

Teachers' Beliefs about Teaching Students with ADHD

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Abstract

Providing high-quality educational support tailored to students with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) is a complex inclusive competency that requires knowledge, skills, and attitudes acquired through initial and/or lifelong learning. The purpose of this paper was to contribute to the understanding of the importance of teachers' inclusive beliefs regarding their work with students with ADHD. The primary goal was to review the existing knowledge about teachers' beliefs in working with students with ADHD, while the specific goal was to define and present the significance of stereotypical and symbolic beliefs in this context. The methodology involved reviewing studies from databases such as WoS, Scopus, Google Scholar, ERIC, CROSB, and Hrčak, using the following keywords: Student, Teacher, ADHD, Inattention, Hyperactivity, Impulsiveness, Attitude, Belief, Stereotypical Belief, Stereotype, Symbolic Belief, Values, Prejudice, Discrimination, Stigma. Research that addressed six specific research questions related to the study's objectives was selected. The findings indicate that beliefs, as mechanisms of social injustice, significantly influence teachers' tendencies toward stigmatizing students with ADHD, as well as the development of prejudices and discriminatory behaviour. A distinction is made between stereotypical beliefs (about the specific characteristics of the group) and symbolic beliefs (about the values, customs, and traditions the group promotes or threatens). Both types of beliefs create barriers to effective inclusive teaching for students with ADHD. Empirical research is needed to identify optimal forms of teacher training that foster positive and inclusive beliefs about students with ADHD and support their education within inclusive practices.

Key words: ADHD; research from 1964-2022; symbolic beliefs; stereotypical beliefs; stigma; teachers

Introduction

Modern society requires a person to be able to fulfil everyday professional tasks. When it comes to teachers, such an initial prerequisite for professional competence is achieved by individuals both before and during their engagement in practice through initial education programs and lifelong professional development, which must be of high quality and relevant to the well-being of all students. Inclusive postulates offer solutions for such skills outcomes and the creation of an inclusive society (European Commission, 2021). In the professional environment, inclusive education is often associated with the education of students with disabilities. It implies the respect and inclusion of all stakeholders in the educational process (all students, parents, teachers and school staff) with a tendency towards the participation of all students, i.e. reducing their exclusion from the school culture, curriculum and local community (Booth & Ainscow, 2002). This is achieved through the teacher's behaviour, adaptive actions and the creation of new ideas for the whole class community (Somma, 2018). It is therefore not only about the education of students with disabilities, but much more broadly about the optimal and appropriate education of all students, regardless of their abilities. This is where the catchphrase of inclusive education comes from - „education for all“. This work deals with quality educational support for students with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD): teachers' beliefs and inclusive competence.

It can be stated that Croatia is involved in all relevant events in the field of (inclusive) education and that it formally follows the European requirements in these areas through its documents. This is largely due to the fact that Croatia is a member of the European Union and the United Nations, but with certain activities it is proactively working to strengthen the inclusive idea of education. For example, the Strategy for Education, Science and Technology (Ministry of Science, Education and Sport, 2014) aims to meet the needs of all social actors and particularly emphasises the importance of promoting the inclusion of people „affected by marginalisation and exclusion“ (p. 20). The National Framework Curriculum for Pre-School Education and General Compulsory and Secondary Education (NOK) sets the stage for the development of conditions that enable the inclusion of all students in the regular education system, without the possibility of restricting or cancelling this right for any individual on the basis of any form of diversity (Ministry of Science, Education and Sport, 2011).

The providers of inclusive education are primarily teachers, but teachers' competences are not sufficiently developed and teachers do not reach the desired level of training (Cooc, 2019; European Commission, 2020; Narodne novine, 2022; Vlah, 2019). The crucial importance of one component of teacher competences for working with students with ADHD has also been theorised, namely the teachers' beliefs (Pantić & Wubbels, 2010). Büssing et al. (2019) emphasise the importance of positive beliefs in an inclusive environment and state that students with disabilities benefit repeatedly from teachers' positive beliefs. Similarly, Duenas (2010, as cited in Azorín et al., 2019) points out that the idea of inclusive education is realised through a set of beliefs,

values and assumptions that imply a positive perspective of diversity that enriches the community, the participation of all students in the standard curriculum with equal opportunities and conditions for all students.

Teachers' beliefs are also important in the context of working with students with ADHD, a topic that has not been sufficiently explored in the scientific literature. According to the American Psychiatric Association (2014), ADHD (attention deficit hyperactivity disorder) is a pervasive and persistent disorder of inattention, hyperactivity and impulsivity. There are three types of ADHD - the inattention dominated type, the hyperactivity/impulsivity dominated type and the combined type (Rief, 2016). Furthermore, in addition to the three primary symptoms, additional difficulties (or comorbidities) have been identified in the emotional domain (Barkley, 2018), in the socialisation domain (Aduen et al., 2018), in the area of behaviour (Feng et al., 2002), and in the area of executive function (Lim et al., 2020). The incidence of ADHD varies from 3 to 12% (Vlah et al., 2018). Despite society's general commitment to inclusive education, teachers' competencies are not adequately developed, and they do not reach the desired level of professional proficiency (Cooc, 2019; European Commission, 2020; Ombudsperson for Children, 2022; Vlah, 2019). Therefore, this paper aims to delve deeper into the theoretical importance of one key aspect of these competencies for the quality of inclusive education: teachers' beliefs when working with students with ADHD. Teachers' beliefs are particularly important in addressing mechanisms of social injustice (Brajković & Milinović, 2015, as cited in Bouillet, 2019), such as: Color blindness (Failing to recognize and promote differences among children and portraying only one culture as the norm); Tokenism (Identifying a child with only one identity while neglecting their multifaceted nature.); Master status (Emphasizing a part of a person's identity most visible to society, reducing the person to that single attribute.); Stereotypes and prejudices (Simplified generalizations and judgments about a specific social group, race, or gender based on preconceived attitudes.), Low expectations (Beliefs about marginalized groups that assume their members lack equal opportunities, significantly influencing attitudes and expectations toward individuals within these groups. This often results in a „self-fulfilling prophecy.“), and Bias (Favoring or disadvantaging individuals or groups based on their identity, leading to unjust treatment due to a perceived superiority or inferiority.). Bouillet (2019) warns that all these mechanisms of social injustice lead to discrimination against certain students in the education system. However, they can and should be overcome by implementing policies of equal opportunity for all students, thereby ensuring high-quality inclusive practices for every learner.

Purpose and objectives of the study

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the understanding of the importance of teachers' beliefs when working with students with ADHD. The primary objective of the study is to provide an overview of current knowledge about teachers' beliefs

in working with students with ADHD. The specific objective is to define and present the significance of teachers' stereotypical and symbolic beliefs in their work with students with ADHD.

By achieving the specific objective, the study aims to fundamentally highlight two types of beliefs considered essential concepts for research in the theory and practice of high-quality inclusive education for students with ADHD.

Methodology

To achieve the primary objective, three research questions are posed:

- (i) What do beliefs, as cognitive components of attitudes and prerequisites for attitudes, represent in a teacher's practice when working with students with ADHD?
- (ii) What are the specific dimensions of such beliefs?
- (iii) What types of teacher beliefs are prerequisites for high-quality inclusive teaching practice?

To achieve the specific objective, three additional research questions are posed:

- (iv) What are teachers' beliefs about working with students with ADHD?
- (v) How are stereotypical and symbolic beliefs defined in the context of teachers working with students with ADHD?
- (vi) What is the significance of teachers' stereotypical and symbolic beliefs in working with students with ADHD, particularly concerning the consequences of such beliefs on students with ADHD and mechanisms of social injustice?

The structure of the chapters aligns with these research questions, and each chapter is concluded with a critical reflection by the author in the form of a discussion of the presented theoretical insights. The stated objectives and corresponding research questions are addressed through a review of available scientific literature from databases such as WoS, Scopus, Google Scholar, ERIC, CROSBI, and Hrčak. The review employs the following keywords: Student, Teacher, ADHD, Inattention, Hyperactivity, Impulsiveness, Attitude, Belief, Stereotypical Belief, Stereotype, Symbolic Belief, Values, Prejudice, Discrimination, Stigma. The time span of the included works is from 1963 to 2022.

Results and discussion

The results and discussion will be presented in alignment with the research questions.

Beliefs – The cognitive component of attitudes and beliefs as a prerequisite for attitudes

A person evaluates an object with the help of beliefs and associates such an object with some attributes (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), i.e. assigns certain properties and characteristics to the object. Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) base their definition of belief constructs on such a theoretical foundation. They emphasise that these are „subjective probabilities of the relationship between the object about which we form a belief and other objects, values,

concepts and attributions“ (p. 131). An individual thus makes a personal assessment of the possibility of a connection between a particular characteristic and an object or a person. On the basis of this personal judgement, it connects compatible objects (persons) with one or more attributions. The relevance of object relations and specific characteristics in their definition is also emphasised by Nisbett and Ross (1980, as cited in Pajares, 1992), who state that beliefs are reasonable explicit statements about the properties of objects. Furthermore, Harvey (1986) defines beliefs as a set of conceptual representations of reality with a sufficient degree of truth, validity and credibility on the basis of which thought and behaviour are formed. Domović and Vizek Vidović (2013) also see truthfulness and credibility as important and therefore define beliefs „as mental constructs that refer to the acceptance of something as true without the necessary direct and rigorous verification“ (p. 495). The degree of truth can certainly be debated in any expressed belief, and this truth can be seen as the individual truth of the evaluator, which certainly can (and often does) differ from the actual state of affairs, especially when it is taken into account that the evaluator is exempted from rigorous scrutiny of his or her beliefs. Putnam and Borko (1997, as cited in Keppens et al. 2019) point out that the fundamental purpose of beliefs is to filter interpretations of new experiences or choices and to draw conclusions from new experiences. The key component of belief is the selection that has just been mentioned. Selection can certainly be interpreted as a tool for simplification in the process of creating beliefs and assigning objects and attributes. Anything that for some (often unknown) reason does not fit into the picture of a particular object, is eliminated by the individual from their „belief equation“. The holistic evaluation often makes the evaluation process too complex, so that the evaluators accept the dominant characteristics of an object or a person.

Through their beliefs, individuals subjectively and simplistically interpret the characteristics of objects without critical verification. The truthfulness of the evaluation, by which an individual attributes characteristics to an object or establishes relationships between objects, must be critically analyzed and understood with distance, as this truthfulness depends on their personal experience.

Since beliefs originate from experience, they may also be simplified and/or distorted for various reasons, such as personal interpretations of the world. From a scientific standpoint, future empirical research aims to explore whether, and how, distorted teacher beliefs can be transformed into truthful yet inclusive ones, enabling them to support the optimal development of students with ADHD.

Katz (1960) states that the ease with which an attitude can be changed depends on the number of cognitive elements (beliefs) implemented in the attitude. Simpler attitudes with a smaller number of cognitive components are therefore easier to change, which indicates that the cognitive component plays a decisive role in the formation of an attitude. One of the most important theories on the relationship between belief and attitude is presented by Fishbein (1963) in his summation theory of attitude. Namely, the author (Fishbein, 1963) defines the relationship and connection between persuasion

and attitude in the process of attitude formation through the above-mentioned theory. Fishbein (1963) assumes that an individual makes a consideration about the positive or negative correlation of any object with a particular attribute or characteristic (belief) and that for each of the objects there is an intermediate evaluative reaction (attitude) that is summarised and strongly associated with the object. In the future, a single object will be associated with an already defined attitude. Ajzen and Cote (2008) have further specified such a theory. They point out that the rater first forms a certain belief about the object (expressing the correlation of the object and some features), which he or she evaluates positively or negatively, leading to the determination of an attitude. To summarise, a person's attitude towards an object is a function of the beliefs about this object and the evaluative aspect of these beliefs (attitude towards related objects). It can be concluded that the belief is directly related to the attitude and that the attitude is conditioned by the formation of a belief about the object when an evaluative aspect is added to such a belief.

Eagly and Chaiken (2007) define attitudes as „the psychological tendency to evaluate a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour“ (p. 598) and Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) as „a learned predisposition to react in a consistently favourable or unfavourable manner with respect to a particular object“ (p. 6). In the same vein, Fabrigar et al. (2005) summarise numerous definitions for the evaluation of objects. For almost a whole century, the theoretical foundation of the construct of attitudes and the constructs that correlate with attitudes or are their sub-segments has provided a basis for scientific findings and professional considerations. Thurnstone (1928, as cited in Fabrigar et al., 2005) already established that attitudes are a multifactorial construct. Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) emphasise a three-component model of attitudes that includes affective (feelings and evaluations), cognitive (knowledge, opinions, beliefs and thoughts) and conative components (behavioural intentions, predispositions and actions to act in a certain way towards an object, or past behaviour towards the object). Therefore, the generally accepted scientific and professional understanding of attitudes implies a three-part structure of such a construct – a cognitive component, an affective component and a behavioural component (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, as cited in Haddock & Maio, 2007).

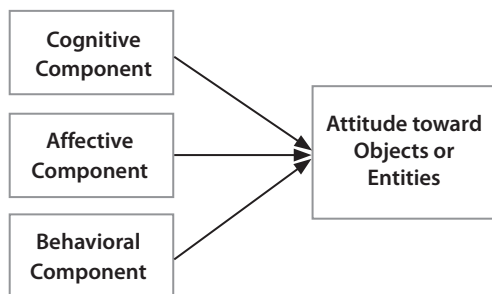


Figure 1. Three-part construction of attitudes (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, as cited in Haddock and Maio, 2007)

In the context of teachers' practice when working with students with ADHD, it can be concluded that teachers create personal beliefs as cognitive concepts of reality in accordance with their interpretation of their experiences. Such creation aligns with the subjective attribution of meaning to these experiences, which can be either accurate or distorted. Furthermore, the cognitive component of teachers' attitudes toward students with ADHD is essentially built on the beliefs that teachers hold about these students. This implies that if the beliefs are distorted and negative (e.g. due to negative experiences, a teacher may believe that a student with ADHD is incapable of following regular classes), it is reasonable to expect that the teacher will hold a negative attitude toward the student with ADHD.

As a consequence, it can be expected that the teacher may exhibit negative, undesirable, or unprofessional behaviour toward the student with ADHD (e.g., removing the student from the classroom). If there is an additional affective component that supports the choice of negative behaviour (e.g., the teacher's anxiety in communicating with a student who disrupts classroom discipline), based on negative prior experiences, we encounter the following situation. This is a situation in the teacher's practice that is contrary to the desired inclusive practice and the well-being of the student with ADHD.

To prevent such outcomes, a question arises for future empirical research: Can we analyze the specific dimensions of teachers' beliefs in working with students with ADHD and explore ways to influence their formation and/or modification toward positive and desirable inclusive beliefs?

Specific dimensions of beliefs (stereotypical and symbolic)

Katz (1960) points out that the domain of beliefs can be divided into two further dimensions - the dimension of specificity and the dimension of generality. The author notes that beliefs involve the description of the object of evaluation, highlighting its characteristics, as well as the relationship of that object to other objects. Esses and Maio (2002) go in the same direction and distinguish between specific stereotypical beliefs (beliefs about the specific characteristics of the group) and general symbolic beliefs (beliefs about the values, customs and traditions of the group). When forming stereotypical beliefs, the person forming these beliefs uses adjectives or short descriptive sentences to emphasise the characteristics of typical members of the group. In forming symbolic beliefs about a group, a person emphasises the values, customs and traditions that are promoted or threatened by the members of that group (Akst, 2000; Esses and Maio, 2002). Haddock and Zanna (1998) mention the same categorisation of beliefs, considering, like the previous authors, stereotype beliefs as a type of beliefs that focus on the characteristics or traits of the valued object itself (trait-based beliefs), while symbolic beliefs focus on the values that the valued group promotes or undermines (value-based beliefs). Such a subdivision of beliefs is supported by the aforementioned belief theory of Fishbein and Ajzen (1975), which emphasises that beliefs describe the correlation of objects with traits, but also of objects with values. In the first case we are dealing with stereotypical beliefs, in the second case with symbolic beliefs.

Thus, theoretically, we recognize and distinguish between stereotypical and symbolic beliefs, and further consideration will be given to how teachers' beliefs in working with students with ADHD can be practically examined within such a theoretical framework.

Teachers' beliefs as a prerequisite for quality inclusive teaching practices

Considering that beliefs are often far from the truth and that within the framework of beliefs a large part of the content (probably also the truth) has been eliminated, the question arises as to why teachers' beliefs are important for their pedagogical activity. In terms of the correlation between beliefs and individual behaviour, the most significant is Ajzen's (1991) theory of planned behaviour, in which he suggests that human behaviour is conditioned by three types of beliefs - behavioural beliefs, normative beliefs and control beliefs. Behavioural beliefs describe the subjective probability that the performance of a behaviour will lead to certain outcomes. Normative beliefs imply the normative expectations of others and the motivation of the individual to fulfil these expectations. The combination of normative beliefs and the individual's motivation to adhere to a particular norm leads to the emergence of a system of social norms (to which one should adhere in one's behaviour). Control beliefs include beliefs about the existence and strength of factors that can facilitate or hinder the performance of a behaviour. Control beliefs contribute to the development of perceived behavioural control or self-efficacy, which is strongly related to the strength of facilitating or hindering factors. Teacher self-efficacy in working with students exhibiting ADHD symptoms, which is also linked to experiences that shape beliefs, is best predicted by the characteristics of students with ADHD (Vlah et al., 2021).

Consequently, all three segments have a strong influence on the individual's intention to act, which ultimately produces the same person's behaviour. Ajzen (1991) defines intention as a motivational factor that indicates how motivated a person is, how persistent they are in their efforts and how much effort they will put into performing a particular behaviour. If a person has the opportunity to perform a particular behaviour, has the resources to perform that behaviour and has a strong intention, then they will perform that form of behaviour successfully.

The fact that teachers' beliefs about inclusion have an impact on teachers' attitudes, which ultimately affects teachers' inclusive teaching practise, is confirmed by numerous studies (Avramidis & Norwich, 2002; Skočić Mihić et al., 2016). An individual's beliefs have a significant impact on the teacher's own behaviour and on the pedagogical procedures the teacher uses in the classroom (Pajares, 1992; Alshuwaysh et al., 2021), but also on what the teacher says about their work and about their students (Florian & Rouse, 2009) and on the tendency to stigmatise students with ADHD (Toye et al., 2018). Alshuwaysh et al. (2021) suggest that teachers with more positive beliefs will make maximum efforts to resolve challenging situations in an inclusive classroom, taking into account the most optimal forms of pedagogical practise. Teachers' beliefs about the inclusion of students with ADHD shape their choice of classroom

management strategies. The less negative the teachers' beliefs are, the more often they choose methods whose effectiveness has been scientifically proven (Blotnicky-Gallant et al., 2015). Similar results were found by Sunko et al. (2021), who found that teachers' positive beliefs about inclusion of students with ADHD are a predictor of more frequent use of praise and positive communication, adaptive assessment and a comprehensive inclusive approach.

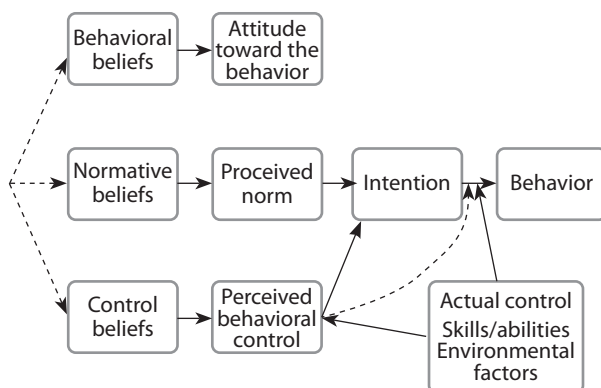


Figure 2. Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1991)

Therefore, there are numerous studies in the world and in Croatia that confirm the theoretical concept that positive beliefs about students who are diverse within the classroom contribute to positive, constructive, and high-quality teaching and learning for these students, in line with the principles and practices of inclusive theory and methodology. The outcome of such a pedagogical and didactic approach is the well-being of the individual within a developmental context.

In order for positive beliefs to simultaneously be accurate, it is essential for teachers, during their initial and/or lifelong education, to have positive and constructive experiences in working with students with ADHD. These experiences should help them build a sense of competence and self-efficacy in their work. In other words, teachers need high-quality training during their professional preparation, grounded in experiential and reflective practice, which will enhance their sense of competence and self-efficacy for inclusive teaching and learning with students with ADHD.

Teachers' beliefs about the education of students with ADHD

Büssing et al. (2019) emphasise the importance of positive beliefs in an inclusive environment, noting that both students with disabilities and teachers have multiple benefits from teachers' positive beliefs. Some research concludes that teachers express low levels of beliefs about diversity (Keppens et al., 2021; Keppens et al., 2019) and even negative beliefs about the inclusion of students with disabilities (de Boer et al., 2011) and often only partially agree with the proposition that the inclusion of students with disabilities benefits these students (Skočić Mihić et al., 2016).

The second part of the research suggests that teachers express positive beliefs about the inclusion of students with disabilities (McGarrigle et al., 2021; Woodcock & Hardy, 2017; Woodcock, 2021; Yu, 2019) and they see the diversity of students' abilities as a potential for enriching inclusive teaching (Moriña & Orozco, 2021; Orozco & Moriña, 2020) and appropriate adaptation and differentiation of pedagogical methods and procedures (Roose et al., 2022).

Beliefs are one of the key components of teacher action when working with students with ADHD (Sherman et al., 2008) and a prerequisite for suppressing teacher resistance to change, acceptance of new methods and ideas, and positive student outcomes (Kos et al., 2006), so, the actions of teachers in the context of constructivist and interventionist perspectives.

Gibbs et al. (2020) state that, based on numerous findings, it can be concluded that teachers' beliefs about students' difficulties are related to teachers' beliefs about what can be done effectively when working with these students. In relation to such findings, Gibbs et al. (2020) even find that teachers develop stronger beliefs for a student's progress if the perceived student has dyslexia rather than ADHD. Along the same lines, Hodge et al. (2018) find that physical education and health teachers have more negative beliefs about students with ADHD than about students with milder forms of difficulties or students with typical development.

Therefore, one group of authors notes that teachers have negative beliefs about students with ADHD (Anderson et al., 2012; Kos et al., 2006), view such difficulties as very serious and disruptive (Ohan et al., 2011) and students with ADHD are seen as very aggressive and antisocial, only then as hyperactive, impulsive, inattentive and then as funny, intelligent and creative (Anderson et al., 2017), and they base their actions on the medical model (Couture et al., 2003). Likewise, teachers believe that working with such students requires special pedagogical and didactic methods, that such students negatively affect the teaching of other students, that teaching such students increases the stress level for teachers (Anderson et al., 2017) and requires extra time and effort. (Kos et al., 2006).

However, some studies (Blotnicky-Gallant et al., 2015; Greenway & Rees Edwards, 2020; Mulholland et al., 2015) indicate that teachers express positive beliefs about ADHD and that they score higher on the beliefs subscales than on knowledge and practical skills (Carey et al., 2019). In addition, teachers believe that such students should be taught in regular classes, but at the same time they believe that working with students with ADHD is not easy and that such a student can disrupt the classroom. Saloviita (2019) warns of similar contradictions, where he points out that teachers express their belief that teaching students with ADHD must take place in regular classes, but at the same time they believe that students with ADHD will not receive adequate support in regular classes.

While noting the insufficient number of studies on this topic in Croatia, numerous scientific findings worldwide allow us to conclude that teachers express ambivalent

beliefs about students with ADHD. But it is also easy to see that ADHD significantly «contaminates» teachers' beliefs and that teachers often view ADHD as a type of student difficulty about which they hold very negative beliefs which has implications for teachers' inclusive practice.

Teachers' stereotypes and symbolic beliefs about ADHD

Taking into account the elaborated theory of stereotype and symbolic beliefs, it is certainly appropriate to adapt such postulates to the context of ADHD. Anderson and her colleagues have on two occasions (Anderson et al., 2012, 2017) analysed these two dimensions of beliefs very well in the context of teachers' pedagogical work with students with ADHD. Stereotypical beliefs about students with ADHD would be, for example, that these students are easily distracted, cannot concentrate, speak before they think, have poor self-control, are loud, fidgety, naughty and restless, but also funny, creative and lovable. Thus, it describes the characteristics of students with ADHD based on teachers' perceptions of these students. Teachers' symbolic beliefs about students with ADHD would express teachers' beliefs about how children with ADHD affect the teaching process and the classroom environment. For example, teachers may develop negative beliefs that teaching children with ADHD takes too much time, has a negative impact on the learning process and classroom discipline, causes problems for other students, and slows class progress; or a positive belief such as that teaching children with ADHD promotes the design of more interesting and creative lessons, motivates them to work, and provides a new perspective (Anderson, 2012; 2017). The object of the assessment is therefore no longer the student themselves, but the components of their microenvironment. One gains insight into the teacher's perception of what happens to the student's environment under the influence of students with ADHD, as well as the processes and process participants immersed in such an environment.

Taking into account the theoretical elaboration presented earlier, questions about teachers' beliefs about the student with ADHD (stereotypical beliefs) and questions about teachers' beliefs about the influence of students with ADHD on the teaching process (symbolic beliefs) will be relevant in the continuation of this paper. Finally, considering Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) definition of beliefs, they point out that beliefs associate the observed object or person with a particular characteristic, stereotypical beliefs describe the relationship of students with ADHD to stereotypical characteristics, and symbolic beliefs define the connection of the student with ADHD to circumstances in the educational environment that the student himself or herself creates. An individual or a group (pupils/students with ADHD) is thus evaluated by stereotypical beliefs and the process (teaching) is evaluated by symbolic beliefs.

Consequences of specific dimensions of teacher beliefs towards students with ADHD

When we talk about specific dimensions of beliefs towards any category of people with disabilities, we can say that we are also talking about mechanisms of social injustice

that are in opposition to an inclusive culture and inclusive values, as (Brajković & Milinović, 2015, as cited by Bouillet 2019) point out.

Stereotyping of students with ADHD

In stereotyping, an individual categorises other individuals according to obvious characteristics, defines the characteristics of the group, and attributes such defined characteristics to each individual belonging to the stereotyped group (Snyder, 1981). For example, when a teacher introduces a student with ADHD, they will associate them with pre-defined stereotypical attributions. They will often not recognise the positive characteristics of a student with ADHD, but will attribute to them the characteristics of a stereotyped student with ADHD. Campbell (1967) notes that the descriptive component of stereotypes is not entirely untrue, but subsequently leads to false perceptions of the object. Koenig and Eagly (2014) support the fact that stereotypes are true to a significant degree because they are created based on observation of the behaviour and characteristics of members of a particular group based on the social role of these members. It is precisely on the basis of observation and detection that the stereotype acquires its content.

Fiske et al. (2002) define the Stereotype Content Model (SCM), in which they point out that each stereotype consists of warmth (confidence, sociability) and competence (ability, assertiveness) and depending on how much warmth or competence the assessed group possesses in the identified stereotype, a prejudice is defined. According to this model, Fiske et al. (2018) define stereotypes as beliefs about group warmth and competence. For example, pity is a combination of high warmth but low competence, envy is a combination of high competence but low warmth, while contempt is associated with low warmth and low competence. One can certainly wonder whether children with ADHD evoke contempt in teachers. Such students are defined as incompetent with a low level of warmth, sometimes (very rarely) in exceptional cases with a slightly higher level of warmth, leading at best to pity from teachers. If it is a stereotype that combines low warmth and low competence in its content and later leads to the corresponding prejudices, it leads to social marginalisation (Fiske et al., 2018) of students with ADHD.

In addition to stereotypical beliefs, symbolic beliefs play a significant role in the formation of attitudes and consequently prejudice (Akst, 2000; Jackson & Esses, 1997). If the values of the analyst are threatened by the object being evaluated, negative attitudes (prejudices) arise. Rokeach (1973, as cited in Akst, 2000) sees values as a standard that guides behaviour, which can ultimately lead to acceptance of those who behave according to the given values or rejection of those who do not. Antagonistic beliefs emerge towards the group that is dehumanised and prejudice arises based on the assumption that a group has different beliefs from us (Schwartz et al., 1990). Prejudice is certainly a perceived difference in values, where the values of one group do not necessarily threaten the values of another group (Struch & Schwartz, 1989). However, when, for example, students with ADHD threaten classroom instruction

and slow down the progress of all students in the class through their behaviour, and teachers have an additional obligation, teachers, parents of other students and even other students in the class develop prejudices against such students, due to which students with ADHD are discriminated against and excluded from relevant classroom and social processes.

Creating prejudices against students with ADHD

Pettigrew (1982) points out that prejudice is an opinion in favour of or against something without a reasonable basis. It is therefore noticeable that prejudice implies both irrationality („opinion without reasonable basis“) and emotional judgement („for or against something“). Abrams (2010) points out that prejudice is „a tendency to devalue people on the basis of their perceived membership of a particular group“ (p. 8), which can affect the opportunities, social resources, motivation and social inclusion of the person to whom a particular prejudice is attached. Furthermore, prejudice involves a premature cognitive fixation on an issue before it has been rationally examined. In defining whether a particular opinion is a prejudice or an objectively rational opinion, it is necessary to determine the extent to which such an opinion corresponds to reality and the extent to which it is the result of a generalisation to a particular population, which is a very difficult process due to the lack of a clear boundary between objective and subjective (Pettigrew, 1982). Dovidio et al. (2010) state that subjectivity is an important component of prejudice because the human environment is organised by this subjectivity. In the context of ADHD, for example, it is necessary to determine how hyperactive students with ADHD really are and whether such an opinion is correct or a consequence of generalisation within the population of students with ADHD. It is the generalisation to a population with a large number of members that increases the possibility that it is a prejudice, as it is less likely that all members of this group will exhibit the characteristics attributed to them. Pettigrew (1982) ultimately defines prejudice as „irrationally based negative attitudes towards certain ethical groups and their members“ (p. 2). Prejudice is actually an unfavourable attitude towards people who stereotypically do not fit the requirements of the role, and such an attitude can manifest itself in all three components of attitude (beliefs, emotions and discriminatory behaviour) (Dovidio et al., 2005; Dovidio et al., 2010; Eagly & Diekmann, 2005). Attitudes therefore arise from a positive or negative evaluation of a certain object, as has already been pointed out in this article. However, if the attitude is negative, it is a prejudice (Stephan, 1985, as cited in Akst, 2000). If we consider the three-part component of attitudes, Corrigan et al. (2001) confirm that stereotypes are types of beliefs and prejudices are negative attitudes, as the authors state that it is necessary to add an emotional reaction (affective) to the expressed stereotype in order to create a prejudice.

Eagly and Diekmann (2005) point out that stereotypes that form the basis for prejudice may be true at the group level but false in relation to the individual within the group.

They therefore propose a broader understanding of prejudice in which the idea of role discrepancy plays a key role. This emphasises the discrepancy between beliefs about traits that members of a group normally possess (stereotypes) and beliefs about traits that facilitate success in valued social roles. At the same time, members of the group whose stereotyped traits are seen as precisely those necessary for success are favoured, while other members of the group are rated low in the context of a particular role (Eagly & Diekmann, 2005). In the school environment, organisational skills, impulse control, attention and activity control bring success (when academic success is defined by final grades), but the stereotypical assumption that these characteristics are lacking in students with ADHD leads to the emergence of prejudices. Thus, the value of group members is diminished in the context of performing tasks for which the group is specifically valued and which are socially valuable.

Discrimination against students with ADHD

Allport (1979, as cited in Jackman, 2005) sees discrimination as one of three dimensions of rejection – verbal rejection (anti-locution), discrimination (including segregation) and physical attacks (including lynching, rioting and genocide). Given this, one may wonder whether such a theoretical basis and its occurrence in practise is the cause of more intense and frequent social difficulties, conflicts and aggressive outbursts of students with ADHD (Aduen et al., 2018; Bouillet and Uzelac, 2007, as cited in Vlah et al., 2019). Allport (1979, as cited in Jackman, 2005) defines discrimination as „a denial of equal treatment based on group membership” (p. 90). Corrigan and colleagues (2001) perceive discrimination as a negative behavioral response to a group that has previously been negatively evaluated, and prejudices (a combination of negative beliefs and negative emotions) is a strong predictor of unfair and inappropriate treatment of a group or group members. So, behavioral reactions towards members of a particular group play a fundamental role. Such behaviour creates, maintains and/or reinforces the superiority of one group over another (Dovidio et al., 2010). Ultimately, discrimination has negative consequences on the achievements of students with ADHD and their overall functioning within the educational system.

Stigmatisation of students with ADHD

Stigma is an attribute that describes the person being judged as different from others and has a deeply discrediting and significant negative impact on the life circumstances of the stigmatised person. Stigma is a sign that evokes prejudice and discrimination (Goffman, 1963) and is an interaction of cognitive, affective and behavioural components (Goffman, 1997, as cited in Mueller et al., 2012).

All considerations on stereotypes, prejudice, discrimination and stigmatisation and their relationship were summarised by Corrigan and Watson (2002) (Table 2). The authors distinguish between two types of stigma - public stigma and self-stigma. Public stigma and self-stigma are composed of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination, but

within public stigma and self-stigma, the directions and forms of these three constructs differ (see Table 2.). It is important to point out that the intensity and duration of public stigmatisation influence the emergence of self-stigmatisation, which is not the reverse (Vogel et al., 2013).

Table 1
The relationship between public stigma and self-stigma (Corrigan and Watson, 2002)

Public stigmatisation	Self-stigmatisation
- stereotypes – negative beliefs about a particular group (e.g. danger, incompetence, weakness of character, etc.)	stereotypes – negative beliefs about oneself (e.g. incompetence, weakness of character, etc.)
- prejudices – agreement with such beliefs (stereotypes) and a negative emotional reaction (e.g. anger, fear, etc.)	- prejudices – agreement with such beliefs (stereotypes) and a negative emotional reaction (e.g. low self-confidence, low self-efficacy, etc.)
- discrimination - behaviour based on prejudice (e.g. avoidance, denial of work and housing opportunities, denial of help, etc.)	- discrimination - behaviour based on prejudice (e.g. not being able to find a job or a flat)

Stigma is stronger when the individual difficulty is more severe and when it is associated with behaviour that deviates from social conventions, as in the case of ADHD (Martin et al., 2007; Walker et al., 2008). Martin et al. (2007) also note that stigmatising responses arouse stereotypes and prejudices, and to the extent that the evaluator endorses such beliefs and attitudes, the potential for discrimination against children with disabilities and their parents arises. The discrimination resulting from public stigmatisation can manifest itself in practise in three ways: loss of opportunities, coercion, and segregation (Corrigan et al., 2009). Students with ADHD find themselves in such a situation almost every day. The stigmatisation of adults, adolescents and children with ADHD is pervasive throughout their lives in all areas of society (Lebowitz, 2013). Due to public stigmatisation that accompanies them, they are not even given real chances, opportunities to present themselves in a positive light, and they are often isolated and segregated in their class, but also in the wider social community. If, due to stereotypes, a member of the group about which the stereotype is defined, internalizes such stereotypes, accepts them as true, and therefore decreases his/her self-confidence and self-efficacy, it is self-stigmatization, whereby (1) the person must be aware of the stereotypes about his condition, (2) agree with such stereotypes and (3) apply such stereotypes in a personal context (Corrigan et al., 2009). Gajaria et al. (2011) note that it is crucial that a student with ADHD, in order to avoid self-stigmatization, refuses to accept a particular stereotype as a form of truthful statement, especially through the refusal to accept ADHD as a disease and to accept the idea that it is a disorder or even a different way of thinking.

Stereotypical beliefs evaluate an individual or group (student/students with ADHD), while symbolic beliefs evaluate the process (teaching). In the educational process, it is crucial to recognize early when stereotypical and symbolic beliefs begin to serve

as prerequisites for the development of prejudice and discriminatory behavior by teachers toward students with ADHD. By identifying and changing such beliefs early, it is possible to prevent the creation of stigma and unequal opportunities for these students within the educational process.

Timely intervention to change stigmatizing and discriminatory symbolic and stereotypical beliefs among teachers is essential, as reduced opportunities within the education system place students at a disadvantage not only during their schooling but also later in life as adults, affecting their employment prospects and social functioning.

We believe that fostering and strengthening teachers' positive and accurate beliefs, based on successful teaching and learning processes for students with ADHD, should be implemented through initial teacher education and professional development programs grounded in scientifically established competency profiles.

Conclusion

The primary aim of this paper is to provide an overview of the knowledge regarding teachers' beliefs in working with students with ADHD, while the specific goal is to define and present the importance of stereotypical and symbolic beliefs in this context.

In this overview paper, the overview and theoretical insights of the role of teachers' beliefs in working with students with ADHD have been investigated.

In the realm of teachers' practices with students with ADHD, it can be concluded that teachers form personal beliefs as cognitive constructs of reality based on the interpretation and subjective attribution of meaning to their experiences, which may be either accurate or distorted. Since a teacher's attitude toward a student with ADHD is a function of their beliefs about the student and the evaluative aspect of those beliefs, the teacher's attitude can be expected to influence their behavioral intentions in the classroom. This underscores the importance of researching the type and significance of teachers' beliefs, particularly when working with students with ADHD.

Although further research is needed in Croatia, global insights reveal numerous mechanisms of social injustice against students with ADHD in educational settings. These mechanisms conflict with the values and culture of inclusivity. Teachers' prejudices, stereotypes, and discriminatory behaviors need to be promptly identified and addressed through systematic reeducation and training, transforming them into positive attitudes rooted in accepting beliefs about students with ADHD.

Positive beliefs among teachers regarding diversity in an inclusive classroom are a significant predictor of their intent and ability to implement inclusive teaching practices. Conversely, when beliefs are not positive or inclusive, stereotypical and symbolic beliefs are likely to be influenced by prejudice and stereotypes, leading to discriminatory behaviors. Such outcomes are highly detrimental to the quality of education and upbringing of students with ADHD.

Regarding the purpose and contribution of this paper to better understanding the theoretical framework of inclusive teachers' beliefs for the education of students with

ADHD, future empirical research is proposed in order to identify the structure and methods of necessary teacher training and reeducation. Specifically, reassessing and redefining initial and lifelong education programs are recommended to promote experiential learning and strengthen teachers' self-efficacy in fostering a positive socialization and didactic approach to working with students with ADHD.

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Uvjerenja učitelja o poučavanju učenika s ADHD-om

Sažetak

Kvalitetna odgojno-obrazovna podrška učitelja usmjerena prema učenicima s deficitom pažnje i poremećajem hiperaktivnosti (ADHD) vrlo je složena inkluzivna kompetencija koja zahtijeva znanja, vještine i stavove stečene inicijalnim i/ili cjeloživotnim učenjem. Svrha rada bila je dati doprinos razumijevanju važnosti inkluzivnih uvjerenja učitelja za rad s učenicima s ADHD-om. Osnovni cilj rada bio je dati pregled spoznaja o uvjerenjima učitelja za rad s učenicima s ADHD-om, a specifični cilj bio je definirati i predstaviti važnost stereotipnih i simboličnih uvjerenja učitelja u radu s učenicima s ADHD-om. Metoda realizacije ciljeva je pregled istraživanja u WOS-u, SCOPUS-u, Google Scholaru, ERIC-u, CROSB-I-u, Hrčku kroz pretraživanje sljedećih ključnih riječi: Student, Teacher, ADHD, Inattention, Hyperactivity, Impulsiveness, Attitude, Belief, Stereotypical Belief, Stereotype, Symbolic Belief, Values, Prejudice, Discrimination, Stigma. Odabrana su istraživanja koja daju odgovore na postavljenih šest istraživačkih pitanja vezanih uz ciljeve rada. Prema rezultatima, uvjerenja kao mehanizmi društvene nepravde imaju značajan učinak na afinitet učitelja prema stigmatizaciji učenika s ADHD-om, na razvoj predrasuda i diskriminativnoga ponašanja. Razlikuju se pritom stereotipna uvjerenja (o specifičnim karakteristikama skupine) i simbolička uvjerenja (o vrijednostima, običajima i tradiciji koje skupina promovira ili ugrožava učitelja o poučavanju učenika s ADHD-om). Navedena uvjerenja stvaraju prepreku kvalitetnom inkluzivnom poučavanju učenika s ADHD-om. Potrebna su empirijska istraživanja o optimalnim oblicima osposobljavanja učitelja za pozitivna i inkluzivna uvjerenja prema učenicima s ADHD i njihovom poučavanju u inkluzivnoj praksi.

Ključne riječi: ADHD; istraživanja od 1964. do 2022.; simbolička uvjerenja; stereotipna uvjerenja; stigma; učitelji

Uvod

Moderno društvo nameće zahtjev osposobljenosti pojedinca za izvršavanje svakodnevnih profesionalnih zadaća. Kada je riječ o učiteljima, takav inicijalni preduvjet profesionalne osposobljenosti pojedinac prije i tijekom uključivanja u praksu realizira kroz programe inicijalnoga obrazovanja i cjeloživotnoga profesionalnog razvoja koji trebaju biti kvalitetni i relevantni za dobrobit svih učenika. Inkluzivni postulati nude

rješenja za takve kompetencijske ishode i kreiranje uključivoga društva (European Commission, 2021). Nerijetko se u stručnom okružju inkluzivno obrazovanje veže za odgoj i obrazovanje učenika s teškoćama ono podrazumijeva uvažavanje i uključivanje svih dionika odgojno-obrazovnog procesa (svih učenika, roditelja, nastavnoga i školskoga osoblja) uz tendenciju za sudjelovanjem svih učenika, odnosno smanjivanje njihovog isključivanja iz školske kulture, kurikula i lokalne zajednice (Booth i Ainscow, 2002). Navedeno se realizira kroz učiteljsko postupanje, postupke prilagođavanja te kreiranja novih ideja za cijelu razrednu zajednicu (Somma, 2018). Dakle, ne govori se samo o obrazovanju učenika s teškoćama, nego mnogo šire, naglasak je na optimalnom i adekvatnom obrazovanju svih učenika bez obzira na sposobnosti, pa od kuda izvire i krilatica inkluzivnoga obrazovanja - „obrazovanje za sve”. U ovom radu govori se o kvalitetnoj obrazovnoj potpori *učenicima s poremećajem pažnje i hiperaktivnosti (ADHD): uvjerenjima učitelja i inkluzivnim kompetencijama*.

Može se konstatirati da je Hrvatska uključena u sva relevantna zbivanja na području (inkluzivnoga) obrazovanja i da formalno, kroz svoje dokumente, prati europske zahtjeve na tim područjima. Uvelike je tome tako jer je Hrvatska članica Europske unije i Ujedinjenih naroda, no pojedinim aktivnostima proaktivno djeluje na jačanju inkluzivne ideje obrazovanja. Tako, kroz Strategiju obrazovanja, znanosti i tehnologije (Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i sporta, 2014) predviđa zadovoljavanje potreba svih dionika društva, a posebno ističe važnost promoviranja inkluzije osoba „izloženih marginalizaciji i isključenosti” (str. 20). Potom, kroz Nacionalni okvirni kurikulum za predškolski odgoj i obrazovanje te opće obvezno i srednjoškolsko obrazovanje (NOK) postavlja uvjet razvoja okolinosti za uključenost svih učenika u redoviti odgojno-obrazovni sustav bez mogućnosti umanjivanja ili ukidanja takvoga prava bilo kojem pojedincu zbog bilo kojeg oblika različitosti (Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i sporta, 2011).

Nositelji inkluzivnoga obrazovanja prije svega su učitelji. Također, teorijski je utvrđena krucijalna važnost jedne komponente kompetencija učitelja za rad s učenicima s ADHD-om, a radi se o uvjerenjima učitelja (Pantić i Wubbels, 2010). Büssing i suradnici (2019) ističu važnost pozitivnih uvjerenja u inkluzivnom okružju te napominju da učenici s teškoćama imaju multipliciranu korist učiteljskih pozitivnih uvjerenja. Slično tome Duenas (2010, prema Azorín i sur., 2019) ističe da se sama ideja inkluzivnoga obrazovanja materijalizira kroz niz vjerovanja, vrijednosti i pretpostavki koje podrazumijevaju pozitivnu perspektivu različitosti koja obogaćuje zajednicu, sudjelovanje svih učenika u standardnom nastavnom planu uz jednake mogućnosti i uvjete za sve učenike.

Uvjerenja učitelja također su važna u kontekstu rada s učenicima s ADHD-om, što nije dovoljno istražena tema u znanstvenoj literaturi. Prema Američkoj psihijatrijskoj udruzi (2014) ADHD (engl. *Attention Deficit Hiperactivity Disorder*) je pervazivni i perzistentni poremećaj nepažnje, hiperaktivnosti i impulzivnosti. Postoje tri tipa ADHD-a - tip s dominantnom nepažnjom, tip s dominantnom hiperaktivnošću/ impulzivnošću i kombinirani tip (Rief, 2016). Također, pored triju primarnih simptoma, uočene su i

dodatne teškoće (ili komorbiditeti) i to na emocionalnom području (Barkley, 2018), području socijalizacije (Aduen i sur., 2018), području ponašanja (Feng i sur., 2020) te izvršnih funkcija (Lim i sur., 2020). Učestalost ADHD-a među školskom populacijom varira od 3 do 12 % (Vlah i sur., 2018). Ipak, usprkos načelnoj opredijeljenosti društva za inkluzivno obrazovanje, kompetencije učitelja nisu adekvatno razvijene te učitelji ne dosežu željenu razinu osposobljenosti (Cooc, 2019; Europska komisija, 2020; Pravobranitelj za djecu, 2022; Vlah, 2019). Stoga se u ovome radu želi teorijski dublje posvetiti važnost jednom, za kvalitetu inkluzivnoga obrazovanja ključnom aspektu spomenutih kompetencija, a to su uvjerenja u radu s učenicima s ADHD-om. Uvjerenja učitelja osobito su važna za suzbijanje mehanizama društvene nepravde (Brajković i Milinović, 2015, prema Bouillet, 2019) poput *sljepila za boje* (neuočavanje i poticanje razlika među djecom te prikazivanje samo jedne kulture kao uobičajene); *tokenizma* (odnosi se na identificiranje djeteta sa samo jednim identitetom i zanemarivanje njegove višestrukosti); *master statusa* (odnosi se na isticanje dijela identiteta koji društvo najviše uočava kod neke osobe i čime poistovjećuje čitavu osobu); *stereotipa i predrasuda* (odnose se na pojednostavljene generalizacije i sudove o određenoj društvenoj grupi, rasi ili spolu, a temelje se na stavovima); *niskih očekivanja* (odnose se na uvjerenja o marginaliziranim grupama i razlozima zbog kojih pripadnici marginaliziranih grupa nemaju jednake šanse, a značajno utječe na stavove i očekivanja prema ljudima koji pripadaju tim grupama te niska očekivanja dovode do tzv. samoispunjavajućega proročanstva) i *pristranosti* (odnosi se na uvjerenje ili postupak kojim se favorizira ili dovodi u nepovoljan položaj pojedinca ili člana neke grupe, što za posljedicu ima nepravedno tretiranje pripadnika određene grupe samo zbog njihova zajedničkoga identiteta koji se smatra inferiornim ili superiornim. Za sve navedene mehanizme društvene nepravde Bouillet (2019) upozorava da dovode do diskriminacije pojedinih učenika u obrazovnom sustavu što se može i treba prevladati pružanjem politike jednakih mogućnosti za sve učenike kako bi se osigurala kvalitetna inkluzivna praksa za sve učenike.

Svrha i ciljevi rada

Svrha je rada dati doprinos u razumijevanju važnosti inkluzivnih uvjerenja učitelja za rad s učenicima s ADHD-om. Osnovni cilj ovoga rada jest dati pregled spoznaja o uvjerenjima učitelja za rad s učenicima s ADHD-om, a specifični cilj je definirati i predstaviti važnost stereotipnih i simboličnih uvjerenja učitelja u radu s učenicima s ADHD-om. Realizacijom specifičnoga cilja želimo suštinski predstaviti dvije vrste uvjerenja za koja smatramo da su važan koncept istraživanja u teoriji i praksi kvalitetnoga inkluzivnog odgoja i obrazovanja učenika s ADHD-om.

Metodologija

U realizaciji osnovnoga cilja postavljena su tri istraživačka pitanja:

- (i) Što za učiteljevu praksu u radu s učenikom s ADHD-om predstavljaju uvjerenja kao kognitivne komponente stavova i preduvjeti stavova?

- (ii) Koje su pri tome specifične dimenzije uvjerenja?
- (iii) Kakva su učiteljska uvjerenja preduvjet kvalitetne inkluzivne učiteljske prakse?

U realizaciji specifičnoga cilja postavljamo tri istraživačka pitanja:

- (iv) Kakva su učiteljska uvjerenja o radu s učenikom s ADHD-om?
- (v) Kako se definiraju stereotipna i simbolička uvjerenja učitelja u radu s učenikom s ADHD-om?
- (vi) Kakva može biti važnost stereotipnih i simboličkih uvjerenja učitelja u radu s učenikom s ADHD-om u odnosu na posljedice tih uvjerenja u radu s učenicima s ADHD-om, odnosno mehanizme društvene nepravde?

Prema istraživačkim pitanjima su prestrukturirana poglavlja i na kraju svakoga poglavlja se daje kritički osvrt autora u vidu diskusije prezentiranih teorijskih spoznaja. Navedeni ciljevi i njima svojstvena istraživačka pitanja će se realizirati pregledom dostupne znanstvene literature u znanstvenim bazama WoS, Scopus, Google Scholar, ERIC, CROSB, Hrčak kroz pretraživanje sljedećih ključnih riječi: *Student, Teacher, ADHD, Inattention, Hyperactivity, Impulsiveness, Attitude, Belief, Stereotypical Belief, Stereotype, Symbolic Belief, Values, Prejudice, Discrimination, Stigma*. Okvir godišta radova koji su uključeni u pregled je od 1963. do 2022. godine

Rezultati i rasprava

Rezultati i rasprava prezentirat će se slijedom istraživačkih pitanja.

Uvjerenja – kognitivna komponenta stavova i preduvjet stavova

Posredovanjem uvjerenja osoba procjenjuje objekt i povezuje takav objekt s nekim atributom (Fishbein i Ajzen, 1975), dakle, objektu pridaje određene osobine i karakteristike. Fishbein i Ajzen (1975) upravo na takvoj teorijskoj osnovi zasnivaju definiciju konstrukta uvjerenja za koje ističu da su to „subjektivne vjerojatnosti odnosa objekta o kojem kreiramo uvjerenje i drugih objekata, vrijednosti, koncepta i atribucija” (str. 131). Na temelju osobne evaluacije povezuje kompatibilne objekte (osobe) s jednom ili više atribucija. Relevantnost relacije objekta i pojedine karakteristike u svojoj definiciji također ističu Nisbett i Ross (1980, prema Pajares, 1992) koji napominju da su uvjerenja razumne eksplicitne propozicije o karakteristikama objekata. Nadalje, Harvey (1986) definira uvjerenja kao skup konceptualnih reprezentacija stvarnosti s dovoljnom razinom istine, valjanosti i vjerodostojnosti na temelju čega se oblikuje mišljenje i ponašanje. I Domović i Vizek Vidović (2013) istinitost i vjerodostojnost vide važnima pa uvjerenja definiraju „kao misaone konstrukte koji se odnose na prihvaćanje nečega kao istinitoga bez nužne neposredne i rigorozne provjere” (str. 495). Svakako se o razini istinitosti može raspraviti u svakom iskazanom uvjerenju te se takva istina može promatrati kao individualna istina procjenitelja koja zasigurno može odstupati (i nerijetko odstupa) od stvarnoga stanja stvari posebice ako se uzme u obzir da se procjenitelja amnestira od rigorozne provjere svojih uvjerenja. Putnam i Borko (1997, prema Keppens i sur., 2019) ističu da je osnovna svrha uvjerenja filtriranje interpretacija novih iskustava ili

selekcija i zaključivanje iz novih iskustava. Ključna komponenta uvjerenja jest upravo navedena selekcija. Selekciju svakako možemo interpretirati kao oruđe simplifikacije u procesu kreiranja uvjerenja i korelacije objekta i atributa. Sve što se iz nekog (često nepoznatoga) razloga ne uklapa u sliku o određenom objektu, pojedinac eliminira iz svoje „jednadžbe uvjerenja”. Holistička evaluacija često proces procjene čini presloženim pa procjenitelji prihvaćaju dominantne karakteristike objekta ili osobe.

Dakle, putem svojih uvjerenja pojedinac subjektivno i pojednostavljeno bez kritičke provjere interpretira karakteristike objekata. Pri tome se istinitost evaluacije kojom pojedinac pridaje attribute objektu ili relacije između objekata treba kritično i s distancom razumjeti jer ta istinitost ovisi o njegovom/njezinom osobnom iskustvu.

Budući da uvjerenja proizlaze iz iskustva, isto tako mogu biti pojednostavljena i/ili iskrivljena zbog nekih razloga, kao što je osobna interpretacija svijeta. Ono što nas sa znanstvene pozicije i analize zanima u budućim empirijskim istraživanjima jest mogu li se i kako se mogu iskrivljena uvjerenja učitelja mijenjati u istinita, a istovremeno inkluzivna, kako bi bila u funkciji optimalnoga razvoja učenika s ADHD-om?

Katz (1960) navodi da o broju kognitivnih stavki (uvjerenja) implementiranih u stav ovisi koliko će se lako taj stav mijenjati. Dakle, jednostavniji stavovi s manjim brojem kognitivnih komponenti, lakše se mijenjaju što daje naslutiti da kognitivna komponenta ima krucijalnu ulogu u kreiranju stava. Jednu od najznačajnijih teorija o odnosu uvjerenja i stava iznosi Fishbein (1963) u svojoj sumacijskoj teoriji stava. Naime, autor (Fishbein, 1963) kroz navedenu teoriju definira odnos i korelaciju uvjerenja i stava u procesu nastanka stava. Fishbein (1963) smatra da pojedinac kreira promišljanje o pozitivnoj ili negativnoj korelaciji bilo kojega objekta s pojedinim atributom ili karakteristikom (uvjerenje), a sa svakim od objekta povezan je posrednički evaluacijski odgovor (stav) koji se sumira te se snažno povezuje s objektom. U budućnosti pojedini objekt bit će povezan s već definiranim stavom. Ajzen i Cote (2008) dodatno su pojasnili takvu teoriju. Oni ističu da procjenitelj prije svega kreira određeno uvjerenje o objektu (iskazuje korelaciju objekta i neke karakteristike) kojeg valorizira pozitivno ili negativno što za posljedicu ima utvrđivanje stava. Zaključno, stav pojedinca o objektu zapravo je funkcija uvjerenja o tome objektu i evaluacijskoga aspekta tih uvjerenja (odnos prema srodnim objektima). Dakle, daje se zaključiti da uvjerenje ima izravan korelacijski odnos sa stavom te je stav uvjetovan kreiranjem uvjerenja o objektu ako se takvom uvjerenju doda evaluacijski aspekt.

Eagly i Chaiken (2007) stavove definiraju kao „psihološku tendenciju ocjenjivanja određenoga entiteta s nekim stupnjem naklonosti ili nenaklonosti” (str. 598), a Fishbein i Ajzen (1975) kao „naučenu predispoziciju odgovora na dosljedno povoljan ili nepovoljan način u odnosu na dani objekt” (str. 6). Na istom su tragu Fabrigar i suradnici (2005) koji sumiraju brojne definicije konstrukta stavova te zaključuju da su stavovi evaluacija objekta u rasponu od negativne do pozitivne dimenzije. Gotovo cijelo stoljeće kreirala se baza znanstvenih nalaza i stručnih promišljanja o teorijskoj podlozi konstrukta stavova i konstrukata koji sa stavovima koreliraju ili su njihov parcijalni

segment. Već je Thurnstone (1928, prema Fabrigar i sur., 2005) zapazio da su stavovi multifaktorski konstrukt. Fishbein i Ajzen (1975) ističu trokomponentni model stavova u koji su uključeni afektivna (osjećaji i procjene), kognitivna (znanja, mišljenja, uvjerenja i misli) i konativna komponenta (bihevioralne intencije, predispozicije i akcije da se na određeni način djeluje prema objektu ili prošlost ponašanja prema objektu). Stoga, znanstveno i stručno općeprihvaćeno poimanje stavova podrazumijeva tripartitnu strukturu takvoga konstrukta – kognitivna komponenta, afektivna komponenta i bihevioralna komponenta (Eagly i Chaiken, 1993, prema Haddock i Maio, 2007).

Slika 1

U kontekstu učiteljeve prakse u radu s učenicima s ADHD-om, možemo zaključiti da učitelji kreiraju osobna uvjerenja kao kognitivne koncepte stvarnosti sukladno interpretaciji svojih iskustava. Takva je kreacija sukladna subjektivnim pridavanjima značenja tih iskustava koja mogu biti istinita ili iskrivljena. Nadalje, kognitivna komponenta učiteljevih stavova prema učenicima s ADHD-om zapravo je izgrađena od uvjerenja koje učitelji imaju o učenicima. To implicira da ukoliko su uvjerenja iskrivljena i negativna (zbog npr. negativnih iskustava učitelj smatra da učenik s ADHD-om nije sposoban pratiti redovnu nastavu), utoliko je opravdano očekivati da će učitelj imati negativan stav prema učeniku s ADHD-om.

Posljedično navedenome, može se očekivati namjera negativnoga, odnosno neželjenoga i nestručnoga ponašanja prema učeniku s ADHD-om (npr. izbacivanje učenika s nastave). Ako je dodatno prisutna i afektivna komponenta koja podržava izbor negativnoga ponašanja (npr. anksioznost učitelja u komunikaciji s učenikom koji ometa disciplinu u razredu) koja je bazirana na negativnim prethodnim iskustvima, govorimo o sljedećoj situaciji. Govorimo o situaciji učiteljeve prakse koja je suprotna od željene inkluzivne prakse i dobrobiti učenika s ADHD-om.

Kako do toga ne bi došlo, postavlja se pitanje za buduća empirijska istraživanja: možemo li analizirati specifične dimenzije uvjerenja učitelja u radu s učenikom s ADHD-om i načine utjecaja na njihovu kreaciju i/ili promjenu u smjeru pozitivnih i poželjnih inkluzivnih uvjerenja?

Specifične dimenzije uvjerenja (stereotipna i simbolička uvjerenja)

Katz (1960) ističe da je područje uvjerenja moguće razlučiti na dvije dodatne dimenzije – dimenzija specifičnosti i dimenzija generalnosti. Autor napominje da uvjerenja podrazumijevaju opis objekta procjene i isticanje njegovih karakteristika te odnosa toga objekta prema drugim objektima. Esses i Maio (2002) na istom tragu izdvajaju specifična stereotipna uvjerenja (uvjerenja o specifičnim karakteristikama skupine) i generalna simbolička uvjerenja (uvjerenja o vrijednostima, običajima i tradiciji skupine). Prilikom kreiranja stereotipnih uvjerenja osoba koja kreira uvjerenja, koristeći pridjeve ili kratke opisne fraze, izdvaja karakteristike tipičnih članova grupe. Prilikom kreiranja simboličkih uvjerenja o nekoj skupini, pojedinac ističe vrijednosti,

običaje i tradiciju koje promiču ili ugrožavaju članovi te skupine (Akst, 2000; Esses i Maio, 2002). Haddock i Zanna (1998) spominju istu kategorizaciju uvjerenja pri čemu kao i prethodni autori stereotipna uvjerenja vide kao vrstu uvjerenja usmjerenih na karakteristike ili značajke samoga procijenjenog objekta (engl. *feature-based beliefs*), dok su simbolička uvjerenja usmjerena na vrijednosti koje promiče ili narušava evaluirana skupina (engl. *value-based beliefs*). Takvu podjelu uvjerenja podržava i teorija uvjerenja Fishbeina i Ajzena (1975) koja je prethodno navedena, a koja ističe da uvjerenja opisuju korelaciju objekta s atributima, ali i objekta s vrijednostima. U prvom se slučaju govori o stereotipnim uvjerenjima, a u drugom o simboličkim.

Dakle, teorijski prepoznamo i razlikujemo stereotipna i simbolička uvjerenja pa će se nadalje razmatrati kako se učiteljska uvjerenja u radu s učenicima s ADHD-om mogu praktično razmatrati u takvom teorijskom okviru.

Učiteljska uvjerenja kao preduvjet kvalitetne inkluzivne učiteljske prakse

Ako se uzme u obzir da su uvjerenja često odmaknuta od istine i da je u okviru uvjerenja velika količina sadržaja (vjerojatno i istine) eliminirana, nameće se pitanje zašto su uvjerenja učitelja važna za njihovo odgojno-obrazovno djelovanje. O korelaciji uvjerenja sa samim ponašanjem pojedinca najznačajnija je Ajzenova (1991) teorija planiranoga ponašanja (engl. *Theory of Planned Behavior*) kojom ističe da je ljudsko ponašanje uvjetovano trima vrstama uvjerenja – uvjerenjima o ponašanju (engl. *behavioral beliefs*), normativnim uvjerenjima (engl. *normative beliefs*) i uvjerenjima o kontroli (engl. *control beliefs*). Uvjerenja o ponašanju ocrtavaju subjektivnu vjerojatnost da izvođenje nekog ponašanja vodi do određenih ishoda. Normativna uvjerenja podrazumijevaju normativna očekivanja drugih i motivaciju pojedinca da se prilagodi takvim očekivanjima. Kombinacija normativnih uvjerenja i motivacije pojedinca da se pridržava pojedine norme dovodi do nastajanja sustava društvenih normi (kojih se poželjno pridržavati prilikom svojega ponašanja). Kontrolna uvjerenja podrazumijevaju uvjerenja o postojanju i snazi čimbenika koji mogu olakšati ili ometati izvedbu nekog ponašanja. Kontrolna uvjerenja doprinose razvoju percipirane biheviornalne kontrole ili samoučinkovitosti što je u snažnom odnosu sa snagom facilitatora ili ometajućih faktora. Samoučinkovitost učitelja pri radu s učenicima koji imaju simptome ADHD-a, koja je također vezana uz iskustva koja determiniraju uvjerenja, najbolje se predviđa s karakteristikama učenika s ADHD-om (Vlah i sur., 2021).

Posljedično, sva tri segmenta snažno utječu na intenciju pojedinca za djelovanje što na posljetku kreira samo ponašanje iste te osobe. Ajzen (1991) intenciju definira kao motivacijski faktor koji je indikacija koliko je čovjek motiviran, koliko je ustrajan u pokušajima i koliko će uložiti truda da izvede neko ponašanje. Ukoliko je pojedinac u prilici realizirati neko ponašanje, ima resurse za to ponašanje te snažnu intenciju, utoliko će biti uspješan u izvedbi toga oblika ponašanja.

Da učiteljska uvjerenja o inkluziji imaju utjecaj na učiteljske stavove što u konačnici ima implikacije na učiteljsku inkluzivnu nastavnu praksu potvrđuju brojna istraživanja (Avramidis i Norwich, 2002; Skočić Mihić i sur., 2016). Uvjerenja pojedinca imaju značajan utjecaj na ponašanje samoga učitelja *te na odgojno-obrazovne postupke koje učitelj koristi tijekom nastave* (Pajares, 1992; Alshuwaysh i sur., 2021), ali i na ono što učitelj govori o svojem poslu i o učenicima (Florian i Rouse, 2009) te na afinitet prema stigmatizaciji učenika s ADHD-om (Toye i sur., 2018). Alshuwaysh i suradnici (2021) ističu da će učitelji s pozitivnijim uvjerenjima iskazati maksimalan napor za rješavanje izazovnih situacija u inkluzivnom razredu uzimajući u obzir optimalne oblike pedagoške prakse. Učiteljsko uvjerenje o inkluziji učenika s ADHD-om oblikuje njihov izbor strategija upravljanja razredom tako što su uvjerenja učitelja manje negativna, učitelji češće izabiru metode čija je učinkovitost znanstveno dokazana (Blotnicky-Gallant i sur., 2015). Slične nalaze donose i Sunko i suradnici (2021) koji napominju da su pozitivna učiteljska inkluzivna uvjerenja o inkluziji učenika s ADHD-om prediktor češćega korištenja pohvala i pozitivne komunikacije, prilagođenoga ocjenjivanja i sveobuhvatnoga inkluzivnog pristupa.

Dakle, brojna su istraživanja u svijetu i u Hrvatskoj koja potvrđuju teorijski koncept prema kojemu će pozitivna uvjerenja prema učenicima koji su različiti unutar učionice doprinijeti pozitivnom, odnosno konstruktivnom i kvalitetnom učenju i poučavanju tih učenika prema načelima i principima inkluzivne teorije i prakse. Posljedica takvoga pedagoškog i didaktičkog pristupa jest dobrobit pojedinca u razvojnem kontekstu.

Da bi pozitivna uvjerenja bila istovremeno istinita uvjerenja, potrebno je da učitelji tijekom svojega inicijalnog i/ili cjeloživotnog obrazovanja imaju pozitivna i konstruktivna iskustva u radu s učenicima s ADHD-om prilikom kojih izgrađuju svoj osjećaj kompetentnosti i samoeфикаsnosti u radu. Drugim riječima, potrebno je da učitelji tijekom svojega osposobljavanja imaju kvalitetnu obuku temeljenu na iskustvenoj i refleksivnoj praksi kojom će izgrađivati vlastiti osjećaj kompetentnosti i samoeфикаsnosti za inkluzivno učenje i poučavanje učenika s ADHD-om.

Uvjerenja učitelja o obrazovanju učenika s ADHD-om

Büssing i suradnici (2019) ističu važnost pozitivnih uvjerenja u inkluzivnom okruženju te napominju da učenici s teškoćama, ali i učitelji imaju multipliciranu korist učiteljskih pozitivnih uvjerenja. Jedan dio istraživanja donosi nalaze da učitelji iskazuju nisku razinu uvjerenja o različitosti (Keppens i sur., 2021; Keppens i sur., 2019), pa i negativna uvjerenja o inkluziji učenika s teškoćama (de Boer i sur., 2011), a nerijetko se samo djelomično slažu s tezom da inkluzija učenika s teškoćama donosi korist takvim učenicima (Skočić Mihić i sur., 2016). Drugi dio istraživanja upućuje da učitelji iskazuju pozitivna uvjerenja o inkluziji učenika s teškoćama (McGarrigle i sur., 2021; Woodcock i Hardy, 2017; Woodcock, 2021; Yu, 2019), a različitost učeničkih sposobnosti vide kao potencijal za obogaćivanje inkluzivne nastave (Moriña i Orozco, 2021; Orozco i Moriña, 2020) te primjerenu prilagodbu i diferencijaciju odgojno-obrazovnih metoda i postupaka (Roose i sur., 2022).

Uvjerenja su jedna od ključnih komponenti učiteljskoga djelovanja u radu s učenicima s ADHD-om (Sherman i sur., 2008) i preduvjet suzbijanja učiteljskoga odolijevanja promjenama, prihvaćanja novih metoda i ideja te pozitivnih učeničkih ishoda (Kos i sur., 2006), dakle, djelovanja učitelja u kontekstu konstruktivističke i intervencionističke perspektive.

Gibbs i suradnici (2020) navode da se na temelju brojnih nalaza daje zaključiti da su učiteljska uvjerenja o teškoći učenika povezana s učiteljskim uvjerenjima što se u radu s tim učenicima može učinkovito učiniti. Pa i u kontekstu takvih nalaza, Gibbs i suradnici (2020) navode da učitelji razvijaju snažnija uvjerenja za napredak učenika ako percipirani učenik ima disleksiju, a ne ADHD. Na istom tragu su i Hodge i sur. (2018) koji navode da učitelji Tjelesne i zdravstvene kulture imaju negativnija uvjerenja o učenicima s ADHD-om, nego li o učenicima s nekom blažom vrstom teškoća ili učenicima tipičnoga razvoja. Stoga, jedna skupina autora navodi da učitelji imaju negativna uvjerenja o učenicima s ADHD-om (Anderson i sur., 2012; Kos i sur., 2006) takve teškoće vide vrlo ozbiljnima i ometajućima (Ohan i sur., 2011) te učenike s ADHD-om vide kao vrlo agresivne i asocijalne, tek potom hiperaktivne, impulzivne, nepažljive, a onda i zabavne, inteligentne i kreativne (Anderson i sur., 2017), a svoje djelovanje temelje na medicinskom modelu (Couture i sur., 2003). Isto tako, učitelji vjeruju da rad s takvim učenicima zahtijeva specifične pedagoške i didaktičke metode, da takvi učenici negativno utječu na poučavanje drugih učenika, da poučavanje takvih učenika povećava razinu stresa kod učitelja (Anderson i sur., 2017) te zahtijeva dodatno vrijeme i trud (Kos i sur., 2006).

Ipak, pojedina istraživanja (Blotnicky-Gallant i sur., 2015; Greenway i Rees Edwards, 2020; Mulholland i sur., 2015) ističu da učitelji iskazuju pozitivna uvjerenja o ADHD-u te da postižu više rezultate na podskalama uvjerenja, nego li znanja i praktičnih vještina (Carey i sur., 2019). Također, učitelji smatraju da se takvi učenici trebaju obrazovati u redovnim razredima, no istovremeno su uvjerenja da rad s učenicima s ADHD-om nije jednostavan te da takav učenik može ometati nastavu. Na slične kontradiktornosti upozorava i Saloviita (2019) pri čemu ističe da učitelji iskazuju uvjerenje da je obrazovanje učenika s ADHD-om nužno provoditi u redovnom razrednom odjelu, ali vjeruju da učenici s ADHD-om neće dobiti adekvatnu podršku u okviru redovnih razreda.

Uz konstataciju da je nedovoljan broj istraživanja u Hrvatskoj o ovoj temi, brojni znanstveni nalazi u svijetu daju nam pravo zaključiti da učitelji iskazuju ambivalentna uvjerenja o učenicima s ADHD-om. No, isto tako, lako je primijetiti da ADHD značajno „kontaminira” učiteljska uvjerenja te da učitelji nerijetko ADHD vide kao vrstu teškoće učenika o kojoj imaju vrlo negativna uvjerenja što ima reperkusije na inkluzivnu praksu učitelja.

Stereotipna i simbolička uvjerenja učitelja o ADHD-u

Uzimajući u obzir razloženu teoriju o stereotipnim i simboličkim uvjerenjima, svakako je pogodno takve postulate prilagoditi u kontekst ADHD-a. Anderson je sa svojim suradnicima u dva navrata (Anderson i sur., 2012, 2017) takve dvije dimenzije

uvjerenja vrlo zgodno razložila u kontekstu učiteljskoga odgojno-obrazovnog rada s učenicima s ADHD-om. Primjerice, stereotipna uvjerenja o učenicima s ADHD-om glasila bi da je takve učenike lako omesti, da se ne mogu koncentrirati, govore prije nego što promisle, imaju lošu samokontrolu, bučni su, vrpolje se, zločesti su, nemirni, ali i smiješni, kreativni, zabavni i simpatični. Dakle, opisuje karakteristike učenika s ADHD-om prema učiteljskom mišljenju o učenicima. Simbolička uvjerenja učitelja o učenicima s ADHD-om iskazivala bi uvjerenja učitelja o tome kako djeca s ADHD-om utječu na proces poučavanja i razredno okružje. Primjerice, učitelji mogu kreirati negativna uvjerenja smatrajući da poučavanje djece s ADHD-om oduzima previše vremena, negativno utječu na proces učenja i razrednu disciplinu, priređuju drugim učenicima probleme, usporavaju napredak razreda ili pozitivno uvjerenje kao što je mišljenje da ih poučavanje djece s ADHD-om potiče na kreiranje zanimljivijih i kreativnijih nastavnih sati, motivira ih za rad, nude novu perspektivu (Anderson, 2012; 2017). Dakle, objekt procjene više nije samo *učenik nego sastavnice njegova mikrookružja* te se na osnovi simboličkih uvjerenja dobiva uvid u percepciju učitelja o tome što se pod djelovanjem učenika s ADHD-om događa s njegovom okolinom te procesima i dionicima procesa uronjenima u takvu okolinu.

Uzimajući u obzir prethodno prikazanu teorijsku elaboraciju, u nastavku ovoga rada relevantna će biti pitanja uvjerenja učitelja o samom učeniku s ADHD-om (stereotipna uvjerenja) te pitanja uvjerenja učitelja o utjecaju učenika s ADHD-om na nastavni proces (simbolička uvjerenja). Konačno, uzme li se u obzir definicija uvjerenja Fishbeina i Ajzena (1975) kojom ističu da se kroz uvjerenja povezuju promatrani objekt ili osoba s pojedinom karakteristikom, stereotipna uvjerenja opisuju relaciju učenika s ADHD-om sa stereotipnim karakteristikama, a simboličkim uvjerenjima definira se veza učenika s ADHD-om s okolnostima u odgojno-obrazovnom okružju koje sam učenik oblikuje. Dakle, stereotipnim uvjerenjima procjenjuje se pojedinac ili grupa (učenik/učenici s ADHD-om), a simboličkim uvjerenjima proces (poučavanja).

Posljedice specifičnih dimenzija uvjerenja učitelja prema učenicima s ADHD-om

Kada se govori o specifičnim dimenzijama uvjerenja prema bilo kojoj kategoriji osoba s teškoćama, može se reći da se govori o mehanizmima društvene nepravde koji su u suprotnosti inkluzivnoj kulturi i inkluzivnim vrijednostima (Brajković i Milinović, 2015, prema Bouillet 2019).

Stereotipiziranje učenika s ADHD-om

Prilikom stereotipizacije pojedinac kategorizira druge pojedince prema očitim značajkama, definira karakteristike grupe te takve definirane karakteristike pripisuje svakom pojedincu koji pripada stereotipnoj skupini (Snyder, 1981). Primjerice, ako učitelj upoznaje učenika s ADHD-om, u toj prilici učitelj će povezati samog učenika s već unaprijed definiranim stereotipnim atribucijama. Nerijetko, neće (si dopustiti)

primijetiti pozitivne karakteristike učenika s ADHD-om, nego će mu pridati karakteristike stereotipnoga učenika s ADHD-om. Campbell (1967) navodi da deskriptivna komponenta stereotipa nije u potpunosti neistinita, no naknadno dovodi do pogrešnih percepcija objekta. Koenig i Eagly (2014) podupiru činjenicu da stereotipi u značajnoj mjeri odgovaraju istini jer nastaju na temelju promatranja ponašanja i karakteristika članova pojedine grupe koji se temelje na društvenoj ulozi tih članova. Upravo na temelju promatranja i uočavanja stereotip dobiva svoj sadržaj.

Fiske i suradnici (2002) definiraju model sadržaja stereotipa (engl. *Stereotype Content Model (SCM)*) kojim ističu da se svaki stereotip sastoji od topline (povjerenje, društvenost) i kompetencije (sposobnost, asertivnost) te ovisno o tome koliko procijenjena grupa u utvrđenom stereotipu posjeduje topline ili kompetencije, definira se predrasuda. Prema tome modelu, Fiske i suradnici (2018) definiraju stereotipe kao uvjerenja o grupnoj toplini i kompetentnosti. Primjerice, sažaljenje je kombinacija visoke topline, ali niske kompetentnosti, zavist je kombinacija visoke kompetentnosti, ali niske topline dok se prijezir veže uz nisku razinu topline i nisku razinu kompetentnosti. Zasiurno je moguće pitati se pobuđuju li kod učitelja djeca s ADHD-om prijezir. Upravo su takvi učenici definirani nekompetentnima uz nisku razinu topline, ponekad (vrlo rijetko) u iznimnim slučajevima nešto višu razinu topline što u najboljem slučaju dovodi do učiteljevog sažaljenja. Govori li se o bilo kojem stereotipu koji u svojem sadržaju spaja nisku toplinu i nisku kompetenciju, a koja kasnije dovodi do odgovarajuće predrasude, dovest će do društvenoga isključivanja (Fiske i sur., 2018) učenika s ADHD-om.

Uz stereotipna uvjerenja značajnu ulogu u kreiranju stava, a onda posljedično i predrasuda imaju simbolička uvjerenja (Akst, 2000; Jackson i Esses, 1997). Ako su ugrožene vrijednosti procjenitelja od strane evaluiranoga objekta, razvijaju se negativni stavovi (predrasude). Rokeach (1973, prema Akst, 2000) vidi vrijednosti kao standard koji usmjerava ponašanje što u konačnici može dovesti do prihvatanja onih koji se ponašaju prema zadanim vrijednostima ili odbijanja onih koji se tako ne ponašaju. Prema grupi koja se dehumanizira ističu se antagonistička uvjerenja te se na temelju pretpostavke da grupa koja ima različita uvjerenja od naših kreiraju predrasude (Schwartz i sur., 1990). Preduvjet predrasuda svakako je percipirana različitost vrijednosti, pri čemu vrijednosti jedne grupe ni ne moraju ugrožavati vrijednosti druge grupe (Struch i Schwartz, 1989). Ipak, primjerice, ako učenici s ADHD-om ugrožavaju poučavanje u razredu te svojim djelovanjem usporavaju napredak svih učenika u razredu, a učiteljima zadaje dodatan angažman, prema takvim učenicima učitelji, roditelji drugih učenika, pa čak i ostali učenici u razredu razvijaju predrasude na temelju kojih učenici s ADHD-om budu diskriminirani i isključeni iz relevantnih razrednih i društvenih procesa.

Kreiranje predrasuda prema učenicima s ADHD-om

Pettigrew (1982) ističe da je predrasuda mišljenje za ili protiv nečega bez odgovarajuće osnove pa je uočljivo da predrasuda podrazumijeva i iracionalnost („mišljenje bez odgovarajuće osnove”) i emocionalnu procjenu („za ili protiv nečega”). Abrams

(2010) ističe da su predrasude „sklonost obezvrjeđenju ljudi zbog njihove percipirane pripadnosti određenoj skupini” (str. 8) što može djelovati na prilike, socijalne resurse, motivaciju i socijalnu uključenost pojedinca uz kojega se veže pojedina predrasuda. Također, predrasuda uključuje prerano kognitivno fiksiranje na temu prije racionalne provjere. Prilikom definiranja je li pojedino mišljenje predrasuda ili objektivno racionalno mišljenje, nužno je utvrditi koliko takvo mišljenje odgovara stvarnosti, a koliko je posljedica generalizacije na pojedinu populaciju što je vrlo težak postupak zbog izostajanja jasne granice objektivnoga i subjektivnoga (Pettigrew, 1982). Dovidio i suradnici (2010) navode da je subjektivnost važna komponenta predrasuda jer se posredstvom takve subjektivnosti organizira ljudsko okruženje. Primjerice, u kontekstu ADHD-a, nužno je utvrditi koliko su učenici s ADHD-om zaista hiperaktivni i je li takvo mišljenje točno ili je posljedica generalizacije u okviru populacije učenika s ADHD-om. Upravo generalizacija na populaciji s velikim brojem članova jača mogućnost da se radi o predrasudama s obzirom da se smanjuje mogućnost da baš svi članovi te grupe imaju karakteristike koje im se pripisuju. Pettigrew (1982) predrasude u konačnici definira kao „iracionalno utemeljene negativne stavove prema određenim etičkim skupinama i njihovim pripadnicima” (str. 2). Predrasuda je zapravo nepovoljan stav prema osobama koje stereotipno nisu u skladu sa zahtjevima uloge te se takav stav može iskazati u sve tri komponente stava (uvjerenja, emocije i diskriminacijsko ponašanje) (Dovidio i sur., 2005; Dovidio i sur., 2010; Eagly i Diekman, 2005). Dakle, stavovi nastaju pozitivnom ili negativnom evaluacijom određenoga objekta, što smo već istaknuli u ovom radu, ali ako je stav negativan, riječ je o predrasudama (Stephan, 1985, prema Akst, 2000). Ako se uzme u obzir tripartitna komponenta stavova, i Corrigan i suradnici (2001) potvrđuju da su stereotipi vrste uvjerenja, a predrasude negativni stavovi jer autori navode da je na iskazani stereotip nužno nadovezati emocionalnu reakciju (afektivno) kako bi nastala predrasuda.

Eagly i Diekman (2005) ističu da stereotipi koji su osnova predrasuda mogu biti točni na razini grupe, ali netočni u odnosu na pojedinca u okviru grupe. Stoga predlažu šire poimanje predrasuda pri čemu ključnu ulogu ima ideja nepodudarnosti uloga kojom se ističe neusklađenost između uvjerenja o osobinama koje obično posjeduju članovi neke grupe (stereotipi) te uvjerenja o osobinama koje olakšavaju uspjeh u cijenjenim društvenim ulogama. Pri tome, preferiraju se članovi grupe za čije se stereotipne osobine smatra da su upravo one nužne za postizanje uspjeha, dok se prema drugim članovima grupe iskazuje nisko vrednovanje u kontekstu pojedine uloge (Eagly i Diekman, 2005). U školskom okruženju organizacijske vještine, kontrola impulsa, pažnja i kontrola aktivnosti donose uspjeh (ako se školski uspjeh definira zaključnim ocjenama), no stereotipno uvjerenje o odsutnosti takvih karakteristika kod učenika s ADHD-om dovodi do kreiranja predrasuda. Dakle, snižava se vrijednost članova grupe u kontekstu izvršenja zadataka za koje se grupa konkretno vrednuje i koji su društveno cijenjeni.

Diskriminacija učenika s ADHD-om

Allport (1979, prema Jackman, 2005) diskriminaciju vidi kao jednu od triju dimenzija odbacivanja – verbalno odbacivanje (antilocucija), diskriminaciju (uključujući segregaciju) i fizički napad (uključujući linč, nered i genocid). S obzirom na to, moguće je zapitati se je li takva teorijska podloga i pojava u praksi uzrok intenzivnijih i češćih socijalnih teškoća, sukoba i agresivnih ispada učenika s ADHD-om (Aduen i sur., 2018; Bouillet i Uzelac, 2007, prema Vlah i sur., 2019). Allport (1979, prema Jackman, 2005) diskriminaciju definira kao „uskraćivanje jednakoga tretmana zbog pripadnosti grupi” (str. 90). Corrigan i sur. (2001) diskriminaciju vide kao negativan bihevioralni odgovor na skupinu koja se prethodno negativno procijenila te su snažan preduvjet za takvu bihevioralnu reakciju upravo predrasude (kombinacija negativnih uvjerenja i negativnih emocija). Diskriminacija pretpostavlja nepošten i neprimjeren tretman prema nekoj grupi ili članovima grupe. Dakle, temeljnu ulogu ima bihevioralno reagiranje prema članovima pojedine grupe. Takvo ponašanje stvara, održava i/ili pojačava prednost i nadmoć jedne skupine u odnosu na drugu (Dovidio i sur., 2010). Diskriminacija u konačnici ima negativne posljedice na postignuća učenika s ADHD-om i cjelokupno njegovo djelovanje u okviru odgojno-obrazovnog sustava.

Stigmatizacija učenika s ADHD-om

Stigma je atribut koji procijenjenoga pojedinca opisuje drugačijim od drugih te ima duboko diskreditirajući i značajan negativan učinak na životne prilike stigmatizirane osobe. Stigma je znak koji pobuđuje predrasude i diskriminaciju (Goffman, 1963) te je interakcija kognitivne, afektivne i bihevioralne komponente (Goffman, 1997, prema Mueller i sur., 2012).

Sva promišljanja o stereotipima, predrasudama, diskriminaciji i stigmatizaciji te njihovom odnosu sumirali su Corrigan i Watson (2002) (Tablica 2). Naime, autori diversificiraju dvije vrste stigme – javnu stigmatu i samostigmatu. Javnu stigmatu, ali i samostigmatu čine stereotipi predrasude i diskriminacija, no unutar javne stigme i samostigme razlikuju se smjerovi i oblici tih triju konstrukata (vidi Tablicu 2.). Važno je istaknuti da intenzitet i trajanje javne stigme djeluje na kreiranje samostigme, što nije obratan slučaj (Vogel i sur., 2013).

Tablica 2

Stigmatizacija jača ako je pojedina teškoća teža te ako je povezana s ponašanjem koje odstupa od društvenih konvencija kao što je i u slučaju ADHD-a (Martin sur., 2007; Walker i sur., 2008). Martin i suradnici (2007) također navode da stigmatizirajući odgovori pobuđuju stereotipe i predrasude te s obzirom na mjeru koliko procjenitelj takva uvjerenja i stavove podržava, razvija se potencijal za diskriminaciju koja je usmjerena na djecu s teškoćama pa i njihove roditelje. Diskriminacija koja proizlazi iz javne stigme može se u praksi manifestirati kroz tri načina – gubitkom mogućnosti, prisilom i segregacijom (Corrigan i sur., 2009). U takvoj situaciji gotovo se svakodnevno

nalaze učenici s ADHD-om. Značajna je stigmatizacija usmjerena prema odraslima, adolescentima i djeci s ADHD-om tijekom cijeloga njihovog života u svim društvenim okolnostima (Lebowitz, 2013). Zbog javne stigme koja ih prati zapravo ni ne dobivaju prave prilike, prilike da se prikažu u pozitivnom svjetlu te nerijetko budu izolirani i segregirani u svojoj razrednoj, ali i široj društvenoj zajednici. Ako zbog stereotipa član grupe o kojoj je stereotip definiran, internalizira takve stereotipe, prihvaća ih kao istinite te mu zbog toga opada samopouzdanje i samoučinkovitost riječ je o samostigmatiziranju pri čemu (1) osoba mora biti svjesna stereotipa o svojem stanju, (2) slaže se s takvim izrečenim stereotipima i (3) primjenjuje takve stereotipe u osobnom kontekstu (Corrigan i sur., 2009). Gajaria i suradnici (2011) napominju da je ključno da učenik s ADHD-om kako bi izbjegao samostigmatiziranje odbija prihvatiti pojedini stereotip kao oblik istinite tvrdnje, posebno kroz odbijanje prihvaćanja ADHD-a kao bolesti te prihvaćanja ideje da je riječ o poremećaju ili čak drugačijem načinu mišljenja.

Stereotipnim uvjerenjima procjenjuju se pojedinac ili grupa (učenik/učenici s ADHD-om), a simboličkim uvjerenjima proces (poučavanja). U odgojno-obrazovnom procesu važno je rano prepoznavanje kada stereotipna i simbolička uvjerenja postanu preduvjet razvoja predrasuda i diskriminativnoga ponašanja učitelja prema učenicima s ADHD-om. Ranim prepoznavanjem i mijenjanjem takvih uvjerenja može se spriječiti kreiranje stigme i neravnopravnih prilika takvih učenika u odgojno-obrazovnom procesu.

Pravovremeno mijenjanje stigmatizirajućih i diskriminirajućih simboličkih i stereotipnih uvjerenja kod učitelja je važno jer manje prilika u okviru obrazovnoga sustava učenika stavlja u nepovoljan položaj i nakon završetka obrazovanja, kao odrasloga pojedinca tijekom zapošljavanja i društvenoga funkcioniranja.

Vjerujemo da je kreiranje i jačanje učiteljskih pozitivnih istinitih uvjerenja koja su utemeljena na uspješnom procesu učenja i poučavanja učenika s ADHD potrebno realizirati kroz programe inicijalnoga obrazovanja i profesionalnoga razvoja koji su utemeljeni na znanstveno utvrđenim kompetencijskim profilima.

Zaključak

Osnovni cilj ovoga rada jest dati pregled spoznaja o uvjerenjima učitelja za rad s učenicima s ADHD-om, a specifični cilj bio je definirati i predstaviti važnost stereotipnih i simboličnih uvjerenja učitelja u radu s učenicima s ADHD-om.

U ovom preglednom radu istražili smo pregledne i teorijske uvide o ulozi uvjerenja učitelja u radu s učenicima s ADHD-om.

U kontekstu učiteljeve prakse u radu s učenicima s ADHD-om, možemo zaključiti da učitelji kreiraju osobna uvjerenja kao kognitivne koncepte stvarnosti sukladno interpretaciji svojih iskustava i sukladno subjektivnim pridavanjima značenja tih iskustava koja mogu biti istinita ili iskrivljena. Budući da je stav učitelja o učeniku s ADHD-om funkcija učiteljeva uvjerenja o tome učeniku i evaluacijskoga aspekta tih uvjerenja, iz učiteljeva stava može se očekivati namjera ponašanja u učionici koje

proizlazi iz takvoga uvjerenja. Zbog navedenoga važno je istraživati vrstu i značenje učiteljskih uvjerenja u radu s učenicima općenito, a osobito s učenicima koji imaju ADHD.

Možemo reći da su potrebna dodatna istraživanja u Hrvatskoj, ali prema svjetskim uvidima postoje brojni primjeri mehanizama društvene nepravde prema učenicima s ADHD-om u odgojno-obrazovnom okružju. Ti su mehanizmi u suprotnosti inkluzivnoj kulturi i inkluzivnim vrijednostima. Predrasude, stereotipi i diskriminacija kod učitelja trebaju biti pravovremeno detektirane i prepoznate te sustavnom reedukacijom i usavršavanjem transformirane u pozitivne stavove koji se temelje na prihvaćajućim uvjerenjima o učenicima koji imaju ADHD.

Pozitivna uvjerenja učitelja prema različitosti u inkluzivnom razredu relevantan su prediktor namjere inkluzivnoga poučavanja i/ili realizacije inkluzivne teorije i prakse u razredu. Suprotno, ukoliko nisu pozitivna, odnosno inkluzivna i uključujuća, utoliko će stereotipna i simbolička uvjerenja biti obilježena predrasudama, stereotipima i voditi do diskriminirajućega ponašanja što je iznimno štetno za kvalitetan odgoj i obrazovanje učenika s ADHD-om.

Vezano uz svrhu rada i doprinos ovoga rada u boljem razumijevanju teorijskoga koncepta uključujućih (inkluzivnih) uvjerenja učitelja za inkluzivni odgoj i obrazovanje učenika s ADHD-om, predlažemo buduća empirijska istraživanja koja trebaju konkretno dati odgovore o strukturi i metodama potrebnih edukacija i/ili reedukacija za inkluzivna uvjerenja učitelja o radu s učenicima s ADHD-om. Drugim riječima, predlažemo da se preispitaju studijski programi u inicijalnom i cjeloživotnom obrazovanju i redefiniraju u smjeru studijskih programa i programa cjeloživotnoga učenja koja promiču iskustveno učenje i jačanje samoučinkovitosti za pozitivan socijalizacijski i didaktički pristup u radu s učenikom s ADHD-om.

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