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DJECA I GLOBALNE PLATFORME: EVALUACIJA ODGOJNIH PORUKA IZ CRTANOG FILMA MAŠA I MEDVJED

Sažetak: *Globalne su platforme sve dostupnije najmlađim korisnicima putem različitih medija, što zahtijeva promišljanja o medijskome odgoju djece rane i predškolske dobi u obiteljskome kontekstu. Premda su crtani filmovi svakodnevnica gotovo svakog djeteta, istraživanja o odgojnim porukama koje proizlaze iz crtanih filmova nedovoljno su zastupljena, stoga je cilj ovog istraživanja bio identificirati odgojne poruke kojima rezultiraju crtani filmovi, a koje utječu na razvoj socijalnih kompetencija djece. Iz tog su razloga analizirane epizode crtanog filma Maša i Medvjed, prema kriteriju najveće gledanosti na globalnoj platformi YouTube. U istraživanju je primijenjena deskriptivna analiza sadržaja s fokusom na kvalitativne elemente u svrhu identifikacije odgojno pozitivnih, odnosno negativnih poruka koje proizlaze iz najgledanijih epizoda crtanog filma Maša i Medvjed, kao i u svrhu detekcije i interpretacije neverbalnih znakova iz kojih proizlaze odgojne poruke u sferi razvoja socijalnih kompetencija. Polazeći od Pierceove teorije znakova, primijenjena je semiotička analiza sadržaja pojedine epizode crtanog filma Maša i Medvjed kako bi se znakove kategoriziralo u simbole u ovisnosti o šest univerzalnih odrednica karaktera kao kriterija pozitivnosti i negativnosti.*

Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da je pozitivnost dominantan aspekt u svim analiziranim epizodama, odnosno da djelovanje i ponašanje lika Medvjeda prati svih šest univerzalnih odrednica karaktera: vjerodostojnosti, poštovanja, odgovornosti, pravednosti, brižnosti i građanske osviještenosti u pozitivnim aspektima, dok je djelovanje i ponašanje lika Maše u većini kriterija također pozitivno, osim u odrednicama pravednosti i brižnosti. Na temelju dobivenih rezultata zaključuje se da najgledanije epizode crtanog filma Maša i Medvjed djeci šalju pozitivne odgojne poruke koje mogu doprinijeti razvoju njihovih socijalnih kompetencija.

Ključne riječi: *semiotička analiza, socijalne kompetencije, medijski sadržaji, vizualni elementi, medijski odgoj, znakovi*

UVOD

Iako je neposredna međuljudska interakcija s vršnjacima i odraslima nenadomjestiva u socijalnom razvoju djeteta, posebice tijekom kritičkih perioda odrastanja, sve važniju ulogu u tom procesu preuzima posredna komunikacija, tj. jednosmjerna komunikacija koju posreduju (digitalni) mediji. Iz toga proizlazi i važnost globalnih platformi različitih namjena. Prema nedavnim rezultatima istraživanja, YouTube i YouTube Kids popularne su platforme koje djeca upotrebljavaju za pristup raznim videima za edukaciju ili zabavne svrhe te gledanje crtanih filmova (Ofcom, 2022). YouTube je najpopularnija videoplatforma iz više razloga – jednostavnosti uporabe, dostupnosti, mogućnosti postavljanja i dijeljenja sadržaja te velikog izbora različitih sadržaja. Prema YouTubeovoj statistici platforma za dijeljenje videa ima 2,5 milijarde korisnika diljem svijeta (DataReportal, 2024). Rangiran je kao druga najpopularnija društvena mreža, odmah iza Facebooka. Neovisno o tome procjenjuju li utjecaj medija (i crtanih filmova) više pozitivnim ili negativnim za individualni razvoj, različiti su autori složni u procjeni velikog utjecaja medija na suvremeno djetinjstvo. Usprkos važnosti takvih istraživanja, konačni odgovori još nisu pronađeni, a propituje se i primjerenost metodoloških izbora (Topolovčan, 2020).

Povod je istraživanju spoznaja da se dob upoznavanja djece s masovnim medijima sve više smanjuje, a dječja učestalost uporabe masovnih medija i izloženost takvim medijima u stalnom je porastu (Bozzola i sur., 2018). Istraživanja o učincima ekranskih medija na razvoj, učenje i obiteljski život djece teško prate brzi razvoj digitalnog okruženja (Ponti, 2023). Odgovorno roditeljstvo u suvremeno doba zahtijeva donošenje odluka o medijskim sadržajima kojima su izložena djeca. U slučaju djece rane i predškolske dobi, najčešće se radi o crtanim filmovima, koje Mikić (2001) određuje kao podvrstu animiranog filma u kojem se za sekundu filmske projekcije nacrtaju, oboje i

snime dvadeset i četiri uzastopne faze pokreta, koje projiciranjem stvaraju iluziju kontinuiranog pokreta. Mogu se temeljiti na realističnom i polurealističnom crtačkom obliku dvodimenzionalnog ili trodimenzionalnog djela (Kaur i Shweta, 2018). Djeca imaju mogućnost pristupiti crtanim filmovima na različite načine, neovisno o vremenu i prostoru. Osim televizije, služe se tabletima, pametnim telefonima i računalima, stoga važnu ulogu kod pristupa i nadzora gledanju crtanih filmova imaju roditelji. Medijsko opismenjavanje djece kreće od roditelja, kao primarnih i prirodnih odgajatelja, koji imaju najveću moć utjecati na dječje iskustvo s medijima (Mirković Moguš i Varga, 2022). U slučaju crtanih filmova za djecu rane i predškolske dobi, to podrazumijeva da roditelji unaprijed provjere je li sadržaj crtano g filma odgojno poželjan i prikladan za djetetovu dob. Usto, važno je da roditelji gledaju crtane filmove zajedno s djecom kako bi ih nadzirali (Ciboci i Kanižaj, 2011) te kako bi mogli s njima razgovarati i raspravljati o porukama koje su upućene djeci, ali to se događa samo ponekad (Blažević, 2012).

Često roditelji crtanim filmovima namjenjuju ulogu zamjenskog odgajatelja tako što djeci prepuštaju svoje mobitele kada ne znaju kako ih zabaviti, a djeca tada sama odabiru crtiće. Najčešće biraju one koji nisu primjereni za njihovu dob ili imaju odgojno neprimjeren sadržaj, a roditelji ne reaguju pravovremeno (Labaš, 2015). Poražavajuća su istraživanja koja su pokazala da roditelji ni s djecom školske dobi ne vode razgovore o medijskim sadržajima (Labaš i Marinčić, 2018; Acheampong, 2017; Ilišin, 2003; Ilišin i sur., 2001). Ako želimo da se djeca nauče smisleno i odgovorno služiti medijima, moramo razvijati didaktičke modele, ponuditi brojne načine na koje će ih praktično upoznavati i razviti dobra iskustva (Mikić, 2015).

Zbog raširenosti interneta, posebice različitih YouTube kanala, crtani su filmovi danas roditeljima i djeci dostupniji nego ikada prije. Velika mogućnost odabira crtanih filmova bilo kada i bilo gdje ujedno povećava odgovornost koja se traži od roditelja. Odgovorno roditeljsko ponašanje započinje svjesnošću o povezanosti crtanih filmova i dječjeg socijalnog razvoja. Stoga je cilj ovog istraživanja opisati važnost razvoja socijalnih kompetencija djeteta te istražiti ulogu crtanih filmova u tome procesu kroz odgojne poruke koje iz njih proizlaze.

CRTANI FILMOVI I SOCIJALNE KOMPETENCIJE DJECE

Značaj socijalnih kompetencija smješta se u razdoblje još prije školske dobi i nipošto ne završava završetkom formalnog obrazovanja. Već je rođenjem čovjek smješten u ljudsko društvo kako bi uopće postao čovjekom – odgojem i obrazovanjem. U najranijoj dobi traži interakciju s važnim osobama (roditelji ili skrbnici), u predškolskoj dobi počinje se družiti s drugom djecom slične dobi i s vremenom svoj fokus sve više odmiče s roditelja, na koje je prvotno

bio usmjeren, prema drugim odraslima (učitelji) te prema vršnjacima (drugi učenici). U školskoj dobi, odobravanje vršnjaka postaje sve važnije, kao i želja za pripadnošću grupi i prihvaćenošću u grupi. S vremenom se povećava i broj prijatelja, vršnjački odnosi postaju stabilniji i trajniji u odnosu na veliku nestalnost uzajamnog sviđanja u predškolskoj dobi (Semrud-Clíkeman, 2007).

U obrazovnim se dokumentima Europske unije socijalne kompetencije smještaju među ključne kompetencije koje je nužno razvijati cjeloživotnim pristupom (*Preporuka*, 2010). Prema Rose-Krasnor (1997), njih se može odrediti kroz tri razine tumačenja – na teorijskoj razini, odnosnoj razini i razini individualnih vještina. Na teorijskoj se razini socijalna kompetencija definira kao učinkovitost u interakciji. Ispod teorijske razine prikazana je odnosna razina tumačenja socijalnih kompetencija. Ona opisuje socijalnu interakciju kao trajan dijalektički odnos vlastitih i tuđih ciljeva, odnosno ciljeva koje si postavlja samo dijete i ciljeva koje pred njega postavljaju drugi. Na odnosnu se razinu smješta ophođenje prema drugim ljudima, kako vršnjacima, tako i odraslima. Razina vještina najniža je razina prizme na kojoj se grade ostale razine, a vještine koje se pritom vezuju uz socijalne kompetencije su: preuzimanje perspektive, komunikacija, empatija, regulacija emocija i rješavanje društvenih problema.

Posljedično se socijalne kompetencije vezuje uz kasniji akademski uspjeh djece (Livazović, 2012; Buljubašić Kuzmanović i Botić, 2012; Mikas, 2011; Cummings i sur., 2008; Zins i sur., 2004), a već se i *Nacionalni kurikulum za rani i predškolski odgoj i obrazovanje* (2015) usmjerava na razvoj socijalnih kompetencija djece, osiguravanjem sigurnih i podržavajućih kontekstualnih uvjeta koji omogućuju privikavanje na izvanobiteljski i institucijski kontekst, potiču kulturu komunikacije, zajedničkog življenja i ophođenja, razvoj socijalno-emocionalnih veza s vršnjacima, suradničko učenje, nenasilno rješavanje sukoba, timski rad – dogovaranje i podjelu uloga, preuzimanje odgovornosti za vlastito ponašanje i postupke prema sebi, drugima i okruženju itd.

Na dječji razvoj socijalnih kompetencija mogu utjecati i mediji, posebice pomoću crtanih filmova. Djeca oponašaju likove iz crtanih filmova, a to se može primijetiti po njihovu načinu života, odijevanju i ponašanju. Crtane likove oponašaju djeca svih uzrasta, bez obzira na društveno-ekonomski status ili razinu inteligencije (Rai i sur., 2016). Budući da sadrže informacije o svijetu u koji dijete ulazi, smatra se da crtani filmovi mogu imati pomoćnu ulogu u odgojnome procesu. Između ostalog, crtani filmovi pomažu djeci otkriti svijet te uče djecu pravilima ponašanja u društvu (npr. poštivanje odraslih, timski rad i sur.).

Mnogi likovi iz crtanih filmova promiču zdrav život i imaju mnoga pozitivna svojstva, a djeca često oponašaju crtane junake. Njima se često promiče društveno poželjno ponašanje pa djeca uče kako kontrolirati svoj temperament, govoriti na pristojan način, pomagati siromašnima i starijima, slušati roditelje,

suradivati s mladima i raditi u skupini bez osjećaja mržnje. U kontekstu vještina, pozitivan sadržaj crtanog filma mogao bi poučavati djecu kako biti vođa, kako analizirati probleme na znanstven način, kako upravljati rizikom i razmišljati o djelovanju. Što se tiče životnog iskustva, dobro oblikovan crtani film može naučiti dijete opasnostima koje ga okružuju u okolini, poput visine, opasnosti od struje, prelaska ulice ili čak izviđačkim vještinama, poput liječenja rane, postavljanja šatora, ispravnog pletenja konopca ili pravljenja malog čamca (Habib i Soliman, 2015). Drugim riječima, uz pomoć crtanih filmova djecu se namjerno potiče na poslušnost prema roditeljima, samokontrolu, pristojno izražavanje, poštivanje drugih, pružanje pomoći potrebitima, uspostavljanje prijateljskih odnosa i korištenje tehnologije (Kaur i Shweta, 2018). Sve navedeno predstavlja društveno poželjno ponašanje i uspješnu prilagodbu novih članova društva ostvarenu socijalizacijom pomoću medija.

Međutim, crtani film može imati važnu ulogu i u ostvarivanju društveno nepoželjnog ponašanja, najviše kroz različite vidove agresije. Prema Acheampong (2017), čak 48,5 % djece vidi nasilje kao oblik rješavanja problema u crtanim filmovima, a taj se obrazac onda prenosi i na dječje ponašanje. Za ilustraciju, sadržaj crtanog filma može navesti dijete na drukčiji pogled na vlastite prijatelje, roditelje, učitelje i ostale ljude koju ga okružuju na način da dovodi dijete do sumnje u njegov odgoj i vještine. Isto tako, crtani lik s negativnim stavom može navesti dijete da promijeni razumijevanje svog života i okoline te oblikuje njegovo djelovanje na agresivan način prema situacijama (Habib i Soliman, 2015). Rezultati istraživanja Ghilzai i suradnika (2017) pokazali su da djeca koja gledaju crtane filmove primjenjuju agresivno i nasilno ponašanje prema braći, sestrama i vršnjacima, a pritom oponašaju crtane likove, pokušavajući biti smiješni i zabavni. Naime, djeca oponašaju svoje omiljene crtane likove, a pretjeranim gledanjem crtanih filmova imaju i visoku stopu fantazije te uglavnom maštaju o njima. Osim na ponašanje, crtani filmovi, prema podacima istog istraživanja, utječu i na rodno tipizirane predrasude te im tako crtani filmovi nameću stav da su djevojke krhke i plahe, a dječaci hrabri i snažni. Te nalaze potvrđuje i studija koju su proveli Kaur i Shweta (2018) jer su njihovi rezultati pokazali kako su u suvremeno doba djeca uvjerena da su crtani likovi stvarni te su crtani likovi obojeni i pozitivno i negativno. Djeca, nakon gledanja crtanih filmova, postaju agresivnija i primjenjuju nasilje s vršnjacima te radije sjede u kući i gledaju crtane filmove nego što se uključuju u igre s vršnjacima. Pritom dječaci iz crtanih filmova preuzimaju više nasilnog ponašanja nego djevojčice (Mashud i sur., 2009).

Hoće li utjecaj crtanog filma imati pozitivan ili negativan utjecaj na dijete, ovisit će o više čimbenika, primjerice o dobi, količini vremena koje mu dijete posveti i programskom sadržaju crtića. Prvo, mlađa djeca podložnija su medijskim utjecajima od starije djece jer se njihovo kritičko mišljenje tek treba razviti. Tek je u nacionalnom kurikulumu, u sklopu predmeta Hrvatski

jezik, planiran razvoj medijske pismenosti kako bi se potaknuo razvoj kritičkog odnosa prema medijskim porukama (*Kurikulum nastavnoga predmeta Hrvatski jezik za osnovne škole i gimnazije*, 2019). Drugo, dijete predškolske dobi prosječno provede do tri sata dnevno gledajući crtiće (Laniado i Pietra, 2005), dok dijete školske dobi prosječno provodi do četiri sata dnevno u ovoj aktivnosti (Acheampong, 2017), pri čemu nisu utvrđene značajne razlike među dječacima i djevojčicama (Mashud i sur., 2009). Treće, određeni su crtići osmišljeni upravo s odgojnom, a ne isključivo zabavnom svrhom, pa ne sadrže, ili barem ne bi trebali sadržavati, odgojno negativne poruke. S jedne strane, djetetov razvoj socijalnih kompetencija može biti pod negativnim utjecajem zbog pretjeranog izlaganja crtanim filmovima s negativnim odgojnim porukama, a s druge strane, crtani filmovi s odgojno pozitivnim porukama mogu pozitivno utjecati jer se gledanjem primjerenih obrazovnih sadržaja potiče djetetov razvoj socijalnih kompetencija (Habib i Soliman, 2015). Stoga je istraživanje usmjereno upravo na utvrđivanje postojanja odgojno pozitivnih odnosno odgojno negativnih poruka u crtanim filmovima namijenjenima mlađoj djeci.

METODOLOGIJA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Cilj ovog istraživanja bio je identificirati odgojne poruke koje crtani filmovi sadržavaju i evaluirati ih u odnosu na njihovu ulogu u razvoju socijalnih kompetencija djece. Fokus istraživanja bio je na crtanim filmovima popularnim na globalnim platformama, s posebnim naglaskom na crtani film *Maša i Medvjed*.

Točnije, zanimalo nas je prevladavaju li u izdvojenom crtanim filmu, popularnom na globalnim platformama kojemu su izložena djeca predškolske dobi, odgojno pozitivne ili odgojno negativne poruke. Konkretnije, kako bi se izdvojile i kategorizirale odgojno pozitivne odnosno negativne poruke koje proizlaze iz crtanih filmova koje djeca gledaju, istraživanje je provedeno uporabom tehnike semiotičke analize sadržaja. Ova tehnika odabrana je zbog mogućnosti pružanja dubinskog razumijevanja simbolike i značenja unutar medijskih sadržaja. Semiotička analiza temeljena je na teoriji znakova Charlesa Sandersa Piercea, koja klasificira znakove u ikone, indekse i simbole. Ovaj okvir omogućuje sistematično analiziranje vizualnih, zvukovnih i narativnih elemenata crtanim filmovima. Kao osnovni okvir za analizu rabilo se šest univerzalnih odrednica karaktera prema Josephsonu (2002). Temeljeći se na Pierceovoj teoriji znakova (detaljnije u Short, 2007), semiotička analiza sadržaja usmjerila se na kategorizaciju znakova u ikone, indekse i simbole prema kriteriju šest univerzalnih odrednica karaktera, a to su: vjerodostojnost, poštovanje, odgovornost, pravednost, brižnost, građanska osviještenost (Josephson, 2002). Svaka odrednica obuhvaća daljnje podskupove određenih vrijednosti. Standardi ponašanja koji proizlaze iz tih vrijednosti čine osnovna pravila etike,

a time i etičkog odlučivanja. Odrednice djeluju kao selekcijska matrica na više razina kroz koju se obrađuju odluke i mogu značajno poboljšati etičku kvalitetu odluka te tako poslati pozitivne odgojne poruke. *Vjerodostojnost* je najsloženija od svih šest temeljnih vrijednosti i obuhvaća različite kvalitete kao što su poštenje, integritet, pouzdanost i odanost. *Poštovanje* je sljedeća odrednica koja obuhvaća poštivanje drugih, prihvaćanje različitosti, dobro ponašanje i pristojan govor, brigu za tuđe osjećaje, komuniciranje bez prijetnji i mirno rješavanje konflikata. *Odgovornost* obuhvaća obavljanje nužnog, planiranje unaprijed, marljiv rad, trud, samokontrolu, samodisciplinu, odgovornost za ponašanje, riječi i postupke, odabiranje pozitivnog stava i zdravih izbora. *Pravednost* obuhvaća usvajanje pravila, dijeljenje, slušanje drugih, neiskorištavanje drugih, neoptuživanje drugih i obzirno pristupanje drugim ljudima. *Brižnost* se odnosi na pažljivost, suosjećajnost, pokazivanje brige i empatije te obuhvaća i oprost, zahvalnost, pomaganje drugima, dobronamjernost i altruističnost. Odrednica koja se odnosi na *građansku osviještenost* obuhvaća djelovanje za bolji svijet, suradljivost, uključenost u zajednicu, ostvarivanje dobrosusjedskih odnosa, poštivanje pravila i zakona, poštivanje autoriteta, zaštita okoliša i volonterstvo. Ove odrednice korištene su kao kriteriji za evaluaciju odgojnih poruka. Znakovi i simboli u epizodama kategorizirani su prema tome čine li pozitivne ili negativne odgojne poruke unutar svake odrednice.

Kriterij odabira crtanog filma koji će se analizirati temeljen je na najvećem broju internetskih pregleda u kategoriji crtanog filma općenito, što je rezultiralo odabirom crtanog filma *Maša i Medvjed* (eng. *Masha and the Bear*), uz još dvije najgledanije epizode istoga crtanog filma (SocialCounts, 2024). Epizode su različite tematike, a pregledane su preko platforme YouTube. Uzorkovanje je provedeno s ciljem odabira epizoda koje predstavljaju različite tematske i narativne aspekte crtanog filma *Maša i Medvjed*. Kriterij odabira epizoda bio je temeljen na njihovoj popularnosti prema broju pregleda na platformi YouTube. Odabrane su tri epizode: *Recept za katastrofu*, *Dobar tek* i *Dan za pranje rublja*. Ove epizode zajedno čine reprezentativan uzorak zbog svoje raznolikosti u temama i visokog broja pregleda (preko milijardu za svaku epizodu).

Kako tvrde njegovi autori, crtani film *Maša i Medvjed* usmjeren je pokušaju da djetetu približi vječne istine na jasan i zabavan način, predstavi svijet u njegovoj raznolikosti i otkrije pozitivne osobine svake situacije (Masha and the Bear: Official Website, 2024). Sadržaj epizoda također pokušava objasniti logiku djelovanja u raznim teškim situacijama i pomaže u borbi s vlastitim slabim točkama na nenametljiv način. Glavna radnja odnosi se na prikaz smicalica glavnih likova, Maše i njezina prijatelja Medvjeda, s fokusom na dobroti i komediji. Njihov je odnos metafora interakcije djeteta s velikim svijetom i načina na koji odrasla osoba može pomoći u ovom teškom zadatku. Maša je nemirna djevojčica koja od svoje beskrajne energije teško stoji na mjestu jer sve s čime dođe u dodir mora isprobati. Ona je neopisivo prijateljski

nastrojena i prema svima se ponaša kao da ih poznaje godinama. Njezina radoznalost i kreativnost izazivaju smiješne dogodovštine (Masha and the Bear: Official Website, 2024). Crtić je do danas preveden na 36 jezika, uključujući i engleski, te ima dvanaest različitih Youtube kanala koji zajedno imaju 62 milijuna pretplatnika (SocialBlade Statistics, 2024). Svaka epizoda traje oko sedam minuta.

Uzimajući u obzir popularnost crtanog filma, odabrane su i analizirane tri epizode crtanog filma *Maša i Medvjed* od kojih epizoda *Recept za katastrofu* (*Recipe for Disaster*), prema YouTubeovim podacima o gledanosti, zauzima najveći broj pregleda u domeni crtanih filmova s 4,5 milijarde pregleda (SocialCounts, 2024). Preostale dvije epizode također su najgledanije, ali samo u domeni crtanog filma *Maša i Medvjed*, s više od milijardu pregleda, a to su *Dobar tek* (*Bon Appetit*) i *Dan za pranje rublja* (*Laundry Day*) (SocialCounts, 2024). Podatci su prikupljeni pregledom odabranih epizoda crtanog filma preko službenog YouTube kanala *Maša i Medvjed* pomoću deskriptivne analize sadržaja s fokusom na kvalitativne elemente. Tijekom analize fokus je bio na identifikaciji vizualnih i narativnih elemenata koji prenose odgojne poruke. Svaka epizoda detaljno je analizirana kako bi se identificirali ključni znakovi i njihova simbolička značenja.

Semiotička analiza sadržaja provodila se na više međusobno povezanih razina. Prvo, u svrhu identifikacije odgojnog karaktera poruka koje proizlaze iz epizoda crtanog filma *Maša i Medvjed* identificirani su određeni znakovi koji su kategorizirani kao pozitivni ili negativni. Druga se razina analize odnosi na interpretaciju simbola detektiranih u samim znakovima, dok se na trećoj razini analize oni uvrstavaju u određenu kategoriju šest univerzalnih odrednica karaktera. Opisana analiza provedena je posebno za svaku epizodu.

Istraživanje je provedeno u skladu s etičkim smjernicama za istraživanje medijskih sadržaja. Nije bilo izravnog sudjelovanja djece ili roditelja, a korišteni su isključivo javno dostupni podatci.

REZULTATI

Radi lakšeg razumijevanja rezultati su istraživanja grupirani u dvije cjeline, pri čemu se prva odnosi na detaljnu analizu znakova pojedine epizode crtanog filma *Maša i Medvjed*, a drugi na objedinjeni prikaz dobivenih rezultata. U prvoj cjelini analiza pojedine epizode prikazuje kratak tematski sadržaj epizode i interpretaciju simbola te kategorizaciju odgojnih poruka koje iz nje proizlaze. U drugoj su pak cjelini tablično prikazani rezultati za sve tri analizirane epizode, u odnosu na kriterij šest univerzalnih odrednica karaktera prema Josephsonu (2002).

Podatci su analizirani u trima koracima koji obuhvaćaju identifikaciju znakova, interpretaciju simbola i kategorizaciju odgojnih poruka. Vizualni,

zvukovni i narativni elementi epizoda identificirani su kao potencijalni znakovi. Znakovi su interpretirani u skladu s njihovim simboličkim značenjima unutar konteksta epizode. Identificirani simboli svrstavani su u kategorije prema univerzalnim odrednicama karaktera, a svaka odgojna poruka označena je kao pozitivna ili negativna. Za povećanje vjerodostojnosti analize provedena je triangulacija podataka. Rezultati su analize uspoređeni s prethodnim istraživanjima o utjecaju crtanih filmova na djecu. Kodiranje znakova i poruka neovisno su provela dva istraživača, a zatim su rezultati uspoređeni kako bi se osigurala konzistentnost.

ANALIZA EPIZODE *RECEPT ZA KATASTROFU*

Sadržaj epizode *Recept za katastrofu* obuhvaća prikaz Medvjeda koji igra šah, a Maša prekida njegovu igru zamolivši ga da je nahrani. Medvjed pokušava igrati šah, ali ga Maša neprestano ometa, pa Medvjed užurbano iziđe iz kuće u prirodu. Maša odluči sama skuhati kašu, ali zaboravi isključiti kuhalo, pa kaša ubrzo nabubri. Sve će šumske životinje dugo pamtiti ovaj dan jer će ih Maša viškom skuhanе kaše pokušati sve nahraniti. U epizodi *Recept za katastrofu* glavni likovi Maša i njezin prijatelj Medvjed suočavaju se s izazovom kuhanja zajedničkog ručka. Maša pokazuje svoju avanturističku prirodu tako što pokušava napraviti neobična i eksperimentalna jela, dok Medvjed pokazuje svoju pasivnost i nezainteresiranost za kuhanje. Likovi Maše i Medvjeda predstavljaju dva različita karaktera, kao što je već navedeno. Maša je hrabra i avanturistički nastrojena, dok je Medo strašljiv i pasivniji. Simboli koji se pojavljuju u epizodi su naprimjer kuhača koja simbolizira kontrolu nad jelom ili kaša koji simbolizira ugodno iskustvo zadovoljenja osnovnih potreba.

Semiotička analiza epizode *Recept za katastrofu* iz *Maše i Medvjeda* uključuje likove kao simbole. Primjerice, Maša se može smatrati simbolom znatiželje, nevinosti i dječjeg čuđenja, a njezini postupci predstavljaju nesputano istraživanje svijeta. Nadalje, Medvjed kao simbol utjelovljuje odgovornu, odraslu figuru i ima zadatak održavati red i brinuti se za Mašu, simbolizirajući izazove i radosti roditeljstva.

Likovi služe i kao središnji vizualni znakovi. Mašin mali stas i energični pokreti u kontrastu su s većim i pribranim izgledom Medvjeda, odražavajući njihove različite osobnosti. Kuhinja je značajan vizualni znak – predstavlja prostor za kreativnost, istraživanje i potencijalni kaos. U epizodi se upotrebljava tople i jarke boje za stvaranje vizualno privlačne i živahne atmosfere, posebno u scenama koje uključuju kuhanje i suradnju. U kontekstu znakova šuma služi kao pozadina za priču te simbolizira prirodu, neukroćeni svijet i avanturu. U ovoj epizodi hrana igra značajnu ulogu, predstavljajući hranjenje i čin dijeljenja. Pripremanje hrane simbolizira brigu za druge i trud koji je potreban za održavanje domaćinstva. Interakcije likova obuhvaćaju Mašino uplitanje

i Medvjedovo strpljenje. Mašino uplitanje vezano je uz Mašinu radoznalost koja često remeti Medvjedove planove, simbolizirajući nepredvidivost života i izazove upravljanja neočekivanim događajima. S druge strane, Medvjedovo strpljenje i eventualno prihvaćanje Mašine pomoći prenose teme prilagodljivosti, otpornosti i važnosti suradnje.

Pozitivne odgojne poruke koje proizlaze iz ove epizode (slika 1) odnose se na promicanje čitalačkih navika (Medvjed čita knjigu o šahu), popularizaciju društvenih igara (Medvjed igra šah), mirno rješavanje sukoba (Medvjed daje Maši pak umjesto šahovske figure koju mu je uzela), pristojno ponašanje (Maša sjedi za stolom i jede kašu priborom za jelo), poticanje radnih navika (Maša je očistila sav nered nastao kao rezultat kuhanja).

Slika 1.

Pozitivne odgojne poruke (epizoda Recept za katastrofu)



Izvor: YouTube

Negativne se odgojne poruke (slika 2) očituju uglavnom u Mašinom društveno neprihvatljivom ponašanju (Maša otima Medvjedu šahovsku figuru, Maša gađa Medvjeda pakom, Maša tijekom kuhanja baca posude i stvara nered u kuhinji).

Sadržaj epizode prenosi poruke koje naglašavaju vrijednost dječjeg istraživanja i njihovu sposobnost da unesu spontanost i radost u živote odraslih. Također, ističe se i učenje putem pogrešaka, s obzirom na to da Maša popravlja svoje pogrešne postupke. Mašino vrijedno pospremanje nereda u kuhinji koji je prouzrokovala ukazuje na odgovorno ponašanje, odnosno sposobnost preuzimanja odgovornosti za vlastita djela.

Slika 2.*Negativne odgojne poruke (epizoda Recept za katastrofu)*

Izvor: YouTube

ANALIZA EPIZODE DOBAR TEK

U epizodi *Dobar tek* Medvjed gleda recepte kineske kuhinje i odabire što će kuhati, zatim mijesi tijesto pa melje meso. Panda je došao u posjet svom rođaku Medvjedu kako bi mu pomogao napraviti poznati kineski zalogaj – knedle. Maša lovi leptire, ulazi u kuću, hvata gusjenicu i sprema je u staklenku. Maša se navaljuje mijesiti tijesto. Isprva joj ne dopuste, ali kasnije ipak popuste, no ona ne prati upute. U ovoj su epizodi teme koje se razvijaju prijateljstvo, hrabrost i kreativnost. Maša, Medvjed i Panda moraju raditi zajedno kako bi uspjeli napraviti ručak, što predstavlja prijateljstvo. Maša pokazuje hrabrost u eksperimentiranju s novim jelima, dok Medvjed i Panda nastoje biti dosljedni i kreativni u kuhanju.

Semiotička se analiza epizode *Dobar tek* usmjerava pozornost na likove kao simbole. Maša ovdje simbolizira bezgraničnu energiju i radoznalost djeteta. Njezin lik utjelovljuje nevinost i avanturistički duh. S druge strane, Medvjed služi kao simbol odgovorne odrasle osobe, naglašavajući izazove i radosti brige za dijete. Rođak Panda simbol je ostalih odraslih koje dijete susreće u proširenoj obitelji i/ili u društvu općenito. U ovoj je epizodi Medvjedova kuća prikazana kao simbol sigurnog i ugodnog okruženja, odnosno doma i obitelji.

U epizodi *Dobar tek* kuhanje i hrana zauzimaju središnje mjesto. Hrana simbolizira uzdržavanje, brigu i čin dijeljenja. Čin kuhanja označava njegovanje i trud uloženi u brigu o drugima. Kuharica služi kao simbol znanja i stručnosti te upućuje na važnost slijedenja uputa za postizanje željenog rezultata, a predstavlja ideju da recepti pružaju smjernice i strukturu u životu. Interakcije likova vidljive su u Mašinoj želji da pomogne u kuhinji i Medvjedovom strpljenju. Mašina želja da pomogne u kuhinji, iako dobronamjerna, dovodi do kaosa. Navedeno naglašava izazove i nepredvidivost koja dolazi uključivanjem

djece u zadatke odraslih. S druge strane, strpljenje i spremnost Medvjeda da dopusti Maši da sudjeluje u procesu kuhanja simboliziraju važnost vođenja mladih od odgovornih odraslih.

Epizoda naglašava vrijednost suradnje među generacijama. To pokazuje da su strpljenje i razumijevanje ključni kada se poučava i uči zajedno. Mašin nekonvencionalan pristup kuhanju naglašava važnost kreativnosti i razmišljanja izvan okvira. U epizodi *Dobar tek* naglašena je veza između Medvjeda i Maše, prikazujući njihove zajedničke trenutke i ljubav.

Positivne odgojne poruke (slika 3) odnose se na zajednički rad pri oblikovanju tijesta, čime se promiču socijalne komponente druženja. Također, pozitivan je i prikaz šetnje u prirodi, pranje ruku, pomoć u radu te pomoć u potrazi za gusjenicom.

Slika 3.

Positivne odgojne poruke (epizoda Dobar tek)



Izvor: YouTube

Negativne se odgojne poruke (slika 4) uglavnom odnose na Mašinu neopreznost i nestašluk – Maša uništava oblikovano tijesto, uzima tijesto bez pitanja, ne prati upute za oblikovanje tijesta itd.

Slika 4.*Negativne odgojne poruke (epizoda Dobar tek)*

Izvor: YouTube

ANALIZA EPIZODE DAN ZA PRANJE RUBLJA

U epizodi *Dan za pranje rublja* Maša vozi svinju do Medvjeda kako bi od njega posudila mlijeko i nahranila je. Maša upadne u blato i Medvjed je okupa. Medvjed sašije Maši novu odjeću, a opere zaprljanu. Maša traži mlijeko, ali ne uspijeva ga dobiti. Zatim bere maline, opet se uprlja, Medvjed je pere i šije novu odjeću – i tako više puta. Medvjed popravlja kolica u kojima Maša vozi svinju.

Semiotička analiza epizode ponovno polazi od glavnih likova kao simbola, pri čemu Maša simbolizira dječju energiju i znatiželju. Njezin lik utjelovljuje nepredvidivost i pustolovni duh djeteta. S druge strane, Medvjed ponovno simbolizira odgovoran lik odrasle osobe, naglašavajući izazove i radosti brige za dijete. Njegov karakter odražava kvalitete poput strpljenja i prilagodljivosti. U kontekstu znaka Medvjedova je kuća simbol sigurnog i podupirućeg okruženja. Služi kao pozadina za mnoge interakcije priče i predstavlja koncept doma i obitelji.

U ovoj epizodi čin pranja rublja simbolizira svakodnevne poslove i obveze koje odrasli preuzimaju kako bi održali red i čistoću. Mašina uključenost u proces pranja više puta dovodi do kaosa i nesreća. Ovi incidenti predstavljaju nepredvidivost i izazove upravljanja zadacima uz prisutnost djeteta. Interakcije se odnose na Mašino uplitanje i Medvjedovo strpljenje. Mašini dobronamjerni, ali razorni postupci naglašavaju napetost između želje da pomogne i praktičnih poteškoća koje se mogu pojaviti kada se djeca uključuju u zadatke odraslih. Strpljenje i razumijevanje Medvjeda u suočavanju s Mašnim nespretnostima naglašavaju važnost vođenja mladih.

Epizoda naglašava vrijednost suradnje među generacijama i ideju da odrasli mogu voditi djecu kroz svakodnevne izazove. Sadržaj epizode *Dan za pranje rublja* naglašava odgovornost, brigu i strpljenje potrebno za poučavanje

djece novim zadatcima. Ova epizoda prikazuje vezu između Medvjeda i Maše, ilustrirajući njihove zajedničke trenutke i njihov odnos.

Pozitivne odgojne poruke (slika 5) uglavnom proizlaze iz Medvjedovog ponašanja i pomoći koju pruža Maši (Medvjed pere rublje, Medvjed kupa Mašu, Medvjed zaustavlja jureća kolica sa svinjom, Medvjed šiva novu odjeću, Medvjed popravlja kolica), dok su Mašin neposluh i neopreznost (Maša bez pitanja uzima hranu iz hladnjaka i džem iz smočnice, Maša neoprezno i prebrzo vozi kolica) uzroci problema. Mašin neposluh i nezgode koje proizlaze iz Mašinog društveno nepoželjnog ponašanja mogu se okarakterizirati kao negativne odgojne poruke (slika 6) u vidu negativnog modela po kojemu djeca mogu oponašati određene socijalne aspekte ponašanja.

Slika 5.

Pozitivne odgojne poruke (epizoda Dan za pranje rublja)



Izvor: YouTube

Slika 6.

Negativne odgojne poruke (epizoda Dan za pranje rublja)



Izvor: YouTube

OBJEDINJENA ANALIZA SADRŽAJA CRTANOG FILMA *MAŠA I MEDVJED*

Osim detaljne analize sadržaja svake pojedine epizode koja se provela i opisana je u prethodnom dijelu kroz različite aspekte teme, simbola i odgojnih poruka, bilo je potrebno istraživanje usmjeriti evaluaciji odgojnih poruka kako bi se utvrdilo prevladavaju li odgojno pozitivne ili odgojno negativne poruke u analiziranim epizodama. U tom smislu, druga skupina rezultata usustavljena je u tablici 1 i nudi sumativni prikaz vrsta poruka zastupljenih u analiziranim epizodama crtanog filma *Maša i Medvjed*.

Tablica 1.

Pozitivne i negativne odgojne poruke u crtanom filmu Maša i Medvjed

kriterij/ishod	epizoda <i>Recept za katastrofu</i>		epizoda <i>Dobar tek</i>		epizoda <i>Dan za pranje rublja</i>	
	pozitivan	negativan	pozitivan	negativan	pozitivan	negativan
vjerodostojnost	x		x		x	
poštovanje	x	x	x		x	
odgovornost	x	x	x		x	
pravednost	x		x	x	x	x
brižnost	x		x	x	x	x
građanska osviještenost	x		x		x	

Iz tablice je vidljivo kako svaka epizoda u većoj mjeri zastupa odgojno pozitivne nego odgojno negativne poruke, prema kriterijima vjerodostojnosti, poštovanja, odgovornosti, brižnosti i građanske osviještenosti koje Josephson (2002) izdvaja kao šest univerzalnih odrednica karaktera. Prema provedenoj analizi pojedina epizoda sadržava samo određene negativne odgojne poruke – odsustvo poštovanja i odgovornosti u epizodi *Recept za katastrofu*, odsustvo pravednosti i brižnosti u epizodama *Dobar tek* i *Dan za pranje rublja*. S druge strane, svaka analizirana epizoda sadrži svih šest univerzalnih odrednica karaktera koje se razvijaju u sklopu socijalnih kompetencija, a oblikovane su u odgojne poruke o tome kakvo je ponašanje djeteta društveno prihvatljivo.

RASPRAVA

Dobiveni rezultati mogu se usporediti sa sličnim istraživanjima koja su se usmjerila na crtani film *Maša i Medvjed*, ne proučavajući nužno iste probleme ili iste epizode. Poruke koje prenose crtani filmovi proučavane su i analizirane i u drugim istraživanjima, koja također ističu pozitivne aspekte crtanog filma

Maša i Medvjed. Teme koje uključuju prijateljstvo, ljubaznost i neke osobine koje su jedinstvene ljudskim bićima prožimaju se kroz sadržaj crtanog filma *Maša i Medvjed* (Parlakııldız i sur., 2022). Antoniazzi (2016) je istražila potencijal crtanog filma *Maša i Medvjed* kao transformativnog obrazovnog alata za djecu. Ispitujući jedinstvene karakteristike ovog crtanog filma, njegovu narativnu strukturu i uključivanje obrazovnih elemenata, rezultati su rada utvrdili i razradili pojavu nove paradigme u dječjem obrazovanju. Time se problematizira inovativno pripovijedanje s obzirom na to da crtani film *Maša i Medvjed* rabi inovativne tehnike pripovijedanja, poput kombinacije humora, avantura i moralnih lekcija unutar svake epizode za poticanje kognitivnog razvoja kod djece. S aspekta poticanja razvoja socijalnih kompetencija, također su zastupljene vrijedne lekcije o empatiji, suradnji i emocionalnoj inteligenciji kroz Mašinu interakciju s Medvjedom i drugim likovima. Prisutni su i elementi kulturnog osvještavanja upoznavanjem djece s različitim kulturama i tradicijama kroz različite likove i okruženja u pojedinim epizodama. Crtani film *Maša i Medvjed* u cjelini sadrži brojne kulturološke reference zbog velike javne popularnosti koju je stekao među djecom diljem svijeta (Olwi i sur., 2022). Iako su u navedenom crtanom filmu dijalozi svedeni na minimum, prisutni su različiti audiovizualni kulturni aspekti, poput tradicionalne odjeće, pjesama i plesova koji osiguravaju prijenos značenja, ali mogu stvoriti i potencijalne probleme u prijevodu verbalne poruke koju prenosi dijalog.

Kao pozitivni aspekti toga crtanog filma navode se i Mašine maštovite vještine rješavanja problema koje potiču kreativnost i kritičko razmišljanje kod djece. Likovi su prikazani kao pozitivni uzori, s naglaskom na Mašinu znatiželju, otpornost i Medvjedovo strpljivo i brižno ponašanje. Navedeno doprinosi raspravama o uporabi popularnih medija za ostvarivanje pozitivnih obrazovnih ishoda (Antoniazzi, 2016). Prema Lyanda-Geller (2015) postoje mnoge inačice narodne bajke *Maša i Medvjed*, a svaka je inačica u suprotnosti s tradicionalnim konvencijama bajke, jer se Medvjed i šuma više ne predstavljaju kao okrutni i opasni, već gostoljubivi i dobronamjerni. Poruke koje se protežu kroz crtani film *Maša i Medvjed* promiču djetetovu slobodu izražavanja, izražavanja vlastitih potreba, znatiželje i autentičnosti.

Srimayanti i Widyastuti (2023) istraživali su teme prijateljstva analizom dviju epizoda crtanog filma *Maša i Medvjed* primjenom deskriptivno-kvalitativne metode i semiotike. Rezultati istraživanja identificiraju vrijednost prijateljstva između Maše i Medvjeda kroz četiri komponente prijateljstva, odnosno prisnosti u interakciji, međusobnom povjerenju, prihvaćanju u stavovima i društvu te podrškom obiju strana u prijateljskom odnosu.

Nadalje, Yilmaz (2021) prikazuje rezultate istraživanja koji proizlaze iz ispitivanja pozitivnih verbalnih i bihevioralnih izraza jedanaest različitih vrijednosnih kategorija, uključujući ljubav, toleranciju, sreću, odgovornost, strpljenje, suradnju, poštovanje/uljudnost, povjerenje, pravdu, istinu/poštenje

u crtanom filmu *Maša i Medvjed*. Kao rezultat identificirano je 10 različitih vrijednosnih kategorija: ljubav, sreća, odgovornost, strpljenje, suradnja, poštovanje/uljudnost, suradnja, povjerenje, pravda, istina/poštenje. Prema rezultatima analize učestalosti provedene u istraživanju, kada su ispitani verbalni izrazi u vezi s vrijednosnim kategorijama u epizodama crtanog filma *Maša i Medvjed*, utvrđeno je da vrijednost *sreća* ima najveću učestalost. Utvrđeno je da vrijednost *sreća* prate vrijednosne kategorije *poštovanje/uljudnost, ljubav, povjerenje, suradnja, odgovornost, strpljenje, točnost/poštenje, suradnja*. Nisu pronađena saznanja o vrijednosti ni *tolerancija* ni *pravda*, u smislu verbalnog izražavanja u promatranim epizodama crtića *Maša i Medvjed*.

Prema rezultatima analize učestalosti provedene u istom istraživanju (Yilmaz, 2021), kada su ispitivani bihevioralni izrazi vezani uz vrijednosne kategorije u epizodama crtića *Maša i Medvjed*, utvrđeno je da vrijednost *sreća* također ima najveću učestalost. Utvrđeno je da ovu vrijednost prate redom vrijednosti: *odgovornost, suradnja, ljubav, poštovanje/uljudnost, pravda, povjerenje, strpljenje*. Nisu pronađeni nalazi u dimenziji bihevioralnog izražavanja u vezi s vrijednostima *tolerancija, istinitost/poštenje*. Rezultati rada autora Ali i sur. (2024) pokazuju kako stilska sredstva u *Maši i Medvjedu* služe za prenošenje odgojnih poruka, promicanje učenja i utjecaj na razvoj, čime se obogaćuje obrazovna vrijednost animiranog sadržaja za djecu.

I ovo istraživanje produbljuje spoznaju o fenomenu crtanog filma *Maša i Medvjed*, usmjeravajući se na evaluaciju odgojnih poruka koje djeca pronalaze na globalnim platformama. Izdvojene i analizirane epizode upotrebljavaju razne semiotičke elemente kao što su likovi, okruženje, objekti i radnje za prenošenje poruka o djetinjstvu, suradnji, kreativnosti, učenju i dinamici između djece i odraslih. Primjerice, likovi Maše i Medvjeda predstavljaju dva različita karaktera – Maša je hrabra i avanturistički nastrojena, dok je Medvjed strašiv i pasivniji. Ova se dva lika susreću u različitim situacijama koje ih izlažu različitim izazovima i testiraju njihove karakterne osobine. Scenografija i kostimografija također igraju važnu ulogu u prikazivanju značenja. Na primjer, Mašina i Medvjedova kuća predstavlja sigurno i ugodno okruženje, dok je šuma prikazana kao opasna. Simboli također imaju važnu ulogu, pa Medvjed predstavlja snagu i moć, dok je Maša simbol za lukavost. Sadržaj epizoda naglašava elemente znatiželjnosti, prilagodljivosti i vrijednosti zajedničkih iskustava. Sve tri analizirane epizode *Maše i Medvjeda* prenose poučne poruke na vizualno privlačan i djeci prikladan način koji je zanimljiv i djeci i odraslima. Crtani je film *Maša i Medvjed* u vrijeme pisanja ovog rada imao epizodu s najvećom gledanosti prema statistici broja pregleda, ali Akça i Koç Cilekçiler (2019) upozoravaju da crtani filmovi koje djeca najčešće gledaju u jednom razdoblju kasnije budu zamijenjeni nekim drugim crtanim filmovi, pa je nužno daljnje praćenje.

Ograničenja istraživanja odnose se na analizu ograničenu na tri epizode, što možda ne odražava cjelokupni sadržaj serijala. Usmjerenost na popularne epizode može isključiti manje popularne, ali tematski raznolike epizode. Metodologija rada doprinosi kvalitetnoj analizi odgojnih poruka u crtanim filmu, ali i pruža osnove za daljnja istraživanja kako bi se obuhvatili širi konteksti i dodatni medijski sadržaji.

ZAKLJUČAK

Primjenom semiotičke analize crtanog filma *Maša i Medvjed* istraženo je kako se različiti znakovi upotrebljavaju kako bi se prikazalo značenje i razvijale teme, poput prijateljstva, hrabrosti i avanture. Sadržaj analiziranih epizoda crtanog filma *Maša i Medvjed* upućuje djeci odgojno pozitivne poruke o prijateljstvu, brizi, slobodi kreativnosti i osnovnim vještinama na zabavan i zanimljiv način.

Analizom triju epizoda crtanog filma *Maša i Medvjed* utvrđeno je da djelovanje i ponašanje lika Medvjeda prati svih šest odrednica kriterija vjerodostojnosti, poštovanja, odgovornosti, pravednosti, brižnosti i građanske osviještenosti u pozitivnim aspektima, dok je djelovanje i ponašanje lika Maše u većini kriterija također pozitivno, ali odrednice pravednosti i brižnosti ne prati dosljedno u pozitivnim aspektima, s obzirom na to da Maša često ne usvaja i ne prati pravila, ne sluša druge i nije pažljiva.

I ovo je istraživanje potvrdilo da su globalne platforme važan izvor medijskog sadržaja za djecu i imaju utjecaj na razvoj socijalnih kompetencija, najviše putem crtanih filmova koje djeca odabiru. Djeca koja gledaju crtane filmove uče o svijetu oko sebe, razvijaju empatiju prema drugima, uče komunikacijske vještine i razvijaju pojmove o dobrom i zlu. Crtani filmovi često prikazuju različite socijalne situacije i odnose između likova, što može pomoći djeci da shvate kako se ponašati u različitim situacijama. Djeca, također, uče o emocijama i kako ih izraziti gledajući kako likovi u crtanim filmu proživljavaju i izražavaju različite emocije. Nadalje, crtani filmovi mogu pomoći djetetu da razvije kritičko razmišljanje i da razumije kako se suočavati s problemima i preprekama, što može biti iznimno važno u ranom razdoblju razvoja, kada djeca tek počinju razvijati svoje socijalne kompetencije.

Usporedbom zastupljenosti odgojnih poruka u analiziranim trima epizodama *Maše i Medvjeda* utvrđeno je da prevladavaju pozitivne vrijednosti kroz pozitivne odgojne poruke. S obzirom na to da djeca ne mogu uvijek razlikovati pozitivne i negativne odgojne poruke, odgovornost je roditelja/skrbnika pratiti ih tijekom gledanja crtanih filmova i obrazložiti im te poruke.

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**CHILDREN AND GLOBAL PLATFORMS: EVALUATION
OF EDUCATIONAL MESSAGES IN THE CARTOON
*MASHA AND THE BEAR***

Abstract: *Global platforms are increasingly accessible to the youngest users through various media, which requires reflection on the media education of preschool children within a family. Although cartoons are part of almost every child's everyday life, research on educational messages arising from cartoons is insufficiently represented; therefore, the aim of this research was to identify educational messages in cartoons that influence the development of children's social competences. For this reason, we analysed the episodes of the cartoon Masha and the Bear, which were selected as the most viewed cartoon on the global platform YouTube. The research applied descriptive content analysis with a focus on qualitative elements for the purpose of identifying educationally positive and negative messages arising from the most-watched episodes of the cartoon Masha and the Bear. Additional purpose was to detect and interpret non-verbal signs from which educational messages arise in the sphere of the development of social competences. Based on Peirce's theory of signs, a semiotic analysis of the content of individual episodes of the cartoon Masha and the Bear was applied in order to categorise the signs into symbols depending*

on six universal character determinants as criteria of positivity and negativity. The results of the research show that positivity is the dominant aspect in all the analysed episodes, i.e. the actions and behaviour of the character the Bear follow all six universal character determinants criteria of trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, fairness, care and citizenship, while the actions and behaviour of the character Masha are also positive in most criteria, except for the determinants of justice and care. Based on the results obtained, it is concluded that the most-watched episodes of the cartoon Masha and the Bear send positive educational messages to children that can contribute to the development of their social competences.

Keywords: *semiotic analysis, social competences, media content, visual elements, media education, signs*

INTRODUCTION

Although unmediated direct interpersonal interaction with peers and adults is irreplaceable in a child's social development, especially during critical periods of growth, media-based communication, i.e., one-way communication mediated by (digital) media, is taking on an increasingly important role in this process. Consequently, global platforms are gaining more significance in upbringing. According to recent research results, YouTube and YouTube Kids are popular platforms that children use to access various videos for educational or entertainment purposes, and to watch cartoons (Ofcom, 2022). YouTube is the most popular video platform for several reasons – it is easy to use, accessible, and enables content uploading and content sharing, with a large selection of different content. According to YouTube statistics, this video-sharing platform has 2.5 billion users worldwide (DataReportal, 2024). It is ranked as the second most popular social network, right after Facebook. Regardless of whether they assess the impact of media (and cartoons) as more positive or negative for individual development, different authors agree in assessing the great influence of media on modern childhood. Despite the importance of such research, final answers have not yet been found, and the appropriateness of methodological choices is being questioned (Topolovčan, 2020).

This research is motivated by the fact that the age at which children are introduced to mass media is decreasing, and the frequency of children's use of mass media and exposure to them is constantly increasing (Bozzola et al., 2018). Scientific research on the effects of screen media on children's development, learning, and family life has difficulty keeping up with the rapid development of the digital environment (Ponti, 2023). Responsible parenting in the modern era requires making decisions about the media content to which children are exposed. In the case of preschool children, this most often

concerns cartoons, which Mikić (2001) defines as a subgenre of animated film in which twenty-four consecutive phases of movement are drawn, coloured and recorded to get a second of film projection, which creates the illusion of continuous movement through projection. They can be based on realistic and semi-realistic drawing forms of two-dimensional or three-dimensional works (Kaur & Shweta, 2018). Nowadays, children have the opportunity to watch cartoons in different ways, regardless of time and space. Apart from watching television, children use tablets, smartphones, and computers, so parents play an important role in accessing and supervising children's viewing of cartoons. Children's media literacy starts with parents as primary and natural educators who have the opportunity and obligation to influence children's experience with media (Mirković Moguš & Varga, 2022). In the case of cartoons for preschool children, this means that parents should check in advance whether the content of the cartoon is educational and age-appropriate. In addition, it is important for parents to watch cartoons together with their children in order to supervise them (Čiboci & Kanižaj, 2011), and discuss the messages addressed to children, but this happens only sometimes (Blažević, 2012).

Parents often use cartoons as a substitute educator, by giving their children their mobile phones when they do not know how to entertain them, and then the children choose the cartoons themselves, most often those that are not appropriate for their age or have educationally inappropriate content, and the parents do not react promptly (Labaš, 2015). There is devastating research that has shown that parents do not even have conversations about media content with school-age children (Labaš & Marinčić, 2018; Acheampong, 2017; Ilišin, 2003; Ilišin et al., 2001). However, if we want children to learn to use the media meaningfully and responsibly, we must develop didactic models, devise numerous ways to introduce them to children, and develop good practice (Mikić, 2015).

Due to the widespread use of the Internet (especially various YouTube channels), cartoons are now more accessible to parents and children than ever before. They have the opportunity to browse and watch cartoons anytime and anywhere; which increases parental accountability. Responsible parental behaviour begins with awareness of the connection between cartoons and children's social development. Therefore, this paper intends to describe the importance of developing children's social competences and to explore the role of cartoons in this process with the educational messages that emerge from them.

CARTOONS AND CHILDREN SOCIAL COMPETENCES

The significance of social competences is placed in the period before school age and by no means ends with the completion of formal education. At birth, a person is placed in human society in order to become a human being in the full sense – through upbringing and education. At the earliest age, children

seek interaction with important people (parents), in preschool age, they begin to socialize with other children of a similar age, and over time, their focus increasingly shifts away from their parents towards other adults (teachers) and peers (other pupils). At school age, peer approval becomes increasingly important, as does the desire to belong to a group and be accepted in the group. Over time, the number of friends increases, and peer relationships become more stable and lasting, compared to the great volatility of mutual liking in preschool age (Semrud-Clikeman, 2007).

In the educational documents of the European Union, social competences are placed among the key competences that need to be developed through a lifelong approach (Recommendation, 2010). According to Rose-Krasnor (1997), they can be determined through three levels of interpretation: at the theoretical level, the relational level, and the level of individual skills. At the theoretical level, social competence is defined as effectiveness in interaction. Below the theoretical level, the relational level of interpretation of social competences is presented. It describes social interaction as a permanent dialectical relationship between one's own and others' goals, i.e., goals that the child sets for himself and goals that others set for him. At the relational level, the treatment of other people, both peers and adults, is placed. The skill level is the lowest level of the prism on which the other levels are built, and the skills that are associated with social competences are: perspective taking, communication, empathy, emotion regulation, and solving social problems.

Consequently, social competences are linked to children's later academic success (Livazović, 2012; Buljubašić Kuzmanović & Botić, 2012; Mikas, 2011; Cummings et al., 2008; Zins et al., 2004), and the National Curriculum for Early and Preschool Education (2015) is already focused on the development of children's social competences by ensuring safe and supportive contextual conditions that enable adaptation to the extra-family and institutional context, encourage a culture of communication, living together and interacting, the development of social-emotional connections with peers, collaborative learning, non-violent conflict resolution, teamwork - negotiating and dividing roles, taking responsibility for one's own behaviour and actions towards oneself, others and the environment, etc.

Children's development of social competences can also be influenced by the media, especially through cartoons. Children imitate cartoon characters, and this can be seen in their lifestyle, clothing, and behaviour. Cartoon characters are imitated by children of all ages, regardless of socio-economic status or intelligence level (Rai et al., 2016). Since they contain information about the world a child enters, it is believed that cartoons can play a supporting role in the educational process. Among other things, cartoons help children discover the world and teach children the rules of behaviour in society (e.g., respecting adults, teamwork, etc.).

Many cartoon characters promote a healthy lifestyle and have many positive qualities, and children often imitate cartoon characters. They often promote socially desirable behaviour, so children learn how to control their temper, speak politely, help the poor and the elderly, listen to their parents, cooperate with young people, and work in a group without feelings of hatred. In the context of skills, the positive content of a cartoon could teach children how to be a leader, how to analyse problems scientifically, how to manage risk, and how to plan an action. In terms of life experience, a well-designed cartoon can teach a child about the dangers surrounding them in the environment, such as heights, the danger of electricity, crossing the street, or even scouting skills, such as treating a wound, pitching a tent, properly knitting a rope, or building a small boat (Habib & Soliman, 2015). In other words, with the help of cartoons, children are intentionally encouraged to obey their parents, exercise self-control, express themselves politely, respect others, help those in need, establish friendly relationships, and use technology (Kaur & Shweta, 2018). All the above represent socially desirable behaviour and successful adaptation of new members of society achieved through media-influenced socialisation.

However, cartoons can also play an important role in the realization of socially inappropriate behaviour, mostly through various forms of aggression. According to Acheampong (2017), as many as 48.5% of children see violence as a form of problem-solving behaviour in cartoons, and this pattern is then transferred to children's behaviour. To illustrate, the content of a cartoon can lead a child to have a different view of their own friends, parents, teachers and other people around them in a way that leads the child to doubt their upbringing actions, and a cartoon character with a negative attitude can also lead a child to change their understanding of their life and environment and shape their actions in an aggressive way towards situations (Habib & Soliman, 2015). The results of the study by Ghilzai et al. (2017) showed that children who watch cartoons apply aggressive and violent behaviour towards brothers, sisters, and peers, while imitating cartoon characters, trying to be funny and entertaining. Namely, children imitate their favourite cartoon characters and, by watching cartoons excessively, they also have a high level of fantasy and mostly fantasize about them. In addition to behaviour, cartoons, according to the same research, also influence gender-based prejudices, so cartoons impose on them the attitude that girls are fragile and timid, and boys are brave and strong. These findings are also confirmed by the study conducted by Kaur & Shweta (2018), because their results showed that nowadays there are children who are convinced that cartoon characters are real and that cartoon characters are either black or white. After watching cartoons, children become more aggressive and engage in violence with their peers and prefer to sit at home and watch cartoons rather than engage in games with their peers. At the same time, boys from cartoons adopt more violent behaviour than girls do (Mashud et al., 2009).

Whether the influence of a cartoon will have a positive or negative impact on a child will depend on several factors, such as age, the amount of time the child devotes to it, and the content of the cartoon. First, younger children are more susceptible to media influences than older children because their critical thinking has yet to develop. It is only in the national curriculum, as part of the subject Croatian language, that the development of media literacy is planned to encourage the development of a critical attitude towards media messages (Curriculum of the subject Croatian language for primary and secondary schools, 2019). Second, a preschool child spends an average of up to three hours a day watching cartoons (Laniado & Pietra, 2005), while a school-age child spends an average of up to four hours a day in this activity (Acheampong, 2017), with no significant differences found between boys and girls (Mashud et al., 2009). Third, certain cartoons are designed specifically for educational, not exclusively entertainment, purposes, and therefore do not contain, or at least should not contain, educationally negative messages. On the one hand, a child's development of social competences can be negatively affected by excessive exposure to cartoons with negative educational messages, but on the other hand, cartoons with educationally positive messages can have a positive effect because watching appropriate educational content encourages a child's development of social competences (Habib & Soliman, 2015). Therefore, the research is aimed precisely at exploring educationally positive and negative messages in cartoons intended for young children.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study aimed at identifying the educational messages contained in cartoons and evaluating them in relation to their role in the development of children's social competences. The focus was on cartoons popular on global platforms, with a special emphasis on the cartoon *Masha and the Bear*.

More specifically, we were interested in whether educationally positive or negative messages predominate in a selected cartoon popular on the global platforms that preschool children use. More precisely, in order to isolate and categorize educationally positive or negative messages arising from cartoons that children watch, the research was conducted using the technique of semiotic content analysis. This technique was chosen because of its ability to provide an in-depth understanding of symbolism and meaning within media content. Semiotic analysis is based on Charles Sanders Peirce's theory of signs, which classifies signs into icons, indices, and symbols. This framework enables a systematic analysis of the visual, audio, and narrative elements of a cartoon. According to Josephson (2002), there are six universal determinants of character, and those were used as the basic framework for the analysis. Based on Peirce's theory of signs (more details in Short, 2007), semiotic content analysis focused

on the categorization of signs into icons, indices, and symbols according to the criteria of six universal determinants of character, namely: trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, fairness, caring, and citizenship (Josephson, 2002). Each determinant encompasses further subsets of certain values. The standards of behaviour that arise from these values constitute the basic rules of ethics, and thus of ethical decision-making. The determinants act as a multi-level selection matrix through which decisions are processed and can significantly improve the ethical quality of decisions, and thus send positive educational messages. Trustworthiness is the most complex of all six fundamental values and encompasses various qualities such as honesty, integrity, reliability, and loyalty. Respect is the next determinant, which includes respecting others, accepting differences, good behaviour and polite speech, caring for other people's feelings, communicating without threats, and resolving conflicts peacefully. Responsibility includes doing what is necessary, planning ahead, working hard, making efforts, self-control, self-discipline, taking responsibility for one's behaviour, words, and actions, choosing a positive attitude, and making healthy choices. Fairness includes adopting rules, sharing, listening to others, not taking advantage of others, not blaming others, and treating other people with consideration. Caring refers to being considerate, compassionate, showing concern and empathy, and also includes forgiveness, gratitude, helping others, benevolence, and altruism. The determinant related to citizenship includes working for a better world, cooperation, community involvement, establishing good neighbourly relations, respecting rules and laws, respecting authority, protecting the environment, and volunteering. These determinants were used as criteria for evaluating educational messages. Signs and symbols in episodes are categorised according to whether they convey positive or negative educational messages within each category.

The cartoon *Masha and the Bear* was chosen for its highest number of online views in the cartoon category (SocialCounts, 2024). The episodes have different themes and were viewed via the YouTube platform. Sampling was conducted with the aim of selecting episodes that represent different thematic and narrative aspects of the cartoon *Masha and the Bear*. The selection criterion for the episodes was based on their popularity according to the number of views on the YouTube platform. Three episodes were selected: *Recipe for Disaster*, *Bon Appétit*, and *Laundry Day*. Together, these episodes form a representative sample due to their diversity in themes and high number of views (over a billion for each episode).

According to its creators, the cartoon *Masha and the Bear* aims to bring eternal truths closer to children in a clear and entertaining way, to present the world in its diversity, and to discover the positive qualities of each situation (Masha and the Bear: Official Website, 2024). The content of the episodes also tries to explain the logic of action in various difficult situations and helps in

fighting one's own weaknesses in an unobtrusive way. The main plot refers to the depiction of the pranks of the main characters, Masha and her friend Bear, with a focus on kindness and comedy. Their relationship is a metaphor for the interaction of a child with the big world and how an adult can help in this difficult task. Masha is a restless girl who has difficulty standing still due to her endless energy because she has to try everything she comes into contact with. She is indescribably friendly and treats everyone as if she has known them for years. Her curiosity and creativity provoke funny adventures (Masha and the Bear: Official Website, 2024). The cartoon has been translated into 36 languages, including English, and has twelve different YouTube channels, which have 62 million subscribers (SocialBlade Statistics, 2024). Each episode lasts approximately 7 minutes.

Considering the popularity of the cartoon, three episodes of the cartoon *Masha and the Bear* were selected and analysed. One of the selected episodes, *Recipe for Disaster*, has the highest number of views in the domain of cartoons, according to YouTube viewership data, with 4.5 billion views (SocialCounts, 2024). The remaining two episodes are also the most viewed, but only in the domain of the cartoon *Masha and the Bear*, with more than a billion views, and they are *Bon Appétit* and *Laundry Day* (SocialCounts, 2024). Data were collected by reviewing selected episodes of the cartoon via the official YouTube channel using descriptive content analysis with a focus on qualitative elements. During the analysis, the focus was on identifying visual and narrative elements that convey educational messages. Each episode was analysed in detail to identify key signs and their symbolic meanings.

Semiotic content analysis was conducted on several interconnected levels. First, in order to identify the educational character of the messages arising from the episodes of the cartoon *Masha and the Bear*, certain signs were identified that were categorised as either positive or negative. The second level of analysis refers to the interpretation of symbols detected in the signs themselves, while at the third level of analysis, they are included in a specific category of six universal character determinants. The described analysis was conducted separately for each episode.

The research was conducted in accordance with ethical guidelines for media content research. There was no direct participation of children or parents, and only publicly available data was used.

RESULTS

The research results are split into two parts, the first of which refers to a detailed analysis of the signs of an individual episode of the cartoon *Masha and the Bear*, and the second to a consolidated presentation of the results obtained. In the first part, the analysis of an individual episode presents a brief

thematic content of the episode and the interpretation of the symbols, and the categorisation of the educational messages that result from this. In the second part, the results for all three analysed episodes are presented in a single table, and in relation to the criterion of six universal character determinants proposed by Josephson (2002).

The data were analysed in three steps that include the identification of signs, the interpretation of symbols, and the categorisation of educational messages. Visual, audio, and narrative elements of the episodes were identified as potential signs. The signs were interpreted in accordance with their symbolic meanings within the context of the episode. The identified symbols were classified into categories according to the universal character determinants, and each educational message was marked as positive or negative. To increase the credibility of the analysis, data triangulation was carried out. The results of the analysis were compared with previous research on the impact of cartoons on children. The coding of characters and messages was carried out independently by two researchers, and the results were then compared to ensure consistency.

ANALYSIS OF THE EPISODE *RECIPE FOR DISASTER*

Recipe for Disaster depicts the Bear playing chess when Masha interrupts his game by asking him to feed her. The Bear tries to play chess, but Masha constantly distracts him, so the Bear rushes out of the house and into nature. Masha decides to cook porridge herself, but forgets to turn off the stove, so the porridge soon swells, and as a result, all the forest animals will remember this day for a long time because Masha will try to feed them all with the excess cooked porridge. In the episode *Recipe for Disaster*, the main characters, Masha and her friend Bear, face the challenge of cooking a joint lunch. Masha shows her adventurous nature by trying to make unusual and experimental dishes, while Bear shows his passivity and disinterest in cooking. The characters, Masha and her friend Bear, represent two different characters, as already mentioned, Masha is brave and adventurous, while the Bear is fearful and more passive. Symbols that appear in the episode are, for example, a cooking pot symbolising control over food, or porridge symbolising the pleasurable experience of satisfying basic needs.

A semiotic analysis of the episode *Recipe for Disaster* from *Masha and the Bear* presents characters as symbols. For example, Masha can be seen as a symbol of curiosity, innocence, and childlike wonder, and her actions represent uninhibited exploration of the world. Furthermore, the Bear as a symbol embodies a responsible, adult figure whose task is to maintain order and care for Masha, symbolising the challenges and joys of parenthood.

Masha and her friend Bear also serve as central visual cues. Masha's small stature and energetic movements contrast with Bear's larger and more composed

appearance, reflecting their different personalities. The kitchen is a significant visual sign, representing a space for creativity, exploration, and potential chaos. The episode uses warm and vibrant colours to create a visually appealing and lively atmosphere, especially in scenes involving cooking and collaboration. In the context of signs, the forest serves as a backdrop for the story and symbolises nature, the untamed world, and adventure. Food plays a significant role in this episode, representing feeding and the act of sharing. Preparing food symbolises caring for others and the effort required to maintain a household. The character interactions include Masha's interference and the Bear's patience. Masha's interference is linked to Masha's curiosity, which often disrupts the Bear's plans, symbolising the unpredictability of life and the challenges of managing unexpected events. On the other hand, the Bear's patience and eventual acceptance of Masha's help convey themes of adaptability, resilience, and the importance of cooperation.

Positive educational messages that emerge from this episode (Figure 1) relate to promoting reading habits (the Bear reads a book about chess), popularising board games (the Bear plays chess), peaceful conflict resolution (the Bear gives Masha a puck instead of the chess piece she took from him), polite behaviour (Masha sits at the table and eats porridge with cutlery), and encouraging cleaning habits (Masha cleaned up all the mess created as a result of cooking).

Figure 1

Positive educational messages (Recipe for Disaster)



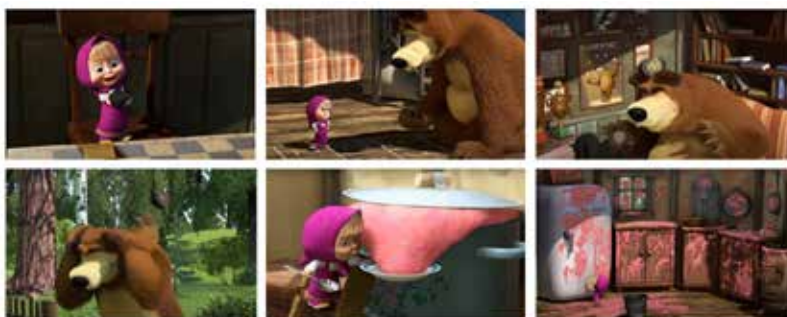
Source: YouTube

Negative educational messages (Figure 2) are mainly reflected in Masha's socially unacceptable behaviour (Masha snatches a chess piece from the Bear, Masha throws a puck at the Bear, Masha throws dishes while cooking, and creates a mess in the kitchen).

The content of the episode conveys messages that emphasise the value of children's exploration and their ability to bring spontaneity and joy into the lives of adults. Learning through mistakes is also emphasised, as Masha corrects her mistakes. Masha's diligent cleaning up of the mess that she has caused in the kitchen indicates responsible behaviour, i.e., the ability to take responsibility for her own actions.

Figure 2

Negative educational messages (Recipe for Disaster)



Source: YouTube

ANALYSIS OF THE EPISODE *BON APPÉTIT*

In the episode *Bon Appétit*, the Bear looks at Chinese recipes and chooses what to cook, kneads dough, and grinds meat. The Panda has come to visit his cousin, the Bear, to help him make a famous Chinese snack - dumplings. Masha catches butterflies, enters the house, catches a caterpillar, and stores it in a jar. Masha insists on kneading the dough. At first, she is not allowed, but later she is allowed, but she does not follow the instructions. In this episode, the themes that develop are friendship, courage, and creativity. Masha, the Bear, and the Panda must work together to make lunch, which represents friendship. Masha shows courage in experimenting with new dishes, while the Bear and the Panda strive to be consistent and creative in cooking.

The semiotic analysis of the episode titled *Bon Appétit* focuses on the characters as symbols, which include Masha, the Bear, and the Panda. Masha here symbolises the boundless energy and curiosity of a child. Her character embodies innocence and an adventurous spirit. On the other hand, the Bear serves as a symbol of a responsible adult, emphasising the challenges and joys of caring for a child. Cousin Panda is a symbol of other adults that the child encounters in the extended family, and/or in society in general. In this episode, the Bear's house is depicted as a symbol of a safe and comfortable environment, i.e., home and family.

In the episode *Bon Appétit*, cooking and food take centre stage. Food symbolises sustenance, care, and the act of sharing. The act of cooking signifies nurturing and the effort invested in caring for others. The cookbook serves as a symbol of knowledge and expertise, indicating the importance of following instructions to achieve the desired result, and represents the idea that recipes provide guidance and structure in life. The interactions of the characters are evident in Masha's desire to help in the kitchen and the Bear's patience. Masha's desire to help in the kitchen, while well-intentioned, leads to chaos. This highlights the challenges and unpredictability that come with involving children in adult tasks. On the other hand, the Bear's patience and willingness to let Masha participate in the cooking process symbolise the importance of responsible adults guiding young people.

The episode emphasises the value of intergenerational cooperation. This shows that patience and understanding are key when teaching and learning together. Masha's unconventional approach to cooking emphasises the importance of creativity and thinking outside the box. The episode *Bon Appétit* emphasises the bond between the Bear and Masha, showing their shared moments and love for each other.

Positive educational messages (Figure 3) relate to working together to shape the dough, which promotes the social components of socialising. Also positive are the depictions of a walk in nature, washing hands, helping with work, and assistance in finding a caterpillar.

Figure 3

Positive educational message (Bon Appétit), Appétit



Source: YouTube

Negative educational messages (Figure 4) mainly relate to Masha's carelessness and mischief. Masha destroys shaped dough, takes dough without asking, does not follow instructions for shaping dough, etc.

Figure 4

Negative educational messages (Bon Appétit)



Source: YouTube

ANALYSIS OF THE EPISODE *LAUNDRY DAY*

In the episode *Laundry Day*, Masha drives a pig to the Bear to borrow milk from him and feed her. Masha falls into the mud, and the Bear bathes her. The Bear sews Masha new clothes and washes the dirty ones. Masha asks for milk, but fails to get it. Masha picks raspberries, gets dirty again, the Bear washes her and sews new clothes, and so on several times. The Bear repairs the cart in which Masha drives the pig.

The semiotic analysis of the episode entitled *Laundry Day* focuses on the main characters as symbols, with Masha symbolising the energy and curiosity of the child. Her character embodies the unpredictability and adventurous spirit of the child. On the other hand, the Bear again symbolises the responsible figure of an adult, emphasising the challenges and joys of caring for a child. His character reflects qualities such as patience and adaptability. In the context of the sign, the Bear's house is a symbol of a safe and supportive environment. It serves as a background for many of the story's interactions and represents the concept of home and family.

In this episode, the act of doing laundry symbolises the daily chores and obligations that adults undertake to maintain order and cleanliness. Masha's involvement in the laundry process repeatedly leads to chaos and accidents. These incidents represent the unpredictability and challenges of managing tasks in the presence of a child. The interactions relate to Masha's interference and the Bear's patience. Masha's well-intentioned but destructive actions highlight the tension between the desire to help and the practical difficulties that can

arise when children become involved in adult tasks. The Bear's patience and understanding in dealing with Masha's clumsiness highlight the importance of guiding young people.

The episode emphasises the value of intergenerational cooperation and the idea that adults can guide children through everyday challenges. The content of the episode *Laundry Day* emphasises the responsibilities, care, and patience required to teach children new tasks. The episode depicts the bond between the Bear and Masha, illustrating their shared moments and their relationship with each other.

Positive educational messages (Figure 5) mainly arise from the Bear's behaviour and the help he provides to Masha (the Bear washes the laundry, the Bear bathes Masha, the Bear stops the speeding cart with the pig, the Bear sews new clothes, the Bear repairs the cart), while Masha's disobedience and carelessness (Masha takes food from the refrigerator and jam from the pantry without asking, Masha drives the cart carelessly and too fast) are the causes of problems. Masha's disobedience and accidents resulting from Masha's socially undesirable behaviour can be characterised as negative educational messages (Figure 6) and serve as a model of socially unacceptable behaviour, which children can imitate.

Figure 5

Positive educational messages (Laundry Day)



Source: YouTube

Figure 6*Negative educational messages (Laundry Day)*

Source: YouTube

OVERALL CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE CARTOON *MASHA AND THE BEAR*

In addition to the detailed content analysis of each episode, which was conducted and described in the previous section through various aspects of the theme, symbols, and educational messages, it was necessary to focus the research on the evaluation of educational messages in order to determine whether educationally positive or educationally negative messages prevail in the analysed episodes. Hence, the second group of results is organised in Table 1 and offers a summative overview of the types of messages represented in the analysed episodes of the cartoon *Masha and the Bear*.

Table 1*Positive and negative educational messages in the cartoon Masha and the Bear*

Criteria	<i>Recipe for Disaster</i>		<i>Bon Appétit</i>		<i>Laundry Day</i>	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Trustworthiness	x		x		x	
Respect	x	x	x		x	
Responsibility	x	x	x		x	
Fairness	x		x	x	x	x
Caring	x		x	x	x	x
Citizenship	x		x		x	

Table 1 shows that each episode emits more positive than negative educational messages, based on the criteria of trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, caring, and citizenship, which Josephson (2002) identifies as six universal determinants of character. The analysis suggests that there are several negative educational messages: the absence of respect and responsibility in the episode *Recipe for Disaster*, the absence of justice and caring in the episode *Bon Appétit*, and the episode *Laundry Day*. On the other hand, each analysed episode contains all six universal determinants of character that are developed as part of social competences and promotes socially acceptable behaviour among children.

DISCUSSION

The results obtained can be compared with those of similar studies that focused on the cartoon *Masha and the Bear*, without necessarily studying the same problems or the same episodes. The messages conveyed by cartoons have been studied and analysed in other studies, which also highlight the positive aspects of the cartoon *Masha and the Bear*. Themes that encompass friendship, kindness, and some characteristics that are unique to human beings permeate the content of the cartoon *Masha and the Bear* (Parlakııldız et al., 2022). Antoniazzi (2016) explores the potential of the cartoon *Masha and the Bear* as a transformative educational tool for children. By examining the unique characteristics of this cartoon, its narrative structure, and the inclusion of educational elements, the results of the study identify and elaborate on the emergence of a new paradigm in children's education. This problematises innovative storytelling, as the cartoon *Masha and the Bear* uses innovative storytelling techniques such as a combination of humour, adventure, and moral lessons within each episode to encourage cognitive development in children. From the aspect of encouraging the development of social competences, valuable lessons about empathy, cooperation, and emotional intelligence are also represented through Masha's interaction with the Bear and other characters. Elements of cultural awareness are also present by introducing children to different cultures and traditions through different characters and environments in individual episodes. The cartoon *Masha and the Bear* contains numerous cultural references due to the great public popularity it has gained among children around the world (Olwi et al., 2022). Although dialogues are kept to a minimum in the cartoon, various audio-visual cultural aspects are present, such as traditional clothing, songs, and dances, which ensure the transmission of meaning, but can also create potential problems in the translation of the verbal message conveyed by the dialogue.

The positive aspects of the cartoon include Masha's imaginative problem-solving skills, which encourage creativity and critical thinking in children.

The characters are portrayed as positive role models, with an emphasis on Masha's curiosity, resilience, and the Bear's patient and caring behaviour. This contributes to discussions about the use of popular media to achieve positive educational outcomes (Antoniazzi, 2016). According to Lyanda-Geller (2015), there are many versions of the folktale *Masha and the Bear*, and each version contradicts traditional fairy tale conventions, as the Bear and the forest are no longer presented as cruel and dangerous, but as hospitable and benevolent. The messages that run through the cartoon *Masha and the Bear* promote children's freedom to express themselves, their needs, curiosity, and authenticity. Srimayanti and Widyastuti (2023) explored the themes of friendship by analysing two episodes of the cartoon *Masha and the Bear* using descriptive qualitative methods and semiotics. The results of the study identify the value of friendship between Masha and her friend Bear through four components of friendship, namely intimacy in interaction, mutual trust, acceptance in attitudes and society, and support from both parties in a friendly relationship.

Furthermore, Yilmaz (2021) presents the results of the study that arise from examining positive verbal and behavioural expressions of eleven different value categories, including love, tolerance, happiness, responsibility, patience, cooperation, respect/politeness, trust, justice, truth/honesty in the cartoon *Masha and the Bear*. As a result, 10 different value categories are identified: love, happiness, responsibility, patience, cooperation, respect/politeness, cooperation, trust, justice, truth/honesty. According to the results of the frequency analysis conducted in the study, when verbal expressions related to value categories were examined in episodes of the cartoon *Masha and the Bear*, it was determined that the value *happiness* had the highest frequency. It was found that the value of *happiness* is accompanied by the value categories of *respect/politeness, love, trust, cooperation, responsibility, patience, punctuality/honesty, cooperation*. No findings were found on the values of *tolerance* or *justice*, in terms of verbal expression, in the observed episodes of the cartoon *Masha and the Bear*.

According to the results of the frequency analysis conducted in the same study (Yilmaz, 2021), when behavioural expressions related to value categories in episodes of the cartoon *Masha and the Bear* were examined, it was found that the value *happiness* also had the highest frequency. It was found that this value is followed by *responsibility, cooperation, love, respect/politeness, justice, trust, patience*. No findings were found in the dimension of behavioural expression related to the values of *tolerance, truthfulness/honesty*. The results of the study by Ali et al. (2024) show that stylistic devices in *Masha and the Bear* serve to convey educational messages, promote learning, and influence development, thereby enriching the educational value of animated content for children.

This study also deepens knowledge about the phenomenon of the cartoon *Masha and the Bear* by focusing on the evaluation of educational messages that children find on global platforms. The selected and analysed episodes *Recipe*

for *Disaster*, *Bon Appétit*, and *Laundry Day* use various semiotic elements such as characters, environment, objects, and actions to convey messages about childhood, cooperation, creativity, learning, and dynamics between children and adults. For example, the characters of Masha and her friend Bear are different – Masha is brave and adventurous, while the Bear is fearful and more passive. These two characters meet in different situations that expose them to different challenges and test their character traits. Set design and costume design also play an important role in depicting meaning. For example, the main characters' house represents a safe and comfortable environment, while the forest is depicted as dangerous. Symbols also play an important role, with the Bear representing strength and power, while Masha is a symbol for cunningness. The content of the episodes emphasises elements of curiosity, adaptability, and the value of shared experiences. All three analysed episodes of *Masha and the Bear* convey educational messages in a visually appealing and child-friendly way that is interesting for both children and adults. The cartoon *Masha and the Bear* had the most-watched episode at the time of writing this paper, based on the number of views, but Akça and Koç Cilekçiler (2019) warn that cartoons that children watch most often at one time are later replaced by other cartoons, so further monitoring is necessary.

The limitations of the study relate to the fact that the analysis was limited to three episodes, which may not reflect the entire content of the series. Focusing on popular episodes may exclude less popular but thematically diverse episodes. The methodology of the study contributes to a quality analysis of educational messages in cartoons, but also provides a basis for further research that would explore broader contexts and additional media content.

CONCLUSION

By applying semiotic analysis of the cartoon *Masha and the Bear*, it was analysed how different signs are used to exhibit and develop themes such as friendship, courage, and adventure. The content of the analysed episodes sends children positive educational messages about friendship, care, freedom of creativity, and basic skills in a fun and interesting way.

From the analysis of three episodes of the cartoon *Masha and the Bear*, it is evident that the actions and behaviour of the character the Bear follow all six determinants of the criteria of trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, fairness, care and citizenship in positive aspects, while the actions and behaviour of the character Masha are also positive in most criteria, but the determinants of fairness and care are not consistently followed in positive aspects, given that Masha often does not adopt and follow the rules, does not listen to others and is not careful in her manner.

This research also confirmed that global platforms are an important source of media content for children and have an impact on the development of social

competences, mostly through the cartoons that children choose. Children who watch cartoons learn about the world around them, develop empathy for others, learn communication skills, and develop concepts of good and evil. Cartoons often depict different social situations and relationships between characters, which can help children understand how to behave in different situations. Children also learn about emotions and how to express them by watching how characters in cartoons experience and express various emotions. In addition, cartoons can also help a child develop critical thinking and understand how to deal with problems and obstacles, which can be extremely important in the early period of development, when children are just beginning to develop their social competences.

The comparison of the representation of educational messages in the three analysed episodes of *Masha and the Bear* has shown that positive values prevail through positive educational messages. Given that children cannot always distinguish between positive and negative educational messages, it is the responsibility of parents to monitor them while watching cartoons and explain those messages to them.

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THE ROLE OF PRE-SERVICE TEACHER EDUCATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF STUDENTS' COMPETENCIES FOR SHAPING LGBTIQ-INCLUSIVE EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

***Abstract:** This research describes the understanding that final-year master-level students in pre-service teacher education programs at the University of Zagreb hold regarding the role of their studies in developing teachers' competencies for LGBTIQ-inclusive educational practices. The results, based on the data collected in two focus groups, show that the participants assess their knowledge and skills for shaping LGBTIQ-inclusive practices as inadequate, while simultaneously blaming their study programs for this deficit, but also understanding why it occurs. Contemplating the possibilities of LGBTIQ-inclusive education using a competency-based framework opens up numerous questions for future research.*

***Keywords:** critical pedagogy, qualitative methodology, sexual and gender diversity, teacher education*

INTRODUCTION

Recent meta-analyses and systematic reviews (Abreu et al., 2022; Myers et al., 2020) point to the persistent perception of schools as hostile places for LGBTIQ students, highlighting the importance of the protective function of the pedagogical relationship between teachers and LGBTIQ students (see in Bartulović et al., 2023). Therefore, it comes as no surprise that more and more authors acknowledge the education of (future) teachers as a relevant strategy for supporting the well-being of LGBTIQ students and making a step forward toward a more inclusive educational practice (Bartholomaeus et al., 2017; Brant, 2017; Coulter et al., 2021; Ferfolja & Robinson, 2004; Fortunato et al., 2018; Robinson & Ferfolja, 2001; Szalacha, 2004). Nevertheless, the actual readiness of teachers to shape LGBTIQ-inclusive educational practices is questionable (Fredman et al., 2015; Kull et al., 2017; Graybill & Proctor, 2016; Payne & Smith, 2014), where the complex entanglement of supportive attitudes, the skills that enable the practical implementation of supportive attitudes and actual teacher behaviors proves particularly interesting. Bartholomaeus et al. (2017, p. 132) show that ‘direct experience in teaching a trans or gender diverse student does not seem to help teachers feel more confident in their work, whereas it does appear to impact positively on attitudes and comfort levels. This suggests a skills gap in this area, where teachers may feel broadly more accepting through direct experience of trans or gender diverse students, while still lacking clarity about how to teach or support students’, while, along similar lines, preliminary results of Milburn and Palladino’s (2012, p. 86) ‘research study found disparities between the responders’ willingness (dispositions) to confront the issue, and their lack of knowledge and skills to do so effectively.’ Furthermore, in a survey-based research study involving a sample of 98 teachers in Grades 6–12 (summary), 63% of teachers indicated that personal values and/or discomfort surrounding LGBT issues prevent them from providing support, reflecting an unwillingness to intervene. Moreover, 55% reported not knowing how or when to intervene as a barrier, reflecting an inability to intervene.’ (Swanson & Gettinger, 2016, p. 344).

Development of competencies for LGBTIQ-inclusive practices can occur at various stages of professional development and activity. The opportunity for their intensive and systematic cultivation is particularly afforded during pre-service teacher education. However, it seems that in different educational contexts, this opportunity is missed, as in many of them, even the component of knowledge about LGBTIQ topics is placed in the null curriculum. For example, Sherwin and Jennings (2006) examined the visibility of sexual orientation topics within 77 public teacher preparation programs across seven US states and found that 40% of the programs did not address sexual orientation. Interestingly, for the context of this study, it is noteworthy that

the topic was more prevalent in theoretical than practical courses designed to develop specific skills of future teachers. The representation of LGBTQ themes in multicultural education courses was examined by Gorski et al. (2013, p. 224), who analyzed the content of 41 syllabi and data from a survey of 80 people who teach multicultural education courses aimed at detecting the likelihood of incorporating LGBTQ themes in their teaching. They concluded that ‘LGBTQ concerns often are invisible in multicultural teacher education coursework in the United States and that, when these concerns are covered, they generally are addressed in decontextualized ways that mask heteronormativity’ (see also Robinson & Ferfolja, 2001). Across various contexts, systematic literature reviews of different research articles, which included studies on the outcomes of teacher training programs by O’Brien et al. (2021) brought similar findings.

An important research area is the question of the effectiveness of pre-service teacher education in developing students’ competencies for shaping LGBTIQ-inclusive educational practice. Bezrukova et al. (2016, p. 19, who analyzed 260 studies on diversity training published over a period of forty years, concluded that ‘the good news is that cognitive learning, presumably a key focus of the educational arena, was an outcome found to be more likely to persist or even increase over time. Our results also demonstrate that larger effect sizes were associated with integrated diversity training programs– and this is also consistent with the APA guidelines that encourage an intense, immersive experience and integrated approaches to diversity components in the undergraduate curriculum.’ This points to the enormous potential of knowledge-oriented university programs focused on LGBTIQ-inclusive educational practice, but also to the need for deeper insights into the complex relationship of different elements that the concept of competencies encompasses.

Existing empirical studies highlight the potential of educational interventions during pre-service teacher education in the development of competencies for LGBTIQ-inclusive practice. For instance, in a group interview with pre-service teachers who identify as LGBTQ+, Mitton et al. (2021) highlighted the contribution of the LGBTQ+ awareness education program in the two-year Bachelor of Education Program to their readiness to address challenges in the field (e.g. to intervene or advocate). Additionally, Coulter et al. (2021), who used a quasi-experimental research design, demonstrated the potential to influence the development of specific skills, such as active-empathic listening and self-efficacy for working with LGBTQ youth, within learning programs centered around LGBTQ themes. Vural-Batik (2020) investigated the effectiveness of the Dealing with Homophobia Psycho-Education Program attended by psychological counselor candidates within a quasi-experimental design and utilizing mixed model methods. The findings indicate the program’s effectiveness in reducing levels of homophobia among the candidates. While understanding the scope of the described intervention programs and individual

courses designed for LGBTIQ inclusivity is crucial, a more comprehensive understanding is required regarding the incorporation of LGBTIQ issues within the full-time study programs that most of the teachers in the specific context predominantly undertake. This includes an exploration of the manner in which they contribute to preparing future teachers for LGBTIQ-inclusive practices. Therefore, this study aimed to describe the understanding of the role of study programs in fostering teachers' competencies for shaping LGBTIQ-inclusive educational practices among students in their final year of graduate studies in pre-service teacher education programs at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb. This aim enabled us to situate the research topic within a familiar context, drawing on our extensive experience of over ten years as teachers at this institution. To further establish the context for our research, we conducted a preliminary analysis of the ongoing teaching-oriented programs at the Faculty to better understand the subject, with the focus of our examination encompassing categories such as the course name, objectives, course contents, and learning outcomes. This revealed that nearly all programs incorporate some content that can be placed in the broad domain of diversity, such as exploring the relationship between culture and identity. However, content related to sexual and gender diversity is notably scarce, discernible only in a very limited number of courses, often through references to gender, feminist, queer, or LGBTIQ studies.

METHOD

We gathered data through two focus groups that we facilitated ourselves. Eight final-year master-level students enrolled in pre-service teacher graduate studies at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, participated in these sessions (five in the first, and three in the second focus group).¹ We ensured that each focus group comprised students exclusively from a single study program for two primary reasons. Firstly, to foster in-depth discussions among participants and obtain a more intricate, multiperspective understanding of how students attribute the role of a specific study program in shaping competencies for LGBTIQ-inclusive educational practices. Secondly, this approach aimed to prevent a comparative perspective on programs, as our research does not aim to involve direct program-to-program comparisons. The formation of the focus groups followed the principle of convenience sampling, where final-year students from various study programs volunteered to participate in the sessions. Even after multiple attempts to gather participants through different channels (department heads, professors, students and student organizations) the initially planned representation of the heterogeneity of

¹ Considering the aim and context of the study, the collection of other demographic data was deemed unnecessary, i.e. ethically justified.

the study programs was not achieved. We faced comparable challenges in recruiting educators in our previous research, which serves as motivation to contemplate alternative sampling modalities and explore the reasons behind the low response rate of potential participants in researching this topic. The conducted focus groups took place at the end of 2022 and the beginning of 2023 at the Faculty and each lasted approximately 90 minutes. The research received approval from the Ethics Committee for Scientific Research of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, and adhered to established research conventions in the social sciences.

Focus groups were conducted using a semi-structured protocol (non-piloted) that we created for the purpose of this research. The interview protocol consisted of three parts corresponding to the overall aim and specific objectives of the study:

- objective 1: to investigate how final year students of pre-service teacher graduate programs at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, conceptualize teachers' competencies for shaping LGBTIQ inclusive educational practice
- objective 2: to investigate how final year students of pre-service teacher graduate programs at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, assess their own competencies for shaping LGBTIQ inclusive educational practice
- objective 3: to investigate how final year students of pre-service teacher graduate programs at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, understand the role of their study programs in developing competencies for shaping LGBTIQ inclusive educational practice.

We adopted the general inductive approach for data analysis (Thomas, 2006), deeming this strategy appropriate for its emphasis on the data itself rather than predetermined frameworks for interpretation. Following the author's recommendations, the coding process was carried out following these steps: preparation of raw data files, where transcribed focus groups were prepared as text documents for coding; close reading of text, where each researcher read the transcripts several times to familiarize themselves with their content; creation of categories, keeping the author's distinction between upper-level/general and lower-level/specific categories; overlapping coding and uncoded text, where a significant part of the data that are not relevant to the set research aim is omitted from further analysis, while the data relevant to the aim could belong to two or more different categories; continuing revision and refinement of category system, where thematically related categories are merged into a superordinate category. Also, in accordance with the author's recommendation on reporting research results, we present the results of our analysis based on the designed superordinate categories, accompanied by 'detailed descriptions of categories

and suitable quotations from the text to illustrate the meanings of the categories' (Thomas, 2006, p. 245).

RESULTS

While the questions posed in the focus group were not structured to prompt a systematic comparison, participants in their responses analyzed the study program they are currently enrolled in, followed by suggestions for addressing identified shortcomings that, in their totality, shape an image of an ideal study program that would foster the development of competencies of future educators for LGBTIQ-inclusive education. This dichotomy (*current vs. envisioned study program*) constitutes the first two topics, while the third topic centers on questioning the place of competencies for shaping LGBTIQ-inclusive educational practices within a pre-service teacher program (see Table 1). The generated themes partly correspond with the focus group protocol, which in the third part addresses the role of the study programs in developing competencies for shaping LGBTIQ inclusive educational practice, while the dichotomy between *current vs. envisioned study programs* was inductively generated from the data.

Table 1

Themes and codes

Current study program	Envisioned study program	Competencies as part of the study program
Lack of explicit LGBTIQ content	Suggestions for study program content	Ineffective competence development
Other organizational units of the faculty currently	Other organizational units of the faculty in the future	Effective competence development
Teaching practice critique	Teaching practice in schools – suggestions	Competencies as study program outcomes
Limited familiarity with protocols	Teaching the importance of responding	Acceptability of changing student beliefs during studies
Atmosphere during studies	Proposing study program activities	Responsibility of the study program
Pedagogical orientation of the studies	Proposing study program skills Cross-curricular topic Selection during study program enrolment	

The consensus within the conducted focus groups is that there is a noticeable absence of explicit LGBTIQ content in the study programs in which the participants are currently enrolled. This deficiency is evident both in the incorporation of such content within the official curriculum and in the inclusion of related discussions and similar activities during classes. Despite this shortcoming, participants in one focus group evaluate the atmosphere at the department, particularly “concerning such topics” (f1), as highly positive, noting that this positive atmosphere extends to both professors and students. On the one hand, they are aware of instances in some departments where the atmosphere is negative, while on the other hand, they also highlight examples of departments where the atmosphere is so inclusive of LGBTIQ issues that students with homophobic beliefs might find it challenging to integrate into their study communities. The participants attribute the absence of explicit LGBTIQ content in their study program curricula to the limited number of courses available to them. They emphasize that prioritizing courses narrowly focused on the teaching methods of individual subjects is understandable due to these constraints. According to them, the curricula do not allow for the incorporation of additional content, given the existing limitations. They additionally emphasize that such a study program orientation ensures their thorough preparation for engaging in teaching work, but simultaneously does not provide an opportunity for the development of specific knowledge and skills that go beyond the dimension of methodical preparedness, such as conflict resolution skills, skills in addressing challenging topics in class, and so on.

In addition to the issue of curriculum oversaturation with various contents, participants in one focus group do not view the teachers in their department as individuals who should or could address LGBTIQ topics. This perspective is attributed to the teachers’ narrow scholarly research specialization and their focus on the scholarly foundations of teaching. However, in the latter part of the discussion, they criticize the study program for not acquainting them with concepts they deem crucial for their future professional endeavors, such as *heteronormativity* and *homonormativity*. Interestingly, they only encountered these concepts in the last semester of their studies, prompting them to question the feasibility of such a situation in a university setting focused on disciplines in social sciences and the humanities. Additionally, they express concern about the lack of exposure to elements of school legislation, essential for their daily teaching responsibilities, leading them to question whether they will possess sufficient knowledge in their future practice to respond appropriately to various challenging situations. We link their aspiration to be prepared for pedagogically constructive responses to challenging situations with their call for university teachers to take responsibility for modelling LGBTIQ-inclusive educational practices:

For example, in all situations where there were some really, I don't know how else to call them, inappropriate comments, there was no reaction. For instance, there was no reaction from the teacher at the seminars. If someone did say something, it was the other colleagues. Because you know, (pause in speech), it was actually about the positive attitude towards violence, sexist statements, and things like that. In my opinion, this is unacceptable for any kind of... I mean, discourse at the university, let alone in courses aimed at future teachers. I think to myself, "Who is the crazy one?" I mean (laughter). So, at the moment, it doesn't seem to me that the study program is responsible, but it should be. (f1)

As one opportunity to develop competencies for LGBTIQ inclusivity, the participants in one focus group precisely see the parts of the study program that are implemented as practical teaching in schools. However, they express criticism regarding the staged aspect of that practice:

I was really lucky (speaking through laughter; laughter in the background) because the rest of the time, everything was running really smoothly. Everything was ideal, but that one class was... and then I saw, for instance, how she reacts in such a situation. And I was like, "Oh, okay, so I can do that", or I would think, "Maybe this was too much, maybe it wasn't", but let's see these real-life situations. (f1)

This point of criticism guides us to the second topic, where focus group participants delineate an ideal study program designed to equip them for shaping LGBTIQ-inclusive educational practices. The framework of this envisioned program is largely shaped by the criticisms voiced about the current program in which they are enrolled. This study program should include fundamental theoretical knowledge about these topics, as participants believe such knowledge is essential for any academically educated citizen. Participants express optimism that the awareness of the consequences of a teacher's inadequate reactions could foster a greater willingness among educators to respond effectively in complex situations:

As I said, again it mostly depends on the personality in my opinion, but what could emerge is what kind of consequences a failure to answer can have on the future of the children, of the school, and culture in general, as well as society. Because as soon as these consequences are very, very strongly emphasized, it may lead to those teachers who maybe started out as insecure, in the end choosing that specific reaction. (...) But with an emphasis on everything that can happen unless you react in that hypothetical situation, I think that the chances would certainly increase, you know. (f2)

As possible solutions to the described problems, the participants mention the cross-curricular inclusion of LGBTIQ topics in different courses at their studies, but also in different courses at other departments. One participant illustrates the effectiveness of the cross-curricular strategy by highlighting

the fact that exposure to diverse literature in various courses heightened their sensitivity to issues of diversity. Alongside a cross-curricular approach to topics explicitly addressing LGBTIQ inclusivity, participants recognize the potential of situating these topics within a broader framework of learning about tolerance and diversity. They emphasize the importance of teaching how individual differences among students should be considered when selecting a didactic-methodical approach. However, they also acknowledge the risk that the broad concepts of tolerance and respect for diversity in everyday education might be reduced to mere platitudes:

Yes, but I think it is; it seems to me that it has become something of a platitude in our education system. When I was at school... we had this so-called day of diversity. And there, every year, the same presentation was repeated, like we had to tolerate everything, this and that, and that was the end of it. That's where it all stopped. And I think that's the problem. (f2)

Alongside varied theoretical frameworks and specific knowledge, participants also propose diverse skills that future studies should cultivate, including communication skills, critical thinking, abilities to respond to challenging situations, and conflict resolution skills. They believe these skills are currently underdeveloped, in their case:

But I'm more afraid that I won't have the tools needed to react in situations that can happen in class. For example, if I teach in a class where there is a trans person or (pause in speech) or, you know, a person, I don't know, a homosexual person, whatever, anyone actually (pause in speech) from that spectrum and that person experiences, that is, that male or female student experiences abuse by their peers and the like. How am I supposed to be competent to resolve something like that? I am confident of my beliefs and attitudes about it. I do not support this abuse in any sense of the word, and I know what I would think about it, but I don't know how to access the tools that I need. Mental tools and verbal tools that would help me stop what's happening, that would help me somehow initiate change. (f2)

As modalities for developing specific knowledge and skills, participants envision various interactive methods and educational formats aimed at immersing themselves in challenging situations through role-playing. They also highlight the importance of strengthening communication and argumentation skills through engaging in debates. The above points to their need for exposure to situations that require their immediate reaction and improvisation skills, while the abovementioned activities enable such exposure, even in an academic setting. Participants in one focus group even express dissatisfaction with their study program's emphasis on *quiz knowledge*, stating that it "is not the type of knowledge that will truly assist us in our work" (f2). However, participants perceive a unique potential in their preparation for shaping LGBTIQ-inclusive work during their studies within the previously mentioned practical teaching.

They emphasize that, in addition to the existing methods focused on training and teaching, it would be beneficial to introduce the practice of job shadowing.

I think it would be great if, as part of practice, we have... we have... that we not only listen to the teacher teach one of their classes and then at the end, I mean (pause in speech) we teach our own class. That we also get maybe, I don't know, for example, one day or a couple of days or a week to be with that mentor of ours and not only listen to them in class, but for instance we go to the staff room with them. For instance, we follow them for that one day. (f1)

Likewise, they believe that practical teaching at the organizational level should reflect the diversity that teachers will encounter once they enter the labor market:

And maybe some kind of exposure during our studies to different students, different schools and different classrooms in general. So, to different communities and classes. Because we, let's say specifically, we go through [various] schools, [some] of which are primary and [some] secondary schools, and since we're in Zagreb, I don't know, at least one of those will be a grammar school, and grammar schools in Zagreb are, for the most part, if you're based in the center, they're pretty much elite schools (laughter), let's put it that way. And I think it would be good if we went to some schools that are maybe a little, that are, you know, not exactly in the city center.

Nevertheless, it appears that even with such a reorganization, the participants remain concerned that in practice there may still be teachers who, in their opinion, should not have had the opportunity to enroll in the pre-service teacher program at all. While one of the focus groups emphasized the insufficient motivation of some teachers for their job, the other spontaneously touched upon the topic of candidate selection during the admission process to the study program:

I have one extreme suggestion. But really, I talked to a lot of colleagues, and they all agree with me (laughs). That is... I think that some kind of psychological testing or an orientation interview should be introduced for students who enroll in teaching majors because (pause in speech) the things we hear from our colleagues at seminars are sometimes really terrible. (f1) And then I think to myself, if that's absolutely no problem for him... It is not a problem at all for him to say something like that at the university. In front of your colleagues, in front of the teachers. What will such people one day be saying in front of the kids? I wouldn't even let them near the kids (saying through laughter; laughter in the background), let alone allow them to have any educational role in their lives. And I think that's a big mistake. I mean, if we do have psychological testing, I don't know, in order to pass a driving test, something like that is not taken into account at all for someone

who will be working with children for years. Who will have a big role in their lives? (f1)

Thus, regarding selection procedures, they mention the use of motivational interviews and the application of various psychological tests.

The suggestion to implement a selection mechanism for study program enrolment is linked to skepticism about the ability of studies to alter the attitudes, beliefs, and personalities of adults, clearly expressed in both focus groups. However, the pessimism is not absolute, as some participants mention how they experienced changes in their own attitudes and beliefs during their studies. More than contemplating whether attitudes, beliefs, and personality traits *can* be changed during studies, participants grappled with the (un)justifiability of altering beliefs in their own educational setting. They questioned whether all students have the right to their own beliefs and did not fully agree on this matter. Some participants believe that study programs have the right to expose future teachers to content that may potentially make them more affirmative of LGBTIQ issues. However, they argue that the right to one's own beliefs on any issue should be inviolable:

If someone is transphobic, can we say that they have no right to be transphobic – “you shouldn't be transphobic, you have to...”. I mean, that is now the responsibility of the individual. We cannot forbid someone from being like that. We need to somehow educate that person, to raise the awareness of human rights, which is absurd in 2023 that we still have to convince people that (pause in speech) those who are different from us deserve equal rights both under the law and in the eyes of other members of society. So, I don't think that the position of a teacher should require certain beliefs. I think that teachers should be educated that, regardless of their own beliefs and attitudes, they should try to be as neutral as possible in class. (f2)

Others add that they themselves would not be comfortable if anything was imposed on them (an example of faith in a religiously-affirmative context, f1). On the other hand, certain participants believe that assuming a teaching role requires the suspension of certain beliefs:

I mean, yes of course, there are always certain beliefs in the background, and of course someone who has some kind of more liberal beliefs will have an easier time acquiring that knowledge, but I think that a teacher must simply understand when, you know, when they decide to become a teacher and when they find themselves on track to becoming a teacher that this is what they are now training to become, meaning during the studies, or at some point, and they simply have to realize that they have to put some of their own beliefs aside. (f1)

Raising concerns about legitimizing interventions into the beliefs of future teachers, they differentiate between those of a normative character (such as religion) that should not be subject to such interventions and those for which

the social sciences provide clear guidance, ensuring high-quality educational practices:

But I think that's very often the issue with some of this social research. With social sciences in general. That even some of this scientific understanding that we arrive at... For example, if we can agree that, say, it is some kind of scientific understanding that it is good to have an inclusive classroom, for instance, that this is something that is desirable in pedagogy, and that this is what modern pedagogy strives for. And now people perceive this, like, some kind of ideological position, like some attitude, and we have to work on separating what someone's attitude is from something that is scientifically based. And so, for instance, I don't think the imposition of religion is scientifically based, is it? It probably isn't. While let's say, another way of imposing... that is to say, educating people in a more inclusive direction, that has its own scientific basis in social sciences. Now, the fact that some people think that social sciences make no sense is a separate issue altogether, but if something is in fact scientifically based, and this is, then I don't see what the issue would be. (f1)

Indeed, it is noteworthy that in one focus group, there was an expressed opinion that the non-inclusive attitudes of an individual might not necessarily manifest in their behavior:

Someone can be homophobic in their attitude, but that doesn't mean that homophobia necessarily means abuse and something like that. So if someone is indeed homophobic, it can still mean that they can talk to a homosexual person normally, that they can work together with that person, in a way. I don't think the attitude necessarily means, "I will abuse anyone different from myself, I will, I won't tolerate them, I will constantly trip them up and I will", I don't know what. (f2)

Additionally, a comment arose questioning the feasibility of ascertaining the authenticity of future teachers' beliefs during their studies. Participants acknowledged the possibility that students might feign adherence to certain beliefs guaranteed by the outcomes of their study programs, which again triggered their skepticism about whether it is justified to designate LGBTIQ-inclusive beliefs as an outcome in certain pre-service teacher study programs. Participants who advocate for the inclusion of these competencies in pre-service teacher studies base their argumentation on the body of scientific knowledge, emphasizing the significance of teachers acting in an LGBTIQ-inclusive way, also drawing support from the value system of the European Union.

DISCUSSION

One central point of discussion regarding the role of pre-service teacher education in developing teachers' competencies for shaping LGBTIQ-inclusive

educational practice revolves around the representation of LGBTIQ topics in the curricula of pre-service teacher programs, which is comprehensively addressed in the scientific literature (Gorski et al., 2013; Sherwin & Jennings, 2006; Štambuk et al., 2022). The authors address not only the question of the visibility of LGBTIQ topics in the curriculum but also the question of the place assigned to these topics in the curriculum. This includes their placement in courses at the very beginning of the studies, far from the moment when (future) teachers enter practice (Sherwin & Jennings, 2006). Additionally, the authors explore how these topics are addressed within the curriculum, often gaining minor importance as part of other markers of diversity (Gorski et al., 2013). All of the above highlights the potential pitfalls of the approach advocated by the participants in this research. They emphasize that they would not include LGBTIQ-positive attitudes as explicit outcomes of the study programs, but would rather prioritize diversity and tolerance. Airton and Koecher (2019, p. 193) believe that such an approach misses 'disrupting how gender and sexual rigidity circumscribe the lives and life chances of all people in schools, in various ways and to varying degrees', just as the emphasis on safety and human rights does not question the concept of heteronormativity (Letts & Sears, 1999; Nelson, 1999; Pinar, 1998; all as quoted in Szalacha, 2004). The strategy of cross-curricular inclusion of LGBTIQ topics is also susceptible to similar dangers, where on the one hand, cross-curricularity can serve as protection against the essentialization of LGBTIQ identities and the ghettoization of LGBTIQ topics, while on the other hand, it can result in the perpetuation of the invisibility of these topics due to their inclusion in the entire range of identity markers. This inclusion within a wide array of subjects, given the paradigm of embracing diversity, necessitates careful consideration, especially considering the limited time dedicated to addressing such topics (Brant & Willox, 2021). The results from our research highlight the issue of time, where, in one focus group, a participant attributed the lack of time for LGBTIQ topics to the narrow scientific research specialization of university teachers and the focus of study programs on the scientific foundations of teaching. Such a perspective is criticized by Robinson and Ferfolja (2001, p. 126), who, while discussing future, not university teachers, consider that teachers should first of all be identified as 'teachers of people' and not 'teachers of disciplines'. In the participants' statements, we recognize a strategy of *structural idealism versus contextual loyalty*, reflected in a contradictory perception of the burden related to narrowly specialist content shouldered by their own study programs and teachers. Consequently, they suggest that these topics be addressed in other departments while simultaneously criticizing university teachers who do not view their role as oriented toward educating values, focusing solely on subject competence.

Bartholomaeus et al. (2017) state that teachers' knowledge and positive attitudes are not a guarantee of successful work with trans and gender-diverse students, while also recognizing 'a skills gap in this area' (p. 132) that needs to be addressed, whereas Coulter et al. (2021, p. 247) show that 'LGBTQ-focused service-based learning may significantly improve pre-service teachers' active-empathic listening skills and self-efficacy for working with LGBTQ youth', which the authors see as essential for working with LGBTIQ students. In addition to the absence of LGBTIQ content in the curricula of pre-service teacher programs, the participants also highlight the insufficient development of certain skills they are supposed to acquire. Also, they point to the potential of various simulation-based teaching activities (such as role playing) in the development of these skills (see Dotger et al., 2010, for an empirical discussion on the potential of such an approach in the fields of preparing future health and school professionals). Considering the participants' feedback about overloading the curriculum with subject-specific content, we consider focusing on generic skills that are decontextualized from LGBTIQ topics as a transitional strategy in developing skills (as opposed to knowledge), given that they are applicable in various challenging situations within educational practice. Regarding such a strategy as optimal exposes teacher education curricula to the same risks described earlier while addressing the cross-curricular inclusion of LGBTIQ topics.

Regarding the attitudes of future teachers, Hall and Rodgers (2019, p. 26) provide an overview of research that indicates that 'teachers' attitudes can influence their behavior, which suggests that these attitudes may serve as a foundation for supportive actions regarding LGBQ students, or teachers may contribute to a hostile school climate for these youth.' Bearing this in mind, the discussion in one focus group regarding whether homophobic teachers can genuinely support all their students becomes more intriguing. However, the participants also concurred that future teachers should undergo rigorous selection criteria during the enrolment process, with a focus on their motivation and/or personality traits. We discussed this in Bartulović et al. (2019), within the broader context of the general discourse on dispositions for pedagogical activity. Here, we are revisiting the intricate questions surrounding the dilemma of how (un)justified it is to deny access to a study program based on the absence of beliefs that could potentially be cultivated through the studies or not even be expressed in practice (though we find the latter highly improbable), which we consider an invaluable avenue for future empirical research.

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to describe how students in their final year of master-level pre-service teacher education at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb understand the role of their study programs in

fostering teachers' competencies for shaping LGBTIQ-inclusive educational practice. The results show that students estimate that their study programs inadequately prepare them for LGBTIQ-inclusive teaching, especially in the domain of skills, although at the same time, they show an understanding of the contextual circumstances that condition this limited preparation. The greatest disagreement is expressed in addressing the question of whether study programs should even tackle personal beliefs or focus solely on the behavior of teacher candidates that, regardless of their beliefs, must be inclusive. We consider the above to be the most interesting finding of the conducted research, which requires further empirical investigation of whether teachers with deeply homophobic, transphobic, and heteronormative beliefs can suspend the transfer of these beliefs into their teaching practices. Aware that such research requires complex methodological solutions, we nevertheless consider them worth pursuing due to the far-reaching consequences that positioning on any polarity (teachers have the right to each and every one of their beliefs vs. teachers must not have beliefs that lead to potentially non-inclusive teaching practices) can have for pre-service teacher study programs and teacher candidates/teachers. More specifically, agreeing with the first position can implicitly validate the beliefs that are in contrast with the internationally recognized framework of human rights, while agreeing with the second position opens complex issues of selection before and during pre-service teacher studies.

The second most significant finding of this research pertains to the focus group participants' emphasis on insufficient opportunities for developing skills for shaping LGBTIQ-inclusive practice during their studies, without which knowledge and attitudes cannot be productively materialized in the educational practice. However, aware of the fact that these skills cannot be fully developed solely during pre-service teacher education, this finding is also relevant in the context of ensuring the continuity of opportunities for the development of knowledge, skills, attitudes and beliefs for shaping LGBTIQ-inclusive educational practice, starting from the pre-service level, through the initial stage of in-service teaching, up to continuous professional development.

LIMITATIONS

We recognize two important limitations of the conducted research. The first limitation stems from the research design focused on the students of only one institution, generally supportive of LGBTIQ persons and issues; this is why future research should include other types of institutions that educate future teachers. Another limitation stems from the difficulties we encountered while making efforts to recruit participants from different study programs realized at the institution where the research was conducted, which is why different experiences and practices are insufficiently represented in the focus groups.

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ULOGA NASTAVNIČKIH STUDIJA U RAZVOJU KOMPETENCIJA STUDENATA ZA OBLIKOVANJE LGBTIQ INKLUZIVNE ODGOJNO-OBRAZOVNE PRAKSE

Sažetak: Cilj je ovoga rada opisati kako studenti završne godine diplomskih studija nastavničkih usmjerenja na Filozofskome fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu razumiju ulogu studija u razvoju kompetencija nastavnika za oblikovanje LGBTIQ inkluzivne odgojno-obrazovne prakse. Istraživanje je provedeno na dvjema fokus grupama s ukupno osam studenata završne godine diplomskih studija nastavničkih usmjerenja na instituciji na kojoj su autorice zaposlene. Rezultati pokazuju da sudionici svoja znanja i vještine za oblikovanje LGBTIQ inkluzivne prakse procjenjuju neadekvatnima, istovremeno zamjerajući studijima taj nastali deficit, ali i razumijevajući zašto do njega dolazi. Promišljanje o mogućnostima LGBTIQ inkluzivnoga odgoja i obrazovanja primjenom kompetencijskoga okvira otvara brojna pitanja za buduća empirijska istraživanja.

Ključne riječi: obrazovanje nastavnika, kvalitativna metodologija, seksualna i rodna različitost, kritička pedagogija

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**UNDERSTANDING STUDENT MOTIVATION:
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GENERAL AND GIFTED
STUDENT POPULATIONS**

***Abstract:** The study investigated motivation differences between general and potentially gifted students and among genders within these groups. The study used teacher assessments to assess motivation, focusing on task commitment as part of the motivation domain. The study occurred during the 2021/2022 school year in Croatia and involved assessing 1602 students, 442 of whom were identified as potentially gifted. The findings revealed that potentially gifted students showed higher overall motivation scores, especially in using*

additional knowledge sources and consistently completing tasks. Gender differences indicated that female students were significantly more motivated than male students within the general population, while no difference was observed for the potentially gifted population. The study further reveals a strong correlation between motivation and achievement across multiple fields in the general population, and a moderate correlation in the gifted population. The study highlights the need for tailored motivational strategies and the importance of teacher perceptions in shaping educational outcomes.

Keywords: *academic achievement, gender differences, natural sciences, task commitment, teacher assessments*

INTRODUCTION

Motivating students to learn in school is a major concern for educators today, as fostering student motivation is one of the most significant challenges in achieving quality education (Filgona et al., 2020). Educators have increasingly focused on identifying the elements that impact students' academic performance (Suhaini et al., 2020). This highlights the recognition of the significant role motivation plays in a student's educational journey. Besides motivation, a review of the literature indicates that factors such as intelligence, school environment, teaching methods, and student engagement play significant roles in academic achievement (Givvin et al., 2001; Orhan Özen, 2017; Riswanto & Aryani, 2017; Dević, 2019; Tokan & Imakulata, 2019; Suhaini et al., 2020). This study will specifically examine the role of students' motivation and its impact on achievements across one or multiple fields.

Motivation is one of the most essential elements of learning (Filgona et al., 2020). It has many definitions, but it is often defined as a force, intrinsic drive, or state of mind that moves a person toward one or more objectives and sustains their efforts over time, also guiding individuals' behaviour and attitudes, inspiring them to seek new knowledge, pursue learning, and achieve specific goals (Orhan Özen, 2017; Filgona et al., 2020; Vu et al., 2022). Students' motivation is reflected in their choice of learning activities, time and effort, persistence in completing tasks, and ability to overcome learning obstacles (Filgona et al., 2020).

Motivation has a multi-dimensional structure, and the number of dimensions varies. For this study, the dualistic theory was chosen. In the dualistic theory, psychologists distinguish between two types of motivation: internal (intrinsic) and external (extrinsic) (Reiss, 2012). Students with high external motivation are more focused on outcomes, such as grades or rewards, than on the activity itself, often driven by external pressures, such as the fear of shame or punishment (Clinkenbeard, 2012; Orhan Özen, 2017; Filgona et al., 2020; Leenknecht et al., 2021). External motivation has also been linked to various outcomes,

including burnout and poor well-being (Leenknecht et al., 2021). On the other hand, students with high internal motivation are driven by interest and curiosity (Clinkenbeard, 2012; Orhan Özen, 2017), focusing on tasks because they find them enjoyable or personally meaningful (Filgona et al., 2020; Leenknecht et al., 2021). This type of motivation is linked to academic success (Augustyniak, 2016), perseverance, and well-being (Leenknecht et al., 2021), and previous research has shown a positive relationship between high levels of internal academic motivation and academic success (Noels et al., 1999; Gottfried & Gottfried, 2004). Internal academic motivation is characterised by curiosity, persistence, and a willingness to tackle challenging and new tasks (Gottfried et al., 2005). It can be enhanced by meeting students' autonomy, competence, and relatedness needs (Orhan Özen, 2017; Leenknecht et al., 2021) and by creating a supportive environment that recognises and supports their efforts (Leenknecht et al., 2021). In practice, teachers should encourage students to give input about the lesson content, allow them to take initiative and explore, provide guidance and assistance during exercises, offer feedback, outline the lesson's objectives, share their expectations, bring energy and enthusiasm to the lessons, demonstrate care for their students, listen to and acknowledge what students are saying, etc. In contrast, they should avoid pressuring students to act or think in a specific way, being distanced or distracted (Cents-Boonstra et al., 2021). Most individuals are driven by internal and external motivations, with the dominance of each varying depending on the activity (Clinkenbeard, 2012).

Motivation impacts achievement in two ways. It influences the number of academic behaviours, such as effort and persistence. It can also enhance the quality of these behaviours by encouraging effective learning strategies, such as adaptive meta-cognitive techniques (Vu et al., 2022). Most students are motivated by internal and external factors, with their motivation levels varying depending on the activity. Both types of motivation have a positive influence on achievement (Vu et al., 2022). Given the importance of motivation in academic success, teachers should focus on encouraging and nurturing students' motivation. Encouraging student motivation is an integral part of a teacher's instructional strategy aimed at achieving consistent and high-quality learning outcomes (Filgona et al., 2020). Understanding teachers' perceptions of student motivation is crucial because they impact their actions, influencing their classroom strategies and efforts (Hardré et al., 2008; Hardré & Sullivan, 2009). Practical strategies to enhance motivation include employing digital teaching methods, providing teacher appreciation, offering assistance, allowing ample study time, fostering positive teacher-student interactions, and conducting formal assessments (Koka & Hein, 2003; Hardré & Sullivan, 2009; Suhaini et al., 2020; Leenknecht et al., 2021).

The challenge for educators lies in assessing student motivation, a private, subjective experience that is difficult to observe directly (Lee & Reeve, 2012).

Task commitment, the outward manifestation of a motivated student (Skinner et al., 2009), is easier to assess because it is objective and involves easily observed behaviours like student engagement (Lee & Reeve, 2012), which is associated with students' motivation to learn (Cents-Boonstra et al., 2021). Empirical studies have confirmed that teachers can reasonably judge their students' task commitment (Givvin et al., 2001; Hardré et al., 2008; Skinner et al., 2009; Lee & Reeve, 2012; Brandmiller et al., 2024). Task commitment can be defined as the energy that is directed into a specific problem (task) or a specific area of performance (Šimić Šašić et al., 2020). Renzulli (2016) explains that task commitment results from the combined effect of internal and external motivation, in which external factors enhance confidence and increase engagement, increasing internal motivation.

Task commitment is a key component defining giftedness (Renzulli, 2005; Renzulli, 2016; Renzulli & Reis, 2018; McCoach & Flake, 2018). Giftedness can be defined in many ways. This study used Renzulli's three-ring model of giftedness, which is determined by above-average general or specific abilities, creativity, and task commitment (Renzulli, 2005; Renzulli & Reis, 2018). Task commitment was later replaced with the word motivation, a broader term that includes task commitment (Phillips & Lindsay, 2006). All three characteristics must be present in a person to make them gifted. However, their domination can vary depending on the activity, especially for task commitment (motivation) and creativity (Renzulli & Reis, 2018; 2021). For example, a person can be highly motivated at the beginning of the task; then the motivation can be less intense, and at the end again at a high level. Some factors that motivate gifted students are challenging tasks that are consistent and appropriate, interactions with intellectually equal or superior students, an opportunity to explore areas of interest, participating in extracurricular activities, and praise from teachers (Phillips & Lindsay, 2006). Several studies have found that gifted students have a higher intrinsic motivation or interest than nongifted peers (Bergold et al., 2020; Jurišević, 2024) overall and for the STEM field (Bergold et al., 2020)

To conclude, motivation is one of the crucial factors in learning for both the general population of students and potentially gifted students. A deeper understanding of students' motivation could help teachers provide cognitive and emotional support to their students. While numerous studies have examined motivation, research is still needed to differentiate between general student populations and potentially gifted students. In addition, using teacher assessments provides insights into how teachers perceive and interpret student motivation, which is essential since teacher perceptions can influence their instructional practices and the support they provide to students. Even though this study is context-specific to Croatia and natural sciences, it adds to the overall understanding of student motivation for the general population and potentially gifted students. The findings could inform educational practices,

leading to more effective strategies for motivating both groups of students and ultimately enhancing their academic success.

This study aims to examine the differences in motivational levels between general student and potentially gifted student populations, as well as the differences in motivation between genders within both groups. Additionally, the study will explore the impact of motivation on achieving outstanding results in one or multiple fields.

The research questions addressed in this study are:

- 1) What is the difference in assessed motivation levels between the general student population and the potentially gifted student population?
- 2) Is there a significant difference in motivation levels between genders within the general and potentially gifted populations?
- 3) What is the level of correlation between motivation and achievement in one or more fields?

METHODOLOGY

This study was part of a more extensive study within the Croatian Science Foundation project Learning Biology in an Epidemiologically Adapted Research Environment. Before the study began, the Ministry of Science, Education, and Youth granted ethical approval. The school principal provided consent for their school to participate in the study, and the parents gave consent for students to participate. The study explores the motivation of two student populations: the general and potentially gifted students.

The research was carried out during the 2021/2022 school year. 67 teachers (100.00% female) volunteered to assess their students' potential giftedness. The high percentage of female teachers was expected, given the gender ratio of teachers in Croatia (Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2023). A total of 1602 students (45.50% male, 54.50% female) were assessed. 371 students (48.50% male and 51.50% female) were in lower secondary education (the first four grades of elementary school), and 611 (49.75% male, 50.25% female) were in higher secondary education (the last four grades of elementary school), while 620 (39.52% male, 60.48% female) were in high school. This proportion of students is due to the context of the research, which was focused on Nature and Biology, taught by subject teachers in lower secondary education. The proportion of male and female students is similar to the average of male (51.00%) and female (49.00%) students enrolled in that school year (Ministry of Science and Education, 2024). A larger number of female students could be because most high school teachers who participated in the study teach in gymnasiums with more female students (63.19%; Ministry of Science and Education, 2024).

Teachers assessed the students using the "Scales for assessing potential giftedness" (Vrbanović et al., 2021). In this study, the internal consistency of

the scale was re-evaluated, showing a high reliability ($\alpha = 0.97$), confirming its appropriateness for use in this context. In the study, only part of the gathered data will be used. The first part of the scale gathered demographic data (gender and grade) and teacher assessment of outstanding results in one or more fields. The second part consisted of a series of positively worded statements arranged in several subscales that assessed different characteristics of gifted students: competence in natural sciences, creativity, and motivation. Teachers utilised a Likert-type scale to assess the extent to which each statement applied to each student, using a scale from 1 (does not apply at all) to 5 (completely applies) or 0 if they cannot assess. For the interpretation of results, the following intervals using the average were used (Alkharusi, 2022): 11.80, very low, 1.81–2.61, low, 2.62–3.42, moderate, 3.43–4.23, high level, and 4.24–5.0, very high. Students who achieved results above the third quartile for all three subscales were considered gifted. Only the general results were used for this study: 442 (27.6%) students were assessed as potentially gifted in natural sciences.

The study mainly focused on the Subscale of Motivation, a part of the “Scales for assessing potential giftedness” (Vrbanović et al., 2021). The subscale consisted of seven statements assessing intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, including school and extracurricular activities. Teachers assessed motivation based on their observations and understanding of students’ behaviours related to motivation dimensions such as task persistence, interest, and initiative. The maximum score for the Subscale was 35 points. The data were deemed suitable for factor analysis based on KMO and Bartlett’s test results. The scale’s reliability was assessed using internal consistency testing and demonstrated high reliability (Table 1).

Table 1

KMO and Bartlett’s tests for the Subscale of Motivation

		Subscale of motivation (7)
Cronbach’s Alpha		0.91
KMO Measure of Sampling Adequacy		0.88
Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	8055.08
	df	21
	Sig.	0.00

Principal Components Analysis with Varimax rotation and Kaiser Normalisation identified one factor with an eigenvalue greater than 1.00, accounting for 66.40% of the total variance, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2

One-factor solution for the Subscale of Motivation Principal Component Analysis (n=1602).

Mark	Statement	factor
D.4.1.	The student shows exceptional interest in teaching content.	0.77
D.4.2.	The student uses additional sources of knowledge (books, films, documentaries, magazines, etc.) on his own initiative.	0.84
D.4.3.	The student is motivated primarily by their interests and secondarily by evaluation.	0.74
D.4.4.	The student is happy to participate in additional activities (making posters/presentations, herbaria...).	0.86
D.4.5.	The student performs assigned tasks regularly.	0.72
D.4.6.	The student is intensely focused on a task for a long time.	0.88
D.4.7.	The student is persistent when solving a task in which he shows interest, regardless of surrounding distractions.	0.88

After factor analysis, the normality of the collected data was assessed by analysing the skewness and kurtosis values. A reference point of an absolute skewness value of ≤ 2 or an absolute kurtosis value of ≤ 4 was used to determine significant normality (Mishra et al., 2019; Table 3). As a result, it was concluded that the sample distribution was approximately normal, making parametric tests appropriate for data analysis.

Table 3

Skewness and kurtosis for the mean results of each statement

Mark	Skewness		Kurtosis	
	value	SD	value	SD
D.4.1.	-0.74	0.06	0.95	0.12
D.4.2.	-0.34	0.06	-1.01	0.12
D.4.3.	-0.34	0.06	-1.06	0.12
D.4.4.	-0.86	0.06	-0.04	0.12
D.4.5.	-0.92	0.06	0.17	0.12
D.4.6.	-0.67	0.06	-0.55	0.12
D.4.7.	-0.66	0.06	-0.65	0.12
Overall	-0.34	0.06	-0.81	0.12

The t-test for independent samples was used to compare overall motivation scores between male and female students and scores for individual statements within populations. Each item within the Subscale of Motivation was analysed separately to determine which specific motivational behaviours most strongly distinguished potentially gifted students from the general population and contributed to higher achievement across domains. The Pearson product-moment correlation test was used to explore the effect of overall motivation scores and scores for each item on achieving outstanding results in one or more fields. Guidelines from Cohen (2013) were used to interpret the magnitude of a correlation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

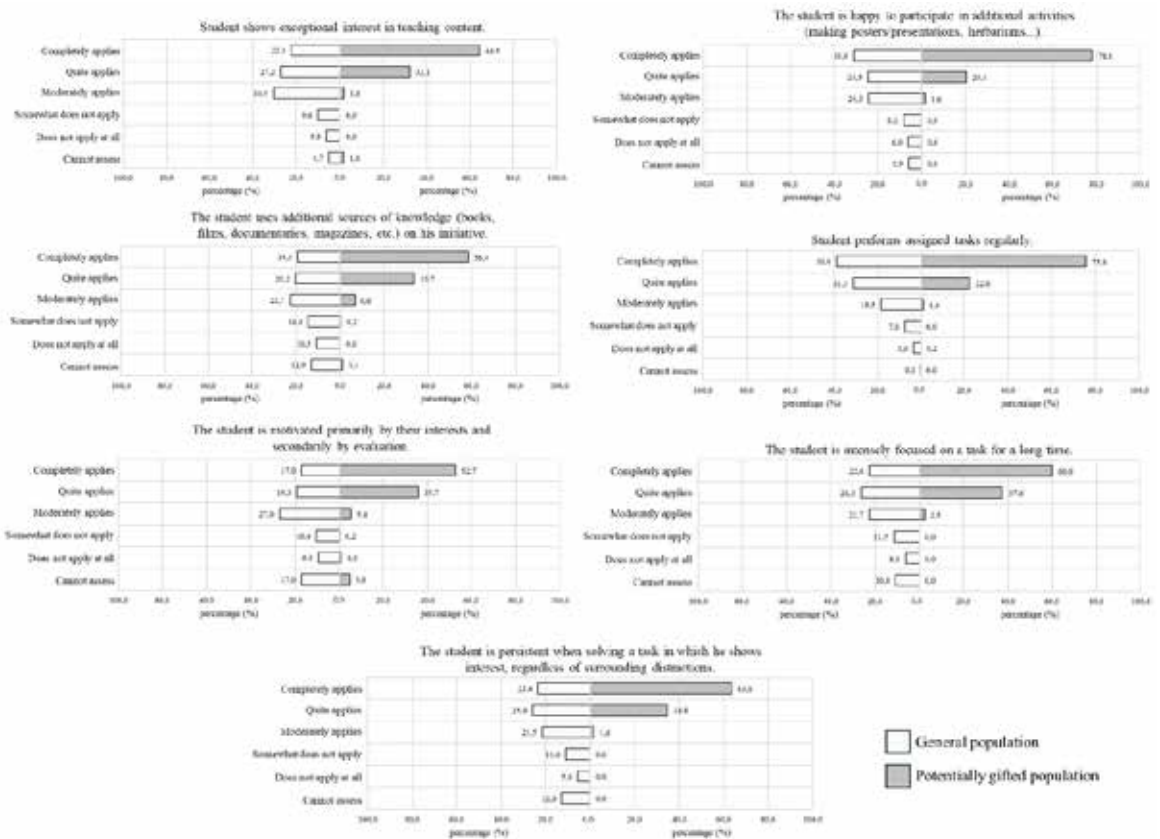
In the general student population (n=1602), motivation scores were moderate (M=19.10, SD=8.51), with an overall score of 62.86%. In comparison, in the potentially gifted student population (n=442), motivation scores were high (M=31.97, SD=2.62), with an overall score of 91.34%. This difference agrees with previous research (Clinkenbeard, 2012; Garn et al., 2010; Clinkenbeard, 2012; Hornstra et al., 2020). In addition, better average results for gifted students are expected, given that for students to be assessed as potentially gifted, they needed to have a score for the Subscale of Motivation above the third quartile (Vrbanović et al., 2021). Overall, the moderate motivation level of the general student population could be due to the proportion of students from different grades, with more students from lower secondary education and higher secondary education. Jurišević et al. (2024) state that as all students age, their motivation declines. A high motivation score, regardless of age, is found for potentially gifted students because they maintain a higher degree of motivation than non-gifted peers (Jurišević et al., 2024).

Most of the general student population participates in additional activities (55.50%) and regularly performs tasks (70.20%; Figure 1). Meanwhile, only 25.90% of students in the general population use additional sources of knowledge. In comparison, almost all potentially gifted students participate in additional activities (98.50%) and regularly perform tasks (98.40%). These results confirm participation in extracurricular activities as one factor that motivates potentially gifted students who are often interested in one or several hobbies and spend much time pursuing those activities (Phillips & Lindsay, 2006). In addition, these results align with the PISA 2015 results, which show that most students agreed that making an effort in science subjects at school is worthwhile for their future (OECD, 2016). Some differences within the populations could be explained by different teaching methods that could motivate or demotivate students, as described in the Introduction. When looking at the percentages of students for whom the teacher could not assess each characteristic, it is evident that for the general student population, teachers struggled the most with an assessment of internal motivation (17.00%), using additional sources of knowledge (12.90%),

and persistence in solving tasks (12.60%). In comparison, for the potentially gifted population, teachers struggled with assessing internal motivation (5.00%), but for a smaller number of students. Research has shown that gifted students have higher motivation and interest in STEM fields (Bergold et al., 2020), which they clearly express more, and teachers can easily notice. Overall, teachers could assess most students' motivation (task commitment) within both groups, which aligns with the literature (Lee & Reeve, 2012). The struggle to assess internal motivation could be because it is a private experience within each student that does not have to be shown on the outside (Lee & Reeve, 2012).

Figure 1

Frequencies of assessment scores for the general (N=1602) and potentially gifted (N=442) student population for the Subscale of Motivation



The average student assessment within the general population regarding showing exceptional interest in teaching content, using additional sources of

knowledge, internal motivation, focusing on a task for an extended period, and persistence when solving a task was moderate (Table 4). The moderate average assessment for additional sources of knowledge, internal motivation, and focusing on a task for an extended period could be explained by higher percentages of students for whom the teachers could not assess that particular characteristic. If teachers could not assess that characteristic, that student would be given zero points and, as a result, have a lower overall average score. Interestingly, that was not a factor in showing exceptional interest in teaching content. This may be the result of the pandemic still influencing educational approaches. In comparison, the average assessment for participation in additional activities and performance of assigned tasks was considered high. This could be influenced by the teachers' inclusion of additional activities in lessons. When teachers frequently offer additional activities to their students, a higher average participation is expected compared to teachers offering fewer activities. The lowest average score overall in the general population was assessed for students' internal motivation, and the highest was for performing tasks regularly.

Table 4

Descriptive results for the Subscale of Motivation within the general student population (N=1602)

Statement	M	SD
The student shows exceptional interest in teaching content.	3.36	1.33
The student uses additional sources of knowledge (books, films, documentaries, magazines, etc.) on his own initiative.	2.85	1.64
The student is motivated primarily by their interests and secondarily by evaluation.	2.73	1.68
The student is happy to participate in additional activities (making posters/presentations, herbaria...).	3.49	1.45
The student performs assigned tasks regularly.	3.94	1.11
The student is intensely focused on a task for a long time.	3.15	1.57
The student is persistent when solving a task in which he shows interest, regardless of surrounding distractions.	3.13	1.63

In the potentially gifted population, the average student assessment for all statements was considered very high (Table 5). The lowest average score in the potentially gifted population was assessed for students' internal motivation.

Even though internal motivation got the lowest score, it was still in the high interval and higher than the general population. Gifted students, on average, show a higher level of internal motivation compared to those students who are not identified as gifted (Garn et al., 2010; Clinkenbeard, 2012; El Khoury & Al-Hroub, 2018; Bergold et al., 2020; Hornstra et al., 2020), especially related to academic tasks (Pfeiffer et al., 2018), while showing similar levels of performance goals, i.e. external motivation (Hornstra et al., 2020). The differences in average scores for the statements can be explained by the fact that gifted students are a heterogeneous group, so the specific motivation cannot be determined entirely objectively because regular classes can often act as a demotivator for gifted students and result in inappropriate behaviour if it is not adapted to them, i.e. if it does not provide them with enough challenges (El Khoury & Al-Hroub, 2018). In addition, the general and potentially gifted populations may have overall motivation scores influenced by teacher assessment, which could differ from student assessment.

Table 5

Descriptive results for the Subscale of Motivation within a potentially gifted population (N=442)

Statement	M	SD
The student shows exceptional interest in teaching content.	4.56	0.78
The student uses additional sources of knowledge (books, films, documentaries, magazines, etc.) on his own initiative.	4.47	0.79
The student is motivated primarily by their interests and secondarily by evaluation.	4.24	1.19
The student is happy to participate in additional activities (making posters/presentations, herbaria...).	4.76	0.46
The student performs assigned tasks regularly.	4.74	0.50
The student is intensely focused on a task for a long time.	4.57	0.54
The student is persistent when solving a task in which he shows interest, regardless of surrounding distractions.	4.62	0.52

Comparison of motivation regarding gender revealed that assessed female students' motivation scores (M=23.16, SD=8.74) were significantly higher ($t=-2.63$, $df=1600$, two-tailed $p<0.00$) than those of male students (M=22.04, SD=8.19) within the general population. In comparison, no significant difference was found between male (M=31.68, SD=2.64) and female (M=32.16,

SD=2.57) students within the potentially gifted population. A literature review provides different views on the influence of the gender variable on motivation. Some research indicates that boys achieved better results on the motivation scale than girls (Preckel et al., 2008; Hong & Aquí, 2004), especially within the population of gifted students (Preckel et al., 2008; Ziegler et al., 1996). Other research indicates that girls achieved better results on the motivation scale (Hong & Aquí, 2004).

As evident from Table 6, in the general population and the population of potentially gifted students, female students were assessed as more enthusiastic about participating in additional activities, consistently completed assigned tasks, maintained an intense focus on tasks for extended periods, and demonstrated greater persistence in solving tasks of interest, even when faced with surrounding distractions. PISA 2015 research has found that female students are more concerned than male students about properly recognising their efforts at school (OECD, 2017). This may be why their motivation was more evident to the teachers. In contrast, male students were assessed as more driven by personal interest (internal motivation) in the potentially gifted population. This may also be influenced by the need for female students to receive recognition, which may give the impression to teachers that they are more externally motivated.

Table 6

Comparison of motivational assessment according to gender within the general student population (N=1602) and potentially gifted population (N=442)

Mark	Population	Gender	N	M	SD	Result
D.4.1.	General	Male	729	3.35	1.25	t=-0.37
		Female	871	3.38	1.40	df=1592.69 p>0.05
	Potentially gifted	Male	173	4.52	0.72	t=-0.94
		Female	269	4.59	0.81	df=440 p>0.05
D.4.2.	General	Male	729	2.80	1.58	t=-1.00
		Female	871	2.88	1.68	df=1600 p>0.05
	Potentially gifted	Male	173	4.45	0.85	t=-0.37
		Female	269	4.48	0.75	df=440 p>0.05

Table 6 (continued)

Mark	Population	Gender	N	M	SD	Result
D.4.3.	General	Male	729	2.77	1.59	t=0.90
		Female	871	2.70	1.75	df=1587.33 p>0.05
	Potentially gifted	Male	173	4.40	0.93	t=2.40
		Female	269	4.14	1.32	df=436.14 p<0.05
D.4.4.	General	Male	729	3.34	1.39	t=-3.77
		Female	871	3.61	1.49	df=1600 p<0.05
	Potentially gifted	Male	173	4.67	0.53	t=-3.23
		Female	269	4.83	0.40	df=295.62 p<0.05
D.4.5.	General	Male	729	3.77	1.15	t=-5.64
		Female	871	4.08	1.05	df=1490.32 p<0.05
	Potentially gifted	Male	173	4.60	0.60	t=-4,35
		Female	269	4.83	0.40	df=270.68 p<0.05
D.4.6.	General	Male	729	3.02	1.55	t=-3.13
		Female	871	3.27	1.59	df=1600 p<0.05
	Potentially gifted	Male	173	4.50	0.55	t=-2.42
		Female	269	4.62	0.54	df=440 p<0.05
D.4.7.	General	Male	729	2.99	1.61	t=-3,10
		Female	871	3.24	1.64	df=1600 p<0.05
	Potentially gifted	Male	173	4.54	0.52	t=-2,50
		Female	269	4.67	0.51	df=360.29 p<0.05

The Pearson product-moment correlation test results indicate a significantly large positive correlation ($r=0.71$, two-tailed $p < 0.05$, $N=1602$) between overall motivation scores and the ability to achieve outstanding results in multiple fields among the general population. A significant medium positive correlation ($r=0.31$, two-tailed $p < 0.05$, $N=1602$) was found between overall motivation scores and the achievement of outstanding results in one field among the general population. In comparison, analysis of the potentially gifted population revealed

a significant medium positive correlation ($r=0.36$, two-tailed $p<0.05$, $N=442$) between overall motivation scores and the ability to achieve outstanding results in multiple fields. A significantly small negative correlation was found between the overall motivation scores and achievement of outstanding results in one field ($r=-0.13$, two-tailed $p<0.05$, $N=442$). Research has proven a positive correlation between motivation and achieving exceptional success in the natural sciences, i.e., motivation, regardless of natural talent and potential giftedness, is essential for achieving exceptional results (Pfeiffer et al., 2018). Based on the literature review, Orhan Özen (2017) concluded that motivation has a positive, low-level effect on student achievement. In addition, empirical research supports these findings (Supratno & Mochamad, 2021). The lower correlation between motivation and achievement in the potentially gifted population may be because those students have above-average cognitive abilities linked with achievement (Bergold et al., 2020). The variations in motivation assessments can explain the differences between these results. This study used teacher assessment, while in most other studies, student assessments were used.

The analysis of individual statements revealed that intense focus and persistence when solving tasks have the greatest effect on achieving outstanding results in multiple fields within both populations (Table 7). In line with these results, Renzulli (2016) states that one of the key ingredients that characterise the work of gifted people is their ability to fully devote themselves to a specific problem for an extended period. In the general population, using additional sources of knowledge has the largest effect on the ability to achieve outstanding results in one field. On the other hand, frequently performing assigned tasks has a moderate negative effect on achieving outstanding results in one field within the potentially gifted population.

Table 7

The Pearson product-moment correlation test results for the general population ($N=1602$) and the potentially gifted population ($N=442$)

Mark	Population		Achieves outstanding results in multiple fields	Achieves outstanding results in one field
D.4.1.	General	Pearson Correlation	0.48**	0.13**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.00
	Potentially gifted	Pearson Correlation	0.19**	-0.16**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.00

Table 7 (continued)

Mark	Population		Achieves outstanding results in multiple fields	Achieves outstanding results in one field
D.4.2.	General	Pearson Correlation	0.61**	0.36**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.00
	Potentially gifted	Pearson Correlation	0.13**	0.11*
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.01	0.02
D.4.3.	General	Pearson Correlation	0.56**	0.32**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.00
	Potentially gifted	Pearson Correlation	0.05	0.07
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.32	0.14
D.4.4.	General	Pearson Correlation	0.56**	0.21**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.00
	Potentially gifted	Pearson Correlation	0.24**	0.02
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.73
D.4.5.	General	Pearson Correlation	0.46**	0.08**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.00
	Potentially gifted	Pearson Correlation	0.26**	-0.39**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.00
D.4.6.	General	Pearson Correlation	0.67**	0.28**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.00
	Potentially gifted	Pearson Correlation	0.36**	-0.20**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.00
D.4.7.	General	Pearson Correlation	0.67**	0.29**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.00
	Potentially gifted	Pearson Correlation	0.38**	-0.19**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.00

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

While this study provides valuable insights into student motivation, the results should be considered with the study's limitations. The study relied solely on teacher assessments, which may be subjective, as first impressions can influence teachers' perceptions of students' potential and motivation. Teachers' initial judgment can influence teachers' perception of students' characteristics, regardless of students' efforts and changes in behaviour over time (Givvin et al., 2001). Future studies should combine student assessments and teacher assess-

ments to eliminate possible subjectivity. In addition, the research was carried out during the COVID-19 pandemic, which led to changes in teaching styles and use of digital learning. Teaching methods during the pandemic had a different effect on student motivation. Jurišević et al. (2024) found that gifted students showed three patterns of motivation: increase, no change, and decrease, depending on their characteristics and preferences for learning. Future studies should consider teaching styles when assessing students' motivation.

CONCLUSION

Analysis of teacher assessments showed that teachers could easily assess most of the characteristics included in the Subscale of Motivation. The results indicate that potentially gifted students exhibit higher motivation levels than general students, which aligns with previous empirical research findings (Clinkenbeard, 2012; Garn et al., 2010; Clinkenbeard, 2012; Bergold et al., 2020; Hornstra et al., 2020; Jurišević, 2024). In addition, the use of additional sources of knowledge and regularly performing tasks were especially dominant within a potentially gifted population (>98.00%). These findings highlight the importance of offering different learning materials and sources for gifted students. Gender variations were also apparent, with female students demonstrating more consistent engagement and male students displaying greater intrinsic motivation within the potentially gifted student population. A large, significant correlation was found between motivation and achievement in multiple fields for the general student population, while a medium correlation was found for achievement in one field. For the potentially gifted students, the correlation was moderate in both cases. The findings highlight the importance of implementing tailored motivational strategies to address diverse students' requirements and emphasise the influence of teacher perceptions on educational success.

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RAZUMIJEVANJE MOTIVACIJE UČENIKA: RAZLIKE IZMEĐU OPĆE I POTENCIJALNO DAROVITE POPULACIJE UČENIKA

Sažetak: *Cilj istraživanja bio je utvrditi razlike u motivaciji između opće populacije učenika i populacije potencijalno darovitih učenika, kao i razlike među spolovima unutar tih skupina. U istraživanju su korištene procjene učitelja, s naglaskom na ustrajnost u izvršavanju zadataka kao važnoj sastavnici motivacije. Istraživanje je provedeno tijekom školske godine 2021./2022. u Hrvatskoj i obuhvatilo je procjenu 1 602 učenika, od kojih je 442 identificirano kao potencijalno darovito. Rezultati su pokazali da potencijalno daroviti učenici iskazuju višu razinu motivacije, osobito u upotrebi dodatnih izvora znanja i dosljednosti u obavljanju zadataka. U općoj populaciji učenice su bile značajno motiviranije od učenika, dok u populaciji potencijalno darovitih učenika razlike nisu utvrđene. Utvrđena je i snažna povezanost između motivacije i školskog postignuća u općoj populaciji te umjerena povezanost u populaciji potencijalno darovitih učenika. Dobiveni rezultati upućuju na važnost prilagodbe motivacijskih strategija različitim skupinama učenika i ističu ulogu učiteljskih procjena u oblikovanju obrazovnih ishoda.*

Ključne riječi: *školski uspjeh, spolne razlike, prirodoslovlje, ustrajnost u obavljanju zadataka, učiteljske procjene*

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KVANTITATIVNI, KVALITATIVNI I MJEŠOVITOMETODSKI PRISTUPI U DRUŠTVENIM ISTRAŽIVANJIMA: *SHOULD I STAY OR SHOULD I GO*¹

Sažetak: U analizama i istraživanjima društvenih fenomena istraživači se susreću s brojnim metodološkim odlukama koje se odnose na značajke i specifičnosti metodoloških pristupa, koji se u radu razmatraju kao načini razmišljanja o istraživačkom nacrtu i istraživačkim strategijama za njegovu provedbu, odnosno istraživačkim metodama, što otvara i određena paradigmatiska pitanja. Drugim riječima, metodološke odluke o upotrebi određene istraživačke metode nisu vezane samo za fazu prikupljanja podataka već impliciraju šire (paradigmatске) rasprave koje se odnose na stajališta istraživača o prirodi društvene stvarnosti i oblicima valjanog znanja. Stoga (post)pozitivistička i konstruktivistička paradigma te pragmatizam, koji se tradicionalno povezuju s kvantitativnim, kvalitativnim i mješovitometodskim pristupima, imaju važnu ulogu u teorijsko-metodološkim raspravama o kvantitativnim, kvalitativnim i mješovitometodskim istraživanjima te kriterijima vrednovanja istraživanja.

Ključne riječi: metodološki pristupi, istraživačke metode, paradigme, kriteriji vrednovanja istraživanja

UVOD

U područjima društvenih znanosti (primjerice, sociologija i pedagogija) analizama i istraživanjima nekog društvenog fenomena može se pristupiti na različite načine. Usto, interdisciplinarna istraživanja u društvenim znanostima danas nisu rijetkost, što često znači da u njima sudjeluju istraživači s različitim metodološkim interesima (Sekol i Maurović, 2017). Metodološki

¹ Naslov pjesme grupe Clash.

gledano, navedeno podrazumijeva poznavanje i razumijevanje značajka i specifičnosti različitih pristupa istraživanju (kvantitativnih, kvalitativnih i mješovitometodskih), paradigmatički pretpostavaka, istraživačkih metoda (i tehnika) te drugih ključnih metodoloških aspekata (kao što su kriteriji vrednovanja kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih istraživanja, istraživačka etika i sl.). Metodološke odluke koje mogu biti od ključne važnosti, poput onih o odabiru istraživačke metode/tehnike, nisu samo praktično pitanje prikupljanja podataka, već se njima otvaraju i druga pitanja (koja su, šire gledano, dio paradigmatičkih rasprava). Naime, u podlozi kvantitativnih, kvalitativnih i mješovitometodskih pristupa nalaze se različite pretpostavke o prirodi znanja, što znači da se postavljaju pitanja o tome kako provesti istraživanje i koji se oblik znanja smatra valjanim (Blaxter i sur., 2006; Gray, 2004; Williams, 2003). S druge strane, u metodološkoj literaturi nerijetko se određeni pojmovi upotrebljavaju kao istoznačnice iako to nisu, što može (dodatno) stvoriti poteškoće u planiranju i provedbi istraživanja, posebice za studente i mlade istraživače. Nadalje, upotrebljavaju se i različiti pojmovi kao što su metodološki pristupi (Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009), istraživački pristupi (Creswell i Creswell, 2018; Sekol i Maurović, 2017) ili istraživačke paradigme (Denscombe, 2010). Teddlie i Tashakkori (2009), međutim, ističu da su pojmovi kvantitativne i kvalitativne istraživačke paradigme (ili mješovitometodske istraživačke paradigme) konceptualno nejasni te da ih je dobro izbjegavati.

Prema Teddlie i Tashakkori (2009), istraživačka je metodologija opći pristup znanstvenom istraživanju koji određuje kako istraživačko pitanje treba biti postavljeno i kako na njega treba odgovoriti, što pretpostavlja promišljanje vlastitog pogleda na svijet te odabira istraživačkog nacrt, logike uzorkovanja, strategija prikupljanja i analiziranja podataka te kriterija procjenjivanja kvalitete istraživanja. Istraživačke metode uključuju specifične strategije i procedure provedbe istraživačkog nacrt (uzorkovanje, prikupljanje i analiziranje podataka, interpretiranje), a paradigma se određuje kao pogled na svijet koji podrazumijeva filozofska i društveno-politička pitanja (Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009, str. 27). Pogled na svijet (odnosno, paradigma), istraživački nacrt / istraživačka strategija i istraživačke metode tri su ključne i međusobno povezane komponente istraživačkog pristupa (Creswell, 2009; Creswell i Creswell, 2018). Sukladno tomu, u radu se opisuju kvantitativni, kvalitativni i mješovitometodski pristupi znanstvenom istraživanju, pri čemu se polazi od širih (paradigmatičkih) pretpostavka koje istraživač „unositi” u istraživanje preko specifičnih istraživačkih metoda koje se odnose na načine postavljanja istraživačkih ciljeva/pitanja, uzorkovanja, prikupljanja i analiziranja podataka te njihovu interpretaciju i zaključivanje (Creswell i Creswell, 2018; Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009; Blaxter i sur., 2006; Gray, 2004) do kriterija kojima se procjenjuje kvaliteta istraživanja

(Creswell i Creswell, 2018; Taherdoost, 2016; Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009). Kvantitativna, kvalitativna i mješovitometodska istraživanja polaze, dakle, od ontoloških, epistemoloških i metodoloških pitanja (della Porta i Keating, 2008; Blaxter i sur., 2006), odnosno stajališta istraživača o društvenoj stvarnosti i prirodi istraživanja (Creswell i Creswell, 2018). Stoga se u radu upotrebljava i koncept „metodološki pristupi”, koji se odnosi na načine razmišljanja o istraživačkom nacrtu i istraživačkim strategijama za njegovu provedbu, odnosno istraživačkim metodama, što ujedno podrazumijeva i paradigmatika stajališta.

Stajališta istraživača mogu se razvijati zbog specifičnosti znanstvenog područja, utjecaja drugih osoba (primjerice, mentora) ili na temelju prethodnog istraživačkog iskustva i često dovode do sklonosti istraživača određenoj istraživačkoj metodi (Creswell i Creswell, 2018). U prikazu metodoloških specifičnosti kvantitativnih, kvalitativnih i mješovitometodskih istraživanja navode se tri paradigme – (post) pozitivizam, konstruktivizam i pragmatizam – s obzirom na to da se one najčešće povezuju s orijentacijom istraživača prema kvantitativnim, kvalitativnim i mješovitometodskim pristupima u istraživanju (Creswell i Creswell, 2018; Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009; Blaxter i sur., 2006) iako se u literaturi navode i ostale paradigme (primjerice, participativna i transformativna). Jedna od dominantnijih tradicija povezuje se, dakle, s (post)pozitivističkom paradigmatom i kvantitativnim metodama, a kritike su pozitivizma dovele do prihvaćanja konstruktivističke paradigmatice i razvoja kvalitativnih metoda. U konačnici, rasprave o paradigmatama i istraživačkim metodama rezultirale su pojavom „alternativnog metodološkog pristupa”, mješovitometodskog pristupa (eng. *mixed methods approach*), koji se najčešće povezuje s pragmatizmom (Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009). Premda taj pojam implicira da se u mješovitometodskom pristupu miješaju metode, mješovitometodski pristupi primjenjuju se u svrhu opisivanja istraživačkih procedura, ali i kao metodološki pristup (Freshwater i Cahill prema Sekol i Maurović, 2017, str. 12). Stoga Sekol i Maurović (2017) upućuju na razlike između istraživačkih nacрта te pišu o podjeli mješovitometodskih pristupa ovisno o tome je li riječ o miješanju metoda ili metodologija.

METODOLOŠKE SPECIFIČNOSTI KVANTITATIVNIH, KVALITATIVNIH I MJEŠOVITOMETODSKIH ISTRAŽIVANJA

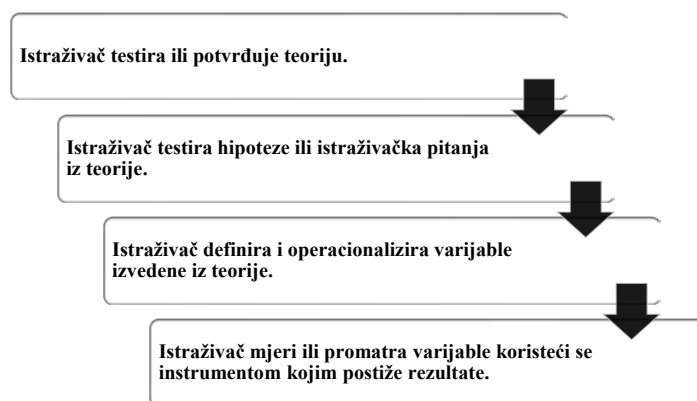
Kvantitativna istraživanja

Kvantitativni pristupi istraživanju uobičajeno se upotrebljavaju prilikom testiranja teorija ispitivanjem odnosa među varijablama koje se mjere

instrumentima.² Mjerenjem se dobivaju brojučani podatci koji se analiziraju statističkim procedurama (Taherdoost, 2022; Creswell i Creswell, 2018). Kvantitativna istraživanja uglavnom odgovaraju eksplanatornoj svrsi (Babbie, 2011) i temelje se na prijašnjim istraživačkim studijama i teorijama (Creswell i Creswell, 2018; Denscombe, 2010). Iako je „tradicionalni znanstveni model” jedan vid istraživačke prakse, važno je shvatiti njegov princip (Babbie, 2011). Istraživački se problem uglavnom formulira u obliku istraživačkih hipoteza, pri čemu istraživač ima namjeru testirati hipoteze na temelju postojećih teorijskih uvida. Drugim riječima, naglasak je na testiranju teorije (Creswell i Creswell, 2018; Babbie, 2011; Denscombe, 2010). U kvantitativnim istraživanjima teorija se testira deduktivno s ciljem generaliziranja i repliciranja (Creswell i Creswell, 2018). *Prikaz 1* ilustrira navedeno (preuzeto od Creswell, 2009, str. 57).

Prikaz 1.

Deduktivni pristup u kvantitativnim istraživanjima



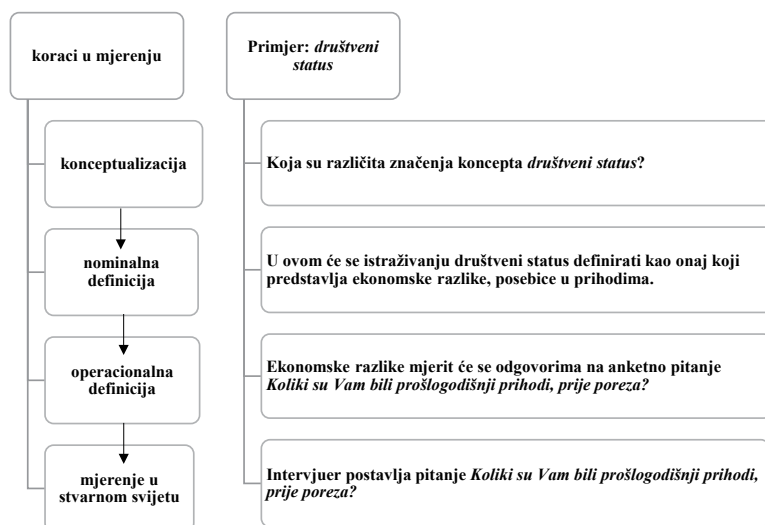
Kvantitativne istraživačke metode podrazumijevaju upotrebu određenih strategija i istraživačkih nacрта kojima se provode anketna i eksperimentalna istraživanja (Creswell i Creswell, 2018; Kelly, 2018; Williams, 2003). U anketnim istraživanjima mjerni instrument čini upitnik, pri čemu postoje različite tehnike za prikupljanje podataka: od provedbe upitnika u kombinaciji sa strukturiranim intervjuom, samoispunjavajućih upitnika, telefonskog intervjuiranja, internetskog istraživanja i sl. (Williams, 2003) do upotrebe tehnika poput vinjeta kojima se u upitniku opisuju hipotetski događaji ili situacije (Vlahov i sur., 2024) i sl. U kvantitativnim istraživanjima polazi se od istraživačkih pitanja/ciljeva i istraživačkih hipoteza, koje mogu biti

² U istraživanjima je moguće upotrebljavati postojeće (validirane) instrumente ili konstruirati instrument za potrebe vlastitog istraživanja. O konstrukciji i validaciji instrumenta vidi više u Taherdoost (2016). Landripet i sur. (2020) ilustriraju taj proces na primjeru izrade skale vjerom inspiriranog društvenog angažmana (VIDA).

deskriptivne ili inferencijalne.³ Kvantitativna istraživačka pitanja upućuju na odnose između varijabla, istraživački ciljevi na svrhu istraživanjima, a istraživačke su hipoteze pretpostavke o očekivanom odnosu između varijabla i proizlaze iz teorije. Za testiranje (inferencijalnih) hipoteza upotrebljavaju se statistički testovi na temelju kojih se donose zaključci s uzorka na populaciju⁴ (Taherdoost, 2022; Creswell i Creswell, 2018; Kelly, 2018; Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009). S obzirom na to da kvantitativna istraživanja uglavnom upotrebljavaju deduktivni pristup i polaze od istraživačkih hipoteza, upotrebljene varijable trebaju biti određene na početku istraživanja (Kelly, 2018; Babbie, 2011). Pritom su važni procesi konceptualizacije i operacionalizacije, koji služe za određivanje značenja koncepta (varijabla) koji se u istraživanju upotrebljavaju i mjere. Proces određivanja značenja nekog koncepta i opisivanje kako će se u istraživanju mjeriti uključuje određivanje njegovih indikatora (Kelly, 2018; Babbie, 2011). *Prikaz 2* ilustrira taj proces na primjeru koncepta „društveni status” (preuzeto i prilagođeno od Babbie, 2011, str. 140). Barada i suradnice (2024) također upućuju na važnost konceptualizacije i operacionalizacije na primjeru istraživanja kućanskog rada, pri čemu predlažu uvođenje koncepta „upravljanja”, kognitivno i emocionalno upravljanje kućanstvom (KEUK), kojim se dosadašnje konceptualizacije dopunjuju spomenutim dimenzijama.

Prikaz 2.

Ilustracija procesa konceptualizacije i operacionalizacije



³ Vidi više o deskriptivnim i inferencijalnim istraživačkim pitanjima i hipotezama u Creswell i Creswell (2018) i Thrane (2023) te statističkim analizama u Bergin (2018) i Thrane (2023).

⁴ Vidi više o probabilističkom uzorkovanju u Babbie (2011) i Bergin (2018).

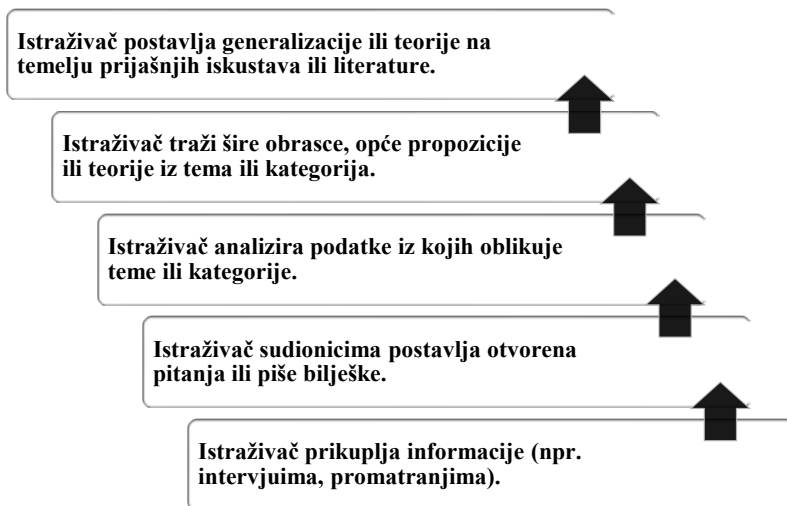
Kvalitativna istraživanja

Kvalitativnim pristupima istraživanju služi se prilikom razumijevanja i interpretiranja značenja koje pojedinci ili grupe pripisuju društvenoj stvarnosti (Creswell i Creswell, 2018; Silverman, 2018; Denscombe, 2010; Williams, 2003). Istraživački proces uključuje izranjajući nacrt i pitanja (Creswell i Creswell, 2018; Kelly, 2018), podatke koji se uglavnom prikupljaju u okruženju sudionika, istraživača kao ključnog instrumenta, induktivnu analizu podataka⁵ i svrhovito uzorkovanje⁶ s ciljem dobivanja bogatih informacija (Creswell i Creswell, 2018; Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009). Izranjajući istraživački nacrt znači da se istraživački i analitički postupci u kvalitativnim istraživanjima prilagođavaju terenu, odnosno da je riječ o nelinearnom procesu (Vučković Juroš, 2022). Kvalitativna istraživanja uglavnom odgovaraju eksplorativnoj i deskriptivnoj svrsi (Babbie, 2011). Odluku o tome istraživač može donijeti zbog toga što ili nema dovoljno teorijskih uvida ili temu želi sagledati iz nove perspektive neovisno o ranijim istraživačkim uvidima. Drugim riječima, naglasak je na izgradnji teorije, a ne na njezinu testiranju (Denscombe, 2010) pa time teorija postaje krajnji cilj istraživanja i razvija se iz analize podataka⁷ (Creswell i Creswell, 2018; Babbie, 2011). *Prikaz 3* ilustrira navedeno (preuzeto od Creswell, 2009, str. 63). Prema Creswell i Creswell (2018) teorija se u kvalitativnim istraživanjima može upotrebljavati i tako da ona usmjerava pitanja koja se postavljaju, prikupljanje i analiziranje podataka. U tom je slučaju više riječ o teorijskim lećama kao što su feministička perspektiva, kritička teorija, *queer* teorija i ostale perspektive, koje su kvalitativna istraživanja uključila 80-ih godina 20. stoljeća usmjeravajući se prema temama koje su istraživači smatrali značajnim za istražiti (marginalizacija, osnaživanje i sl.) i sudionicima za koje su smatrali da ih je potrebno uključiti (žene, etničke i seksualne manjine, osobe s invaliditetom i sl.) u istraživanja.

⁵ Važno je napomenuti da taj pristup (kodiranju i određivanju tema) nije jedini, odnosno da se tijekom analiziranja kvalitativnih podataka istraživači mogu služiti i deduktivnim pristupom ili njihovom kombinacijom (Vučković Juroš, 2022).

⁶ Vidi više o načinima svrhovitog uzorkovanja u kvalitativnim istraživanjima u Patton (2002).

⁷ Postoji više načina analize kvalitativnih podataka: diskurzivna analiza, narativna analiza, tematska analiza i sl. Primjerice, o tematskoj analizi i njezinim različitim pristupima (procesu kodiranju, određivanja tema i sl.) vidi više u Braun i suradnika (2019).

Prikaz 3.*Induktivni pristup u kvalitativnim istraživanjima*

Kvalitativne istraživačke metode podrazumijevaju specifične strategije i istraživačke nacрте za provedbu kvalitativnih istraživanja (narrativnih, fenomenoloških, etnografskih, biografskih itd.). U kvalitativnim istraživanjima istraživači prikupljaju podatke različitim tehnikama (u literaturi se one nerijetko navode i kao metode prikupljanja podataka) kao što su nestrukturirani/polustrukturirani intervjui, fokusne grupe, promatranja sa/bez sudjelovanja istraživača i sl. Takvim pristupom uz same istraživače, ključni instrument čini i istraživački protokol (Creswell i Creswell, 2018). Recentniji empirijski radovi spominju i druge tehnike za prikupljanje podataka, a to su, primjerice, narativni intervjui (Šarić, 2024), biografski intervju (Poletić, 2022), vremenska ili životna linija kao vizualni prikaz (Lončar i sur., 2019) i sl. U kvalitativnim istraživanjima polazi se od jednog do dvaju središnjih istraživačkih pitanja koja mogu biti praćena potpitanjima (najviše od pet do sedam). Istraživačko pitanje trebalo bi započeti riječima „što” ili „kako”, koje upućuju na izranjajući nacrt (Creswell i Creswell, 2018). Za razliku od kvantitativnih istraživanja, u kvalitativnim istraživanjima konceptualizacija ne mora nužno biti na početku istraživanja. Drugim riječima, ključni dio istraživanja može biti otkrivanje različitih dimenzija i aspekata kojeg koncepta (Babbie, 2011). S obzirom na to da se u tom slučaju istraživači uglavnom oslanjaju na indukciju, izbjegavaju pretpostavke o tome koje bi istraživačke rezultate mogli dobiti (Kelly, 2018). U kvalitativnim istraživanjima naglasak se stavlja na transparentnost (pružanje dostatnih informacija, odnosno obrazloženja o istraživačkom i analitičkom

procesu) i refleksivnost (izjave o pozicioniranju istraživača, epistemološkim postavkama i odnosu sa sudionicima), koje se odnose na odabir i regrutiranje sudionika, identificiranje etičkih pitanja⁸ i detaljne opise analitičkih postupaka (Vučković Juroš, 2022). Autorica ističe da su ti aspekti od ključne važnosti u izvještavanju o kvalitativnim istraživanjima.

Mješovitometodska istraživanja

Kvantitativna i kvalitativna istraživanja su se, metodološki gledano, konvencionalno odvajala među istraživačima pa i časopisima koji objavljuju istraživačke radove sa samo jednim ili drugim istraživačkim metodama (Bergin, 2018). Posljednjih trideset godina javlja se alternativa dihotomiji kvantitativno-kvalitativno u vidu „treće istraživačke zajednice” (Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009). U metodološkoj literaturi upotrebljavaju se različiti pojmovi kao što su mješovita metodologija (Kunac i sur., 2018; Tashakkori i Teddlie, 1998), mješovitometodski pristupi i istraživanja (Šarić, 2024; Creswell i Creswell, 2018; Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009), mješoviti istraživački pristupi (Sekol i Maurović, 2017) i sl. S druge strane, Teddlie i Tashakkori (2009) ističu da su se neki pojmovi upotrebljavali kao istoznačnice, primjerice višemetodski (eng. *multimethods*) i mješovitometodski (eng. *mixed methods*) iako oni to nisu. Fetters i Molina-Azorin (2016) smatraju da višemetodska istraživanja obuhvaćaju različite načine kombiniranja kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih pristupa (kvan + kvan; kval + kval te kvan + kval), pri čemu mješovitometodsko istraživanje označuje samo jednu kategoriju višemetodskog istraživanja. Međutim, autori upućuju i na znatne razlike u načinima kombiniranja u mješovitometodskim istraživanjima s obzirom na to da se kvantitativni i kvalitativni pristupi mogu integrirati na različitim razinama (Fetters i Molina-Azorin, 2016). U mješovitometodskim istraživanjima osnovu kombiniranja kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih pristupa upravo čini „mjesto” njihove integracije (o čemu će biti riječi u nastavku). Stoga se višemetodska istraživanja ipak odnose na kombiniranje isključivo više kvalitativnih ili kvantitativnih pristupa (Schoonenboom i Burke Johnson, 2017). Jedan od učestalo korištenih pojmova u metodološkim i istraživačkim radovima jest triangulacija.⁹ Teddlie i Tashakkori (2009) triangulaciju vide kao jednu od strategija koja se upotrebljava u mješovitometodskim istraživanjima, pri čemu se navodi da je tada riječ o metodološkoj triangulaciji (Sekol i Maurović, 2017; Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009) i kojom se služi u svrhu provjere valjanosti (Denzin, 2009). Šarić (2024) ističe da je to povezano s postpozitivističkom

⁸ O specifičnostima kvalitativne istraživačke etike, odnosno etičkim pitanjima kod planiranja i provedbe kvalitativnih istraživanja vidi više u Lončar i sur. (2023).

⁹ Denzin (2009) razlikuje četiri vrste triangulacije: triangulaciju podataka, teorija, istraživača i metodološku triangulaciju (koja može biti unutarmetodska i međumetodska).

(kvantitativnom) istraživačkom tradicijom, stoga je triangulacija manje zastupljena u kvalitativnim istraživanjima.

Na kvantitativne i kvalitativne pristupe ipak ne treba gledati kao na dihotomije, već kao na krajeve kontinuuma, a mješoviti metodski pristupi nalaze se u sredini tog kontinuuma s obzirom na to da sadrže značajke obaju pristupa (Creswell i Creswell, 2018; Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009). K tomu, svaki od pristupa ima svoje prednosti i nedostatke (Sekol i Maurović, 2017). Jedan od (pragmatičnih) razloga provođenja mješovitih istraživanja leži u prepoznavanju praktične vrijednosti i metodoloških ograničenja istraživačkih metoda (May, 2011). Pored, dakle, metodološke orijentiranosti istraživača na kvantitativne istraživačke metode (objektivnost, vrijednosna neutralnost, brojevi i podaci i statističke analize) i (post)pozitivističku paradigmu te kvalitativne istraživačke metode (konstrukcija stvarnosti, kontekstualizacija, narativni podaci i tematske analize) i konstruktivističku paradigmu, upućuje se i na metodološku orijentiranost istraživača prema miješanju kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih istraživačkih metoda, uz što se najčešće povezuje pragmatizam. Pragmatizam iznosi ideju o kompatibilnosti paradigama pobijajući teze o suprotstavljenim paradigmatima i o tome da miješanje kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih istraživačkih metoda nije prikladno s obzirom na (paradigmatske) razlike tih istraživačkih metodologija (Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009). Iako korištenje mješovitih pristupa u znanstvenim istraživanjima u Hrvatskoj nije toliko uobičajeno (Sekol i Maurović, 2017), važno je uputiti na njegovu primjenu u sociološkim empirijskim istraživanjima (primjerice, Besednik i Lončar, 2024; Petrić i sur., 2022; Kunac i sur., 2018). S druge strane, Šarić (2024) pridonosi teorijsko-metodološkim i istraživačkim raspravama o primjeni analitičke triangulacije narativnih podataka u kvalitativnim (narativnim) istraživanjima.



Izvor: Teddlie i Tashakkori (2009). Ilustracija različitog pristupa istraživačkom problemu.

U mješovitometodskim istraživanjima istraživači upotrebljavaju numeričke i narativne podatke, odgovaraju na eksplanatorna i eksplorativna istraživačka pitanja, rabe deduktivni i induktivni pristup, probabilističko i svrhovito uzorkovanje, statističke i narativne analize, triangulaciju (korištenje višestrukih izvora prikupljanja i analiziranja podataka) (Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009). Dva su osnovna mješovitometodska istraživačka nacrt¹⁰ paralelni i sekvencijalni, koji može biti eksplanatorni i eksplorativni (Creswell i Creswell, 2018; Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009). Paralelni (ili konvergentni) istraživački nacrt provodi se u jednoj fazi. Kvantitativni i kvalitativni podatci prikupljaju se istovremeno,

¹⁰ U metodološkoj literaturi navode se i drugi istraživački nacrti (Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009; Creswell, 2009; Sekol i Maurović, 2017). Vidi više o provedbi mješovitometodskih istraživanja i istraživačkom procesu (odnosno, definiranju istraživačkih ciljeva/pitanja, uzorkovanju, prikupljanju i analiziranju podataka, zaključivanju) u Teddlie i Tashakkori (2009) te Creswell i Creswell (2018).

analiziraju odvojeno i potom se rezultati uspoređuju s ciljem potvrđivanja ili opovrgavanja. Pretpostavka je da će kvantitativni i kvalitativni podatci pružiti različite informacije te postići rezultati koji bi trebali biti isti. Integracija se događa prilikom spajanja rezultata u fazi analiziranja, kojoj se može pristupiti na različite načine, primjerice prikazivanjem kvantitativnih rezultata pa onda njihovom usporedbom s kvalitativnim rezultatima (ili obrnuto) u dijelu rasprave (Creswell i Creswell, 2018, str. 300–301). Eksplanatorni sekvencijalni nacrt upotrebljavaju istraživači s jačom kvantitativnom pozadinom i provodi se u dvije faze. U prvoj fazi prikupljaju se i analiziraju kvantitativni podatci na temelju kojih se planira druga kvalitativna faza. Kvantitativni rezultati informiraju svrhovito uzorkovanje sudionika za kvalitativnu fazu te vrstu pitanja koja će se postavljati. Pretpostavka je da će kvalitativni podatci pomoći u detaljnijem objašnjavanju inicijalnih kvantitativnih rezultata, pa je važno povezati kvantitativne rezultate s prikupljanjem kvalitativnih podataka (primjerice, prikupljanje i analiziranje kvantitativnih podataka anketnim upitnikom u prvoj fazi, a potom provođenje kvalitativnih intervjua kojima bi se objasnili određeni odgovori iz upitnika). Integracija se događa povezivanjem rezultata dobivenih kvantitativnog metodom s prikupljanjem podataka kvalitativnom metodom (Creswell i Creswell, 2018, str. 304). Eksplorativni sekvencijalni istraživački nacrt provodi se u tri faze. Istraživači počinju s kvalitativnom fazom, a potom s kvantitativnom tako da se prikupljanjem i analiziranjem kvalitativnih podataka razvijaju nova mjerenja, primjerice, novi instrument ili varijable (u drugoj fazi) koja se oslanjaju na rezultate kvalitativnih podataka i koji će se testirati/mjeriti s ciljem generaliziranja u trećoj, kvantitativnoj, fazi. Integracija se, dakle, događa u drugoj fazi, u kojoj se na temelju analiziranja kvalitativnih podataka planira i provodi kvantitativna faza prikupljanja podataka (Creswell i Creswell, 2018, str. 306–307). *Prikaz 4* grafički ilustrira specifičnosti mješovitometodskih istraživačkih nacrt¹¹ (prema Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009)

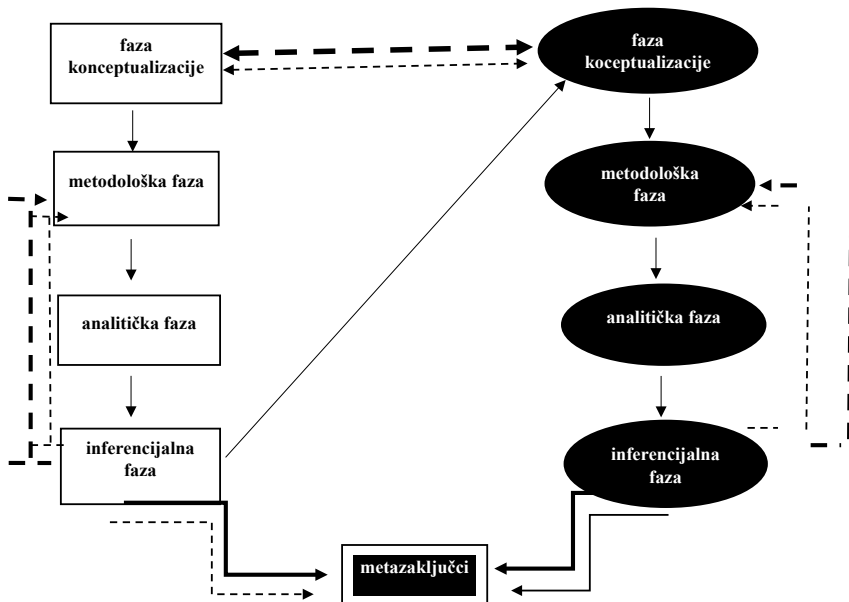
Jedno od važnih pitanja koje se postavlja u mješovitometodskim pristupima jest što se točno miješa: metode ili metodologije (Sekol i Maurović, 2017). Autorice ističu da mješovitometodska istraživanja, s jedne strane, polaze od filozofskih pretpostavaka koje utječu na način miješanja kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih pristupa u različitim istraživačkim fazama te su, s druge strane, usmjerena na prikupljanje, analiziranje i miješanje kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih podataka (Creswell i Plano Clark prema Sekol i Maurović, 2017, str. 12). Referirajući se na sekvencijalni i paralelni istraživački nacrt, Sekol i Maurović (2017) navode da je u sekvencijalnom (eksplanatornom i eksplorativnom)

¹¹ Za prikaz paralelnog istraživačkog nacrt¹¹ upotrebljene su strelice podebljanih linija za razliku od strelica upotrebljenih za prikaz sekvencijalnog istraživačkog nacrt¹¹. Navedena podjela mješovitometodskih istraživačkih nacrt¹¹ nije jedina (vidi za usporedbu u Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009; Creswell, 2009; Sekol i Maurović, 2017), ali se može smatrati osnovnom (Creswell i Creswell, 2018).

istraživačkom nacrtu riječ o miješanju metoda, a u paralelnom riječ je o miješanju metodologija. Fetters i Molina-Azorin (2016) upućuju na to da kombiniranje kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih pristupa, odnosno različiti načini njihova integriranja (metoda ili metodologija) imaju i specifične istraživačke izazove.

Prikaz 4.

Ilustracije paralelnog i sekvencijalnog istraživačkog nacrtu



KRITERIJI VREDNOVANJA KVANTITATIVNIH, KVALITATIVNIH I MJEŠOVITOMETODSKIH ISTRAŽIVANJA

Promišljanje cjelokupnog istraživačkog procesa, pa tako i pitanje kriterija za vrednovanje istraživanja, vođeno je stajalištima o prirodi i spoznaji društvene stvarnosti te orijentiranosti prema određenim istraživačkim metodama, a što istraživač eksplicitno ili implicitno donosi u istraživanje. Ta stajališta, osim što dovode do više ili manje strogog prihvaćanja jednog od pristupa istraživanju (Creswell i Creswell, 2018), služe i kao referentni okviri (Babbie, 2011) za promišljanje cjelokupnog istraživačkog procesa. Guba i Lincoln (2005) ilustriraju navedena stajališta s obzirom na razlike u ontološkim (društvena stvarnost), epistemološkim (spoznaja stvarnosti) i metodološkim pretpostavkama (metode) različitih paradigma. Drugim riječima, od (post)pozitivističke paradigme i

„stvarne” (ne)dohvatljive stvarnosti (ontologija) te spoznaje stvarnosti kakva je „po sebi” (epistemologija) preko stvarnosti oblikovane društvenim, političkim, ekonomskim i drugim vrijednostima do konstruktivističke paradigme i konstruiranih, (su)kreiranih stvarnosti (ontologija) te spoznaje stvarnosti kako je vidi druga osoba (epistemologija), istraživači prihvaćaju kvantitativne, kvalitativne ili mješovitometodske pristupe u istraživanju te se orijentiraju prema određenim istraživačkim metodama i kriterijima procjenjivanja istraživanja. Ujedno, pozitivistička i konstruktivistička paradigma zauzimaju određene pozicije o ciljevima istraživanja, prirodi znanja, kriterijima, vrijednostima, etici, položaju istraživača i sl. te različito odgovaraju na ključna pitanja o aksiologiji, akciji, kontroli, odnosu istine i znanja, refleksivnosti i sl. *Prikaz 5* ilustrira navedeno (prema Guba i Lincoln, 2005). U tom smislu, kvantitativno orijentirane istraživače može se smjestiti unutar (post)pozitivističke paradigme, a kvalitativno orijentirane češće unutar konstruktivističke paradigme¹² (Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009).

S druge strane, istraživačima koji su orijentirani prema mješovitometodskom pristupu istraživačkom problemu privlačnim postaje pragmatizam (Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009). Pragmatizam polazi od primjene onoga što će riješiti problem (Patton prema Creswell i Creswell, 2018). Istraživači koji primjenjuju mješovitometodski pristup odbacuju da se istraživači trebaju opredijeliti isključivo za kvantitativni ili kvalitativni pristup (Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009). Umjesto toga istraživači su otvoreni prema različitim stajalištima (paradigmama) te odabiru istraživačkih metoda i procedura prikupljanja/analiziranja podataka koje su adekvatne njihovim potrebama, što znači da polaze od značaja kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih podataka za bolje razumijevanje predmeta istraživanja (Creswell i Creswell, 2018). Teddlie i Tashakkori (2009) smatraju da je to pokušaj pomirenja kvantitativno i kvalitativno metodološki orijentiranih istraživača s ciljem kombiniranja kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih istraživačkih metoda. Sekol i Maurović (2017) ističu da istraživači koji polaze od kombiniranja kvantitativnog i kvalitativnog pristupa, mogu zauzimati različita stajališta i polaziti od toga da unutar jedne paradigme nije nužno upotrebljavati metode koje su joj uobičajene (pristup dominantne paradigme), što je karakteristično sekvencijalnim istraživačkim nacrtima; da paradigme zapravo nisu nekompatibilne, već različite (pristup ravnopravnih paradigmi), što je karakteristično paralelnim istraživačkim nacrtima te da se različitosti među paradigmama mogu prevladati novim paradigmama, primjerice

¹² Važno je napomenuti da epistemološke orijentacije istraživača ponekad ne moraju biti isključivo unutar tih opozicija. Kvalitativni istraživači, primjerice, mogu biti i postpozitivistički orijentirani (usp. Šutić i sur., 2022), što je vidljivo u načinima izvještavanja o istraživačkim i analitičkim postupcima prilikom izvještavanja (Vučković Juroš, 2022).

pragmatizmom. U pragmatizmu¹³ je dakle, prema autorima, riječ o miješanju kvantitativnog i kvalitativnog na način koji je već uključen u pristup dominantnih (s naglaskom na miješanje metoda) kao i pristup ravnopravnih (s naglaskom na miješanje metodologija) paradigma. Hampson i McKinley (2023) naglašavaju da utemeljenje mješovitometodskih istraživanja u pragmatizmu dovodi do nove razine kompleksnosti. Naime, autori se kritički osvrću na nekoliko njegovih značajka (poput praktičnosti, naglaska na istraživačkim rezultatima, epistemoloških pretpostavki, neslaganja s „ili-ili” pogledom na paradigme, značaja istraživačkog pitanja i njegove neophodnosti za mješovitometodska istraživanja), koje ne smatraju dostatnim (pre)uvjetima pragmatizma.

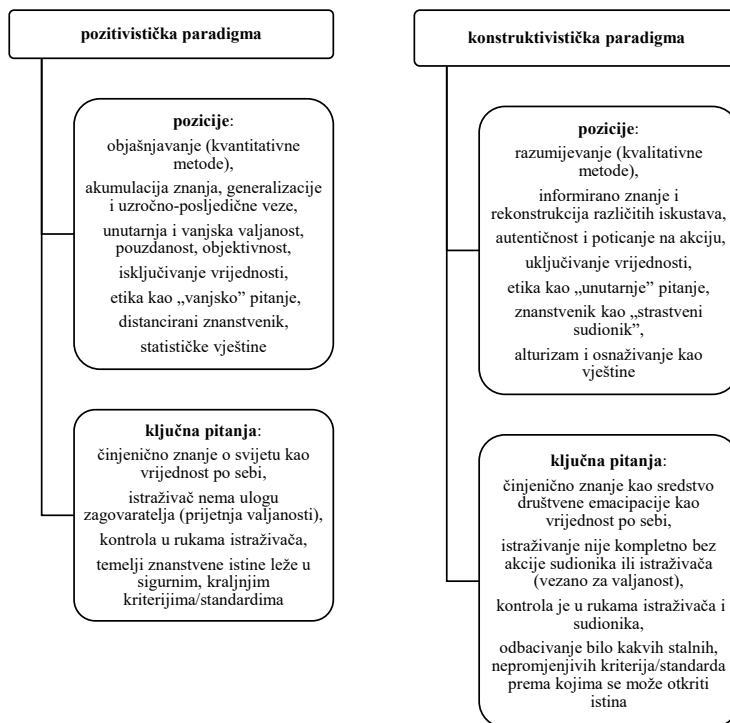
Kriteriji za procjenjivanje istraživanja odgovaraju na pitanja o istinitosti pronalazaka istraživanja, primjenjivosti (u kojem drugom kontekstu/drugim sudionicima), konzistentnosti (s istim ili sličnim sudionicima u istom/sličnom kontekstu) te pristranostima (Lincoln i Guba prema Seale, 1999). Pozitivistički kriteriji vrednovanja istraživanja tradicionalno se oslanjaju na (Seale, 1999, str. 39–42):

- unutarnju valjanost (u kojoj mjeri studija podupire uzročna objašnjenja u određenom okruženju)
- vanjsku valjanost (u kojoj mjeri su uzročna objašnjenja primjenjiva u drugim okruženjima, odnosno mogu li se generalizirati)
- pouzdanost (u kojoj mjeri će različiti istraživači isto interpretirati pronalazke, odnosno priroda društvene stvarnosti ne bi trebala predstavljati problem)
- ponovljivost (u kojoj mjeri će različite studije doći do istih zaključaka, odnosno koliko su zaključci objektivni).

¹³ Ilić (2023), primjerice, upotrebljava jednu usporedbu s cijedenjem suhog drveta s obzirom na to da ne pronalazi „(...) epistemološke osnove nove, treće, distinktivne, metodologije” (Ilić, 2023, 33), odnosno tu ne vidi ništa specifično i drukčije od postojećih istraživačkih praksa kombiniranja kvantitativnog i kvalitativnog. Nadalje, autor ne smatra da je opravdano govoriti o značajnim epistemološkim razlikama između kvantitativnog i kvalitativnog pristupa pa time „(...) nema smisla zagovarati induktivnu logičku osnovu kvalitativnog i deduktivnu logiku kvantitativnog pristupa” (Ilić, 2023, str. 42).

Prikaz 5.

Pozicije i ključna pitanja pozitivističke i konstruktivističke paradigme



Iako neki autori (Taherdoost, 2016) upućuju na potrebu postizanja (konvencionalne) valjanosti, pouzdanosti i generaliziranja u kvalitativnim istraživanjima, ističe se da pojam vjerodostojnosti više „odgovara” kvalitativnim istraživanjima i pitanjima valjanosti i pouzdanosti. Sukladno tomu, vjerodostojnost kvalitativnih istraživanja postiže se primjenom interpretativističkih kriterija (Lincoln i Guba prema Seale, 1999, str. 44–45):

- kredibilnost (eng. *credibility*) koja se postiže dugotrajnim boravkom na terenu, promatranjem, triangulacijom, pri čemu je ključno prikazivanje materijala (transkripata ili izvještaja) samim sudionicima istraživanja
- prenosivost (eng. *transferability*) koja se postiže detaljnim, bogatim opisima okruženja u kojima se istraživanje provodi
- iscrpnost (eng. *dependability*) koja se postiže dokumentiranjem istraživačkih i analitičkih procedura primijenjenih tijekom istraživanja
- potvrđnost (eng. *confirmability*) koja se postiže refleksivnošću i odnosi se na kritičnost istraživača u metodološkim prikazima (odnosno načina na koji je istraživanje provedeno).

Drugim riječima, kvantitativna istraživanja oslanjaju se na unutarnju, vanjsku valjanost i pouzdanost, a kvalitativna se istraživanja oslanjaju na kriterije vjerodostojnosti, odnosno kredibilnosti i transferabilnosti (Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009). Jedan od kriterija koji se dodatno navodi jest autentičnost (kao kriterij koji je usko vezan za konstruktivističku paradigmu, a prethodno spomenuti kriteriji nisu to nužno). Autentičnost se, dakle, odnosi na uključenost istraživanja u prikazivanju raspona različitih stvarnosti, postizanju razumijevanja onoga što se istražuje za druge te poticanju određenog oblika akcije i osnaživanja (Lincoln i Guba prema Seale, 1999).

U raspravama o valjanosti istraživanja potrebno se osvrnuti i na mješovitometodske istraživačke nacрте s obzirom na to da se oni suočavaju s dodatnim pitanjima valjanosti. S jedne strane, ono što im je zajedničko jest pitanje kvalitete zaključivanja, koje uključuje unutarnju valjanost i vjerodostojnost i odnosi se na vrednovanje kvalitete zaključaka izvedenih na temelju kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih nalaza (Teddlie i Tashakkori, 2009). Creswell i Creswell (2018) slično tomu ističu da se u svim mješovitometodskim istraživačkim nacртima valjanost temelji na kvantitativnoj (primjerice, konstrukta i mjerenja te kvantitativnih podataka) i kvalitativnoj valjanosti (primjerice, triangulaciji, kvalitativnih nalaza i podataka). S druge strane, ističu i specifičnosti prilikom procjenjivanja valjanosti mješovitometodskih istraživanja. U istovremenim nacртima potrebno je dodatno obratiti pozornost na veličinu uzorka koja neće biti ista i gdje je dovoljno uputiti na različita stajališta o uzorkovanju; korištenje različitih koncepata ili varijable (preporuka je upotrebljavati iste koncepte/varijable) te na nedostatak *follow-up* koraka ako se zaključci razlikuju (Creswell i Creswell, 2018, str. 302). U eksplanatornom sekvencijalnom nacрту dodatna pitanja valjanosti odnose se na to kada istraživači ne uzimaju u obzir sve opcije (iz kvantitativnih podataka) *za follow-up* (fokusom, primjerice, na demografskim značajkama sudionika moguće je predvidjeti neka druga objašnjenja) te kada se uzima različiti uzorak za svaku fazu istraživanja (pretpostavka je da će detaljnije objašnjavanje kvantitativnih rezultata biti postignuto odabirom sudionika za kvalitativnu fazu iz uzorka onih koji su sudjelovali u kvantitativnoj fazi) (Creswell i Creswell, 2018, str. 305). U eksplorativnom sekvencijalnom nacрту dodatna se pozornost ipak treba obratiti na razvijanje instrumenta (odnosno kada istraživači nisu iskoristili sve prednosti i bogatstvo kvalitativnih nalaza) te na odabir sudionika (kada istraživači odabiru iste sudionike koji su sudjelovali u kvalitativnoj fazi) za sudjelovanje u fazi prikupljanja kvantitativnih podataka, odnosno prilikom testiranja instrumenta (Creswell i Creswell, 2018, str. 307).

ZAKLJUČAK

Odabirom određene istraživačke metodologije istraživači se referiraju na postavljene istraživačke ciljeve/istraživačka pitanja, načine uzorkovanja, prikupljanje i analiziranje istraživačkih podataka, interpretiranje istraživačkih rezultata i zaključivanje te kriterije vrednovanja kojima se procjenjuje istraživanje. S obzirom na to, kvantitativni, kvalitativni i mješovitometodski pristupi u istraživanju određuju se kao načini razmišljanja o istraživačkom nacrtu i istraživačkim strategijama za njegovu provedbu, a što pretpostavlja i određena paradigmatiska stajališta. Kvantitativna istraživanja odgovaraju eksplanatornoj svrsi i upotrebljavaju se uglavnom za ispitivanje odnosa među varijablama iz prijašnjih teorija i istraživanja (deduktivni pristup). Kvalitativna istraživanja odgovaraju eksplorativnoj svrsi i primjenjuju se za dublje razumijevanje značenje koje se pridaje društvenoj stvarnosti te je naglasak na izgradnji teorije, a ne na njezinu testiranju kao u kvantitativnim istraživanjima (induktivni pristup). U kvantitativnim se istraživanjima na početku određuje kako će se određeni koncept mjeriti. U kvalitativnim istraživanjima, s druge strane, određivanje, odnosno otkrivanje aspekata kojeg koncepta može biti ključan dio istraživačkog procesa. U mješovitometodskim istraživanjima dolazi do miješanja kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih pristupa unutar različitih istraživačkih nacrti kao što paralelni i sekvencijalni (eksplanatorni i eksplorativni). Paralelni istraživački nacrt provodi se s ciljem usporedbe kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih istraživačkih rezultata, eksplanatorni istraživački nacrt s ciljem da kvalitativni istraživački rezultati daju detaljnije objašnjenje kvantitativnih istraživačkih rezultata, a eksplorativni istraživački nacrt s ciljem razvijanja novih mjerenja (i generaliziranja). Ključan dio mješovitometodskih istraživačkih nacrti jest integracija kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih metoda (i metodologija), pri čemu se ona u paralelnim istraživačkim nacrtima događa njihovom usporedbom u fazi analiziranja, a u sekvencijalnim se istraživačkim nacrtima integracija događa u fazi u kojoj rezultati analiziranja jedne vrste podataka informiraju prikupljanje druge vrste podataka.

Iako na kvantitativne, kvalitativne i mješovitometodske pristupe ne treba gledati kao na dihotomije, u njihovoj (metodološkoj) podlozi nalaze se stajališta istraživača o prirodi društvene stvarnosti, znanju i načinima na koje se dolazi do (valjanog) znanja. Drugim riječima, istraživači polaze od ontoloških, epistemoloških i metodoloških pitanja koja čine osnovne pretpostavke svake paradigme. Stoga se, konvencionalno gledano, kvantitativni, kvalitativni i mješovitometodski pristupi povezuju s (post)pozitivističkom i konstruktivističkom paradigmatikom te pragmatizmom iako u istraživanjima to ne mora biti nužno jednostrano. Međutim, svaka paradigma različito odgovara na ontološka, epistemološka i metodološka pitanja te zauzima različite pozicije kad je riječ o ciljevima istraživanja, znanju i temeljima istine, kriterijima,

vrijednostima, etici, kontroli, ulozi istraživača i sl. Kriteriji vrednovanja istraživanja time također „odgovaraju” paradigmatskim postavkama kvantitativnih, kvalitativnih i mješovitometodskih istraživanja. Naime, iako se istraživači oslanjaju na pitanja istinitosti, primjenjivosti, konzistentnosti i pristranosti prilikom vrednovanja istraživanja, oni to rade na načine koji su sukladni korištenoj istraživačkoj metodologiji. Stoga se metodološkoj literaturi raspravlja o pozitivističkim i interpretativističkim kriterijima za procjenjivanje i vrednovanje kvantitativnih odnosno kvalitativnih istraživanja. Uz to se u mješovitometodskim istraživanjima ističu i neka dodatna pitanja valjanosti ovisno o tome upotrebljava li se u istraživanju paralelni, eksplanatorni ili eksplorativni sekvencijalni istraživački nacrt.

Jedno od ograničenja ovoga rada jest to što on isprva može izgledati kao pojednostavljena „metodološka stvarnost” u društvenim istraživanjima. Međutim, namjera je bila pružiti osnovni prikaz kvantitativnih, kvalitativnih i mješovitometodskih pristupa znanstvenom istraživanju te metodoloških značajka i specifičnosti kvantitativnih, kvalitativnih i mješovitometodskih istraživanja, ali i pokušati razjasniti neke terminološke dvojbe koje pronalazimo u metodološkoj literaturi. Stoga se nadamo da će rad poslužiti kao referentna točka studentima i mladim istraživačima koji tek kreću stjecati vlastita znanstveno-istraživačka iskustva u različitim znanstvenim područjima. Sigurni smo da će na temelju toga i sami otkrivati (ovdje) nedovršenu priču o istraživačkoj metodologiji pa moguće i, čitajući neke druge autore, kritički se osvrnuti na ovdje upotrebljenu terminologiju ili prikazanu podjelu. Teorijsko-metodološke rasprave smatramo iznimno značajnim, što se također pokazalo tijekom pisanja ovoga rada. Stoga je opravdano uputiti na važnost promišljanja o, primjerice, mogućnostima kvantitativnih istraživanja za razvijanje teorija (vidi Chen i Chen, 2024) ili opravdanosti konvencionalnog pripisivanja deduktivnog pristupa isključivo kvantitativnim odnosno induktivnog pristupa isključivo kvalitativnim istraživanjima (drugim riječima, o razvoju metodološke misli i pristupa istraživanjima). Navedeno će svakako pridonijeti sustavnijem razumijevanju odnosa između kvantitativnog i kvalitativnog u društvenim istraživanjima, koje nadilazi propozicije ovoga rada.

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QUANTITATIVE, QUALITATIVE, AND MIXED METHOD APPROACHES IN SOCIAL RESEARCH: *SHOULD I STAY OR SHOULD I GO*¹

Abstract: *In the analysis and study of social phenomena, researchers face numerous methodological decisions related to the characteristics and specifics of methodological approaches. In this paper, they are considered as ways of thinking about research design and strategies for its implementation, that is, about research methods, which also encompass certain paradigmatic questions. In other words, methodological decisions regarding the use of a particular research method are not only related to the data collection phase but also imply broader (paradigmatic) discussions concerning researchers' views on the nature of social reality and forms of valid knowledge. Therefore, the (post)positivist and constructivist paradigms, as well as pragmatism, which is traditionally associated with quantitative, qualitative, and mixed method approaches, play important roles in theoretical–methodological discussions about quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-method research and the criteria for evaluating research.*

Keywords: *methodological approaches, research methods, paradigms, criteria for evaluating research*

INTRODUCTION

In the fields of social sciences (such as sociology, pedagogy, etc.), analyses and research of a social phenomenon can be approached in various ways. Moreover, interdisciplinary research in the social sciences is common today and often involves researchers with different methodological interests (Sekol & Maurović, 2017). Methodologically, this implies knowledge and understanding

¹ The title of the song by the band Clash.

of the characteristics and specifics of different research approaches (quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods), paradigmatic assumptions, research methods (and techniques), and other key methodological aspects (such as criteria for evaluating quantitative and qualitative research, research ethics, etc.). Methodological decisions that can be of crucial importance, such as the choice of research method/technique, are not merely a practical matter of data collection but also entail other issues (which, more broadly, are part of paradigmatic debates). In other words, the quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods approaches involve different assumptions about the nature of knowledge, which raises questions about how research should be conducted and what form of knowledge is considered valid (Blaxter et al., 2006; Gray, 2004; Williams, 2003). On the other hand, in the methodological literature, certain terms are often used synonymously, even if they are not, which can (additionally) create difficulties in planning and conducting research, especially for students and young researchers. Furthermore, various terms are also used, such as methodological approaches (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009), research approaches (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Sekol & Maurović, 2017), and research paradigms (Denscombe, 2010). Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009), however, emphasize that the terms quantitative and qualitative research paradigms (or mixed method research paradigms) are conceptually unclear and that it is advisable to avoid them.

According to Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009), research methodology is a general approach to scientific research that determines how a research question should be formulated and answered, which involves reflecting on one's own worldview and choosing a research design, sampling logic, strategies for collecting and analyzing data, and criteria for assessing research quality. Research methods include specific strategies and procedures for implementing the research design (sampling, data collection, and analysis, interpretation), whereas a paradigm is defined as a worldview that encompasses philosophical and sociopolitical issues (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 27). The worldview (i.e., paradigm), research design/research strategy, and research methods are three key and interrelated components of the research approach (Creswell, 2009; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Accordingly, the paper describes quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods approaches to scientific research, starting from broader (paradigmatic) assumptions that the researcher "brings" into the research through specific research methods related to ways of formulating research objectives/questions, sampling, data collection and analysis, as well as interpretation and conclusion (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009; Blaxter et al., 2006; Gray, 2004) up to the criteria by which research quality is assessed (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Taherdoost, 2016; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods research, therefore, begins with ontological, epistemological, and methodological questions (della Porta & Keating, 2008;

Blaxter et al., 2006), that is, the researcher's stance on social reality and the nature of research (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Therefore, the paper also uses the concept of "methodological approaches", which refers to ways of thinking about the research design and strategies for its implementation, that is, about research methods, which also implies paradigmatic positions.

Researchers' perspectives can develop owing to the specifics of a particular scientific field, the influence of other individuals (for example, mentors), or prior research experience, and they often lead to a researcher's preference for a certain research method (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Through an overview of the methodological specifics of quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods research, three paradigms are mentioned – (post)positivism, constructivism, and pragmatism, considering that they are most commonly associated with researchers' orientation toward quantitative, qualitative, and mixed method approaches in research (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009; Blaxter et al., 2006), although other paradigms are also noted in the literature (e.g., participatory, transformative). One of the more dominant traditions is therefore associated with the (post)positivist paradigm and quantitative methods, whereas criticisms of positivism have led to the adoption of the constructivist paradigm and the development of qualitative methods. Ultimately, debates around paradigms and research methods have resulted in the emergence of an "alternative methodological approach", the mixed methods approach, which is most often associated with pragmatism (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Although this term implies that methods are mixed in the mixed methods approach, mixed methods approaches are used both to describe research procedures and as a methodological approach (Freshwater & Cahill, according to Sekol & Maurović, 2017, p. 12). Therefore, Sekol and Maurović (2017) highlight the differences between the research designs and discuss the divide of mixed methods approaches depending on whether they involve mixing methods or methodologies.

METHODOLOGICAL SPECIFICS OF QUANTITATIVE, QUALITATIVE, AND MIXED METHOD RESEARCH

Quantitative research

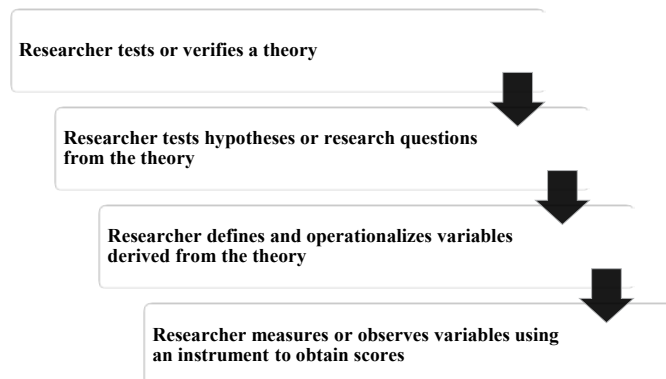
Quantitative research approaches are commonly used for testing theories by examining the relationships among variables measured via instruments.² The measurement yields numerical data that are analyzed via statistical procedures

² In research, it is possible to use existing (validated) instruments or to construct an instrument for the purposes of one's own study. For more on the construction and validation of instruments, see Taherdoost (2016). Landripet et al. (2020) illustrate this process using the example of developing the faith-based social engagement scale (VIDA).

(Taherdoost, 2022; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Quantitative research generally serves an explanatory purpose (Babbie, 2011) and is based on previous research studies and theories (Creswell and Creswell, 2018; Denscombe, 2010). Although the “traditional scientific model” represents only one aspect of research practice, understanding its principles is important (Babbie, 2011). The research problem is usually formulated in the form of research hypotheses, with the researcher aiming to test these hypotheses on the basis of existing theoretical insights. In other words, the emphasis is on theory testing (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Babbie, 2011; Denscombe, 2010). In quantitative research, theory is tested deductively with the aim of generalizing and replicating (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Figure 1 illustrates this (taken from Creswell, 2009, p. 57).

Figure 1

Deductive approach in quantitative research



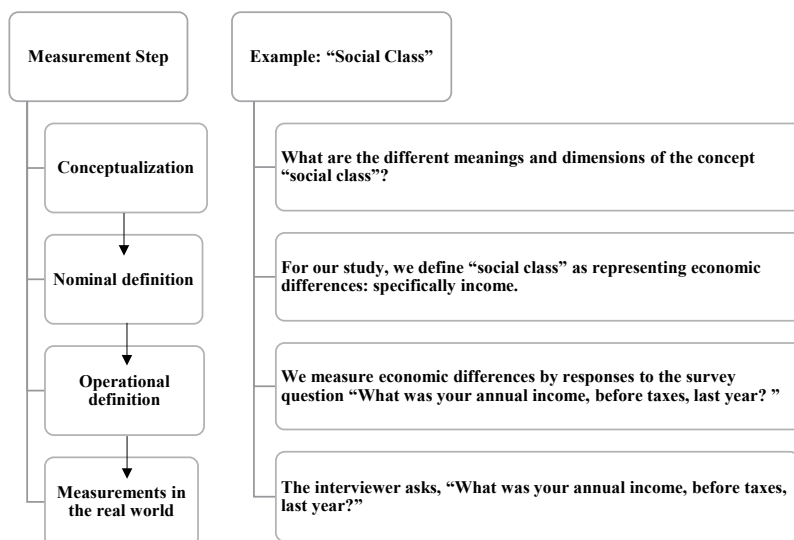
Quantitative research methods involve the use of specific strategies and research designs for conducting survey and experimental research (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Kelly, 2018; Williams, 2003). In survey research, the measurement instrument is the questionnaire, and there are various techniques for data collection, from administering the questionnaire in combination with structured interviews, self-administered questionnaires, telephone interviews, online surveys, etc. (Williams, 2003) to using techniques such as vignettes, in which hypothetical events or situations are described in the questionnaire (Vlahov et al., 2024), and so on. In quantitative research, the starting point is research questions/objectives and research hypotheses, which can be descriptive or inferential.³ The quantitative research questions indicate the relationships

³ See more about descriptive and inferential research questions and hypotheses in Creswell and Creswell (2018) and Thrane (2023), as well as statistical analyses in Bergin (2018) and Thrane (2023).

between variables, and the research objectives point to the purpose of the research, whereas the research hypotheses are assumptions about the expected relationships between variables and are derived from theory. Statistical tests are used to test (inferential) hypotheses, based on which conclusions are drawn from the sample to the population⁴ (Taherdoost, 2022; Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Kelly, 2018; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Considering that quantitative research primarily uses a deductive approach and is based on research hypotheses, the variables used need to be determined at the beginning of the study (Kelly, 2018; Babbie, 2011). At this point, the processes of conceptualization and operationalization are important, as they serve to determine the meaning of the concepts (variables) used and measured in the research. The process of determining the meaning of a concept and describing how it will be measured in the study involves identifying its indicators (Kelly, 2018; Babbie, 2011). Figure 3 illustrates this process via the example of the concept of “social status” (taken and adapted from Babbie, 2011, p. 140). Barada et al. (2024) also noted the importance of conceptualization and operationalization, using the example of housework research, while suggesting the introduction of the concept of “management”, cognitive and emotional household management (KEUK), which complements previous conceptualizations with the mentioned dimensions.

Figure 2

Illustration of the process of conceptualization and operationalization



⁴ See more about probabilistic sampling in Babbie (2011) and Bergin (2018).

Qualitative research

Qualitative research approaches are used to understand and interpret the meanings that individuals or groups attribute to social reality (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Silverman, 2018; Denscombe, 2010; Williams, 2003). The research process involves an emerging design and questions (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Kelly, 2018), data that are primarily collected in the participants' environment, the researcher as the key instrument, inductive data analysis⁵, and purposive sampling⁶ aimed at obtaining rich information (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). An emerging research design means that research and analytical procedures in qualitative studies are adapted to the field; that is, it is a nonlinear process (Vučković Juroš, 2022). Qualitative research generally serves exploratory and descriptive purposes (Babbie, 2011). The researcher may make this decision because either there is not enough theoretical insight or they want to examine the topic from a new perspective, independent of previous research findings. In other words, the focus is on theory building rather than testing it (Denscombe, 2010); thus, theory becomes the ultimate goal of research and develops from the analysis of data⁷ (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Babbie, 2011). Figure 3 illustrates the above (taken from Creswell, 2009, p. 63). According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), theory in qualitative research can also be used in a way that guides the questions asked, as well as the collection and analysis of data. Here, it is more about theoretical lenses such as, for example, the feminist perspective, critical theory, queer theory, and other perspectives that were included in qualitative research in the 1980s, focusing on topics that researchers considered significant to explore (marginalization, empowerment, etc.) and participants whom they deemed necessary to include (women, ethnic and sexual minorities, people with disabilities, etc.) in research.

Qualitative research methods involve specific strategies and research designs for conducting qualitative studies (narrative, phenomenological, ethnographic, biographical, etc.). In qualitative research, researchers collect data using various techniques (often referred to in the literature as data collection methods), such as unstructured/semistructured interviews, focus groups, observations with/without researcher participation, etc. In this approach, alongside the researchers themselves, the key instrument is the research protocol (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). Recent empirical studies also mention other techniques

⁵ It is important to note that this approach (to coding and identifying themes) is not the only one, meaning that researchers can also use a deductive approach or a combination of approaches when analyzing qualitative data (Vučković Juroš, 2022).

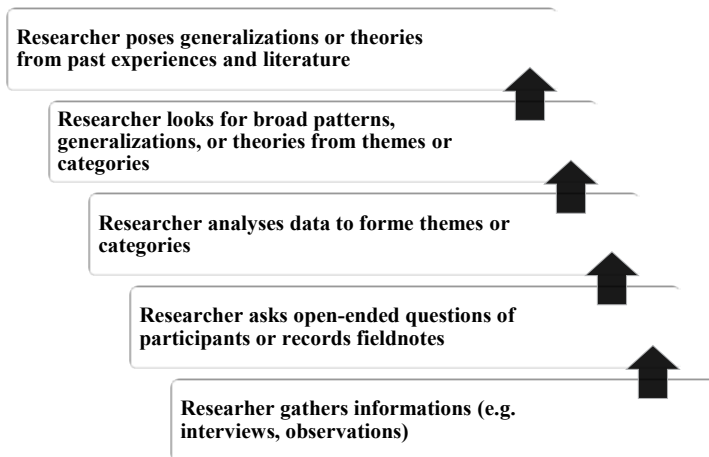
⁶ See more about purposeful sampling methods in qualitative research in Patton (2002).

⁷ There are several ways to analyze qualitative data – discourse analysis, narrative analysis, thematic analysis, etc. For example, for thematic analysis and its different approaches (coding process, identifying themes, etc.) see more in Braun et al. (2019).

for data collection, such as narrative interviews (Šarić, 2024), biographical interviews (Poletić Ćosić, 2022), a timeline or lifeline as a visual representation (Lončar et al., 2019), etc. In qualitative research, one begins with 1-2 central research questions, which may be accompanied by subquestions (at most 5-7). A research question should begin with the words “what” or “how”, which indicate an emerging design (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Unlike quantitative research, in qualitative research, conceptualization does not necessarily have to occur at the beginning of the study. In other words, a key part of some research may be the discovery of different dimensions and aspects of a concept (Babbie, 2011). Since researchers here rely mostly on induction, they avoid assumptions about what research results they might obtain (Kelly, 2018). In qualitative research, emphasis is placed on transparency (providing sufficient information or explanations about the research and analytical process) and reflexivity (statements about the researcher’s positioning, epistemological assumptions, and relationship with participants), which are related to the selection and recruitment of participants, identification of ethical issues⁸, and detailed descriptions of analytical procedures (Vučković Juroš, 2022). The author emphasized that these aspects are crucial in reporting on qualitative research.

Figure 3

Inductive approach in qualitative research



⁸ For the specifics of qualitative research ethics, that is, ethical issues in planning and conducting qualitative research, see more in Lončar et al. (2023).

Mixed methods research

Quantitative and qualitative research have, methodologically speaking, conventionally been separated among researchers and even journals that publish research papers using only one or the other research methods (Bergin, 2018). In the last 30 years, an alternative to the quantitative–qualitative dichotomy has emerged in the form of the “third research community” (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Various terms are used in the methodological literature, such as mixed methodology (Kunac et al., 2018; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998), mixed method approaches and research (Šarić, 2024; Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009), mixed research approaches (Sekol & Maurović, 2017), etc. On the other hand, Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) emphasize that some terms have been used as synonyms, such as multimethods and mixed methods, even though they are not. Fetters and Molina-Azorin (2016) believe that multimethod research encompasses different ways of combining quantitative and qualitative approaches (quan + quan; qual + qual; and quan + qual), whereas mixed methods research represents only one category of multimethod research. However, the authors also noted significant differences in the ways of combining approaches in mixed methods research, given that quantitative and qualitative approaches can be integrated at different levels (Fetters & Molina-Azorin, 2016). In mixed methods research, the basis for combining quantitative and qualitative approaches is precisely the ‘place’ of their integration (which will be discussed further). Therefore, multimethod research refers to the combination of multiple qualitative or quantitative approaches (Schoonenboom & Burke Johnson, 2017). One of the frequently used terms in methodological and research papers is triangulation⁹. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) view triangulation as one of the strategies used in mixed methods research, noting that this refers to methodological triangulation (Sekol & Maurović, 2017; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009) and is used to verify validity (Denzin, 2009). Šarić (2024) emphasized that this is related to the postpositivist (quantitative) research tradition; therefore, triangulation is less common in qualitative research.

Quantitative and qualitative approaches should not be viewed as dichotomies but rather as ends of a continuum, whereas mixed method approaches lie in the middle of this continuum, as they contain features of both approaches (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Moreover, each approach has advantages and disadvantages (Sekol & Maurović, 2017). One of the (pragmatic) reasons for conducting mixed method research lies in recognizing the practical value and methodological limitations of research methods (May, 2011). Apart from the methodological orientation of researchers toward

⁹ Denzin (2009) distinguishes four types of triangulations: data, theory, researcher, and methodological triangulation (which can be within method and between method).

quantitative research methods (objectivity, value neutrality, numerical data, and statistical analyses) and the (post)positivist paradigm, as well as qualitative research methods (construction of reality, contextualization, narrative data, and thematic analyses) and the constructivist paradigm, there is also an indication of a methodological orientation of researchers toward mixing quantitative and qualitative research methods, which is most often associated with pragmatism. Pragmatism presents the idea of compatibility of paradigms, refuting the theses about opposing paradigms, and that mixing quantitative and qualitative research methods is inappropriate given the (paradigmatic) differences in these research methodologies (Teddle & Tashakkori, 2009). Although the use of a mixed methods approach in scientific research in Croatia is not very common (Sekol & Maurović, 2017), it is important to highlight its application in sociological empirical research (for example, Besednik & Lončar, 2024; Petrić et al., 2022; Kunac et al., 2018). On the other hand, Sarić (2024) contributed to theoretical-methodological and research discussions on the application of analytical triangulation of narrative data in qualitative (narrative) research.



Source: Teddle and Tashakkori (2009). Illustration of a different approach to the research problem

In mixed methods research, researchers use numerical and narrative data, address explanatory and exploratory research questions, employ deductive and inductive approaches, probabilistic and purposive sampling, statistical and narrative analyses, and triangulation (using multiple sources of data collection and analysis) (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). The two main mixed methods research designs¹⁰ are parallel and sequential, which can be either explanatory or exploratory (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). The parallel (or convergent) research design is conducted in a single phase. Quantitative and qualitative data are collected simultaneously and analyzed separately, and the results are subsequently compared to confirm or disprove the findings. The assumption is that quantitative and qualitative data provide different information and that the results should be the same. Integration occurs when the results are combined during the analysis phase, which can be approached in various ways, for example, by presenting the quantitative results and then comparing them with the qualitative results (or vice versa) in the discussion section (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, pp. 300–301). The explanatory sequential design is used by researchers with a stronger quantitative background and is conducted in two phases. In the first phase, quantitative data are collected and analyzed, on the basis of which the second qualitative phase is planned. The quantitative results inform the purposeful sampling of participants for the qualitative phase and the type of questions that will be asked. The assumption is that qualitative data help provide a more detailed explanation of the initial quantitative results, so it is important to link the quantitative results with the collection of qualitative data (for example, collecting and analyzing quantitative data through a survey questionnaire in the first phase and then conducting qualitative interviews to explain certain responses from the questionnaire). Integration occurs by connecting the results obtained through the quantitative method with the collection of data using the qualitative method (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 304). An exploratory sequential research design is conducted in three phases. Researchers begin with the qualitative phase and then proceed to the quantitative phase in such a way that new measurements, for example, a new instrument or variables (in the second phase), are developed through the collection and analysis of qualitative data, on the basis of the qualitative data results, and these will be tested/measured with the aim of generalization in the third, quantitative, phase. Therefore, integration occurs in the second phase, in which the quantitative data collection phase is planned and conducted on the basis of the analysis of qualitative data (Creswell & Creswell, 2018,

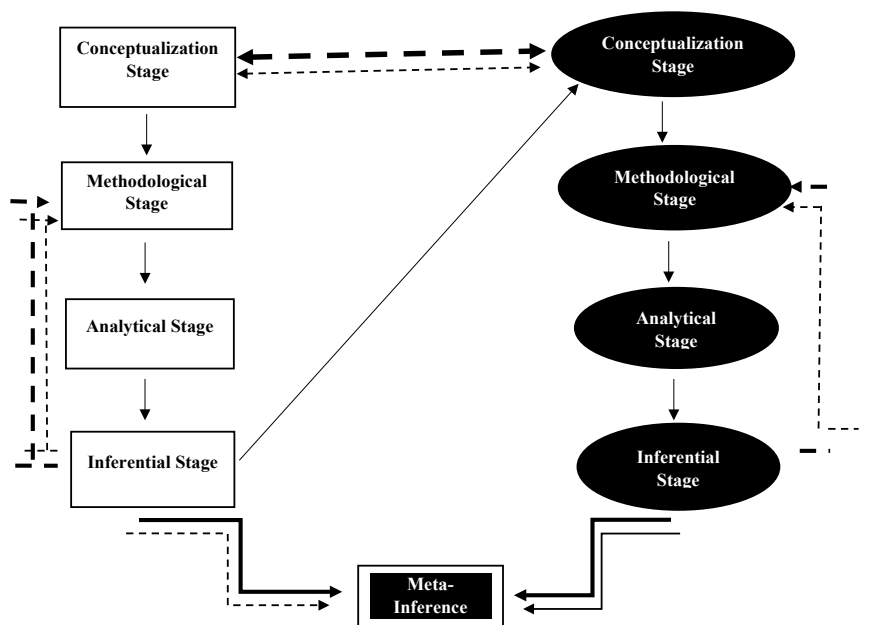
¹⁰ Other research designs are also mentioned in the methodological literature (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009; Creswell, 2009; Sekol & Maurović, 2017). See more on the implementation of mixed methods research and the research process (i.e., defining research objectives/questions, sampling, data collection and analysis, and drawing conclusions) in Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) and Creswell and Creswell (2018).

pp. 306–307). Figure 4 graphically illustrates the specifics of mixed method research designs¹¹ (according to Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

One of the important questions raised in mixed methods approaches is what exactly is being mixed: methods or methodologies (Sekol & Maurović, 2017). The authors emphasize that mixed methods research, on the one hand, starts from philosophical assumptions that influence how quantitative and qualitative approaches are mixed in different research phases and, on the other hand, is directed toward collecting, analyzing, and mixing quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell & Plano Clark, according to Sekol & Maurović, 2017, p.12). Referring to sequential and parallel research designs, Sekol & Maurović (2017) state that in a sequential (explanatory and exploratory) research design, it is a matter of mixing methods, whereas in a parallel design, it is a matter of mixing methodologies. Fetters and Molina-Azorin (2016) noted that combining quantitative and qualitative approaches, that is, different ways of integrating them (method or methodology), also presents specific research challenges.

Figure 4

Illustrations of parallel and sequential research design



¹¹ For the depiction of a parallel research design, arrows with bold lines were used, unlike the arrows used to depict a sequential research design. This division of mixed-methods research designs is not the only one (see for comparison Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009; Creswell, 2009; Sekol & Maurović, 2017), but it can be considered basic (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING THE QUANTITATIVE, QUALITATIVE AND MIXED METHOD RESEARCH

Reflecting on the entire research process, including the issue of criteria for evaluating research, is guided by positions on the nature and knowledge of social reality as well as orientation toward certain research methods, which the researcher explicitly or implicitly brings into the research. These positions, in addition to leading to greater or lesser strict adherence to one of the research approaches (Creswell & Creswell, 2018), also serve as reference frameworks (Babbie, 2011) for reflecting on the entire research process. Guba and Lincoln (2005) illustrate these positions through differences in the ontological (social reality), epistemological (knowledge of reality), and methodological assumptions (methods) of various paradigms. In other words, from the (post)positivist paradigm and the “real” (un)attainable reality (ontology) and the knowledge of reality as it is “in itself” (epistemology) through reality shaped by social, political, economic, etc. values to the constructivist paradigm and constructed, (co)created realities (ontology) and the knowledge of reality as seen by another person (epistemology), researchers adopt quantitative, qualitative, or mixed method approaches in research and orient themselves toward certain research methods and criteria for evaluating research. Moreover, the positivist and constructivist paradigms occupy certain positions regarding the objectives of research, the nature of knowledge, criteria, values, ethics, the role of the researcher, etc., and respond differently to key issues such as axiology, action, control, the relationship between truth and knowledge, reflexivity, etc. Figure 5 demonstrates this (according to Guba & Lincoln, 2005). In this sense, quantitatively oriented researchers can be placed within the (post) positivist paradigm, whereas qualitatively oriented researchers are more often situated within the constructivist paradigm¹² (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

On the other hand, researchers who are oriented toward a mixed methods approach to a research problem find pragmatism appealing (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Pragmatism is based on applying whatever will solve the problem (Patton, according to Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Researchers who use a mixed methods approach reject the notion that researchers should commit exclusively to a quantitative or qualitative approach (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Instead, researchers are open to different viewpoints (paradigms) and choose research methods and data collection/analysis procedures that are appropriate for their needs, which means that they recognize the importance of both quantitative and qualitative data for a better understanding of the research subject (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) argue that

¹² It is important to note that researchers’ epistemological orientations do not always have to be strictly within these oppositions. For example, qualitative researchers can also be postpositivist oriented (cf. Šutić et al., 2022), which is evident in the ways of reporting research and analytical procedures when presenting findings (Vučković Juroš, 2022).

this is an attempt to reconcile quantitatively and qualitatively methodologically oriented researchers with the aim of combining quantitative and qualitative research methods. Sekol and Maurović (2017) emphasize that researchers who start from combining quantitative and qualitative approaches can take different positions and proceed from the idea that within a single paradigm, it is not necessary to use methods that are common to it (the dominant paradigm approach), which is characteristic of sequential research designs; that paradigms are not actually incompatible but different (the equal paradigms approach), which is characteristic of parallel research designs; and that differences between paradigms can be overcome with the help of new paradigms, such as pragmatism. According to the authors, in pragmatism¹³, it is therefore about mixing quantitative and qualitative approaches in a way that is already included in both the dominant paradigm approach (with an emphasis on mixing methods) and the equal paradigms approach (with an emphasis on mixing methodologies). Hampson and McKinley (2023) emphasize that grounding mixed methods research in pragmatism leads to a new level of complexity. Specifically, the authors critically address several of its features (such as practicality, emphasis on research results, epistemological assumptions, disagreement with the “either-or” view of paradigms, importance of a research question, and its necessity for mixed methods research), which they do not consider sufficient (pre)conditions for pragmatism.

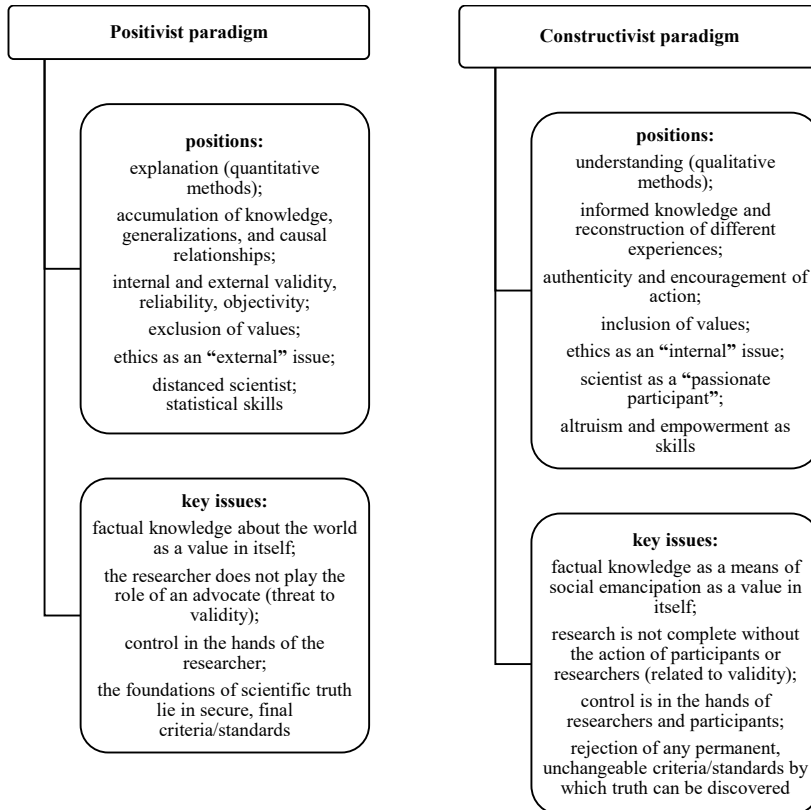
Criteria for assessing the research address questions about the truthfulness of research findings, applicability (in another context/with different participants), consistency (with the same or similar participants in the same/similar context), and biases (Lincoln & Guba, according to Seale, 1999). Positivist criteria for evaluating the research traditionally rely on (Seale, 1999, pp. 39–42):

- internal validity (the extent to which a study supports causal explanations in a specific context);
- external validity (the extent to which causal explanations are applicable in other contexts or whether they can be generalized);
- reliability (the extent to which different researchers interpret the findings in the same way, meaning that the nature of social reality should not pose a problem); and
- replicability (the extent to which different studies reach the same conclusions or how objective the conclusions are).

¹³ Ilić (2023), for example, uses a comparison to squeezing dry wood, given that he does not find “(...) epistemological foundations of a new, third, distinctive methodology” (Ilić, 2023, p. 33), meaning that he sees nothing specific or different from already existing research practices of combining quantitative and qualitative approaches. Furthermore, the author does not believe it is justified to speak of significant epistemological differences between the quantitative and qualitative approaches, and thus “(...) it makes no sense to advocate an inductive logical basis for the qualitative and a deductive logic for the quantitative approach” (Ilić, 2023, p. 42).

Figure 5

Positions and key issues of the positivist and constructivist paradigms



Although some authors (Taherdoost, 2016) point to the need to achieve (conventional) validity, reliability, and generalizability in qualitative research, it is emphasized that the concept of trustworthiness is more “suited” to qualitative research and questions of validity and reliability. Accordingly, the trustworthiness of qualitative research is achieved through the application of interpretivist criteria (Lincoln & Guba, according to Seale, 1999, pp. 44–45):

- credibility, which is achieved through prolonged field presence, observation, and triangulation, while it is crucial to present the material (transcripts or reports) to the research participants themselves;
- transferability, which is achieved through detailed, rich descriptions of the settings in which the research is conducted;
- dependability, which is achieved by thoroughly documenting the research and analytical procedures applied throughout the study; and

- confirmability, which is achieved through reflexivity and relates to the researcher's critical assessment in methodological accounts (i.e., the way the research was conducted).

In other words, quantitative research relies on internal and external validity and reliability, whereas qualitative research relies on the criteria of trustworthiness, that is, credibility and transferability (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). One of the criteria additionally mentioned is authenticity (as a criterion closely linked to the constructivist paradigm, whereas the previously mentioned criteria are not necessarily so). Authenticity, therefore, refers to the involvement of research in representing a range of different realities, achieving an understanding of what is being studied for others, and encouraging some form of action and empowerment (Lincoln & Guba, according to Seale, 1999).

In discussions on the validity of research, it is necessary to also consider mixed methods research designs, as they face additional validity issues. On the one hand, what they have in common is the issue of the quality of inferences, which includes internal validity and credibility and relates to the evaluation of the quality of inferences drawn on the basis of quantitative and qualitative findings (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Similarly, Creswell and Creswell (2018) emphasized that in all mixed methods research designs, validity is based on both quantitative (e.g., constructs and measurements, quantitative data) and qualitative validity (e.g., triangulation, qualitative findings and data). On the other hand, they also highlight the specific aspects of assessing validity in mixed methods research. In concurrent designs, additional attention needs to be paid to sample size, which will not be the same and where it is sufficient to point out different perspectives on sampling; the use of different concepts or variables (it is recommended to use the same concepts/variables); and the lack of follow-up steps if conclusions differ (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 302). In an explanatory sequential design, additional validity concerns relate to when researchers do not consider all options (from quantitative data) for follow-up (by focusing, for example, on participants' demographic characteristics, other explanations might be overlooked) and when a different sample is taken for each phase of the study (it is assumed that a more detailed explanation of quantitative results will be achieved by selecting participants for the qualitative phase from those who took part in the quantitative phase) (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 305). In an exploratory sequential design, additional attention should be given to instrument development (i.e., when researchers have not utilized all the advantages and richness of qualitative findings) and to participant selection (when researchers select the same participants who took part in the qualitative phase) for participation in the quantitative data collection phase or for instrument testing (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 307).

CONCLUSION

By choosing a specific research methodology, researchers refer to the formulated research objectives/research questions, sampling methods, collection and analysis of research data, interpretation of research results, conclusions, and evaluation criteria used to assess the research. Accordingly, quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods approaches in research are defined as ways of thinking about the research design and research strategies for its implementation, which also assume certain paradigmatic positions. Quantitative research addresses an explanatory purpose and is basically used to examine relationships among variables from previous theories and research (deductive approach). Qualitative research addresses an exploratory purpose and is used for a deeper understanding of the meaning attributed to social reality, with an emphasis on theory building rather than testing it, as in quantitative research (inductive approach). In quantitative research, determining how a particular concept will be measured is established at the beginning of the study. In qualitative research, on the other hand, determining or uncovering aspects of a concept can be a key part of the research process. In mixed methods research, quantitative and qualitative approaches are combined within various research designs, such as parallel and sequential (explanatory and exploratory) designs. The parallel research design is conducted with the aim of comparing quantitative and qualitative research results. The explanatory research design aims for qualitative research results to provide a more detailed explanation of quantitative research results, and the exploratory research design aims to develop new measurements (and generalizations). A key part of mixed-methods research designs is the integration of quantitative and qualitative methods (and methodologies), whereby in parallel research designs, it occurs through their comparison in the analysis phase, whereas in sequential research designs, integration occurs in the phase in which the results of analyzing one type of data inform the collection of the other type of data.

Although quantitative, qualitative, and mixed method approaches should not be viewed as dichotomies, their (methodological) basis involves researchers' perspectives on the nature of social reality, knowledge, and the ways in which (valid) knowledge is obtained. In other words, researchers start from ontological, epistemological, and methodological questions that form the basic assumption of each paradigm. Therefore, conventionally, quantitative, qualitative, and mixed method approaches are associated with the (post)positivist and constructivist paradigms, as well as pragmatism, although in research, this does not necessarily have to be so one-sided. However, each paradigm responds differently to ontological, epistemological, and methodological questions and takes different positions in regard to research goals, knowledge and the foundations of truth, criteria, values, ethics, control, the role of the researcher,

and so on. The criteria for evaluating research, therefore, also “correspond” to the paradigmatic assumptions of quantitative, qualitative, and mixed method research. That is, although researchers rely on the questions of truthfulness, applicability, consistency, and biases when evaluating research, they do so in ways that are consistent with the research methodology. Therefore, the methodological literature discusses positivist and interpretivist criteria for assessing and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research. Additionally, in mixed methods research, some further validity issues are highlighted depending on whether a parallel, explanatory, or exploratory sequential research design is used in the study.

One of the limitations of this paper is that, at first glance, it may appear as a simplified “methodological reality” in social research. However, the intention was to provide a basic overview of quantitative, qualitative, and mixed method approaches to scientific research, as well as the methodological features and specifics of quantitative, qualitative, and mixed method research, while also attempting to clarify some terminological ambiguities found in the methodological literature. Therefore, we hope that this paper can serve as a reference point for students and young researchers who are just beginning to acquire their own scientific research experience in various scientific fields. We are confident that, on this basis, readers will themselves uncover (here) an unfinished story about research methodology and, perhaps, by reading other authors, critically reflect on the terminology used here or the classifications presented. We consider theoretical and methodological discussions to be extremely important, as was also proven during the writing of this paper. Therefore, the importance of reflecting on, for example, the possibilities of quantitative research for theory development (see Chen & Chen, 2024) or the justifiability of conventionally attributing the deductive approach exclusively to quantitative research and the inductive approach exclusively to qualitative research (in other words, on the development of methodological thinking and approaches to research) is justified. This will certainly contribute to a more systematic understanding of the relationship between quantitative and qualitative research in the social sciences, which goes beyond the propositions of this paper.

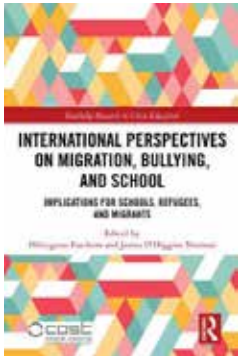
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**HILDEGUNN, F.; O’HIGGINS NORMAN, J. (2024).
INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON MIGRATION,
BULLYING, AND SCHOOL IMPLICATIONS FOR
SCHOOLS, REFUGEES, AND MIGRANTS. ROUTLEDGE.**



Knjiga *International Perspectives on Migration, Bullying, and School: Implications for Schools, Refugees, and Migrants*, čiji su urednici Hildegunn Fandrem sa Sveučilišta Stavanger u Norveškoj i James O'Higgins Norman sa Sveučilišta Dublin u Irskoj, predstavlja vrijedan doprinos aktualnoj situaciji s kojom se sve veći broj država suočava u kontekstu posljednjih migracijskih prilika i promjena. Izdanje obuhvaća istraživanja iz čak 32 države te istražuje utjecaj društveno-ekonomskih čimbenika na obrazovne mogućnosti, uspostavljajući poveznicu između migracija i vršnjačkog nasilja, ne samo u Europi nego i šire.

Strukturirana u deset poglavlja, knjiga pokriva širok spektar odgojno-obrazovnih tema, uključujući školsku klimu, analizu dokumenata, različitost i inkluziju, tehnologiju, mišljenje učenika te dizajn škole, s ciljem

prepoznavanja vršnjačkog nasilja kao prijetnje ostvarivanju inkluzivnih škola i društava općenito. Dio je šireg programa *Kriznog obrazovanja*, koji se bavi obrazovanjem pod utjecajem prirodnih katastrofa, ratova, javnozdravstvenih kriza, izbjegličkih i migrantskih kriza te političkih i ekonomskih nestabilnosti. S obzirom na to da su ove pojave u suvremenom svijetu sve češće, knjiga služi kao vrijedan izvor za razumijevanje njihovog utjecaja na učenike i školstvo u cjelini.

U uvodnom, prvom poglavlju pod naslovom „Migracije i nasilje u europskoj perspektivi – bio-ekološki pristup”, urednici sažeto predstavljaju konceptualni okvir knjige kroz Bronfenbrennerov ekološki model (odnosno teoriju ekosustava), koji obuhvaća različite sustave utjecaja na pojedinca. Opisani su segmenti

mikrosustava (npr. obitelj, škola, prijatelji), mezosustava, egzosustava, makrosustava do kronosustava, kroz koje se prati kompleksnost faktora koji utječu i na status migranata. Također, jasno su definirani ključni pojmovi poput migracija, nasilja i *cyber* nasilja te je predstavljena istraživačka platforma TRIBES (*Transnational Collaboration on Bullying, Migration and Integration at School Level*).

Drugo poglavlje započinje definicijom školskog nasilja prema UNESCO-u, predstavljajući osnovni okvir za razumijevanje problema u školskom okruženju. Poglavlje donosi narativni pregled iskustava učenika iz šest država (Austrija, Cipar, Engleska, Finska, Njemačka i Švicarska), ističući kako migracijski status može utjecati na pojavu vršnjačkog nasilja. Naglašava se važnost aktivnog sudjelovanja učenika, osobito migranata, u borbi protiv vršnjačkog nasilja te potreba otvaranja škola za njihov glas, odnosno mišljenje i prijedloge. U nekim zemljama migranti čine značajan udio stanovništva, što ukazuje na potrebu pravovremenih mjera prevencije. Razmatra se stvarna uloga učenika u procesu donošenju odluka, pri čemu sudjelovanje često ovisi o specifičnostima pojedinih škola. Poglavlje također naglašava važnost međuvršnjačke pomoći, timskog rada i osjećaja pripadnosti zajednici kao ključnih faktora za sigurnu i inkluzivnu školsku klimu. Prikazani primjeri projekata i inicijativa iz različitih zemalja služe kao inspiracija za razvoj učinkovitih programa prevencije vršnjačkog nasilja i promicanja inkluzije u školama.

Školska klima detaljnije je obrađena u trećem poglavlju kroz kvalitativno istraživanje provedeno u šest država: Njemačkoj, Mađarskoj, Irskoj, Izraelu, Italiji i Turskoj. Intervjui s imigrantima školske dobi i učiteljima ukazali su na nasilničko ponašanje motivirano različitostu (primjerice, zbog naglaska, jezične barijere, načina odijevanja, kulturoloških razlika). Učitelji su istaknuli poteškoće u komunikaciji i potrebu dodatne edukacije za razvijanje kulturalne osjetljivosti. Posebnu vrijednost donose citirane izjave sudionika, pružajući realan prikaz svakodnevnih izazova. Zaključak je da pozitivna školska klima značajno doprinosi prihvaćanju različitosti i smanjenju nasilničkog ponašanja.

Četvrto poglavlje odmiče se od teme vršnjačkog nasilja i fokusira na inkluzivne programe na osnovi istraživanja u Belgiji, Češkoj, Mađarskoj, Norveškoj i Portugalu. Intervjui s učiteljima i ravnateljima naglašavaju potrebu za *pedagogijom jednakosti* i *osnažujućom* školskom klimom. Posebna je pozornost usmjerena na uključivanje učenika koji ne govore jezik zemlje domaćina te na razvoj interkulturalnih kompetencija učitelja.

Peto poglavlje analizira ulogu roditelja u integraciji migranata kroz studije slučaja iz Irske, Litve, Malte, Portugala, Rumunjske i Turske. Prikazane su različite školske prakse uključivanja roditelja s ciljem bolje integracije djece. Iako suradnja često nailazi na poteškoće i uglavnom je slična kao s roditeljima domaćih učenika, jasno je da angažman roditelja pozitivno utječe na integraciju i

smanjenje nasilničkog ponašanja u školama.

Sljedeće poglavlje analizira zakonski okvir u vezi sa školskim vršnjačkim nasiljem i migracijama u šest država: Albaniji, Bosni i Hercegovini, Njemačkoj, Moldaviji, Norveškoj i Turskoj. Utvrđeno je da postoji malo istraživanja o zakonskoj regulativi vršnjačkog nasilja temeljenog na migracijama, iako Konvencija o pravima djece nudi međunarodni okvir za djelovanje. Različiti su pristupi unutar zemalja, a samo dvije zemlje izričito spominju i definiraju vršnjačko nasilje u obrazovnim zakonima. Ponuđen je teorijski pregled odnosa nasilja i migracija te međunarodnih dokumenata koji reguliraju to područje. Autori ističu teškoću u usporedbi zakonskih okvira zbog različitih povijesnih okolnosti, životnih uvjeta te broja migranata.

Sedmo poglavlje fokusira se na programe prevencije vršnjačkog nasilja usmjerene na djecu i mlade imigrante, analizirajući nacionalne dokumente u Albaniji, Bosni i Hercegovini, Norveškoj, Njemačkoj i Turskoj. Identificirana su 43 programa, od kojih njih 13 posebno adresira različitosti povezane s migracijskim statusom. Informacije pružene unutar ovog poglavlja važan su doprinos za razumijevanje specifičnosti vršnjačkog nasilja povezanog s migracijama.

Osmo poglavlje bavi se utjecajem školskog okruženja, dizajna i arhitekture na dobrobit učenika i prevenciju nasilja. Pregled literature, analiza arhitekture i studije slučaja iz sedam zemalja (Južna Koreja, Indija, Makedonija, Novi Zeland, Engleska, Švedska, Australija)

pokazuju kako školski dizajn može potaknuti integraciju učenika migranata i smanjiti vršnjačko nasilje. Na kraju su ponuđeni praktični savjeti za prilagodbu školskog prostora, što može pomoći svim dionicima odgojno-obrazovnog sustava u planiranju promjena i kreiranju adekvatnijih prostornih uvjeta.

Pretposljednje poglavlje bavi se sve aktualnijim problemom cybernasilja, što predstavlja posljednju razinu utjecaja u okviru Bronfenbrennerova modela, tzv. kronosustav. Fokus je na *cyber* nasilju potaknutom predrasudama prema određenim karakteristikama pojedinaca – žrtava. Istraživanje provedeno u sedamnaest zemalja, uključujući Hrvatsku, istražilo je učestalost takvog nasilja te njegovu povezanost sa statusom marginaliziranih skupina. Rezultati pokazuju razlike u učestalosti i uzrocima te pružaju vrijedan uvid za vlasti i škole u svrhu razvoja učinkovitih programa prevencije.

Posljednje poglavlje usmjerava se na rad dječjih centara i linija za pomoć, koje primarno služe za prijave vršnjačkog nasilja. Pregled usluga u 18 zemalja, uključujući Hrvatsku koja ima linije *Plavi telefon* i *Hrabri telefon*, otkriva nedostatak specifičnih usluga usmjerenih etničko-kulturalnoj perspektivi. Na samom kraju poglavlja autori nude i konkretne preporuke za buduće djelovanje u tom području.

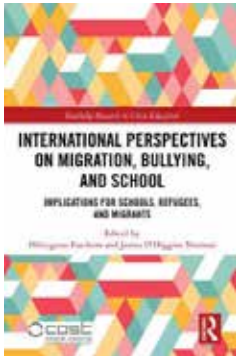
Knjiga *International Perspectives on Migration, Bullying, and School: Implications for Schools, Refugees and Migrants* pruža duboko razumijevanje izazova s kojima se suočavaju obrazovni sustavi diljem svijeta u kontekstu migrantskih

kretanja i povezanih oblika vršnjačkog nasilja. Njezina interdisciplinarna orijentacija i široki geografski opseg pružaju važne uvide u povezanost migracija, nasilja i obrazovanja, omogućujući tako cjelovit pristup ovoj kompleksnoj problematici. Namijenjena je istraživačima, odgojno-obrazovnim djelatnicima i studentima poslijediplomskih studija u područjima migracija, odgoja i obrazovanja, sociologije obrazovanja te psihologije i tehnologije u obrazovanju. Također, stručnjaci i donositelji politika u obrazovanju, socijalne službe te nevladine organizacije pronaći će u njoj smjernice za razvoj inkluzivnih obrazovnih politika i programa.

Praktičari u školama, uključujući učitelje, ravnatelje i stručne suradnike, mogu upotrebljavati knjigu kao izvor inspiracije za unapređenje školske klime i prevenciju vršnjačkog nasilja. Knjiga potiče međusektorsku suradnju, promiče svijest o važnosti sveobuhvatne zaštite prava djece i mladih migranata te nudi konkretne strategije za stvaranje sigurnih, uključivih i odgovornih školskih zajednica. Zbog svega navedenog predstavlja vrijedan resurs za široki spektar dionika posvećenih unapređenju uvjeta u obrazovanju u eri globalnih migracija.

Aleksandar Končar

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BULLYING, AND SCHOOL IMPLICATIONS FOR
SCHOOLS, REFUGEES, AND MIGRANTS. ROUTLEDGE.***



The book *International Perspectives on Migration, Bullying, and School: Implications for Schools, Refugees, and Migrants*, edited by Hildegunn Fandrem from the University of Stavanger, Norway, and James O’Higgins Norman from Dublin City University, Ireland, represents a valuable contribution to the contemporary situation faced by a growing number of countries in the context of recent migration developments and changes. This volume encompasses research from as many as 32 countries and explores the impact of socio-economic factors on educational opportunities, establishing the link between migration and bullying not only in Europe but beyond.

The book is structured into ten chapters covering a broad range of educational topics, including school climate, document analysis, diversity and inclusion, technology, student

voice, and school design, all aimed at recognizing bullying as a threat to the realization of inclusive schools and societies in general. It is part of a wider *Crisis Education* program, which addresses education affected by natural disasters, wars, public health crises, refugee and migration crises, as well as political and economic instabilities. Given the prevalence of these phenomena in the modern world, the book serves as a valuable resource for understanding their impact on students and education systems as a whole.

In the introductory chapter, entitled “Migration and Violence in a European Perspective – A Bio-Ecological Approach,” the editors succinctly present the conceptual framework of the book through Bronfenbrenner’s ecological model, which encompasses various systems

influencing a person. The authors describe microsystem (e.g., family, school, friends...), mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem, and in that way trace the complexity of factors affecting a migrant's status. Key concepts such as migration, violence, and cyberbullying are clearly defined, and the TRIBES research platform (Transnational Collaboration on Bullying, Migration, and Integration at School Level) is introduced.

The second chapter begins with the definition of school bullying according to UNESCO, providing a foundational framework for understanding the problem within the school environment. The chapter presents a narrative overview of students' experiences from six countries (Austria, Cyprus, England, Finland, Germany, and Switzerland), emphasizing how migration status can influence the occurrence of bullying. Furthermore, it highlights the importance of active student, particularly migrant students, participation in the fight against bullying and the need for schools to open up to their voices, opinions, and suggestions. In some countries, migrants constitute a significant proportion of the population, thus indicating the need for well-timed preventive measures. Furthermore, the chapter examines the genuine role of students in decision-making, noting that participation often depends on individual schools. It also stresses the importance of peer support, teamwork, and a sense of belonging

as key factors for a safe and inclusive school climate. Showcased examples of projects and initiatives from various countries serve as inspiration for developing effective violence prevention programs and promoting inclusion in schools.

School climate is further explored in third chapter through qualitative research conducted in six countries: Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy, and Turkey. Interviews with school-age immigrants and teachers revealed that bullying behaviors were motivated by diversity (such as accent, language barrier, dress style, and cultural differences). Teachers underscored communication challenges and the need for additional training to develop cultural sensitivity. The chapter's distinct value lies in the cited participant statements, offering a realistic account of daily challenges. The conclusion is that a positive school climate significantly contributes to the acceptance of diversity and the reduction of bullying behaviors.

The fourth chapter shifts away from the theme of bullying to focus on inclusive programs, based on research conducted in Belgium, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Norway, and Portugal. Interviews with teachers and principals emphasize the need for equity pedagogy and an empowering school climate. Special attention is given to the inclusion of students who do not speak the host country's language and to the development of teachers' intercultural competencies.

The fifth chapter analyzes the role of parents in the integration of

migrants through case studies from Ireland, Lithuania, Malta, Portugal, Romania, and Turkey. It presents various school practices aimed at better parental involvement in facilitating the integration of children. Although collaboration often faces difficulties and is generally similar to that with parents of native students, it is clear that parental engagement positively influences integration and reduces bullying behaviors in schools.

The following chapter examines the legal framework concerning school bullying and migration in six countries: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Germany, Moldova, Norway, and Turkey. It finds limited research on legal regulations addressing bullying linked to migration, although the Convention on the Rights of the Child offers an international framework for action. Approaches vary between countries, with only two countries explicitly mentioning and defining bullying in educational legislation. The chapter provides a theoretical overview of the relationship between violence and migration as well as international documents regulating this area. The authors emphasize difficulties in comparing legal frameworks due to differing historical circumstances, living conditions, and migrant populations.

The seventh chapter focuses on bullying prevention programs targeting children and young migrants by analyzing national documents from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Norway, Germany, and Turkey.

Forty-three programs were identified, of which thirteen specifically address diversity related to migration status. This information is a valuable contribution to understanding the particularities of bullying connected to migration.

The eighth chapter focuses on the impact of the school environment, design, and architecture on student well-being and bullying prevention. A literature review, architectural analysis, and case studies from seven countries (South Korea, India, North Macedonia, New Zealand, England, Sweden, and Australia) demonstrate how school design can promote the integration of migrant students and reduce bullying. The chapter concludes with practical recommendations for adapting school spaces, representing a valuable contribution to educational practitioners.

The penultimate chapter addresses the increasingly prevalent problem of cyberbullying, representing the highest level of influence within Bronfenbrenner's ecological model, known as the chronosystem. The focus is on cyberbullying motivated by prejudices against certain characteristics of individual victims. Research conducted in seventeen countries, including Croatia, examined the prevalence of such bullying and its association with the status of marginalized groups. The results show variations in frequency and causes, providing valuable insights for authorities and schools aimed at developing effective prevention programs.

The final chapter concentrates on the work of child support centers and helplines primarily dedicated to reporting peer violence. A review of services in eighteen countries, including Croatia with its helplines Plavi telefon and Hrabri telefon, reveals a lack of services specifically oriented towards ethnic-cultural perspectives. The authors emphasize the importance of addressing this gap and offer concrete recommendations for future actions in this area.

The book *International Perspectives on Migration, Bullying, and School: Implications for Schools, Refugees and Migrants* offers a valuable contribution to understanding the challenges that education systems worldwide face in the context of migrations and related forms of bullying. Its interdisciplinary orientation and broad geographical scope provide important insights into the nexus of migration, violence, and education, thus enabling a comprehensive approach to this complex issue.

The book is intended for researchers, educational professionals, and postgraduate students specializing in migration, pedagogy, educational sociology, psychology, and educational technology. Additionally, it serves as a guiding resource for policymakers, social services, and non-governmental organizations involved in developing inclusive educational policies and programs.

Practitioners in schools, including teachers, principals, and support staff, can use this book as a source of inspiration for improving school climate and preventing bullying. It promotes intersectoral collaboration, raises awareness about the comprehensive protection of the rights of migrant children and youth, and offers concrete strategies for creating safe, inclusive, and responsible school communities. Therefore, it stands as a valuable resource for a broad range of stakeholders committed to enhancing educational conditions in an era of global migration.

Aleksandar Končar

KRNIĆ, M. (2023). OSNOVNO ŠKOLSTVO U ZADVARJU OD 1902. DO 1991.: U KONTEKSTU DRUŠTVENO-POLITIČKIH PROMJENA. FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET SVEUČILIŠTA U SPLITU.



Knjiga Marija Krnić, docenta na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Splitu, svojim pristupom nalikuje „studiju slučaja” osnovnog školstva jedne ruralne mikrolokacije. Iako prvenstveno predstavlja doprinos povijesti pedagogije, spomenuto djelo utjelovljuje Millsovu ideju sociološke imaginacije, uspješno povezujući sudbine mještana Zadvarja, njihovu osnovnu školu i svakodnevnu kulturu življenja kao dio širih političkih i društvenih gibanja od vremena nastajanja škole 1902. godine do njezina zatvaranja 1991. godine. Spomenuti pristup sugerira sam naslov knjige, a autor ga eksplicira unutar uvoda. Zadvarsku osnovnu školu opisuje kao tipičnu obrazovnu ustanovu koja je tijekom prošlog stoljeća pružala osnovna znanja i vještine pripadnicima puka, bivajući

podlogom individualnog i kolektivnog (kulturnog, političkog i gospodarskog) napretka u dalmatinskoj seoskoj sredini. Prije njezina je otvaranja obrazovanje bilo ograničeno na elitu i privilegirane klase, jednako kao u drugim dijelovima zemlje do omasovljavanja školovanja. Učitelji su bili nositelji društvenog života, cijenjeni i neformalni lideri zajednice te pokretači promjena. Time su nadilazili osnovnu ulogu edukatora, djelujući kao preteče kategorije koju Hall, kao jedna od središnjih figura britanskih kulturalnih studija, označava organskim intelektualcima zainteresiranima za vlastiti društveni angažman, a ne samo institucionalni odgojno-obrazovni rad.

U prvom poglavlju autor opisuje širi kontekst povijesti Zadvarja od kraja 19. do početka 21. stoljeća.

Ukazuje se na turbulentne uvjete života seljaka izloženih čestim promjenama tuđinskih državotvornih tvorbi poput Austro-Ugarske, Kraljevine SHS, Kraljevine Jugoslavije i Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, koja je bila podijeljena na zone talijanske i njemačke okupacije. Stanovništvo je živjelo teškim životom, obilježenim oskudicom hrane, nedostatkom higijenskih uvjeta i brojnim bolestima. Postojala je i potreba zaduživanja kod zeleniša kojima se davalo ljetinu, stoku i cijela imanja u zamjenu za malo novca kako bi se prehranili. I ono malo što su seljaci priređivali, velikim dijelom uzimala je država. Tako se u knjizi navodi primjer iz 1916. godine kada poljoprivredni prinosi na razini općine nisu bili ni približno dostatni za prehranu ljudi i stoke zadvarskog kraja. Unatoč tome, austrougarska je vlast većinu uroda uzimala i tek mali dio ostavljala seljaku. Ovakva situacija još je jedan „pogled izbliza” koji temeljito dokumentira poznati sociolog sela Rudolf Bićanić u knjizi *Kako živi narod*, nastaloj na temelju terenskih zapisa 30-ih godina 20. stoljeća u Hercegovini, Lici, Dalmaciji i drugim krajevima, opisujući svakodnevicu ljudi koje je vlast zanemarila. Svjetski ratovi donijeli su dodatne populacijske probleme, pri čemu su mnogi zadvarski mladići tijekom Prvog ostavili svoje živote na bojištima na kojima je austrougarska vlast u pravilu gubila bitke. Veći dio Drugog svjetskog rata Zadvarje je bilo okupirano, što upadljivo simboliziraju vojni garnizon i

kompleks od dvadeset vojnih bunkera povezanih bodljikavom žicom u centru mjesta, pri čemu je za ulazak i izlazak iz Zadvarja bilo potrebno ishoditi propusnicu.

Cjelokupno gledajući, autor ističe da je Zadvarje tijekom prošlog stoljeća ipak doživjelo iznimni rast i razvoj u svim sferama ljudskog djelovanja, gubeći pri kraju ovog razdoblja sve što ga je činilo važnim središtem zaleđa. Uzročno-posljedičnu vezu moguće je tražiti u populacijskom pražnjenju jer je Zadvarje izgubilo više od polovine stanovništva u međupopisnom razdoblju od 1948. do 1991. godine, kada su na ovom prostoru živjele 292 osobe. Ubrzani proces depopulacije bio je uvjetovan selidbom u priobalne gradove, motiviranom traženjem boljih perspektiva. U osnovi takvog (racionalnog) djelovanja bilo je forsiranje urbano-industrijske paradigme, razvojno zanemarivanje sela i širenje mnijenja o tradicijskoj seljačkoj kulturi kao nazadnoj. Autor ističe kako su 1997. godine stvoreni prvi preduvjeti za ruralnu rekonpoziciju na održivoj političkoj i gospodarskoj osnovi uz njegovanje prepoznatljivog kulturnog identiteta (tzv. endogeni razvoj), kada Zadvarje postaje samostalna općina. Međutim, populacijski deficit vrlo nepovoljno utječe na ukupni život mjesta sve do današnjih dana.

Na pedeset stranica knjige iznose se specifičnosti društvenog i gospodarskog života, čiji su resursi već prije sto godina upućivali na značajan razvojni potencijal zadvarske mikrosredine. Iako forma prikaza ne omogućuje njihovo

detaljno zahvaćenje, istaknut ćemo neke od najznačajnijih primjera. Tako su do 50-ih godina 20. stoljeća u Zadvarju postojale tvornica tjestenine, dvanaest gostionica s prenoćištima, Ured za otkup duhana i organizacija vinogradara, dok je 60-ih godina tvrtka Galeb prebacila dio proizvodnje iz Omiša u Zadvarje, koja je obustavljena početkom 21. stoljeća. U isto je vrijeme djelovala i pekara koja je opskrbljivala mjesto i okolna sela, a 1969. godine izgrađena je i benzinska postaja. Snažan zamašnjak ukupnom razvoju bila je gradnja Hidroelektrane Kraljevac početkom 20. stoljeća, koja je još uvijek funkcionalno postrojenje te ujedno spomenik industrijskoj arhitekturi. Zanimljivo, hidroelektrana je spadala među najveća i najjeftinija takva postrojenja u Europi kada je počela s radom 1912. godine, a Zadvarju je donijela električnu energiju i javnu rasvjetu prije nego što je Split bio opremljen takvim mogućnostima. Krnić ističe kako je Zadvarje doživjelo gospodarski zamah do Drugog svjetskog rata, osobito u poratnim godinama. Međutim, stagnacija je nastupila u posljednjim desetljećima prošlog stoljeća, a novi zamah događa se početkom novog milenija afirmacijom gospodarske zone i turističko-ugostiteljske aktivnosti. Ovo su tipične razvojne aktivnosti propulzivnijih ruralnih sredina, čiji je nužni preduvjet kvalitetna prometna integracija s urbanim centrima, što Zadvarje dobiva prolaskom autoceste A1 područjem zaobalja u smjeru od Splita prema Dubrovniku.

U Zadvarju se tijekom promatranog razdoblja održava i godišnji pazar tijekom spomendana sv. Ante i sv. Bartula, a 30-ih se održavao i na spomendane sv. Jure i sv. Kate. Tjedni pazar ima tradiciju stariju od 150 godina, što potvrđuje Zadvarje kao važno trgovačko središte tijekom prošlog stoljeća. Međutim, pazar je oduvijek imao i kulturalnu funkciju susreta „drugih i drukčijih”, primjerice iz unutrašnjosti i s obale, a o njegovoj popularnosti svjedoči posebna linija koja je vozila petkom iz Omiša tijekom 30-ih godina 20. stoljeća. Danas je vrlo popularan kao dio autentične ponude i nezaobilazna točka turistima koji posjećuju omiško i makarsko primorje. Od važnih društvenih institucija vrijedi istaknuti zdravstvenu službu. Na ovom području postojala je zdravstvena stanica od 1956. godine, koja je uključivala opću ambulantu, rendgen, vlastito vozilo, stacionar, rodilište, ljekarnu i savjetovalište za žene. S vremenom su zdravstvene usluge premještene u obližnji Šestanovac i Omiš. Zgrada rodilišta, izgrađena radom mještana i izvorno zamišljena kao zgrada osnovne škole, danas je prostor staračkog doma što zorno simbolizira demografsku eroziju manjih i ruralnih sredina u Hrvatskoj. Kulturni život Zadvarja bio je vrlo bogat tijekom najvećeg dijela 20. stoljeća. Uključivao je pjevačka društva i pučke zborove, crkvene pjevače, dramske skupine te ponekad i specifične aktivnosti poput Hrvatskog tamburaškog društva Zora (početak 20. st.) i jazz sastava (sredina 20. st.).

Učitelji su često bili predvodnici inicijativa u kulturi, a sama je škola imala zapaženu ulogu organizirajući priredbe i nastupajući s dramskom skupinom. U knjizi se iznose sačuvani podatci o kulturnom životu Zadvarja, a svakako vrijedi istaknuti kako je mjesto 50-ih godina 20. stoljeća mjesto imalo i omladinski dom u kojemu su svaki tjedan izvođene po dvije kino predstave uz ostale aktivnosti. Na istom je mjestu postojala i čitaonica 60-ih godina, opremljena dnevnim i tjednim tiskovinama i časopisima, kao i radiouređajem te razglasnom stanicom s koje su čitane aktualne vijesti i obavijesti.

U knjizi je moguće pronaći i informacije o održavanju do danas zanimljivih predavanja o politici razjedinjavanja jugoslavenskih naroda, agrarnim reformama, administrativnom uređenju države i sl. Uz više-manje kontinuirano djelovanje zadvarske osnovne škole od 1902. godine, koju su djeca većinom pohađala, ne čudi što je ustrajnost na prosvjećivanju lokalnog stanovništva vodila iskorjenjivanju nepismenosti do kraja 70-ih. Istovremeno, oko 6 % nepismenih bilo je u SR Hrvatskoj 1981. godine.

Drugo poglavlje donosi prikaz školstva u Dalmaciji tijekom 20. stoljeća. Različite zajednice kojima je Hrvatska pripadala imale su svoje društvene ciljeve o kojima su ovisili obrazovni ciljevi kao dio procesa modernizacije škola (više u: Cifrić, 2008). Međutim, cjelokupno razdoblje obilježava ili općenita perifernost Hrvatske u takvim tvorbama ili zanemarivanje njenih ruralnih

predjela, što je kontekst kojeg dijele seoska prosvjeta i zadvarska škola tijekom 20. stoljeća. Primjerice, autor ističe kako je mreža škola u Dalmaciji bila izrazito niska na prijelazu u prošlo stoljeće, a značajan dio činile su tzv. pomoćne škole u kojima su poučavali svećenici. Iako tada dolazi do rasta pučkih škola koje do 1885. godine pohađa 88,4 % obveznika, pedagoška praksa bila je na relativno niskoj razini zbog nedostatka kadra i slabog financijskog statusa učitelja, derutnih prostorija za rad bez osnovnih sigurnosnih i higijenskih uvjeta i dr. Od početka Prvog do kraja Drugog svjetskog rata uvjeti se pogoršavaju, pri čemu se učitelje tretira izrazito nepovoljno tijekom posljednjih godina austro-ugarske vlasti te oni postaju egzistencijalno ugrožena skupina stanovništva (najmanje plaćeni činovnički kadar, uskraćivan u dodjeli različitih namirnica). Za vrijeme Kraljevine SHS i Kraljevine Jugoslavije situacija nije značajno promijenjena, a obilježavaju je podijeljenost učiteljske struke oko suradnje s vlašću koja otežava jedinstven otpor politici, smanjenje proračuna i zatvaranje škola te zanemarivanje brige o narodnom prosvjećivanju. Unatoč uvođenju obveznog i besplatnog obrazovanja od 1929. godine (osam godina – četiri razreda osnovne i četiri više škole), djeca su napuštala nastavu već nakon godinu ili dvije zbog slabog materijalnog statusa ili rada u poljoprivredi. Vlasti nisu reagirale na takve postupke roditelja pa se stanje nije popravljalo. U mnogim ruralnim

sredinama, nedostatni materijalni i kadrovski uvjeti nisu ni omogućavali obrazovanje nakon prva četiri razreda. Nepovoljne prilike u hrvatskom školstvu potvrđuje 42,3 % nepismenih u 1940. godini, što predstavlja pad samo za 10 % u odnosu na 1920.

Prve škole na oslobođenom dalmatinskom području djeluju u izrazito teškim uvjetima nakon Drugog svjetskog rata. Mnogi objekti bili su opljačkani, zapaljeni ili srušeni pa se nastava nerijetko odvijala u privatnim kućama i prirodi. Socijalističke vlasti intenzivno su radile na obrazovnoj infrastrukturi i pedagoškoj praksi jer je sredinom prošloga stoljeća Jugoslavija bila na začelju europskih zemalja prema pismenosti i formalnom obrazovanju. Krnić navodi kako se donošenjem *Zakona o školstvu* iz 1958. godine uvodi struktura osnovnog školstva od četiri godine razredne i četiri godine predmetne nastave koja je nepromijenjena do danas. Nakon 1991. godine i stjecanja neovisnosti Hrvatske, nastupile su korektivne reforme (više u: Pastuović, 2012) koje podrazumijevaju uklanjanje ideoloških sadržaja iz bivše države. Sustavne reforme, koje bi osuvremenile hrvatsko školstvo u vidu međunarodne kompetitivnosti, inkluzivnoga i cjeloživotnoga obrazovanja, za sada nisu provedene unatoč pojedinim pokušajima.

Treće poglavlje dodatno kontekstualizira prilike dalmatinskog školstva na primjeru Zadvarja odnosno povijesti zadvarske osnovne škole. Prvi podatak o ovoj pučkoj ustanovi datira iz 1900., ali njezin rad možemo pratiti sa sigurnošću od 1902. godine kada su sva djeca različitih godišta

upisana u isti razred. Također, sačuvan je natpis na pročelju zgrade na kojemu je upisan 1. studenog 1902. kao datum otvaranja pučke učionice unutar zgrade u privatnom vlasništvu jednog od mještana. Poglavlje opisuje uvjete rada i fragmente profesionalnih biografija pojedinih učitelja važne za razumijevanje tematike studije. Vrijedno je istaknuti kako je zadvarska škola tijekom cijelog svoga postojanja djelovala kao mješovita ustanova koju su zajedno pohađali dječaci i djevojčice. Kao u drugim krajevima, vjeronauk je bio sastavni dio nastave do dolaska socijalističke vlasti, a održavali su ga lokalni svećenici. Zanimljivi su opisi duhovnog života učenika i učitelja u prvim desetljećima 20. stoljeća. Školska je godina započinjala i završavala svetom misom. Vjeronauk se slušao tri sata tjedno, učenici su svakoga dana molili prema Malom katekizmu uz Očenaš i Zdravomariju, a nedjeljom i svetcima odlazili su na misu s učiteljima već u osam sati. Pa ipak, čudoreдно ponašanje djece u školi i izvan nje smatralo se osrednjim, uz konstataciju da „mногоšto kvari kuća, što škola poučava”. Očito su određeni kontradiktorni socijalizacijski utjecaji postojali već tada, unatoč tradicionalno snažnoj socijalnoj kontroli u ruralnim zajednicama.

Zasigurno je barem tijekom 20-ih i 30-ih godina 20. stoljeća škola radila šest dana tjedno, odnosno nastave nije bilo samo nedjeljom. Međutim, škola je tada obilježavala mnogo blagdana koji su bili i nenastavni dani. Nastava se nije održavala ni tijekom vremenskih neprilika poput snijega,

snažnog vjetra i kiše te velike hladnoće ili pak veliki broj učenika nije dolazio tada na nastavu (naročito iz udaljenijih zaseoka). Takvo je ponašanje bilo razumljivo jer su seoski putevi bili slabo uređeni, a djeca su imala lošu odjeću i obuću. Za 1940. godinu iznosi se podatak kako je mnogo učenika tijekom cijele školske godine izostajalo iz spomenutih razloga. Unatoč složenim uvjetima života u siromaštvu, službeni prosvjetni izvor iz toga vremena navodi kako su svi obveznici upisani i pohađaju školu.

Tijekom 1927. godine lokalne su vlasti raspisale natječaj za izgradnju nove zgrade za trirazrednu ustanovu. Nije poznato zašto zadvarska škola tada nije dobila novu zgradu, a priča je aktualizirana dvadeset godina poslije – 1948. kada je donesena odluka o nastavku gradnje. Objekt je konačno dovršen sredinom prošlog stoljeća. Ipak, mjesne vlasti vjerojatno nisu dovoljno prepoznale važnost formalnog obrazovanja prenamijenivši zgradu najprije u zdravstvenu stanicu, poslije u rodilište pa tek onda školu. Usputno, nedostatak i neadekvatnost obrazovnih mogućnosti predstavljali su važan *push* čimbenik emigriranja i deruralizacije nedugo nakon toga vremena na nacionalnoj razini. I autor ističe kako su mještani bili spremni uložiti dodatne napore i sredstva za osiguravanje kvalitetnog osnovnoškolskog obrazovanja u mjestu prebivališta, za razliku od jedne „male, zabite i prljave prostorije” u kojoj su nakon rata boravila njihova djeca.

Razdoblje Drugog svjetskog rata i poraća bilo je osobito teško. Nije poznato je li nastava održavana između 1941. i 1943., ali se pouzdano zna kako je tadašnja zgrada škole izgorjela 1943. godine zbog čega se pučka škola privremeno zatvara. Već sljedeće godine zadvarski župnik potražio je novi prostor, a mještani su bili susretljivi tražeći skromni godišnji najam uz osiguravanje besplatnih soba za smještaj učitelja. Pored toga, najpotrebniji namještaj i pismohrana bili su sačuvani pa nije bilo prepreka za ponovno otvaranje škole (arhiv kataloga i spisa u dvama ormarima, tabla, četiri zemljopisne karte i trideset klupa s dvama sjedalima). Kao da uvjeti nisu bili dovoljno teški, 1945. žetva je podbacila. To je dodatno pogoršalo prehranu učenika i njihove materijalne prilike, a niti prehrana, obuća i odjeća učitelja nisu bile zadovoljavajuće pa je to otežalo njihov rad. Prosvjetni je nadzor utvrdio kako se radi u vrlo teškim uvjetima, bez učila i namještaja, pri čemu se gradivo ne obrađuje prema nastavnom planu, a učitelji ne rade metodički pravilno. Škola u to vrijeme nije vodila administraciju, pa potvrde i uvjerenja nisu izdavani. Djeca su bila podijeljena u dvije grupe: 1. i 2. razred činili su jednu, a 3. i 4. razred drugu grupu. Prva je dolazila na nastavu od 7 do 10 sati, a druga od 10 do 12 sati.

Od sredine 20. stoljeća značajno se smanjuje broj učenika u Zadvarju. Škola gubi svoju samostalnost 1961. godine i postaje područnom školom Osnovne škole Šestanovac. Nakon zatvaranja rodilišta 1975.

seli se u taj prostor. Zgrada nije bila primjerena za odvijanje nastavnog procesa i nedostajalo joj je igralište. Nesuvislosti obrazovne politike u hrvatskom kontekstu pokazuje mikroprimjer projekta adaptacije zadvarske škole između 1986. i 1990., nakon čega ova ustanova 1991. trajno zatvara svoja vrata.

U četvrtom poglavlju iznosi se popis učitelja zadvarske škole, njezinih nadučitelja (upravitelja) i vjeroučitelja po školskim godinama te njihove kratke biografije. Autor ističe kako je sačuvano tek ponešto arhivskog gradiva o mnogima od njih pa su predstavljeni obrisi njihovih života i uloga u školi. O mnogima nije sačuvan pak niti jedan javno dostupni podatak. Svakako, učitelji su imali važnu ulogu u cjelovitom emocionalnom, moralnom, akademskom i društvenom razvoju djece, pri čemu je ključna bila njihova stručnost, predanost i strast. S obzirom na društvene okolnosti te status obrazovanja u različitim državama kojima je Hrvatska pripadala, ne iznenađuje da su spomenute osobine nekim prosvjetnim djelatnicima kronično nedostajale. Takvi uvidi trebaju upozoravati i danas, kada obrazovanje ima nikad važniju ulogu i cjeloživotnu formu te dolazi do rasta njegovih vrsta, ustanova, razina i kadrova. Ono više nije samo priprema djece za svijet odraslih, kako ga je vidio Émile Durkheim kao jedan od utemeljitelja sociologije obrazovanja krajem 19. stoljeća, već sada i odrasli putem obrazovanja moraju cjeloživotno odrastati.

Peto poglavlje donosi popis zadvarskih učenika po godinama i razredima, a šesto kazivanja lokalnog stanovništva na temelju intervjua o povijesti Zadvarja i njegove škole. Autor ukazuje na važnost takvih nalaza koji dokumente i druge materijale dodatno stavljaju u kontekst koji mještani poznaju najbolje, čime se omogućuje detaljnije razumijevanje istraživačkog problema. Također, istaknuto je kako takvi nalazi ponekada čine jedini izvor „društvenog sjećanja”. Važno je stoga provoditi slična istraživanja u Zadvarju i drugim ruralnim sredinama kako bismo bolje razumjeli svoju prošlost i genezu društvenih procesa koji odjekuju u sadašnjosti. Od zanimljivih kazivanja mogu se istaknuti stroge disciplinske metode fizičkog kažnjavanja napuštene u 21. stoljeću, čije učinke stariji kazivači još pamte. Tu su i legenda o „Crnoj ruci”, kojom se djecu odvrćalo od nekih prostora školske zgrade kojima je pristup bio zabranjen, kao i opisi prostorija s vojnim kolima i topovima koji su bili prisutni još 80-ih godina 20. stoljeća. Zanimljivi su i dojmovi o zahtjevnosti rada učitelja u kombiniranim razredima od prvog do četvrtog, koji su djecu različitog uzrasta istovremeno poučavali s lakoćom.

U sedmom poglavlju (zaključak) iznosi se sažeta kronologija međupovezanih društvenih kretanja Zadvarja i njegova obrazovanja unatrag sto godina. Ukazuje se na trenutačne razvojne posebnosti i prednosti koje podižu kvalitetu života mladim obiteljima (autocesta, gospodarska perspektiva, mrežna pokrivenost, lokalna samouprava i dr.). Autor se knjige nada kako će jedna od njih biti i školsko zvono

koje će ponovno okupiti đake u njihovoj mjesnoj školi nakon ranog i predškolskog odgoja i obrazovanja koje je trenutačno moguće pohađati na Zadvarju.

Na kraju knjige nalaze se popis literature, tablica i slika, bilješka o autoru i izvodi iz recenzija.

Zaključno, knjiga Marija Krnića predstavlja vrijedan doprinos povijesti pedagogije i sociologiji obrazovanja jer uvjerljivo pokazuje kako se razvoj jedne seoske škole može razumjeti jedino unutar šireg društveno-političkog i kulturnog okvira. Preciznim arhivskim radom, uvidima iz oralne povijesti i analitičkim povezivanjem

širih procesa i lokalnih sudbina, autor rekonstruira više od stoljeća života škole koja je oblikovala identitet zajednice i pratila njezine povijesne mijene. Upravo takva mikropovijesna perspektiva čini knjigu relevantnom ne samo za povjesničare pedagogije nego i za sociologe, antropologe i istraživače ruralnih zajednica. Djelo ujedno otvara prostor za nova istraživanja o dinamici školstva u demografski ranjivim sredinama te potiče raspravu o budućnosti malih škola u suvremenim razvojnim uvjetima Hrvatske.

Toni Popović

KRNIĆ, M. (2023). *ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ZADVARJE, 1902–1991: IN THE CONTEXT OF SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE.*¹ FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF SPLIT.



The book by Mario Krnić, Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Split, adopts an approach that closely resembles a case study of elementary education within a specific rural microlocation. Although primarily a contribution to the history of pedagogy, the work also embodies Mills’s notion of the “sociological imagination”, effectively linking the lives of Zadvarje’s inhabitants, their elementary school, and their everyday culture to broader political and social dynamics from the school’s establishment in 1902 to its closure in 1991. This orientation is suggested in the book’s very title and is explicitly articulated in the introduction. Krnić portrays the elementary school in Zadvarje as a typical educational

institution that, throughout the twentieth century, provided basic knowledge and skills to the local community, serving as a foundation for both individual and collective cultural, political, and economic development in the Dalmatian rural setting. Before its opening, education had been largely reserved for the elite and privileged classes, as was the case elsewhere in the country before the mass expansion of schooling. Teachers served as key figures of community life, respected and informal local leaders, and agents of change. In doing so, they transcended their basic role as instructors, acting as precursors to what Hall – one of the central figures of British cultural studies – describes as organic intellectuals committed not only to institutional educational work but also to wider forms of social engagement.

¹ Translated by the author of the review.

In the first chapter, the author outlines the broader historical context of Zadvarje from the late nineteenth to the early twenty-first century. He highlights the turbulent living conditions of peasants who were exposed to frequent shifts between various state formations, including Austria-Hungary, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and the Independent State of Croatia, which was divided into Italian and German occupation zones. The population lived under harsh conditions marked by food scarcity, poor hygiene, and widespread disease. Many were forced to borrow from local moneylenders, giving up their harvests, livestock, and even entire properties in exchange for small amounts of money simply to survive. Whatever little the peasants managed to produce was, to a large extent, taken by the state. The book, for instance, cites a case from 1916 in which agricultural yields at the municipal level were far from sufficient to feed the people and livestock of the Zadvarje area. Despite this, the Austro-Hungarian authorities appropriated most of the harvest, leaving only a small portion to local peasants. Such circumstances offer yet another “close-up view” of rural hardship, thoroughly documented by the renowned rural sociologist Rudolf Bičanić in his book *Kako živi narod* (*How the People Live*), based on field notes from the 1930s in Herzegovina, Lika, Dalmatia, and other regions, portraying the everyday life of communities neglected by the state.

The world wars brought additional demographic pressures: many young men from Zadvarje lost their lives in the First World War on battlefronts where Austro-Hungarian forces were often defeated. For much of the Second World War, Zadvarje was under occupation, symbolized by the presence of a military garrison and a complex of twenty bunkers connected with barbed wire in the centre of the village, where entry and exit required official permits.

Nevertheless, the author emphasizes that Zadvarje experienced remarkable growth and development across all spheres of life throughout the twentieth century, only to lose, toward the end of this period, much of what had once made it an important centre of the hinterland. This trajectory can be explained by demographic depletion: Zadvarje lost more than half of its population between the 1948 and 1991 censuses, with only 292 inhabitants remaining by the latter year. The accelerated process of depopulation was driven by migration to coastal towns, motivated by the search for better opportunities. Underlying this (rational) behaviour were the dominance of an urban–industrial paradigm, the developmental neglect of rural areas by state authorities, and the spread of views that traditional peasant culture was backward. The author notes that the first conditions for rural recomposition on a sustainable political and economic basis – guided by the preservation of a recognizable cultural identity (so-called endogenous development) – were created in 1997, when Zadvarje became an independent municipality. However,

the demographic deficit continues to harm the community's overall life to this day.

Over fifty pages, the book presents the specific features of social and economic life in Zadvarje, whose local resources already a century ago signalled considerable developmental potential. Although the format of the review does not allow for a detailed exploration of all aspects, several of the most notable examples may be highlighted. Until the 1950s, Zadvarje had a pasta factory, twelve inns with lodging, a tobacco purchasing office, and a winegrowers' association, while in the 1960s the company Galeb shifted part of its production from Omiš to Zadvarje – a branch that ceased operating at the beginning of this century. During the same period, a bakery supplied the village and neighbouring settlements, and a petrol station was built in 1969. A major impetus for overall development was the construction of the "Kraljevac" Hydroelectric Power Plant in the early twentieth century, which remains operational today and stands as a monument of industrial architecture. Notably, when it began operating in 1912, the power plant was among the largest and most cost-efficient of its kind in Europe, bringing electricity and public lighting to Zadvarje before such services were available in Split. Krnić notes that Zadvarje experienced strong economic momentum up to the Second World War, and especially in the post-war years. However, stagnation emerged in the final decades of the twentieth century,

while a new wave of development began in the early 2000s with the establishment of an economic zone and the expansion of tourism and hospitality activities. These are typical developmental trajectories of more dynamic rural areas, whose necessary precondition is high-quality transport integration with urban centres – something Zadvarje acquired with the construction of the A1 motorway through the hinterland corridor running from Split toward Dubrovnik.

Throughout the period under consideration, Zadvarje hosted an annual fair on the feast days of St. Anthony and St. Bartholomew, and at least during the 1930s, it was also held on the feast days of St. George and St. Catherine. The weekly fair has a tradition spanning more than 150 years, confirming Zadvarje's role as an important trading centre throughout the last century. However, the fair has always served not only an economic function but also a cultural one: a place where "others and the different" encountered one another, such as people from the hinterland and those from the coast. Its popularity in the 1930s is evidenced by a special bus line that ran from Omiš every Friday. Today, it remains highly popular as part of the area's authentic local experience and is an indispensable attraction for tourists visiting the Omiš and Makarska Riviera.

Among the key social institutions, the local health service deserves particular mention. A health station operated in the area from 1956,

comprising a general outpatient clinic, an X-ray unit, its own vehicle, an infirmary, a maternity ward, a pharmacy, and a women's counselling service. Over time, health services were relocated to the neighbouring settlements of Šestanovac and Omiš. The building that once housed the maternity ward – constructed through the efforts of the residents and originally intended to serve as the primary school – is today used as a retirement home, poignantly symbolising the demographic erosion affecting smaller and rural communities in Croatia.

The cultural life of Zadvarje was remarkably rich throughout most of the twentieth century. It included singing societies and folk choirs, church vocalists, drama groups, and at times even distinctive activities such as the Croatian Tamburitza Society Zora (in the early twentieth century) and a jazz ensemble (in the mid-twentieth century). Teachers frequently spearheaded cultural initiatives, and the school itself played a notable role by organising performances and participating with its own drama group. The book presents preserved records on the cultural life of Zadvarje, and it is worth noting that in the 1950s the village had a youth centre where two film screenings were shown each week alongside other activities. The same venue housed a reading room in the 1960s, equipped with daily and weekly newspapers and magazines, as well as a radio receiver and a public address system through which current news and announcements were broadcast. The book also documents public lectures

– still intriguing today – on topics such as the politics of inter-Yugoslav national divisions, agrarian reforms, and the administrative organisation of the state.

Given the more or less continuous operation of the Zadvarje elementary school since 1902, which most children attended, it is unsurprising that persistent efforts to educate the local population led to the eradication of illiteracy by the late 1970s. At the same time, approximately 6% of the population of the Socialist Republic of Croatia remained illiterate in 1981.

The second chapter provides an overview of schooling in Dalmatia during the twentieth century. The various political formations to which Croatia belonged pursued their own social objectives, upon which educational goals depended as part of the processes of school modernization (see Cifrić, 2008). Yet the entire period was marked either by Croatia's generally peripheral position within these formations or by the neglect of its rural regions – conditions shared by rural education more broadly and by the Zadvarje school throughout the twentieth century. For example, the author notes that the school network in Dalmatia was extremely sparse at the turn of the century, with a significant proportion consisting of so-called auxiliary schools in which instruction was provided by priests. Although the number of public elementary schools increased, enrolling 88.4% of all school-age children by 1885, pedagogical practice remained at a relatively low level due to a lack of qualified staff, the poor financial

status of teachers, and dilapidated facilities lacking even basic safety and hygiene conditions.

From the beginning of the First World War to the end of the Second, conditions deteriorated further. In the final years of Austro-Hungarian rule, teachers were treated particularly poorly and became an existentially precarious segment of the population – the lowest-paid civil servants, deprived of essential provisions. During the Kingdom of SHS and later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the situation did not improve significantly. It was characterised by divisions within the teaching profession regarding cooperation with the authorities, which hindered a unified response to educational policies, budget cuts, and school closures, and a general neglect of civic enlightenment. Despite the introduction of compulsory and free education in 1929 (eight years, four of elementary and four of lower secondary schooling), many children dropped out after only a year or two because of poor material conditions or agricultural labour. Authorities did not respond to such parental practices, and the situation did not improve. In many rural areas, insufficient material and staffing conditions did not even permit schooling beyond the first four grades. The unfavourable state of Croatian education is further reflected in the fact that 42.3% of the population was illiterate in 1940, representing a reduction of only ten percentage points compared to 1920.

The first schools in the newly liberated Dalmatian region operated under extremely difficult conditions

after the Second World War. Many buildings had been looted, burned, or destroyed, so classes were often held in private homes or outdoors. The socialist authorities worked intensively on improving educational infrastructure and pedagogical practice, as Yugoslavia was, in the mid-twentieth century, at the bottom of the European rankings in literacy and formal education. Krnić notes that the 1958 *Education Act* introduced a structure of primary schooling consisting of four years of class-based instruction and four years of subject-based instruction – a model that has remained unchanged to this day. After 1991 and the attainment of Croatian independence, corrective reforms followed (see Pastuović, 2012), aimed primarily at removing ideological content inherited from the former state. Systemic reforms that would modernise Croatian schooling in terms of international competitiveness, inclusive education, and lifelong learning have, however, not yet been implemented despite several attempts.

The third chapter further contextualises the conditions of Dalmatian schooling through the example of Zadvarje and the history of its elementary school. The earliest record of this public institution dates from 1900, but its operation can be reliably traced from 1902, when children of different ages were all enrolled in the same class. A preserved inscription on the building's façade also records 1 November 1902 as the date on which the public classroom was opened within a privately owned house belonging to one

of the villagers. The chapter describes the working conditions and fragments of the professional biographies of individual teachers that are essential for understanding the focus of the study. It is worth noting that throughout its entire existence, the Zadvarje school functioned as a coeducational institution attended jointly by boys and girls.

As in other regions, religious instruction formed an integral part of the curriculum until the establishment of socialist rule and was conducted by local priests. The book contains vivid descriptions of the spiritual life of pupils and teachers in the early decades of the twentieth century. The school year began and ended with Mass. Religious instruction was held three hours per week, pupils prayed daily according to the Little Catechism along with the Our Father and the Hail Mary, and on Sundays and feast days, they attended Mass with their teachers at eight o'clock in the morning. Yet despite this, children's moral conduct – both in and outside of school – was considered average, accompanied by remarks such as “many things taught at school are undone at home.” Clearly, certain contradictory socialising influences were already present at the time, despite the traditionally strong social control characteristic of rural communities.

It is certain that during at least the 1920s and 1930s, the school operated six days a week, with Sunday being the only non-teaching day. However, the school observed numerous religious holidays, which were likewise

non-instructional days. Classes were also not held during adverse weather conditions – such as snow, strong winds, heavy rain, or severe cold – or large numbers of pupils simply did not attend, particularly those from more remote hamlets. Such behaviour was understandable, as rural roads were poorly maintained and children often lacked adequate clothing and footwear. A report from 1940 states that many pupils were absent throughout the entire school year for these reasons. Despite the difficult living conditions and widespread poverty, an official educational source from that period notes that all children of compulsory school age were enrolled and attended.

In 1927, the local authorities announced a tender for the construction of a new building for a three-grade school. It is not known why the Zadvarje school did not receive a new building at that time, and the issue resurfaced twenty years later, in 1948, when a decision was made to resume construction. The facility was finally completed in the mid-twentieth century. However, the local authorities likely did not fully recognise the importance of formal education, repurposing the building first as a health station, later as a maternity ward, and only then as a school. More broadly, the lack and inadequacy of educational opportunities constituted a significant push factor in emigration and deruralisation at the national level during this period. The author also notes that villagers were willing to invest additional effort and resources

to secure quality primary education in their place of residence, in contrast to the “small, squalid, and filthy room” in which their children had been accommodated after the war.

The period of the Second World War and its aftermath was particularly difficult in the context of the book’s subject matter. It is not known whether classes were held between 1941 and 1943, but it is certain that the school building burned down in 1943, leading to the temporary closure of the public school. As early as the following year, the parish priest in Zadvarje sought a new space, and the villagers were cooperative, requesting only a modest annual rent and providing free accommodation for the teachers. Moreover, the most essential furniture and archival materials had been preserved – catalogues and records stored in two cabinets, a blackboard, four geographical maps, and thirty-two-seater desks – so there were no obstacles to reopening the school. As if conditions were not already harsh enough, the harvest failed in 1945. This further worsened the pupils’ nutrition and overall material circumstances, while the food, clothing, and footwear available to teachers were also inadequate, making their work even more difficult. Educational oversight reports noted that teaching was conducted under extremely difficult conditions, without teaching aids or proper furniture; lessons were not delivered according to the curriculum, and teachers did not work in a methodologically appropriate manner. At that time, the school did

not maintain administrative records, and certificates or attestations were not issued. Children were divided into two groups: the first and second grades formed one group, while the third and fourth formed the other. The former attended classes from 7 a.m. to 10 a.m., and the latter from 10 a.m. to 12 noon.

From the mid-twentieth century onward, the number of pupils in Zadvarje began to decline significantly. In 1961, the school lost its independent status and became a satellite (branch) school of the Šestanovac Elementary School. After the closure of the local maternity ward in 1975, it was relocated to that facility. The building, however, was not suitable for conducting the teaching process, and it lacked a playground. A telling microexample of the inconsistencies of educational policy in the Croatian context is the project to adapt the Zadvarje school between 1986 and 1990, after which the institution permanently closed its doors in 1991.

The fourth chapter presents a list of the teachers of the Zadvarje school, its head teachers (principals), and religious instructors by school year, along with their short biographies. The author notes that only limited archival material has been preserved for many of them, so what is presented are merely outlines of their lives and their roles within the school. For many, moreover, not a single publicly available record has survived. What is clear, however, is that teachers played an important role in the emotional, moral, academic, and social

development of children, with their expertise, dedication, and passion being of central importance. Given the broader social circumstances and the status of education in the various state formations to which Croatia belonged, it is not surprising that some educators chronically lacked these qualities. Such insights remain instructive today, at a time when education holds an unprecedentedly important and lifelong role, and when its forms, institutions, levels, and professional profiles are continually expanding. Education is no longer merely a preparation of children for the world of adults, as conceived by Émile Durkheim – one of the founding figures of the sociology of education at the end of the nineteenth century – but has become a process through which adults themselves must continue to grow throughout their lives.

The fifth chapter provides a list of pupils from Zadvarje by school year and grade, while the sixth presents accounts of local residents based on interviews concerning the history of Zadvarje and its school. The author highlights the importance of such findings, which further place documents and other materials within the context best understood by the local population, thereby enabling a more detailed understanding of the research problem. It is also noted that such accounts at times constitute the only source of “social memory”. It is therefore important to conduct similar research in Zadvarje and other rural communities in order to better

understand our past and the genesis of social processes that continue to resonate in the present.

Among the more intriguing testimonies are descriptions of strict disciplinary practices, including corporal punishment – abandoned in the twenty-first century – whose effects older informants still recall. Also notable are the village legend of the “Black Hand,” used to deter children from entering certain prohibited areas of the school building, and descriptions of rooms containing military vehicles and cannons, which were still present in the 1980s. Residents likewise offer vivid impressions of the demanding nature of teaching in combined classes from the first to the fourth grade, in which teachers simultaneously instructed children of different ages with remarkable ease.

The seventh chapter (the conclusion) presents a concise chronology of the interrelated social developments in Zadvarje and its educational system over the past hundred years. It also points to the present developmental features and advantages that enhance the quality of life for young families, such as the motorway, economic prospects, digital connectivity, and local self-government, among other factors. The author expresses the hope that one of these advantages will, in the future, also be the sound of a school bell once again gathering pupils in their local school, following the early and preschool education that is currently available in Zadvarje.

At the end of the book, readers will find a list of references, tables, and

images, a brief note about the author, and excerpts from the reviews.

In conclusion, Mario Krnić's book represents a valuable contribution to the history of pedagogy and the sociology of education, as it convincingly demonstrates that the development of a rural school can be understood only within a broader socio-political and cultural framework. Through meticulous archival work, insights drawn from oral history, and the analytical linking of wider processes with local experiences, the author reconstructs more than a century of the school's life – a school that shaped the community's identity

and accompanied its historical transformations. It is precisely this microhistorical perspective that renders the book relevant not only to historians of education but also to sociologists, anthropologists, and researchers of rural communities. The study also opens up space for further research into the dynamics of schooling in demographically vulnerable areas and stimulates discussion about the future of small schools within the contemporary developmental conditions of Croatia.

Toni Popović

