloljetnicima, povećati razinu svijesti djece i mladih o važnosti zaštite zdravlja, koristiti interaktivni pristup u radu s djecom i mladima, redovito provoditi preventivne programe protiv ovisnosti u osnovnim i srednjim školama kojima treba obuhvatiti sve učenike. Dat je osvrt i na ovisnost o psihoaktivnim supstancama opisujući razloge zbog kojih tinejdžeri konzumiraju psihoaktivne supstance.

U četvrtom poglavlju pod naslovom *Vježbe za opuštanje* dat je prikaz vježbi Leptirov zagrljaj (1 i 2) i postupak progresivne mišićne relaksacije (s 12 i 8 mišićnih grupa).

Posljednje poglavlje knjige posebno govori o „novom demonu“ ovisnosti o kocki i nasilju na internetu. Autorice daju kratki osvrt na navedene pojave i apostrofiraju da ove teme zaslužuju pomniju analizu i obradu u nekoj novoj studiji u budućnosti.

Knjiga završava *Malim socijalnopedagoškim pojmovnikom* koji može poslužiti kao informativni rječnik pojmova koji na razumljiv način objašnjava osnovne pojmove korištene u knjizi.

Imajući u vidu našu društvenu stvarnost i nikada veću potrebu za preventivnim radom, ova knjiga/udžbenik predstavlja iznimno vrijedno štivo jer sadržaj znanstvene monografije osim što obuhvata teorijska polazišta o socijalnopedagoškoj zaštiti djece u riziku i prevenciji u socijalnopedagoškom radu, čini naročito značajan iskorak povezivanjem socijalnog i pedagoškog uklona u prevenciji što uveliko pridonosi razvoju timskog rada. Vrijedi spomenuti da se autorice već dugi niz godina bave i znanstvenim i praktičnim radom, a izravno su u kontaktu s djecom i mladima u riziku. Za svaku pohvalu je da su se, potaknute svakodnevnim iskustvom, usudile uhvatiti u koštac s jednom izazovnom i aktualnom temom kao što je socijalnopedagoški preventivni rad. Prevencija ima smisla samo ako je svi provodimo zajedničkim snagama, od obitelji preko škole do šire zajednice. Na tom zadatku ova knjiga/udžbenik može nam poslužiti u edukaciji socijalnih radnika, pedagoga, specijalnih pedagoga, kao i svih drugih profesionalaca koji se bave brigom o djeci i prevencijom, ali isto tako i roditeljima koji su nezaobilazna karika u lancu sociopedagoške prevencije.

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## **JEDINSTVO PEDAGOŠKIH KOMPETENCIJA, ŠKOLE I OBITELJI**

**(Elma Selmanagić-Lizde, Rasema Sarić, *Pedagoške kompetencije, škola i obitelj*, Sarajevo Publishing, Sarajevo, 2024)**

Knjiga *Pedagoške kompetencije, škola i obitelj* (Sarajevo Publishing, 2024) je znanstvena studija koja na jasan i sistematičan način govori o značaju pedagoških kompetencija nastavnika u ostvarivanju kvalitetnog partnerstva obitelji i škole. Nastala je kao rezultat naučno-istraživačkog projekta „Poticanje kulturnih vrijednosti i unapređenje pedagoških kompetencija kroz komunikacijsko-funkcionalnu pismenost u poučavanju bosanskog jezika“, provedenog na Pedagoškom fakultetu Univerziteta u Sarajevu, a odobrenog od Federalnog ministarstva obrazovanja i nauke. Autorice su željele podsjetiti i naglasiti odgovornost i važnost nastavnika koji dijele učionicu i školski prostor sa svojim učenicima, roditeljima i ostalim sudionicima odgojno-obrazovnog procesa. Knjiga se sastoji od uvoda, dva tematska poglavlja (svako ima nekoliko potpoglavlja odgovarajućih naslova), popisa korištenih izvora i bibliografskih jedinica, popisa imena i pojmova te bilješki o autoricama.

Naslov prvog poglavlja *Škola – zajednica koja živi* sugerira da se radi o viziji škole koja nije samo mjesto za učenje, već dinamična zajednica u kojoj učenici, nastavnici i roditelji doprinose zajedničkom razvoju i učenju. Autorice kroz potpoglavlja *Kompetencije u kontekstu odgoja i obrazovanja*, *Kompetencije nastavnika u kontekstu savremene škole*, *Pedagoške kompetencije nastavnika*, *Digitalne kompetencije*, *Funkcionalna znanja i kompetencije učenika*, *Pokazatelji povezanosti nastavnčkih kompetencija i uspjeha učenika*, *Samoovrednovanje odgojno-obrazovnog*



*rada i komparativni pregled, Profesionalni razvoj nastavnika* daju pregled značaja kompetencija i njihovih dimenzija nastojeći istražiti i oblikovati sveobuhvatan kompetencijski profil savremenog nastavnika kako bi se poboljšala njegova uloga u odgojnom i obrazovnom radu s djecom i mladima. Oslanjajući se na uloge koje se danas stavljaju pred nastavnika, autorice su se nastojale odmaknuti od tradicionalnih definiranja kompetencija u smislu znanja, vještina i stavova te usredotočiti se na ključne kvalitete i vrijednosti koje dosljedno razlikuju tipični ili početnički učinak i izvrsni učinak u određenom poslu ili ulozi, kao što su predanost, strast prema podučavanju, empatija za učenike, inovativnost u metodama podučavanja, stručnost u vlastitom području, odgovornost za obrazovne ciljeve, poštenje u radu, kao i sposobnost učinkovite saradnje, prilagodljivost i fleksibilnost za prilagođavanje potrebama nastave. Autorice dalje analiziraju različite dimenzije pedagoške i didaktičke kompetencije nastavnika, kao i njihovu međusobnu povezanost. Pedagoške kompetencije savremenog nastavnika dijele na: osobnu, predmetnu, komunikacijsku, didaktičko-metodičku, refleksivnu, socijalnu, emocionalnu, interkulturalnu i građansku dimenziju. S druge strane, didaktičke kompetencije obuhvataju dimenzije koje se odnose na sposobnost izrade i primjene predmetnih kurikuluma, odabir oblika, metoda i tehnika rada, organizaciju i realizaciju nastavnog procesa, kreiranje ugodnog okruženja za učenje, evaluaciju učeničkih postignuća, te izgradnju partnerskog odnosa s roditeljima. Prema autoricama, ove dimenzije zahtijevaju stručno usavršavanje, stalno praćenje razine pedagoških i didaktičkih kompetencija te sticanje novih znanja i vještina. U tom kontekstu, autorice naglašavaju i važnost digitalnih kompetencija nastavnika, budući da tehnološki napredak zahtijeva stalno prilagođavanje i integraciju novih alata. Definiranje takvih kompetencija omogućuje bolje procjenjivanje stupnja pripremljenosti nastavnika da razvijaju funkcionalna znanja učenika, kao i utvrđivanje koraka za razvoj savremenog sistema odgoja i obrazovanja i kurikularnog pristupa, što će omogućiti nove načine učenja, poučavanja i vrednovanja. Krajnji cilj je kontinuirano unapređivanje kvalitete obrazovanja što zahtijeva analizu kroz samovrednovanje i vrednovanje, jer jednom postignuta kvaliteta nije trajna i postojeću praksu potrebno je stalno revidirati. Kako navode autorice, taj proces vrednovanja omogućuje školama autonomiju i preuzimanje odgovornosti za vlastiti razvoj, doprinoseći kvaliteti nastave koja uključuje jasno strukturiranje nastave, pozitivno razredno ozračje za učenje, raznolikost metoda i individualno poticanje učenika. Poseban fokus je stavljen na profesionalni razvoj nastavnika koji se javlja kao imperativ u svakom društvu, jer savremeni obrazovni sistem može postojati jedino uz kvalitetne nastavnike, odnosno profesionalan nastavnički kadar.

Naslov drugog poglavlja *Promjena paradigme u odnosu obitelji i škole* stavlja naglasak na partnerski odnos, gdje su škola i obitelji zajedno odgovorni za cjelokupan razvoj djeteta. Obuhvata pet međusobno povezanih potpoglavlja, a to su: *Uloga obiteljskog odgoja u prošlosti; Savremena obitelj i njena obilježja; Roditeljstvo savremenog doba; Partnerstvo obitelji i škole – kompleksan interpersonalni odnos; Važnost razvoja partnerstva za dijete, roditelje i obitelj, nastavnika i školu*. Ovo poglavlje opisuje značaj timskog rada i partnerskog djelovanja svih uključenih sudionika za postizanje zajedničkih ciljeva, kao i jačanje roditeljskih kompetencija i osiguravanje njihovog većeg učešća u obrazovanju djeteta. Poglavlja u ovom dijelu obrađuju temeljne aspekte obiteljskog odgoja u prošlosti, prijelaz na savremenije oblike roditeljstva te važnost uključenosti roditelja u život i rad škole. Promjena obiteljske strukture i sistema vrijednosti tokom procesa modernizacije očitovala se s dubokim učincima na pojedinca i društvo. U tom kontekstu autorice ističu da se obitelj i škola trebaju međusobno povezivati i stvarati veze sa drugim institucijama jer obitelj zbog novonastalih promjena već dugo ne može odgovoriti sama. Autorice također ispituju ključne teorijske postavke o savremenim konceptima roditeljstva, odnosno naglašavaju se izazovi oblikovani brzim tehnološkim napretkom, društvenim promjenama i fluktuirajućim uslovima rada. Kako bi se prevladali ovi izazovi, postaje imperativ saradivati s nastavnicima da bi se podržao djetetov rast i razvoj na svim razinama. Prema autoricama, nastavnici su ti koji kroz otvoreni dijalog s roditeljima mogu podijeliti informacije o karakteristikama učenja svakog djeteta, dati savjete o prilagodbi roditeljskih očekivanja te potaknuti podršku kod kuće koja je važna za razvoj djetetova samopouzdanja. U tu svrhu roditelji treba da budu svjesni partnerstva škole i obitelji, da budu informisani o aktivnostima, da budu dobrodošli kada dođu u školu i da osjećaju da su članovi ove zajednice. Roditeljima treba dati informacije o mogućnostima učenja van škole, odgovornostima školskog osoblja i pravima i odgovornostima obitelji.

Dodatno, istaknuta je složenost postizanja partnerstva između obitelji i škole, kao što su česta neslaganja između roditelja i nastavnika, gdje obje strane mogu jedna drugu doživljavati kao prijatelju, a ne kao partnere. Autorice ističu da partnerski odnos nadilazi formalnu saradnju i roditeljske sastanke, favorizirajući dijalog usmjeren na proces i uvjete učenja, a ne samo na rezultate. Uz isticanje važnosti partnerstva obitelji i škole za razvoj djeteta, autorice naglašavaju i važnost cjeloživotnog učenja i stručnog usavršavanja nastavnika kako bi bili spremni na stalnu evaluaciju, otvoreni dijalog i spremni na promjene. Zatim je ispitana uloga uključenosti roditelja u školu i njihove pedagoške kompetencije. U prilog tome istaknute su ključne teme i izazovi

partnerstva obitelji i škole, kao i promjene koje su se događale tokom godina. Općenito, osnovni uzroci nedostatka interesovanja porodica prema školama i obrnuto proističu iz nesporazuma i sumnji koje proizilaze iz deficita komunikacije, izostanka povjerenja, nedostatka vremena, nerealističnih očekivanja, rivalstva i slično. Da bi se postigao željeni uspjeh u obrazovanju, potrebno je ukloniti prepreke koje potiču iz škole ili obitelji. Naglašeno je da partnerski odnos obitelji i škole donosi svima koristi: roditelji stiču sigurnost u obavljanju njihove roditeljske uloge i nova znanja, nastavnici razvijaju svoje profesionalne kompetencije, jačanje samopouzdanja, zadovoljstvo u profesiji, a djeca se osjećaju viđeno, saslušano, cijenjeno i priznato. To rezultira poboljšanjem kvaliteta rada škole, a time i dobrobiti zajednice.

S obzirom na brzinu društvenih promjena i neizvjesnosti s kojima se porodice danas suočavaju, nastavnici trebaju posjedovati niz kompetencija, a posebno one koje se odnose na iniciranje i ostvarivanje kvalitetnog odnosa s roditeljima. Stoga je tema ove knjige društveno i naučno-pedagoški veoma aktualna i relevantna, jer pruža uvid u mnoga važna pitanja, uključujući kompetencije nastavnika, s posebnim naglaskom na pedagoške kompetencije i uvid u savremena znanstvena saznanja o važnosti partnerstva obitelji i škole. Na osnovu prethodnog prikaza poglavlja, može se zaključiti da su na argumentovan način predstavljene i analizirane kompetencije koje su nužne za uspješno profesionalno djelovanje i zašto su one važne u kontekstu savremene škole, te je s tim u vezi i značaj knjige višestruk. Knjiga je upotrebljiva za unapređenje kako teorijskih, tako i praktičnih osnova, jer razvijanjem i maksimalnim unapređivanjem kompetencija nastoji se doprijeti do što potpunijeg kompetencijskog profila savremenog nastavnika. U prikazu najvažnijih kompetencija autorice posebnu važnost daju kompetencijama za izgradnju i razvijanje partnerstva s roditeljima kao najviše razine saradničkog odnosa obitelji i škole u svrhu postizanja zajedničkog cilja. Kroz komunikacijske vještine, aktivno slušanje, odgovornost, kreativnost, rješavanje sukoba, timski rad, osnaživanje roditelja i refleksivnost, izbjegavanje generalizovanja, etiketiranja i optuživanja roditelja nastavnici mogu stvoriti pozitivno okruženje koje podržava učenje i promovira obrazovni uspjeh i razvoj djeteta. Zbog svega navedenog ova knjiga će biti posebno korisna odgajateljima, učiteljima, nastavnicima i stručnim saradnicima u školi, jer nudi smjernice za samoobrazovanje i cjeloživotni pristup razvoju kompetencija, s ciljem poboljšanja kvaliteta odgojno-obrazovnog rada. Knjigu mogu koristiti i studenti nastavničkih fakulteta, u kontekstu obrazovanja o pedagoškim kompetencijama nastavnika, kao i o važnosti iniciranja i razvijanja partnerstva obitelji i škole. Namijenjena je i roditeljima kako bi razvili pedagoške kompetencije

i stekli uvide u savremena znanstvena znanja o važnosti i oblicima ostvarivanja partnerstva sa školom.

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## **IZNIMNO KORISNA KNJIGA O RELACIJI ČITANJA I FUNKCIONALNE PISMENOSTI**

**(Mirela Omerović i Leila Hamzagić Kovačević, *Jezička djelatnost čitanja – temelj funkcionalne pismenosti*, Pedagoški fakultet Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2024)**

Knjiga *Jezička djelatnost čitanja – temelj funkcionalne pismenosti* autorica Mirele Omerović i Leile Hamzagić Kovačević, osim predgovora i zaključka, sadrži osam poglavlja, i to: Uvod; Osnovne jezičke djelatnosti; Neurolingvistički i psiholingvistički pogled na čitanje; Dubinsko čitanje – čitanje u vremenu; Značaj čitanja za unapređenje funkcionalne pismenosti; Čitanje u srednjoškolskom uzrastu – uživanje ili mučenje?; Istraživanje čitanja kod srednjoškolaca – čitalačke navike, potrebe i interesi i Čitanje kao zemelj za razvoj svih ključnih kompetencija. Knjiga također sadrži registre imena i pojmova, popis literature te bilješke o autoricama.

U Uvodu autorice najprije objašnjavaju šta je pismenost u užem i u širem smislu, povezujući ovu drugu – tzv. razvijenu čitalačku pismenost – s razumijevanjem i sposobnošću izgradnje značenja pojedinih riječi, rečenica i diskursa i ističući njezinu utemeljenost na ukupnosti znanja o svijetu, čitaočevim mentalnim predodžbama i prethodnim osjetilnim iskustvima. Kompetencija pismenosti „definira se kao sposobnost učinkovitog komuniciranja i povezivanja s drugim ljudima na primjeren i kreativan način, a razvoj pismenosti čini osnovu za dalje učenje i jezičku interakciju“ (str. 12). Tako shvaćena pismenost, kao sposobnost uspješne komunikacije, najvažniji je odrednik čovjekova ukupnog društvenog djelovanja, jednako kao i njegova poimanja i razumijevanja svijeta odnosno stvarnosti u kojoj živi i radi. U nastavku

autorice poklanjaju pažnju razvoju komunikacijsko-funkcionalne pismenosti u kontekstu kurikulumskih pristupa obrazovnim reformama ističući posebno mjesto koje zauzima domena čitalačke pismenosti, čitalačke kulture, čitalačkih navika i razvoja sposobnosti samostalnog čitanja. Čitalačka pismenost stječe se prvenstveno čitanjem u širokom značenju te riječi, kao složenom jezičkom djelatnošću koja, uz ostale tri jezičke djelatnosti, definira ukupnu jezičku sposobnost svakog čovjeka. Uvodni dio autorice zaključuju osvrtnom na čitanje u procesu odgoja i obrazovanja.

Drugo poglavlje donosi razmatranja kojima je cilj pobliže osvijetljenje i razjašnjenje pojma jezičke djelatnosti i njezinih pojavnih oblika. Jezička djelatnost definira se kao vid očitovanja čovjekova jezičkog znanja i komunikacijske prakse kojom se on predstavlja aktivnim članom društvene zajednice kojoj pripada i u kojoj komunikacijski djeluje. Kako je poznato, četiri su osnovne jezičke djelatnosti: *slušanje, govorenje, čitanje i pisanje*. U procesu obrazovanja one igraju ključnu ulogu, a njihov je značaj posebno istaknut u poučavanju maternjeg jezika jer čine osnovu na kojoj se temelji nastava jezičkog izražavanja. Takva nastava okrenuta je razvoju i unapređenju jezičkih i komunikacijskih vještina i kompetencija kroz funkcionalno učenje i praktični angažman u konkretnim stvarnim i simuliranim komunikacijskim činovima i situacijskim kontekstima. U glavnini ovog poglavlja autorice podrobno opisuju ključna obilježja svih četiriju vrsta osnovnih jezičkih djelatnosti – slušanja i čitanja kao vještina koje se spontano razvijaju te čitanja i pisanja kao vještina koje se razvijaju svjesnim trudom i intelektualnim naporom.

U trećem poglavlju autorice pažnju usmjeravaju na neurolingvistički i psiholingvistički aspekt čitanja. Prvi aspekt uključuje strukturu ljudskog mozga i tiče se utjecaja čitanja na moždanu aktivnost koju ta vrsta jezičke djelatnosti usmjerava i organizira na poseban način. Ovaj dio najprije pruža prilično detaljan uvid u to šta se događa u našem mozgu dok postupno usvajamo jezičku sposobnost, uključujući i čitanje. Stjecanje sposobnosti čitanja odvija se u trima osnovnim fazama: (1) *slikovnoj* (prepoznavanje nekoliko riječi u cjelini) (2) *fonološkoj* (ostvarivanje tzv. „fonološke svjesnosti“) i (3) *ortografskoj* (automatizacija prepoznavanja riječi). Govoreći o tome, autorice izdvajaju ključne faktore koji su važni za normalan razvoj čitalačke vještine, među kojima najveći značaj ima vizualno-prostorna pažnja. Psiholingvistički aspekt čitanja očituje se u mentalnim putanjama kojima se kreće odnosno odvija proces čitanja – fonološkoj i leksičkoj – i koje funkcioniraju paralelno. Ovaj aspekt tiče se prvenstveno razumijevanja sadržaja u procesu čitanja, što je osnovna svrha čitalačke vještine. „Razumijevanje pročitaneog teksta refleksija je komunikacijske interakcije između namjera autora teksta, sadržaja teksta, čitalačkih sposobnosti i ciljeva te

konteksta u kojem se odvija čitanje. U širem poimanju razumijevanje se odnosi na proces ekstrakcije i konstrukcije značenja kroz interakciju i uključenost s tekstem...“ (str. 66). Autorice na kraju ističu značaj koji za jezičku upotrebu imaju iskustvo čitanja i pamćenje u poticanju korištenja što većeg broja riječi u što većem rasponu konteksta.

Četvrto poglavlje tematizira dubinsko čitanje. Započinje usporednom analizom pojmova *čitalačka pismenost*, *čitalačka sposobnost* i *čitalačka kompetencija* i njihove relacije prema čitanju s razumijevanjem koje je preduvjet čitalačke sposobnosti. „Čitanje s razumijevanjem“, ističu autorice, „predstavlja sposobnost čitanja i razumijevanja značenja teksta i integracije toga značenja s prethodnim znanjem čitaoca. Ključ razvijanja složene sposobnosti čitanja s razumijevanjem upravo je integracija značenja riječi i značenja dijelova tekstualne cjeline na temelju dovoljno širokog i dovoljno dubokog znanja o svijetu i znanja vokabulara, odnosno razumijevanja značenja brojnih riječi i mogućnosti njihova povezivanja“ (str. 81). U nastavku ovog poglavlja pažnju poklanjaju definiranju teksta i objašnjenju konstitutivnih načela njegove strukture, a poglavlje zaključuju detaljnim razmatranjem dubinskog čitanja iz perspektive psiholingvistike i neurolingvistike.

U petom poglavlju autorice u fokus postavljaju pitanje koje je ustvari tematski stožer ove knjige, a to je značaj čitanja za unapređenje funkcionalne pismenosti i podizanje kvaliteta funkcionalnih znanja i postignuća učenika u procesu obrazovanja. Ističe se značaj maternjeg jezika u odgojno-obrazovnom procesu za postizanje ravnomjernog ukupnog intelektualnog razvoja njegovih govornika, pri čemu čitanje ima posebno mjesto. Ono je uvjetovano višim kognitivnim jezičkim sposobnostima koje uključuju izgradnju i oblikovanje mentalnog leksikona, svijest o strukturi teksta, sposobnost primanja i procesiranja novih sadržaja i dr., pa prema tome ima formativnu ulogu u stvaranju produktivnog znanja i razvoju kritičkog mišljenja. A upravo je to dvoje u samoj srži onoga što se uobičajeno naziva funkcionalnom pismenošću kao vrstom funkcionalnih znanja koja su općenito korisna i primjenjiva u svim oblastima čovjekova života i djelovanja i imaju krucijalan značaj u prepoznavanju, povezivanju, razumijevanju i rješavanju problema. Kroz ovo poglavlje autorice vrlo uvjerljivo pokazuju kakvo je mjesto jezičke djelatnosti čitanja u savremenim kurikulumskim pristupima obrazovanju koji su usmjereni na praktične ishode učenja.

Šesto poglavlje posvećeno je posebno zanimljivoj temi čitanja u dobu adolescencije. Kako je poznato, riječ je o razvojnem periodu u kojem mladi prolaze kroz nagle, često burne i značajne psihološke promjene u kojima se oblikuju njihove ličnosti. S tim u vezi zanimanje za knjigu i čitanje u tom životnom dobu vrlo je problematično posebno u modernom vremenu digitalizacije u kojem neprestano raste



prestiž i utjecaj drugih medija kao što su televizija ili internet koji sve više prodiru u prostor koji je nekad dominantno pripadao knjigama. U takvim okolnostima škola i nastavnici imaju krucijalnu ulogu u stvaranju i očuvanju motivacije mladih ljudi za čitanje. Govoreći o uzrocima „krize čitanja“ kod adolescenata, autorice ističu zapažanje da „[n]ezainteresiranosti za čitanje i odbojnosti prema tom procesu uvelike doprinose nametnuta lektirna štiva“, zbog čega „[u]čenici na knjigu ne gledaju više kao na izvor zabave i užitka, već kao napor i dosadu koje nameću školske obaveze“ (str. 151). Također odlično primjećuju kako se u praksi pokazuje da negativni stavovi nastavnika o utjecaju i masovnoj upotrebi savremenih medija mogu biti vrlo štetni. Treba razumjeti da digitalni mediji nisu nužno neprijatelji knjige, nego, naprotiv, mogu biti vrlo korisni u nastojanju da se razvijaju navike čitanja, samo ako se upotrijebe na pravi način.

Sedmo poglavlje posebno je i različito od ostalih po tome što je utemeljeno na empirijskom istraživanju te donosi njegove rezultate. Anketnim istraživanjem bili su obuhvaćeni mladi srednjoškolskog uzrasta, a glavni je cilj bio ispitati njihove čitalačke navike i stavove prema čitanju. Postoji uvriježeno mišljenje da mladi danas premalo čitaju, pa je ta pretpostavka i bila glavna istraživačka hipoteza. Nakon detaljne analize dobijenih rezultata autorice su zaključile da je većina ispitanika izrazila pozitivan stav prema čitanju, čak iako značajan broj njih nikad ne posjećuje biblioteku. Dobra je vijest da, barem prema rezultatima ovog istraživanja, mladi nisu u potpunosti izgubili zanimanje za čitanje, ali je vrlo jasno da digitalno okruženje igra veliku ulogu u oblikovanju njihovih navika i interesa u budućnosti.

U osmom, posljednjem tematskom poglavlju ove knjige autorice govore o čitanju u kontekstu razvoja svih ključnih kompetencija (prema Evropskom referentnom okviru za cjeloživotno učenje). Čitanje se ovdje razmatra u širem kontekstu kompetencije pismenosti ili komuniciranja na maternjem jeziku, uz poseban osvrt na relaciju prema svakoj ključnoj kompetenciji ponaosob, i to jezičkoj kompetenciji (komuniciranju na stranome jeziku), matematičkoj kompetenciji, digitalnoj (medijskoj) kompetenciji, ličnoj i socijalnoj kompetenciji i kompetenciji učenja, građanskoj kompetenciji, kompetenciji preduzetništva i kompetenciji kulturne svijesti i izražavanja.

U zaključku se može kazati da ova knjiga predstavlja vrijedan doprinos razumijevanju jezičke djelatnosti čitanja i njezine uloge u razvoju funkcionalne pismenosti. Ona je djelo dviju autorica koje su u skladnu cjelinu povezale respektabilno teorijsko znanje i bogato praktično nastavno iskustvo. Polazeći od spoznaja do kojih se došlo u dosadašnjim istraživanjima relacija čitanja i funkcionalne

pismenosti, uključujući i ona najnovija, autorice su napravile uočljiv pomak u odnosu na njih, te ponudile nove spoznaje koje će biti vrlo korisne svima koji se bave čitanjem ili ih ono zanima, a posebno stručnjacima u oblasti odgoja i obrazovanja. Ovo je prva knjiga u našoj sredini u kojoj se metodološki dosljedno, uvjerljivo i podrobno razmatraju relacije jezičke djelatnosti čitanja i funkcionalne pismenosti. Zato je svesrdno preporučujem čitaocima.

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## **NA ŽELJEZNICI HIDROCENTRALA**

**(Dženita Sarač-Rujanac, *Izgradnja u vrijeme obnove. Hidrocentrala u Bogatićima na rijeci Željeznici – od “općinskog trgovačkog preduzeća” do “objekta opštedržavnog značaja”, Univerzitet u Sarajevu – Institut za historiju, Sarajevo, 2024)***

Industrijalizacija, urbanizacija i modernizacija koncepti su koji dominiraju u svakoj priči o socijalističkoj etapi razvoja Bosne i Hercegovine i Jugoslavije u cjelini. Bosanskohercegovačka historiografija ovog razdoblja poklonila je nejednaku pažnju ovim fenomenima, pa je industrijalizacija, djelomično i iz razumljivih razloga, dobila najviše prostora. Međutim, iako se i u izvorima iz socijalističkog razdoblja uz industrijalizaciju, skoro pa uvijek, vezivao i pojam elektrifikacije, većina istraživača oлакo je prelazila preko ovog vrlo važnog procesa koji je, osim privrednog, imao i značajnu ulogu u modernizaciji društva. Zapravo, elektrifikacija u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji nije bila samo privredno, političko i ideološko pitanje, već i istinski kulturni fenomen koji je u mnoge krajeve zemlje donio „svjetlo“ u svakom smislu te riječi. Zbog svega navedenog, neobična je situacija da proces elektrifikacije u Bosni i Hercegovini do sada i nije bio u posebnom fokusu istraživača, naročito ako se u obzir uzme činjenica da je upravo ova središnja jugoslovenska republika bila mjesto podizanja nekih od najvećih i najvažnijih energetske objekata. Moguće da su upravo kompleksnost i slojevitost problematike mogli biti jedan od glavnih razloga „zaobilaznja“ istraživanja ovog fenomena.

Ipak, ohrabruje činjenica da se postepeno mijenja i stanje u savremenoj bosanskohercegovačkoj historiografiji koja sve više hvata korak sa modernim

trendovima istraživanja. U tom kontekstu treba posmatrati i knjigu *Izgradnja u vrijeme obnove. Hidrocentrala u Bogatićima na rijeci Željeznici – od “općinskog trgovačkog preduzeća” do “objekta opštedržavnog značaja”* autorice Dženite Sarač-Rujanac, koja nesumnjivo predstavlja pionirski rad i to ne samo po pitanju izbora teme, već i po samom pristupu istraživanja. Naime, fokus istraživanja autorice jeste proces izgradnje hidrocentrale u Bogatićima na rijeci Željeznici u blizini Sarajeva, pri čemu se analiziraju sve faze izgradnje ovog važnog objekta od prvih ideja i pokušaja realizacije tokom Austro-Ugarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini, preko pokušaja oživljavanja projekta u međuratnom razdoblju, stanja sa radovima tokom Drugog svjetskog rata i konačno do same realizacije u socijalističkoj epohi. Iako je najveća pažnja posvećena razdoblju do izgradnje hidrocentrale 1947. godine, autorica nastavlja pratiti ovaj objekat i nakon njegovog puštanja u rad, zaključno sa najavom novih ulaganja 2023. godine, što definitivno predstavlja novitet i van okvira bosanskohercegovačke historiografije. Međutim, iako je hidrocentrala u Bogatićima „glavni junak knjige“, autorica kroz priču o ovom objektu obrađuje čitav niz važnih „velikih“ tema, pri čemu sama elektrana služi kao lakmus papir privrednih politika različitih režima i uprava u Bosni i Hercegovini tokom XX (pa i XXI) stoljeća. Dženita Sarač-Rujanac jasno ukazuje na različite ideje, planove, interese, politike, ideologije i druge faktore koji su se prelamali preko „leđa“ hidrocentrale u Bogatićima, a koji su sličan utjecaj imali i na druge projekte u Bosni i Hercegovini. Mikrohistorijski pristup istraživanju koji autorica uspješno koristi prilikom istraživanja teme, smatramo najvećim doprinosom koji knjiga ima u razvoju savremene historiografije Bosne i Hercegovine, ali za sigurno i šire.

Strukturu knjige čine Predgovor, pet poglavlja glavnog teksta, zatim Zaključak na bosanskom i engleskom jeziku, poglavlje sa priložima i fotografijama, popis korištenih izvora i literature sa popisima priloga, fotografija i skraćenica, te vrlo korisni registri ličnih imena i geografskih pojmova. U konačnici na zadnjim stranicama knjige moguće je pronaći i kraće izvode iz recenzija te osnovne biografske i bibliografske informacije o samoj autorici. Prvo poglavlje knjige posvećeno je prikazu procesa obnove Bosne i Hercegovine nakon Drugog svjetskog rata sa fokusom na ideje, prijedloge i planove elektrifikacije ove ratom porušene jugoslovenske republike. Autorica također prati procese uspostave i transformacije organa uprave nadležnih za vođenje politike elektrifikacije Jugoslavije i Bosne i Hercegovine te analizira na koji način su se česte promjene u sistemu upravljanja ovim sektorom odražavale na realizaciju pojedinih energetske projekata. Inače, ideja o podizanju hidrocentrale na rijeci Željeznici prezentirana je još tokom austro-ugarske

uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini, odnosno konkretno 1909. godine, ali do realizacije ovog projekta ipak nije došlo. U periodu između dva svjetska rata ideja je reaktuelizirana, pristupilo se izradi odgovarajuće projektne dokumentacije, izvršena je i kupovina potrebnih zemljišnih parcela, nabavljen je dio potrebne opreme i materijala, a početkom Drugog svjetskog rata čak su se i počeli izvoditi određeni građevinski radovi koji u konačnici nisu završeni. Zbog svega navedenog, drugo poglavlje predstavlja svojevrsni skok u prošlost jer autorica opisuje upravo pomenute ideje, inicijative i aktivnosti provedene do početka socijalističke obnove zemlje 1945. godine. Treće poglavlje predstavlja samu srž knjige, pa stoga i ne čudi da je i po obimu najopširnije. Autorica analizira dosta obiman posao pripreme projekta izgradnje hidrocentrale u Bogatićima koja je zauzimala važno mjesto u energetske mreži Jugoslavije, a konačna realizacija ove više decenija stare ideje trebala je stvoriti preduslove za dalji privredni razvoj Bosne i Hercegovine. Međutim, izgradnja objekta nije protekla glatko, naprotiv, postojali su brojni problemi u nabavci potrebnog građevinskog materijala, mehanizacije i opreme, pronalska adekvatne radne snage, kako nekvalificirane i kvalificirane, posebno stručnjaka. Ipak, svi pomenuti izazovi su uspješno savladani te je hidrocentrala puštena u rad 8. juna 1947. godine u prisustvu brojnih visokih zvanica i, naravno, uz odgovarajući svečani program. U četvrtom poglavlju autorica prati rad hidrocentrale u Bogatićima od njenog otvaranja, ali zapravo ne i puštanja u rad, u junu 1947. godine do 1954. godine kada se vrši prekategorizacija ovog energetske objekta iz „velike“ u „malu“ hidrocentralu. Upravo tada, mala hidrocentrala na rijeci Željeznici postaje dio složenog sistema elektroenergetske mreže na teritoriji Bosne i Hercegovine. Peto poglavlje posvećeno je opisu položaja, rada i djelovanja hidrocentrale u Bogatićima od 1954. do 2023. godine, u tom dosta dinamičnom razdoblju tokom kojeg su i hidrocentrala i Bosna i Hercegovina prošle kroz brojne značajne promjene. Tokom socijalističke epohe hidrocentrala je nekoliko puta mijenjala status u skladu sa nizom reformi u energetske sistemu, ali i cjelokupnoj privredi Bosne i Hercegovine, a izrađeno je i nekoliko prijedloga njene rekonstrukcije, koji ipak nisu realizovani zbog nepovoljnih ekonomskih i političkih prilika u naročito tokom 80-tih godina. Autorica u ovom poglavlju prati sudbinu hidrocentrale i u postsocijalističkom razdoblju kada ona postaje objekat u podijeljenom vlasništvu elektroprivreda dva bosanskohercegovačka entiteta. Upravo u ovom razdoblju dolazi i do dugo očekivane rekonstrukcije objekta; radovi su okončani tokom 2018. godine, a nakon svečanog puštanja u rad obnovljene hidrocentrale dolazi do novog preimenovanja u minihidroelektranu Bogatići Nova.

Istaknuti ćemo samo još jednu veliku vrijednost ove knjige, a to su brojni i

raznovrsni prilozi u vidu dokumenata, statistika, fotografija, novinskih članaka, mapa, katastarskih planova, šema i nacрта, koji će sigurno biti vrijedan izvor i za istraživače koji se bave proučavanjem nekih drugih pojedinačnih energetske objekata ili energetskog sistema Bosne i Hercegovine u cjelini.

Potrebno je veliko znanje i umijeće, ali možda još i više ogromna hrabrost, upustiti se u ovakvo istraživanje, jer da bi se ono moglo uopće izvesti nužno je pretražiti nevjerovatnu količinu arhivske građe, i pri tome imati i sreće pa pronaći adekvatne izvore da bi se tema mogla uopće obraditi. A pri tome u fokusu istraživanja imamo, zapravo, malu hidrocentralu koja se u mnogim nabravanjima izgrađenih energetske objekata često i zaboravi spomenuti, čak i u službenim izvještajima ili svečanim monografijama. Dženita Sarač-Rujanac uspješno je savladala sve prepreke i pokazala da ima hrabrost, znanje i sposobnost uhvatiti se u koštac i sa najvećim istraživačkim izazovima i uspješno ih predstaviti na jasan, precizan i razumljiv način. Svaki istraživač sanja da barem jednom u karijeri objavi takozvano kapitalno djelo po kojem će ostati upamćen u historiografiji nekog razdoblja. Nemoguće je predvidjeti da li će ova knjiga steći takav status, mada definitivno ima potencijal, ali samim objavljivanjem dobila je status pionirskog djela, i po temi i po pristupu, što je u istraživačkom smislu možda još i važnije od statusa kapitalnog djela.

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