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Andragoške studije

Andragoške studije su časopis za proučavanje obrazovanja i učenja odraslih, naučne orijentacije, posvećen teorijsko-koncepcijskim, istorijskim, komparativnim i empirijskim proučavanjima problema obrazovanja odraslih i celoživotnog učenja. Časopis reflektuje i andragošku obrazovnu praksu, obuhvatajući širok spektar sadržaja relevantnih ne samo za Srbiju već i za region jugoistočne Evrope, celu Evropu i međunarodnu zajednicu. Časopis je tematski otvoren za sve nivoe obrazovanja i učenja odraslih, za različite tematske oblasti – od opismenjavanja, preko univerzitetskog obrazovanja, do stručnog usavršavanja, kao i za učenje u formalnom, neformalnom i informalnom kontekstu.

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Sadržaj

ČLANCI

GEORGE A. KOULAOUZIDES

Kriza usled pandemije kovida 19 kao kolektivna biografska disjunkcija: tumačenje pandemije kao prilike za učenje 9

VANNA BOFFO, FABIO TOGNI

Preduzetnička organizacija u visokom obrazovanju: odgovori na krizu u oblasti rada i obrazovanja izazvanu pandemijom i drugim faktorima 21

VIOLETA ORLOVIĆ LOVREN

Koncept životne sredine u andragoškoj literaturi i univerzitetskom obrazovanju andragoga 41

ZOE KARANIKOLA, NEKTARIA PALAIOLOGOU

Izbeglice i obrazovanje odraslih: tematska analiza najnovijih preporuka UNESKO-a 57

TAMARA NIKOLIĆ

„Da, i...“ princip: improvizacija kao metoda obrazovnog rada 75

BORKA MALČIĆ, STANISLAVA MARIĆ JURIŠIN, JASMINA KLEMENOVIĆ

Faktori pedagoške (ne)kompetentnosti roditelja za roditeljsku ulogu 91

BILJANA MILANOVIĆ DOBROTA, ALEKSANDRA ĐURIĆ ZDRAVKOVIĆ,

MIRJANA JAPUNDŽA MILISAVLJEVIĆ, SARA VIĐOKOVIĆ

Značaj obrazovnih intervencija u prevazilaženju barijera pri zapošljavanju osoba s intelektualnom ometenošću 107

NIAMH O'REILLY

Prikaz knjige: Katarina Popović, *Finansiranje učenja i obrazovanja odraslih: Šta funkcioniše, kako i zašto?* 129

BALÁZS NÉMETH

Prikaz knjige: Philipp Assinger, *Politike obrazovanja i obuke u Evropi: Istorijska analiza sa posebnim osvrtom na kontinuirano obrazovanje i obrazovanje odraslih* 133

Contents

ČLANCI

GEORGE A. KOULAOUZIDES

- The Covid-19 Crisis as a Collective Biographical Disjuncture:
Understanding the Pandemic as a Learning Experience** 9

VANNA BOFFO, FABIO TOGNI

- Entrepreneurial Organization in Higher Education
Professional and Educational Answers to the Crisis
(The Pandemic and More)** 21

VIOLETA ORLOVIĆ LOVREN

- The Concept of Environment in Andragogical Literature
and University Education of Andragogues** 41

ZOE KARANIKOLA, NEKTARIA PALAIOLOGOU

- Refugees and Adult Education: A Thematic Analysis
on Unesco's Latest Recommendations** 57

TAMARA NIKOLIĆ

- The "Yes, and..." Principle: Improvisation as a Method
of Educational Work** 75

BORKA MALČIĆ, STANISLAVA MARIĆ JURIŠIN, JASMINA KLEMENOVIĆ

- Factors of Pedagogical (in)Competence of Parents
for the Parenting Role** 91

BILJANA MILANOVIĆ DOBROTA, ALEKSANDRA ĐURIĆ ZDRAVKOVIĆ,
MIRJANA JAPUNDŽA MILISAVLJEVIĆ, SARA VIDOJKOVIĆ

- The Importance of Educational Interventions for
the Overcoming of Obstacles in the Employment
of Intellectually Disabled Persons** 107

NIAMH O'REILLY

Book Review: Katarina Popović, *Financing Adult Learning and Education. The Way Forward: What Works, How and Why?*

129

BALÁZS NÉMETH

Book Review: Philipp Assinger, *Education and Training Politics in Europe. A Historical Analysis With Special Emphasis on Adult and Continuing Education*

133

ČLANCI

ARTICLES

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The COVID-19 Crisis as a Collective Biographical Disjuncture: Understanding the Pandemic as a Learning Experience

Abstract: This paper examines the COVID-19 pandemic as a disorienting social experience and as an opportunity to engage in learning processes that may critically examine the dysfunctional assumptions that have consequentially emerged from it. The first part of the paper based on the theoretical perspectives of Peter Jarvis develops a framework for the definition of a social experience as a collective biographical disjuncture. Based on that definition, the paper exposes the assumptions that have been challenged during the pandemic era in the areas of social interaction, education, and employment. Finally, the paper argues that critical learning may provide to adults with the necessary cognitive “antibodies” to overcome the side-effects of the pandemic in our social life in the post-pandemic period.

Key words: critical adult learning, biographical disjuncture, COVID-19.

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has proven to be something more than the widespread growth of a highly contagious disease with a significant mortality potential. In order to prevent the consequences of the pandemic, a series of measures (e.g., curfews, quarantines, etc.) were taken by governments all over the world, and their implementation caused many disjunctures in many aspects of our social life. New realities have emerged, and new meaning making processes are needed to respond to them adequately. In the following sections of this paper, I will present the notion of the collective biographical disjuncture in order to argue that the pandemic of COVID-19 may be classified as such. Next, I will briefly refer to the main assumptions that to my understanding were challenged by the pandemic in

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the areas of education, employment, and social interaction. Finally, I will present an informed understanding of critical adult learning as a process of restoring the disharmonies caused by this novel global disjuncture.

Collective Biographical Disjunctures as Adult Learning Triggering Events

The lengthy academic dialogue on the differences between learning in childhood-adolescence and adulthood came close to an end soon after Jack Mezirow published his unique work on transformative learning (Mezirow, 1991). Following Mezirow's contribution many other researchers and scholars argued in favour of this distinction presenting additional supporting reasons, such as the nature of experience (Merriam, 2001), the nature of critical thinking in adulthood (Brookfield, 2000), differences in adult identity development (Illeris, 2007) and differences in adult intelligence and cognition (Tennant, 2006). On the other hand, there were also voices that contrasted this distinction by supporting the idea that there is no significant difference in adult learning processes per se and reoriented the discussion claiming that the main difference is located at the adult teaching procedures (e.g., Rogers 2003). To my understanding this debate was more or less terminated after Jarvis (2009) presented his influential work titled "Learning to be a Person in Society" where he established a holistic learning theory that described the complex phenomenon of learning as an existential process of becoming a social human being. In brief, Jarvis (2009) considers learning as a process of growth and development in relationship with other human beings and the environment. Learning is considered as a meaning making process which is facilitated through social interaction. Through interaction, a process of being and becoming, our experiences and their recognized content are transformed and integrated into our biographical reservoir. The result of this on-going learning process, which may be unconscious, pre-conscious, or conscious, is a person who experiences an uninterrupted process of change that is affecting both the person itself and society at large.

However, learning is not an accidental process, something that just happens. On the contrary, there is always something that triggers learning, an initiation event which may be a cognitive experience or an emotional situation or in some cases both. Jarvis (2012) defines this event as "disjuncture" and describes it in general terms as "the gap between our biography and our perception of our experience" (p. 13). This event has also been recognized within the theory of transformation with the term "disorienting dilemma" and several transformative

learning scholars have offered interesting elaborations of its nature (e.g., Mälkki, 2012; Laros 2017). Nevertheless, it is the description of Jarvis (2011) that illuminates the complex and multidimensional nature of disjuncture. According to his view, a biographical disjuncture that triggers a meaning making learning process may be described as follows:

It can occur as a slight gap between our biography and our perception of the situation, to which we can respond by slight adjustments in our daily living – a gap we hardly notice since it occurs within the flow of time. It can also occur with larger gaps that demand considerable learning, even to the extent of studying courses and disciplines and embarking on self-directed projects. In the meeting of strangers, the disjuncture might not only occur in the discourse between them, but it might actually occur between them as persons and their cultures, and it takes time for the stranger to be received and a relationship, or harmony, to be established. In addition, some disjunctural situations – often emotive in nature – just cause us to wonder at the beauty, pleasure and so forth that we are experiencing. In these situations, it is sometimes impossible to incorporate our learning from them into our biography and our ‘taken-for-granted’. These are what we might call ‘magic moments’ to which we look forward in the hope of repeating them in some way or other but upon which we might often reflect. (Jarvis, 2011, p. 25)

From the above it is apparent that the notion of disjuncture is quite well described and presumably understood on the individual level. However, the level of clarity is not the same when it comes to a collective or a shared disjuncture although there are efforts that have attempted to describe its features in the framework of the current pandemic (i.a., Romano, 2020). Since every person understands the world within the limits that are set by the cultural frame of reference where she/he acts and interacts, the collectiveness of a disjunctural experience becomes complicated especially when this collectiveness is extended beyond the borders of a specific culture.

Therefore, to my opinion and in an effort to generate a functional definition, a collective biographical disjunctural experience has to have at least the following features: (a) to be able to generate within a certain period of time a concurrent universal gap between the individual biography of every person in a society and an existing and unchallenged certainty, (b) to have the potential for a shared comprehension that is not affected by the different meaning schemes

and perspectives that create individual truths, (c) to be able to provoke a universal compelling dialogue that has the dynamic needed to penetrate isolation and estrangement and (d) to have the potential to initiate collective learning actions towards the restoration of the disharmony created by the aforementioned gap.

In the present century there are two events that seem to have the characteristics of a collective disjuncture. The first was the worldwide Great Recession that started in 2007 in the U.S. and amazingly quickly became a multinational financial crisis that severely affected the national economies of many countries for over a decade, leading to sudden reforms, austerity measures, impoverishment, and humanitarian crisis (Johnston, 2011). The second is the existing COVID-19 pandemic that was first identified in the end of 2019 in China. As of May 30th, 2021, more than 171 million cases have been confirmed and more than 3.5 million deaths have been attributed to COVID-19, making it one of the deadliest pandemics in the history of humankind.

The aforementioned undisputed realities, and especially the pandemic, created on a global scale a mixture of disorienting emotions of fear, frustration and anger, generated individual as well as social confusion since many taken for granted social practices of our everyday life were unexpectedly altered with measures imposed by national or supranational authorities, and radically challenged many essential and unchallenged assumptions about life in almost every society of the world. In the next paragraphs, I will describe briefly how COVID-19 has challenged a series of assumptions in certain aspects of our social life.

COVID-19 as a Collective Biographical Disjuncture: Assumptions and Realities

COVID-19 as a collective biographical disjuncture may be experienced through two distinctive ways, either subjectively or through some form of mediation (Jarvis, 2004). A subjective or primary experience involves being infected by the disease or being closely attached to someone who has been infected. A mediated or secondary experience may be linguistic or communicative and involves reading or listening about the pandemic or even being affected by the social consequences of the disease. In both ways, people are faced with an event that generates a disharmony in their taken for granted life. While the disharmony affects many areas of human social life in the following paragraphs, I will focus on the challenged fundamental assumptions that relate to social interaction, education, and work life.

Social interaction: challenged assumptions and new realities

Human beings live in relationship (Jarvis, 2009). We are born in relationship, and we grow and develop in connection with others and our social environment. Through interaction and agency, we create knowledge and relationships, and we reinvent our culture (Ratner, 2000). Our assumptions about social interactions are deeply affected by the COVID pandemic. Terms like curfew, quarantine, confinement that were considered distant practices of exceptional situations became suddenly part of our reality. For almost a year now, people in many countries have to declare (through SMS) their intention to leave their home and in many cases use special signed permissions in order to reach their workplace. Taken for granted social activities like participation in life moments (e.g., weddings, birthdays, memorial services, graduation ceremonies) are no longer part of our life. Person to person interaction has been harshly replaced with computer-mediated means of communication. Usual social routines that contribute to the critical process of socialization like going to school or participating in cultural and athletic activities or even gathering in large groups for discussion are substituted with web-based platforms with ambivalent effectiveness as far as emotional development is concerned (Sherman, Michikyan & Greenfield, 2013).

Education: challenged assumptions and new realities

Education is not always responding adequately to the changes in society. However, to a greater or lesser extent a common assumption is that education contributes to the alleviation of social inequalities because it acts as a means of transition to the labour market but also contributes to personal fulfilment (Walker et al., 2019). The unforeseen disruption of the educational process at almost every level due to COVID-19 creates conditions that challenge the previous assumption. The relocation of the school environment to the home environment raises questions regarding the assumption about the contribution of education to the alleviation of social inequalities. Pensiero, Kelly, & Bokhove (2020) have noted in their UK-based research that:

The transition to distance schooling is likely to exacerbate inequalities by socio-economic groups due to both the socio-economic gap in the volume of schoolwork completed and to the relative ability or inability of some parents to support children's learning. Families with a service class background have the twofold advantage of being

better able to assist their children with home-schooling and of having more time to do it as they are more likely to be working from home (p. 19).

Moreover, the rapid application of distance education methods without the relevant curriculum design modifications, the absence of training provisions for educators on the special demands of distance learning as well as the ambiguous fairness in the provision of the necessary technical infrastructure for students (access to computers, laptops, and fast internet connections) are elements that challenge the assumption about the role of education as means for the promotion of social equality (Murat & Bonacini, 2020).

Promoting participation in vocational education at all educational levels (secondary, post-secondary and tertiary) is supported by the assumption of an easiest entry into the labour market. One of the elements that contributes to this transition is the implementation of programs that foster the attainment of work experience like internships or apprenticeships (Aivazova, 2013). Indeed, the European Union has invested heavily in such programs in the context of promoting the development of skills that may enhance youth employability but also contribute to the development of employment skills of adults who participate in reskilling and upskilling training programs. However, the COVID-19 response measures have overturned these strategies and their consequent assumptions. A large number of companies suspended or cancelled their participation in internship and apprenticeship programs, resulting in the postponement of the process of transition from education life to work life for a large number of trainees (Hurley, 2020). This postponement has consequences especially for those social classes that invest in education and especially in vocational education in order to improve the conditions of their lives.

Employment: challenged assumptions and new realities

The rise of unemployment due to the measures taken to deal with the coronavirus was anticipated. The closure of both retail and service-oriented businesses had a devastating effect on the employment of a large number of permanent and temporary employees (Pouliakas & Branka, 2020). In countries where the economy is primarily based on tourism and the related services, unemployment rates have risen while wealth and growth rates have shrunk (Fana, Pérez, & Fernández-Macías, 2020). These phenomena are not unprecedented since they have been observed during other economic or humanitarian crises as well. However, in the case of the pandemic we have additional issues. First, the economic crisis of the

pandemic manifested itself in the aftermath of the Great Recession mentioned above. This continuum seems to affect a specific age group of the population (adults around the age of 30) who during this prolonged period of instability continuously and unwillingly delayed their transition to social roles that are important for their adult identity. The taken for granted idea of a horizontal effect of an economic crisis on all age groups of the active population is now questionable and requires new forms of management (Tamesberger & Bacher, 2020).

One of the most important assumptions in the field of career counselling is related to the role of community networks in finding employment opportunities (MacKenzie, Ciupijus, & Forde, 2019). The physical distancing and the imposed curfews came to challenge this assumption since community networks becomes stronger and more efficient through physical presence. In addition, the pandemic seems to create even greater diversity in the area of gender discrimination in employment opportunities. Women at such times tend to take on caring roles for family members who become infected, and this socially strong stereotypical role may turn out to be an impediment to women's employability and in the end negatively affect years of hard work dedicated to achieving gender employment equality and women's social emancipation (Carli, 2020; Reichelt, Makovi & Sargsyan, 2021).

Moreover, new inequalities occurred due to the tendency of older adults to be more sensitive to the consequences of COVID-19 infection. This unique epidemiological characteristic of the pandemic formed a double entrance impediment for entering the labour market: young adults who are more resistant to infection do not have the opportunity to enter the labour market due to the closure of many businesses that typically hire younger people (e.g. the services sector), while older adults who have work experience and have invested in reskilling/upskilling activities to regain or improve their position in the labour market are more susceptible to COVID-19 health consequences and therefore have become a less appealing recruitment option (Monahan, et al., 2020).

As we have seen from this brief presentation, there are several fundamental assumptions that are challenged from the COVID-19 pandemic. While other areas of our social life are also significantly affected (e.g., the health and welfare sector, the art and creative industry sector), my presentation was focused on the areas of social interaction, education, and employment. Though the advances of medical and pharmaceutical research have managed to invent and produce efficient and effective vaccines that will contribute soon to the prevention of the pandemic, the issue that should also be of our concern, as educators, is what kind of learning actions should we employ to restore the disharmonies that were created by the COVID-19 in the aforementioned areas (Tovstiga & Tovstiga, 2020).

In my opinion, all these learning actions should include a critical dimension since the emerged realities described above contain new or renewed social inequalities. Therefore, in the next section I will present an understanding of critical adult learning that may serve us in coping with the multiple challenges of individual and social assumptions that have occurred in the current circumstances.

A Well-known and Widely Approved “Vaccine”: Critical Adult Learning

Critical adult learning is one of the most popular terms in the literature of adult education. Most of the influential thinkers of our field have stressed the significance of critical approaches in adult education activities. There are many views on the content and the processes of critical adult learning. For Mezirow (1991) critical learning in adulthood is related with the assessment of the premises of our meaning perspectives while for Fleming (2008) critical adult learning is about imagining, and theorizing “how the cultures and societies in which we live, interact with, and influence the ways in which people relate to each other” (p. 50). Finally, Brookfield & Holst (2011) suggest that critical learning in adulthood should be about a process that uncovers ideological manipulations. Trying to combine the above and other views on critical learning, I have suggested that a learning process in adulthood is critical when its purpose is to lead the learner in a careful, insightful, and in-depth examination of the assumptions on which our perception of reality is constructed (Koulaouzides, 2017).

However, in view of the disharmonies caused by the pandemic and the challenged assumption that I presented above, I now understand critical adult learning as a form of reflective learning that allow us to recognize and comprehend in depth our assumptions about our relationship with each other and the world (since the pandemic has altered our social interaction meaning-making assumptions); associate the premises of our assumptions to ideological perceptions and challenge the inherent inequalities (realize how our ideologies influence our challenged assumptions, create impediments in fostering change and enhance the development of new or the revival of old inequalities); realize the new realities and the new power relations (understand how specific social elites are benefited from the new relations that develop silently during this period); re-imagine a new understanding about our role as persons in relationship (realize the importance of being in relationship, the consequent solidarity and the needed collective action) and take action to realize this new understanding (engage in collective social learning and action).

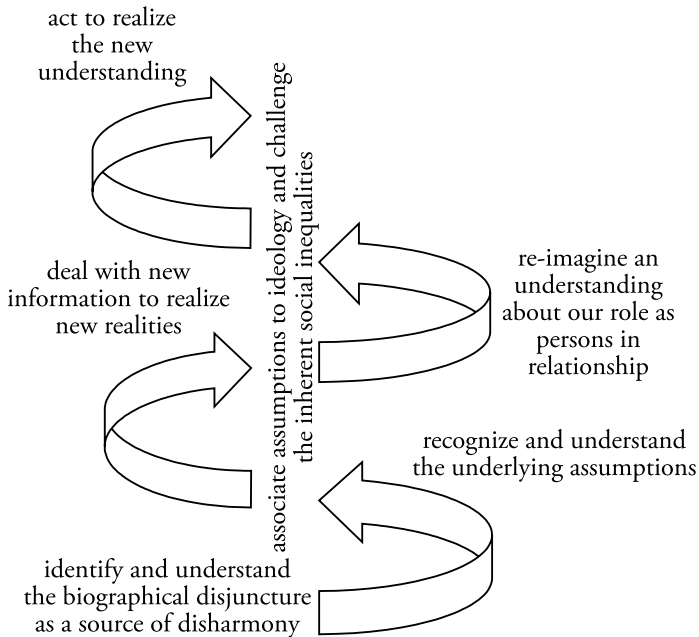


Figure 1. A critical adult learning spiral in the post-pandemic period

Formal, non-formal and informal learning opportunities that engage adults in a spiral of critical thinking like the one depicted in Figure 1, are likely to provide with the necessary cognitive “antibodies” to overcome the side-effects of the pandemic in our social life in the post-pandemic period which seems to be about to start in the near future.

Conclusion

The pandemic of COVID-19 caused a severe disharmony between our biography and reality making it the perfect example of a collective biographical disjuncture. For almost a year now many of our taken for granted assumptions were challenged in all areas of our social life. New realities have emerged in areas such as our social interaction practices, education, and work life. During the pandemic, a series of measures were devised to prevent the spread of the disease. These measures were mainly directives, orders, and regulations that were imposed on people—a kind of forced instrumental learning process—without any further effort to support people in a critical way during the implementation period. Someone

may claim that it was of no surprise that these measures had limited success since after the initial good results people were returning to their old understandings, to their old frame of reference about reality, facilitating thus unwillingly new pandemic cycles.

Although there is a collective hope that after the vaccination programs, there will be a gradual return to our pre-pandemic world, some realities that were changed during the pandemic will remain. A thorough understanding of these new realities has to be achieved. A reflective dialogical process that may reveal our assumptions, recognize these new realities, re-imagine our new roles—and at the same time, foster our challenging of the new inequalities and taking action to confront new power relations—may prove of immense value in restoring the disharmony caused by the pandemic.

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Kriza usled pandemije kovida 19 kao kolektivna biografska disjunkcija: tumačenje pandemije kao prilike za učenje

Apstrakt: U ovom radu ćemo razmotriti dezorijentišuće socijalno iskustvo koje je nastalo kao posledica pandemije kovida 19 i sagledaćemo je kao priliku za upuštanje u proces učenja u kojem se mogu kritički ispitati disfunkcionalne pretpostavke koje su posledično proizašle iz ove pandemije. Prvi deo rada se zasniva na teoretskim perspektivama Pitera Džarvisa i njime uspostavljamo okvir za definisanje socijalnog iskustva kao kolektivne biografske disjunkcije. Na osnovu utvrđene definicije, u ovom radu dalje sagledavamo pretpostavke u oblasti socijalne interakcije, obrazovanja i zaposlenja koje su preispitane u vreme pandemije. Konačno, iznosimo stav da kritičko učenje odraslima može da obezbedi neophodna kognitivna „antitela“ pomoću kojih će moći da se izbore sa neželjenim dejstvima pandemije u društvenom životu u poslepandemijskom periodu.

Ključna reč: kritičko učenje odraslih, biografska disjunkcija, kovid 19.

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Entrepreneurial Organization in Higher Education Professional and Educational Answers to the Crisis (The Pandemic and More)

Abstract: The current pandemic crisis has also had evident effects on the labour market. Higher Education contexts must increasingly rethink themselves if they want to promote employability. The essay, starting from the triangulation between profession, professionalism and professionalization and from the current reflection on employability, finds in *Entrepreneurial Education* the crisis solution. In particular, it proposes to understand Higher Education Institutions as *Entrepreneurial Organization* in which processes are activated for the development of research and narrative competences.

Key words: employability in higher education, entrepreneurial education, professionalism, professionalization, research and narrative competences.

To Begin: Reflection on the Transition to Work

The pandemic, which we cannot yet say we have left behind, rapidly put the spotlight on the difficulties in the world of work on one hand, while on the other, highlighting the intrinsic weakness of the relationship between the construction of learning programmes, owing to universities' organizational and didactic development, and graduates' entry to the world of work. At the same time, this event of epoch-making proportions led to the emergence of the radical and deep-seated fragility of the system of western democracies. Priorities were upset, extreme marginality exploded to the surface, and differences in gender, language and social context became more and more accentuated. All of this happened at a disconcerting speed. These issues all became points on the agenda of

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the cultural and political debate of those countries with the highest per capita incomes. However, the most radical upshot of the pandemic crisis was the change in how we work, the acceleration of the process that had begun with all the rules and regulations on eco-sustainability, the catalysis of the shift towards green and remote working. Lastly, the pandemic crisis demonstrated how the format and very idea of work and profession increasingly need to account for change and transformation in order for a new and evolved self-understanding. At present, this requires more than just thinking of the current or new professions of the future in an innovative light. It requires the capability to review the very *concept of profession* which hitherto had been able to benefit from more or less consolidated job descriptions dictated by professional registers and the like.

Therefore, for the future of the world of work, it is more important than ever to study and provide support in implementing the inevitable relationships between *educational process, work-oriented education, construction of professional figures and skills definition*. The central position of disciplinary knowledge in educational curricula continues to keep out those good empirical practices and experiences required for a deep understanding of how to best direct teaching and learning efforts. This rethinking is also and above all the task of higher education institutions as they are called upon to radically re-examine themselves and rediscover their vocation as learning organizations and facilitators of employability processes (Knight & Yorke, 2003). There has been considerable progress in adult education research on learning organizations, employability, the transition to work and the construction of professionalization (European Commission, 2015; 2016; 2018; 2020; Federighi, 2018; Fedeli & Boffo, 2018). The most attention needs to be paid to the construction of a set of policies, practices, actions and tools that can direct, guide and accompany all students and graduates. In order for this to happen, first of all there must be the right conditions at community and then at national level. Nevertheless, the most important thing is to understand that the processes of academic development within university institutions have to follow what is happening in the real world at a swifter pace. The European Graduate Tracking Initiative (EGTI, 2020) is a very important step in this direction. Knowing the paths that graduates take in the EU Member States and Europe can help researchers to study and understand how work flows can outline the professionalization pathways and professions of the future.

The following article intends to provide an overall picture of the links between the concepts under consideration in order to offer elements of joint reflection which thus far have appeared less evident in the field of pedagogical and educational research in adult education.

Professions, Professionalism, Professionalization. For a Semantic Agreement

The term “profession” as well as the terms “professionalization” and “professionalism” can all derive from the Latin deponent verb “profiteor” created by joining the Greek prefix “pro”, which means “in front of” and the Greek verb “faino” which means “to show” and, in the medio-passive form, “to appear”. Hence, the terms are linked to what a person is able to show off him or herself before others. They have a self-display function and refer to a series of skills (Stone, 1971), which are nevertheless linked to a precise context and a real situation. Therefore, they cannot be completely described in classifications of procedures (skills) and take on the appearance of what can be defined as competences, with the distinctive trait of appearing in specific task situations.

In the same way, the three terms can derive from the Latin verb *profiteri* which is the union of a prefix “pro” and the Latin verbal form “fateri”, intensive form of “fari” which means “to speak”. This etymology adds a communicative and dialogical component to the word profession (from the past participle *professus*). Therefore, profession is the fruit of exercising that *logos* (which means “word” in Greek), defined by Aristotle onwards as “Reason”. Hence, to exercise a profession and be a professional is to combine the three forms of Aristotle’s reason. The first form is theoretical (*Theoreia*) which, as the etymology of the word says, means to see things as the divinity sees them (*Theos*), namely in a pure, clear, distinct and logical way. The second form of reason is technical (*Techne*), referring to all the aspects that concern procedures. That is to say, it describes all the steps necessary and logically linked together to achieve a specific result or a particular product. The third form of reason is practical (*Phronesis*), referring to the ability of theories and techniques to adapt to different real situations, in response to the real problems detected therein. This last form of reason is based, on the one hand, on the analogical capability of creativity, namely the ability to transfer solutions from one field of knowledge to another through analogical and adaptive procedures (Guilford, 1950) and on the other hand, on divergent thought which is the capability to find different and multiple solutions to a precise problem rather than the obvious and usual ones. In this case too, the term “profession” corresponds in many ways to the question of competence which is always linked to a task, a challenge that appears in a precise real situation which requires investigation through reason and personal dialogue with the situation.

The etymology of the terms of the semantic area of the professions shows how they cannot be defined so much starting from knowledge and skills, that is, from more or less stable descriptors that can be listed one by one. This

semantic area recalls the need to see professions—including those with identical tasks—in a single and unrepeatable light, as they cannot be separated from the specific situation itself or the personal history of each worker.

Furthermore, the three terms in question—*profession*, *professionalism* and *professionalization*—each have different connotations. While the first is more illustrative and describes a precise working activity—which as we have been able to underline is the result of an abstraction and generalization and never exists in a static form in real situations—the second refers to more deontological and ethical aspects. The third, on the other hand, describes the personal identity-building process in a working context. This triangulation proves to be in line with what we see in the world of work. Indeed, every profession (objective pole), even those historical roles whose tasks can be described in a clear and certain, albeit abstract manner, need a link with an ethical pole and a dynamic bond with a procedural and personal pole. Above all, they need an operator who not only connects them but also enables their exercise and appearance. Therefore, educational interventions towards the professions must always account for this triangle and must be planned while paying great attention to each of these poles, to find an educational medium that can catalyse and connect them together.

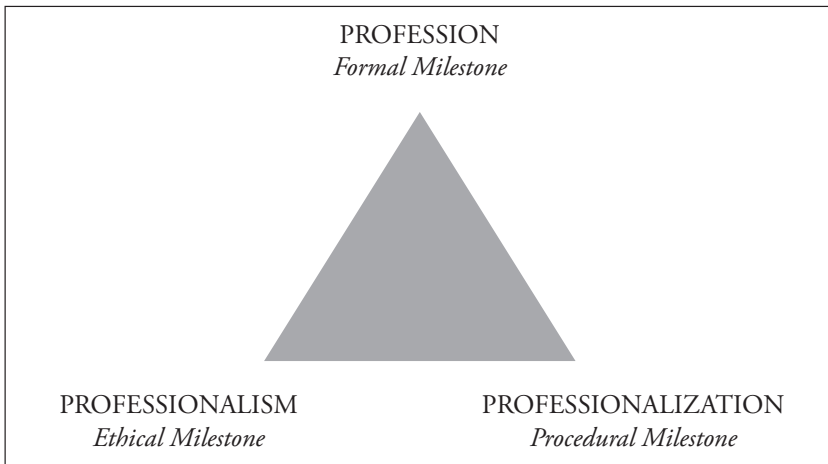


Figure 1. The professions triangle

In the sociological sphere, the profession, professionalism, professionalization triangle has been studied starting from the definition of profession given by Lieberman in 1956. He saw profession as an essential and precise social service implemented through complex intellectual processes. Preceded by a

long period of specialized training, he deemed profession to be characterized by independence and responsibility, implemented after receiving a mandate from society. In Lieberman's opinion, these characteristics meant that the profession had to be placed in a group with real self-governing power and a specific ethical code (Lieberman, 1956, p. 6).

The functionalist study of professions gave rise to a series of analyses in the pedagogical sphere, mainly dedicated to the world of the teaching profession. It took various pairs into consideration: the profession-professionalization pair was analysed by Bourdieu who highlighted how the processes to acquire a professional profile put continuing training and professionalization processes to one side (Bourdieu, 1993); the professionalization-professional efficacy pair was analysed by De Boeck and Wittorsky (2005), who showed how efficacious teaching is directly proportional to the process of continuing training and professionalization in the workplace.

The merit of functionalist studies—whose limits can nevertheless now be underlined—was that they highlighted the substantial difference between profession and occupation. Indeed, the latter recalls static, passive and alienating aspects. One “occupies” an employment position in a physical and material sense. In the same way, one “is occupied” professionally by something and/or someone. In other words, we are deprived of our freedom, rational ability and personality (Mottana, 2017). However, this structuralist idea of *occupyability* typical of a certain “Fordism” must be placed alongside and perhaps contrasted with the idea of *employability*, which instead refers to the subject/individual's intentionality to activate his or her personal entrepreneurship, giving quality, importance and educational significance to the working action, the profession performed and the professionalism acquired, through a deep, conscious professionalization process (Boffo, 2018).

The above-mentioned functionalist studies on profession took their cue from a static idea of the world of work and definitely did not have this idea of employability in mind. Indeed, they were prompted by the presupposition that a profession was characterized by the knowledge that distinguished it which was one and easy to identify. Furthermore, they deemed that a profession could only be performed with a qualification which could be acquired on precise higher education courses. These days not only has all of this been very much superseded, the professions are evolving both at the vertical level (personal evolution of a professional pathway) and at the horizontal level (evolution of the professions in response to the needs of complex societies for continual change). This is why the linear trajectories that were at the basis of functionalist theories need to be replaced by the non-linear trajectories of the present cultural context (Federighi, 2018).

Professionalism, Employability, Entrepreneurship

It is in some way a novelty to consider employability, connected to the personal formation process as well as the curriculum, the first and necessary step in graduates' entry to professional contexts. This is because central importance is placed on a category that can be considered pedagogically dense and wholly useful to reflect on the set-up of the course programmes and on the meaning and role of higher education for the future of a country that is part of a multi-speed and multi-direction Europe. We could say that the history of Europe makes us take a serious and careful look at the work-oriented education processes in university contexts, in the awareness that learning, training and continuing education for young adults and adults in general are the routes to social, environmental, economic and political well-being. As researchers in education sectors, we have the ethical and moral duty to look towards the future while building the present so that we can live in a better tomorrow. The harsh times of an endless economic crisis (ISTAT, 2016; Morin, 2015) make us look at reality and think what we can do with the cultural tools available to us.

Studies on employability came about in the Anglo-Saxon world in the 1960s, but it was only at the end of the 1990s that a sizeable movement of thought started to theorize the centrality of employability in order to understand the role of educational institutions for the labour market: "In essence the debate is about what employers want and what higher education institutions can do to enhance the employability of students" (Harvey, 2003, p. 3). The question arose from the remark that British graduates could not meet the demand from the world of work for the skills needed to advance production. The problem was not to boost a country's economy, but the formative process of students and the consideration that the professions were so dynamic that intervention was needed on academic courses that were outdated for the employment on offer. At the start of the 2000s, Harvey, at the time director of the Sheffield Hallam University Centre for Research and Evaluation, wrote:

There is a growing awareness in the UK of the importance of higher education in providing the innovation and creativity for the development of a knowledge-based economy in an increasingly competitive global market. Three major policy initiatives have contributed to this over the last decade: 1. widening participation and improving retention; 2. enhancing employability. 3. lifelong learning. Both higher education and the graduate labour market are changing rapidly. The student intake is becoming more diverse, in age, back-

ground, previous educational experience and interests and ambitions although government's efforts to broaden the social base of the undergraduate population has recently been characterised as a limited success. (Harvey, 2002, p. 4)

In general, even in the countries where the debate on the presence, monitoring and evaluation of employability has been more intense, there has been resistance against including these concepts for the future of universities. Indeed, this is the crux of the matter. It is never easy to talk about the future, and even less so in this case. What role should universities have in a country? Higher education should ask itself questions about the meanings of the transformations necessary for a world that is changing course and direction. The educational factor is always present; every time we speak of learning it is a core and constituent part. So, we must not fear slipping towards the "Learning as Education" or "Learning as Training" dichotomy (Harvey, 2003). To speak of employability is to be concerned with learning and training at the same time. Not in opposition, but together. The writings of Harvey, Yorke and Knight (2006) bear good witness to this and clear the field of old rhetoric. The perspectives of both Harvey, and Yorke and Knight, connect the concept of employability with higher education and pose the problem of the use and presence of capabilities "for life" so that suitable and solid bridges can be built with the world of work. In a social context that requires more and more specific competences for a greater number of graduates for better production growth, to reflect deeply on the category of employability becomes central to understand the directions that efforts to improve university teaching need to take, to create work experience and apprenticeship opportunities, to build specific links with enterprises, associations and the public and private production segments. In order to be able to speak of *profession, professionalization and professionalism*, we need to have a clear idea of the connection with training and of the social, cultural and political contexts that we are starting from.

The definitions of Harvey, on the one hand, and Yorke and Knight, on the other, introduce didactic and pedagogical elements and expand the concept so that employability becomes a fundamental factor in considering higher education in an innovative way. In 1999, Harvey provided this definition: "Employability of a *graduate* is the propensity of the graduate to exhibit *attributes* that employers anticipate will be *necessary* for the *future* effective functioning of their organisation" (Harvey, 1999, p. 4). The definition by Yorke and Knight, at length the most widespread and also the most decisive, also makes us reflect. As they have it, employability is "a set of achievements—skills, understandings and personal attributes—that make graduates more likely to gain employment

and be successful in their chosen occupations, which benefits themselves, the workforce, the community and the economy” (Yorke and Knight, 2005, p. 3). According to Yorke and Knight, some critical points of investigation can help us understand the importance of the evolution of the category of employability:

Higher education has a longstanding engagement with the national economy.

- Employability refers to the potential a graduate has for obtaining, and succeeding in graduate-level positions. There is a need to recognise that the co- and extra-curricular achievements of students contribute to a graduate’s employability.
- Employability is taken to be a more complex construct than those of ‘core’ or ‘key’ skills. It connects with a range of discourses and has many facets which range from understanding of one or more subject disciplines to ‘soft skills’ (such as working effectively with others). It also encompasses both academic intelligence and ‘practical intelligence’.
- Employability and good learning are seen as being closely aligned and not as oppositional constructs. The USEM account of employability accentuates this alignment.
- Curriculum auditing offers a way of testing how and where employability-related learning is incorporated into curricula. It may also point to the need to rethink pedagogic and/or assessment practices.
- Support for employability can be incorporated into curricula in a range of ways: there is no ‘one size fits all’ solution.
- Some aspects of employability take time to develop, suggesting that the focus needs to be on employability across a whole programme rather than on individual programme components (modules). The ‘Capability envelope’ is offered as one prompt to thinking about the way in which a programme-level focus might be achieved.
- Employability can be enhanced through personal development planning, but success will depend upon the extent to which students see a ‘pay-off’ for the effort that they put in (Yorke & Knight, 2005, pp. 2–4).

What is implicit and at the same time strongly interconnected with employability’s assumption of a central position within university curricula is the consideration of a close link between training for employability and good results in terms of learning, teaching and didactic evaluation (Yorke & Knight, 2005, p. 4), not so much in generic terms but in terms of the goal of more conscious growth for every student and his or her skills.

Nevertheless, in this context we are also interested in the category of employability at the meso-macro level of reflection that touches on universities as organizations directing and accompanying the creation of educational processes for the transition to work.

The most widespread models of the category of employability reflect precisely this core point. The model proposed by Dacre Pool and Sewell in 2007, for example, known by the acronym CareerEDGE, completes what was missing from both of the previous models (Yorke & Knight, 2006; Watts, 2007). The model sums up the previous ones, integrates, investigates and develops them. The interesting elements to take into consideration are: 1. *Career development learning* (guidance for the development of a professional career); 2. *Experience* (the point underlines the importance of experience developed in both places of work and the informal contexts of everyday life); 3. *Degree subject knowledge, understanding and skills* (knowledge and skills are essential as a base of reference); 4. *Generic skills* (the point underlines the need to possess transversal or soft skills which are defined here as generic); and 5. *Emotional intelligence* (the point introduces a core element for motivation and awareness of oneself and others, for one's own personal development and shared work). With reflection and evaluation, the five elements can support and strengthen the positivity of good levels of self-efficacy, self-esteem and self-confidence. The model presents the elements necessary to develop employability. The model was then further developed to become a metaphorical "key" to open the door, we could say, of the world of work, giving students all the capabilities to consciously accompany them towards a/the profession/s, as well as towards their continuing education. Indeed, the model looks at the subject's individuality and proposes an efficacious way of reading the capabilities/competences/knowledge necessary for a suitable transition. In any case, it gives clear confirmation and support for the thesis that employability is a process that is strongly correlated with the places of learning and everything concerning the formation of the subject. Indeed, it becomes a central component of the subject's formation and the starting point from which to start to reflect on the new forms of didactics, teaching, guidance and, of course, transition. However, the model concentrates little on the important aspects of learning. Hence, other models have been proposed such as the Learning and Employability Framework by Sumanasiri, Yajid and Khatibi, otherwise known as the LEPO model. The model combines simplicity and clarity, paving the way for a large number of empirical research projects which would validate its usability and application (Sumanasiri, Yajid, & Khatibi, 2015, p. 55). It highlights the importance of the learning environment and above all the achievement of learning outcomes which not only depend on the subject, as had been emphasized until the 2000s, but also

on the university context, didactic capability, institutional relations, instructional design models, didactic and educational structure of the study courses that lead, guide and allow the achievement of the expected results.

Studies on learning reveals that above five employability skill categories proposed by Pool and Sewell (2007) in CareerEDGE framework are similar in focus to learning environment and process according to LEPO model of learning (Phillips et al., 2010). LEPO model summarizes learning to three broad concepts: learning environment, learning process and learning outcomes, and clearly stands out as from other models of learning as generalized and integrated conceptual framework on learning (Phillips et al., 2010). Further, many national and international higher education quality frameworks have identified learning outcomes as one of the main deliverables of university education (Liu, 2010) with VSA (Voluntary System of Accountability) having a leading role in US higher education system through evaluation of core learning outcomes of universities by evaluating common, multi-disciplinary and university wide skills. Therefore it's clear that the five lower-tier employability skills constructs career development learning, work and life experience, degree subject knowledge and understanding, generic skills and emotional intelligence have direct relationship with learning outcomes of university degree programs (Sumanasiri, Yajid, Khatibi, 2015, p. 57).

Employability is clearly linked to university learning outcomes as well as to the degree course programmes (Finch et al., 2013) whose activities should consider and be based on soft skills, which are in turn vital for the development and implementation of employability.

The category takes on such central importance compared to other quality indicators that can be used to interpret the potentials of a system to provide students with all the suitable work and life capabilities and competences owing to the many empirical, experimental and scientific studies that have led researchers to assume its validity. While the studies by Yorke and Knight spread the culture of the didactic measurability of employability, the reports produced by the teaching centres and career services of many Anglo-Saxon, Canadian and Australian universities show the validity and verifiability of educational didactics and practices that are now followed worldwide (Universities UK, 2002; Edge Foundations, 2011; Bennett, 2016).

Entrepreneurial Education as a Medium

Employability is the process through which graduates achieve the learning outcomes they need to connect with the world of professions. It is also important to ask ourselves, in a world of disappearing, liquid and transformative professional

profiles, how we can plan educational pathways—what types of pathway, using which devices? —that put future workers in the condition to find their best place within the profession-professionalism-professionalization triangle. How can we implement higher education processes that put us in the condition of performing professions that do not yet exist? How can we put together the ethical and deontological system that enables development of the professionalism through which to live these professions best? And then: how can we promote the process of continuing self-learning and development of soft skills that is useful for personal continuing professionalization throughout the whole lifespan?

This is why, in this framework of rapid and inevitable evolution, the development of skills centred on creativity, flexibility and the capability for continuous and innovative re-orientation as requested by the 2020 World Economic Forum is at the centre of the European Agenda. At the start of the twenty-first century, the European Commission (2006) began to include entrepreneurial competences among the key competences for lifelong learning. As it states:

This supports individuals, not only in their everyday lives at home and in society, but also in the workplace in being aware of the context of their work and being able to seize opportunities, and [be] a foundation for more specific skills and knowledge needed by those establishing or contributing to social or commercial activity. This should include awareness of ethical values and promote good governance. (European Commission, 2007)

Quite rightly, the attempts to underline the direct and fundamental relationship between competences and employability are increasing (Bacigalupo et al., 2016). As such, in the heart of the triangle between profession, professionalism and professionalization, that is, between professional configuration, the ethical and deontological nature of this configuration, and the continuing training and transformation process are entrepreneurship competences. These are the only competences that describe the dynamic and transformative nature that we need today to respond to present and future change.

Entrepreneurship “is when you act upon opportunities and ideas and transform them into value for others. The value that is created can be financial, cultural, or social” (Moberg et al., 2012, p. 14). It is evident that entrepreneurship needs to occupy a more and more central space in higher education pathways (Lackeus, 2015) both at the formal, structured and business-centred level like in entrepreneurship education (Erkkilä, 2000), but above all at the personal and informal embedded level like in enterprise education (QAA, 2012; Mahieu, 2006).

In order to respond to the changes in the social context the starting point needs to be solid work to favour the development of competences that enable the pro-motion (in the etymological sense of “moving forward”) of the self and continual exercise of self-formation (in the sense of professionalization). As such, an approach is needed that favours Entrepreneurial Education which operationalizes, expands and transforms some of the best contemporary learning theories into planned curricula. In other words, we need to foster not just a transformation of the contents but a real change in the educational system so that it turns its back on the learning period-working period model (first learn, then apply) to the advantage of pathways really based on education in the workplace and the real and non-formal dialogue between the world of work and higher education. In this connection, here is a table of a theoretical framework (Federighi, 2014; 2018b; Terzaroli, 2017) that can be useful both to plan single learning pathways and to plan and organize higher education systems as a whole.

Table 1. Theoretical framework for planning higher education entrepreneurship systems and courses

	<i>THEORETICAL AUTHOR APPROACH</i>	<i>CONNECTION WITH ENTREPRENEURIAL EDUCATION</i>
<i>John Dewey</i>	Pedagogical activism (Dewey, 1899)	<i>Learning by doing</i>
<i>David Kolb</i>	Experiential Learning (Kolb, 1984)	<i>Action and experimentation as a field of knowledge and skills</i>
<i>Lave & Wenger</i>	Situated Learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991)	<i>It develops within a situated context, in practical situations</i>
<i>Slavin</i>	Cooperative learning (Slavin 1980)	<i>Team working</i>
<i>Barrows & Kelson</i>	Problem-based learning (Barrows and Kelson 1993)	<i>Problem-solving process</i>
<i>Jones & English</i>	Project based learning (Jones and English, 2004)	<i>Letting students work on a preferably authentic problem and create an “artefact” addressing the problem</i>
<i>Mezirow</i>	Transformative learning (Mezirow, 1991)	<i>Critical reflection</i>
<i>Knowles</i>	Self-directed learning (Knowles, 1950)	<i>Focus on learners’ motivation, learners’ independence, and experiences</i>

Entrepreneurial Education involves not just the endogenous and internal aspects of the person but the exogenous and external aspects too. It concerns the person’s motivations and personal ethical profile (sense of duty and bond of this sense with personal realization), but also the actual, real configuration of the future professional profile. This is why it has to be seen as the medium, catalyser and transformative principle of the profession-professionalism-professionalization triangle.

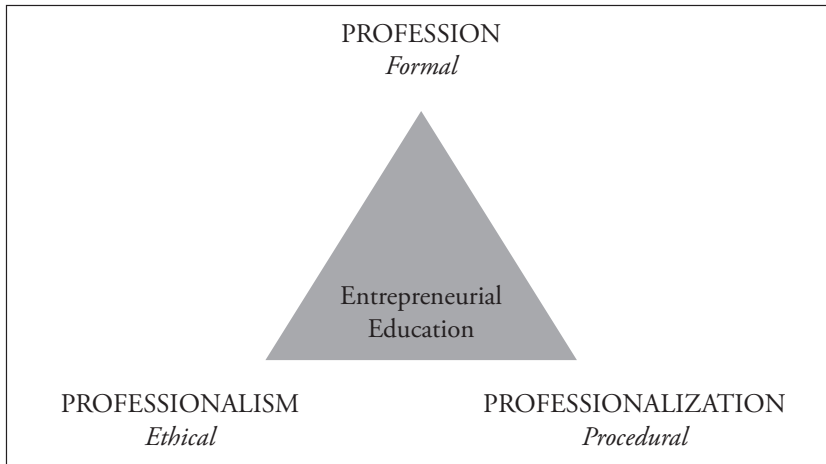


Figure 2. Entrepreneurial Education and its role as a medium in the triangle of professions

Entrepreneurial Education does not have a specific profession as a goal. Instead, it has the potential to create the conditions so that students can continuously re-plan themselves while responding to personal and market changes. For this same reason, Entrepreneurial Education tends more towards professionalism and professionalization and their connection. Indeed, building and working on the pole that we have defined as “ethical”—consisting of attitudes, positions, self-awareness, correct self-perception with regard to contexts and tasks, prefiguration of the self in the future and of the future itself (i.e., future design), etc.—is closely connected with the competences of innovation, creativity, divergence of thought and care of the self that are typical of the “umbrella” construct of entrepreneurship. All of these characteristics can benefit from the many studies and techniques that have been developed in the diagnostic sphere of the human sciences. In second place, the development of all those personal competence areas aimed at self-formation, such as learning to learn, problem-solving, choosing the correct sources, searching for ever new solutions to complex problems, and looking for and adapting/creating methods for complex problems, which are at the heart of the continuing “training” and “self-directing” process of the professionalization construct, find the Entrepreneurial Education model to be a place for propulsion and development.

In our opinion, building a solid base for the profession triangle through education in the workplace devices which free their formative potential will place the young generations in the condition to tackle, interpret, incorporate,

plan and prefigure the professions of the future, including those that society and the educational systems are not yet in the position to think or imagine.

Redesigning the Higher Education System as an Entrepreneurial Organization

Thus, it becomes particularly urgent to design and plan educational pathways that are more than just theory. Educational pathways increasingly need to be built in a network perspective so that they can connect education and work (European Commission 2016, 2020). From this point of view, a lot still needs to be done. First of all, the higher education pathways themselves have to be designed in a perspective of entrepreneurship while taking care that they have a flexible and laboratory structure. Second, the various normative devices that regulate the educational pathways need to be based on a dynamic and not static idea of the professions. The higher education curricula should increasingly vary in shape and the single courses should be built not around contents but competences. Indeed, competences are what profession-oriented education aims to achieve, using contents and skills in a functional manner as means to this end. The road to a clear framework of reference is still long, however. Hence, if universities do not want to be obsolete, they have to abandon the Humboldtian Knowledge Organization model and increasingly be a place that can provide professionals with the *skill sets* necessary for the professions of the future.

If competences and skills are the most relevant topics for the European Agenda (Skills Agenda, European Agenda 2030), all the more reason that they should be the linchpin around which to set up, develop and boost the educational and training professions and the cornerstone for the preparation and accompaniment of the transition to work. As a result, the discourse has to encompass three lines, the first relating to the necessity to draw up fitting curricula for the future of work, the second relating to the urgency to invest in the skills category, and the third relating to the area of professionalism and the development of all those ethical and deontological components useful for personal success in the professional sphere (Boffo, 2021). While the first line deals with university courses and their relationship with the world of work, the second takes into consideration the normative/political movement that should shape the national educational policies according to the European directives. The third instead refers to the personal dimension and self-determination, creating all those components of professional “bearing” that can favour the necessary evolution from a logic of the right to work to a logic of duty.

By saying this, we do not want to disdain the necessity of a protection policy in the sphere of the professions. Indeed, it is both necessary and useful to guarantee the global well-being of the work experience, but we want to recognize the value of personal proactivity in finding well-being in work. Indeed, it is the single worker who can give him or herself a positive, significant and constructive direction along the professional pathway, whatever shape it takes, not only by acting out the pre-packaged scripts that the organization asks him or her to perform, but by building new professional stories through personal and “customized” ways of interpreting the tasks that he or she is called upon to do (Togni, 2020; 2021). This way the alienating drifts of work can be played down or even overcome.

It is in this latter regard that in our opinion two levels of personal skills have to be taken into serious consideration. On the one hand, professional development can be greatly facilitated by planning higher education pathways that are strongly centred around narrative and autobiographical skills, meant not as a communication technique but as a tool of appropriation and profound meaning (White, 1992; Smorti, 1994; Boffo, 2020). On the other hand, precisely because of the liquidity and intrinsic transformability of the professions, higher education pathways should be centred around research skills. The professionals of the future world of work will increasingly have to be narrators and researchers. In this connection, we have put together a table which describes these skills and the value they hold in designing higher education pathways.

Table 2. Descriptions and role of narrative and research skills in HE

Skills area	Description	Role in HE design
Narrative/	Self-narrating in an objective manner while recognizing own resources and limits	Offering occasions for exchanges in protected and non-judgemental contexts
	Diagnosing the mental origins of our judgements	Creating occasions for dialogue and exchanges centred more around objective criteria than opinions
Autobiographical	Recounting and accounting for personal choices	Creating occasions for exchanges where educational experiences can be put to public analysis
	Describing own actions and reasons behind them	Accounting for actions performed in different educational and learning pathways
	Communicating results of own work and actions in a simple and effective manner	Creating public occasions to communicate learning results

Skills area	Description	Role in HE design
Research	Expressing well-grounded hypotheses based on objective knowledge of the situation	Fostering a task- and project-based rather than goal-and classification-based approach in real or simulated working situations
	Questioning situations in a creative and innovative manner	Setting up peer-to-peer workshops, cooperative learning and/or focus group strategies, while taking care not to provide pre-packaged solutions to problems
	Looking for solutions to complex problems and testing them in a fitting scientific manner	Getting used to finding different and not self-evident solutions to problems
	Choosing the most suitable methods and methodologies to solve problems	Offering a scientific and critical picture and not just methodical and methodological techniques
	Critically assessing and analysing the limits of own research process	Fostering self-assessment strategies

In our opinion, it is around these two distinctive skill areas, which form two of the pillars of Entrepreneurial Education at the heart of the profession-professionalism-professionalization triangle, that the higher education system must be rethought as an Entrepreneurial Organization. Only if we encourage a transformation in this direction can we have increasingly effective answers to the current pandemic situation and to future crises, whatever form they may take, and their effects on the world of work.

Conclusions

If Entrepreneurial Education becomes the linchpin around which to build suitable skills for real educational innovation, educational models will have to be studied, applied and tested to support its dissemination. To this end, some Italian universities have set up specific programmes where interdisciplinary, interconnected and contaminated educational experiences introduce students and graduates to specially devised and arranged occasions for creativity. Artistic programmes contaminate the curricula of physicists, mathematicians and engineers and, vice versa, projects on big data and the Internet of Things explore applications in the fields of the social and human sciences. Where the contamination model is applied, it leads to a growth in the students' awareness of the future, enterprise creation capabilities and the possibility of a swift education-to-profession transition. The learning programmes combine a broad cultural, humane and artistic content with the scientific rigour of knowledge in physics, biology, mathematics, neurosciences and chemistry. On the one hand, the transdisciplinary contents go

beyond the know-how and knowledge provided by the disciplines in the strict sense, and on the other, the didactic-educational methods support group learning, shared creativity and routes to reflectivity and metacognition.

If we consider that the entrepreneurial spirit of the graduate and of the institution, context and learning pathway must go hand in hand, it is all the more reason to implement new visions of universities where knowledge can encounter and be connected to skills. Hence, we have to look for and research new learning models but also new directions for the curricula. If the professions change and transform so quickly, the curricula must use innovative methods to provide the tools for innovative learning, and really test out new forms of knowledge transfer. The world will leave the pandemic behind, and will do so because science has put itself at the service of humankind by creating vaccines in an extraordinarily short time span. We will have to change perspective to be capable of giving back the gift that we have received. We must change work via a change, a far-reaching transformation, in our way of providing a university education. We are indebted to those scientists whose initiative and entrepreneurial skills have given us results that we could not have imagined even a few months ago. In our complex world, the road could appear incredibly straight, and, one might say, “simplex” (Berthoz, 2011).

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Preduzetnička organizacija u visokom obrazovanju: odgovori na krizu u oblasti rada i obrazovanja izazvanu pandemijom i drugim faktorima

Apstrakt: Nesumnjivo je da je aktuelna kriza, nastala kao posledica pandemije, nepovoljno uticala na tržište rada. Sve češće se javlja potreba za ponovnim osmišljavanjem konteksta visokog obrazovanja kako bi se pospešila mogućnost zaposlenja. Ovaj esej započinje triangulacijom profesije, profesionalizma i profesionalizacije i osvrće se na mogućnost zaposlenja u sadašnjem trenutku. *Preduzetničko obrazovanje* ističemo kao rešenje za aktuelnu krizu. Ono podrazumeva tretiranje visokoobrazovnih ustanova kao *preduzetničkih organizacija* u okviru kojih se aktiviraju procesi s ciljem razvoja istraživačkih i narativnih kompetencija.

Ključne reči: mogućnost zaposlenja u sferi visokog obrazovanja, preduzetničko obrazovanje, profesionalizam, profesionalizacija, istraživačke i narativne kompetencije.

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Koncept životne sredine u andragoškoj literaturi i univerzitetskom obrazovanju andragoga

Apstrakt: Rad je zasnovan na polazištu da je za doprinos andragogije i obrazovanja odraslih procesima „transformacije društva“ neophodno da, kao istraživači i univerzitetski nastavnici, preispitamo sopstveno razumevanje i integrisanje koncepta životne sredine kao jedne od ključnih dimenzija održivog razvoja u ovu oblast. Polazi se od pitanja kako su životna sredina i relacija humano – životnosredinsko konceptualizovane u andragoškoj literaturi i da li se i kako integracijom tog koncepta doprinosi nestajanju ili balansu znanja o životnoj sredini u obrazovanju odraslih uopšte a posebno u univerzitetskom obrazovanju? U traganju za odgovorima, preduzeta je kvalitativna analiza trendova u konceptualizaciji životne sredine u radovima autora u oblasti obrazovanja odraslih za životnu sredinu koji su nastali i poslednjoj deceniji XX i početkom ovog veka. Razmatraju se terminološke i pojmovne relacije između životnosredinskih i ekoloških konstrukata, kao i njihov odnos sa konceptom održivog razvoja.

Ključne reči: životna sredina, održivi razvoj, obrazovanje odraslih za životnu sredinu, univerzitetsko obrazovanje.

Uvod

Početak drugog milenijuma obeležili su na svetskom nivou usvajanje Milenijumskih ciljeva razvoja (MDGs) i revizija ciljeva EFA (Education for All, Dakar), u nastojanju da se pospeše šanse za napredak i dostupnost obrazovanja svima u različitim područjima. Usvajanjem Ciljeva održivog razvoja (SDGs) (UN, 2015) još jednom se potvrđuje vizija o obrazovanju kao pravu koje bi trebalo da uživaju sve generacije i ciljne grupe i kao nezamenjivom činiocu ostvarenja svakog – od ukupno sedamanaest sveobuhvatnih ciljeva.

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Istovremeno suočavanje sa sve vidljivijim posledicama aktuelnih i rizicima od novih kriza jedni smatraju znakom za uzbunu, dok drugi, umereniji, zaključuju da napori da (obrazovanjem i drugim merama) delujemo na „neodržive“ navike nisu urodili plodom. Potrebna je transformacija, radikalna promena, preispitivanje vrednosti, a ne obrazovni input čiji će rezultat biti promena ponašanja. Uprkos opštim uverenjima da obrazovanje može da odigra presudnu ulogu, ocena napora činjenih poslednjih decenija XX veka govori o slabim efektima na promenu ponašanja koja je u ranoj konceptualizaciji obrazovanja za životnu sredinu postavljena kao glavni cilj. Pažnja globalne politike, istraživača i edukatora na svim nivoima sve više se poklanja pristupima koji će aktivirati ljude da budu agensi promene u pravcu održivosti.

Početak milenijuma obeležava i sve rasprostranjenija rasprava o konceptu antropocena, koji, kako se procenjuje, označava „preokret u odnosima između ljudi i životne sredine“ (Steffen, Grinevald, Crutzen, & Mcneill, 2011, str. 843). Brojne rasprave i definicije tiču se različitih aspekata tog koncepta, koji u osnovi govori o tome da su ljudi postali „glavna geološka i prirodna sila, jednako važna ili možda čak važnija od same prirode“ (Corlett, 2014, str. 36). Sudeći prema nizu ekoloških i geoloških parametara, autori se slažu da su premašene vrednosti tipične za holocen – kao aktuelnu, odnosno geološku epohu koja prethodi antropocenu. Iako nema konačnog slaganja o ulasku u novo geološko razdoblje, opšti je utisak da je sada reč o moći čoveka da „dominira“ prirodom a ne samo da je prilagođava sebi u određenim segmentima (Corlett, 2014; Chernilo, 2016). Mada se autori sa područja društvenih i humanističkih nauka uključuju u raspravu o aspektima antropocena tek poslednjih godina, otvaranje pitanja o humanoj prirodi i odnosu sa okruženjem, projektuje mnoštvo mogućih perspektiva o viziji budućnosti Zemlje i života na njoj. Prema viđenju autora, koncept antropocena oslikava ljudsku prirodu kao racionalno instrumentalističku, čija tehnološka i ukupna moć dostiže vrhunac razvoja, ali pretili i da uništi prirodu, dakle i sebe; stoga je neophodno posmatrati je i sa druge, humanističke strane, koja osvetljava refleksivnost čoveka i sposobnost da strateški preispita svoje delovanje i uticaj na budućnost (Chernilo, 2016).

Posmatrajući relacije „humano – ne-humano“ iz perspektive političke ekologije, Flečer (Fletcher) tvrdi da je upravo nastojanje mnogih autora u obrazovanju za životnu sredinu da se radi na ponovnom povezivanju ljudi i prirode kontradiktorno: „ako se ‘priroda’ definiše kao nešto što stoji nasuprot sferi humanog, onda upravo ovakav koncept paradoksalno pojačava tu razdvojenost koju nameravaju da dovedu u pitanje“ (Fletcher, 2017, str. 229).

Zavisno od epistemoloških i teorijskih polazišta, naučnici zaključuju o uzrocima i posledicama tih složenih procesa nastupajući često sa potpuno su-

protnih pozicija. Definisanje koncepta održivosti kao međusobno isprepletanih socijalnih, ekonomskih i ekoloških kvaliteta odnosno aspekata razvoja dodatno podstiče autore na razmatranje relacije ljudi – ostatak životne sredine, sa interdisciplinarnih ili pozicija discipline kojoj pripadaju. Istovremeno, međutim, sve veća terminološka i konceptualna raznovrsnost počinje da pokazuje drugo lice, otežavajući primenu putem obrazovanja i praksu razvoja u svakom aspektu. U takvom širem kontekstu, obrazovanje odraslih za životnu sredinu takođe prerašta, kako to formuliše Leindž (Lange, 2010), u „prirodno područje višeglasja“ (‘a many-voiced natural landscape’), u kome se mogu prepoznati različiti teorijski i epistemološki uticaji.

U ovom radu analiziramo literaturu u oblasti obrazovanja odraslih za životnu sredinu (OOŽS), vođeni pre svega pitanjima kakvo je viđenje životne sredine kao koncepta i odnosa humano – životnosredinsko, i kakve implikacije to ima na određenje ciljeva a posredno i na praksu u ovoj oblasti obrazovanja odraslih.

Trendovi i pristupi u obrazovanju odraslih za životnu sredinu

Bez obzira na relativno kratku istoriju, obrazovanje odraslih za životnu sredinu danas se može posmatrati, kako to čine autori (Lange, 2019), kao jedan od najinovativnijih i najizazovnijih diskursa na polju obrazovanja odraslih. Povećana pažnja obrazovanju i celoživotnom učenju radi dostizanja ciljeva održivog razvoja podstiče i autore u oblasti obrazovanja odraslih da analiziraju različite aspekte održivosti koji imaju implikacije na obrazovanje (Elfert, 2019; Orlović Lovren, Popović, 2018; Webb, Holford, Hodge, Milana, & Waller, 2019).

Mada se prvi radovi koji tretiraju pitanja iz domena OOŽS pojavljuju sredinom sedamdesetih godina (Haugen, 2010), vidljivije interesovanje autora primetno je tek od kraja devedesetih godina XX veka (Lange, 2010). Pod uticajima pojačane pažnje koja se na globalnom nivou poklanja tim temama raste interesovanje autora i u andragoškoj literaturi, posebno podstaknuto Svetskim samitom o životnoj sredini Ujedinjenih nacija (UN) u Rio de Žaneiru 1992, Petom međunarodnom konferencijom o obrazovanju odraslih 1997. godine i uključivanjem aspekata obrazovanja odraslih za životnu sredinu u brojne relevantne dokumente nastale pod okriljem UNESCO (UNESCO, 1999).

Posmatrajući trendove u razvoju OOŽS, fokus autora se pomera sa bavljenja iskustvom učenika ka pristupima u podučavanju, a u novije vreme posebno ka primeni u praksi, naročito u smislu podrške razvoju aktivizma, društvenog dijaloga i promene (Haugen, 2010, str. 3). Snažna tradicija obrazovanja u zajednici koja postoji u obrazovanju odraslih, kao i uticaj radikalne pedagogije, socijalno

kritičkih teorija i socijalnih pokreta, prirodno vode ka proučavanju međusobnih relacija društveno-političkih kretanja i ekoloških izazova u razmatranjima autora koji su gradili temelje na polju OOŽS.

Mapirajući 'raznovrsnost obrazovnih filozofija' u okviru OOŽS, Volter (Walter, 2009) uočava jake uticaje radikalnih teorija u konceptima i istraživanjima grupe kanadskih autora, pre svega Darlin Klover (Darlene E. Clover), nešto slabiji upliv progresivističkih tradicija u radu Fajnštajna, Tejlora i Kaldareli (Feinstein, Taylor, Caldarelli), dok su, kako smatra, elementi liberalnih, biheviornalnih i humanističkih teorija „rasprostranjeni u praksi i, nasuprot tome, teško uočljivi u akademskoj literaturi o obrazovanju odraslih“ (Walter, 2009, str. 21).

Prema viđenju Darlin Klover, OOŽS nastaje unošenjem pitanja životne sredine u obrazovanje odraslih (Clover, 2003) i razlikuje se od ranih koncepata ekološkog obrazovanja i po tome što se usmerava ka angažovanom, participativnom učenju više nego ka rešavanju ekoloških problema. Organske veze između teorija transformativnog učenja i andragogije i njihov vidljiv uticaj u OOŽS čine potencijalno značajan doprinos ambiciozno postavljenom cilju „transformacije našeg društva“ ka održivosti, za koji se zalaže globalna politika i o čemu se intenzivno diskutuje u sve opsežnijoj literaturi o obrazovanju odraslih (Lange, 2019).

U tom kontekstu, više autora prepoznaje dve „vodeće linije“ (Mc Donald, 2006) ili strane „kontinuumu mogućnosti“ (Hill, 2006) u andragoškoj literaturi koja se tiče pitanja životne sredine i procesa učenja odraslih (Hill & Clover, 2003; Hill, 2006; Mc Donald, 2006). Prva, koja se označava kao ekološko obrazovanje odraslih (adult environmental education), zasnovana je na individualnoj promeni ponašanja, a druga, obrazovanje odraslih za životnu sredinu (environmental adult education), „otvara pitanja o tome kako se uči u i o životnoj sredini, poštujući ono što ljudi već znaju i uključujući ih u participativni proces“ (Hill, 2006, str. 266). Posmatrajući tu distinkciju iz perspektive opštih teorijskih trendova u razvoju obrazovanja i konceptu učenja i podučavanja, moglo bi se reći da je ona logičan odraz prebacivanja fokusa sa promene ponašanja kao cilja učenja (formulisnog na biheviornističkim osnovama), ka razvoju participativnih strategija koje aktiviraju učenike i zahtevaju aktivan i reflektivan angažman i onih koji uče i profesionalaca koji ih podučavaju.

Sve veći broj autorskih priloga u andragoškoj literaturi u toj oblasti predstavlja istovremeno dobar znak da je povećano naučno interesovanje za ta pitanja, ali i rizik od neusaglašenosti i zapadanja u „paradoks između prihvatanja pluralizma i bavljenja hitnim problemima održivog razvoja“ (Van Poeck & Vandena-beele, 2014, str. 221), što onda može predstavljati i barijeru za primenu ideja i koncepata u obrazovanju i svakodnevnom životu. Da bismo bolje sagledali potencijale OOŽS da pruži kvalitetnu podršku u suočavanju sa tim izazovima današnjice, neophodno je da se vratimo osnovnim pitanjima: kako se u andragogiji,

kao društvenoj nauci u čijem fokusu su pitanja učenja odraslih sa ciljem individualnog, socijalno-ekonomskog i kulturnog razvoja, shvataju i konceptualizuju životna sredina i odnos između ljudi i nje? Kakva je uloga ljudi i, u skladu sa tim, odgovornost odraslih u ovoj relaciji i kako se to dalje pretače u ciljeve i praksu obrazovanja odraslih? Da li se viđenjem tih relacija u andragoškoj literaturi na polju OOŽS doprinosi balansu između ekološkog, ekonomskog i socijalnog ili zapostavljanju znanja o životnoj sredini a time i punog potencijala za suočavanje sa problemima i zahtevima modernog života na lokalnoj i globalnoj sceni? U pronalaženju odgovora na ta pitanja predstavimo kratak osvrt na glavne trendove u konceptualizaciji životne sredine u radovima autora koji se bave obrazovanjem odraslih za životnu sredinu i održivi razvoj.

Koncept životne sredine i ciljevi obrazovanja odraslih za životnu sredinu u andragoškoj literaturi

Analiza preduzeta za potrebe ovog rada nema ambiciozan cilj da bude sveobuhvatni prikaz doprinosa svih autora na polju obrazovanja odraslih za životnu sredinu (OOŽS) već da osvetli preovlađujući diskurs i koncepte koji se tiču životne sredine, relacija ljudi sa njom i ciljeva koji bi prema viđenjima autora trebalo da se ostvare u praksi zahvaljujući razvoju tog andragoškog područja. U tu svrhu, analizirani su literatura koja sadrži pregled glavnih trendova u toj oblasti (English & Mayo, 2012; Haugen, 2010; Hill, 2006; McDonald, 2006; Walter, 2009) i posebni doprinosi pojedinih autora koji su ostvarili primetan uticaj na tom polju u posljednje tri decenije (tabela 1).

Tabela 1. Pregled shvatanja životne sredine, relacija humano – životnosredinsko i ciljeva OOŽS

Autori	Koncept životne sredine	Relacije ljudi i životne sredine	Ciljevi OOŽS
Darlin Klover (Darlene Clover)	Životna sredina kao ekološko (biološko), fizičko (prirodno i stvoreno), socijalno, političko, kulturno, estetsko i ekonomsko okruženje (Clover, Jayme, Follen, & Hall, 2010) „Integrisan ljudski i van-ljudski kontekst ili prostor u kome su smešteni misao, emocija i aktivnost“ (Clover, 2004, prema Lange, 2010, str. 311)	Međuzavisnost između ljudi i 'ostatka prirode': ta sintagma se koristi da naglasi da su ljudi „deo prirode a ne odvojeni od nje“ (Clover et al., 2010, str. 19)	Identifikovanje i primena ekološkog znanja, balansiranje između sociopolitičkog i ekonomskog i izgradnja kritičkih i kreativnih kapaciteta koji će služiti zdravijem, pravednijem i održivom svetu (Clover et al., 2010)

Autori	Koncept životne sredine	Relacije ljudi i životne sredine	Ciljevi OOŽS
Patriša Miše (Patricia Mische)	„Zemlja kao sistem koji istovremeno i podržava i koegzistira sa humanim sistemom“ (Mische, 1992, prema Haugen, 2010, str. 5)	„Ljudi razvijaju osećaj ekološke odgovornosti i dublju posvećenost Zemlji.“ (Mische, 1992, prema Haugen, 2010, str. 5)	„OOŽS nije samo način da se obrazujemo već i način da se živi i bude.“ (Mische, 1992, prema Haugen, 2010, str. 5)
Lilijan Hil, Džuli D. Džonston (Lilian Hill, Julie D. Johnston)	Priroda, mreža života (Hill & Johnston, 2003)	Međuzavisne veze ljudi i prirode; duhovnost i pristup „duboke ekologije“ (Hill & Johnston, 2003)	Proces negovanja duhovnosti i refleksije nad vrednostima sa ciljem razvoja međusobnih relacija prirode i ljudi, pravde i društvene jednakosti; negovanje ekološke osnove u učenju odraslih za životnu sredinu. (Hill & Johnston, 2003)
Pol Belanžer (Paul Belanger)	Totalitet kulturnih, prirodnih i ekonomskih karakteristika; okruženje za učenje – ne samo objekat već komponenta učenja (Belanger, 2003)	Interakcija ljudi i njihovog ekonomskog, kulturnog i prirodnog okruženja; ekologija učenja kao pristup koji se bavi tom interakcijom (Belanger, 2003)	Celoživotno učenje, ne samo o ili za, već i kroz životnu sredinu i u njoj; ekološka transformacija svih obrazovnih praksi (Belanger, 2003)
Dženifer Samner (Jennifer Sumner)	Socijalni, politički i ekološki aspekti zajednice; lokalna zajednica u fokusu	Međupovezanost ljudi i njihove zajednice koju je neophodno razumeti ne samo u socijalnom, političkom i ekonomskom već i u ekološkom kontekstu	Obrazovanje u zajednici koje vodi održivosti (Sumner, 2003)
Barbara Mek Donald (Barbara McDonald)	Socijalno i prirodno okruženje; zajednica koja se odlikuje socijalnim, kulturnim, političkim i ekonomskim karakteristikama ali i „ne-humanim“ komponentama. (McDonald, 2006)	Odnosi između humanih i ne-humanih elemenata dinamičkog sistema prirodne i društvene hijerarhije	Podržavanje lične i socijalne transformacije usmerene ka ekološkoj održivosti, saradnjom profesionalaca u obrazovanju odraslih i obrazovanju za životnu sredinu

Posmatrajući kratko izdvojene ključne reči ili segmente određenja životne sredine analizom obuhvaćenih autora, može se najpre primetiti da su terminološka rešenja raznolika – dok jedni vide životnu sredinu kao ‘kontekst’, ‘prostor’ ili ‘sistem’, drugi se fokusiraju na zajednicu. Uprkos tome, primetni su napori da se konceptualizaciji životne sredine pristupi sa integralnih i holističkih pozicija, ne

zanemarujući nežive i biološke, uz socijalne, ekonomske i kulturne odrednice tog složenog sistema. Humane i ne-humane komponente su posebno zastupljene u projekcijama misije ili ciljeva OOŽS, pod uticajem duhovne ekologije („živeti i postojati a ne samo učiti o životnoj sredini“; „reflektovati nad vrednostima ljudi kao i prirode“). Osim upliva ideja radikalne teorije (Clover et al., 2010; Walter, 2009), u pristupima autora u OOŽS prepoznaju se i epistemološki uticaji dubinske i duhovne ekologije i ekofeminizma (humane i ne-humane komponente životne sredine; Zemlja kao „mreža života“).

O specifičnosti fokusa u konceptualizovanju tih relacija još bolje govore viđenja odnosa humano – životnosredinsko. Kao što se vidi (tabela 1), dok ga jedni karakterišu kao odnos između humanog sveta i ‘preostale Prirode’ ili *Planete Zemlje* (Clover, 2003; Hill & Johnston, 2003; Mische, 1992), za druge je to relacija između ljudi i zajednice, ne samo shvaćene u društvenom, političkom ili ekonomskom već i u ekološkom značenju (Sumner, 2003; Belanger, 2003), ili između humanih i ne-humanih elemenata sistema (Mc Donald, 2006). Uprkos terminološkim varijacijama, može se uočiti zajednička tendencija autora da sagledaju celovitu sliku i dinamične procese koji se odvijaju među ljudima, ali i između njih i okruženja, bilo da ga posmatraju kao zajednicu, prirodu, Zemlju ili sredinu za učenje.

U skladu sa tim, misija OOŽS se usmerava šire od razvoja kapaciteta i kritičke refleksije ljudi, ljudskih prava i pravednosti – ka vrednovanju „održivosti sveta“, „ekološke održivosti“, „značaja biljaka i životinja“, vode, zemljišta, stena, vazduha i njihove međusobne povezanosti. Težeći širokom shvatanju životne sredine i podsećajući na vrednosti i njenih humanih i ne-humanih komponenta, posebno u razmatranju relacija ljudi i okruženja, autori ipak, kada je reč o ciljevima OOŽS, u većini slučajeva (obuhvaćenih ovom analizom), usmeravaju fokus ka ljudskim pravima, jednakosti i zdravlju, pa se može reći da su primese antropocentričnog pristupa najvidljivije u domenu njihove projekcije ciljeva obrazovanja u toj oblasti.

U celini gledano, terminološke varijacije često unose konfuziju i otežavaju samo razumevanje koncepta: u pojedinim slučajevima, životna sredina predstavlja segment šireg konstrukta koji je nazvan isto – životna sredina, Zemlja ili priroda. Kao posledica toga, može se razumeti da se pitanja životne sredine odnose na sve njene komponente, ali i samo na one „zelené“ ili „ekološke“ aspekte okruženja. Stoga je i danas ne manje aktuelna konstatacija da je obrazovnim uticajima važno „stalno podsećati ljude da je naša životna sredina totalitet svega u čemu živimo – prirodnog ili stvorenog, prostornog, društvenog ili privremenog. Ona je produžetak nas samih i njeno zdravlje zahteva istu brigu kao i naše“ (Smyth, 2006, str. 248).

Zastupajući holistički pogled na životnu sredinu ali i na obrazovanje, Orr tvrdi da je „sve obrazovanje ekološko“ (Orr, 2004, str. 12). U svetlu očekivanja od nastavnika da, uprkos terminološkoj i konceptualnoj konfuziji, razumeju i primenjuju te složene koncepte u njihovoj međusobnoj integraciji, Smajt smatra da je sve veća potreba da oni u suštini budu sigurni „da znaju o čemu govore a da to bude jasno i ostalima“ (Smyth, 2006, str. 255).

Potreba za većom terminološkom i konceptualnom jasnoćom ističe se neretko i u andragoškoj literaturi. Kako se navodi, „učenje u oblasti obrazovanja odraslih za životnu sredinu zahteva usvajanje novog rečnika“ (English & Mayo, 2012, str. 190) ili dublju integraciju termina životna sredina i ekologija u diskurs obrazovanja odraslih (Taylor, 2006).

Neophodnost da se obezbedi usaglašeno, holističko razumevanje tih konceptata posebno je vidljiva u načinu na koji ovde analizirani autori određuju ciljeve OOŽS: podstaći ličnu ili društvenu transformaciju, življenje i učenje sa životnom sredinom, razvijanje održive životne sredine ili zajednice. Da bi se obezbedilo takvo razumevanje te složenosti, neophodno je, kako se naglašava, krenuti od „prepoznavanja ekoloških znanja koje ljudi već poseduju da bi se kroz dijalog i debatu sa drugima kreiralo novo ekološko razumevanje našeg sveta“ (Clover prema Hill & Clover, 2003, str. 10), a takođe i učiti od drugih naučnih disciplina i kolega iz različitih istraživačkih oblasti.

Da bi se doprinelo globalnoj održivosti životne sredine, ključno je obezbediti „razumevanje zasnovano na sistemskom pristupu“ (McDonald, 2006, str. 285). S obzirom na to da ni sami profesori u svom formalnom akademskom obrazovanju nisu mogli da steknu prirodno naučna ili tehnološka znanja, nije uvek realno očekivati da univerzitetskim obrazovanjem edukatora odraslih budu obuhvaćena pitanja životne sredine, smatra Tejlor, tragajući za „nekim drugim načinima saznavanja koji se mogu koristiti kako bi se konstruisalo značenje prirodnog sveta u našoj praksi“ (Taylor, 2006, str. 257).

Terminološke varijacije uzrokuju, međutim, moguće nerazumevanje i u okviru vokabulara jedne naučne oblasti, a posebno u interdisciplinarnim pristupima. Moguće „smetnje“ u komunikaciji očigledne su i kada je reč o prevodenju ključnih termina, poput životne sredine („environment“) i ekologije. Dok se prvo u našem jeziku shvata kao prostor, u užem smislu kao prirodno okruženje ili u širem – kao složaj i međusobna dinamika svih pominjanih, humanih i ne-humanih, živih i neživih elemenata, pod drugim se uobičajeno podrazumeva jedna od nauka ili prirodnonaučnih disciplina. Dalja zabuna, shodno tome, nastaje kada koristimo sintagmu obrazovanje za životnu sredinu („environmental education“) i ekološko obrazovanje („ecological education“) ili ekološka znanja („ecological knowledge“). Ako za nekoga na našem govornom prostoru tvrdimo da ima eko-

loška znanja, mislimo li pod tim da ima stečeno formalno obrazovanje u prirodnonaučnoj oblasti ekologije ili da, bez obzira na to iz koje naučne oblasti ili kakvog formalnog obrazovanja potiče, zahvaljujući neformalnom, informalnom učenju ili usavršavanju, poznaje i razume one aspekte i procese u životnoj sredini koji se tiču prirodnonaučnih i-ili tehničko-tehnoloških, a ne samo društvenih, političkih, ekonomskih ili kulturnih aspekata? Ukoliko je neko ekološki aktivista, smatramo li da poseduje prirodnonaučna znanja ili samo sklonost da se bavi tim pitanjima, o njima uči ili doprinese nekom rešenju uz podršku drugih istomišljenika ili stručnjaka? Mada su u svakodnevnom govoru ili kontekstu nekih drugih teorijskih rasprava značenja tih sintagmi često izjednačena, sudeći prema tome kako ih tumače analizom obuhvaćeni autori, ekološka znanja podrazumevaju upravo elemente i sadržaje koji nam obezbeđuju da, osim posedovanja društveno-humanističkih, ovladamo i segmentima prirodnonaučnih, tehničko-tehnoloških i srodnih znanja, koja su, međusobno integrisana, neophodna da bismo sagledali kompleksnost životne sredine i njenu ulogu u složenom konstruktivnom razvoju. O tome govore i poruke autora da je značajno da edukatori odraslih, noseći odgovornu ulogu u društvu, „unaprede svoju ekološku i političku pismenost na lokalnom, regionalnom i globalnom nivou“ (Lange, 2010, str. 312).

Imajući to u vidu, dalje se logično nameće pitanje koliko je takav pristup konceptu životne sredine i ekološkim znanjima zastupljen u terminologiji i kurikulumu univerzitetskog obrazovanja andragoga, odnosno budućih stručnjaka za obrazovanje odraslih. Kakva im se podrška obezbeđuje u razumevanju složenosti životne sredine, unapređenju njihove ekološke pismenosti i samim tim kompetencija za održivi razvoj, kako bi oni mogli dalje da podrže zajednicu i svoje buduće polaznike u istom tom procesu?

Životna sredina kao diskurs u univerzitetskom obrazovanju andragoga

Terminološka i konceptualna raznolikost nije vidljiva samo u određenjima životne sredine i ciljeva obrazovanja odraslih u ovom domenu već, kako je poznato, i u samom pristupu profesionalizaciji kadra pa i upotrebi naziva kojim se označavaju profesionalci u obrazovanju odraslih. Profesionalce u oblasti obrazovanja odraslih u ovom radu nazivamo generički andragozima, koristeći specifične termine onda kada se pozivamo na izraze koje upotrebljavaju pojedini autori (npr. 'edukatori odraslih') ili se dotičemo studijskih programa koji u svom nazivu ne sadrže taj termin.

Dvanaest godina nakon što su se potpisnici istorijske Hamburške deklaracije saglasili da integrišu „pitanja životne sredine i razvoja u sve sektore učenja odraslih“ (UNESCO, 1997, str. 12), učesnici naredne, Šeste međunarodne kon-

ferencije o obrazovanju odraslih zaključuju da je u većini zemalja dominantan fokus još uvek na programima profesionalnog i stručnog obrazovanja i obuke (UNESCO, 2009).

Procenjujući da se situacija nije mnogo promenila ni na nivou visokog obrazovanja, Tejlor govori o „predominantnom antropocentrizmu“ i „osivljavanju“ (nasuprot „ozelenjavanju“) akademskog obrazovanja budućih edukatora odraslih zbog toga što je izostalo „suočavanje sa izazovima našeg prirodnog sveta“ (Taylor, 2006, str. 256). Mada se njegove procene odnose pretežno na stanje u severnoameričkim univerzitetima, sudeći prema pomenutoj oceni učesnika CONFINTEA VI, situacija nije značajno različita ni u drugim delovima sveta.

Posmatrajući novije programe (2019–2021) nekih evropskih univerziteta koji obrazuju kadar u oblasti obrazovanja odraslih, može se naići na izvesne pomake – bilo u pravcu orijentacije ka obrazovanju za životnu sredinu ili ka uvođenju koncepta održivog razvoja. Tako, na primer, u Studijskom programu Odeljenja za obrazovanje odraslih i razvoj ljudskih resursa na Filozofskom fakultetu Karlovog univerziteta u Pragu, Češka Republika (Department of Adult Education and Personnel management, 2019/20), sadržan je kurs „Obrazovanje u prirodi“ („Outdoor education“). U silabusu za predmet na master studijama „Obrazovanje odraslih i lokalni razvoj“ u studijskom programu na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Ljubljani, Slovenija (University of Ljubljana, 2020/21), nalaze se kao teme i obrazovanje odraslih za životnu sredinu i održivi razvoj kao koncept. Počev od 2014. godine, jedan od izbornih predmeta u programu osnovnih studija andragogije na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu (Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, Katedra za andragogiju, 2014), nosi naziv Obrazovanje odraslih za životnu sredinu i posvećen je razmatranju koncepta i relacija humano – životnosredinsko, životna sredina i održivi razvoj i implikacije na obrazovanje odraslih.

Ovih nekoliko primera, bez dublje i sistematične analize kurikuluma studijskih programa, može se smatrati samo ilustracijom makar dva trenda: jednog, koji se odnosi na uticaj teorijskih postavki – ne samo autora čije smo konceptualizacije prethodno analizirali, već posebno socijalnokritičkih ideja sa implikacijama na društveni angažman i građanski aktivizam koji uključuje brigu o životnoj sredini – i drugi, koji odražava intenzivne istraživačke i praktične napore da se održivost integriše u institucije visokog obrazovanja.

Prateći koliko formulisani ishodi u silabusima studijskih programa andragogije, arhitekture i bezbednosti Univerziteta u Beogradu korespondiraju sa ciljevima učenja predloženim u svakom od sedamnaest ciljeva održivog razvoja (UNESCO, 2017), za svaku od uključenih naučnih oblasti je posebno odabran jedan, njoj najbliži cilj i ka tome je usmerena detaljnija analiza (Orlović Lovren, Maruna, Stanarević, 2020). Poredeći ishode učenja studijskog programa andra-

gogija (iz 2014) sa predloženim ciljevima učenja za Cilj 4 („Obezbediti inkluzivnost, jednakost i kvalitet obrazovanja i promovisati celoživotno učenje za sve“), visok nivo kompatibilnosti uočen je u integraciji koncepta celoživotnog učenja i ljudskih prava, dok je povezanost znatno slabija kada je reč o obuhvatu ekoloških dimenzija održivosti (podcilj 4.7) (Orlović Lovren, Maruna, Stanarević, 2020).

Te i slične analize (Lončar, 2011; Orlović Lovren, 2015) govore da studijski programi u univerzitetskom obrazovanju za andragoge na Univerzitetu u Beogradu „imaju potencijal“ (Lončar, 2011) za održivost, ali da im, kako pokazuju i prethodno pomenuti nalazi, nedostaju upravo „ekološka znanja“ (Taylor, 2006), odnosno sadržaji koji bi obezbedili ne samo razumevanje ekonomskih i socijalnih već i aspekata koji se tiču trećeg važnog stuba održivosti – životne sredine.

Analizirajući dominantne konstrukte u univerzitetskom obrazovanju edukatora odraslih, Tejlor izdvaja tri važna pravca za njihovo „ozelenjavanje“, odnosno razvoj obrazovanja za životnu sredinu: sami termini životna sredina i ekologija, smatra autor, trebalo bi da postanu sastavni deo „svakodnevnog diskursa u stvaranju značenja u oblasti obrazovanja odraslih“ (Taylor, 2006, str. 260), zajedno sa pojmovima kao što su uloga učenika, nastavnika, lokus kontrole i sl.; drugo, neophodno je obezbediti razumevanje ‘skrivenog kurikuluma’ užeg i šireg okruženja institucija koje nude studijske programe i, treće, „povezivanje pitanja životne sredine sa drugim, često marginalizovanim temama na ovom području“ (Taylor, 2006, str. 261), kako to čini Darlin Klover kada razmatra pitanja proizvodnje i potrošnje, rasizma i seksizma u životnoj sredini, vezu korporatizacije sa obrazovanjem odraslih i sl. Mada formulisane pre više od jedne decenije i analizirane pretežno u kontekstu severnoameričkog i kanadskog univerzitetskog obrazovanja kadra u obrazovanju odraslih, ti trendovi su zajednički i drugim sredinama i očigledno aktuelni i danas.

Zaključak

Teorijski doprinos autora na polju OOŽS i njihovo slaganje da je u obrazovanje odraslih na svim nivoima i u različitim područjima neophodno integrisati pitanja životne sredine, i to posebno ekološka znanja, nije dosledno pretočen u praksu od kraja XX veka do danas. Dok jedni autori razloge vide u pluralizmu određenja i konstrukata i u ovoj oblasti (Lange, 2010), drugi smatraju da tome doprinosi i mnoštvo tema koje se odnose na životnu sredinu i nedovoljna potpora nastavnicima i istraživačima za njihovo integrisanje u kurikulum (Taylor, 2006).

Šire gledano, disciplinarna podeljenost karakteristična i za savremeni univerzitet kao instituciju prepoznaje se kao jedna od globalnih barijera za primenu

koncepta održivosti, a u tom sklopu i za integraciju holističkog koncepta životne sredine i obrazovanja (Leal Filho et al., 2017). Pozvane istovremeno da doprinesu ekonomskom razvoju u korporativnom svetu i transformaciji društva ka održivosti, institucije visokog obrazovanja u oblasti društvenih nauka, a u okviru njih i studijski programi razvijeni za buduće stručnjake za obrazovanje odraslih, stidljivo nude sadržaje, odnosno pristupe koji unose diskurs integralne životne sredine kao međuodnosa ljudi sa svim ostalim elementima tog složenog razvojnog prostora. Oni su uglavnom uključeni u pojedinačne kurseve, a veoma retko se javljaju kao diskurs ili koncept u predmetima koji se ne dotiču direktno oblasti obrazovanja za životnu sredinu i-ili održivi razvoj. Imajući u vidu takođe nedovoljnu zastupljenost tih tema u prethodnom obrazovanju (i slabu potporu usavršavanju) nastavnika, ne čudi što životna sredina ne nalazi veći prostor u posebnim kursovima niti što se retko pojavljuje kao perspektiva u razmatranju ekonomskih, socijalnih, kulturnih ili političkih dimenzija obrazovanja odraslih.

Bez obzira na razlike u konceptualizaciji, autori u oblasti OOŽS obuhvaćeni našom analizom teže da budu dosledni u promociji holističkog shvatanja i potrebe za balansom na relaciji humano – životnosredinsko. Preispitujući izazove globalizacije, korporatizacije i drugih činilaca diskriminacije i nejednakosti, oni jesu usmereni ka potrebama ljudi, pri čemu ne zanemaruju ni prava drugih živih bića i važnost neživih elemenata kompleksnog sistema životne sredine. Dolazeći sa prostora zapadne kulture, oni prepoznaju važnost tradicionalnih starosedelačkih znanja i iskustva i naučnog doprinosa razumevanju složenih dinamičnih relacija u životnoj sredini i sa njom.

Uprkos antropocentričnim elementima i u teorijskim konceptima – posebno kada je reč o definisanju ciljeva obrazovanja odraslih – i u praksi univerzitetskog obrazovanja, pomenute tendencije, a posebno sve vidljiviji upliv teorija transformativnog učenja u sve oblasti obrazovanja odraslih, inspirišu autore i edukatore da preispituju svoj vlastiti doprinos integraciji diskursa životne sredine u obrazovanje odraslih i onda kada za to nema adekvatne systemske podrške. U dobrom transformativnom maniru, Tejlor razmišlja o nekim pitanjima koja svaki od nastavnika u obrazovanju odraslih može sebi da postavi, kao što su „kako u svom radu mogu da pojasnim veze između ponašanja odraslih i životne sredine?“, „kako svojom praksom promovišem holistički pristup razumevanju globalne životne sredine?“ ili „kako i da li je u kurikulumu i metode poučavanja u okviru mog kursa utkano razumevanje i poštovanje prirodnog okruženja?“ (Taylor, 2006, str. 255).

Uprkos tome što orijentacija ka razvoju kapaciteta za kritičko mišljenje, akciju i transformaciju uočljiva i u definisanju kompetencija za dostizanje održivosti i u pristupima poučavanju u svim oblastima obrazovanja odraslih, pitanje je da li se ona može pretočiti u praksu ako u obrazovanju andragoga nedostaje

čitavo jedno važno područje življenja i učenja – životna sredina i njeni ekološki aspekti, posmatrani u relaciji sa ostalim aspektima koji je definišu i sa ključnim andragoškim konstruktima. Ako su edukatori odraslih pozvani da podrže taj proces – onda bi i sami trebalo da budu podržani u razumevanju tih koncepata iz holističke perspektive, u usavršavanju i saradnji sa kolegama iz drugih disciplina, kako bi mogli da ih celovitije sagledaju, kritikuju i razviju inovativne načine za njihovu integraciju u svoju praksu.

Dalja istraživanja konceptualizacije životne sredine u teoriji i integracija tog diskursa u programe i praksu obrazovanja odraslih neophodni su kao važan deo ove potpore.

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The Concept of Environment in Andragogical Literature and University Education of Andragogues

Abstract: This paper is based on the assumption that to facilitate the contribution of andragogy and adult education to the processes of “societal transformation”, we as researchers and university teachers are required to question our own understanding and integration of the concept of the environment as one of the key dimensions of sustainable development in this area. The paper starts by asking the following questions: In what way are the environment and the relation of the human kind and environment conceptualized in andragogical literature? Does the integration of this concept contribute to the disappearance or the balance of knowledge about the environment within adult education, in a general sense and in university education, in particular, and in what way does it contribute? In our search for answers, we employed the qualitative trend analysis to conceptualize the environment in the works of authors in the field of environmental adult education, originating from the last decade of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. We shall analyse terminological and conceptual relations among environmental and ecological constructs, as well as their relation to the concept of sustainable development.

Key words: the environment, sustainable development, environmental adult education, university education.

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Refugees and Adult Education: A Thematic Analysis on UNESCO's Latest Recommendations

Abstract: Contemporary societies are called to face complex challenges, deriving from globalization, the rapid technological evolutions, the intense demographic changes, and the social exclusion. These challenges are part of UNESCO's global mandate, as reflected in the Education 2030 Framework for Action for the implementation of Sustainable Development Goals, and have more impact on migrations and refugees. UNESCO's Global Report on Adult Learning and Education comes to play a crucial role in achieving the fourth goal of the Agenda, that of education and lifelong education. The present research, through the qualitative analysis of the text of UNESCO (GRALE 4, 2019), aims at pointing out the basic dimensions of adult refugees' education and how it can be applied. Through the analysis of the text certain thematic networks emerge, related with the participation percentages of adult refugees' participation, mapping out of policies, whose particular characteristic is the investment in lifelong learning, transmission of good practices and their evaluation.

Key words: Adult education, participation, refugees, policies, practices.

Theoretical Underpinning

Adult education and refugees

Europe is facing an unprecedented migrant crisis, since hundreds of thousands of refugees and migrants continue to make their way across the Mediterranean to Europe with hopes of a better life. It is estimated that more than 65 million people today are asylum seekers, internally displaced persons or refugees, whereas

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the average length of time a refugee spends in exile is about 20 years (UNESCO, 2017). According to some recent UNHCR data (2021a), in March 2021 6000 refugees and migrants arrived in Europe via the Mediterranean and Canary Islands routes, a 40% increase compared to March 2020. In addition, in the first three months of 2021, some 4600 refugees and migrants crossed the sea from Libya to Europe, a 53% increase compared to the same period in 2020 (UNHCR, 2021b).

More and more the international discourse expresses concerns about the limited enjoyment of rights by refugees and the violations of their rights to life, liberty and security. Attention is turned to the disturbing tendency to close doors to refugees, to violations of the minimum rights of asylum-seekers, and to the demonstration of phenomena such as intolerance, racism, xenophobia, aggression, which affect their lives in a negative way (OHCHR, 1993), and lead them to social exclusion. Social exclusion is defined as a process whereby individuals or groups are not able to participate fully in society as a result of unemployment, low skills level, ill health, language difficulties or other factors (Banulescu-Bogdan, 2020, pp. 4–5). Specifically, “lack of language skills or limited language skills is a powerful barrier to integration and labour-market success” (CEDEFOP, 2011, p. 12).

Refugees’ education and challenges

Regarding refugees’ education, there are many challenges related to access, quality and relevance. The difficulties that refugees frequently face in transferring skills, competences and qualifications to new contexts is the subject of a growing body of scholarship (Morrice, Shan, & Sprung, 2018, p. 130). Specifically, there is significant heterogeneity, given that “there are at least two distinct groups, highly skilled, for whom international mobility is part of their career, and low-skilled” (CEDEFOP, 2011, p. 7) who face much difficulty in finding a job. In addition, it is argued that their education faces problems such as interrupted education, significant learning gaps, inappropriate skills, and confusing application procedures, whereas less than 1% of refugee youth are able to participate in higher education (UNHCR, 2016). The consequences of not having access are disturbing, since refugees are condemned to passivity, stress, frustration, violence (World Education News and Reviews, 2015).

In addition, national governments have to provide trained teachers and learning material for newcomers who do not speak the language, lack identification documents or academic transcripts needed to transfer to a new institution and it is difficult to evaluate their educational background (UNHCR, 2016).

There is also a growing critique of the way that adult education programs focus on the needs of refugees, while ignoring the learning that might be helpful to the host society (Shan, 2015). For instance, in a study of the curriculum orientation of Language Instructions for Newcomers to Canada, Cervatiuc and Ricento (2012, as cited in Shan, 2015, p. 3) found that trainers may conveniently take a prescriptive approach to teaching the dominant culture to newcomers, rendering their irrelevant cultures, epistemological views and life experiences.

On the contrary, successful training programmes are those that “activate a crucial amount of social capital in the form of unions, employer federations and communities” (CEDEFOP, 2011, p. 15). Consequently, refugees can “tap into their rich social capital for job contacts” (CEDEFOP, 2011, p. 15) and opportunities, may “benefit from networking contacts with native workers that may meet during their course of study” (CEDEFOP, 2011, p. 15).

In addition, available courses are usually too far away from where refugees live and occasionally they are incompatible with work and family responsibilities. Newcomers may not feel comfortable attending them, especially women who face cultural pressure not to participate in public activities. In addition, they are “at a disadvantage given that they have less social capital than natives, fewer contacts ... lack of knowledge and information” (CEDEFOP, 2011, p. 10). Widely speaking, the barriers that refugees are facing could be categorized in structural/policy barriers (asylum, distribution, housing policies), time and resource barriers (lack of time, skills, institutional knowledge), life-cycle barriers (individual’s age and family status), cultural barriers (e.g. women from Muslim communities may be discouraged from participating in mixed-gender training programs), and socioemotional barriers (mental health challenges and traumas) (Banulescu-Bogdan, 2020).

Practices and policies promoting refugees’ education

In such a context, over the last years there has been a vivid interest in adult education regarding refugees, given that it provides a substantial contribution to personal development, social inclusion and integration, an opportunity to promote the values of tolerance, democracy and solidarity. In addition, it can introduce the refugee community to the host population, whereas formal and informal educational activities can reduce tensions between communities, and also eliminate inefficiencies in the labour market (Halachev, 2015).

The European Commission facilitates the exchange of good practices among Member States, promotes networking among policymakers, and its agenda focuses on topics such as: language assessment and integration of unac-

accompanied minors through education, reception of newly arrived refugees and migrants, and assessment of previous schooling, recognition of refugees' qualifications, intercultural dialogue as a tool to address migration, refugees and asylum seekers in educational contexts, linguistic and cultural diversity, integration policies (European Commission, 2017).

Towards this direction, the Global Framework for Refugee Education (UNHCR, 2019) aims to create the conditions of global support for the education of refugees and host communities. Its basic axes are to increase funding and national capacity, to strengthen programming and planning based on analysis of barriers, assets and opportunities for including refugees in host-community schools and engaging refugee and host communities to build trust and cohesion, to support and train teachers by investing in appropriate programmes and national policies, to increase investment in existing national data systems, to strengthen partnership and coordination between education ministries, development and humanitarian partners, to engage and account to refugees and host communities, and to ensure meaningful consultation and participation of both refugees and host communities in decision making and initiatives.

In addition, many refugee-receiving countries revise their formal integration programs in order to reach their vulnerable groups. In parallel, there has been a surge in public activism, with new start-ups and private initiatives being launched in an effort to fill the perceived gaps in government programming (e.g. Germany's Strong Work Program).

According to Heinemann's recent study (2018), newcomers to Austria and Germany are obliged to learn German, as both of the nation states define themselves as monolingual—although millions of citizens speak more than one language. According to the researcher, “the demand to learn the national language by refugees is promoted by the shaky promise that it is an entrance ticket to the labour market and also a *sine qua non* to be respected by German and Austrian citizens”. The first results of this study highlight the reproduction of mainstream norms and the production of three different interwoven subject types who either adjust or not to host country's societal norms and new market conditions, i.e. “one who responds appropriately to the needs of a national neoliberal labour market; another one who agrees to norms and rules without the power to fully politically participate and a third who forms the pleasing constitutive outside of the national body” (p. 177).

Furthermore, such programs contribute to refugees' integration by aiming at their economic empowerment, volunteering, and building social ties. Economic empowerment programs fall into categories such as cooking (e.g. ethnic

food becomes an important gateway into work), crafts, childcare and gardening, (Banulescu-Bogdan, 2020).

Finally, regarding practices implemented, they are monitored and systemized since the situation is described as an experiment with a “trial and error” method. Such approaches are valuable and often accompanied by comparing different national approaches to migration (Käpplinger, 2018).

Methodology of Research

Research objective research questions

This study comes to investigate the basic dimensions of adult education as far as refugees are concerned through the content analysis of the text of UNESCO, GRALE IV (2019). The research questions that arise for this particular study are the following:

- How often do refugees participate in adult education?
- Are there any obstacles and barriers in their participation?
- What kind of policies and practices are promoted regarding their participation?

Presentation of research material and methodological tool

The text of UNESCO “4th Global Report on Adult Learning and Education” (GRALE 4, 2019) is based on the framework of the United Nations’ 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UN, 2015). “Giving everyone a fair chance” is its main idea (GRALE 4, 2019, p. 13), meaning that everyone should have access to the benefits of adult education. In addition, this report provides an overview of the latest data and evidence on Adult education, whereas highlights good practices. A total of 159 countries (157 Member States and two Associate Member States) responded to the survey of GRALE 4. The response rates were 72% in sub-Saharan Africa, 90% in the Arab States, 67% in Central Asia, 78% in East Asia and the Pacific, 89% in South and West Asia, 95% in Central and Eastern Europe, 81% in North America and Western Europe, 79% in Latin America and the Caribbean, 90% in the Arab States (GRALE 4, p. 28).

Regarding the methodology followed, the qualitative analysis was applied and more specifically the methodological tool of thematic analysis was used. This

tool is distinguished for its clarity and flexibility, whereas its main objective is the methodical and systematic analysis of the research material, and the extensive exploration both of the surface and the deeper structures of the text (Braun & Clarke, 2012; Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019). The development of qualitative methods is a result of the acceptance of the explanatory model that shows the general picture and the prevailing trends, while at the same time it is a form of coding of qualitative data (Clarke, Braun, & Hayfield, 2015).

The thematic analysis includes six steps: familiarizing with data (reading, re-reading, and taking notes), generation of initial codes (coding interesting feature across the entire data set), searching for themes (collecting codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme), reviewing themes (generate a thematic map of the analysis and check the themes relevance in relation to coded extracts and entire data), defining and naming themes (ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story of the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme), and producing the report (selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relation back of the analysis to the research questions and literature, producing a report of the analysis) (Persson, Törnbohm, Sunnerhagen, & Törnbohm, 2017).

Theme development starts after the researcher has defined the object of the study. Analysing data means interconnections between codes and spotting themes appropriate for the available data (Knudsen et al., 2012). According to Attride-Stirling (2001), there are three classes of themes, the basic, the organizing and the global theme. The first refers to the simplest characteristics of the text, in order to achieve a clearer understanding of the text content. All together, they make up the second class of themes and more specifically the organizing theme, which is a middle-order theme. This particular theme contributes to better understanding of a more general theme, which connects enough organizing themes. The third theme (the global theme) arises in this way and it is a super-ordinate which contains the basic idea of the text as a whole (as cited in Panagiotopoulos & Karanikola, 2017).

In this research the global theme is *adult refugee education*, and the organizing themes that arise from the analysis of the text are: participation (obstacles and percentages), policies (traits, axes, financing, qualifications and skills), and examples of programs (Figure 1).

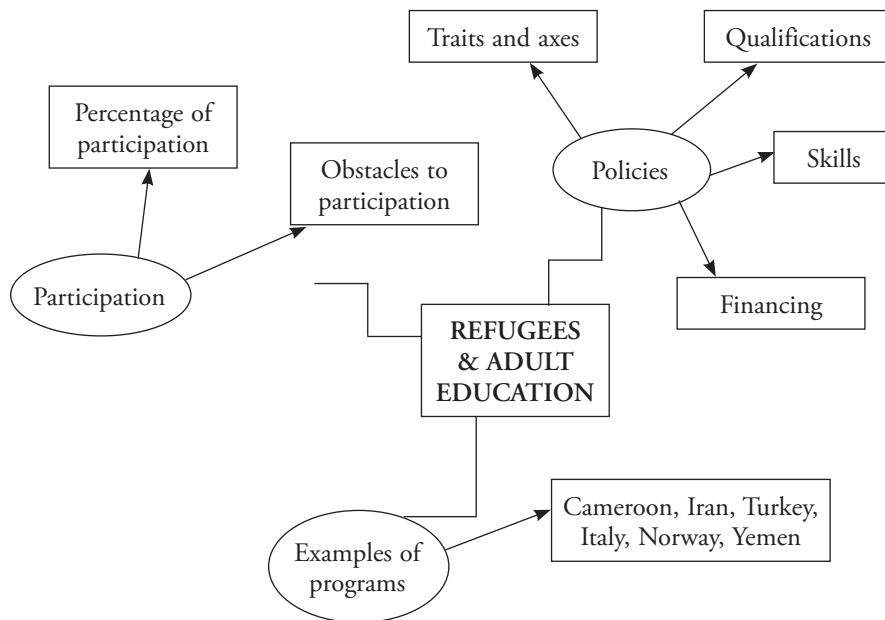


Figure 1. Structure of the thematic network (Source: Karanikola & Palaiologou, 2020, IPR)

Creation and description of set of themes

Refugees' participation in adult education

The first organizing theme refers to the issue of refugees' participation in adult education and learning. It is quite interesting that despite the fact that refugees and migrants are a crucial and important population target for the policies of the International Organizations, there are still “globally, between and within countries, deep and persistent inequalities regarding their participation in adult education” (GRALE 4, 2019, p. 22, p. 57).

Regarding their participation, two main matters are emerging. “The first is that disadvantaged, vulnerable and excluded populations” (GRALE 4, p. 14) (migrants and refugees, women, adults with disabilities, adults disadvantaged due to lack of education and skills, residents of remote or rural areas, residents in urban areas, minority groups— ethnic, linguistic, religious, unemployed adults, older adults) “tend to do by far the worst when it comes to participation in adult education and learning, and the second is that there is insufficient knowledge about

participation, particularly in low-income countries” (GRALE 4, p. 14). Particularly, “more than a third (37%) of the countries participating in the research, reported not knowing the adult education participation rates of minority groups, refugees and migrants” (GRALE 4, 2019, p. 14, 20), “27% reported no change in adult education provision for refugees and migrants, whereas 38% reported some increase” (GRALE 4, 2019, p. 79). Generally, “of the 159 countries, almost half either did not answer the question regarding refugees’ participation or stated that they did not know” (GRALE 4, 2019, p. 135). Consequently, this global survey “does not provide any data on actual participation rates, only whether or not countries have experienced a change in participation among refugees” (GRALE 4, 2019, p. 136).

It is also worth mentioning that in previous Global Reports there were even less elements on participation by refugees. Particularly, GRALE 1 (2009) highlighted the unequal nature of participation within countries (GRALE 4, 2019, p. 74), GRALE 2 (2013), reported that ethnic minorities, refugees and migrants were still excluded from adult education provision, while data were nearly absent from GRALE 3 (2016), where “62% of countries reported not having participation rates for ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities and 56% reported not having participation data for migrants and refugees” (GRALE 4, 2019, p. 74).

Obstacles and barriers preventing refugees

What are the barriers and obstacles preventing refugees from participating in formal and informal types of adult education and learning? “One major barrier is the lack of literacy and language courses for migrants and refugees, who also face challenges in having their skills and competencies recognized and validated” (GRALE 4, 2019, p. 22). In addition, this population is highly heterogeneous, both across and within the countries, and different groups have different needs. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO) (2018, as cited in GRALE 4, 2019, p. 135), “while the majority of the global migrant population consists of skilled and highly skilled persons, there are also large segments with very low skills, particularly among refugee groups”.

Policies supporting refugees’ adult education

“These policies accompanied by legislative measures need to be comprehensive, inclusive, integrated within a lifelong and life-wide learning perspective, based on sector-wide and intersectoral approaches, covering and linking all components of learning and education” (GRALE 4, 2019, p. 33). In addition, according to the

UNESCO (GRALE 4, 2019, p. 35) relative policies should include five fundamental axes in order to be more effective and equal. Specifically, “adult education is part of the human right to education, a potential means for marginalized groups to achieve equality, an opportunity for learning throughout life regardless of learning objectives, comprehensive provision utilizing various kinds of learning activities, and a long-term approach to achieve intended outcomes”.

One basic dimension of the policies is increasing and widening adult participation through a range of tools, such as “focused investment, particularly on the last disadvantaged, interventions in order to raise demand (e.g. stimulating interest through celebrating success stories in festivals and media), reducing the cost of participation, particularly for poorer members of society, financial incentives to reduce cost barriers, non-financial incentives (voucher schemes, paid leave and opportunities for career development), ensuring effective information, advice and guidance for all learners throughout their lives, countrywide strategies to ensure learners have access to ICTs and the skills to fully exploit them” (GRALE 4, 2019, p. 23).

Equally important is the factor of financing adult education. According to the data of GRALE 4 (2019), refugees and migrants tend to be under-represented and not a priority in adult education spending. Specifically, 48% of the countries stated that this group of adults is “not much” or “somewhat” a priority (p. 58). It is also worth mentioning that “28% of counties reported not knowing whether migrants and refugees were a priority for government financing of adult education” (p. 58). As for the “minority groups”, the percentage was 32%.

Last but not least, a basic challenge of policies regarding the participation of refugees and migrants is providing them with appropriate and right skills. Inadequate skills makes it difficult for them to compete for employment. According to ILO (2018, as cited in GRALE 4, 2019), around “60% of Syrian refugees aged 16 years or older have not completed basic schooling and only 15% have finished secondary education” (p. 135). In comparison, “42% of Jordanians” (same age range) “have a secondary education” (p. 135). Furthermore, Syrian refugees after having lived in camps and being unemployed for a long time have a serious lack in skills. “A survey conducted in one of the largest camps in Jordan revealed that over a half of the women and three-quarters of the men indicated argued that if they were offered the chance to attend skills training programs, they would enrol and then seek a job outside the camp” (UNHCR, 2017 as cited in GRALE 4, 2019, p. 135).

Refugees living in the EU face similar situation to those in Jordan. According to EUROSTAT (2017, as cited in GRALE 4, 2019, p. 135), “the proportion of non-EU-born immigrants aged 25—54 with low education attainment

is twice as high as for those living in the EU country in which they were born. What is more, the rate of young people (15—29) not employed and not enrolled in education or training is almost twice as high among those born outside the EU compared to the native population”.

Towards this direction, the skills challenges facing migrants are highlighted by an OECD study (2018, as cited in GRALE 4, 2019, p. 135). Specifically, “migrants were less proficient in literacy, numeracy and problem-solving than native-born adults, whereas there were many high skilled migrants”.

Finally, for adult education and learning a main target is providing vulnerable and disadvantaged groups with “literacy and basic skills, vocational skills and active citizenship skills through liberal, popular and community education” (GRALE 4, p. 27)

Good practices and examples

According to the analysis of the text, there seems to be many good practices and examples deriving from different countries. To begin with, in Italy (2015), the Provincial Centres for Adult Instruction (CPIAs) were given organizational and didactic autonomy, whereas the groups eligible for enrolment are among others foreigners who want to obtain the primary and secondary school-leaving qualifications, foreigners who want to obtain an upper secondary school-leaving qualification, and foreign adults that wish to enrol in Italian as a second language courses (GRALE 4, 2019).

Secondly, the Ministry of Social Affairs in Lebanon started a national adult post-literacy program in the social service centres in Bourj Hammoud, in an effort to help low-skilled refugees acquire and retain their literacy skills. Simultaneously, they were offered some extra seminars, the topics of which were healthy nutrition and cooking.

In addition, during 2017–2018, INSAN, a nongovernmental organization offered programs to enhance “literacy, computer, English and life skills of displaced Syrians and members of Lebanese society for both genders”. These programmes equipped the participants with the right skills in order to “enter the labour market, and to rebuild their societies and communities” (GRALE 4, 2019, p. 136).

Meanwhile in Yemen, the United Nations Refugee Agency established adult education programs for refugees living in Sana’a, the country’s largest city (mainly literacy program in particular for women, 96%). “Students complete the equivalent of six years of primary schooling in three years, and receive a certificate from the Ministry of Education. One of the challenges identified is the reluctance of children to attend literacy classes with adults” (GRALE 4, 2019, p. 137).

One successful program is offered by the Kirikhan Community Centre in Turkey, a country with one of the world's largest refugee populations. It is sponsored by YUVA, a Turkish non-governmental adult learning organization, and DVV International. Its aim is to bring together Syrian refugees and the local population, to know each other, to communicate and study together. The topics covered by the program are: psycho-social activities, language training, ICT, life skills, hobby-oriented courses, vocational training and awareness about legal rights (GRALE 4, 2019).

Furthermore, "Germany has initiated numerous programs to support the integration of the newly arrived, mainly through the provision of language courses. It is also worth mentioning that they make efforts to harness digital media for the purpose of making learning and information more effective and accessible" (GRALE 4, 2019, p. 137).

"Cameroon reports opened literacy centres in refugee camps in the far north and east of the country, whereas the Islamic Republic of Iran has removed all barriers to delivering formal and non-formal educational services for Afghan refugees. Finally a Norwegian policy paper (2016) aims to prevent exclusion from the labour market" (GRALE 4, 2019, p. 137).

Discussion on the Results

According to the findings of the qualitative analysis of the text, a basic dimension of refugees' adult education refers to their access and participation. It is worth mentioning that there is insufficient knowledge about participation, particularly in low-income countries. In addition, there are many significant obstacles regarding their participation resulting in low percentages. Lack of literacy and language courses, low and inappropriate skills, without validation and recognition competencies, heterogeneous groups are mentioned as crucial barriers (Kaur, 2011; UNESCO, 2019). Except for them, some researchers also mention lack of childcare, family responsibilities, low income, shift work, affordability, housing problems, lack of information and awareness, gender barriers, concentration problems, self-perception, low self-esteem and expectations, low motivation, interest and confidence, distrust, tiredness (Altinkaya & Omundsen, 1999; Banulescu-Bogdan, 2020; Benseman, 2014; Watts, White & Trlin, 2001). In addition, Hayward (2007) refers to the psychological or physical trauma that many refugee learners have in their new countries. Towards this direction Adkins, Sample and Birman (1999) discuss the role of stress.

Regarding the policies supporting adult education, they should be comprehensive, inclusive, integrated within a lifelong learning perspective. This aspect is also supported by many international organizational official policy recommendations (European Parliament, 2016; GRALE III, 2016; OECD, 2013; UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning, 2010, 2016). According to these, adult education policies should be characterized by ecumenism, inclusion and united political approach of all members and they should be an internal part of lifelong learning with frequent evaluation of progress, diagnostic evaluation of national policies not only of the requirements of the job market but also of personal and social needs (Panagiotopoulos, Pertesi & Karanikola, 2018).

Policies should also focus on developing the right type of skills. Towards this direction, “lifelong strategies should allow those who have left early to re-enter education, and those who need it should be able to access higher education and Vocational Education and Training (VET) programmes to acquire update skills that the jobs of tomorrow require” (European Commission, 2020, p. 7). Skills such as reading, writing, numeracy and technology, which benefit adults’ lives both socially and economically (Heinemann 2017; Panagiotopoulos & Karanikola, 2017; UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning, 2015).

Regarding financing adult education, it is argued that refugees and migrants are under-represented and not a priority in adult education. However, low investment in adult education is something common in many countries. According to GRALE II (2009), public funding in regard to adult education is disappointing (2.2%), since the investment priorities of governments and international organizations are health, building infrastructure and social welfare. This percentage increased gradually, according to GRALE III (2016, p. 48), “since 48% of the states reported remarkable innovations in funding comparatively with the year 2009”. This effort was blocked by the global economic crisis in 2008–2009 that led the big economic forces of the European Union, the United States and China to “reduce financial resources and as a result adult education competes with other investment priorities” (UNESCO, 2016, p. 45).

Furthermore, collaboration between member-states and the exchange of good practices is also needed in an effective policy. Governmental organizations, research institutions, different organizations of citizens, trade unions and other institutions that promote adult education through programs and activities aid at this attempt. During the transmission of ideas, particular attention should be paid to the conditions and the characteristics of the countries, so that they adopt elements that suit the structures, the methods and the techniques of their education (UNESCO, 2016).

The exchange of ideas and practices is not only beneficial between states in global level but also between local and regional authorities in national level. The governments in collaboration with the services of the Region extend their policies to reinforce the mechanisms of adult learning and education. Besides, the quality of the educational framework is evaluated according to the transmission of ideas and the transfer of responsibilities especially from the lower levels to the higher levels of education (bottom to up), which promote professional development (UNESCO, 2016).

The evaluation of policy methods from the makers of educational strategy is an integral part of adult education. The educational policy makers (like Ministries, private institutions, local authorities, international and regional organizations) have to modernize their policies according to the economic, political, social, cultural and technological environment. In addition, education key holders have to check and evaluate the application of educational methods and techniques that are developed, so that they are quite flexible with future needs, matters and challenges that emerge in the educational world. In order for something like this to be achievable there should be a single network of operation and distribution of resources that is flexible, rapid and decentralized, ensuring the response to the requirements of the modern world (Schuller & Watson, 2009).

Adult education constitutes a multidimensional and compound field of policy that interacts with other sectors of policy. The responsibility, however, for adult education is divided in many public services (like education, immigration) and ministries (like the Ministry of Education), but also in various policy levels (national, regional, local). This unclear separation of responsibilities by the bodies and structures of education, the lack of co-ordination and the different approaches of political parties contribute to the fragmentation and the in efficiency of evaluation in the field of adult education (Desjardins, 2017). Through this process not only the benefits but also the deficiencies of policy directions that were followed are depicted and final objective is to reconstruct them in order to achieve higher cost savings.

Concluding Points

It should be pointed out that this present research is limited to the investigation of a way to develop the dimensions of refugees' adult education, as it appears from the content analysis of the text GRALE 4 (2019). However, certain questions arise in regard to the practical implementation of the methods determined by the international framework. Will the objectives of Agenda 2030 be included

in the policies of member-states and, if they do, to what extent? Will the policy and implementation of the Agenda 2030 tackle global problems that are the cause of refugee crises? Let's not forget that more than 70% Syrian refugees are living in poverty, with limited access to basic services, education or job opportunities and few prospects of returning home (UNHCR, 2021c), despite the fact that the goal of the Agenda was to eradicate poverty and hunger, generalize the education at all levels both in developing and developed countries, develop gender equality, health, well-being and prosperity, improve access to new forms of energy, environmental protection and respect for human rights (United Nations General Assembly, 2015).

In addition, while the UNESCO frequently mentions in its official texts the necessity of cohesion, collaboration of policies and exchange of good practices among member-states, why do vulnerable groups of adults (unskilled adults) still remain out of the educational framework (CEDEFOP, 2016).

Consequently, the issue of transition of policy from the official documents to the field of application arises. Nowadays institutions of adult education are called to develop new curricula also addressed to refugee populations, aiming to offer a variety of flexible training programmes, through which refugees could acquire new skills in order to find a work at the labour market. Alternatively, even better, if conditions are met, refugees could start the entrepreneurial discourse (Fenwick, 2001). Reality shows that rather than offering only educational programmes exclusively through formal education it would be more practical to design vocational training programmes through which newcomers populations could acquire new skills and competences.

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Izbeglice i obrazovanje odraslih: tematska analiza najnovijih preporuka UNESCO-a

Apstrakt: Savremena društva su primorana da se suoče sa kompleksnim izazovima proisteklim usled globalizma, ubrzane tehnološke evolucije, intenzivnih demografskih promena i socijalne ekskluzije. Ovi izazovi su sastavni deo globalnog mandata UNESCO-a, što je izloženo u „Okviru za akciju u domenu obrazovanja za 2030. godinu“, koji je usredsređen na implementaciju ciljeva održivog razvoja i ima veći uticaj na migracije i izbeglice. Globalni izveštaj UNESCO-a o učenju i obrazovanju odraslih ima ključnu ulogu u postizanju četvrtog cilja Agende, koji se tiče obrazovanja i celoživotnog obrazovanja. Aktuelno istraživanje je sprovedeno putem kvalitativne analize teksta UNESCO-a (GRALE 4, 2019) sa ciljem prepoznavanja osnovnih dimenzija obrazovanja odraslih izbeglica i načina na koje se ono može primeniti. Prilikom analize teksta, zapazili smo izvesne tematske mreže u vezi sa procentima učešća odraslih izbeglica, osmišljavanjem politika koje se prevashodno odlikuju ulaganjem u celoživotno učenje, prenosom dobrih praksi i njihovom evaluacijom.

Ključne reči: obrazovanje odraslih, učešće, izbeglice, politike, prakse.

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„Da, i...“ princip: improvizacija kao metoda obrazovnog rada²

Apstrakt: U radu je predstavljena radionica improvizacije pod nazivom „Da, i...“ namenjena promovisanju te veštine i učenju improvizacijskih tehnika onih koji rade u oblasti obrazovanja. Nakon kratkog uvoda posvećenog objašnjenju šta je improvizacija i na koju vrstu improvizacije se misli u radu, sledi osvrt na značaj improvizacije za obrazovanje, te samim tim i značaj učenja improvizacijskih tehnika onih koji se bave obrazovnim radom. Kao ilustracija uloge koju improvizacija ima ili može imati u obrazovnom procesu, istaknut je princip „da, i...“ za koji se tvrdi da suštinski opisuje glavne karakteristike improvizacije, pre svega prihvatanje (ponude) i (njeno) nadograđivanje. Na tim osnovama izvedena je teza da postoji veza između tih karakteristika, s jedne strane, i aktiviranja, kao i kreativnosti, s druge strane, kao važnih komponenti koje sadejstvuju u razvijanju podsticajnog i razvojnog obrazovnog okruženja. Na kraju, kao primer poučavanja improvizacije kroz radioničarski rad, dat je celovit opis radionice, sa uputstvima za pojedine vežbe i objašnjenjima njihove važnosti, upravo onako kako je ona izvedena sa odraslim učesnicima.

Ključne reči: improvizacija, princip „da, i...“, aktivitet, kreativnost, obrazovanje odraslih.

„Da, i...“ princip i umetnost improvizacije

Improvizacijom se označavaju različite stvari, koje se kreću od toga da se pod njom misli na svako ljudsko delovanje koje ima odlike spontanosti, do toga da se pod tim pojmom podrazumeva sasvim specifična veština kojom vladaju uvežbani umetnici i izvođači, najčešće muzičari, glumci i komičari. U prvom slučaju to može biti bilo koja vrsta spontane i nasumične aktivnosti koju odlikuje kreativnost. U drugom slučaju, to je specifična vrsta izvođenja koja se razvija u okviru

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scenskih umetnosti. Tako se, na primer, u muzičkoj umetnosti taj termin koristi da označi inventivan i spontanošću prožet stil komponovanja u kome se izvođač ne oslanja na partituru već se nadograđuje na odabrani model (koji obično predstavlja prethodno izvođenje ili prvobitno postojeći rad) u idealnom idiosinkratičnom maniru i time pruža publici novu dinamičnu izvedbu (Moore, 2001).

Takva umetnost improvizacije nastajala je pre svega iz potrebe vežbanja i ovladavanja veštinom izvođenja u profesionalnim trupama izvođača. Pionirima te veštine smatraju se Vajola Spolin (1906–1994) i Kit Džonston (1933).

Vajola Spolin (Viola Spolin)³ bila je američka pozorišna praktičarka, glumica, autorka, rediteljka, pedagoškinja i trenerica glume. Smatra se važnom inovatoricom američkog pozorišta XX veka koja je dala značajan zamah i doprinos improvizacijskom pozorišnom pokretu u SAD. Svoje metode je razvijala dok je radila kao supervizor drame u Čikagu, u svojoj kompaniji za mlade glumce u Holivudu i kao direktor radionica u improvizacijskoj trupi *SecondCity*. Poznata je kao kreatorica pozorišnih vežbi koje je kasnije nazvala pozorišnim igrama (*theatre games*), sistema obuke glumaca zasnovanog na igrovnim vežbama, koje je osmislila kako bi podučavala glumu. Te tehnike su osmišljene na način da pomažu glumcima da budu fokusirani na sadašnji trenutak i da na spontan način pronalaze odgovor na izazov. Kroz seriju tehnika, vežbanje improvizacije im je omogućilo da, putem usredsređene pažnje, aktiviraju svoju intuiciju, pojačaju spremnost na igru i dovedu telo u stanje spremnosti za akciju. Na taj način dolaze u fizičko stanje koje oslobađa pojedinca da istražuje svoje okruženje i dolazi do novih otkrića. Improvizacione pozorišne igre Vajole Spolin predstavljaju celovit sistem obuke glumaca. Svaka igra ili vežba ima fokus, problem koji igrači moraju da reše kao grupa, tako da se lekcije uče putem igre (iskustvo). U trenucima čiste spontanosti, kulturna i psihološka uslovljenost ponašanja padaju u drugi plan, omogućavajući pojedincu da istražuje nepoznato. Njene metode uključuju celu grupu u proces podržavanja koji učesnicima omogućava da uče sami. Spolin je svoje metode poučavanja smatrala neautoritarnim, neverbalnim i nepsihološkim. Njena knjiga *Improvisation for the theatre* u kojoj je objavila ove tehnike, sadrži njenu filozofiju i njene metode poučavanja i treniranja.

Kit Džonston (Keith Johnstone)⁴, pozorišni reditelj, facilitator, autor i dramaturg, specijalizovao se u oblasti improvizacijskog pozorišta. Profesor je emeritus na Univerzitetu u Kalgariju, bivši pomoćnik direktora londonskog Kraljevskog pozorišta i suosnivač dve poznate pozorišne trupe: *Theatre Machine* i *Loose Moose Theatre Company*. Kada je počeo da radi u Kraljevskom pozorištu u Londonu, Džonston je bio odgovoran za obrazovni rad. Zajedno sa glumcima,

³ <https://www.violaspolin.org/bio>

⁴ <https://www.keithjohnstone.com/>; <https://impro.global/about-us/keith-johnstone>

počeo je da istražuje kako da ih učini spontanijim, bržim i živahnijim u svom poslu. Smatrao je da su odrasli atrofirana deca, nije pristao da na decu gleda kao na nezrele odrasle ljude, one koji tek treba da sazru. Na tim pretpostavkama, počeo je da preispituje sopstvena iskustva iz detinjstva. Prisećajući se svog školovanja, shvatio je da obrazovni sistem negativno utiče na kreativnost, pa je tako došao na ideju da napravi listu koju je nazvao „stvari koje su me nastavnici sprečavali“, a zatim je ohrabrio svoje učenike da rade suprotno. Njegova neobična tehnika je uspela, te taj eksperiment označava početnu tačku Džonstonovog rada na spontanoj improvizaciji. Mnogi od tih ranih eksperimenata sada su klasične igre improvizacije koje se uče i igraju širom sveta. Napisao je dve knjige o svojim teorijama i praksama pozorišta i improvizacije (*Impro* i *Impro for Storytellers*), uz nekoliko predstava i kratkih priča. Njegove ideje o improvizaciji, pozorištu i izvođenju prihvaćene su širom sveta, a danas se primenjuju u radu sa širokim spektrom grupa u različitim institucijama i delatnostima: od glumaca preko psihoterapeuta, improvizacijskih trupa, pozorišnih škola, stručnjaka za razvoj zaposlenih u oblasti biznisa i menadžmenta, u institutima za društvena istraživanja, do univerziteta i kompanija za filmsku produkciju.

Iz ovih kratkih biografija može se videti jasna veza između improvizacije i obrazovanja i učenja. Da biste bili dobri u improvizaciji, treba da se oslobodite kao izvođač, izoštrite lični kapacitet za spontane reakcije, razvijete poverenje u odnosu na preuzimanje rizika i budete krajnje otvoreni za otkrivanje, za nove načine reagovanja i za greške. Pritom je važno uočiti i istaći da sve što vežbanje improvizacije razvija i ojačava važi i van takvog organizovanog grupnog procesa učenja. Drugim rečima, postoji snažan transfer veština iz situacije učenja u druge situacije i oblasti života, prema principu – sve što možeš na sceni, možeš i u životu. To je ujedno i implicitna poruka svakog učenja improvizacijskih tehnika. Ako uspemo da gledamo na svoje živote kao na izvođenje (na sceni) koje kontinuirano kreiramo, ne moramo da budemo u ulozi i da pratimo određeni scenario, kao na primer: ja sam takva i takva osoba, ja sam večiti gubitnik, oduvek me pratio malar, tiha sam i povučena i slične naučene narative. Ukratko rečeno, improvizacija deprogamira standardne reakcije učesnika i omogućava da naš urođeni kreativni potencijal procveta (Newton, 1992).

U obrazovanju odraslih improvizacija se povezuje sa brojnim pozitivnim efektima, kao što su: povećanje samopouzdanja, odgovornosti, prihvatanja drugih, a najčešće sa kreativnošću. Rezultati mnogih istraživanja pokazuju da promovise spontanost, interakciju, intuiciju, aktivno slušanje, neverbalnu komunikaciju, induktivno mišljenje, preuzimanje uloga, izgradnju tima, kreativnost i kritičko mišljenje (Berk & Trieber, 2009; Sawyer, 2004; Spolin, 1999). To je razlog zalaganja za to da se improvizacija unese u obrazovni proces (Nikolić, 2019).

Smatra se da je osnovni princip improvizacije i bazično pravilo u odnosu na to kako se ona izvodi – „da, i...“. „Da“ stoji za prihvatanje onoga što je neko ponudio, dok „i“ označava nadograđivanje na ponudu. U praktičnom smislu, to znači da ukoliko se dvoje izvođača nađe na sceni a publika ili voditelj im da zadatak da zamisle da su na plaži, jedan od partnera će početi odigravanje tako što će reći: „Kako su veliki talasi danas.“ Da bi scena uspela, druga osoba će morati da prihvati ono što je prva ponudila: „Da, i vetar postaje sve jači“, ali, kao što vidimo, moraće na prvu ponudu da se nadoveže novom, što je u ovom slučaju konstatacija da se vetar razduvao i da postaje sve jači. „Da, i...“ nalaže da ne samo da ne smemo da negiramo ono što je naš partner rekao, već i sami treba da ponudimo logičan i nadahnjujući nastavak priče. Ukoliko bismo odgovorili sa „ne“ ili sa „da, ali...“, scena ne bi mogla da se razvija dalje. To izaziva blokadu i traži novu scenu. U tom smislu se „da, i...“ postavlja kao bazičan i važan princip svake namerne improvizacijske aktivnosti. Pritom, to ne znači da se slažemo sa samom tvrdnjom već samo to da prihvatamo da je neko to rekao i da ćemo to i pokazati tako što ćemo se nadovezati.

Jedan od načina na koji facilitatori učenja odraslih mogu da koriste improvizaciju u radu sa grupom jeste da moderiraju grupnu diskusiju zasnovanu na principu „da, i...“. Na primer, kada se tokom obrazovnog procesa razmatra određena tema a neko od polaznika iznese svoja zapažanja, intervencija facilitatora može da se zasniva na prihvatanju i nadograđivanju. To bi značilo da umesto da intervencija glasi: „Ko je sledeći?“ ili „Šta drugi misle o ovome?“, facilitator odreaguje: „Kako bismo mogli da nadogradimo ovo?“ ili „Imajući u vidu šta je upravo izneseno, na koji način bismo mogli da se nadovežemo?“ Na osnovu ovog primera nije teško zaključiti da postoje razlike u intervenciji u odnosu na pravac u kojem idu. Dok se u prvom slučaju pretpostavlja da je svaki polaznik pojedinac koji ima svoje lično mišljenje a da je grupna diskusija zbir takvih pojedinačnih mišljenja, u drugom primeru se jasno ide na kreiranje grupe (improvizacijskim jezikom rečeno – ansambla) i „grupnog mišljenja“. Ovo stavljam pod navodnike jer nije zapravo reč o tome da grupa zajedničkim naporima dođe do nekog kolektivnog zaključka, već se takvom intervencijom stvara okruženje u kome se svako od članova grupe zaista oseća kao ravnopravan član i, štaviše, ravnopravan kreator zajedničkog procesa. Nadograđivanje na nečiju reakciju, misao ili ideju predstavlja kreiranje diskusije, kreiranje grupe i kreiranje zajedničkog učenja. Modelovanje grupnog procesa, naravno, vodi i ka nekom produktu (moguće i zajedničkom zaključku), ali on nije odvojen od procesa već je nastao i kreira se tokom obrazovnog procesa.

„Da, i...“ – okidač za aktivitet i kreativnost

Sa aspekta obrazovnih efekata, može se reći da improvizacija ima dva suštinska kvaliteta. Prvi je *aktivitet*. Malo je reći da improvizacija podstiče na aktivnost. Deluje ispravnije da se kaže da ona neminovno aktivira. Ne može se učestvovati u improvizaciji a da ostanemo isključeni na bilo koji način. Sama priroda improvizacije je takva da ona čini nemogućim da ostanemo pasivni tokom obrazovnog procesa. Štaviše, kao forma igre, improvizacija angažuje na način koji je zabavan, nenametljiv i ne ugrožava uključivanje u aktivnost u kojoj učestvuje cela grupa. Na taj način, mnogo je lakše angažovati učesnike koji inače biraju da ostanu povučeni i u drugom planu. Tako, između ostalog, ona predstavlja i način da se svi uključe u aktivnost. Da bismo učestvovali u aktivnosti učenja i razmene, ne moramo unapred znati kako da učestvujemo, ne moramo poznavati istoriju učenja ili teorije i perspektive učenja. Štaviše, ne moramo imati ni saznanja o sadržaju učenja, odnosno temi o kojoj se govori.

Kada su odrasli u pitanju, obrazovno okruženje je poligon za iznošenje i razmenu stavova, ali se to često radi na način koji favorizuje znanje i iskustvo. Time se nameće da unapred promišljamo ono što želimo da kažemo u skladu sa zahtevima istinitosti, relevantnosti, uvremenjenosti i važnosti. Međutim, opterećenost poznavanjem materije i ispravnošću načina iznošenja stvari inhibira spontanost u davanju naših autentičnih reakcija na ono što se razmenjuje tokom obrazovnog procesa. Nasuprot tome, improvizacija nas oslobađa i daje nam dozvolu da istražujemo, isprobavamo, pa i da grešimo. Spontanost reagovanja aktivira naš kreativni potencijal i omogućava da ravnopravno učestvujemo u procesu zajedničkog kreiranja. Možda na prvi pogled zvuči paradoksalno, ali delovanje iz pozicije „neznanja“ sigurno i nedvosmisleno vodi ka saznanju – spontanom reagovanjem i angažovanjem u kolektivnoj aktivnosti stvaranja znanja. Na taj način cela grupa učestvuje u izgradnji obrazovnog okruženja i svi, u podjednako meri, nose odgovornost za njegovu izgradnju. To nije samo stvar konvencije, usvojene ili proklamovane na početku obrazovnog procesa, već samim učestvovanjem u aktivnosti, svi učestvuju i u izgradnji okruženja u kome se ta aktivnost odvija.

Postalo je skoro pravilo da se na početku kursa, seminara ili radionice voditelji najpre dotaknu odgovornosti, najčešće tako što se osvrnu na očekivanja od obrazovnog procesa. Smatra se da će se, ukoliko se učesnicima unapred predoče odgovornosti, pa time i poziv da budu aktivni tokom procesa, aktivno učesće podrazumevati. Nasuprot tome, u poslednje vreme kada dobijem novu grupu studenata, imam običaj da ih pozovem: „Hajde da se ne bavimo očekivanjima. Kako možemo da se bavimo očekivanjima tako što se nećemo njima baviti?“ Iz dosadašnjeg iskustva mogu da kažem da kada ovako započnem proces, skoro svako

u grupi ima nešto da kaže na ovu temu (makar da postavi pitanje: „Kako da se bavimo ne baveći se? Zar je tako nešto moguće?“) i ubrzo dobijam živahnu i zainteresovanu grupu koja preuzima inicijativu i pokreće dalje proces u pravcu koji ne znam kuda će nas odvesti. Kao što ovaj primer ukazuje, improvizacija je alat koji nas na najlakši način angažuje i korišćenjem improvizacije u obrazovanju vrlo je lako angažovati celu grupu oko zajedničkog cilja. Jedina stvar koju moramo imati u vidu jeste da se ne fokusiramo na ono što nam je u glavi već na to da stvorimo zajednicu odraslih učesnika obrazovnog procesa zajedno sa njima.

Podjednako je značajan, a u vezi je sa aktiviranjem, još jedan bitan kvalitet koji se nadovezuje na ovaj, a to je zahtev da preuzmemo rizik. Tokom improvizacije smo aktivni/aktivirani na takav način da radimo stvari koje ne znamo kako da radimo ili radimo poznate stvari na nepoznat način. Svaka naša akcija u tom pravcu, svako naše prepuštanje polju nepoznatog i novog, nosi izvestan rizik. Tako je improvizacija, između ostalog, i način učenja da preuzimamo rizik i, još više od toga, ona je i način učenja kako da podržimo druge da preuzimaju rizik jer to radimo kolektivno (Lobman & Lundquist, 2007). Aktivnost preuzimanja i podržavanja preuzimanja rizika vodi usvajanju novih i drugačijih obrazaca aktivnosti u našem, inače manje ili više ustaljenom i naučenom repertoaru. Svaki put kada iskoračimo iz poznatog i udobnog u nepoznato i nelagodno, proširujemo naše granice delovanja i povećavamo kapacitet za dalje istraživanje i novu radoznalost.

Drugi kvalitet improvizacije odnosi se na učenje kako da delujemo kao grupa u celini, to jest kako da činimo ansambl (Salit, 2016). Time se direktno podstiče kolektivna *kreativnost*. Obrazovnu grupu čini određeni broj pojedinaca okupljenih sa ciljem učenja određenog sadržaja. Upravo improvizacija u velikoj meri doprinosi načinima na koje grupa može efektivno da radi u pravcu obrazovnog cilja, kao i da bude efikasno sredstvo i alat facilitatoru procesa učenja u njegovim ili njenim nastojanjima da na uspešan način okupi grupu oko takvog zajedničkog cilja. Improvizacija u tom procesu pomaže tako što razvija veštine koje to omogućavaju. Lobman i Lindkvist (Lobman & Lundquist, 2007) na vrlo eksplicitan način ukazuju na to da oni koji poučavaju i oni koji uče moraju da budu u stanju da obavljaju niz radnji i veština koje pozorišni izvođači rade dok improvizuju. Te veštine se odnose na to da jedni slušaju druge, ne tako što čekaju da jedan završi da bi drugi nastavio, već slušanje sa ciljem da se nadovezujemo jedni na druge prihvatajući izgovoreno kao ponudu, na koju dalje možemo da gradimo. S tim u vezi, tu je i veština kooperacije nasuprot kompeticiji. Raditi kao ansambl podrazumeva odnos jednih članova grupe prema drugima kao delova celine, koja funkcioniše isključivo tako. Ansamblom se ne postaje tako što svako zagovara svoje. Imati svoje mišljenje, držati do ličnih osećanja, braniti sopstveni stav nema skoro nikakvu vrednost kada grupa treba da dela kao jedno.

Sve to donosi i drugačiji kvalitet samom procesu učenja: „Kada članovi obrazovne grupe improvizuju zajedno, oni uče kako da rade zajedno, kako da stvaraju zajedno, kako da kreiraju učenje i sebe kao one koji uče“ (Lobman & Lundquist, 2007, p. 1).

Tako je još jedan način na koji princip „da, i...“ utiče povoljno na kreiranje obrazovnog okruženja – podsticanje grupe na zajedništvo. To se delimično iscrpljuje već putem moderiranja diskusije, a moguće su i dodatne intervencije koje vode u pravcu saradnje i kolaborativnog učenja. Između ostalog, facilitator može da se angažuje tako što će direktno pomagati učesnicima da nauče kako mogu kroz diskusiju i grupnu aktivnost da vode računa o drugima. U obrazovnom procesu se često zapostavlja odnos jer se pažnja isključivo usmerava na sadržaj obrazovanja. Čitava organizacija obrazovnog procesa se najčešće bazira na onome što je predmet učenja i kao da se zaboravlja da su subjekti tog procesa zapravo ljudi. Improvizacija može da pomogne u tome da obrazovni proces simultano usmerimo na odnos i na sadržaj, odnosno njihovu interakciju. Razlog zbog koga improvizacija funkcioniše u improvizacijskim trupama je upravo to što izvođači, komičari i glumci uvek nastoje da pomognu partneru ili partnerki i tokom celog izvođenja vode računa o tome da oni izgledaju dobro u svom izvođenju. Deo brige za izvođenje uvek podrazumeva i pomaganje drugima, pre svega tako što se trude da ih ne zaskoče ili uhvate nespremne ili dozvole da izgledaju glupo i besmisleno. Isti princip se može primeniti u obrazovanju, gde je učesnicima moguće ukazati na to da se ne takmiče sa drugima, da nema potrebe da evaluiraju druge i ono što oni rade ili kažu, da je vrednovanje iskaza nepotrebno, da nema potrebe za upoređivanjem, ismevanjem ili omalovažavanjem niti za traženjem grešaka. Jasna instrukcija može biti – učinite da ostali izgledaju dobro. Mora da postoji nešto, neka ponuda u onome što su rekli sa čime možete da gradite. Vrednost toga, i za facilitatore obrazovnog procesa i za učesnike, nalazi se, između ostalog, u tome što nas čini sjajnim slušaocima. Ne slušate da biste procenili da li je nešto ispravno, ne slušate da biste nekoga procenili, ne slušate da biste se složili sa njim/njom. Slušate da biste gradili dijalog i da biste izgradili znanje.

Učestvovanje u takvoj kolektivnoj aktivnosti stvara jak osećaj pripadnosti (Nikolić, 2019; Lobman & Lundquist, 2007). Štaviše, improvizacija kod učesnika izaziva ne samo jak osećaj pripadanja grupi već i osećaj vlasništva nad aktivnošću. Razvija se, naime, svest da je to na čemu radimo naše i da ga mi stvaramo. Tako se putem obrazovnog procesa kreira i promoviše kolektivni rad, zasnovan na saradnji, nasuprot takmičarskom grupnom radu, u kome postoje individualnost i nadmetanje. Ovde je sve u saradnji i sve je saradnja – slaganje („da...“) i nadovezivanje („...i“).

„Da, i...“ radionica i učenje improvizacije

Opis radionice

Radionica „*Da, i...*“ je posvećena prikazivanju suštine improvizacije kao metode obrazovnog rada sa odraslima, kroz njene dve osnovne karakteristike, a putem praktičnih improvizacijskih tehnika, koje su osmišljene na način da ilustruju njene različite modalitete, koji su primenljivi u različitim situacijama učenja. U osnovi takve metode leži specifična metodologija razvoja, koja improvizaciju ne posmatra kao prostu primenu drame ili akcionu metodu, već kao pojavni oblik ljudskog urođenog kapaciteta za igru i izvođenje (Nikolić, 2019). Iako urođena sposobnost, opšteprihvaćenim pristupom razvoju po kome se on odvija putem unapred definisanih stupnjeva i podrazumeva usvajanje društveno poželjnih obrazaca aktivnosti, naša sposobnost da reagujemo spontano tokom odrastanja biva potisnuta. Upravo zato je treba učiti i vežbati. Njene osnovne karakteristike ogledaju se u našoj volji, sposobnosti i rešenosti da prihvatimo ponudu (*Da*), u našoj želji i mogućnosti da se nadovežemo na nju novom ponudom (*i...*), bez unapred propisane replike, zadatog scenarija, utvrđenog obrasca, naučenog ponašanja i uloge, na sceni ili u životu. Radionica obuhvata različite tipove improvizacijskih tehnika prihvatanja i davanja novih ponuda kroz radnju i pokret, zvuk, rad sa zamišljenim objektima, konverzacije i razvijanje dijaloga. U tom smislu, ona je i poziv na kolektivno buđenje spontanosti, kolaborativno oblikovanje novog i drugačijeg, kao i zajednički rast.

Struktura radionice

Radionica je namenjena svima koji rade sa ljudima različitih uzrasta, bilo da je u pitanju obrazovanje i učenje, razvoj zajednice, socijalni ili terapijski rad, a koji koriste ili bi želeli da koriste tehnike improvizacije u svom radu. Idealan broj učesnika je do 20, a trajanje 45 minuta. U nastavku, radionica će biti prikazana onako kako je prvi put izvedena na konferenciji „Dramsko obrazovanje i samooobrazovanje – Kako do dramskih pedagoških kompetencija?“ (Dečji kulturni centar Beograda, 19. jun 2016, 13.15–14.00, Baletski studio, 1. sprat) u organizaciji Bazzarta⁵. Prikaz radionice će obuhvatiti opis strukture radionice, u četiri celine, a u okviru svake biće prikazane pojedine improvizacijske vežbe, tako što će biti dati njihov pojedinačni opis, uputstva za izvođenje (kako su bila predstavljena

⁵ <http://bazaart.org.rs/>

učesnicima na mestu izvođenja) i teorijski inputi koji su pratili svaku. Radionica se odvija u četiri celine.

1. Uvod i predstavljanje radionice
2. Upoznavanje i zagrevanje za rad: početni deo radionice podrazumeva predstavljanje voditeljke, njenih motiva i interesovanja za ovakav način rada, inicijalno ispitivanje iskustva učesnika sa tehnikama improvizacije, kao i zagrevanje za improvizaciju (planirano trajanje: 10 minuta)
 - Imena (Jelić & Nikolić Maksić, str. 69)
3. Improvizacija kroz pokret i zvuk, korišćenje zamišljenih objekata i zamišljene radnje (planirano trajanje: 10 minuta)
 - Nastavljanje poza (str. 88)
 - Šta radiš? (str. 79; Lobman & Lundquist, p. 45)
 - Davanje i primanje poklona (Jelić & Nikolić Maksić, str. 88)
4. Improvizacija kroz dijalog: zagrevanje u parovima, improvizacija na sceni sa zadatim temama (planirano trajanje: 15 minuta)
 - Da, i... dijalog (str. 86)
 - Da, i... priča (str. 86)
5. Zatvaranje radionice: vreme za osvrt na radionicu i diskusiju (5 minuta) i završna aktivnost (Pričanje kolektivne priče: Da, i naracija) (planirano trajanje: 5 minuta)
 - Da, i... kolektivna priča (Lobman & Lundquist, p. 69)

Tok radionice

I DEO: Uvod u radionicu, zagrevanje za rad i upoznavanje

1. UVOD

UVODNO OBRAĆANJE. Imamo nekih 45 minuta da budemo zajedno i za to vreme želim da vas provedem kroz seriju vežbi koje ilustruju improvizaciju kao metodu rada sa grupom. Nadam se da ćemo na kraju imati malo vremena da razmenimo međusobno ideje, iskustva koja imamo i utiske.

TEORIJSKI INPUT. Duboko verujem da se ljudi razvijaju u interakciji sa drugim ljudima, i to u okruženju koje promoviše spontanost i kreativnost. To sve znači da je takvo okruženje socijalno (da uvek postoji podsticaj ili impuls za učenje koji dolazi od drugih) i angažujuće (podstiče na aktivnost, tj. podržan je odgovor na taj podsticaj ili impuls). Izgradnju

takvog okruženja najbolje ilustruje improvizacija, a improvizaciju kao metodu rada sa ljudima najbolje ilustruje princip „Da, i...“. Tome je posvećena ova radionica.

2. UPOZNAVANJE

UPUTSTVO. Sada ćemo se upoznati na način koji će oduzeti nešto vremena, pa vas zato molim da budemo brzi. Tome u prilog ide nekoliko pravila. U principu, krenite za mnom i radite isto što i ja, po redu, odnosno radite sve ono što radi osoba ispred vas. To je da se rukujete sa osobom sa vaše desne strane a da kažete svoje ime i zašto ste ovde. To pitanje shvatite najšire moguće: zašto ste na ovoj radionici, zašto ste na ovoj konferenciji, zašto ste na ovom svetu... ali, šta god da odaberete, budite kratki i jasni – govorimo o jednoj rečenici, koja može da bude prostoproširena. Pošto ćemo proći ceo krug i upoznati se sa svima, možete istu stvar da ponovite svima, a možete i svaki put da kažete nešto novo, šta god vam prvo padne na pamet. Osoba koja sluša dužna je da odgovori. Kada odgovarate, nemojte razmišljati, pre svega da bismo bili efikasni, ali i da biste dali svoj autentičan odgovor, ono što vam prvo padne na pamet, šta god to bilo, a što je podstaknuto onim što ste čuli i što je vaša reakcija na to.

TEORIJSKI INPUT. Improvizacija je davanje spontanog i autentičnog odgovora, naša instant reakcija na dati impuls ili situaciju. Tako se ona i definiše u dramskoj umetnosti, kao vrsta izvedbe ili izvođenja bez unapred pripremljenog scenarija. Improvizacija je i slušanje jer da biste dali odgovor na situaciju, morate aktivno da slušate, da zaista čujete šta vam neko govori. Ovo upoznavanje to ilustruje jer je trebalo da smislite na licu mesta kako ćete se predstaviti, a isto tako i kako spontano da odgovorite na ono što ste čuli. Takođe, ovo nije bila nikakva specifična vežba, nikakav neobičan zadatak u odnosu na ono što mi manje ili više radimo u svakodnevnom životu, što dobro ilustruje i to da mi veliki deo svog života u stvari improvizujemo. Za većinu situacija u kojima se nađemo ne možemo da imamo unapred naučeni odgovor već moramo da ga osmislimo na licu mesta. Zato se improvizacija smatra razvojnom, za razliku od prostog sticanja znanja usvajanjem činjenica, koje, prema mom mišljenju, nema baš tako usku vezu sa razvojem koliko se obično misli.

Da bismo dublje otišli u improvizaciju i njene karakteristike, preći ćemo na vežbe koje su specijalno osmišljene da vežbaju baš takve autentične reakcije, da probude našu spontanost i da nam povećaju kapacitet za igru i izvođenje.

Improvizacijska vežba „Imena“

UPUTSTVO. Svaka od nas će nam reći naglas svoje ime, a onda i pridev koji je opisuje na prvo slovo njenog imena i tome pridajte i pokret, to jest pokažite nam kako to izgleda. Ako postoji i zvuk, slobodno ga pustite da izađe. Na primer: Tamara – temperamentna, tolerantna, tačna. Ako ne možete da se setite prideva, pomoći će vam ostali.

TEORIJSKI INPUT. Improvizacija zahteva takvu vrstu atmosfere u kojoj je dozvoljeno i prihvaćeno sve što se spontano desi. To znači da nema dobrih ili loših stvari, one su takve kakve jesu i takvim ih i prihvatamo. U tom smislu, bitno je uvek istaći da su greške dozvoljene i da nijednu reakciju ne procenjujemo, drugim rečima šta god da se desi dobrodošlo je. Tako mi, u stvari, improvizujući kreiramo razvojno okruženje. U masi pokušaja i pogrešaka dešavaju se i nove i drugačije reakcije, situacije, produkti aktivnosti. Tako je improvizacija usko povezana i sa kreativnošću i inovacijama.

II DEO: *Improvizacija kroz pokret i zvuk, korišćenje zamišljenih objekata i zamišljene radnje*

3. IMPROVIZACIJA KROZ POKRET

Improvizacijska vežba „Nastavljanje poza“

UPUTSTVO. Sada ćemo iskoristiti jednu od vaših kreacija (jedan pokret, samo ćemo ga zamrznuti) te mi u tom smislu treba dobrovoljac koji će u toj pozi stati u centar kruga. Ova poza je impuls jer kod vas sigurno budi neku asocijaciju, stavljajući je u neki kontekst. Čim imate tu asocijaciju, treba da nastavite ovu pozu tako što stajete svojim telom tamo gde mislite da treba i na taj način dopunjujete sliku. Kada uđe neko novi, osoba koja je prva bila u sceni ili slici izlazi. Ona će znati da treba da izađe zato što ćete je vi dodirnuti.

U jednom trenutku ćemo uvesti da u sliku ulaze po dve osobe a jedna izlazi, tako da će cela grupa u jednom trenutku biti u slici.

TEORIJSKI INPUT. Dakle, sve što neko ponudi prihvata se i smatra se aktom davanja i deljenja. Tako je značajna karakteristika improvizacije *prihvatanje*. I to se odnosi na ono „Da...“ u nazivu radionice. Kada vam neko da ponudu, vi uvek kažete da. Dakle, dva su suštinska pravila improvizacije i ovo je prvo. Ništa ne negiramo, nema neslaganja, nema iznošenja suprotnog stava. Jedna moja poznanica i saradnica, inače jedna od mojih mnogih učitelja improvizacije, to je lepo objasnila na primeru

dramske umetnosti: „Život može da vam bude drama (grčka tragedija, pozorište koje se bazira na sukobu) i život može da vam bude magija (slaganje i saradnja, pozorište zasnovano na improvizaciji).“⁶ Ove vežbe sa telima i sa slikama to dobro ilustruju jer ovde ne možete da negirate, ta opcija ne postoji, možete samo da dopunjavate.

4. IMPROVIZACIJA I ZAMIŠLJANJE RADNJI

Improvizacijska vežba „Šta radiš?“

UPUTSTVO. Učesnica koja je u krugu mimikom dočarava određenu radnju. Druga učesnica prilazi i pita – Šta radiš? Učesnica odgovara nešto što nema veze sa tom radnjom nego izmišlja novu radnju.

TEORIJSKI INPUT. Dakle, ovde smo i dalje vežbali prihvatanje – impuls je to što nam neko zadaje, a pravila igre govore da ako hoćemo da se igramo, moramo da prihvatimo. Slična je i sledeća vežba.

5. RAD SA ZAMIŠLJENJIM PREDMETIMA

Improvizacijska vežba „Davanje i primanje poklona“

UPUTSTVO. Nastavljamo u krugu. Osobi do sebe s desne strane daćete zamišljeni poklon. Poklon je u kutiji, dakle, upakovan je, ali on može da bude veliki ili mali, težak ili lak, da se mrda ili ne. Dakle, može da ima različite kvalitete koje vi određujete. Druga osoba prima poklon i dužna je da ga otpakuje (poklon se uvek otpakuje na licu mesta), treba da se iznenadi (očekuje se od nas da se iznenadimo) i da nam na neki način dočara šta je dobila i kako će taj poklon iskoristiti. Nakon toga daje neki drugi upakovani poklon sledećoj osobi u krugu.

TEORIJSKI INPUT. Ovde smo imali prihvatanje, dakle trebalo je da prihvatimo određenu ponudu kada je dobijemo, odnosno da odgovorimo sa – da. Ali, osim prihvatanja, u ovih nekoliko vežbi morali smo i da se nadovežemo na ponudu koju smo prihvatili. To se odnosi na drugi značajan kvalitet improvizacije, a to je onaj deo iz naslova „...i“. Dakle, istovremeno imamo prihvatanje i *nastavljanje*, nadograđivanje. To su dve suštinske karakteristike improvizacije koje je najbolje opisuju i bez kojih ona ne postoji. Tako je improvizacija konstantno primanje i davanje novih ponuda.

Do sada smo radili improvizaciju na neverbalni način u vežbama koje koriste pokret i zvuk, zamišljene objekte i zamišljene radnje, a sada ćemo preći na improvizaciju na verbalnom nivou.

⁶ Marija Farmer, „Mala akademija fizičkog, ekspresivnog i procesnog teatra“, Rex teatar, novembar 2016, <http://marijafarmer.com/sr/akademija-fizickog-ekspresivnog-i-procesnog-teatra/>

III DEO: *Improvizacija kroz dijalog: zagrevanje u parovima i improvizacija na sceni sa zadatim temama*

6. VERBALNO IMPROVIZOVANJE

Improvizacijska vežba „Da, i... dijalog“

UPUTSTVO. Sada ćemo se podeliti u parove. I vežbaćemo „Da, i...“ tako što ćete u paru imati zadatak da organizujete rođendansku žurku. Jedna će učesnica početi, a onda ćete se nadovezivati tako što ćete svaku sledeću rečenicu započeti sa – da, i... Dakle, prva osoba počinje rečenicu sa „Hajde da...“, a svaka sledeća započinje sa „da, i...“ i da vidimo gde će vas to odvesti.

TEORIJSKI INPUT. Uspešna improvizacija podrazumeva mnogo više od uočavanja i prihvatanja ponuda. Da bi se aktivnost razvila, treba dodavati nove ponude. Ukoliko toga ne bi bilo, aktivnost ne bi mogla da napreduje. Prihvatanje je prvi uslov jer negiranje blokira scenu, blokira aktivnost. Blokira je i postavljanje pitanja, ponavljanje rečenog, čak i samo slaganje bez nove ponude. Zato je vežba „Da, i...“ dobra za vežbanje improvizacije jer kada započnete rečenicu sa „Da, i...“, podrazumeva se da se slažete i da ćete nastaviti.

Improvizacijska vežba „Da, i... priča“

UPUTSTVO. Ovde ćemo uvesti određeni zadatak, da vidimo kako vam ide. Zamoliću nekoliko parova da uradi naglas improvizaciju da, i... a ja ću vam zadati temu.

Primer teme. U paru imate zadatak da koristeći „Da, i...“ isplanirate zajedno novu modnu kolekciju za proleće/leto 2016.

TEORIJSKI INPUT. Kao što smo videli, ovde već nije bilo tako lako da se složimo. Moja je ideja da smo se mi kao ljudi isuviše udaljili od slušanja drugih i od saradnje zbog toga što vrednujemo lično mišljenje i što moramo da budemo u pravu. Tome nas je odvela metodologija koju koristimo, a koja vrednuje jedno objektivno opipljivo i van nas postojeće znanje. To je, nažalost, paradigma koja preovlađuje u našim životima i koja preovlađuje u obrazovnom sistemu, pa tako decu učimo da skupljaju činjenice, da ih usvajaju u ogromnoj meri i kod njih negujemo individualizam i takmičenje. Ovakvim pristupom mi možemo polako da menjamo tu paradigmu. Improvizacijom se neguje spontanost (autentičan odgovor koji može biti i pogrešan) nasuprot znanju, saradnja nasuprot individualizmu i takmičarstvu, što sve vodi povećanoj kreativnosti, inovativnom razmišljanju i kooperaciji.

IV DEO: *Zatvaranje radionice: diskusija i završna aktivnost*

7. ZATVARANJE RADIONICE

Diskusija

Možemo da odvojimo nekoliko minuta ukoliko imate neko pitanje za mene ili neki komentar.

Improvizacijska vežba „Da, i... priča“

UPUTSTVO. Za kraj, ispričaćemo zajedno priču, ali tako što će svako od nas izgovoriti jednu rečenicu tako da se nadovezuje na prethodne rečenice i da prati smisao svega do tada rečenog.

TEORIJSKI INPUT. Kao što vidite, nije suština u tome da pamtimo šta je neko rekao ili da se takmičimo u originalnosti onoga što ćemo reći. Ništa ne smišljamo unapred. Nasuprot tome, trudimo se da slušamo druge, da čujemo ono što oni govore, da bismo mogli da se nadovežemo. Suština je u kooperaciji i zajedničkom delovanju. Svi zajedno kreiramo priču.

Zaključak

Radionica „Da, i...“ ilustruje improvizaciju kao metodu obrazovnog rada. Improvizacija se posmatra kao pojavni oblik urođenog ljudskog kapaciteta za igru i izvođenje. Tokom odrastanja, naša sposobnost da reagujemo spontano biva potisnuta i zato treba da je učimo i uvežbavamo. Radionica je dizajnirana tako da objasni princip „Da, i...“ koji ukazuje na njene glavne odlike sa aspekta stvaranja mogućnosti za razvojno okruženje za učenje. To znači da su sve improvizacijske vežbe u okviru nje pažljivo odabrane tako da ilustruju suštinu improvizacije i time ukažu na njen značaj za obrazovni proces. Aktivitet i kreativnost se javljaju kao ključne karakteristike svakog uključivanja u aktivnost improvizovanja, a to su istovremeno i njeni direktni efekti. Iz ovako postavljenog koncepta kolaboracije i stvaranja kooperativnog okruženja za učenje proizilazi stvaralački potencijal grupe. Ilustrativno rečeno, taj koncept se ogleda u nastojanju da se odnosimo prema učionici kao prema sceni. Koristeći improvizaciju, voditelji obrazovnog procesa organizuju facilitaciju učenja stavljajući fokus na aktivnost izvođenja (performativnost) improvizacijskog učenja.

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The “Yes, and...” Principle: Improvisation as a Method of Educational Work⁸

Abstract: This paper presents an improvisation workshop entitled “Yes, and...” intended for promoting this skill and teaching improvisation techniques to educational workers. After a brief introduction intended to explain what improvisation is and what kind of improvisation this paper refers to, we move on to explain the importance of improvisation for education, as well as the importance of teaching improvisation techniques to educational workers. To illustrate the role that improvisation has or may have in the educational process, we highlight the “yes, and...” principle, which is thought to be essentially describing the main features of improvisation, primarily acceptance (of an offer) and building upon it. On these rationales, we derived a thesis regarding the existence of a link among such characteristics, on the one hand, as well as activation and creativity, on the other, as important components that work together in the development of a motivational and developmental educational environment. In the end, we provided an example of teaching improvisation through workshop engagement using a detailed description of a workshop along with instructions for particular exercises and explaining their significance, in the precise way it was conducted with adult participants.

Key words: improvisation, the “yes, and...” principle, activity, creativity, adult education.

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Faktori pedagoške (ne)kompetentnosti roditelja za roditeljsku ulogu⁴

Apstrakt: Polazeći od teorijskih razmatranja doživljaja roditeljske kompetentnosti u svetlu promena koje odlikuju savremeno društvo i izazovnih zadataka koji se pred roditelje postavljaju, cilj ovog rada je bio da se ispituju određeni faktori samoprocene pedagoške (ne)kompetentnosti roditelja za roditeljsku ulogu. Uzorak je činilo 575 ispitanika, očeva i majki dece predškolskog uzrasta. Dobijeni rezultati su pokazali da majke sebe vide kao kompetentnije u roditeljskoj ulozi bez obzira na pol deteta i da sebe procenjuju kompetentnijim oni roditelji čija deca žive sa oba roditelja, te da su materijalni status i pohađanje predškolske ustanove takođe značajne determinante pedagoške kompetentnosti roditelja za roditeljsku ulogu. Na uzorku ispitivanja nije se pokazalo da su značajni faktori kao što su: sredina u kojoj dete živi, godine roditelja, broj dece u porodici i nivo obrazovanja roditelja. Dobijeni rezultati su važni za osveščivanje roditeljskih postupaka u vaspitanju dece i za ukazivanje na eventualne promene u ponašanju i stavovima.

Ključne reči: subjektivna roditeljska (ne)kompetentnost, porodica, pedagoško obrazovanje roditelja, predškolska deca.

Uvod

Savremena porodica, kao promenljiva, interaktivna i dinamična društvena zajednica, zavisna je od brojnih svakodnevnih uticaja, ali i političkih i ekonomskih promena. Postati roditelj predstavlja značajnu promenu u ukupnom identitetu individue. Iako se tokom istorije roditeljstvo različito doživljavalo i menjalo, do-

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lazak i prisutnost deteta u porodici menja ponašanje i mišljenje odraslog u svojoj novoj ulozi roditelja, ali i sopstvenu sliku o sebi, kao i sliku koju o njemu ima okruženje (Čudina Obradović i Obradović, 2003).

Roditeljstvo je uloga koja ima jak uticaj na sve aspekte detetovog razvoja i ponašanja te predstavlja aktivnost, odnosno skup postupaka koje odrasla osoba formira i koristi u toj životnoj ulozi (Littlewood, 2009; Mandarić Vukušić, 2018). Iako roditeljstvo ima brojne pozitivne aspekte za porodicu, ono je u početku često obeleženo nedoumicama i nesigurnošću, a kasnije čak i sukobima (Jurčević Lozančić i Kunert, 2015), pa su roditelji izloženi konstantnim problemima i pritiscima zbog kojih mogu da se osećaju nesigurno i loše (Bergmann, 2009; Pećnik i Starc, 2010). Roditeljstvo je oduvek bila izazovna uloga, na koju utiče društveni sistem i okolina. Savremeno informaciono doba, koje je prepuno različitih smerica, procedura, saveta i pritiska, kao i nekontrolisanog uticaja medija i društvenih mreža, uslovljava često greške roditelja i njihovo preispitivanje sopstvenih odluka i svoje pedagoške kompetentnosti za roditeljsku ulogu. Takođe, opšti stav da su sreća i uspeh dece uslovljeni potrošačkom kulturom, takmičarskim duhom i materijalnim bogatstvom neretko ponese roditelje (Jurčević Lozančić i Kunert, 2015) i dovede ih u stanje preispitivanja vaspitnih postupaka u porodici. Time se problematizuje konstrukt pedagoški kompetentnog roditelja koji treba da ima jasnu sliku o vrednostima vaspitanja i da promišlja o svom roditeljstvu jer, kako Sears i Sears (2009) navode, porodično vaspitanje je jedan od najvažnijih činilaca detetove stabilnosti, zadovoljstva i samopouzdanja.

Doživljaj roditeljske kompetentnosti

Doživljaj roditeljstva predstavlja samoprocenu o kvalitetu i kompetentnosti ispunjavanja roditeljske uloge. Taj pojam se najčešće opisuje pomoću tri dimenzije: zadovoljstvo roditelja, stres i zahtevi roditeljske uloge, te subjektivni osećaj roditeljske kompetencije (Sabatelli & Waldron, 1995, prema Čudina Obradović i Obradović, 2003). Prva dimenzija je *zadovoljstvo roditelja* i podrazumeva ostvaren uspešan odnos sa partnerom i detetom i lično zadovoljstvo roditeljskom ulogom. Druga dimenzija su *zahtevi roditeljske uloge u koje se ubrajaju pritisci i ispunjenje normi i očekivanja* koja se pred roditelje postavljaju od društva, a ti zahtevi, odnosno njihovo neispunjavanje direktno proizvode roditeljski stres, kome još može da se doda i depresija roditelja, preterana vezanost za dete i osećaj roditeljske nekompetentnosti. Treća dimenzija je subjektivna roditeljska kompetentnost, koja predstavlja zajednički naziv za različite aspekte *ličnog doživljaja uspeha iz perspektive roditeljske uloge* (Marić Jurišin i Malčić, 2020).

Na značaj subjektivnog osećaja roditeljske kompetentnosti za razvoj deteta ukazuje još Belsky (1984), koji opisuje da doživljaj nekompetentnosti roditelja u roditeljskoj ulozi u određenoj meri može da uslovi životnu krizu u partnerskom odnosu roditelja, koja utiče na detetovo ponašanje i celokupan razvoj. Tom konstruktumu je posvećena pažnja u brojnim teorijskim i empirijskim istraživanjima (Cardoso, Silva & Marin, 2015; Gilmore & Cuskelly, 2009; Grk & Čokorilo, 2012; De Haan, Prinzie & Deković, 2009; Jurčević Lozančić i Kunert, 2015; Keresteš, Brković i Kuterovac Jagodić, 2011; Ljubetić, Mandarić Vukšić & Ivić, 2017; Marić Jurišin i Malčić, 2020; NASEM, 2016; Rogers & Matthews, 2004).

Pedagoška kompetencija roditelja shvata se kao iskustvo pojedinca, kao odrasle osobe koja ima kontrolu nad roditeljstvom (Ljubetić, Mandarić Vukšić & Ivić, 2017) i oseća se dobro u ulozi roditelja i svom odnosu sa detetom (Milanović, Stričević, Maleš, Sekulić Majurec, 2000). Tako doživljaj roditeljske kompetentnosti predstavlja subjektivnu sliku i intenzitet zadovoljstva koju roditelj oseća o ličnoj uspešnosti ispunjavanja različitih društvenih normi roditeljstva. Pedagoška ne(kompetentnost) roditelja odražava se na sve sfere života i okruženja odrasle osobe i zato je važno istražiti taj pojam (Marić Jurišin i Malčić, 2020). U poslednje vreme roditelji se oslanjaju na različite elektronske i štampane izvore, na ljude iz svog okruženja, ali i na ljudske resurse u različitim formalnim i neformalnim organizacijama (Petani i Krstić, 2012), kako bi unapredili svoju pedagošku kompetentnost za roditeljsku ulogu (Marić Jurišin i Klemenović, 2018), a savremena pedagoška i andragoška istraživanja sve više ispituju interakciju roditeljskog ponašanja i postupaka sa dečjim razvojem (Bugental & Johnston, 2000).

Sve to ukazuje na značaj ispitivanja percepcije roditeljske ne(kompetentnosti) i utvrđivanja njenih determinanti, pri čemu bi dobijeni rezultati bili značajne smernice pedagozima i andragozima u izradi strategija i programa čiji bi cilj bilo podizanje nivoa njihove pedagoške kompetentnosti.

Faktori pedagoške kompetentnosti roditelja

Sa teorijskog aspekta, roditeljska kompetentnost je važan faktor roditeljskog ponašanja i odnosa dete – roditelj (Bornstein et al., 2003; Coleman & Karraker, 2000). Savremeni svet i vrtoglavi razvoj tehnologije donose nam sve kompleksnije uslove življenja koje karakterišu tranzicija, migracije, a često i nezaposlenost (Ljubetić, 2007). Ti faktori, kao i lične karakteristike roditelja

lja, ali i dece, potencijalno mogu da utiču na ne(kompetentnost) roditelja za roditeljsku ulogu.

Bergmann (2009) govori o razlikama u uticajima koje majke i očevi imaju prema deci istog, odnosno suprotnog pola. Osim njega, polom kao determinantom pedagoške kompetentnosti roditeljstva bavili su se još i Reić Ercegovac (2011), Rogers i Matthews (2004), Salonen i saradnici (2009) i drugi. S obzirom na to da su danas uglavnom oba roditelja zaposlena (Grk i Čokorilo, 2012), ispitivana je zaposlenost roditelja kao potencijalni korelat njihove pedagoške (ne) kompetentnosti. Ljubetić (2012) navodi da zaposlenost bračnih partnera pozitivno utiče na porodicu, direktnim povećanjem ekonomske moći i materijalnog stanja, a time i raznovrsnosti i kvaliteta porodične vaspitne okoline. Jedan od činilaca pedagoške kompetentnosti roditelja o kojem se govori u literaturi jeste i vrtić (Jurčević Lozančić i Kunert, 2015), kao mesto vaspitno-obrazovnog procesa gde se primereno odgovara na detetove individualne i razvojne potrebe, što nadalje utiče i na subjektivni osećaj veće roditeljske kompetentnosti. I nivo obrazovanja je faktor kojim se bave brojna istraživanja u kojima je ispitivano da li on predstavlja determinantu pedagoške kompetentnosti roditelja (Grk i Čokorilo, 2012; Ljubetić, 2007; Petani, 2007 Zevalkink & Riksen-Walraven, 2001, prema Reić Ercegovac, 2011).

Osim tih, istraživači su kao činioce pedagoške (ne)kompetentnosti ispitali i godine starosti roditelja, kao faktor koji pretpostavlja zrelost, odnosno odgovorno promišljanje i početak porodičnog života i roditeljstva (Ljubetić, 2007). Zatim, broj dece u porodici i redosled rođenja dece ispitivani su kao faktori (ne) kompetentnosti roditelja za roditeljsku ulogu, s obzirom na to da su istraživanja pokazala da se najveće promene u porodici i bračnoj zajednici dešavaju po rođenju prvog deteta, a da svako naredno traži manje prilagođavanje i donosi manju napetost, dok red rođenja dece može da ima značajnu ulogu ne samo u odnosu među samom decom već i u odnosu roditelja prema deci i obrnuto (Ljubetić, Mandarić Vukušić & Ivić, 2017).

Pomenuta dosadašnja istraživanja pokazala su da određeni činioci manje ili više utiču na doživljaj pedagoške (ne)kompetentnosti roditelja za roditeljsku ulogu. Danas se pred roditelje stavlja složen zadatak, a određene okolnosti i faktori sredine i društva u kojem porodica živi više nego ranije otežavaju porodično vaspitanje i realizaciju obaveza koje se pred njih postavljaju. Zato je važno da se ispita šta utiče na roditeljsku ne(kompetentnost) kako bi lakše došli do rezultata koji će ukazati na to da li postoji potreba za adekvatnijim društvenim uticajem i pomoći porodici u ostvarivanju roditeljske uloge.

Metodologija istraživanja

Cilj i zadaci istraživanja. Osnovni cilj istraživanja bio je da se ispita samoprocena pedagoške (ne)kompetentnosti kod roditelja dece predškolskog uzrasta. U skladu sa postavljenim ciljem definisani su sledeći istraživački zadaci: 1. utvrditi razlike u doživljaju pedagoške (ne)kompetentnosti u odnosu na pol roditelja (otac/majka), strukturu porodice i sredinu u kojoj porodica živi, životnu dob roditelja, nivo obrazovanja roditelja, materijalni status porodice; 2. ispitati da li postoji razlika u doživljaju pedagoške (ne)kompetentnosti roditelja u odnosu na pol deteta, a zatim i interakciju između pola roditelja i pola deteta; 3. utvrditi da li broj dece u porodici utiče na doživljaj pedagoške (ne)kompetentnosti roditelja; 4. ispitati da li postoji razlika u doživljaju pedagoške (ne)kompetentnosti roditelja čija deca pohađaju predškolsku ustanovu i roditelja čija deca ne pohađaju predškolsku ustanovu.

Uzorak i postupak. Uzorak u istraživanju je činilo 575 ispitanika, očeva i majki dece predškolskog uzrasta, od čega je 286 (49,7%) očeva. Prosečna starost majki bila je 32,13 (SD = 4,83), dok je prosečna starost očeva iznosila 35,01 godina (SD = 5,15). U uzorku, deca ispitanika su izjednačena po polu (50,1%). Najviše ima prvorodene dece 62,6%, dok je 32,9% dece rođeno kao drugo dete u datoj porodici. Najveći procenat ispitanih roditelja ima dvoje dece (50%), zatim slede roditelji koji imaju jedno dete (41,7%), dok najmanje (8,3%) ispitanika ima više od dvoje dece. Analiza obrazovnog statusa roditelja pokazala je da najviše ima roditelja koji imaju završenu srednju školu, 55% (165 očeva i 143 majke), višu školu je završilo 15,38% ispitanika (41 otac i 45 majki), master i magistarske studije je završilo 6,25% uzorka (18 očeva i 17 majki), 1,43% ispitanika je završilo osnovnu školu, dok je 1,07% ispitanika završilo doktorske studije. Najveći broj ispitanika, njih 69,6% (396), živi u nuklearnoj porodici, slede oni koji žive u proširenoj višegeneracijskoj porodici, njih 25,7% (46), dok najmanji broj ispitanika, 4,7% (27), živi kao samohrani roditelj sa detetom/decom. Dalje analize pokazuju da u gradskoj sredini živi najviše ispitanika (49,2%), zatim slede ispitanici koji žive u seoskoj sredini (27,8%), dok najmanje ispitanih roditelja živi u prigradskoj sredini (23%). Kada je reč o materijalnom statusu, najviše ispitanika svoje materijalne prilike smatra donekle zadovoljavajućim (48,5%), slede ispitanici koji svoje materijalne prilike smatraju zadovoljavajućim (46,3%), a najmanji broj ispitanih roditelja svoje materijalno stanje vidi kao nezadovoljavajuće (4,7%). Ispitano je i da li deca roditelja koji su učestvovali u istraživanju pohađaju predškolsku ustanovu (PU). Rezultati pokazuju da znatno više dece pohađa predškolsku ustanovu (70,8%), dok manji broj dece čuvaju roditelji ili neko drugi (26,6%).

Uzorak je uzet po principu snežne grudve, a sedamdesetak studenata je imalo zadatak da ispita oba roditelja dece predškolskog uzrasta. Istraživanje je realizovano 2018. godine, anketnim upitnikom, pismenim putem. Od istraživačkih tehnika upotrebljeni su skaliranje i anketiranje. Ispitanicima su data uputstva i objašnjena im je svrha istraživanja. Popunjavanje upitnika je trajalo 15 minuta, bilo je dobrovoljno i anonimno, a ispitanici su mogli da odustanu u bilo kom momentu. Nakon prikupljenih podataka, podaci su pripremljeni za statističku obradu.

Instrument. Prvi deo instrumenta bio je namenjen ispitivanju demografskih karakteristika (pol roditelja, pol deteta, godine života ispitanika, sredina u kojoj živi, uključenost deteta u PU, nivo obrazovanja ispitanika, materijalni status, red rođenja dece u porodici i broj dece u porodici, kao i struktura porodice).

Drugi deo instrumenta činila je Skala percepcije kompetentnosti roditelja za roditeljsku ulogu (SAKORU, Ljubetić, 2007). U izvornom obliku skala je sadržala 20 tvrdnji (Gustović Ercegovac, 1992), dok je u istraživanju koje su uradile Ljubetić (2007) i Petani (2007) korišćeno 18 ajtema, s obzirom na to da su se dve tvrdnje pokazale kao nediskriminišuće. Na osnovu toga, u istraživanju je primenjena skala sa 18 ajtema. Faktorskom analizom skale samoprocene pedagoške kompetentnosti roditelja za roditeljsku ulogu ekstrahovana su dva faktora (faktor pedagoške kompetentnosti i faktor pedagoške nekompetentnosti). Nakon sprovedene ajtem analize, utvrđena je pouzdanost supskala. Za faktor pedagoške nekompetentnosti dobijena Kronbahova alfa iznosi .754, a za faktor pedagoške kompetentnosti .600. Na osnovu toga i korelacije ta dva faktora međusobno, možemo konstatovati da kao pouzdanu meru možemo koristiti samo faktor pedagoške nekompetentnosti u roditeljstvu (Marić Jurišin i Malčić, 2020). Ova skala je primenjena u datom istraživanju i čini je sedam ajtema. Primeri ponuđenih ajtema su: „Potrebno mi je više znanja da bih se pravilnije odnosio/la prema svom detetu“ i „Često nisam siguran/a da pravilno vaspitavam svoje dete“. Korišćena je petostepena skala Likertovog tipa, sa ponuđenim rasponom odgovora od 1 (uopšte se ne slažem) do 5 (potpuno se slažem).

Statistička obrada podataka. Faktorska analiza je sprovedena u programskom paketu SPSS 19. Latentna struktura upitnika je proveravana eksplorativnom faktorskom analizom, primenom modela glavnih komponenti i Promax rotacije faktora. Iz narednih analiza su izostavljene tvrdnje čiji komunaliteti nisu prelazili .30 i koji imaju kros zasićenja na dva ili više faktora. Deskriptivne karakteristike uzorka i ispitivanih varijabli predstavljene su merama deskriptivne statistike: aritmetička sredina (AS) i standardna devijacija (SD), dok su pojedina pitanja višestrukog tipa analizirana na osnovu frekvenci (f) i procenata (%) zastupljenosti ponuđenih od-

govora. U analizama su još korišćeni: jednofaktorska analiza varijanse za nezavisne uzorke i t-test, LSD post hoc test i dvosmerna analiza varijanse.

Analiza rezultata i diskusija

Rezultati jednofaktorske analize varijanse za nezavisne uzorke i t-testa pokazali su da postoji statistički značajna razlika u doživljaju nekompetentnosti roditeljstva u odnosu na pol roditelja ($t(565) = 2,42, p < .016$). Uvidom u vrednosti aritmetičke sredine (AS otac = 1,97 i AS majka = 1,84) i vrednost t-testa (2,42) možemo konstatovati da postoji statistički značajna razlika (tabela 1) u korist očeva, koji se smatraju pedagoški nekompetentnijim i na osnovu toga možemo da zaključimo da pol roditelja predstavlja determinantu razlike u doživljaju njihove pedagoške nekompetentnosti.

Tabela 1. Pedagoška nekompetentnost roditelja u odnosu na pol roditelja

	Otac-majka	N	AS	SD	F	t	df	p
Pedagoška	otac	279	1,97	.66	1,67	2,42	565	.016
nekompetentnost roditelja	majka	288	1,84	.62				

Taj rezultat je u skladu sa prethodnim istraživanjima (Grk i Čokorilo, 2012; Hudson, Elek & Fleck, 2001; Salonen et al., 2009) koja su pokazala da majke sebe vide kao kompetentnije nego očeve u roditeljskoj ulozi. Imajući u vidu da u znatnom broju istraživanja ipak nije utvrđena povezanost roditeljskog pola i njihove pedagoške kompetentnosti za roditeljsku ulogu (Rogers & Matthews, 2004), taj rezultat možemo tumačiti u svetlu istraživanja koje je sproveo Bornstein 1998. godine (prema Čudina Obradović i Obradović, 2003). Bornstein je zapazio značajne razlike u sedam ispitanih kulturno različitih zemalja, što znači da se koncept očinstva, odnosno roditeljstva razlikuje u odnosu na kulturu, društvene norme i vaspitne ciljeve u svakoj zemlji.

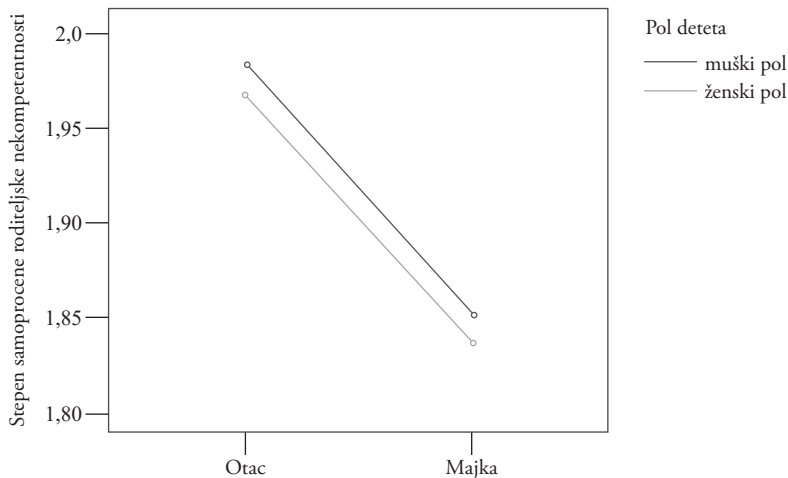
Daljom analizom rezultata došli smo do zaključka da najmanji doživljaj nekompetentnosti imaju roditelji iz potpunih porodice, u kojima dete živi sa oba roditelja. Jednosmernom analizom varijanse za nezavisne uzorke testirana je razlika u doživljaju nekompetentnosti roditelja u odnosu na strukturu porodice. Ispitanici su se grupisali u tri klastera. Prvi klaster su činili ispitanici koji žive u proširenoj porodici (dve ili više generacija). Drugi klaster su bili ispitanici koji čine porodicu sa jednim roditeljem i treći klaster su bile porodice sa oba roditelja. Statističkom analizom možemo konstatovati da postoji značajna razlika između tih grupa ($F(2,558) = 6,21, p < .002$). Korišćenjem LSD post hoc testa dobijeno je da porodice sa oba

roditelja pokazuju statistički značajan manji doživljaj pedagoške nekompetentnosti ($M = 1,85$, $SD = .61$) u poređenju sa proširenim porodicama ($M = 2,02$, $SD = .72$) i porodicama gde dete živi sa jednim roditeljem ($M = 2,16$, $SD = .65$). Proširene porodice i porodice gde deca žive sa jednim roditeljem ne pokazuju statistički značajnu razliku u doživljaju pedagoške nekompetentnosti roditelja. Taj rezultat možemo tumačiti u svetlu značaja stabilnosti odnosa među roditeljima za porodično vaspitanje dece, odnosno kvalitetnog porodičnog funkcionisanja i bračne potpore kao odrednice samoprocene doživljaja roditeljstva i roditeljske kompetentnosti (Sevigny & Loutzenhiser, 2010, prema Reić Ercegovac, 2011).

U odnosu na sredinu u kojoj porodica živi, ispitanike smo uslovno podelili u tri grupe. Porodice koje žive u gradskoj sredini činile su prvu grupu. Drugu grupu su predstavljale porodice koje žive u prigradskoj sredini i u treću grupu smo svrstali porodice koje žive u seoskoj sredini. Za testiranje razlika među tim grupama korišćena je jednosmerna analiza varijanse za nezavisne uzorke (ANOVA). Dobijeni rezultati pokazuju da ne postoji statistički značajna razlika među grupama u odnosu na doživljaj pedagoške nekompetentnosti u roditeljstvu ($F(2,564) = 2,40$, $p > .09$). Taj rezultat je značajan, pogotovo za nerazvijene zemlje i sredine u kojima migracije još uvek nisu uzele maha jer ukazuje na to da sredina u kojoj porodica živi ne predstavlja presudnu determinantu roditeljske (ne)kompetentnosti već da su značajniji drugi faktori.

Sledeći zadatak je bio da se ispita veza između doživljaja pedagoške nekompetentnosti roditelja u odnosu na pol deteta. Rezultati jednofaktorske analize varijanse i t-testa pokazali su da ne postoji statistički značajna razlika u samoproceni doživljaja pedagoške nekompetentnosti roditelja u odnosu na pol deteta ($t(562) = .301$, $p > .96$). Taj činilac je ispitivan prevashodno zbog toga što se pokazalo da se u određenim kulturama polnim razlikama pripisuju određene vrednosti (Ljubetić, 2007). Međutim, dobijeni rezultati su u skladu sa dosadašnjim istraživanjima koja su sprovedena na uzorcima u našoj zemlji (Grk i Čokorilo, 2012). Stoga možemo da zaključimo da pol deteta ne utiče na samoprocenu pedagoške nekompetentnosti roditelja.

Dvosmernom analizom varijanse ispitivali smo da li postoji razlika u doživljaju roditeljske nekompetentnosti u odnosu na pol roditelja sa polom deteta. Dobijeni rezultati svedoče o tome da se očevi osećaju značajno nekompetentnijim bez obzira na pol deteta i da nema interakcije u doživljaju roditeljske nekompetentnosti u odnosu na pol roditelja sa polom deteta (pol roditelja $F = 5,77$, $p < .02$, pol deteta $F = .076$, $p > .78$, interakcija $F = .001$, $p > .98$) (grafik 1).



Grafik 1. Interakcija doživljaja roditeljske nekompetentnosti u odnosu na pol roditelja sa polom deteta

Analiza rezultata korelacije godina starosti roditelja i njihovog doživljaja pedagoške nekompetentnosti pokazuje da se roditelji osećaju jednako nekompetentnim bez obzira na godine starosti i pol (otac $R = -.099$, $p > .09$; majka $R = -.064$, $p > .23$).

Sledeći istraživački zadatak bio je da se ispita samoprocena doživljaja pedagoške nekompetentnosti roditelja u odnosu na broj dece u porodici, a u tu svrhu korišćena je jednosmerna analiza varijanse za nezavisne uzorke. Ispitanici su bili podeljeni u tri grupe. Prvu grupu su činile porodice sa jednim detetom ($N = 239$), drugu grupu porodice sa dvoje dece ($N = 281$), a treću grupu porodice sa troje ili više dece ($N = 47$). Rezultati pokazuju da se, bez obzira na broj dece u porodici, roditelji osećaju podjednako pedagoški nekompetentnim ($F(2,564) = .01$, $p > .98$).

Značajno je bilo utvrditi da li postoji statistički značajna razlika u doživljaju pedagoške nekompetentnosti očeva i majki u odnosu na njihov stepen obrazovanja. Za proveru tog zadatka korišćena je ANOVA, pri čemu su ispitanici bili podeljeni u tri grupe. Prvu grupu su činili ispitanici koji su završili osnovnu ili srednju školu (očevi $N = 170$, majke $N = 148$), drugu grupu ispitanici koji su završili višu školu ili fakultet (očevi $N = 82$, majke $N = 123$), a treću grupu ispitanici koji su završili master/magistarske studije ili doktorske studije (očevi $N = 24$, majke $N = 20$). Dobijeni rezultati ukazuju na to da nema statistički značajnih razlika ni kod očeva ($F(2,273) = .77$, $p > .46$) ni kod majki ($F(2,288) = .38$, $p > .68$).

Možemo da zaključimo da se faktori godine starosti roditelja, broj dece u porodici i stepen obrazovanja roditelja na našem uzorku nisu pokazali kao determinante pedagoške nekompetentnosti roditelja za roditeljsku ulogu.

Dalja analiza podataka potvrdila je statistički značajnu razliku u doživljaju pedagoške nekompetentnosti u odnosu na materijalni status ispitanika. Ispitanici su bili podeljeni u tri grupe. Prvu grupu su činili ispitanici koji smatraju da su njihove materijalne prilike zadovoljavajuće (N = 260), drugu grupu ispitanici koji svoje materijalne prilike smatraju donekle zadovoljavajućim (N = 278), a treću grupu ispitanici koji svoje materijalne prilike smatraju nezadovoljavajućim (N = 26). Dobijeni rezultati jednosmerne analize varijanse za nezavisne uzorke svedoče da postoji statistički značajna razlika u doživljaju pedagoške kompetentnosti u odnosu na materijalni status ispitanika ($F(2,561) = 3,20$, $p < .04$) (tabela 2). Grupe ispitanika sa donekle zadovoljavajućim i nezadovoljavajućim materijalnim statusom ne razlikuju se međusobno po doživljaju pedagoške kompetentnosti u roditeljstvu. Korišćenjem LSD post hoc testa utvrđeno je da ispitanici sa zadovoljavajućim materijalnim statusom (AS = 1,84, SD = .04) imaju manji doživljaj pedagoške nekompetentnosti u odnosu na ispitanike sa donekle zadovoljavajućim materijalnim prilikama (AS = 1,98, SD = .65) i one sa nezadovoljavajućim materijalnim prilikama (AS = 1,85, SD = .68) (tabela 3).

Tabela 2. Materijalni status i doživljaj roditeljske nekompetentnosti

	Materijalni status	N	AS	SD	F	p
Pedagoška nekompetentnost roditelja	1	260	1,84	.63	3.20	.04
	2	278	1,98	.65		
	3	26	1,85	.68		

Tabela 3. LSD post hoc test materijalni status

	Materijalni status	Materijalni status	Značajna razlika	SD	p
LSD	1	2	-.137*	.05	.013
		3	-.007	.13	.957
	2	1	.137*	.05	.013
		3	.130	.13	.323
	3	1	.007	.13	.957
		2	-.130	.1	.323

Taj rezultat je u skladu sa prethodnim istraživanjima (Ljubetić, 2012) i može da se pripiše potencijalno manjem nivou stresa roditelja sa zadovoljavajućim materijalnim statusom i većem stepenu sigurnosti i stabilnosti u porodici, koji vode višem nivou samopouzdanja i samoprocene pedagoške kompetentnosti za roditeljsku ulogu.

Poslednji istraživački zadatak bio je da se ispita da li postoje razlike među ispitanicima u percepciji pedagoške kompetentnosti u roditeljstvu u slučaju kada im deca pohađaju predškolsku ustanovu (PU) ili ne. Deskriptivnom analizom podataka utvrdili smo da vrtić pohađa 407 dece ispitanika ($N = 407$), dok njih 153 čuvaju roditelji ili neko drugi ($N = 153$). Rezultati jednofaktorske analize varijanse i t-testa pokazali su da postoji statistički značajna razlika u doživljaju pedagoške nekompetentnosti roditelja čija deca ne pohađaju PU u odnosu na ispitanike čija deca pohađaju PU ($t(558) = -1.78$, $p < .03$) (tabela 4). Uvidom u aritmetičke sredine iskazane kod roditelja čija deca pohađaju PU ($AS = 1,88$) i roditelja čija deca ne pohađaju PU ($AS = 1,99$) i vrednost t testa ($-1,78$), možemo zaključiti da postoji statistički značajna razlika u percepciji doživljaja pedagoške nekompetentnosti roditelja.

Tabela 4. Razlike u samoproceni pedagoške kompetentnosti roditelja u odnosu na pohađanje PU deteta

	Pohađanje vrtića	N	AS	SD	F	t	df	p
Pedagoška	Pohađa PU	407	1,88	.62	4,75	-1,78	558	.03
nekompetentnost roditelja	Ne pohađa PU	153	1,99	.70				

Iako možemo da pretpostavimo da pohađanje predškolske ustanove i roditeljima i deci donosi značajno pozitivno iskustvo i napredak u svakom smislu, kao ograničenje ovog istraživačkog zadatka treba uzeti u obzir da je među ispitanicima koji su činili uzorak ovog istraživanja znatno veći broj onih čija deca pohađaju predškolsku ustanovu, te bi ova hipoteza mogla biti ponovno ispitana na ujednačenijem uzorku.

Zaključak

Možemo da konstatujemo da, prema rezultatima sprovedenog istraživanja, brojni faktori samoprocene pedagoške nekompetentnosti roditelja za roditeljsku ulogu, koji se u literaturi pominju a u istraživačkim studijama proveravaju, nisu iskazali statističku značajnost. Reč je o faktorima kao što su: sredina u kojoj dete živi, godine života roditelja, broj dece u porodici i nivo obrazovanja roditelja. Kao značajne determinante i ono što određuje doživljaj pedagoški kompetentnog, odnosno nekompetentnog roditelja izdvojile su se varijable: (a) *pol roditelja* – očevi sami sebe smatraju nekompetentnijim bez obzira na pol deteta; (b) manje nekompetentnim sebe vide roditelji čija deca žive sa oba roditelja; (c) *materijalni status* – što je bolji materijalni status porodice, roditelji sebe vide kao kompetentnije; (d) *dete pohađa predškolsku ustanovu* – roditelji sebe vide kao pedagoški kompetentnije u roditeljskoj ulozi.

Uspesahan i kompetentan roditelj nesumnjivo je važna komponenta kvaliteta porodičnog života. Pedagoška kompetentnost roditelja jedan je od potencijalnih načina kojim bi se mogli umanjiti različiti socijalni problemi, što bi vremenom moglo da ima koristi i u drugim oblastima života porodice (Westan, 1998 prema Ljubetić, 2007). Iako neki istraživači ukazuju na to da savremena društva nisu u stanju da odgovore zahtevima kompetentnog i odgovornog roditeljstva (Juul & Jensen, 2010), učenje i obrazovanje za roditeljsku ulogu, kao proces ličnog rasta i razvoja, treba da bude cilj koji će voditi ka pedagoški kompetentnom roditelju.

Protekla godina i globalna pandemija pravi su pokazatelj da su zadaci koji pred roditeljima iskrsavaju sve izazovnije i teži. Kada se tome doda i svakodnevni stres kojem je današnji roditelj izložen kako bi bio uspeshan u svim životnim ulogama, pitanje pedagoške kompetentnosti roditelja za roditeljsku ulogu čini se aktuelnijim i značajnijim možda i više nego ikada ranije.

Izuzetno su važna istraživanja koja u svojoj osnovi polaze od analizirane problematike jer osveščivanjem svojih postupaka i samoprocenom svoje pedagoške (ne)kompetentnosti roditelji menjaju svoje stavove, ponašanja i vrednosti, a porodično vaspitanje dece shvataju kao izazov sa kojim mogu uspeshnije da se nose. S obzirom na to da su dosadašnja istraživanja pokazala da roditelji koji sebe vide kompetentnijim primenjuju povoljnije i konstruktivnije postupke za detetov razvoj (Shumow & Lomax, 2002), važno je da se taj konstrukt i nadalje istražuje, pri čemu bi rezultati istraživanja imali direktnu primenu u unapređenju pedagoške kompetentnosti roditelja, ali i usavršavanju i širenju programa podrške porodici i roditeljima. Reč je o programima koji moraju pratiti aktuelne izazove i potrebe savremene porodice. Upravo iz tog razloga postoji potreba i za mapiranjem i ispitivanjem roditeljskih potreba koje bi zatim mogle biti pretočene u obrazovne programe, sa ciljem osnaživanja roditelja za vršenje roditeljske uloge i osećaja kompetentnosti i zadovoljstva u njoj.

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Factors of Pedagogical (In)Competence of Parents for the Parenting Role⁸

Abstract: Starting with the theoretical considerations regarding the perception of parental competence in the context of changes typical of modern society and the challenging tasks faced by parents, this paper intends to examine particular factors of self-evaluation of pedagogical (in)competence of parents for the parenting role. The sample comprised 575 subjects, including mothers and fathers of pre-schoolers. The attained results demonstrated that mothers perceive themselves as more competent in the parenting role, regardless of the child's sex, and that parents whose children live with both parents deem themselves more competent. Furthermore, we concluded that financial status and whether the child is undergoing pre-school education are additional determinants of parents' pedagogical competence for the parenting role. The following factors were of little relevance in the study sample: the living environment of the child, parent age, number of children in the family and parental educational level. The obtained results are important for shedding light on parental actions in raising children, as well as for underlining possible changes in behaviour and opinions.

Key words: subjective parental (in)competence, family, pedagogical education of parents, pre-school children.

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Značaj obrazovnih intervencija u prevazilaženju barijera pri zapošljavanju osoba s intelektualnom ometenošću

Apstrakt: Uprkos zakonskim okvirima usmerenim na promociju i zaštitu prava na rad osoba sa ometenošću, one se još uvek suočavaju sa velikim teškoćama na tržištu rada. U posebno nepovoljnom položaju su osobe s intelektualnom ometenošću, prevashodno zbog negativnih stavova građanstva utemeljenih na nedostatku znanja i informacija o njihovim radnim potencijalima. Istraživanje je sprovedeno s ciljem da se utvrde najčešće barijere u zapošljavanju osoba s intelektualnom ometenošću, percipirane od zaposlenih osoba bez invaliditeta. Ispitan je prigodan uzorak od 269 ispitanika oba pola, različitog nivoa obrazovanja, koji su zaposleni u privatnom i državnom sektoru u Republici Srbiji. Analiza dobijenih rezultata upućuje na potrebu za određenom vrstom obrazovnih intervencija čijim bi se programima povećale informisanost i svest zaposlenih o pravu na rad osoba s intelektualnom ometenošću, promovisala različitost i kreirala inkluzivna radna sredina. Različiti vidovi obuke, reinterpretacije i transformacije prethodnih iskustava, informisanja i ostvarivanja pozitivnih kontakta sa osobama s intelektualnom ometenošću u realizaciji multidisciplinarnog tima stručnjaka obezbedilo bi stabilnu bazu za uklanjanje prepreka u procesu zapošljavanja.

Ključne reči: zapošljavanje, intelektualna ometenost, profesionalna priprema, barijere, građanstvo, obrazovna intervencija.

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Uvod

Izveštaji Svetske zdravstvene organizacije govore da oko 15% svetske populacije ima neki oblik invaliditeta (WHO, 2011), a procenjuje se da je taj broj mnogo veći s obzirom na različite definicije invaliditeta⁵ u međunarodnim i nacionalnim zakonima, deklaracijama i propisima. Iako globalna politika i servisi namenjeni osobama s ometenošću ističu značaj poštovanja prava i uklanjanja barijera kako bi se te osobe osnažile, uključile u društvenu zajednicu i bile što nezavisnije, one se još uvek suočavaju sa velikim problemima u svakodnevnom životu. Poslednje pravo za koje su se izborile osobe s ometenošću jeste pravo na rad ili zaposlenost (Jahoda et al., 2008), te ne iznenađuje to još uvek postoje veliki izazovi u toj oblasti.

Proces zapošljavanja tih osoba je dosta složena aktivnost koja zavisi od psiholoških i sociodemografskih karakteristika pojedinaca, kao i od socioekonomskih karakteristika društva i/ili tržišta rada, usled čega su u literaturi identifikovane socijalne, psihološke i fizičke barijere koje ometaju taj proces, bilo da su povezane sa samom osobom ili radnom sredinom (Radić Šestić i Milanović Dobrota, 2016). Od ličnih barijera osoba s ometenošću navode se različiti problemi u socijalnim veštinama, niska produktivnost, smetnje u verbalnoj i neverbalnoj komunikaciji, teškoće u promeni rutine itd., dok sredinski izazovi najčešće obuhvataju karakteristike radnog okruženja (vrsta preduzeća, veličina, lokacija), politiku zapošljavanja, uslove rada i slično (Khayatzadeh-Mahani et al., 2020). Ipak, osobe s ometenošću kao najveće izazove prilikom zapošljavanja navode pogrešne stereotipe i negativne stavove saradnika/kolega i poslodavaca, koji su posledica nedostatka znanja i informacija o kvalitetu prethodno sprovedenih obrazovnih intervencija, odnosno njihovoj ovladanosti opštim profesionalnim oblastima, radnim veštinama i socijalnim veštinama potrebnim za funkcionisanje u radnom okruženju (Bonaccio et al., 2020).

Pošto je u svetu prepoznata snažna potreba da se te osobe integrišu u radnu sredinu zbog doprinosa ekonomiji društva, kao cilj je navedeno kreiranje inkluzivnog tržišta rada u kojem svako može učestvovati bez obzira na tip i oblik ometenosti, nepovoljan položaj i nisku radnu produktivnost (Edzes, Rijnks & Van Dijk, 2013). U našoj sredini koncept inkluzije je relativno nov proces i prevažno je fokusiran na obrazovnu sferu, u čijim dokumentima su detaljnije opisane smernice za realizaciju rada sa decom sa smetnjama u razvoju. S druge strane, u oblasti zapošljavanja promene se svode na nekoliko zakona, deklaracija i propisa (npr. Zakon o profesionalnoj rehabilitaciji i zapošljavanju osoba sa invali-

⁵ Sintagma osobe sa invaliditetom (OSI) u našoj zemlji se prevalentno koristi u pravnoj terminologiji, dok se u naučnoj oblasti specijalne edukacije i rehabilitacije upotrebljava termin osobe sa ometenošću, zbog čega će se naizmenično koristiti, zavisno od konteksta.

ditetom, 2009; Nacionalna strategija zapošljavanja za period 2011–2020; Zakon o zabrani diskriminacije, 2009; Zakon o radu, 2018), bez jasnih i konkretnih akcionih mera za integraciju osoba s ometenošću u radnu sredinu. Prema Zakonu o profesionalnoj rehabilitaciji i zapošljavanju osoba sa invaliditetom (2009), postoji obaveza kvotnog zapošljavanja tih osoba, kojom je predviđeno da svaki poslodavac sa više od 20 zaposlenih u radnom odnosu ima i određeni broj osoba sa invaliditetom. U suprotnom, dužan je da uplati iznos od 50% prosečne zarade po zaposlenom za svaku osobu sa invaliditetom koju nije zaposlio, što se smatra ispunjavanjem obaveze. Međutim, time se nehotice podržava stereotip da osobe s ometenošću nisu konkurentne za rad na otvorenom tržištu rada, usled čega su i dalje prevalentno zaposlene u zaštitnim radionicama (Radić Šestić i Milanović Dobrota, 2016) koje od 2009. godine nose naziv preduzeća za profesionalnu rehabilitaciju i zapošljavanje osoba sa invaliditetom. U našoj zemlji ne postoje empirijski dokumenti o broju zaposlenih osoba sa invaliditetom na otvorenom tržištu rada, što je potvrđeno i 2016. godine u izveštaju Komiteta za prava osoba sa invaliditetom Ujedinjenih nacija (CRPD/C/SRB/CO/1, 2016).

Neophodno je istaći da se, od svih osoba s ometenošću, u izuzetno nepovoljnoj poziciji u oblasti zapošljavanja nalaze osobe s intelektualnom ometenošću (IO), koje su najbrojnije a najviše stigmatizovane i isključene iz društva (Ditchman et al., 2013). Da imaju najviše problema pri ulasku na tržište rada, potvrđuje i visok stepen nezaposlenosti i nedovoljne zaposlenosti tih osoba u celom svetu (Braddock, Hemp & Rizzolo, 2008; Butterworth et al., 2009; Butterworth et al., 2011; Migliore & Butterworth, 2008; Milanović Dobrota i Radić Šestić, 2012; Skočić Mihić & Kiš-Glavaš, 2010; Simonsen, 2010; Unger, 2002; Weathers & Wittenburg, 2009, sve prema: Radić Šestić i Milanović Dobrota, 2016). U zaključcima brojnih studija kao najčešći razlozi za nezapošljavanje osoba s IO navode se predrasude i diskriminacija (Ahlborn, Panek & Jungers, 2008; McMahon et al., 2008; Siperstein et al., 2011), pa je tako u socijalnoj inkluziji zaposlenost još uvek ključni cilj kome teže mnoge osobe sa IO (Jahoda et al., 2008). Dosađajna iskustva evidentirana u literaturi o povećanju stope zaposlenosti i umanjenju stigmatizacije osoba sa IO preporučuju ciljanu edukaciju javnosti radi boljeg razumevanja osoba sa IO, s jedne strane, i adekvatnu profesionalnu pripremu tih osoba za prelazak iz školske u radnu sredinu, s druge strane. Osim sticanja radnih kompetencija, tokom obrazovanja osobe sa IO koordiniranim setom aktivnosti treba da steknu i mogućnost da diskutuju o svojim sposobnostima, potrebama, da koriste odgovarajuće socijalne veštine i slično, ali i da se upoznaju sa svojim pravima koja im mogu omogućiti zaštitu prilikom zapošljavanja i života u zajednici, što u našoj zemlji još uvek nije prepoznato.

Iako aktuelne socijalno-političke promene primoravaju društvo da preispita svoje stavove o osobama sa IO, većina radova koja se bavi problematikom zapošljavanja u svojim istraživanjima obuhvata poslodavce i menadžere (npr. Domzal, Houtenville, & Sharma, 2008; Ju, Roberts & Zhang, 2013; Schur, Kruse & Blanck, 2005). Oni jesu ključna determinanta u selekciji kandidata prilikom zapošljavanja, ali dobijeni rezultati tih studija pokazuju da je razlog nezapošljavanja osoba sa IO i njihova bojazan da na radnom mestu neće biti prihvaćeni od kolega/saradnika. Iz toga proizilazi potreba da se istraži i mišljenje građanstva o zapošljavanju osoba sa IO, čiji stavovi u velikoj meri mogu uticati na politiku zapošljavanja (Lee, 2016). Domaći autori smatraju da je u stvaranju demokratske kulture značajna sistemska mera uspostavljanje participativne kulture i stvarne društvene mogućnosti da svaki pojedinac bude učesnik i koautor u oblikovanju, planiranju i unapređenju društvenog života (Popović i Despotović, 2018). U skladu sa tim, pozitivna i negativna percepcija javnosti važan je aspekt na koji treba obratiti pažnju u efikasnoj izgradnji programa za participaciju osoba sa IO u oblasti rada i razvoja modela dobre prakse (Burge, Ouellette-Kuntz & Lysaght, 2007).

Shodno svemu navedenom, cilj ovog rada je usmeren na to da se utvrde najčešće barijere koje onemogućavaju uspešno integrisano zapošljavanje osoba sa IO, percipirane od građanstva, konkretno od zaposlenih osoba bez invaliditeta, sa posebnim osvrtom na mogućnosti različitih obrazovnih intervencija za poboljšanje njihovog položaja u radnoj sredini i zajednici.

Metodologija istraživanja

Uzorak

Prigodnim uzorkom je obuhvaćeno 269 ispitanika oba pola, starosti od 28 do 57 godina, različitih nivoa formalnog obrazovanja. U istraživanju su učestvovali zaposleni u privatnom i državnom sektoru koji rade u malim (do 50 zaposlenih), srednjim (od 50 do 250 zaposlenih) i velikim preduzećima (preko 250 zaposlenih). U skladu sa osnovnom delatnošću preduzeća u kojima su zaposleni ispitanici, uzorak je grupisan u četiri velika područja rada, dok su, prema mestu prebivališta, ispitanici grupisani u pet regiona naše zemlje. Od ukupnog broja ispitanika, 102 ili 37,9% nije imalo nikakav kontakt sa osobama sa IO, a 167 ili 62,1% je ostvarilo kontakte, ali ne u užem porodičnom okruženju i radnoj sredini.

Tabela 1. Struktura uzorka

		Sa kontaktom		Bez kontakta		Ukupno	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Pol	Muški	61	54	52	46	113	42
	Ženski	106	67,9	50	32,1	156	58
Obrazovanje	Osnovno	3	37,5	5	62,5	8	3
	Srednje	88	51,8	82	48,2	170	63,2
	Visoko	76	83,5	15	16,5	91	33,8
Vlasništvo preduzeća	Državno/javno	81	77,9	23	22,1	104	38,7
	Privatno	86	52,1	79	47,9	165	61,3
Veličina preduzeća	Malo	50	56,8	38	43,2	88	32,7
	Srednje	71	63,4	41	36,6	112	41,6
	Veliko	46	66,7	23	33,3	69	25,7
Delatnost	Industrija	26	44,1	33	55,9	59	21,9
	Uslužna	75	58,6	53	41,4	128	47,6
	Obrazovna	38	82,6	8	17,4	46	17,1
	Zdravstvena	28	77,8	8	22,2	36	13,4
Region	Istočna Srbija	25	78,1	7	21,9	32	11,9
	Beograd	76	67,3	37	32,7	113	42
	Zapadna Srbija	19	52,8	17	47,2	36	13,4
	Južna Srbija	20	62,5	12	37,5	32	11,9
	Vojvodina	27	48,2	29	51,8	56	20,8
Ukupno		167	62,1	102	37,9	269	100

Instrument i procedura istraživanja

U istraživanju je primenjen instrument Upitnik percepcije menadžera kadrovske službe o zapošljivosti osoba sa intelektualnom ometenošću (*HR professionals' perception of employability of persons with intellectual disability – HPEM*; Berry & Kymar, 2012). Upitnik se sastoji od deset tvrdnji u kojima se navode najčešće barijere u zapošljavanju osoba sa IO, a odgovori se kreću od 1 (ne predstavlja barijeru) do 5 (uvek je barijera), tako da viša vrednost u rezultatu ukazuje na percepciju većeg otpora u zapošljavanju osoba sa IO. Taj jednostavan upitnik je osmišljen za ispitivanje menadžera ljudskih resursa s ciljem da se unapredi inkluzivno zapošljavanje osoba sa IO. U našem istraživanju je izvršena jedna mala izmena u prvoj tvrdnji („Negativni stavovi kolega“) tako što je reč „kolega“ zamenjena rečju „poslodavac“. Nakon sprovedenog istraživanja, rezultat Kronbahovog koeficijenta α unutrašnje konzistentnosti (*Cronbach's α*) instrumenta je pouzdan i iznosi 0,824.

Za potrebe istraživanja kreiran je upitnik za prikupljanje opštih sociodemografskih podataka ispitanika (pol, uzrast, mesto boravka, nivo formalnog obrazovanja, vrsta delatnosti u kojoj rade, vlasništvo i veličina preduzeća) i podataka o kontaktu sa osobom/ama sa IO.

Istraživanje su sproveli autori rada od marta do juna 2019. godine na teritoriji Republike Srbije. Ispitanicima je predložen cilj istraživanja, a jedini kriterijum za selekciju ispitanika bila je njihova volja da učestvuju u istraživanju. Individualno anketiranje je trajalo od 5 do 15 minuta, zavisno od potreba ispitanika za dodatnim objašnjenjima ili komentarom. Prvobitno je anketirano 280 ispitanika, ali je pri unosu podataka isključeno 11 osoba koje u užem porodičnom okruženju imaju članove sa IO ili u radnoj sredini rade sa njima.

Statistička obrada podataka

U statističkoj obradi podataka korišćeni su osnovni statistički parametri (frekvencija, mera centralne tendencije, mera disperzije, raspon i procenat), univarijantna i multivarijantna metoda diskriminacijske analize, dvofaktorska analiza varijanse, hi-kvadrat test, t-test i relijabilna analiza.

Rezultati istraživanja sa diskusijom

U literaturi se često navodi da prethodno ostvareni kontakt sa osobom s IO determiniše mišljenje i stavove koje osobe tipične populacije imaju prema toj društvenoj grupi (McManus, Feyes & Saucier, 2010; Scior et al., 2010), ali u našem uzorku iskustvo kontakta nije uticalo na razlike između ispitanika koji jesu i onih koji nisu ostvarili kontakt sa osobom s IO ($Wilks' \lambda = 0,959$, $\chi^2 = 10,914$, df_{10} , $p = 0,364$).

Tabela 2. Statistički parametri ispitanika u odnosu na kontakt sa osobom sa IO

Barijere	Ukupno		Kontakt		Bez kontakta		t	p
	AS	SD	AS	SD	AS	SD		
1. Negativni stavovi poslodavaca/ rukovodilaca	3,63	1,10	3,51	1,09	3,83	1,08	-2,373	0,018
2. Neadekvatno obrazovanje osoba sa IO	3,51	1,12	3,53	1,12	3,48	1,12	0,330	0,742
3. Nedostatak radnog iskustva osoba sa IO	3,93	0,98	3,85	1,03	4,05	0,88	-1,624	0,106
4. Nedostatak podrške (porodice, prijatelja, stručnjaka)	3,40	1,09	3,37	1,10	3,46	1,09	-0,694	0,488

Barijere	Ukupno		Kontakt		Bez kontakta		t	p
	AS	SD	AS	SD	AS	SD		
5. Nepodsticanje poslodavaca da zaposle osobu sa IO	3,95	1,00	3,90	0,99	4,04	1,03	-1,118	0,265
6. Potreba za adaptacijom radnog mesta	3,64	0,99	3,61	1,02	3,69	0,93	-0,607	0,544
7. Pridružene smetnje	3,75	0,92	3,78	0,91	3,71	0,93	0,680	0,497
8. Promena mišljenja o preduzeću	3,39	1,18	3,36	1,23	3,45	1,01	-0,615	0,359
9. Teškoće u pristupačnosti radnom mestu	3,74	1,02	3,69	1,08	3,44	1,17	-1,225	0,222
10. Balans između poslovnog i privatnog života	3,50	1,08	3,44	1,17	3,60	0,93	-1,249	0,213
Ukupno	36,26	6,59	35,92	6,86	36,82	6,10	-1,097	0,274

Zaključci ranijih istraživanja upućivali su na to da kontakt može pozitivno uticati na stavove jer smanjuje zabrinutost i strahove koje osobe mogu imati u interakciji sa osobama sa IO (Beh-Pajoo, 1991; Hudson-Allez & Barrett, 1996), ali je u narednim istraživanjima utvrđeno da samo pozitivni kontakti vode većoj spremnosti pojedinca za ostvarivanjem socijalnog kontakta (Hall & Minnes, 1999), a da negativna iskustva, posebno u detinjstvu, mogu uvećati socijalnu distancu (Narukawa, Maekawa & Umetani, 2005; Tachibana, 2005, sve prema: Scior, 2011). Domaći autori navode da se u detinjstvu, u procesu socijalizacije i kulturne asimilacije, kroz emocionalno obojene odnose u porodici, školi ili u vršnjačkoj grupi, stižu uglavnom nekritičke perspektive značenja (Mezirow, 1990; Jovanović, 2014), koje se u odrasloj dobi mogu transformisati (Jovanović i Popović, 2019). Napominjemo da naši ispitanici pripadaju generacijama koje su odrastale u društvenom sistemu koji je osobe sa IO posmatrao kroz prizmu medicinskog modela ometenosti, čije se primarno načelo zasnivalo na ograničenjima osobe, usled čega je većina tih osoba bila isključena iz socijalne sredine. Osobe s težim oblicima intelektualne ometenosti bile su institucionalizovane, a one sa lakšim su se obrazovale isključivo u segregacionim uslovima, u posebnim odeljenjima ili takozvanim specijalnim školama, a zapošljavale su se samo u zaštitnim radionicama. Zbog nepostojanja inkluzivne kulture, kontakti osoba tipične populacije sa osobama s IO uglavnom su bili ograničeni, zbog čega pretpostavljamo da naši ispitanici imaju iskustvo samo sa pojedinim osobama sa IO, ali ne i dovoljno znanja o karakteristikama te heterogene populacije. U jednom skorašnjem radu iz Hrvatske analizirane su posledice tradicionalnog obrazovanja i autori su prepoznali da je obrazovanje, kao oblast u kojoj se stapaju teorija i praksa, kultura i politika, istovremeno i domen u kome se odvija marginalizacija (Vrcelj, Kušić & Zovko, 2019). Međutim, ti autori naglašavaju da

obrazovanje poseduje i moć da umanju ili otkloni učinjenu nepravdu. S obzirom na to da je učenje i sticanje novih vrednosti, kao i obrazaca ponašanja proces koji traje tokom celog života (Marić, 2012), obezbeđivanje tačnih, pristupačnih i relevantnih informacija može biti moćan instrument za senzibilizaciju pitanja društvenog razvoja i poštovanja različitosti u radnoj sredini. Pozitivni efekti u promeni stavova tipične populacije prema osobama sa IO mogu se postići određenim obrazovnim intervencijama zasnovanim na direktnim ili indirektnim kontaktima sa osobama sa IO, poput gostovanja osobe sa IO, izloženosti slikama koje ruše stereotipe i predrasude (npr. slika osobe sa Daunovim sindromom u odelu koja sedi u kancelariji za računarom), prikazivanje filmova ili prezentacija itd. (Seewooruttun & Scior, 2014).

S druge strane, rezultati istraživanja koje je obuhvatilo poslodavce iz naše zemlje pokazali su da iskustvo kontakta utiče na percipirane barijere (Milanović Dobrota, 2018). U tom istraživanju su poslodavci koji nisu imali kontakt sa osobama s IO smatrali da upravo negativni stavovi kolega, tj. zaposlenih bez ometenosti mogu predstavljati prepreku uspešnom zapošljavanju osoba sa IO. Interesantno je da su poslodavci bili zabrinuti zbog negativnih stavova svojih zaposlenih, a da u našem istraživanju zaposlene osobe izražavaju zabrinutost zbog negativnih stavova poslodavaca. Iako recipročna zabrinutost deluje kao prebacivanje (moralne) odgovornosti za nezapošljavanje osoba sa IO, indikativno je da postoje predrasuda šire društvene zajednice. Tome u prilog govori i činjenica da bez obzira na to što u sumarnom rezultatu našeg istraživanja ne postoji razlika u odnosu na prethodno ostvareni kontakt sa osobama sa IO, jedina utvrđena razlika je u prvoj tvrdnji koja se odnosi na negativne stavove poslodavaca ($t = -2,373$; $p = 0,018$), pri čemu ispitanici bez kontakta imaju nepovoljnije mišljenje. Primetno je da je najveća srednja vrednost ($AS = 4,05 \pm 0,88$) kod ispitanika koji nisu imali nikakve kontakte sa osobama sa IO pronađena u ajtemu koji se odnosi na nedostatak radnog iskustva osoba sa IO. Dobijeni podaci pokazuju da građanstvo nije informisano o postupku sticanja radnih kompetencija osoba sa IO. Naime, profesionalna priprema za rad osoba sa IO je dug i složen proces koji započinje profesionalnim informisanjem, prosvetivanjem i savetovanjem još u višim razredima osnovne škole. Nakon kompleksnog procesa profesionalne orijentacije koji vodi multidisciplinarni tim stručnjaka, osobe sa IO pristupaju profesionalnom osposobljavanju za rad, koje je koncipirano kao skup aktivnosti čiji je cilj da razvije znanja, veštine i stavove neophodne za efikasan rad u određenom obrazovnom profilu-zanimanju. Stoga, centralnu tačku njihovog srednjoškolskog obrazovanja čini stručna obuka, koja obuhvata savladavanje programskih sadržaja stručnih predmeta sa praktičnom nastavom, koju obavljaju tri

dana nedeljno. U početnim razredima srednje škole praksu obavljaju u školskim radionicama, a potom radne veštine i iskustvo mogu sticati i u referentnim radionicama u otvorenoj privredi, na osnovu ugovora o poslovno-tehničkoj saradnji (Radić Šestić i Milanović Dobrota, 2016). Uprkos tome što poseduju profesionalnu osposobljenost za rad, osobe sa IO su u odnosu na ostale tipove ometenosti u najnepovoljnijem položaju na domaćem tržištu rada (Milanović Dobrota i Radić Šestić, 2012). Referentna ustanova za oblast zapošljavanja, Nacionalna služba za zapošljavanje, organizuje edukativne radionice i seminare za osobe sa invaliditetom, kao vid podrške u sticanju dodatnog znanja, ali su one usmerene na interese poslodavaca, kojima se, uz to, omogućava finansijska podrška ako zaposle osobu sa invaliditetom. S obzirom na širok spektar različitih tipova invaliditeta/ometenosti koji u našem zakonodavstvu imaju status osobe sa invaliditetom, pretpostavljamo da im osobe sa IO najverovatnije nisu prioritet u zapošljavanju. Dodatno zabrinjava činjenica da, prema dostupnim podacima, u našoj zemlji ne postoje mere organizovane edukacije niti bilo koji drugi oblik informisanja poslodavaca o sposobnostima osoba sa ometenošću. Ukoliko bi se upoznali sa radnim potencijalima osoba sa IO, sigurni smo da bi promenili svoje ponašanje, bili dobar izvor informacija i reflektovali pozitivne socijalne signale, što bi trebalo da utiče na ostale članove kolektiva.

U jednoj domaćoj studiji, poslodavci su, kao najveću prepreku u zapošljavanju osoba sa IO, identifikovali to što država ne podstiče poslodavce da ih zaposle (Milanović Dobrota, 2018), baš kao što su to prepoznali i ispitanici u našem istraživanju ($AS = 3,95 \pm 1,00$). S obzirom na to da u našoj zemlji više od deset godina postoje određene mere stimulacije zapošljavanja osoba sa ometenošću, očigledno je da različite subvencije države nisu dobro osmišljene i efikasne. Čak je i Komitet za prava osoba sa invaliditetom Ujedinjenih nacija u svom izveštaju iz 2016. godine (CRPD/C/SRB/CO/1, 2016) izrazio zabrinutost u vezi sa delotvornošću mera za podsticanje kvotnog modela zapošljavanja i preporučio, između ostalog, da se preispita praksa primene zakona i podstiče inkluzija u otvoreno tržište rada. U izveštaju je posebno naglašena potreba da se organizuje kampanja podizanja svesti opšte populacije, koja bi u pristupačnom formatu promovisala pozitivnu sliku tih osoba zasnovanu na njihovim veštinama i talentima. Kampanje podizanja svesti mogu se sprovesti putem različitih obuka, organizovanjem javnih događaja poput plesnih zabava, umetničkih takmičenja, „uličnih tezgi“ i slično, ali bi bilo značajno i da vladine ili nevladine organizacije organizuju informativne kampanje koje bi pružale adekvatne informacije o osobama sa IO ili o osobama bilo koje druge marginalizovane populacije (Fisher & Purcel, 2017). Osim toga, smatramo da bi

afirmativnim akcijama u našoj zemlji doprinela i određena vrsta neformalnog obrazovanja radno aktivnog građanstva o radnim mogućnostima osoba sa IO koja bi bila organizovana u saradnji stručnjaka različitih profila, uključujući andragoge, defektologe, menadžere i ostale profesionalce tangentialnih disciplina, s ciljem pozitivnije percepcije tih osoba u radnoj sredini koja bi bila dostupna i podržavajuća. Da bi svako, sa svog profesionalnog aspekta, doprineo promeni stavova, poželjno je da se još tokom studiranja osposobe da kritički promišljaju o stavovima prema osobama sa ometenošću, pa tako i prema osobama sa IO. Inostrani autori predlažu pisanje seminarskih radova o potencijalima osoba sa IO, grupne diskusije, igranje uloga, pozivanje gostujućih predavača, organizacije vežbi sa ciljem rešavanja problema. Članovi tima bi bile i osobe sa IO, što bi pomoglo u ostvarivanju interakcija, smanjivanju nelagodnosti i poboljšanju ili razvoju pozitivnih stavova prema njima (Loo, 2004). Jedan od primera koji potvrđuje uspešnost kritičko-refleksivne intervencije sproveden je na brazilskom univerzitetu sa akademskim i administrativnim osobljem tri različita koledža. Cilj istraživanja je bio da se utvrde efekti intervencije usmerene na senzibilizaciju uključivanja osoba sa ometenošću u radnu sredinu. Održano je pet sesija po 90 minuta koje su promovisale kritičko razmišljanje u grupnim diskusijama između instruktora i učesnika. Obuka je bila dizajnirana tako da podstakne učesnike da podele svoje viđenje ometenosti/invaliditeta, da diskutuju o konceptu ometenosti, da razmišljaju o prepoznavanju različitosti, opštim principima inkluzije i stvaranju inkluzivne sredine, kao i o zakonima kojima se regulišu inkluzija u radnoj sredini (Vilela & Leite, 2017). Rezultati pre i posle intervencije pokazuju da su učesnici stekli jasniju percepciju mogućnosti zapošljavanja osoba sa ometenošću i počeli su da posmatraju radno okruženje kao ključno za pojavu (ili ne) procesa inkluzije, dok je uporedo promovisan realniji pogled na njihove sposobnosti, povećano razumevanje potreba za podrškom ili prilagođavanjem radnog mesta i poštovanje zakonima i propisima.

Literatura iz razvijenih zemalja govori da formalno obrazovanje deluje na stavove prema osobama sa IO (Schwartz & Armony-Sivan, 2001; Gasteiger-Klicpera et al., 2013; Symons et al., 2014, prema: Benomir, Nicolson & Beail, 2016). Razmatrajući odnos formalnog obrazovanja naših ispitanika i percipiranih barijera u zapošljavanju osoba sa IO, utvrdili smo značajnost Vilksove lambde ($Wilks'\lambda = 0,940$, $\chi^2 = 8,437$; $df_{(2,266)}$, $p = 0,000$) i u tabeli 3 prikazali dobijene rezultate. U tvrdnjama u kojima je evidentirano postojanje statistički značajne razlike primenjeno je naknadno poređenje (Bonferroni test), a utvrđene statistički značajne razlike između grupa su na nivou $p < 0,005$.

Tabela 3. Univarijantna analiza varijanse u odnosu na obrazovanje

	Osnovno ^a		Srednje ^b		Visoko ^c		F	p
	AS	SD	AS	SD	AS	SD		
1. Negativni stavovi poslodavaca/ rukovodilaca ^{b, c}	3,25	0,46	3,83	1,08	3,30	1,08	7,871	0,000
2. Neadekvatno obrazovanje osoba sa IO	3,38	1,41	3,61	1,12	3,34	1,09	1,725	0,180
3. Nedostatak radnog iskustva osoba sa IO	3,88	0,99	4,02	0,94	3,76	1,04	2,112	0,123
4. Nedostatak podrške (porodice, prijatelja, stručnjaka) ^{a, b}	2,63	1,06	3,50	1,14	3,29	0,97	3,269	0,040
5. Nepodsticanje poslodavaca da zaposle osobu sa IO	3,25	1,49	4,08	0,97	3,78	0,99	4,177	0,010
6. Potreba za adaptacijom radnog mesta	3,25	1,39	3,68	0,98	3,59	0,98	0,878	0,417
7. Pridružene smetnje	3,25	1,39	3,79	0,90	3,73	0,90	1,417	0,244
8. Promena mišljenja o preduzeću	3,00	1,07	3,48	1,20	3,26	1,16	1,470	0,232
9. Teškoće u pristupačnosti radnom mestu ^{a, b}	2,88	0,64	3,90	0,99	3,51	1,02	7,759	0,001
10. Balans između poslovnog i privatnog života ^{b, c}	2,88	0,83	3,66	1,04	3,25	1,13	5,709	0,004
Ukupno ^{a, b, c}	30,75	4,27	37,38	6,37	34,65	6,62	8,437	0,000

Viši stepen obrazovanja često se dovodi u vezu sa pozitivnijim stavovima prema osobama sa IO (Morin et al., 2013; Patka et al., 2013; Scior, 2011), što su naši rezultati donekle potvrdili. Ispitanici sa srednjom školskom spremom percipiraju najviše problema u zapošljavanju osoba sa IO, slede ispitanici sa visokim obrazovanjem i na kraju ispitanici sa završenom osnovnom školom. Detaljna analiza dobijenih rezultata pokazuje značajnu statističku razliku u polovini navedenih tvrdnji. Najveća razlika među ispitanicima ($F = 7,871$; $p = 0,000$) odnosi se na tvrdnju o negativnim stavovima poslodavaca/rukovodilaca, pri čemu je naknadnim poređenjem utvrđena značajna razlika između ispitanika sa visokom i srednjom stručnom spremom ($p = 0,000$). Taj ajtem samo donekle potvrđuje da osobe sa višim stepenom obrazovanja imaju pozitivnije stavove (npr. MacDonald & MacIntyre 1999; Morin et al., 2013; Ouellette-Kuntz et al., 2010) jer naši ispitanici sa najmanje formalnog obrazovanja smatraju da negativni stavovi poslodavaca ne predstavljaju problem. Osim toga, za njih veliki problemi nisu obuhvaćeni ni u okviru ajtema koji se odnose na nepodsticanje poslodavaca da zaposle osobe sa IO, pristupačnost radnog mesta, probleme sa pridruženim smetnjama, nedostatak adekvatne podrške i mogućnosti da uspostave balans između poslovnog i privatnog života. Ipak, mali broj ispitanika koji su završili samo osnovnu školu limitira iznošenje relijabilnog zaključka. Jedno od mogućih tumačenja dobijenih rezultata je da se zbog niskog stepena obrazovanja i sami osećaju

marginalizovano, usled čega se na određeni način identifikuju s inferiornim položajem osoba sa IO u procesu zapošljavanja, te verujemo da bi dodatne obrazovne intervencije osnažile i tu populaciju zaposlenih.

Uprkos tome što zbirni rezultati pokazuju da povoljnije percepcije imaju osobe sa visokim stepenom obrazovanja u odnosu na ispitanike sa srednjim obrazovanjem, njihove srednje vrednosti na analiziranim ajetemima inkliniraju opažaju više teškoća u zapošljavanju osoba sa IO. Takvi nalazi govore da građanstvo, nezavisno od stepena obrazovanja, nije upoznato sa karakteristikama i potencijalima osoba sa intelektualnom ometenošću. Kao posledica nedostatka znanja i straha od nepoznatog javljaju se predrasude i zabrinutost u vezi sa njihovim zapošljavanjem, što dovodi do stigmatizacije i, dalje, do diskriminacije. Bez obzira na stepen obrazovanja građanstva, širom sveta postoje pozitivni primeri koji bi mogli da nam posluže kao inicijalni korak za adekvatne intervencije u kreiranju inkluzivne radne sredine. Tako je, na primer, Ministarstvo zdravlja Novog Zelanda od 2000. godine finansiralo program javnog obrazovanja čiji je osnovni zadatak smanjenje stigme i diskriminacije osoba sa bilo kojim vidom ometenosti. Program je obuhvatio različite aktivnosti poput radionica u zajednici, TV kampanja, obuka pružalaca usluga za osobe sa ometenošću i slično, a uspeh se ogledao u tome što su osobe tipične populacije mnogo češće nego ranije prihvatale osobe sa ometenošću kao zaposlene, kolege, komšije i slično (Fisher & Purcal, 2017). U Velikoj Britaniji su sprovedene obuke za podizanje svesti policijskih službenika kroz vežbe igranja uloga i sticanja znanja o osobama sa IO (Bailey et al., 2001), dok je u dve intervencije namenjene odraslim osobama bez IO korišćeno prikazivanje filmova u kojima se naglašavaju sličnosti osoba sa IO i osoba bez IO, kao i lična iskustva osoba sa IO koja su doživela nasilje javnosti (Walker & Scior, 2013, sve prema Werner & Scior, 2016).

Naša zemlja je 2020. godine donela *Strategiju unapređenja položaja osoba sa invaliditetom u Republici Srbiji za period od 2020. do 2024. godine*, prevashodno zbog potrebe da usaglasi nacionalni pravni okvir sa standardima Konvencije Ujedinjenih nacija o pravima osoba sa invaliditetom i odredbama evropskog zakonodavstva. U njoj su predviđeni i posebni ciljevi koji se odnose na povećanu društvenu inkluziju osoba sa invaliditetom, obezbeđeno uživanje prava tih osoba na poslovnu sposobnost i sistemsko uvođenje perspektive invaliditeta u donošenje, sprovođenje i praćenje javne politike. Tome u prilog ide naš predlog o dodatnim edukativnim programima kojima bi se promenila perspektiva građanstva, povećala informisanost zaposlenih o osobama s ometenošću, promovisalo poštovanje različitosti i kreirala inkluzivna radna sredina u kojoj bi svi članovi kolektiva bili uvažavani. Uvereni smo da bi promenom stavova pojedinaca u društvu prema osobama sa IO, različitim vidovima treninga, reinterpretacije i transformacije prethodnih iskustava, informisanja, stvaranja pozitivnih slika i ostvarivanja pozitivnih kontakata sa njima, bila obezbeđena stabilna baza za uklanjanje prepreka u

procesu zapošljavanja. Osim promena na ličnom nivou, modifikacije bi se odrazile i na organizacioni nivo. Formiranje pozitivne organizacione kulture obezbedilo bi radnicima koji dođu u situaciju da tokom radnog veka steknu status osobe sa invaliditetom, zbog povreda na radu, pojave dijabetesa, multiple skleroze, srčanih smetnji, gubitka sluha ili vida itd., mogu lakše da prihvate svoj identitet i bez zabrinutosti od diskriminacije nastave da obavljaju svoj posao u istoj radnoj sredini.

U empirijskim istraživanjima se uglavnom poredе stavovi kulture naroda iz različitih zemalja, ali na osnovu rezultata koje smo dobili možemo zaključiti da se oni mogu znatno razlikovati i u jednoj relativno maloj zemlji. Uzorak smo podelili u odnosu na regione u kojima osobe žive i rade i utvrdili statistički značajnu razliku među ispitanicima.

Tabela 4. Univarijantna analiza varijanse u odnosu na region zemlje

	Istočna		Beograd		Zapadna		Južna		Vojvodina		F _(4,268)	p
	AS	SD	AS	SD	AS	SD	AS	SD	AS	SD		
Negativni stavovi kolega/ rukovodilaca	3,25	0,95	3,27	1,10	4,03	0,97	3,50	1,22	4,20	0,88	8,386	0,000
Neadekvatno obrazovanje	3,13	1,10	3,50	1,02	4,11	0,92	3,59	1,29	3,32	1,22	4,159	0,003
Nedostatak radnog iskustva	3,50	0,80	3,83	1,03	4,33	0,79	4,16	1,17	3,96	0,83	3,972	0,004
Nedostatak podrške	3,03	0,86	3,20	1,11	3,58	0,97	3,84	1,25	3,64	1,03	4,280	0,002
Nepodsticanje poslodavaca	3,84	0,81	3,67	1,04	4,56	0,65	3,84	1,17	4,25	0,90	7,522	0,000
Potreba za adaptacijom radnog mesta	3,34	0,75	3,65	1,01	3,83	0,65	3,50	1,39	3,75	0,96	1,405	0,233
Pridružene smetnje	3,44	0,84	3,62	0,98	4,03	0,84	4,25	0,80	3,75	0,79	4,973	0,001
Promena mišljenja o preduzeću	3,06	1,24	3,35	1,08	3,53	1,03	2,97	1,45	3,82	1,16	3,776	0,005
Teškoće u pristupačnosti radnom mestu	2,88	1,01	3,62	0,94	4,42	0,69	4,00	0,98	3,88	1,01	12,816	0,000
Balans između poslovnog i privatnog života	3,06	0,88	3,27	1,02	4,39	0,77	3,34	1,12	3,73	1,14	10,871	0,000
Ukupno	32,31	4,72	35,03	6,58	40,53	3,98	36,63	7,73	38,05	6,28	9,859	0,000

Post-hock (Bonferroni) – statistički značajne razlike na nivou $p < 0,005$: 1. negativni stavovi ($p_{Ist-Zap} = 0,023$); ($p_{Ist-Voj} = 0,001$); ($p_{Bg-Voj} = 0,000$); ($p_{Bg-Zap} = 0,011$); ($p_{Juž-Voj} = 0,028$); 2. neadekvatno obrazovanje ($p_{Ist-Zap} = 0,003$); ($p_{Bg-Zap} = 0,036$); ($p_{Zap-Voj} = 0,009$); 3. nedostatak radnog iskustva

($p_{\text{Ist-Zap}} = 0,004$); 4. nedostatak podrške ($p_{\text{Jug-Ist}} = 0,026$); ($p_{\text{Jug-Bg}} = 0,030$); 5. nepodsticanje poslodavaca ($p_{\text{Ist-Zap}} = 0,025$); ($p_{\text{Bg-Zap}} = 0,000$); ($p_{\text{Zap-Jug}} = 0,025$); 7. pridružene smetnje ($p_{\text{Ist-Jug}} = 0,003$); ($p_{\text{Bg-Jug}} = 0,005$); 8. promena mišljenja ($p_{\text{Ist-Voj}} = 0,035$); 9. pristupačnost ($p_{\text{Ist-Bg}} = 0,001$); ($p_{\text{Ist-Zap}} = 0,000$); ($p_{\text{Ist-Jug}} = 0,000$); ($p_{\text{Ist-Voj}} = 0,000$); ($p_{\text{Bg-Zap}} = 0,000$); 10. balans ($p_{\text{Zap-Ist}} = 0,000$); ($p_{\text{Zap-Bg}} = 0,000$); ($p_{\text{Zap-Jug}} = 0,026$)

Na osnovu dobijenih podataka, ispitanici koji žive u Istočnoj Srbiji imaju najmanju srednju vrednost na ukupnom rezultatu, a ispitanici iz Zapadne Srbije najveću srednju vrednost, odnosno percipiraju najviše teškoća pri zapošljavanju osoba sa IO. Kao što se primećuje u tabeli 4, razlike postoje u procenjenim ajtemima, a naknadnim poređenjima su utvrđene preciznije distinkcije. U odnosu na zbirni rezultat, evidentirana je razlika između ispitanika iz Istočne i Zapadne Srbije ($p = 0,000$), Istočne Srbije i Vojvodine ($p = 0,000$), ispitanika iz Beograda i Zapadne Srbije ($p = 0,000$), kao i ispitanika iz Vojvodine ($p = 0,030$). Zanimljivo je da najviše razlika između ispitanika različitih regija postoji u tvrdnji koja se odnosi na negativne stavove poslodavaca i pristupačnost radnom mestu. Za nas pomalo neočekivano, utvrdili smo da negativni stavovi poslodavaca prema osobama sa IO predstavljaju najveću percipiranu barijeru za ispitanike iz Vojvodine. Takođe, ti ispitanici, za razliku od ostalih, prikazuju veću brigu za reputaciju preduzeća u kome bi se zaposlile osobe sa IO, dok ispitanici iz Južne Srbije smatraju da promena mišljenja o preduzeću najmanje brine poslodavce tokom procesa zapošljavanja. Polazeći od činjenice da koncept reputacije predstavlja ključni resurs za diferenciranje kompanije na tržištu te da je potrebno vreme da se formira, smatramo da su zbog razvijenije ekonomije ispitanici u severnom delu naše zemlje zabrinutiji zbog njenog mogućeg narušavanja. Međutim, inostrana istraživanja nude potpuno suprotne podatke, odnosno govore o tome da zapošljavanje osoba sa IO dovodi do unapređenja javnog imidža preduzeća (Burge et al., 2007; Hartnett et al., 2011). U skladu sa našim rezultatima možemo potvrditi da svaka kulturna grupa ima svoj način razmišljanja i osećanja, a time i delovanja i reagovanja (Benomir et al., 2016). Otuda i zastupamo ideju da u osmišljavanju određenih programa radionica i/ili seminara s ciljem da se radno stanovništvo informiše treba voditi računa o tome da programi budu zasnovani na prevalentnoj lokalnoj društvenoj kulturi.

U literaturi se mogu pronaći studije koje ukazuju na to da pozitivnije stavove prema osobama sa IO imaju osobe ženskog pola u odnosu na muški (MacDonald & MacIntyre 1999; Morin et al., 2013), dok pojedini istraživači nisu utvrdili razliku (Lau & Cheung, 1999; Wozencroft, Pate & Griffiths, 2015). Značajna statistička razlika nije pronađena ni među našim ispitanicima, kako u zbirnim vrednostima ($t = -0,945$; $p = 0,359$), tako ni u pojedinačnim tvrdnjama.

Potom su analizirani podaci u odnosu na veličinu preduzeća, uz pretpostavku da će imati uticaj na percepciju ispitanika, budući da se veličina preduzeća navodi kao bitan faktor u zapošljavanju osoba sa ometenošću (Erickson et al., 2014). Očekivali smo povoljnije nalaze od ispitanika koji rade u velikim preduzećima, zbog manje konkurentnosti i šireg spektra radnih operacija koje mogu obavljati osobe sa IO, ali dobijeni nalazi to nisu potvrdili, ni u zbirnom rezultatu ($F_{2,266} = 0,006$; $p = 0,994$) ni u analizi pojedinačnih tvrdnji primenjenog instrumenta. U ranijim istraživanjima navode se značaj faktora veličine preduzeća u organizaciji obrazovno-kulturnih aktivnosti i povezanost veličine i strukture organizacije (Alibabić, 2002). Stoga je naša preporuka da se u budućim studijama poveća uzorak ispitanika iz preduzeća različitih veličina i da se ova varijabla detaljnije ispita radi planiranja konkretnih obrazovnih intervencija u skladu sa organizacionom klimom i kulturom.

Statistički značajne razlike u zbirnom rezultatu nisu utvrđene ni u odnosu na vlasništvo preduzeća ($t = -0,971$; $p = 0,333$). Detaljnija analiza pojedinačnih ajtema utvrdila je samo distinkciju ($t = -2,979$; $p = 0,003$) u tvrdnji koja se odnosi na negativne stavove poslodavaca, pri čemu je zaposleni kod privatnika smatraju većom preprekom u zapošljavanju osoba sa IO ($AS=3,79 \pm 1,10$) od ispitanika koji rade u državnim preduzećima ($AS = 3,38 \pm 1,05$). Ti nalazi su saglasni sa rezultatima jedne inostrane studije koja govori da državni sektor češće zapošljava osobe sa invaliditetom nego privatni sektor (Domzal et al., 2008) jer više uvažava postojeće zakone i propise (Heera & Devi, 2016). Zastupamo mišljenje da utvrđena kvota u zapošljavanju osoba sa invaliditetom ne bi trebalo da bude čin benevolentnosti poslodavca već pravo osobe kojoj su ti propisi potrebni da pristupi tržištu rada. Zbog toga i očekujemo da nalazi iz ovog istraživanja pokrenu proaktivne akcije usmerene ka transformaciji društva u celini.

Razlike u percipiranim barijerama nisu pronađene ni u odnosu na vrstu delatnosti preduzeća u kojima rade naši ispitanici ($F_{(2,266)} = 0,700$; $p = 0,553$), što je saglasno sa nalazima jednog ranijeg istraživanja iz naše zemlje (Radić Šestić, Gligorović i Milanović Dobrota, 2010). Jedina razlika u odnosu na delatnost preduzeća u kojima rade naši ispitanici utvrđena je u tvrdnji da se poslodavci ne podstiču da zaposle osobu sa IO ($F_{(2,266)} = 3,030$; $p = 0,030$), što za ispitanike zaposlene u industrijskom sektoru predstavlja najveći problem prilikom zapošljavanja osoba sa IO ($AS = 4,15 \pm 0,89$). Ti podaci još jednom ukazuju na to da postojeće državne olakšice za zapošljavanje osoba sa invaliditetom nisu dovoljne da ih podstaknu i ohrabre da zaposle osobu sa IO, posebno u proizvodnim delatnostima. To nas opet vraća na činjenicu da još uvek ne postoji svest o inkluziji, posebno radnoj inkluziji osoba sa IO. Treba imati u vidu da su u sistemu vaspitanja i obrazovanja napravljeni pozitivni pomaci u sprovođenju inkluzivne prakse, prevashodno investiranjem

u različite obrazovne aktivnosti, zbog čega smo uvereni da se i istorijski problemi isključenosti iz radne sredine osoba sa ometenošću, pa tako i osoba sa IO, mogu prevazići na isti ili sličan način. Nažalost, i u kontekstu celoživotnog učenja zaobilaze se ponude sadržaja iz sfere građanstva i kulture, zbog čega još jednom ističemo neophodnost organizovanih multidisciplinarnih edukativnih intervencija u radnoj sredini sa ciljem sticanja znanja koje se koristi za stvaranje novih vrednosti. Na taj način bi znanje i njegova svrsishodna primena u praksi predstavljali najefikasniji pokretač, instrument i nosač tehničko-tehnološkog, privrednog, kulturnog, socijalnog i svakog drugog civilizacijskog razvoja (Mijanović, 2017).

Zaključak

U kontekstu savremenih društvenih promena, predočena je potreba poboljšanja sveukupnog društvenog i ekonomskog položaja osoba s invaliditetom. Analizom percepcije građanstva o najučestalijim barijerama u zapošljavanju osoba sa IO ukazano je na određene probleme u oblasti zapošljavanja tih osoba i na važna područja budućih obrazovnih inovacija i istraživanja za dublje razumevanje ključnih problema iz ove oblasti.

Dobijeni rezultati su nedvosmisleno indikativni za osmišljavanje obrazovnih intervencija čiji bi ciljevi bili usmereni ka transformaciji društva, emancipaciji građanskog potencijala i aktivaciji agencnosti (delatnog potencijala) jedinke kroz zajedničku akciju (Jovanović i Popović, 2019). U diskusiji smo ponudili potencijalne mogućnosti dodatnog sticanja znanja iz sfere građanstva i kulture zarad razumevanja inkluzivne politike zapošljavanja i prihvatanja osoba sa IO, koja je odgovornost više sektora za implementaciju. Smatramo da bi intervencije multidisciplinarnog tima stručnjaka putem inventivnih i kreativnih programa informisanja, obrazovanja, obuke i podizanja svesti o osobama sa IO, uz kampanje javnog obrazovanja koje direktno uključuju i osobe sa IO, podstakle kritičko promišljanje o konceptu ometenosti, poštovanju različitosti i značaju zabrane diskriminacije, kako u radnoj sredini, tako i u široj socijalnoj zajednici.

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The Importance of Educational Interventions for the Overcoming of Obstacles in the Employment of Intellectually Disabled Persons

Abstract: In spite of the legal framework intended for the promotion and protection of rights of the disabled, such persons are still facing significant difficulties in the labour market. Intellectually disabled persons are in a particularly difficult position, primarily due to the negative perceptions held by citizenry which stem from the lack of knowledge and information about their labour potentials. We conducted research in order to determine the most prevalent obstacles in the employment of intellectually disabled persons, as perceived by employed non-disabled persons. The research comprised a sample of 269 subjects of both sexes, of differing educational levels and employed in the private and public sector in the Republic of Serbia. The analysis of the attained results points to the need for certain kinds of educational interventions, whose programmes would improve the knowledge and awareness of employed persons regarding the right to work of intellectually disabled persons, promote diversity and create an inclusive working environment. The different modes of training, reinterpretation and transformation of previous experience, informing and establishing positive contacts with intellectually disabled persons, conducted by a multidisciplinary team of experts would establish a stable base for the removal of obstacles in the employment process.

Key words: employment, intellectual disability, professional preparation, obstacles, citizenry, educational intervention.

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HRONIKA, POLEMIKA, KRITIKA

CHRONICLE, POLEMICS, REVIEW

Book Review

*Financing Adult Learning and Education. The way forward: what works, how and why?*¹

If adult education and learning are so important, why then is it not adequately funded? This perennial challenge of under-investment has been the ongoing focus of advocates, researchers and educators. By taking an international lens, this ambitious book comprehensively dissects the question without resorting to simple solutions. The scale and complexity of challenges that result in a global underfunding of adult learning and education are explored against a backdrop of international policy agendas purporting the need for public financing of education, yet the reality is one of failed targets. A striking example that demonstrates the disparity in education funding is illustrated through a staggering statistic that investment equivalent to just 8 days of the annual global military spending would address the total global financing gap in education. With the range of common funding models clearly articulated, they are brought to life via a deep analysis of six case studies from ICAE and DVV International regional members across the Global South, North, EU and non-EU, encompassing Ethiopia, Canada, Latin America and the Caribbean, Germany, New Zealand and Serbia. The contribution of case studies support informed, globally applicable recommendations for more effective ALE funding models.

Given the stellar academic and advocacy reputation of Popović, as Professor at the University of Belgrade and Secretary General of the International Council of Adult Education (ICAE), the robust analysis, clear argument for global financing of ALE is unsurprising. Specific theoretical and philosophical foundations for financing ALE are to be expected, but the detailed consideration for framing within the 2030 agenda and the SDGs and the need for a stronger UNESCO influence is captured through detailed analysis perhaps borne from a global advocate's experience.

¹ Popović, K. (2021). *Financing Adult Learning and Education. The way forward: what works, how and why?* Bonn, Belgrade: ICAE and DVV International.

At the outset, the book offers arguments that adult education is a public good where the primary responsibility for financing should rest with public authorities, especially for basic education of marginalised learners. Challenges arising from the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on financing provide an up-to-date context and the associated reprioritisation of certain parts of the education system to the detriment of ALE. This focus amplifies an already dominant neoliberal positioning of ALE financing through an over-reliance on private partnership or vocationally orientated programmes or conceptually through the position of personal responsibility.

The book uses carefully selected data that support an argument that challenges any simplistic thinking on the financing of ALE and brings a historical foundation to the concept of education as a public good whilst relating to recent UNESCO pronouncements on the holistic concept of adult education. Thoughtful handling of binary arguments between private funding and public funding are outlined using robust arguments leaving stern warning of the inherent inequalities linked to private funding models yet questioning the unlocked potential.

However, arguments offered are not merely based on an ideological position but an evidence base in addition to the dearth of research on private ALE funding. Private sector financing is presented as a relatively unexplored territory in terms of clarity of scope and potential to address need, such as basic skills development. Interesting consideration of philanthropic funding as a powerful yet unaccountable actor in the field is considered, and the related precarity of reliance on corporate social responsibility cautioned. The fundamental ethical question of privatisation and public-private partnership are critically explored together with the limitation of Official Development Assistance which may exacerbate existing national debt levels. The book relentlessly pushes our thinking from local need to national funding structures to global priorities and back again, culminating in the elaboration of Domestic Resource Mobilisation, in the hope of bringing mind-boggling levels of corporate tax evasion to bear for the good of the national public spending budget.

The case study from Ethiopia offers a hopeful model for funding that encompasses the broader purpose of learning with the aim to eliminate poverty and is a valuable addition to the book. The Canadian example (Nation Rebuilding Program) describes a large funding envelope yet with issues that potentially resonate globally; flexibility and unpredictability, excessive administrative and reporting burdens and an excessive focus on compliance over results. Proposed improvements are helpfully described: enhanced sufficiency, predictability, flexibility and autonomy of funding as well as greater engagement with communities representing the beneficiaries of the financing, i.e. Indigenous communities.

Understandably, given the scale of the Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) example covering 20 countries offering a programme for basic skills, it is detailed and complex in its description. The positive strides noted, notwithstanding reduced and unequal funding distribution, offers new yet familiar insights, particularly in relation to private funding and the issue of data deficits. A dense description of the German model for part-time education provision for workers was comprehensive. However, and perhaps outside the scope of this review, questions around gender balance would have provided a more rounded understanding of the example. The very readable section on New Zealand's tertiary education system approach paints a picture of the ALE landscape, the need to increase participation of Māori and Pacific learners, together with outlining the funding system and the vital role of national advocacy organisations and policy connection to the SDGs. Thoughtful critique of a 'western, linear concept' of adult education compared to the 'holistic and integrated approach to learning which has tribal well-being as its end goal' was both contextual yet with global resonance. Although on the other side of the world, the activities of ACE Aotearoa mirrored that of AONTAS, the National Adult learning organisation in Ireland. Adult educators and advocates will surely see their work in this book also. As the final example, in terms of scope and detail, the standout case study on Serbia offered historical context, policy analysis together with funding and practice descriptions clearly linked to supranational funding structures.

By returning to the models of funding explored in the early chapters, recommendations and conclusions offer proposals to create a more effective and global perspective vitally needed within the field. Clearly, given the scale and complexity of funding ALE, additional research is needed. Recently, AONTAS published a mixed-methods research report on the impact of COVID-19 on community education in Ireland (Cobain, Dowdall, O'Reilly, Suzuki, 2021), echoing similar findings in relation to funding challenges and the role of civil society. The striking point Popović communicates is the universality of challenges in funding ALE.

While the critique is robust, the case study examples did not clarify my understanding of a good system for funding ALE, and perhaps that is the point. The level of complexity, actors involved, terms and varying levels of funding to a broad range of participants may seem disparate searching for a common thread. Yet, each of the funding models was illustrated, save for domestic resource mobilisation, as valuable initiatives that clearly engage the marginalised in society with the proviso that many are for a limited period. The thread of uncertainty, lack of stability, precarity against a backdrop of need arising from systemic issues was apparent.

The recommendations interlink with ongoing challenges in ALE, effective funding and monitoring, longer-term funding models, effective data collection, learning from the past and shaping a broader cross-policy approach to future investments. The critical role of civil society needing to come to the fore. The richness of the data provided can also be viewed as a challenge due to the density of data, acronyms and system. However, that reflects the reality for financing ALE, the overly burdensome funding systems in a complex system of funding at a local, national, regional and global level. And ultimately, when one reaches the end of the book, attempting to digest the models, mechanisms, challenges and ethical dilemmas we are left with the final recommendation. Funding matters because ALE matters; it is a question of human rights, one that requires us to navigate the challenge to make adult education and learning a reality for all.

Cobain, E., Dowdall, L., O'Reilly, N., Suzuki, A. (2021). *CEN CENSUS 2020. Community Education in a Time of COVID-19*. Dublin: AONTAS.

Niamh O'Reilly

Book Review

Education and Training Politics in Europe. A Historical Analysis with Special Emphasis on Adult and Continuing Education¹

This review reflects upon a recent publication of Assinger to analyse the evolution of a post-war European education and training policy, as a result of European integration through collaboration amongst nation states aiming at promoting stability, peace and economic development amongst peoples of Europe. However, it also has to be underlined that this study combined policy studies and historical analysis in order to emphasize the necessity of recognising choices and limitations of education and training policy developments referring to the last five decades in the European Community. Moreover, this study based its argument on the academic discourse to reflect the advancement of adult and continuing education in Europe as a rising part of education and training policy actions throughout the 1980s.

Dr. Philipp Assinger, a young scholar and researcher at the Karl-Franzens University of Graz in Austria, developed his doctoral paper into a thorough and accurate study upon education and training 'politics' in Europe with a special attention to adult and continuing education. His approach to investigate the evolution and the development of education and training as a political issue in the European Community, to have started with the European Economic Community in 1957 to turn into a political Union with the Maastrich Treaty after 35 years of struggles of integration and collaborative actions amongst member states, was grounded through the outline of an academic discourse regarding adult and continuing education and its influence on policy focuses both on education and on training.

In his study, Assinger argues that adult and continuing education in Europe is rather diverse and that both converging and diverging trends can be recognised. He continues that convergence in European adult education can be connected to the impacts of globalisation, economic and technological developments, professionalization and quality concerns in most member states have also been risen together

¹ Assinger, P. (2020). *Education and Training Politics in Europe. A Historical Analysis with Special Emphasis on Adult and Continuing Education*. Studies on Education Vol 6. Wien – Zürich: LIT Verlag.

with the growing influence of market demands. Assinger argues that the influence of international partnerships and collaborations amongst nation states have turned education and training to become an important tool of competition and performance in labour and social actions to put skills and competences at the forefront of political discourse that education and training can develop and/or at least keep in good conditions through participatory actions of learners. This, according to Assinger (2020), may be the reason for improved structures, methods and tools in the last five decades.

In order to explain the background of policy contexts and evolutionary changes, Assinger uses the term 'European education and training politics' (p. 9) so as to reflect the complexity and interchange amongst nation-states' interests as drivers of European integration making politics out of having to open welfare interventions in education and training through democratization and marketization actions. Assinger claims that the formation of lifelong learning as a policy tool has gained a bridging function so as to connect various sectors of education and training, but also to form an 'overarching principle of social and economic policy' (p. 9) to result in a special politics at EU level to heavily influence national systems of education and training. We have to accept that the complexity of political dimensions forced Assinger to underline his argument through some identical and well-referenced elaborations on specific dimensions education and training across Europe and adult continuing education as part of it.

Although Assinger comes to the conclusion that national governments seem to have lost a great portion of their 'authority' over their policies and governance of education and training, this has to be argued, since the EU law on education and training has NOT yet provided any grounds for actions to unify education and training in the members states regarding structures, content or language(s) of instruction. This is still obvious regardless of Open Method of Coordination and may result in a concentrated set of actions so as to realise quality improvements in education and training through concrete steps realised by the members states holding responsibility to make changes for raising performance and participation in learning regardless of age, sex, social status, etc.

A valuable focus of Assinger's (2020) reasoning is that he collected particularly important reflections of distinguished researchers in the field of adult education having analysed the character of European adult continuing education in the dimension and relations of community concerns and national interest towards choices and limitations. Another important element of his approach is the historical focus which helps the reader to recognise the impact of the evolution of education and training at supranational dimensions at which nation-states as member of the European Economic Community and later the EU decided step-by-step to provide collaborative actions in accordance with the realisation of the four freedoms of the Community. Assinger accurately collected major legal

references in EU law to underline his argument and his three relevant observations reflect that he well-recognised the impact of joint actions made at European levels to respond to the economic and social crisis of the time. However, one may argue that his first two observations ought to be considered as one since a rather economy-led vocational focus was already apparent through the first European programmes realising VET policy concerns in 1976 (Assinger, 2020).

On the other hand, Assinger made it clear that the development of an European education and training policy has always depended on compromises amongst member states and, simultaneously, on profound initiatives having been connected to economic interests through better employability, mobility of citizens and quality services. Those early initiatives were precisely gathered and commented upon with key references and reflections to underline the complexity and dependency upon political compromises amongst both nation states and European institutions framed by common law.

Assinger tried to reflect that the realisation of a European policy for education and training was already framed through the Maastricht Treaty, however, it could only break through the Lisbon-process after the millennium with the backing of the well-known Open Method of Co-ordination, having been borrowed from European economic policy toolkit. After 2000, the decade-delayed policy move got accelerated with specific set of tools, which Assinger (2020) considered as important to reflect the benefits of such a policy area to get strengthened in association with the member states to make this are work better.

As for the stages of the evolution of education and training as a policy area, Assinger made it clear that it is not necessarily the rationale or logic of cutting the progression of policy into phases which may matter, but the context and the quality outcome of policy formation with tools and indicators as part of a complex setting to legitimize the field itself. Periodical focus was an issue towards which Assinger stayed neutrally objective and used this dimension to demonstrate that the evolution of this policy field has always been rather complicated for its several factors and contexts which needed fairly serious measures to reach a picture of reality.

In his study, Assinger (2020) claimed that reasoning on the development of education and training policy in the European Community, later the EU which could be related to the formation of the adult education policy in Europe as an uncovered topic together with its historical dimensions and origins together with contemporary contexts. In this regard, Assinger claimed that “the current policies are the result of accretion of power innate in the evolutionary process, in the course of which the EU’s specific policy focus and governance arrangements have taken shape” (p. 21).

The specific interest of ours is a particular connection which Assinger has drawn in between adult education impacting policy formation in education and

training. Therefore, he delivered a specific historical study supported with conceptual framework, an overview of relevant EU institutions and governance structure. His methodology for the historical study was based on first and secondary documents and legal sources. Assinger (2020) clearly described that are some particular limitations of the methodological approach he used as more empirical research would underline 'political reality', however, his conceptual framework can be recognised as an additional dimension to connect the advancement of policy developments in adult and continuing education to the process of shifting education and training into mainstream policies so as to accelerate mobility, employability and related social policy tools accelerated by both economic and political crisis.

This focus can be definitely considered as innovative and advanced by a well-referenced reasoning and critical reflection to already existing literature and argument in this field. Assinger set his conceptual framework by signalling the importance and particular roles of international interaction and co-operation. In addition, he elaborated fairly and convincingly on the political subsystem to reflect the roles, choices and interdependencies of different institutions engaged in the development of adult and continuing education. It is definitely an important aspect of this study that it clearly described and analysed three necessarily crucial dimensions of politics, namely, polity, politics and policy. Referring to policy, it openly and accurately drew those three kinds of policies which represent reason and logics.

Finally, Assinger (2020) referred to old, direct and new, indirect governance, a focus which resonates not just the concept of governance, but also its relations to law, citizenship, trust and care, all which depend on quality education and training so as to establish and develop knowledge and skills in local, national to global levels impacting European level collaborations amongst nations.

This publication has strongly emphasized the need to understand, study and research education and training policies in Europe on the bases of integration, co-operation, mutual actions for welfare and well-being. Assinger consequently underlined the impact of recounting the historical development of education and training in the European Communities and the EU as a successor. This approach helps us to consider and understand how this policy aimed at developing adult and continuing education.

Accordingly, the evolution of common European decision-making and joint actions can also be better understood in the context of those indicated phases of education and training policy. In this way, one can have a broader perspective with deeper knowledge and considerations upon how some major challenges of social, political and economic situations may impact education and training and adult continuing amongst it.

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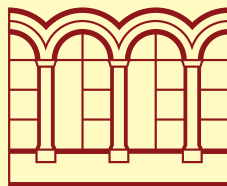
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1838