Nastava i vaspitanje

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Nastava i vaspitanje

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We would like to inform all valued readers of Studies in Teaching and Education that the third and final issue for the year 2023 will be published bilingually, in Serbian and English. This decision is based on our desire to ensure the greatest possible visibility of the articles in the journal for interested parties both in our environment and outside Serbia, while maintaining and further developing scientific terminology in Serbian.

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NASTAVA I VASPITANJE • SADRŽAJ

STUDIES IN TEACHING AND EDUCATION • CONTENTS

Koncepcije nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika i njihovi pristupi nastavi[1]

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Apstrakt   *U sklopu razmatranja mogućnosti unapređivanja kvaliteta visokoškolske nastave, od devedesetih godina 20. veka pa do danas u literaturi se intenzivno proučavaju koncepcije nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika i njihovi pristupi nastavi, a u vezi s tim i pitanje pedagoškog osposobljavanja i usavršavanja univerzitetskih nastavnika. Budući da se u literaturi koriste različiti termini za opisivanje raznorodnih načina na koje nastavnici konceptualizuju visokoškolsku nastavu, cilj ovog rada odnosi se na sagledavanje različitih pojmovno-terminoloških određenja u ovom području naučnog istraživanja. Pri tome je posebna pažnja usmerena na analizu istraživačkih nalaza u literaturi koji se tiču dileme da li su koncepcije nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika i njihovi pristupi nastavi relativno stabilni kroz vreme ili predstavljaju relacione konstrukte koji se razvijaju kao odgovor na određeni kontekst ili nastavnu situaciju. Pored razmatranja polja značenja konstrukata koncepcija nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika i njihovih pristupa nastavi, dodatni cilj istraživanja predstavljalo je analiziranje istraživačkih nalaza u literaturi koji se odnose na relacije između ova dva konstrukta. Konstatovano je da nalazi u literaturi podupiru ideju da koncepcije nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika predstavljaju osnovu za njihovu nastavnu praksu. Zaključuje se da univerzitetske nastavnike treba podsticati na osvešćivanje svojih uverenja i samopreispitivanje, jer se time stvara osnova za usvajanje naučno zasnovanih koncepcija o nastavi i unošenje adekvatnih promena u nastavnu praksu.*

Ključne reči: *visokoškolska nastava, koncepcije nastave, pristupi nastavi, uverenja o nastavi, univerzitetski nastavnici.*

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Uvod

Oblast visokog obrazovanja i visokoškolske institucije suočavaju se s mnogim izazovima društva koje se ubrzano menja, s procesima globalizacije i tehnološkog razvoja. Zahtevi koji se postavljaju pred univerzitetske nastavnike su se povećali, posebno oni koji se odnose na preuzimanje širokog spektra odgovornosti, na naučnoistraživačke kompetencije i osiguravanje kvaliteta visokoškolske nastave. Aktuelnost teme visokoškolske nastave potvrđuju i mnogi evropski dokumenti politika visokog obrazovanja koji upućuju na pravce razvoja visokoškolskog obrazovanja. Tako, na primer, Izveštaj Evropske komisije iz 2013. godine sadrži preporuke za modernizaciju visokog obrazovanja kojima se, između ostalog, naglašava da je bitno da se osigura da svaki nastavnik stekne sertifikat o pedagoškoj osposobljenosti za rad u nastavi, kao i da bi sticanje nastavničkih kompetencija trebalo da postane uslov za sve nastavnike koji rade u sektoru visokog obrazovanja (High Level Group on the Modernisation of Higher Education, 2013). Standardi i uputstva za osiguravanje kvaliteta u evropskom prostoru visokog obrazovanja naglašavaju važnost kompetencija nastavnika, kao i primene inovativnijih metoda i pristupa nastavi koji su više usmereni na studenta kako bi se kreiralo podsticajno okruženje za učenje (European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education, 2015). I ministarska konferencija u okviru Bolonjskog procesa iz 2020. godine (European Higher Education Area, 2020) ističe značaj unapređivanja kvaliteta nastave i učenja u visokom obrazovanju.

Poslednjih decenija objavljeni su i mnogi naučni radovi fokusirani na pitanja kvaliteta visokoškolske nastave, prakse nastavnog rada u visokom obrazovanju i unapređivanja profesionalnog razvoja univerzitetskih nastavnika. Sprovedene su mnoge studije s ciljem da se istraže koncepcije, pristupi i perspektive nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika (Kember & Kwan, 2000; Lindblom-Ylänne et al., 2006; Mladenovici et al., 2022; Pedrosa-de-Jesus & da Silva Lopes, 2011; Pratt, 1997; Stes et al., 2008; Trigwell & Prosser, 2020). U novije vreme tema koja se odnosi na nastavničke kompetencije i usavršavanje za rad u visokoškolskoj nastavi postala je, takođe, predmet brojnih istraživanja (Åkerlind, 2003; Gibbs & Coffey, 2004; Kálmán et al., 2020; Postareff et al., 2007; Trautwein, 2018). U tom okviru, moglo bi se reći da danas postoji obimna naučna literatura koja se bavi pitanjima nastave iz perspektive univerzitetskih nastavnika; temeljne pretpostavke na kojima počivaju objavljene studije tiču se značaja razumevanja uverenja o nastavi na osnovu kojih univerzitetski nastavnici kreiraju vlastitu nastavnu praksu. Pri tome se u literaturi, sa ciljem opisivanja različitih načina na koje nastavnici konceptualizuju visokoškolsku nastavu, koriste različiti termini kao što su *orijentacije*, *koncepcije*, *uverenja*, *pristupi*, *namere*, *perspektive* nastavnika (Kember, 1997). Najveći broj autora pak koristi sintagme „koncepcije nastave" i „pristupi nastavi" (Kember & Kwan, 2000; Lindblom-Ylänne et al., 2006; Pratt, 1992; Trigwell & Prosser, 2020; Trigwell et al., 2005). Najzastupljenije shvatanje jeste da se koncepcije nastave odnose na uverenja o nastavi koja imaju uticaj na nastavničku percepciju date situacije i usmeravaju njegovo delovanje, a da se pristupi nastavi tiču načina na koje se ta uverenja primenjuju u nastavnoj praksi.

Budući da rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da je nastavna praksa univerzitetskih nastavnika vođena njihovim uverenjima i koncepcijama nastave (Ho et al., 2001; Martin &

Lueckenhausen, 2005; Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a), cilj ovog rada odnosi se na sagledavanje različitih pojmovno-terminoloških određenja u ovom području naučnog istraživanja. Pored pojmovnog razjašnjavanja konstrukata koncepcija nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika i njihovih pristupa nastavi, cilj je i da se analiziraju istraživački nalazi u literaturi koji se odnose na relacije između ova dva konstrukta, što bi moglo da ima implikacije za profesionalni razvoj univerzitetskih nastavnika u oblasti vođenja nastavnog procesa. Metoda teorijske analize korišćena je pri analizi sadržaja teorijskih i empirijskih inostranih studija čiji je tematski fokus na koncepcijama nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika i njihovih pristupa nastavi od devedesetih godina 20. veka do danas.

Koncepcije nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika

Pregled literature u oblasti visokoškolskog obrazovanja pokazuje da se u istraživanjima uverenja o nastavi univerzitetskih nastavnika koriste različiti termini kojima se pripisuje slično značenje. Pri tome, najzastupljenija je grupa autora (Kember, 1997; Kemp, 2008; Lam & Kember, 2006; Päuler-Kuppinger & Jucks, 2017; Postareff & Lindblom-Ylänne, 2008) koja koristi izraz „koncepcije nastave", pozivajući se na Prata (Pratt, 1992: 204), koji definiše koncepcije kao značenja koja se pridaju fenomenu, a koja potom posreduju odgovor u situacijama koje dati fenomen uključuju. Prema uverenju Prata, pojedinci poseduju koncepcije o različitim aspektima koje opažaju u svetu; zapravo svaki pojedinac gleda na svet kroz prizmu vlastitih koncepcija koje usmeravaju njegova tumačenja situacije i uobličavaju akcije. U tom okviru, isti autor je odredio koncepcije nastave kao kognitivne reprezentacije načina na koji nastavnici razmišljaju i razumeju koncept nastave. Ukorenjene u kulturne, društvene, istorijske i lične okvire značenja, koncepcije nastave predstavljaju neku vrstu sočiva kroz koje nastavnici posmatraju nastavu i učenje (Pratt, 1992: 203).

Od devedesetih godina 20. veka, mnogi istraživači u oblasti visokoškolskog obrazovanja nastojali su da, primenom različitih istraživačkih metoda i postupaka, ispitaju i empirijski potvrde koncepcije nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika. Takva ispitivanja doprinela su razvoju različitih klasifikacija koncepcija nastave, uz ispoljenu opštu saglasnost po pitanju postojanja dve generalne kategorije: jedne, usmerene na *sadržaj / orijentisane na nastavnika* i druge, usmerene na *učenje / orijentisane na studenta*. Kember (Kember, 1997) je izvršio poređenje rezultata istraživanja trinaest empirijskih studija sprovedenih u periodu od 1992. do 1994. godine, što je rezultovalo zaključkom da te studije pokazuju visok stepen usaglašenosti kada su u pitanju ove dve generalne kategorije. Takav konsenzus u istraživanjima postao je relevantan za sva potonja ispitivanja visokoškolske nastave, posebno ako se ima u vidu činjenica da su primenjivani različiti postupci prikupljanja podataka u nezavisnim istraživanjima koja su sprovedena u širokom rasponu zemalja, institucija i univerzitetskih nastavnika.

Još je osamdesetih godina 20. veka Foks (Fox, 1983) predstavio konceptualni model za razmišljanje o nastavnom procesu koji je razvio na temelju ispitivanja o tome šta univerzitetski nastavnici podrazumevaju pod nastavom. Foks je identifikovao četiri lične teorije nastave koje se ogledaju u metaforama: prenošenja, oblikovanja, putovanja i rasta. Ovaj je autor prve dve lične teorije nastave označio kao „jednostavne", budući da je okviru

njih student pasivan, a nastavnik usmeren na nastavni sadržaj, dok je druge dve lične teorije nastave označio kao „razvijene", jer je u okviru njih student aktivan, a nastavnik usmeren na studenta. Slično, Dankin (Dunkin, 1990) je analizom intervjua o uverenjima univerzitetskih nastavnika o nastavi izdvojio četiri dimenzije nastave: nastava kao strukturisanje znanja, nastava kao motivisanje učenja, nastava kao podsticanje aktivnosti i samostalnosti u učenju i nastava kao proces izgradnje adekvatnih interpersonalnih odnosa. Najvažnije implikacije ove dve kategorizacije uverenja o nastavi univerzitetskih nastavnika odnose se na to što su omogućile analizu i poređenje koncepcija nastave (Samuelowicz & Bain, 1992).

Dalje, rezultati intervjua obrađeni fenomenografskom analizom podataka (Dall'Alba, 1991) upućuju na sledeće koncepcije nastave: nastava kao predstavljanje informacija; nastava kao prenošenje informacija (od nastavnika ka studentu); nastava kao ilustracija primene teorije u praksi; nastava kao razvoj koncepata i razumevanje njihovih međusobnih relacija; nastava kao sticanje ekspertize; nastava kao razvoj razumevanja o kontekstualnoj prirodi znanja; nastava kao podsticanje konceptualnih promena. Među različitim nastojanjima da se prikupe podaci o uverenjima nastavnika, izdvajaju se i istraživanja Gaua i Kembera (Gow & Kember, 1993; Kember & Gow, 1994), koji su na osnovu analiza intervjua identifikovali dve orijentacije/koncepcije nastave koje su označili kao „facilitacija učenja" i „transmisija znanja".

Samjuelovic i Bejn (Samuelowicz & Bain, 1992) su na temelju rezultata istraživanja koje je sprovođeno putem polustrukturisanog intervjua s univerzitetskim nastavnicima iz prirodnog i društvenog obrazovno-naučnog polja predložili petostepenu klasifikaciju koncepcija nastave: nastava kao prenošenje informacija; nastava kao prenošenje znanja i stavova prema znanju unutar akademske discipline; nastava kao podsticanje razumevanja; nastava kao aktivnost usmerena ka menjanju koncepcija i razumevanju sveta; nastava kao podrška učenju. Opisane karakteristike koncepcija nastave usmerenih na nastavnika i onih usmerenih na studenta veoma jasno ilustruju suštinske razlike među njima. Koncepcija nastave usmerena na studenta postavlja studenta u središte aktivnosti; postojeće koncepcije studenta posmatraju se kao početne tačke interaktivne nastave. Aktivnosti nastavnika usredsređene su na to da studentu olakšaju proces konstruisanja znanja, osmišljavanja stvarnosti i usvajanje konceptualnog okvira koji dele stručnjaci u određenom području. Koncepcija nastave usmerena na nastavnika postavlja nastavnika u središte aktivnosti; postojeće koncepcije studenta ne uzimaju se u obzir, a nastavnik poseduje znanje koje prenosi u gotovom, konačnom obliku. Student je stavljen u poziciju pasivnog primaoca informacija, dok je proces učenja usmeren na predmetni sadržaj, a ne na realnost. Ishodi učenja iskazani su radije u kvantitativnim nego u kvalitativnim terminima.

Prat (Pratt, 1992) je na osnovu obavljenih intervjua s nastavnicima koji se bave obrazovanjem odraslih iz različitih kultura i područja identifikovao pet kvalitetno različitih koncepcija nastave: koncepcija inženjeringa koja je usmerena na prenošenje nastavnog sadržaja; koncepcija šegrtovanja koja je usredsređena na osiguravanje prakse i vežbanja u autentičnom okruženju učenja; razvojna koncepcija koja je usmerena na kognitivne procese i razvoj složenijih i sofisticiranijih načina razmišljanja; negujuća koncepcija koja je

usredsređena na brigu o pojedincu i njegov individualni napredak; koncepcija društvene reforme koja je usmerena na postizanje suštinskih društvenih promena. Razlike između koncepcija nastave Prat je ispitivao u odnosu na tri međuzavisna aspekta svake koncepcije: akcije, namere i uverenja s obzirom na ulogu nastavnika, ulogu onoga koji uči, nastavni sadržaj, kontekst i/ili idealnu viziju društva.

Dalje je primena fenomenografskog pristupa, to jest analiza podataka dobijenih intervjuisanjem univerzitetskih nastavnika iz oblasti fizike i hemije, rezultovala popisom različitih koncepcija nastave konstituisanih u odnosu na dve komponente: na čemu je fokus u nastavi i način na koji se u nastavi tom fokusu pristupa (Prosser et al., 1994; Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a). U tom je okviru identifikovano šest koncepcija nastave: nastava kao prenošenje informacija utvrđenih nastavnim programom, pri čemu se ne uzimaju u obzir prethodna znanja studenta; nastava kao prenošenje informacija i znanja nastavnika; nastava kao pomaganje studentu da usvoji koncepte i pojmove koji su utvrđeni nastavnim programom; nastava kao pomaganje studentu da usvoji znanja koja prenosi nastavnik, to jest da usvoji koncepte i pojmove i razume odnose među njima; nastava kao pomaganje studentu u razvijanju vlastitih koncepcija; nastava kao pomaganje studentu u menjanju vlastitih koncepcija i u proizvođenju novih znanja.

Dajući pregled i sintetizujući rezultate dotadašnjih empirijskih studija, Kember (Kember, 1997) zaključuje da postoje dve generalne orijentacije u viđenjima nastave koje mogu biti predstavljene na kontunuumu od usmerenosti na nastavnika / orijentisanosti na sadržaj do usmerenosti na studenta / orijentisanosti na učenje. U tom okviru, isti autor uočava pet koncepcija nastave, odnosno identifikuje po dve koncepcije nastave smeštene pod svaku orijentaciju: „prenošenje informacija" i „prenošenje strukturiranog znanja", kao koncepcije nastave koje se povezuju s orijentacijom u čijem je središtu nastavnik, i „podsticanje razumevanja" i „konceptualna promena", kao koncepcije nastave koje se povezuju s orijentacijom u čijem je središtu student. Dodatno je uvedena i peta, „prelazna" koncepcija nastave koja je usmerena na interakciju student–nastavnik, povezujući dve navedene orijentacije. Međutim, u kasnijim istraživanjima pojedinih autora (Kember & Kwan, 2000; Samuelowicz & Bain, 2001) nije pronađena empirijska podrška „prelaznoj" kategoriji koja bi predstavljala most između dva pola. Novija istraživanja koncepcija nastave, sprovedena u različitim kontekstima i akademskim disciplinama, identifikuju takođe koncepcije koje se kreću u rasponu od usmerenosti na prenošenje informacija do usmerenosti na konceptualne promene u znanju studenta (Kálmán et al., 2020; Mcalpine et al., 2006; Mladenovici et al., 2022; Päuler-Kuppinger & Jucks, 2017; Postareff & Lindblom-Ylänne, 2008; Trigwell & Prosser, 2020).

Iako se nalazi studija o koncepcijama nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika mogu okarakterisati kao slični, među autorima postoje i određene razlike u pogledu dileme da li su koncepcije nastave međusobno nezavisne (Kember, 1997; Pratt, 1998; Samuelowicz & Bain, 1992), čak i ako se mogu predstaviti u nizu od nižih do viših nivoa sofisticiranosti, ili su zasnovane na hijerarhijskim odnosima (Åkerlind, 2003; Dall'Alba, 1991; Entwistle & Walker, 2000; Trigwell & Prosser, 2004). Tako, na primer, pojedini autori (Samuelowicz & Bain, 1992) na osnovu analize nalaza dobijenih u drugim studijama i analize podataka

prikupljenih vlastitim istraživanjima zaključuju da su dimenzije koje se koriste za razgraničenje koncepcija nastave često bipolarne prirode, što sugeriše da su koncepcije nastave deo kontinuuma s dva suprotna „pola", a ne deo hijerarhijske strukture. Kember (Kember, 1997), takođe, zaključuje da se koncepcije nastave raspodeljuju duž kontinuuma, pri čemu na jednoj strani fokus nastavnog procesa čini prenošenje informacija, dok su na drugoj strani u fokusu konceptualne promene. Drugačije, neki autori (Åkerlind, 2003; Degago & Kaino, 2015; Prosser et al., 1994) skloniji su da govore o hijerarhijskoj prirodi odnosa između različitih koncepcija nastave. U ovom slučaju koncepcije nastave svrstavaju se u hijerarhiju, od manje kompleksnih do složenijih načina viđenja nastave; svaka sukcesivna koncepcija nastave smatra se kompleksnijom od bilo koje koncepcije koja je smeštena na nižem nivou. Tako je, na primer, u literaturi (Entwistle & Walker, 2000; Prosser et al., 1994) koncepcija nastave koja se opisuje kao „podsticanje razumevanja" smeštena je na višem nivou u hijerarhiji, pri čemu ona može uključivati elemente koncepcije nastave opisane kao „prenošenje informacija", koja se generalno posmatrano označava kao manje sofisticirano viđenje nastave. Shodno tome, smatra se da koncepcije nastave u čijem se središtu nalazi student omogućavaju kvalitetnije ishode učenja (Åkerlind, 2003; Prosser & Trigwell, 1999). Izuzetak od navedena dva stanovišta čini Pratova (Pratt, 1992, 2002) kategorizacija koncepcija nastave koje se ne razvrstavaju na kontinuumu niti se hijerarhijski organizuju. Umesto toga, pet koncepcija nastave shvataju se kao distinktivne, ali ne i međusobno isključujuće kategorije; slične akcije, namere, pa čak i uverenja mogu se pronaći u više ovih koncepcija.

Među autorima koji se bave koncepcijama nastave postoje određene razlike i u pogledu dileme da li su koncepcije nastave stabilne kroz vreme. Tako se u literaturi (Chan, 1994) ističe da su koncepcije nastave ukorenjene u nastavnička epistemološka i normativna uverenja o vlastitoj ulozi i odgovornosti, te su kao takve relativno stabilne u različitim nastavnim situacijama. U tom okviru, pojedini autori gledaju na koncepcije nastave kao na relativno stabilne konstrukte (Kember, 1997; Pratt, 1992). Drugi autori (Prosser et al., 1994; Samuelowicz & Bain, 1992) posmatraju pak koncepcije nastave kao relacione konstrukte koji se razvijaju kao odgovor na određeni kontekst ili situaciju, odnosno ističu da kontekstualni faktori ponekad iziskuju privremene promene nastavničkih uverenja o nastavi (Singer, 1996).

Dalje, Gau i Kember (Gow & Kember, 1993) pokazuju da se usvojene nastavne metode, postavljeni zadaci i određeni postupci ocenjivanja nalaze pod snažnim uticajima orijentacija u nastavi, to jest ukazuju na to da koncepcije nastave ostvaruju uticaj na nastavnu praksu. U tom smislu, u pojedinim istraživanjima (Ho et al., 2001; Kember & Kwan, 2000; Pedrosa-de-Jesus & da Silva Lopes, 2011; Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a) utvrđena je korelacija između koncepcija nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika i pristupa nastavnoj praksi; nastavnici koji nastavu shvataju kao prenošenje znanja češće koriste pristupe usmerene na sadržaj, dok nastavnici koji nastavu razumeju kao podsticanje konceptualnih promena češće primenjuju pristupe koji su usmereni na učenje. Budući da je „namera" kao konstituent pristupa nastavi bliska sintagmi „koncepcija nastave" (Postareff et al., 2008), značajno je i da istraživanja (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996b) pokazuju kongruentnost između namera i strategija u pristupima nastavi univerzitetskih nastavnika; strategije usmerene na nastavnika

povezane su s namerama prenošenja informacija, dok su strategije usmerene na studenta povezane s namerama podsticanja konceptualnih promena.

Pristupi nastavi univerzitetskih nastavnika i njihove relacije s koncepcijama nastave

Kada je reč o istraživanjima pristupa nastavi univerzitetskih nastavnika, značajan doprinos dali su Proser i Trigvel (Prosser & Trigwell, 1999; Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a; Trigwell & Prosser, 2020) koji su identifikovali pet kvalitativno različitih pristupa nastavi koji udružuju strategije koje nastavnici usvajaju i namere koje stoje u osnovi tih strategija. Pet pristupa nastavi kreću se od onih koji se odnose na strategije usmerene na nastavnika s namerom prenošenja informacija studentu do onih koji uključuju strategije usmerene na studenta s namerom razvijanja i menjanja njegovih koncepcija, kao što je prikazano u Tabeli 1.

Tabela 1
Kategorizacija pristupa nastavi

Kategorija	Opis
Pristup A	Strategija usmerena na nastavnika s namerom prenošenja informacija studentu.
Pristup B	Strategija usmerena na nastavnika s namerom da student usvoji koncepte iz discipline.
Pristup V	Strategija usmerena na interakciju nastavnika i studenta s namerom da student usvoji koncepte iz discipline.
Pristup G	Strategija usmerena na studenta sa ciljem da student razvija vlastite koncepcije.
Pristup D	Strategija usmerena na studenta sa ciljem menjanja njegovih koncepcija.

Napomena. Izvor (Trigwell & Prosser, 2004: 413).

U prva tri pristupa fokus je na nastavniku, na onome šta on sam radi. Prvi pristup (A) ne podrazumeva aktivnost studenta – student pasivno prima informacije koje mu daje nastavnik. Drugi pristup (B) pretpostavlja aktivnost studenta s fokusom na primanju gotovih informacija. Fokus nastavnika u trećem pristupu (V) odnosi se na usvajanje strukturiranih koncepata gde se od studenta očekuje aktivan angažman u nastavnom procesu. Velika promena nastaje u četvrtom (G) i petom (D) pristupu, gde je fokus na onome šta radi student. U četvrtom pristupu aktivnosti studenta usmerene su na konstruisanje novih znanja, dok je u petom pristupu fokus na menjanju koncepcija studenta, to jest na rekonstruisanju znanja (Prosser, 2013). Značajno je da se navedeni pristupi suštinski grupišu u dve osnovne kategorije: pristupe nastavi koji su usmereni na nastavnika, s namerom prenošenja informacija (A, B i V) i pristupe nastavi koji su usmereni na studenta s namerom dovođenja do konceptualnih promena u znanju studenta (G i D), kao što je predstavljeno u Tabeli 2. U skladu s tim, razvijen je i instrument za merenje pristupa nastavi: *Upitnik pristupa nastavi* (*Approaches to Teaching Inventory – ATI*), koji uključuje karakteristike pristupa nastavi usmerenog na nastavnika nasuprot pristupu nastavi usmerenog na studenta (Trigwell & Prosser, 2004; Trigwell et al., 2005).

Tabela 2

Dimenzije pristupa nastavi – strategije i namere

Strategija	Namera			
	Prenošenje informacija	Usvajanje koncepata	Razvijanje koncepcija	Menjanje koncepcija
Usmerenost na nastavnika	A	B		
Interakcija student–nastavnik		V	G	D
Usmerenost na studenta				

Napomena. Izvor (Trigwell & Prosser, 2020: 42).

Konceptualno slično, drugi autori (Kember & Kwan, 2000) razradili su dva široka pristupa nastavi: pristup nastavi usmeren na sadržaj i pristup nastavi usmeren na učenje. Prvi pristup karakteriše fokus na nastavni sadržaj, dok drugi pristup odlikuje fokus na studenta i proces učenja. Navedeni pristupi određeni su komponentama motivacije i strategije, odnosno jedna dimenzija motivacije i pet dimenzija strategije tretirane su kao komponente pristupa nastavi. Dimenzija motivacije definiše distinkciju između pristupa nastavi u smislu da li nastavničku ulogu oblikuju ekstrinzični ili intrinzični motivatori. Pet dimenzija strategijske komponente upućuje na distinkciju između pristupa nastavi u odnosu na to da li je u nastavnom procesu fokus na prenošenju nastavnih sadržaja ili na podsticanju studenta na konstruisanje znanja; da li je fokus nastavnika na grupi studenata u celini ili na individualnim potrebama studenta; da li se procena nastavnika zasniva na čestoj primeni testova ili se koriste fleksibilniji pristupi procene; da li se nastavni proces prilagođava karakteristikama studenta ili ne; da li nastavnik polazi od vlastitog iskustva kako bi pomogao studentu da usvoji znanja ili uvažava prethodna iskustva studenta.

Uočljivo je da se u navedenim studijama koristi različita terminologija za označavanje dva generalna pristupa nastavi. Reč je o tome da se u pojedinim istraživanjima koriste sintagme „pristup usmeren na studenta" i „pristup usmeren na nastavnika" (Prosser & Trigwell, 1999; Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a; Trigwell & Prosser, 2020), dok se u drugim istraživanjima (Kember & Kwan, 2000; Postareff & Lindblom-Ylänne, 2008; Postareff et al., 2008) u sinonimnom značenju koriste sintagme „pristup usmeren na učenje" i „pristup usmeren na sadržaj".

Značajno je napomenuti i da se, pored termina „pristupi nastavi", u literaturi uočava i upotreba termina „perspektive o nastavi", pri čemu se perspektive definišu kao međusobno povezani skupovi uverenja i namera koji usmeravaju i opravdavaju aktivnosti nastavnika (Pratt, 1998). U tom okviru, perspektive o nastavi određuju ono što nastavnici rade i razloge zbog kojih vlastito delovanje smatraju vrednim i opravdanim. Na osnovu analiza sistematskih posmatranja i intervjua, Prat (Pratt, 1998) je identifikovao pet kvalitativno različitih perspektiva o nastavi koje predstavljaju i teorijsku osnovu razvoja instrumenta *Inventara perspektiva o nastavi* (*Teaching Perspectives Inventory – TPI*). Tih pet perspektiva o nastavi jesu: transmisiona perspektiva – usmerenost nastavnika na predmetni sadržaj i prenošenje informacija; perspektiva šegrtovanja – uvođenje studenata u jezik, vrednosti i

običaje zajednice prakse; razvojna perspektiva – usmerenost na pružanje podrške studentima u procesu razvijanja složenijih kognitivnih struktura koje su važne za razumevanje sadržaja; perspektiva brige o studentima – usmerenost na pronalaženje ravnoteže između brige i postavljanja izazova; perspektiva društvene reforme – usmerenost na društvene probleme (Pratt et al., 2001). Ispitivanja pokazuju da navedene perspektive o nastavi nisu međusobno isključive; slične akcije, namere, pa čak i uverenja mogu se pronaći u više perspektiva (Pratt, 2002). Budući da perspektive o nastavi obuhvataju različita uverenja, namere i akcije nastavnika, u literaturi se ističe da su elementi uključeni u perspektive o nastavi slični dimenzijama strategija i namera koje udružuju pristupi nastavi Trigvela i Prosera (Kember, 1997).

Dok je, na osnovu pregleda literature, moguće govoriti o dilemama u pogledu toga da li su koncepcije nastave zasnovane na hijerarhijskim odnosima, priroda odnosa između različitih pristupa nastavi može biti hijerarhijska (Kember, 1997). Kember (Kember, 1997) ističe da odnosi između temeljnih uverenja o nastavi i pristupa nastavi nisu automatski; oni nastavnici koji nastavu razumeju kao podsticanje konceptualnih promena možda će ponekad biti u situaciji da primenjuju pristup koji nije usko povezan s njihovim uverenjima. Istraživački nalazi (Kember, 1997; Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a) upućuju na to da nastavnici koji smatraju da je nastava proces prenošenja informacija usvajaju pristup koji je usmeren na nastavni sadržaj i vlastite veštine predavanja. S druge strane, oni nastavnici koji veruju da se nastava tiče konceptualnih promena u znanju studenata primenjuju pristup koji je fokusiran na studenta, pri čemu povremeno izdvajaju deo časa za prenošenje informacija. Takvi nalazi pak ne ukazuju da je kod tih nastavnika došlo do promene uverenja o nastavi, već pre da predavanja posmatraju kao deo nastojanja da se studenti podstaknu na učenje. Trigvel i Proser (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a) naglašavaju da, s obzirom na to da je prihvaćen pristup nastavi povezan s koncepcijom nastave, postoji mala verovatnoća da će nastavnik koristiti onaj pristup nastavi koji nadilazi nivo sofisticiranosti usvojene koncepcije. Značajno je i da rezultati studije u kojoj su ispitivane relacije između dva pristupa nastavi impliciraju da postoje karakteristike koje su specifične isključivo za pristup koji je fokusiran na učenje, kao i one specifične za pristup fokusiran na sadržaj (Postareff & Lindblom-Ylänne, 2008). S druge strane, rezultati dobijeni u istoj studiji pokazuju da u okviru pristupa usmerenim na sadržaj nedostaju neke komponente koje su tipične za pristup usmeren na učenje. Rezultati drugih istraživanja (Coffey & Gibbs, 2002) potvrđuju da nastavnici koji su usvojili pristup usmeren na studenta koriste širi repertoar nastavnih metoda od nastavnika koji su prihvatili pristup usmeren na nastavnika.

Iako je utvrđeno da postoji povezanost između usvojenog pristupa nastavi i koncepcija nastave, potrebno je naglasiti da istraživanja (Prosser & Trigwell, 1999) pokazuju da univerzitetski nastavnici mogu da svoj pristup nastavi prilagođavaju i menjaju u zavisnosti od percepcija okruženja u kojem se nastava odvija (percepcija opterećenosti u radu u nastavi, veličina grupe, karakteristike studenata, kontrola nad nastavnim procesom). Reč je o tome da isti nastavnik ponekad može koristiti pristup usmeren na nastavnika, a ponekad pristup usmeren na studenta, zavisno od njegove percepcije situacije u kojoj se nalazi. Takođe, nalazi istraživanja upućuju na to da pristupi nastavi univerzitetskih nastavnika mogu da variraju u zavisnosti od određenih kontekstualnih varijabli – veličina grupe, nivo

studija, disciplina (Kember & Kwan, 2000; Lindblom-Ylänne et al., 2006; Lueddeke, 2003; Päuler-Kuppinger & Jucks, 2017), kao i od odlika nastavnika – pol, godine radnog iskustva u nastavi (Lueddeke, 2003; Nevgi et al., 2004). Međutim, rezultati istraživanja Stesa i saradnika (Stes et al., 2008) ne ukazuju na značajnu povezanost pristupa nastavi usmerenog na studenta s kontekstualnim faktorima – veličina grupe, nivo studija i disciplina, ni s karakteristikama nastavnika – pol, starost, godine radnog iskustva u nastavi. U literaturi se ukazuje na mogućnost da je neuključivanje drugih varijabli koje opisuju širi nastavni kontekst (na primer, nastavnička percepcija opterećenosti u radu u nastavi, percepcija studentskih sposobnosti, motivisanost ili obaveza studenata da učestvuju na nastavi) doprinelo tome da rezultati istraživanja Stesa i saradnika nisu u potpunosti očekivani (Miočić et al., 2021; Stes et al., 2008). Takođe, rezultati istraživanja Stesa i saradnika indikuju i da način na koji nastavnici doživljavaju ili percipiraju kontekst nastave može biti značajniji od samog konteksta (Prosser, 2013).

Dalje, kada je reč o relacijama između koncepcija nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika i njihovih pristupa nastavi, značajno je reći da pojedina istraživanja pokazuju da se sofisticiranije koncepcije nastave mogu kombinovati s manje sofisticiranim pristupima nastavi (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a), odnosno da elementi „transmisije" pristupa usmerenog na nastavnika mogu biti uključeni u pristup usmeren na studenta (Trigwell et al., 2005). U tom okviru, u literaturi se koriste termini disonanca/konsonanca koji opisuju relacije između kvalitetno različitih koncepcija/namera i strategija pristupa nastavi: pristupa nastavi usmerenog na sadržaj/nastavnika i pristupa nastavi usmerenog na učenje/studenta (Postareff et al., 2008; Stes & Van Petegem, 2014; Uiboleht et al., 2016). Disonanca se, u ovom slučaju, odnosi na netipične kombinacije koncepcija/namera i strategija, koje na teorijskom nivou nisu koherentne: koncepcije i strategije pristupa nastavi usmerenog na učenje, u kombinaciji s koncepcijama i strategijama pristupa nastavi usmerenog na sadržaj. Nije bez značaja podatak da dosadašnja istraživanja pokazuju da oko polovine univerzitetskih nastavnika na različite načine kombinuje koncepcije/namere i strategije oba pristupa nastavi (Postareff et al., 2008; Stes & Van Petegem, 2014). Pojava disonance može potencijalno biti povezana s različitim uzrocima: dok s jedne strane širi nastavni kontekst i disciplinarna posebnost mogu usmeravati nastavnike na usvajanje nekoherentnih kombinacija koncepcija/namera i strategija, s druge strane disonanca se može javiti usled pohađanja programa pedagoškog osposobljavanja nastavnika koji usmeravaju razvojni proces prema pristupu usmerenog na učenje (Postareff et al., 2008; Uiboleht et al., 2016).

U tom okviru, važno je istaći da pojedina istraživanja (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a) pokazuju da je usvajanje sofisticiranijih pristupa nastavi moguće samo ukoliko se najpre pristupi promenama koncepcija nastave. Slično, druga istraživanja (Ho et al., 2001; Kember & Kwan, 2000; Norton et al., 2005) pokazuju da je razvijanje nastavničkih koncepcija nastave preduslov unapređivanja nastavne prakse; promene u nastavnom radu mogu se dogoditi samo ako se postignu promene koncepcija nastave. Shodno tome, ukoliko nastavnik želi da promeni svoje aktivnosti unutar učionice, on najpre mora da preispita vlastite koncepcije nastave (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a). Pri tome, Trigvel i Proser (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996b) konstatuju da nije verovatno da će tradicionalni programi osposobljavanja za rad u nastavi, usredsređeni isključivo na nastavničke strategije, biti uspešni ukoliko se pažnja

ne usmeri na namere povezane s usvojenim strategijama. Uz to, novija istraživanja pokazuju da razumevanje predmetnog sadržaja ima centralnu ulogu u preferencijama nastavnika prema usvajanju pristupa usmerenog na sadržaj ili pristupa usmerenog na učenje i otuda sugerišu da bi promene u razumevanju predmetnog sadržaja trebalo da predstavljaju prvi korak u procesu razvijanja koncepcija nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika (Mladenovici et al., 2022). Ovi uvidi u skladu su i s ranijim istraživanjima (Prosser et al., 2008) koja su pokazala da postoji povezanost između toga kako nastavnik razume predmetni sadržaj i njegovog pristupa nastavi.

Zaključna razmatranja

U sklopu razmatranja mogućnosti unapređivanja kvaliteta visokoškolske nastave, od devedesetih godina 20. veka pa do danas, u literaturi se intenzivno proučavaju koncepcije nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika i njihovi pristupi nastavi. Koncepcije nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika (ono što veruju o nastavi) i njihovi pristupi nastavi (ono što rade) čine okosnicu mnogih istraživačkih studija u oblasti visokog obrazovanja, posebno s obzirom na to da istraživački nalazi u literaturi (Kember & Gow, 1994; Trigwell & Prosser, 2020; Trigwell et al., 1999; Uiboleht et al., 2018) upućuju na činjenicu da opredeljenost nastavnika i njegov pristup nastavi mogu imati značajne implikacije na načine na koje studenti pristupaju učenju.

Iako se može govoriti o određenim varijacijama u pogledu klasifikacija koncepcija nastave, nalazi u literaturi sugerišu postojanje dve generalne kategorije koncepcija: koncepcije nastave usmerene na *sadržaj / orijentisane na nastavnika* i koncepcije nastave usmerene na *učenje/orijentisane na studenta* (Kember, 1997). Kada su u pitanju istraživanja o pristupima nastavi, utvrđeno je da se namere univerzitetskih nastavnika kreću u rasponu od namere da se studentima prenesu informacije do namere da se pomogne studentima u razvoju i menjanju dotadašnjih koncepcija (Trigwell et al., 1994). Shodno tome, u literaturi su identifikovana i najčešće istraživana dva pristupa nastavi: pristup nastavi usmeren na nastavnika/sadržaj i pristup nastavi usmeren na studenta/učenje. Pri tome, pojedini autori primećuju da iako se koncepcije nastave i pristupi nastavi mogu razlikovati na teorijskom nivou, oba konstrukta poseduju preklapajuće i snažno povezane karakteristike (Päuler-Kuppinger & Jucks, 2017; Postareff et al., 2008).

Budući da istraživački nalazi sugerišu da postoji korelacija između koncepcija nastave i pristupa nastavi, u literaturi se ukazuje na to da koncepcije nastave predstavljaju osnovu za nastavnu praksu (Gow & Kember, 1993; Ho et al., 2001; Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a). U tom smislu, univerzitetski nastavnici koji su usvojili određenu koncepciju nastave naginju specifičnim namerama koje vode ka korespondirajućim strategijama: strategije usmerene na studenta povezane su s namerama menjanja koncepcija studenata, dok su strategije usmerene na nastavnika povezane s namerama prenošenja informacija (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a, 1996b). Pristup nastavi, međutim, kao način na koji se uverenja nastavnika primenjuju u nastavnoj praksi može da se posmatra kao dvoznačan pojam. S jedne strane, ukoliko je nastavni kontekst odgovarajući, nastavnički pristup nastavi biće najverovatnije usklađen s njegovim uverenjima o nastavi. S druge strane, u određenim

slučajevima može doći do diskrepancije između nastavničke koncepcije nastave i njegovog pristupa nastavi: usled uticaja kontekstualnih faktora (na primer, dizajna kurikuluma, kulture institucije) pristup nastavi univerzitetskog nastavnika može biti više povezan s nastavničkom percepcijom situacije u kojoj se nalazi nego s njegovom koncepcijom nastave (Kember & Kwan, 2000; Prosser & Trigwell, 1997).

Važno je reći i da se u pregledima i metaanalizama istraživačkih nalaza vezanih za procenu efekata formalnih programa pedagoškog osposobljavanja univerzitetskih nastavnika navodi da se u rezultatima dosadašnjih istraživanja identifikuju uticaji različitog obima: od promena u samopouzdanju, stavovima, znanju, koncepcijama i praksi nastavnika pa do usvajanja pristupa usmerenog na studenta i promena u pristupima učenju kod studenata, iako postoje i opsežna istraživanja u kojima se prijavljuju mali pozitivni ali gotovo zanemarljivi efekti tih programa (Ilie et al., 2020; Stewart, 2014). Pored faktora koji se tiču paradigmatskih orijentacija i odluka metodološke prirode, kao i vremenskih razmaka u kojima su se merili efekti programa (Miočić et al., 2021), rezultati istraživanja o koncepcijama i pristupima nastavi univerzitetskih nastavnika jednim delom tumače nejednoznačne nalaze o uticaju programa profesionalnog razvoja univerzitetskih nastavnika za rad u nastavi. Budući da koncepcije nastave imaju određeni uticaj na usvojeni pristup nastavi, isključiva usredsređenost programa pedagoškog osposobljavanja na nastavničke pristupe nastavi, bez odgovarajuće promene u njihovim uverenjima, može se negativno odraziti na inicijative profesionalnog razvoja univerzitetskih nastavnika za rad u nastavi (Kember, 1997). U tom okviru, istraživački nalazi naglašavaju važnost doprinosa programa pedagoškog osposobljavanja univerzitetskih nastavnika povećanju svesti o temeljnim pitanjima nastave (Postareff et al., 2008). Studije su potvrdile da ti programi mogu da imaju uticaj na promene koncepcija nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika (Ginns et al., 2008; Ho et al., 2001), kao i da mogu pružiti uvećane mogućnosti za usvajanje pristupa usmerenog na studenta/ učenje (Gibbs & Coffey, 2004; Postareff et al., 2007; Potter et al., 2015; Stes et al., 2010).

U literaturi se pak konstatuje da se koncepcije nastave, kao relativno stabilni konstrukti, menjaju sporo (Gibbs & Coffey, 2004; Kember, 1997; Postareff et al., 2007). Reč je o tome da koncepcije nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika proizlaze iz složenog sadejstva više faktora: dugogodišnjeg iskustva koje su univerzitetski nastavnici stekli iz škole kao učenici, iskustva rada kao nastavnika, ličnih karakteristika, etosa departmana/institucije, disciplinarne kulture (Chan, 1994; Dall'Alba, 1991; Fox, 1983; Kember, 1997; Kemp, 2013). Otuda se, u sklopu razmatranja podsticanja prihvatanja novih pristupa nastavi, ističe da lična razumevanja nastave univerzitetskih nastavnika mogu da deluju ograničavajuće; dublji uvidi u uverenja o nastavi univerzitetskih nastavnika ključni su za razvijanje programa pedagoškog osposobljavanja, kao i za promovisanje promena u visokoškolskoj nastavi (Åkerlind, 2007; Kemp, 2013). Razumevanje uverenja o nastavi i iznalaženje odgovarajućih načina podsticanja univerzitetskih nastavnika na njihovo osvešćivanje i samopreispitivanje suštinski je važno, jer se time stvara osnova za usvajanje naučno zasnovanih koncepcija o nastavi i unošenje adekvatnih promena u nastavnu praksu kako bi se na bolji način podržalo učenje studenata.

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Protiv obrazovne hijerarhije: putuj, pouči, pokori

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Apstrakt   *Oslonjeni pre svega na analize i sugestije Ransijera i Levi-Strosa, autori rada nastoje da izlože kritiku hijerarhijski vrednovanih orijentira putovanja i obrazovanja. Prvi deo rada posvećen je zapadnim putnicima i njihovom „civilizatorskom" odnosu prema drugim, dotad nepoznatim, predelima i narodima. Drugim delom rada ustanovljava se analogni obrazac i kada je reč o odnosu koji se uspostavlja u obrazovnom procesu, u kojem takođe novo i nepoznato valja savladati, osvojiti i pokoriti neupitnim znanjem. U zaključku se sugeriše mogućnost dekonstrukcije predefinisanog poretka civilizacije i/ili znanja, ne bi li se najavila mogućnost afirmisanja razlike, bez dominacije i učenja, bez jednoznačnog objašnjenja; mogućnost koja bi možda mogla da se ostvari s odstupanjem od iluzije o univerzalnoj merodavnosti Znanja i njegovog posednika.*

Ključne reči: *obrazovanje, putovanje, hijerarhija, znanje, objašnjenje.*

Uvod

Možda je svako putovanje obrazovno putovanje: u svakom se, hteli – ne hteli, s nečim novim susreće i nešto novo se može naučiti. I možda je svako obrazovanje svojevrsno putovanje: od neznanja do znanja ili „od neznalačke izvesnosti do inteligentne konfuzije" (Felder & Brent, 2004: 270). Ali mimo ove trivijalne ili metaforičke zameničnosti, postoji jedno zajedničko svojstvo – ili bolje, držanje – koje povezuje putovanje i obrazovanje, makar onako kako ga shvata kultura kojoj pripadamo: oba su iskušenja i iskušavanja, oba su ispitivanja (isleđivanja) i oba podrazumevaju hijerarhiju. Na njenom vrhu je znanje i onaj koji zna, i utoliko viši ukoliko više zna, a na dnu je ono suprotno, u podjednakoj srazmeri.

U oba slučaja se ide nečem nepoznatom ili još-ne-poznatom koje se upoznaje. I u oba slučaja pristup toj figuri drugosti, na mestu „nestabilnosti" gde se susreće „periferni"

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Drugi, po pravilu je konkistadorski: proterivanje ili podvođenje pod stabilno i odveć poznato jezgro uvek istog vlastitog centra (Lotman, 2005). Jednom je to „divljak", a drugi put „neznalica" – zapravo saobrazne slike koje legitimišu onaj, po binarnoj opoziciji suprotstavljeni, lik civilizatora-znalca, nosioca nadmoćne racionalnosti koji proniče i p(r)okazuje prvog. S takvim samorazumevanjem (Taylor, 2013) i s takvim misionarskim ovlašćenjem zapadni putnik je putovao ili pohodio, saznavao ili osvajao nove teritorije i nove „duše".

Kada je o obrazovnoj dimenziji reč, prosvetni pogon odašilje „neznalicu", ekvivalent, a prečesto i drugo ime za „divljaka", na put – koji je iskusni učitelj već prešao. Rukovođeni njegovim poznavanjem ciljanog odredišta i „objašnjenjima" koja privode njemu, oni, od njega drugi, dospeće tamo gde je on, smestiti se unutar poretka u koji je i on smešten i čiji je agent, i konačno postati deo istorije „istog" (Fuko, 1971: 68). Pritom se podrazumeva da je svaka nepoznanica, svaka različitost za vođu obrazovno-istraživačkog puta samo privremena i da će je potčiniti poredak koji svemu i svima suvereno diktira sliku sveta i smisla obitavanja u njemu.

Pogled putnika

Cvetan Todorov (Tzvetan Todorov) istrajni kritičar zapadne i svake etnocenričke gordosti i svakog hijerarhizovanja kultura, na osnovu empirijske analize književnih svedočanstava ponudio je „portrete tipova putnika", nepretenciozno priznajući da spisak koji broji čak deset različitih vrsta putnika nije ni iscrpan, ni metodski uzoran, niti takav da jedna vrsta putovanja u jednom trenutku isključuje preduzimanje drugih u drugom (Todorov, 2008). Ali kakav-takav princip deobe koji odgovara njegovim interesovanjima – kapacitet putnika za novo, njegov „odnos prema bliskosti i sapostojanju" (Todorov, 1994: 328) – instruktivan je i za temu ovog članka.

Prvi lik u ovoj podeli je „asimilator": „Asimilator je onaj koji bi hteo da izmeni druge kako bi oni ličili na njega"; on veruje u jedinstvo ljudskog roda, ali tuđe odlike tumači kao nedostatke u odnosu na vlastiti ideal. Asimilator se tako ispostavlja kao zastupnik univerzalnog hijerarhijskog poretka, unutar kojeg se njegova kultura nalazi na vrhu. Njegova, nekada uzorna slika – slika je hrišćanskog misionara „koji hoće druge da preobrati u svoju veru" (neretko i mačem). Takav konkretan oblik religijskog mesijanizma možda danas i jeste redak, ali Todorov s pravom uočava njegove nove, u savremenosti zastupljenije oblike – na lokalnom nivou kao talas asimilacije onih manje moćnih ili manje zastupljenih, a na svetskom kao novi kolonijalizam koji „izvozi revolucije" (Todorov, 1994: 328-329).

Sledeći putnik je „asimilovani". Najčešći njegov vid je imigrant: „onaj koji obavlja putovanje samo u odlasku". Nasuprot „asimilatoru" koji ide drugima da bi ih upodobio sebi, asimilovani bi da postane kao drugi kod kojih odlazi: da ih do kraja upozna, živi među njima i da ga prihvate kao svog. On nije gastarbajter koji je negde drugde na određeno vreme, niukoliko se ne odričući svoje kulture, već onaj koji bi da se poistoveti s drugima, da postane „kao oni", da bude asimilovan – pa i po cenu (ili je to možda već unapred odigrani preduslov) prihvatanja etnocentričkog izopačenja lokalnog stereotipa (Todorov, 1994: 331-332).

U otporu da se plati takva cena nastupa „egzot". On je „stranac" koji ne prihvata tuđe navike, tuđe konvencije koje tuđini smatraju prirodnim; on ih uočava ali im se ne potči-

njava; on neprestano poredi postupke drugih zemalja sa normama svoje zemlje; on tako uočava mane drugih kojih oni koji su ih naturalizovali nisu svesni. Njegova nevolja je što, ukoliko bi da ostane takav, neprestano mora da živi u krhkoj ravnoteži i da pomno prati promene na osetljivoj vagi na kojoj obitava: "između iznenađenosti i prisnosti, distanciranja i identifikacije". Ukoliko ne poznaje dovoljno druge, egzot ih ne razume, a ukoliko ih predobro poznaje, više ih ne vidi onim privilegovanim okom "spolja" (Todorov, 1994: 332).

„Izgnanik" je pak sličan egzotu utoliko što izbegava asimilaciju, a imigrantu utoliko što nastanjuje zemlju koja nije njegova. Od egzota ga, opet, razlikuje nezainteresovanost za narod u čijoj sredini živi. Naprotiv: „To je čovek koji svoj život u inostranstvu tumači kao doživljaj nepripadanja sredini i koji tu sredinu upravo zbog toga voli. Izgnanika interesuje njegov život, pa čak i njegov vlastiti narod; ali on je shvatio da je upravo po taj interes bolje da živi u inostranstvu, tamo gde ne 'pripada'; on više nije privremeno, već definitivno stranac." (Todorov, 1994: 332). Dekart (René Descartes) u Holandiji, Volter (Voltaire) u Švajcarskoj, Džojs (James Joyce) i Beket (Samuel Beckett), Garsija Markes (Gabriel García Márquez) i Ginter Gras (Günter Grass) u Parizu, a među njima i drugima možda i sam Cvetan Todorov, svima njima tek stranstvovanje, izabrano, omogućava udobno stvaranje „nacionalnih" ostvarenja. Oni su srećni zbog života u tuđini – upravo zato što to njihovo hotimično izgnaništvo ne samo da odbija čvršće veze sa drugima među kojima žive, nego se već unapred osuećuje za „otkriće drugih" (Todorov, 1994: 333).

Poslednji od pet tipova putnika koji se u ovom prilogu izdvajaju, a uz asimilatora možda i najupečatljiviji, jeste „alegorista", koji na drugi način iskorišćava druge. On govori o stranom narodu, ali s malo ili nimalo brige za njega, već ne bi li oboružan njegovim iskustvom raspravljao o problemima vlastite kulture. Od Monteskjeovih (Montesquieu) *Persijskih pisama* i Didroovog (Denis Diderot) *Dodatka Bugenvilovom putovanju*, izmaštanih putopisa koji se i danas čitaju kao pionirske, duhovite i poučne packe umišljanju Evropljana da su norme njihove kulture uopšte opravdane ili poželjne, a naročito da se mogu smatrati merodavnim za druge (Monteskje, 2004; Stanley, 2009), pa sve do opčinjenog projektovanja nade iz sredine dvadesetog veka u Treći svet, ponavlja se figura „primitivističkog alegorizma": drugi se zapravo ne posmatraju, ili posmatranje ne služi da bi se istinski spoznao Drugi, već da bi slika drugog služila kao iskrivljeno ogledalo, čime se „izokreću" uočene osobenosti sopstvene zemlje ili društva kome se nedvosmisleno i jedino i dalje pripada (Todorov, 1994: 333-334).

Savest putnika

Drugo i drugi su hronični problem u svim formama kolonijalnog diskursa, kao i diskursa koji bi da odstupi od njega. Kada je o prvom reč, putopisi su odigrali možda presudnu ulogu i, u svakom slučaju, (p)ostali svedočanstvo imperijalizma evrocentričkog znanja i saznavanja. U devetnaestom veku oni su se razvijali uporedo s projektima prirodne istorije, a njihovom formalizacijom „postignuto je stvaranje mreže kolonijalnih i metropolitskih prostora" (Gregory, 1998: 82). Nema nikakve sumnje da je posredi bila, fukoovski rečeno, proizvodnja znanja, čije su tvrdnje zavisile od rada „na terenu".

Sami novootkriveni, novoupoznati ili novoosvojeni prostori su iznova definisani ili redefinisani: „široko otvoreni prostori prirode" kojima se hodilo u otkrivanju novog sveta

bili su, međutim, neodvojivi od proizvodnje zatvorenih prostora kao što su botaničke bašte, muzeji ili zoološki vrtovi. Kroćenje i pripitomljavanje nepoznatog moralo je da sačeka sistematski određenu, što će reći precizno omeđenu, i sa sigurnošću prezentovanu formu znanja, zaokruženog, bezbednog i pouzdanog znanja. Ono nije neposredno proizlazilo iz iskustva prelaska i upoznavanja terena, već tek iz naknadne perspektive udaljenog posmatrača, kojem je omogućen panoramski pogled na prirodu, na novi, drugačiji ili divlji svet, koji se mogao konstruisati kao zatvoren prostor, rezervat ili egzotični isečak različitog, i postati dostupan za prikazivanje evropskoj javnosti (Outram, 1996).

Ali ni istorija drugačijeg, antikolonijalnog (puto)pisanja nije zanemarljiva. Najkasnije od romantičara (Molnar i Molnar, 2013: 363-364), pa preko Fojerbaha (Fojerbah, 1956), sve do savremenog anarhoprimitivizma (videti, na primer, Zerzan, 2005), nižu se ukazivanja na krivo skretanje zapadne tehnonaučne racionalnosti i njenih političkih produžetaka, na neophodnost drugačijeg mišljenja. Vilijam Vordsvort (Wordsworth, 1974) i Kolridž (Coleridge, 2004) se otiskuju u spekulacije o tome „kako seljaci misle", otvarajući vek i po ranije savremenu debatu o (ne)mogućnosti „primitivne" ili „divlje" misli (Levi-Stros, 1978; Lévy-Bruhl, 1954; Lévy-Bruhl, 1966; McLane, 2000: 46–50; Sahlins, 1995). Na to pitanje Vordsvort, poput kasnije Levi-Strosa (Claude Lévy-Strauss), implicitno odgovara afirmativno (Wordsworth, 1974: 125; uporediti Levi-Stros, 1978: 318; Levi-Stros, 2009: 19–20). Kolridž, baš kao i Sartr (Jean-Paul Sartre) vek i po posle njega (Vattimo, 2012), u najboljem slučaju nudi jedno uslovno „da": seljaci misle, ali ne kao bolji deo društva – svakako ne kao sveštenici, filozofi i književnici, kojima je suđeno da obezbede „najbolje delove jezika" za poeziju (Coleridge, 2004).

Posle romantičara, i savremeni kulturni relativizam ustaje protiv prosvetiteljske promocije *hijerarhijski strukturiranog pojma „civilizacije"*, koji je poslužio da se u svesti Zapada sopstveni položaj vidi kao model, vlastite navike kao univerzalne sposobnosti, sopstvene vrednosti kao apsolutni kriterijum suđenja, a zapadnjaci sami kao gazdujući posednici svekolike prirode (Schulze, 2008). S teorijskom pripremom, s epistemološkom logistikom kriptonormativnih, diskriminatorskih, „linearno-progresivističkih" pojmova, mogla je da počne i stvarna kolonizacija svega različitog, svega što odstupa i što se smešta na niži rang razvoja (Lévy-Strauss, 1989: 161, 310–311, 316–317).

Od te spekulativne neukosti, ispostavlja se, leči etnologija, uvidom da ta neukost nije ništa drugo do „slepo odbijanje onoga što nije naše", da varvarstvo nije opozit civilizaciji, nego je, skupa s civilizacijom, smišljeni konstrukt, kao i da celu konstrukciju valja demontirati informišući one koji druge krste varvarima da je varvarin pre svega čovek koji veruje u varvarstvo (Lévy-Strauss, 1988: 303). Danas je važno, naprotiv, ne uništiti, sačuvati, zaštititi „tužne trope", i šire: zainteresovati se za „analizu i tumačenje razlika" među društvima (uporediti Levi-Stros, 1978: 313–315; Lévy-Strauss, 1988: 299–306; Levi-Stros, 1999: 292). Te razlike su danas ugrožene, stara se da ukaže Levi-Stros, a ne jedinstvo vrste koje savremena sredstva saobraćaja i masovni mediji ionako čine gotovo neizbežnim. I on sa zebnjom zamišlja „vreme kad će na planeti postojati samo jedna kultura i civilizacija" (Levi-Stros, 2009: 23).

Zla savest Okcidenta, dakle, progovorila je u dvadesetom veku različitim glasovima, ali njihova društvena dimenzija ponavljaće staru tezu, samo izričitije i ubojitije: sva

društva moraju biti tretirana kao podjednako vredna, ali ne i jednaka, već naprotiv, upravo različita i neuporediva. Svaki drugačiji pristup je put u naivnu ali rasprostranjenu besmislicu pretpostavljanja superiornosti jednog od njih, ili u manje naivno zanemarivanje razlika za volju neuverljivog bratstva svih ljudi (Levi-Stros, 1999: 302; Lévy-Strauss, 1988: 302–304).

Delimična podrška nastojanjima Levi-Strosa da ublaži rane zapadne saznajne i geografske konkviste, pridoći će kasnije s (ne)očekivane strane. U predavanju „O humanističkim naukama i filozofskoj disciplini", podjednako kao nekada Levi-Stros obraćajući se Unesku, Žak Derida (Jacques Derrida) pronalazi implicitnu filozofiju u tekstovima međunarodnih ustanova koje se zasnivaju na idejama ljudskih prava i međunarodnog prava. Čitanje Kantove „Ideje opšte istorije" (Kant, 1968) je pritom prilika da se detektuje teleološka pretpostavka Evrope kao cilja univerzalne istorije koji prožima modernu do duboko u savremene diskurse. Međunarodne ustanove se suočavaju s istim problemom evrocentrizma, a Deridi je ovde ponajviše stalo do onog kosmopolitskog „prava na filozofiju" koje bi sada valjalo misliti mimo njenog „grčko-evropskog porekla i sećanja", kao i mimo pukog suprotstavljanja njemu (Derrida, 1994: 14).

Filozofija izlaz iz dugoveke i zamorne alternative evrocentrizma i protivevrocentrizma, prema Deridi, a za razliku nadalje od Levi-Strosa, izgleda ne samo da može pronaći nego ga i vlastitim savremenim statusom nudi. Budući da „više nije određena programom, izvornim jezikom ili govorom", budući da su već i njeni koreni sumnjivi, „bastardni, hibridni, kalemljeni, multilinearni i poliglotski", tako shvaćena, ona već (po)stoji s one strane „kolonijalne ili neokolonijalne dijalektike prisvajanja i otuđivanja" i predstavlja, „ako postoji takva stvar, taj drugi put" (Derrida, 1994: 15)

Deridin prigovor Levi-Strosu, ali i Rusou (Jean-Jacques Rousseau), Vordsvortu, Kolridžu i čitavoj tradiciji prirodnjačko-primitivističke korekture civilizacije, Todorov bi rekao „alegoristima", sastoji se u uvidu da takva nastojanja da se spere krivica zapadne kulture moraju da okončaju u nekritičkoj fetišizaciji drugog pola, u umišljanjima nekakve bezazlene prirode Drugog, ispunjene nepatvorenom lepotom i dobrotom. Ako se odmakne od tog krivog ili naopakog ogledala zapadnog protivetnocentrizma (Dos, 2019: 47-48), međutim, razotkriće se da je direktno predavanje navodno neobeščašćenoj prirodi podjednako teleološki i eshatološki inficirano kao i osvajačko nahrupljivanje u nju: u oba slučaja sanja se „san o punom i neposrednom prisustvu koje zatvara povijest" (Derrida, 1976: 154).

Pogled učenog

Učenje uvek uvodi u neki poredak, bilo da je reč o poretku znanja, društva ili „civilizacije", pri čemu su oni prečesto uvezani. Poredak znanja možda čak uvek prethodi ostalim hijerarhizacijama, objašnjava ih, opravdava i/ili ozakonjuje. Međutim ako poslušamo Ransijera (Jacques Rancière), učenje, kao i objašnjavanje, nije ili ne bi trebalo da bude ništa drugo nego *obećanje razumevanja*, razumevanja koje naknadno dolazi, ali za koje ne postoji nikakav garant da je konačno, a samim tim ni jedino legitimno ili ispravno. Svako razumevanje ili objašnjenje koje sebe uzima za konačno nije ništa drugo nego simulacija:

simulacija poretka. Učenje, da bi uopšte bilo učenje, mora moći da promaši, da *ne ispuni obećanje* – to je rizik koji dopušta učenju da se odvija. U suprotnom, učenje bi se pretvorilo u faktički iskaz, u reprodukciju i repeticiju jednih istih činjenica, što bi značilo da se ništa *novo* nikada ne bi dogodilo, ništa novo se ne bi nikada (na)učilo. A ukoliko ne bi bilo mogućnosti drugačijeg odgovora, obrazovanje bi prestalo da bude obrazovanje i postalo ekonomija ili – možda pre, rečima Deride – tehnologija:

> Kada je putanja jasna i data, kada određeno znanje unapred otvara put, odluka je već doneta, podjednako bi se moglo reći da nema odluke koja bi se tek donela; neodgovorno, a čiste savesti, jednostavno se primenjuje ili implementira program. […] To od delanja čini jednostavnu primenu znanja ili veština. To od etike i politike čini tehnologiju. (Derrida, 1992: 41, 45)

Obrazovanje koje nije i neizvesno lutanje ne može da izbegne udes da je, iznad svega i pre svih emancipatorskih stremljenja, *kontrola*, *hijerarhizacija* i *uspostavljanje* ili *očuvanje* određenog *dominantnog* poretka. Svako obrazovanje koje pretpostavlja odredište nastoji da *potčini*. Ransijer nije sam u ovom zaključku. Fuko (Foucault, 1983) će pre njega detektovati razgranatu mrežu hijerarhija u akademskom pogonu: fakulteti, kao i sve druge institucije, prožeti su odnosima moći, nastojanjima da se – uvek zarad kontrole, zarad pribavljanja autonomije za sebe i potčinjavanja dugih – nametne jedna istina, jedan diskurs, jedno znanje ili jednostavno interes jedne grupe. Ali njih, uvek istovremeno, prožima i reakcija, otpor takvim nastojanjima, neka protiv-moć koja onda upotpunjava nestabilnu kompoziciju visokoškolske ustanove (Foucault, 1983).

Ni na nižim nivoima organizovanog masovnog obrazovanja stvar ne stoji bolje. Ne samo ucene ocena i ispita, nego već sama „organizacija prostora" u osnovnim školama klasifikuje učenike i „funkcioniše kao mehanizam pogodan za učenje, ali i za nadzor, hijerarhizaciju, nagrađivanje" (Fuko, 1997: 196). Na tom tragu i usredsređeniji na prenos znanja, i Delez (Gilles Deleuze) će primetiti:

> Govor nije načinjen da mu se veruje, već da mu se potčini. Kada učiteljica objašnjava deci neku računsku operaciju, ili kada ih poučava sintaksi, ona im ne daje informacije u pravom smislu reči, već im saopštava zapovesti, prenosi im parole, navodi ih da proizvode tačne iskaze, „prave" ideje koje su nužno usklađene s dominantnim značenjem. (Delez i Parne, 2009: 34)

Klod Levi-Stros (Claude Lévi-Strauss) putuje u džungle Amazona, u pleme *Nambikvara*, koje ne poseduje pisani jezik, niti se koristi crtežima, izuzev nekoliko tačaka ili krivulja koje ponekad, retko, iscrtaju štapom na zemlji (Levi-Stros, 1999: 234). Nambikvarama su dati papiri i olovke bez namere da se odmah „poduče" *veštini* pisanja. Isprva, niko se neće latiti olovaka i papira, ali već nakon par dana, svi u selu pokušavaće da pišu, tačnije da imitiraju pokrete koje su videli da Levi-Stros pravi. Pošto ovim „učenjem po modelu" Nambikvare ne mogu naučiti zaista da pišu, već samo da „imitiraju pisanje", Levi-Stros održava prvu pravu lekciju pisanja, svojevrsni nagovor na pisanje, ukazivanjem na važnost pismenosti, s neskrivenom argumentacijom ili motivacijom da od nepismenih domorodaca valja načiniti građane. „Svako se mora osposobiti da čita, tako

da vlast (s pravom) može da kaže: Nepoznavanje zakona nije opravdanje" (Levi-Stros, 1999: 238).

Ovo učenje-putovanje sa predvidivim završetkom, jedno među mnogima, preki-da, međutim, jedan neočekivani *događaj*. Poglavica plemena okuplja pleme, traži od Le-vi-Strosa tablu za pisanje i, nakon što napravi nekoliko krivudavih linija oponašajući pisa-nje, daje Levi-Strosu tablu da *pročita*. Predstavi ni tu nije kraj: ubrzo zatim poglavica uzima Levi-Strosove spise i počinje da ih *objašnjava* ostatku plemena, „pišući" nakon toga svoj „odgovor" (Levi-Stros, 1999: 234-235). Suvišno je reći da je posredi *simulacija razumeva-nja*: poglavica se pravi da razume šta Levi-Stros piše, isto kao što se *pravi* da njegove krive linije poseduju smisao koji bi Levi-Strosu trebalo da bude transparentan. Da stvar bude upečatljivija, „navodni smisao" koji poglavica interpretira članovima svog plemena ticao se *robne razmene* između plemena i „belog čoveka" (Levi-Strosa) – dakle *simulacija razu-mevanja* i *objašnjavanja* za svoj predmet imala je *ekonomiju*, nesumnjivo zato što će robna razmena biti doživljena kao nešto što će neposredno uticati na život plemena.

Naum ove predstave bio je pre svega da zadivi, da ostatak plemena dodatno podre-di poglavici. Ransijerovski formulišući, koristeći *pisani jezik*, simulirajući *razumevanje*, te služeći se *objašnjenjem*, poglavica zapravo koristi *obrazovni diskurs* da potvrdi i opravda svoju hijerarhijsku poziciju. On je neko ko za razliku od drugih „brže uči" i „bolje razume-va", pa je stoga i opravdano da mu se drugi potčinjavaju. I tako je prvi susret „nevinog" plemena Nambikvare sa pisanim jezikom afirmisao njegovu potčinjavalačku funkciju. Le-vi-Stros to još oštrije eksplicira:

> Ako je moja pretpostavka tačna, treba priznati da je osnovna funkcija pisane komunikacije olakšavanje porobljavanja. Upotreba pisma za bezinteresne ci-ljeve, za postizanje intelektualnih i estetskih zadovoljstava sekundarni je rezul-tat, čak i ako pretpostavimo da se ona najčešće ne svodi na sredstvo podupi-ranja, opravdavanja ili prikrivanja njegove osnovne upotrebe… Tako se borba protiv nepismenosti stapa sa većom kontrolom vlasti nad njenim građanima. (Levi-Stros, 1999: 237-238)

Čini se da je ovakav zaključak suprotan opštem uverenju da se treba obrazovati (steći znanje, naučiti čitati i tako dalje) kako bi se izbegla podređenost, manipulacija ili kontrola onih na pozicijama moći. Premda isprva tako može delovati, teško da je reč o suprotnosti. Jednosmerna hijerarhija obrazovanja o kojoj govori Ransijer ili potčinjavalač-ki aspekt pisanja i govora koji simuliraju razumevanje, kako navodi Levi-Stros, poručuju da se legitimacija hijerarhije uvodi istovremeno s dominantnim obrazovnim diskursom. Drugim rečima, unutar diskursa „obrazujte se da ne biste bili kontrolisani", hijerarhija koja je bazirana na znanju i do koje se dolazi putem obrazovanja već je uvedena – njom su pripadnici zajednice već obuhvaćeni, bez obzira da li su „unutar" ili „izvan" dominantnog obrazovnog poretka. Takav poredak je u prisnom saglasju sa fiksnim pozicijama, predo-dređenim putevima, odgovorima i odredištima unutar obrazovnog procesa. Dominacija obrazovnog, kao i svakog drugog poretka počiva na njegovoj stabilnosti, na zaprečava-nju mogućnosti da se on relativizuje. Obrazovanjem se društveni poredak reprodukuje, a obrazovni – samoreprodukuje.

Savest učitelja

Takav obrazovni nastup ili takva p(a)raobrazovna strategija zapravo društvenog potčinjavanja, u tom smislu subjektivacije i kontrole, čini se stabilnom istorijskom i transkulturnom konstantom koja – utoliko možda i više ukoliko se izdaje za trajnu i nužnu – inspiriše osporavanja i potragu za alternativom. U *Učitelju neznalici* Ransijer (Rancière, 2010) pripoveda o jednoj „intelektualnoj avanturi" koja će u svoj vrtlog uvući i nadalje voditi prvo profesora Žana Žakotoa i njegove studente, a zatim i mnoge druge. Naime, priča teče tako da je, predajući u Luvenu francuski jezik, a ne govoreći flamanski kojim su se studenti služili, Žakoto studentima (za)dao zadatak da čitaju dvojezično izdanje Fenelonovog (François Fénelon) didaktičkog romana *Avanture Telemaha. Odisejevog sina*, da bi potom, sugerišući da se oslanjaju na prevod, tražio od njih da napišu esej o njemu, ali na francuskom jeziku – koji studenti dakle nisu govorili.

Rezultati ovog „slučajnog" eksperimenta daleko su prevazišli Žakotoova očekivanja: studenti su uspeli da u dobroj meri ovladaju francuskim jezikom, a ono što je iznenađujuće i što predstavlja još jednu tačku u kojoj Ransijerova, Žakotoova ili naša avantura počinje jeste da su to uspeli da urade *sami*, to jest, bez bilo kakvog *objašnjenja* učitelja, koje bi tom procesu učenja prethodilo. Na osnovu ovog *događaja*, proširujući ispitivanje mogućnosti učenja bez objašnjenja, Ransijer izvodi tezu koja predstavlja jednu od glavnih okosnica njegovog dela:

> Treba preokrenuti logiku sustava objašnjavanja. Nije nužno objašnjenje da bi se otklonila nesposobnost razumijevanja. Upravo suprotno, ta nesposobnost je fikcija koja strukturira objašnjavalačko poimanje svijeta. Objašnjavatelj treba nesposobnog, a ne obrnuto, i on je taj koji nesposobnost uspostavlja kao takvu. Nekomu nešto objasniti ponajprije znači pokazati da taj netko to ne može sam shvatiti. Prije nego postane pedagoški čin, objašnjenje je pegagoški mit, priča o svijetu podijeljenom na učene i neuke duhove, zrele i nezrele duhove, one koji su sposobni i nesposobni, inteligentni i glupi. Podvala koja obilježuje onoga koji objašnjava sastoji se od dvostruke početne geste. S jedne strane, on proglašava apsolutni početak: tek sada počinje čin učenja. S druge, na sve stvari koje treba naučiti on baca veo neznanja preuzimajući na sebe zadatak da ga skine. (Rancière, 2010: 15)

Objašnjenje je pedagoška pretpostavka, tvrdiće Ransijer. Učitelj (iz priče), istina, traži od učenika da nauče, ali im ništa ne objašnjava, ponavljajući ovaj postupak, te dokazujući da učenici mogu da uče sami. Tim gestom se narušava postojeća hijerarhija znanja. Proces obrazovanja kao putovanja postupnim i sigurnom rukom profesora vođenim saznavanjem do obaveznog *odredišta* nije ni bio moguć, zato što Žakoto nije bio u stanju da prenese to odredište na one koji uče. Kasnije on „podučava" tako da ni on sam ne zna gde je odredište ka kom put učenja treba da vodi, niti kako tačno doći do njega. Učitelj tako uči – putuje, luta – zajedno sa učenicima. Pošto Ransijer izbegava bilo kakav čvrst poredak znanja, emancipacija polaznika se kod njega javlja isključivo kao *samoemancipacija* – postupak koji, za razliku od Rusoovog (i mnogih drugih) pristupa, ne primorava učenike da budu slobodni, već čini da se oslobode sami (Snir, 2020: 149).

Ali, ako je odredište i u jednom i u drugom slučaju sloboda, ako učiteljevi uputi ne vode nikud drugde nego do istog onog cilja do kojeg su studenti i sami došli, u tom slučaju, koja je razlika između samooslobođenja i oslobođenja? Nije li daleko smislenije sistemski sprovoditi „oslobađanje"? Zašto bismo navodili učenike da sami dođu do znanja, kada je jednostavnije (i efikasnije) saopštiti ga i od učenika zahtevati da nauče? Žakotoovi učenici možda jesu stekli određeno znanje, ali ko kaže da im to znanje ne bi brže prenela profesorka francuskog koja govori flamanski?

Rekonstrukcija Ransijerove argumentacije u prilog neobjašnjavalačkom pristupu kome daje prednost mogla bi teći na sledeći način: budući da svaki sistem podrazumeva unutrašnju hijerarhiju, a samim tim i određenu vrstu *kontrole*, znanje i/ili sloboda koji treba da proiziđu iz obrazovnog putovanja ne pripadaju nikakvom pretpostavljenom sistemu znanja. *Objašnjenje* je agent sistema: ono nije tu da spase zalutalog putnika, već pre svega da uspostavi sistem kontrole, ne više samo obrazovne, nego i znatno šire, društvene ili političke. Itaj Snir (Itay Snir) s pravom ukazuje da Ransijerova knjiga, iako govori o univerzitetskom profesoru, nipošto nije knjiga samo o obrazovanju, već delo koje, ističući sputavajuće ili zaglupljujuće principe objašnjavalačkog diskursa, rasvetljava logiku na kojoj je zasnovan čitav društveno-politički poredak (Snir, 2020: 150).

> Znamo da objašnjenje zapravo nije tek oružje zatupljivanja u rukama pedagogâ, nego sama sprega društvenog poretka. A poredak podrazumijeva podjelu položajâ. Podjela položajâ pretpostavlja objašnjenja, fikciju koja raspodjeljuje i opravdava, fikciju nejednakosti koja nema drugog razloga svog postojanja. (Rancière, 2010: 142)

Zaključak koji otključava

Ketrin Malabu (Catherine Malabou) će iscrtati direktnu vezu Levi-Strosovog i Ransijerovog rada. Priča prvog započinje višestrukim lutanjem. Levi-Stros luta, slučajni eksperiment je lutanje; lutaju i Nambikvare u svom „učenju". Međutim, lutanje se (pre)usmerava jednim neočekivanim događajem koji objavljuje zaplet: poglavica uspeva da „dođe" do „svrhe" pisanja – ne naučivši da piše. Ovaj *događaj* omogućuje mu da preokrene kurs: „poglavica obrće svoju situaciju neznanja – on ne zna da piše – da bi iz nje izvukao najveću moguću korist". Ali ta inverzija, rođena u slučaju, postaje događaj koji potvrđuje naopakost principa: ono što se čini tek mogućom posledicom pisanja (*pozicije znanja*), ispostaviće se njegovom „primarnom funkcijom" (Malabou & Derrida, 2004: 66).

Priča iz džungle tako nas vraća Ransijeru: funkcija *objašnjenja* prethodi njegovom značenju, ona ga određuje. Drugačije rečeno, svako moguće značenje objašnjenja uslovljeno je njegovom funkcijom. Obrt koji vrši poglavica je nesumnjivo plod iskrivljenja prvobitne namere, zanošenja s planiranog puta, izvođenje iz navođene trajektorije, ali je on, s druge strane gledano, i jedna dosledno „izvedena katastrofa" (Malabou & Derrida, 2004: 66), jedno transparentno ili transparentnije uvođenje protiv-poretka – plemenskog, recimo, naspram građanskog – u kome takođe više nema lutanja, u kome prestaje putovanje van poznatih predela i na scenu stupa uvek domicilna ekonomija.

Ali, najzad, ukoliko su govor ili pisanje osmišljeni da bi (im) se potčinilo, kako drugačije razumeti i proceniti i pokušaj analize ili govora o tome? Nije li svako objašnjenje – pa i ono koje objašnjava nužni i nužno zloćudan afinitet objašnjenja i podjarmljivanja – u racionalizovanu oblandu metakritike uvijeno uspostavljanje iste one hijerarhije između onoga koji zna i onoga koji ne zna? – Delezov odgovor na ta pitanja, koja osudi hijerarhije i standardizacije znanja vraćaju milo za drago, mišljenju obrazovanja preporučuju nešto naizgled manje od statusa kojim je ono sebi laskalo, ali možda ono najteže: odstupanje od metapozicije povlašćenog epistemičkog i pos(r)edničkog subjekta, udaljavanje od preduzetničkog manira takođe (Delez, 2010: 254), skretanje od svakog dominantnog značenja – napuštanje, ukratko, svake „funkcije" koja određuje kurs i uskraćuje ili redukuje druge mogućnosti.

Ali, i ako se prihvati takva zanosna preorijentacija, pretiče ono manje načelno, konkretnije pitanje: može li se u obrazovanom procesu napraviti jasna razlika između *objašnjavanja* koje nastoji da potkopa hijerarhiju i polaznike izbavi od nje, i *objašnjenja* koje bi da ih uputi u nju i ojača je? – Ako ima istine u Freireovom (Paulo Freire) zapažanju da „oni koji obespravljuju, ugnjetavaju i iskorištavaju jer imaju moć, ne mogu u toj moći naći snagu za oslobođenje ni obespravljenih ni sebe", pa da ih, skupa sa sobom, moraju osloboditi obespravljeni (Freire, 2002: 28), onda bi protivotrov dominaciji u obrazovanju, po analogiji koja ne pretpostavlja društvenu revoluciju, već nešto možda mnogo više ili svakako dublje, mogao ili morao da se potraži ne kod nosioca ovog ili onog oslobađanja (za novo tlačenje, novi poredak), već u oslobađanju samog „objašnjenja", u oslobađanju od njega, u preokretu kojim samo obrazovanje prethodi svojoj funkciji, te se tako stalno iznova uspostavlja, u onoj *samoemancipaciji* kojoj ne treba s visine intoniran nalog šta emancipacija obrazovanjem treba da bude i za/zbog čega se sprovodi.

Uostalom, takva sugestija i ne mora da se vidi kao naročita novost. Već je Gete (Johann Wolfgang von Goethe) znao ono na čemu će mnogo kasnije insistirati čitava *Selbstbiludng* tradicija, tradicija koja je zagovarala da je svako obrazovanje – ukoliko se u njemu zaista obrazuje – samoobrazovanje (Baykan, 2013). Gete naime primećuje da nemački jezik (kao zaista među retkima i srpski) „s pravom koristi reč obrazovanje kako za ono što je nastalo, tako i za proces nastanka" (uporediti Gadamer, 1986: 16-18; Dobrijević i Krstić 2013; Krstić, 2021: 91). Ta dvoznačnost omogućava pomeranje akcenta s društvenog preduzeća na obrazovanje kao „stvar pojedinca, svesno oblikovanje sopstvenog života i preuzimanje kontrole nad njim", a „tajni izvor snage unutar čoveka samog" sada se – osamostaljen – suprotstavlja *svim* spoljnim uticajima (Assmann, 2014: 328). Uho naviklo na diktat kolektivnih ciljeva i ličnih „ostvarenja" u njegovom ključu, onda kao i sada to može čuti kao skandalozno zastupništvo. Ono to i jeste. Ono naime jedino, a da to jedino uopšte nije malo, hoće da sugeriše kako bi možda bilo uputno glagole povezane s obrazovanjem učiniti trajnim i misliti ih kao trajne radnje: radije ostvarivanje, nego definisano ili ka (s)pokoju definitivnosti kretanje ostvarenja, radije oblikovanje nego oblikovanost i radije obrazovanje nego obrazovanost, nego iluzija uobražene izobraženosti.

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Zadovoljstvo različitim aspektima života i pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti kod srednjoškolaca: specifičan značaj zadovoljstva školom[1]

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Apstrakt   *Postojeća empirijska građa svedoči o značajnoj vezi zadovoljstva životom sa pozitivnim očekivanjima od budućnosti kod učenika srednjih škola. Međutim, u deficitu su istraživanja koja situiraju konkretniju ulogu zadovoljstva različitim životnim aspektima za pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti. Stoga je ovo istraživanje usmereno na sagledavanje značaja zadovoljstva različitim aspektima života kod učenika beogradskih srednjih škola za njihova pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti, s posebnim akcentom na ispitivanje uloge zadovoljstva školom. Istraživanje je sprovedeno tokom drugog polugodišta školske 2021/22. godine, na uzorku od 215 učenika beogradskih srednjih škola. Rezultati ukazuju na to da zadovoljstvo različitim aspektima života i zadovoljstvo životom generalno ostvaruju značajne pozitivne veze s pozitivnim očekivanjima od budućnosti. Najsnažnije veze pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti ostvaruju sa zadovoljstvom sobom, dok se najslabija korelacija beleži sa zadovoljstvom školom. Uprkos slaboj povezanosti s pozitivnim očekivanjima od budućnosti, zadovoljstvo školom pokazuje se značajnim moderatorom najjače konstatovane veze – zadovoljstva sobom i pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti. Drugim rečima, nalazi dobijeni u ovom istraživanju upućuju na zaključak da planirane aktivnosti u kontekstu razvoja zadovoljstva školom mogu kompenzovati negativan uticaj zadovoljstva sobom i uticati na pozitivnija očekivanja od budućnosti. S obzirom na to da su dosadašnja empirijska stremljenja mahom bila fokusirana na utvrđivanje veze s pozitivnim razvojnim ishodima, ovo istraživanje*

može poslužiti kao polazna osnova za detaljnije sagledavanje mehanizama podsticanja pozitivnih oče-
kivanja od budućnosti kod učenika srednjih škola.

Ključne reči: *zadovoljstvo životom, pozitivna očekivanja, budućnost, srednjoškolci, zadovoljstvo*
školom.

Uvod

Subjektivno blagostanje po definiciji predstavlja visok nivo pozitivnog i nizak nivo negativnog afekta uz visok nivo zadovoljstva životom (Deci & Ryan, 2008). Uz ovaj koncept sinonimno se upotrebljava koncept „sreće", gde se maksimizovanje ličnog blagostanja posmatra kao maksimizovanje lične sreće (Deci & Ryan, 2008). U literaturi se prepoznaju dve osnovne orijentacije blagostanja – hedonička (potraga za uživanjem i zadovoljstvom) i eudemonična (usmerenost ka ličnom razvoju i smislu života) (Huta & Ryan, 2010; Peterson et al., 2005; Ryan & Deci, 2001). Hedonički aspekti dobrobiti povezani su s kratkoročnim potrebama adolescenata, dok su eudemonični aspekti povezani s dugoročnim ciljevima. Hedonički motivi tiču se prepoznavanja onoga što trenutno čini da se osećamo dobro, dok se eudemonične namere tiču onoga što je ispravno ili što treba da se uradi (Huta, 2015). Rezultati istraživanja upućuju na to da za optimalno funkcionisanje među ovim aspektima treba da postoji balans. Može se reći da je teorija o međusobnom dopunjavanju ova dva aspekta dobrobiti koji čine potpunu sreću (Huta & Ryan, 2010; Peterson et al., 2005) poslednjih godina poljuljana (Gentzler et al., 2021). Iako hedonički i eudemonični motivi međusobno pozitivno koreliraju, njihov prethodno percipiran komplementarni odnos autori smatraju prenaglašenim, te sugerišu da se oni pre mogu smatrati nezavisnim konceptima (Gentzler et al., 2021; Mise & Busseri, 2000). Rezultati istraživanja upućuju na to da su hedonički motivi povezani i s pozitivnim (manje depresivnosti i bolje socijalne veštine) i s negativnim (manje empatije i samokontrole) ishodima, dok su eudemonični povezani samo sa pozitivnim ishodima (npr. veće zadovoljstvo, empatija, bolji vršnjački odnosi) (Gentzler et al., 2021). Eudemonija se prepoznaje kao najdugoročniji put ka sreći (Schueller & Seligman, 2010). Međutim, retka istraživanja za predmet imaju povezanost subjektivnog blagostanja učenika i eudemoničnih aspekata u obrazovnom kontekstu (Chen & Zeng, 2022).

U skladu sa eudemoničnom orijentacijom blagostanja, ljudi imaju potrebu da daju smisao svom životu i da ga imaju pod kontrolom, a vreme je važan alat koji im u tome pomaže (Eryılmaz, 2011). Trenutne studije o vremenu uglavnom su fokusirane na budući vremenski okvir. Orijentacija prema budućnosti može biti pozitivna ili negativna. Pozitivna orijentacija prema budućnosti ispituje se posredstvom različitih konstrukata, poput pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti, optimizma, nade itd. Jedna grupa autora navedene pojmove koristi kao sinonime (Zou et al., 2022), dok druga grupa ističe razlike među njima (Snyder et al., 1991). S aspekta ciljeva ovog rada razlike u konceptualizaciji navedenih pojmova nisu preterano značajne, te će se u ovom radu „pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti" koristiti kao dominantna sintagma za označavanje pozitivne orijentacije prema budućnosti, čak i onda kada su autori u svojim originalnim radovima koristili termine „optimizam" i/ili „nada".

Teorijske osnove istraživanja

Zadovoljstvo životom prepoznaje se kao značajan aspekt pozitivnog razvoja mladih, te samim tim zavređuje veliku pažnju u naučnim diskursima. Definiše se kao ukupna pozitivna procena sopstvenog života (Caprara et al., 2010) i prepoznaje se kao kognitivna komponenta subjektivnog blagostanja koja igra važnu ulogu u pozitivnom razvoju kao indikator, prediktor, medijator/moderator i ishod (Park, 2004). Multidimenzionalnost koncepta zadovoljstva životom teorijski i empirijski je potkrepljena (Cecen, 2021). Zadovoljstvo životom konceptualizovano je i kao kognitivna evaluacija koja proizilazi iz procesa poređenja sa interno formiranim kriterijumima pozitivnosti života pojedinca u celini ili u različitim domenima, kao što su posao, škola, porodica, self, prijatelji, društveni život, fizički izgled i okruženje (Cecen, 2021). Pojedini autori (Alfonso et al., 1996) zadovoljstvo životom mere posredstvom više domena, poput zadovoljstva fizičkim izgledom, porodicom, poslom, odnosima, seksualnim životom, školom, društvenim životom i sobom, dok ga drugi (Huebner, 1994; Gilman & Huebner, 2003) operacionalizuju putem pet domena: škola, prijatelji, porodica, susedstvo i self. Studije zadovoljstva životom nalaze se pod okriljem perspektive koja naglašava zdrave i pozitivne aspekte razvoja u različitim fazama životnog ciklusa (Coelho & Dell'Aglio, 2019), te je u literaturi često ispitivanje efekata zadovoljstva životom na pozitivan razvoj i blagostanje pojedinca. Dok je nisko zadovoljstvo životom povezano sa psihološkim, interpersonalnim problemima i problemima u ponašanju, visoko zadovoljstvo životom povezano je sa dobrom adaptacijom i optimalnim mentalnim zdravljem kod mladih (Park, 2004).

Očekivanja od budućnosti su kognitivne mape koje uključuju prioritete, ideje i brige pojedinaca vezane za budućnost (Şimşek, 2012). Za razliku od odraslih, adolescenti češće preispituju mišljenje o sopstvenoj budućnosti i budućnosti društva (Valle et al., 2006). Očekivanja od budućnosti smatraju se jednim od najvažnijih pojmova u adolescenciji (Şimşek, 2012) i često su u fokusu studija zbog njihovog uticaja na pozitivan afekat (Sheldon & Lyubomirsky, 2006), važne dugoročne planove za budućnost, uključujući visoko obrazovanje, mogućnosti za rad, socijalno i emocionalno prilagođavanje u školi i procenu lične kompetentnosti (Boman et al., 2009; Seginer, 2000, prema: Dutra-Thomé et al., 2015). Očekivanja mogu biti pozitivna i negativna. Pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti konceptualizuju se kao stepen u kojem neko predviđa postizanje konkretnih pozitivnih rezultata ili veština u budućnosti (Wyman et al., 1993). Pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti mogu olakšati optimalan razvoj i uspešan prelazak u odraslo doba, dok su negativna očekivanja od budućnosti povezana s nepovoljnijim ishodima (Stoddard & Pierce, 2015). Dodatno, rezultati podržavaju ideju da pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti služe kao psihološka snaga u adolescenciji, odnosno čini se da su adolescenti koji prijavljuju pozitivnija očekivanja od budućnosti manje izloženi riziku da dožive povećanje internalizovanih problema u ponašanju i smanjenje zadovoljstva životom kada se suoče s negativnim životnim događajima (Valle et al., 2006). Iako se prepoznaje da je razvoj ličnih očekivanja od budućnosti u uskoj vezi s dinamikom odnosa sa značajnim drugima, škola se neretko zanemaruje kao kontekst od značaja (Iovu et al., 2018).

Dosadašnji empirijski nalazi svedoče o povezanosti zadovoljstva životom s pozitivnim očekivanjima od budućnosti (Extremera et al., 2007; Pavićević, 2020; Suldo et al.,

2009). Međutim, manjkaju istraživanja o detaljnijoj ulozi zadovoljstva različitim aspektima života za pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti kod učenika.

Metodologija istraživanja

Cilj

Cilj rada predstavlja sagledavanje značaja različitih domena zadovoljstva životom kod učenika beogradskih srednjih škola za njihova pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti, s posebnim akcentom na ispitivanje uloge zadovoljstva školom. Preciznije, nastojaćemo da odgovorimo u kojoj meri je percepcija zadovoljstva životom učenika povezana s njihovim pozitivnim očekivanjima od budućnosti; koji je domen zadovoljstva životom kod učenika najsnažnije povezan s njihovim pozitivnim očekivanjima od budućnosti; i da li je zadovoljstvo učenika školom značajan moderator te korelacije. Za ispitivanje specifične uloge zadovoljstva školom opredelili smo se imajući u vidu da je škola jedan od najznačajnijih faktora koji utiče na pozitivnu percepciju budućnosti kod učenika (Beltekin & Kuyulu, 2020), ali i uzimajući u obzir značaj sfere obrazovanja za celokupan razvoj učenika, kao i mogućnost da se primenom raznih intervencija utiče na razvoj pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti kod učenika.

Procedura i uzorak

Istraživanje je realizovano tokom drugog polugodišta školske 2021/22. godine, primenom anketnog upitnika zatvorenog tipa. Uzorak istraživanja činilo je 215 učenika beogradskih srednjih škola (65,1% čine učenice), uzrasta između 14 i 18 godina (M = 16.41; SD = 1.01).

Instrumenti

U cilju procene zadovoljstva životom korišćena je *multidimenzionalna skala zadovoljstva životom kod učenika* (*The Multidimensional Students' Life Satisfaction Scale*; Huebner, 1994). Instrument se sastoji od ukupno 40 ajtema, na koje ispitanici odgovaraju biranjem odgovora na šestostepenoj skali Likertovog tipa (od 1 – U potpunosti se ne slažem do 6 – U potpunosti se slažem). Skala meri blagostanje učenika u pet domena: porodica, prijatelji, škola, susedstvo i self. U našem istraživanju skala zadovoljstva životom merena je pomoću 39 ajtema (ajtem koji je isključen je „Osećam se loše u školi") i imala je pouzdanost a = .90. Izjave o porodičnom domenu odnose se na zadovoljstvo odnosima u porodici (npr. „Volim da provodim vreme u kući sa svojom porodicom"). Ovaj domen meren je pomoću skale od sedam ajtema, čija je pouzdanost visoka (a = .91). Domen prijatelji procenjen je skalom koja se sastoji od devet ajtema (npr. „Veoma se zabavljam kada sam sa prijateljima") i Krombahova alfa za ovu skalu iznosila je a = .82. Domen škola podrazumeva zadovoljstvo školskim životom (npr. „Unapred se radujem odlasku u školu"). Zadovoljstvo školom u ovoj studiji procenjeno je pomoću šest ajtema i pouzdanost podskale bila je a

= .85. Pitanja iz domena susedstvo uključuju percepciju odnosa prema okruženju/susedstvu (npr. „Ima puno zabavnih stvari u kraju u kome živim"). Zadovoljstvo susedstvom mereno je putem osam ajtema i pouzdanost skale iznosila je a = .83. Domen zadovoljstvo sobom ukazuje na lično mišljenje pojedinca o sebi ili percepciju mišljenja drugih drugih ljudi o njemu (npr. „Većina ljudi me voli"). U ovoj studiji zadovoljstvo sobom mereno je pomoću kompozitne skale zasnovane na šest stavki i pouzdanost skale bila je a = .84.

Pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti učenika merena su primenom skale *pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti* (*Positive Future Expectation Scale*; Imamoğlu, 2001). Instrument se sastoji od pet ajtema koje ispitanici procenjuju na petostepenoj skali Likertovog tipa (npr. „Optimističan/na sam u pogledu svoje budućnosti", „Verujem da ću pre ili kasnije ostvariti svoje ciljeve", „Uprkos preprekama, optimističan/na sam u pogledu svoje budućnosti"). U ovom istraživanju pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti merena su posredstvom četiri stavke i pouzdanost skale iznosila je a = .86 (izbačena stavka je „Malo sam pesimističan/na u pogledu svoje budućnosti").

Obrada podataka

Podaci su obrađeni metodama deskriptivne i inferencijalne statistike. Za ispitivanje povezanosti između zadovoljstva životom i pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti primenjen je Pirsonov koeficijent korelacije. Za ispitivanje moderatorskog uticaja zadovoljstva školom korišćen je jednostavan dizajn moderacije, pri čemu je najsnažniji korelat pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti (zadovoljstvo sobom) određen kao nezavisna varijabla, zadovoljstvo školom kao moderator, a pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti kao zavisna varijabla (Grafikon 1). Za statističku analizu korišćen je softver *SPSS* i Hajesov *Process macro* (Hayes, 2017).

Grafikon 1
Jednostavan dizajn moderacije
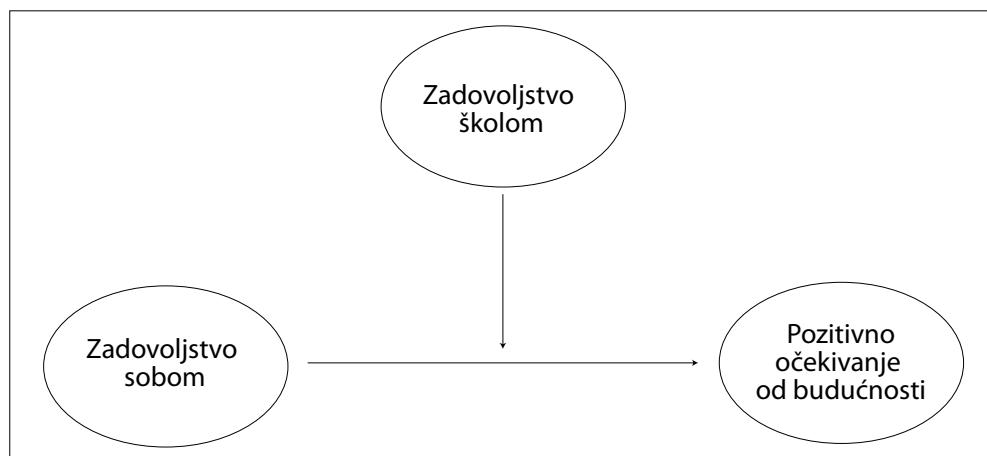
Rezultati istraživanja

U Tabeli 1 prikazane su srednje vrednosti na skalama za procenu zadovoljstva životom i pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti kod učenika.

Na osnovu prezentovanih rezultata, evidentno je da su učenici iz uzorka zadovoljni različitim aspektima života i životom generalno, kao i da imaju veoma pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti (Tabela 1). Najviši skorovi dobijeni su za zadovoljstvo prijateljima, a najmanji za zadovoljstvo školom.

Tabela 1

Zadovoljstvo različitim aspektima života i pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti kod učenika

	Min	*Max*	*M*	*SD*
Zadovoljstvo porodicom	1.29	6	4.69	1.14
Zadovoljstvo prijateljima	2.22	6	5.22	.71
Zadovoljstvo školom	1	6	3.21	1.14
Zadovoljstvo susedstvom	1	6	4.27	1.12
Zadovoljstvo sobom	1	6	4.74	.97
Zadovoljstvo životom generalno	1.38	5.79	4.45	.64
Pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti	1	5	4.2	.8

Napomena. ** značajno na nivou < 0.01
       * značajno na nivou < 0.05

Rezultati korelacione analize upućuju da zadovoljstvo različitim aspektima života i zadovoljstvo životom generalno ostvaruju značajne pozitivne veze s pozitivnim očekivanjima od budućnosti (Tabela 2). Najsnažnije veze pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti ostvaruju sa zadovoljstvom sobom, dok se najslabija korelacija beleži sa zadovoljstvom školom.

Tabela 2

Povezanost zadovoljstva različitim aspektima života s pozitivnim očekivanjima
od budućnosti kod učenika

	ZPo	ZPr	ZŠ	ZSu	ZSo	ZŽg
POD	.35**	.16*	.15*	.23**	.61**	.41**

Napomena. ZPo – zadovoljstvo porodicom; ZPr – zadovoljstvo prijateljima; ZŠ – zadovoljstvo školom; ZSu – zadovoljstvo susedstvom; ZSo – zadovoljstvo sobom; ZŽg – zadovoljstvo životom generalno; POD – pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti.
       ** značajno na nivou < 0.01
       * značajno na nivou < 0.05

Kako bi se detaljnije istražio značaj zadovoljstva školom, zanimalo nas je da li, uprkos slaboj povezanosti sa pozitivnim očekivanjima od budućnosti, zadovoljstvo školskim iskustvima može da utiče na najjaču konstatovanu vezu, odnosno vezu između zadovoljstva sobom i pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti. Kako bismo ovo istražili koristili smo hijerarhijsku višestruku regresionu analizu. U prvom koraku, dve varijable su uključene u model: zadovoljstvo sobom i zadovoljstvo školom. Pokazalo se da ove varijable objašnjavaju preko 37% pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti kod učenika (R^2 = .376, F(2, 202) = 60,839, p < .01). U narednom koraku, regresionom modelu dodata je varijabla koja predstavlja interakciju između zadovoljstva sobom i zadovoljstva školom, a koja je doprinela povećanju sveukupne objašnjene varijanse (ΔR^2 = .016, ΔF(1, 201) = 5.439, p < .05, b = -1.36, t(201) = -2.332, p < .01), što daje povoda da se detaljnije ispita način na koji zadovoljstvo školom moderira vezu između zadovoljstva sobom i pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti. Iako zadovoljstvo sobom značajno pozitivno utiče na pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti na svakom nivou zadovoljstva školom, evidentno je da pri višim nivoima zadovoljstva školom zadovoljstvo sobom slabije utiče na pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti kod učenika (Tabela 3).

Tabela 3

Uticaj zadovoljstva sobom na optimizam na različitim nivoima zadovoljstva školom

Zadovoljstvo školom	Effect	Se	t	P	LLCI	ULCI
Nisko	.7	.069	10.194	<.01	.565	.836
Srednje	.565	.059	9.554	<.01	.449	.682
Visoko	.43	.095	4.542	<.01	.244	.617

Dijagram interakcije pokazuje kako zadovoljstvo školom ublažava vezu između zadovoljstva sobom i pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti (Grafikon 2). Pored toga, pokazuje da učenici s visokim nivoom zadovoljstva sobom imaju visok nivo pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti bez obzira na zadovoljstvo školom (kod njih su pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti čak i neznatno veća u kontekstu niskog zadovoljstva školom), dok je za učenike s niskim zadovoljstvom sobom zadovoljstvo školom ključno za bar delimični porast pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti.

Grafikon 2

Dijagram interakcije pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti i zadovoljstva školom

Zadovoljstvo školom

○ Nisko (16. percentil)
□ Srednje (50. percentil)
△ Visoko (84. percentil)
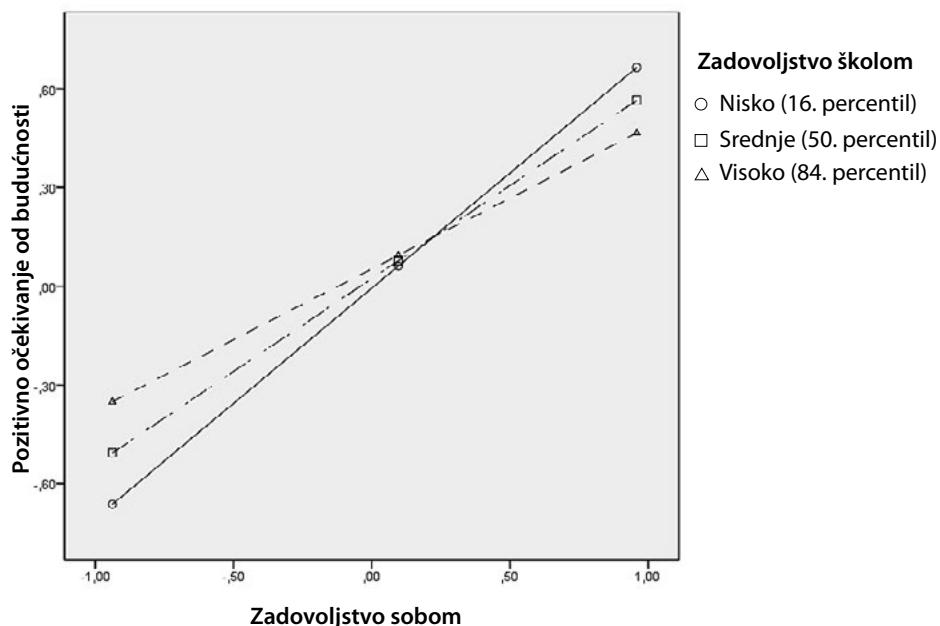
Diskusija

Istraživanje je sprovedeno u nameri da se odgovori da li je i u kojoj meri percepcija zadovoljstva životom kod učenika povezana s njihovim pozitivnim očekivanjima od budućnosti, koji domen zadovoljstva životom učenika ostvaruje najsnažniju povezanost s njihovim pozitivnim očekivanjima od budućnosti i da li je zadovoljstvo učenika školom značajan moderator te korelacije.

Nalazi istraživanja potkrepljuju prethodne istraživačke rezultate o relativno visokom nivou zadovoljstva životom generalno (Huebner et al., 2000) i o optimalnom nivou zadovoljstva različitim životnim aspektima (porodicom, prijateljima, sobom, školom i životnim okruženjem) kod učenika srednjih škola (Huebner et al., 2005). Adolescenti koji su veoma zadovoljni svojim životom ispoljavaju pozitivnije funkcionisanje u domenima intrapersonalnog, interpersonalnog i školskog funkcionisanja (Gilman & Huebner, 2003). Uopšteno, kako se nivo zadovoljstva kod pojedinaca povećava, tako im postaje lakše da napreduju u životu sa pozitivnijim emocijama i interakcijama u okruženju (Thoilliez, 2011). Učenici vrlo visok stepen zadovoljstva ispoljavaju kada je reč o odnosima s prijateljima, dok su manje zadovoljni svojim iskustvima iz škole. Iskazano zadovoljstvo odnosima s prijateljima očekivano je imajući u vidu da je za adolescentni period karakteristično pomeranje fokusa s

odnosa s roditeljima i primarnom porodicom na odnose u vršnjačkoj grupi, koja im pruža priliku da istraže sopstvenu autonomiju i samostalnost u mišljenju i delanju (Leung et al., 2004). Dodatno, nalazi o najmanjem zadovoljstvu školskim iskustvima saglasni su s rezultatima prethodnih istraživanja (Huebner et al., 2000). Slično, u nacionalnom istraživanju ($N = 1.121$) (Popadić i sar., 2019) 51% srednjoškolaca navodi da im je svakodnevni život u školi težak i stresan u izvesnoj meri, dok je za 32% učenika lak i ne naročito stresan. Imajući u vidu da se zadovoljstvo školom smatra indikatorom pozitivnog školskog prilagođavanja (Baker et al., 2003) i pokazateljem blagostanja u školskom okruženju (Baker & Maupin, 2009) ovakvi nalazi mogu biti zabrinjavajući. Najniži stepen zadovoljstva školom može da ima kulturološke razloge, s obzirom na to da su prethodna istraživanja pokazala da su u kolektivistički orijentisanim društvima učenici zadovoljniji školom nego u individualistič-kim (Park & Huebner, 2005), a istraživanja u Srbiji pokazuju da su među srednjoškolcima neke od kolektivističkih vrednosnih orijentacija, poput patrijarhalnosti ili nacionalizma, u opadanju i da su niži nego u opštoj populaciji (Radoman, 2019).

Dodatno, dobijeni rezultati o izraženim pozitivnim očekivanjima od budućnosti kod učenika korespondiraju s nalazima prethodno pomenutog domaćeg istraživanja (Popadić i sar., 2019), koji sugerišu da su mladi generalno optimistični u odnosu na svoju budućnost nevezano za institucije i društvo, pri čemu je 78% njih ubeđeno da će biti bolje. Značaj pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti ogleda su u tome što su mnoge strategije promocije zdravlja i prevencije rizika fokusirane upravo na uverenja mladih vezana za budućnost i sposobnost njenog planiranja (Johnson et al., 2014). Pregled dosadašnjih istraživanja o značaju pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti ukazuje na, s jedne strane, pozitivnu korelaci-ju s percipiranom ličnom kompetencijom, samopoštovanjem, fokusiranošću na uspeh i rešavanje problema, opažanjem svrhe, školskom i socijalnom kompetencijom, sposob-nostima rešavanja problema, akademskim postignućem, akademskim zadovoljstvom i, s druge strane, negativnu povezanost sa simptomima depresije, internalizovanim i eks-ternalizovanim problemima, indikatorima psihičkog stresa i školske neprilagođenosti (Lopez et al., 2009). Izgradnja pozitivnih očekivanja za budućnost usko je povezana s visokim samopoštovanjem i korišćenjem efikasnih mehanizama suočavanja sa stresom (Karaca et al., 2016). Štaviše, pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti treba da služe kao tam-pon zona (tj. moderator) kada se adolescenti suočavaju sa stresnim životnim događajima (Valle et al., 2006).

Daljom analizom dobijenih podataka ustanovljeno je da sa zadovoljstvom različi-tim aspektima života i životom generalno rastu i pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti kod učenika. Ovakvi nalazi saglasni su s nalazima dosadašnjih istraživanja (Extremera et al., 2007; Koca, 2020; Suldo et al., 2009). Na primer, rezultati korelacione studije sprovedene na uzorku od 367 učenika portugalskih srednjih škola pokazuju da su pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti u pozitivnoj vezi s percepcijom lične kompetentnosti i samopoštovanja, odnosno s globalnim zadovoljstvom životom, akademskim zadovoljstvom i mentalnim zdravljem (Chang, 1998, prema: Lopez et al., 2009; Marques et al., 2007, prema: Lopez et al., 2009). Adolescenti koji izveštavaju o pozitivnijim očekivanjima od budućnosti prija-vljuju i viši nivo globalnog zadovoljstva životom godinu dana kasnije, čak i nakon kon-trole početnog nivoa zadovoljstva životom (Valle et al., 2006). Ovo istraživanje pokazuje

i da najsnažniju vezu pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti ostvaruju sa zadovoljstvom sobom. Ovakvi nalazi nisu iznenađujući s obzirom na to da pojedini autori zadovoljstvo sobom identifikuju kao preduslov blagostanja pojedinca (Ryff & Singer, 2013) i njegovih pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti (Eryılmaz, 2011). Takođe, ranija empirijska saznanja (Pinquart et al., 2004) dokumentuju da su uverenja o samoefikasnosti pozitivno povezana s pozitivnim očekivanjima od budućnosti. Interesantno je da pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti u ovom istraživanju najslabiju povezanost imaju sa zadovoljstvom školom. S jedne strane, slaba povezanost pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti srednjoškolaca i zadovoljstva školom može da se objasni stavovima i vizijama mladih u srpskom društvu, koji su optimistični u pogledu svoje budućnosti, ali ispoljavaju manje zadovoljstva u pogledu funkcionisanja institucija i sistema (što pokazuje i podatak da 35% učenika srednjih škola ima jaku ili veoma jaku želju da se iseli iz Srbije) (Popadić i sar., 2019). Takođe, zapažanja autora koji su se bavili proučavanjem zadovoljstva životom kod adolescenata i relevantnim ishodima u ekološkim sistemima razvoja da, iako je kontekst (u ovom slučaju škola) veoma važan za zadovoljstvo i razvoj mladih, mnogo neposrednija veza ostvaruje se s porodicom ili vršnjacima (Iovu et al., 2018). Na kraju, ne možemo zanemariti kontekst u kome su podaci bili prikupljani (period otvaranja škola nakon nastave na daljinu) koji se mogao odraziti na izmenjenu percepciju škole kod učenika. Istraživanje percepcije nastavnika nakon otvaranja škola nude odgovore o potrebama za ponovnim uspostavljanjem odnosa s učenicima, roditeljima i kolegama (Kim et al., 2021). Nastavnici i nastavnice u domaćim školama su nakon ponovnog otvaranja škola kod učenika registrovali slabiju posvećenost školi, kao i brojnije emocionalne probleme u odnosu na period pre pandemije (Popović-Ćitić i sar., 2021).

Na kraju, ovo istraživanje ukazuje na to da, bez obzira na slabiji koeficijent korelacije sa pozitivnim očekivanjima od budućnosti, zadovoljstvo školom ima ulogu moderatora u vezi između zadovoljstva sobom i pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti. Odnosno zadovoljstvo školom može da umanji negativan uticaj niskog zadovoljstva sobom na pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti kod učenika. Ovakvim nalazima potvrđuje se značajan uticaj iskustava iz škole na emocionalni i socijalni razvoj učenika (Mok, 2006, prema: Suldo et al., 2008). Očekivanja od budućnosti kod adolescenata pretežno su vezana za njihovu profesionalnu orijentaciju (Yavuzer et al., 2005, prema: Tan & Ergün, 2021). Kako buduća profesija uglavnom zavisi od obrazovanja, jasna je uloga percepcije zadovoljstva školom u kreiranju očekivanja od budućnosti, naročito onda kada pojedinci nisu zadovoljni sobom. Takođe, dostupna istraživanja u kojima se povezuju pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti kod mladih i mnogobrojni aspekti školske klime izdvajaju niz značajnih faktora. Na primer, na uzorku od 58 srednjih škola u Merilendu, utvrđeno je da adolescenti koji školsku sredinu doživljavaju kao emocionalno podržavajuću, sa jasnim pravilima ponašanja, u kojoj se podstiče uključivanje roditelja imaju i pozitivnija očekivanja od budućnosti (Lindstrom et al., 2016). Dodatno, parcijalno je podržana hipoteza da školska klima generalno ostvaruje snažnije efekte na pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti među rizičnom populacijom učenika (Lindstrom et al., 2016). Ovakvi i slični podaci nesumnjivo impliciraju značaj uloge škole

u razvoju pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti, koja se smatraju jednim od najznačajnijih konstrukata u adolescentnom razdoblju.

Zaključak

Na osnovu prikazanih rezultata sprovedenog istraživanja može se zaključiti da su zadovoljstvo različitim aspektima života i zadovoljstvo životom generalno značajni korelati pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti, pri čemu najsnažniju vezu pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti ostvaruju sa zadovoljstvom sobom, a najslabiju sa zadovoljstvom iskustvima iz škole. U kontekstu obogaćivanja aktuelnog korpusa saznanja o ovoj temi, posebno su značajni nalazi da zadovoljstvo školom ima ulogu moderatora veze zadovoljstva sobom (kao najsnažnijeg korelata) i pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti kod učenika srednjih škola.

Drugim rečima, nalazi dobijeni u ovom istraživanju upućuju na zaključak da planirane aktivnosti u kontekstu razvoja zadovoljstva školom, emocionalne angažovanosti učenika ili osećaja pripadnosti školi mogu ublažiti negativan uticaj zadovoljstva sobom ili niskog samovrednovanja i uticati na pozitivnija očekivanja od budućnosti. Iz tog razloga, zadovoljstvo školom prepoznaje se kao pogodna oblast za primenu raznih intervencija posredstvom kojih bi se moglo uticati na kreiranje pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti.

Na osnovu saznanja da socijalna klima u učionici ima najjači direktan uticaj i najveći ukupni efekat na zadovoljstvo školom (Baker, 1998), kao i da obrazovne prakse usmerene na razvijanje odnosa učenika s nastavnicima i vršnjacima, kreiranje pozitivnog društvenog okruženja, razvijanje samoregulacije i osećaja autonomije doprinose porastu zadovoljstva školom (Telef, 2021), može se zaključiti da su upravo ovo aspekti vaspitno-obrazovne prakse posredstvom kojih se indirektno može uticati na razvoj pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti i ostvarivanja svih benefita koje one sa sobom donose.

Imajući u vidu ograničenja ovog istraživanja (npr. mali prigodan uzorak, nemogućnost generalizacije dobijenih rezultata, podaci dobijeni isključivo na osnovu samoprocene učenika itd.), ono može poslužiti kao polazna osnova istraživačima u kontekstu detaljnijeg sagledavanja faktora kojima se direktno ili indirektno podstiču pozitivna očekivanja od budućnosti kod učenika srednjih škola. U tom smislu, značaj različitih karakteristika nastavnih praksi i školske sredine (poput korišćenih nastavnih metoda, autonomije koju učenik ima u procesu učenja, školske klime i sl.), koje nisu bile u fokusu ovog istraživanja, trebalo bi da bude ispitan. Pored provere naših nalaza na reprezentativnom uzorku ili ispitivanja drugih mogućih faktora koji bi mogli da podstiču pozitivna očekivanja, korisno bi bilo ispitati ovu oblast i drugačijom metodologijom, odnosno metodologijom koja bi omogućila da se dođe do značenja koja analiziranim konceptima pripisuju sami akteri (kako učenika tako i nastavnika). Bez obzira na to što prethodno navedene „blagodeti" pozitivnih očekivanja od budućnosti učenika za\vređuju pažnju istraživača, čini se da mehanizmi posredstvom kojih je moguće razvijati ovaj značajan eudemonični prediktor angažovanja tek treba da budu ispitani.

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Dečji vrtić kao prostor heterotopije

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Apstrakt *Prostor dečjeg vrtića predstavlja integralni deo programa predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja, jer strukturiranje i korišćenje prostora odražavaju koncepcijska polazišta programa. U ovom radu težili smo sagledavanju odnosa moći kojima je fizičko okruženje vrtića oblikovano, a koji su vidljivi kroz način na koji su strukturirani i način na koji se koriste zajednički prostori vrtića (holovi i hodnici). U istraživanju polazimo od Fukoovog koncepta heterotopije, kako bismo sagledali kontradiktornost i tenzije koje postoje u praksi vrtića, a koje imaju svoju fizičku manifestaciju u prostoru. Istraživanje je sprovedeno u jednom državnom vrtiću u Beogradu, uz učešće medicinske sestre – vaspitača i stručnog saradnika – pedagoga u analizi prostora putem intervjua-ture kroz vrtić. Iskustvo učesnika istraživanja ukazuje na to da heterotopije unutar vrtića nastaju u pokušaju transformacije prakse od one zasnovane na hijerarhijskim odnosima moći ka praksi baziranoj na deljenju moći, kao i da stvaranje „drugih mesta" u vrtiću doprinosi promeni načina učešća vaspitača, dece i porodice u korišćenju zajedničkih prostora vrtića.*

Ključne reči: *prostor dečjeg vrtića, Mišel Fuko, heterotopija, odnosi moći, intervju-tura*

Uvod

U postavljanju teorijskog okvira istraživanja polazimo od Fukoovog koncepta odnosa znanja i moći (Fuko, 2012). Fuko nije eksplicitno polemisao o ovim pitanjima u kontekstu vaspitanja i obrazovanja u ranom detinjstvu, ali je svojim shvatanjem moći nastojao da rasvetli kako su moć i znanje oblikovani kroz društvo i oblikuju društvo, kako se prožimaju od institucije do pojedinaca kroz složenu mrežu odnosa, te kako se između ostalog manifestuju u fizičkom, tj. prostornom obliku. Fuko je odnose moći sagledavao u odnosu na realne, unutrašnje prostore, jer je smatrao da mi ne živimo u nekoj vrsti vakuuma, u prostoru u kome se mogu jasno razlučiti osobe i stvari, „već unutar jednog skupa odnosa koji određuje položaje nesvodive jedne na druge" (Fuko, 2005: 31).

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Pre nego što se upustimo u istraživanje fizičkih manifestacija odnosa moći u vrtiću, neophodno je napraviti distinkciju između pojmova *prostor* i *mesto*. U ovom radu prostor razumemo kao fizičko okruženje, „strukturu sveta, trodimenzionalno okruženje sačinjeno od objekata i događaja koji imaju relativan položaj i pravac" (Harrison & Dourish, 1996: 2). Mesto predstavlja „prostor koji se vrednuje" (Harrison & Dourish, 1996: 2), značenjski prostor „oblikovan ljudskim delovanjem, odnosima, emocijama, događajima i sećanjima vezanim za njega" (Nairn et al, 2016: 5) koji je prožet „fluidnošću i otelovljenim odnosima moći" (Jobb, 2019: 214).

Istraživanjem organizacije prostora kao fizičkog okruženja dečjeg vrtića moguće je u njemu prepoznati mesta „koja imaju neobično svojstvo da ukidaju, obesnažuju ili pre-okreću skup odnosa koje sama oblikuju" (Fuko, 2005: 31), a koji se u njima ogledaju. Ova mesta on deli na dva tipa: *utopije* i *heterotopije*.

Pojam „utopija" potiče od grčkih reči *eu* što znači dobar i *topos* što znači „mesto", kao i iz reči *ou* i *topos* koje označavaju „ne-mesto, tj. nepostojeće mesto" (Mihajlović, 2016: 21). Utopije nisu stvarna mesta, „one predstavljaju odraz društva dovedenog do savršen-stva, ili pak naličje društva, te su utopije prostori koji su u svojoj suštini nestvarni" (Fuko, 2005: 31).

Heterotopije su stvarna, materijalna mesta, čiji se obrisi naziru u svakoj ustanovi dru-štva i one predstavljaju svojevrsnu suprotnost utopijama. Reč „heterotopija" je grčkog po-rekla i uključuje reč *heteros*, što znači „drugi", „drugačiji" i reč *topos* koja znači „mesto", što zajedno čini „drugo mesto, ili mesto drugosti" (Wood, 2020: 167). Heterotopija predstavlja dakle drugo mesto koje obuhvata ono što opisujemo kao fizički prostor, ali isto tako i društveni i kulturni prostor koji su u fizičkom sadržani i kojima je fizički prostor obliko-van. Heterotopija je istovremeno i realna, u smislu fizičkog prostora koji treba istraživati, i potpuno nestvarna, jer iako možda odražava društvo u kome postoji, ona funkcioniše po sopstvenim pravilima kojima je definisano (između ostalog) ko može ući u prostor i na koji način, šta je (ne)prihvatljivo u tom prostoru, kao i kakve prakse je moguće graditi u njemu. To znači da su heterotopije oblikovane mrežom odnosa moći kako unutar prostora tako i odnosa prostora sa društvom u kome se nalazi heterotopija (Ulla, 2017). Iz pozicije hete-rotopija, prostor dobija presudnu ulogu u istraživanju načina na koje funkcioniše društvo, jer ima sposobnost da „objedini sve moguće sadržaje određene kulture i da prikaže odno-se moći u kondenzovanoj formi" (Prodanović i Krstić, 2012: 426).

I sam Fuko je isticao da između utopija i heterotopija može da postoji „svojevrstan doživljaj mešanja" (Fuko, 2005: 32), koji je opisao kroz „metaforu ogledala" (Fuko, 2005: 32). Po njemu, ogledalo je jedna vrsta utopije, jer u njemu vidimo svoj odraz u jednom ne-stvarnom prostoru, prostoru koji ne postoji. Stvaranje odraza kao nečeg nematerijalnog je „analogno utopiji, dok materijalnost samog ogledala ukazuje na heterotopiju kao vid materijalizovane utopije" (Mihajlović, 2016: 48). Tako, heteroptopije predstavljaju mesta koja leže izvan svih mesta, „druga mesta" (Fuko, 2005: 32) koja se ipak mogu lokalizovati.

Heterotopije predstavljaju „kontraprostore koje stvaraju odrasli – stvarna mesta smeštena izvan svih drugih prostora koja su predodređena da izbrišu, neutrališu, na-doknade ili pročiste prostore kojima se suprotstavljaju" (Boyer, 2008: 53). Pored utopija i heterotopija, Fuko je u jednom svom gostovanju 1966. godine u radio-emisiji govorio

o „*lokalizovanim utopijama* koje su bliske i dobro poznate deci" (Boyer, 2008: 53). Lokalizovane utopije „leže u dnu bašte, na tavanu ili u velikom roditeljskom krevetu u kome dete može da otkrije okean plivajući između pokrivača, ili pak krevet može postati šuma u koju se dete krije čekajući roditelje da se vrate" (Boyer, 2008: 53). Možemo zaključiti da lokalizovane utopije nastaju u dečjoj igri u kojoj iako „stvarni fizički i društveni svet ne nestaje, njegovo prisustvo se izražava kroz drugu formu" (Krnjaja, 2010: 266), kroz stvaranje „imaginarnih prostora kao paralelne realnosti koja vremenom može postati svakodnevna realnost" (Krnjaja, 2010: 266).

Prostor vrtića predstavlja vidljivi iskaz o vrednostima koje vaspitači promovišu (Otto, 2005; Tarr, 2001, 2004) i sve što se u njemu nalazi, kao i način na koji je strukturiran, reflektuje teorijsko-vrednosne okvire na kojima se razvija vaspitno-obrazovna praksa. U istraživanju prostor vrtića sagledavamo u skladu s koncepcijskim polazištima Osnova programa predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja „Godine uzleta" (Osnove programa, 2018), kroz njegovo „fizičko, socijalno i simboličko značenje" (Pavlović Beneselović i sar., 2022: 10). Vrtić sagledavamo kao prostor „demokratske prakse zajednice u kojoj se uzimaju u obzir interesi zajednice, porodice i dece" (Osnove programa, 2018: 10). Takva praksa nije represivna, zasnovana na hijerarhijskoj raspodeli moći, već je „responzivna, bazirana na deljenju moći" (Osnove programa, 2018: 10). Stoga fizičke manifestacije odnosa moći kojima je oblikovana praksa vrtića možemo prepoznati u fizičkom okruženju vrtića. Istraživanje prostora vrtića kao heterotopije predstavlja priliku da se dekonstruišu načini na koje deca i odrasli stupaju u interakciju *u* i *sa* prostorima vrtića (Jones et al., 2012, prema: Shaw, 2017), kao i priliku za sagledavanje odnosa moći koji vladaju u tim prostorima i kojima su oni oblikovani.

Dečji vrtić kao „drugo mesto"

Fuko je u svom radu *Druga mesta* (Fuko, 2005) dao prikaz načela kojima se heterotopije mogu identifikovati i opisati. Svako od načela u opisu koncepta heterotopija moguće je sagledati u odnosu na fizičko okruženje vrtića kao institucionalne forme predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja.

U prvom načelu govori se o tome da ne postoji kultura na svetu koja je lišena heterotopija, ali da heterotopije poprimaju različite forme, te da ne postoje njihovi univerzalni oblici. Fuko je istakao dva opšta tipa heterotopija: *heterotopije krize* i *heterotopije odstupanja* (Fuko, 2005). Heterotopije krize rezervisane su za osobe koje se nalaze u stanju krize, tj. stanju drugačijem od onoga koje je u društvu uobičajeno, pri čemu danas iščezavaju u oblicima u kojima su postojale u prošlosti (Fuko je naveo primer koledža iz 19. veka ili vojne obuke za dečake) i bivaju zamenjene heterotopijama odstupanja. Ove vrste heterotopija karakteristične su za one čije ponašanje odstupa od uobičajenog proseka ili propisane norme. Vrtići mogu biti sagledani kao mesta koja su na granici između heterotopije krize i heterotopije odstupanja, zbog toga što predstavljaju mesto gde se najčešće prvi put odvaja javno od porodice, kao i zbog osobenosti predškolskog uzrasta. Predškolski uzrast izdvaja se kao jedinstven i neponovljiv, jedini period života „sa toliko otvorenih mogućnosti, u kome čovek sa toliko energije, istrajnosti i entuzijazma razvija složene kapacitete od

kojih će zavisiti njegove buduće mogućnosti, njegova ličnost i uspešnost funkcionisanja u daljem životu" (Osnove programa, 2018: 3). Dečji vrtić, u odnosu na kontekst porodičnog vaspitanja, predstavlja određenu vrstu „društvene prakse" (Fuko, 1998, prema: Miškeljin, 2022: 28), koju je nemoguće odvojiti od šireg društvenog konteksta (Miškeljin, 2012). Ipak, u odnosu na porodično vaspitanje dečji vrtić predstavlja i „mesto drugosti", jer nezavisno od teorijsko-vrednosnih okvira na kojima gradi svoju praksu, neminovno je da vrtić deci pruža drugačija iskustva življenja u odnosu na porodično okruženje.

Drugo načelo podrazumeva heterogenost samih heterotopija, odnosno mogućnost da jedno društvo tokom istorije može preuzeti nove heterotopne strukture, te da „svaka heterotopija ima jasnu i određenu funkciju unutar društva, i jedna ista heterotopija, u zavisnosti od sinhronije kulture u kojoj se nalazi, može imati različitu funkciju" (Fuko, 2005: 33). U skladu s ovim načelom – nega, vaspitanje i obrazovanje dece predškolskog uzrasta menjali su svoj oblik i načine ostvarivanja kroz istoriju. I sam termin *vrtić* nije konzistentan, te je u različitim kulturama i u različitim vremenskim periodima to mesto imalo različite nazive. U našoj zemlji je to prvo bilo *zabavište*, zatim *obdanište* i na kraju *dečji vrtić* po uzoru na termin „kindergarten" koji je uveo tvorac prvih vrtića Fridrih Frebel (Miškeljin, 2012: 17). Tako je odrastanje predškolske dece kroz istoriju postalo društveno pitanje, a predškolsko vaspitanje i obrazovanje je sistemski uređeno i regulisano, te danas pored doprinosa porodice u razvoju i učenju deteta predškolskog uzrasta veliku ulogu ima i vrtić za onu decu koja ga pohađaju.

Treće načelo se odnosi na moć heterotopija da na jednom realnom mestu, unutar jednog prostora, postoji više različitih mesta, koja čak mogu biti nespojiva (Fuko, 2005). Neki autori su ovo načelo sagledali kroz primer *jukstapozicije* (Mihajlović, 2016; Shaw, 2017) – postojanje različitih mesta uz, pokraj, jedno pored drugog, pluralitet sadržaja koji ukazuju na mnoštvo oprečnih karakteristika ovih različitih mesta. Za razliku od utopije koja predstavlja jedinstvo ideja, vrednosti, uverenja i vizija budućnosti, heterotopije u sebi sadrže stvarna mesta u kojima se sučeljavaju različita razmišljanja, ideje i vrednosti. U vrtiću se jukstapozicijama mogu smatrati diskontinuiteti u dostupnosti različitih mesta unutar vrtića deci i odraslima, podvojenost igre i učenja, odnosi odraslih i dece zasnovani na hijerarhijskoj raspodeli moći, neusaglašenosti porodičnog i konteksta vrtića itd.

U okviru četvrtog načela razmatra se odnos heterotopije i vremena. S jedne strane postoje heterotopije vremena akumuliranih u beskonačnosti, kao što su muzeji i biblioteke, dok s druge strane postoje vremenski prolazne heterotopije kao što su, na primer, svetkovine (Fuko, 2005). Ovo načelo pokazuje da vreme u heterotopijama ne teče na isti način u odnosu na opšteprihvaćeni tok vremena. U vrtiću odrasli i deca dele isto vreme, ali načini na koji ga percipiraju znatno se razlikuju (Ulla, 2017). U savremenoj kulturi odrasli vreme najčešće doživljavaju linearno, vodeći se satom kao vremenskim orijentirom. Za decu vreme teče ciklično i nema svoje fizičke odrednice u formi sata. Umesto toga, deca vreme tumače onim što osećaju, vide, čuju i doživljavaju (Malakpa, 2007), kroz „trenutak u vremenu" (Goble, 2020: 181) otelovljen u događajima koji za njih imaju određeni smisao i značenje.

U petom načelu ističe se da heterotopije pretpostavljaju „uvek jedan sistem otvaranja i zatvaranja koji ih istovremeno izopštava i čini prohodnim" (Fuko, 2005: 35). Hete-

rotopije, kako je istakao Fuko, imaju svojstvo čudnog oblika isključivanja, jer čak i kada svako može da uđe u neku heterotopiju, to predstavlja iluziju, jer „verujete da ste ušli, no u času kada ste unutra, isključeni ste" (Fuko, 2005: 35). Vrtići takođe funkcionišu po sistemu otvaranja i zatvaranja, jer ne samo da imaju svoje radno vreme, već najčešće imaju i jasno definisana pravila kada i ko može ući u vrtić, kako se deca odvajaju i grupišu unutar uzrasnih grupa, kao i koji su prostori deci pri boravku unutra dostupni ili nedostupni. Kao što je Fuko naveo da ta uključenost predstavlja samo iluziju, tako se u vrtiću na primeru uključenosti porodica ovo načelo jasno odražava. Oni mogu ući u vrtić, ali samo u one prostore koje su im određeni kao dostupni (najčešće su to dečje garderobe, holovi i hodnici koji vode do grupe u kojoj njihovo dete boravi) i samo u određeno vreme tokom dana.

Šesto načelo koje određuje heterotopije odnosi se na njihovu funkciju stvaranja prostora privida, iluzije, ali takve da ona „razobličava svu iluzornost stvarnog sveta" (Fuko, 2005: 35) ili pak stvaranje drugačijeg realnog prostora koji je savršeno uredan i dobro uređen, a koji je Fuko nazvao *heterotopijom kompenzacije*. Vrtići mogu predstavljati i heterotopije iluzije, ali i heterotopije kompenzacije. Heterotopije iluzije imaju tendenciju da filtriraju spoljašnje realnosti koje mogu biti neuredne ili nesavršene u poređenju s našim vizijama o tome kakvo detinjstvo, kakvo vaspitanje i obrazovanje i kakvu praksu vrtića želimo. Vrtići postaju heterotopije kompenzacije onda kada pokušavaju da usavrše prostor kroz organizaciju vremena i prostora, kroz profesionalizaciju prakse tako da profesionalci unutar vrtića omogućavaju deci drugačija iskustva u odnosu na ona koja imaju deca koja ne pohađaju vrtić (Shaw, 2017).

Metodološki okvir

Pitanje od kog smo pošli u ovom istraživanju odnosilo se na sagledavanje odnosa moći kojima je fizičko okruženje vrtića oblikovano na osnovu načela heterotopija koja su vidljiva u prostoru. Da bismo odgovorili na pitanje, istraživali smo kako prostor odražava odnose moći koji vladaju u vrtiću, tragali smo za značenjima koje prostor reflektuje kroz svoje fizičke manifestacije i kroz pisana i nepisana pravila u odnosu na mogućnosti korišćenja prostora.

Istraživanje je sprovedeno putem intervjua-ture (engl. *walk-along interview*) (Franklin-Phipps & Gleason, 2019; Lynch & Mannion, 2016), kao istraživačke metode koja istraživaču pruža mogućnost da dok se kreće s učesnicima istraživanja kroz mesta koje zajedno istražuju „posmatra prostorne prakse *in situ* čime istovremeno pristupa i iskustvima i interpretacijama učesnika istraživanja" (Kusenbach, 2003: 463). Intervju-tura čini vidljivim složenu mrežu odnosa moći u prostoru, te omogućava istraživaču da „korespondira s tokom događaja u prostoru prikupljajući podatke na participativan način" (Lynch & Mannion, 2016: 335).

U okviru intervjua-ture istraživač je s učesnicima, prolazeći kroz prostore vrtića, razgovarao o onome što u prostoru vide i doživljavaju. Intervju je bio polustrukturirani i težilo se tome da učesnici istraživanja budu što manje usmeravani, kako bi njihove priče očuvale autentični doživljaj i iskustvo koje su stekli tokom restrukturiranja prostora u vrtiću.

Istraživač je postavljao dodatna pitanja kako bi se sagledala iskustva učesnika vezana za stvaranje „drugih mesta" u vrtiću, kao i za odnose moći koji se u njima prepoznaju.

Istraživanje je sprovedeno u jednom državnom vrtiću koji se nalazi na periferiji grada Beograda, u objektu koji je namenjen deci jaslenog uzrasta (od 1 do 3 godine), ali koji ima i dve grupe dece vrtićkog uzrasta (od 3 do 4 godine). U istraživanju je učestvovala medicinska sestra – vaspitač (koja je i rukovodilac objekta) i stručni saradnik – pedagog. U prikazu rezultata istraživanja termin „praktičari" se odnosi na medicinske sestre – vaspitače, vaspitače, stručne saradnike i saradnike koji rade u vrtiću u kome je sprovedeno istraživanje. Termin „vaspitači" koristimo kada govorimo o vaspitačima i medicinskim sestrama – vaspitačima.

Za potrebe ovog istraživanja fokusirali smo se na zajedničke prostore vrtića (holove i hodnike), sa ciljem promišljanja odnosa moći koje reflektuju, svesni da analiza celog prostora vrtića prevazilazi okvire ovog rada. Međutim, u interpretaciji rezultata istraživanja povremeno je postojala potreba da se određena situacija u praksi analizira u odnosu na širi kontekst ili da se referiše na ranije prakse u vrtiću, što je u interpretaciji i naznačeno.

Tokom intervjua-ture fotografisana su pojedina mesta u vrtiću koja su u razgovoru istaknuta kao važna za preispitivanje odnosa moći. Nakon početne analize, učesnici istraživanja su imali seriju dodatnih razmena (putem Viber grupe), tokom kojih su deljene fotografije izgleda prostora pre njegove transformacije i pokušaja stvaranja „drugih mesta", ali i dodatni uvidi, komentari i tumačenja u odnosu na početnu analizu koju je istraživač podelio s učesnicima istraživanja.

U analizi smo pošli od „promišljanja kroz teoriju" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012; 2013) iz potrebe da istraživačke podatke sagledamo u odnosu na Fukoovo shvatanje odnosa moći i heterotropija, ali i da izloženo shvatanje promišljamo u odnosu na prikupljene podatke (Mills, 2017). Analizi se pristupilo kroz nelinearno čitanje podataka (transkripta intervjua, fotografija, video-zapisa, tekstualnih poruka) i izdvajanje pitanja, dilema i komentara koji su zatim podeljeni sa učesnicima istraživanja kroz razgovor. Nakon dobijanja novih uvida u razmeni istraživača i učesnika istraživanja pristupilo se ponovnom ukrštanju podataka i izdvajanju „sekvenci" iz prakse. U interpretaciji podataka i diskusiji izdvojene su tri sekvence iz prakse koje su dovedene u vezu s određenim načelima heterotopija.

Rezultati i diskusija

Sekvenca 1: Verujete da ste ušli, no u času kada ste unutra, isključeni ste

Pri samom ulasku u vrtić vidljivo je obaveštenje o periodu kada su vrata vrtića otvorena, a kada se zaključavaju. To u praksi znači da u periodu kada su vrata zaključana roditelj može ući u vrtić tek nakon što mu neko od zaposlenih dozvoli pristup (otključavanjem vrata). Time se članovima porodice dece koja pohađaju vrtić šalje poruka u kom periodu mogu slobodno pristupiti vrtiću, a kada pristupaju uz odobrenje zaposlenih.

Stručni saradnik – pedagog tumači kako vidi funkciju obaveštenja za roditelje: *Roditelji mogu da ulaze u vrtić kada im odgovara, ne postoji doba dana kada se ne može ući u vrtić. Ali bih rekla da se oni nekako libe da uđu u tom periodu kada se vrtić zaključava. Iako im je rečeno da mogu, mislim da taj natpis ipak pravi neku barijeru, odnosno ruši dobrodošlicu.*

Postojanje ovakve procedure možemo dovesti u vezu s petim načelom heterotopija, po kome one predstavljaju sistem otvaranja i zatvaranja „koji ih istovremeno izopštava i čini prohodnim" (Fuko, 2005: 35). Imajući na umu da postoji radno vreme vrtića kojim je određeno kada je vrtić prohodan, a kada izopšten u odnosu na sve učesnike vaspitno-obrazovne prakse, definisanje vremenskog okvira unutar radnog vremena u kojem je pristup vrtiću kontrolišu zaposleni dodatno vodi izopštavanju nekih njegovih članova (porodice dece koja pohađaju vrtić).

S načelom po kome heterotopije istovremeno predstavljaju sistem otvaranja i zatvaranja moguće je povezati i ustaljeni način organizovanja vaspitnih grupa u vrtićima. Dete upisom u vrtić postaje deo vrtićke zajednice dece različitih uzrasta i odraslih koji rade u tom vrtiću. Iako je vrtić dostupan svoj deci koja su u njega upisana, to ne mora podrazumevati i da su svi prostori vrtića jednako dostupni svoj deci. Istraživanja pokazuju da se u vrtićima dešava prostorna, uzrasna i socijalna segregacija dece (Pavlović Breneselović, 2015), jer ona najveći deo vremena u vrtiću provode u svojoj radnoj sobi, u kontaktu samo s decom i vaspitačima svoje grupe.

U vrtiću u kome smo sproveli istraživanje praktičari su inicirali promenu ovakvog načina organizovanja vaspitnih grupa. Dok razgovaramo u hodniku, jedan tata dolazi po svoje dete i zbunjeno obaveštava medicinsku sestru – vaspitača da njegovo dete nije u svojoj sobi. Ona mu odgovara da su u sobi pored i da slobodno pokuca tamo, a zatim objašnjava istraživaču zbog čega su se organizovali tako da grupe budu „otvorene", tj. da deca jedne grupe mogu koristiti prostore i igrati se sa decom drugih grupa.

Medicinska sestra – vaspitač: *Znate ranije je bilo – moja deca, moja grupa, moj vaspitač, ja ih imam danas četiri, vi sedamnaestoro [dece]... ovako je mnogo lakše i deci i nama. Ali potrebno je da se vaspitač prebaci u glavi, bilo je problema, i te kako. Ali ne prija svakom promena. E onda smo njih polako, prvo sa koleginicom koja je spremna, pa mic po mic, to je strategija bila kompletna. E sad smo svi u tome.*

Može se uočiti da promene u organizaciji i „otvaranje" drugih mesta za decu nisu proistekli iz kritičkog preispitivanja da prostor podržava koncepcijska polazišta Osnova programa predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja „Godine uzleta" (Osnove programa, 2018), već iz realnih teškoća s kojima se vaspitači suočavaju u praksi, a pre svega zbog nedostatka vaspitnog osoblja.

Medicinska sestra – vaspitač: *Da vam kažem, i dalje postoje ti vaspitači koji ne daju tu moć, već je „moja deca – moja soba". Imate koleginicu kojoj baš ne prija. Ali kada ona ima situaciju da jednog dana ona ima osamnaestoro a ja četvoro [dece], šta ćemo onda? Tada se shvati da je svima bolje. Deci prvenstveno. Jer zamislite sad godinu dana dolaze samo u ovu sobu. I kakve god materijale vi da imate i menjate, to su ista lica, ista soba. A desilo nam se i da su se neka deca tako povezala, evo na primer A. i L. Oni su se toliko zbližili i tako se lepo igraju, da smo u ovako otvorenim grupama mogli da ih spojimo da često budu zajedno. A nisu bili ista grupa.*

Ovakve vrste promena doprinose da se dešavaju i neke nove i drugačije interakcije između različitih učesnika prakse vrtića, „što vodi ka promeni njihovih uzajamnih odnosa i jačanju osećaja pripadanja i povezanosti" (Krnjaja i Purešević, 2020: 228). Navedene promene nisu tekle bez otpora, ali su vodile ka novim uvidima vaspitača, što je otvorilo prostor za građenje odnosa između dece koja do tada nisu imala priliku za takvu vrstu interakcije s vršnjacima van svoje grupe. Ovaj primer možemo posmatrati i kroz Fukoovo viđenje moći kao fluidne, jer svaki učesnik vaspitno-obrazovne prakse istovremeno i doživljava i vrši moć (Jobb, 2019). U ovom slučaju, kada deca praktikuju moć i imaju priliku da biraju prostor u kojem će se igrati i decu s kojom će se igrati, novi odnosi koje su gradili s decom drugih grupa uticali su na vaspitače da preispitaju svoju ustaljenu praksu i da je u skladu s tim uvidima menjaju.

Sekvenca 2: Linearni i ciklični tok vremena

Zajednički prostor koji je najfrekventniji, kroz koji prolaze svi koji uđu u vrtić, jeste veliki hodnik gde su smešteni dečji ormarići s garderobom. Taj prostor ranije nije pozivao roditelje i decu da u njemu borave duže i da se u njemu igraju. Naprotiv, on je ranije služio za odlaganje viška nameštaja i opreme (Fotografija 1).

Fotografija 1
Deo glavnog hodnika vrtića pre uređenja prostora

Fotografisano 2022. godine. Izvor: arhiva učesnika istraživanja

Medicinska sestra – vaspitač ističe da je ovaj prostor najveće promene pretrpeo u poslednjih godinu dana. Kada su se upustili u promišljanje kako da zajednički prostor emituje dobrodošlicu porodici, prvo su sklonili sav nameštaj i opremu i na to mesto stavili sto, stolice i par knjiga (Fotografija 2).

Fotografija 2
Prostor hodnika nakon sklanjanja nameštaja

Fotografisano 2022. godine. Izvor: arhiva učesnika istraživanja

Medicinska sestra – vaspitač: *Kada smo nameštaj sklonili, ostao je prazan prostor u koji smo stavili za početak sto i stolicu. Onda smo promišljali šta bismo mogli da formiramo, a da bude inspirativno i deci i roditeljima. Zahvaljujući podršci i pomoći roditelja, dobili smo nameštaj od paleta koji su nam oni napravili. Jedna mama je sa suprugom napravila taj nameštaj, a onda sa nama učestvovala u uređenju ovog dela prostora.*

Ideja praktičara bila je da u ovom prostoru članovi porodice mogu da se informišu o novoj programskoj koncepciji kroz dostupan Programski dokument (Osnove programa, 2018) i dodatne brošure, čitaju priče o projektima koji su se u vrtiću u prethodnoj godini razvijali, čitaju literaturu iz oblasti roditeljstva ili da s decom čitaju knjige. Medicinska sestra – vaspitač i pedagog u razgovoru dele svoj utisak da se i dalje ujutru tu roditelji manje zadržavaju, dovedu dete i žure na posao, ali da se situacija u popodnevnim časovima, kada dolaze po dete, znatno promenila otkad je prostor dobio novi oblik.

Medicinska sestra – vaspitač: *Kada smo promenili prostor, imali smo situaciju da onda roditelji dođu i ne provode samo deset minuta, već je jedan tata čekao u kolima majku koja je došla po dete skoro sat vremena. On se čovek uplašio, ušao u vrtić i pitao mamu: „Pa dobro gde ste vi?" One su sele u biblioteku, čitale knjige, došle ovde oblačile kostime i to je trajalo. Pritom je to jedan od „nezgodnih tata" gde ni saglasnost za fotografisanje, ništa nije bilo potpisano. Nakon toga je sve bilo potpisano. Sada nam se roditelji poprilično zadržavaju.*

Na ovom primeru možemo prepoznati kako je stvaranje drugih mesta u vrtiću uticalo na promenu percepcije vremena odraslog. Dok je otac vreme merio linearno (putem sata), majka je sa detetom bila u „događajnom vremenu" (Goble, 2020), koje ima svoj drugačiji tok. U cikličnom doživljaju vremena ono se ne može izmeriti, te se iz vrtića odlazi ne u odnosu na vreme prikazano na satu, već kada je za to „najpovoljniji trenutak" (Malakpa, 2007).

Kroz ovo iskustvo promene zajedničkog prostora možemo uočiti i kako se menjao odnos roditelja prema vrtiću. Kada su dobili priliku da vide i iskuse kako se njihovo dete igra u vrtiću, kada su i sami bili u ulozi saigrača s detetom, to je doprinelo građenju osećaja pripadanja zajednici vrtića, a samim tim i jačanju odnosa poverenja s vaspitačima.

Sekvenca 3: „Posmatračnica za ptice"
– heterotopijsko stvaranje mesta

Dolazimo do stepenica koje vode na sprat vrtića. Medicinska sestra – vaspitač zastaje kod prostora ispod stepeništa i počinje priču o tome kako je ovaj prostor menjao svoj oblik i namenu.

Medicinska sestra – vaspitač: *Imamo, deca su ih krstila, Ćiru i Jovanku. Ćira i Jovanka su povelike sove. Sove nam često ispadaju ovde iz gnezda. I jednog dana ja ovde prolazim i ona tu stoji i gleda me, sova* [pokazuje rukom na prozor pored stepeništa]. *Kada se sova pojavila u dvorištu, nju su deca iz trpezarije videla i počela da komentarišu. I onda smo mi* [vaspitači] *sele i razmišljale kako to da iskoristimo, jer ej imamo sove, a sove nisu baš svakodnevica. A ovaj deo* [ispod stepeništa] *nam ni za šta nikad nije služio, jer je nizak, nebezbedan, zbog ćoškova i ivica. Ali čekajte, to se plašimo mi. Dete je u ovoj visini* [pokazuje rukom], *kako će da udari u ivicu?*

Fotografija 3
Prostor ispod stepeništa pre uređenja i ilustracija pozicije vaspitača u odnosu na prostor dok je govorio o njegovoj bezbednosti

Fotografisano 2022. godine. Izvor: arhiva učesnika istraživanja

Momenat u kome medicinska sestra – vaspitač pokazuje rukom na visinu stepeništa da bi opisala kako je to prostor adekvatan za decu (Fotografija 3) obojio je razgovor više nego što je to vidljivo u tekstu. Naša neverbalna komunikacija, ton kojim je razgovor tekao dalje i osećaj ponosa koji je lebdeo u prostoru dok govori ukazivali su na to da je za medicinsku sestru – vaspitača ovaj primer veoma važan i da ga smatra prekretnicom u preispitivanju i osvešćivanju uloge odraslih u oblikovanju fizičkog okruženja vrtića, kao i inspiracijom za pokretanje promene u ovom prostoru (Fotografija 4).

Medicinska sestra – vaspitač: *A onda pošto su ptice uglavnom s te strane, i te sove su bile isključivo u tom delu dvorišta, onda smo upravo ovu celinu osmisli za to da se oni* [deca] *kriju, šunjaju, jer kiša je tih dana često padala i kroz prozor smo mogli da posmatramo ptice, kada ne izađemo u dvorište. Napravili smo jednu posmatračnicu, oni to zovu „ptičarnik", deca. Tu oni vole i da se skrivaju, ulaze ovde, malo za nas odrasle je nezgodno da se zavučemo, ali oni uživaju.*

Fotografija 4
Prostor ispod stepeništa kao „Posmatračnica za ptice"

Napomena: strelicom je obeležen prozor kroz koji deca posmatraju ptice u dvorištu vrtića

Stvaranjem ovakvih „drugih mesta" nastaju novi odnosi, koji pozicioniraju decu i odrasle kao ravnopravne „stanovnike" vrtića kao mesta zajedničkog učenja i učešća. Oslanjajući se na Fukoov koncept heterotopija, Adlerštajn-Grimberg i Bralić-Eševeria (Adlerstein-Grimberg & Bralic-Echeverría, 2021) kreirale su pojam *heterotopijskog stvaranja mesta* kao opis za ovakve alternativne načine stvaranja novih mesta u vrtiću, uz učešće i agensnost dece i odraslih, što vodi i promeni odnosa moći. U ovom slučaju vaspitači su prepoznali zainteresovanost dece za posmatranje sova u dvorištu vrtića, ali su i preispitali svoje predrasude i strahove u vezi s korišćenjem određenih prostora kao što je prostor ispod stepeništa. Deca su pak imala svoje teorije kako ovo mesto može da se koristi i pored predviđenog (za posmatranje sova), koriste ga za skrivanje i osamljivanje. Ovaj primer

heterotopijskog stvaranja mesta može otvoriti mogućnost za susretanje heterotopije i lokalizovane utopije, što dalje može voditi do građenja novog, „koautorskog prostora" (Krnjaja, 2012) koji nastaje u igri u kojoj odrasli i deca dele moć i time „stvaraju prostore u kojima njihove ideje postaju koautorizovane" (Krnjaja, 2012: 274).

Zaključak

Istraživanja dečjeg vrtića kao prostora heterotopije imaju značajan potencijal za preispitivanje odnosa moći koji vladaju na svim nivoima sistema predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja – od nivoa odnosa obrazovnih politika i predškolskih ustanova do nivoa odnosa dece i vaspitača. Ovim istraživanjem zahvatili smo tek obrise heterotopijskih mesta u vrtiću i ukazali na neke od mogućih načina njihovog stvaranja u ustanovama predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja. U istraživanju smo tragali za „tananim kanalima" (Fuko, 2012) kroz koje moć teče i preliva se unutar vrtića, imajući na umu da je „svako u osnovi nosilac neke moći, i u toj meri prenosi moć" (Fuko, 2012: 77).

Iskustva koje su učesnici delili u fokus stavljaju njihovo preispitivanje funkcije i karakteristika fizičke sredine i iniciranje transformacije zajedničkih prostora vrtića, s idejom da će te promene doprineti transformaciji postojećih obrazaca moći u odnosima između različitih učesnika vaspitno-obrazovne prakse u dečjem vrtiću (pre svega vaspitača, dece i porodice). Istraživanje pokazuje da promenama u prostoru ovog vrtića nije uvek prethodilo promišljanje i preispitivanje odnosa moći, ali kada su se desile, promene su gotovo uvek vodile novim uvidima praktičara. Ti uvidi najpre govore o novim načinima učešća vaspitača, dece i porodice u korišćenju prostora vrtića, a time i o promeni njihovih odnosa. Teškoće u ostvarivanju nekih promena, kao što je mogućnost igre dece različitih grupa i „otvaranje" radnih soba za decu drugih grupa, dovele su do eksplicitnijeg uočavanja neravnoteže u odnosima moći. U tom procesu postala je vidljiva potreba nekih vaspitača da imaju „moć" i kontrolu nad kretanjem dece s kojom rade. Iskustva praktičara u ovom vrtiću pokazuju da su oni prilikom pokretanja promena u prostoru glavni oslonac tražili među svojim kolegama („Onda smo promišljali [vaspitači i stručni saradnik – pedagog] šta bismo mogli da formiramo, a da bude inspirativno i deci i roditeljima"; „I onda smo mi [vaspitačice] sele i razmišljale kako to da iskoristimo"). Fokus na promene u zajedničkim prostorima vrtića doprineo je da vaspitači „izađu iz izolovanosti svoje radne sobe" (Pavlović Beneselović i sar., 2022: 84) i da kroz deljenje ideja, dilema, pitanja, zajedničko rešavanje problema i zajednički rad na promenama u prostoru s drugim vaspitačima i stručnim saradnikom – pedagogom grade odnose zasnovane na deljenju moći. Pokretanje promena u zajedničkim prostorima vrtića predstavlja dobru polaznu osnovu u procesu transformacije prakse, jer ove prostore vaspitači lakše dele s drugima, tj. ne doživljavaju ih svojim ličnim prostorom, kao što neretko imaju taj odnos prema sobi vaspitne grupe u kojoj rade (što je i vidljivo u predstavljenom primeru „otvaranja" radnih soba).

Sprovedeno istraživanje ukazuje na kompleksnost procesa promene paradigme na kojoj je zasnovana postojeća praksa, jer čak i kada se fokusiramo samo na promene u fizičkom okruženju vrtića, možemo primetiti da one ne teku linearno, već kroz građenje

„mesta između – nabora koji predstavljaju prostornu transformaciju kroz koju se uočavaju novi prostorni identiteti" (Kornberger & Clegg, 2003: 84). Novi obrasci moći nastaju upravo u tim „naborima", mestima na marginama ustaljene prakse, koji osporavaju ustaljene odnose i koji po svojim karakteristikama predstavljaju heterotopije.

Ovo istraživanje pruža nove uvide u razumevanju uloge i značaja fizičkog okruženja za građenje prakse vrtića zasnovane na deljenju moći, kao i uvide o načinima na koje promene u fizičkom okruženju dovode do promena u odnosima učesnika vaspitno-obrazovne prakse. U ovom radu fokus je na sagledavanju odnosa moći kroz analizu zajedničkih prostora dečjeg vrtića, te je značajno pokrenuti nova istraživanja koja bi obuhvatila druge nivoe vaspitno-obrazovne prakse, ali i ukupnog sistema predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja. Time bi odnosi moći koji oblikuju praksu predškolskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja mogli biti sagledani u odnosu na širi društveni kontekst.

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Osvrt na analizu grešaka na primeru nastave engleskog jezika struke[1]

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Apstrakt   *Iako se analiza grešaka uglavnom smatra prevaziđenom u istraživanjima koja se bave usvajanjem drugog jezika, ona se i dalje široko primenjuje u oblasti metodike nastave stranih jezika. Cilj ovog rada je da se ponovo sagledaju mogućnosti i ograničenja analize grešaka pola veka nakon što je ovaj pristup postavljen. Istraživanje predstavljeno u ovom radu smešteno je u specifičan kontekst engleskog jezika struke, sa ciljem da se analiziraju greške u prevodima studenata inženjerstva. Za razliku od većine ovakvih analiza, ovo istraživanje ne ispituje samo gramatičke greške, već i greške u vokabularu. Posebna pažnja posvećena je objašnjenju porekla grešaka, odnosno utvrđivanju da li je greška nastala pod uticajem maternjeg jezika (međujezičke greške) ili stranog jezika (unutarjezičke greške), nakon čega sledi dalja analiza glavnih uzroka ovih međujezičkih i unutarjezičkih grešaka. Na osnovu rezultata i implikacija prikazane analize, zaključuje se da analiza grešaka, uprkos svojim nedostacima i ograničenjima, pruža dragocen uvid u strategije koje studenti koriste, kao i u prepreke na koje nailaze u procesu učenja stranog jezika. Stoga se rezultati analize grešaka mogu koristiti kao koristan resurs za unapređivanje i nadogradnju postojećih pristupa u nastavi, kao i za njihovo prilagođavanje specifičnim potrebama studenata.*

Ključne reči: *analiza grešaka, međujezičke greške, unutarjezičke greške, engleski jezik struke, prevod.*

Uvod

Kroz istraživanja iz oblasti usvajanja drugog jezika (eng. *second language acquisition*) pokazano je da su greške rezultat normalnog razvoja i neizbežan deo procesa učenja. Ističe se da greške ne treba shvatati kao znak inhibicije, već kao dokaz da učenici primenjuju strategije učenja (Corder, 1967) kao i da u jezik koji uče pokušavaju da uvedu pravila (Gass & Selinker, 2008). Iako se analiza grešaka (eng. *error analysis*) (AG) vršila pre skoro pola veka u okviru istraživanja o usvajanju drugog jezika, kasnije je našla širu praktičnu primenu u oblasti nastave engleskog jezika (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005; McDowell & Liardét, 2020). Međutim, uočeni su različiti metodološki problemi povezani s AG, kao što su problemi utvrđivanja grešaka (šta se smatra, a šta ne smatra greškom), poteškoće u sprečavanju učenika da u jezičkoj produkciji izbegavaju upotrebu onih jezičkih oblika koje manje poznaju (eng. *avoidance*), pravljenje razlike između omaški (eng. *mistakes*) i grešaka (eng. *errors*), kao i nepostojanje taksonomije koja bi greške nedvosmisleno klasifikovala u određenu kategoriju (Johnson & Johnson, 1998).

Istraživanje predstavljeno u ovom radu bavi se analizom grešaka u prevodima studenata i smešteno je u specifičan kontekst engleskog jezika struke (EJS). Kada je reč o značaju jezičkih veština u EJS, prevođenje se često smatra petom jezičkom veštinom uz četiri osnovne veštine slušanja, govora, čitanja i pisanja. Prema Njumarku (Newmark, 1991), prevođenje se u nastavi jezika na višim nivoima smatra čak najvažnijom društvenom veštinom, jer podstiče komunikaciju i razumevanje među ljudima. Ovaj autor dalje ističe da je prevođenje važno za unapređivanje „razumevanja između pojedinaca, grupa, organizacija i naroda, kao i posrednik u širenju kultura i prenosu informacija i tehnologije" (Newmark, 1991: 64). Instrumentalnost prevođenja posebno dolazi do izražaja u kontekstu EJS, gde je prevod sredstvo pomoću kojeg dobijamo informacije i znanja iz proučavane naučne oblasti (Đorović, 2020). Kako nastava EJS na tercijarnom nivou priprema studente da koriste engleski jezik u skladu sa specifičnim potrebama njihove buduće profesije, nastava često uključuje prevode sa maternjeg jezika (J1) na strani jezik (J2). Cilj ovog istraživanja je da se ispitaju mogućnosti i ograničenja AG u nastavi EJS danas. Kategorizacijom i analizom grešaka u prevodima studenata pokušaćemo da pružimo uvid u vrste grešaka koje studenti prave, kao i u učestalost grešaka, i da odredimo faktore koje utiču na njihovo javljanje. Polazimo od pretpostavke da greške odražavaju strategije koje studenti koriste, ali i poteškoće na koje nailaze u procesu učenja stranog jezika. Implikacije ove analize mogu biti korisne za nastavnike u osmišljavanju nastave stranog jezika, ali je potrebno imati u vidu i nedostatke i ograničenja koje ovakva analiza ima.

Teorijski okvir

Greške, analiza grešaka i međujezik

Učenje je proces u kom do uspešnog ishoda dolazimo kroz pravljenje grešaka, jer zahvaljujući greškama dobijamo povratnu informaciju iz okruženja te koristimo tu povratnu informaciju da bismo napravili još pokušaja koji će nas dovesti do željenog cilja (Brown,

2000). S. P. Korder, jedan od začetnika analize grešaka, napravio je razliku između grešaka i omaški u produkciji jezika, objašnjavajući da se omaške dešavaju slučajno i nastaju kao proizvod slučajnih okolnosti, dok su greške sistematske pojave (Corder, 1967).

Analiza grešaka je proces kroz koji utvrđujemo učestalost, prirodu, uzroke i posledice nepravilnog jezika učenika (James, 1998). Taj proces podrazumeva niz postupaka koji se uglavnom bave greškama u jezičkoj produkciji, odnosno govoru ili pisanju, budući da je poreklo grešaka u razumevanju veoma teško, a često i nemoguće utvrditi. AG je nastala kao reakcija na pristup kontrastivne analize (KA), koja je uključivala kontrastiranje J1 i J2 učenika i bila je zasnovana na pretpostavci da greške uglavnom nastaju usled negativnog transfera iz maternjeg jezika. Za razliku od biheviorističkih pristupa učenju jezika koje nalazimo u KA, AG je zasnovana na nativističkim pristupima učenju jezika ističući značaj mentalnih procesa i kognitivnih mehanizama aktivnih prilikom učenja jezika (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005). AG je takođe poslužila kao osnova za razvijanje teorije međujezika, koja je još uvek veoma uticajna u lingvističkim istraživanjima jer pruža širok i produktivan okvir za istraživanja postavljena kroz različite teorijske okvire (Tarone, 2018).

Izraz „međujezik" (eng. *interlanguage*) predložio je Selinker (Selinker, 1972), na osnovu Korderovog izraza „prelazna kompetencija" (eng. *transitional competence*) (Corder 1967); ostali izrazi koje nalazimo u literaturi su „aproksimativni sistem" (eng. *approksimative system*) (Nemser, 1971), „idiosinkratični dijalekat" (eng. *idiosyncratic dialect*) i „jezik učenika" (eng. *learner language*). Prema Selinkeru (1972), međujezik je jedinstven jezički sistem koji svaki učenik stvara u procesu učenja stranog jezika. Drugim rečima, međujezik je „mentalna gramatika koju učenik konstruiše u određenoj fazi tokom procesa učenja" (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005). Međujezik je sastavljen kako od elemenata iz J1 tako i od elemenata iz J2, ali se u isto vreme pravila ovog jezičkog sistema na određeni način razlikuju i od J1 i od J2. Pojam međujezika usko je povezan sa fosilizacijom, koja se javlja kada jezičke jedinice ili oblici (posebno oni pogrešno naučeni) postanu stalni u međujeziku učenika. Smatra se da nam analiza međujezika učenika može pružiti značajna saznanja o razvoju jezika kod pojedinca ili grupe, kao i o celom procesu učenja stranog jezika. Jedno od istraživačkih oblasti koje je Selinker (1972) prepoznao u okviru teorije međujezika je psiholingvistički proces strategija učenja, koje su postale jedno od ključnih istraživačkih oblasti (Tarone, 2018), npr. kod Rebeke Oksford (Oxford 1990; 2017).

Sprovođenje analize grešaka

Postupak sprovođenja AG koji se u istraživanjima najčešće primenjuje predložio je Korder (Corder, 1974; 1981) i sastoji se od pet faza: prikupljanje jezičke građe, utvrđivanje grešaka, opis grešaka, objašnjavanje porekla grešaka i evaluacija grešaka. Ovaj odeljak opisuje te faze, uključujući niz taksonomija koje su različiti autori predlagali tokom godina, kao i metodološke probleme koje treba uzeti u obzir.

1. Prikupljanje jezičke građe ili korpusa. U zavisnosti od ciljeva i obuhvata AG, istraživači se odlučuju za vrstu korpusa (obiman, specifičan ili slučajni uzorak), prikupljenog metodom poprečnog preseka (eng. *cross-sectionally*) ili longitudinalnim istraživanjem (eng. *longitudinally*) (Ellis, 1994). Građa se može prikupiti kroz prirodnu (spontanu)

upotrebu jezika (eng. *natural language*) ili kada se ciljano traži produkcija određenih jezičkih oblika, što se češće koristi u istraživanjima (eng. *elicited data*). U ovom drugom slučaju najčešće se primenjuje eksperimentalna metoda, kada se posebno sastavljen instrument koristi za dobijanje podataka koji sadrže ispitivane jezičke oblike. U ovoj fazi AG, najbitnije je imati u vidu da na prirodu i učestalost grešaka u prikupljenom korpusu utiču različiti faktori: (a) faktori koji se odnose na učenike (npr. nivo znanja, maternji jezik učenika), (b) faktori koji se odnose na jezik (npr. sredstvo jezičke produkcije ili jezičkog izražavanja, žanr) i (v) jezička produkcija (npr. planirana ili neplanirana) (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005). Pokazano je, recimo, da vrste grešaka uglavnom zavise od prirode zadatka izabranog za prikupljanje jezičke građe jer se, na primer, u zadacima prevođenja najčešće utvrđuje više grešaka transfera iz maternjeg jezika u odnosu na zadatke pisanja sastava (Ellis, 1994).

2. Utvrđivanje grešaka. Generalno prihvaćen pristup u procesu utvrđivanja grešaka je da se kao norma izabere jedan od standardnih dijalekata (npr. britanski ili američki engleski). U ovoj fazi, najveće poteškoće predstavlja precizna rekonstrukcija iskaza/rečenica učenika, kao i donošenje odluke da li da se analiza ograniči samo na apsolutne greške ili da se uključe i oblici koji ne predstavljaju prikladan ili primeren prevod mada jesu gramatički prihvatljivi (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005). Ovde se, takođe, susrećemo s problemom vezanim za razgraničavanje između grešaka i omaški (što je moguće rešiti sprovođenjem longitudinalnih istraživanja ili intervjua sa učenicima), kao i prepoznavanjem ne samo očiglednih grešaka (eng. *overt errors*), već i onih prikrivenih (eng. *covert errors*), što zahteva analizu diskursa većeg obima.

3. Opisivanje grešaka. U ovoj fazi, greške se razvrstavaju prema kategorijama i određuje se njihova učestalost (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005). Klasifikacija grešaka se može vršiti prema različitim kriterijumima. Na primer, greške se mogu sagledavati kroz različite jezičke veštine, odnosno može se analizirati nivo znanja, odnosno grešaka u govoru, slušanju, pisanju i čitanju (Bussmann et al., 1996). Taksonomija koja se najčešće koristi podrazumeva određivanje broja i učestalosti grešaka na različitim jezičkim nivoima (npr. fonetika/fonologija, ortografija, morfologija, sintaksa, leksikon, frazeologija, stilistika) ili u određenim gramatičkim kategorijama (Ellis, 1994). Još jedan od pristupa koji se koristi za opisivanje grešaka jesu površinske strategije, koje greške kategorišu kao greške izostavljanja, greške dodavanja, greške u građi morfeme ili strukture i greške u redu reči u rečenici (eng. *omission, addition, misformation, misordering*) (npr. Dulay et al., 1982). U literaturi se ističe da izbor kategorija za AG treba da zavisi od prirode jezičke građe (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005).

4. Objašnjavanje porekla grešaka. Cilj ove faze analize je utvrđivanje porekla grešaka koje su učenici napravili. Za razliku od kontrastivne analize, gde je pažnja usmerena na greške nastale kao rezultat interferencije (tj. negativnog transfera iz maternjeg jezika), AG ispituje greške različitog porekla. Prema Ričardsu (Richards, 1971) greške mogu poticati iz tri izvora: greške nastale usled interferencije, unutarjezičke greške i razvojne greške. Stenson (Stenson, 1983) je dodao kategoriju indukovanih grešaka (eng. *induced errors*), koje su rezultat propusta u nastavi ili nastavnim materijalima (npr. nejasnih ili nepravilnih instrukcija dobijenih od nastavnika ili pogrešnih objašnjenja datih u udžbeniku i vežbama).

Prema Braunu (Brown, 2000), poreklo grešaka može biti: interferencija iz maternjeg jezika, uticaj ciljnog jezika, sociolingvistički kontekst komunikacije, psiholingvističke ili kognitivne strategije i različiti afektivni faktori.

Iako postoji niz različitih faktora koji mogu uticati na uspešnost jezičke produkcije i javljanje grešaka (Đuričić, 2014; Gass & Selinker, 2008), istraživanja u oblasti AG danas se uglavnom baziraju na jezičkim faktorima, pri čemu se najčešće pravi razlika između unutarjezičkih grešaka (eng. *intralingual errors*) i međujezičkih grešaka (eng. *interlingual errors*) (Richards & Schmidt, 2002). Ričards (Richards, 1971) je kroz istraživanje s ispitanicima različitog jezičkog porekla (eliminišući na ovaj način uticaj maternjeg jezika na poreklo grešaka) odredio četiri moguća uzroka unutarjezičkih grešaka:

i) preterano uopštavanje (eng. *overgeneralization*): kada učenik stvara nepravilnu strukturu na osnovu drugih struktura koje su mu poznate u ciljnom jeziku, npr. *he can sings, we are hope, it is occurs, he come from*.

ii) nepoznavanje ograničenja pravila (eng. *ignorance of rule restrictions*): kada učenik primenjuje određena pravila vezana za strukture jezičkih jedinica u slučajevima kada ta pravila ne treba primenjivati, npr. *I made him to do it* (po analogiji sa *I forced him to do it*), *we discussed about it* (po analogiji sa *we talked about it*).

iii) nepotpuna primena pravila (eng. *incomplete application of rules*): predstavlja stvaranje nepravilnih struktura kada učenik pravila primenjuje delimično, kao u postavljanju pitanja, npr. *How long it takes?*

iv) greške zasnovane na pogrešnim pretpostavkama (eng. *false concepts hypothesized*): kada greška proizilazi iz pogrešnog razumevanja razlika u ciljnom jeziku, kao što je upotreba oblika *was* kao obeležja prošlog vremena, npr. *one day it was happened*, ili razumevanje razlike između *too, so* i *very*, ili između *come* i *go*, itd.

Sličnu taksonomiju unutarjezičkih grešaka predložio je Džejms (James, 1998): (i) greške zasnovane na pogrešnoj analogiji, (ii) greške zasnovane na pogrešnoj pretpostavci, (iii) nepotpuna primena pravila, (iv) redundantnost, (v) nepoznavanje ograničenja kolociranja, (vi) hiperkorekcija i (vii) preterano uopštavanje ili pojednostavljivanje.

S druge strane, taksonomije za međujezičke greške ređe nalazimo u literaturi. Ipak, Lot (Lott, 1983) je opisao tri osnovna uzroka međujezičkih grešaka:

i) preterana upotreba analogije (eng. *overextension of analogy*): nepravilna upotreba reči usled fonetske, ortografske, semantičke ili sintaksičke sličnosti s nekim elementom u J1, npr. za srp. aktuelno koristi se eng. *actually* umesto *topically*; za srp. eventualno, koristi se eng. *eventually* umesto *possibly* (primeri za srpski preuzeti iz Hlebec, 1997)

ii) transfer strukture: gramatičke greške nastale usled primene pravila iz J1, umesto pravila iz J2, npr. srp. On ima 8 godina, eng. * *He has 8 years* umesto *He's 8 years old*.

iii) nepoznavanje razlika između J1 i J2: kada razlika na gramatičkom ili leksičkom nivou postoji u J2 ali ne i u J1, na primer relativna zamenica „koji" se u srpskom koristi i za živa bića i stvari, dok u engleskom za to postoje različite zamenice *who* i *which*, ili srp. posao, eng. *job* i *work*. Neophodno je napomenuti da originalni izraz koji je Lot (Lott, 1983) koristio za ovu vrstu grešaka je međujezička/unutarjezička greška (eng. *interlingual/intralingual error*). Međutim, pošto se termini „međujezički" i „unutarjezički" koriste u

literaturi za opisivanje porekla grešaka usled uticaja maternjeg ili ciljnog jezika, u ovom radu je termin preimenovan u „nepoznavanje razlika između J1 i J2" kako bi se izbegla zabuna.

Važno je istaći da je objašnjavanje porekla grešaka složen i zahtevan zadatak za istraživače jer je ponekad teško odrediti poreklo grešaka (Richards & Schmidt, 2002), dok određene greške mogu imati više različitih uzroka (Ellis, 1994). Ovi problemi čine neke od glavnih nedostataka AG, jer se određivanje tačnog porekla grešaka ponekad svodi na subjektivnu procenu i intuiciju istraživača.

Poslednja faza AG, evaluacija grešaka, ima za cilj da utvrdi efekat koji greška ima na osobu kojoj je jezički iskaz upućen, odnosno da se odredi koliko se iskaz razume i kakvu reakciju izaziva (obično se koriste kriterijumi razumljivosti, prihvatljivosti i iritantnosti) (Ellis, 1994). Međutim, budući da je evaluacija grešaka veoma složena i da zavisi od velikog broja faktora, obično se izostavlja u istraživanjima. Mnogi autori (npr. Brown, 2000; Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005; Gass & Selinker, 2008), umesto ove poslednje faze, predlažu pedagoški rad, odnosno sprovođenje pedagoških intervencija na osnovu prethodno sprovedene analize.

Dosadašnja istraživanja u oblasti AG sprovođena su za različite jezike i diskurse, od kojih su neka rađena pre više od pola veka (npr. Dulay & Burt, 1974; Dušková, 1969; Richards, 1971). Na osnovu rezultata različitih istraživanja, uočene su određene tendencije, na primer, da se greške u transferu češće javljaju na fonološkom i leksičkom nivou jezika nego na nivou gramatike, kao i da su greške u transferu češće kod odraslih nego kod mlađih učenika (Ellis, 1994).

Nedavno je sprovedeno nekoliko istraživanja s učenicima i studentima kojima je srpski maternji jezik, na primer: Stefanović (2010) je pokazala da učenici srednjeg nivoa znanja engleskog jezika prave više međujezičkih nego unutarjezičkih grešaka u usmenim izlaganjima; Đuričić (2014) je ukazala na snažan uticaj maternjeg jezika na gramatičke greške studenata koji studiraju španski jezik (nivo A2) u pisanoj produkciji jezika (eseji); Vučen (2016) je analizirala sintaksičke greške kod studenata prirodnih nauka (matematike, fizike i hemije) u zadacima prevođenja, utvrdivši veliki broj grešaka nastalih interferencijom iz maternjeg jezika.

Većina istraživanja u oblasti AG, međutim, bavila se opštim engleskim jezikom i gramatičkim greškama. Imajući u vidu značaj stručne terminologije i prevođenja u kontekstu jezika struke na tercijarnom nivou, ovaj rad ima za cilj da analizira ne samo gramatičke greške, već i greške na nivou vokabulara kod studenata koji uče engleski jezik na inženjerskim fakultetima.

Metodologija istraživanja

Analiza rezultata u ovom radu bazirana je na Korderovom postupku sprovođenja analize grešaka (Corder 1974; 1981).

Prva faza istraživanja bila je sakupljanje jezičke građe, i ova faza sprovedena je tokom letnjeg semestra akademske 2019/20. godine na Poljoprivrednom i Tehnološkom fakultetu Univerziteta u Novom Sadu, Srbija. U istraživanju je učestvovalo 50 studenata za-

vršnih godina studija (treća i četvrta godina), čije je znanje engleskog jezika bilo na nivou B2. Merni instrument bio je test prevođenja (dat u Dodatku rada), koji se sastojao od 10 rečenica na srpskom jeziku, preuzetih i/ili prilagođenih i prevedenih iz međunarodnih naučnih časopisa iz oblasti inženjerstva (lista časopisa je data u odeljku Izvori istraživačkog materijala). Istraživački korpus je, stoga, u idealnim okolnostima trebalo da sadrži ukupno 500 rečenica (u slučaju da su svi studenti u potpunosti popunili test). Pošto je ovo istraživanje analiziralo i stručni vokabular studenata, korišćenje rečnika nije bilo dozvoljeno. Za popunjavanje testa bilo je predviđeno 45 minuta.

Za potrebe druge faze AG, utvrđivanja grešaka, konsultovani su različiti rečnici, uključujući: *Oxford Learner's Dictionary* (Oxford University Press [OUP], n.d.), *Oxford Collocations Dictionary* (Oxford University Press [OUP], 2002), *Cambridge Dictionary* (Cambridge University Press [CUP], b.d.), *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online* (Pearson, b.d.) za engleski jezik i Rečnik srpskog jezika (Nikolić, 2007) za srpski.

Greške utvrđene u prethodnoj fazi istraživanja kategorisane su kao gramatičke greške ili greške u vokabularu, koje su dalje grupisane po vrstama grešaka (npr. gramatičke greške vezane za slaganje subjekta i predikata, izbor predloga, vrste reči itd.). Utvrđena je i njihova učestalost, sa ciljem da se ukaže na najčešće vrste grešaka.

Četvrta faza AG podrazumevala je objašnjavanje porekla grešaka (kako gramatičkih grešaka tako i grešaka u vokabularu) te njihovu podelu na unutarjezičke i međujezičke greške. Uzroci grešaka su dalje analizirani prema Ričardsovoj klasifikaciji unutarjezičkih grešaka (Richards, 1971) i Lotovoj klasifikaciji međujezičkih grešaka (Lott, 1983).

Osnovni ciljevi ovog istraživanja u skladu su sa ciljevima AG koje su predložili Ričards i Šmit (Richards & Schmidt, 2002), a to su: a) da se odrede uzroci grešaka, b) da se utvrdi koje strategije studenti koriste u učenju jezika, i v) da se bolje razumeju problemi i poteškoće s kojima se studenti susreću u učenju jezika, što za krajnji cilj treba da ima unapređivanje nastave i nastavnog materijala.

Rezultati i analiza

Inicijalna analiza testa prevođenja pokazala je da od 500 rečenica koje je istraživački korpus trebalo da obuhvati, ukupno 40 rečenica nije bilo prevedeno. Međutim, u slučajevima kada su studenti prevodili rečenice, ali su izostavljali samo jednu reč ili izraz, ovo izostavljanje tretirano je kao vrsta greške.

Rezultati za gramatičke greške prikazani su u Tabeli 1 dok su rezultati za greške u vokabularu dati u Tabeli 2. U tabelama su greške klasifikovane prema vrsti greške (kolona 1), date uz broj pojavljivanja sa procentima (kolona 2), poreklu grešaka u procentima (kolona 3) i na kraju su dati primeri iz testa prevođenja (kolona 4). U poslednjoj koloni, greške studenata označene su zvezdicom (*), dok su zatim u zagradi ponuđeni mogući tačni prevodi koje su dale autorke.

U obe tabele, kao i u daljem tekstu, za srpske izraze i prevode na engleski korišćen je kurziv, dok su navodnici korišćeni za navođenje značenja određenih reči ili prevoda.

Gramatičke greške

Tabela 1

Klasifikacija i analiza grešaka na nivou gramatike

	Vrsta greške	Broj pojavljivanja (procenat)	Poreklo greške (procenat)	Primeri
1.	Upotreba predloga	39 (29%)	Unutarjezička (17%)	*in / *under room temperature* (at) *information *of* (on)
			Međujezička (12%)	*on room temperature* (at) *unlike *to / *than* (-)
2.	Slaganje subjekta i predikata	22 (16%)	Unutarjezička (16%)	*there *is a few procedures* (there are) *experiment *have been performed* (experiment has been)
3.	Broj imenice	19 (14%)	Unutarjezička (14%)	*one of the most important *question-* (questions)
4.	Vrsta reči	17 (13%)	Unutarjezička (13%)	*safe people's health* (save people's) *to *analysis water* (to analyze water)
5.	Glagolski oblik	11 (8%)	Unutarjezička (6%)	*should *to collect* (should collect) *Serbia *get 84.87%* (Serbia got/consumed 84.87%)
			Međujezička (2%)	*has conducted* (has been conducted) *has been in 2014* (was in 2014)
6.	Upotreba determinatora / kvantifikatora	8 (6%)	Unutarjezička (6%)	*there are *few procedures* (a few) *there are *number of steps* (a number)
7.	Množina imenica	7 (5%)	Unutarjezička (5%)	*health of *peoples* (people) **informations* (information)
8.	Saksonski genitiv	6 (5%)	Unutarjezička (5%)	*people health* (people's health) *food *safety's objective* (food safety objective)
9.	Sintaksičke greške	3 (2%)	Međujezička (2%)	*It have a few procedures* (There are) *countries in rise* (developing countries) *countries in develop* (developing countries)
10.	Relativna zamenica	2 (2%)	Međujezička (2%)	*lands *who are developing* (lands which) *food processing phases *who are related* (phases which/that)

Prema rezultatima iz Tabele 1, među gramatičkim greškama nalazimo i unutarjezičke i međujezičke greške. Unutarjezičke su, međutim, mnogo češće, čineći 82% svih gramatičkih grešaka. U sledećem odeljku predstavljena je dalja analiza kako bi se pružilo detaljno objašnjenje uzroka utvrđenih grešaka.

Gramatičke unutarjezičke greške

Utvrđene unutarjezičke greške, odnosno greške koje nastaju pod uticajem ciljnog jezika, dele se u četiri kategorije (Richards 1971):

i) preterano uopštavanje

Vrsta greške: 1. Upotreba predloga.

Budući da je predlog *of* najfrekventniji predlog u engleskom jeziku i da se koristi za označavanje odnosa (npr. *result of debate, issue of housing, a map of India*) (OUP, b.d.), studenti često koriste ovaj predlog za izražavanje odnosa i onda kada je potrebna upotreba drugih predloga: *information *of, data *of, procedure *of*.

Vrsta greške: 5. Glagolski oblik.

Vodeći se modelom po kom su neki glagoli praćeni infinitivom (sa predlogom *to*), na primer *want to, hope to, promise to, fail to*, studenti pretpostavljaju da i modalni glagoli slede ovaj model: *should *to collect*. Pored toga, znajući da glagol *suggest* obično prati glagolska imenica, studenti koriste glagolsku imenicu čak i u bezličnim strukturama, kao što je: *it is suggested *gathering data*. Još jedna vrsta greške u ovoj grupi je izostavljanje nastavka *-s* za 3. lice jednine u prostom sadašnjem vremenu (*Present Simple Tense*) vodeći se pravilom da se krnji infinitiv (eng. *bare infinitive*) koristi u gotovo svim licima u ovom vremenu: *Serbia *get 83.87%*.

ii) nepoznavanje ograničenja pravila –

Vrsta greške: 7. Množina imenica.

Po analogiji, studenti dodaju nastavak *-s* za množinu čak i kod imenica sa nepravilnim oblicima množine (*health of *peoples, *dates*) i kod nebrojivih imenica (*informations, *foods samples*).

Vrsta greške: 8. Saksonski genitiv.

Po analogiji sa imenicama koje označavaju živa bića, studenti dodaju nastavak -'*s* (saksonski genitiv) i kod imenica koje označavaju neživa bića (*food *safety's objective*).

iii) Nepotpuna primena pravila –

Vrsta greške: 2. Slaganje subjekta i predikata.

Studenti biraju odgovarajuće vreme ili strukturu, ali u nekim slučajevima koriste pogrešne oblike glagola te ne dolazi do slaganja subjekta i predikata: *experiment *have been performed, food safety *have, concentration of salt in meat products *were / *are, There *is a few phases*.

Vrsta greške: 5. Glagolski oblik.

Studenti znaju da iza glagola *suggest* može da stoji još jedan glagol ili glagolska imenica ali ne koriste odgovarajući oblik te, na primer, koriste krnji infinitiv umesto glagolske imenice: *they suggest *collect*. Još jedan primer iz ove grupe grešaka je izostavljanje nastavka *-ed* (odnosno nekorišćenje prošlog participa) u pasivnim konstrukcijama: *are *consider to be*.

377

iv) greške zasnovane na pogrešnim pretpostavkama

Vrsta greške: 4. Vrsta reči.

Greške u ovoj grupi nastaju kada studenti ne uviđaju razliku između različitih vrsta reči, posebno u slučajevima kada traženi oblik nastaje derivacijom, na primer: upotreba prideva umesto glagola (*safe people's health, *to low the risk), imenica umesto glagola (*to analysis water), glagola umesto imenica (*concentrate of salt, *in compare to), prideva umesto imenica (*differents in temperature, *moist content / *content of wet).

Kao što je i bilo očekivano, neke greške se mogu svrstati u više od jedne kategorije grešaka. Na primer, u delu rečenice EU *supporting the measures (što je početak rečenice a supporting treba da bude lični glagolski oblik), nepravilna upotreba glagolskog oblika se može svrstati u dve kategorije grešaka: iii) nepotpuna primena pravila: glagolski oblik sadrži samo sadašnji particip (supporting) pri čemu je izostavljen glagol to be kao obavezni deo oblika za trajno sadašnje vreme (Present Continuous Tense) i iv) greška zasnovana na pogrešnim pretpostavkama: studenti koriste trajno sadašnje vreme (EU [is] supporting) umesto prostog sadašnjeg vremena (Present Simple Tense) (EU supports).

Gramatičke međujezičke greške

Međujezičke greške tj. greške koje nastaju kao rezultat uticaja maternjeg jezika, analizirane su prema Lotovoj kategorizaciji (Lott 1983). U ovom odeljku pozivamo se na rečenice na srpskom jeziku iz testa prevođenja, koje su označene rednim brojem rečenice u uglastim zagradama [ ].

i) preterana upotreba analogije

Vrsta greške: 1. Upotreba predloga.

Greške se pojavljuju kada studenti koriste pogrešan predlog po analogiji sa upotrebom predloga u srpskom jeziku (npr. srp. na sobnoj temperature [1], eng. *on room temperature; srp. ima za cilj [2], eng. goal *for) ili kada koriste predlog gde nije potreban (srp. u odnosu na [5]; eng. unlike *to / *than).

ii) transfer strukture

Vrsta greške: 9. Sintaksičke greške.

Izraz zemlje u razvoju [6] preveden je doslovnim prenošenjem strukture (upotreba predloške sintagme) u engleski jezik: eng. countries in *rise, countries in *develop, umesto developing countries. Pored toga, deo rečenice Postoji nekoliko procedura [4] preveden je na engleski kao it *have a few procedures, prenošenjem srpske strukture Ima / Nalazi se umesto korišćenjem strukture tipične za engleski jezik (there is / there are).

iii) nepoznavanje razlika između J1 i J2

Vrsta greške: 1. Upotreba predloga.

Studenti su izraz veće u odnosu na prethodno merenje [5] preveli kao *higher *since previous measurement*, jer nisu uočili razliku između različitih upotreba predloga „od" u srpskom, koji može da se koristi za poređenje prideva (npr. bolji od, stariji od) kada se na engleski prevodi kao *than* (npr. *better than*, *older than*), a može da se koristi u srpskom i kao vremenski predlog (npr. od 1990. godine) kada se prevodi na engleski kao *since* (npr. *since* 1990).

Vrste greške: 5. Glagolski oblik.

U srpskom jeziku ne postoji vreme koje bi bilo ekvivalent engleskom sadašnjem svršenom vremenu (*Present Perfect Tense*). Prošlo vreme u srpskom (npr. Rešio je jednačinu) može se prevesti na engleski korišćenjem prostog prošlog vremena (*Past Simple Tense*) za radnje koje su završene u prošlom vremenu (npr. *He solved the equation yesterday*) ili sadašnjim svršenim vremenom (*Present Perfect Tense*) za radnje koje su u vezi sa sadašnjim trenutkom (npr. *He has just solved the equation*). Stoga studenti često imaju problem da naprave jasnu razliku između upotreba ova dva vremena u engleskom jeziku. Primer ovakve greške u studentskim prevodima bio je: srp. Potrošnja energije... je iznosila 83,87% za 2014. godinu. [10], eng. *Energy consumption… *has been 83.87% in 2014*.

Vrsta greške: 9. Relativna zamenica.

U srpskom jeziku ne postoji razlika između relativnih zamenica koje se odnose na imenice za živa bića i stvari (*koji, koja, koje*), za razliku od engleskog, gde postoje posebni oblici *who* i *which*. U svojim prevodima studenti su koristili zamenicu *who* na nepravilan način: srp. zemlje u razvoju [6], eng. *lands *who are developing*; srp. faze u procesu proizvodnje hrane koje se smatraju povezanim [7], eng. *food processing phases *who are related*.

Interesantno je primetiti da se u nekim slučajevima javljaju kombinacije međujezičkih i unutarjezičkih grešaka. Na primer, u datom primeru kada je izraz zemlje u razvoju [6] preveden na engleski kao *countries in *develop*, pored opisane međujezičke greške (transfer strukture) na nivou celog izraza, postoji i unutarjezička greška (greška zasnovana na pogrešnim pretpostavkama) na nivou vrste reči jer je glagol upotrebljen umesto imenice.

Greške na nivou vokabulara

Greške u vokabularu predstavljene u Tabeli 2 podeljene su u dve grupe: greške u izboru reči i greške izostavljanja reči. Greške u prvoj grupi su dalje podeljene na unutarjezičke i međujezičke greške.

Tabela 2

Klasifikacija i analiza grešaka na nivou vokabulara

	Vrsta greške	Broj pojavljivanja (procenat)	Poreklo greške (procenat)	Primeri
1.	Izbor reči	123 (51%)	Unutarjezička (80%)	*food *examples / food *parts/ *quantity of food / food *products / food *sources* (food samples)
				*spending energy / energy *expenditure / energy *disposal / *waste of energy / *gas *emission (energy consumption)
			Međujezička (20%)	**humidity content of food* (moisture content of food)
				energetical *efficacy, energizer *effication (energy efficiency)
2.	Izostavljanje reči	119 (49%)	-	**food* - (food contamination) **water* - (water resources)

Rezultati predstavljeni u Tabeli 2 pokazuju da je broj grešaka u izboru reči i izostavljanju reči gotovo isti. Većina grešaka u obe grupe su stručne reči (npr. *contamination, content, conducted, management, pollution, resources, sample*).

U grupi grešaka u izboru reči javljaju se i unutarjezičke i međujezičke greške. S druge strane, za greške izostavljanja reči ne može se odrediti poreklo te one dalje neće biti analizirane. Stoga se analiza u nastavku rada bavi samo prvom vrstom grešaka na nivou vokabulara (greške u izboru reči).

Unutarjezičke greške na nivou vokabulara

Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da su unutarjezičke greške učestalije i na nivou vokabulara. Uočene unutarjezičke greške analizirane su prema Ričardsovoj kategorizaciji (Richards, 1971):

i) preterano uopštavanje

Ove greške se javljaju kada studenti koriste opšti izraz umesto specifičnog termina koji se očekuje u kontekstu stručnog teksta. Na primer, *one of the most important *things* umesto *issues problems*, **spending energy* umesto *energy consumption*, *food *examples, food *parts, food *products, *quantity of food* umesto *food samples, moisture *part* umesto *moisture content*. Neke greške su više stilske (npr. **save health* umesto *protect health*), ali u nekim slučajevima prevodi nisu dovoljno precizni (npr. *send information, *share information* umesto *publish, announce information*) ili su potpuno neprihvatljivi (npr. *take experiment* umesto *conduct, carry out experiment*).

ii) nepoznavanje ograničenja pravila

Za razliku od grešaka u prethodnom odeljku, greške u ovoj kategoriji se ne odnose na upotrebu opštijeg ili jednostavnijeg termina, već je reč o upotrebi termina (najčešće stručnog) sa sličnim značenjem koji, međutim, nije odgovarajuća kolokacija. Na primer, u prevodu *river *poisoning* studenti nisu prepoznali da se engleski glagol *to poison* koristi samo za ljude, dok se *pollution* odnosi na vazduh, vodu, zemlju i životno okruženje. Slično tome, termin *pollution* je korišćen u prevodu **pollution of food*, umesto *food contamination*. Još neki primeri grešaka u prevodima u ovoj kategoriji su: **defend health* umesto *protect health; fossil *oil, fossil *gas* umesto *fossil fuel; *insurance of food* umesto *food safety*.

iii) nepotpuna primena pravila

Kod ove kategorije grešaka, studenti su ponudili prevode koji nisu ni opštiji (kao u prvoj kategoriji grešaka) niti sadrže neodgovarajuće kolokacije (kao u drugoj kategoriji grešaka), već je reč o terminima koji samo delimično prenose značenje traženog pojma. Na primer, umesto prevoda *energy consumption* za izraz potrošnja energije [10] studenti su dali prevod **waste of energy*, koji prenosi značenje „korišćenja" ali istovremeno nosi i negativnu konotaciju jer znači „koristiti više nego što je potrebno ili korisno" ili „ne iskoristiti potpuno ili na pravi način" (OUP, b.d). Još jedan primer iz korpusa u kom je značenje još udaljenije je *energy *disposal*, gde se značenje poklapa samo u činjenici da se u oba ova procesa energija na neki način potroši, tj. nestane.

iv) greške zasnovane na pogrešnim pretpostavkama

Greške u ovoj kategoriji potiču iz „pogrešnog razumevanja razlika u ciljnom jeziku" (Richards, 1971) te, na primer, studenti koriste **cause* umesto *aim, objective; *due to* umesto *in order to; *increase* umesto *decrease; *purposeful* umesto *unintended*. U ovim prevodima studenti su zapravo koristili reči ili izraze suprotnog značenja.

Međujezičke greške na nivou vokabulara

Međujezičke greške su analizirane prema pomenutoj Lotovoj kategorizaciji (Lott, 1983):

i) preterana upotreba analogije

Greške u prevodima studenata u ovoj kategoriji nastale su usled fonološke sličnosti srpskih i engleskih reči. Na primer, srpska reč efikasnost u izrazu (mere) energetske efikasnosti [6] prevedena je kao *energetical *efficacy* umesto *energy efficiency* (prema CUP (b.d.), izrazi *energy efficiency* i *energy efficient* odnose se na korišćenje „onoliko energije koliko je potrebno, bez nepotrebnog trošenja"). Još jedan primer bio je engleski prevod **effication*, gde su studenti, pored opisane međujezičke greške, napravili i unutarjezičku grešku tako što su dodali pogrešan sufiks (-*tion*).

iii) nepoznavanje razlika između J1 i J2

Greške u ovoj kategoriji pojavljuju se kada u J1 nema leksičke razlike koja postoji u J2. Na primer, reč vlaga se često koristi u istom značenju kao reč vlažnost, koja je definisana kao „osobina ili stanje onoga što je vlažno, vlaga" (Nikolić, 2007) i oba izraza se mogu koristiti u srpskom kako za opisivanje čvrste materije tako i vazduha. Razlika između srpskog i engleskog jezika ovde može se primetiti na sledećem primeru: vlažnost se može prevesti na engleski ili kao *moisture (content)* ili kao *humidity*, pri čemu se *humidity* koristi samo za opisivanje vazduha ili klime. U ovom istraživanju, studenti su preveli sadržaj vlage (u različitim uzorcima hrane) [4] kao **humidity content (of food)* umesto kao *moisture content*. Druga greška je prevod reči *zemlja*, koja se u srpskom odnosi i na „državu/domovinu" i na „(obradivo) zemljište", a koja je u rečenici na testu Predlaže se da sve zemlje prikupe i objave podatke [8] prevedena kao **lands* umesto *countries* ili *states*.

Kada se uporedi učestalost unutarjezičkih i međujezičkih grešaka u celom istraživanju, primećujemo da su unutarjezičke greške učestalije na oba nivoa analize (Slika 1). (U grupi grešaka na nivou vokabulara analizirane su samo greške u izboru reči.)

Slika 1

Učestalost unutarjezičkih i međujezičkih grešaka na nivou gramatike i vokabulara

Gramatičke greške

18%

82%

■ unutarjezičke greške

□ međujezičke greške

Greške u vokabularu

20%

80%

■ unutarjezičke greške

□ međujezičke greške
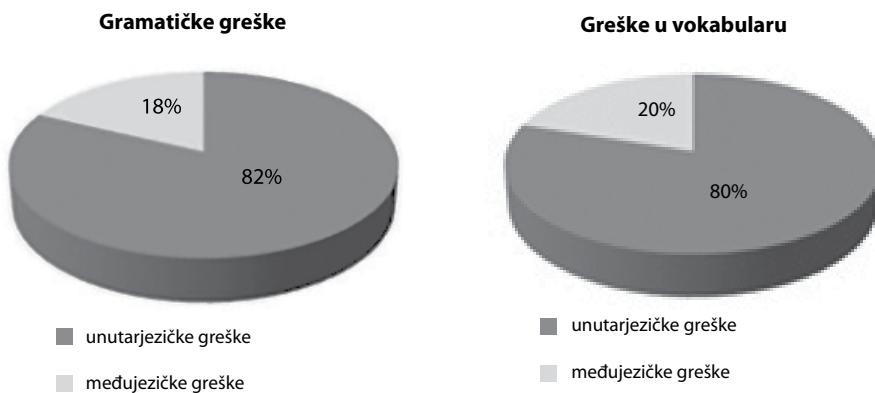
Zaključak

Cilj ovog rada bio je da se ponovo sagledaju mogućnosti i ograničenja analize grešaka u kontekstu engleskog jezika struke. Pretpostavka od koje se krenulo u ovom istraživanju bila je da nam greške mogu ukazati na neke od problema i prepreka na koje studenti nailaze, ali i na strategije koje koriste u procesu učenja stranog jezika.

Istraživanje je imalo za cilj analizu grešaka u gramatici i vokabularu u prevodima studenata inženjerstva sa jezičkim znanjem nivoa B2. Na nivou analize grešaka u grama-

tici, najčešće gramatičke greške bile su pogrešan izbor predloga. Zatim su sledile greške u slaganju subjekta i predikata, broju imenica i vrsti reči. Treba istaći da se samo 8% gramatičkih grešaka odnosilo na nepravilne glagolske oblike, što nije iznenađujuće imajući u vidu da se glagolskim vremenima u nastavnim planovima i programima za engleski jezik u školama generalno posvećuje najviše pažnje. Na nivou analize vokabulara javljaju se greške u izboru reči i izostavljanju reči. Većina grešaka u obe grupe odnosila se na upotrebu stručnih reči.

Analiza porekla grešaka pokazala je da se studenti, kada se suoče sa poteškoćama u prevodu, oslanjaju na znanja koja imaju iz J1 ili J2 (retko oba istovremeno). Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da su unutarjezičke greške češće kako na gramatičkom nivou (82%) tako i na nivou vokabulara (80%). S jedne strane, ovakvi rezultati su iznenađujući, imajući u vidu navode iz literature da tip zadataka koji se koristi za dobijanje jezičke građe utiče na vrstu grešaka, te da je očekivano da će u zadacima prevođenja biti više međujezičkih grešaka u poređenju sa, na primer, zadacima pisanja sastava (Ellis, 1994). Dobijeni rezultati su, takođe, u suprotnosti sa prethodnim istraživanjima (Đuričić, 2014; Stefanović, 2010; Vučen, 2016), koji su ukazali na snažan uticaj maternjeg (srpskog) jezika. S druge strane, rezultati u ovom radu mogu se objasniti činjenicom da su učesnici ovog istraživanja bili studenti sa visokim nivoom znanja engleskog jezika (B2).

Ako krenemo od pretpostavke da kroz analizu grešaka možemo steći uvid u to koje strategije studenti koriste u učenju i produkciji jezika, analiza porekla i uzroka grešaka može biti posebno korisna. Naime, istraživanje u ovom radu pokazalo je da studenti, kada ne mogu da se sete odgovarajuće stručne reči, koriste opštiju reč (preterano uopštavanje), kada ne mogu da se sete pravila u J2, primenjuju pravilo analogno onom u J1 (preterana upotreba analogije) itd. Takođe, budući da je ovo istraživanje ukazalo na veću prisutnost unutarjezičkih grešaka, može se zaključiti da studenti koji uče engleski jezik struke na nivou znanja B2 češće koriste strategije kroz koje se oslanjaju na svoje znanje iz J2. To znači da, iako studenti treba da produbo razumevanje razlika između J1 i J2, najviše pažnje treba posvetiti poboljšanju upotrebe J2 u kontekstu engleskog jezika struke. Pedagoške implikacije ovih rezultata treba primeniti kako na gramatiku tako i na vokabular. Istraživanje je pokazalo da na nivou gramatike i dalje postoje oblasti koje treba poboljšati, pre svega: upotrebu predloga, glagolske obrasce, množinu imenica i morfologiju, posebno derivaciju reči. Na nivou vokabulara, nastava treba da bude usmerena što više ka usvajanju stručne terminologije, upotrebi kolokacija i razumevanju različitih konotacija reči sličnog značenja i sinonima u odgovarajućoj oblasti struke. Shodno tome, studenti treba da budu neprestano izloženi autentičnom jeziku iz svog stručnog domena i da se osposobljavaju za korišćenje različitih rečnika, kako jednojezičnih tako i dvojezičnih, uključujući i specijalizovane rečnike kao što su stručni rečnici i rečnici kolokacija, koji im mogu olakšati da prošire svoj vokabular, koriste odgovarajuće kolokacije i razumeju različite konotacije terminologije koja se koristi u njihovoj struci.

Međutim, kao što je ranije naglašeno u ovom radu, istraživači koji sprovode analizu grešaka treba da budu svesni nedostataka i ograničenja ovog postupka kao i činjenice da na AG utiču brojni faktori u različitim fazama analize. Ovo istraživanje je pokazalo da se u nekim slučajevima nije mogao utvrditi samo jedan uzrok greške, jer se u pojedinim izrazima moglo ukazati na više od jednog uzroka greške, ponekad čak i iz različitih kategorija

grešaka (međujezičkih i unutarjezičkih), što dovodi u pitanje pouzdanost kategorizacije grešaka, a samim tim i pouzdanost rezultata analize. Autorke su takođe bile svesne da je u pojedinim slučajevima svrstavanje greške u određenu kategoriju, barem delimično, bilo subjektivna procena zasnovana na ličnom iskustvu i pretpostavkama. Vrlo čest problem koji se javlja u AG, kada studenti izbegavaju reči/izraze koje ne znaju, ovde je delimično izbegnut zbog same metode prikupljanja jezičke građe (tj. korišćen je test prevođenja a ne pisanje sastava). Takođe, istraživanje se zbog svog manjeg obima nije bavilo razlikama između grešaka i omaški, jer ono zahteva sprovođenje sveobuhvatnijeg, longitudinalnog istraživanja. Još jedan nedostatak ovog istraživanja je nemogućnost da se pruži šira slika o znanju jezika kod ispitivanih studenata jer se istraživanja AG bave samo greškama i/ili omaškama kod studenata umesto njihovom celokupnom jezičkom produkcijom: stoga, podatke koji se odnose na broj grešaka treba razmatrati relativno, jer se ne mogu uporediti sa primerima pravilne upotrebe jezika.

Na osnovu predstavljenog istraživanja, zaključujemo da analiza grešaka može biti koristan alat koji nastavnici stranih jezika mogu primenjivati da bi unapredili nastavu, pre svega, zbog toga što kroz AG saznajemo koje su jezičke jedinice i oblasti studentima posebno teške i problematične za razumevanje i savladavanje. Međutim, rezultate AG, zbog njenih ograničenja, treba tumačiti i koristiti obazrivo i AG generalno treba primenjivati samo kao dopunsku metodu zajedno s analizom potreba, evaluacijom kurseva, kao i još detaljnijim i sistematičnijim ispitivanjem jezika studenata, po mogućstvu primenom naprednih digitalnih alata i/ili korpusnih istraživanja (npr. ICLE prema Granger, 2003; McDovell & Liardet, 2020).

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Prilog 1: Test prevoda

1. Eksperiment je izveden na sobnoj temperaturi od 20°C.
   _____

2. Bezbednost hrane ima za cilj da smanji rizik nenamernog zagađenja hrane da bi se zaštitilo zdravlje ljudi.
   _____

3. Koncentracija soli u mesnim proizvodima iznosila je između 2,5 i 5%.
   _____

4. Postoji nekoliko procedura za merenje sadržaja vlage u različitim uzorcima hrane.
   _____

5. Razlike u temperaturi među uzorcima su veće u odnosu na prethodno merenje.
   _____

6. Evropska unija podržava mere energetske efikasnosti u zemljama u razvoju.
   _____

7. Postoji više faza u procesu proizvodnje hrane koje se smatraju povezanim.
   _____

8. Predlaže se da sve zemlje prikupe i objave podatke o proizvodnji mesa za svaku godinu.
   _____

9. Jedno od najvažnijih pitanja vezanih za upravljanje vodenim resursima je organsko zagađenje reka.
   _____

10. Potrošnja energije (dobijene) iz fosilnih goriva u Srbiji je iznosila 83,87% za 2014. godinu.
    _____

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

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

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

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

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

Tabela 1

Način formatiranja naslova i podnaslova odeljaka prema nivoima

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

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

Tabele i grafikoni. Svaka tabela, odnosno grafikon označava se odgovarajućim brojem. Jasno i precizno formulisan naslov tabele ili grafikona daje se u novom redu, u kurzivu. Naslov tabela ili

grafikona treba da bude pozicioniran iznad tabele ili grafikona (videti Tabelu 1 ovog uputstva). Sve skraćenice navedene u tabelama i grafikonima treba da budu objašnjene. U objašnjenju (legendi), ispod tabele ili grafikona reč napomena piše se kurzivom sa tačkom na kraju reči (*Napomena.* ili *Note.* u zavisnosti od jezika rada, videti primer u Tabeli 1). Tabele ne treba da sadrže vertikalne linije. Horizontalne linije treba koristiti samo između zaglavlja tabele i prikazanih podataka (kao na primeru u Tabeli 1) i na dnu tabele. Izuzetno, horizontalne linije dozvoljene su i u okviru samog zaglavlja ukoliko to doprinosi preglednosti tabele.

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

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

Fusnote i skraćenice. Fusnote i skraćenice trebalo bi izbegavati.

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

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

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

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

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

Primeri navođenja referenci na spisku korišćene literature na kraju rada:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

STUDIES IN TEACHING AND EDUCATION

University Teachers' Conceptions of Teaching and Their Approaches to Teaching[1]

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Abstract   *Within the scope of discussing possibilities for improving the quality of higher education teaching, ongoing since the 1990s, intensive research has been evident in literature, regarding university teachers' conceptions of teaching and their approaches to teaching, and in that respect, also the issue of pedagogical training and advanced professional training of university teachers. In view of the fact that different terms have been used in literature to describe the diverse ways in which teachers conceptualise higher education teaching, the purpose of this paper is to gain a profound understanding of the different conceptual and terminological definitions in this area of academic research. In this process, special attention has been directed at analysing the research findings presented in literature regarding the dilemma of whether university teachers' conceptions of teaching and their approaches to teaching are relatively stable over time, or represent relational constructs that develop in response to a specific context or the teaching situation. Apart from discussing the scope of the meaning of the constructs of university teachers' conceptions of teaching and their approaches to teaching, an additional objective of the research has been to analyse the research findings presented in literature, relating to the relationship between these two constructs. It has been established that the findings presented in literature corroborate the idea that university teachers' conceptions of teaching are the basis for their teaching practice. The conclusion is that understanding beliefs about teaching and finding appropriate ways to encourage university teachers' awareness of them, and their self-assessment, is of essential importance, because this creates the fundaments for adopting scientifically based conceptions of teaching and introducing adequate changes in teaching practice in order to support students' learning in a better way.*

Keywords: *higher education teaching, conceptions of teaching, teaching approaches, teaching beliefs, university teachers.*

Introduction

The sphere of higher education and higher education institutions is faced with numerous challenges of a rapidly changing society, coupled with the processes of globalization and technological development. The demands placed before university teachers have escalated, particularly those referring to assuming a wide range of responsibilities, academic research competencies, and ensuring the quality of higher education teaching. The topicality of the subject of higher education has been confirmed by many higher education policy documents within Europe, that set out the directions for the development of higher education. Thus, for instance, the 2013 European Commission Report includes recommendations for the modernization of higher education, emphasising, among the rest, the importance of ensuring that every teacher acquire a pedagogical qualifications certificate for teaching work, as well as that the acquisition of teaching competencies should become a requirement for all teachers working in the higher education sector (High Level Group on the Modernization of Higher Education, 2013). Standards and guidelines for quality assurance in the European Higher Education Area underline the importance of teacher competencies, as well as the application of more innovative methods and approaches to teaching which are more student-oriented, in order to create a stimulating learning environment (European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education, 2015). The 2020 Ministerial Conference within the Bologna Process (European Higher Education Area, 2020) also highlighted the importance of improving the quality of teaching and learning in higher education.

The recent decades have seen the publication of numerous academic papers focusing on the issues of the quality of higher education teaching, teaching work practice in higher education, and the enhancement of the professional development of university teachers. Many studies have been performed with the aim of analysing university teachers' conceptions, approaches and perspectives on teaching (Kember & Kwan, 2000; Lindblom-Ylänne et al., 2006; Mladenovici et al., 2022; Pedrosa-de-Jesus & da Silva Lopes, 2011; Pratt, 1997; Stes et al., 2008; Trigwell & Prosser, 2020). Recently, the topic of teacher competencies and training for working in higher education has also become the subject of numerous research works (Åkerlind, 2003; Gibbs & Coffey, 2004; Kálmán et al., 2020; Postareff et al., 2007; Trautwein, 2018). Within this framework, it can be said that, today, there is a large body of scholarly literature discussing the issues of teaching from the perspective of university teachers; the fundamental assumptions underlying the published studies refer to the importance of understanding the beliefs about teaching, as well as the intentions on the basis of which university teachers create their own teaching practice. In the given context, the literature uses different terms to describe the different ways in which teachers conceptualise higher education teaching, such as teachers' *orientations, concepts, beliefs, approaches, intentions, perspectives* (Kember, 1997). Nevertheless, the majority of authors use the syntagms 'conceptions of teaching' and 'teaching approaches' (Kember & Kwan, 2000; Lindblom-Ylänne et al., 2006; Pratt, 1992; Trigwell & Prosser, 2020; Trigwell et al., 2005). The prevalent view is that conceptions of teaching refer to beliefs about teaching that have an impact on the teacher's perception of

a given situation, directing his/her actions, while approaches to teaching refer to the way in which these beliefs are applied in teaching practice.

Considering that research results show that the teaching practice of university teachers is guided by their beliefs and conceptions of teaching (Ho et al., 2001; Martin & Lueckenhausen, 2005; Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a), this paper aims to examine different conceptual and terminological definitions in this area of academic research. Apart from the conceptual clarification of the constructs of university teachers' conceptions of teaching and their approaches to teaching, the aim is also to analyse the research findings presented in literature about the relationship between these two constructs, which may have implications for the professional development of university teachers in the field of their implementation of the teaching process. The theoretical analysis method was applied in analysing the content of foreign theoretical and empirical studies on university teachers' conceptions of teaching and their approaches to teaching since the 1990s.

University Teachers' Conceptions of Teaching

A review of the literature in the field of higher education shows that studies on the teaching beliefs of university teachers use different terms that have been attributed similar meanings. In this respect, the most represented group of authors (Kember, 1997; Kemp, 2008; Lam & Kember, 2006; Päuler-Kuppinger & Jucks, 2017; Postareff & Lindblom-Ylänne, 2008) use the term 'conceptions of teaching', referring to Pratt (Pratt, 1992, p. 204), who has defined conceptions as meanings attributed to a phenomenon, which then mediate a response in situations involving the given phenomenon. According to Pratt, individuals have conceptions about the various aspects they observe in the world; in fact, each individual perceives the world through the lens of his own conceptions that guide his interpretations of a given situation, modelling his actions. In this framework, the above named author has defined teaching concepts as cognitive representations of the way teachers reason and understand the conceptions of teaching. Being rooted in the cultural, social, historical and personal frameworks of meaning, conceptions of teaching represent a kind of lens through which teachers view teaching and learning (Pratt, 1992, p. 203).

Since the 1990s, numerous researchers in the field of higher education have endeavoured to explore and empirically confirm the conceptions of teaching of university teachers, by applying different research methods and procedures. Such studies have contributed to the development of different classifications of the conceptions of teaching, expressing general agreement in reference to the existence of two general categories: one being *content-oriented / teacher-centred,* and the other, *learning-oriented / student-centred*. Kember (1997) compared the research results of thirteen empirical studies conducted in the period from 1992 to 1994, concluding that the studies exhibited a high degree of convergence in respect of these two general categories. Such research consensus has become relevant for all subsequent examinations of higher education teaching, especially in view of the different data collection procedures in independent studies across a wide range of countries, institutions and university teachers.

As early as the eighties of the 20th century, Fox (1983) presented a conceptual model for viewing the teaching process, developed on the basis of a survey about what university teachers implied under teaching. Fox identified four personal teaching theories, reflected in the metaphors: transfer, shaping, travelling, and growing. The author designated the first two personal teaching theories as 'simple', since, in that context, the student is passive, while the teacher is focused on the teaching subject-matter, and the other two personal theories of teaching as 'elaborate', because within their scope, the student is active, and the teacher is focused on the student. Similarly, Dunkin (1990), having analysed interviews about university teachers' beliefs about teaching, singled out four dimensions of teaching: teaching as the structuring of knowledge, teaching as motivating learning, teaching as encouraging activity and independence in learning, and teaching as a process of building adequate interpersonal relationships. Literature indicates that the most important implications of these two categorisations of teaching beliefs of university teachers refer to the fact that they have enabled the analysis and comparison of the conceptions of teaching with regard to their constituent dimensions (Samuelowicz & Bain, 1992).

Furthermore, the results of the interviews processed by applying the phenomenographic data analysis (Dall'Alba, 1991), point to the following conceptions of teaching: teaching as presentation of information; teaching as conveying information (from the teacher to the student); teaching as an illustration of the practical application of theory; teaching as developing concepts and understanding their mutual relations; teaching as acquiring expertise; teaching as developing understanding about the contextual nature of knowledge; teaching as stimulating conceptual changes. The research by Gow and Kember (Gow & Kember, 1993; Kember & Gow, 1994) also stands out among the different efforts to collect data on teachers' beliefs. By analysing different interviews, they identified two orientations/conceptions of teaching, designating them as 'facilitation of learning' and 'transmission of knowledge'.

Samuelowicz and Bain, (1992), having analysed the results of a research based on a semi-structured interview conducted with university teachers in the natural sciences and humanities education field, proposed a five-level classification of teaching concepts: teaching as transferring information; teaching as conveying knowledge and attitudes towards knowledge within an academic discipline; teaching as motivating understanding; teaching as an activity aimed at changing students' concepts and understanding of the world; teaching as support for learning. The described characteristics of teacher-centred and student-centred conceptions of teaching illustrate the essential differences between them quite clearly. The student-centred teaching concept places the student at the centre of the activity; the current student's concepts are regarded as the starting point of interactive teaching. The teacher's activities are focused on facilitating the student's process of constructing knowledge, designing reality, and adopting a conceptual framework shared by experts in a particular domain. The teacher-centred teaching conception places the teacher at the centre of the activity; the student's current concepts are not taken into account, and the teacher has appropriate knowledge which he/she conveys in a ready-made and final form. The student is placed in the position of a passive recipient of

information, while the learning process is focused on the subject content rather than on reality. Learning outcomes are expressed in quantitative, rather than in qualitative terms.

On the basis of his interviews with teachers in adult education from different cultures and areas, Pratt (1992) identified five qualitatively different teaching concepts: the engineering concept, focusing on conveying the teaching content; the apprenticeship concept, focusing on providing for practice and exercise in an authentic learning environment; the development concept, focusing on cognitive processes and developing more complex and sophisticated ways of thinking; the nurturing concept, focusing on caring for the individual and his/her individual progress; the concept of social reform, aimed at achieving fundamental social changes. Pratt examined the differences between the conceptions of teaching in relation to the three mutually dependent aspects of each of the concepts: actions, intentions, and beliefs in respect of the role of the teacher, the role of the learner, the teaching content, the context and/or the ideal vision of the society.

Thereafter, the application of the phenomenographic approach, i.e., the analysis of data obtained by interviewing university physics and chemistry teachers, resulted in a list of different conceptions of teaching constituted with regard to two components: the focus in teaching and the method of approaching that focus in teaching (Prosser et al., 1994; Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a). Six teaching concepts have been identified within that framework: teaching as the transmission of information defined by the curriculum, without taking into account the student's previous knowledge; teaching as conveying the teacher's information and knowledge; teaching as assisting the student in adopting the concepts and terms defined by the curriculum; teaching as assisting the student to assimilate the teacher's knowledge, that is, assimilate the concepts and terms and understand the relationships between them; teaching as assisting the student in developing his/her own conceptions; teaching as assisting the student in changing his own conceptions and generating new knowledge.

Presenting an overview of the results of empirical studies hitherto, and synthesising them, Kember (1997) infers that there are two general orientations in the views of teaching, which can be represented on a continuum from teacher-centred / content-oriented to student-centred / learning-oriented. In this context, the above named author identifies five teaching conceptions, i.e., two teaching conceptions within each of the orientations: 'transfer of information' and 'conveying the professional knowledge', as teaching conceptions related to the orientation centring on the teacher, 'encouraging understanding' and 'conceptual change', as conceptions of teaching related to the student-centred orientation. An additional, fifth 'transitional' teaching conception has been introduced, focusing on student-teacher interaction, and associating the two aforementioned orientations. However, the subsequent studies by certain authors (Kember & Kwan, 2000; Samuelowicz & Bain, 2001) provide no empirical support for the 'transitional' category which was supposed to bridge the two poles. More recent studies of the conceptions of teaching, performed in different contexts and academic disciplines, have also identified concepts ranging from focusing on the transfer of information, to focusing on conceptual changes in the student's knowledge (Kálmán et

al., 2020; Mcalpine et al., 2006; Mladenovici et al., 2022; Päuler-Kuppinger & Jucks, 2017; Postareff & Lindblom-Ylänne, 2008; Trigwell & Prosser, 2020).

Although findings in the studies on university teachers' conceptions of teaching can be characterised as being similar, there are certain differences among the authors regarding the dilemma of whether teaching conceptions are mutually independent (Kember, 1997; Pratt, 1998; Samuelowicz & Bain, 1992), even if they can be represented in a sequence ranging from lower to higher levels of sophistication, or if they are based on hierarchical relationships (Åkerlind, 2003, Dall'Alba, 1991; Entwistle & Walker, 2000; Trigwell & Prosser, 2004). Thus, for instance, certain authors (Samuelowicz & Bain, 1992) have concluded on the basis of analyses of the findings in other studies, as well as on the basis of data collected in their own research, that the dimensions used to delineate the conceptions of teaching are often bipolar in nature, suggesting that conceptions of teaching are part of a continuum with two opposite 'poles', rather than part of a hierarchical structure. Kember (1997) also concludes that conceptions of teaching are distributed along a continuum, one side of which represents the focus on the teaching process which provides for the transfer of information, the other side focusing on conceptual changes. In other words, some authors (Åkerlind, 2003; Degago & Kaino, 2015, Prosser et al., 1994) are more prone to referring to the hierarchical nature of the relationship between the different conceptions of teaching. In this case, conceptions of teaching are classified hierarchically, from the less complex ways of viewing teaching, to the more complex ones; each successive conception of teaching is considered more complex than any of the conceptions at a lower level. Thus, for instance, in literature (Entwistle & Walker, 2000; Prosser et al., 1994), the conception of teaching described as 'encouraging understanding' is positioned at a higher level in the hierarchy, however, involving the possibility of comprising the elements of the conception of teaching described as 'conveying information', which is generally considered to be a less sophisticated view of teaching. Therefore, it is considered that student-centred teaching conceptions enable better learning outcomes (Åkerlind, 2003; Prosser & Trigwell, 1999). An exception to the two given views is Pratt's (Pratt, 1992, 2002) categorisation of the conceptions of teaching which are not distributed on a continuum or organised hierarchically. Instead, the five conceptions of teaching are regarded as distinctive categories, however, not mutually exclusive; many of these conceptions share similar actions, intentions, and even beliefs.

There are certain differences among the authorities studying conceptions of teaching, in respect of the dilemma about whether conceptions of teaching are stable over time. Thus, literature (Chan, 1994) emphasises that conceptions of teaching are rooted in the teachers' epistemological and normative beliefs about their own role and responsibility, and as such they are comparatively stable in different teaching situations. In this context, certain authors consider that conceptions of teaching are relatively stable constructs (Kember, 1997; Pratt, 1992). Other authors (Prosser et al., 1994; Samuelowicz & Bain, 1992) regard conceptions of teaching as being relational constructs, developing as a response to a certain context or situation, that is, they emphasise that contextual factors sometimes require temporary changes in teachers' beliefs about teaching (Singer, 1996).

Furthermore, Gow and Kember (1993) have shown that adopted teaching methods, tasks assigned, and certain assessment procedures are strongly affected by teaching orientations, stressing that conceptions of teaching have an impact on teaching practice. In this sense, certain studies (Ho et al., 2001; Kember & Kwan, 2000; Pedrosa-de-Jesus & da Silva Lopes, 2011; Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a) have identified a correlation between university teachers' conceptions of teaching and their approach to teaching practice; teachers who perceive teaching as conveying knowledge, use content-oriented approaches more frequently, whereas teachers who perceive teaching as encouraging conceptual changes, more often apply learning-oriented approaches. Since 'intention', as a constituent of the approach to teaching, is close to the syntagm 'conception of teaching' (Postareff et al., 2008), it is significant to remark that the studies (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996b) display congruence between university teachers' intentions and their teaching approach strategies; teacher-centred strategies are related to the intentions of conveying information, while student-centred strategies are related to the intentions of encouraging conceptual changes.

University Teachers' Approaches to Teaching and the Relationships Between the Latter and Their Conceptions of Teaching

When it comes to research on university teachers' teaching approaches, a significant contribution has been made by Prosser and Trigwell (Prosser & Trigwell, 1999; Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a, 2020) who identified five qualitatively different teaching approaches that combine the strategies adopted by teachers and the intentions underlying the strategies. The five teaching approaches range from those involving teacher-centred strategies intended to convey information to the student, to those involving student-centred strategies intended to develop and change the student's conceptions, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Teaching Approaches Categorisation

Category	Description
Approach A	Teacher-centred strategy intended to convey information to the student.
Approach B	Teacher-centred strategy intended to enable the student's acquisition of the concepts in the discipline.
Approach C	Teacher-student interaction strategy intended enable the student's acquisition of the concepts in the discipline.
Approach D	Student-centred strategy aimed at enabling the student to develop hi/her own concepts.
Approach E	Student-centred strategy aimed at changing the student's concepts.

Note. Source (Trigwell & Prosser, 2004, p. 413).

In the first three approaches the focus is on the teacher, on what the teacher does. The first approach (A) does not imply student's activity – the student passively receives

the information conveyed by the teacher. The second approach (B) presupposes the student's activity with a focus on his/her receiving ready-made information. The teacher's focus in the third approach (C) refers to the student's assimilation of structured concepts, the student being expected to be actively engaged in the teaching process. A major change is involved in the fourth (D) and fifth (E) approaches, the focus being on what the student does. In the fourth approach, the student's activities are aimed at his/her constructing new knowledge, the focus in the fifth approach being on changing the student's concepts, that is, on reconstructing the student's knowledge (Prosser, 2013). It is significant to note that the mentioned approaches are essentially grouped in two basic categories: teacher-centred approaches to teaching intended to convey information (A, B and C) and student-centred approaches to teaching intended to encourage conceptual changes in the student's knowledge (D and E), as presented in Table 2. In accordance with this, an instrument has been developed for measuring approaches to teaching: *Approaches to Teaching Inventory – ATI*, which includes the characteristics of the teacher-centred teaching approach, as opposed to the student-centred teaching approach (Trigwell & Prosser, 2004; Trigwell et al., 2005).

Table 2

Teaching Approach Dimensions – Strategies and Intentions

Strategy	Intention			
	Conveying information	Concept adoption	Concept development	Concept change
Teacher-centred	A	B		
Student-teacher interaction		C		
Student-centred			D	E

Note. Source (Trigwell & Prosser, 2020, p. 42).

Proceeding in a conceptually similar way, other authors (Kember & Kwan, 2000) have elaborated two broad approaches to teaching: the teaching approach focused on the content, and the teaching approach focused on learning. The first approach is characterised by the teaching content, while the other one is characterised by a focus on the student and the learning process. The aforementioned approaches are defined by motivation and strategy components, more precisely, one motivation dimension and five strategy dimensions are treated as components of the teaching approach. The motivation dimension defines the distinction between the teaching approaches in respect of whether the teacher role is shaped by extrinsic or intrinsic motivators. The five dimensions of the strategy component point to a distinction between different teaching approaches with regard to whether the teaching process is focused on conveying the teaching content or on encouraging the student to construct his/her knowledge; whether the teacher's focus is on the student group as a whole, or on individual student needs: whether the teacher's assessment is based on frequently applied tests, or more flexible assessment

approaches; whether the teaching process is adjusted to the student's characteristics or not; whether the teacher proceeds from his/her own experience in order to assist the student in assimilating the knowledge, or the teacher acknowledges the student's previous experience.

An observation that can be made is that the aforementioned studies use different terminology to designate the two general approaches to teaching. More precisely, certain studies use the syntagm 'student-centred approach' and 'teacher-centred approach' (Prosser & Trigwell, 1999; Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a, 2020), while other studies (Kember & Kwan, 2000; Postareff & Lindblom-Ylänne, 2008; Postareff et al., 2008) use the syntagms 'learning-oriented approach' and 'content-oriented approach' synonymously.

It is significant to remark that, apart from the term 'approaches to teaching', the use of the term 'perspectives about teaching' has also been noted in literature, perspectives being defined as mutually associated sets of beliefs and intentions which direct the teacher's activities, (Pratt, 1998). Within this framework, the perspectives on teaching define what teachers do and the reasons why they consider their own actions valuable and justified. On the basis of his analyses of systematic observations and interviews, Pratt (1998) identified five qualitatively different perspectives on teaching that represent the theoretical basis for the elaboration of the Teaching Perspectives Inventory (TPI). The five perspectives on teaching are: the transmission perspective - the teacher's focus on subject content and information transmission; apprenticeship perspective - introducing students to the language, values, and customs of the community of practice; developmental perspective - focus on supporting students in the process of developing more complex cognitive structures which are important for understanding the content; student nurturing perspective - focusing on a balance between care and challenging; social reform perspective - focus on social problems (Pratt et al., 2001). Studies have shown that the mentioned perspectives on teaching are not mutually exclusive; similar actions, intentions, and even beliefs can be identified in multiple perspectives (Pratt, 2002). Since perspectives on teaching include different beliefs, intentions, and actions of teachers, the literature emphasises that the elements included in the perspectives on teaching are similar to the strategy and intention dimensions discussed in Trigwell and Prosser's approaches to teaching (Kember, 1997).

Even though a review of the literature opens the possibility for discussing the dilemmas of whether conceptions of teaching are based on hierarchical relations or not, the nature of the relationships between different teaching approaches can be hierarchical (Kember, 1997). Kember (1997) points out that the relationships between fundamental beliefs about teaching and teaching approaches are not automatic; teachers who perceive teaching as encouraging conceptual change may sometimes be in the situation to apply an approach which is not closely associated with their beliefs. Research findings (Kember, 1997; Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a) suggest that teachers who consider teaching to be a process of conveying information, adopt an approach oriented towards the teaching content and their own teaching skills. On the other hand, teachers who believe that teaching is

about conceptual changes in students' knowledge apply a student-centred approach, occasionally allocating a part of the class time for conveying information. Nonetheless, such findings do not point to the teachers having changed their beliefs about teaching, but rather to their having changed their perception of lectures as being an integral part of the effort to encourage students to learn. Trigwell and Prosser (1996a) emphasise that, given that the adopted approach to teaching is related to the conception of teaching, it is rather unlikely that a teacher will apply a teaching approach that exceeds the level of sophistication of the adopted conception. Another aspect of significance is that the results of the study examining the relations between the two teaching approaches imply the existence of characteristics specific exclusively to the learning-oriented approach, as well as those specific to the content-oriented approach (Postareff & Lindblom-Ylänne, 2008). On the other hand, the results reached in the mentioned study show that the content-oriented approach lacks some components typical of the learning-oriented approach. The results of other researches (Coffey & Gibbs, 2002) confirm that teachers who have adopted a student-centred approach use a wider a repertoire of teaching methods than those who have adopted a teacher-centred approach.

Although it has been established that the adopted approach to teaching and the conception of teaching are mutually related, it must be emphasised that research (Prosser & Trigwell, 1999) shows that university teachers can adjust and change their approaches to teaching depending on their perceptions of the environment in which the teaching is performed (perceptions of workload in teaching, size of the group, student's characteristics, control of the teaching process). What is concerned is that the same teacher can sometimes use a teacher-centred approach and sometimes a student-centred approach, depending on his/her perception of the given situation. Also, research findings suggest that university teachers' approaches to teaching may vary depending on certain contextual variables - group size, level of study, discipline (Kember & Kwan, 2000; Lindblom-Ylänne et al., 2006; Lueddeke, 2003; Päuler-Kuppinger & Jucks, 2017), as well as on teacher characteristics - gender, years of work experience in teaching (Lueddeke, 2003; Nevgi et al., 2004). However, the results of the research by Stes and colleagues (Stes et al., 2008) do not point to a significant association between the student-centred teaching approach and contextual factors - group size, level of study and discipline – or teacher characteristics - gender, age, years of work experience in teaching. The literature highlights that the failure to include other variables describing the broader teaching context (for instance, the teacher's perception of workload in teaching, the perception of the student's abilities, students' motivation or obligation to participate in class) may have contributed to the fact that the research results reached by Stes and his associates have not been quite expected (Miočić et al., 2021; Stes et al., 2008). Also, the results of the research by Stes and colleagues indicate that the way teachers experience or perceive the teaching context can be of greater significance than the context itself (Prosser, 2013).

Furthermore, in reference to the relations between university teachers' conceptions of teaching and their approaches to teaching, it is important to note that some research papers show that more sophisticated conceptions of teaching can be combined with less

sophisticated teaching approaches (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a), i.e., that the elements of 'transmission' in the teacher-centred approach can be involved in the student-centred approach (Trigwell et al., 2005). In this context, the literature uses the terms dissonance/consonance to describe the relations between qualitatively different conceptions/intentions, and teaching approach strategies: content/teacher-focused approach to teaching, and learning/student-focused approach to teaching (Postareff et al., 2008; Stes & Van Petegem, 2014; Uiboleht et al., 2016). Dissonance, in this case, refers to non-typical combinations of conceptions/intentions and strategies, which are not coherent at the theoretical level: conceptions and strategies of a learning-oriented teaching approach, combined with the conceptions and strategies of a content-oriented teaching approach. Data about the research so far showing that roughly a half of university teachers combine conceptions/intentions and strategies in both teaching approaches in various ways, is not to be considered irrelevant (Postareff et al., 2008; Stes & Van Petegem, 2014). The occurrence of dissonance can potentially be associated with different causes: whilst, on the one hand, the broader teaching context and disciplinary specificity can direct teachers towards adopting incoherent combinations of conceptions/intentions and strategies, on the other hand, dissonance can be the result of having attended teacher pedagogical training programmes that direct the development process towards a learning-oriented approach (Postareff et al., 2008; Uiboleht et al., 2016).

In this context, it is important to stress that certain studies (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a) show that more sophisticated teaching approaches can be adopted only if changing the conceptions of teaching has previously been addressed. Likewise, other research (Ho et al., 2001; Kember & Kwan, 2000; Norton et al., 2005) shows that developing teachers' conceptions of teaching is a prerequisite for improving the teaching practice; changes in teaching work can take place only if the conception of teaching has been changed. Accordingly, if a teacher wants to change his/her activities in classroom, the teacher must assess his/her own conceptions of teaching first of all (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a). In stating this, Trigwell and Prosser (1996b) also note that traditional training programmes for teaching work, which focus exclusively on teacher strategies, are unlikely to be successful, unless attention is directed at the intentions associated with the adopted strategies. Furthermore, the latest research shows that understanding the subject content has a central role in teachers' preference for adopting a content-oriented approach, or a learning-oriented approach, therefore suggesting that changes in understanding the subject content should be the first step in the process of developing university teachers' teaching conceptions (Mladenovici et al., 2022). These insights are compatible with earlier research (Prosser et al., 2008) that identified the association between the teacher's understanding of the subject content and his/her approach to teaching.

Concluding Considerations

Within the scope of discussing possibilities for improving the quality of higher education teaching, ongoing since the 1990s, intensive research has been evident in

literature, regarding university teachers' conceptions of teaching and their approaches to teaching. University teachers' conceptions of teaching (their beliefs about teaching) and their approaches to teaching (what they do) form the crux of many research studies in the field of higher education, particularly considering that research findings in literature (Kember & Gow, 1994; Trigwell & Prosser, 2020; Trigwell et al., 1999; Uiboleht et al., 2018) point to the fact that the teacher's orientation and approach to teaching can have significant implications for the student's approach to learning.

Although certain variations are present in respect of the classification of the conceptions of teaching, findings in literature suggest the existence of two general categories of conceptions: *content-oriented/teacher-centred* conceptions of teaching and *learning-oriented/student-centred* conceptions of teaching (Kember, 1997). In reference to research on teaching approaches, it has been established that university teachers' intentions range from the intention to convey information to students, to the intention to assist students in developing and changing their previous conceptions (Trigwell et al., 1994). Accordingly, two teaching approaches have been identified and discussed in literature most frequently: the teacher/content-focused teaching approach and the student/learning-focused teaching approach. Furthermore, some authors note that although teaching concepts and teaching approaches may differ at the theoretical level, both constructs include overlapping and strongly related characteristics (Päuler-Kuppinger & Jucks, 2017; Postareff et al., 2008).

Since research findings point to a correlation between the conceptions of teaching and teaching approaches, literature indicates that conceptions of teaching are the basis for teaching practice (Gow & Kember, 1993; Ho et al., 2001; Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a). In this sense, university teachers who have adopted a certain conception of teaching tend to have specific intentions that lead towards corresponding strategies: strategies focused on the student are related to the intentions of changing the student's conceptions, while strategies focusing on the teacher are related to the intentions of conveying information (Trigwell & Prosser, 1996a, 1996b). However, approach to teaching, as the mode in which teachers' beliefs are implemented in teaching practice, can be regarded as an ambiguous term. On the one hand, if the teaching context is appropriate, the teacher's teaching approach will most likely be attuned to his/her beliefs about teaching. On the other hand, in certain cases, there may be a discrepancy between the teacher's conception of teaching and his/her approach to teaching: due to the impact of contextual factors (for instance, curriculum design, institution's culture), the teaching approach of a university teacher may be more associated with the teacher's perception of the given situation, than with his/her conception of teaching (Kember & Kwan, 2000; Prosser & Trigwell, 1997).

It must also be stressed that reviews and meta-analyses of research findings referring to the assessment of the effects of university teachers' formal pedagogical training programmes, also show that research results reached so far have also identified different scopes of impacts: ranging from changes in teachers' self-confidence, attitudes, knowledge, conceptions and practices, to their adoption of a student-centred approach, as well

as changes in students' approaches to learning, even though there are extensive studies reporting small, but almost negligible, positive effects of such programmes (Ilie et al., 2020; Stewart, 2014). Apart from the factors relating to paradigmatic orientations and decisions of a methodological nature, as well as the time intervals in which the effects of the programme were measured (Miočić et al., 2021), the results of the research on university teachers' conceptions and approaches to teaching partly provide an interpretation for the equivocal findings about the impact of the university teachers' professional development programme for teaching work. In view of the fact that conceptions of teaching have a certain impact on the adopted teaching approach, the orientation of pedagogical training programmes exclusively on teachers' teaching approaches, without an appropriate change in teachers' beliefs, can have a negative impact on the initiatives made for the professional development of university teachers for teaching work (Kember, 1997). In this context, the research findings highlight the importance of the contribution made by university teachers pedagogical training programmes to increasing the teachers' awareness of the fundamental issues of teaching (Postareff et al., 2008). Studies have confirmed that these programmes can prompt changes in university teachers' conceptions of teaching (Ginns et al., 2008; Ho et al., 2001), as well as provide better opportunities for adopting a student/learning-focused approach (Gibbs & Coffey, 2004; Postareff et al., 2007; Potter et al., 2015; Stes et al., 2010).

Literature, nevertheless, states that conceptions of teaching, being relatively stable constructs, undergo a slow change (Gibbs & Coffey, 2004; Kember, 1997; Postareff et al., 2007). What is concerned is that university teachers' conceptions of teaching derive from a complex interaction between several factors: university teachers' long-standing experiences gained at school as students, teacher work experience, personal characteristics, department/institution ethos, disciplinary culture (Chan, 1994; Dall'Alba, 1991; Fox, 1983, Kember, 1997, Kemp, 2013). Hence, discussions about encouraging the acceptance of new approaches to teaching, emphasise that university teachers' personal understanding of teaching can have a limiting effect; more profound insights into university teachers' beliefs about teaching are crucial for the development of a pedagogical training programme, as well as for promoting changes in higher education teaching (Åkerlind, 2007; Kemp, 2013). Understanding the beliefs about teaching and identifying appropriate ways for stimulating university teachers to raise their awareness and perform self-assessment, is of essential importance, because that is the fundament for adopting scientifically-based conceptions of teaching and introducing adequate changes in the teaching practice in order to support students' learning in the best possible way.

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Against the Educational Hierarchy: Travel, Teach, Subdue

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Abstract   *Relying primarily on the analyses and suggestions by Rancière and Lévi-Strauss, the authors of this paper endeavour to present a critique of the hierarchically valued landmarks of travelling and education. The first part of the paper is dedicated to Western travellers and their 'civilising' treatment of other landscapes and peoples, previously unknown. The second part of the paper identifies an analogous pattern when it comes to relationship established in the educational process, where the new and the unknown also have to be mastered, conquered, and subdued by unquestionable knowledge. The conclusion suggests the possibility of deconstructing the predefined system of civilisation and/or knowledge, with a view to creating the possibility for the affirmation of differences without domination, as well as learning without an unambiguous explanation, a possibility that may perhaps materialise with the abandoning of the illusion about the universal authority of Knowledge and its possessor.*

Keywords: *education, travelling, hierarchy, knowledge, explanation.*

Introduction

Perhaps, every travel is an educational travel: in any one of them, whether wanted or not, one encounters something new, and something new can be learned. And, perhaps, every education is a travel of its own kind: from ignorance to knowledge or "from ignorant certainty to intelligent confusion" (Felder & Brent 2004, p. 270). However, apart from this trivial or metaphorical substitutability, there is a common feature – or better yet: an approach – that associates travelling with learning, at least in the manner the latter has been understood by the culture to which we belong: both of them are temptations, both are examinations (investigations) and both imply a hierarchy. At the top of it is knowledge

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and the one who knows, all the more so, the greater the knowledge he possesses, while at the bottom is the opposite, in an equal proportion.

In both cases, one proceeds towards something unknown, or something that is still-not-known, and is being studied. In both cases, the approach to that figure of 'otherness', at a place of 'instability' where the encounter with the 'peripheral' Other takes place, is, as a rule, conquistadorial: exiling or subjugation to the stable and already familiar core of the always same own centre (Lotman, 2005). On one occasion, it is a: 'savage', and on another, an "ignorant" – in fact, corresponding images that provide legitimacy to the image opposed to them pursuant to binary opposition – that of the civiliser-the knowledgeable, the holder of the supreme rationality, who perceives, points to, and denounces the former one. It is with such self-understanding (see Taylor Center, 2013) and such missionary authority that the Western traveller has travelled or visited, gained knowledge of, or conquered new territories and new "souls".

In reference to the educational dimension, the educational machinery sends an "ignorant person", the equivalent of, and far too often also another name for, "savage", on a trip – that an experienced teacher has already traversed. Guided by his knowledge of the targeted destination and by the "explanations" leading to it, those, who are other in relation to him, will arrive there where he is, settling within the system where he has also been accommodated and where he is acting as its agent, and they will ultimately become part of the history of the "same" (Foucault, 1971, p. 68). In this process, it is implied that each unknown, each diversity, is only temporary for the leader of the education-research travel, and that it will be subordinated by the order that sovereignly dictates its picture of the world for everyone, as well as the meaning of living in it.

The View of the Traveller

Tzvetan Todorov, a relentless critic of Western and any other ethno-centric vanity, and any kind of hierarchisation of culture (Todorov, 2008), has presented "portraits of the different types of travellers", based on an empirical analysis of literary testimony, admitting unpretentiously that the list, comprising as many as ten different kinds of travellers, is neither exhaustive, nor methodologically representative, or such that one kind of travel at one point in time excludes undertaking any other travel at any another time. However, no matter what kind of principle of classification suits his interests – the capacity of the traveller for the new, his "relationship towards closeness and co-existence" (Todorov, 1994, p. 328) – it is also instructive for the topic of this article.

The first character in this cast is the "assimilator": the "assimilator is the one who would like to change others to resemble him": the assimilator believes in the unity of humankind, however, he interprets the features of others as flaws in relation to his own ideal. Thus, the assimilator manifests himself as a representative of the universal hierarchical system, where his culture stands at the top. His, once exemplary, image is also the image of a Christian missionary "who wants to convert others to his creed" (often also by the use of sword). Such a concrete form of religious messianism may be rare nowadays, however, Todorov rightfully perceives its new, contemporary forms – at the local level, as a tide of

assimilation of those who are less powerful or represented, and on the global plane, as new colonialism which "exports revolutions" (Todorov, 1994, pp. 328-239).

The next traveller is "the assimilated one". His most frequent form is the immigrant: 'the one who completes his travel by just departing'. As opposed to the "assimilator" who goes to the others in order to make them resemble himself, the assimilated one would like to become like the others he is going to: to get fully acquainted with them, to live among them, and to have them accept him as one of them. The assimilated one is not a *Gastarbeiter* who stays somewhere else for a certain period of time, without repudiating his own culture, but rather, the one who would like to identify with others, to become "like" them, to be assimilated – even at the cost of accepting (this might be a prerequisite accepted in advance?) the ethno-centric distortion of the local stereotype (Todorov, 1994, pp. 331-332).

Resistance to paying such a price creates the "exotic". The exotic is an "alien" who does not accept the customs of others, or foreign conventions that foreigners consider natural; the exotic takes note of them, however, without subordinating himself to them; he constantly compares the procedures in other countries to the norms in his own; thus, the exotic observes the flaws in others, that those who have naturalised them are not aware of. His trouble is in the fact that if he wants to remain like that, he must constantly live under a frail balance, carefully keeping an eye on the changes on the sensitive scales on which he lives: "between being surprised, having a close relationship, being distanced, or accepting identification". If he is not sufficiently familiar with others, the exotic does not understand them, and if he knows them too well, he no longer views them with that privileged eye that watches from "the outside" (Todorov, 1994, p. 332).

The "exile", on the other hand, is similar to the exotic inasmuch as he avoids assimilation, while being similar to the immigrant because he dwells in a country which is not his own. He is distinct from an exotic in his being uninterested in the people among whom he lives. He is quite the opposite: "This is an individual who interprets his life abroad as an experience of not belonging to the given environment, and who likes that environment exactly for that reason. The exile is interested in his own life, and even in his own people; however, he has come to realise that it is exactly for the benefit of this interest that it is better for him to live abroad, there, where he does not "belong"; he is no longer temporarily an alien, but rather, definitely an alien" (Todorov, 1994, p. 332). For René Descartes in the Netherlands, Voltaire in Switzerland, James Joyce and Samuel Beckett, Gabriel García Márquez and Günter Grass in Paris, including, perhaps, also Tzvetan Todorov, himself, among the above named and many others, living as aliens by their own choice, enables them to comfortably create 'national' accomplishments. They are happy to live abroad - exactly for the reason that their intentional exile not only rejects any stronger relations with the others among whom they live, but also hinders such relations for the purpose of "discovering others" (Todorov, 1994, p. 333).

The last of the five types of travellers to be singled out in this contribution, one who may be the most impressive apart from the assimilator, is the "allegorist", who exploits Others in a different manner. He talks about a foreign people, however, with little or no concern about them, his aim being to discuss the problems of his own culture,

while being armed with their experience. Starting with Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* and Denis Diderot's *A Supplement to the Voyage of Bougainville*, fictional travelogues that have been read even nowadays as pioneering, witty, and edifying slaps to the presumptuousness of the Europeans to believe that the norms of their culture are justified and even desirable, and particularly that they are to be considered applicable to others (Montesquieu, 2004; Stanley, 2009), on to the mesmerised projecting of hope on the Third World, in the mid-20th century, the figure of "primitivist allegorism" keeps perpetuating itself: others are, actually, not observed, or rather, observation does not serve for really getting to know the Other, but for using the image of the other as a crooked mirror, "perverting" the observed features of one's own country or society to which one unequivocally only and still belongs (Todorov, 1994, pp. 333-334).

The Conscience of the Traveller

Otherness and others are a chronic problem in all the forms of colonial discourse, as well as in the discourse that would like to deflect from it. In reference to the former, travelogues may have played a decisive role, and in any case, they have become and have remained, a testimony to the imperialism of Eurocentric knowledge and learning. In the 19th century, they developed parallel to the projects of natural history, while their formalisation "was achieved through the production of a network of colonial and metropolitan spaces" (Gregory, 1998, p. 82). It was, no doubt, about what Foucauldians would call the production of knowledge, this time acquired through "field work".

The newly discovered, newly perceived, or newly conquered spaces, themselves, were defined or redefined anew: "the wide open spaces of nature" that had been travelled in discovering the new world were, however, inseparable from the production of enclosed spaces, such as botanical gardens, museums, or zoos. The taming and breaking in of the unknown had to wait for a systematically defined, i.e. precisely limited form of knowledge presented with certainty, a knowledge that was to be rounded off, safe, and reliable. That knowledge did not emerge directly from the experience of traversing the field and getting acquainted with it, but rather, from the subsequent perspective of a distant onlooker, who was provided with the possibility of having a panoramic view of nature, of a new, different, or wild world, that lent itself to being designed as an enclosed space, a reserve, or an exotic clip of the different, becoming available for presentation to the European public (Outram, 1996).

However, the history of a different kind, the history of anticolonial (travel) writing, is not negligible either. Starting at the latest with the Romanticist (Jeremić Molnar & Molnar, 2013, pp. 363-364), and extending on to Feuerbach (Fojerbah, 1956) and the contemporary anarchoprimitivism (see, e.g., Zerzan, 2005), one can trace numerous instances of pointing to the wrong turn taken by the Western techno-scientific rationality and its political extensions, including highlighting the need for a different thought. William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge dealt with speculations about "the thought of peasantry", opening a debate that had been current a century and a half earlier, about the (im)possibility of "primitive" or "savage" thought (Lévy-Bruhl, 1954; Lévy-Bruhl, 1966;

Sahlins, 1995; Lévi-Strauss, 1978; McLane, 2000, pp. 46-50). Wordsworth, just like Claude Lévi-Strauss somewhat later, replies in an implicitly affirmative sense (Wordsworth 1974, p. 125; compare to Lévi-Strauss 1978, p. 318; Lévi-Strauss 2009, pp. 19–20). Coleridge, just like Jean-Paul Sartre, a century and a half after him (Vattimo, 2012), offers, at best, a conditional "yes": peasants think, but not like the better part of the society – certainly not like priests, philosophers, and men of letters, who are destined to provide "the best parts of the language" for poetry (Coleridge, 2004).

Following the Romanticists, modern cultural relativism was also to rise against the Enlightenment-based promotion of the *hierarchically structured concept of "civilisation"*, which contributed to the Western mind's perception of its own position as that of a model, with its own customs being universal abilities, and its own values an absolute criterion of judgement, while we, ourselves, are the controlling owners of entire nature (Schulze, 2008). The theoretical preparation, the epistemological logistics of cryptonormative, discriminatory, "linear-progressivist" terms, paved the way for the actual colonisation of everything that was different, of anything that deviated and was attributed a lower development rank (compare Lévi-Strauss, 1989, pp. 161; 310-311; 316-317).

It turns out that such speculative ignorance can be cured by ethnology, by providing the insight that such ignorance is nothing but "blind rejection of what is not ours", that barbarianism is not the opposite of civilisation but rather, a construct contrived together with civilisation, and that the whole structure should be dismantled, informing the ones who brand others as barbarians, that a barbarian is first the one who believes in barbarianism (Lévi-Strauss, 1988, p. 303). Conversely, today, it is important not to destroy, and to preserve and protect the "sad tropics", and more broadly: being interested in the "analysis and interpretation of differences" among the societies (compare Lévi-Strauss 1978, pp. 313-315; Lévi-Strauss, 1988, pp. 299-306; Lévi-Strauss, 1999, p. 292). It is such differences that have been jeopardised today, Lévi-Strauss insists on pointing out, rather than the unity of the species, which has become almost inevitable owing to modern communication means and mass media. It is also with misgivings that he contemplates "the time when only one culture and one civilisation will exist on the planet" (Lévi-Strauss, 2009, p. 23).

The evil conscience of the Occident, therefore, was given expression in the 20th century in different voices, however, their social dimension was to reiterate the old thesis, this time, notably, in a more explicit and devastating manner: all societies must be treated as equally valuable, however, not equal, but rather the opposite, different and incomparable. Any other approach is a path to the naive, but widespread, nonsense of presupposing the superiority of one of them, or, to the less naive neglecting of differences for the sake of an unconvincing brotherhood of all the people (Lévi-Strauss, 1988, pp. 302-304; Lévi-Strauss 1999, p. 302).

A partial support for Lévi-Strauss's endeavours to soothe the wounds of the Western cognitive and geographic *conquistas*, was to come later from an (un)expected side. In his lecture *Of the Humanities and the Philosophical Discipline,* just like formerly Lévi-Strauss in his address to UNESCO, Derrida (Jacques Derrida) finds an implicit philosophy in the texts of international institutions founded on the ideas of human rights and international law.

In reference to this, reading Kant's *Idea for a Universal History with a cosmopolitan purpose* (Kant 1968) is an opportunity for detecting the teleological assumption that Europe is the goal of universal history, which pervades the modernity, reaching right to the depths of contemporary discourses. International institutions are faced with the same problem of Eurocentrism, and what Derrida cares about the most in this context is that cosmopolitan "right to philosophy" which is now to be considered without its "Greco-European origins and memory", as well as without being merely opposed to it (Derrida, 1994, p. 14).

According to Derrida, as opposed to Lévi-Strauss as evidenced further on, apparently, philosophy not only seems to be able find its way out of its long-standing and exhausting alternative between Eurocentrism and anti-Eurocentrism, but it offers it with its own, contemporary status. In view of the fact that it is "no longer determined by a program, an originary language or tongue", considering that its roots have become dubitable, "bastard, hybrid, grafted, multilinear and polyglot", being perceived in this manner, it already stands and exists on the other side of the "colonial or neo-colonial dialectic of appropriation and alienation", representing, "if there is any such thing, the *other way*" (Derrida, 1994, p. 15).

Derrida's objection to Lévi-Strauss, as well as to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Wordsworth, Coleridge and the entire tradition of the naturalist-primitivist correction of civilisation, Todorov would say here, to the "allegorists", consists of his insight that such attempts to wash away the guilt of the Western culture are bound to end in a non-critical fetishisation of the other pole, in fantasising about some kind of benign nature of Otherness, filled with unadulterated beauty and goodness. However, moving away from that awry mirror of Western anti-Eurocentrism (see Dos, 2019, pp. 47-48), reveals that direct surrender to that allegedly undisgraced nature is teleologically and eschatologically infected, as much as the invasive breaking into it: both cases involve "the dream of a full and immediate presence which closes history" (Derrida, 1976, p. 154).

The View of the Learned

Learning always leads to a certain order, whether an order of knowledge, society, or "civilisation", these being intertwined far too often. The order of knowledge may even always precede the other hierarchisations, explaining them, justifying them and/or legitimizes them. However, if we listen to Rancière (Jacques Rancière), learning, just like explaining, is not, and should not be, anything other than a *promise of understanding,* understanding that comes subsequently, however, that has no warranty of being final, and therefore, neither the only legitimate nor correct. The understanding or explanation that considers itself final is nothing but a simulation: a simulation of the system. In order for learning to be learning at all, it must be able to miss, to *fail to fulfil a promise* - this is the risk that allows learning to evolve. Otherwise, learning would be turned into a factual statement, into a reproduction and repetition of the one and the same facts, meaning that nothing *new* would ever take place, nothing new would ever be learned. And if there were no possibilities for a different answer, education would cease to be education, and it would become economy or – rather, as Derrida would put it – technology:

> "When the path is clear and given, when a certain knowledge opens up the way in advance, the decision is already made, it might as well be said, there is none to make: irresponsibly, and in good conscience, one simply applies or implements a programme. […] It makes of action a simple application of know-how. It makes of ethics and politics a technology" (Derrida, 1992, pp. 41, 45).

Education which is not, at the same time, an uncertain blundering, cannot avoid the mishap of being, above all and before any emancipating aspirations, *control, hierarchisation* and *establishing* or *preservation* of a certain *dominant* order. Education that presupposes a destination strives for *subordinating*. Rancière is not alone in this conclusion. Foucault (Michel Foucault) was to detect the branching network of hierarchies in the academic machinery before him: faculties, just like any other institution, are pervaded by the relations of power and endeavouring – always for the purpose of gaining control, winning autonomy for oneself, and subordinating others – to impose a single truth, a single discourse, a single knowledge, or simply, the interest of one group. However, they are, concurrently, always permeated also by reaction and resistance to such aspirations, by a certain kind of counter-power which then completes the unstable composition of the higher education institution (Foucault, 1983).

Things are no better at the lower levels of organised mass education, either. It is not only the blackmail of marks and examinations, but also the very "organisation of the space" in elementary schools that classifies students and provides for their "functioning like a mechanism conducive for learning, however, also for supervision, hierarchisation, and rewarding" (Foucault, 1997, p. 196). Proceeding along the same lines, but focusing more closely on the conveying of knowledge, Deleuze (Gilles Deleuze) was also to observe:

> "Oration is made not to be believed, but to be obeyed. When a teacher explains an arithmetic operation to the children, or when she teaches them syntax, she does not give them information in the proper sense of the word, but rather, gives them orders, conveys slogans to them, prompts them to produce the exact statements, 'the right' ideas which are necessarily attuned to the dominant meaning" (Deleuze & Parne, 2009, p. 34).

Claude Lévi-Strauss travelled to the jungles of the Amazon, to the *Nambikwara* tribe, who do not have a written language, nor do they use drawings, except for several dots or curves they occasionally, or very seldom, draw on the ground by means of a stick (Lévi-Strauss, 1999, p. 234). The Nambikwara were given paper and pencils without the intention of immediately "teaching" them writing *skills*. At first, no one would take a piece of paper or a pencil, however, already a few days later, everyone in the village was trying to write, more precisely, to imitate the gestures they saw Lévi-Strauss make. Since this "model learning" could not help the Nambikwara learn how to write for real, but only how to "imitate writing", Lévi-Strauss delivered the first real writing lesson, a specific attempt to persuade them to learn how to write, by pointing to the importance of literacy, with unconcealed argument or motivation for turning the illiterate natives into citizens.

"Everyone has to learn how to read, so the authorities can [rightly] say: Being ignorant about the law is not an excuse" (Lévi-Strauss, 1999, p. 238).

However, this learning-travel with a foreseeable end, one among many, was interrupted by an unexpected *event*. The chieftain of the tribe assembled the tribe, asking Lévi-Strauss to give him a writing board and, having drawn several meandering lines imitating writing, he asked Lévi-Strauss to *read* from the board. This was not the end of the event: shortly after, the chieftain took Lévi-Strauss's papers and started *explaining them* to the rest of the tribe, after which he "wrote" his "reply" (Lévi-Strauss, 1999, pp. 234-235). Needless to say that this was a *simulation of understanding*: the chieftain pretended to understand what Lévi-Strauss had written down, as much as he *feigned* that his convoluted lines made sense that should be transparent to Lévi-Strauss. To make matter even more striking, the "alleged sense" interpreted by the chieftain for his tribesmen had to do with *commodity exchange* between the tribe and the "white man" (Lévi-Strauss) – therefore, the subject of the *simulation of understanding* and *explanation* was *economy*, undoubtedly because commodity exchange was to be experienced as something that would have a direct impact on the life of the tribe.

The intent underlying this spectacle was, primarily, to impress and subordinate the rest of the tribe to the chieftain even more. Formulating it in a Rancièrian fashion, one could say that, by using *written language,* as well as simulating *understanding,* and using *explanations*, the chieftain actually uses the *educational discourse* to confirm and justify his hierarchical position. As opposed to others, he is someone who "learns faster" and "understands better", and therefore, it is justified for others to be subordinated to him. And thus, the first encounter of the "innocent" Nambikwara tribe with written language reaffirmed its subordinating function. Lévi-Strauss expresses this in even more starkly:

> "If my assumption is right, it must be recognised that the basic function of written communications is to facilitate conquest. Using writing for purposes not involving interest, for achieving intellectual and aesthetic pleasures, is a secondary result, even if we assume that most often it cannot be reduced down to an instrument of support, justification, or concealing of its basic use […]. Thus, struggle against illiteracy blends with a greater control of the citizens by the Government" (Lévi-Strauss, 1999, pp. 237-238).

Apparently, such a conclusion is contrary to the general belief about the need to be educated (acquire knowledge, learn how to read, and so on), in order to avoid subordination, manipulation, or control by those who hold positions of power. Even though this may seem to be the case, at first instance, it is hardly a matter of opposites. The unidirectional hierarchy of education discussed by Rancière, or the subduing aspects of writing and speech which simulate understanding, as stated by Lévi-Strauss, indicates that the legitimation of hierarchy is introduced parallel to the dominant educational discourse. In other words, the discourse "educate yourselves so you can avoid being controlled", already enshrines the hierarchy based on knowledge and attained by education – that hierarchy already encompasses the members of the community, irrespective of whether they are "inside or outside" the dominant educational order. Such order is in close harmony with fixed positions, predetermined paths, answers, and destinations within the educational

process. The domination of the educational order, just like any other order, rests on its stability, on hindering the possibility for its relativisation. It is through education that the social order reproduces, while the educational order – self-reproduces.

The Teacher's Conscience.

Such an educational performance, or such an (para)educational strategy of social subjugation in the sense of subjectivation and control, appears to be a stable historical and transcultural constant which – perhaps even more so if it is presented as permanent and necessary – inspires challenges and the search for an alternative. In *The Ignorant Schoolmaster,* Rancière recounts the story of an "intellectual adventure" which was to draw into its whirlpool and guide further on, first of all, Professor Joseph Jacotot and his students, and then, many others. Namely, the story goes that Jacotot, who taught the French language in Leuven, without having any knowledge of Flemish, which was the language used by his students, gave the students the assignment to read a bilingual edition of Fénelon's (François Fénelon) didactic novel *The Adventures of Telemachus, Odysseus' son*, after which he asked them to write an essay about the character, suggesting that they rely on the translation, however, to write it in French – which the students did not speak.

The results of this "accidental" experiment greatly exceeded Jacotot's expectations: the students managed to master the French language to a substantial degree. However, what was surprising, as well as being another reason for Rancière's, Jacotot's, as well as our speculations, was that they managed to do that on *their own,* i.e. without any teacher's *explanation* before that process. On the basis of this *event,* extending his research to include the possibilities for learning without explanations, Rancière came up with a thesis that represents one of the major pivots of his work:

> "The logic of the explanatory system has to be reversed. Explanation is not indispensable to tackle the inability to understand. Exactly the opposite, that inability is a fiction that structures the explanatory understanding of the world. The explainer needs the unable, not vice versa, and he is the one who establishes inability as such. Explaining something to someone means, above all, to show that he or her cannot understand on their own. Before it becomes a pedagogical act, explanation is a pedagogical myth, a story about the world divided into the learned and the ignorant spirits, the mature and the immature spirits, those who are able and those who are unable, the intelligent or the stupid. Deception which characterises the explainer consists of a twofold initial act. On the one hand, the explainer declares the absolute beginning: the act of learning starts only now. On the other, he pulls down the veil of ignorance on all the things that have to be learned, assuming the task of lifting the veil himself" (Rancière, 2010, p. 15).

Explanation is a pedagogical presumption, argues Rancière. True, the teacher (in the story) asks the students to learn, without giving them any explanation, and after repeating the procedure, he proves that the students can learn on their own. This act disrupts

the existing hierarchy of knowledge. After all, the process of education, as a travel involving gradual learning, guided to the mandatory *destination* by the certain hand of the professor, was not possible, because Jacotot was not able to transfer that destination onto the learners. Later on, he "teaches" in such a manner that he, himself, does not know what is the destination that the learning is supposed to lead to, nor how to reach it exactly. This is how the teacher teaches – travelling, wandering – together with the students. Since Rancière avoids each and every defined system of knowledge, the emancipation of his students evolves exclusively as *self-emancipation* – a procedure which, unlike Rousseau's approach (and that of many others), does not force students to be free, but rather, makes them liberate themselves on their own (Snir, 2020, p. 149).

However, if the destination in both cases is freedom, if the teacher's instructions do not lead anywhere other than the goal that the students have reached on their own, in that case, what is the difference between self-liberation and liberation? Is it not far more reasonable to implement "liberation" through a system? Why induce students to acquire knowledge on their own, when it is simpler (and more efficient) to impart knowledge and ask the student to learn it? Jacotot's students may have acquired a certain knowledge, but, can anyone claim that this knowledge would not be conveyed to them faster by a French teacher who speaks Flemish?

A reconstruction of Rancière's argumentation in support of the non-explanatory approach to which it gives priority, could run as follows: since every system implies an internal hierarchy, and therefore, also a certain kind of *control*, the knowledge and/or freedom, which are supposed to ensue from the educational journey, do not belong to any presupposed system of knowledge. *Explanation* is an agent of the system: it is not there to rescue the blundering traveller, but rather, to establish a system of control, not only an educational one, but also a much broader, social, or political one. Itay Snir rightly argues that Rancière's book, even though it speaks about a university professor, is, by no means, a book about education alone, but a work which, highlighting the hindering or dumbing down principles of the explanatory discourse, sheds light on the logic underlying the entire social-political order (Snir, 2020, p. 150).

> "We know that explanation is, in fact, not only a weapon for dumbing down in the hands of the pedagogue, but the very nexus of the social order. And the order implies a distribution of positions. Distribution of positions implies explanations, a fiction that distributes and justifies, a fiction of inequality which has no other reason for its existence" (Rancière, 2010, p. 142).

Unconcluding Conclusion

Catherine Malabou was to outline the direct association between Lévi-Strauss's and Rancière's work. The story of the former commenced with repeated wandering. Lévi-Strauss wanders, his accidental experiment is in wandering; The Nambikwara also wander in their "learning". However, the wandering is re-directed by an unexpected event that is about to bring ruin to the established order – *a catastrophe*: "The chief reverses his situation of ignorance – he doesn't know how to write – in order to extract from it

the best possible advantage. He pretends to know how to write in order to oppress and deceive the other members of the tribe. This *accidental inversion* – by chance, thanks to a concurrence of circumstances or an *event*, the absence of knowledge produces an excess of power – confirms an inversion of principle. What seems to be merely the effect of writing (subjugation) in fact reveals itself as the "primary function of written communication" (Malabou & Derrida, 2004, p. 66).

Thus, the story from the jungle brings us back to Rancière: the function of an *explanation* precedes its meaning, determining it. In other words, any potential meaning of the explanation is conditional upon its function. The turnaround made by the chieftain is, undoubtedly, the result of a distortion of the original intention and swaying from the path planned, an ejection from the guided trajectory, however, on the other hand, it is a consistently "derived catastrophe" (Malabou & Derrida, 2004, p. 66), a transparent, or rather a more transparent, introduction of a (counter-)order – a tribal order, as it were, as opposed to the urban one – where wandering has also ceased, and travelling outside the familiar scenery has come to an end, while the scene has been taken over by the ever domiciled economy.

However, ultimately, if oration or writing have been designed to be obeyed, can an attempt to analyse or discuss this be understood or assessed otherwise? Is not every explanation – and even the one that explains the necessary and the necessarily malicious affinity of explanation with subjugation – the establishment of that very same hierarchy between the one who knows and the ignorant, wrapped in the rationalised gown of metacriticism? – Deleuze's answer to these questions that retaliate against the condemnation of the hierarchy and standardisation of knowledge, recommends to the reflection of education something apparently lesser than the status it flattered itself with, however something that may be the most difficult to do: withdrawal from the metaposition of a privileged epistemic, mediating, and possessory subject, as well as distancing from the entrepreneurial manner (Deleuze, 2010, p. 254), and deviating from any dominant meaning – briefly, abandoning any "function" that determines the course, denying or reducing other possibilities.

However, even if such a captivating re-orientation is accepted, the less principal and concrete question remains: can a clear distinction be made in the education process between the *explanation* which tends to undermine the hierarchy and redeem the students from it, or the *explanation* which aims to introduce them to it and reinforce it? - If there is any truth in Freire's (Paulo Freire) observation that "The oppressors, who oppress, exploit, and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves", and that the subjugated are the ones who have to free them together with themselves (Freire, 2005, p. 44), then, the antidote to domination in education, by analogy which does not presuppose a social revolution, but something, perhaps, far more sophisticated, and certainly more profound, could or should be sought not with the holder of this or that liberation (for a new subjugation, a new order), but in the liberation of the "explanation" itself, in the liberation from the very explanation, in a overturn where education itself precedes its function, thus being constantly re-established, in the *self-contained self-emancipation* which does not need

an instruction intoned from above regarding what emancipation by education should be and the reason why it is being implemented.

After all, a suggestion of this kind need not be considered a particular novelty. Already Goethe (Johann Wolfgang von Goethe) knew that every education – if it really educate – is self-education (Baykan, 2013); a view that was to be insisted on later by the entire *Selbstbiludng* tradition, a tradition which advocated this position. Namely, Goethe argued that the German language (just like Serbian, among the few), "rightly uses the word education [*Bildung*] to denote both what has been created, and the process of crea-tion" (compare Gadamer, 1986, pp. 16-18; Dobrijević & Krstić, 2013; Krstić, 2021, p. 91). This ambiguity makes it possible to shift the emphasis from the social enterprise to education as "a matter of the individual, the conscious formation of one's own life and assuming control over it", while the "secret source of strength within man, himself", now that it has become independent – faces up to *all* external impacts (Assmann, 2014, p. 328). The ear, accustomed to the dictate of collective goals and personal "accomplishments" keeping them in mind, now just like then, may hear this as scandalous advocacy. This is what it is, after all. Namely, what it would like to suggest, and the suggestion is not minor at all, is that, perhaps, it would be advisable to put the verbs associated with education into their continuous form, perceiving them as continuous actions: therefore, accomplishing, rather than a defined accomplishment, or one that leads to the stillness and finality of definitive-ness"; forming, rather than formation, and educating, rather than education, or the illu-sion of supercilious educatedness.

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Satisfaction with Different Aspects of Life and Positive Future Expectations among High School Students: Specific Significance of Satisfaction with School[1]

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Abstract   *The existing empirical subject matter testifies to a significant correlation between life satisfaction and positive future expectations among high school students. However, there is a lack of research situating more concretely the role of satisfaction with various aspects of life in relation to positive future expectations. Hence, this research focuses on the importance of satisfaction with various aspects of life among Belgrade high school students for their positive future expectations, with a particular emphasis on examining the role of school satisfaction. This research was conducted during the second semester of the 2021/22 academic year, on a sample of 215 Belgrade high school students. The results indicate that satisfaction with different aspects of life and satisfaction with life in general, have significant positive correlations with positive future expectations. Positive future expectations have the strongest correlation with self-satisfaction, while their lowest correlation is with school satisfaction. Despite its weak correlation with positive future expectations, satisfaction with school has proven to be a significant moderator of the strongest relationship identified - self-satisfaction and positive future expectations. In other words, the findings reached in this research point to the conclusion that activities planned in the context of the development of school satisfaction can compensate for the negative impact of self-satisfaction, prompting more positive future expectations. Considering that empirical endeavours so far have focused mostly on identifying a link with positive developmental outcomes, this research can serve as a starting point for a more detailed understanding of the mechanisms for encouraging positive future expectations among high school students.*

Keywords: *life satisfaction, positive expectations, future, high school students, school satisfaction.*

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Introduction

By definition, subjective well-being represents a high level of positive affect and a low level of negative affect, along with a high level of life satisfaction (Deci & Ryan, 2008). This concept is used synonymously with the concept of 'happiness', where maximizing of personal well-being is regarded as maximizing personal happiness (Deci & Ryan, 2008). The literature points to two basic orientations in well-being - hedonic (the pursuit of pleasure and satisfaction) and eudaimonic (orientation towards personal development and sense in life) (Huta & Ryan, 2010; Peterson et al., 2005; Ryan & Deci, 2001). Hedonic aspects of well-being are related to short-term needs of adolescents, while eudaimonic aspects are related to long-term goals. Hedonic motives refer to our recognizing what currently makes us feel good, while eudaimonic intentions refer to what is right or what needs to be done (Huta, 2015). The results of the research suggest that optimal functioning requires a balance between these aspects. It can be said that the theory about the mutual complementarity of these two aspects of well-being that make up total happiness (Huta & Ryan, 2010; Peterson et al., 2005) has been shaken in recent years (Gentzler et al., 2021). Even though hedonic and eudaimonic motives have a positive mutual correlation, the authors consider that their previously perceived complementary relationship is overemphasised, suggesting that they should rather be considered independent concepts (Gentzler et al., 2021; Mise & Busseri, 2000). Research results indicate that hedonic motives are associated with both positive (less depression and better social skills) and negative outcomes (less empathy and self-control), while eudaimonic motives are associated only with positive outcomes (e.g. greater satisfaction, empathy, better peer relationships) (Gentzler et al., 2021). Eudaimonia is recognised as the most lasting path to happiness (Schueller & Seligman, 2010). However, only a few research works have focused on the connection between students' subjective well-being and eudaimonic aspects in the educational context (Chen & Zeng, 2022).

In accordance with the eudaimonic orientation of well-being, people have a need to make their lives meaningful and to keep them under control, time being an important tool helping them in this regard (Eryılmaz, 2011). Current studies on time focus mostly on the future time frame. Orientation towards the future can be either positive or negative. Positive orientation towards the future has been examined by means of various constructs, such as positive future expectations, optimism, hope, etc. One group of authors uses the mentioned terms synonymously (Zou et al., 2022), while another group highlight the differences between them (Snyder et al., 1991). From the perspective of the objectives of this paper, the differences in the conceptualisation of the aforementioned terms are not particularly significant, and 'positive future expectations' will be used in this paper as a dominant coin to denote a positive orientation towards the future, even if the authors used the terms 'optimism' and/or 'hope' in their original papers.

Theoretical Foundations of the Research

Life satisfaction has been recognised as an important aspect of the positive development of young people, and therefore, it deserves significant attention in scientific

discourse. It is defined as an overall positive evaluation of one's life (Caprara et al., 2010), and is recognised as a cognitive component of subjective well-being that plays an important role in positive development as an indicator, predictor, mediator/moderator and outcome (Park, 2004). The multidimensionality of the concept of life satisfaction has been supported both theoretically and empirically (Cecen, 2021). In reference to this, life satisfaction is also conceptualised as a cognitive evaluation resulting from the process of comparison with internally formed criteria about the positivity of an individual's life as a whole, or in different domains, such as work, school, family, self, friends, social life, physical appearance and environment (Cecen, 2021). Certain authors (Alfonso et al., 1996) measure life satisfaction using several domains, such as satisfaction with one's physical appearance, family, work, relationships, sexual life, school, social life, and self, while others (Gilman & Huebner, 2003; Huebner, 1994) apply five domains: school, friends, family, neighbourhood, and self. Studies of life satisfaction are governed by a perspective emphasising healthy and positive aspects of development in different phases of the life cycle (Coelho & Dell'Aglio, 2019), as a result of which literature includes a large number of studies on the effect of life satisfaction on the positive development and well-being of an individual. While low life satisfaction is associated with psychological, interpersonal, and behavioural problems, high life satisfaction is associated with good adaptation and optimal mental health in young people (Park, 2004).

Future expectations are cognitive maps which include individuals' priorities, ideas, and concerns regarding the future (Şimşek, 2012). As opposed to adults, adolescents question their own future and the future of society more often (Valle et al., 2006). Future expectations are considered to be one of the most important concepts in adolescence (Şimşek, 2012), and they are often the focus of studies because of their influence on positive affect (Sheldon & Lyubomirsky, 2006), important long-term plans for the future, including higher education, work opportunities, social and emotional adjustment at school, and assessment of personal competence (Boman et al., 2009; Seginer, 2000, as cited in Dutra-Thomé et al., 2015). They can be positive or negative. Positive future expectancies are conceptualised as the degree to which an individual anticipates achieving specific positive results or skills in the future (Wyman et al., 1993). Positive future expectations can facilitate optimal development and successful transition to adulthood, while negative future expectations are associated with less favourable outcomes (Stoddard & Pierce, 2015). In addition to this, the results support the idea that positive future expectations serve as psychological strength in adolescence, that is, adolescents who have reported more positive future expectations seem to be less at risk of experiencing an increase in internalised behaviour problems and a decrease in life satisfaction when faced with negative life events (Valle et al., 2006). Although it has been recognised that the development of personal future expectations is closely related to the dynamics of one's relationships with significant others, school is often overlooked as a context of significance (Iovu et al., 2018).

Empirical findings so far testify to the association between life satisfaction and positive future expectations (Extremera et al., 2007; Pavićević, 2020; Suldo et al., 2009). However, there is a lack of more detailed research of the role of satisfaction with different aspects of life in positive future expectations in students.

Research Methodology

Objective

The aim of this paper is to analyse the significance of different domains of life satisfaction among Belgrade high school students, in respect of their positive future expectations, with a special emphasis on examining the role of school satisfaction. More precisely, we shall try to answer to what extent the students' perception of life satisfaction is related to their positive future expectations; which domain of students' life satisfaction is associated most strongly with their positive future expectations; and whether students' school satisfaction is a significant moderator of that correlation. We have decided to examine the specific role of school satisfaction, considering that school is one of the most important factors affecting the positive perception of the future among students (Beltekin & Kuyulu, 2020), however, also taking into account the importance of the sphere of education for students' overall development, as well as the possibility of stimulating the development of positive future expectations among students by applying various interventions.

Procedure and Sample

The research was performed in the second semester of the academic 2021/22, using a survey questionnaire based on close-ended questions. The research sample consisted of 215 Belgrade high school students (65.1% were girls), aged between 14 and 18 years ($M = 16.41; SD = 1.01$).

Instruments

In assessing life satisfaction, we used *The Multidimensional Students' Life Satisfaction Scale* (Huebner, 1994). This instrument consists of 40 items altogether that respondents had to reply to by selecting the appropriate answers on a six-point Likert-type scale (from 1 – Strongly Disagree to 6 - Strongly Agree). The scale measures students' well-being in five domains: family, friends, school, neighbourhood, and self. In our research, measuring the life satisfaction scale involved 39 items (the item 'I feel bad at school' was dropped), and its reliability was $a = .90$. Statements in the Family domain refer to satisfaction with family relationships (for instance, 'I like spending time at home with my family'). This domain was measured by means of a seven-item scale, the reliability of which was high ($a = .91$). The Friends domain was assessed by means of a nine-item scale (e.g. 'I have a lot of fun when I'm with my friends'), and Krombach's alpha for this scale was $a = .82$. The School domain implies satisfaction with school life (e.g. 'I look forward to going to school'). Satisfaction with school in this study was assessed using six items, with subscale reliability equalling $a = .85$. Questions in the Neighbourhood domain include the perception of the attitude towards the environment/neighbourhood (e.g. 'There are a lot of amusing things in the neighbourhood I live in'). Satisfaction with the neighbourhood

was measured by means of eight items and the reliability of the scale was a = .83. The Self-satisfaction domain refers to an individual's personal opinion of him/herself or his/her perception of what other people think of him/her (e.g. 'The majority of people like me'). In this study, self-satisfaction was measured by applying a composite scale based on six items, the reliability of the scale being a = .84.

Students' positive future expectations were measured using the Positive Future Expectation Scale (Imamoğlu, 2001). The instrument comprises five items that respondents have to evaluate on a five-point Likert-type scale (e.g. 'I am optimistic about my future', 'I believe that sooner or later I shall accomplish my goals', 'Despite the obstacles, I am optimistic about my future'). In this research, positive future expectations were measured by means of four items, and the reliability of the scale was a = .86 (the item 'I am a bit pessimistic about my future' was excluded).

Data Processing

The data were processed by applying the methods of descriptive and inferential statistics. The Pearson correlation coefficient was used in examining the correlation between life satisfaction and positive future expectations. In examining the moderating impact of school satisfaction, a simple moderation design was used, where self-satisfaction, as the strongest correlate of positive future expectations, was assigned as an independent variable, satisfaction with school as a moderator, and positive future expectations as a dependent variable (Graph 1). *SPSS* software and Hayes' *Process macro* (Hayes, 2017) were used for statistical analysis.

Graph 1
Simple moderation design
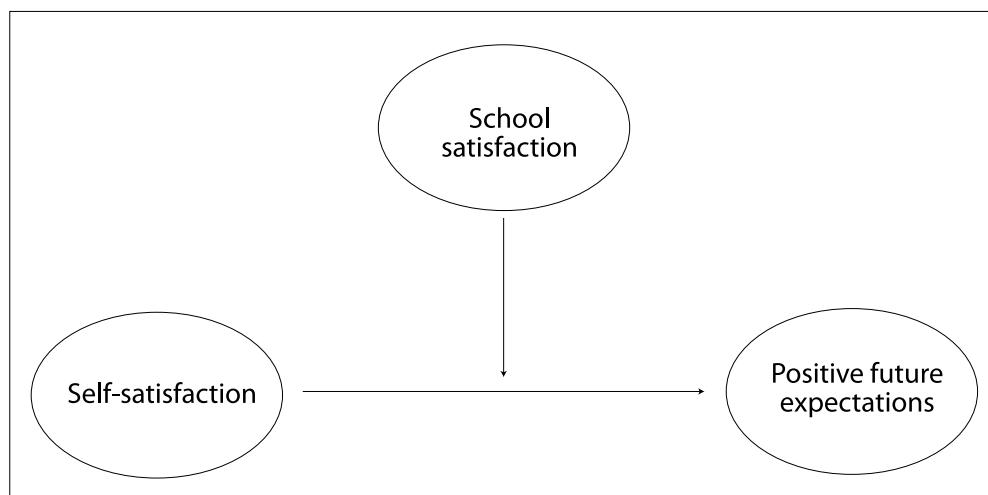
Research Results

Table 1 shows the mean values on the scales for assessing life satisfaction and positive future expectations among students.

On the basis of the presented results, it is evident that the students from the sample are satisfied with various aspects of life and life in general, and that they have very positive future expectations (Table 1). The highest scores were obtained for satisfaction with friends, and the lowest for satisfaction with school.

Table 1

Satisfaction with different aspects of life and positive future expectations among the students

	Min	*Max*	*M*	*SD*
Family satisfaction	1.29	6	4.69	1.14
Friendship satisfaction	2.22	6	5.22	.71
School satisfaction	1	6	3.21	1.14
Neighbourhood satisfaction	1	6	4.27	1.12
Self-satisfaction	1	6	4.74	.97
General life satisfaction	1.38	5.79	4.45	.64
Positive future expectations	1	5	4.2	.8

The results of the correlation analysis indicate that satisfaction with different life aspects and satisfaction with life in general have significant positive relationships with positive future expectations (Table 2). Positive future expectations have the strongest correlation with self-satisfaction, while the weakest one has been identified in relation to school satisfaction.

Table 2

Correlation between satisfaction with different aspects of life and positive future expectations among students

	FS	FRS	SS	NS	SLS	GLS
PFE	.35**	.16*	.15*	.23**	.61**	.41**

Note: FS – family satisfaction; FRS – friendship satisfaction; SS – school satisfaction; NS – neighbourhood satisfaction; SLS – self-satisfaction; GLS – general life satisfaction; PFE – positive future expectations.
   ** significant at the level of < 0.01
   * significant at the level of < 0.05

In order to research the significance of school satisfaction in greater detail, we analysed whether satisfaction with school experience, despite its weak association with positive future expectations, can impact the strongest relationship identified, i.e., the relationship between self-satisfaction and positive future expectations. In researching this we used the hierarchical multiple regression analysis. In the first step, two variables were included in the model: self-satisfaction and school satisfaction. These variables proved to account for more than 37% of positive future expectations among students (R^2 = .376, F(2, 202) = 60,839, p < .01). In the next step, a variable was added to the regression model, representing the interaction between self-satisfaction and school satisfaction, which contributed to an increase in the overall explained variance ($\Delta R2$ = .016, ΔF(1, 201) = 5.439, p < .05, b = - 1.36, t(201) = -2.332, p < .01), which prompts us to examine in greater detail the way in which school satisfaction moderates the relationship between self-satisfaction and positive future expectations. Although self-satisfaction has a significantly positive effect on positive future expectations at each level of school satisfaction, it is evident that at higher levels of school satisfaction, self-satisfaction has a weaker effect on positive future expectations among students (Table 3).

Table 3
The influence of self-satisfaction on optimism at different levels of school satisfaction

School satisfaction	Effect	Se	T	P	LLCI	ULCI
Low	.7	.069	10.194	<.01	.565	.836
Medium	.565	.059	9.554	<.01	.449	.682
High	.43	.095	4.542	<.01	.244	.617

The interaction diagram shows the way in which school satisfaction moderates the relationship between self-satisfaction and positive future expectations (Graph 2). Furthermore, it shows that students with high self-satisfaction, have a high level of positive future expectations regardless of their school satisfaction (their positive future expectations are even slightly higher in the context of low school satisfaction), whereas in students with low self-satisfaction, school satisfaction is crucial for at least a partial rise in their positive future expectations.

Graph 2

Diagram representing the interaction of positive future expectations and school satisfaction
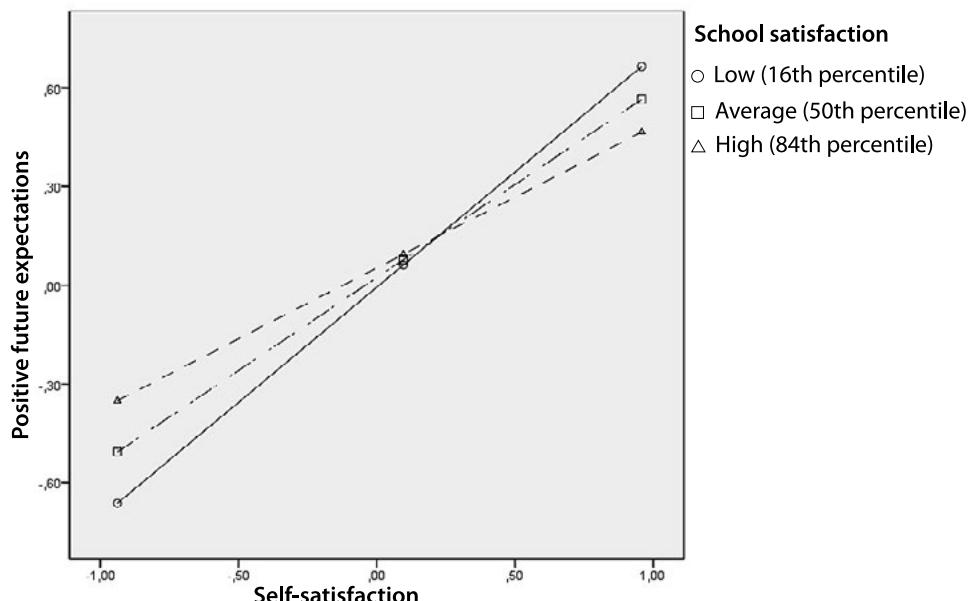
Discussion

The research was conducted with the aim of answering whether and to what extent the students' perception of their satisfaction with life is related to their positive future expectations, which domain of students' life satisfaction has the strongest correlation with their positive future expectations, and whether students' school satisfaction is a significant moderator of that correlation.

The research findings corroborate previous research results pointing to a relatively high level of life satisfaction in general (Huebner et al., 2000) and to an optimum level of satisfaction with different life aspects (family, friends, self, school, and the living environment) among highs school students (Huebner et al., 2005). Adolescents who are very satisfied with their lives, exhibit more positive functioning in the domains of intrapersonal, interpersonal and school functioning (Gilman & Huebner, 2003). In general, as the level of satisfaction in individuals rises, they find it easier to move on in life with more positive emotions and interactions in the environment (Thoilliez, 2011). Students express a very high degree of satisfaction in reference to friendship relations, while being less satisfied with their experiences at school. The expressed satisfaction with friendship relations has been expected, considering that the adolescent period is characterised by a shift in the focus from relationships with parents and one's primary family to relationships in the

peer group, which provides them with the opportunity to explore their own autonomy and independence in thinking and acting (Leung et al., 2004). In addition to this, the findings that school experiences provide least satisfaction, are consistent with results in earlier research (Huebner et al., 2000). Likewise, in a national-level research ($N = 1,121$) (Popadić et al., 2019), 51% of high school students stated that their daily life at school was difficult and stressful to a certain extent, while it was easy and not particularly stressful for 32% of students. Considering that school satisfaction is considered an indicator of positive school adjustment (Baker et al., 2003), and an indicator of well-being in the school environment (Baker & Maupin, 2009), such findings may be worrying. The lowest degree of school satisfaction may be due to cultural reasons, considering that previous research has shown that students in collectivistically oriented societies are more satisfied with school than in individualistic ones (Park & Huebner, 2005). The research in Serbia shows that some of the collectivist value orientations among high school students, such as patriarchy or nationalism, are on the decline, being lower than in the general population (Radoman, 2019).

Furthermore, the results obtained regarding positive future expectations expressed by students correspond to the findings in the aforementioned national-level research (Popadić et al., 2019), suggesting that young people are generally optimistic about their future irrespective of the institutions and the society, 78% of them being convinced that things will be better. The significance of positive future expectations is reflected in the fact that many health promotion and risk prevention strategies are focused exactly on the beliefs of the young about the future and their ability to plan for it (Johnson et al., 2014). An overview of the research done so far on the importance of positive future expectations points, on the one hand, to a positive correlation with perceived personal competence, self-esteem, focus on success and problem solving, perception of purpose, school and social competence, problem-solving abilities, academic achievement, academic satisfaction and, on the other hand, to a negative association with depression symptoms, internalised and externalised problems, indicators of psychological stress and maladjustment to school (Lopez et al., 2009). Building one's positive future expectations is closely related to high self-esteem and the use of effective mechanisms for coping with stress (Karaca et al., 2016). Moreover, positive future expectations should serve as a 'buffer zone' (i.e. a moderator) when adolescents are faced with stressful life events (Valle et al., 2006).

Further analysis of the results obtained revealed that satisfaction with different aspects of life and life in general also boosts students' positive future expectations. Such findings correspond to those in earlier research (Extremera et al., 2007; Koca, 2020; Suldo et al., 2009). For instance, the results of a correlation study conducted on a sample of 367 Portuguese high school students indicate that positive future expectations have a positive correlation with one's perception of personal competence and self-esteem, as well as with global satisfaction with life, academic satisfaction, and mental health (Chang, 1998, as cited in Lopez et al., 2009; Marques et al., 2007, as cited in Lopez et al., 2009). Adolescents who reported positive future expectations, also reported a

higher level of global life satisfaction one year later, even after a reassessment of the initial level of life satisfaction (Valle et al., 2006). This research also shows that positive future expectations have the strongest correlation with self-esteem. Such findings are not surprising given the fact that certain authors identify self-satisfaction as a prerequisite for an individual's well-being (Ryff & Singer, 2013) and positive future expectations (Eryılmaz, 2011). Likewise, earlier empirical findings (Pinquart et al., 2004) provide evidence that belief in one's self-efficiency is positively associated with positive future expectations. It is interesting to note that, in this research, positive future expectations have the weakest correlation with school satisfaction. In one aspect, the weak correlation between positive future expectations and school satisfaction among high school students can be explained by the views and the visions that young people have in the Serbian society, who are optimistic about their future, however, expressing less satisfaction with the functioning of the institutions and the system (also evident from the data that 35% of high school students have a strong, or a very strong desire to emigrate from Serbia) (Popadić et al., 2019). Also, observations made by authors who studied adolescents' life satisfaction and relevant outcomes in ecological development systems, point to the fact that, even though the context (school, in this case) is very important for young people's satisfaction and development, a much more direct relationship is established with the family and peers (Iovu et al., 2018). Finally, we cannot disregard the context in which the data were collected (the period of re-opening the schools after distance learning) which might have caused a change in the students' perception of the school. Research regarding the teachers' perception after the re-opening of the schools provides answers highlighting the need for re-establishing relations with students, parents, and colleagues (Kim et al., 2021). After the schools were re-opened, local school teachers noticed that students showed weaker commitment to school, as well as numerous emotional problems in comparison to the period before the pandemic (Popović-Ćitić et al., 2021).

Finally, this research shows that, despite the lower correlation coefficient with positive future expectations, school satisfaction has a moderating role in the relationship between self-satisfaction and positive future expectations. In other words, school satisfaction can reduce the negative impact of students' low self-satisfaction on their positive future expectations. Such findings reaffirm the significant effect of school experiences on students' emotional and social development (Mok, 2006, as cited in Suldo et al., 2008). Adolescents' future expectations are prevalently related to their professional orientation (Yavuzer et al., 2005, as cited in Tan & Ergün, 2021). Since one's future profession depends mainly on education, perception of school satisfaction has a clear role in creating future expectations, particularly where individuals are dissatisfied with themselves. Also, available studies associating positive future expectations among the young with numerous aspects of school climate, point to a series of significant factors. For instance, a sample of 58 high schools in Maryland, has shown that adolescents who experience the school environment as emotionally supportive, and as having clear behaviour rules, as well as encouraging inclusion of parents, also have more positive

future expectations (Lindstrom et al., 2016). Furthermore, the hypothesis about the school climate in general, having stronger effects on positive future expectations among at-risk student population, has been corroborated in part (Lindstrom et al., 2016). Such and similar data undoubtedly imply the significance of the role of school in developing positive future expectations, which are considered one of the most significant constructs in the period of adolescence.

Conclusion

On the basis of the results of the research performed, it can be concluded that satisfaction with different life aspects and satisfaction with life in general are significant correlates of positive future expectations, the latter having the strongest correlation with self-satisfaction, and the weakest with satisfaction with school experiences. In the context of enriching the current body of knowledge of this topic, the findings that school satisfaction has the role of a moderator of the relationship between self-satisfaction (as the strongest correlate) and positive future expectations in high school students, are of particular significance.

In other words, the findings reached in this research point to the conclusion that the activities planned in the context of developing school satisfaction, students' emotional engagement, or the sense of belonging to the school, can mitigate the negative effect of self-esteem or low self-assessment, and prompt positive future expectations. For this reason, school satisfaction has been identified as a conducive area for applying different interventions that can stimulate the creation of positive future expectations.

On the basis of the findings that social climate in the classroom has the strongest effect on school satisfaction (Baker, 1998), as well as that educational practices oriented towards developing students' relationship with teachers and peers, creating a positive social environment, and developing self-regulation and a sense of autonomy, contribute to increasing school satisfaction, it can be inferred that these are exactly the educational aspects by way of which an impact can be made on the development of positive future expectations and enjoying the benefits they bring along.

In view of the limitations of the research (for instance, the small size of the relevant sample, the impossibility of generalisation of the results reached, the acquisition of data based exclusively on students' self-appraisal, etc.), it can serve as the starting point for researchers in the context of their further examinations of the factors that directly or indirectly encourage positive future expectations in high school students. In this sense, a study should be conducted into the significance of different characteristics of teaching practices and the school environment (such as the teaching methods applied, students' autonomy in the learning process, school climate, and the like), which were not in the focus of the present research. Apart from verifying our findings on a representative sample or examining other potential factors that may encourage positive expectations, it would be useful to examine this field also by a different methodology, i.e., a methodology that would enable the identification of the meanings attributed to the concepts analysed,

by the protagonists, themselves (both students and teachers). Despite the fact that the aforementioned benefits of students' positive future expectations merit the attention of researchers, it seems that the mechanisms by which this significant eudaimonic engagement predictor can be developed, have yet to be examined.

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The Kindergarten as a Space of Heterotopia

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Abstract   *The space of the kindergarten is an integral part of the pre-school education programme, in view of the fact that the manner in which the space is structured and used, also reflects the conceptional fundaments of the programme. In this paper, we have strived to explore the relations of power that shape the physical environment of the kindergarten, being also visible in the structure of the kindergarten and the way its communal spaces (halls and corridors) are used. In our research, we have proceeded from Foucault's concept of heterotopia, in order to gain a profound understanding of the contradictions and the tension existing in the practice of the kindergarten, which are manifested in the space physically. The research was conducted in a public kindergarten in Belgrade, with the participation of a nurse-educator and an expert associate-pedagogue in the process of analysing the space, which was performed by a walk-along interview tour of the kindergarten. The experience of the participants in the research indicates that heterotopias within the kindergarten emerge from the attempt to transform the practice from the one based on hierarchical relations of power, to a practice based on the sharing of power, as well as highlighting that creating 'other places' in the kindergarten contributes to changing the way the educators, the children, and their families are involved in the utilisation of the communal spaces within the kindergarten.*

Keywords: kindergarten space, Michel Foucault, heterotopia, relations of power, walk-along interview.

Introduction

In defining the theoretical scope of the research, our point of departure was Foucault's concept of the relationship between knowledge and power (Foucault, 2012). Foucault did not explicitly polemicise about these issues in the context of early childhood education, however, applying his understanding of power, he endeavored to clarify how power and knowledge are constituted in society and how the society is shaped by them, the way they pervade each other from the institution to the individual through a complex network of relations, and how they are manifested, among the rest, in their physical, i.e.

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445

spatial form. Foucault explored the relations of power with regard to real, internal spaces, arguing that we do not live in a kind of vacuum, in a space where persons can be clearly distinguished from objects, but 'rather, within a set of relations that define positions which cannot be mutually subsumed' (Foucault, 2005, p. 31).

Before we delve into the research of the physical manifestations of the relations of power in the kindergarten, it is necessary to make a distinction between the concepts of *space* and *place*. In this paper, space is perceived as a physical environment, a 'structure of the world, three-dimensional environment comprised of objects and events taking a relative position and direction' (Harrison & Dourish, 1996, p. 2). A place represents a 'space which is valued' (Harrison & Dourish, 1996, p. 2), a semantic space 'shaped by human activity, relations, emotions, events, and memories relating to it' (Nairn & Kraftl, 2016, p. 5) pervaded by 'fluidity and embodied power relations' (Jobb, 2019, p. 214).

In exploring the organisation of space as a physical environment within the kindergarten, it is possible to identify places within it 'that have the unusual feature of abolishing, disempowering, or reversing the set of relationships shaped by themselves' (Foucault, 2005, p. 31), which are mirrored in them. He divides these places into two types: *utopias* and *heterotopias*.

The concept of 'utopia' originates from the Greek words *eu* meaning good, and *topos* meaning 'place', as well as from the words *ou* and *topos* meaning 'non-place, i.e. non-existent place' (Mihajlović, 2016, p. 21). Utopias are not real places, 'they are the reflection of a society which has attained perfection, or, nonetheless, the reverse of the society, and therefore, utopias are spaces which are essentially unreal' (Foucault, 2005, p. 31).

Heterotopias are real, material places, the outlines of which can be discerned in any institution of the society, and they are a specific opposite of utopias. The word 'heterotopia' is of Greek origin, and it includes the word *heteros*, meaning 'other', 'different', and the word *topos* meaning 'place', the two coined together denoting 'other place, or a place of otherness' (Wood, 2020, p. 167). Heterotopia, therefore, represents other places which comprise what we describe as physical space, as well as representing the social and cultural space contained in the physical space, and at the same time shaping the physical space. Heterotopia is, concurrently, both real, in the sense of a physical space that is to be explored, and absolutely unreal, because, even though it reflects the society within which it exists, it functions according to its own rules defining (among the rest) who can enter the space and in which manner, what is (un)acceptable in that space, as well as what practices can be developed within it. This means that heterotopias are constituted by a network of relations of power, both within the space, and within the relationships between the space and the society where the heterotopia is situated (Ulla, 2017). From the perspective of heterotopias, space acquires a decisive role in exploring how the society functions, because it has the capacity of 'integrating all the possible contents of a certain culture and presenting the relations of power in their condensed form' (Prodanović i Krstić, 2012, p. 426).

Foucault, himself, stressed that there may be a 'specific mixed experience' in relation to utopias and heterotopias, which he described using the 'mirror metaphor' (Foucault, 2005, p. 32). According to him, a mirror is a type of utopia, because what we can see in it, is our own reflection in an unreal space, one that does not exist. Creating a reflection as

something immaterial is, 'analogous to utopia, while the materiality of the mirror itself, points to the heterotopia as being a form of materialised utopia' (Mihajlović, 2016, p. 48). Thus, heterotopias are places outsides any other place, 'other places' (Foucault, 2005, p. 32) which can, nevertheless, be localised.

Heterotopias are 'counter-spaces created by adults' – real places situated outside any other space, predestined to erase, neutralise, compensate for, or purify the spaces they are opposed to' (Boyer, 2008, p. 53). In a radio programme in 1966, apart from discussing utopias and heterotopias, Foucault also referred to '*localised utopias* which are close and well-known to children' (Boyer, 2008. p. 53). Localised utopias 'are at the far end of the garden, on the attic, or in the large parents' bed, where the child can discover an ocean swimming inbetween the sheets, or moreover, the bed can become a forest where the child hides waiting for its parents to return' (Boyer, 2008, p. 53). We can conclude that localised utopias emerge in children's play where, even though the 'real physical and social world does not vanish, its presence is expressed in a different form' (Krnjaja, 2010, p. 266), by creating 'imaginary spaces as a parallel reality that can become everyday reality over time' (Krnjaja, 2010, p. 266).

The space of the kindergarten represents a visible statement about the values promoted by the educators (Otto, 2005; Tarr, 2001; 2004), and everything within it, as well as the way in which it is structured, reflects the theoretical-value framework underlying the development of the training-educational practice. In our research, we have addressed the space of the kindergarten in accordance with the conceptual fundaments of the Preschool Curriculum Framework *The Years of Ascent* (The Curriculum Framework, 2018), in the context of its 'physical, social, and symbolical meaning' (Pavlović Beneselović i sar., 2022, p. 10). The kindergarten has been viewed as a space of a 'democratic practice of the community, which takes into account the community, the family and the children' (The Curriculum Framework, 2018, p. 10). Such a practice is neither repressive, nor based on a hierarchical distribution of power, but rather, 'responsive, based on the sharing of power' (The Curriculum Framework, 2018, p. 10). Hence, the physical manifestations of the relations of power shaping the practice in the kindergarten can be identified in the physical environment of the kindergarten. Exploring the kindergarten space as a heterotopia provides an opportunity for deconstructing the interaction that the children and the adults have *in* the spaces within the kindergarten and *with* such spaces (Jones et al., 2012, as cited in Shaw, 2017), as well as for understanding the relations of power prevailing in these spaces, and shaping them.

The Kindergarten as the 'Other Space'

In his paper *Of Other Spaces,* Foucault (2005) presents the principles based on which heterotopias can be identified and described. Each of the principles in the description of the concept of heterotopias, can be observed in the context of the physical environment of the kindergarten as an institutional form of pre-school education.

In the first principle it is said that no culture in the world is deprived of heterotopias, however, heterotopias take on different forms, and therefore, they do not have a universal

form. Foucault emphasises two general types of heterotopia: *crisis heterotopias* and *deviation heterotopias* (Foucault, 2005). Crisis heterotopias are reserved for persons in a state of crisis, i.e. a state different from the one considered normal in society, however, at present, the forms in which they existed in the past have been disappearing (Foucault gives the example of a college from the 19th century, or military training for boys), being substituted by heterotopias of deviation. These kinds of heterotopias are 'inhabited' by individuals whose behaviour deviates from the general average, or the prescribed norm. Kindergartens can be perceived as places on the dividing line between crisis and deviation heterotopias, considering that they are places where a distinction is made between public and family upbringing, most often for the first time, as well as because of the characteristics of the pre-school age group. Pre-school age stands out as unparalleled and unique, the only period in life 'offering so many open possibilities, when an individual devotes so much energy, tenaciousness, and enthusiasm in mastering and developing complex capacities that will determine his/her future abilities, personality, and the success with which the individual will function in his/her further life' (The Curriculum Framework, 2018, p. 3). In relation to the context of family upbringing, the kindergarten is a specific kind of 'social practice' (Foucault, 1998, as cited in Miškeljin, 2022, p. 28), which cannot be separated from the broader social context (Miškeljin, 2012). Nevertheless, in reference to family upbringing, the kindergarten is a 'place of otherness', because, irrespective of theoretical-value frameworks forming the basis for the development of its practice, it is indisputable that the kindergarten provides children with a different experience of life compared to the family surroundings.

The second principle implies the heterogeneity of heterotopias, themselves, i.e. the possibility for a society to be able to adopt new heterotopic structures in the course of history, and that 'any heterotopia has a clear and defined function within the society, while one same heterotopia, depending on the synchronicity of the culture where it is situated, can have different functions' (Foucault, 2005, p. 33). In accordance with this principle – nurturing, training and education of pre-school children have changed their forms and modes of manifestation throughout history. The very term *kindergarten* is inconsistent, as a result of which, 'this place has had different names in different cultures and different time periods. In our country, it was first called *zabavište* (play space), then *obdanište* - day-care institution, and finally *dečiji vrtić* (children's garden) based on the term 'kindergarten' which was introduced by the creator of the first kindergartens, Friedrich Froebel (Miškeljin, 2012, p. 17). Thus, the growing up of children throughout history has become a social issue, while pre-school education has been organised and regulated in a systemic manner, and hence, today, apart from the contribution that the family provides to the development and learning of the pre-school child, the kindergarten also has a major role for the children attending it.

The third principle refers to the capacity of heterotopias for incorporating several different places at one single, real place, which can even be incompatible (Foucault, 2005). Some authors have discussed this principle through the example of *juxtaposition* (Mihajlović, 2016; Shaw, 2017) – the existence of different places side by side, one alongside the other, or next to the other – a plurality of contents pointing to a multitude of contradictory characteristics of these different places. In contrast to the utopia, which represents

the unity of ideas, values, beliefs, and visions about the future, heterotopias incorporate real places where different thinking, ideas, and values are confronted. Juxtapositions in the kindergarten are to be found in the discontinuities in the availability of different places in the kindergarten for children and adults, in the split between play and learning, as well as in the relations between adults and children based on a hierarchical distribution of power, the inconsistency between the family context and that of the kindergarten, etc.

The fourth principle discusses the relationship between heterotopia and time. On the one hand, there are heterotopias of time accumulated in the infinity, such as muse-ums, while on the other, there are temporal heterotopias in the context of time, such as, for instance, festivities (Foucault, 2005). This principle points out that time in heterotopias does not run in the same manner like the generally accepted flux of time. In the kindergar-ten, adults and children share the same time, but the way they perceive it greatly differs (Ulla, 2017). In contemporary culture, adults more often have a linear experience of time, being guided by the clock as a time reference. For children, time runs cyclically, without any physical determinants in the form of clocks. Conversely, children interpret time by what they feel, see, hear, and experience (Malakpa, 2007) at a 'moment of time' (Goble, 2020, p. 181) embodied in the events that have a certain sense and meaning to them.

In the fifth principle, it is emphasised that heterotopias presuppose 'always a system of opening and closing that excludes them at the same time as making them penetrable' (Fou-cault, 2005, p. 35). Heterotopias, as highlighted by Foucault, feature a strange form of exclusion, because, even where everyone can enter a heterotopia, this is an illusion, because 'you believe that you have entered, however, the instant you enter, you are excluded' (Foucault, 2005, p. 35). Kindergartens also function according to the system of opening and closing, because not only do they have their working hours, but they also, most often, have clearly defined rules regarding who can enter the kindergarten and when, the method of separating and group-ing children within the framework of their age groups, as well as which spaces are available or non-available for children during their stay in it. Just like Foucault observed, that inclusion is only an illusion, this principle is being manifested in the kindergarten by the examples of inclusion of the families. They may enter the kindergarten, but only in the spaces designated as available for them (most often, children's dressing rooms, halls and corridors leading to the group where their children are staying) and only at a certain time during the day.

The sixth principle defining heterotopias refers to their function of creating an illu-sory space, an illusion, but of such a kind that it 'exposes the entire illusion of the real world' (Foucault, 2005, p. 35) or, moreover, creates a different real space which is perfectly or-derly and well arranged, that Foucault named *heterotopia of compensation*. Kindergartens can also represent heterotopias of illusion, as well as heterotopias of compensation. Het-erotopias of illusion have a tendency to filter external realities that may be messy and im-perfect in comparison to our visions of the kind of childhood, education and training, and kindergarten practice we desire to have. Kindergartens become heterotopias of compen-sation when they strive to perfect the space through the organisation of time and space, as well as through the professionalisation of the practice in such a manner that professionals in the kindergarten provide the children with the opportunity of having different experi-ences in relation to those of the children who do not go to the kindergarten (Shaw, 2017).

Methodological Framework

The question which was our point of departure in this research referred to gaining an insight into the relations of power that shape the physical environment of the kindergarten, on the basis of the principle of heterotopias that manifest themselves in the space. In order to answer the question, we have explored how the space mirrors the relations of power 'prevailing' in the kindergarten, searching for the meaning reflected by the space in its physical manifestations and in the written and unwritten rules regarding the possibilities of using the space.

The research has been conducted by a *walk-along interview* (Franklin Phipps & Gleason, 2019; Lynch & Mannion, 2016), as a research method that enables the researcher to 'observe spatial practices *in situ*' while walking with the participants in the research through the places they are jointly researching 'thus also having an access to the experiences and interpretations of the participants in the research' (Kusenbach, 2003, p. 463). The walk-along interview makes visible the complex network of relations of power in the space, enabling the researcher to 'correspond with the course of events in the space, collecting data in a participatory manner' (Lynch & Mannion, 2016, p. 335).

Within the framework of the walk-along interview, the researcher, passing through the spaces of the kindergarten with the participants, discussed with them their observations and experiences in the space. The interview was semi-structured designed to provide as little guidance to the participants as possible, so their accounts could preserve the authentic experiences and perceptions they gained in the course of restructuring the space in the kindergarten. The researcher asked additional questions to understand more profoundly the experiences the participants had in creating the 'other places' in the kindergarten, as well as those referring to the relations of power that could be identified in them.

The research was conducted in a public kindergarten situated on the outskirts of the City of Belgrade, in a building designed for nursery-age children (1 to 3 years of age), however, a facility also including two groups of kindergarten-age children (3 to 4 years of age). The research involved a nurse-educator (who was also the manager of the facility), and an expert associate-pedagogue. In the overview of the research results, the term 'practitioners' refers to the nurses-educators, educators, expert associates, and associates working in the kindergarten where the research was performed. We have used the term 'educators' in discussing educators and nurses-educators.

For the purposes of this research we focused on the communal spaces in the kindergarten (halls and corridors), with the aim of rethinking the relations of power they reflect, being aware of the fact that the analysis of the entire space of the kindergarten exceeds the scope of this paper. However, in interpreting the results of the research, there was a need, occasionally, for analysing certain practical situations in the broader context, or for making reference to the earlier practices in the kindergarten, which has been designated in the interpretation.

During the walk-along interview, we took photos of the individual places in the kindergarten which had been emphasised in the interview as important for re-examining the relations of power. Following the initial analysis, the participants in the research had

a series of additional exchanges of information (via a Viber group), sharing the photos depicting the appearance of the space before its transformation and the attempts to create 'other places', including other insights, comments, and interpretations regarding the initial analysis, that the researcher shared with the participants in the research.

In the analysis, we proceeded from *thinking with theory* (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012; 2013) feeling the need to consider the research data in relation to Foucault's construction of the relations of power and heterotopias, however, also to consider the presented understanding in relation to the data collected (Mills, 2017). The analysis was performed by a non-linear reading of the data (interview transcripts, photographs, video recordings, text messages) and by extracting questions, dilemmas and comments which were then presented to the participants in the research, in a conversation. After gaining new insights through an exchange between the researcher and the participants in the research, a new cross-referencing of data was performed, including extracting of 'sequences' from practice. In interpreting the data and during the discussion, three sequences from practice were singled out as being associated with certain principles of heterotopias.

Results and Discussions

Sequence 1: You believe that you have entered, however, the moment that you enter, you are excluded

At the very entrance to the kindergarten, there is a visible notification about the period of time when the kindergarten door is open, and when it is locked. In practice, this means that when the door is locked, a parent may enter the kindergarten only after being allowed to enter by someone from the staff (by unlocking the door). Thereby, children's family members are notified about the period of time when they are free to enter the kindergarten, and when they can do so with the approval of the staff.

The expert associate-pedagogue interprets the way she sees the function of the notification for the parents, as follows: *Parents can enter the kindergarten when it suits them, there is no time of day when one is not allowed to enter the kindergarten. However, they seem to refrain from entering the kindergarten during the period of time when it is locked. Even though they have been told that they may enter, I think that the notification, nevertheless, creates a certain barrier, and annuls the welcome.*

The existence of a barrier of this kind can be associated with the fifth principle of heterotopias, based on which they represent a system of opening and closing 'which excludes them at the same time as making them penetrable' (Foucault, 2005, p. 35). In view of the fact that there are working hours during which the kindergarten is penetrable, and those when it is isolated in relation to any of the participants in the training-educational practice, the defining of the time frame when access to the kindergarten is controlled by the employees, leads additionally to the exclusion of some of its members (families of the children attending the kindergarten).

The principle of heterotopias as being a system of opening, at the same time as closing, can also be associated with the long-established manner of organising educational

groups in kindergartens. After being enrolled in the kindergarten, the child becomes a part of the group of the kindergarten children of different age groups and adults working in that kindergarten. Although the kindergarten is available for all the children enrolled in it, this does not necessarily imply that all the spaces in the kindergarten are equally available for these children. Research shows that a spatial, an age-based and social segregation of children takes place in kindergartens (Pavlović Breneselović, 2015), because they spent the greatest part of the time in the kindergarten in their study rooms, being in only touch with the children and educators in their group.

In the kindergarten which was the subject of our research, practitioners initiated a change in the current manner of organising educational groups. While we were talking in the corridor, one dad, who had come to pick up his child, informed the nurse-educator in a perplexed tone that his child was not in its room. She replied that the children were in the adjacent room and that he was free to knock on the door there. She then explained to the researcher why they had organised themselves in such a way as to create 'open' groups, i.e. enabling the children from one group to use the spaces of the other groups and play with the children in the latter.

Nurse-educator: *You know, previously, we used to have, my children, my group, my educator, today I may have four of them [children], while you have seventeen… it is much easier like this, for both the children and us. However, the educator has to make this switch in his/her mindset, there have been problems, and not just a few. But, changes are not something everyone likes. However, we addressed them slowly, first the colleague who was ready, and then little by little, this required an entire strategy. And now, we are all in it.*

It can be observed that the changes in the organisation and 'opening' of other places for children did not result from a critical rethinking with the purpose of ensuring that the space should support the conceptual principles of 'The Preschool Curriculum Framework *The Years of Ascent*' (Curriculum Framework, 2018) but from real difficulties the educators were faced with in practice, primarily due to shortages of educational staff.

Nurse-educator: *I have to say, there are still educators who do not give up on that power, and insist on 'my children-my room'. There is a colleague who is still not at ease with this. However, if someday, she finds herself in a situation where she has eighteen children, and I have four, what shall we do then? That is when everyone realises that this is better for everyone. Primarily for the children. Because, imagine if children stayed only in this room the whole year round. No matter what kind of materials you have or whether you change them, they meet the same faces and the same room. Moreover, it happened that some children grew very close with each other like this. For instance A. and L. They have bonded so much, and they play together so nicely. We have managed to bring them together in these open groups enabling them to be together very often. And they were not in the same group.*

Changes of this kind have contributed to new and different interactions taking place among the different participants in the kindergarten practice, 'leading to a change in their mutual relations and strengthening of the sense of belonging and connection' (Krnjaja & Purešević, 2020, p. 228). The aforementioned changes have not taken place without any resistance though, but they have lead to the educators gaining new insights, and this has opened the possibility for building relations among children who did not have

an opportunity for such interaction with peers outside their group before. This example can also be discussed in the context of Foucault's understanding of power as being fluid, because every participant in the educational-training practice experiences and simultaneously exercises power (Jobb, 2019). In this case, the children exercising power and also having the opportunity to select the spaces where they want to play as well as the children they want to play with, have developed new relations with children from other groups, and this has prompted the educators to reconsider their long-established practice and change it in accordance with such insights.

Sequence 2: Linear and cyclic flow of time

The communal space which is the most frequented one, where everyone passes after entering the kindergarten, is the large corridor, housing the children's lockers with their clothes. Previously, this space was not inviting for the parents and the children to stay or play in it for long. Just the contrary, it previously served for storing redundant furniture and equipment (Photograph 1).

Photograph 1
A part of the main corridor in the kindergarten before the space was arranged

Photograph taken in 2022. Source: Research participants' files

The nurse-educator points out that this space underwent the greatest change in the last year. After considering the possible solution for this communal space to emit a welcome to the family, they first removed all the furniture and equipment, and placed a table and chairs there, including several books (Photograph 2).

Photograph 2
The space of the corridor after the removal of the furniture

Photograph taken in 2022. Source: Research participants' files

Nurse-educator: *When we removed the furniture, there was an empty space where we placed a table and a chair to start with. Then we wondered what we could create there, that would be inspiring for both the children and the parents. Owing to the support and the assistance of the parents, we obtained furniture that they manufactured for us, form wooden pallets. The furniture was manufactured by one mom and her husband, who then took part in arranging this segment of the space with us.*

The idea of the practitioners was to make it possible for family members to get informed in this space, about the new Programme Document (The Curriculum Framework, 2018) as well as additional leaflets, and to be able to read stories about the different programmes developed in the kindergarten over the previous year, including literature in the field of parenthood, or to read books with their children. In the interview, the nurse-educator and the expert associate-pedagogue shared their impression that parents still tended not to stay long in that space in the morning, that they just brought their children and hurried off to work, however, that the situation in the afternoon, when they came to pick up their children, had changed significantly since the space acquired a new form.

Nurse-educator: *When we redesigned the space, we had the situation where parents would come, and stay not only for ten minutes, but one father had to wait in the car for the mother to come back for almost an hour. He was so alarmed, that he entered the kindergarten and asked the mom: 'Well, where have you been all this time?' They had been sitting in the library reading books, and then, they moved over here, where they tried different costumes, and this took time. Notably, this was one of those 'tough' dads, as a result of which no approval had been given yet even for taking photographs, nothing had been signed at all. However, after this, everything was signed. Now, parents tend to stay here much longer.*

This example shows that the creation of other places in the kindergarten has prompted a change in the adults' perception of time. While the father measured time in

a linear fashion (by a clock), the mother, who was with her child, was in the 'event time' (Goble, 2020), which has a different flux. In the cyclic experience of time, time cannot be measured, and hence, one departs from the kindergarten not in accordance with the time the clock shows, but at the 'most appropriate moment' for that (Malakpa, 2007).

Through this experience of change in the communal space, we can observe a change in the relationship of the parents towards the kindergarten. The opportunity to see and experience their child play in the kindergarten, and to be themselves in the role of co-players with their child, contributed to their greater sense of belonging to the kindergarten community, and thereby to the strengthening of their relations with the educators.

Sequence 3: 'Bird observatory' – the heterotopic creation of a place

We have come to the stairway that leads to the upper floor of the kindergarten. The nurse-educator stops at the space beneath the staircase and starts describing how this space has changed its shape and purpose.

Nurse-educator: *We have Ćira and Jovanka, here, that is how the children have named them. Ćira and Jovanka are two rather large owls. Owls tend to fall down from their nests here. One day, as I was passing here, I saw an owl gazing at me [she points her hand at the window next to the staircase]. When the owl appeared in the yard, the children saw it from the dining room and started making comments. And then, we [educators] sat down and tried to figure out how to take advantage of this, because, hey, we had owls, and owls are not really a common thing. And this part [beneath the staircase] never served any purpose whatsoever, because it is low, and unsafe, because of the corners and the edges. But, wait a minute, this is something that we were scared of. The child is this tall [she points her hand], how could it be at risk of getting hurt by the edge?*

Photograph 3
The space beneath the staircase before it was arranged, and an illustration of the position of the educator in relation to the space while she spoke about its safety

Photograph taken in 2022. Source: Research participants file

The moment when the nurse-educator pointed her hand at the height of the staircase describing that the space was adequate for children (Photography 3) 'animated' the conversation more than can be realised from the text. Our non-verbal communications, the tone in which the conversation unfolded and the feeling of pride that overwhelmed the space while she spoke, showed that this example was very important to the nurse-educator, and that she considered it a turning point in the reassessment and raising of awareness of the role adults have in shaping the physical environment of the kindergarten, as well as an inspiration for introducing changes in this space (Photograph 4).

Nurse-educator: *And then, since the birds are mainly on that side, and the owls were exclusively in that part of the yard, we designed this spatial entity to serve the children for their hiding and sneaking, because it was often raining those days, and when we did not go out into the yard we watched the birds from the window. We made an observatory, they called it a 'bird observatory'. This is where they also like to hide, they go in here, for us, adults, it is a bit uncomfortable to slip in there, but they love it.*

Photograph 4
The space beneath the staircase as a 'Bird Observatory'

Note: The arrow points to the window from which the children watch birds in the yard of the kindergarten

By creating such 'other places' new relations emerge, positioning the children and the adults as equal 'inhabitants' of the kindergarten as a place of joint learning and participation. Relying on Foucault's concept of heterotopias, Adlerstein Grimberg and Bralic Echeverría (2021) created a new concept of *heterotopic creation of place,* as a description for such alternative ways of creating new places in the kindergarten, with the involvement and agency of the children and adults, which also leads to a change in the relations of power. In this specific case, the educators realised that children were interested in watching owls in the yard of the kindergarten, however, they also reassessed their prejudices and fears regarding the utilisation of certain spaces, such as the space beneath the staircase.

he children, however, had their own theories about how that place could be used, and apart from using it for the intended purpose, they also use it for hiding and seclusion. This example of a heterotopic creation of a place can open the possibility for encountering both a heterotopia and a localised utopia, which can lead further to the development of a new, 'co-authored space' (Krnjaja, 2012), emerging in the process of playing, where adults and children share power and thereby 'create spaces where their ideas become 'co-authored' (Krnjaja, 2012, p. 274).

Conclusion

Research into the kindergarten as a space of heterotopia has a significant potential for re-examining the relations of power prevailing at all the levels of the pre-school education and training system – from the level of relations between educational policies and pre-school institutions, to the level of relations between children and educators. In this research we have managed to explore only the outlines of heterotopic places in the kindergarten, pointing to some of the possible ways for their creation in pre-school education and training institutions. In the research we looked for the 'subtle channels' (Foucault, 2012) that power 'runs' through, spilling over within the kindergarten, bearing in mind that 'everyone is essentially the holder of a certain power, and conveying it in the given scope' (Foucault, 2012, p. 77).

The experiences shared by the participants centered around their re-examination of the function and characteristics of the physical environment, as well as around initiating a transformation of the communal spaces in the kindergarten, with the idea that such changes will contribute to the transformation of the existing patterns of power in the relations among the different participants in the educational-training practice in the kindergarten (primarily among the educators, the children, and the families). The research has shown that changes in the space of the kindergarten were not always preceded by a reconsideration and reassessment of the relations of power, however, once they were introduced, they almost always led to new insights by the practitioners. Such insights refer primarily to the new ways in which educators, children, and families can be involved in the utilisation of the space in the kindergarten, and therefore, also to a change in their relations. The difficulties in implementing certain changes, such as making it possible for children from different groups to play together, and 'opening' study rooms to children from other groups, have contributed to identifying more explicitly an imbalance in the relations of power. That process exposed the need of certain educators to have 'power' and to control the movement of the children they work with. Experiences of the practitioners in this kindergarten show that, when changes in the space were initiated, they looked for the main support in their colleagues ('Then we [educators and expert associate-pedagogue] tried to figure out what we could form there, which would be inspiring for both the children and the parents'; 'And then, we [educators] got together and discussed how to take advantage of this'). The focus on changing the communal spaces of the kindergarten contributed to the educators 'getting out of the isolation in their study rooms' (Pavlović Beneselović i sar., 2022, p. 84), and developing relations based on the sharing of power,

by sharing their ideas, dilemmas and questions, as well as jointly resolving problems and working jointly with other educators and the expert associate-pedagogue on changing the space. Initiating changes in the communal spaces of the kindergarten is a good starting point in the process of transforming the practice, because the educators find it easier to 'share' these spaces with others, i.e. they do not experience them as their own spaces, as they often tend to do in respect of the room of the educational group they work with (which is visible in the presented example of 'opening' of the study rooms).

The presented research points to the complexity of the process of changing the paradigm underlying the existing practice, because even where we focus only on the physical changes in the environment of the kindergarten, we can notice that they do not take place in a linear fashion, but rather, through the development of 'places in between – folds representing a spatial transformation through which one can perceive new spatial identities' (Kornberger & Clegg, 2003, p. 84). New relations of power emerge exactly in these 'folds', places on the margins of the usual practice, which challenge the usual relations, representing heterotopias by their characteristics.

This research provides new insights in the understanding of the role and significance of the physical environment in developing the practice in the kindergarten based on the sharing of power, as well as providing insights into the manner in which changes in the physical environment lead to changes in the relations manifested by the participants of the educational-training practice. This paper focuses on gaining a profound understanding of the relations of power through an analysis of communal spaces of a kindergarten, and hence, it is important to initiate new research involving other levels of educational-training practice, as well as the entire system of pre-school education. Thereby, a more profound understanding could be gained of the relations of power that shape the practice of pre-school education and practice in the broader social context.

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Revisiting Error Analysis: Exploring Errors in the Case of English for Specific Purposes[1]

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Abstract   *Although largely abandoned and criticized in Second Language Acquisition research, Error Analysis is still widely employed in the field of English Language Teaching. The aim of this paper is to reinvestigate the potentials and limitations of the Error Analysis approach half a century after its establishment. The analysis presented in this paper is placed in the specific context of English for Specific Purposes, aimed to analyze errors in engineering students' translations. Unlike the majority of Error Analyses, this study investigates not only grammatical but also vocabulary errors. The main focus is placed on the explanation of errors, i.e. determining the sources of learners' errors, followed by further analysis of the main causes of both interlingual and intralingual errors, including overgeneralization, ignorance of rule restrictions, overextension of analogy, etc. Based on the results and implications of the presented analysis, it is concluded that Error Analysis, despite its shortcomings and limitations, provides valuable insight into the strategies learners employ as well as the obstacles they encounter in the process of foreign language production, which can be used as a resource to improve or supplement the existing teaching methodologies and adapt them to the specific needs of students.*

Keywords: *error analysis, interlingual errors, intralingual errors, English for Specific Purposes, translation.*

Introduction

One of the conclusions of the second language acquisition research is that errors, being inevitable parts of the learning process, are a result of a normal pattern of development. It has been pointed out that errors should not be treated as signs of inhibition but as evidence of the learner's strategies of learning (Corder, 1967), and indications of

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one's attempt to impose regularity on the language they are learning (Gass & Selinker, 2008). Although Error Analysis (EA) was originally developed within the Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research almost half a century ago, it was soon abandoned in this field, but it has subsequently found wider practical application in the field of English Language Teaching (ELT) (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005; McDowell & Liardét, 2020). However, even in ELT research EA has been faced with different methodological problems, including difficulties in error determination, inability to address the problems of avoidance (i.e. students avoiding the use of forms they feel uncertain about), differentiation between mistakes and errors, as well as a lack of a taxonomy which would classify items uniquely under a certain category (Johnson & Johnson, 1998).

This paper deals with Error Analysis of students' translations in the context of English for Specific Purposes (ESP). Considering the importance of language skills in ESP, translation is often regarded as the fifth language skill alongside the other four basic skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing. Newmark (1991) argued that in the advanced or final stage of language teaching, translation is recognized as even the most important social skill, as it promotes communication and understanding between people. Newmark further stresses the importance of translation as "a valuable means of promoting understanding between individuals, groups, organizations and nations as well as a medium of cultural transmission and information and technology transfer" (Newmark, 1991, p. 64). The instrumentality of translation is especially evident in the ESP context, where translation is a means of obtaining information and knowledge from the studied scientific field (Đorović, 2020). As ESP courses at the tertiary level prepare students to use English in accordance with the specific demands of their future professions, these courses often include L1 to L2 translations. The aim of this study is to reinvestigate the potentials and limitations of Error Analysis in ESP teaching today. By categorizing and analyzing errors in students' translations we attempt to provide insight into the types of errors and their frequency as well as to identify the factors and circumstances influencing error occurrence. It is assumed that errors do reflect the strategies learners employ as well as the obstacles they encounter in the process of foreign language learning and that the implications of the analysis can be a valuable tool for teachers for creating ways for further instructions. It is, however, also necessary to bear in mind the shortcomings and limitations of such analysis.

Theoretical framework

Errors, Error Analysis and interlanguage

Learning is a process in which success comes as a result of making mistakes, as we use mistakes to obtain feedback from the environment and use this feedback to make more attempts that lead us to the desired goal (Brown, 2000). Stephan Pit Corder, one of the pioneers of Error Analysis, made a distinction between *mistakes* and *errors* in language production, explaining that mistakes are "random occurrences arising as the product of

chance circumstances, while errors refer to systematic occurrences made by the learner" (Corder, 1967, pp. 166–167).

Error Analysis (EA) is the process of determining the incidence, nature, causes and consequences of unsuccessful language produced by a learner (James, 1998). It is a set of procedures dealing mainly with errors in production, i.e. speech or writing (as the sources of comprehension errors are very difficult and often impossible to locate). EA was developed as an alternative to Contrastive Analysis (CA), which involved contrasting the learner's mother tongue and the target language and was based on the assumption that errors largely originate from the negative transfer from the mother tongue. In contrast to the behavioristic accounts of language learning found in CA, EA was founded on the nativist views of language learning, focusing on the mental processes and cognitive mechanisms at work when learning a language (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005). It also served as a foundation for the interlanguage theory, which is still very influential in linguistic studies, providing "a broad and productive framework for research across multiple theoretical orientations" (Tarone, 2018, p. 6).

The term *interlanguage* was coined by Selinker (1972), based on Corder's (1967) term *transitional competence*; other terms used in literature are *approximative system* (Nemser, 1971)*, idiosyncratic dialect* and *learner language*. According to Selinker (1972), interlanguage is a unique language system created by each learner in the process of learning a foreign language. In other words, interlanguage is "the mental grammar that a learner constructs at a specific stage in the learning process" (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005). Interlanguage is composed of elements from both L1 and L2, but at the same time the rules of this language system differ in certain ways from both L1 and L2. The term interlanguage is closely related to fossilization, which occurs when linguistic items (particularly erroneous ones) become permanent in a learner's interlanguage. It is proposed that by analyzing learners' interlanguage, we can learn about the language development of an individual or a group, as well as the whole process of foreign language acquisition. One of the research areas originally identified by Selinker (1972) within the interlanguage theory is the psycholinguistic process of learning strategies, which has become one of the central research questions in the field (Tarone, 2018), e.g. in Oxford (1990; 2017).

The procedure of Error Analysis

The most elaborate and most widely used procedure of EA was presented by Corder (1974; 1981), who provided methodology for the analysis consisting of the following five stages: collection of a sample of learner language, identification of errors, description of errors, explanation of errors and evaluation of errors. This section describes these stages, including a number of taxonomies developed over the years, as well as the methodological issues that need to be considered.

1. Collection of a sample of learner language. Depending on the aims and scope of EA, researchers opt for the size of a sample (massive, specific or incidental sample), collected either cross-sectionally or longitudinally (Ellis, 1994). A sample can be collected as natural (spontaneous) language or elicited data (which is more commonly used in

research studies). In the latter case, learner language can be elicited either clinically or experimentally (Corder, 1981). The experimental method is when a specially designed instrument is used to elicit data that contain the investigated linguistic features. At this stage of EA, it is crucial to understand that the nature and distribution of errors in the collected sample is affected by different factors including: (a) learner (e.g. proficiency level, learner's L1), (b) language (e.g. medium of language production, genre) and (c) production (e.g. planned or unplanned) (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005). For example, it was observed that the types of errors largely depend on the tasks used for eliciting the samples of languages, as translation tasks in general generate more transfer errors compared to tasks of free compositions (Ellis, 1994).

2. Identification of errors. For identifying errors made by classroom learners, the general practice is to select the standard dialect (e.g. British or American English) as a norm. The challenging part of this stage is accurate reconstruction of the learner's utterances/sentences, as well as the process of deciding whether to restrict analysis to *absolute errors* or to also include forms which would be considered as grammatically possible, i.e. *dispreferred forms* (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005). At this stage, we also encounter the issue of differentiating errors from mistakes (which can be determined by conducting longitudinal studies or interviews with learners), as well as identifying not only overt but also covert errors (which requires considering larger stretches of discourse).

3. Description of errors. This stage includes the development of categories for identifying errors and recording their frequencies (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005). Errors can be classified according to different criteria. For instance, EA can deal with different language skills, i.e. analyzing the level of proficiency in speaking, listening comprehension, writing and reading (Bussmann et al., 1996). The most commonly used taxonomy refers to determining the number and proportion of errors at different levels of linguistic description (e.g. phonetics/phonology, orthography, morphology, syntax, lexicon, phraseology, stylistics) or in specific grammatical categories (Ellis, 1994). Another approach used for describing errors is surface strategy, which classifies errors as, for example, omission, addition, misformation or misordering (e.g. Dulay et al., 1982). It is stressed that the categories finally established for EA should be data-driven (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005).

4. Explanation of errors. The aim of this stage of analysis is determining the sources of learners' errors. Unlike contrastive analysis, which focuses on the errors resulting from interference (i.e. negative transfer) from the mother tongue, EA examines errors arising from all possible sources. According to Richards (1971), errors arise from the following three sources: interference errors, intralingual errors and developmental errors. Stenson (1983) added the category of induced errors which result from the classroom situation, i.e. incorrect instruction of the language. Brown (2000) distinguished several sources of errors: interference from the mother tongue, influence of the target language, the sociolinguistic context of communication, psycholinguistic or cognitive strategies and different affective variables.

Although there is a vast array of factors that can affect successfulness of language production and occurrence of errors (Đuričić, 2014; Gass & Selinker, 2008), EA research studies today generally focus on linguistic factors, drawing a distinction between

intralingual and interlingual errors (Richards & Schmidt, 2002). Basing his study on learners with different language backgrounds, thus investigating the sources of errors not influenced by a particular mother tongue, Richards (1971) determined four causes of intralingual errors:

i) *overgeneralization:* when a learner creates a deviant structure based on their experience of other structures in the target language, e.g. *he can sings, we are hope, It is occurs, he come from*.

ii) *ignorance of rule restrictions:* failure to observe the restrictions of existing structures, i.e. applying rules to contexts where they do not apply, e.g. *I made him to do it* (analogously to *I forced him to do it*), *we discussed about it* (analogously to *we talked about it*).

iii) *incomplete application of rules:* occurrence of deviant structures by partially applying the rules required to produce acceptable utterances, such as in making question forms e.g. *How long it takes?*

iv) *false concepts hypothesized:* when an error derives from faulty comprehension of distinctions in the target language, such as using the form *was* as a marker of the past tense, e.g. *one day it was happened*, or confusion between *too, so* and *very*, between *come* and *go*, etc.

A very similar taxonomy of intralingual errors was provided by James (1998), which included: (i) false analogy, (ii) misanalysis (i.e. forming a wrong hypothesis), (iii) incomplete rule application, (iv) exploiting redundancy, (v) overlooking co-occurrence restrictions, (vi) hypercorrection or monitor overuse and (vii) overgeneralization or system-simplification.

On the other hand, taxonomies for interlingual errors are less commonly elaborated in the literature and are usually referred to as interference. However, Lott (1983) described three main causes of interlingual errors:

i) *overextension of analogy:* misuse of a vocabulary item because it is similar phonetically, orthographically, semantically or syntactically to another item in L1, e.g. Serb. *aktuelno*, Eng. *actually* instead of *topically*; Serb. *eventualno*, Eng. *eventually* instead of *possibly* (examples for Serbian taken from Hlebec, 1997).

ii) *transfer of structure:* grammatical errors committed when a learner follows the rules of L1 rather than the rules of L2, e.g. Serb. *On ima 8 godina*, Eng. **He has 8 years* instead of *He's 8 years old*.

iii) *ignorance of discrepancy between L1 and L2:* when a grammatical or lexical distinction does not exist in L1, e.g. relative pronoun *koji* in Serbian is used for both animate and inanimate antecedents, compared to *who* and *which* in English, or Serb. *posao*, Eng. *job* and *work*. It is necessary to point out that the original term used by Lott (1983) for this type of error is *interlingual/intralingual error*. However, since terms i*nterlingual* and *intralingual* are widely used in literature to describe the sources of errors due to mother tongue interference and influence of the target language, respectively, we renamed this term to *ignorance of discrepancy between L1 and L2* to avoid confusion.

It should be noted that the explanation of errors is a challenging and complex task for researchers as it is sometimes difficult to determine the source of errors (Richards & Schmidt, 2002), while certain errors can have more than one cause (Ellis, 1994). This is

considered as one of the main shortcomings of EA, as determining the exact source of errors sometimes tends to be based on researchers' subjective judgment and intuition.

The final stage of EA, evaluation of errors, aims to determine the effect of the errors on the person(s) addressed in terms of comprehension and affective response (commonly using the criteria of intelligibility, acceptability and irritation) (Ellis, 1994). However, owing to its complexity and dependence on a large number of factors, evaluation of errors is commonly omitted in EA studies. Instead of this final stage proposed by Corder (1974; 1981), a number of authors (Brown, 2000; Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005; Gass & Selinker, 2008) propose remediation, i.e. carrying out pedagogical intervention based on previously performed EA.

Previous research studies in the field of EA have been conducted for various languages and discourses, some more than half a century ago (Dulay & Burt, 1974; Dušková, 1969; Richards, 1971). Based on results of different studies, Ellis (1994) revealed certain tendencies, noting for example that transfer errors occur more commonly at the phonological and lexical levels of language than at the level of grammar, as well as that transfer errors are more common in adult learners than in younger learners.

Recently, several studies have been conducted with learners whose mother tongue is Serbian, including: Stefanović (2010), who found that students at an intermediate level of English proficiency make more interlingual than intralingual errors in oral presentations; Đurićič (2014), who pointed to the strong influence of the mother tongue on grammatical errors made by Serbian university students of Spanish (A2 level) in written production (essays); and Vučen (2016), who analyzed syntactic errors in a translation task of university students of science (Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry), revealing a strong interference of the mother tongue in the students' translations.

The focus of the majority of EA studies, however, has been on General English and grammatical errors. Considering the importance of technical terminology and translation in the context of ESP at the tertiary level, this paper attempts to analyze not only grammatical but also vocabulary errors of students learning English at engineering faculties.

Research Methodology

Data analysis in this study was based on the described procedure of EA provided by Corder (Corder, 1974; 1981).

The first stage was the collection of learner language, which was carried out during the spring semester of the 2019/20 academic year at the Faculty of Agriculture and the Faculty of Technology, University of Novi Sad, Serbia. There were 50 participants, who were students in their final years of studying (third or fourth year), having language competence level B2. The applied research instrument was a translation test (given in the Appendix of the paper), which included 10 Serbian sentences, translated and/or adapted from international scientific engineering journals (the list of the journals is provided in the Research Material Sources section). Thus the research corpus was ideally supposed to consist of a total of 500 sentences (in case all students fully completed the test). Since this

study included also the analysis of students' use of technical vocabulary, students were not allowed to use dictionaries. They had 45 minutes to complete the test.

For the second stage of EA – identification of errors, different dictionaries were consulted, including: *Oxford Learner's Dictionary* (Oxford University Press [OUP] n.d.), *Oxford Collocations Dictionary* (Oxford University Press [OUP] 2002), *Cambridge Dictionary* (Cambridge University Press [CUP] n.d.), *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online* (Pearson n.d.) for English, and *Rečnik srpskog jezika* (Nikolić, 2007) for Serbian.

The identified errors were classified as grammatical and vocabulary errors, which were then further grouped by types of errors (e.g. grammatical errors related to subject-verb agreement, choice of preposition, part of speech etc.). Their frequency was also determined, pointing to the most common types of errors.

The fourth stage of EA was explanation of errors, i.e. analyzing the sources of grammatical and vocabulary errors, and classifying them into intralingual and interlingual errors. These errors were further analyzed and explained according to Richards' (1971) classification of intralingual errors and Lott's (1983) classification of interlingual errors.

The main aims of this study were in accordance with the aims of EA proposed by Richards & Schmidt (2002): a) to identify the causes of errors, b) to identify strategies learners use in language learning, and c) to obtain information on common difficulties in language learning, as an aid to teaching and preparation of teaching materials.

Results and Analysis

The initial analysis of the translation test showed that, out of a total of 500 sentences the research corpus was supposed to comprise, translations for 40 sentences were not provided. However, in cases where only a single word or phrase was omitted in a sentence, it was treated as an error at one of the levels of analysis.

The results are presented in Table 1 for grammatical errors and Table 2 for vocabulary errors. In the tables, the errors are classified by the type of grammatical/vocabulary errors (column 1), accompanied by the number of occurrences with percentages (column 2), source of errors with percentages (column 3) and finally some examples from students' translation test (column 4). In the last column, words and phrases are marked with an asterisk to indicate ungrammatical or improper use of language, followed by possible correct translations in parenthesis, which were provided by the authors.

In both tables and further text, italics are used for Serbian phrases and English translations, while single quotation marks are used to indicate the meaning of specific words or translations.

Grammatical errors

Table 1

Classification and analysis of students' errors at the grammatical level

	Type of error	Number of occurrences (percentage)	Source of error (percentage)	Examples
1.	Choice of preposition	39 (29%)	Intralingual (17%)	*in / *under room temperature* (at) *information *of* (on)
			Interlingual (12%)	*on room temperature* (at) *unlike *to / *than* (-)
2.	Subject-verb agreement	22 (16%)	Intralingual (16%)	*there *is a few procedures* (there are) *experiment *have been performed* (experiment has been)
3.	Noun number	19 (14%)	Intralingual (14%)	*one of the most important *question-* (questions)
4.	Part of speech	17 (13%)	Intralingual (13%)	*safe people's health* (save people's) *to *analysis water* (to analyze water)
5.	Verb form	11 (8%)	Intralingual (6%)	*should *to collect* (should collect) *Serbia *get 84.87%* (Serbia got/ consumed 84.87%)
			Interlingual (2%)	*has conducted* (has been conducted) *has been in 2014* (was in 2014)
6.	Use of determiners / quantifiers	8 (6%)	Intralingual (6%)	*there are *few procedures* (a few) *there are *number of steps* (a number)
7.	Plural of nouns	7 (5%)	Intralingual (5%)	*health of *peoples* (people) *informations* (information)
8.	Possessive 's	6 (5%)	Intralingual (5%)	*people health* (people's health) *food *safety's objective* (food safety objective)
9.	Syntactic errors	3 (2%)	Interlingual (2%)	*It have a few procedures* (There are) *countries in rise* (developing countries) *countries in develop* (developing countries)
10.	Relative pronoun	2 (2%)	Interlingual (2%)	*lands *who are developing* (lands which) *food processing phases *who are related* (phases which/that)

According to Table 1, among grammatical errors there are both intralingual and interlingual errors. Intralingual ones, however, are much more common, accounting for 82% of all grammatical errors. In the following section, further analysis is performed to provide a detailed explanation of the causes of students' errors.

Grammatical intralingual errors

The identified intralingual errors, i.e. errors arising under the influence of the target language, belong to four different categories distinguished by Richards (1971):

i) overgeneralization –
 Type of error: 1. Choice of preposition.
 Since the preposition *of* is the most frequent preposition in English and it can be used to denote relations (e.g. *result of debate, issue of housing, a map of India*) (OUP n.d.), students commonly use *of* to express relations even though some other preposition is required: *information *of, data *of, procedure *of*.
 Type of error: 5. Verb form.
 Following the verb pattern that a number of common verbs are followed by *to*-infinitive (e.g. *want to, hope to, promise to, fail to*), students assume that modal verbs also fit this pattern: *should *to collect*. Also, knowing that the verb *suggest* is commonly followed by the gerund, students use the gerund even in impersonal structures, such as: *it is suggested *gathering data*. Another type of error in this group was omitting *–s* for the 3rd person singular, which occurred by following the rule that the bare infinitive is used in the majority of forms in the Present Simple Tense: *Serbia *get 83.87%*.

ii) ignorance of rule restrictions –
 Type of error: 7. Plural of nouns.
 By analogy, students add *–s* for the plural even for nouns with irregular plural forms (*health of *peoples, *dates*) and uncountable nouns (**informations, *foods samples*).
 Type of error: 8. Possessive 's.
 By analogy to animate nouns, students add possessive *'s* also to inanimate nouns (*food *safety's objective*).

iii) incomplete application of rules –
 Type of error: 2. Subject-verb agreement.
 Students opt for the appropriate tense or structure but in some instances they use incorrect forms of verbs failing to make the verb agree with the subject: *experiment *have been performed, food safety *have, concentration of salt in meat products *were / *are, There *is a few phases*.
 Type of error: 5. Verb form.
 Students recognize that the verb *suggest* can be followed by another verb or the gerund but they fail to use an appropriate verb pattern, for example using the bare infinitive instead of the gerund: *they suggest *collect*. Omitting the inflection *–ed* for

the past participle in passive constructions is another example of error in this group: *are *consider to be*.

iv) false concepts hypothesized –

Type of error: 4. Part of speech.

Errors arise due to students' inability to make a distinction between the forms of different parts of speech, especially in cases when the needed form is made by derivation, for example using adjectives instead of verbs (**safe people's health, *to low the risk*), nouns instead of verbs (**to analysis water*), verbs instead of nouns (**concentrate of salt, *in compare to*), adjectives instead of nouns (**differents in temperature, *moist content / *content of wet*).

As expected, some errors can be classified in more than one category of errors. For example, in the phrase *EU *supporting the measures* (the phrase being at the beginning of the sentence, where *supporting* should be a finite verb form), the misuse of the verb form can be placed in two categories: *iii) incomplete application of rules:* the verb form found in students' translations consists of only the present participle (*supporting*), omitting the verb *to be* as a required part of the present continuous form, and *iv) false concepts hypothesized:* students use the continuous tense (*EU [is] supporting*) rather than the present simple tense (*EU supports*) for expressing a repeated action.

Grammatical interlingual errors

Interlingual errors, i.e. errors resulting from interference from the mother tongue, are analyzed according to Lott's (1983) aforementioned classification. In this section, we referred to the original Serbian sentences from the translation test by indicating the sentence number from the test in square brackets [ ].

i) overextension of analogy –

Type of error: 1. Choice of preposition.

Errors occur because of analogy to Serbian use of prepositions, either when students use the wrong preposition (e.g. Serb. *na sobnoj temperaturi* [1], Eng. **on room temperature;* Serb. *ima za cilj* [2], Eng. *goal *for*) or when they insert a preposition where it is not needed (Serb. *u odnosu na* [5]; Eng. *unlike *to / *than*).

ii) transfer of structure –

Type of error: 9. Syntactic errors.

The Serbian phrase with a postmodifying prepositional phrase *zemlje u razvoju* [6] was translated by literally transferring this structure into English: Eng. *countries in *rise, countries in *develop*, instead of *developing countries*. Also, the Serbian phrase *Postoji nekoliko procedura* [4] was translated in English as *it *have a few procedures*,

following the Serbian structure *Ima / Nalazi se,* instead of using the existential construction typical for English (there is / there are).

iii) ignorance of discrepancy between L1 and L2 –

Type of error: 1. Choice of preposition.

Students translated the Serbian phrase *veće u odnosu na prethodno merenje* [5] as *higher *since previous measurement*, failing to make a distinction between the different uses of the Serbian preposition *od*, which can be used for comparison of adjectives (e.g. *bolji od, stariji od*), translated in English as *than* (e.g. *better than, older than*), and as a preposition of time (e.g. *od 1990. godine*), translated in English as *since* (e.g. *since 1990*).

Type of error: 5. Verb form.

In Serbian there is no tense which could correspond to the English Present Perfect Tense. The past tense in Serbian (e.g. *Rešio je jednačinu*) could be translated in English using either the Past Simple for completed actions in the past (e.g. *He solved the equation yesterday*) or the Present Perfect for actions connected to the present (e.g. *He has just solved the equation*). Accordingly, students often fail to make a clear distinction between the uses of these two English tenses. An example of error found in students' translations was: Serb. *Potrošnja energije... je iznosila 83,87% za 2014. godinu.* [10], Eng. *Energy consumption… *has been 83.87% in 2014.*

Type of error: 9. Relative pronoun.

In Serbian there is no distinction between relative pronouns referring to animate and inanimate nouns (*koji, koja koje*), unlike English which has separate forms *who* and *which*. In the translation test, students opted for *who* for inanimate objects: Serb. *zemlje u razvoju* [6], Eng. *lands *who are developing*; Serb. *faze u procesu proizvodnje hrane koje se smatraju povezanim* [7], Eng. *food processing phases *who are related.*

It is important to note that in certain cases there is a combination of two groups of errors. For example, in the example described above, when the Serbian phrase *zemlje u razvoju* [6] was translated in English as *countries in *develop,* in addition to the described interlingual error (transfer of structure) at the phrase level, there is also an intralingual error (false concepts hypothesized) at the level of the word form, as a verb is used instead of a noun.

Vocabulary errors

The vocabulary errors presented in Table 2 are divided into two groups: errors in word choice and word omission. Errors in the first group are further divided into intralingual and interlingual errors.

Table 2

Classification and analysis of students' errors at the vocabulary level

Type of error	Number of occurrences (percentage)	Source of error (percentage)	Examples
1. Word choice		Intralingual (80%)	food *examples / food *parts / *quantity of food / food *products / food *sources (food samples)
	123 (51%)		*spending energy / energy *expenditure / energy *disposal / *waste of energy / *gas *emission (energy consumption)
		Interlingual (20%)	*humidity content of food (moisture content of food)
			energetical *efficacy, energizer *effication (energy efficiency)
2. Word omission	119 (49%)	-	*food - (food contamination) *water - (water resources)

The results presented in Table 2 show that there is nearly the same number of errors in word choice and word omission. The majority of errors in both groups are technical words, including words such as: *contamination, content, conducted, management, pollution, resources, sample.*

In the group of errors in word choice there are both intralingual and interlingual errors. On the other hand, the source of error cannot be determined for word omission errors, so they will not be further analyzed. Therefore, the following analysis will focus only on the first type of vocabulary error (word choice).

Vocabulary intralingual errors

Intralingual errors are also more common among vocabulary errors. The identified intralingual errors are analyzed according to the classification provided by Richards (1971):

i) overgeneralization –

Errors arise because students use a more general term instead of a more specific one expected in the technical context. For example, *one of the most important *things* instead of *issues* or *problems*, **spending energy* instead of *energy consumption*, *food *examples, food *parts, food *products, *quantity of food* instead of *food samples, moisture *part* instead of *moisture content.* Certain errors are more stylistic (e.g. **save health* instead of *protect health*), but in other cases they are not precise enough (e.g. **send information, *share information* instead of *publish, announce information*) or acceptable at all (e.g. **take experiment* instead of *conduct, carry out experiment*).

ii) ignorance of rule restrictions –

Unlike the errors in the previous section, the terms in this category are not more general or simplified terms, but words with a similar meaning, commonly technical words which do not collocate with each other. For example, in the translation *river *poisoning* students failed to recognize that the verb *to poison* is restricted to people, while *pollution* refers to air, water, land and the environment. Similarly, the term *pollution* was used in the translation **pollution of food*, instead of *food contamination,* which is the appropriate collocation. Students also provided the following translations failing to observe the restrictions of collocations: **defend health* instead of *protect health; fossil *oil, fossil *gas* instead of *fossil fuel; *insurance of food* instead of *food safety*.

iii) incomplete application of rules –

Students provide translations which are neither more general (as in *i) overgeneralization*) nor wrong collocations (as in *ii) ignorance of rule restrictions*), but opt for terms which only partially convey the meaning of the required concept. For example, instead of *energy consumption*, students provide the translation **waste of energy* which conveys the meaning of 'use', but at the same time has the negative connotation of 'to use more of something than is necessary or useful' or 'to not make good or full use of somebody/something' (OUP, n.d.). Another example from the sample in which the meaning is even more distant is *energy *disposal,* where the meaning overlap is merely in the fact that in both processes of energy consumption and energy disposal – the energy is used up, i.e. it is "gone".

iv) false concepts hypothesized –

Errors in this category derive from a "faulty comprehension of distinctions in the target language" (Richards, 1971), so for example, students use **cause* instead of *aim, objective; *due to* instead of *in order to; *increase* instead of *decrease; *purposeful* instead of *unintended*. In these translations, students actually used words or phrases of opposite meaning.

Vocabulary interlingual errors

Interlingual vocabulary errors are analyzed according to Lott's (1983) aforementioned classification:

i) overextension of analogy –

The cause of errors in students' translations in this category lies in the phonological similarity between Serbian and English words. For example, the Serbian word *efikasnost* in the phrase *(mere) energetske efikasnosti* [6] is translated as *energetical *efficacy* instead of *energy efficiency* (according to CUP (n.d.), the terms *energy efficiency* and *energy efficient* are 'used to describe things that use only as much energy as is needed without wasting any'). Another example was the English translation

efficatíon, where in addition to the described interlingual error, students also make an intralingual error by adding a wrong suffix (*-tion*).

iii) ignorance of discrepancy between L1 and L2 –

Errors in this category arise when in L1 there is no lexical distinction which exists in L2. For example, the Serbian term *vlaga*, which means 'moisture', is often used interchangeably with the term *vlažnost,* which according to Nikolić (2007) means 'the quality or state of an entity that is moist, moisture', and both terms can be used for describing either solid substance or air. The discrepancy between Serbian and English can be observed in the following: the Serbian term *vlažnost* can be translated in English as either *moisture (content)* or *humidity,* the latter being exclusively used for describing air and climate. In this example, students translated *sadržaj vlage (u različitim uzorcima hrane)* [4] as **humidity content (of food)* instead of *moisture content*. Another error is translating the Serbian word *zemlja*, which in Serbian refers to both 'country/state' and '(arable) land', and which in the test sentence *Predlaže se da sve zemlje prikupe i objave podatke* [8], was translated as **lands* instead of *countries* or *states.*

By comparing the frequency of intralingual and interlingual errors in the whole study, it can be observed that intralingual errors are dominant at both levels of analysis (Figure 1). (In the group of vocabulary errors, only the word choice type of error was taken into account.)

Figure 1

Occurrence of intralingual and interlingual errors at the level of grammar and vocabulary analysis

Grammatical errors

18%

82%

■ intralingual errors
□ interlingual errors

Vocabulary errors

20%

80%

■ intralingual errors
□ interlingual errors
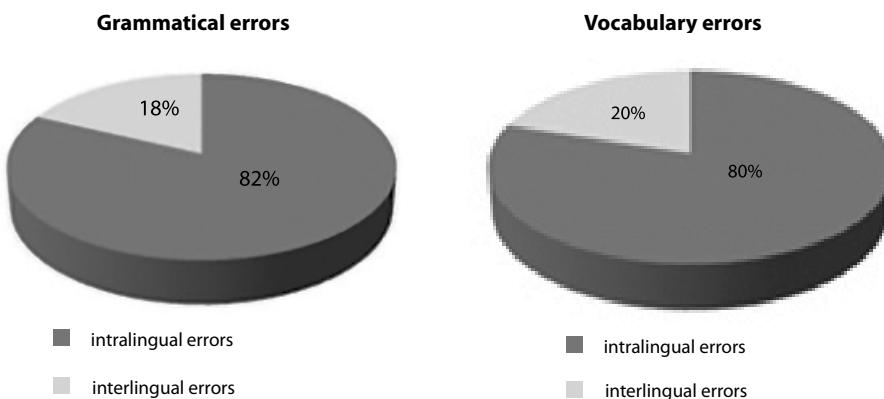
Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to reinvestigate the potentials and limitations of the Error Analysis approach in the context of English for Specific Purposes. The assumption of this paper was that students' errors can be indicators of the main obstacles students encounter and strategies they employ in the process of foreign language learning.

The study aimed to analyze grammatical and vocabulary errors in translations provided by engineering students with advanced language proficiency (B2). At the level of grammar analysis, the most frequent errors are in the group called choice of preposition. Other common errors in this group include errors in subject-verb agreement, noun number and parts of speech. Interestingly, only 8% of grammatical errors are related to verb form, which is not surprising bearing in mind that the grammatical category of tense is generally dominant in the grammatical sections of curricula for English courses at schools. At the level of vocabulary analysis, there are errors in word choice and word omission. In both groups, the majority of the errors are related to the use of technical words.

Analysis of the sources of errors showed that students, when facing a difficulty in translation, resort to using their knowledge of either L1 or L2 (seldom both at the same time). The results of the study show that intralingual errors are more common at both grammar (82%) and vocabulary level (80%). On the one hand, such dominance of intralingual errors is surprising, bearing in mind Ellis' (1994) conclusion that the types of errors are affected by the tasks used for eliciting the samples of language, and that translation tasks are expected to generate more interlingual errors compared to, for example, tasks of free compositions. The obtained results are also in contrast with previous studies with Serbian language speakers (Đuričić, 2014; Stefanović, 2010; Vučen, 2016), all of which pointed to the strong influence of the mother tongue. On the other hand, the results of this study can be explained by the fact that the participants of the study were students with a high level of language competence (B2).

If we assume that EA can provide us with indicators of strategies students use in language learning and language production, an analysis of the sources and causes of errors can be especially useful. Namely, we can see that, when unable to remember an appropriate technical word, students use a more general one (i.e. *overgeneralization*), when unable to remember a rule in L2, they apply a rule analogous to the one in L1 (i.e. *overextension of analogy*), etc. Also, since this research indicated the dominance of intralingual errors, it can be concluded that ESP students at B2 level of language competence more commonly use strategies of resorting to their knowledge of L2. This means that, although students need to deepen their understanding of the differences between L1 and L2, the focus should be on improving the use of L2 in the context of ESP. The pedagogical implications of these findings should be applied to both grammar and vocabulary. At the level of grammar, according to the research results, there are still areas that need improving, including: use of prepositions, verb patterns, plural of nouns and morphology, especially word derivation. At the level of vocabulary, the focus should be on technical terminology, use of collocations and understanding different connotations of synonymous words in the relevant technical field. Accordingly, students should be constantly exposed

to authentic material from their professional domain and should be trained how to use different dictionaries, both monolingual and bilingual, including specialized dictionaries such as technical and collocation dictionaries, which would facilitate building new vocabulary, using appropriate collocations and understanding different connotations of terminology used in their professional domain.

However, as stressed previously in this paper, researchers conducting EA need to be aware of the shortcomings and limitations of such studies and bear in mind that the procedure of EA is influenced by numerous factors at different stages of the analysis. As we could see in this study, in certain cases, it was impossible to determine a single cause of errors, as in some phrases the authors could determine more than one cause, sometimes even from different types of errors (both interlingual and intralingual), which calls into question the reliability of error categorization and consequently the results of the analysis. The authors were also aware that, in certain cases, classifying an error in a certain category was, at least partially, a subjective judgment based on personal experience and assumptions. The issue of avoidance was partially addressed by the nature of the method used for language eliciting (i.e. using a translation test as opposed to a free composition assignment), but certainly not in its entirety. Also, differentiating between mistakes and errors was not addressed in such a small-scale study as it requires conducting a more comprehensive, longitudinal study. Another shortcoming of this study was its failure to provide a wider picture of the learner language, since EA studies deal only with the learners' errors and/or mistakes instead of the learner's entire production: therefore, the figures related to the number of errors should be taken only relatively, as they cannot be compared with instances of correct language use.

Therefore, it is concluded in this paper that EA can be a useful tool which can be applied by foreign language teachers to improve language pedagogy by providing teachers with insight into language units and areas students find problematic and challenging. However, due to its limitations, the results of EA should be treated with caution and EA should generally be used only as a supplementary method together with needs analysis, course evaluation as well as more thorough and systematic examination of learner language, possibly using advanced digital tools and/or corpus studies (e.g. ICLE in Granger, 2003; McDowell & Liardét, 2020).

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Appendix: Translation test

1. Eksperiment je izveden na sobnoj temperaturi od 20°C.
   _____

2. Bezbednost hrane ima za cilj da smanji rizik nenamernog zagađenja hrane da bi se zaštitilo zdravlje ljudi.
   _____

3. Koncentracija soli u mesnim prozvodima iznosila je između 2,5 i 5%.
   _____

4. Postoji nekoliko procedura za merenje sadržaja vlage u različitim uzorcima hrane.
   _____

5. Razlike u temperaturi među uzorcima su veće u odnosu na prethodno merenje.
   _____

6. Evropska unija podržava mere energentske efikasnosti u zemljama u razvoju.
   _____

7. Postoji više faza u procesu proizvodnje hrane koje se smatraju povezanim.
   _____

8. Predlaže se da sve zemlje prikupe i objave podatke o proizvodnji mesa za svaku godinu.
   _____

9. Jedno od najvažnijih pitanja vezanih za upravljanje vodenim resursima je organsko zagađenje reka.
   _____

10. Potrošnja energije (dobijene) iz fosilnih goriva u Srbiji je iznosila 83,87% za 2014. godinu.
    _____

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Papers should be submitted in the Serbian language (Cyrillic alphabet) or English.

The length

Papers should not normally exceed 30000 characters with spaces in length. However, review papers and papers that present theoretical analysis can be up to 50000 characters long. The Abstract and Reference List, which should be at the end of the paper, are not included in the length. The editors-in-chief reserve the right to publish papers which exceed the maximum number of characters should the subject matter and/or focus of the research require it, and in the case of scientific papers of particularly high quality.

Elements and structure of a manuscript

Title page. The title page should contain the following information: the title, the name of the author/s (co-authors), the name of the institution (for example: department, faculty, university), the town and the state (if the author is from abroad) and the address of the leading author.

If a paper is reporting about work on a scientific-research project, the essential information about the project should be given in a footnote following the title.

The title. The title should be concise, precisely formulated in the form of a sentence, bolded, centred, and in font size 14.

Abstract. The abstract should contain from 150 to 250 words. If a paper is about performed research the abstract should contain the following elements: the importance of the researched problem, the aims of the research, the research methodology, key results, conclusions and pedagogic implications. In the case of review papers and papers dealing with theoretical analyses, the abstract should contain: the problem that is discussed in the paper, a description of the structure of the paper, the key propositions that are given in the paper and conclusions. The abstract should be written in one paragraph, without referring to references, in font size 11, justified.

Keywords. The author(s) should provide up to five keywords in the language of the paper which follow the abstract. The keyword should be relevant to the subject of the paper and searchable. We recommend using for example ERIC: https://eric.ed.gov/?ti=all thesaurus.

The structure of a paper. The paper should be structured in a logical and proscribed way. Papers describing performed research should contain: an introduction, an initial research hypothesis, the research methodology, results, discussion (including the pedagogical implications of the conducted research) and conclusions. Review papers and works that represent theoretical analysis, in addition to having an introduction and conclusions, should be structured in accordance with the basic topic of the work.

The headings and sub-headings. The heading of the sections should be formulated precisely and according to the instructions given in Table 1. The headings and sub-headings should not be numerically denoted.

Table 1

Format for five levels of heading

Levels	Format
1	**Centred, bold, font 12**
2	**Flush left, bold, font 12**
3	***Flush left, bold italic, font 12***
4	**Sentence case, indented, bold, font 12, ending with a period.**
5	***Sentence case, indented, bold italic, font 12, ending with a period.***

Note. Format examples are provided for section headings and sub-headings only and do not refer to the title of the paper.

Tables and graphs. Each table and/or graph should be numerically denoted. The precisely formulated title of the table or graph should be given in a new line, in italics. The name of a table should be positioned above the table (see Table 1 of this note) and the name of a graph should be positioned

below the graph. All abbreviations in the tables and graphs must be explained. The explanations (legend) should be given under the table or graph. Tables should not contain vertical lines, while horizontal lines should only be used between the table heading and data (see Table 1 of this note) and at the bottom of the table. If horizontal lines contribute to the clarity of the table, they can be used in the heading of the table.

Tables and charts should be given in Microsoft Word format (which implies that the graphs are illustrated in Word), created and delivered in a program that allows for their additional editing. The information on the graphs should not be highlighted by colours but by pattern fill. If the text contains tables and charts downloaded from the Internet, they should be provided in no less than the resolution of 300 dpi, grayscale colour mode. These parameters apply to any photos that are attached as part of the text.

Statistical tests and measures. All symbols of statistical tests and measures should be written in italics throughout the text, including tables (M, SD, F, t, p).

Footnotes and abbreviations. Abbreviations and footnotes should be avoided. If used, footnotes should contain only additional information or comment, not data about the sources used.

References. The references/bibliography should be constructed according to the *APA Citation Style - American Psychological Association 7th Edition* (https://apastyle.apa.org/instructional-aids/reference-examples.pdf).

References within the text should contain: the author's surname, the year of publication of the source and the number of the page if a citation is made. If a number of authors are to be cited in brackets within the text, they must be cited in alphabetical order, not chronologically. If there are only two authors, both should be written in brackets. When there are more than two authors, the surname of the first author is given and the abbreviation "et al.".

The Reference List at the end of the paper should include only the sources that the author(s) have used. References are given in alphabetic order by surname of the author. If several publications by the same author are cited, the publications should be listed in chronological order (from the oldest to the latest work). If there is more than one author, the reference should be cited by the first author`s surname and contain the surnames and initials of the other authors. If there are more works by the same author with the same year of publication, the works should be indicated with letters a, b, c, etc., with the year of publication in brackets (e.g. 2012a, 2012b).

The Reference List at the end of the paper should not be numerically denoted.

Appendices and supplementary materials. Along with the main text, authors can also submit appendices, i.e. additional material that is important for a more complete understanding of the content of the paper.