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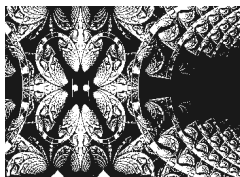
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ODNOS IZMEĐU ATRIBUCIJA UZROKA PRETILOSTI, KONTAKTA I STAVOVA PREMA PRETILIM OSOBAMA KOD STUDENATA MEDICINE

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Prikazani su rezultati dio diplomskoga rada, a koji je proizašao iz znanstvenoga projekta "Efekti ličnosti, emocija i socijalnih procesa u interpersonalnom kontekstu" (uniri-drustv-18-231), koji se provodi uz potporu Sveučilišta u Rijeci.

Cilj je ovoga istraživanja ispitati odnos između atribucija pretilosti i stavova prema pretilim osobama kod studenata medicine te ispitati moderira li učestalost i kvaliteta kontakta s pretilim osobama ranije navedeni odnos. U istraživanju je sudjelovalo 360 studenata medicine, od toga 261 studentica i 96 studenata prosječne dobi od 21,88 ($SD = 2,12$) godina. Istraživanje je bilo online, a sudionici su ispunjavali pitanja vezana uz demografske podatke, skalu atribucija uzroka pretilosti, skalu stavova prema pretilim osobama, kao i pitanja o učestalosti i kvaliteti kontakta s pretilim osobama. Dobiveni rezultati pokazuju da je atribucija uzroka pretilosti unutarnjim faktorima povezana s negativnijim stavovima prema pretilim osobama. Učestaliji i kvalitetniji kontakti povezani su s pozitivnijim stavovima prema pretilim osobama. Nisu dobivene značajne interakcije između atribucija uzroka pretilosti i kontakta na stavove prema pretilim osobama. Dobiveni rezultati komentirani su u kontekstu efekata koje negativni stavovi studenata imaju na pretile osobe te važnosti kontakta kao sredstva za smanjenje tih negativnih stavova.

Ključne riječi: studenti medicine, pretilost, atribucije uzroka pretilosti, kontakt, stavovi



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Prekomjerna tjelesna težina i pretilost globalni su zdravstveni problem koji podjednako zahvaća i razvijene zemlje i zemlje u razvoju te su prisutni i kod djece i odraslih (World Health Organization, 2020). Prekomjerna tjelesna težina i pretilost povezani su s povećanim rizikom od bolesti i smrti (npr. kardiovaskularne bolesti, srčani udar, dijabetes, hipertenzija, infektivne i respiratorne bolesti itd.) (Falagas i Kompoti, 2006; Haslam i James, 2005). Osim toga, pretile se osobe suočavaju i s mnogim psihološkim poteškoćama, poput anksioznosti (Puhl i Suh, 2015), depresije i niskoga samopoštovanja (Durso i sur., 2012; Puhl i Heuer, 2009; Puhl i Suh, 2015) te loše slike o vlastitu tijelu (Friedman i sur., 2005). Razlog leži u tome što je ova skupina ljudi često izložena negativnim stavovima i diskriminaciji zbog vlastita izgleda i težine.

Za razliku od drugih stigmatiziranih skupina, stigmatizacija pretilih rijetko je prepoznata kao važan problem (Puhl i Heuer, 2010), zato što mnogi smatraju da se pretilost može riješiti upravo dobrovoljnom odlukom pretilih pojedinaca da unose manje količine hrane i više vježbaju (Rubino i sur., 2020). Točnije, smatra se kako je pretilost vlastiti izbor te da pretile osobe imaju kontrolu nad vlastitim stanjem (Rubin, 2019).

Diskriminacija i stigmatizacija pretilih osoba uvelike su prisutne na raznim područjima funkcioniranja, i to u socijalnom, obrazovnom, radnom i zdravstvenom sustavu (Puhl i Brownell, 2001), što negativno utječe na njihovu dobrobit, samopoštovanje i kvalitetu života (Kolotkin i sur., 2001). U ovom ćemo se radu usmjeriti na stigmatizaciju pretilih osoba u zdravstvenom kontekstu.

Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da razni profili zdravstvenih djelatnika, poput nutricionista, medicinskih sestara te liječnika, jednako kao i ostatak populacije, imaju stereotipe o pretilima, iskazuju negativne stavove prema njima te pridaju pretilim osobama krivnju za vlastito stanje (Fang i sur., 2019; Jaganathan i sur., 2019; Puhl i Heuer, 2009; Soto i sur., 2015). Prisutnost stigme prema pretilima kod zdravstvenih djelatnika utječe na njihov rad, to jest na pružanje kvalitetnih smjernica za pomoć pacijentima, procjene, dijagnoze i brigu za pacijente (Puhl i Brownell, 2001) te ima negativne posljedice na kvalitetu tretmana koji pacijenti primaju (Amy i sur., 2006). Nadalje, liječnici vjeruju da se pretili pacijenti neće striktno pridržavati preporuka niti poslušati savjet te iskazuju slabiju motivaciju i želju pružanja pomoći upravo pretilim pacijentima (Hebl i sur., 2003), kao i niži stupanj strpljenja i poštovanja prema pretilim pacijentima (Puhl i Heuer, 2009). Osim toga, liječnici ističu kako manje komuniciraju sa svojim pretilim pacijentima (Mold i Forbes, 2013), stoga ne čudi činjenica da

troše i manje vremena na pregled pretilih pacijenata, što ujedno utječe i na želju pacijenata da se uključe u programe kontrole težine (Kushner i sur., 2014). Također, neki liječnici navode kako su skloni svojim pretilim pacijentima svaki put, neovisno o razlogu njihova dolaska, izravno naglasiti važnost da skinu prekomjerne kilograme, što često dovodi do situacije da se ne usmjere na potrebne dijagnostičke postupke tijekom pregleda (Alberga i sur., 2016), ali i da isti pacijenti ne dođu na sljedeći zakazani pregled upravo zato što se nisu držali preporuka (Rubin, 2019). I pretili pacijenti svjesni su negativnih stavova vlastitih liječnika te navode da su često skloni odgoditi preglede kako bi izbjegli nepoželjan tretman, osjećaj srama jer trebaju skinuti odjeću ili se izvagati te savjete o načinu gubitka kilograma (Budd i sur., 2011). Iz tih razloga pretile žene često izbjegavaju preventivne preglede, poput ginekoloških pregleda i mamografije (Ostbye i sur., 2005). I nefunkcionalna oprema u ambulantomama ili bolnicama, poput tlakomjera ili vage za mjerenje težine, mogu biti razlozi zašto pretili pacijenti izbjegavaju preglede (Phelan i sur., 2015).

Neka istraživanja pokazuju kako studenti medicine imaju slična razmišljanja kao i već iskusni liječnici glede pretilih osoba. Pretile osobe smatraju lošima, ružnima, neuspješnima i s manjkom samokontrole, lijenima, nekompetentnima, neorganiziranim i manje samodiscipliniranim, neraspoloženima, manje vrijednima, manje inteligentnima i manje odgovornima glede odlaska na savjetovanja vezanih uz gubitak težine (npr. Loomis i sur., 2001; Sabin i sur., 2012; Soto i sur., 2014).

U kontekstu pretilosti, teorija atribucije (Weiner, 2006; Weiner i sur., 2011) sugerira da se pretilim osobama pripisuju negativne karakteristike jer je pretilost percipirana kao kontrolabilna karakteristika. Stavljajući teoriju u širi kontekst, Crandall (1994) sugerira da su negativni stavovi prema pretilim osobama ugrađeni u širi sustav vrijednosti unutar "ideologije krivnje". Uzrok prekomjerne tjelesne težine kod pretilih osoba pripisuje se manjku osobne kontrole, što negativne stavove okoline čini negativnijima i izraženijima (Schneider i sur., 2018). Na stigmatizaciju pretilih osoba gleda se na pozitivan i poželjan način, upravo zato što se pretile smatra odgovornima i krivima za vlastito stanje te se vjeruje da ga mogu kontrolirati (Puhl i Brownell, 2003). Okolina smatra da će diskriminacija i stigmatizacija potaknuti i motivirati pretile osobe da usvoje zdravije navike ponašanja, ali događa se upravo suprotno. Izražena diskriminacija i stigmatizacija ne pridonose smanjenju tjelesne težine ni poboljšanju zdravlja, nego negativno utječu na fizičko i psihičko zdravlje, odnosno dobrobit stigmatiziranih pojedinaca (Puhl i Heuer, 2010).

Prema Klaczynskom i suradnicima (2004), postoje tri pripisana uzroka pretilosti, a to su tjelesni, društveni i unutarnji

uzroci. Tjelesni se uzroci odnose na medicinska i genetska stanja koja rezultiraju prekomjernom tjelesnom težinom, kao i na tjelesne i medicinske čimbenike koji su u podlozi pretilosti, a ne mogu se kontrolirati (npr. dijabetes). Prema društvenim uzrocima, pretilost je rezultat okolinskih čimbenika (npr. konzumacija brze hrane i prevelikih porcija, sjedilački način života; Tamashiro, 2011), a unutarnji uzroci podrazumijevaju vlastitu odgovornost za prekomjernu tjelesnu težinu te postojanje osobnih nedostataka koji do nje dovode (npr. nevjježbanje) (Klaczynski i sur., 2004). Ljudi će smatrati kako pretile osobe nisu odgovorne za svoju tjelesnu težinu ako na uzrok pretilosti gledaju iz perspektive bioloških ili genetskih čimbenika. U tom će se slučaju stereotipi smanjiti i stavovi prema pretilim osobama bit će pozitivniji. S druge strane, ako se uzrok pripisuje unutarnjim čimbenicima, poput prejedanja ili premalo vježbanja, a koji se mogu kontrolirati, bit će izraženi negativni stereotipi i osjećaji te će se pretilima pružati manje socijalne podrške (Joslyn i Haider-Markel, 2019; Mata i Hertwig, 2018). Zdravstveni djelatnici uzroke pretilosti najčešće pripisuju unutarnjim razlozima (npr. nevjježbanju, nezdravoj prehrani) i manjku samokontrole, bez obzira na to što je tjelesna težina određena interakcijom genetskih, bioloških i okolinskih čimbenika (Loos i Yeo, 2022; Puhl i Latner, 2007).

Jedan od mogućih načina smanjenja negativnih stavova prema pretilim osobama jest kontakt s navedenom stigmatiziranom grupom. Allport (1954) pedesetih je godina predložio hipotezu kontakta, koja je do danas provjeravana i potvrđivana u mnogim istraživanjima, ali i dograđivana (npr. Dovidio i sur., 2017; Imperato i sur., 2021; Lemmer i Wagner, 2015; Pettigrew i Tropp, 2006). Prema Allportu, kontakt će biti efikasan u smanjenju međugrupnoga konflikta ako grupe tijekom kontakta imaju isti status te ako postoji međugrupna kooperacija među grupama, zajednički ciljevi i podrška od strane autoriteta, zakona i običaja (Pettigrew, 2016). Velik doprinos ovom području dali su Pettigrew i Tropp (2006) svojom metaanalizom, koja upućuje na nekoliko važnih zaključaka. Međugrupni kontakt obično smanjuje predrasude i ti su efekti jači kada se u obzir uzmu Allportovi uvjeti, međutim, oni nisu bitni da bi se predrasude smanjile. Efekti kontakta generaliziraju se na čitavu grupu, javljaju se u raznim grupama (ne samo rasnim i etničkim) i u raznim uvjetima.

Dok su klasična istraživanja hipoteze kontakta bila usmjerena na izravne odnose između antecedenata (uvjeta u kojima se kontakt javlja) i ishoda (primarno smanjenja predrasuda) međugrupnoga kontakta, suvremena su istraživanja usmjerena na ispitivanje zašto i kako međugrupni kontakt utječe na međugrupne odnose. Doprinos tih istraživanja očituje se u na-

lazima koji pokazuju da kontakt nije ograničen samo na interakcije lice u lice nego može uključivati prošireni, vikarijski, zamišljeni ili virtualni oblik, što je posebno važno za grupe koje su segregirane ili u konfliktu. Značajan napredak napravljen je u identificiranju mehanizama koji posreduju (npr. anksioznost, empatija) i čimbenika koji moderiraju efekte međugrupnoga kontakta (npr. grupni status, valencija kontakta) te dokumentiranju nekonzistentnih rezultata vezanih uz pozitivne ishode kontakta (Dovidio i sur., 2017). Upravo se ta nekonzistentnost u rezultatima vidi u kontekstu zdravstvenoga sustava, i to kod studenata medicine.

Istraživanja pokazuju da je učestaliji kontakt studenata medicine s pretilim osobama povezan s njihovim pozitivnijim stavovima (npr. Soto i sur., 2014). Swift i suradnici (2013) nalaze da učestaliji i izravniji kontakt zdravstvenog osoblja s pretilim pacijentima može dovesti do porasta empatije, bolje komunikacije između liječnika i pacijenata te povećati motivaciju i želju liječnika da ulože više vremena i truda u tretman pretilih pacijenata, kao i njihovu edukaciju.

S druge strane, postoje istraživanja koja upućuju na malo drukčije rezultate, prema kojima nije došlo do promjena u stavovima zdravstvenog osoblja nakon izravnoga kontakta s pretilim pacijentima (npr. Blumberg i Mellis, 1985), odnosno da, kada je i došlo do promjene stava, ta promjena nije bila dugoročna (npr. Kushner i sur., 2014). S obzirom na nekonzistentnosti u rezultatima istraživanja u kojima su sudjelovali studenti medicine te manjak istraživanja u kojima se ispituje i kvaliteta i učestalost kontakta studenata medicine na njihove stavove prema pretilim osobama, važno je navedeno detaljnije istražiti.

Stoga je cilj ovoga istraživanja ispitati odnos između atribucija uzroka pretilosti i stavova prema pretilim osobama kod studenata medicine u Republici Hrvatskoj, kao i moderatorski efekt učestalosti i kvalitete kontakta s pretilim osobama u navedenom odnosu. Odnos između atribucija pretilosti, kontakta i stavova ispitan je u istraživanju koje su proveli Nutter i suradnici (2018). Autori su eksperimentalnom manipulacijom ispitivali efekt uokviravanja pretilosti kao bolesti na stavove prema pretilim osobama. Osim toga, navedeni su autori ispitivali i moderatorski efekt kvalitete i kvantitete kontakta u odnosu između uokviravanja i stavova. Iako se u spomenutom istraživanju kontakt nije pokazao kao značajan moderator, autori naglašavaju važnost daljnjeg ispitivanja načina smanjenja predrasuda prema pretilim osobama u kontekstu atribucije uzroka pretilosti. Kako se do sada, koliko znamo, nije ispitivao odnos između pripisivanja pretilosti društvenim, tjelesnim i unutrašnjim uzrocima i stavova prema pretili-

lim osobama te moderatorski efekt učestalosti i kvalitete kontakta u navedenom odnosu, dobiveni će rezultati pridonijeti boljem razumijevanju atribucija uzroka pretilosti i stavova prema pretilim osobama kod studenata medicine, kao i mogućih mehanizama koji su u podlozi takvih stavova.

S obzirom na sve navedeno, očekuje se da će studenti medicine imati negativne stavove prema pretilim osobama te da će pretilost pripisivati unutarnjim uzrocima, koji će u većoj mjeri biti povezani s negativnim stavovima. Također se očekuje da će učestaliji i kvalitetniji kontakt s pretilim osobama ublažiti negativne stavove. Osim toga, pretpostavka je da će učestaliji i kvalitetniji kontakt ublažiti negativne efekte pripisivanja uzroka pretilosti unutarnjim čimbenicima na stavove prema pretilim osobama.

METODA

Sudionici

U istraživanju je sudjelovalo 360 studenata medicine, i to 261 studentica i 96 studenata prosječne dobi od 21,88 ($SD = 2,12$) godina. Najviše sudionika, njih 196, studenti su Medicinskoga fakulteta u Zagrebu, 91 studira u Rijeci, 66 u Osijeku, dok je samo 4 ispitanika s Medicinskoga fakulteta u Splitu. Također, u vrijeme prikupljanja podataka 70 studenata bilo je na prvoj godini studija, 88 ih je bilo na drugoj godini studija, a 51 student bio je na trećoj godini studija. Nadalje, njih 42 bilo je na četvrtoj godini studija, na petoj godini studija bilo ih je 49, dok je 57 studenata bilo sa zadnje, šeste, godine.

Mjerni instrumenti

Prikupljeni su podaci o dobi, spolu, vrsti studija, godini studija, smjeru, gradu studija i mjestu prebivališta.

Skalom uzroka pretilosti (*Causes of Obesity Scale* – COS; Klaczynski i sur., 2004) ispituju se vjerovanja o uzrocima pretilosti. Sadrži 31 česticu, koje su podijeljene u tri podskale. Podskala unutarnjih uzroka (18 čestica) odnosi se na vjerovanje da je pretilost uzrokovana osobnim nedostacima te da su pretile osobe same krive za svoje stanje. Podskala tjelesnih uzroka (6 čestica) podrazumijeva nekontrolabilna stanja koja su rezultat medicinskih i genetskih mehanizama. Podskala društvenih uzroka (7 čestica) mjeri vjerovanja kako su okolinjski čimbenici uzrok pretilosti. Sudionici su trebali procijeniti stupanj slaganja sa svakom od tvrdnji (1 – *u potpunosti se ne slažem* do 4 – *u potpunosti se slažem*). Viši rezultat na podskali društvenih uzroka upućuje na jače vjerovanje da su društveni uzroci razlog za prekomjernu tjelesnu težinu, viši rezultat na podskali unutarnjih uzroka podrazumijeva jače vjero-

vanje da su uzroci unutar pojedinca rezultat pretilosti, dok viši rezultat na podskali tjelesnih uzroka upućuje na snažnije vjerovanje kako su u podlozi pretilosti nekontrolabilni faktori. Skalu je na hrvatski jezik prevela i adaptirala Malbaša (2016). Pouzdanost tipa Cronbach-alfa u originalnom istraživanju kreće se od 0,68 do 0,78, dok se u ovom istraživanju kreće između 0,61 i 0,73. Konfirmatornom faktorskom analizom testirana je trofaktorska struktura skale koju predlažu Klaczynski i suradnici (2004) i Malbaša (2016). Za procjenu vrijednosti parametara konfirmatornih modela korištena je metoda maksimalne vjerojatnosti (engl. *maximum likelihood*) s robusnim standardnim pogreškama. Procjena prihvatljivosti pristajanja modela podacima temelji se na kombinaciji standardnih pokazatelja pristajanja u skladu s uvriježenim kriterijima (RMSEA < 0,08; CFI i TLI > 0,90; SRMR < 0,09; Weston i Gore, 2006). Provedena konfirmatorna faktorska analiza ima zadovoljavajuće pristajanje podacima ($\chi^2(427) = 1098,86, p < 0,01$, CFI = 0,70, TLI = 0,70, RMSEA = 0,07, SRMR = 0,09, RMSEA [90% CI] [0,06, 0,07]). Ovi su parametri dobiveni pošto su razmotreni modifikacijski indeksi koji se koriste za poboljšanje pristajanja modela podacima (Byrne, 2013). Visoki modifikacijski indeksi upućivali su na visoko korelirane residue, stoga su napravljene promjene u modelu, i to tako da su dopštene residualne kovarijance između čestica 6 (*Pretile osobe su u djetinjstvu previše vremena provodile gledajući televiziju*) i 12 (*Pretili ljudi postaju pretili jer previše gledaju televiziju*), 5 (*Pretili ljudi obično imaju neki medicinski poremećaj zbog kojeg su prekomjerno teški*) i 28 (*Pretili ljudi su "zapeli" u svojoj debljini zbog hormona koje ne mogu kontrolirati*) te 27 (*Skoro svi pretili ljudi bi mogli izgubiti na težini ako bi to zaista htjeli*) i 30 (*Pretili ljudi bi mogli postati mršavi ako bi to zaista htjeli*). Korelirane tvrdnje pripadaju istom faktoru, osim tvrdnji 6 i 12, koje pripadaju različitim faktorima, ali su sadržajno vrlo slične. Međutim, kako trofaktorski model ne pokazuje potpuno zadovoljavajuće pristajanje podacima, predlaže se daljnja validacija ove skale.

Skala stavova prema pretilim osobama (*Revised Anti-Fat Attitudes Scale*; Wrench i Knapp, 2008) sadrži 24 pozitivne i negativne tvrdnje o pretilim osobama te je podijeljena na dvije podskale (Skala stavova prema pretilima i Skala nesvidanja pretilih osoba), od kojih svaka sadrži 12 čestica. Skala se može rabiti i kao jednodimenzionalna te se kao takva u istraživanjima češće i rabi (npr. Dress, 2017; Shannon, 2018). Zadatak sudionika jest odgovoriti na navedene tvrdnje na skali od 1 – *u potpunosti se ne slažem* do 5 – *u potpunosti se slažem*. Viši rezultat na skali upućuje na pozitivniji stav prema pretilim osobama. Provedena je konfirmatorna faktorska analiza, koja pokazuje da teorijski očekivani jednofaktorski model ima donekle

zadovoljavajuće pristajanje podacima ($\chi^2(241) = 707,67, p < 0,01$, CFI = 0,84, TLI = 0,82, RMSEA = 0,07, SRMR = 0,08, RMSEA [90% CI] [0,07, 0,08]). Ovi su parametri dobiveni pošto su razmotreni modifikacijski indeksi (Byrne, 2013). Visoki modifikacijski indeksi (iznad 30) upućivali su na visoko korelirane residualne, stoga su napravljene promjene u modelu tako da su dopuštene residualne kovarijance između čestica koje se odnose na aspekte prijateljstva, izlaženja i odnosa s pretilim osobama. Koeficijent unutarne konzistencije pojedinih skala, kao i ukupne skale u originalnom istraživanju, kreću se od 0,85 do 0,89. Skalu su na hrvatski jezik preveli i adaptirali Kalebić Maglica i suradnici (2016).

Jednim pitanjem ispitana je učestalost kontakta s pretilim osobama (od *nikada* do *svakodnevno*), a sa četiri pitanja kvaliteta kontakta s pretilim osobama, i to s članovima uže obitelji, rodbine, prijateljima ili kolegama na skali od 1 (*potpuno ne-kvalitetan kontakt*) do 4 (*potpuno kvalitetan kontakt*). Pitanja su osmišljena za potrebe ovoga istraživanja. Primjer pitanja jest *Koliko je kvalitetan Vaš kontakt s pretilim prijateljima (npr. zajedničko provođenje vremena, razgovori i slično)*. Provedena je konfirmatorna faktorska analiza, koja pokazuje da teorijski očekivani jednofaktorski model nema potpuno zadovoljavajuće pristajanje podacima ($\chi^2(2) = 36,38, p < 0,01$, CFI = 0,93, TLI = 0,80, RMSEA = 0,02, SRMR = 0,04, RMSEA [90% CI] [0,16, 0,28]), ali je zbog zadovoljavajuće pouzdanosti u daljnjim analizama zadržana jednofaktorska struktura skale. I u ovom se slučaju preporučuje validacija skale u budućim istraživanjima.

Postupak

Istraživanje je provedeno online-upitnikom. Link na online-upitnik poslan je sudionicima preko društvene mreže "Facebook", i to tako da je objavljen u studentskim grupama studenata medicine iz Zagreba, Rijeke, Osijeka i Splita. Rješavanje upitnika trajalo je otprilike 20 minuta. Nakon upute, u kojoj je bio obrazložen cilj istraživanja te naglašena anonimnost i dobrovoljnost sudjelovanja u istraživanju, sudionici su trebali odgovoriti pristaju li sudjelovati u istraživanju. Ako je njihov odgovor bio potvrđan, uslijedilo je ispunjavanje demografskih podataka te pitanja vezana uz kontakt sudionika s pretilim osobama. Potom su rješavali skalu uzroka pretilosti i skalu stavova prema pretilim osobama. Ako nisu pristali na sudjelovanje, od njih se tražilo da podnesu svoj odgovor, što je podrazumijevalo kraj ispunjavanja. Istraživanje je provedeno u sklopu projekta koje je odobreno od Sveučilišta u Rijeci te je ono u skladu s Kodeksom etike psihološke djelatnosti Hrvatske psihološke komore.

REZULTATI

➤ TABLICA 1
Deskriptivni podaci i pouzdanosti za skale korištene u istraživanju

Deskriptivni podaci i Cronbach-alfa koeficijenti pouzdanosti za podskale atribucije uzroka pretilosti, kontakta (učestalost i kvaliteta) i skalu stavova prema pretilim osobama prikazani su u Tablici 1.

		K	M	SD	α
Uzroci pretilosti	Unutarnji uzroci	18	2,76	0,34	0,73
	Društveni uzroci	7	2,57	0,47	0,61
	Tjelesni uzroci	6	2,14	0,48	0,61
Kontakt	Učestalost	1	5,33	0,93	
	Kvaliteta	4	3,19	0,75	0,82
Stavovi prema pretilim osobama		24	2,51	0,55	0,88

Iz Tablice 1 vidi se da sve korištene skale imaju zadovoljavajuću pouzdanost, osim podskala koje se odnose na društvene i tjelesne uzroke pretilosti. Nadalje, vidi se kako sudionici imaju blago negativne stavove prema pretilim osobama te da podjednako i u blagoj mjeri pripisuju pretilost svim trima uzrocima, najmanje tjelesnim uzrocima. Izvještavaju da su u učestalom kontaktu s pretilim osobama i da je taj kontakt kvalitetan.

Nadalje su izračunane korelacije između tri atribucije uzroka pretilosti, učestalosti i kvalitete kontakta te stavova prema pretilim osobama. Dobiveni koeficijenti korelacije prikazani su u Tablici 2.

➤ TABLICA 2
Koeficijenti korelacija između uzroka pretilosti, kontakta i stavova prema pretilim osobama

	2	3	4	5	6
1 Stavovi prema pretilima	-0,48**	-0,14**	0,01	0,18**	0,30**
2 Unutarnji uzroci	-	0,42**	0,21**	-0,03	-0,14*
3 Društveni uzroci		-	0,40**	-0,06	-0,06
4 Tjelesni uzroci			-	-0,14*	-0,03
5 Učestalost kontakta				-	0,20**
6 Kvaliteta kontakta					-

* $p < 0,05$; ** $p < 0,01$

Dobiveni rezultati pokazuju da studenti koji uzroke pretilosti pripisuju unutarnjim (-0,48**) i društvenim uzrocima (-0,14**) imaju negativnije stavove prema pretilim osobama. Učestaliji (0,18**) i kvalitetniji kontakt (0,30**) s pretilim osobama povezan je s pozitivnijim stavovima. Tri vrste atribucija uzroka pretilosti međusobno su značajno pozitivno umjereno povezane, a samo je atribucija unutarnjim uzrocima povezana s kvalitetom kontakta, i to u smjeru da je veća atribucija unutarnjim uzrocima povezana s manje kvalitetnim kon-

taktom s pretilim osobama (-0,14**). Učestalost kontakta negativno je povezana s atribucijom tjelesnim uzrocima (-0,14**), što znači da osobe koje imaju učestalije kontakte s pretilim osobama pretilost u manjoj mjeri atribuiraju tjelesnim uzrocima. Učestalost i kvaliteta kontakta značajno su pozitivno, ali nisko povezane, što upućuje na potrebu za odvojenim razmatranjem ovih konstrukata (0,20**).

Kako bi se ispitao moderatorski efekt učestalosti i kvalitete kontakta u odnosu između tri uzroka pretilosti (unutarnji, društveni i tjelesni uzroci) i stavova prema pretilim osobama, provedena je hijerarhijska regresijska analiza. U prvi korak analize uvrštena su tri uzroka pretilosti. U drugi korak analize uvrštena je učestalost i kvaliteta kontakta s pretilima, a u treći korak uvrštene su interakcije između tri uzroka pretilosti i učestalosti, odnosno kvalitete kontakta. Varijable u trećem koraku standardizirane su prije računanja interakcija. Kriterijska varijabla jest stav prema pretilim osobama. Rezultati hijerarhijske regresijske analize prikazani su u Tablici 3.

➤ TABLICA 3
Rezultati hijerarhijske
regresijske analize s
uzrocima pretilosti u
prvom koraku,
učestalosti i kvalitete
kontakta u drugom i
njihovom interakcijom
u trećem koraku

	Stav prema pretilim osobama	R^2	ΔR^2	β
1. korak		0,24**	0,24**	
	Unutarnji uzroci			-0,51**
	Društveni uzroci			0,04
	Tjelesni uzroci			0,09
2. korak		0,31**	0,07**	
	Unutarnji uzroci			-0,48**
	Društveni uzroci			0,04
	Tjelesni uzroci			0,12*
	Učestalost kontakta			0,14**
	Kvaliteta kontakta			0,21**
3. korak		0,32**	0,01	
	Unutarnji uzroci			-0,49**
	Društveni uzroci			0,05
	Tjelesni uzroci			0,10*
	Učestalost kontakta			0,15**
	Kvaliteta kontakta			0,23**
	Unutarnji uzroci x učestalost			0,02
	Društveni uzroci x učestalost			-0,03
	Tjelesni uzroci x učestalost			-0,05
	Unutarnji uzroci x kvaliteta			-0,05
	Društveni uzroci x kvaliteta			-0,04
	Tjelesni uzroci x kvaliteta			-0,07

* $p < 0,05$, ** $p < 0,01$

Dobiveni rezultati pokazuju da je ukupno objašnjeno 32 % varijance stavova prema pretilim osobama, pri čemu varijable

iz prvoga koraka objašnjavaju značajnih 24 % varijance, a varijable iz drugoga koraka dodatnih značajnih 7 %. Varijable uključene u treći korak objašnjavaju neznajčajnih 1 % varijance stava. Atribucija pretilosti unutarnjim i tjelesnim uzrocima pokazuju se kao samostalni značajni prediktori stava uključeni u prvom koraku analize. Studenti koji atribuiraju uzroke pretilosti unutarnjim faktorima imaju negativnije stavove prema pretilima, a oni koji atribuiraju tjelesnim pozitivnije stavove. I učestalost kontakta i kvaliteta, uključeni u drugi korak analize, imaju samostalan značajni doprinos u objašnjenju stavova, pri čemu studenti medicine koji imaju učestaliji i kvalitetniji kontakt s pretilim osobama u svojoj okolini imaju i pozitivnije stavove prema njima. U trećem koraku ni jedna interakcija između atribucija uzroka pretilosti i učestalosti, odnosno kvalitete kontakta, nije se izdvojila kao značajan prediktor. Učestalost i kvaliteta kontakta ne mijenjaju značajno odnos između pripisivanja uzroka pretilosti i stavova prema pretilim osobama.

RASPRAVA

Cilj je ovoga istraživanja bio ispitati odnos između atribucija pretilosti i stavova prema pretilim osobama kod studenata medicine te ispitati moderira li učestalost i kvaliteta kontakta s pretilim osobama navedeni odnos. Očekivalo se da će studenti medicine pretilost pripisivati unutarnjim uzrocima, koji će u većoj mjeri biti povezani s negativnim stavovima, te da će učestaliji i kvalitetniji kontakt s pretilim osobama ublažiti negativne stavove prema njima.

Dobiveni rezultati pokazuju da je atribucija pretilosti unutarnjim uzrocima povezana s negativnijim stavovima studenata medicine prema pretilim osobama. Ovaj je nalaz u skladu s onima koji se navode u stručnoj literaturi (npr. Fang i sur., 2019; Schneider i sur., 2018), a prema kojima su liječnici, ali i studenti medicine, skloniji pretilost pripisivati unutarnjim uzrocima, odnosno smatrati da su pretile osobe same odgovorne za svoju težinu. Manjak fizičke aktivnosti, prejedanje, konzumacija nezdrave hrane i ovisnost o hrani glavni su uzroci pretilosti prema mišljenju liječnika. U skladu s tim stavom liječnici/studenti pristupaju pretilim osobama, a što u konačnici može imati vrlo negativne posljedice. Pretilost koja i sama sa sobom vuče niz tjelesnih (npr. dijabetes, visoki krvni tlak), ali i psihičkih problema (npr. depresija, anksioznost), zahtijeva medicinsku skrb, ali koju pretile osobe ne žele tražiti zbog stigmatizacije kojoj su izložene od strane liječnika i ostalog medicinskog osoblja. Osim toga, dolazi i do razilaženja u atribuciji uzroka pretilosti između liječnika i pacijenata. Kako je navedeno, liječnici uzroke pretilosti pripisuju unutarnjim faktorima, dok pacijenti uzrok češće traže u medicinskim fak-

torima i nižim razinama prihoda, odnosno okolinskim uzrocima (Ogden i sur., 2001). Budući da postoje razlike u atribuiranju uzroka, dolazi do problema u komunikaciji o tjelesnoj težini i zdravom načinu života između liječnika i pacijenata (Puhl i Heuer, 2009). Nadalje, oni zdravstveni djelatnici koji pretilost atribuiraju unutarnjim faktorima više su frustrirani zbog pretilih pacijenata i pružaju im manje kvalitetan liječnički tretman (Puhl i sur., 2014). Taj se nalaz potvrđuje i kod studenata medicine, odnosno pripisivanje pretilosti prije svega unutarnjim razlozima utječe na kvalitetu rada s pretilim pacijentima (Fang i sur., 2019). Upravo razumijevanje da tjelesni i društveni uzroci također mogu utjecati na pretilost čini liječnike i studente uspješnijima u pružanju zdravstvene njege pacijentima (Fang i sur., 2019). U smjeru toga ide i nalaz ovog istraživanja, prema kojem je atribuiranje uzroka pretilosti tjelesnim uzrocima povezano s pozitivnijim stavovima prema pretilim osobama.

Rezultati ovoga istraživanja upućuju na važnost kontakta u smanjenju negativnih stavova studenata medicine prema pretilim osobama, pri čemu treba zasebno razmatrati učestalost i kvalitetu kontakta. Dobiveni nalaz u skladu je s brojnim istraživanjima na području socijalne psihologije, koja pokazuju da kontakt smanjuje negativne stavove prema stigmatiziranim skupinama (npr. Barbir i sur., 2017), pa i prema pretilim osobama (npr. Dunaev i sur., 2018; Ganesana i Carter-Sowellb, 2021). Iz rezultata ovoga istraživanja također se vidi da kvaliteta kontakta snažnije predviđa stavove prema pretilim osobama od učestalosti, o čemu svakako treba voditi računa u istraživanjima smanjenja negativnih stavova.

Istraživanja međugrupnoga kontakta imaju dugu tradiciju, počevši od 40-ih i 50-ih godina 20. stoljeća (npr. Allport, 1954). Do danas velik broj istraživanja potvrđuje hipotezu kontakta, prema kojoj pojedinci raznih grupa kada dolaze u međusobni kontakt imaju pozitivnije i manje predrasudne stavove prema članovima grupe kojoj ne pripadaju (npr. Imperato i sur., 2021; Lemmer i Wagner, 2015; Pettigrew i Tropp, 2006). Upravo se kroz kontakt članovi grupa međusobno bolje upoznaju, dobivaju priliku za prikupljanje novih informacija o članovima druge grupe, kao i mogućnost učenja te spoznavanja da članovi druge grupe nisu svi isti, da su jedinstveni i da svatko od njih ima svoju priču. Ovo je vrlo važno u kontekstu pretilosti i atribucije uzroka pretilosti od strane liječnika, ali i budućih liječnika. Rezultati ovoga istraživanja upućuju na važnost učestalih i kvalitetnih kontakata studenata medicine i pretilih osoba na smanjenje negativnih stavova prema navedenoj stigmatiziranoj skupini. Važno je da studenti medicine budu u što češćem i kvalitetnijem kontaktu s pretilim osobama, jer to može oblikovati, odnosno smanjiti,

njihove negativne stavove prema pretilima. Kroz te kontakte studenti medicine mogu bolje upoznati, a time i razumjeti, pretile osobe, što može u konačnici dovesti i do kvalitetnije zdravstvene usluge. Ono što se javlja kao problem općenito, a i kod studenata medicine, jest generalizacija, odnosno mišljenje da su sve pretile osobe iste, a samim time i odgovorne za svoju tjelesnu težinu. Ono što bi u budućim istraživanjima trebalo ispitati jest trajnost promjene stava nakon kontakta, odnosno dovodi li učestaliji i kvalitetniji kontakt s pretilim osobama do pozitivnijih stavova kroz duže vrijeme ili je ta promjena kratkotrajna, a što bi moglo pomoći u osmišljavanju intervencijskih programa za smanjenje negativnih stavova prema pretilim osobama.

Cilj je ovoga istraživanja bio ispitati moderatorski efekt atribucija uzroka pretilosti i učestalosti/kvalitete kontakta na stavove prema pretilim osobama. Iako rezultati istraživanja upućuju na važnost atribucije pretilosti unutrašnjim uzrocima te učestalost i kvalitetu kontakta, njihove interakcije nisu dobivene. Stoga bi odnose između atribucija uzroka pretilosti, kontakta i stavova prema pretilim osobama trebalo dodatno provjeriti u nekim budućim istraživanjima i primjenom nekih drugih tehnika i metoda, poput analiza traga ili strukturalnoga modeliranja (Hudek-Knežević i Kardum, 2006).

Ovo istraživanje ima određene manjkavosti, o kojima valja voditi računa u interpretaciji dobivenih rezultata. Uzorak su činili studenti koji su bili spremni sudjelovati u online-istraživanju, što je omogućilo donošenje određenih zaključaka o stavovima studenata medicine o pretilim osobama. Uzorak studenata u većoj su mjeri činile žene. Zbog navedenih karakteristika uzorka pitanje je koliko ispitani uzorak odražava objektivnu razinu stavova prema pretilim osobama. U budućim istraživanjima svakako treba uključiti veći broj sudionika, i to pogotovo muških, što bi omogućilo ispitivanje spolnih razlika studenata u stavovima prema pretilim osobama, jer razna istraživanja upućuju na veću tolerantnost žena prema stigmatiziranim skupinama (npr. Magallares i Morales, 2013; Tsai i sur., 2016). Metodološki nedostatak ovoga istraživanja odnosi se i na to što se kvaliteta kontakta ispitivala samoprocjenom, odnosno pitanjem s ponuđenim odgovorima o tome kakav je kontakt. Novija istraživanja pokazuju da je bolje sudionike pitati imaju li među bliskim prijateljima osobe koje su mete predrasuda, posjećuju li se, razgovaraju li o privatnim temama i slično (npr. Maunder i sur., 2020). Osim toga, suvremena istraživanja pokazuju da je za stavove prema pretilim osobama, osim kognitivne komponente ("pretile osobe su same krive za svoju tjelesnu težinu"), važna i emocionalna komponenta stava, i to posebice emocija gađenja (Vartanian i sur., 2016) i negativan afekt (Koball i Carels, 2015), a što bi u budu-

ćim istraživanjima također valjalo uključiti. U budućim istraživanjima trebalo bi dodatno provjeriti Skalu uzroka pretilosti, jer u ovom istraživanju indeksi pristajanja ne pokazuju dobar fit trofaktorskoj strukturi skale, a i dvije podljestvice navedenog upitnika imale su vrlo niske procjene pouzdanosti.

Unatoč određenim ograničenjima, ovo istraživanje ima znanstveni i praktični doprinos. Prema našim saznanjima, do sada nije istodobno ispitivan odnos između atribucija uzroka pretilosti, učestalosti i kvalitete kontakta te stavova prema pretilim osobama kod studenata medicine, čime su povezane teorija atribucije i hipoteza kontakta. Dobiveni rezultati idu u prilog nalazima koji se spominju u znanstvenoj literaturi, a prema kojima su stavovi studenata blago negativni te se uzroci pretilosti traže u odgovornosti pretile osobe za njezinu tjelesnu težinu. Negativni bi stavovi, kao i atribucija pretilosti unutarnjim faktorima, mogli dovesti do smanjenoga angažmana u radu i smanjenoga poštovanja prema pretilim pacijentima te stereotipa očekivanja da će se pacijent ponašati karakteristično za skupinu kojoj pripada. S druge strane, negativno iskustvo sa zdravstvenim djelatnicima može dovesti do toga da su pretile osobe manje sklone traženju zdravstvene pomoći kada im je ona zaista potrebna. Dobiveni rezultati mogli bi poslužiti povećavanju svijesti o negativnom stavu prema pretilim osobama kod budućih liječnika u Hrvatskoj i kreiranju intervencija za smanjenje takva stava, a koji se temelje na hipotezi kontakta, uzimajući u obzir i učestalost i kvalitetu toga kontakta. Tema negativnih stavova prema pretilim osobama osobito je važna u trenutačnim okolnostima pandemije i činjenici da su pretile osobe ujedno i rizična skupina za oboljenje od bolesti COVID-19.

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The Relationship Between the Attributions of the Causes of Obesity, Contact and Attitudes Towards Obese People in Medical Students

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The aim of this study is to examine the relationship between the attributions of obesity and attitudes towards obese people in medical students and to examine whether the frequency and quality of contact with obese people moderates this relationship. The study involved 360 medical students, 261 female students and 96 male students, with an average age of 21.88 ($SD = 2.12$) years. The survey was online, and the participants filled out questions related to demographics, the causes of obesity scale, anti-fat attitudes scale, as well as questions about the frequency and quality of contact with obese people. The obtained results show that the attribution of the cause of obesity by internal factors is associated with more negative attitudes towards obese people. More frequent and high-quality contacts are associated with more positive attitudes towards obese people. No significant interactions were obtained between attributions of causes of

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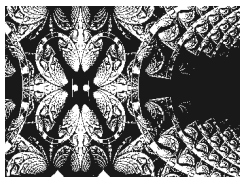
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ODNOS IZMEĐU...

obesity and contact on the attitudes towards obese people. The obtained results are commented in the context of the effects that students' negative attitudes have on obese people and the importance of contact in reducing these negative attitudes.

Keywords: medical students, obesity, attributions of obesity cause, contact, attitudes



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ULOGA OPĆE SKLONOSTI NASILJU U ODNOSU OPĆE MRAČNE OSOBINE LIČNOSTI I PONIZNOSTI/POŠTENJA S PODRŠKOM POLITIČKOM NASILJU

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Razni suvremeni psihološki modeli radikalizacije uz kontekstualne čimbenike upućuju i na ulogu relativno stabilnih dispozicija u prihvaćanju ekstremističkih ideologija i s njima povezanoga političkog nasilja. Novija istraživanja, usmjerena na ulogu mračnih osobina ličnosti u kontekstu radikalizacije, relativno su dosljedno pokazala da su osobe izraženih mračnih osobina sklonije podržavati političko nasilje i ekstremne političke opcije. No empirijska objašnjenja postojanja tog odnosa i dalje su rijetka. Stoga se ovim istraživanjem nastojalo provjeriti je li sklonost nasilju, karakteristična za mračne osobine ličnosti, u pozadini odnosa mračnih osobina ličnosti i poniznosti/poštenja iz HEXACO modela s podrškom političkom nasilju, pazeći pritom na potencijalne izvore pristranosti u ranijim istraživanjima. Rezultati dobiveni na uzorku 191 studenta robusno su pokazali da odnos spomenutih osobina s podrškom političkom nasilju nestaje nakon što se statističkim putem kontrolira za opću sklonost nasilju. Stoga rezultati ovog istraživanja nude vrijedan doprinos razumijevanju ekstremističkih stavova te daju empirijsku argumentaciju u prilog hipotezama o ulozi dispozicija u političkom životu građana.

Ključne riječi: mračne osobine ličnosti, mračna trijada, poniznost/poštenje, ekstremizam, političko nasilje



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Osobine ličnosti smatraju se odgovornima za relativnu posljednost u pojedinčevim interakcijama i adaptacijama na okolinu (Larsen i Buss, 2008). Mnogim je istraživanjima potvrđena upletenost osobina ličnosti u razna područja ljudskoga života i djelovanja, u rasponu od svakodnevnih odabira, poput toga kakvu ćemo kavu popiti (Ufer i sur., 2019), do važnih životnih odluka, poput odabira zanimanja (Garcia- Sedeño i sur., 2009), stvaranja prijateljstava (Harris i Vazire, 2016) i odabira romantičnih partnera (Barelds, 2005). Meta-analiza Lodi-Smith i Roberts (2007) potvrdila je važnost osobina ličnosti u odabiru ponašanja u kontekstu privatnih i poslovnih društvenih odnosa. Pritom se dio istraživača usmjerio i na ulogu ličnosti u odabiru ponašanja koja mogu dovesti do posljedica za cijela društva – politička ponašanja.

Više autora upozorilo je na povezanost osobina i političkoga djelovanja. Duckitt i Sibley (2010) svojim su teorijskim modelom pokazali da korijenje predrasuda, nacionalizma i etnocentrizma može ležati u osobinama ličnosti, poput niske otvorenosti i ugodnosti te visoke savjesnosti. Na sličnom su tragu bili i Gallego i Oberski (2012), koji su upozorili na nezanimarive odnose osobina ličnosti i političkih ponašanja, koji su u najvećoj mjeri bili preneseni specifičnim stavovima. Mondak i suradnici (2010) također su čvrsto zagovarali ulogu osobina ličnosti u odabiru političkih ponašanja. Prema njima, uz ranije spomenute medijacije važno je razmotriti i interakcije osobina ličnosti s kontekstom i stavovima. Cawvey i suradnici (2017) nadovezuju se na njih ponovno ističući važnost izravnih, ali i interakcijskih, efekata ličnosti u razumijevanju političkih ponašanja.

U kontekstu političkih ponašanja pažnja mnogih istraživača, nakon terorističkih napada s početka stoljeća, poglavito se usmjerila na razumijevanje radikalizacije, koja se može definirati kao proces kojim dolazi do promjene uvjerenja, emocija i djelovanja prema jednoj od strana uključenih u međugrupni sukob (McCauley i Moskalenko, 2017). Iako ne mora, radikalizacija nerijetko dovodi i do primjene ilegalnih oblika političkoga djelovanja nad pripadnicima suprotstavljene grupe (Neumann, 2013; McCauley i Moskalenko, 2017), koja se može odraziti kroz širok spektar ponašanja u rasponu od manjih vandalizama, poput pisanja grafita, do terorističkih napada s ljudskim žrtvama (Sabucedo i Arce, 1991; Tausch i sur., 2011). Pritom su posljedice radikalizacije neupitno štetne i za lokalnu ekonomiju (Lutz i Lutz, 2017) i za društveni život (Nussio i sur., 2019) te mentalno zdravlje građana u nasiljem zahvaćenim područjima (Eisenman i Flavahan, 2017). Ukratko, svojim se razornim posljedicama radikalizacija nametnula kao jedan od relevantnijih fenomena današnjice. Ako osobine lično-

sti pokazuju povezanost s ostalim oblicima društvenoga ponašanja, racionalno je zapitati se jesu li one na neki način povezane i s radikalizacijom i njezinim ishodima.

Cawvey i suradnici (2017) kritički su se postavili prema istraživanjima koja se provode "bez promišljanja", ističući pritom da ne moraju sve osobine ličnosti predviđati sva politička ponašanja. To bi značilo da bi u kontekstu proučavanja političkoga nasilja trebalo odabrati one dimenzije ličnosti za koje je teorijski opravdano očekivati doprinos predviđanju sudjelovanja u nelegalnim ili nepoželjnim društvenim ponašanjima.

Takve su dimenzije ličnosti već uključene u teorijske modele radikalizacije. Najrazrađeniji model (ponašajne) radikalizacije predstavili su McGregor i suradnici (2015), ističući ulogu triju faktora: osobina ličnosti (engl. *personality*), prijetnji (engl. *threats*) i permisivne okoline (engl. *affordances*). Pritom pod osobinama ličnosti navode osobine povezane s nestabilnosti samopercepcije, poput ranjivoga narcizma, te osobine povezane sa sklonosti konfliktima, poput mračnih osobina ličnosti. Prema McGregoru i suradnicima (2015), sudjelovanje u političkom nasilju (ali i podrška političkom nasilju) predstavlja obrambene reakcije na nepovoljnu okolinu s ciljem smanjivanja anksioznosti i nesigurnosti, pri čemu na umu treba imati da sve osobe ne rabe sve moguće obrambene reakcije kako bi smanjile anksioznost. Stoga osobe koje su sklonije ublažavati anksioznost aktivnostima koje su rizične, ilegalne ili nasilne, poput osoba koje postižu visoke rezultate na mračnim osobinama ličnosti, mogu biti sklone nasilnom djelovanju i u političkom kontekstu. I drugi teoretičari istaknuli su ulogu osobina ličnosti koje dovode do konflikata (odnosno, mračnih i s njima povezanih osobina ličnosti) u procesu radikalizacije (King i Taylor, 2011; PISOIU I SUR., 2020), pružajući slična objašnjenja.

U novije je vrijeme više istraživača utvrdilo odnose mračnih osobina ličnosti i raznih pokazatelja radikalizacije, u skladu s pretpostavkama iz modela McGregora i suradnika (2015). Obaidi i suradnici (2020) nastojali su iz širega konteksta ličnosti promotriti njezinu ulogu u podršci političkom nasilju kod muslimana. U radu nisu prikazani bivarijatni, nego samo multivarijatni odnosi u modelima s ostalim osobinama ličnosti i emocijama, u kojima se dimenzija poniznost/poštenje iz modela HEXACO (Ashton i Lee, 2009), sadržajno bliska mračnim osobinama ličnosti (Book i sur., 2016), nije pokazala značajnim prediktorom podrške političkom nasilju. Suprotno tim rezultatima, Chabrol i suradnici (2020) i Morgades-Bamba i suradnici (2020) na istom su uzorku Francuskinja raznim metodama obradbe podataka (klasterskom analizom i regresijskim modelima) dosljedno upozorili na povezanost mračnih osobina ličnosti s dogmatizmom, radikaliziranim stavovima i radika-

liziranim ponašanjima. Pavlović i Franc (2021) na hrvatskim uzorcima (prigodnom studentskom i kvotnom uzorku odraslih) upozorili su da su osobe s višim rezultatima na općoj mračnoj crti ličnosti sklonije podržavati političko nasilje i voljnije sudjelovati u nasilnim prosvjedima. Gøtzsche-Astrup (2021) na trima uzorcima odraslih Amerikanaca utvrdio je da su osobe s višim rezultatima na mračnim osobinama ličnosti sklonije prihvaćati nasilje protiv pripadnika suprotstavljenih političkih opcija, dok su Međedović i Knežević (2019) na uzorcima srpskih studenata i zatvorenika pokazali da su osobe s višim rezultatima na mračnim osobinama ličnosti sklonije izražavati militantni ekstremistički svjetonazor. Duspara i Greitemeyer (2017) na austrijskom su uzorku pokazali da su osobe viših rezultata na mračnih osobinama ličnosti sklonije zauzimati ekstremnije političke pozicije.

Iako prethodni ulomak upućuje na povećani broj istraživanja postojanja odnosa mračnih osobina ličnosti i radikalizacije, manji broj autora usmjerio se na istraživanje razloga zbog kojih taj odnos postoji. S jedne strane, po modelu McGregora i suradnika (2015) proizlazi da bi osobe mračnih osobina ličnosti trebale biti sklone primjeni agresije kao obrambenoga mehanizma. Doista, sklonost nasilju pokazala se umjereno pozitivno povezanom sa svim mračnim osobinama ličnosti (Baughman i sur., 2012; Pailing i sur., 2014), a Pavlović i Wertag (2021) pokazali su da prediktivni doprinos mračnih osobina u kontekstu podrške političkom nasilju nestaje kad se u model uključi i sklonost nasilju. No važno je razlikovati ishode kognitivne radikalizacije, odnosno radikalizacije stavova, i bihevioralne radikalizacije, odnosno radikalizacije ponašanja (detaljnije u McCauley i Moskalenko, 2017). Drugim riječima, važno je znati želimo li objasniti stav ili ponašanje, kao i to koji točno stav i ponašanje želimo objasniti. Primjerice, Nussio (2020) zagovara traženje uzbuđenja, nisko do umjereno pozitivno povezano sa svim mračnim osobinama ličnosti, kao važan rizični faktor za pridruživanje pojedinaca ekstremističkoj organizaciji. S obzirom na veći broj sastavnica opće mračne osobine ličnosti koje Moshagen i suradnici (2020) identificiraju, poput sklonosti kršenju normi, pohlepe ili inata, mogućnost da sklonost nasilju nije jedini aspekt mračnih osobina ličnosti koji je povezan s političkim nasiljem nije moguće potpuno isključiti rezultatima tek jednog istraživanja, gdje je svaka od varijabli operacionalizirana tek jednim od više dostupnih instrumenata (Pavlović i Wertag, 2021), što upućuje na potrebu za daljnjim empirijskim provjerama.

Sve navedeno motiviralo nas je na provedbu ovog istraživanja, čiji je glavni cilj bio provjeriti postoji li odnos između osobina ličnosti povezanih s društveno neprihvatljivim ponašanjima i podrške političkom nasilju kad se iz tih osobina izo-

lira varijanca sklonosti nasilju. Preciznije, formirane su sljedeće hipoteze: očekivano je da su sudionici koji postižu više rezultate na takvim osobinama ličnosti ujedno i skloniji podržavati političko nasilje, čak i uz kontrolu drugih relevantnih faktora (hipoteza 1). S druge strane, nakon izolacije varijance *opće sklonosti nasilju* iz varijance osobina ličnosti, nije očekivano da će preostala varijanca osobina ličnosti povezanih s društveno neprihvatljivim ponašanjima značajno predviđati podršku političkom nasilju (hipoteza 2).

Ovim se pristupom unosi nekoliko novina u odnosu na dosadašnja istraživanja usmjerena na ulogu sklonosti nasilju u odnosu osobina ličnosti i podrške političkom nasilju. Prvo, u ovom se istraživanju šire pristupa osobinama ličnosti relevantnim za političko nasilje te se uz opću mračnu osobinu ličnosti mjeri i osobina poniznosti/poštenja, za koju je potvrđena visoka (negativna) povezanost s mračnim osobinama ličnosti (Book i sur., 2016). Drugo, u ovom su istraživanju mjerene i implicitna i eksplicitna podrška političkom nasilju s ciljem kontrole potencijalne društvene poželjnosti pojedinih odgovora po kojoj su istraživanja nasilja poznata (Vigil-Colet i sur., 2012). Osim toga, mjerena je i sklonost davanju poželjnih odgovora pomoću ljestvice procjenjivanja vlastita znanja, s ciljem dodatne provjere robusnosti rezultata. Treći iskorak u odnosu na ranija istraživanja predstavlja i primjena bifaktorskih modela (Reise, 2012; Eid i sur., 2017), detaljnije opisana u Postupku, kojem se omogućuje dublji uvid u odnose istraživanih konstrukata.

METODA

Sudionici

Ukupan prigodni uzorak prikupljen za potrebe ovog istraživanja sastojao se od 256 sudionika, pri čemu su podaci 191 sudionika iskorišteni u analizama (detaljnije u pododjeljku *Analički pristup*). Pritom je medijan dobi sudionika iznosio 24 godine, dok je 65 % sudionika bilo ženskoga spola (uz 14 % sudionika koji nisu označili spol).

Instrumenti

U ovom su ulomku kratko opisani upotrijebljeni instrumenti. Pritom su sve mjere, osim sociodemografskih mjera i *implicitne podrške političkom nasilju*, mjerene ljestvicom od 1 do 7, na kojoj je veća vrijednost označavala veće slaganje s tvrdnjama.

Kao mjera implicitne podrške političkom nasilju osmišljen je zadatak uvjetovanog rezoniranja po uzoru na radove Galića (2016) i Jamesa i LeBretona (2010), koji su sličnim zadacima mjerili dispozicijsku agresiju. Sudionici su nasumce po-

dijeljeni u dvije skupine, pri čemu je svaka skupina dobila različitu uvodnu uputu (detaljnije u online Prilogu 1).¹ Obje verzije upute imale su za cilj podsjetiti sudionika na društvene nejednakosti, pri čemu su u jednoj verziji upute one pripisane zlonamjernim političarima, a u drugoj situacijskim obilježjima. Tu je rečenicu slijedila izjava: "U namjeri da spriječe takvu situaciju, neki od prosvjednika spremni su se i sukobiti sa svima koji ju svojim djelovanjem (poput političara) ili nedjelovanjem (poput zaštitara ili policajaca koji nadziru prosvjednike) podržavaju." Nakon toga sudionici su upitani koji je najveći problem koji u pročitanom tekstu primjećuju, pri čemu su mogli odgovoriti odabirom jednog od četiriju ponuđenih odgovora. Dva ponuđena odgovora predstavljala su distraktore ("Policijske i zaštitarske uniforme čine policajce i zaštitare previše uočljivima u masi" te "Prosvjedi ponekad nehotice dovode do blokade prometa, a da se građane ne upozori na alternativne rute"), jedan odgovor upućivao je na odbacivanje političkoga nasilja ("Ovakvi se problemi trebaju rješavati izlaskom na izbore, mirnim prosvjedima i slično, a ne upotrebom fizičke sile"), a jedan je upućivao na podršku političkom nasilju ("Premalo osoba spremno je ući u sukob da bi se popravila društvena situacija"). Za potrebe analize, odgovor koji je upućivao na podršku nasilju kodiran je kao 1, odgovor koji je upućivao na odbacivanje nasilja kao 0, dok su distraktori kodirani kao nedostajuće vrijednosti.

Kao mjera *eksplicitne podrške političkom nasilju* formirane su četiri čestice po uzoru na upitnik za mjerenje sklonosti političkom nasilju u sklopu projekta MyPLACE (Ellison i sur., 2014). Zadatak sudionika bio je procijeniti u kojoj bi mjeri, da nema pandemije COVID-19 koja je tijekom provedbe istraživanja (u studenom 2020.) bitno utjecala na svakodnevicu, bili voljni sudjelovati u prosvjedima s ciljem: 1) očuvanja radnih mjesta, 2) sprečavanja osiromašivanja, 3) zaštite ljudskih prava te 4) sprečavanja neželjenih posljedica za njima bliske osobe, ako se očekivalo da bi na prosvjedima moglo doći do nasilja. Dodatno, kako bismo bili sigurni da je kriterij mjerenja upravo podrška političkom nasilju, a ne kolektivnom djelovanju općenito, primijenjen je bifaktorski (S-1) model sukladno preporukama Pavlovića i suradnika (2022). U tom je modelu iz varijance podrške političkom nasilju izolirana varijanca podrške prosvjedima općenito. Za operacionalizaciju podrške prosvjedima općenito upotrijebljene su četiri čestice sadržajem identične onima kojima se mjerila eksplicitna podrška političkom nasilju, osim toga što se mogućnost pojave nasilja na prosvjedima nije spominjala. Pritom su prvo bile prikazane čestice podrške prosvjedima općenito, a zatim čestice podrške nasilnim prosvjedima. Bifaktorski (S-1) model pokazao je pri-

mjereno slaganje s podacima ($CFI = 0,976$, $RMSEA = 0,092$, $SRMR = 0,026$), pri čemu je viši rezultat na faktoru eksplicitne podrške političkom nasilju označavao veću podršku nasilnom političkom djelovanju. Forma ovog upitnika također je prikazana u online Prilogu 1.

Za mjerenje mračnih osobina ličnosti primijenjen je upitnik *Prljavih dvanaest* (Jonason i Webster, 2010). Upitnik se sastoji od dvanaest čestica, četiri po svakoj od triju povezanih mračnih osobina – makijavelizam, narcizam i psihopatija. Faktorska struktura i konstruktna valjanost pokazale su se primjerenima u ranijem istraživanju provedenom na hrvatskom uzorku (Pavlović i Wertag, 2021). Iako je analizama utvrđeno primjereno slaganje s podacima nakon koreliranja rezidualnih varijanci prvih dviju čestica narcizma ($CFI = 0,957$, $RMSEA = 0,057$, $SRMR = 0,057$), unutarnje konzistencije ljestvica narcizma i psihopatije bile su ispod prihvatljive razine ($\alpha = 0,86$ za makijavelizam, $\alpha = 0,51$ za narcizam i $\alpha = 0,51$ za psihopatiju), a za što su zaslužni korelirani reziduali dviju čestica narcizma te izostanak zasićenja jedne čestice psihopatije faktorom za koji se očekivalo da operacionalizira. S druge strane, modelom procijenjene interkorelacije triju faktora (odnosno, korelacije varijance triju dimenzija izračunane bez varijance vezane uz pogrešku mjerenja) bile su dovoljno visoke da je distinktivnost pojedinačnih dimenzija bila upitna ($r_{m-p} = 0,73$, $r_{n-p} = 0,55$, $r_{m-n} = 0,85$). Kako bi se izbjegli problemi s multikolinearnosti, zadržano je jednofaktorsko rješenje – opća dimenzija mračnih osobina ličnosti – koje je pokazalo primjereno slaganje s podacima nakon koreliranja reziduala prvih dviju čestica narcizma te prve i treće čestice psihopatije ($CFI = 0,940$, $RMSEA = 0,066$, $SRMR = 0,064$), uz prihvatljivu unutarnju konzistenciju ($\omega = 0,77$). U takvom se modelu jedino prva čestica psihopatije ("Nemam naviku žaliti za svojim postupcima") nije pokazala zasićenom generalnim faktorom. Jednofaktorski modeli mračnih osobina ličnosti nisu rijetkost u literaturi (Moshagen i sur., 2020; Persson i sur., 2017), pri čemu na hrvatskim uzorcima korelacije mračnih osobina koje su po magnitudi slične korelacijama prikazanim u ovom istraživanju nisu rijetkost (primjerice, Pavlović i Wertag, 2021; Pavlović i Franc, 2021). Viši rezultat upućivao je na izraženiju opću mračnu osobinu ličnosti.

Kao dodatna operacionalizacija opće sklonosti društveno nepoželjnim ponašanjima primijenjena je ljestvica poniznosti/poštenja iz upitnika HEXACO-60 (Babarović i Šverko, 2013; Ashton i Lee, 2009). S obzirom na opažene visoke korelacije s drugim mjerama mračnih osobina ličnosti, neki je smatraju primjerenom zamjenom za njihovu opću procjenu (Book i sur., 2016; Lee i Ashton, 2014). Stoga je u ovom istraživanju upotri-

jebljena kao alternativa upitnika Prljavih dvanaest (Jonason i Webster, 2010). Babarović i Šverko (2013) opisuju prihvatljivu unutarnju konzistenciju duže verzije instrumenta, dok je prihvatljivost jednofaktorske strukture ($CFI = 0,945$, $RMSEA = 0,061$, $SRMR = 0,059$) u ovom istraživanju postignuta nakon koreliranja većega broja reziduala (detaljnije u online Prilogu 2), pri čemu se unutarnja konzistencija također pokazala prihvatljivom ($\omega = 0,69$). Viši rezultat upućivao je na višu poniznost, odnosno poštenje.²

Uz već opisanu razliku u *uputi*, u istraživanju su korišteni i drugi kontrolni faktori.

Tri čestice iz ljestvice fizičkog nasilja ("Udario/la sam druge nakon što bi me provocirali", "Imao/la sam potrebu udariti nekog" te "Prijetio/la sam drugima") Upitnika podtipova antisocijalnog ponašanja (Subtypes of antisocial behavior questionnaire; Burt i Donnelan, 2009; Wertag i sur., 2021) korištene su kao operacionalizacija *opće sklonosti nasilju*. Zajedno su činile faktor marginalno prihvatljive unutarnje konzistencije ($\omega = 0,68$).

Za kontrolu društveno poželjnog odgovaranja primijenjena je ljestvica *precjenjivanja znanja*. Izvornu verziju osmislili su Paulhus i suradnici (2003), dok su čestice primijenjene u ovom istraživanju preuzete iz srpske adaptacije spomenutog upitnika (Kašiković i sur., 2013). Među sedam čestica koje su predstavljale stvarne pojmove (grafem, Bartolomejska noć, poentilizam, Lovac u žitu, etnocentrizam, refrakcija i amnionska vrećica) pomiješano je i sedam čestica s izmišljenim riječima (deliteracija, Gambijski mir, mousse du palette, Čudna kuća Roberta Thompsona, ontofaktura, ondekson, otoplazma), pri čemu je mjeru društveno poželjnog odgovaranja predstavljao zajednički faktor poznatosti izmišljenih čestica. Konfirmatornom faktorskom strukturom upućeno je na marginalno prihvatljivo pristajanje jednofaktorske strukture podacima ($CFI = 0,944$, $RMSEA = 0,083$, $SRMR = 0,055$) uz primjerenu unutarnju konzistenciju ($\omega = 0,80$), pri čemu je viši rezultat upućivao na veću sklonost uljepšavanju vlastitih odgovora.

Od sociodemografskih podataka, za potrebe ovog rada uzeti su isključivo spol i godina rođenja kao indikator dobi.

Postupak

Podaci u ovom istraživanju prikupljani su u sklopu širega projekta. Poveznica s pozivom na sudjelovanje u kojem su sudionici bili obaviješteni o uvjetima sudjelovanja, njihovim pravima i mogućnosti odustajanja u bilo kojem trenutku bez posljedica, prosljeđena je potencijalnim sudionicima putem društvenih mreža i mailing lista. Pritom su nakon čitanja teksta informiranoga pristanka sudionici dodatno trebali kliknu-

ti s kojim se sve izjavama iz teksta informiranoga pristanka slažu. Nakon slaganja sa svim relevantnim tvrdnjama, sudionici su pristupili upitnicima, pri čemu su nakon upitnika o mračnim osobinama ličnosti i nekoliko upitnika vezanih uz širi projekt sudionici odgovarali na pitanja o precjenjivanju vlastita znanja, podršci političkom nasilju i prosvjedima općenito, dok su sociodemografski podaci prikupljeni na kraju upitnika. Sudionicima nije pružena nikakva materijalna kompenzacija u zamjenu za sudjelovanje u istraživanju. Širi projekt u sklopu kojeg su prikupljeni podaci za provedbu ovog istraživanja odobren je od etičkoga povjerenstva institucije u kojoj je autor zaposlen (br. odobrenja: 11-73/20-2275).

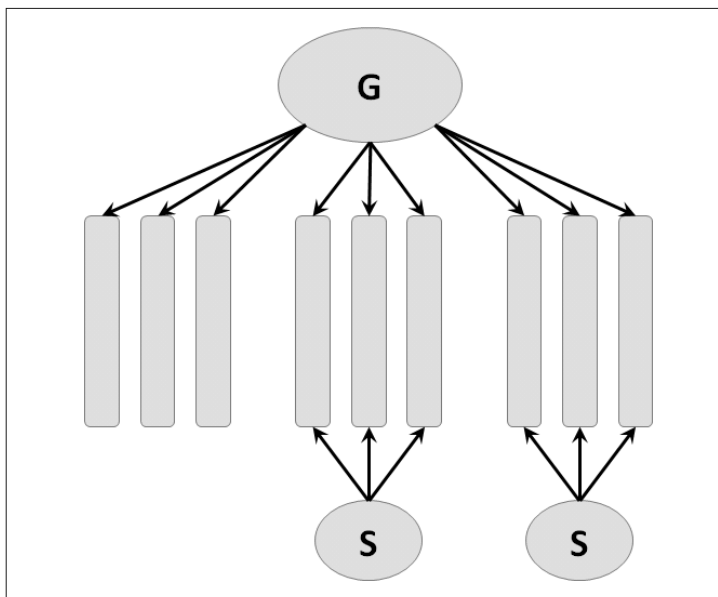
Analitički pristup

U prvom su koraku iz ukupne baze eliminirani svi sudionici koji nisu dali ni jedan odgovor ($n = 65$). Najvjerojatnije objašnjenje ovog osipanja jest kontekst širega projekta u kojem su podaci prikupljeni, a u sklopu kojeg su sudionici odgovarali na veći broj mjera koje su uključivale stavove o društveno nepoželjnim ponašanjima, koji su se sudionicima mogli činiti repetitivnima i umanjivati želju za nastavkom sudjelovanja. Zatim je provjereno postoje li sudionici koji su sustavno davali isti odgovor na relevantne čestice, što nije utvrđeno, pa je konačan broj sudionika iznosio 191. Analize su provedene u statističkom jeziku R (2021), dominantno pomoću funkcija iz paketa psych (Revelle, 2018), lavaan (Roseel, 2012) i semTools (Jorgensen i sur., 2018).

Nakon čišćenja podataka, prvo su konfirmatornom faktorskom analizom s Huber-White robusnim standardnim pogreškama te testnom statistikom asimptotski približnom Yuan-Bentler T2-star statistiku (MLR; Rosseel, 2012) provjerene faktorske strukture upotrijebljenih mjera. Pritom smo se osvrnuli i na procjene unutarnje konzistencije, pri čemu smo uvažili nedostatke α koeficijenta (detaljnije u Hayes i Coutts, 2020) te smo se prije svega usmjerili na vrijednosti ω koeficijenta. Zatim se pristupilo glavnim analizama u sklopu analitičkog okvira strukturnoga modeliranja, također uz spomenute robusne metode procjene parametara modela.

U glavnim su analizama korišteni i bifaktorski (S-1) modeli s ciljem isključivanja varijance 1) opće sklonosti nasilju iz varijance opće mračne osobine ličnosti i dimenzije poštenja/poniznosti iz HEXACO modela ličnosti te 2) varijance opće podrške prosvjedima iz varijance eksplicitne podrške nasilnim prosvjedima. Shematski, jedan takav model prikazan je u standardnoj notaciji strukturnoga modeliranja na Slici 1, gdje su elipsama predstavljene latentne varijable, pravokutnicima manifestne (odnosno, čestice), a strelicama faktorska zasićenja.

SLIKA 1
Shematski prikaz
bifaktorskog (S-1)
modela sa tri
specifična (S) faktora



Primjerice, za izolaciju opće sklonosti nasilju iz varijance opće mračne osobine ličnosti, u sklopu bifaktorskih modela formiran je po jedan opći faktor kojim su saturirane sve uključene čestice (to jest, i čestice opće mračne osobine ličnosti i čestice opće podrške nasilju) te jedan specifični, kojim su saturirane samo čestice opće mračne crte ličnosti. Pritom se drugi specifični faktor, opća sklonost nasilju, ne formira zasebno, već je njime definiran sadržaj općega (G) faktora (otkud dolazi i ime S-1, koje označuje formiranje jednoga manje S faktora nego što bi bilo moguće; detaljnije u Eid i sur., 2017). Budući da G i S faktori moraju biti nezavisni, ovakva struktura omogućuje izolaciju opće sklonosti nasilju – općega faktora – iz specifičnih faktora – u ovom primjeru, opće mračne crte ličnosti. Isti je princip upotrijebljen i za izolaciju varijance podrške prosvjedima iz varijance eksplicitne podrške političkom nasilju.

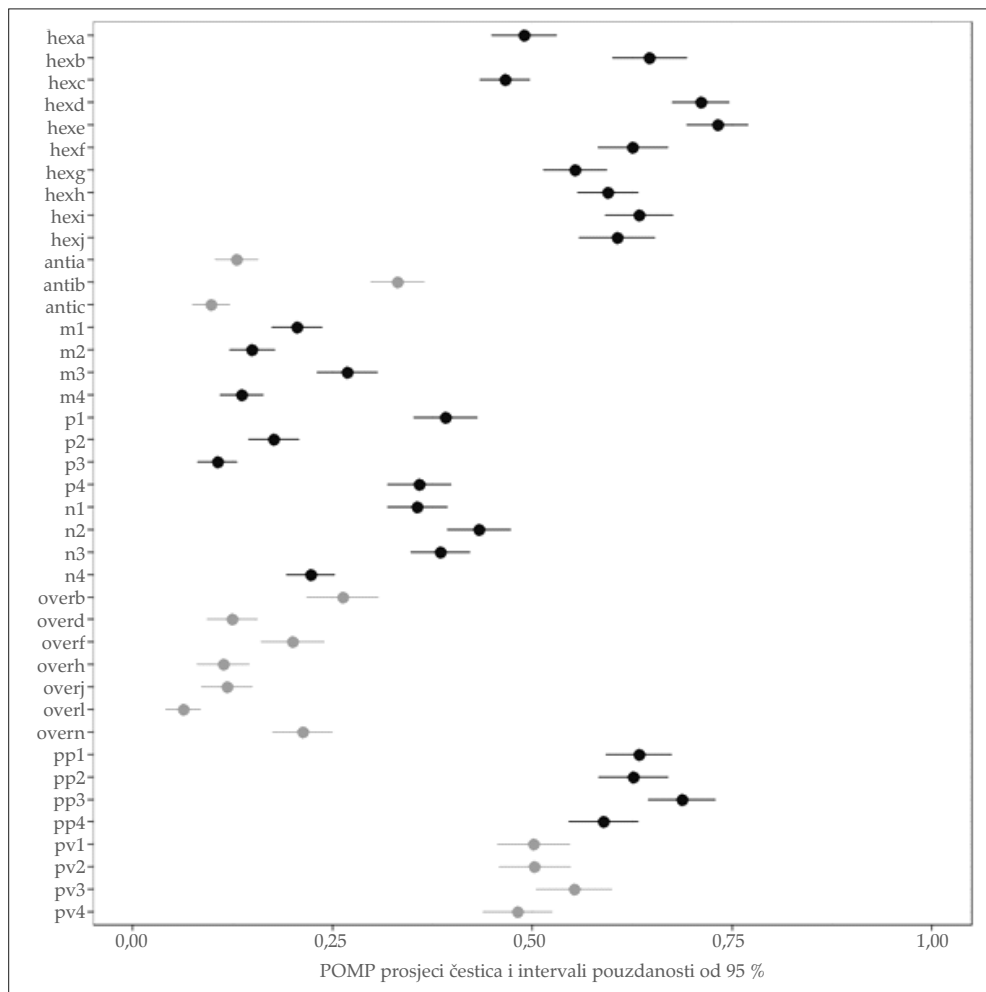
S obzirom na očekivanu povezanost mračnih crta ličnosti i podrške političkom nasilju od $r = 0,23$ (medijan korelacija mračnih crta ličnosti i podrške političkom nasilju u radu Pavlovića i Wertag, 2021), za $1-\beta = 0,80$ uz $\alpha = 0,05$ bilo je potrebno u analizu uključiti 146 sudionika, što znači da je uzorak bio sačinjen od dovoljno sudionika za detekciju očekivanih intenziteta odnosa.

REZULTATI

U narednim su odlomcima sažeto prikazani rezultati provedenih analiza. Nakon deskriptivnih podataka, prikazani su rezultati testiranih strukturnih modela.

Deskriptivni podaci na razini čestica u obliku POMP (engl. *proportion of maximum possible*) rezultata sažeto su prikazani

na Slici 2. Prosjeci čestica poniznosti/poštenja te opće mračne osobine ličnosti pokazuju da su se sudionici u pravilu vidjeli u blago pozitivnom svjetlu, odnosno da su bili skloniji za sebe reći da su bliže polu poniznosti i odsustva mračnih crta ličnosti nego obratno.



SLIKA 2
POMP prosjeci čestica poniznosti/poštenja, opće mračne osobine ličnosti, procjenjivanja znanja te stavova o mirnim i nasilnim prosvjedima (N = 191)

Napomena. hexa-hexj = čestice upitnika HEXACO – dimenzije poniznosti/poštenja, m1-m4 = čestice makijavelizma iz upitnika *Dirty Dozen*, p1-p4 = čestice psihopatije iz upitnika *Dirty Dozen*, n1-n4 = čestice narcizma iz upitnika *Dirty Dozen*, overa-overn = čestice procjenjivanja vlastitog znanja, pp = čestice sudjelovanja u mirnim prosvjedima, pv = čestice sudjelovanja u nasilnim prosvjedima

Također, slaganje s česticama o agresiji pokazalo se niskim, pokazujući da sudionici u pravilu nemaju pozitivan stav o nasilju. Dodatno, prosjeci na česticama procjenjivanja znanja sugeriraju da većina sudionika nije bila upoznata s izmišljenim

tvrdnjama. Konačno, većina sudionika izrazila je sklonost prosvjedovanju, pri čemu je nešto pozitivniji stav zabilježen na česticama nenasilnih prosvjeda u usporedbi sa stavom o nasilnim prosvjedima. Drugim riječima, iako je razlika vidljiva, čini se da potencijal za razvoj nasilja u prosvjedima nije bitno umanjio blago pozitivan stav o sudjelovanju u tim prosvjedima.

Nakon uvida u osnovne deskriptivne podatke, prikazana je matrica korelacija (Tablica 1). U njezinoj interpretaciji na umu valja imati dva nezanemariva ograničenja. Prvo, način formiranja rezultata ne isključuje varijancu pogreške, zbog čega su pravi odnosi podcijenjeni. Drugo, rezultat u regresijskim analizama koji se rabi za procjenu eksplicitne podrške političkom nasilju temelji se na bifaktorskom (S-1) modelu, što nije moguće precizno procijeniti pristupom kojim su rezultati ljestvica procijenjeni. Sve zajedno, prikazanu je matricu korelacija najprimjerenije tretirati tek kao grubu procjenu međudnosa varijabli, pri čemu je očekivano (kako kasnije regresijske analize prikazuju) da su pravi odnosi između varijabli podcijenjeni.

● TABLICA 1
Korelacije ključnih
konstrukata ovog
istraživanja

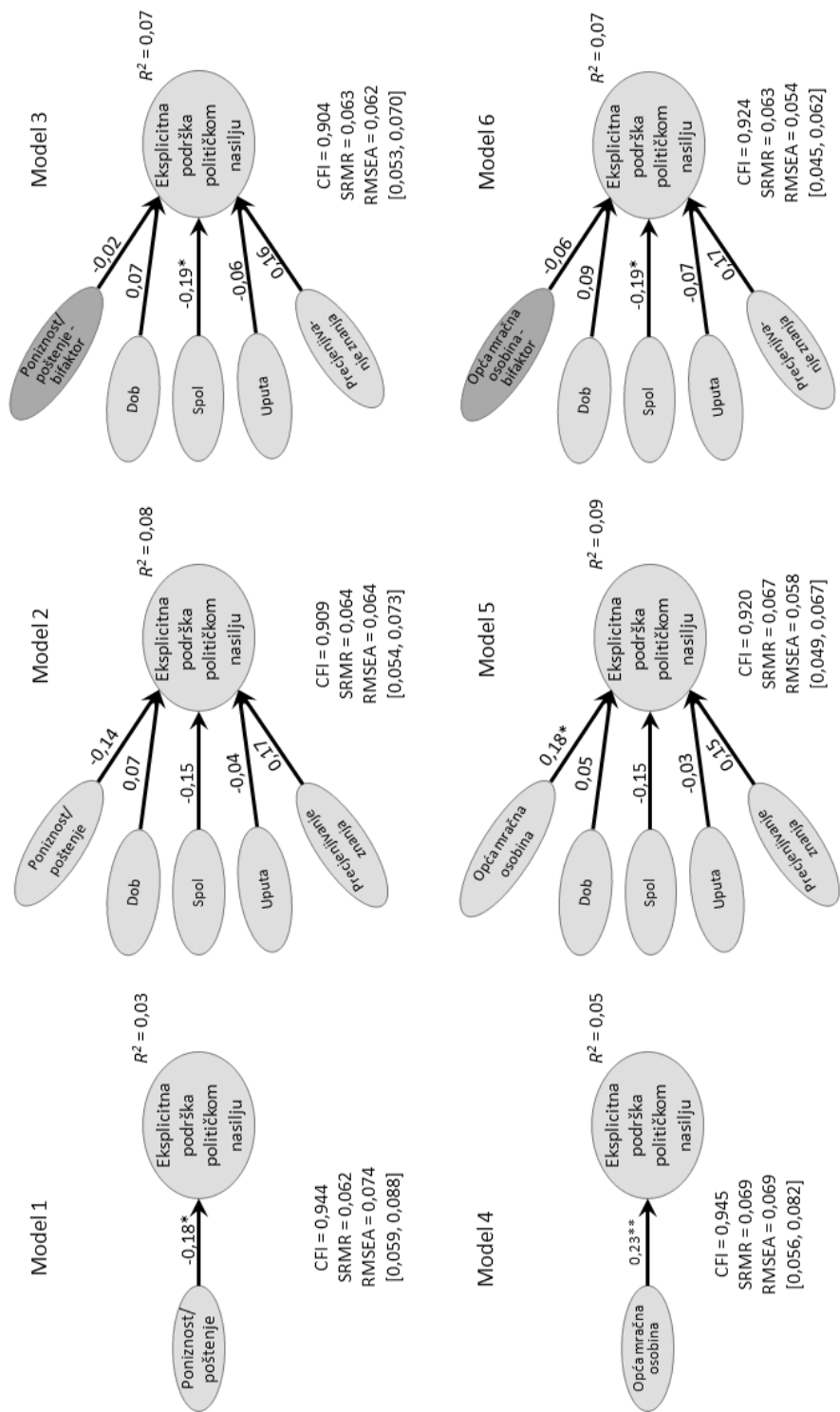
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
(1) eksplicitna podrška političkom nasilju	1								
(2) implicitna podrška političkom nasilju	0,06	1							
(3) poniznost/poštenje	-0,08	-0,27**	1						
(4) opća mračna osobina ličnosti	0,05	0,26**	-0,67**	1					
(5) opća sklonost nasilju	0,15	0,33**	-0,33**	0,38**	1				
(6) precjenjivanje znanja	0,16*	-0,02	0,06	0,02	-0,06	1			
(7) spol (ref = muškarci)	-0,04	-0,25**	0,24**	-0,17*	-0,35**	0,03	1		
(8) dob	-0,01	-0,14	0,05	0,03	-0,21**	0,00	0,17*	1	
(9) uputa	-0,03	-0,15	0,11	-0,12	-0,09	-0,06	-0,04	0,08	1

* $p < 0,05$, ** $p < 0,01$

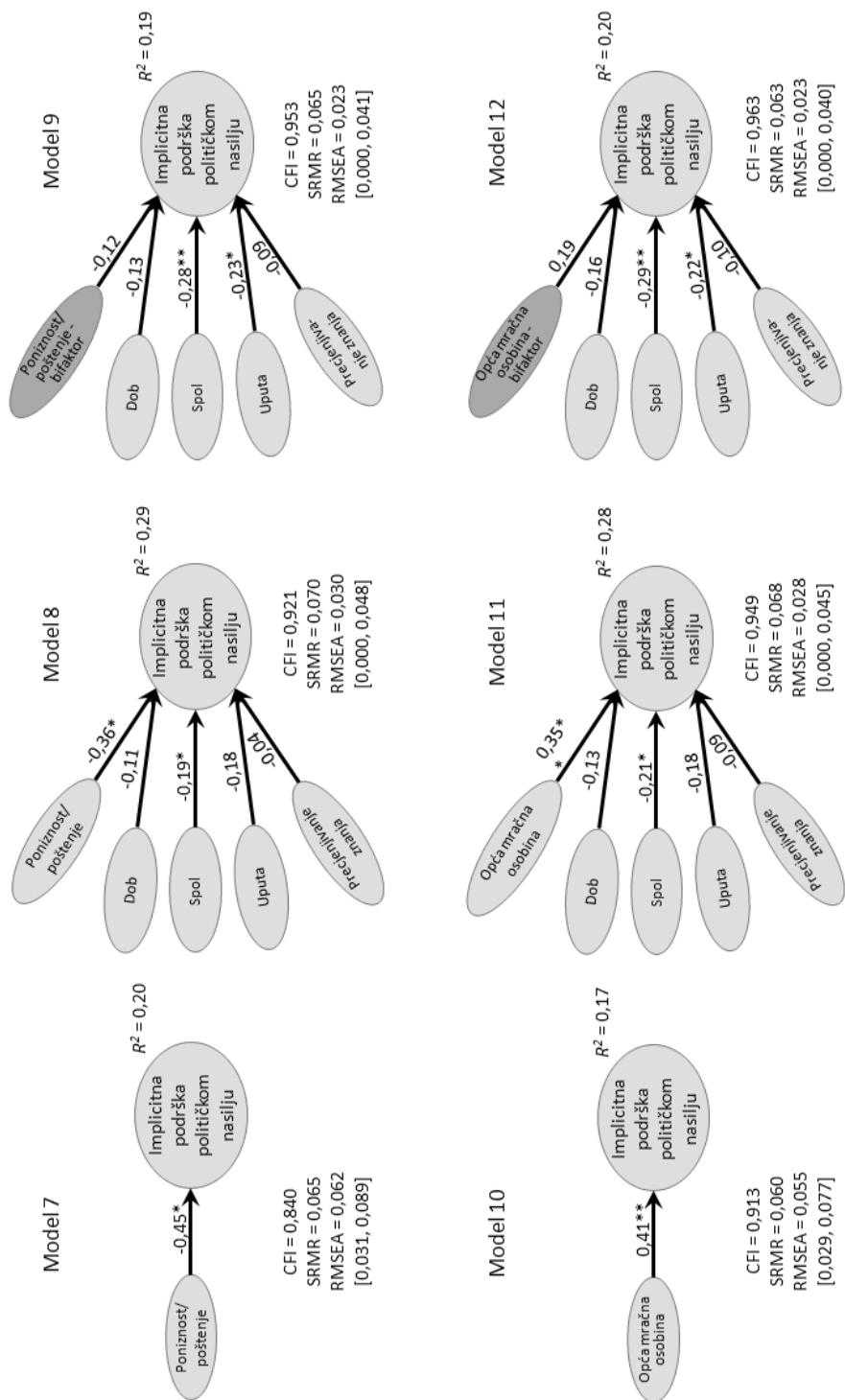
Napomena. Nestandardizirani i neponderirani prosjeci ljestvica korišteni su za izračun matrice korelacija.

U sljedećem su koraku formirani strukturni modeli, prikazani na Slikama 3 i 4. Kompleksnost modela na slikama raste slijeva nadesno. Odnosno, slike počinju osnovnim modelima (modeli 1, 4, 7 i 10), u koje se onda uključuju kontrolni faktori (modeli 2, 5, 8, 11), a na kraju se uz kontrolne faktore izolira varijanca sklonosti nasilju iz osobina ličnosti (modeli 3, 6, 9 i 12).

Modeli 1-3 na Slici 3 pokazuju kako se mijenja doprinos poniznosti/poštenja predviđanju eksplicitne podrške političkom nasilju ovisno o kompleksnosti modela.



SLIKA 4
Poniznost/poštenje i opća mračna osobina ličnosti u predviđanju implicitne podrške političkom nasilju



Iako Model 1 pokazuje da osobe koje postižu više rezultate na osobini poniznosti/poštenja ujedno pružaju manje eksplicitne podrške političkom nasilju, Model 2 sugerira da uključivanjem kontrolnih faktora taj odnos gubi statističku značajnost. Konačno, Model 3 sugerira da izolacija varijance sklonosti nasilju iz dimenzije poniznosti/poštenja dovodi do bitnoga smanjenja magnitude odnosa, iako je ona već u modelu 2 bila statistički neznčajna.

Slično se vidi i u Modelima 4-6 na Slici 3, koji pokazuju kako se mijenja doprinos opće mračne osobine ličnosti predviđanju eksplicitne podrške političkom nasilju ovisno o kompleksnosti modela. Za razliku od Modela 2, uključivanje kontrolnih faktora u Modelu 5 nije dovelo do potpunoga gubitka značajnosti osobine ličnosti kao prediktora eksplicitne podrške političkom nasilju. To se dogodilo tek u Modelu 6, gdje je iz opće mračne osobine ličnosti izolirana varijanca sklonosti nasilju.

Modelima 7-12 na Slici 4 provjeravane su iste hipoteze, ali u kontekstu implicitne podrške političkom nasilju. Tu su se rezultati i za opću mračnu osobinu ličnosti i za dimenziju poniznosti/poštenja pokazali gotovo identičnima: iako inicijalno obje osobine značajno predviđaju implicitnu podršku političkom nasilju (modeli 7 i 10) te zadržavaju statističku značajnost čak i nakon uvođenja kontrolnih faktora (modeli 8 i 11), njihova značajnost nestaje kada se iz njih izolira varijanca sklonosti nasilju (modeli 9 i 12).³

RASPRAVA

Rezultati provedenih analiza potvrdili su istraživačka očekivanja, u skladu s rezultatima Pavlovića i Wertag (2021). Čak i uz kontrolu stavova o mirnim prosvjedima u vidu bifaktorskih modela eksplicitne podrške političkom nasilju te društveno poželjnog odgovaranja, kao i primjenom drukčije metode ekstrakcije varijance te različitim operacionalizacijama ključnih varijabli, pokazalo se da linearni odnos mračnih osobina ličnosti i podrške političkom nasilju u najvećoj mjeri ovisi o sklonosti nasilju, karakterističnoj za sve mračne osobine ličnosti (Baughman i sur., 2012; Pailing i sur., 2014). Sve zajedno upućuje na to da osobe mračnijih osobina ličnosti mogu biti permissivnije glede primjene nasilja u različite svrhe, pa tako i za postizanje političkih ciljeva. Navedeni rezultati time su usklađeni i s konceptualizacijama radikalizacije koje konfliktne osobine ličnosti povezuju sa sklonosti političkom nasilju (King i Taylor, 2011; McGregor i sur., 2015; Pisoiu i sur., 2020) te širim pristupima koji zagovaraju uključivanje osobina ličnosti u modele političkoga ponašanja (Mondak i sur., 2010).

Ovakvi rezultati mogu imati i praktičnu implikaciju za razvoj dijagnostičkih sredstava usmjerenih na detekciju poten-

cijalno radikaliziranih pojedinaca. Naime, prema ovim rezultatima, mračne osobine ličnosti povrh agresivnosti ne pridonose objašnjenju stavova o političkom nasilju. Stoga se u dijagnostička sredstva za detekciju pojedinaca koji podržavaju političko nasilje primjerenijim i efikasnijim čini uključiti neku kratku mjeru agresije nego ljestvice mračnih osobina ličnosti ili druge mjere sklonosti društveno neprihvatljivih ponašanja.

Pritom, kao što je navedeno u uvodu, rezultati ovog istraživanja ne pokazuju da je sklonost nasilju jedina poveznica mračnih osobina ličnosti i svih oblika radikalizacije. Pažnja u ovom istraživanju bila je usmjerena na kognitivnu radikalizaciju – radikalizaciju stavova, pri čemu je specifičan fokus bio na stavove podrške političkom nasilju. Sustavni pregled Franc i Pavlovića (2018, 2021) upozorio je na mnoge moguće ishode radikalizacije koji su tretirani kao zavisne varijable u istraživanjima, u rasponu od podrške političkim vođama i organizacijama preko podržavanja djelovanja tih organizacija do sudjelovanja u djelovanju tih organizacija i sudjelovanja u samoj provedbi nasilja, pri čemu ne treba ni isključiti mogućnost (barem djelomične) radikalizacije bez fizičkoga kontakta s radikaliziranom skupinom te samostalnoga ekstremističkog djelovanja (Schuurman i sur., 2019), bilo u online, bilo u offline kontekstu (Agrawal i Sureka, 2015; Koehler, 2014). Navedena brojnost dijelom sličnih, a dijelom različitih mogućih oblika radikalizacije upućuje na mogućnost da različite osobine ličnosti različito efikasno predviđaju različite specifične ishode, kao i to da različite osobine kod različitih populacija i u različitim kontekstima mogu povećavati vjerojatnost različitih ishoda. Sukladno Nussijevoj (2020) pretpostavci, impulzivniji pojedinci te osobe sklonije traženju uzbuđenja mogu biti sklonije pridruživanju ekstremističkom pokretu od osoba manje sklonih traženju uzbuđenja, pri čemu traženje uzbuđenja može preuzeti dominantnu ulogu od podrške nasilju ili pak djelovati u kombinaciji s njom. S druge strane, potreba za kaosom (Arceneaux i sur., 2021) može biti ta koja potiče pojedince na izražavanje radikaliziranih stavova na društvenim mrežama. Stoga, sukladno Cawvey i suradnicima (2017), možemo zaključiti da ne moraju sve osobine ličnosti (pa ni sve mračne osobine ličnosti) predviđati sva politička ponašanja (pa ni sva nenormativna politička ponašanja). Dakle, iako ovo istraživanje u kombinaciji s onim Pavlovića i Wertag (2021) daje robusne argumente kojima demistificira jedan dio mozaika radikalizacije (odnos osobina i radikaliziranih stavova), dodatne su provjere potrebne prije generalizacije njegovih rezultata na radikalizaciju u širem smislu (odnosno, i na druge ishode radikalizacije). Dodatno, ne valja zaboraviti da ličnost ne djeluje u vakuumu, već u kontekstu, stoga se njezin najveći

doprinos predviđanju radikalizacije očekuje utvrditi u kombinaciji sa specifičnim kontekstualnim čimbenicima (Cawvey i sur., 2017; Mondak i sur., 2010), poput nejednakosti, prijetnji ili narativa koji umanjuju vjerodostojnost političkog sustava (McGregor i sur., 2015).

Od ostalih ograničenja, prilikom interpretacije rezultata na umu bi valjalo imati njihovu utemeljenost na prigodnom uzorku mladih, poglavito studenata. Iako mladi u pravilu jesu skloniji izaći na ulicu (Barroso i Minkin, 2020) ili sudjelovati u radu ekstremističkih organizacija (Bakker i de Bont, 2016) od starijih članova društva, provedba ovakvoga ili sličnog nacrt na uzorcima različite dobne i obrazovne strukture, kao i uzorcima iz različitih kulturnih i političkih konteksta, omogućila bi dodatnu provjeru robusnosti dobivenih rezultata. Dodatno, u istraživanju su iskorištene kratke (ili skraćene) mjere konstrukata, što je spriječilo složenije statističke postupke koji bi uključivali i njihove facete. Također je važno u obzir uzeti i veličinu uzorka, koja je u kontekstu ovog istraživanja ograničavala vjerojatnost utvrđivanja malih, ali konzistentnih odnosa, kao statistički značajnih, ali i složenost analiza koje je bilo moguće primijeniti. Konačno, istraživački nacrt ne dopušta izvlačenje kauzalnih zaključaka: iako su povezanosti utvrđene, prikupljeni podaci ne upućuju na smjer odnosa. Preciznije, iako je utvrđeno da mračne osobine ličnosti preko opće sklonosti nasilju ostvaruju odnos s podrškom političkom nasilju, nacrtom nije moguće utvrditi nastaje li podrška političkom nasilju iz već postojeće sklonosti nasilju ili kroz proces radikalizacije pojedinci postupno počinju podržavati nasilne političke opcije, a kroz to i nasilje općenito. Broj modela radikalizacije koji sadržavaju komponentu desenzitizacije na nasilje i druga nenormativna politička ponašanja nije zanemariv (primjerice, Hafez i Mullins, 2015; McCauley i Moskalenko, 2008; Pfundmair i sur., 2022).

ZAKLJUČAK

Zaključno, istraživanjem su potvrđeni nalazi ranije literature o odnosu mračnih osobina ličnosti i podrške političkom nasilju, uz kontrolu većega broja vanjskih faktora izostavljenih u ranijim istraživanjima. Pritom je, uz stabilnost samih nalaza, upozoreno i na to da oni predstavljaju vrijedan, ali tek jedan, dio objašnjenja radikalizacije, čime se otvara prostor za hipoteze o doprinosima ostalih (mračnih) osobina ličnosti i njihovih faceta predviđanju drugih oblika kako radikalizacije, tako i političkoga djelovanja općenito dokle god, kako navode Cawvey i suradnici (2017), o tom prediktivnom doprinosu ima smisla i hipotetizirati.

¹ Baza podataka, analitički kodovi i upitnici osmišljeni za potrebe istraživanja dostupni su online: https://osf.io/qwa4s/?view_only=1e364a81c1d04ffd8f72cf94fc105cd1

² S ciljem provjere međuodnosa dviju operacionalizacija sklonosti društveno nepoželjnim ponašanjima formiran je dodatni model, pri čemu su za operacionalizaciju opće mračne osobine ličnosti i dimenzije poniznosti/poštenja upotrijebljene iste čestice kao u individualnim modelima, uz iste dopuštene korelacije između reziduala. Model je pokazao marginalno slaganje s podacima s obzirom na svoju veličinu (CFI = 0,786, RMSEA = 0,088, SRMR = 0,088), što dobro objašnjava i modelom procijenjena korelacija, koja je bila visoka ($r = 0,79$). Drugim riječima, dvije skale dijele više od 60 % varijance, što nedvojbeno upućuje na sličnost dvaju konstrukata.

³ S ciljem dodatne provjere opstojnosti rezultata, dodatno su provedene analize koje su pratile principe testiranja medijacijskih modela, a čija su provedba i ishodi detaljno prikazani u online Prilogu 2. Rezultati tih analiza bili su istovjetni prikazanima – unatoč (povremeno) značajnim kompletnim putovima, ni jedan direktni put između mračnih osobina ličnosti, odnosno poniznosti/poštenja, i eksplicitne/implicitne podrške političkom nasilju nije se pokazao statistički značajnim. Kod takvih su modela prikazane i modelom procijenjene korelacije varijabli uključenih u model. Radi dodatne provjere robusnosti, pokušali smo formirati i potpuni model, odnosno model koji bi objedinjavao sve prediktore i kriterije ovog istraživanja, no njegovo testiranje, također prikazano u Prilogu 2, nije urodilo valjanim rezultatima (odnosno, došlo je do Heywood casea), najvjerojatnije zbog neprimjerenog omjera broja čestica i sudionika.

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The Role of Aggression in the Relationship Between the General Dark Personality Traits, Honesty/Humility and Support for Political Violence

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Various contemporary psychological models of radicalisation, next to contextual factors, also highlighted the role of relatively stable dispositions in accepting extremist ideologies and political violence related to these ideologies. Newer studies, focused on the role of dark personality traits in the context of radicalisation, relatively consistently found that persons high on dark personality traits are more likely to support political violence and extreme politics. However, empirical explanations of this relationship are still rare. Therefore, this study, in line with previous research, tested if aggression, a common characteristic of dark personality traits, lies behind the relationship between dark personality traits and the honesty/humility dimension from the HEXACO model with support for political violence, while taking into account potential sources of bias that were present in earlier studies. The results obtained on a sample of 191 faculty students robustly exhibited that the relationship between the studied personality traits and support for political violence disappears after statistically controlling for aggression. Therefore, the results of this study offer a valuable contribution to the understanding of extremist attitudes and

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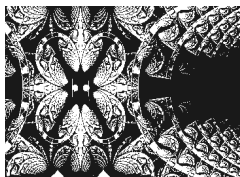
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provide empirical argumentation in favour of the hypotheses
on the role of dispositions in the political lives of citizens.

Keywords: dark personality traits, Dark Triad,
humility/honesty, extremism, political violence



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DOMINANTNOST MUŠKIH VRIJEDNOSTI I IZBJEGAVANJE NEIZVJESNOSTI KAO INSTRUMENTI RAZVOJA KULTURNE INTELIGENCIJE STUDENATA

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Ovaj rad istražuje povezanost između orijentiranosti studenata prema muškim vrijednostima i razine njihove kulturne inteligencije te između orijentiranosti studenata prema izbjegavanju neizvjesnosti i kulturne inteligencije studenata. Kako bi se ispitali fenomeni razvijeni ovim radom, proveli smo istraživanje na uzorku od 146 studenata na privremenoj razmjeni (ERASMUS razmjena). Rezultati upućuju na pozitivnu i značajnu korelaciju između orijentiranosti studenata prema izbjegavanju neizvjesnosti i dimenzija kulturne inteligencije te negativnu korelaciju između orijentiranosti studenata prema muškim vrijednostima i metakognitivne i motivacijske kulturne inteligencije, dok se korelacija s kognitivnom i bihevioralnom kulturnom inteligencijom pokazala statistički neznačajnom. Rezultati ove studije mogu pomoći nastavnicima, istraživačima te kreatorima ekonomskih i socijalnih politika u izgradnji edukacijskih modela koji će pomoći studentima razviti svijest o kulturnim disparitetima. Na osnovi toga pojedinci će moći usmjeriti svoje napore na razvoj i oblikovanje pojedinih mentalnih dimenzija nužnih za uspješnu prilagodbu međunarodnom okruženju.

Ključne riječi: kulturna inteligencija, ambicioznost, neizvjesnost, studenti, ekspatrijati



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Kako bi se održao korak s trendom sve brže globalizacije, imperativ je promptna prilagodba društvenim procesima (Nort-house, 2016). Uspješnost prilagodbe odraz je fleksibilnosti pojedinaca u prihvatanju raznih kultura (Bedeković i Ilijaš Baričević, 2011). Interkulturalna osviještenost zasnovana je na primjeni vlastitih obrazaca ponašanja, kulturne inteligencije (Ang, I. i sur., 2015). Izloženost međunarodnim kulturama kod pojedinaca najčešće se prvi put bilježi u fazi visokoškolskog obrazovanja. Preko studijskih programa razmjene pojedinci najčešće prvi put imaju mogućnost iskusiti dugoročnu izloženost međunarodnim kulturama (Zheng, 2014). Navedeno potvrđuje porast slučajeva međunarodnog obrazovanja sa 2,1 milijun u 2001. na 4,6 milijuna u 2017. godini (Bhandari, 2017). Prethodno spomenuti rast uvelike je rezultat poticanja međunarodnih iskustava od kreatora ekonomskih i društvenih politika. Oni u ovome vide izvrsnu priliku za promicanje socijalne i kulturne raznolikosti zemlje te gospodarske suradnje (Marginson, 2016). U skladu s tim, kreatori državnih politika posebno su osjetljivi kada je riječ o pripremi studenata za interkulturalno iskustvo.

Relacija između karakteristika pojedinaca (Lin i sur., 2012), društva (Engle i Nash, 2015; Caputo i sur., 2019) i razvoja kulturne inteligencije tema je mnogih istraživanja. Međutim, većina studija nailazi na kritike zbog upotrebe agregatnih pokazatelja karakteristika pojedinaca, društva i kulturne inteligencije. Upozoravajući na nedostatak, Engle i Nash (2015) pozivaju na detaljnije istraživanje navedenih odnosa. U ovom radu promatramo povezanost između orijentiranosti studenata prema muškim vrijednostima, odnosno orijentiranosti studenata prema izbjegavanju neizvjesnosti i razine kulturne inteligencije. Međutim, svjesni prethodnih kritika, u radu se fokusiramo na odnose pojedinih dimenzija kulturne inteligencije i kulturne orijentacije pojedinaca. Konkretno, ovim radom ispitujemo kako je orijentiranost studenata prema muškim vrijednostima i izbjegavanju neizvjesnosti povezana s razinom njihove metakognitivne, kognitivne, motivacijske i bihevioralne kulturne inteligencije.

S obzirom na to da promatramo interkulturalno relativno neiskusnu populaciju, ovim istraživanjem usredotočujemo se na početnu fazu razvoja fenomena kulturne inteligencije, što dodatno naglašava važnost ovog rada. Važnost odnosa muško-ženskih vrijednosti te razine izbjegavanja neizvjesnosti među prvima je definirao Geert Hofstede (1980). Njegova istraživanja ističu vrijednost ovih karakteristika prije svega promatrajući karakteristike kulture nacija, a ne pojedinaca. Međutim, nametanjem kolektivnih kulturnih vrijednosti društvo

utječe na konvergenciju individualnih stavova kroz efekt kolektivnoga programiranja uma. Može se reći kako društvene norme zauzimaju važnu ulogu u formiranju pojedinaca te je usvajanje kulturnih karakteristika nacija kao bazičnih karakteristika pojedinaca opravdano.

Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti iskazuje svoj puni potencijal upravo na populaciji međunarodnih studenata. Naime, tijekom svojega boravka u međunarodnom okruženju studenti se susreću s nizom novih kulturnih običaja (za gotovo 90 % ispitanika ovo je prvo značajnije međunarodno iskustvo). Prema istraživanjima Brown i Aktas (2011) i Arkoudis i sur. (2019), prethodno navedeno potencira strah od nepoznatog. Nadalje, studentima koji su skloni izbjegavanju nepredvidljivih situacija susret s nepoznatim kulturnim okruženjem znači izlazak iz njihove zone komfora (Hofstede, 1980). Oni percipiraju kako razvoj dimenzija kulturne inteligencije služi za održavanje njihove zone komfora u međunarodnom okruženju. Istraživanje Lopez-Zafra i sur. (2021) pokazuje kako su, naspram radno aktivne populacije, upravo u populaciji studenata dominantnije muške vrijednosti. Ambiciozni i kompetitivni studenti djelovanje u interkulturnom okruženju smatraju izazovom, a prilagodbu drugim kulturama uspjehom. Naime, oni shvaćaju razvoj dimenzija kulturne inteligencije kao alat nužan za svladavanje izazova u međunarodnom okruženju.

PREGLED LITERATURE

Prilagodba novonastalim globalnim procesima, znanju i resursima imperativ je mnogim institucijama, poput korporacija, neprofitnih organizacija i akademskih ustanova (Spring, 2014). Takeuchi (2010) smatra kako prilagodbu na novoformirane izazove institucije mogu zahvaliti prije svega ekspatriatima. Akademsko nasljeđe ekspatriate u literaturi povezuje isključivo s korporativnim poslovnim procesima. Međutim, Pedersen i sur. (2011) kategoriju ekspatriata proširuju na nove skupine; putnike, međunarodne liječnike, vojno osoblje te internacionalne studente. Navedeno je dovelo do interdisciplinarnosti tematike, a žarište istraživanja proširilo se na psihološki profil ekspatriata i na njihovu integraciju u sociološki profil društva.

U svojim istraživanjima Hofstede se usredotočio prije svega na važnost sociološkoga profila društva. Naime, on smatra kako je heterogenost psiholoških profila pojedinaca ublažena procesom kolektivnoga programiranja uma, koje naziva kulturom. Kultura je sačinjena od vrijednosti, normi, običaja i praksi specifičnih za neko područje. Prilagodba interkulturnom okruženju zahtijeva svladavanja razlika, poput jezika, standarda, načina života, preferencija, kupovne moći i slično.

Kako bi svladali prethodno navedeno, nužna je interkulturalna osviještenost pojedinaca, koju akademska literatura naziva kulturnom inteligencijom (Ang, S. i sur., 2015).

Prijašnja istraživanja pokazuju kako kulturna inteligencija utječe na razvoj vještina interkulturalnoga pregovaranja u rješavanju problema (Engle i sur., 2013), vjerojatnost prihvaćanja posla u stranoj zemlji (Engle i sur., 2012), izvršavanje zadataka (Ang i sur., 2007), povjerenje u timove (Rockstuhl i Ng, 2008) i slično. Premda individualne karakteristike pojedinaca snažno utječu na interkulturalnu prilagodbu, Zheng (2014) pokazuje kako na prilagodbu mlađih generacija pojedinaca snažan utjecaj ima sociološki profil društva i nacionalna kultura. Navedeno se prije svega može vidjeti u kontekstu studenata prilikom njihove međunarodne mobilnosti (Zheng, 2014). Utjecaj nacionalnih kultura na prilagodbu studenata tijekom njihovih internacionalnih studentskih mobilnosti posebno je zanimljivo promatrati kroz dimenzije kultura koje je razvio Hofstede (1980).

Kulturna inteligencija kao mehanizam prilagodbe studenata

Ang i sur. (2007) kulturnu inteligenciju predstavili su kroz četiri dimenzije: metakognitivnu, kognitivnu, motivacijsku i bihevioralnu dimenziju.

Prema Thomasu i sur. (2008), metakognitivna inteligencija jest način kako ljudi stječu i percipiraju znanje, kako uče i spoznaju stvari i okolinu. Dakle, ona podrazumijeva kontrolu nad mentalnim aktivnostima i strategijama koje poboljšavaju učenje (Veenman i Spaans, 2005). Prema istraživanju Veenman i Spaans (2005), studenti s razvijenijom metakognitivnom inteligencijom svjesniji su problema koje nosi prilagodba na novu kulturu i lokalno stanovništvo. Metakognitivnu inteligenciju povezuju sa studentima koji su otvoreniji i koji će se prilikom razgovora s drugim studentima prilagoditi njihovoj kulturi i načinu razmišljanja (Ng, 2013; Duff i sur., 2012).

Kognitivna inteligencija reflektira umijeće o praksama, standardima, normama i sporazumima drugih kultura postignutim obrazovanjem i osobnim iskustvima (Flavell, 1979). Kognitivna inteligencija, prema Angu i sur. (2007), može se opisati kao poznavanje ekonomskoga, socijalnoga i pravnoga sustava neke zemlje ili druge kulture. Naime, učenje jezika kulture u koju student dolazi pozitivno utječe na kognitivnu inteligenciju. Studenti su skloni primjeni naučenoga jezika kao alata za interkulturalnu prilagodbu.

Motivacijska inteligencija predstavlja razinu i smjer energije koji je iskorišten za učenje o tome kako se snalaziti u nesvakodnevним situacijama (Molinsky, 2007). Osobe koje sumnjaju u svoju efikasnost i osjećaju manjak samoeфикаsnosti bit će nesigurne u komunikaciji s ljudima iz raznih zemalja. Na-

vedene će osobe vrlo vjerojatno imati manjak motivacije nakon samo nekoliko neuspjeha (Gregory i sur., 2013). Prema Pengu i sur. (2014), studenti s visokom početnom motivacijskom inteligencijom postižu veći rast psihološkoga blagostanja. Nadalje, lakše se prilagođavaju interkulturalnim okruženjima i vještiji su uz učenje stvoriti osjećaj pripadnosti. Niska razina motivacijske inteligencije najčešće dovodi do neodlaska na međunarodni zadatak i konačnu odluku o neodlasku na školovanje u inozemstvo.

Konačno, bihevioralna inteligencija zapravo je sposobnost prilagodbe i razumijevanje fizičkoga ponašanja tijekom interkulturalnih interakcija (Ng, 2013). Dakle, bihevioralna inteligencija definirana je kao individualna sposobnost prikazivanja primjerenih verbalnih i neverbalnih djelovanja u kulturno raznolikim interakcijama (Lin i sur., 2012). Uz odgovarajuće interakcije – riječima, tonom, gestama, izrazom lica i govorom tijela – studenti lakše razvijaju kolegijalne odnose.

Dominantnost muških vrijednosti i izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti kao odrednice studentske prilagodbe

Hofstede (1980) prepoznaje izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti kao jednu od ključnih dimenzija nacionalnih kultura. Ovom dimenzijom Hofstede ocjenjuje stupanj sklonosti pripadnika određenih kultura osjećaju nelagode, neizvjesnosti ili nesvakidašnjim situacijama. Prethodno navedeno tema jest istraživanja i Durontoa i sur. (2005). Naime, prema njihovom istraživanju, studenti iz kultura obilježenih visokim stupnjem izbjegavanja neizvjesnosti nisu skloni susretima i komunikaciji sa strancima. Contiua i sur. (2012) dodaju kako studenti koji nisu skloni riziku zaobilaze druženja i načine kako upoznati kulturu i navike lokalnoga stanovništva. Nadalje, studenti iz kulture visokoga stupnja izbjegavanja neizvjesnosti bojat će se na predavanjima postavljati previše pitanja, poštujući sve odgovore profesora (Atkins, 2000). Suprotno njima, u kulturama niskoga stupnja izbjegavanja neizvjesnosti formirani su studenti koji dolaze da upoznaju navike, hranu i općenito lokalno stanovništvo. Takvi studenti samoinicijativno stupaju u komunikaciju i kontakte kako bi prilagodili ponašanje zemlji u koju su došli (Mendenhall i Wiley, 1994). Međutim, suprotno spomenutoj argumentaciji, izloženost neizvjesnosti interkulturalnog okruženja moglo bi rezultirati stresom i strahom. Prethodno navedeno moglo bi se negativno odraziti i na razvoj kulturne inteligencije. Stoga veliku važnost u ovom procesu imaju vrijeme i pripremljenost za međunarodno iskustvo.

Razliku preferencija između skromnosti, nježnosti te ambicioznosti i orijentacije uspjehu i dostignućima Hofstede je (2001) oblikovao kroz dimenziju maskuliniteta i feminiteta.

Prema njemu, orijentiranost prema muškim vrijednostima pretpostavlja asertivnost, dominantnost, kompetitivnost, želju za materijalnim uspjehom, izvrsnost, postavljanje standarda. Sve što je ispod toga standarda doživljavaju kao neuspjeh. S druge strane, feminitet podrazumijeva jednakost socijalnih uloga muškaraca i žena. Feminitet pretpostavlja kako bi i muškarci i žene interese trebali pronalaziti u želji za izgradnjom svoje emotivne komponente. Upravo ta emotivna komponenta trebala bi biti vodilja kod odabira studija koji će pohađati. Yoo i sur. (2011) iskoristili su Hofstedeovo istraživanje i razvili svoje tvrdnje koje predstavljaju dimenziju maskuliniteta-feminiteta. Njihov cilj bio je prenijeti točne ideje koje je Hofstede naglašavao u svojem istraživanju. Međutim, umjesto naglaska na izučavanje kulture nacija, fokus njihova istraživanja bio je na kulturnoj orijentaciji pojedinaca. U skladu s njihovim istraživanjem, pojedince koji su orijentirani muškim vrijednostima karakterizira težnja izvrsnosti, isticanju, postavljanju standarda. Smatraju kako moraju uložiti napore u svladavanju praksi i običaja te moraju akumulirati znanja.

RAZVOJ HIPOTEZA

Studenti orijentirani muškim vrijednostima smatraju kako bi njihove odluke trebale biti rezultat analize činjenica te realnih i racionalnih očekivanja. U svojem istraživanju lingvističke teorije relevantnosti, Schulz (2003) pokazuje kako su radnje pojedinaca rezultat analize percepcija činjenica, realnosti, racionalnosti, ako je u pojedinaca razvijena metakognitivna inteligencija te ako posjeduju značajne kognitivne kapacitete. Studenti s razvijenijom metakognitivnom inteligencijom svjesni su problema koje u realnosti nosi prilagodba na novu kulturu i lokalno stanovništvo (Veenman i Spaans, 2005). S druge strane, studenti orijentirani prema ženskim vrijednostima smatraju kako bi odluke o radnjama trebali donositi na temelju intuicije, neovisno o racionalnosti situacije (Yoo i sur., 2011).

Studenti orijentirani na muške vrijednosti smatraju kako će kroz fokus na usvajanje i akumulaciju praksi, standarda i norma drugih kultura, u svrhu akomodacije na novu okolinu, dokazati svoju superiornost. Akumulacija novoga znanja (rast kognitivne inteligencije) usko je povezana s postojećim znanjem pojedinaca. Rast kognitivnih kapaciteta omogućuje ljudima prilagođavanje na lokalne uvjete (Boyd i sur., 2011).

Motivacijska kulturna inteligencija studenata predstavlja razinu energije koja je iskorištena u nesvakodnevним situacijama prilikom upoznavanja drugih kultura (Molinsky, 2007). Internacionalni studenti, orijentirani prema dominantno muškim vrijednostima, smatraju kako je nužna reprezentativna izvedba zadatka. Naime, njih zabrinjava kako bi domaći stu-

denti mogli procijeniti njihove vještine u usporedbi s drugim kolegama. Stoga oni smatraju važnim ulaganje velike energije u nastojanje da steknu superiornost u smislu svojih ocjena, nagrada ili povlađivanja od profesora (Salili i sur., 2001). Postavljanje izazovnih ciljeva evidentno je u energičnih pojedina, odnosno oni su spremni svu svoju energiju usmjeriti prema dobrom ishodu (Wu i Ang, 2011). Studenti orijentirani muškim vrijednostima veliku važnost pridaju uspoređivanju s drugim studentima. Stoga propitkuju svoje sposobnosti i samoeфикаsnost, odnosno sposobnosti vršenja kontrole nad događajima koji utječu na njihov život. U svojem istraživanju Gist i Mitchell (1992) pokazuju kako percepcija više razine samoeфикаsnosti dovodi do višega povjerenja u zadatke, što rezultira rastom motivacije. Snažnu korelaciju između uspješne, odnosno optimalne učinkovitosti i motiviranosti u interkulturalnom okruženju potvrdili su i Scholtz i sur. (2012).

Barrick i sur. (2002) dominantnost muških vrijednosti vide u ekstrovertiranosti, društvenosti, samopouzdanju, razgovorljivosti itd. Bihevioralna inteligencija znači sposobnost prilagodbe vlastita fizičkoga ponašanja u određenim situacijama prilikom interkulturalne interakcije (Ang i sur., 2007). Ekstroverti uživaju u interakciji s drugim osobama. Njihova ekspresivnost omogućuje varijaciju ponašanja (Ang i sur., 2006). Navedena vještina varijacije ključan je element međukulturalne prilagodbe ponašanja. Ovo se odnosi prije svega na razvoj novih verbalnih modela izražavanja i govora tijela (eng. *body language*) te na usvajanje suptilnih kulturalnih signala nužnih za prilagodbu u komunikacijskom procesu (Ang i Van Dyne, 2008). Zbog navedenoga razvijene su sljedeće hipoteze:

H1: Orijentiranost studenata prema muškim vrijednostima pozitivno korelira s odrednicama kulturalne inteligencije

- H1a: Orijentiranost studenata prema muškim vrijednostima pozitivno korelira s razinom metakognitivne kulturalne inteligencije.
- H1b: Orijentiranost studenata prema muškim vrijednostima pozitivno korelira s razinom kognitivne kulturalne inteligencije.
- H1c: Orijentiranost studenata prema muškim vrijednostima pozitivno korelira s razinom motivacijske kulturalne inteligencije.
- H1d: Orijentiranost studenata prema muškim vrijednostima pozitivno korelira s razinom bihevioralne kulturalne inteligencije.

Neizvjesnost je jedna od temeljnih obilježja interkulturalnog okruženja. Peng i sur. (2015) pokazuju kako je temeljni instrument za uspješno nošenje s neizvjesnosti koja ih očekuje

u interkulturalnom okruženju kulturna inteligencija. Prijašnja literatura daje naslutiti kako je kulturna inteligencija razvijena upravo kroz izloženost pojedinaca interkulturalnom okruženju. Naime, njihova teza polazi od očekivanja kako će izloženost neizvjesnom interkulturalnom okruženju pogodovati brznoj prilagodbi i razvoju njihove kulturne inteligencije. S druge strane, izbjegavanjem izlaganja neizvjesnom interkulturalnom okruženju pojedinac se neće naći u prilici da se mora brzo adaptirati, stoga neće imati priliku za razvoj kulturne inteligencije.

Međutim, razvoj ove hipoteze pokazuje kako je stanje upravo suprotno. Naime, izloženost neizvjesnom interkulturalnom okruženju moglo bi rezultirati stresom i strahom (Winkelman, 1994). Stres, odnosno strah od novoga, mogao bi se negativno odraziti na razvoj kulturne inteligencije. Kulturni šok stvara se prije svega zbog manjka prijašnjeg iskustva u interkulturalnom okruženju (Caligiuri i sur., 2009; Mol i sur., 2005; Takeuchi i sur., 2005; Tarique i Takeuchi, 2008). Manjak prijašnjeg iskustva očit je prije svega na studentima, što ih čini vrlo zanimljivom skupinom za promatranje. Okpara i Kabongo (2011) pokazuju kako gotovo 80 % međunarodnih zadataka, zbog loše kulturne prilagodbe, završava preuranjenim vraćanjem u domicilnu zemlju.

Promjena od automatiziranih i nesvjesnih procesa funkcioniranja do svjesnoga napora potrebnog za razumijevanje svih ovih novih informacija vrlo je zamorna i rezultira mentalnim i emocionalnim umorom. Kroz neizvjesnost i kulturni šok postojeći automatizirani i nesvjesni procesi, metakognitivni procesi, gube značenje. Kako bi izbjegli sve ove situacije koje bi mogle rezultirati kulturnim šokom i neuspješnim inozemnim zadacima, studenti se odupiru neizvjesnosti te pristupaju razvoju kulturno prikladnih vještina kroz programe priprema (Littrell i sur., 2006; Palthe, 2004; Puck i sur., 2008; Waxin i Panaccio, 2005).

Neizvjesnost i kulturni šok izazvan boravkom u interkulturalnom okruženju glavni je generator kognitivnog umora, a time i smanjenja kognitivne inteligencije. Navedeno proizlazi iz "preopterećenosti informacijama" (Guthrie, 1975). Nova kultura zahtijeva svjestan napor da se razumiju stvari koje se nesvjesno obrađuju u vlastitoj kulturi. Winkelman (1994) pokazuje kako se moraju uložiti naponi u učenje i tumačenje novih jezičnih značenja i novih neverbalnih, bihevioralnih, kontekstualnih i društvenih komunikacija. Li i sur. (2010) upozoravaju na kulturni šok kao generator akademskoga neuspjeha međunarodnih studenata. Izbjegavanjem neizvjesnosti studenti upućuju na važnost strateškoga planiranja za susret s raznim situacijama koje ih očekuju tijekom njihova interkulturalnog iskustva.

Prema Winkelmanu (1994), prva faza međunarodnog iskustva (tzv. "honeymoon or tourist" faza) obilježena je euforijom, uzbuđenjem, idealizacijom kulture. Međutim, nakon završetka te faze intenziviraju se negativni elementi kulturnoga šoka. Naime, opterećenost pojedinaca ide do te razine da dovodi u neizvjesnost temeljne životne potrebe, poput prehrane, spavanja itd. Takva neizvjesnost i manjak kontrole nad okolinom može stvoriti razočaranost, frustriranost, nestrpljivost, depresiju, osjećaj bespomoćnosti, čak i fizičku i psihičku bolest. U konačnici navedeno dovodi do gubitka motivacije. Psihološke pripreme usmjerene su na formiranje stava i želje za promjenom. Pozitivan stav prema svladavanju kulturnih razlika jedan je od ključnih elemenata kako bi se pripremilo pojedinca na potencijalno odbijanje, predrasude i diskriminacije.

Morris i Robie (2001) upozoravaju na važnost interkulturalnih treninga za razvoj bihevioralnih kompetencija. Naime, neizvjesnost može dovesti do povlačenja u sebe, ovisno o duljini izloženosti nepoznatom okruženju i gubitku postojećih bihevioralnih vještina. Treninzi će ublažiti potencijalna nerazumijevanja te osigurati prikladno ponašanje u stvarnim situacijama. Oni upozoravaju i na važnost bihevioralne fleksibilnosti, kako bi interkulturalni trening postigao uspjeh. Zbog navedenoga razvijene su sljedeće hipoteze:

H2: Razina izbjegavanja neizvjesnosti u studenata pozitivno korelira s odrednicama kulturne inteligencije

- H2a: Razina izbjegavanja neizvjesnosti u studenata pozitivno korelira s metakognitivnom kulturnom inteligencijom.
- H2b: Razina izbjegavanja neizvjesnosti u studenata pozitivno korelira s kognitivnom kulturnom inteligencijom.
- H2c: Razina izbjegavanja neizvjesnosti u studenata pozitivno korelira s motivacijskom kulturnom inteligencijom.
- H2d: Razina izbjegavanja neizvjesnosti u studenata pozitivno korelira s bihevioralnom kulturnom inteligencijom.

METODOLOGIJA

Uzorak

Ovim istraživanjem pokušali smo ispitati razinu kulturne inteligencije pojedinca. Kao populaciju ispitivanja odabrali smo studente. Studente smo odabrali zato što su oni još uvijek u fazi mentalnoga i kognitivnoga sazrijevanja. Kako bismo prikupili podatke, razvili smo standardizirani upitnik (upitnik je na engleskom jeziku), a prikupljanje smo proveli "on-

● TABLICA 1
Demografski podaci
uzorka

line", upotrebom "Google obrazaca". (Detalji demografskih podataka uzorka mogu se pronaći u Tablici 1.) Upitnik smo razvili nakon opsežnoga pregleda literature o studentima na inozemnom školovanju, kulturnoj inteligenciji i odrednicama kulture. Zahtjeve za sudjelovanje u anketi podnijeli smo putem ERASMUS studentske mreže, koja djeluje u Zagrebu i koja okuplja dolazne studente. Prema službenim podacima Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, ukupan broj prijavljenih ERASMUS studenata (dolazna mobilnost) iznosio je 818, međutim 86 studenata otkazalo je dolazak, pa je službeni broj studenata iznosio 732. Pristranost u odgovorima ublažili smo osiguravanjem da su ankete provedene anonimno i u tajnosti. Prikupili smo 146 odgovora, što predstavlja 19,9 % populacije koja je, prema Yang i sur. (2008), dovoljna za nastavak istraživanja.

Spol	Broj	Dob (godina)	Broj	Razina dohotka kućanstva	Broj
Muškarci	66 (45 %)	18	1 (0,68 %)	Visoki dohodak	10 (8 %)
Žene	80 (55 %)	19	12 (8,21 %)	Visoki-srednji	82 (56 %)
		20	33 (22,60 %)	Niski-srednji	40 (27 %)
		21	27 (18,49 %)	Nizak dohodak	14 (9 %)
		22	18 (12,32 %)		
		23	26 (17,81 %)	Broj međunarodnih razmjena	Broj
		24	20 (13,70 %)	1	119 (82 %)
		25	8 (5,47 %)	2	19 (13 %)
		26	1 (0,68 %)	3 i više	8 (5 %)

*Napomena: Razina dohotka temeljila se na subjektivnoj procjeni ispitanika.

Operacionalizacija konstrukata

U ispitivanom modelu nezavisne varijable prikazuju kulturne karakteristike pojedinaca. Izmjerali smo ih upitnikom koji su razvili Yoo i sur. (2011), a koji je adaptacija izvornog upitnika Geerta Hofstede (1980). Yoo i sur. (2011) oblikovali su upitnik da bude prikladan za mjerenje pet dimenzija kulture, ali na razini individualaca. Varijabla dominantnost muških vrijednosti (eng. *masculinity*) opisuje orijentiranosti uspjehu i dostignućima, izvrsnosti, težnji logičkim i racionalnim odlukama, postavljanju standarda. Varijabla izbjegavanja neizvjesnosti (eng. *uncertainty avoidance*) opisuje razinu do koje su studenti spremni, odnosno nisu spremni, prihvatiti neizvjesnost okoline. Kao skala za procjenu tvrdnji rabljena je Likertova skala s vrijednostima od 1 (uopće se ne slažem) do 5 (u potpunosti se slažem). Zavisne varijable predstavljaju dimenzije kulturne inteligencije. Dimenzije smo izmjerili upitnikom koji su razvili Ang i sur. (2007). Navedeni upitnik uključuje četiri dimenzije kulturne inteligencije: metakognitivnu, kognitivnu, motivacijsku i bihevioralnu. Likertova skala s vrijednostima od 1 (uopće se ne slažem) do 7 (u potpunosti se sla-

žem) rabljena je kao skala za procjenu tvrdnji. (Popis svih tvrdnji na engleskom jeziku može se pronaći u Dodatku na kraju rada.) Prethodne studije iz menadžmenta (npr. Ang i sur., 2006.; Li i sur., 2016), kao i na drugim poljima znanosti (Herrmann i sur., 2007), pronašle su kontrastne rezultate o učinku spola i razine dohotka u interkulturnoj prilagodbi. Stoga smo spol i razinu dohotka uzeli kao kontrolne varijable. Razine dohotka kućanstava podijeljene su u četiri kategorije: "Visoki dohodak", "Visoki-srednji dohodak", "Niski-srednji dohodak", "Niski dohodak" (utemeljene su na subjektivnoj procjeni ispitanika). Na kraju rada mogu se pronaći sve tvrdnje/čestice koje su upotrijebljene za mjerenje dimenzija dominantnosti muških vrijednosti i izbjegavanja neizvjesnosti, kao i sve tvrdnje/čestice dimenzija kulturne inteligencije.

Procedura procjene efekata

Statističku analizu proveli smo tzv. metodom parcijalnih najmanjih kvadrata (PLS-SEM) (Hair i sur., 2017). PLS algoritmi temeljeni na varijanci prikladni su zbog maloga broja promatranja i zato što ne zahtijevaju multivarijantnu normalnost (Zhou i sur., 2012). Nadalje, ovu metodu multivarijatnoga modeliranja znanstvena literatura često rabi za testiranje odnosa između više zavisnih i nezavisnih varijabli te za studije u ranim fazama njihova teorijskog razvoja, koristeći se prethodno validiranim skalama (Hernández-Perlines i sur., 2016). Potvrdu statističke značajnosti koeficijenata u modelu osigurali smo bootstrap metodom (5000 poduzoraka) (Henseler i sur., 2009.; Hernández-Perlines i sur., 2016). Kako bismo kontrolirali učinak spola i razine dohotka u interkulturnoj prilagodbi koristili smo PLS-MGA (Multigroup Analysis). (U Dodatku 2 priložili smo rezultate analize dobivene *ordinary least squares* (OLS) regresijom – navedena analiza potvrđuje rezultate dobivene PLS-SEM metodologijom.)

Rezultati empirijskog istraživanja

Analiza mjernih instrumenata

Karakteristike promatranih konstrukata predstavili smo u Tablici 2. Ova tablica sadrži pokazatelje za procjenu konzistentnosti i pouzdanost mjernih instrumenata. Unidimenzionalnost konstrukata i visoku unutarnju konzistentnost predstavili smo razinama Cronbach-alfe. Prema Klineu (2011), vrijednosti iznad 0,7 predstavljaju zadovoljavajuće razine. Nadalje, unidimenzionalnost i visoku unutarnju konzistentnost dodatno smo potvrdili pokazateljem kompozitne pouzdanosti. Pokazatelj je za sve konstrukte bio iznad 0,8 i ispod 0,95, što je prihvatljivo prema Nunnally i Bernstein (1994). Konvergencijsku valjanost svih konstrukata prikazali smo kroz udio objašnjene varijabilnosti (AVE). Prema Hair i sur. (2010), pre-

● TABLICA 2
Valjanost i pouzdanost konstrukata; Diskriminantna valjanost

poručene su vrijednosti iznad 0,5, što ovaj model istraživanja zadovoljava. Pokazatelj diskriminantne valjanosti modela također se temelji na pokazatelju AVE. Prema Fornellu i Larckeru (1981), korelacije između svakoga para latentnih konstrukata ne smiju premašiti kvadratni korijen AVE svakoga konstrukta, što ovaj model zadovoljava.

	Cronbach-alpha	Kompozitna pouzdanost (CR)	Udio objašnjene varijabilnosti (Average variance extracted, AVE)	Korelacije					
				1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Dominantnost muških vrijednosti	0,796	0,863	0,614	0,784					
2 Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti	0,813	0,870	0,574	-0,092	0,758				
3 Metakognitivna inteligencija	0,894	0,926	0,759	-0,235	0,360	0,870			
4 Kognitivna inteligencija	0,850	0,887	0,613	-0,047	0,266	0,469	0,783		
5 Motivacijska inteligencija	0,892	0,920	0,698	-0,243	0,273	0,619	0,354	0,835	
6 Bihevioralna inteligencija	0,859	0,899	0,641	-0,116	0,338	0,524	0,382	0,461	0,800

rho_A – koeficijent Interne konzistentnosti

Analiza strukturnoga modela

Analiza strukturnoga modela oslanja se na procjenu statističke značajnosti strukturnih koeficijenata koje smo predstavili u PLS modelu. Strukturni koeficijenti odgovaraju vrijednostima β u regresiji metode najmanjih kvadrata (Henseler i sur., 2009), ali smo umjesto toga rabili bootstrapping metodu (5000 poduzoraka) (Hernández-Perlines i sur., 2016).

● TABLICA 3
Analiza strukturnoga modela

	Originalni uzorak (O)	Aritmetička sredina (M)	Standardna devijacija (SD)	T Statistika (O/STDEV)	P-vrijednost
Dominantnost muških vrijednosti ->					
-> Metakognitivna inteligencija	-0,203	-0,221	0,074	2,749	0,006
Dominantnost muških vrijednosti ->					
-> Kognitivna inteligencija	-0,023	-0,035	0,089	0,255	0,798
Dominantnost muških vrijednosti ->					
-> Motivacijska inteligencija	-0,220	-0,242	0,072	3,055	0,002
Dominantnost muških vrijednosti ->					
-> Bihevioralna inteligencija	-0,085	-0,101	0,086	0,985	0,325
Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti ->					
-> Metakognitivna inteligencija	0,341	0,347	0,102	3,340	0,001
Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti ->					
-> Kognitivna inteligencija	0,264	0,283	0,085	3,111	0,002
Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti ->					
-> Motivacijska inteligencija	0,253	0,254	0,120	2,096	0,036
Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti ->					
-> Bihevioralna inteligencija	0,331	0,344	0,0741	4,448	0,000

Ovaj model pokazuje kako sklonost izbjegavanju neizvjesnosti pozitivno (statistički značajno) korelira sa svakom dimenzijom kulturne inteligencije (za detalje pogledati Tablicu 3). Nadalje, modelom smo pokazali kako dominantnost muških vrijednosti negativno korelira s metakognitivnom i motivacijskom kulturnom inteligencijom. Korelacije s bihevioralnom i kognitivnom kulturnom inteligencijom statistički su neznčajne (za detalje pogledati Tablicu 3). Konačno, kontrolirajući spol ispitanika i razinu dohotka, podijelili smo uzorak na dva poduzorka (muškarci/žene) te na četiri poduzorka ("Visoki", "Visoki-srednji", "Niski-srednji" i "Niski" dohodak). Metoda PLS-MGA pokazuje kako nema dovoljno dokaza koji dokazuju da navedene korelacije ovise o spolu, odnosno o razini dohotka (Dodatak 3).

RASPRAVA

Dobiveni rezultati nisu u skladu s pretpostavkama razvijenim u prvoj hipotezi. Orijentacija studenata prema muškim vrijednostima negativno je korelirana s metakognitivnom i motivacijskom dimenzijom kulturne inteligencije.

Naime, studenti smatraju kako je pozitivan utjecaj na motivaciju studenata, koji proizlazi iz njihove ustrajnosti i želje za uspjehom (Duckworth, 2016; Brunstein, 2008), nadjačan negativnim efektom drugih karakteristika muških vrijednosti. Procjenjivanjem svojih mogućnosti u okolini u kojoj se nalaze, donošenje racionalnih odluka može dovesti do svjesnoga smanjenja napora uloženog u prilagođavanje stranim kulturama. Navedeni fenomen u svojim istraživanjima izgradili su Rabideau (2005), Thompson i sur. (1995), Harackiewicz i sur. (1997) u okviru teorije vlastite vrijednosti (eng. *self-worth theory*). Student kroz racionalno procjenjivanje svoje samoeфикаsnosti (muška vrijednost) može naslutiti kako potencijalni kulturni šok može rezultirati neuspjehom, što će utjecati na svjesno umanjenje njegove motivacije. Dakle, smanjenje motivacije u izvršavanju zadataka može se pripisati namjernom izostanku napora, motivacije, a ne manjkom ambicija (Thompson i sur., 1995). Dakle, u studenta mogu dominirati muške vrijednosti, poput orijentiranosti uspjehu i dosezanju izvrsnih rezultata, međutim, ambiciozne studente krasi i karakteristika donošenja logičkih i racionalnih odluka o povlačenju kako ne bi naštetili svojem samopoštovanju (Thompson i sur., 1995).

Svjestan svojih ograničenih mogućnosti za uspješno obavljanje zadataka, uskraćivanjem uloženoga napora, student ne razvija sposobnost strateškoga planiranja za susret s inozemnim kulturama. Na taj način onemogućuje razvoj metakognitivne inteligencije. Korelacija između dominantnosti muških vrijednosti u studenata i njihove kognitivne i bihevioralne kulturne inteligencije nije statistički značajna.

Dobiveni rezultati u skladu su s pretpostavkama razvijenim u drugoj hipotezi. Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti, odnosno nepoznate okoline pozitivno je korelirano sa svim dimenzijama kulturne inteligencije.

Sposobnosti planiranja, ocjenjivanja i strateškoga pristupanja zadacima u međukulturnim sredinama, prema Cui (2016), predstavlja razinu razvijenosti metakognitivne kulturne inteligencije. Promjena od normalnoga automatskog i nesvjesnog funkcioniranja unutar vlastite kulture do svjesnoga napora i pažnje potrebne za razumijevanje novih informacija zamorna je i rezultira mentalnim i emocionalnim umorom. Stoga se ovim radom pokazuje kako izbjegavanjem neizvjesnosti pojedinci neskloni riziku pristupaju planiranju i izradbi strategija nastupa u nepoznatom okruženju. Navedeno se najčešće odvija kroz kulturne treninge, koji im pomažu da iskoriste postojeće kognitivne sheme za usvajanje novih kulturnih normi i običaja.

Nadalje, izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti u studenata pozitivno je korelirano s bihevioralnom kulturnom inteligencijom, čime ovi nalazi potvrđuju istraživanje Gentryja (2017) i Winkelmana (1994). Neizvjesnost te kulturni dispariteti u okolini zahtijevaju eksplicitnu i jasnu komunikaciju između pojednaca. Kako bi se uklonio strah od nepoznavanja "skrivenih" verbalnih (intonacija) i fizičkih mimika (poput izraza lica), nužan je razvoj bihevioralne inteligencije. Naime, Winkelman je (1994) dokazao kako se moraju uložiti naponi u tumačenje novih jezičnih značenja i novih neverbalnih, bihevioralnih, kontekstualnih i društvenih komunikacija.

Osim važnosti bihevioralne fleksibilnosti, značajnu ulogu u prilagodbi na interkulturnu okolinu ostavlja i kognitivna fleksibilnost. Prema istraživanju Guthrie (1975), neizvjesnost i kulturni šok izazvan boravkom u interkulturnom okruženju glavni je generator kognitivnog umora. Navedeno je rezultat preopterećenosti informacijama. Kako bi izbjegli sve ove situacije koje bi mogle rezultirati kulturnim šokom i neuspješnim inozemnim zadacima, razvoju kulturno prikladnih vještina pristupa se raznim programima priprema (Littrell i sur., 2006; Palthe, 2004; Puck i sur., 2008; Waxin i Panaccio, 2005). Morris i Robie (2001) pokazuju važnost interkulturnih treninga za razvoj kognitivnih i bihevioralnih kompetencija, koje će ublažiti potencijalna nerazumijevanja te osigurati prikladno ponašanje u stvarnim situacijama.

Konačno, rezultati ovog rada pokazuju kako je izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti pozitivno korelirano s razinom motivacijske inteligencije u studenata. Navedenim se potvrđuju nalazi istraživanja Engle i Nash (2015). Izloženost interkulturnom okruženju studenata, koji su nesvjesni okoline i neizvjesnosti u koju se upuštaju, mogla bi rezultirati stresom i strahom, kul-

turnim šokom. Naime, Mori (2000) te Sherry i sur. (2010) u svojim su se istraživanjima posvetili utjecaju kulturnoga šoka na mentalno zdravlje inozemnih studenata. Prema zaključcima njihova istraživanja, boravak u interkulturalnom društvu vodi prema povećanom riziku od kulturnoga šoka, koji bi mogao rezultirati stresom i sukobima. Li i sur. (2010) upozoravaju na kulturni šok kao generator akademskoga neuspjeha međunarodnih studenata. Motiviranost studenata temelji se na osobnom interesu i ocjeni samoeфикаsnosti. Potencijalni strah od neuspjeha i stres u studenata mogao bi rezultirati smanjenjem uložene energije i pozornosti u svladavanju interkulturalnih zapreka. Kako bi se pripremili i minimizirali neočekivane situacije, studenti se odlučuju na razne psihološke pripreme usmjerene na formiranje stava i želje za promjenom. Pozitivan stav prema svladavanju kulturnih razlika jedan je od ključnih elemenata kako bi se pripremio pojedinca za potencijalno odbijanje, predrasude, diskriminacije koje bi ga mogle dočekati.

ZAKLJUČAK

Međunarodno iskustvo pozitivno utječe na usvajanje običaja drugih kultura. Međutim, pripremljenost pojedinca na taj susret osigurava uspješnost usvajanja običaja drugih kultura. Manjak internacionalnog iskustva čini studente vrlo zanimljivom skupinom za promatranje. Razdoblje studiranja, u većini slučajeva, omogućuje prve dugoročne boravke u interkulturalnom okruženju. Brza i uspješna prilagodba na novo interkulturalno okruženje važna je kako bi studenti što prije nastavili sa svojim akademskim aktivnostima.

Ovim istraživanjem upozorava se na važnost izbjegavanja neizvjesnosti koja studente očekuje u međunarodnoj okolini. Upozorava se i na ozbiljnost fenomena kulturnoga šoka odnosno stresa i straha koji on izaziva. Strah od razlika u kulturnim okruženjima može stvoriti psihološki stres (Grove i Torbiörn, 1985), koji se može prevladati akumulacijom iskustva (Hilmersson i Jansson, 2012.). Dakle, kulturni treninzi temelji su za razvijanje kulturne inteligencije (Tay i sur., 2008). Bez treninga koji bi trebali prethoditi međunarodnim zadacima valja očekivati slabiju integraciju u nepoznato kulturno okruženje, pa rezultat međunarodnih zadataka može biti kontraproduktivan. Nepripremljenost na neizvjesnu okolinu može izazvati revolt i rezultirati kulturnom zatvorenošću. Rezultati također pokazuju neočekivane nalaze povezanosti dominantnosti muških vrijednosti na kulturnu inteligenciju (negativnu korelaciju).

Važno je napomenuti kako će kroz svoje međunarodno iskustvo student pomoći u izgradnji slike koju inozemstvo ima o njegovoj naciji. Dakle, pojedinac će sudjelovati u kre-

ranju socijalne i ekonomske prepoznatljivosti svoje države. U skladu s tim, kreatori državnih politika moraju biti posebno osjetljivi kada je riječ o pripremama studenata na interkulturalno iskustvo. Negativan rezultat interkulturalnih iskustava predstavlja teret za državu, s obzirom na to da ona kroz sufinanciranje snosi znatne troškove međunarodnih studentskih razmjena. Dakle, država bi se kroz organizaciju raznih programa kulturnih treninga u suradnji s visokoškolskim institucijama trebala više uključiti u poticanje međunarodnih iskustava studenata.

Promatranjem individualnih dimenzija višedimenzionalnoga fenomena kulturne inteligencije ovo je istraživanje odgovor na poziv Engle i Nash (2015) za detaljnijim pregledom ovoga višedimenzionalnog agregatnog konstrukta. Nadalje, rabeći CVSCALE obrazac (Yoo i sur., 2011), ovo istraživanje dopunjuje istraživanja koja promatraju kulturne različitosti kroz prizmu pojedinaca. Najvažniji nedostatak ovog istraživanja jest statičnost istraživanih koncepata. Naime, istraživanju nedostaje vremenska komponenta. Nedostatak vremenske komponente u podacima onemogućio nam je promatranje razvoja kulturne inteligencije, nego se sveo samo na praćenje trenutačnoga stanja kod studenata. Nadalje, ograničenost u pogledu veličine uzorka onemogućuje nam usporedbu na razini pojedinih nacija. Navedeno bi nam pomoglo da ocijenimo primjenjivost CVSCALE-upitnika, osim za mjerenje kulturne orijentacije pojedinaca, tako i za mjerenje kulturne orijentacije nacija. Tako bismo mogli usporediti upitnik što su ga razvili Hofstede i CVSCALE.

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DODATAK 1

Popis tvrdnji kojima su se ispitivale dimenzije kulturne inteligencije te dominantnost muških vrijednosti i izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti

Cultural intelligence Questionnaire items

Metacognitive CQ

I am conscious of the cultural knowledge I use when interacting with people with different cultural backgrounds
I adjust my cultural knowledge as I interact with people from a culture that is unfamiliar to me

I am conscious of the cultural knowledge I apply to cross-cultural interactions

I check the accuracy of my cultural knowledge as I interact with people from different cultures

Cognitive CQ

I know the legal and economic systems of other cultures

I know the rules (e.g., vocabulary, grammar) of other languages

I know the cultural values and religious beliefs of other cultures

I know the marriage systems of other cultures

I know the arts and crafts of other cultures

I know the rules for expressing nonverbal behaviors in other cultures

Motivational CQ

I enjoy interacting with people from different cultures

I am confident that I can socialize with locals in a culture that is unfamiliar to me

I am sure I can deal with the stresses of adjusting to a culture that is new to me

I enjoy living in cultures that are unfamiliar to me

I am confident that I can get accustomed to the shopping conditions in a different culture

Behavioral CQ

I change my verbal behavior (e.g., accent, tone) when a cross-cultural interaction requires it

I use pause and silence differently to suit different cross-cultural situations

I vary the rate of my speaking when a cross-cultural situation requires it

I change my nonverbal behavior when a cross-cultural situation requires it

I alter my facial expressions when a cross-cultural interaction requires it

CVSCALE Questionnaire items

Masculinity

It is more important for men to have a professional career than it is for women

Men usually solve problems with logical analysis; women usually solve problems with intuition

Solving difficult problems usually requires an active, forcible approach, which is typical of men

There are some jobs that a man can always do better than a woman

Uncertainty avoidance
It is important to have instructions spelled out in detail so
that I always know what I'm expected to do
It is important to closely follow instructions and procedures
Rules and regulations are important because they inform me
of what is expected of me
Standardized work procedures are helpful
Instructions for operations are important

DODATAK 2

↪ Matrica korelacija

Matrica korelacija i rezultati OLS regresije

	Aritmetička sredina ne- centrirane vrijednosti (M)	Standardna devijacija	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Dominantnost muških vrijednosti	5,213	0,91697312	1	-0,120	-0,254**	-0,031	-0,229**	-0,099	0,095	0,434**
2 Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti	3,846	0,910599	-0,120	1	0,357**	0,212*	0,239**	0,336**	-0,122	-0,201*
3 Metakognitivna inteligencija	5,213	0,957019	-0,254**	0,357**	1	0,435**	0,599**	0,503**	0,038	-0,073
4 Kognitivna inteligencija	3,910	0,936993	-0,031	0,212*	0,435**	1	0,331**	0,392**	0,102	0,065
5 Motivacijska inteligencija	5,57	0,945330	-0,229**	0,239**	0,599**	0,331**	1	0,452**	0,100	0,001
6 Bihevioralna inteligencija	4,407	0,940775	-0,099	0,336**	0,503**	0,392**	0,452**	1	-0,064	-0,047
7 Dohodak kućanstva	2,60	0,756	0,095	-0,122	0,038	0,102	0,100	-0,064	1	0,132
8 Spol	1	0	0,434**	-0,201*	-0,073	0,065	0,001	-0,047	0,132	1

***p* < 0,01, **p* < 0,05

		Metakognitivna inteligencija	Kognitivna inteligencija	Motivacijska inteligencija	Bihevioralna inteligencija
Konstanta		-0,397 (0,268)	-0,5 (0,280)	-0,577* (0,273)	0,026 (0,274)
Kontrolne varijable	Dohodak kućanstva	0,119 (0,097)	0,15 (0,102)	0,171 (0,099)	-0,029 (0,100)
	Spol	0,194 (0,164)	0,24 (0,172)	0,292 (0,167)	0,111 (0,168)
Nezavisne varijable	Dominantnost muških vrijednosti	-0,276** (0,088)	-0,070 (0,092)	-0,288** (0,092)	-0,084 (0,090)
	Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti	0,376** (0,082)	0,252*** (0,086)	0,263** (0,083)	0,346* (0,084)
ANOVA (<i>p</i> -vrijednost)		0,000	0,026	0,000	0,001
R^2		0,191	0,075	0,138	0,119
Korigirani R^2		0,168	0,048	0,114	0,094
Durbin-Watson		1,913	2,05	2,079	1,757

🔗 Rezultati OLS
regresije

Legenda: *** $p < 0,001$, ** $p < 0,01$, * $p < 0,05$. Brojevi izvan zagrada su nestandardizirani regresijski koeficijenti, a brojevi u zagradama standardne pogreške tih koeficijenata.

DODATAK 3

Rezultati PLS-MGA

	Path Coefficients- -razlika (Male – Female)	<i>P</i> -vrijednost (Muškarac vs Žena)
Dominantnost muških vrijednosti -> Metakognitivna inteligencija	0,010	0,245
Dominantnost muških vrijednosti -> Kognitivna inteligencija	-0,163	0,274
Dominantnost muških vrijednosti -> Motivacijska inteligencija	-0,217	0,605
Dominantnost muških vrijednosti -> Bihevioralna inteligencija	-0,016	0,549
Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti -> Metakognitivna inteligencija	0,240	0,467
Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti -> Kognitivna inteligencija	-0,096	0,899
Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti -> Motivacijska inteligencija	0,254	0,279
Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti -> Bihevioralna inteligencija	0,050	0,612

🔗 Bootstrap
MGA – Spol

	Path coefficients: razlike u dohotku				P-vrijednosti							
	(Visoki – niski)	(Visoki – niski – srednji)	(Visoki – niski – srednji)	(Niski – visoki – srednji)	(Visoki – niski)	(Visoki – niski – srednji)	(Niski – visoki – srednji)	(Niski – visoki – srednji)				
Dominantnost muških vrijednosti -> -> Metakognitivna inteligencija	0,723	0,333	0,272	-0,390	-0,451	-0,061	0,433	0,531	0,585	0,497	0,474	0,691
Dominantnost muških vrijednosti -> -> Kognitivna inteligencija	0,408	0,844	0,54	0,436	0,132	-0,304	0,473	0,163	0,237	0,37	0,79	0,272
Dominantnost muških vrijednosti -> -> Motivacijska inteligencija	0,155	-0,08	-0,308	-0,235	-0,463	-0,229	0,759	0,919	0,613	0,495	0,414	0,236
Dominantnost muških vrijednosti -> -> Bihevioralna inteligencija	0,053	0,42	0,256	0,367	0,203	-0,165	0,876	0,359	0,496	0,407	0,695	0,438
Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti -> -> Metakognitivna inteligencija	0,045	0,113	0,196	0,068	0,151	0,083	0,865	0,789	0,727	0,844	0,571	0,624
Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti -> -> Kognitivna inteligencija	-0,352	-0,114	-0,034	0,238	0,318	0,08	0,604	0,815	0,986	0,603	0,551	0,495
Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti -> -> Motivacijska inteligencija	0,668	0,505	0,727	-0,163	0,06	0,223	0,425	0,464	0,398	0,68	0,839	0,413
Izbjegavanje neizvjesnosti -> -> Bihevioralna inteligencija	-0,130	0,355	0,221	0,484	0,35	-0,134	0,912	0,446	0,511	0,204	0,262	0,641

Masculinity and Uncertainty Avoidance as Instruments for Cultural Intelligence Development

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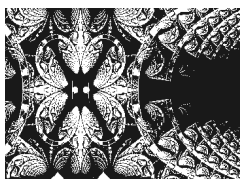
Zagreb, Croatia

This paper shows how students' perception on the dominance of masculinity values and uncertainty avoidance characteristics relates with the level of students' cultural intelligence. In order to examine the phenomena, the research was conducted on a sample of 146 exchange programme students (ERASMUS exchange programme). The results indicate a positive and significant correlation between the variables uncertainty avoidance and determinants of cultural intelligence. Furthermore, the obtained results indicate a negative correlation between students' perception on dominance of masculinity values and metacognitive and motivational cultural intelligence, while relationships with cognitive and behavioural cultural intelligence were statistically non-significant. The results of this study can help teachers, researchers, and economic and social policy makers to build educational models that will help students develop an awareness of cultural disparities. As a result, individuals will be able to focus their efforts on developing and shaping the individual mental dimensions necessary for successful adaptation to the international environment.

Keywords: cultural intelligence, masculinity, uncertainty, students, expatriates



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EFFECTS OF POVERTY ON THE LEVEL OF FOOD SECURITY IN COUNTRIES OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

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This paper examines factors that affect the level of food security in the former Yugoslavia (Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro and Macedonia). The data on the basis of which the research was carried out were collected from the national statistics and the database of the World Bank for the period 2006–2018, and as a statistical method, the multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used. The results obtained indicate that there is a statistically significant correlation between the gross domestic product per capita (\$), growth of urban population, growth of rural population, percentage of undernourished population and poverty rate. Differences between countries in terms of these factors indicate the level of food security.

Keywords: food security, poverty, sustainable development, economic indicators, demographic indicators



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INTRODUCTION

One of the basic goals of all national policies in the world is to reduce the incidence of hunger and poverty, but increase food security. Reducing the number of undernourished and poor

people is a necessary and indispensable condition for promoting the right human development, both on the personal and the social levels. Undernourishment and poverty are the main causes of illness and death that occur every day in the world (Ruiz, 2010). Today, some 700 million people, most of whom live in rural areas, are still poor. In addition, despite significant advances in reducing undernourishment and improving nutrition levels, nearly 800 million people are chronically hungry, while 2 billion lack micronutrients (FAO, 2018).

What is not disputable is that economic growth is necessary to reduce the rate of poverty and to ensure food security, and agriculture is an important driver of economic growth. One of the most effective means of stimulating economic growth and poverty reduction, especially in low-level economic development, are investments in agriculture. Investment in agriculture leads to agricultural development and creates the basis for increasing agricultural production, reducing food deficit, increasing surplus and revenue.

Starting from the demand for agri-food products, it is necessary to define and develop the principles of market interventions in the long run, in order to maintain the needs of the production of commodities (Lovre, 2013). Therefore, in order to reduce the number of people at risk of poverty/disadvantaged people and maintain food security, there needs to be a stability of food supply that will be affordable for consumers and cost-effective for producers.

The aim of this research is to identify the impact of different socioeconomic parameters (poverty, the number of undernourished, growth of urban population and rural population and GDP-per capita) on the level of food security in countries of former Yugoslavia, to inform further creation, adjustments and implementation of national programmes and policies.

Poverty, undernourishment and food insecurity

Despite the progress in increasing food production, today there are still many poor and undernourished people around the world. The relationship between poverty and undernourishment is complex, but several key correlations can be found. The risk of undernourishment can be associated with low incomes, education levels, low employment rates, income volatility etc. Namely, undernourishment is basically the outcome of poverty (World Food Program, 2012).

When it comes to poverty, in the OECD Guidelines there is the following definition: "poverty covers the various dimensions of deprivation that relate to human abilities including consumption and food security, health, education, rights, voting rights, security and dignity" (OECD, 2001, p. 8). This approach, that is, the conceptualisation of poverty is widely

accepted in various scientific circles, as well as among the creators of various economic, social and public policies. What is problematic is that some dimensions of poverty are difficult to measure and quantify.

There is no doubt that countries in transition have achieved significant, although uneven progress in improving living standards over the past 30 years. However, the reduction of poverty, in the context of sustainable development, remains a major challenge. This means that social and economic inequality are the main obstacle to a sustainable reduction of poverty. Globalisation and new trends offer promising ways to foster growth and reduce poverty, but will require a lot of effort to ensure that the poor have adequate access to available resources (OECD, 2001).

Undernourishment is a term used to indicate a wide range of nutritional problems and is the result of insufficiency of one or more factors contributing to adequate nutrition. This notion involves insufficient nutrition and is caused by a number of factors, including nutritional and non-nutritional factors (Babu et al., 2017). It represents an individual problem that relates to the distribution of food and income within countries, and it also represents a national and international problem that is related to geographic distribution of food, income and population size (Norton et al., 2010). Undernourishment is the problem of poverty. The poor cannot afford enough food or cannot produce enough, indicating the level of nutritional security that exists in one country. Bearing this in mind, on 25th September 2015, the United Nations adopted a number of goals to end poverty, protect the planet and secure prosperity as part of the sustainable development goals (SDG 2). In order to reduce the number of hungry people and provide food security, the objectives of sustainable development are as follows: (1) end hunger and ensure access by all people, especially the poor, to safe and sufficient food by 2030; (2) end all forms of malnutrition by 2030; (3) by 2030, double the agricultural productivity and incomes of small-scale food producers, in particular women, indigenous peoples, family farmers, pastoralists and fishers, including safe and equitable access to land, other productive resources and inputs, knowledge, financial resources, services, markets and create employment opportunities outside the farm (United Nations, 2022).

Poverty and undernourishment significantly determine the level of food security. The concept of food security was defined at the World Food Summit in 1996, pointing out that "food security in an individual household, national, regional and global level is achieved when all people have a physical and economical approach to sufficient, safe and nutritious food at all times to meet their nutritional needs and food preference

for active and healthy life "(FAO, 1996). On the other hand, food insecurity exists when there is limited availability of safe and adequate food or there is a restriction on the acquisition of food in a socially acceptable manner (Lee & Frongillo, 2001). Food insecurity can be temporary (when it occurs in times of crisis), seasonal or chronic (when it occurs on a continuous basis). Most often, food insecurity occurs as a result of unequal distribution in regions, countries, households and individuals. Other factors which affect food insecurity include: food inaccessibility due to drought, flood, crop failure or other disasters; the lack of food supplies due to inadequate purchasing power and less food consumption due to poor health (Rivera, 2003). Based on the above, it can be concluded that food insecurity occurs in situations where there is (1) uncertainty about the adequacy of food supply and access to food, (2) an insufficient amount and type of food needed for a healthy lifestyle, or (3) the need to use socially unacceptable ways of getting food. Although a lack of funding is the most common limitation, food insecurity also exists when food is available, but cannot be used due to physical or other constraints, such as the limited physical functioning of older persons with disabilities (Wunderlich & Norwood, 2006).

Food security and economic systems in less developed countries are under the influence of the international economic environment. Trade and other economic processes abroad and in the country, international capital flows, migrations, and commodities price shocks in combination lead to an increase in food insecurity (Norton et al., 2010). In addition, the demand for food products, and therefore food security, is significantly influenced by household expenditures, the financial situation of the household, and the number of household members (Kovljenić & Savić, 2017). In this context, food policies play an important role in reducing poverty. They support the improvement of coordination along value chains and ensure that weaker segments in the chain take advantage of the integration of agriculture into the market. Successful food security programmes and poverty reduction-oriented programmes do not only help the rural poor to produce more and diversify products, but also to produce surpluses that can be marketed and thus generate income to improve the quality of life through improved nutrition, investment in production activities and as collateral for loans for further investment in production (Rivera, 2003). However, permanent poverty reduction includes actions that go beyond both rural and urban areas. They should focus on: providing access to good and quality education, promoting economic diversification of non-agricultural activities in rural areas, supporting job creation, savings and investment potentials of the poor, and imple-

menting adequate social protection mechanisms (FAO, 2018).

The key factor for success in reducing undernourishment and food insecurity is economic growth (Mergos & Papanastassiou, 2017). Agriculture is an important driver of economic growth, especially in rural areas and in least developed countries. Economic growth involves the development or expansion, it implies changes in the living standards of people. Successful economic development requires, as a minimum, growth in per capita income, eradication of absolute poverty, and a long-term reduction in inequality. Economic development is a dynamic process that includes not only changes in the structure and level of economic activity, but also enhances the possibilities for individual choice. Development is difficult to measure, but it is often necessary to do so to assess the impacts of specific programmes. Because of the multiple dimensions, interpretation of a particular developmental indicator can be misleading. Accordingly, average per capita income, measured as gross domestic product (GDP) or gross domestic product per capita, is often used as the first approximation; then measures such as income distribution, literacy rates, life expectancy and child mortality are considered separately or as part of the development index (Norton et al., 2010).

The link between sustainable development and food (in)security

In the past there have been many formal attempts to connect concepts of *sustainable development* and *food security*. In this respect, sustainable development is considered to be one of the leading predictors in the fight against poverty and food insecurity. *The report of The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations* (FAO) states that food security and sustainable development are intrinsically linked, and that the management of agriculture and food systems is key to achieving sustainable development goals. That is, hunger starts a vicious circle of reduced productivity, deepens poverty, slows down economic development, degrades resources and prevents more sustainable development (FAO, 2018).

Global awareness of sustainable development has increased significantly over the past few decades. Consciousness of sustainable development has spread alongside a series of successive but overlapping problems such as population growth, environmental change, development inequalities, political fragmentation, instability, and so on. Developed countries are getting richer and using ever-increasing resources, while developing countries, on the other hand, are unable to escape extreme poverty. Consequently, the awareness that we all live on a planet where different elements and processes

are interconnected has gradually developed and therefore all problems in this regard cannot be solved in isolation (Hediger, 2000). This means that if we want to solve the problem of food insecurity, it is certainly necessary to approach it holistically. The concept of sustainable development is neither simple nor uncontroversial, but one of the definitions that best describes it is that it is the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (European Commission, 2011). The concept itself came to the fore in the so-called Brundtland Report from 1987¹ and is embedded within neoclassical economics and in this context represents a compromise between economic growth and the need for environmental protection (United Nations, 1987). Generally, sustainable development means making progress in the economic and social sense, while at the same time preserving the environment. All three factors are equally important and must be established so that the development of one does not have a negative impact on the development of the other. Sustainability (or sustainable development) can also be defined as the ability to maintain the balance of certain processes or states. And more relevant in this context – sustainable development for people is the potential for *long-term welfare maintenance*, which at the same time depends on the prosperity of the natural world and the responsible use of natural resources (Bass et al., 1995). Based on the above objectives, it can be concluded that this concept emphasises the *inseparability of the population, the environment and development*, as well as the need to examine the links between population dynamics and global environmental change (Nevin, 2008).

Over the past few years, sustainability has been considered to be very important for food security. Namely, sustainable development can be understood as a long-term time dimension within the re-positioning of food security, which implies the thesis that sustainability is a *prerequisite* for long-term food security. The environment, and especially the climate situation and the availability of natural resources, are one of the primary conditions for food availability and the preservation of biodiversity (see also Berry et al., 2014). As noted earlier, economic and social growth are key factors for the eradication of poverty and malnutrition. In this sense, without sustainable development, there is no economic or social growth. Food safety for present and future generations is an integral goal of sustainable development. In other words, "the sustainable development of agriculture is the development of agriculture that contributes to improving resource efficiency, strengthening resilience and ensuring social equity/accountability of agricultural and food systems in order to ensure food security for everybody, now and in the future" (HLPE, 2016, p. 29).

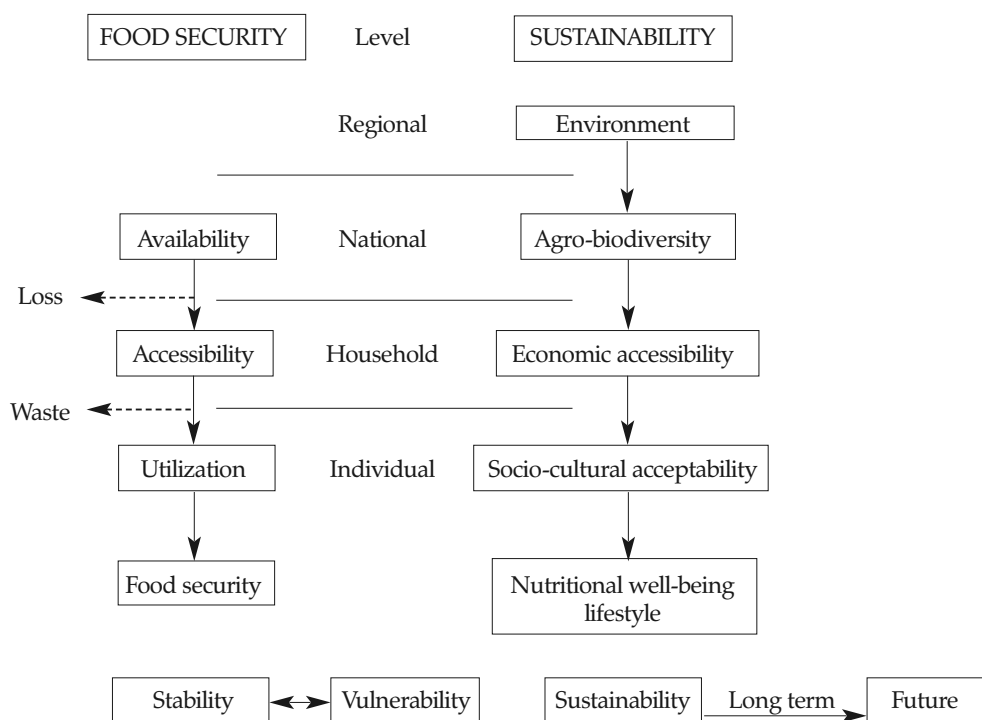


FIGURE 1
Temporal dimension
of food security: short-
-term stability (left
side); long-term
sustainability (right
side) (Berry et al.,
2014)

From the abovementioned, we can conclude that there is a very strong correlation between the conditions for achieving universal food security and responsible environmental management, as well as greater fairness in the (re)distribution of food. Poverty, inequality in wealth, social injustice and social exclusion are just some of the fundamental factors that trigger very high levels of food insecurity, poor physical and mental health, and the destruction of the natural environment. For this reason, it is necessary to support (sustainable) development, the implementation and evaluation of economic, social and cultural policies, as well as to promote sustainable agriculture.

The link between migration, agriculture, food security and rural development

In the next part, we will examine the connection between migration movements, crossings from rural to urban areas (and vice versa) and the issue of food security. The importance of this topic is reflected in the fact that "food security for all" has found its support in the Millennium Development Goals (United Nations Development Programme, 2009), recognising the positive contribution of migration and mobility in relation to food security. Namely, migration and mobility should be seen as a form of income diversification that can support innova-

tion, and it is not disputed that migration flows from rural to urban are often a response to economic change (Opitz et al., 2016).

Food (in)security in rural areas can be identified through several factors. Economic factors are reflected primarily in poverty, lack of access to various services and infrastructure that would improve agricultural productivity, lack of access to credit, employment, etc. When we talk about political factors, they are reflected in unequal and limited access to health, education, social protection, etc., which can directly or indirectly affect food security. As a third group of factors, we will single out environmental causes and climate change that can affect farmers, fishermen, livestock, etc., which in turn results in increased food insecurity.

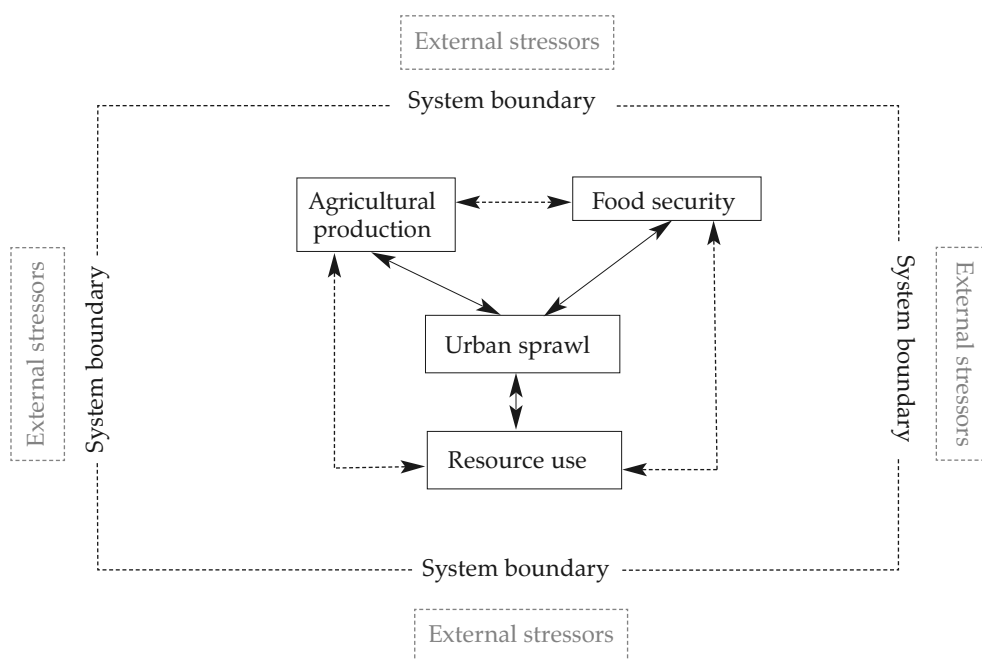


FIGURE 2
Effect of agricultural
production and food
security on urban
population (United
Nations Development
Programme, 2009)

In general, the economy is undergoing a structural transformation – people are moving from agriculture to other sectors of the economy such as production and services, and the labour force is migrating from rural to urban areas. However, the patterns of structural transformation and urbanisation vary from state to state. In this context, it is important to emphasise that some countries encourage the movement of population from urban to rural and agricultural sectors. Internal migration is also an important risk management strategy, primarily due to the risk of food insecurity. Namely, the relationship between food security and migration can be direct, e.g.,

when people do not see sustainable opportunities other than migrating to avoid hunger. On the other hand, the link between food security and migration can also be indirect and can be exemplified by household strategies to deal with income uncertainty and the risks of food insecurity (Sylvia, 2016). Similarly, Matiza et al. (1988) point out that food security can accelerate the decision to migrate, but on the other hand, migrations aimed at alleviating food insecurity are usually short-term. Various studies show that when food security needs are not met, households intensify agricultural strategies, off-farm employment, or resort to migrations to other rural areas, before moving to urban areas for that reason.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The subject of the analysis includes the countries of the former Yugoslavia (Republic of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro and North Macedonia). The collapse of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s led to the era of complex emergencies, which had a significant impact on the food security of these countries. Since in the Republic of Serbia, as well as in other countries of the former Yugoslavia, agriculture makes a significant source of income for a part of the population (Serbia 16%, Croatia 6.23%, North Macedonia 15.72%, Bosnia and Herzegovina 15.71% and Montenegro 8.02% in 2018) (World Bank, 2022), it is necessary to work on overcoming complex and interconnected challenges and obstacles in order to achieve and maintain a desirable level of food safety (Brankov & Lovre, 2017).

The data on the basis of which the research was carried out were collected from the national statistics offices of the countries of the former Yugoslavia and the World Bank database for the period 2006–2018.

In this paper we used multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA), since in our work we have more than one dependent variable. Dependent variables include the gross domestic product per capita, the poverty rate,² the percentage of undernourished population, urban population growth, rural population growth, while the independent variables are countries of the former Yugoslavia. For economic indicators three predictors are used: GDP per capita, the poverty rate and the percentage of undernourished population. For demographic indicators two predictors are used: urban population growth and rural population growth.

The results of MANOVA should indicate whether there is a difference between countries regarding these variables and which correlate most on the level of food security.

In accordance with the set research problem, the following hypotheses in this paper are:

- (H1): Economic indicators determine the level of food security in the countries of the former Yugoslavia.
- (H2): Demographic indicators determine the level of food security in the countries of the former Yugoslavia.

RESEARCH RESULTS

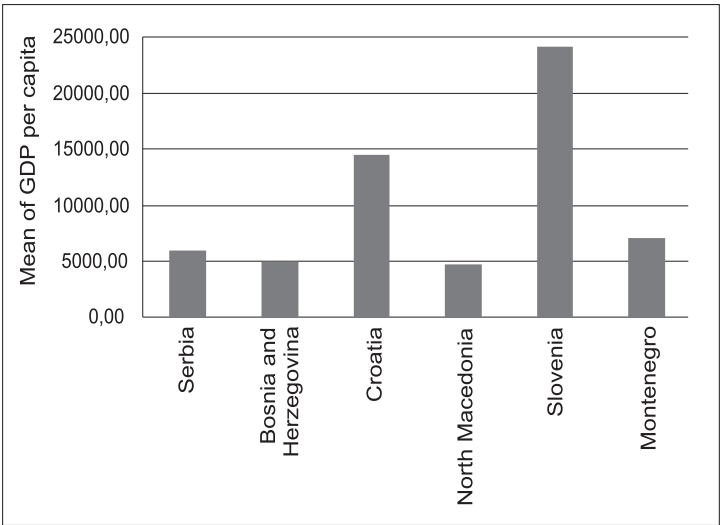
The following section will show the results of descriptive statistics.

	Number of observations	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Gross domestic product per capita (\$)	78	3942.45	26684.21	10203.1834	7107.98157
Urban population annual growth (%)	78	-0.71	1.33	0.2221	0.41164
Rural population annual growth (%)	78	-1.79	0.49	-0.6745	0.52396
Poverty rate	78	4.90	31.10	19.0769	6.09258
Percentage of the undernourished	78	2.39	6.10	3.3744	1.32556

TABLE 1
Descriptive statistics

The results of descriptive statistics show that the average gross domestic product per capita (\$) is \$10203.1834, the average rate of urban population growth is 0.22%; the average rate of rural population annual growth is -0.67%; the average rate of the poor is 19.0769; while the average percentage of undernourished population is 3.37%.

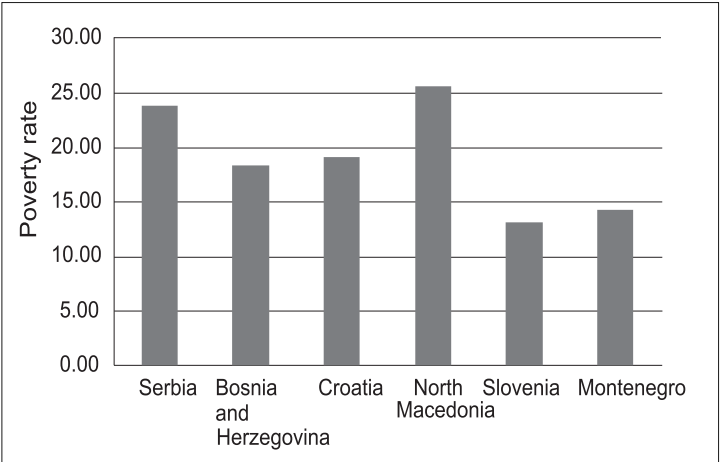
FIGURE 3
Average gross domestic product per capita (\$)



(Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2019; Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2019; Republic of Slovenia Statistical Office, 2019; Statistical Office of Montenegro – MONSTAT, 2019; State Statistical Office of the Republic of North Macedonia, 2019; Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2019).

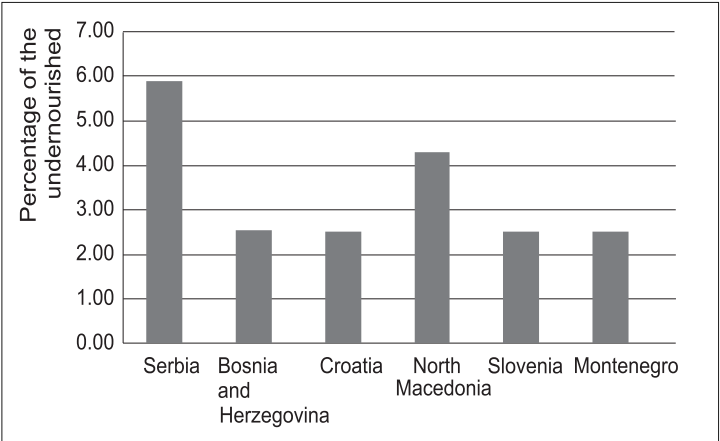
Figure 3 shows that the highest average gross domestic product per capita is recorded in Slovenia and it amounts to \$24112.6315 while the smallest average gross domestic product per capita is recorded in North Macedonia, the value of which is \$4725.7977. After Slovenia, the highest average gross domestic product per capita was recorded in Croatia and it amounted to \$14407.9854. In the Republic of Serbia the average gross domestic product per capita is \$5976.4154, in Montenegro \$7008.0671, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina \$4988.2031.

FIGURE 4
Average poverty rate



(Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2019; Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2019; Republic of Slovenia Statistical Office, 2019; Statistical Office of Montenegro – MONSTAT, 2019; State Statistical Office of the Republic of North Macedonia, 2019; Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2019).

FIGURE 5
Average percentage of the undernourished

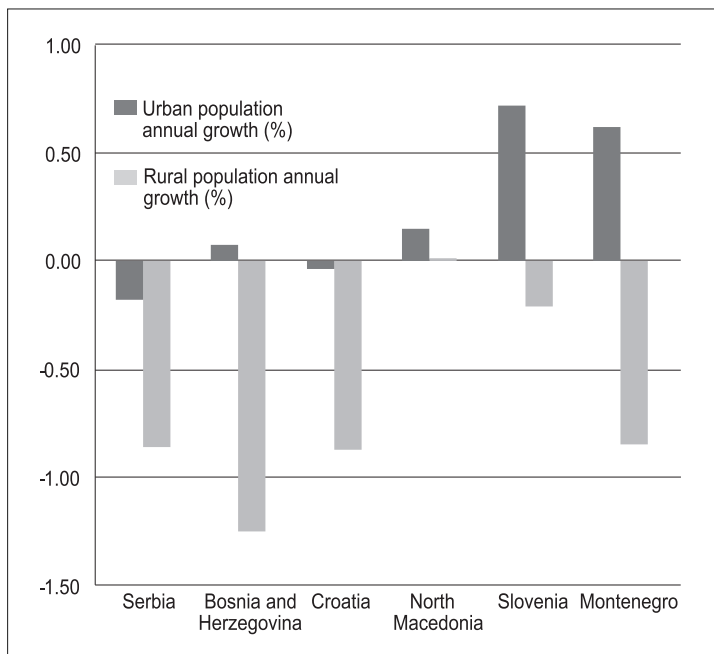


(Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2019; Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2019; Republic of Slovenia Statistical Office, 2019; Statistical Office of Montenegro – MONSTAT, 2019; State Statistical Office of the Republic of North Macedonia, 2019; Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2019).

Figure 4 shows that the highest average poverty rate recorded in North Macedonia is 25.60, while the lowest average poverty rate is recorded in Slovenia and is 13.10. In other countries, the average poverty rate in the Republic of Serbia is 23.83, in Croatia 19.15, in Bosnia and Herzegovina 18.41, and in Montenegro 14.36.

Figure 5 shows that the highest average percentage of the undernourished in the Republic of Serbia is 5.89%, while the smallest percentage of the undernourished recorded in Slovenia is 2.50%, in Montenegro 2.50% and in Croatia 2.50%. In the remaining countries of the former Yugoslavia, the average percentage of the undernourished in Bosnia and Herzegovina is 2.56%, while in North Macedonia it is 4.29%.

➡ FIGURE 6
Average percentage of
urban and rural
population annual
growth (%)



(Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2019; Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2019; Republic of Slovenia Statistical Office, 2019; Statistical Office of Montenegro – MONSTAT, 2019; State Statistical Office of the Republic of North Macedonia, 2019; Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2019).

Figure 6 shows that the highest average urban population annual growth recorded in Slovenia is 0.71%, while the smallest average urban population annual growth recorded in Serbia is -0.18%. Except the Republic of Serbia, Croatia also has a negative growth of urban population with an average -0.04%. In the remaining countries of the former Yugoslavia, the average urban population annual growth in Bosnia and

Herzegovina is 0.07%, in Montenegro 0.62%, while in North Macedonia it is 0.15%.

Also, Figure 6 shows that in all countries of the former Yugoslavia there is a decrease in the rural population except in North Macedonia, where average rural population annual growth is 0.01%. Negative rates were recorded in other countries of the former Yugoslavia. The smallest average rural population annual growth is recorded in Bosnia and Herzegovina and is -1.25%. In the remaining countries of the former Yugoslavia, the average rural population annual growth in Slovenia is -0.21%, in Montenegro -0.85%, in Croatia -0.88%, while in the Republic of Serbia it is -0.85%.

TABLE 2
Correlations

		1	2	3	4	5
1 Urban population annual growth (%)	Pearson Correlation	1	0.472**	0.417**	-0.470**	-0.560**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	78	78	78	78	78
2 Rural population annual growth (%)	Pearson Correlation	0.472**	1	0.261*	0.163	0.134
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000		0.021	0.154	0.242
	N	78	78	78	78	78
3 GDP per capita	Pearson Correlation	0.417**	0.261*	1	-0.442**	-0.465**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.021		0.000	0.000
	N	78	78	78	78	78
4 Percentage of the undernourished	Pearson Correlation	-0.470**	0.163	-0.442**	1	0.601**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.154	0.000		0.000
	N	78	78	78	78	78
5 Poverty rate	Pearson Correlation	-0.560**	0.134	-0.465**	0.601**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.242	0.000	0.000	
	N	78	78	78	78	78

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

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

(Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2019; Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2019; Republic of Slovenia Statistical Office, 2019; Statistical Office of Montenegro – MONSTAT, 2019; State Statistical Office of the Republic of North Macedonia, 2019; Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2019).

Based on the correlation coefficient (Table 2), we can conclude that there is a statistically significant correlation (significance level 0.01 and significance level 0.05) between gross domestic product per capita (\$), urban population, rural population, poverty rate and percentage of undernourished population. The correlation coefficient between gross domestic product per capita (\$) and poverty rate is -0.465, which means that the increase in the gross domestic product per capita (\$) decreases the poverty rate. Similarly, the correlation coefficient between gross domestic product per capita (\$) and per-

centage of undernourished population is -0.442, which means that the increase in the gross domestic product per capita (\$) decreases the percentage of undernourished population. The results show that there is no significant correlation between rural population and poverty rate and percentage of undernourished population. On the other hand, the correlation is significant between both urban population and poverty rate and percentage of undernourished population. The correlation between urban population and poverty rate is -0.560, thus with the increase of urban population growth the poverty rate decreases. The situation is the same when it comes to the relationship between urban population and percentage of undernourished population. The correlation between urban population and percentage of undernourished population is -0.470, therefore, with the increase of urban population growth the percentage of undernourished population decreases. Finally, the correlation coefficient between poverty rate and percentage of undernourished population is 0.601, which means that the increase in the poverty rate raises the percentage of undernourished population.

In addition, the results of *Multivariate Tests* showed that all 4 tests have p values of 0.000, i.e. < 0.05 , which means that there is a statistically significant difference between countries in terms of all variables (gross domestic product per capita (\$), urban population, rural population, rates of poverty and percentage of undernourished population). *Standardised Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients* showed that the variable that most affects the variation between countries is the gross domestic product per capita.

The results of the survey show:

- the *hypothesis (H1)* is confirmed because higher GDP per capita determines a higher level of food security in the former Yugoslavia countries. GDP is also a variable that affects the variations between countries the most. The lower rate of the poor points to a higher level of food security in the former Yugoslavia countries. With the increase in GDP per capita (\$), the poverty rate declines. With the increase in GDP per capita (\$), the percentage of undernourished population declines.
- the *hypothesis (H2)* is confirmed, as with the increase of urban population the poverty rate and percentage of undernourished population decreases. On the other hand, the results show that there is no significant correlation between rural population, poverty rate and percentage of undernourished population. It is important to emphasise that the majority of agriculture production happens in rural areas in the former Yugoslavia countries.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The results obtained by analysis of available data show that the highest level of food security from all the former Yugoslavia countries was achieved in Slovenia. This is the consequence of the highest GDP, the lowest average poverty rate, the lowest percentage of the undernourished, and the highest average urban population annual growth, compared to other countries of the former Yugoslavia. After Slovenia, the highest average GDP per capita was achieved in Croatia. However, there is still a high average poverty rate in this country. In Croatia there are a large number of materially vulnerable or poor citizens than in the economically more developed countries of the European Union (Knežević et al., 2017). The lowest average GDP per capita was recorded in North Macedonia; also, this country has the highest poverty rate. Serbia has a high average rate of the poor and percentage of undernourished. Also, Serbia has a lower average GDP per capita, which significantly affects the rates of undernourishment and poverty of population. As stated by Gerovska-Mitev (2015), the quantitative data on poverty and social exclusion in Serbia, North Macedonia, and Croatia imply a serious need for undertaking a comprehensive review of policies and measures that will improve the countries' current high poverty levels. Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina have a lower average GDP per capita, similar rates of undernourishment, while the poverty rate is higher in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

If demographic indicators are observed, a total population decline has been recorded in the majority of countries of the former Yugoslavia. Slovenia has the highest average urban population annual growth, while the smallest average urban population annual growth is recorded in Serbia. Except for Serbia, Croatia also has a negative growth of urban population, while the remaining countries of the former Yugoslavia, have a similar average urban population annual growth. As far as the rural population is concerned, in all countries of the former Yugoslavia there is a decrease in the rural population except in Macedonia. It is significant that poverty is a predominantly rural phenomenon, due to limited access and distance from bigger urban areas. The rural population usually has a lower level of education and live in larger households than urban residents, and both of these characteristics are correlated with poverty. In addition, the rural sector is growing slowly and the wages in rural agricultural sectors are low, as opposed to the rapid growth of the sector in urban areas where wages are higher. So, countries with more urban populations are also more food secure.

Based on all of the above, it can be concluded that the failure to eliminate poverty, hunger and undernourishment

present a serious ethical, economic and stability problem in both developing and the developed countries. The nutritional status of the population is an input in the process of economic development, as well as the result of this process (Hoddinott, 2016). Therefore, the reduction of poverty and undernourishment leads to an improvement in the nutritional status of the population, which increases the likelihood of labour productivity growth and contributes to a better resolution of individual and social challenges. Thus, by maintaining an adequate nutritional status of the population, reduced undernourishment and poverty become an economic investment in the future of the country.

The global food system, especially its human aspect, monitors social injustice and the negligence of decision-makers to address poverty and food insecurity issues with a multidimensional and systematic approach. The failure to explicitly consider the impact of international policies on institutions of national policies slows down the process of globalisation and contributes to social injustice and armed conflict. Hunger is triggered by a vicious circle of reduced productivity, deepening poverty, slowing down economic development, degrading resources and the prevention of sustainable development. Since maintaining food security is the basic responsibility of each state, it is necessary to develop and implement programmes and policies that will be aimed at reducing poverty and undernourishment in line with the UN SDGs.

The theoretical and practical contribution of research

The data obtained can serve as a starting point for further longitudinal research of factors that affect the number of poor and malnourished. In addition, the study also allows comparison and monitoring of indicators of trends with other countries.

When it comes to the practical input, the obtained results can serve different government agencies in addressing the problems by designing programmes, strategies, policies and interventions to eradicate poverty and food insecurity. By looking at the experience of the countries of the former Yugoslavia, it is possible to propose measures for the creation of programmes and policies that will be directed towards reducing the number of poor and malnourished in the future.

Limitations of the research

The potential limitations of the research stem from the fact that this research does not cover all the factors that may affect the level of poverty and malnutrition in the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Also, the analysed countries of the former Yugoslavia used different methodology before the introduction of EU-SILC.

NOTES

¹ The Brundtland Report, also called "Our Common Future", was published in 1987 by the World Commission on Environment and Development. It presents the concept of sustainable development and describes how it can be achieved. Under the auspices of the UN, the project investigated the causes of environmental degradation, as well as the link between social equity, economic growth and environmental issues. The *Brundtland Report* is also known for developing political solutions that integrate the three aforementioned areas.

² Poverty rate is measured through the % of people under the poverty line. Poverty measurement in the analysed countries of former Yugoslavia was different before the introduction of EU-SILC.

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Učinci siromaštva na razinu sigurnosti hrane u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije

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U radu se ispituju čimbenici koji utječu na razinu sigurnosti hrane u bivšoj Jugoslaviji (Srbija, Bosna i Hercegovina, Hrvatska, Slovenija, Crna Gora i Makedonija). Podaci na temelju kojih je provedeno istraživanje prikupljeni su iz nacionalne statistike i baze podataka Svjetske banke za razdoblje od 2006. do 2018. godine, a kao statistička metoda upotrijebljena je multivarijantna analiza varijance (MANOVA). Dobiveni rezultati pokazuju da postoji statistički značajna korelacija između bruto domaćega proizvoda po stanovniku (\$), rasta urbanoga stanovništva, rasta ruralnoga

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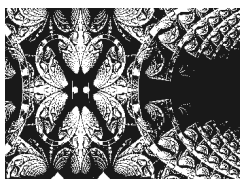
KOVLJENIĆ, M.,
ŠKORIĆ, J.:
EFFECTS OF POVERTY....

stanovništva, postotka pothranjenoga stanovništva i stope siromaštva. Razlike među zemljama u pogledu ovih čimbenika upućuju na razinu sigurnosti hrane.

Ključne riječi: sigurnost hrane, siromaštvo, održivi razvoj, ekonomski pokazatelji, demografski pokazatelji



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MEDIA DEPENDENCY IN A MULTIPLE CRISIS: INFORMATION SEEKING AND MEDIA TRUST AFTER AN EARTHQUAKE DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

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The paper examines the relationship between trust in media and information seeking from the media dependency theory perspective. Its purpose is to explore different goals in media use during crisis, and the role of trust and perception of misinformation. Research was done in Croatia in spring 2020, when citizens were experiencing a crisis caused by the Covid-19 pandemic and an earthquake hitting the capital city of Zagreb. It is based on an online survey on a convenience sample ($N = 741$). Three media use goals were discovered: social understanding, self-understanding, and the play&communication goal. Education, age, and gender were proven to be important in predicting media use during a crisis. Media trust is correlated to social understanding goals and traditional media use, while the perception of being vulnerable to misinformation is correlated to withdrawal from media use.

Keywords: media dependency, media use, media trust, crisis, Covid-19



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INTRODUCTION

The disruption of the current economic, political, and everyday life practices by the Covid-19 pandemic have been so far discussed at length from different perspectives and academic disciplines. Media and communication scholars studied the change in news consumption (Mihelj et al., 2022; Van Aelst et al., 2021), spread and the effects of misinformation (popularly labelled as *infodemic*), or evaluated the effectiveness of health communication and the media effects on mental health (Garfin et al., 2020). It is known that crisis events create a quantitative rise in media consumption as audiences seek information to orient themselves in the new and unpredictable environment. This phenomenon has been explained by media dependency theory (MDT), which analyses what goals of audiences are met by information produced in the media system (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976; Ball-Rokeach, 1985).

However, media systems have profoundly changed since MDT was proposed in the 1970s. Traditional, professional news organisations had a privileged position as gatekeepers of information by various social institutions and served as a main communication channel between these institutions and citizens. Contemporary media environments are labelled as high-choice environments, where higher proliferation of information sources in different legacy, digital and social media makes audiences fragmented and less reliant on professional news organisations (Van Aelst et al., 2017). This allows audiences to seek information not only from professional news organisations, but also from their social networks and various alternative sources. Moreover, what has changed profoundly is the declining level of trust, not only in professional media organisations and journalism, but in social institutions and expert systems in general. Although MDT was proposed when traditional media dominated, many authors showed that the principles of the theory still hold in the high-choice media environments (see Jakob, 2010). This will be another opportunity to test the theory in the more complex multi-media environment and reveal in which way media serve audiences to achieve different social goals, as active media users who are able to select and interact with different information sources (Livingstone, 2003).

The goal of this paper is to explore how audiences navigated their high choice information environment in the multiple crisis – one caused by the Covid-19 pandemic and another one by an earthquake. In March 2020, the capital city of Zagreb was hit by a stronger earthquake. People were caught in a highly stressful situation in which they were exposed to at

that time a new virus, while on the other hand, being exposed to an earthquake added a completely different type of stress and existential threat. How did audiences use media to meet their needs, what role did trust in media and misinformation have in this setting and what were the effects of media use on well-being?

MEDIA DEPENDENCY THEORY

The theory of media dependency explains the links between production of information in the media system, and individual uses of media audiences. Media dependency is defined as "a relationship in which the capacity of individuals to attain their goals is contingent upon the information sources of the media system" (Ball-Rokeach, 1985, p. 487). The macro dimension of MDT refers to the characteristics of the media system, while the micro dimension does to individual media use. Although there are ever expanding sources of information in contemporary societies, media audiences still depend a great deal on media organisations for acquiring information and knowledge about the world and current events. According to Ball-Rokeach (1985), media have specific social functions, and audiences are more dependent on them if there are less functional alternatives in their interpersonal relationships or in other spheres of social life. During lockdowns and measures of distance due to the Covid-19 crisis, even more spheres of social life became dependent on the media system. In fact, media consumption in 2020 increased up to around 60% globally in watching videos (Nielsen, 2020), and online and social media use skyrocketed as well (Newman et al., 2020). Media technology and platforms were used for information, interpersonal communication, education, work, shopping, entertainment, and leisure activities in home confinement.

Ball-Rokeach (1985) delineates three major goals which define individual media use. The goal of understanding is oriented either towards the social world (understanding and learning about social world or community) and self (learning about self). The goal of orientation refers to getting information for specific tasks and behaviour: action orientation refers to gaining information for decision making and practical actions in everyday life, while interaction orientation refers to getting information on how to behave or talk to other people in various situations (e.g., how to behave on a job interview). The goal of play refers to escapism, entertainment or relaxation, which can be either social or solitary.

The levels of media dependency depend on the nature of the media and social system and personal characteristics of

media audiences. Media dependency is higher in societies which are less plural, and where there are fewer sources among which audiences could choose (Jackob, 2010, p. 590). Media dependency is not the same as media use, but they are positively correlated, as familiarity with the media makes audiences more likely to be dependent on them for their information goals (Lowery, 2004).

MEDIA DEPENDENCY AND MEDIA USE DURING CRISIS

Individual media dependencies rely on the characteristics of the social environment – if it is ambiguous or threatening, audiences will rely on media to ease the discomfort and feel more efficacious in making decisions (Ball-Rokeach, 1985, p. 500). Therefore, audiences will depend more on media in the moments of social change, disruption, conflict, or crisis, which makes the previous schemes of understanding social reality less useful for survival or safety (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976; Ball-Rokeach, 1985). However, although media dependency is higher during crisis for all social groups, it still differs among audiences of different socio-demographic categories (Lowrey, 2004). For example, educated audiences rely less on mainstream media (Lowrey, 2004), seek information from a wider repertoire of sources (Sommerfeldt, 2015), and there are also gender differences in information seeking during crisis (Lachlan et al., 2009, 2010).

Media dependency was thus analysed in the context of war (Melki & Kozman, 2021), terrorist and other attacks (Jin et al., 2016; Lachlan et al., 2009; Lowrey, 2004; Mazer et al., 2015), health crises (Hu & Zhang, 2014; Jang & Baek, 2019; Lyu, 2012), natural catastrophes like earthquakes, floods or hurricanes (Jung & Moro, 2014; Seo et al., 2012), or industrial or man-made catastrophes (Lachlan et al., 2010). Various studies found that mass media were more important sources of information for audiences during crisis and disruptive events, although interpersonal communication was also highly important in the information spread (Lowrey, 2004, p. 341). During the H1N1 flu crisis, mass media, especially television were more significant in the first phase of the outbreak, while interpersonal communication, online media and alternative sources were used more in later phases (Hu & Zhang, 2014). Television also contributed the most to knowledge acquisition about the health crisis (Hu & Zhang, 2014).

The need for information during crisis might be different depending on the type of crisis. Amid fast evolving natural catastrophes audiences seek immediate information, while during more slowly evolving, e.g. economic crises, they might need news which help them have a deeper understanding of

the process (Westlund & Ghersetti, 2015 in Van Aelst et al., 2021).

Research following the Sichuan earthquake showed that television and internet use positively influenced the perceived gains of social-relational resources, and that internet also positively influenced social trust (Seo et al., 2012). On the other hand, television had a negative effect in increasing perceived stress (Seo et al., 2012). The willingness to help the victims partly depends on media coverage, as perceived gains of social-relational resources and social trust motivated altruistic behaviour, while higher perceived stress motivated self-interest behaviour and avoidance of negative stimulus (Seo et al., 2012).

The severity and scale of a crisis is sometimes less important for media dependency than the way the crisis is perceived. Although MDT suggests that higher instability predicts higher dependency on media, research on media use in war zones and refugee environment shows that there is an ambiguity in the way instability and threat is perceived – for example, people left in war zones felt less threatened and had lower media dependency than those displaced in refugee camps (Melki & Kozman, 2021). Various factors could determine the perception of a threat, like the proximity to the problem or personal involvement. Moreover, people can become desensitised to threat with time (Melki & Kozman, 2021). Higher perception of threat was shown to be more connected to dependency on interpersonal communication than on mass media (Lowery, 2004). This is understandable, as people in crisis are drawn to each other more, and this is predicted more by the perception of threat than by the scale of the crisis (Lowery, 2004, p. 354).

Higher media use during a crisis event could add to the psychological distress as audiences are increasingly exposed to information about the collective trauma they are experiencing, which was shown to be the case in the Covid-19 pandemic (Chao et al., 2020; Garfin et al., 2020). However, media was also utilised for attaining goals, replacing different activities and social functions which were impossible to be attained without media during lockdown, and positive coping with stress. This, on the other hand, had various health and well-being benefits (Chao et al., 2020). Information seeking and sharing are also important coping strategies used for alleviating stress during a crisis event, as acquiring information reduces uncertainty (Jin et al., 2016; Lachlan et al., 2009). However, higher use and dependency on media during crisis can also have negative effects on mental health and may add to post-traumatic stress disorder (Garfin et al., 2020; Lachlan et al., 2009).

MEDIA DEPENDENCY AND TRUST

Trust in news media is in decline, due to the rise of different information sources, attacks on the credibility of traditional news media from politicians and alternative media, a higher amount of misinformation and greater amount of audience selectivity in media use (Strömbäck et al., 2020). Trust in media is one of the most important factors which determine media use, especially in the period of higher possibilities of audience selectivity. It mitigates audience choices depending on the type of media they will use. Audiences who feel less dependent on mainstream media and who have less media trust tend to seek out alternative or non-media sources of information to fulfil their information needs (Jackob, 2010). The other way around also holds – audiences that use the mainstream news media less tend to trust these media sources less (Strömbäck et al., 2020).

The relationship between trust in the news media was proven to be important during a health crisis. When there was a lack of trust in public officials, audiences turned to online media, social media and interpersonal communication (Jang & Baek, 2019; Tai & Sun, 2007). In the aftermath of the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011, the ambiguity of reporting and lack of trust in mainstream media coverage provoked higher reliance on social media, which had a function for interpersonal communication, as a channel for organisations, media and local governments, and information sharing (Jung & Moro, 2014).

It has been shown that misinformation can affect media use and trust in general. In analysing the effects of exposure to fake news during the 2006 Israeli election campaign, the result was that fake-news-perceived realism can stimulate feelings of inefficacy, alienation, and cynicism (Balmas, 2012). The perceived realism of fake news was strongest within individuals who were more exposed to fake news and less exposed to hard news (Balmas, 2012). Rumours and misinformation often appear during crisis events (Mazer et al., 2015), and were also vastly spread via social media during the Swine flu, Ebola and Zika virus epidemics, as well as during the Covid-19 pandemic (Mihelj et al., 2022).

Trust in media and journalism in Croatia is traditionally rather low and below several other social institutions (Čuvalo, 2013). While in the early 2010s internet was the most trusted media platform for Croatian audiences (Čuvalo, 2013), recent data on media trust demonstrates that traditional media are among the most trusted (e.g. private television channels, see Vozab & Peruško, 2021). While a rise in media trust was noted during the Covid-19 pandemic, paradoxically, there was also a rise of concern over misinformation in Croatia (Vozab & Peruško, 2021).

MEDIA USE AND TRUST DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

The Covid-19 crisis greatly influenced modes of media and news consumption. Media and news consumption and trust in media rose, especially television and online news, and audiences also relied highly on social media and instant messaging, while newspaper consumption dropped (Newman et al., 2020; Van Aelst et al., 2021). Several studies suggest that television had an especially important role during the Covid-19 pandemic as government announcements were broadcast as "media events" (Mihelj et al., 2022; Newman et al., 2021). This was also the case in Croatia, as the Crisis Headquarters of the Ministry of Health held daily press conferences. Audiences were more dependent on media and shared that they used media for understanding the new situation and for deciding on their actions (Newman et al., 2020).

Digital News Report shows that 54% of global audiences perceived to have been exposed to misinformation about Covid-19 (Newman et al., 2021). Research during the second wave of the pandemic in the UK found "infodemically vulnerable" groups with low trust in media, who avoid news, and who are more exposed to misinformation (Nielsen et al., 2020). This inequality in information consumption is predicted by age, gender, education, and income (Nielsen et al., 2020). Although media trust declined, and news avoidance increased after that initial period of upsurge in media consumption (Newman et al., 2020), overall media trust significantly rose globally during different waves of the Covid-19 pandemic (Newman et al., 2021).

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

On March 5th 2020 the Croatian Government declared a state of emergency due to the Covid-19 epidemic (Croatian Government, 2020). Series of measures and recommendations for citizens were introduced, like the obligation of quarantine for travellers, closure of public institutions, closure of bars and restaurants and other places of social gathering. The campaign #stayathome (#ostanidoma) was in full swing and citizens were advised to work at home and keep physical distancing. At that time, the capital city of Zagreb was hit by an earthquake of magnitude 5.5 on the Richter scale in the morning of March 22nd. This earthquake was followed by a series of aftershock waves. It left many people homeless and created serious damage to the city infrastructure.

This study tried to capture the individual media dependencies on media during the double crisis: the one caused by the Covid-19 pandemic and the one caused by an earthquake. Based on the media dependency theoretical framework, the following research questions are posed:

- RQ1: What goals guided audiences in their media use?
RQ2: What socio-demographic characteristics determined media use and goals?
RQ3: What is the relationship between media use goals and different media types?
RQ4: What is the relationship between trust in media and media use?
RQ5: What is the relationship between the perception of threat and goals of media use?

METHODOLOGY, DATA, AND SAMPLE

The study was conducted as part of a research project within a graduate course on the journalism study programme at the Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb, at which a cross-sectional survey and questionnaire were designed. An online survey was shared from 7th to 25th April 2020. The survey was shared via snowball method, through social media and e-mail. The analysis is based on a convenience sample of 741 respondents. The convenience sample is clearly skewed in favour of certain socio-demographic categories (see Table 1). It is over-represented by female respondents (77.6%), the youngest age group (59.1%), students (46.4%) and citizens who were mostly isolated at home due to the Covid-19 measures (86.6%).

TABLE 1
Socio-demographic characteristics of the sample

		N	%
Gender	Male	163	22
	Female	575	77.6
Age groups	15 to 29	438	59.1
	30 to 44	123	16.6
	45 to 59	117	15.8
	60 and older	47	6.3
Employment status	Full-time employment	276	37.2
	Part-time employment	24	3.2
	Unemployed	42	5.7
	Student (school or university)	344	46.4
	Retired	43	5.8
Size of settlement	Smaller settlement or village	231	31.2
	Smaller town	133	17.9
	Medium sized city	75	10.1
	Suburbs of the big city	44	5.9
	Big city	255	34.4
Earthquake region	Earthquake region (City of Zagreb and Zagreb County)	295	39.8
	Outside of the earthquake region	440	59.4
Isolation	Being isolated at home	642	86.6
	Leaving home for work	95	12.8

MEASUREMENT AND SCALES

Dependent variables

Media use was operationalised with the question "How often did you follow media during the previous month for any purpose (news, entertainment...)?". Respondents were offered different media sources and could mark the frequency of use on a six-point scale: 1 (never), 2 (at least once), 3 (at least once a week), 4 (once a day), 5 (several times a day), 6 (every hour and more often). The variable total media use was constructed as an additive index of all variables which measured frequency of media use (Cronbach $\alpha = 0.75$). An exploratory factor analysis with varimax rotation was used to distinguish different dimensions of media use. It resulted with three dimensions: social media use, online media use and television use. Based on factor analysis, three additive variables were computed.¹ It is important to note that online media based on this factor analysis refer to professional news or expert sources. Another set of dependent variables refers to the media use goals from the MDT. These variables were constructed based on the factor analysis described below in the results section (see Table 2). Based on factor analysis, three indexes were created: social understanding (Cronbach $\alpha = 0.81$), self-understanding (Cronbach $\alpha = 0.79$) and play&communication (Cronbach $\alpha = 0.83$).

Independent variables

Various *socio-demographic and context measures* were used as independent variables. Age is a simple continuous variable, and gender is a dichotomous variable (1 = female and 2 = male). Due to measures for restriction of movement, a large number of citizens were isolated at home, while a segment of citizens still went to work outside their home. The isolation at home was measured by a dichotomous variable (1 = I was mostly isolated at home, 2 = I had to leave home for work during previous month). Income was measured on a five-point scale (1 = Greatly below average to 5 = Greatly above average). Education is a variable with an eight-point scale: 1 = Unfinished elementary school to 8 = PhD. As we believe that citizens in the region damaged by the earthquake differed from those from other regions, we developed a dichotomous variable with values 1 (City of Zagreb and wider Zagreb County) and 2 (other regions).

Variables referring to *psychological reactions and coping with stress* were also included. Perception of threat is operationalised as a variable computed from different variables (Cronbach $\alpha = 0.68$).² Variables referring to coping with stress are taken from the COPE inventory (Carver et al., 1989). Active

coping with stressful situations is operationalised as a variable on a scale from 1 (I never or almost never do this) to 5 (I do this very often), which measures agreement with the statement "I take necessary measures to resolve the problem". Avoidance coping is measured with the same scale that measures agreement with the statement: "I turn to other activities to keep my mind off the problem". Emotional reactions to the crisis were measured by asking participants if they were feeling confused, angry, depressed, scared, sad or nervous.³ The additive variable was constructed by computing all these emotional reactions (Cronbach's alpha = 0.85).

Another block of independent variables included those measuring *media trust and attitudes towards misinformation*. Trust in all media is a variable on a five-point agreement scale, which measures agreement with the statement "I believe I can trust most of the media". Attitudes towards misinformation were measured with three separate variables using the scale. Respondents could mark their agreement with these statements: "When I think about the news, it is difficult for me to determine what is true information", "I believe I was exposed to fake news in the previous period" and "I always try to check the factuality of news and information".

ANALYSIS

For exploring the different types of media use goals, we employed factor analysis. Hierarchical regression analysis was used to explain media dependency, goals in media use and emotional reactions. It was built in three blocks of independent variables. The first block consisted of socio-demographic and contextual variables. The second block consisted of variables referring to *psychological reactions and coping with stress* during crisis. The third block consisted of variables regarding media use, trust, and attitudes towards misinformation. The analysis was performed in software for statistical analysis SPSS. The results are presented in Tables 2, 3 and 4.

RESULTS

Media dependency goals

Factor analysis was carried out to distinguish different goals audiences have in their media use. With Principal Component Analysis as extraction method and Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalisation, three factors were extracted, which explain together 71% of variance. The first factor is named 'social understanding goal', because it refers to using media for understanding actions of others, current events, making decisions and thinking about the future. It is a mixture of social under-

standing and orientation goals as originally understood by Ball-Rokeach (1985). The second factor is named 'self-understanding goal' because it refers to thinking about one's situation, creating an everyday routine or expressing oneself. The third factor is named 'play&communication goal', as it refers to communication and entertainment with others and relaxation.

TABLE 2
Three media use goals
– results of the factor
analysis

	Social understanding	Self- -understanding	Play& communication
To get information on how to behave towards others	0.846	0.208	
To get information about current events	0.799		0.204
To help me decide what to do in a certain situation	0.796	0.294	
To understand the future consequences of this situation	0.583	0.491	
To think about me after this situation ends	0.198	0.841	0.123
To create an everyday routine in a new situation	0.189	0.801	0.152
To express how I feel		0.729	0.307
To entertain myself with others		0.238	0.854
To relax		0.202	0.846
To communicate with others	0.205		0.813

**Explaining media use –
what media were audiences most dependent on**

Age is an important predictor of media use. Younger audiences used media in general more frequently, especially social media ($\beta = -0.5^{***}$), while older audiences were more dependent on television. Women used media in general and television more frequently. Education is a significant predictor of total media use, especially online media ($\beta = 0.15^{**}$). Being isolated during lockdown seemed not to have a significant effect on media dependencies. However, there were some differences between regions – audiences affected by an earthquake were more dependent on social media (although the significance is lost when exposure to misinformation is accounted for).

Higher perception of threat drives total media use ($\beta = 0.1^*$), online media ($\beta = 0.13^{**}$) and television ($\beta = 0.12^{**}$), but the significance is lost when other media variables are included. Active coping seems to be more connected to more frequent media use in general ($\beta = 0.16^{***}$), social ($\beta = 0.1^{**}$), and online media use ($\beta = 0.13^{**}$), but the relationship is lost when

TABLE 3
Results of the
regression analysis
predicting media use

	Total media use			Social media use			Online media			Television		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Constant)	54.226	41.644	22.652	28.711	23.632	13.648	11.357	6.746	2.166	6.708	3.962	3.105
Age	-0.3***	-0.32***	-0.25***	-0.61***	-0.62***	-0.5***	-0.02	-0.05	-0.05	0.25***	0.22***	0.16***
Gender	-0.11*	-0.08*	-0.06	-0.05	-0.03	0.0	-0.06	-0.04	-0.06	-0.15***	-0.12**	-0.11*
Isolation	-0.04	-0.03	0.03	-0.03	-0.02	0.03	-0.05	-0.05	-0.01	-0.02	0.001	0.014
Income	0.06	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.08	0.09	0.06	0.04	0.054	0.039
Education	0.14**	0.12*	0.12**	0.08*	0.06	0.05	0.17***	0.15**	0.15**	0.03	0.02	0.025
Earthquake region	-0.07	-0.06	-0.01	-0.07*	-0.07*	-0.05	-0.04	-0.03	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.05
Perception of threat		0.1*	0.06		0.05	0.04		0.13**	0.07		0.12**	0.086
Active coping		0.16***	0.01		0.1**	0.02		0.13**	-0.01		0.05	0.003
Avoidance coping		0.04	-0.04		0.07	0.01		-0.03	-0.07		0.08	0.061
Trust in all media			0.05			-0.01			-0.01			0.18***
Hard to evaluate misinformation			-0.09*			-0.04			-0.11*			-0.02
Exposed to misinformation			0.06			0.07			0.07			-0.037
Fact checking practices			0.16***			0.08*			0.15***			-0.002
Social understanding			0.11*			-0.03			0.3***			0.11*
Self-understanding			0.17***			0.16***			0.04			0.01
Play&communication			0.17***			0.26***			0.02			0.01
R ²	0.13	0.18	0.33	0.38	0.4	0.51	0.06	0.09	0.22	0.08	0.11	0.16

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

media goals and trust variables are introduced. Avoidance coping is not significantly connected to media use.

Trust in media drives only television use ($\beta = 0.18^{***}$). Attitudes towards misinformation were significant in determining media dependencies, except for television consumption. The perception of being able to fact-check information contribute to higher media use in general ($\beta = 0.16^{***}$) and to higher social ($\beta = 0.08^{***}$) and online media use ($\beta = 0.15^{***}$). Those who find it difficult to evaluate false from true information use media in general ($\beta = -0.09^*$) and online media ($\beta = -0.11^*$) less frequently. Different goals drive audiences to different media sources. The social understanding goal drives them to higher media use, television use and especially online media use, while orientation towards the self-understanding and play&communication goals contribute to media use in general as well as to social media use.

Explaining goals in media use

Age is also important in determining different goals in media use. Younger audiences are oriented towards play&communication ($\beta = -0.13^*$). Gender is also significant in explaining goals in media use. Women used media more for self-understanding ($\beta = -0.2^{***}$) and play&communication ($\beta = -0.08^*$). Isolation during lockdown significantly contributed to different goals in media use and audiences isolated at home during lockdown were oriented towards social understanding ($\beta = -0.08^*$), but even more to self-understanding ($\beta = -0.12^{**}$) and play&communication ($\beta = -0.1^{**}$) than those who were leaving their homes because of work.

Perception of threat and coping mechanisms were significant in explaining media use goals. Audiences who perceived threat to be high oriented themselves to social understanding ($\beta = 0.13^{***}$). Both active and avoidance coping were significant in explaining all media goals- however active coping is the strongest predictor of social understanding ($\beta = 0.18^{***}$) and avoidance coping is strongest predictor of self-understanding ($\beta = 0.2^{***}$).

Social understanding goal is explained by online media use ($\beta = 0.23^{***}$), trust in media ($\beta = 0.25^{***}$) and feelings of efficacy in fact-checking information ($\beta = 0.14^{***}$). Social media use and less self-confidence in dealing with misinformation drive audiences to media use which is oriented towards self-understanding or play&communication. Social media use ($\beta = 0.3^{***}$), trust in media ($\beta = 0.11^{***}$), but lack of self confidence in the ability to evaluate trustworthiness of facts ($\beta = 0.14^{***}$) predict higher orientation towards self. Social media use ($\beta = 0.4^{***}$) and a feeling of being exposed to misinformation ($\beta = 0.12^{***}$) drives audiences towards entertainment and relaxation uses of media.

TABLE 4
Results of the
regression analysis
predicting media use
goals

	Social understanding			Self-understanding			Play&communication		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Constant)	15.813	6.835	1.153	14.163	8.173	1.886	15.77	12.678	5.556
Age	0.15***	0.1*	0.09	-0.06	-0.07	0.11	-0.4***	-0.41	-0.13*
Gender	-0.1*	-0.05	-0.05	-0.25***	-0.21***	-0.2***	-0.1*	-0.07***	-0.08*
Isolation (vs. non-isolation)	-1.11*	-0.1*	-0.08*	-1.15***	-0.12**	-0.12**	-0.11**	-0.11**	-0.1*
Income	0.087	0.11*	0.08*	0.04	0.08	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.06
Education	0.008	-0.03	-0.06	-0.09	-0.13**	-0.15***	0.09*	0.06	0.04
Earthquake region (vs. non-earthquake)	-0.12**	-0.1**	-0.07	-0.07	-0.08	-0.06	-0.03	-0.03	0.01
Perception of threat		0.21***	0.13***		0.05	0.0		0.02	-0.01
Active coping		0.3***	0.18***		0.18***	0.14***		0.17***	0.1*
Avoidance coping		0.1*	0.07		0.24***	0.2***		0.1*	0.06
Social media use			0.0			0.3***			0.4***
Television use			0.04			-0.01			-0.00
Online media use			0.23***			0.06			-0.01
Trust in all media			0.25***			0.11**			0.06
Hard to evaluate misinformation			0.04			0.14***			0.01
Exposed to misinformation			0.06			-0.02			0.12**
Fact-checking practices			0.14***			0.05			0.05
R ²	0.06	0.22	0.38	0.1	0.22	0.31	0.21	0.25	0.38

p* < 0.05; *p* < 0.01; ****p* < 0.001

Explaining effects on emotional reactions

Surprisingly, although people in older age groups are at higher risk of negative consequences of the Covid-19 infection, older audiences had less negative emotional reactions to the crisis ($\beta = -0.20^{***}$). Women had significantly stronger emotional reactions to the crisis ($\beta = -0.28^{***}$). This was also shown in previous research (Lachlan et al., 2010). Perception of threat ($\beta = 0.3^{***}$), and avoidance coping ($\beta = 0.2^{***}$), both predict higher feelings of emotional distress, while active coping eases the feelings of distress ($\beta = -0.09^*$). Being in isolation or in the earthquake region did not have a significant effect on higher levels of emotional distress. Use of online media ($\beta = 0.11^*$) and perception of being exposed to misinformation ($\beta = 0.12^{**}$) are also connected to emotional distress. This goes in line with previous research which proved that higher media consumption during and after a traumatic event adds to psychological distress (Lachlan et al., 2010).

TABLE 5
Results of the
regression analysis
predicting emotional
reactions

	Emotional reactions		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Constant)	27.47	14.09	9.40
Age	-0.21***	-0.27***	-0.20***
Gender	-0.35***	-0.27***	-0.28***
Isolation (vs. non-isolation)	-0.06	-0.01	0.00
Income	-0.01	0.03	0.03
Education	-0.02	-0.01	-0.03
Earthquake region (vs. non-earthquake)	-0.07	-0.03	-0.03
Perception of threat		0.32***	0.30***
Active coping		-0.07*	-0.09*
Avoidance coping		0.20***	0.20***
Social media use			0.04
Television use			-0.05
Online media use			0.11*
Trust in all media			0.03
Hard to evaluate misinformation			0.06
Exposed to misinformation			0.12**
Fact-checking practices			-0.02
R ²	0.21	0.36	0.39

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

During crisis, audiences were using media for social understanding, self-understanding and play and communication. Interpreting this from the MDT perspective, it seems that both the need for relaxation, reflection and the need for information were equally important in the crisis period.

What emerges from the analysis is that the goal of social understanding is important for following professional news organisation sources. However, general trust in media predicts only the use of legacy media, television. Another important conclusion is that the most vulnerable audiences, with lower trust in media and who perceive themselves as not being able to detect misinformation seek information less, especially from professional news and expert sources.

Education was proven to be important in predicting media use during a crisis, especially online professional news, and expert sources. This is in line with previous research which showed that more educated audiences rely less on traditional media and use wider information sources to navigate in the crisis (Lowery, 2004). Younger audiences used media in general more, especially social media, and were oriented towards play&communication. Play as a major goal that youth pursue when facing a crisis, may imply that using media to help deal with stress and emotions is essential (Lyu, 2012). Older audiences were dependent on television, and oriented towards social understanding. Although older age groups in Croatia perceived the threat of Covid-19 as higher (Bagić & Šuljok, 2021), the results of this research suggest that negative emotional reactions to a crisis seem to become milder with age. This could be explained by the tendency of older age groups to be more successful in regulating negative emotions (Knepple Carney et al., 2021).

Women's total media use and television use was higher, as they used media more for self-understanding and play&communication and had stronger emotional reactions to the crisis. Previous research suggests that women in crisis tend to ruminate more on the received information, which raises the level of negative emotional reactions (Lachlan et al., 2010). Women in Croatia perceived Covid-19 to be a greater threat than men did (Bagić & Šuljok, 2021). Qualitative research about the way women responded to the Covid-19 crisis and lockdown discovered gender inequalities in the way the burden of crisis is distributed (Brajdić Vuković & Doolan, 2021). Women focused on their emotional states and household routines and took the role of the glue of the household (Brajdić Vuković & Doolan, 2021). This could explain why the self-understanding and play&communication orientation was more pronounced in the way women used media.

Being affected by an earthquake or being isolated at home during lockdown mostly did not have a significant effect on media use. There were some differences between regions hit by the earthquake and those who were not affected, as audiences from the Zagreb area were more dependent on social media and oriented towards social understanding. However, this correlation was lost when media trust and misinforma-

tion were included. Isolation during lockdown, however, significantly contributed to differences in media use, and audiences isolated at home were oriented towards social understanding, but even more to self-understanding and play&communication. Being in isolation or in an earthquake region did not provoke higher levels of emotional distress. Although these results seem surprising, it is shown that severity and scale of crisis is sometimes less important for media dependency than the way the crisis is perceived (Melki & Kozman, 2021). Another analysis confirmed that there were no significant differences in perceived stress between the Zagreb region and others after the earthquake, suggesting that news about the earthquake could have caused stress in other regions as well (Uzelac et al., 2021).

Perception of threat, ways of coping with stress, and perception of misinformation had greater effect on media use and emotional distress than being more directly exposed to a stressful event. Audiences who perceived threat to be high tended to orient themselves to social understanding in their media use and had stronger negative emotional reactions to stress. Active approach in coping with stress was correlated with higher media use for different purposes and less emotional distress. On the other hand, avoidance coping has no correlation to media use, is connected to self-understanding and contributes to greater emotional distress. In this case, media use seems to mostly have had a role in alleviating stress through active coping, while avoidance coping resulted with more withdrawal from media use and stronger emotional distress. However, the use of online media was correlated with higher emotional distress. Previous research showed that clear and factual communication alleviates stress during crisis, while ambiguous information could heighten perceived threat and provoke the spread of misinformation (Garfin et al., 2020).

Perception of misinformation added another level of anxiety and contributed to differences in media use. Those who found it difficult to evaluate false from true information used media less and were orientated towards self. The feeling of being exposed to misinformation drove audiences towards entertainment and relaxation uses of media and had an impact on higher emotional distress. On the other hand, audiences who self-reported use of fact-checking practices in a greater amount used media more and were oriented towards social understanding.

This study has several limitations. First, the convenience sample is biased towards certain socio-demographic groups, so the results should be interpreted with this in mind. Second, data collection started almost three weeks after most of the measures of restriction of movement were taken, and two weeks after an earthquake hit Zagreb. Therefore, media use

and effects might have been higher in the beginning of the crisis. Third, the results only reflect the situation during the first wave of the pandemic, and do not explain changes in media use and trust in other waves of the pandemic. However, the study offered some evidence on how media dependency functions in a high-choice media environment. Even when audiences can freely select between many different information sources, this study shows that professional news organisations are still relied on the most for the goal of social understanding and information, while social media are more connected to entertainment and interpersonal communication uses.

NOTES

¹ Social media use is computed by adding these frequencies of use: following social media posts, instant messaging, YouTube use, using music via Internet and streaming services (Cronbach $\alpha = 0.77$). Online media use is computed from online newspapers, digital born media, international media, websites of official authorities and experts (Cronbach $\alpha = 0.72$). As international media form a factor together with online media, we suppose the audiences in this sample consume international media mostly through online sources. Television use is computed from commercial and public television (Cronbach $\alpha = 0.64$).

² Original variables were based on the statements: The current situation is very dangerous; I am worried about the current situation; I am personally vulnerable in this situation; Someone close to me is vulnerable in this situation. Respondents marked their agreement on a four-point scale – from 1 (I completely disagree) to 4 (I completely agree).

³ The strength of these emotions was measured on a scale from 1 (never or almost never) to 5 (very often or always). Participants answered the question: "How often did you feel like this in the previous month?". The instrument was adapted from Lachlan et al., 2009.

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Ovisnost o medijima u višestrukoj krizi: informiranje i povjerenje u medije nakon potresa uslijed pandemije koronavirusa

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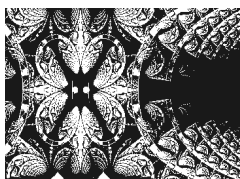
U radu se analizira odnos između povjerenja u medije i informiranja iz perspektive teorije ovisnosti o medijima. Cilj je istraživanja otkriti ciljeve upotrebe medija tijekom krize te način na koji povjerenje i percepcija misinformacija utječu

na upotrebu medija. Istraživanje je provedeno u proljeće 2020. godine, tijekom pandemije virusa Covid-19, a nakon potresa koji je pogodio Zagreb. Podaci su prikupljeni internetskom anketom na prigodnom uzorku ($N = 741$). Identificirana su tri cilja upotrebe medija: razumijevanje društva, razumijevanje sebe te igra i komunikacija. Obrazovanje, dob i spol značajni su prediktori upotrebe medija tijekom krize. Povjerenje u medije povezano je s upotrebom tradicionalnih medija i potrebom za razumijevanjem društva, dok je percepcija izloženosti misinformacijama korelirana sa smanjenom upotrebom medija.

Ključne riječi: teorija ovisnosti o medijima, upotreba medija, povjerenje u medije, kriza, Covid-19



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THE ROLE OF STAKEHOLDER HETEROGENEITY IN THE CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY – CORPORATE FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE RELATIONSHIP

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Empirical evidence on the relationship between corporate social responsibility (CSR) and corporate financial performance (CFP) remains contentious in terms of both its direction and causality. The presented study explores the intervening roles of stakeholder heterogeneity and the time dimension in the CSR–CFP relationship. We posit that there is a positive relationship between CSR activities towards market stakeholders (employees, customers, competitors) and future CFP and a negative relationship between CSR activities towards non-market stakeholders (NGOs, society, natural environment) and future CFP. A conceptual model is analysed using a sample of 115 Croatian companies. Countering expectations, a positive relationship is observed for all stakeholder groups considered (market and non-market), showing that CSR is a coherent construct regardless of the stakeholder group being studied. The key managerial implication is that socially responsible action is also in a company's economic interest.

Keywords: corporate social responsibility, financial performance, stakeholders, stakeholder pressures, PLS-SEM, Croatia



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INTRODUCTION

It was long held that the sole aim of running a business is to increase the value for shareholders (Friedman, 1970). Yet, in the mid 1980s Freeman (1984) argued that a wider group of stakeholders' interests should be considered while running a business, giving rise to the concept of corporate social responsibility (CSR). CSR is an interesting object of enquiry in two contexts. In a social one, it represents a corporate response to societal problems, such as environmental pollution, climate change, economic inequality and poverty, public health issues. CSR activities can contribute to environmental protection, better health, education level, and general well-being (Książak, 2016). In an economic context, although CSR is costly for firms, it is also vital for their economic survival (Clarkson, 1995) and can even induce an increase in economic rents (Cadez et al., 2019). The latter is an ideal scenario, meaning that firms are simultaneously socially responsible and improve their financial performance.

While CSR is gaining prominence in business practice (Godfrey et al., 2009), for most companies the bottom line remains the ultimate goal. The relationship between CSR and corporate financial performance (CFP) is extensively investigated in business literature, yet evidence on it remains contentious. The nature of the relationship is the first concern. Theoretically, two competing rationales appear in the literature: the trade-off rationale posits a negative relationship while the social impact rationale proposes a positive one. Empirical evidence is nowhere near conclusive in this regard (Galant & Cadez, 2017). The second ambiguity is the causality of the relationship. Although CSR is typically theorised as a driver of CFP, it is equally likely that CSR is driven by CFP since financial resources are needed to engage in socially responsible action (Soana, 2011).

The stakeholder heterogeneity perspective builds on the fact that CSR is a holistic concept comprising responsible corporate action towards a range of different stakeholders. These mixed stakeholders are not only very heterogeneous in their demands upon companies, but in their ability to affect their financial performance (Cadez et al., 2019). Market stakeholders are highly influential by economically transacting with companies, meaning their decisions can trigger an immediate rise/shortfall in economic rents. On the contrary, non-market stakeholders do not make economic transactions with companies but may influence their economic rents indirectly by conveying information (Cadez et al., 2019).

This study's purpose is to explore the intervening role of stakeholder heterogeneity in the relationship between CSR and CFP. The influence of stakeholder heterogeneity is a sur-

prisingly under-researched topic despite the prospects of it meaningfully explaining many contradictory results in the literature. More precisely, informed by stakeholder theory, we examine whether the social impact hypothesis applies more to corporate responsibility towards market stakeholders and the trade-off hypothesis applies more to corporate responsibility vis-à-vis non-market stakeholders. The proposed conceptual model also involves the time dimension and examines the reciprocal nature of the CSR–CFP relationship.

Data to test the proposed model were collected from a sample of 115 Croatian medium-sized and large companies. Croatia is an interesting idiosyncratic context given that it has recently undergone major social change (Cadez, 2013). Until 1991, Croatia was a socialist country with social (as opposed to state) company ownership (Rant et al., 2020). Notable characteristics of socialist companies were mandatory respect of employees' rights and mandatory donations to society without any direct economic benefit (Vuković et al., 2020). In the early 1990s, it transformed radically into a capitalist country, including ending companies' extensive social programmes (Iankova, 2008). Nevertheless, today remnants of socialism like social responsibility over the profit motive sometimes persist in the region (Cadez & Guilding, 2012).

The study provides several contributions to the literature. First, it establishes differences in the CSR–CFP relationship concerning various stakeholder groups. Given that stakeholder demands may be indefinite while corporate resources are limited, these differences could be a helpful pointer for managers regarding how to balance CSR activities to increase financial performance. Second, it incorporates the time dimension and reciprocity of the CSR–CFP relationship. The third contribution is evidence from an under-researched context, i.e. a small, transitional country with limited experience with capitalism.

The paper is structured as follows. Based on the theoretical background and literature review, a conceptual model is developed and a hypothesis defined. The method and results are next presented. The paper concludes with a discussion and conclusion.

THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Stakeholder theory

While discussing the business case for CSR, two views emerge: the "shareholder perspective" and "stakeholder perspective". According to the former, the main responsibility of a business is to preserve and increase the company's value for its own-

ers (shareholders). Its main proponent Milton Friedman (1970) argued the sole "social responsibility of business" is to "increase its profits" whilst staying "within the rules of the game" (Porter & Kramer, 2002). In Friedman's view, investments in CSR activities are resource-consuming and decrease profit and shareholder value.

The opposite view, the "stakeholder perspective", was introduced by Freeman (1984) as stakeholder theory. In stakeholder theory, company and business executives should "take into account all individuals and groups with a "stake" in or claim on the company". Stakeholders make up part of society from which companies derive resources, meaning companies should care about society. The definition of stakeholders initially only included human stakeholders. Starik (1995) proposed an extended definition by introducing non-human groups and individuals. In this extended definition, stakeholders are "any naturally occurring entity which affects or is affected by organizational performance". Consistent with this theory, companies should shift their focus from shareholders value maximisation to maximising the value of multiple stakeholders (Becchetti & Trovato, 2011).

Corporate social responsibility (CSR)

The multitude of CSR definitions found in the literature enjoy only limited consensus on the concept's meaning (Wang et al., 2020). Following content analysis of different CSR definitions, Dahlsrud (2008) identified five key dimensions of CSR: environmental, social, economic, stakeholders and voluntariness. The European Commission's (2002) definition of CSR covers all five dimensions: "a concept whereby companies integrate social and environmental concerns in their business operations and in their interaction with their stakeholders on a voluntary basis".

Corporate financial performance (CFP)

CFP typically relates to accounting-based parameters like profit, profitability and cash flow. Another type are market-based parameters, such as share price and market value, although these are only available for listed companies (Galant & Cadez, 2017).

CSR–CFP relationship

Theoretically, two opposing rationales appear in the literature on the CSR–CFP relationship (Preston & O'Bannon, 1997): the trade-off hypothesis and the social impact hypothesis.

The trade-off hypothesis, typically advanced by neoclassic economists, argues that CSR is costly and thus greater CSR

lowers financial performance (Friedman, 1970). For example, financial support given to NGOs or societal projects is an imminent financial outlay without any direct financial returns. This view has also received empirical support (Baird et al., 2012; Lin et al., 2019; Makni et al., 2009).

However, the social impact hypothesis posits that appeasing stakeholders' demands led them to make favourable economic choices and thereby increases economic rents (Cadez et al., 2019). The underlying expectation is that appeased, such stakeholders will change or align their behaviour in a manner that increases the company's financial performance. This view also finds ample empirical support.

In reality, these fairly straightforward expectations are shaped by at least three important intervening variables: time, CSR scale, and stakeholder heterogeneity.

As for the time dimension, the reciprocal effects between CSR and CFP are likely to be time-lagged. For example, while socially responsible corporate actions generally involve imminent cost outlays (and thus deteriorated current CFP), favourable stakeholder reactions to these actions may be time-lagged since changing one's behaviour is often a long journey. Namely, in the short term the effect of CSR on CFP may be negative while in the longer term it may become positive. Another time-related issue is causality. It is reasonable to assume that more profitable companies have more resources which they can allocate to CSR activities (Soana, 2011). In other words, it may be that current CSR is driven by past CFP (Waddock & Graves, 1997).

The second intervening variable is the scale of the CSR. Some studies report that the relationship between CSR and CFP is not linear but U-shaped or inverse U-shaped (Barnett & Salomon, 2012; Wang et al., 2008). This not only suggests that the financial returns from CSR are diminishing/increasing but even that the relationship could be positive within one relevant range and negative within another. We do not delve into the issue of (non)linearity in this study.

The third intervening variable is stakeholder heterogeneity. As mentioned, balancing multiple stakeholder claims is complex due to both the heterogeneity of their claims and their abilities to affect economic rents. Market stakeholders are those that engage in economic transactions with the company (e.g. customers, employees, competitors). In effect, their favourable or unfavourable economic choices hold the power to trigger an immediate increase or shortfall in economic rents (Cadez et al., 2019). Non-market stakeholders are those that do not make economic transactions with the company (e.g. NGOs, society, natural environment). While they do not have the

ability to influence economic rents directly via economic transactions, they can be indirectly influential by conveying information (Henriques & Sadorsky, 1999).

The role of stakeholder heterogeneity in the CSR–CFP relationship

The different transactional nature of market and non-market stakeholder groups led Cadez et al. (2019) to argue that the social impact hypothesis rationale appears more valid for market stakeholders that engage in economic transactions with the company while the trade-off hypothesis rationale appears to apply more to non-transacting stakeholders. Nevertheless, to complicate matters, responsible action vis-à-vis one stakeholder group can be observed with other stakeholder groups (spillover effects). For example, environmental pollution is most devastating for the natural environment, a stakeholder group without the power to influence the economic rents of polluting companies. However, corporate eco-friendly behaviour can be viewed favourably by transacting market stakeholders and may materialise in their favourable economic choices (Liu et al., 2017), thus eco-friendly cost outlays might materialise in increased financial performance indirectly via favourable economic choices of third parties.

The proposed conceptual model for testing in this study is shown in Figure 1. The central interest of the study is the two-way relationship between stakeholder-group-oriented CSR and CFP, but also includes two highly influential contingencies: stakeholder pressures and company size.



FIGURE 1
Conceptual model

Note: Stakeholder-group-oriented CSR in this study includes corporate responsibilities regarding six distinct stakeholder groups: (1) employee responsibility (2) customer responsibility, (3) competitor responsibility, (4) NGO responsibility, (5) societal responsibility, and (6) environmental responsibility.

The influence of stakeholder heterogeneity is tested by analysing six variations of the conceptual model; one for each stakeholder group appraised. We examine three stakeholder

groups from each of the two higher-order groupings, i.e. market and non-market stakeholders. Market stakeholders are represented in this study by employees, customers and competitors. Non-market stakeholders are represented by NGOs, society and the natural environment. Considering the different transacting nature of these stakeholders (market vs non-market), both theoretical rationales (social impact hypothesis and trade-off hypothesis) are considered when deriving the expected relationships.

Hypotheses development

Consistent with previous arguments, it is reasonable to assume that financially successful companies have accumulated more resources available for current and future CSR activities (Soana, 2011). In fact, CFP is often viewed as essential for a company to be able to meet social demands and be socially responsible. Accordingly, we hypothesise that CFP is positively related to CSR. We also posit that this relationship is time-lagged since accumulated financial resources are a precondition for socially responsible conduct (Godfrey & Hatch, 2007).

Empirical evidence supports a positive relationship expectation. Nelling & Webb (2009), for example, found that CSR is positively related with a company's prior financial performance. Similarly, Erhemjamts et al. (2013) determined that less financially constrained companies are more likely to engage in CSR practices. Based on the rationale and earlier evidence, the following hypothesis is advanced.

Hypothesis 1: Past-year CFP is positively associated with stakeholder-group-oriented CSR.

Employees are a key stakeholder in any organisation. By engaging in CSR programmes that are human resources (HR) oriented, companies can benefit from increased job satisfaction, reduced turnover intentions, higher organisational commitment, less absenteeism, greater productivity, higher motivation, improved reputation and fostered proactive behaviour. This makes it likely that the financial benefits of their favourable reactions are time-lagged as employees and prospective employees first need to observe CSR actions and then align their reactions accordingly, with both being time-consuming activities (Kacperczyk, 2009). While employee responsibility is associated with imminent cost outlays (and may thus even deteriorate current CFP), we posit that these are outweighed by future financial benefits.

Several empirical studies report a positive effect of HR-oriented CSR actions on CFP (Saleh et al., 2011), which leads us to the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2a: Employee responsibility is positively associated with next-year CFP.

Customers are another key stakeholder that act as 'rewarding and punishing authorities' whose decisions to buy (or not) directly affect bottom lines. By improving customers' satisfaction, companies can secure long-term superior economic returns via their willingness to buy, customer retention, customer loyalty, and attraction of new customers by word of mouth. Moreover, reputation is also an important consideration when attracting new customers. Consistent with the rationale in the preceding hypothesis, we posit that favourable reactions are time-lagged as customers and prospective customers first need to observe responsible actions and align their reactions accordingly, which may be time-consuming.

As for empirical evidence, a positive effect of customer responsibility on CFP was found by Gregory et al. (2014). Still, Hillman & Keim (2001) found no association between customer-oriented CSR and profitability. Despite the mixed empirical evidence, we follow the theoretical rationale and propose the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2b: Customer responsibility is positively associated with next-year CFP.

Competitors are not simply rivals in the market, but can also be current or potential business partners (customers, suppliers), a source of mutual support or even collaboration to ensure survival in the market (Spence et al., 2001). Collaboration between competitors is common in areas of research, development and innovation, joint lobbying efforts or on industry panels for dealing with labour and other problems (Harrison & John, 1996). In effect, good competitor relations can result in cost savings or sales increases, while bad relations can be detrimental for all companies involved. Dissatisfied competitors can release negative information about their rivals to the public, which may then trigger unfavourable behaviour by other stakeholders (Harrison & John, 1996). In line with the same rationale as in the previous hypotheses, we hypothesise that this effect is time-lagged.

Hypothesis 2c: Competitor responsibility is positively associated with next-year CFP.

NGOs' main social purpose is to increase the quality of life for society or for a group of people that the NGO represents. In attempting to do so, they can engage in either confrontational or collaborative action with companies (Arenas et al., 2009). Confrontational action involves conducts like protests, civil lawsuits and letter-writing campaigns in order to

meet their interests (Eesley & Lenox, 2006). If such actions accrue, direct costs (e.g. legal fees, public relations expenses) and indirect costs (negative image and reputation) are likely (Eesley & Lenox, 2006). For these reasons, collaborative action is often preferred over confrontation. Still, while harnessing collaborative actions is inevitably resource-consuming, the benefits (e.g. NGOs' advice and expertise, public support) might not materialise financially (Peloza, 2006). Given these arguments, we expect that the costs of NGOs' responsibility outweigh the potential financial benefits. Consistent with the earlier hypotheses, we posit that this relationship is time-lagged.

Hypothesis 2d: NGOs' responsibility is negatively associated with next-year CFP.

Companies are citizens whose creation and continued existence inevitably depends on society and hence they have a moral responsibility to contribute back to society (O'Higgins, 2010). This contribution can take many different forms such as public programmes, donations, sponsorships, charity actions etc. It is evident that these actions entail direct financial costs whereas short-term financial benefits are unlikely, meaning a negative effect is expected on CFP.

Contrary to the theoretical rationale presented above, some studies report a positive relationship between societal responsibility and CFP (Gregory et al., 2014). A potential factor at play here is spillover effects. In other words, societal responsibility is observed by other stakeholders (which essentially all form the society as the highest-order stakeholder group) and thus the potential benefits of societal responsibility may be indirect through the favourable economic decisions of other stakeholders (for example, customers may be willing to buy more from socially responsible companies). Acknowledging the disparity between the theoretical rationale and empirical evidence, we follow the theoretical rationale and propose the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2e: Societal responsibility is negatively associated with next-year CFP.

The traditional view held that environmentally responsible action (pollution prevention, waste clean-up, eco-friendly technology etc.) is costly for a company with no direct benefits because the natural environment does not engage in economic transactions with companies (King & Lenox, 2002). Yet, the contemporary perspective views pollution as a result of inefficiencies in production processes (Cadez & Guilding, 2017). In effect, a carefully crafted environmental strategy that is in

harmony with the concept of eco-efficiency (Czerny & Letmathe, 2017) can trigger the double dividend of greater resource efficiency (and in turn reduced costs) and lower pollution (King & Lenox, 2002).

The empirical evidence is equivocal. Secinaro et al. (2020) found that good environmental performance is positively associated with good economic performance. However, Hillman & Keim (2001) and Berman et al. (1999) found no relation between environmental concerns and CFP, while Wagner et al. (2002) established a uniformly negative relationship. In light of the opposing theoretical rationales and mixed empirical evidence, we follow the higher-order trade-off hypothesis and put forward the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2f: Environmental responsibility is negatively associated with next-year CFP.

An important reason for engaging in CSR is responding to stakeholder pressures. Stakeholder pressure can be defined as "the ability and capacity of stakeholders to affect an organization by influencing its organizational decisions" (Helmig et al., 2016). We hypothesise that the scale of CSR is contingent upon the intensity of stakeholder pressures. At low intensities, companies make more superficial responses (Boiral et al., 2012), such as impressions management. On the contrary, high intensity contexts require more substantial responses by integrating social and environmental considerations into strategic planning processes (Delmas & Toffel, 2008).

The empirical evidence supports this expectation. Yu & Choi (2016) found that stakeholder pressure has a positive influence on the adoption of CSR practices. Considering only environmental-related CSR practices, Cadez et al. (2019) also found a positive effect of stakeholder pressure on environmental practices.

Hypothesis 3: Stakeholder pressures are positively associated with stakeholder-group-oriented CSR.

Another important determinant of CSR identified in prior research is company size. Large companies are more visible in society and hence are likely to be pressured towards higher levels of social responsibility than small companies (Udayasankar, 2008). Further, from the push side, large companies also possess more resources which can be directed to CSR activities than small companies (Udayasankar, 2008). Theoretical reasoning thus supports a positive relationship between size and current CSR (Brammer & Millington, 2006).

Empirical evidence is also supportive of this expectation as the positive effect of size on CSR dominates in the empiri-

cal literature. However, in the interest of objectivity, no effect of size on CSR has also been documented (e.g. Wu, 2006), as well as a U-shaped relationship between size and CSR (small and large companies exhibit higher levels of CSR than medium-sized ones) (Udaysankar, 2008).

Hypothesis 4: Company size is positively associated with stakeholder-group-oriented CSR.

METHODOLOGY

Variable measurement

CSR was measured using an instrument developed by Turker (2009). The instrument gauges socially responsible action towards each stakeholder group separately. We deployed 26 items from Turker's instrument relevant to our study: 6 for employee responsibility, 3 for customer responsibility, 5 for societal responsibility, 4 for competitor responsibility, 4 for environmental responsibility, and 4 for NGO responsibility. The scale for socially responsible action vis-à-vis different stakeholders ranged from 1 (low responsibility) to 5 (high responsibility). For each group, the summated score was calculated as the average of original items.

CFP was measured by Return on Equity (ROE). Past-year CFP was measured using ROE for the year 2015, while next-year CFP was measured using ROE for 2017.

As for contingency variables, stakeholder pressures were measured with an instrument developed by Buysse & Verbeke (2003). Respondents were asked to assess the level of different stakeholder pressures on a 5-point Likert scale (1 – no influence at all, 5 – very strong influence). The non-human stakeholder natural environment was not included in the assessment of stakeholder pressures. Size was measured with total assets in 2016. Due to the non-normal distribution of the variable, the natural logarithm was used.

Data analysis

PLS path modelling was applied using the software application Smart PLS (Ringle et al., 2015) to analyse the proposed model. In total, six models were analysed, one for each stakeholder group appraised. Original items (collected with a questionnaire) were used as indicators for stakeholder-group-oriented CSR (e.g. employee responsibility is represented with six questionnaire items concerning employees).

Model testing was conducted in two commonly suggested steps (Hair et al., 2017). The measurement model (outer model) was assessed first (single indicator constructs were not included in the measurement model's evaluation) for internal

consistency reliability, indicator reliability, and convergent and discriminant validity. The estimation of the structural (inner) model followed upon confirmation that the measurement model holds in terms of reliability and validity.

Data and sample

For purposes of this research, two datasets were collected: data on CSR and data on CFP. Data on CSR were collected using an online survey questionnaire. A questionnaire deemed to be the most suitable option given the lack of archival data for the context examined in this study, thus rendering reputational indices and content analysis useless. The survey instruments were adopted from prior studies and translated into Croatian.

The target population was large companies while the target respondents were top managers in these companies. The sampling frame comprised all large Croatian companies, the 500 biggest medium-sized companies, banks, insurance companies and publicly listed companies (not included in previous groups), making a total of 912 companies. The survey data collection occurred between November 2016 and March 2017. The final sample comprises 115 companies.

Data on CFP were collected from companies' financial reports for 2015 and 2017. Financial reports were taken from Poslovna.hr (Poslovna.hr, 2019). An accounting-based measure was used to assess CFP since such a measure better reflects the internal efficiency of a company (Vitezić et al., 2012) and because they are widely available.

Descriptive statistics are presented in Table 1. As seen in the table, most variables are negatively skewed with means closer to the highest than lowest value, indicating relatively high levels of CSR activities.

TABLE 1
Descriptive statistics

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. dev.	Skewness	Kurtosis
Employee responsibility	115	1	5	3.83	0.76	-0.81	1.26
Customer responsibility	115	2	5	4.48	0.59	-1.33	2.12
Societal responsibility	115	1.2	5	4.25	0.67	-1.61	4.39
Competitor responsibility	115	2.25	5	4.17	0.63	-0.62	0.36
Environmental responsibility	115	1	5	4.26	0.76	-1.40	2.78
NGO responsibility	115	1.75	5	3.46	0.75	-0.13	-0.16
Employee pressures	115	1	5	3.63	0.95	-0.31	-0.24
Customer pressures	115	1	5	3.85	1.03	-0.83	0.39
Society pressures	115	1	5	3.80	0.95	-0.78	0.62
Competitor pressures	115	1	5	3.30	1.07	-0.42	-0.33
NGO pressures	115	1	5	2.93	1.06	-0.09	-0.50
LN Total assets	115	16.74	25.38	20.25	1.76	0.55	0.17
CFP t-1	115	-1.00	0.80	0.09	0.21	-1.13	8.24
CFP t+1	115	-3.66	1.10	0.05	0.49	-5.88	40.91

Table 2 presents correlation coefficients between constructs of interest in this study. As the table shows, corporate responsibilities towards different stakeholder groups were fairly strongly positively correlated with each other. The lowest correlation was observed between NGO responsibility and environmental responsibility (0.50) and the highest between employee responsibility and competitor responsibility (0.75).

Of particular interest in this study were the correlations between corporate responsibilities towards different stakeholder groups and financial performance. The correlations between responsibilities and future financial performance were quite small, but all positive (opposite to what we expected for three stakeholder groups), and with one exception, statistically significant. The highest correlation was observed between environmental responsibility and future financial performance (0.23). The only non-significant correlation was between competitor responsibility and future financial performance. Interestingly, past financial performance was not related to stakeholder-group-oriented responsibilities at statistically significant levels for any of the six stakeholder groups appraised.

TABLE 2
Correlation matrix

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
(1) Employee responsibility	1									
(2) Customer responsibility	0.60***	1								
(3) Societal responsibility	0.71***	0.60***	1							
(4) Competitor responsibility	0.75***	0.61***	0.69***	1						
(5) Environmental responsibility	0.64***	0.52***	0.64***	0.65**	1					
(6) NGO responsibility	0.61***	0.53***	0.63***	0.60***	0.50***	1				
(7) Stakeholder pressures	0.57***	0.44***	0.50***	0.46***	0.48***	0.59***	1			
(8) Size	-0.14	-0.15	0.02	-0.20**	-0.04	0.13	-0.02	1		
(9) CFP t-1	0.16*	0.17*	0.17*	0.15	0.23**	0.16*	0.08	-0.13	1	
(10) CFP t+1	0.03	0.13	0.08	0.04	0.09	0.10	0.02	-0.17*	0.38***	1

Note: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

STRUCTURAL MODEL TESTING: RESULTS

We first estimated six measurement models (one for each stakeholder group examined). Details are not presented due to the large number of parameters estimated (i.e. 30 loadings were estimated in 6 models, each model comprised 5 loadings for stakeholder pressure indicators and 3 to 5 loadings for stakeholder-group-oriented CSR indicators). No indicator was eliminated from the analysis. Composite reliability was higher than 0.70 and AVE was higher than 0.5 in all sub-models. Discriminant validity was established by analysing the HTMT criterion (values below 0.85) and cross-loadings (no loadings detected). The Fornell-Larcker criterion was also met.

Estimation of the Structural model started with a collinearity assessment. The analysis showed that collinearity did not represent a problem in any model. The next step was to assess the path coefficients using a bootstrapping procedure (see Table 3). The path coefficient from stakeholder-group-oriented CSR activities to ROE t+1 was positive and statistically significant in all estimated models (t statistics > 1.65 and p values < 0.10). Contrary to the trade-off motivated hypotheses, no negative coefficients were detected in any model for the CSR – ROE t+1 path. The path coefficient from ROE t-1 to CSR was significant only for NGO responsibility and was positive (t statistics > 1.65 and p values < 0.10).

As for CSR contingencies, the path from stakeholder pressures to stakeholder-group-oriented CSR was very strong and significant across all models. The path from size to stakeholder-group-oriented CSR was significant in three models (employees, competitors, NGOs) but in different directions (positive for NGO responsibility and negative for employee and competitor responsibility).

Regarding effect sizes, a large effect was only detected for the path from stakeholder pressures to CSR (in all sub-models appraised). The effect size for the relationship between stakeholder-oriented CSR activities and ROE t+1 in all sub-models was small. The predictive relevance (Q2) of the exogenous construct on the endogenous construct was assessed using a blindfolding procedure. The Q2 values of endogenous constructs in all sub-models tested are larger than 0, indicating that exogenous constructs hold predictive relevance for the endogenous construct (Hair et al., 2017).

TABLE 3
Structural model
estimation for the
six sub-models

Relationship (path)	Path coefficients, t-tests, significance and goodness of model fit for the six sub-models					
	Responsibility					
	Employee	Customer	Competitor	NGO	Societal	Environmental
SGOCSR -> CFP t+1	0.16** p = 0.02 t = 2.49	0.17*** p = 0.00 t = 2.85	0.17** p = 0.01 t = 2.54	0.16** p = 0.045 t = 2.01	0.16* p = 0.07 t = 1.84	0.23** p = 0.01 t = 2.51
CFP t-1-> SGOCSR	0.01 p = 0.94 t = 0.07	0.11 p = 0.22 t = 1.22	0.00 p = 0.98 t = 0.02	0.12** p = 0.04 t = 2.04	0.08 p = 0.40 t = 0.85	0.07 p = 0.48 t = 0.71
Stak. pressures -> SGOCSR	0.62*** p = 0.00 t = 10.28	0.46*** p = 0.00 t = 5.80	0.52*** p = 0.00 t = 8.00	0.65*** p = 0.00 t = 12.50	0.57*** p = 0.00 t = 9.11	0.50*** p = 0.00 t = 5.56
Size -> SGOCSR	-0.13* p = 0.08 t = 1.76	-0.13 p = 0.11 t = 1.60	-0.20** p = 0.02 t = 2.44	0.14* p = 0.07 t = 1.82	0.04 p = 0.67 t = 0.43	-0.01 p = 0.90 t = 0.13
SRMR value	0.09	0.09	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.08

Note: SGOCSR: stakeholder-group-oriented CSR, i.e. employee responsibility in model 1, customer responsibility in model 2 etc.

***p < 0.01; **p < 0.05; *p < 0.1

Overall model fit was acceptable in all six sub-models with SRMR values not exceeding 0.10 in any model (SRMR values presented in Table 3).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study aimed to contribute to the lingering debate on the nature of the CSR–CFP relationship by disentangling the perspectives of stakeholder heterogeneity and time.

The relationship between stakeholder-group-oriented CSR and future CFP was positive for all six stakeholder groups examined (employees, customers, competitors, NGOs, society, natural environment). A positive relationship for market-stakeholders (employees, customers, competitors) had been expected. These stakeholders engage in economic transactions with companies and can influence their financial performance directly with the economic choices they make (Cadez et al., 2019).

Contrary to expectations, however, a positive relationship was also established for all non-market stakeholder groups appraised in this study (NGOs, society, natural environment) where we had posited a negative relationship. This is somewhat surprising as these groups are unable to influence financial performance directly with their economic choices (NGOs, society) or do not make economic choices at all (natural environment) (Cadez et al., 2019).

This counterintuitive finding calls for explanations. One potential explanation is the presence of spillover effects. Namely, it is possible that socially responsible actions towards non-market stakeholder groups were observed by market stakeholders which, in turn, did influence their economic choices (Liu et al., 2017). This is consistent with the argument of Henriques & Sadosky (1999) that non-market stakeholders are indirectly influential by conveying information to other stakeholder groups. Another possible explanation concerns the different scales of responsibility vis-à-vis different groups (Barnett & Salomon, 2012). For example, it is possible that the partial effect of responsibility towards non-market stakeholders is indeed negative, but in line with the meritocracy argument the scale of this responsibility (the amount invested) might be relatively small (Phillips et al., 2003). In effect, the negative effect may be outweighed by the positive relationship between responsibility towards market stakeholders and financial performance where the scale of responsibility (amount invested) is likely to be larger and the effect size hence also larger (Barnett & Salomon, 2012).

Also countering our expectations, the relationship between past CFP and current-stakeholder-group-oriented CSR

was not statistically significant in five of the six models considered. Counter to some prior evidence (Ehremjamts et al., 2013), it appears that the decisions to invest resources in CSR activities in Croatian firms are not driven by past profitability, but other contingency factors.

Concerning the influence of alternative contingencies on CSR, a strong and significant relationship across all models was identified for stakeholder pressures. This is consistent with the findings of Cadez et al. (2019) that stakeholder pressures are an important determinant of corporate socially responsible action.

The other contingency variable examined, company size, exhibits a mixed relationship with stakeholder-group-oriented CSR. The negative relationship between size and employee responsibility indicates that appeasing employees for motivation and retention may be a more important issue for SMEs than for large firms (Jenkins, 2006). This is consistent with Santos (2011), who found that SMEs place a bigger emphasis on workplace health, safety and hygiene and human resource management (HRM). The negative relationship between size and competitor responsibility might indicate the inferior competitive position of smaller firms relative to large firms in the market and they therefore must pay more attention to maintaining good relationships with their competitors (Cadez & Guilding, 2008).

From a theoretical perspective, this study shows that CSR is a relatively coherent construct, despite it embodying responsibilities towards very heterogeneous stakeholder groups with different, even mutually conflicting demands (Evan & Freeman, 1988). Coherence is evident from the fairly high correlations between responsibilities towards different stakeholder groups and from the two highly uniform relationships in all sub-models tested (stakeholder pressures–stakeholder-group-oriented CSR; stakeholder-group-oriented CSR–financial performance). Nevertheless, the study also provides evidence that the CSR construct is not unidimensional. This is seen in the fact that the correlations between responsibilities towards different stakeholder groups are not excessively high and also from the mixed relationship between company size and stakeholder-group-oriented CSR across different stakeholder groups.

The key managerial implication of this study is that socially responsible action is also in a company's economic interest. The findings also suggest the effect size on financial performance is similar irrespective of which stakeholder group is appeased by the socially responsible action. This finding is consistent with the 'double dividend effect' (Cadez & Guilding, 2017). With socially responsible action, companies con-

tribute not only to the well-being of society and to sustainable development, but also improve their financial performance. This finding is particularly relevant for the examined context (i.e. a former socialist country) where profit maximisation has only recently replaced social responsibility as the main corporate agenda (Cadez & Guilding, 2012).

A central limitation of this research concerns the data. The small sample size can be identified as a research limitation. Response bias may also be present since company representatives might want to present their companies as being more socially responsible than they actually are. Data on CSR and profitability refer to the period 2015 to 2017, however, they reflect the social responsibility and profitability of companies in 'normal' business conditions (before the COVID-19 pandemic). Moreover, the focus of the quantitative analysis was on short-term profitability, so longer time lags were not examined, although theory suggests that adjusting stakeholder behaviour may entail a lengthy journey. Nonetheless, despite these shortcomings, the study provides interesting insights into how stakeholder heterogeneity and the time dimension influence the relationship between CSR and CFP and may serve as a useful pointer for future research.

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Uloga heterogenosti dionika na povezanost društveno odgovornoga poslovanja i financijske performanse

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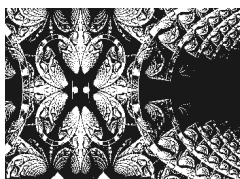
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Empirijska istraživanja povezanosti između društveno odgovornoga poslovanja (DOP) i financijske performanse poduzeća i dalje ostaju nejasna, u smislu smjera povezanosti te uzročnosti. U ovom radu prezentirano je istraživanje uloge heterogenosti dionika i vremenske dimenzije u analizi povezanosti DOP-a i financijske performanse poduzeća. Pretpostavljeno je da postoji pozitivna veza između DOP aktivnosti prema tržišnim dionicima (zaposlenici, potrošači, konkurenti) i buduće financijske performanse te negativna veza između DOP aktivnosti prema netržišnim dionicima (nevladine organizacije, društvo, prirodni okoliš) i buduće financijske performanse. Prezentiran konceptualni model analiziran je na uzorku od 115 hrvatskih poduzeća. Suprotno očekivanjima, detektirana je pozitivna veza za sve uključene grupe dionika (tržišne i netržišne), što dokazuje da je DOP koherentan konstrukt bez obzira na to koja se grupa dionika razmatrala. Ključna menadžerska implikacija rada odnosi se na to da su društveno odgovorne aktivnosti i u ekonomskom interesu poduzeća.

Ključne riječi: društveno odgovorno poslovanje, financijska performansa, dionici, pritisak dionika, PLS-SEM, Hrvatska



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AN ASSESSMENT OF STRESS IN AN INTENSIVE CARE UNIT (ICU): AN EXPLORATORY STUDY UTILISING SELF-ASSESSMENT, PHYSIOLOGICAL, AND SALIVARY CORTISOL MEASURES

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The study investigates exposure to stress by respondents working in an Intensive Care Unit (ICU) and differences in using three instruments to measure stress. The survey was conducted from September to October 2018 in Dubrava Clinical Hospital in the ICU unit, with forty-one (41) healthcare professionals. Three forms of testing were set up: self-evaluation of stress, measurements of physiological indicators, and cortisol levels. The results show a statistically significant difference in mean cortisol levels, with the first sample much higher than other samples. There were significant interactions between skin conduction (SC) and stress levels, where all participants exhibited increases in SC. Heart rate variability (HRV) shows a slight correlation with stress levels in the group possessing substantially more stress experience. Although some differences were observed, all stress elements for professionals working in ICUs indicates that they cope well with stressful situations.

Keywords: stress, ICU, physiology, cortisol level, healthcare professionals



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INTRODUCTION

The impact of stress has been researched for many years, often focusing on those professionals frequently exposed to such effects. Working at complex, demanding workplaces such as in ICUs often leads to fatigue and burnout syndrome in the medical staff. Fatigue and burnout syndrome are reflected physically and mentally in the professional and private lives of such staff (Van Mol et al., 2015; Elshaer et al., 2018; Arrogante & Aparicio-Zaldivar, 2017). Most healthcare professionals working in ICUs experience some form of stress (Almeida et al., 2016). A link exists between the perception of stress and psychosomatic symptoms such as headaches, insomnia, fatigue, despair, lower back pain, frequent mood swings, and illness in nurses (Milutinović et al., 2012; Lu, 2008). Subjects performing a self-assessment most often successfully assess stress, but cortisol levels in saliva elevate in women and men with burnout syndrome compared to the control group (Grossi et al., 2005). Measured physiological parameters can indicate how well health professionals cope with stress and specific physical changes caused by over-exposure to stress. Due to challenges at work, biological markers are expected to show elevated values in professionals working in ICUs, including neonatology intensive care units (NICU), and emergency rooms (ER). Morning cortisol levels are significantly higher when working in emergency situations than working with patients in routine situations. In doing so, the rise and fall of these values are not in line with an individual's perception of stress (Backé et al., 2009; Fujimaru et al., 2012). The total duration of work and level of education might very well be a significant predictor of overall stress, where almost 50% of nurses working in ICUs experience high levels of stress and burnout, indicating the need for prevention programmes (Capan, 2017; Šmaguc, 2016). Cortisol levels are a good indicator of stress in healthcare professionals employed in the most challenging services. Under stress, cortisol levels are much higher during work hours, regardless of gender and work experience (González-Cabrera et al., 2018). When exposed to intense stress, changes in cardiac output occur in addition to increased cortisol values (Looser et al., 2010). Research has found a relationship between stressful situations and physical health due to physiological, neuro-endocrine, and immune function (Hudek-Knežević et al., 2005; Hudek-Knežević & Kardum, 2006). Stressful workplace events are significantly associated with a higher level of education and a perception of flow control in the workplace (Trousseau et al., 2016). Stress experienced by healthcare professionals working in the ICU is associated with the extent of serious health conditions in patients, sophisticated technology, noise exposure, and unpredictable emergency interventions (Fredrik-

son & Matthews, 1990; Perez et al., 2013; Dalia et al., 2013; Kiekkas et al., 2006; Minton & Batten, 2015; Gough et al., 2014). The prolonged duration of stress at work can lead to chronic fatigue syndrome, which is likely to affect the quality of medical care (Fredrikson & Matthews, 1990). Given the lack of research on the impact of stress on ICU employees using multiple measurement instruments, the aim of this paper was to assess stress exposure by employees working in ICUs and whether there is a difference in the results obtained from the instruments used in the study. Physiological reactions make it possible to follow an affective, cognitive, and body state through provoked reaction.

The study investigates and explores exposure by respondent to the stress in ICUs and differences using three instruments for measuring stress.

METHODOLOGY AND SUBJECTS

The survey was conducted from September to October 2018 at the ICU within the Dubrava Clinical Hospital in Zagreb, where forty-one (41) respondents were surveyed. The study used three forms of testing: self-evaluation of stress, measurements of physiological indicators and cortisol levels. From the standpoint of ethical standards, respondents were given information about the research, objectives, and the procedure. The hospital's ethics committee gave their approval for the research to go ahead. The assessments were conducted between 7am and 5pm during the participants' work shifts. Eight participants were assessed each day by self-evaluation, physiology, and cortisol measurement, one per hour. They filled out the questionnaire and performed physiological and cortisol testing. Cortisol was collected four times a working day for each participant.

For the self-assessment part, we used a validated Workplace Stress Questionnaire (WSQ) from the School of Public Health, School of Medicine, University of Zagreb, containing 37 questions on the impacts of stress relating to work organisation, working in shifts, career advancement, education, professional requirements, interpersonal communication, communication with patients, and the fear of dangers and jeopardies in health care. The goal of the research was to assess the differences between the three instruments for stress measurement. Specifically, we were interested in comparing the subjective self-evaluation with the objective physiological reactions. Participants filled out the questionnaire before physiological testing. On their workdays, the participants came from ICU in the testing room and rested for five minutes before being physiologically tested. Physiological measurements combined a Trier Social Stress Test (Kirschbaum et al., 1993) using the Stroop word and colour test, mathematical test, and re-

quired preparing a speech by the respondent within a set time. After 5 minutes of additional adaptation, sensors were applied, and the signal was checked (2 min). Before and after each stressor, the respondent was instructed to sit and relax for 2 minutes. The protocol was implemented using the software BioTrace +, Version Iv 2018, Mind Media BV. During protocol implementation, physiological changes and parameters were monitored using a Nexus 10 Wireless Physiological Monitoring and Feedback platform which enabled storage and further processing of data using the BioTrace+ software. Peripheral temperature (TEMP), blood volume pulse (BVP), heart rate (HR), breathing and skin conduction level (SC) were recorded between 9 am and 5 pm in a quiet room. The procedures for recording physiology are shown in Table 1.

➡ TABLE 1
Procedure for
recording physiology
(Stress test)

BASELINE	5 minutes
STRESSOR 1	Stroop test 2 minutes
RELAX.	2 minutes
STRESSOR 2	Math test 2 minutes
RELAX.	2 minutes
STRESSOR 3	Preparation of speech 2 minutes
RELAX.	5 minutes

Salivary cortisol samples were obtained from each respondent at four points during each respondent's test day: at the beginning of their shift, before and after the stress test, and at the end of their shift.

Statistical analysis

All collected data were analysed using the SPSS IBM statistical package (version 23). Descriptive statistics describe the basic features of a sample in a study (proportions for categorical data and mean and standard deviation for normally distributed continuous variables, or median and interquartile range for variables deviating from a normal distribution). When checking for differences between demographic categories (e.g., gender, work experience, age), independent samples t-test and one-way ANOVA were used for normally distributed variables, and Mann-Whitney or Kruskal-Wallis for cortisol and physiological variables deviating from the normal distribution. The sample was split into two subgroups according to the perceived stress level (low and high stress) and changing independent variables measured over time. For continuous variables and three or more measurements in time (paired samples), two-way repeated-measures ANOVA were used given that Levene's tests of equality of variances showed variances which were homogenous in two subsamples.

RESULTS

Most of the respondents were female (75.6%), nurses (87.7%) single (58.5%) with no children, and according to age, most of them were between 30–39 years of age (41.5%). Years of work experience were mainly between 10–20 years (34.1%). According to the number of years at the current workplace, the equal percentage was from 1.1 to 5 years, 5.1 to 10, and 10.1 to 20 (24.4%). A small percentage of the respondents have worked at their current job for less than one year (19.5%), and only three respondents have been at the job for more than 20 years. The number and percentage of respondents based on demographics is shown in Table 2.

➡ TABLE 2
Number and
percentage of
respondents based
on demographics

		n	(%)
Gender	Male	10	(24.4)
	Female	31	(75.6)
	Total	41	(100.0)
Age	> 20	4	(9.8)
	21 – 29	14	(34.1)
	30 – 39	17	(41.5)
	40 – 49	5	(12.2)
	60+	1	(2.4)
	Total	41	(100.0)
Occupation	Nurse	24	(58.5)
	BACC RN	11	(26.8)
	MA RN	1	(2.4)
	specialist physicians	3	(7.3)
	medical interns	2	(4.9)
	Total	41	(100.0)
Marital status	married	16	(39.0)
	single	24	(58.5)
	divorced	1	(2.4)
Number of children	0	27	(65.9)
	1	6	(14.6)
	2	7	(17.1)
	3	1	(2.4)
	Total	41	(100.0)
Years of work experience	> 1 year	7	(17.1)
	1.1 do 5 years	9	(22.0)
	5.1 – 10 years	6	(14.6)
	10.1 – 20 years	14	(34.1)
	< 21 years	5	(12.2)
	Total	41	(100.0)
Years of work experience – current position	> 1 year	8	(19.5)
	1.1 – 5 years	10	(24.4)
	5.1 – 10 years	10	(24.4)
	10.1 – 20 years	10	(24.4)
	< 21 years	3	(7.3)
	Total	41	(100.0)

TABLE 3
Descriptive features of
the Workplace Stress
Questionnaire (WSQ)
subscale

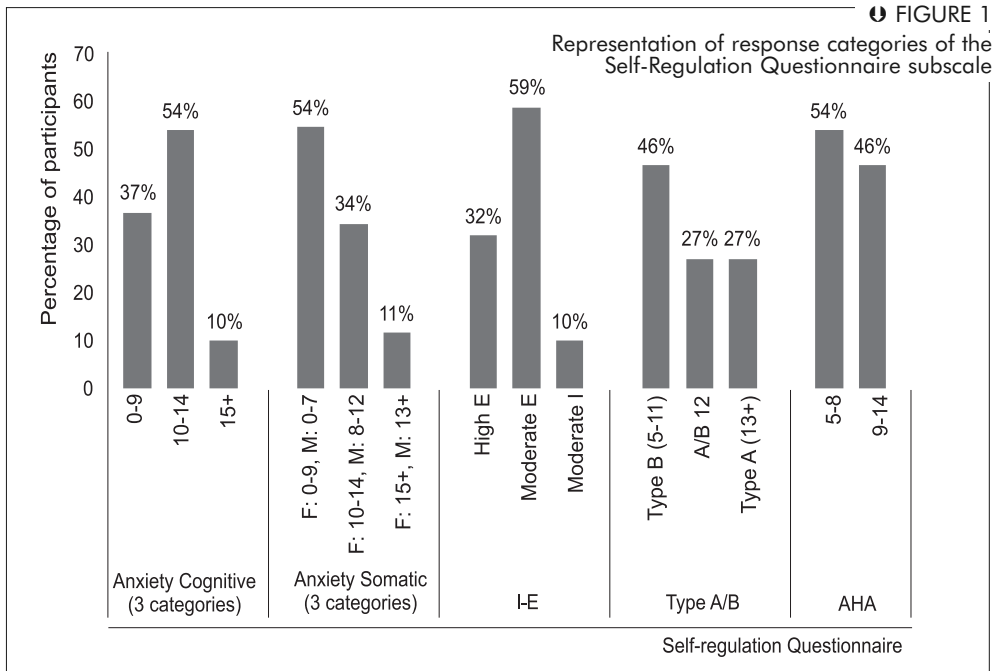
TABLE 4
Descriptive features of
the Self-Regulation
Questionnaire (SRQ)

According to their nutritional and health condition, respondents most often have two meals a day, in line with standard nutritive values. Most respondents (93%) have no medical history, and 98% do not use sick leave. The WSQ results were summarised according to instructions at the end of the questionnaire. The results of individual factors and the overall stress levels are shown in Table 3 and Table 4.

	Mean	SD	Median	1. quartile	3. quartile	Min.	Max.	Valid N
Organisation and finance	55.67	20.95	57.50	46.25	67.50	2.50	95.00	41
Public criticism and lawsuits	43.64	20.57	42.86	32.14	50.00	0.00	92.86	41
Dangers and harm at work	28.66	16.38	25.00	17.86	39.29	0.00	78.57	41
Conflicts and communication at work	46.49	24.65	43.75	31.25	68.75	0.00	93.75	41
Shift work	50.30	27.35	50.00	28.13	75.00	0.00	100.00	41
Professional and intellectual requirements	39.29	19.38	42.86	28.57	46.43	0.00	82.14	41
The overall experience of stress	46.62	16.64	47.30	35.81	53.72	0.68	85.14	41

	Mean	SD	Median	1. quartile	3. quartile	Min.	Max.	Valid N
Anxiety – Cognitive	10.66	3.24	10.00	8.50	10.00	5.00	20.00	41
Anxiety – Somatic	9.59	3.18	8.00	7.50	8.00	5.00	20.00	41
I-E	13.49	2.35	14.00	12.00	14.00	9.00	19.00	41
Type A / B	11.29	2.69	12.00	9.50	12.00	5.00	18.00	41
AHA	8.85	1.77	8.00	8.00	8.00	5.00	12.00	41

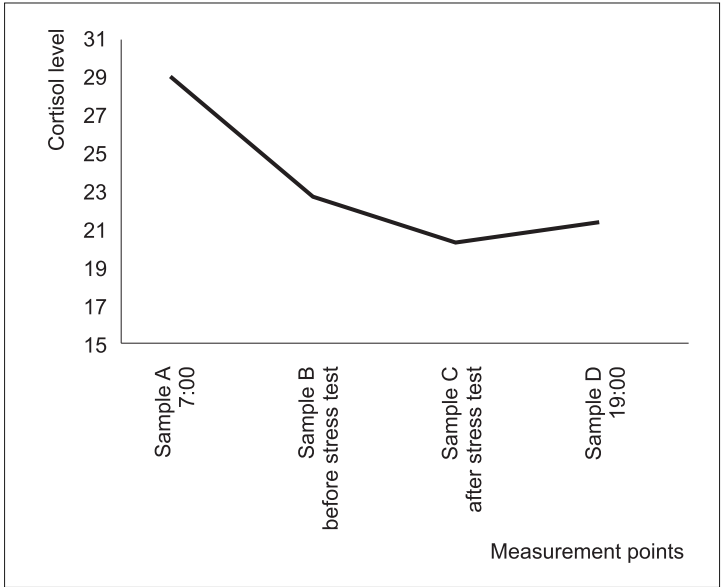
I-E Introversion/Extroversion; Type A/B Type A and Type B personality; AHA Anger/ Hostility/ Aggression



Self-regulation variables were recoded as categories according to instructions provided and the percentages of respondents in each type of existing subscales as shown in Figure 1.

The average salivary cortisol level at the four measurement points is shown in Figure 2.

➡ FIGURE 2
Average salivary cortisol level at four measurement points



Based on the distributions, the Friedman test was used instead of variance analysis with repeated measurements. A statistically significant difference in average cortisol levels ($p < 0.001$) was found, with the level in the first sample significantly higher compared to all other three samples (all $p < 0.05$).

Impact of demographic characteristics on stress levels

Analysis was undertaken based on gender, age (reduced categories), and years of work experience. A comparison of questionnaire scores and physiology showed gender differences in perceiving stress at work. There are no statistically significant gender differences in the self-reporting of stress levels and cortisol levels in 4 measurements. In terms of physiology, men and women differ in the value of $TEMP^0$, HR^0 , HR^1 and HR^2 , including Normal-Normal (NN)⁰ and NN¹. The table below shows the differences – Heart Rate (HR) is higher in women and other physiological factors measured in men (see Table 5).

According to age and years of work experience, there are no significant differences. To determine the correlation between total experience of stress and self-regulation, cortisol levels, and physiological measures, Spearman's correlation coefficient was used given the small sample size and the fact that some variables deviate from normal distribution.

Median Gender	TEMP ⁰	TEMP ¹	TEMP ²	HR ⁰	HR ¹	HR ²	NN ⁰	NN ¹
Male	35.74	35.71	35.81	71.00	79.14	70.83	861.65	855.85
Female	32.67	34.59	34.74	85.12	92.78	82.14	710.27	736.09
Total	34.35	35.33	35.28	82.57	91.35	81.20	728.92	758.72

TABLE 5
Differences between
men and women at
physiological
measurements

Except for self-reporting, I-E, and Reactivity, all other subscales for total score are low and exhibit a moderately positive correlation with Overall Stress Experience. Association between cortisol levels and overall workplace stress was found. A slight negative correlation between the total experience of stress with HF⁰ and a low positive relationship with the HF/LF⁰ ratio was identified (see Table 6).

	Total experience of stress	Legend
SC ⁰	0.257	the average value of skin conduction level during 5' baseline
SC ¹	0.070	the average value of skin conduction level during stress (3x2')
SC ²	0.122	the average value of electrical conductivity of the skin during 5' relaxation
TEMP ⁰	0.023	the average value of peripheral skin temperature during 5' baseline
TEMP ¹	-0.077	the average value of peripheral skin temperature during stress
TEMP ²	-0.075	the average value of peripheral skin temperature during 5' relaxation
HR ⁰	0.168	average heart rate during 5 minutes of baseline
HR ¹	0.268	average heart rate during stress
HR ²	0.171	average heart rate for 5' after stressors
NN ⁰	-0.160	average IBI interval (IBI – Interbeat interval or "Normal – Normal" interval) during 5' baseline
NN ¹	-0.078	average IBI interval during 5' relaxation
RMSSD ⁰	-0.193	a measure derived from the differences of the LV interval during the 5' baseline
RMSSD ¹	-0.092	a measure derived from the differences of the LV interval during the 5' relaxation
SDNN ⁰	-0.118	a measure derived from LV interval differences (standard LV interval deviation) during 5' baseline
SDNN ¹	-0.037	a measure derived from LV interval differences during 5' relaxation
LF ⁰	0.168	percentage of LF power (low frequencies) during 5' baseline
LF ¹	0.110	percentage of LF power (low frequencies) during 5' relaxation
HF ⁰	-0.341*	percentage of HF power (high frequencies) during 5' baseline
HF ¹	-0.119	percentage of HF power (high frequencies) during 5' relaxation
LF/HF ⁰	0.328*	the ratio of LH and HF (LH / HF) during 5' baseline
LF/HF ¹	0.170	the ratio of LH and HF (LH / HF) during 5' relaxation

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

TABLE 6
Relationship between
total experience of
stress and physiological
variables

The experience of stress recoded according to the given instructions – all with a score > 60 was classified as belonging to the "high stress" group and others in the "low-to-moderate" group. A series of Friedman and Wilcoxon tests for depend-

● TABLE 7
Difference between
groups of perceived
high and low levels of
stress in measured
parameters (cortisol
and physiology), over
time

ent comparisons verifies the statistical significance between high- and low-stress groups with respect to physiological variables – optimally at points before and after exposure to stress, as some variables deviate from the normal distribution. An ideal statistical analysis is a one-factor repeated measure ANOVA. Given the deviation from the normal distribution, the variance of the results in both groups should be homogeneous as a prerequisite and it should not statistically differ significantly. The distributions similarly deviate from the Gaussian curve in both subgroups, which is not a barrier to ANOVA. The Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons was used (see Table 7).

Stress		Measurement								F, P for time x stress
		First		Second		Third		Fourth		
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Cortisol	not high	27.59	11.00	22.21	11.37	19.59	9.20	21.26	13.78	$F(2,3,114) = 1.922,$ $p = 0.145$
	high (>60)	37.17	8.18	24.33	10.80	22.67	8.91	20.33	6.02	
SC	not high	1.78	1.02	2.80	1.22	2.60	1.26			$F(2,76) = 1.547,$ $p = 0.039$
	high (>60)	1.90	0.60	2.52	0.56	2.37	0.60			
TEMP	not high	33.01	4.00	34.02	3.28	34.06	3.16			$F(1,2,76) = 0.177,$ $p = 0.718$
	high (>60)	31.11	6.26	31.73	5.53	32.03	5.57			
HR	not high	81.07	13.82	89.18	13.02	80.17	12.71			$F(1,37) = 0.869,$ $p = 0.384$
	high (>60)	87.71	10.43	93.19	8.98	83.99	10.63			
NN	not high	769.81	139.48	781.88	130.41					$F(1,38) = 6.185,$ $p = 0.017$
	high (>60)	699.21	80.15	749.17	96.28					
RMSSD	not high	39.78	23.37	42.99	21.82					$F(1,38) = 2.225,$ $p = 0.141$
	high (>60)	36.08	17.74	47.27	23.77					
SDNN	not high	51.25	22.48	55.67	25.64					$F(1,38) = 0.026,$ $p = 0.874$
	high (>60)	49.54	24.01	55.17	25.81					
LF	not high	46.56	14.84	51.32	12.46					$F(1,38) = 0.02,$ $p = 0.963$
	high (>60)	44.40	10.95	48.80	7.08					
HF	not high	36.67	17.52	32.87	13.62					$F(1,38) = 3.017,$ $p = 0.090$
	high (>60)	30.47	17.20	37.57	8.75					
LF/HF	not high	1.97	1.99	2.37	2.71					$F(1,38) = 0.562,$ $p = 0.458$
	high (>60)	1.92	1.11	1.40	0.49					

Legend. SC = the value of skin conduction level; TEMP = the value of peripheral skin temperature during 5' baseline; HR = the value of heart rate; NN = the average IBI interval (IBI – Interbeat interval or "Normal – Normal" interval); RMSSD = a measure derived from the differences of the LV interval; SDNN = a measure derived from LV interval differences (standard LV interval deviation); LF = percentage of LF power (low frequencies); HF = percentage of HF power (high frequencies); LF/HF = the ratio of LH and HF (LH / HF)

The results show statistically significant interactions between SC and stress levels ($F(2,76) = 1.547, p = 0.039$), with an increase in SC in both groups. Nonetheless, this increase was

smaller in the group with intense stress. The NN interval was statistically significantly correlated with the stress level but less so in the group with a more substantial stress experience ($F(1.38) = 6.185, p = 0.017$).

DISCUSSION

The main finding is that the self-evaluation report of stress showed no statistical difference based on demographic data. According to self-evaluation of stress, most respondents were in the low-stress level group and showed no statistical differences based on demographic data. A comparison of questionnaire scores and physiology showed differences between men and women in their perception of stress at work. Other research studies found stressful workplace events significantly associated with a higher level of education and perception of flow control in the workplace, but no gender differences (Trousseau et al., 2016). Better team collaboration and relationships between doctors and nurses leads to greater job satisfaction, strengthening competencies, and reducing stress levels (Rydenfält et al., 2018; Kvande et al., 2017).

The physiological differences between men and women were visible in essential measurements of peripheral temperature, heart rate across all intervals, and NN intervals at the beginning and end. Males had a higher baseline temperature value, females had a higher heart rate across all three measurements, whereas males had higher NN intervals than females in both measures. The obtained differences indicate that physiological indicators of stress are less pronounced in males. One research found gender differences in the autonomic nervous system, which may be present because of developmental differences or due to the effects of prevailing levels of male and/or female sex hormones (Dart et al., 2002). Dart found there is a preponderance of sympathetic mediated responses in males and of parasympathetic in females – perhaps related to divergent gender roles pertaining to human evolution (Dart et al., 2002). An increase in physiological indicators can lead to the onset of severe symptoms of anxiety, PTSD, burnout syndrome at work, and other psychosomatic disorders. Heart rate variability (HRV) and the NN interval undergo change depending on the ANS action. In stressful events, the sympathetic part of ANS accelerates physiological functions with the cardiovascular system achieving a higher HR and decrease in HRV, manifested by an increase in the NN interval. In the obtained results, changes in the NN interval were more pronounced in the group undergoing intense stress rate compared to the group with lower stress intensity. Jarczok found a negative and significant association

between vagally-mediated HRV and measures of stress at work and a negative and significant association to mixed sympathetic and parasympathetic measures of HRV. The authors provided evidence that adverse psychosocial work conditions are negatively associated with ANS function as indexed by HRV (Jarczok et al., 2013).

SC showed an increase in both groups of subjects; a minor increase in these values was noted in the group with intense stress. The results indicate that a constant higher value is present during the day. Nonetheless, it was impossible to measure SC values after 24 hours to determine whether there exists a trend of SC values returning to the baseline measurement. A long time ago, the season and time of the day of testing SC levels were found to be important mainly in interaction with sex, and have given rise to the suggestion that females may be more responsive to environmental conditions than men (Venables & Mitchell, 1996).

The research found no similar data in measuring physiology, with mildly provoked stress in ICU health professionals. It was not possible to compare these results with other studies.

According to the self-assessment results, although none of the questionnaire categories proved significantly stressful for the respondents, the highest contributing factor was work, finances and work positions during shifts. Stressful workplace events were significantly associated with a higher level of education and perception of flow control in the workplace, without gender differences (Trousselard et al., 2016). In Croatia, in hospitals, the workplace connects with the level of education and finances which could lead to higher stress levels. Previous research on the impact of stress on ICU employees has been linked to chronic fatigue syndrome, burnout syndrome, depersonalisation, the onset of musculoskeletal symptoms, changes in shift work, and workloads with patients (Fredrikson & Matthews, 1990; Terzi et al., 2019; Baptista, 2013; Lee et al., 2014; Chang, 2018).

The salivary cortisol level was significantly higher in the first sample than others, indicating that employees feel more stress when coming to work than during work, suggesting that initial stress is related to the uncertainty they expect during work adjustment. Uncertainties upon arriving at work and unpredictable emergencies can increase cortisol levels and reduce recovery during work. According to Sluiter et al. (2003), endocrine reactions during and after treating patients in an emergency during the morning hours were higher when compared to the treatment of regular patients, i.e., cortisol levels

decreased more slowly after treating emergency patients (Sluiter et al., 2003). Other research has shown that increased cortisol levels are associated with the duration of work in an ICU, subsequently leading to the onset of stress-related illnesses (Yamaguti et al., 2015).

The value of this research is its assessment of the impact of stress factors on ICU employees and the monitoring of various measurements when searching for possible differences in the obtained results. The conclusion in this paper is that all measuring instruments indicated that the analysed group adequately copes with stressful situations. It is interesting that once they were focusing on their jobs, they were less stressed. What may be important is not how stressed they are but how "strong" and resilient they are and why might this be. Further research should include a higher number of respondents and a different group of respondents from another type of work or occupation. We consider this research as a pilot study according to the number of participants. The research has confirmed that there are not many differences between the three types of measurement. We expected differences in the obtained results, primarily more differences in physiological measurement compared to self-assessment. Also, we expected an increase in cortisol value levels during the working day, but the highest values were at the beginning of work.

CONCLUSION

Although some differences were observed in the three measured components, all three measured stress elements in the ICU showed that employees generally cope well with stressful situations, probably adopting specific mechanisms to protect the impact of stressors on the body and its functioning. Future research should include a larger group of participants and a control group of the same or different business profiles. Further research could be on resilience and coping mechanisms. What may be important is not how stressed they are but how "strong" and resilient they are and why might this be. Positive thinking, optimism, the meaning of life, and positive emotions could reduce stress and negative feelings. Sports and some other means of coping training also lead to reducing stress. It could be interesting to see in future research what people use in their life to reduce the impact of stress.

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Procjena razine stresa u Jedinici intenzivnoga liječenja (JIL) uz primjenu samoprocjene, fizioloških pokazatelja i analize kortizola u slini

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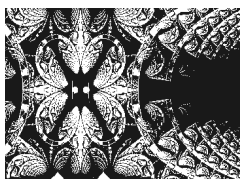
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Studija istražuje izloženost stresu ispitanika koji rade u Jedinici intenzivnoga liječenja (JIL-u) i razlike u upotrebi triju mjernih instrumenata stresa. Istraživanje je provedeno od rujna do listopada 2018. u Kliničkoj bolnici Dubrava u JIL-u, na četrdeset i jednom (41) zdravstvenom djelatniku. Postavljena su tri oblika testiranja: samoprocjena stresa, mjerenje fizioloških pokazatelja i razine kortizola. Rezultati pokazuju statistički značajnu razliku u srednjim razinama kortizola, pri čemu je prvi uzorak znatno viši od ostalih uzoraka. Postojale su značajne interakcije između provodljivosti kože (SC) i razine stresa, pri čemu su svi sudionici pokazali povećanje SC-a. Varijabilnost srčanoga ritma (HRV) pokazuje blagu korelaciju s razinama stresa u skupini koja ima znatno više iskustva sa stresom. Iako su uočene neke razlike, svi mjerni pokazatelji stresa pokazuju da se zdravstveni djelatnici u JIL-u dobro nose sa stresnim situacijama.

Ključne riječi: stres, JIL, fiziologija, razina kortizola, zdravstveni djelatnici



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PEDAGOŠKE KOMPETENCIJE I POTREBE UČITELJA HRVATSKE NASTAVE U INOZEMSTVU: KVANTITATIVNA ANALIZA

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Glavni je cilj ovoga rada bio ispitati je li formalno obrazovanje učitelja dostatno za uspješno izvođenje hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu (HNul), a operacionaliziran je kroz četiri izvedena istraživačka cilja. Eksplorativno presječno istraživanje provedeno je metodom ankete, tehnikom online anketiranja na 61 učitelju hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu u 17 država svijeta. Rezultati dobiveni ovim istraživanjem upućuju na potrebu uvođenja posebnih programa za usavršavanje učitelja koji žele raditi u HNul.

Ključne riječi: hrvatska nastava u inozemstvu, kompetencije, obrazovne potrebe učitelja, stručno usavršavanje



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UVOD

Mnoge političke, ekonomske i društvene prilike kroz povijest uzrokovale su i utjecale na više valova iseljavanja hrvatskoga naroda (Jurić, 2018, str. 7). Briga za iseljeno hrvatsko stanovništvo, posebice za djecu i mlade, ostvaruje se u okvirima odgojno-obrazovnoga djelovanja (Bežen, 2012, str. 141). Prepo-

znavanje odgojno-obrazovnoga djelovanja kao mehanizma njegovanja hrvatskoga nacionalnog identiteta izvan domovine započelo je mnogo prije osamostaljenja Hrvatske (Andrić i sur., 1988), ali je od 90-ih godina 20. stoljeća dobilo nov sadržaj i formu organiziranjem hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu.

Hrvatska nastava u inozemstvu ima za cilj među djecom i mladima hrvatskih iseljenika osnaživanje osjećaja pripadnosti domovini učenjem hrvatskoga jezika i kulture. Hrvatski jezik i kulturno naslijeđe i baština jedni su od ključnih sastava njegovanja hrvatskoga nacionalnog identiteta (Letica, 2011, str. 47-48; Periša, 2017, str. 101) te je jedan od elemenata društvenoga prepoznavanja iseljenih Hrvata. Unatoč važnosti hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu (dalje HNuI), njezina problematika nije dovoljno zastupljena u hrvatskoj znanstvenoj i stručnoj literaturi. Posebice je to slučaj kada su u pitanju najodgovorniji akteri njezinoga uspješnog provođenja – učitelji. Jedino cjelovitije izdanje koje se bavi rasvjetljavanjem problematike HNuI jest istoimeni priručnik *Hrvatska nastava u inozemstvu: priručnik za učiteljice i učitelje* iz 2012. godine autora Ante Bežena i Milana Bošnjaka (Bušljeta Kardum i dr., 2021, str. 84-85). Međutim, i u tom priručniku vrlo je malo prostora posvećeno važnosti, ulozi i potrebama učitelja HNuI.

Pravilnikom o uvjetima i postupku izbora učitelja za rad u hrvatskoj nastavi u inozemstvu (NN 87/08) propisano je da učitelji HNuI mogu biti oni koji imaju odgovarajuću razinu obrazovanja za učitelja razredne nastave, učitelja hrvatskoga jezika, učitelja povijesti, odnosno za nastavnika hrvatskoga jezika ili nastavnika povijesti, te koji vladaju jezikom zemlje u koju se upućuju ili jednim stranim jezikom navedenim kao natječajni uvjet. Ako zadovoljavaju uvjete, kandidati su obavezni proći pisane ispite kojim se utvrđuju njihove kompetencije potrebne za rad u HNuI, nakon čega se provodi selekcijski razgovor sa Stručnim povjerenstvom zaduženim za izbor učitelja za rad u HNuI. Prije odlaska na rad u inozemstvo učitelji se pripremaju na kratkim seminarima koje organizira nadležno Ministarstvo, dok se ponekad dodatni seminari za učitelje HNuI organiziraju i u inozemstvu (Bošnjak i Süto, 2012, str. 14-15).

Pretpostavka je da učitelji završetkom formalnoga nastavničkog obrazovanja imaju, uz stručne, i pedagoške kompetencije. Imamo li u vidu pedagoške kompetencije učitelja, *Zakon o odgoju i obrazovanju u osnovnoj i srednjoj školi* određuje da učitelji tijekom formalnog obrazovanja trebaju steći znanja i vještine iz područja pedagogije, psihologije, didaktike i metodike, a od 120 ECTS bodova na diplomskoj razini minimalno 55 ECTS-a treba pripasti navedenim područjima (*Zakon o izmjenama i dopunama Zakona o odgoju i obrazovanju u osnovnoj i srednjoj školi*, NN, 68/2018). Ostvarivanje zakonom

propisanoga broja ECTS-a te razrađanost ishoda učenja za navedena četiri područja prepuštena je autonomiji fakulteta, a bez jasnog okvira nužnih pedagoških kompetencija budućih učitelja teško možemo suditi o kvaliteti pojedinih programa nastavničke naobrazbe. Manjkavosti spomenutih programa, odnosno potreba za razvojem određenih pedagoških kompetencija koje izlaze iz ustaljenih teorijskih okvira pedagogije, didaktike, psihologije i metodike, dolaze do izražaja tek u praktičnom radu učitelja. Važnost kvalitetne edukacije budućih učitelja potvrđuju znanstvena istraživanja kojima se pokušava postaviti što kompletniji i sveobuhvatniji kompetencijski profil učitelja (Jurčić, 2014). Uz to, europski i hrvatski dokumenti, preporuke i strategije koji se odnose na obrazovanje, posebice nakon 2000. godine (OECD, 2016; Europska komisija, 2015; Strategija znanosti, obrazovanja i tehnologije, NN, 124/2014; ILO, 2016), ističu važnost pedagoških kompetencija učitelja, naglašavajući njihovu ulogu u razvoju znanja i vještina kod učenika za budućnost.

Iako različiti, svi spomenuti dokumenti, preporuke, strategije i zakonska regulativa koja se dotiče obrazovnoga procesa imaju zajedničke osnove kada su u pitanju pedagoške kompetencije učitelja. U tom pogledu nije pogrešno tvrditi da bi učitelji završetkom formalnoga nastavničkog obrazovanja trebali imati stečene pedagoške kompetencije, koje, među ostalim, uključuju: uspješno planiranje i provođenje nastave; uključivanje u rad učenika različitih sposobnosti; primjena raznih načina i oblika poučavanja; kvalitetne komunikacijske i suradničke vještine; poznavanje načina vrednovanja i ocjenjivanja učenika, kao i provođenja procesa samovrednovanja; stvaranje poticajne nastavne klime (Burai i Bušljeta Kardum, 2022, str. 647-648). Uz navedene temeljne pedagoške kompetencije učitelja, imajući u vidu pandemiju bolesti COVID-19, u popisu pedagoških kompetencija ne možemo izostaviti znanja i vještine poučavanja i poticanja procesa učenja u digitalnom okruženju (Ferrari, 2013; Pettersson, 2018; Müller i sur., 2021; De la Calle i sur., 2021).

Poslovi učitelja i koordinatora HNuI navedeni su djelomično u već spomenutom *Pravilniku o uvjetima i postupku izbora učitelja za rad u hrvatskoj nastavi u inozemstvu* (NN, 87/08), iz kojeg se vidi da se popis poslova u dijelu razlikuje od poslova učitelja u školama Republike Hrvatske. U tom smislu od učitelja HNuI očekuje se ne samo prevladavanje zapreka koje nosi poučavanje sadržaja koji nerijetko izlaze izvan okvira njihove primarne struke, jer se radi o sadržajima koji integriraju hrvatski jezik i književnost, povijest, zemljopis i glazbeni i likovni umjetnost, nego se očekuje i rad u heterogenim razrednim odjelima s djecom različita znanja hrvatskoga jezika. S obzirom na to da je stupanj poznavanja hrvatskoga jezi-

ka različit od učenika do učenika, nerijetko je nužan individualni pristup propisanim nastavnim sadržajima, pažljivo osmišljavanje, pripremanje i provođenje projektne i problemske nastave (Bošnjak i Süto, 2012, str. 14) te izvannastavnih i izvanškolskih aktivnosti. Osim toga ciljevi *Kurikuluma hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu*, kao temeljnoga dokumenta za provođenje nastave, određeni su trima razinama: prva razina od 1. do 4. razreda, druga razina od 5. do 8./9. razreda i treća razina od 9./10. do 12. razreda, tj. od 1. do 4. razreda srednje škole (Ministarstvo prosvjete i športa RH, 2003, str. 4), što zahtijeva pedagoško-metodički rad prilagođen različitom uzrastu, odnosno znanjima i sposobnostima djece, a obrazovanje nastavnika predmetne, za razliku od učitelja razredne nastave, ne pretpostavlja jednake pedagoško-metodičke kompetencije. Uz sve navedeno, važno je istaknuti kako se od učitelja očekuju i kompetencije koje pokrivaju promociju hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu i na temelju nje poticanje važnosti očuvanja hrvatskoga nacionalnog identiteta, suradnju s diplomatskim predstavnicima, predstavnicima odgojno-obrazovnih sustava zemlje domaćina, roditeljima, hrvatskim iseljenicima.

S obzirom na navedeno, postavlja se pitanje dostatnosti formalnim obrazovanjem stečenih pedagoških kompetencija učitelja za potrebe izvođenja HNuI, koja se uvelike razlikuje od nastave u RH.

CILJEVI I SVRHA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Glavni je cilj ove studije ispitati je li formalno obrazovanje učitelja dostatno za uspješno izvođenje hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu. Ovaj je glavni cilj operacionaliziran kroz četiri izvedena istraživačka cilja.

Prvi je procijeniti dostatnost pedagoških kompetencija stečenih formalnim obrazovanjem.

Drugi je cilj kroz proces samovrednovanja utvrditi u kojoj se mjeri nastavnici smatraju kompetentnima za izvođenje hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu te utvrditi imaju li duže iskustvo rada u nastavi u Republici Hrvatskoj, kao i razina pripreme za rad u inozemstvu učinak na veću procjenu uspješnosti poučavanja u HNuI.

Treći je cilj utvrditi razinu potrebe učitelja za pomoći u osmišljavanju nastave te eventualne razlike s obzirom na njihovo zvanje.

Četvrti je cilj ovog rada utvrditi postoji li potreba nastavnika za dodatnim nastavnim medijima (priručnicima, didaktičkim materijalima i paketima s rekvizitima) za uspješnu provedbu hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu.

Svrha provedbe ovog istraživanja jest utvrditi postoji li potreba za ustrojavanjem posebnih obrazovnih modula na diplomskoj razini namijenjenih osposobljavanju budućih učite-

lja HNuI ili otvaranjem specijalističkih sveučilišnih studija na kojima bi se već završeni učitelji i nastavnici mogli dodatno educirati i pripremiti za izvođenje HNuI.

METODOLOGIJA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Metoda prikupljanja podataka

Eksplorativno presječno istraživanje provedeno je metodom ankete, tehnikom online anketiranja. Podaci su prikupljeni alatom Google Forms. Prema podatcima MZO-a u školskoj godini 2021./2022. djelatno je 97 učitelja i 9 koordinatora HNuI. Poveznica s pozivom na sudjelovanje u istraživanju poslana je elektroničkom poštom na svih 97 elektroničkih adresa učitelja dobivenih iz MZO-a. Prikupljanje podataka provedeno je od 20. prosinca 2021. do 21. siječnja 2022. godine, uz dva ponovljena poziva.

Uzorak

Realiziran uzorak brojio je 61 sudionika istraživanja (51 žena i 10 muškaraca) u 17 država svijeta. Time je obuhvaćeno 63 % populacije učitelja koji izvode ili su izvodili hrvatsku nastavu u inozemstvu u 23 države. Najveći broj ispitanika bio je iz Savezne Republike Njemačke ($n = 23$ ili 56 % uzorka), gdje je HNuI i najzastupljenija. Ostale zemlje iz kojih su sudionici u uzorku jesu: Švicarska ($n = 6$), po dvoje iz Slovenije, Čilea, Francuske i Irske te po jedan sudionik iz Australije, Austrije, Belgije, Crne Gore, Italije, Kanade, Kraljevine Norveške, Rumunjske, Slovačke, Srbije i Ukrajine. Sudionici u istraživanju u prosjeku su imali 8,6 godina staža u nastavi, a na mjestu učitelja HNuI u prosjeku su radili 2,5 godine.

Mjerni instrumenti

Anketni upitnik bio je podijeljen u tri tematske cjeline. Prvi dio sadržavao je šest pitanja o socio-demografskim obilježjima sudionika istraživanja (spol, dob, zvanje, broj godina ukupnoga radnoga staža u nastavi, broj godina radnoga staža kao učitelja HNuI te država u kojoj izvode HNuI). Drugi dio anketnoga upitnika odnosio se na procjenu učitelja o njihovim nastavničkim kompetencijama stečenim kroz formalno obrazovanje i njihovoj primjeni. Ovaj dio anketnog upitnika mjerio je pet predmeta mjerenja: 1) procjenu dostatnosti stečenih kompetencija tijekom formalnoga školovanja (pet čestica), 2) razinu pripreme učitelja za odlazak na radno mjesto HNuI (dvije čestice), 3) samoevaluaciju rada učitelja u HNuI (osam čestica), 4) potrebu za dodatnim medijima u nastavnim i izvannastavnim aktivnostima (tri čestice) te 5) potrebu za pomoći pri os-

mišljanju metodičkih pristupa i strategija u nastavi (jedna čestica). Svim česticama bila je pridružena peterotomna skala procjene slaganja. Čestice su konstruirale autorice na temelju rezultata analize ishoda učenja propisanih programima za stjecanje pedagoških kompetencija u Republici Hrvatskoj, odnosno izdvajanjem ključnih kompetencija učitelja na temelju znanstvene i stručne literature te europskih i hrvatskih dokumenata i preporuka (Burai i Bušljeta Kardum, 2022). Skupovi kompetencija kojima su se ispitali stavovi učitelja o kompetencijama koje su stekli formalnim obrazovanjem bili su podijeljeni na: komunikaciju i suradnju, planiranje i organiziranje vrednovanja nastavnoga procesa, stvaranje pozitivnoga razredno-nastavnog ozračja i uporabu informacijsko-komunikacijske tehnologije. Učitelji su proveli samoevaluaciju na temelju sljedećih skupova kompetencija: vrednovanje u odgojno-obrazovnom procesu, planiranje i organiziranje nastavnoga procesa, metodičko oblikovanje nastave, komunikacija i suradnja, uporaba informacijskih i komunikacijskih tehnologija, planiranje, organiziranje i provođenje izvannastavnih aktivnosti, samovrednovanje i osiguranje kvalitete. Treći dio anketnog upitnika sadržavao je pitanja otvorenoga tipa na teme problema i prijedloga unapređenja rada nastavnika, koji nisu predmet ovog rada.

Statistička obrada podataka

U procesu obrade podataka primijenjene su deskriptivne i inferencijalne statističke procedure. Za sve je varijable provedena deskriptivna analiza frekvencija i postotaka te, ovisno o primjerenosti, određivanje aritmetičkih sredina, standardnih devijacija i medijana. Distribucije kvantitativnih varijabli testirane su na normalnost Kolmogorov-Smirnovljevim testovima. Razlika u stupnju elemenata pripreme za odlazak na rad u inozemstvo testirana je Wilcoxonovim testom sume rangova. Samoevaluacija rada nastavnika korelirana je s godinama staža rada u nastavi u Republici Hrvatskoj te s razinom pripreme za odlazak na rad u inozemstvo neparametrijskim Spearmanovim ro-koeficijentima korelacije. Razlike u potrebi za pomoći u osmišljavanju nastave s obzirom na zvanje nastavnika testirane su Pearsonovim hi-kvadrat testom nezavisnosti varijabli i Kruskal-Wallisovim testom razlike u distribucijama varijabli prema podskupinama. Razlika u potrebama za dodatnim nastavnim materijalima testirana je Friedmanovim testom za zavisne varijable.

Svi statistički testovi provedeni su uz 5 % rizika pri zaključivanju na populaciju. Statistička obrada podataka učinjena je u programu IBM SPSS Statistics, verzija 27.

REZULTATI ISTRAŽIVANJA I RASPRAVA

Prvi istraživački cilj odnosio se na procjenu dostatnosti pedagoških kompetencija stečenih formalnim obrazovanjem. U Tablici 1 prikazana je deskriptivna statistika odgovora ispitanika na pet čestica koje mjere stupanj kompetencija što su ih učitelji stekli tijekom formalnoga školovanja.

Od pet ponuđenih čestica koje se odnose na procjenu dostatnosti pedagoških kompetencija stečenih formalnim obrazovanjem, ispitanici su se u najvećoj mjeri složili s izjavom da poznaju strategije i tehnike uspješnoga stvaranja pozitivnog ozračja u razredu (slaganje 92 %) te s tvrdnjom da su formalnim obrazovanjem stekli kvalitetne prezentacijske i komunikacijske vještine potrebne za rad u nastavi (slaganje 79 %). Nešto manje od dvije trećine (61 %) ispitanika smatra se educiranim za uspješno provođenje suradnje s roditeljima i drugim dionicima odgojno-obrazovnoga procesa, no 18 % njih sebe smatra needuciranim za takvu suradnju. Nešto više od polovice ispitanih učitelja (54 %) kompetencije stečene formalnim obrazovanjem smatra dovoljnim za provođenje hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu, dok ih više od trećine (35 %) ipak smatra nedostatnim. Najveći nedostatak odnosi se na nedovoljnu pripremljenost za planiranje i organizaciju nastave u kombiniranim razrednim odjeljenjima (nastavnim skupinama) – 57 % ispitanih učitelja smatra da nisu za to pripremljeni tijekom formalnog obrazovanja.

● TABLICA 1
Procjena dostatnosti kompetencija koje su učitelji stekli tijekom formalnoga školovanja – deskriptivna statistika (N = 61)

	Uopće se ne slažem (%)	Ne slažem se (%)	Ne mogu procijeniti (%)	Slažem se (%)	U potpunosti se slažem (%)	M	sd	Mdn
Kompetencije stečene formalnim obrazovanjem smatram dovoljnim za provođenje hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu.	3,3	32,8	9,8	44,3	9,8	3,25	1,120	4
Educiran/a sam za uspješno provođenje suradnje s roditeljima i drugim dionicima odgojno-obrazovnog procesa.	3,3	14,8	21,3	34,4	26,2	3,66	1,124	4
Tijekom formalnog obrazovanja pripremljen/a sam za planiranje i organizaciju nastave u kombiniranim odjeljenjima (nastavnim skupinama).	16,4	41,0	8,2	24,6	9,8	2,70	1,283	2
Poznajem različite strategije i tehnike uspješnog stvaranja pozitivnog ozračja u razredu.	0,0	3,3	4,9	55,7	36,1	4,25	0,699	4
Formalnim obrazovanjem stekao/la sam kvalitetne prezentacijske i komunikacijske vještine potrebne za rad u nastavi.	1,6	11,5	8,2	49,2	29,5	3,93	0,998	4

Učitelji su načelno pokazali zadovoljstvo prilikom procjene dostatnosti pedagoških kompetencija stečenih formalnim obrazovanjem. Sličan rezultat pokazalo je i pilot-istraživanje koje je 2005. godine proveo Institut za društvena istraživanja (Pavin i sur., 2005). S obzirom na specifičnosti izvođenja hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu, nije moguće napraviti potpunu usporedbu sa spomenutim pilot-istraživanjem provedenim u Republici Hrvatskoj. Tako je analiza odgovora učitelja HNuI izdvojila kao ključan problem needuciranost učitelja za provođenje nastave u kombiniranim razrednim odjeljenjima, koja zahtijevaju specifična znanja i vještine u organiziranju i provođenju procesa poučavanja i učenja (Lučić i Matijević, 2004).

Drugi cilj rada odnosio se na utvrđivanje u kojoj se mjeri učitelji smatraju kompetentnim za izvođenje hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu te utvrđivanje efekata koje iskustvo rada u nastavi u Republici Hrvatskoj i razina pripreme za rad u inozemstvu imaju na procjenu uspješnosti poučavanja u HNuI (Tablica 2).

● TABLICA 2
Samoevaluacija rada
učitelja u HNuI –
deskriptivna statistika
(*N* = 61)

	Uopće se ne slažem (%)	Ne sla- žem se (%)	Ne mogu procijeniti (%)	Sla- žem se (%)	U pot- punosti se slažem (%)	<i>M</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>Mdn</i>
Nemam poteškoća u kreiranju procesa poučavanja i poticanju procesa učenja u kombiniranim odjeljenjima (nastavnim skupinama).	3,3	16,4	21,3	36,1	23,0	3,59	1,116	4
Različitim metodama i strategijama potičem aktivnost polaznika/učenika.	0,0	0,0	0,0	44,3	55,7	4,56	0,501	5
Nastavu prilagođavam različitim sposobnostima polaznika/učenika, uvažavajući različite stilove učenja.	0,0	0,0	0,0	32,8	67,2	4,67	0,473	5
Ostvarujem sve ishode učenja propisane Kurikulumom hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu.	3,3	9,8	32,8	42,6	11,5	3,49	0,942	4
Osmišljam i provodim različite načine provjeravanja i ocjenjivanja polaznika/učenika.	4,9	13,1	13,1	50,8	18,0	3,64	1,081	4
U nastavi koristim digitalne alate.	1,6	4,9	4,9	44,3	44,3	4,25	0,888	4
Organiziram različite izvannastavne i izvanškolske aktivnosti.	3,3	9,8	24,6	49,2	13,1	3,59	0,955	4
Redovito provodim evaluaciju svoga rada.	3,3	9,8	21,3	45,9	19,7	3,69	1,009	4

Na temelju procjena osam ponuđenih čestica koje su se odnosile na razne aspekte samoevaluacije rada učitelja u HNuI, može se primijetiti kako učitelji vlastiti rad ocjenjuju vrlo pozitivno, posebice poticanje aktivnosti polaznika/učenika pri-

● TABLICA 3
Razina pripreme za
odlazak na rad u
inozemstvo –
deskriptivna statistika
($N = 61$)

mjenom raznih metoda i strategija te prilagođavanje nastave sposobnostima polaznika/učenika, poštujući različite stilove učenja (slaganje 100 % s obje tvrdnje). Nadalje, velika većina ispitanih učitelja (njih 89 %) izjavljuje da u nastavi rabi digitalne alate, 69 % njih osmišljava i provodi razne načine provjeravanja i ocjenjivanja polaznika/učenika, a oko dvije trećine njih redovito provodi evaluaciju svojega rada i organizira izvanastavne i izvanškolske aktivnosti. Ipak, 20 % njih izjavljuje da imaju poteškoća u kreiranju procesa poučavanja i poticanju procesa učenja u kombiniranim odjeljenjima (nastavnim skupinama), a samo oko polovice (54 % njih) izjavili su da ostvaruju sve ishode učenja propisane Kurikulumom hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu.

Razina pripreme za odlazak na rad u inozemstvo pokazuje da su učitelji načelno podijeljeni u dvije podjednako velike skupine: oni koji jesu i oni koji nisu bili pripremljeni (Tablica 3). Nije utvrđena statistički značajna razlika u stupnju pripreme između upoznatosti sa školskim sustavom i upućenosti u pravila vođenja pedagoške dokumentacije ($W = 307,5$; $p = 384$).

	Uopće se ne slažem (%)	Ne sla- žem se (%)	Ne mogu procijeniti (%)	Sla- žem se (%)	U pot- punosti se slažem (%)	<i>M</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>Mdn</i>
Bio/la sam upoznat/ta sa školskim sustavom države u koju sam upućen/na na radno mjesto nastavnika hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu prije nego sam počeo/la tamo raditi.	16,4	29,5	4,9	37,7	11,5	2,98	1,348	3
Prije početka radnog odnosa u HNuI bio/la sam upućen/na u pravila vođenja pedagoške dokumentacije za potrebe hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu.	19,7	29,5	13,1	24,6	13,1	2,82	1,360	3

Da bi se utvrdili efekti koje iskustvo rada u nastavi u Republici Hrvatskoj ima na procjenu uspješnosti poučavanja HNuI, najprije je distribucija varijable *broj godina staža u nastavi u Republici Hrvatskoj* testirana na normalnost te je utvrđeno da statistički značajno odstupa od normalne ($p = 0,039$), a potom su za svih osam varijabli samoevaluacije rada nastavnika određeni neparametrijski Spearmanovi ro-koeficijenti korelacije s godinama staža rada u nastavi u Republici Hrvatskoj i razinom pripreme (Tablica 4).

Rezultati pokazuju da je duže iskustvo rada u nastavi u Republici Hrvatskoj povezano s većom procjenom uspješnosti poučavanja jedino u segmentu kreiranja procesa poučavanja i poticanja procesa učenja u kombiniranim odjeljenjima (nastavnim skupinama) ($p = 0,310$, $p = 0,016$), za koji je ujedno

utvrđen i najveći nedostatak pripreme u formalnom obrazovanju. Za ostale segmente uspješnosti poučavanja, poput upotrebe digitalnih alata u nastavi, organizacije izvannastavnih i izvanškolskih aktivnosti, provedbe evaluacije vlastita rada itd., nije utvrđena povezanost s duljinom iskustva rada u nastavi u RH.

Spearmanovi ro-koeficijenti	Duljina staža u RH	Prethodna upoznatost sa školskim sustavom države u koju su nastavnici upućeni na radno mjesto učitelja HNuI	Prethodna upućenost u pravila vođenja pedagoške dokumentacije za potrebe HNuI
Nemam poteškoća u kreiranju procesa poučavanja i poticanju procesa učenja u kombiniranim odjeljenjima (nastavnim skupinama).	0,310*	0,291*	0,091
Različitim metodama i strategijama potičem aktivnost polaznika/učenika.	0,015	0,215	0,012
Nastavu prilagođavam različitim sposobnostima polaznika/učenika, uvažavajući različite stilove učenja.	-0,004	0,090	-0,088
Ostvarujem sve ishode učenja propisane Kurikulumom hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu.	0,104	0,407**	0,566**
Osmišljam i provodim različite načine provjeravanja i ocjenjivanja polaznika/učenika.	-0,238	0,277*	0,109
U nastavi koristim digitalne alate.	-0,160	-0,128	0,116
Organiziram različite izvannastavne i izvanškolske aktivnosti	0,061	0,036	0,115
Redovito provodim evaluaciju svoga rada.	-0,060	0,213	0,139

● TABLICA 4
Korelacije
samoevaluacije rada
učitelja u HNuI s
godinama radnoga
staža u nastavi u
Republici Hrvatskoj
($N = 60$) i razinom
pripreme za rad u
inozemstvu ($N = 61$)

* Korelacija je statistički značajna na razini vjerojatnosti 0,05 (dvosmjerno testiranje)

** Korelacija je statistički značajna na razini vjerojatnosti 0,01 (dvosmjerno testiranje)

Što se tiče pripreme za rad u inozemstvu, utvrđeno je da oni učitelji koji su prije odlaska na radno mjesto učitelja HNuI bili bolje upoznati sa školskim sustavom države u koju su upućeni na rad imaju manje poteškoća u kreiranju procesa poučavanja i poticanju procesa učenja u kombiniranim odjeljenjima ($\rho = 0,291$, $p = 0,023$), u većoj mjeri procjenjuju da ostvaruju sve ishode učenja propisane Kurikulumom ($\rho = 0,407$, $p = 0,001$) te u većoj mjeri osmišljavaju i provode načine ocjenjivanja ($\rho = 0,277$, $p = 0,031$), dok oni učitelji koji su više bili upućeni u pravila vođenja pedagoške dokumentacije u većoj mjeri

procjenjuju da ostvaruju sve ishode učenja propisane Kurikulumom hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu ($p = 0,566$, $p < 0,001$). To je ujedno i najjači utvrđeni efekt pripreme na samoevaluaciju rada nastavnika u HNuI.

Razlozi neostvarivanja ishoda učenja propisanih kurikulumom mogu biti uzrokovani mnogim faktorima, međutim Kurikulum hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu, s obzirom na svoju primarnu svrhu, a to je razvoj hrvatskoga nacionalnog identiteta kod djece i mladih hrvatskih iseljenika, pokazuje ozbiljne manjkavosti (Bušljeta Kardum i sur., 2021). Ipak, rezultati ove analize pokazuju da upućenost učitelja u školski sustav države u kojoj se provodi HNuI i pedagošku dokumentaciju ipak pridonosi i većoj usmjerenosti na ostvarivanje ishoda učenja propisanih Kurikulumom.

Treći je cilj ovog rada bio utvrditi kolika je potreba učitelja za pomoći u osmišljavanju HNuI te postoje li razlike s obzirom na njihovo zvanje (Tablica 5). Potreba učitelja za pomoći u osmišljavanju metodičkih pristupa i strategija u nastavi mjerena je slaganjem s tvrdnjom koja je glasila "Potrebna mi je pomoć u osmišljavanju metodičkih pristupa i strategija u nastavi". Rezultati pokazuju da se 8 % uopće, a 28 % sudionika istraživanja ne slaže s navedenom tvrdnjom, odnosno ne smatraju kako im je potrebna takva vrsta pomoći. S druge strane, gotovo polovica ispitanika izrazila je potrebu za takvom vrstom pomoći, tj. 36 % sudionika složilo se te još 10 % u potpunosti složilo s navedenom tvrdnjom. Preostalih 18 % sudionika nisu mogli procijeniti je li im potrebna takva pomoć ili nije. Iskazana potreba učitelja hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu za pomoći u osmišljavanju metoda i strategija poučavanja i učenja upućuje na potrebu za osmišljavanjem i izmjenjivanjem načina poticanja procesa motivacije, posebice kada je riječ o kombiniranim razrednim odjelima (Lučić i Matijević, 2004; Šuvar, 2011).

● TABLICA 5
Potreba za pomoći u osmišljavanju nastave prema zvanju (N = 57)

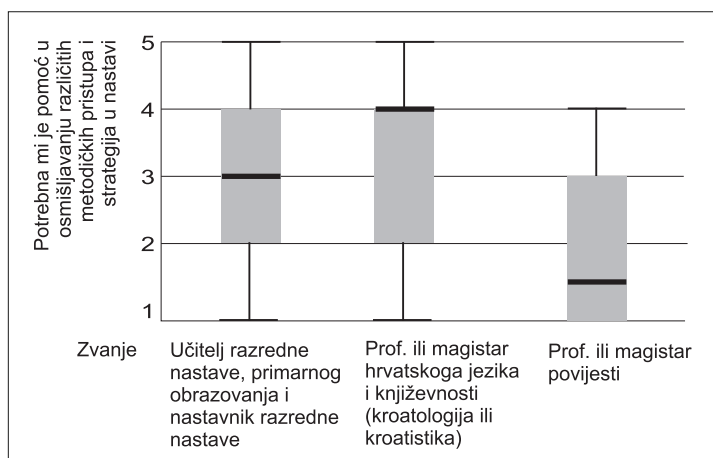
Potrebna mi je pomoć u osmišljavanju različitih metodičkih pristupa i strategija u nastavi.	Zvanje		
	Učitelj razredne nastave, primarnog obrazovanja i nastavnik r. nastave (%)	Prof. ili magistar hrvatskoga jezika i književnosti (%)	Prof. ili magistar povijesti (%)
Uopće se ne slažem	8,3	3,4	50,0
Ne slažem se	25,0	31,0	25,0
Ne mogu procijeniti	29,2	13,8	0,0
Slažem se	33,3	34,5	25,0
U potpunosti se slažem	4,2	17,2	0,0
Ukupno	24 (100)	29 (100)	4 (100)

Sudionici istraživanja sami su upisivali svoje zvanje u anketni upitnik te smo za potrebe ovog rada njihove otvorene odgovore kodirali u tri skupine: 1 = učitelj razredne nastave,

primarnog obrazovanja i nastavnici razredne nastave, 2 = profesori ili magistri hrvatskoga jezika i književnosti (kroatologija ili kroatistika) te 3 = profesori ili magistri povijesti. Za četvero ispitanika na temelju njihovih odgovora nije se moglo rekonstruirati njihovo zvanje, pa su isključeni iz ove analize. Od 57 ispitanika, njih 29 (47,5 %) profesori su ili magistri hrvatskoga jezika i književnosti, 24 (39,3 %) učitelji su razredne nastave, primarnog obrazovanja i nastavnici razredne nastave, a preostalih 4 (6,6 %) profesori su ili magistri povijesti.

Ako se potreba za pomoći analizira prema zvanju učitelja, podaci na uzorku pokazuju da nastavnici povijesti iskazuju najmanju potrebu za pomoći u osmišljavanju metodičkih pristupa i strategija u nastavi (75 % ne slaže se s navedenom tvrdnjom da im je potrebna pomoć), dok učitelji razredne nastave i nastavnici hrvatskoga jezika i književnosti iskazuju nešto veću (37 % i 50 % slaže ih se s tvrdnjom da im je potrebna pomoć). Ipak, s obzirom na to da je riječ o statistički malim poduzorcima, posebice grupe profesora povijesti, koji se svojim odgovorima ovdje najviše ističu u odnosu na ostale, ove razlike nisu se pokazale statistički značajnima ni u testiranju zavisnosti varijabli zvanje i potreba za pomoći Pearsonovim hi-kvadrat testom ($\chi^2 = 13,997$; $df = 8$; $p = 0,082$) ni u testiranju distribucija potrebe za pomoći u svakoj podskupini prema zvanju Kruskal-Wallisovim testom ($\chi^2 = 3,980$; $df = 2$; $p = 0,137$) (Slika 1). Ipak, smatramo da bi analiza ponovljena na većem poduzorku nastavnika povijesti, uz isti trend, pokazala ovu razliku statistički značajnom. Stoga ovaj deskriptivni nalaz o većoj potrebi za pomoći među učiteljima razredne nastave i hrvatskog jezika, u odnosu na učitelje povijesti, također smatramo relevantnim.

➤ SLIKA 1
Kutijasti dijagrami
distribucije varijable
potreba za pomoći u
osmišljavanju nastave
prema zvanju učitelja



Četvrti je cilj ovog rada bio utvrditi postoji li potreba učitelja za dodatnim nastavnim medijima (priručnicima, di-

● TABLICA 6
Potrebe za dodatnim
nastavnim
materijalima –
deskriptivna statistika
(N = 61)

daktilskim materijalima i paketima s rekvizitima) za uspješno ostvarenje hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu. Rezultati pokazuju kako je takva potreba izrazito velika (Tablica 6). Naime, gotovo svi ispitani učitelji (njih 98 %) smatraju važnim postojanje dodatnih i pomoćnih nastavnih sredstava za rad u nastavi, poput radnih bilježnica, didaktičko-metodički pripremljenih slikovnih, pisanih, auditivnih i audiovizualnih materijala. Također, velika većina (njih 93,5 %) za kvalitetno izvođenje hrvatske nastave smatra potrebnim imati priručnik s nastavnim materijalima (pisanim, slikovnim) za lakše pripremanje nastave, dok ih 88,5 % smatra da bi bilo korisno imati paket s rekvizitima (kostimi, narodne nošnje i sl.) važnima za razumijevanje povijesno-kulturne baštine RH. Friedmanov test pokazuje da je najveća potreba iskazana za dodatnim i pomoćnim didaktičko-metodičkim materijalima ($\chi^2 = 8,805$; $df = 2$; $p = 0,012$).

	Uopće se ne slažem (%)	Ne sla- žem se (%)	Ne mogu procijeniti (%)	Sla- žem se (%)	U pot- punosti se slažem (%)	M	sd	Mdn
Za kvalitetno izvođenje hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu smatram potrebnim imati priručnik s nastavnim materijalima (pisanim, slikovnim) za lakše pripremanje nastave.	1,6	3,3	1,6	36,1	57,4	4,44	0,827	5
Smatram važnim postojanje različitih dodatnih i pomoćnih nastavnih sredstava za rad u nastavi, poput radnih bilježnica, didaktičko-metodički pripremljenih slikovnih, pisanih, auditivnih i audiovizualnih materijala.	0,0	0,0	1,6	24,6	73,8	4,72	0,488	5
Za izvođenje izvannastavnih aktivnosti bilo bi korisno imati paket s rekvizitima (kostimi, narodne nošnje i sl.) važnima za razumijevanje povijesno-kulturne baštine RH.	0,0	1,6	9,8	24,6	63,9	4,51	0,744	5

Nastava u kombiniranim razrednim odjeljenjima iziskuje upotrebu različitih nastavnih materijala (Varga i sur., 2019; INTO, 2003). S obzirom na brojne specifičnosti, učitelji hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu iskazali su u velikom postotku potrebu za izradbom posebno osmišljenih i pripremljenih didaktičko-metodičkih materijala, koji bi im uvelike olakšali ostvarenje propisanih sadržaja i ishoda učenja te rad u kombiniranim razrednim odjeljenjima.

ZAKLJUČAK

Glavni nalazi ovog istraživanja govore da iako učitelji HNuI načelno pokazuju zadovoljstvo prilikom procjene dostatnosti pedagoških kompetencija stečenih formalnim obrazovanjem, tek se oko polovice njih slaže da su im one dostatne za por-

vođenje hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu, a najveći nedostatak prepoznaju u nedovoljnoj pripremljenosti za rad u kombiniranim razrednim odjeljenjima. Faktor koji ima pozitivan efekt na tu pripremljenost jest prethodno dulje iskustvo rada u nastavi u Republici Hrvatskoj, što znači da će se iskusniji učitelji lakše prilagoditi radu u kombiniranim razrednim odjeljenjima. Nadalje, iako svoj rad načelno ocjenjuju pozitivnim, ipak se prepoznaje skupina nastavnika koji izjavljuju da imaju poteškoća u kreiranju procesa poučavanja, a vjerojatno najviše zabrinjava nalaz da ih samo oko polovice izjavljuje kako ostvaruju ishode propisane Kurikulumom hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu. Utvrđeno je i kako priprema za odlazak na rad u inozemstvo u smislu proučavanja školskoga sustava države u koju odlaze i informiranje o pravilima vođenja dokumentacije HNuI također pridonose većoj uspješnosti poučavanja, ali važno je naglasiti kako takva vrsta pripreme ne bi trebala ovisiti o individualnom angažmanu učitelja, nego ona mora biti institucionalizirana, kako bi se sustavno ujednačile pozicije učitelja prilikom odlaska na rad u inozemstvo i osigurala kvaliteta njihova rada. Tome posebno ide u prilog nalaz da je najjači utvrđeni pozitivni efekt pripreme na samevaluaciju rada upravo upućenost u pravila pedagoške dokumentacije, koja povećava šansu za ostvarenje ishoda učenja propisanih Kurikulumom hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu. Također, gotovo polovica ispitanih učitelja iskazuje potrebu za pomoći u osmišljavanju pristupa i strategija u nastavi (posebice učitelji razredne nastave i hrvatskoga jezika) te gotovo svi izjavljuju da su im za uspješnu realizaciju nastave potrebi dodatni nastavni mediji, poput didaktičko-metodičkih materijala, priručnika i rekvizita.

Na temelju navedenoga, zaključujemo kako rezultati dobiveni ovim istraživanjem upućuju na potrebu za uvođenjem programa koji bi na diplomskoj razini budućim učiteljima omogućio upisivanje modula usmjerenoga na potrebe HNuI ili osmišljavanju programa sveučilišnoga specijalističkoga studija za usavršavanje učitelja koji žele raditi u HNuI, a koji bi obuhvaćao, osim učitelja razredne nastave te nastavnika hrvatskoga jezika i književnosti i nastavnika povijesti (Pravilnik o uvjetima i postupku izbora učitelja za rad u hrvatskoj nastavi u inozemstvu, *NN*, 41/2009), i nastavnike geografije, glazbene te likovne kulture, s obzirom na to da je Kurikulum HNuI integriran i sadržajno uključuje prenošenje i usvajanje znanja i vještina ne samo iz hrvatskoga jezika i književnosti i povijesti nego i iz geografije te glazbene i likovne umjetnosti. Uz to važno je naglasiti nužnost za osmišljavanjem i izradbom didaktičko-metodičkih materijala kojima bi se pomoglo učiteljima, a i djeci, u ostvarivanju Kurikulumom propisanih ciljeva i ishoda učenja.

Ograničenja ove studije primarno su metodološkoga tipa. Relativno malen uzorak, posebice poduzorak profesora povijesti, mogao je dovesti do smanjene snage provedenih testova, tj. smanjene vjerojatnosti prepoznavanja stvarnih razlika između skupina u populaciji svih učitelja HNuI. No s obzirom na to da je i sama istraživana populacija vrlo mala (ukupno 97 osoba), a ovim je istraživanjem obuhvaćeno čak 63 % te populacije, već se i deskriptivni nalazi mogu smatrati relevantnima. Nadalje, tehnika samoevaluacije rada učitelja, kao i ostalih samoiskaza putem slaganja s ponuđenim tvrdnjama, može patiti od metodoloških pristranosti, koje je u provedbi ovakva istraživanja teško kontrolirati, poput formulacije iskaza, potvrdne pristranosti, nemarnog odgovaranja te pristranosti slaganja (Mandić i Klasnić, 2021). S tim u vezi upotreba novih, dosad nevalidiranih, instrumenata u ovoj studiji i nepostojanje prethodnih istraživanja s kojima bi se naši nalazi usporedili također predstavljaju ograničenje ovog rada te upućuju na potrebu za kontinuiranim i sistematičnim praćenjem zadovoljstva i evaluacije rada učitelja HNuI.

No unatoč navedenim ograničenjima, smatramo kako rezultati ovog istraživanja mogu, kao dobar temelj, poslužiti za izradbu smjernica o tome kako unaprijediti hrvatsku nastavu u inozemstvu. U tom pogledu kao jedna od primarnih smjernica pokazala se potreba za stjecanjem dodatnih kompetencija sadašnjih i budućih učitelja HNuI razvojem posebnih obrazovnih modula i/ili sveučilišnoga specijalističkoga studija te organiziranjem kontinuiranih stručnih usavršavanja učitelja HNuI.

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Teaching Competencies and Recommendations of Croatian Teachers Abroad: A Quantitative Analysis

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The main goal of this paper was to examine whether formal education for teachers is sufficient for successful Croatian teaching abroad (HNuI), and the research was carried out through four established research objectives. The exploratory cross-sectional part was conducted using the survey method, i.e., an online survey technique with sixty-one Croatian

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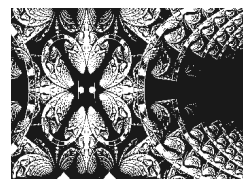
BURAI, R. I SUR.:
PEDAGOŠKE...

teachers working in seventeen different countries around the world. The results obtained by this research indicate the need to introduce a special programme intended for teachers who want to work at HNul.

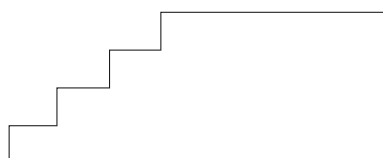
Keywords: Croatian teaching abroad, competencies,
teachers' educational needs, teacher training



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**Ivana Miočić, Jasminka
Ledić i Marija Brajdić
Vuković
POZITIVAN
ODNOS PREMA
NASTAVI U VISOKOM
OBRAZOVANJU**

Filozofski fakultet u Rijeci, Rijeka, 2021., 52 str.

Već sam naslov monografije "Pozitivan odnos prema nastavi u visokom obrazovanju" može pobuditi znatiželju mnogih visokoškolskih nastavnika, bez obzira na disciplinu i na iskustvo rada u nastavi, te im ova knjiga zasigurno može pomoći u radu. Monografija je objavljena 2021. godine u izdanju Filozofskog fakulteta u Rijeci, a proizašla je iz pera autorica koje imaju obilje iskustva u istraživanju područja visokoškolske nastave, i to ponajviše u kontekstu profesionalne socijalizacije mladih znanstvenika u hrvatskom sustavu visokog obrazovanja. Rezultati istraživanja koji se prikazuju u ovoj monografiji dominantno su proizašli iz doktorske disertacije jedne od autorica (Ivane Miočić), a rad na disertaciji odvijao se u okviru triju projekata: 1) "Kompetencijski profil akademske profesije: između novih zahtjeva i mogućnosti (APRO FRAME, 2014-2017)", 2) "Projekt razvoja karijera mladih istraživača – izobrazba novih doktora znanosti" (2016-2019) te 3) "Profesionalna socijalizacija mladih znanstvenika u nastavnu djelatnost (započeo 2019. godine)". Sve navedene projekte vodila je prof. dr. sc. Jasminka Ledić, a Hrvatska zaklada za znanost financirala je prva dva,

dok treći podupire Sveučilište u Rijeci. Dakle, ova je knjiga jedna u nizu publikacija proizašlih iz spomenutih znanstveno-istraživačkih projekata. Treba istaknuti i da je knjiga dostupna na hrvatskom i engleskom jeziku, čime je postala dostupna ne samo nacionalnoj nego i široj međunarodnoj publici, a može se pronaći na mrežnim stranicama izdavača.

Monografija ima 52 stranice u oba jezična izdanja, a tekst je podijeljen na 3 poglavlja, od kojih prvo poglavlje okuplja 5 potpoglavlja. Knjiga započinje predgovorom, u kojem se elaborira cilj projekta, u okviru kojeg je knjiga nastala, vrlo se detaljno opisuju sadržaj narednih poglavlja te se ističe kojoj je publici namijenjena. U predgovoru autorice nas upoznaju s pitanjima kojima su se vodile tijekom rada na ovoj tematici, pri čemu je jedno od ključnih pitanja što obilježava proces profesionalne socijalizacije u akademskoj profesiji mladih znanstvenika koji razvijaju pozitivan odnos spram nastave. Odgovore nam donose u sljedećim poglavljima: 1) Visokoškolska nastava i profesionalna socijalizacija mladih znanstvenika u sustavu visokoga obrazovanja, 2) Pozitivan odnos prema radu u visokoškolskoj nastavi i 3) Preporuke za unaprjeđenje sustava podrške mladim znanstvenicima u profesionalnoj socijalizaciji u nastavnu djelatnost.

Prvo poglavlje, *Visokoškolska nastava i profesionalna socijalizacija mladih znanstvenika u sustavu visokoga obrazovanja*, započinje pregledom aktualnih europskih i nacionalnih *policy* dokumenata o visokoškolskoj nastavnoj djelatnosti. Navode se vrlo konkretne smjernice iz dokumenata ključnih tijela i inicijativa, kao što su Europska komisija, Europski prostor visokog obrazovanja te Europsko udruženje sveučilišta. Navedena tijela u svojim *policy* dokumentima naglašavaju važnost certificiranog usavršavanja nastavnika umjesto "učenja na poslu", važnost usmjeravanja procesa učenja i poučavanja na studente, poticanja inovativnih praksi u visokoškolskoj nastavi te povezanosti znanstvenog i nastavnog rada visokoškolskih nastavnika. Autorice

navode i strategije u nacionalnom kontekstu koje su komplementarne europskima i jednaku pažnju posvećuju važnosti kontinuiranog obrazovanja i usavršavanja visokoškolskih nastavnika za stjecanje nastavničkih kompetencija.

Osim osvrta na *policy* dokumente, prvo poglavlje donosi detaljan i opsežan pregled dosadašnjih istraživanja, koja se tematski mogu raspodijeliti na četiri šira područja: 1) istraživanja pristupa i perspektiva poučavanja, 2) istraživanja nastavničkih kompetencija i profesionalnog razvoja visokoškolskih nastavnika, 3) istraživanja odnosa nastavnog i istraživačkog rada te 4) istraživanja o emocionalnoj dimenziji rada visokoškolskih nastavnika. Autorice su za svako od navedenih područja izdvojile najvažnije rezultate, kao i pregled upotrijebljenih instrumenata za mjerenja raznih fenomena iz nekoga područja.

Prvo područje koje se opisuje u ovom poglavlju jesu pristupi i perspektive poučavanja u visokom obrazovanju, pri čemu se u mnoštvu pristupa poučavanju može izdvojiti dominantna dihotomija između dva ključna pristupa, onoga usmjerenog na nastavnika i onoga usmjerenog na studenta. Prvom je pristupu cilj prijenos informacija, dok je drugi usmjeren ka konceptualnim promjenama u znanju studenta. U rezultatima prikazanih istraživanja o upotrebi ovih temeljnih pristupa poučavanju nerijetko se uočavaju razlike između tzv. *soft sciences* i *hard sciences*, pri čemu je u prvim nastava češće usmjerena na studenta, a u drugim na sadržaj. Autorice u ovom pregledu dosadašnjih istraživanja pristupa i perspektiva poučavanja u visokom obrazovanju konstruktivno pridonose i svojom kritikom onih istraživanja koja ne uzimaju u obzir širi nastavni kontekst,

odnosno autonomiju nastavnika u prilagodbi pristupa poučavanju, ovisno o situaciji.

Opis područja nastavničke kompetencije i profesionalni razvoj visokoškolskih nastavnika u najvećoj mjeri fokusiran je na raspravu o potrebi za inicijalnim i dodatnim obrazovanjem visokoškolskih nastavnika za rad u nastavi. Ključni nedostatak koji su autorice primijetile jest nepostojanje programa koji bi pripremili visokoškolske nastavnike za rad u nastavi. Navodi se kako se od nastavnika na sveučilištima očekuje da "automatski" znaju poučavati o znanstvenom području za koje su kvalificirani, što praksa, jasno, opovrgava. Rezultati istraživanja tako pokazuju da su visokoškolski nastavnici većinom prepušteni samima sebi i učenju iz pokušaja i pogrešaka u nedostatku programa koji bi ih pripremili za rad u nastavi. Navodi se kako je interes za proučavanjem utjecaja programa za profesionalni razvoj visokoškolskih nastavnika za rad u nastavi povećan u zadnje vrijeme, a rezultati tih istraživanja mješoviti su. U nizu predstavljenih rezultata istraživanja autorice poentiraju da se ipak u većini istraživanja zaključuje da postoje pozitivni učinci navedenih programa, a neki od njih jesu povećanje rezultata na skalama koje mjere entuzijazam, organizacijske vještine, davanje povratnih informacija, zatim povećanje svijesti nastavnika o pristupu poučavanju i odabiru adekvatnih nastavnih metoda, povećanje teorijskih znanja o nastavi, širenje ideja i motivacije za rad u nastavi, povećanje samopouzdanja za rad u nastavi te razmjena iskustava s drugim kolegama.

U prikazu dosadašnjih istraživanja trećega područja, odnosa nastave i istraživanja, koja imaju za cilj objasniti položaj nastavne u odnosu na istraživačku djelatnost na sveučilištima, autorice ističu tri modela (ne)povezanosti nastavnog i istraživačkog rada koji su izradili Hattie i Marsh: 1) negativna povezanost koja podrazumijeva potpuno odvajanje nastave i istraživanja, ali i nepovoljan utjecaj jedne djelatnosti na drugu, 2) pozitivan i recipročan

odnos nastave i istraživanja, odnosno međusobno obogaćivanje ovih dviju djelatnosti te 3) neutralan model u kojem su nastava i istraživanje dvije nepovezane kategorije. Nadalje, autorice navode istraživanja koja su usmjerena na proučavanje nastavne i istraživačke orijentacije akademskih djelatnika, u kojima se ističe kako je primjetan sve veći pritisak na znanstvenu produktivnost u kontekstu napredovanja, što posljedično utječe na umanjivanje važnosti nastavne djelatnosti.

Emocionalna dimenzija rada visokoškolskih nastavnika posljednje je područje istraživanja koje se prikazuje u ovoj knjizi. Istraživanja ovoga područja mogu se podijeliti na ona koja se bave pozitivnim emocijama i ona koja se bave negativnim aspektima emocija visokoškolskih nastavnika. Neke od ključnih pozitivnih emocija u nastavnom procesu jesu zadovoljstvo, zainteresiranost, ljubav, ponos, olakšanje, a dobri su nastavnici "oni koji nastavu čine zanimljivom, u čijem se radu prepoznaje ljubav, strast, entuzijazam koji se prenosi na studente, kao i humor i užitek te suosjećanje i briga za studente" (str. 21). S druge strane, spominju se emocionalni napori, stres te profesionalno sagorijevanje, koji mogu loše utjecati na nastavni proces.

Prethodno opisana četiri područja istraživanja tematike profesionalne socijalizacije mladih znanstvenika u nastavnu djelatnost važna su za razumijevanje empirijskoga dijela ove publikacije i konstruiranoga konceptualnog okvira pozitivnog odnosa spram rada u nastavi.

Drugo potpoglavlje, *O profesionalnoj socijalizaciji u akademsku profesiju*, prikazuje nam razna određenja profesionalne socijalizacije, kao i njihova ograničenja. Zbog specifičnosti sustava visokog obrazovanja,

proces profesionalne socijalizacije traje dulje nego u ostalim profesijama, i zbog toga, kako ističu autorice, predstavlja zanimljiv istraživački problem koji ne podrazumijeva "samo" velike događaje, poput stjecanja doktorata, nego i naizgled običnu svakodnevicu na poslu. Osim što profesionalna socijalizacija traje dulje, ova je faza u životu akademskoga djelatnika posebno važna i zbog formiranja (dualnog) profesionalnog identiteta mladoga znanstvenika, odnosno identiteta istraživača i nastavnika. Zbog svih navedenih specifičnosti, osobe na početku akademske karijere najčešće se nose s nizom izazova, što može utjecati na nisku razinu zadovoljstva poslom. No u tom su kontekstu vrlo važni mentori, čija se ključna uloga očituje u pomaganju mladim znanstvenicima u kontekstu upravljanja karijerom.

U središnjem poglavlju ove knjige, *Pozitivan odnos prema radu u visokoškolskoj nastavi*, autorice daju prikaz vlastita istraživanja, ali – kako same kažu – daju ilustraciju uvida iz empirijskog istraživanja. Metodologija se ne navodi detaljno, znamo da je riječ o kvalitativnom pristupu, odnosno strategiji studije slučaja u kojoj je sudjelovalo pet žena – mladih znanstvenica (docentica) zaposlenih u raznim institucijama i disciplinama u hrvatskom visokoobrazovnom sustavu. U ovom poglavlju autorice donose nov vlastiti središnji četverodimenzionalni konceptualni okvir pozitivnog odnosa spram rada u nastavi, koji je zamišljen cjelovito i bez ograničenja koja proizlaze iz specifičnosti različitih disciplina. Konceptualni okvir svoje utemeljenje pronalazi u rezultatima istraživanja i raspravama prikazanim u prvom poglavlju, a za ilustraciju pojedinih elemenata konceptualnog okvira navode se iskustva mladih znanstvenica sudionica kvalitativne studije slučaja. U definiranje konceptualnog okvira kreće se od emocionalne dimenzije, pa autorice u svojem istraživanju polaze od pretpostavke da "pozitivna emocionalna iskustva mladih znanstvenika, koja se manifestiraju u obliku osjećaja ugođe, zadovoljstva i entuzijazma u ra-

du u nastavi, predstavljaju jednu od komponenata pozitivnog odnosa prema radu u nastavi" (str. 31). Druga dimenzija pozitivnog odnosa prema nastavi odnosi se na aktivan i kontinuiran angažman visokoškolskih nastavnika u usavršavanju nastavničkih kompetencija. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju nezadovoljstvo sudionica nepostojanjem programa za usavršavanje nastavničkih kompetencija za visokoškolske nastavnike, kao i nepostojanjem usustavljenog oblika uvođenja osoba u sustav. Sljedeću dimenziju konceptualnog okvira autorice objašnjavaju konstruktivističkim načelima pristupa poučavanja na koja se navezuje i koncept poučavanja usmjerenog na studenta. Takav pristup poučavanju, objašnjavaju, podrazumijeva aktivnu i suradničku ulogu studenata i nastavnika u nastavnom procesu, u kojem se "formiraju, konstruiraju i rekonstruiraju znanja" (str. 35). Zadnja dimenzija podrazumijeva isprepletenost istraživačkog i nastavnog rada, pri čemu se navodi izazov koji postaje sve snažniji, a to je isticanje znanstvenog rada kao najvažnijega kriterija akademskoga napredovanja, čime se posredno umanjuje važnost nastavnoga dijela rada. Autorice naglašavaju da je nužno zadovoljiti sve četiri dimenzije koje se međusobno dopunjuju, kako bi konceptualni okvir pozitivnog odnosa spram nastave bio cjelovit. Primjerice, nije dovoljno biti strastven i entuzijastičan nastavnik, nego treba imati i dovoljno znanja i vještina potrebnih za rad u nastavi. Nakon opisa i definicije svake dimenzije konceptualnog okvira, autorice donose inspirativne verbatimne svojih sudionica istraživanja, koja potkrepljuju konstruirani četverodimenzionalni konceptualni okvir.

U posljednjem poglavlju autorice nam donose šest vrlo konkretnih i primje-

njihvih preporuka, primjena kojih bi trebala biti od pomoći znanstvenicima i visokoškolskim nastavnicima na počecima njihove karijere, a koje se temelje na proučenoj literaturi i rezultatima vlastita istraživanja. Preporuke autorica sažimaju sadržaj predstavljen u prethodnim poglavljima i kreću u smjeru od kreiranja mehanizma zapošljavanja znanstvenika, preko implementacije i pokretanja programa za osposobljavanje i usavršavanje nastavnika za rad u nastavi do jasnijega prijenosa očekivanja prema mladim znanstvenicima, kao i uključivanja svih aktera visokog obrazovanja na svim razinama u proces poticanja razvoja pozitivnog odnosa prema nastavi. Prikazane preporuke mogu biti korisne svim akademskim djelatnicima, a posebno su namijenjene donositeljima odluka na svim razinama sustava visokog obrazovanja.

Može se zaključiti da se prikazana publikacija zbog svoje pitkosti i jasnoće može pročitati u jednom dahu. Iz svakog je naslova poglavlja i potpoglavlja jasno što se može očekivati. Najvažniji doprinos ove knjige očituje se u predstavljanju novoga četverodimenzionalnog konceptualnog okvira pozitivnog odnosa prema radu u nastavi. U obilju dosadašnjih istraživanja koja se bave visokoškolskom nastavom, autorice ove knjige u svojem se istraživanju usmjeravaju na nastavnikov osobni i pozitivan odnos prema nastavi i otkrivaju što čini bit pozitivnog odnosa prema radu u nastavi. Još jedan od doprinosa knjige jest i širok prikaz rezultata prethodnih istraživanja najvažnijih autora na ovom području. Ova knjiga može poslužiti mladim znanstvenicima na početku njihove karijere u svladavanju nastavničkih kompetencija, umjesto dosad vrlo raširene prakse "učenja na poslu" i "bacanja u vatru". Također, zasigurno može biti važna i njihovim mentorima u kontekstu vođenja i usmjeravanja kolega koji tek kreću u svoju akademsku pustolovinu. Snaga ove knjige dodatno se očituje u donošenju vrlo konkretnih praktičnih rješenja, koja mogu uvelike poslužiti donositeljima odluka u visokom obrazovanju. Nedostatak detalj-

nijeg opisa metodologije zapravo nije nedostatak, s obzirom na to da je svrha publikacije prikaz i analiza konceptualnog okvira pozitivnog odnosa spram nastave i donošenje preporuka. Navedeno se može shvatiti kao poziv na praćenje rada autorica i na proučavanje njihovih prethodnih i budućih publikacija o području istraživanja visokog obrazovanja.

Nadja Čekolj

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Miha Kovač CITAM, DA SE PROČITAM Deset razloga za čitanje knjiga u digitalno doba

Ljevak, Zagreb, 2021., 157 str.

Protekla 2021. godina bit će zapamćena kao Godina čitanja. Mnogo aktivnosti za poticanje čitanja provedeno je u školskim i narodnim knjižnicama te ostalim kulturnim institucijama diljem zemlje. Objavljeno je i niz tekstova i knjiga koje se bave problemom (ne)čitanja, razlozima za čitanje, problemima čitanja u digitalno doba i opstankom tiskane knjige. Jedna od njih jest i knjiga slovenskog autora Mihe Kovača: *Čitam, da se pročitam; deset razloga za čitanje knjiga u digitalno doba*, u izdanju Naklade Ljevak.

Prije početka čitanja, knjiga će vas privući svojom vizualnom opremom: prikladnim formatom, tvrdim uvezom i oku ugodnim ilustracijama. Na unutarnjoj strani korica na početku knjige nalazi se popis deset razloga zbog kojih ne čitamo knjige u digitalno doba. Popis je vrlo duhovit i

poticajan za razmišljanje o tome hoće li nas autor uvjeriti zašto bismo čitali u digitalno doba.

Na samom početku autor nas u uvodnim poglavljima upoznaje sa svojim odnosom prema knjigama i pomalo se nostalgично prisjeća vremena kad su se pisala i slala pisma, kupovali ruksaci puni knjiga i pretipkavalo diplomski rad pisaćim strojem. Autor je itekako svjestan revolucije mobilnosti, u kojoj vidi mnogo pozitivnog i sam je prihvaća i uživa u njezinim dobrobitima, ali i postavlja neminovno pitanje: zašto bismo se trudili čitati tiskane knjige kad nam je znanje u sažetom obliku dostupno uz nekoliko klikova? U sljedećim poglavljima autor će ponuditi deset razloga za čitanje kao deset mogućih odgovora na to pitanje.

"Ako znaš dobro čitati, vidiš i čuješ više." U ovom poglavlju autor na primjerima objašnjava zašto su čitanje i pisanje temelji ljudske civilizacije. Iako svi znamo čitati i pisati, doživljavamo tu vještinu kao nešto što se samo po sebi razumije, ali često nismo svjesni samoga procesa čitanja: učenje abecede, prepoznavanje glasova. Ljudi koji se "muče čitajući", tj. slovkaju, neće shvatiti značenje onoga što su pročitali. Autor to potkrepljuje važnošću automatiziranoga radnog pamćenja, tj. vježbanja čitanja. Ljudi koji mnogo čitaju – čitaju automatski, stoga imaju mnogo mentalnoga kapaciteta za razumijevanje pročitanoga.

Drugi razlog za čitanje navezuje se na prethodni. Autor je ustvrdio: "Ako čitaš, znaš više riječi i zato možeš razmišljati o više stvari". Odnosi se to na količinu riječi koje smo svladali i dubinu našega vokabulara, tj. sposobnost da razumijemo kako ista riječ može imati različita značenja u različitim kontekstima. Autor pokazuje kako je upravo dubinsko čitanje u kojem otkrivamo nova značenja, misli i osjećaje, temelj za uživanje u čitanju i razumijevanje svijeta oko nas. Dokazujući povezanost humanističkih i prirodnih znanosti, autor dolazi do zaključka da je čitanje temelj mišljenja. Činjenica je i da svatko od nas čita

na svoj način, pa nas autor provodi kroz kratku povijest čitanja, u kojoj saznajemo o različitim vrstama čitanja: nadzirano intenzivno čitanje (zajedničko čitanje naglas u antici i srednjem vijeku), ekstenzivno nenadzirano čitanje (s pojavom tiska), *skimming* – prelijetanje (površno prelijetanje informacija), uživljeno čitanje (čitanje u koje se ne udubljujemo), dubinsko čitanje. Zanimljivo je što većina ovih oblika čitanja danas egzistira zajedno, a autor ističe da će nam za uspješno snalaženje u digitalnoj civilizaciji najvažnije biti dubinsko čitanje i prelijetanje.

Treće poglavlje donosi raspravu o odnosu tiskanih i elektroničkih knjiga. Autor smatra da "kad dulje tekstove čitamo s papira, bolje ih razumijemo nego kad ih čitamo sa zaslona". Istraživanja su pokazala da zahtjevnije tekstove radije čitamo s papira nego s ekrana i bolje se usredotočujemo na njih. Autor zaključuje da način čitanja ovisi o podlozi s koje čitamo te da je najučinkovitiji način čitanja skladna upotreba tiskanih i digitalnih medija.

Sljedeće poglavlje knjige potvrđuje prethodnu tvrdnju te autor dokazuje kako je zapravo korisno kombinirati upotrebu tehnologije sa zaslonom i čitanje knjiga. Tako učimo misliti na dva načina. Autor daje niz primjera korisnosti digitalne tehnologije, koja nam može pomoći samo na primarnoj razini (sporazumijevanje, snalaženje), dok nam je za složenije razumijevanje ipak potrebna dugotrajnija koncentracija. Autor naglašava da nam je potrebna dvostruka sposobnost: brzo i učinkovito procesiranje informacija sa zaslona te dugotrajno i koncentrirano promišljanje koje razvijamo čitanjem knjiga. Zagovaranjem čitanja književnih tekstova autor dokazuje da jedino tako možemo postići dubinsko

razumijevanje svijeta oko sebe, kao i naučiti uživljavati se u osjećaje drugih ljudi.

Razumijevanje drugih ljudi, njihovih osjećaja i mentaliteta možemo postići jedino čitanjem književnih tekstova. Oni nam pomažu da razvijemo empatiju prema drugima, ali i da preispitujemo vlastite stavove i uvjerenja te tako radimo na osobnom rastu i razvoju. Autor ističe ljepotu vizualiziranja onog što čitamo i uživljanja u priču i likove te uspoređuje čitanje s gledanjem filma, igranjem igrice ili slušanjem zvučne knjige, naglašavajući kako čitanjem intenziviramo svojevrstan trening empatije i kritičkog odnosa prema sebi.

Šesti razlog za čitanje bavi se važnošću čitanja od najranije dobi, koje omogućava djeci da budu uspješnija u životu. Autor donosi rezultate istraživanja čitateljskih kompetencija odraslih, koji pokazuju da ljudi koji su odrastali uz knjige i obitelj u kojoj se čitalo, bez obzira na postignuti stupanj obrazovanja, imaju razvijeniju čitalačku pismenost od onih koji su odrastali bez dodira s knjigama i čitanjem. Općepoznato je da trebamo čitati djeci od najranije dobi i čitati pred djecom i s djecom, jer im tako pomažemo da se razviju u bića koja osjećaju i misle.

Čitanje nije samo ključ za uspješnost. Ono potiče i razvoj kreativnosti i osobno zadovoljstvo. U prilog tome autor navodi dva istraživanja koja su provela Svjetska organizacija za intelektualno vlasništvo i Gallupov institut u SAD-u. Ta su istraživanja pokazala da su države s visokorazvijenim čitateljskim navikama bogatije, kreativnije i sretnije od onih u kojima se malo čita. Na kraju poglavlja autor dokazuje uzročno-posljedičnu vezu između čitanja, empatije, zajednice, kreativnosti i mišljenja.

Može li čitanje uopće biti užitak? Na to pitanje autor nam nudi odgovor u obliku vlastita stava i iskustva. Ističe kako suvremeno društvo zazire od bilo kakva napora i zahtijeva samo užitak na svim područjima. No činjenica je da nema zadovoljstva bez uložene napora. Da bismo

postigli uživanje u čitanju, potrebno je uložiti napor, zatim puno trenirati i čitati, čitati. Čitanje nam može pomoći da se opustimo i odmorimo od stresnoga dana koji smo proveli pred ekranima. Čitanje nam može biti mali ritual koji ćemo provoditi na omiljenom fotelju, uz lampicu i šalicu čaja ili kave. Autor nam otkriva vlastite "kreativne čitateljske destrukcije" koje su mu pomogle da uoči nova rješenja starih problema, nove spoznaje ili smisao života. Za autora je užitak čitanja u tome što čitajući uči kreativno misliti, a to je slatki napor koji mu nudi nove spoznaje i nove svjetove.

Deveto poglavlje naslovljeno "Čitanje na stranom jeziku je prozor u svijet iz kojeg se vidi i kući", govori o potrebi čitanja i na nekom od stranih jezika. Iako tzv. mali europski jezici poput, slovenskoga ili hrvatskoga, pripadaju službenim jezicima Europske unije, autor ističe kako bi se uskoro moglo dogoditi da većina sadržaja iz područja kulture i znanosti bude na engleskom jeziku. Razlog je u tome što je velike jezike, poput engleskoga, zbog velikoga broja korisnika jeftinije uzdržavati. Ipak, autor se zalaže za očuvanje materinskog jezika kao temelja identiteta, ali i kao jezika kojim ćemo najlakše izraziti svoje misli i osjećaje. Autor ne zaboravlja naglasiti prednosti višejezičnosti, koja ima smisla samo ako nam materinski jezik ostane "sidrište" u koje se uvijek iznova vraćamo. Poglavlje završava digresijom o razvoju tiskarske tehnologije, koja je utjecala na oblikovanje kolektivnog identiteta pojedinih naroda i načine na koje prenosimo svoje misli riječima. Vrlo je znakovita autorova tvrdnja da je informacijska tehnologija već utjecala na nas i moguće je da će ubuduće imati utjecaj na identitet ljudi, i to tako da im više neće biti važno govoriti materin-

skim jezicima niti pripadati nacionalnim zajednicama.

Posljednji razlog za čitanje jest: "Čitanje knjiga uči nas misliti vlastitom glavom". Autor ističe da iako nam umjetna inteligencija može pomoći da mislimo više, bolje i brže, ne može nadomjestiti analitičko i kreativno mišljenje. Činjenica je da nam sve znanje na internetu neće biti ni od kakve koristi ako nemamo određenu količinu znanja u svojoj glavi i analitičku sposobnost povezanu s tim znanjem. Autor zaključuje kako nam internet može biti samo pomagalo u traženju rješenja i apsolutno je besmislen ako ne znamo misliti. Vrlo je jasno istaknuto da je smisao čitanja naučiti misliti svojom glavom i autor ostaje optimističan u nadi da će populacija čitača knjiga preživjeti i ubuduće.

Autor završava knjigu navođenjem okolnosti u kojima je nastala, zahvalama i popisom odabranih tekstova o čitanju.

Iako autor ističe da ova knjiga nije znanstveni tekst, smatram da je pomoću mnogih primjera – što znanstveno dokazanih istraživanja, što vlastita iskustva – na popularan način objasnio zašto trebamo čitati. Knjiga stoga može biti korisna učiteljima, odgajateljima, knjižničarima, pedagogima, psiholozima, edukacijskim rehabilitatorima, roditeljima i svima koji vole knjigu i čitanje ili se još nisu odlučili jesu li im draži zasloni ili knjige. Autorovi argumenti u korist čitanja jasni su, odmjereni i svima razumljivi. Knjiga je vrijedan doprinos problematici opadanja interesa za čitanje i može pomoći u razumijevanju važnosti čitanja i njegova poticanja u svrhu razvoja naših sposobnosti na svim područjima.

Jasenska Marmilić

UPUTE SURADNICIMA

1. Profil časopisa

Časopis *Društvena istraživanja* njeguje tematsku i disciplinarnu otvorenost i stoga se u njemu objavljuju radovi iz različitih društvenih i humanističkih disciplina: sociologije, psihologije, politologije, povijesti, prava, ekonomije, demografije, lingvistike i ostalih disciplina.

Časopis objavljuje teorijske, empirijske i pregledne radove, a s obzirom na široki krug čitatelja, prednost imaju radovi s temama koje su od šireg društvenog i međunarodnog interesa, posebice empirijska istraživanja, te komparativna međunarodna istraživanja koja nisu lokalno specifična i tematski usko specijalizirana.

Samo oni rukopisi koji su zadovoljavajuće znanstvene kvalitete i koji su u skladu s tematskim ciljevima i područjima *Društvenih istraživanja* upućuju se u postupak recenziranja.

2. Slanje rukopisa

Uredništvo prima isključivo neobjavljene rukopise na hrvatskom ili engleskom jeziku. Rukopisi se Uredništvu dostavljaju samo u elektroničkom obliku putem sustava za uređivanje časopisa (Open Journal System) na mrežnim stranicama časopisa: <http://www.pilar.hr/drustvena-istrazivanja>. Časopis autorima ne naplaćuje troškove zaprimanja, recenziranja ili objavljivanja radova.

Časopis podržava otvoreni pristup, što znači da je cijeli sadržaj slobodno dostupan bez naplaćivanja korisnicima ili njihovim institucijama.

Autori su odgovorni za originalnost i autorstvo svojeg rukopisa i trebaju se ponašati u skladu s etičkim načelima i pravilima znanstvenog poštenja za autore Europske udruge znanstvenih urednika (EASE) <http://www.ease.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/EASE-Guidelines-2017-Croatian.pdf>.

3. Što objavljujemo?

Časopis *Društvena istraživanja* objavljuje:

- znanstvene članke (izvorne znanstvene radove i pregledne znanstvene radove) ukupne duljine do 7000 riječi bez sažetaka);
- prikaze knjiga i skupova do 2000 riječi.

Iznimno, časopis objavljuje stručne članke i prethodna priopćenja.

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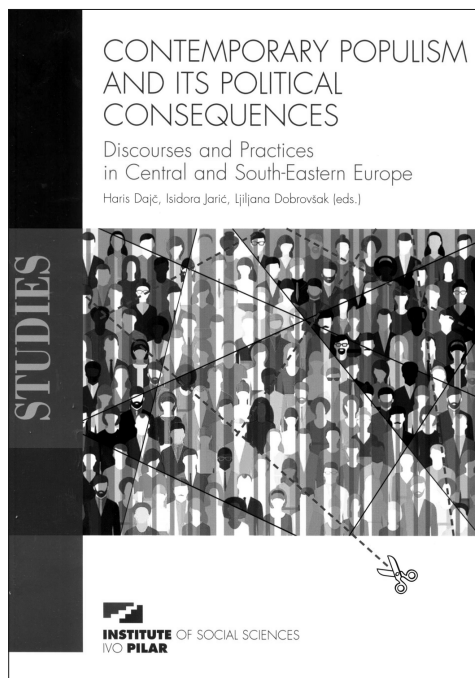
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