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CONTEXT

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Časopis za
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*Context: Časopis za interdisciplinarnu studiju je recenzirani, naučni časopis posvećen unapređenju interdisciplinarnih istraživanja najurgentnijih društvenih i političkih tema našeg vremena kao što su posljedice ubrzane globalizacije, pluralizam i raznolikost, ljudska prava i slobode, održivi razvoj i međureligijska susretanja. Pozivamo istraživače u humanističkim i društvenim naukama da daju doprinos boljem razumijevanju glavnih moralnih i etičkih problema kroz kreativnu razmjenu ideja, gledišta i metodologija. U nastojanju da premostimo razlike među kulturama, u ovom časopisu objavljujemo i prijevode važnijih radova. U *Contextu* su dobrodošli i članci i prikazi knjiga iz svih područja interdisciplinarnih istraživanja.*

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CONTEXT

Članci i rasprave / Articles

Koncepti budućnosti u Kur'anu

Mirza Sarajkić

Sažetak

Kur'an, kao trajni duhovni i intelektualni vodič, pruža duboke uvide u konceptualizaciju budućnosti, nadilazeći konvencionalne teološke interpretacije. Ovaj rad ispituje kur'anske vizije sutrašnjice kroz prizmu studija budućnosti, naglašavajući pluralističke i transformativne scenarije, moć kur'anskih naracija i (re) konceptualizaciju ideje promjene. Analizom eshatoloških dimenzija i pragmatičnih smjernica za etičke i poželjne budućnosti, rad otkriva ulogu Kur'ana kao dinamičnog okvira za viziju pravedne i poželjne budućnosti. Naglašava se kur'ansko poticanje ljudske odgovornosti, proaktivnog djelovanja i prilagodljivosti u raznim okolnostima, što ga pozicionira kao temeljni tekst za razmišljanje i djelovanje usmjereno ka budućnosti.

Ključne riječi: Kur'an, tefsir, studije budućnosti, narativ, scenarij, polilog, transformacija, odgovornost

Kur'anski tekst je po svom ishodištu riznica vizija usmjerenih ka budućnosti koja nudi slojevite predodžbe potencijalnih ljudskih sudbina. Ove projekcije obuhvataju opise konačnih egzistencijalnih razina (metafore o Džennetu i Džehennemu, koje oslikavaju prirodu i stanje njihovih stanovnika) do konceptualizacije ahireta kao etičkog *eidosa*. Perspektiva budućnosti utkana je u samu strukturu Kur'ana kroz pripovijesti o ključnim (hijero)povijesnim trenucima do eksplicitnih uputa koje nalažu sistematičan angažman vezan za budućnost.

Historijski posmatrano, kur'anska egzegeza rijetko je izrijeckom ukazivala na koncepte budućnosti koji prožimaju Tekst, najčešće usljed ukorijenjenih interpretativnih okvira koji su dominirali stoljećima. Prevladavajuće egzegetske tradicije ograničile su ključne kur'anske pojmove – posebno one povezane s

budućnošću – na fiksna značenja, često zanemarujući alternativna tumačenja koja bi mogla otkriti suptilne uvide o konceptima budućnosti. Međutim, ako Kur'anu pristupimo kroz prizmu studija budućnosti,¹ možemo ga otkriti i kao naročitu „knjigu o budućnostima” ili, znakovitije, „knjigu budućnosti” *par excellence*, koja nam ukazuje na veliki broj mogućih scenarija budućnosti.

Muslimani razumiju da je objava Kur'ana imala za cilj transformaciju nesavršenog sadašnjeg vremena – ere poslanstva Muhammeda, a.s., te je čovječanstvo povela prema pravednijim i boljim sutrašnjicama. U kur'anskom jeziku, tekst se opisuje kao *hudā* (Božansko Uputstvo) i *nur* (duhovno svjetlo), posebno za one koji su svjesni (*muttaqīn*) svojih ličnih, ali i kolektivnih budućnosti (2: 3, 16: 54, 45: 11, 20: 123). Abdel Haleem, naprimjer, smatra da je „temeljni cilj Kur'ana da uputi” (2: 2 i 17: 9–10) te da je budućnost jedan od centralnih prostora prema kojima Objava predano reorijentira čitatelje metodama *targība* i *terhibā*.²

Zanimljivo je da Kur'an za navedene termine upotrebljava oblike množine (68: 52, 12: 104, 21: 107), što konotira s naglašavanjem pluranih budućnosti unutar futuroloških istraživanja.³ Teološki gledano, čak i u tradicionalnim pristupima, Kur'an predstavlja budućnost kao pluralnu, a ne singularnu. Kur'an upućuje „vjernike” prema *ahiretu*, u kojeg se treba „čvrsto vjerovati” (2: 4). Ahiret se generalno poima kao krajnja budućnost, „onaj ili drugi svijet”, odnosno transcendentna stvarnost, konačno prebivalište i „novi početak”.⁴ Koncept ahireta

1 Studije budućnosti predstavljaju interdisciplinarno područje koje sistematski istražuje moguće, vjerovatne i poželjne budućnosti. Sardar naglašava da su studije budućnosti sistematski, ali posve otvoren način istraživanja, a ne fiksna disciplina. Studije budućnosti nude metode za analizu trendova, neizvjesnosti i alternativnih scenarija kako bi pružila sredstva navigacije kroz trajno promjenjive horizonte sutrašnjica. Među najznačajnijim autorima u ovom području su Jim Dator, poznat po istraživanju alternativnih budućnosti i scenarija upravljanja (*Advancing Futures: Futures Studies in Higher Education*), Alvin Toffler, koji se fokusirao na tehnološke i društvene trendove (*Future Shock, The Third Wave*), Ziauddin Sardar, pionir kritičke analize studija budućnosti, koji snažno zagovara “pismenost o budućnosti”, uključivanja različitih kulturnih perspektiva te naglašava važnost pluralizma i dekolonizacije u osmišljavanju scenarija budućnosti (*Rescuing All Our Futures: The Future of Futures Studies* i *Future: All That Matters*), Sohail Inayatullah, tvorac kritičkih i participativnih pristupa budućnosti, poput metoda „kazualne slojevite analize” (*Six Pillars: Futures Thinking for Transforming* i *Questioning the Future, The CLA Reader*), Richard A. Slaughter (*The Knowledge Base of Futures Studies*), Wendella Bella (*Foundations of Futures Studies: Human Science for a New Era*), Eleonore Barbieri Masini (*Why Futures Studies?*) i drugi.

2 Muhammad Abdel Haleem, *Exploring the Qur'an: Context and Impact* (London, UK: I. B. Tauris), str. 169-170.

3 “Kada sistematski istražujemo i proučavamo budućnost, zapravo ne proučavamo ‘budućnost’ u jednini, već budućnosti u množini, s posebnim naglaskom na pluralitet. Pojam ‘budućnost’ u jednini usmjerava našu pažnju na samo jednu mogućnost budućnosti, što nosi ozbiljne političke implikacije i konceptualno biva prilično ograničeno. Nasuprot tome, pluralizacija pojma budućnosti, kako to navodi Svjetska federacija za studije budućnosti (*World Futures Studies Federation*), ‘otvara prostor za zamišljanje i kreiranje alternativnih i poželjnih budućnosti’. Prema tome, područje istraživanja koje se kritički bavi proučavanjem budućnosti najprikladnije je opisati terminom *studije budućnosti (futures studies)*, pri čemu naziv naglašava kako pluralnost samih budućnosti tako i pluralnost pristupa njihovom istraživanju.” Ziauddin Sardar, *Future: All That Matters* (UK: McGraw-Hill Education, 2014), str. 12.

4 Abdulatif Jusuf (ur.), *Zubdetul mefredat: muhtesarul mufredati fi garibil Kur'ani lil-Isfahani* (Bejrut: Darul mearife, 1998), str. 21.

prožima cjelokupan islamski svjetonazor. U skladu s tim, ljudski se život promatra kao prilika za ustrajno etičko djelovanje i nesebičan doprinos svekolikoj dobrobiti. Takve osobe čekaju blažene budućnosti (*džennāt*). Nasuprot tome, ahiret će biti „pakleno mjesto” (42: 7) svim onima koji budu širili nasilje i moralno degradirali svoje društvo. Stoga je kur'anska perspektiva o sutrašnjici inherentno pluralna.

Brojni kur'anski ajeti naglašavaju relevantnost i imperativ promišljanja budućnosti, potvrđujući ulogu Kur'ana ne samo kao duhovnog smjerokaza već i kao paradigme za oblikovanje pravednih i smislenih budućnosti. To mnoštvo uputnica o konceptima budućnosti možemo promatrati kroz dvije temeljne dimenzije:

Eshatološka dimenzija (*'ālam al-gayb*): Ova razina odnosi se na ideje o novom svijetu nakon ovozemaljske egzistencije, Sudnji dan, obećane buduće stvarnosti te transcendentalna stanja u takvoj stvarnosti. Brojne kur'anske metafore ukazuju na ovu dimenziju. Iako je u muslimanskoj misli prisutno vjerovanje da su sudbine pojedinaca u Džennetu ili Džehennemu već unaprijed određene, u ovom radu se nećemo baviti tim dogmama. Nasuprot ovim kozmičkim predodžbama, interpretativnoj perspektivi studija budućnosti mnogo je prikladnije kur'ansko poticanje ljudske odgovornosti u postizanju te širenju pravde i istine (*el-balāg*), dok (krajnji) sud (*el-hisāb*) ostaje isključivo u Božijoj vlasti: *Tvoje je samo da dostaviš poruku; a Konačan Sud je naš* (13: 40).

Egzistencijalna dimenzija (*al-abirah*): Ova dimenzija odnosi se na načine kako ideal *ahireta* kao konačne budućnosti (ili Budućnosti s velikim početnim slovom) prožima ljudski život i djelovanje. Koncept *ahireta* – neizbježnog i posljednjeg odredišta – nadahnjuje vjernika da ovu ultimativnu viziju integriše u sve svoje egzistencijalne planove i djelovanja. Ukratko, do (metafizičke) Budućnosti neminovno se dopijeva preko niza egzistencijalnih budućnosti koje se odvijaju unutar vremenskih granica ovog svijeta. Ishodi egzistencijalnih budućnosti neodvojivo su povezani s položajem pojedinca na ahiretu, pritom, kao što Fazlur Rahman pronicljivo primjećuje: „Čini se da je Kur'an definitivno optimističan spram budućnosti, dok je više sumoran prema prošlosti.”⁵ Naime, evidentno je da Kur'an na brojnim mjestima poziva vjernike da se pripreme za razne promjene, bilo političke, ekološke ili društvene naravi. Život se sam po sebi prikazuje kao „projekat budućnosti” (*sa'y* i *kadh*). Kroz sure poput ar-Rum i an-Nasr, Kur'an pruža konkretne smjernice te ukazuje na principe ponašanja u iščekivanju različitih budućnosti.

Osim ovih ključnih dimenzija, brojni kur'anski ajeti podstiču aktivno promišljanje usmjereno ka budućnosti. Neki ajeti podržavaju vizionarsko razmišljanje i anticipaciju (*al-basira*), nudeći alternativne scenarije kao refleksivne

5 Fazlur Rahman, *Glavne teme Kur'ana*, prijevod s engleskog Enes Karić (CNS – El-Kalem, Sarajevo, 2011), str. 115.

vježbe. Pored toga, određeni ajeti utjelovljuju principe slične metodi „povratnog planiranja” (*backcasting*) – metodu studija budućnosti koja počinje od određene zamišljene budućnosti i retrospektivno mapira politike i akcije potrebne za njeno ostvarenje. Kroz inspirativne projekcije, ovi ajeti implicitno potiču stratešku orijentaciju ka poželjnim ili idealnim budućnostima.

Ovaj je rad skroman pokušaj promišljanja tek nekih aspekata budućnosti unutar kur’anskoga univerzuma.

Najprije kazivanja o budućnosti

... kazuj im priče kako bi razmišljali. (7: 176)

Prva (integralna) naracija koju susrećemo u Kur’anu jeste priča o budućnosti. Ta inicijalna kur’anska pripovijest kazuje nam o razgovoru između Boga i meleka na pragu stvaranja čovječanstva, u kojem se otkriva božanski plan usmjeren prema budućim horizontima. Ovaj dijalog, vođen na samom početku ljudske povijesti, otkriva fundamentalnu vrijednost pojma budućnosti. Riječ je o priči o stvaranju ljudskog roda, koja započinje Gospodarovim najavama ključnog čina budućnosti (2: 30–33):

A kada Gospodar tvoj reče melekima: ”Ja ću na Zemlji namjesnika postaviti!” – oni rekoše: ”Zar će Ti namjesnik biti onaj koji će na njoj nered činiti i krv proljevati? A mi Tebe veličamo i hvalimo i, kako Tebi dolikuje, štujemo.” On reče: ”Ja znam ono što vi ne znate.” I pouči On Adema nazivima svih stvari, a onda ih predoči melekima i reče: ”Kažite Mi nazive njihove, ako istinu govorite!” ”Hvaljen neka si” – rekoše oni – ”mi znamo samo ono čemu si nas Ti poučio; Ti si Sveznajući i Mudri.” ”O Ademe” – reče On – ”kaži im ti nazive njihove!” I kad im on kaza nazive njihove, Allah reče: ”Zar vam nisam rekao da samo Ja znam tajne nebesa i Zemlje i da samo Ja znam ono što javno činite i ono što krijete!”

Na samom početku priče o stvaranju čovjeka susrećemo se s raspravom o budućnosti. Gospodar otkriva svoj plan da stvori novo biće koje će doslovno naslijediti Zemlju, dok će u simboličkom smislu to biće imati ulogu Božijeg predstavnika. Ilustrativno je kako sažeti kur’anski izraz dočarava ovu važnu epizodu u religijskoj povijesti stvaranja. Gospodar u vrlo prisnom tonu otkriva budućni plan melekima, predstavljajući ga kroz otvoreni dijalog, u kojem učesnici slobodno sudjeluju. Potom, meleki izražavaju određenu nelagodu u vezi s novim bićem. Ovdje se naracija o budućnosti intenzivira. Prvo, Bog govori o budućnosti, zatim meleki pokazuju da „znaju” nešto o toj budućnosti te započinju

diskusiju o odluci. Mnogi komentatori Kur'ana usredsređuju se na objašnjanje da su meleki mogli posjedovati znanje o ljudskom potencijalu. Zanimljivo je pak da rijetki osvjetljavaju znakovitu činjenicu da sam Bog inicira raspravu o budućnosti, otvarajući prostor za zajedničko istraživanje izuzetno značajne teme, a to je budućnost. Tradicionalni tefsiri ističu odnos meleka prema nevidljivom (*gajb*), sugerirajući kako im je Bog prethodno ukazao na potencijal čovjekovog (ne)djela. Međutim, kur'anski tekst ovdje otkriva viziju budućnosti u kojoj se promišlja uloga čovječanstva unutar šireg kozmičkog plana. Naime, rasprava o karakteristikama budućeg ponašanja novog bića, čovjeka, nastavlja se i proširuje s uvođenjem Adema na kur'ansku scenu. Prvi čovjek otkriva vrhunski dar kojim ga je Bog odlikovao, a to je sposobnost imenovanja, odnosno znanje o pojmovima. Ova intelektualna sposobnost imenovanja, stvaranja, inoviranja i unapređivanja svijeta označava ključnu ljudsku ulogu u kosmosu. Kada Adem demonstrira svoje znanje (*I kad im on kaza nazive njihove*), meleki „postaju svjesni” da čovjekova sposobnost stvaranja i razumijevanja nadilazi svaki potencijal za nanošenje štete (*izazivanje razaranja i prolijevanje krvi*).

Al-Nasafi u svom tefsiru *Madarik al-tanzil wa haqaiq al-ta'vil* navodi da je znanje (*al-fawa'id al-ilmiyya*)⁶ istaknuta osobina ljudi, koji su u prvom kur'anskom kazivanju predstavljeni kao bića budućnosti. Prema njemu, suštinska uloga novog bića u svemiru jeste istraživati, spoznavati i imenovati/komunicirati. S druge strane, al-Zamahšari ističe da je Božiji podsticaj navedene diskusije o budućnosti, između ostalog, usmjeren na „spoznavanje mudrosti o budućim namjesnicima čak i prije nego što budu stvoreni”.⁷

Temeljno pitanje u kur'anskoj naraciji, odnosno praiskonskoj drami našega svijeta, vezano je za modalitete čovjekove budućnosti. Navedeni nebeski diskurs o budućnostima uključuje Stvoritelja, Njegova bića od svjetlosti, meleke, i, konačno, čovječanstvo u liku Adema, a. s. Riječ je, dakle, o nečemu što prevazilazi okvire pukog dijaloga. Bog najavljuje svoju namjeru da stvori novo biće, meleki izražavaju zabrinutost o anticipiranoj budućnosti, dok Adem demonstrira duboko umijeće imenovanja, čime dekonstruiše negativni potencijal na koji su meleki prvotno ukazivali. Razgovor postaje mnogostruk i naglašeno dinamičan, a kada govorimo o „višestrukim logikama, govorima i egzistencijama”, onda je riječ o polilogu, kako to definira Julija Kristeva.⁸ Ovaj je pojam ključan i u studijama budućnosti jer „kreiraju nove fizičke i mentalne prostore ispunjene raznolikošću,

6 Dostupno na: <https://www.altafsir.com/Tafasir.asp?tMadhNo=0&tTafsirNo=17&tSoraNo=2&tAyahNo=30&tDisplay=yes&Page=3&Size=1&LanguageId=1>. pristupljeno 12. 9. 2024.

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8 Julia Kristeva, *Polylogue* (Paris: Seuil, 1977), str. 17.

pluralizmom i suprotstavljenim stavovima, ali istovremeno duboko posvećene uključivanju drugih u proces stvaranja i dijeljenja informacija i znanja”.⁹

U navedenoj „razmjeni stavova” o budućnosti čovječanstva susrećemo najmanje tri kontrastna scenarija budućnosti: *krektivni* (Božija odluka o stvaranju), *destruktivni* (meleki prepoznaju ljudsku sposobnost za nanošenje štete) i *performativni* (Ademova demonstracija znanja). Usložnjeni pripovijedni okvir najavljuje zaplet koji se nazire unutar praiskonske priče. U tom smislu, Ismail Haqqi, klasični mufesir sufijske provenijencije, ističe da je otvorena i poliperspektivna diskusija (polilog kao *al-mushawara*) jedna od najvažnijih pouka u priči o stvaranju prvog čovjeka. Haqqi to definiše kao *ta’lim al-mušawara qabl an yuqaddimu ‘alayha*¹⁰ ili „pouku o zajedničkom savjetovanju prije nego što se pređe na realizaciju budućih planova”. Nadalje, u tumačenju fenomena *mušavare* u ajetu o stvaranju Adema, a. s., Haqqi citira odlomak iz Rumijijeve *Mesnevi*e. Ova intertekstualna poveznica aludira i na Rumijevu svijest o važnosti poliperspektivnosti u promišljanju o budućnosti.

Kur’anska pripovijest dalje se razvija, zadržavajući budućnost kao svoj središnji motiv. Nakon što Adem demonstrira svoje znanje, Bog naređuje melekima da mu iskažu poštovanje – što je naredba kojoj se pokoravaju svi osim šejtana. Priča o šejtanovoj prkosnosti i drskosti dobro je dokumentovana u tefsirskoj literaturi. Međutim, izostavljen je ili zanemaren jedan ključan detalj. Riječ je o činjenici da pojava Iblisa produbljuje narativ o budućnostima. Uvođenje šejtana nudi dodatnu perspektivu diskursa o budućnosti, usložnjava uspostavljeni polilog te naglašava mnoštvo potencijalnih puteva i etičkih dimenzija koje će oblikovati čovjekov budući hod kroz svijet kao što vidimo u suri Bedemi (7: 11–17).

Mi smo Adema stvorili i onda mu oblik dali, a poslije melekima rekli: ”Poklonite mu se!” – i oni su se poklonili, osim Iblisa, on se nije htio pokloniti. ”Zašto se nisi poklonio kad sam ti naredio?” – upita On. – ”Ja sam bolji od njega; mene si od vatre stvorio, a njega od ilovače” – odgovori on. ”E onda izlazi iz Dženneta” – reče On – ”ne priliči ti da u njemu prkosiš; izlazi, ti si, zaista, od onih prezrenih!” ”Daj mi vremena do Dana njihova oživljenja!” – zamoli on. ”Daje ti se vremena!” – reče On. ”E zato što si odredio pa sam u zabludu pao” – reče – ”kunem se da ću ih na Tvom Pravom putu presretati, pa ću im sprijeda, i straga, i zdesna i slijeva prilaziti, i Ti ćeš ustanoviti da većina njih neće zahvalna biti!”

Iblis stupa na pozornicu praiskonska osporavajući božansku viziju budućnosti, odnosno neprihvatanjem čovjeka kao budućeg namjesnika na zemlji. Umjesto toga, nudi alternativnu viziju u kojoj sebe postavlja u središte svekolikog značaja:

9 Dostupno na: <https://ziauddinsardar.com/latest/polylogues-connecting-minds-create-future>.

10 Dostupno na: <https://www.altafisir.com/Tafasir.asp?tMadhNo=0&tTafsirNo=36&tSoraNo=2&tAyahNo=30&tDisplay=yes&Page=2&Size=1&LanguageId=1>. pristupljeno 7. 7. 2024.

Ja sam bolji od njega: Mene si stvorio od vatre, a njega od ilovače. Ova arogantna i narcisoidna vizija budućnosti uzrokuje Božiji prijekor i osudu. Ipak, Iblis ostaje nepokolebljiv u svojoj potrazi za „boljom budućnošću” prema vlastitim pravilima. Zbog toga on traži da mu kazna bude odgođena, u čemu na kraju uspijeva. Kada mu je podarena odgoda, Iblis otkriva svoju vlastitu viziju budućnosti – viziju usmjerenu protiv čovječanstva, bića obdarenog znanjem i sposobnošću imenovanja odnosno oblikovanja svijeta.

U svojoj viziji budućnosti, Iblis prezentira svoju strategiju, iznosi scenarije i čak identifikuje ”geografiju” svojih poteza, oblikujući detaljan plan usmjeren na podrivanje čovječanstva. Dakle, dio pripovijesti u kojem se u nebeski polilog uključuje „pali anđeo” ne prikazuje Iblisa samo kao prkosnu figuru, već i kao arhitektu alternativne, neprijateljske budućnosti, čime se intenzivira kosmička dijalektika sukobljenih diskursa budućnosti unutar kur'anske vizije. Kako al-Tabari u svom tefsiru *Džami' al-bayan 'an táwil al-Qur'an* navodi, Iblisovi scenariji budućnosti za čovjeka uključuju razne „prepreke, obmane i zablude”.¹¹ Ibn Kesir pak u djelu *Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Azim* tvrdi da Iblisova vizija budućnosti podrazumijeva plan prema kojem čovjek treba odustati od aktivne borbe za promjenu, hidžru i druge akcije koje osiguravaju njegovu preferiranu budućnost (Iblisobe riječi: *Kunem se da ću ih na Tvom Pravom putu presretati*).¹²

Iblis otkriva svoju namjeru da se konfrontira s čovječanstvom iz svih mogućih pravaca (*sprijeda, straga, s desne i s lijeve strane*). Ključna meta njegovog budućeg utjecaja krije se u moralnoj korupciji. Nečastivi nastoji da nezahvalnost (*kufr*) postane dominantna odlika čovjeka, a ne nastojanje da ostvari svoj božanski potencijal (*ruh*) i oslobodi svoje urođene sposobnosti (*tasmiyya*). Kur'an opisuje različite metode putem kojih će Iblis sprovesti svoju agendu budućnosti. Pritom, on obznanjuje nepokolebljivu predanost da ostvari svoju viziju budućnosti te skoro potpuno ostvari moralnu propast čovječanstva: (...) *Ja ću njima na Zemlji poroke lijepim predstaviti i potruditi ću se da ih sve zavedem, osim među njima Tvojih robova iskrenih* (15: 39, 40).

Analizirana pripovijest dostiže svoj vrhunac kada Iblis detaljno otkrije svoju viziju budućnosti. Potom polilog prestaje i zavjese se spuštaju na scenu praiskona. Ovako se okončava prva kur'anska priča usredotočena na budućnosti. Ona je otkrila arhetipski kosmički sukob koji pred čovječanstvo postavlja različite putove budućnosti i egzistencijalne izbora.

Analizirana pripovijest naglašava nekoliko ključnih elemenata: budućnost kao dominantnu temu, intrinzičnu povezanost između promišljanja usmjerenog

11 Dostupno na: <https://www.altafisir.com/Tafasir.asp?tMadhNo=0&tTafsirNo=1&tSoraNo=7&tAyahNo=16&tDisplay=yes&UserProfile=0&LanguageId=1>, pristupljeno 11. 8. 2024.

12 Dostupno na: <https://www.altafisir.com/Tafasir.asp?tMadhNo=0&tTafsirNo=7&tSoraNo=7&tAyahNo=16&tDisplay=yes&UserProfile=0&LanguageId=1>, pristupljeno 2. 9. 2024.

na budućnost i znanja (*ilm*), značaj poliloga kroz pluralističke i otvorene diskurse te, konačno, istraživanje raznovrsnih scenarija i alternativnih budućnosti – čak i kada je riječ o arhetipskim neprijateljima. Unutar kur'anske egzegeze široko je prihvaćeno mišljenje da svaki detalj u Tekstu sadrži značajnu vrijednost. U tom kontekstu, ako prva kur'anska priča koja govori o genezi čovječanstva naglašeno stavlja budućnost u prvi plan, moramo se zapitati: Zar to ne implicira suštinsku ulogu vizija budućnosti u temeljnim narativima čovjeka/vjernika i njegove zajednice?

Štaviše, ovaj naglasak na budućnosti nije ograničen samo na jednu priču. Kur'an se opetovano bavi alternativnim budućnostima čovječanstva, što se ilustrira ajetima koji predviđaju potencijalno nova bića u suri Stvoritelj (35: 15–17):

O ljudi, vi ste siromasi, vi trebate Allaha, a Allah je nezavisan i hvale dostojan. Ako hoće, uklonit će vas i nova stvorenja dovesti, to Allahu nije teško.

Ukazivanje na moguće budućnosti predstavlja paradigmu u kojoj su promišljanje o sutrašnjici i potencijalnim odredištima ljudske sudbine neodvojivi od kur'anskog učenja.

Evo još jednog primjera iz sure Ibrahim (14: 19–20):

Zar ne vidiš da je Allah mudro nebesa i Zemlju stvorio? Ako htjedne, vas će udaljiti i nova stvorenja dovesti; to Allahu nije teško.

Nadalje, u Kur'anu postoji cijela sura potpuno posvećena budućnosti pod nazivom Ono što dolazi (*al-Wāqī'a*), koja postavlja veoma intrigantno pitanje (56: 60–62):

Mi određujemo kada će ko od vas umrijeti, i niko nas ne može spriječiti da likove vaše izmijenimo i da vas iznova u likovima koje vi ne poznajete stvorimo. Poznato vam je kako ste prvi put stvoreni, pa zašto se ne urazumite?

Kur'an nas suptilno izaziva da nadilazimo površna razumijevanja te nadahnjuje na dublja promišljanja i, kao konačni tekst o budućnostima, Kur'an nas poziva na razvijanje širokih scenarija i vizija budućnosti, podstičući propitivanja bližih i daljih obzorja našega svijeta. Sve to dodatno je osnaženo brojnim scenarijima unutar samog Kur'ana, od kojih je svaki pomno konstruiran kako bi inspirirao sistematski i detaljan angažman oko potencijalnih budućnosti. Sura Mjesec ponavlja ovaj poziv u četiri ajeta (54: 17, 22, 32, 40), izjavljujući da je Kur'an „učinjen lahkim za razumijevanje” i znakovito propituje: *Pa ima li ikoga ko bi pouku primio?!*

Da bi se Kur'an razumio duboko i smisljeno, potrebno je obratiti posebnu pažnju na njegove nijansirane, jezgrovite scenarije, koji djeluju kao snažna metoda za vizioniranje alternativnih budućnosti i promišljanje etičkih i egzistencijalnih puteva dostupnih čovječanstvu.

Scenariji: pokretačke snage kur'anske imaginacije

Reci: "Šta mislite, ako je Kur'an od Allaha, a vi u njega
nećete da vjerujete – ko je onda u većoj zabludi od onoga
koji je u protivrječu dalekom od istine?"
(41: 52)

Kur'anski ajeti funkcioniraju kao putokazi okviri za vjernike dajući im sposobnost orijentacije u svakodnevnim izazovima. Kao što je kazano, brojni ajeti nude raznovrsne opise mogućih budućnosti u bližoj ili daljoj vremenskoj perspektivi. Takvi opisi općenito se nazivaju scenarijem. To je još jedan ključan pojam u polju studija budućnosti. Godet smatra da je scenarij „deskripcija neke buduće situacije”¹³, dok je za Steinmüllera to “analitički instrument i *kolektivni proces učenja*”.¹⁴ Sardar opisuje scenarije kao „pretpostavljene slijedove budućih razvoja događaja” ili „kratke priče o mogućnostima budućnosti”.¹⁵ Masini pak primjećuje da su scenariji u suštini „neka vrsta pokušaja da se počne boriti sa složenostima dinamičnih promjena, odnosno visokih razmjera neizvjesnosti”.¹⁶

Kur'anski scenariji nerijetko su vezani za životne situacije raznih poslanika i drugih uzornih ličnosti. S druge strane postoje i scenariji koji imaju trajni karakter, neograničeni bilo kojim specifičnim vremenskim kontekstom. U Kur'anu ovi scenariji usmjereni na budućnost često počinju izrazom *možda (asā)*, označavajući potencijalnost i alternativne puteve. U ovom radu ilustrirat ćemo tek nekoliko primjera kur'anskih scenarija.

Prvi scenario proizlazi iz pripovijesti o Musau, jednoj od ključnih ličnosti u Kur'anu, i fokusira se na temu od izuzetnog značaja. Musaov narod, pogođen nevoljama i ugnjetavanjem, bio je prepušten osjećaju nemoći i nepromjenjivosti sudbine. Istovremeno se nisu odazivali Musaovom pozivu da povrate svoju slobodu, djelotvornost i dostojanstvo izjavljujući: *"Zlostavljani smo" – rekoše oni – "prije nego što si nam došao, a i nakon što si nam došao!"* (7: 129) U svome odgovoru, Musa preusmjerava fokus s njihove trenutne, nepovoljne situacije i poziva ih da zamisle buduće vrijeme, nudeći im „slike mogućih alternativnih budućnosti” (scenarije), što bi moglo promijeniti njihovu mentalnu i imaginativnu perspektivu. On im predstavlja viziju potencijalne budućnosti sljedećim riječima: *Možda će Gospodar vaš uništiti vašeg neprijatelja i učiniti vas namjesnicima na Zemlji, da bi vidio kako ćete postupati* (7: 129). Na ovaj način Musa potiče svoj narod da razmotri budućnosti izvan svojih neposrednih okolnosti, razvijajući

13 Michel Godet, *Scenarios and Strategic Management* (London: Butterworth, 1987), str. 21.

14 Roman Peperhove, Karlheinz Steinmüller i Hans-Liudger Dienel (ur.) *Envisioning Uncertain Futures Scenarios as a Tool in Security, Privacy and Mobility Research* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2018), str. 33.

15 Sardar, *Future: All That Matters*, str. 72.

16 Eleonora Barbieri Masini, *Why Futures Studies?* (London: Grey Seal, 1994), str. 92.

svijest usmjerenu ka transformativnim mogućnostima i inicirajući proaktivno sudjelovanje u oblikovanju vremena koje dolazi.

Musa je u Kur'anu prikazan prvenstveno kao vizionar i pokretač transformativnih budućnosti. Ovu osobinu dijeli s drugim poslanicima i odabranim ličnostima u Kur'anu. U konkretnom primjeru on podstiče svoju zajednicu da ne percipira isključivo prijetnje u svojoj okolini, nego da aktivno traži i prepoznaje nove prilike. Prevažilazeći ograničenu i neposrednu perspektivu (*al-dunya*), Musa poziva na pogled usmjeren ka budućnosti, podstičući proaktivno djelovanje ka kolektivnoj viziji (*al-ahira*).

Navedni scenarij izuzetno je širok i dalekosežan. Zajednica u krizi nije samo pozvana da preusmjeri svoj fokus i zamisli poželjnu budućnost, već joj je upućeno dublje pitanje: „Jeste li spremni preuzeti odgovornosti i djelovanja koja će biti potrebna kada ta vizija bude ostvarena?“ Ovo pitanje odjekuje u završnom dijelu ajeta, u kojem se naglašava *da će Allah zasigurno posmatrati kako ćete postupati* (nakon pobjede ili ostvarenog cilja).

Kur'ansko naglašavanje scenarija budućnosti u ovom ajetu svakako bi trebalo motivirati (savremene) muslimanske zajednice na duboko (samo)propitivanje. Da li te zajednice posjeduju koherentnu viziju, strateške programe i primjenjive scenarije za strukturiranje društva općeg dobra? Kako će muslimanske zajednice ostvariti obavezu pravednog društva blagostanja (*hajrul umma*) ukoliko ili kada dostignu poziciju globalnog utjecaja u prilikama raširenog haosa i neizvjesnosti? Odgovore na navedena pitanja može artikulirati samo zajednica svjesna potencijalnih scenarija budućnosti, spremna na neočekivane promjene i u potpunosti posvećena ostvarivanju vizije univerzalne pravde.

Al-Zamahšari u svom djelu *al-Kaššaf* ističe optimistički potencijal ovog kur'anskog scenarija (*tasreeh bima ramaza ilayh min al-bashshara*). Štaviše, al-Zamahšari bilježi slučaj kada je Amr Ibn Ubejda proučio analizirani ajet drugom abasijskom halifi, al-Mansuru (714–775), pitajući ga da li je pripremio plan za ono što će učiniti nakon što stekne vlast.¹⁷ Nadalje, tumačeći ovaj ajet, al-Tabari naglašava pitanje „sistematske i pravovremene“ pripreme za buduće izazove upravljanja (*ma ta'malun ba'dahum min masaratikum*).¹⁸ S druge strane, al-Qurtubi navodi da jezička forma koja u ovom kontekstu sugerira scenarij (*asā*) nije samo puka vjerovatnoća ili mogućnost, već „obaveza (*vadžib*) koja obnavlja Božije obećanje (o slobodi Musaovog naroda)“.¹⁹ Ovaj andaluzijski učenjak, kroz scenarij poželjne budućnosti, otkriva refleksiju praiskonskog zakona o pravu na

17 Dostupno na: <https://www.altafsir.com/Tafasir.asp?tMadhNo=0&tTafsirNo=2&tSoraNo=7&tAyahNo=129&tDisplay=yes&UserProfile=0&LanguageId=1>. pristupljeno 14. 7. 2024.

18 Dostupno na: <https://www.altafsir.com/Tafasir.asp?tMadhNo=0&tTafsirNo=1&tSoraNo=7&tAyahNo=129&tDisplay=yes&UserProfile=0&LanguageId=1>. pristupljeno 3. 9. 2024.

19 Dostupno na: <https://www.altafsir.com/Tafasir.asp?tMadhNo=0&tTafsirNo=5&tSoraNo=7&tAyahNo=129&tDisplay=yes&UserProfile=0&LanguageId=1>. pristupljeno 17. 9. 2024.

slobodu svih ljudi. Slično tome, al-Razi, oslanjajući se na al-Zužadža, ukazuje na ulogu ljudske proaktivnosti u budućim scenarijima (*ma yaq'a minhum*).²⁰

Navedeni citati klasičnih mufesira sugeriraju da promišljanje i projektovanje optimističkih scenarija budućnosti ima dodatne etičke i pragmatične vrijednosti osim puke pripremljenosti za nadolazeće izazove. U pitanju je snaga scenarija da stvara pozitivnu sliku o sebi. Samopoimanje je ključni doživljaj vlastitoga identiteta koji obuhvata percepciju sopstvenih sposobnosti, karakteristika ponašanja i društvenih uloga. Samopoimanje se ne odnosi samo na ove spoznaje, već i na njihovo vrednovanje, koje se izražava kroz samopoštovanje te određuje putove budućih odluka.²¹ Ovakvu percepcija slika o budućnosti Barbieri Masini definira kao „samomijenjajući scenarij“ koji, kako ova autorica objašnjava, „proizvodi posljedice koje mijenjaju stvarnost u kojoj djeluje“.²²

Scenariji koje Musa predstavlja svojoj zajednici mogu se klasifikovati kao *samoostvarujuć*, jer projiciraju snažnu orijentaciju ka uspjehu i ostvaruju „efekat unaprijed predloženog cilja“. Nasuprot tome, stav Musaeve zajednice predstavlja primjer *samoporažavajućeg pristupa*, gdje njihova nespremnost za promišljanje (drugačije) budućnosti vodi do trenutnih i dalekosežnih negativnih posljedica. Ovaj poražavajući stav, koji proizlazi iz rigidnog pridržavanja privremenog i statičnog sadašnjeg trenutka (*al-dunya*), dostiže svoj vrhunac u drugoj epizodi iz Musaevog života. Riječ je o trenutku kada se Musaevo narod nalazi pred ostvarenjem dugo sanjanog cilja. To je dolazak u Svetu zemlju.

A kada Musa reče narodu svome: ”O narode moj, sjetite se Allahove blagodati prema vama kada je neke od vas vjerovjesnicima učinio, a mnoge kraljevima, i dao vam ono što nijednom narodu nije dao; o narode moj, uđite u Svetu zemlju, koju vam je Allah dodijelio, i ne uzmičite nazad, pa da se vratite izgubljeni (5: 20–21).

Međutim, Musaevo narod opet odustaje od borbe za svoju budućnost i lakomo izjavljuje: *O Musa, u njoj je nemilosrdan narod i mi u nju nećemo ući dok god oni iz nje ne iziđu; pa ako oni iz nje iziđu, mi ćemo onda, sigurno, ući* (5: 22). Asad minuciozno primjećuje da je, „prema većini mufessira (npr. Taberi, Zemahšeri, Rāzī) ‘kraljevstvo’ Izraelaca metaforička aluzija na njihovu slobodu i nezavisnost nakon njihovog egipatskog ropstva, pa je izraz ‘kralj’ ovdje ekvivalent za ‘slobodnog čovjeka koji je gospodar svojih poslova’ (Menar, VI, 323 i dalje) i može, prema

20 Dostupno na: <https://www.altafsir.com/Tafasir.asp?tMadhNo=0&tTafsirNo=4&tSoraNo=7&tAyahNo=129&tDisplay=yes&UserProfile=0&LanguageId=1>. pristupljeno 22. 8. 2024.

21 Opširnije o temi slike o sebi i samopoimanja: Morris Rosenberg, *Conceiving the Self* (New York: Basic Books, 1979); M. S. Ryeng, J. Kroger i M. Martinussen, „Identity status and self-esteem: A meta-analysis“, *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 13:3 (2013), str. 201-213. R. W. Tafarodi i W. B. Swann Jr., „Self-liking and self-competence as dimensions of global self-esteem: initial validation of a measure“, *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 65:2 (1995), str. 322–342.

22 Masini, *Why Future Studies*, str. 47.

tome, usvojiti bilo koji način života po svom izboru”.²³ Kulminacija defetizma Musaovog naroda ogleda se u njihovom konačnom stavu: *Idi ti i tvoj Gospodar i borite se, mi ćemo ovdje ostati* (5: 24).

U kontekstu ove analize, izraz Sveta zemlja korespondira s pojmom „preferirane budućnosti” kao ultimativnog odredišta i sukusa vlastitoga svjetonazora. Stav Musaovog naroda može se definirati kao *samoporažavajuća* percepcija budućnosti prema kojoj se ultimativni cilj/poželjna sutrašnjica radije ostavlja koloniziranom, dok se istovremeno odustaje od svake pomisli na proaktivno djelovanje. Pitanje budućnosti nerijetko je jednostavno: ili ćete se za nju izboriti ili će je neko drugi osvojiti/kolonizirati. U tom smislu, Sardar napominje kako „budućnost nije imuna na kolonizaciju. Iako nam srednjoročna budućnost nudi obilje alternativa, ona ostaje prostor sukoba. Pogledi na alternativne budućnosti jednako su raznoliki kao i samo čovječanstvo.”²⁴ Nažalost, većina stavova unutar današnje muslimanske zajednice tužno liči ponašanju Musaovog naroda, koji je često odabrao tragičnu sadašnjost umjesto suočavanja s izazovnim budućnostima. Odnos prema budućnosti, nekada i danas, najčešće predstavlja vododijelnica koja nas smješta u: porobljene ili oslobođioce.

Kur’an nudi barem dva dodatna scenarija slična prethodnom: *Reci: Možda je blizu nešto od onoga što želite ubrzati* (27: 72) i *Možda će Allah zaustaviti silu onih koji ne vjeruju* (4: 84). Ovi ajeti pozivaju vjernike da promišljaju o spektru potencijalnih budućnosti – nepredvidivih, poželjnih, neočekivanih, a ponekad i neslućenih. Pažljivo čitanje ovih ajeta otkriva složenu narativnu tehniku koja postavlja ključna pitanja za introspektivno razmišljanje. U prvom i trećem ajetu scenarij je djelomično naznačen, kao da Bog podstiče pitanja: Šta bi uslijedilo ako bi sve vaše želje i molitve bile uslišane bez vašeg aktivnog doprinosa? Jeste li zamislili kako biste upravljali ili utjecali na svijet? Jeste li razmotrili posljedice i pripremili se za budućnost koju priželjkujete? Slično, drugi ajet propituje: Šta ćete učiniti ako se „ono što priželjkujete” zaista ostvari? Jeste li spremni za taj ishod? Fraza „ono što priželjkujete” može označavati i optimistički i pesimistički scenarij, povoljan ili nepovoljan. Tako kur’anski tekst potiče promišljenu introspekciju, pozivajući vjernike da kritički preispitaju svoje težnje za budućnošću i pripreme se za čitav spektar mogućih ishoda.

Sada ću razmotriti jedan sasvim drugačiji kur’anski scenarij. Ovaj se scenarij odnosi na ekologiju, brigu čovjeka za Zemlju, klimatske promjene i planetarne

23 Muhammed Asad, *Poruka Kur’ana* (Sarajevo: IC El-Kalem, 2004), str. 142.

24 Sardar, *Future: All That Matters*, str. 23. O konceptu koloniziranih budućnosti pogledati još u: Ian G. R. Shaw i Marv Waterstone, *Wageless Life: A Manifesto for a Future beyond Capitalism* (The University of Minnesota Press, 2019); Jim Dator, “De-Colonizing The Future”, *Journal of Futures Studies*, 9:3 (February 2005), str. 93-104.

transformacije. Suvišno je govorito koliki je značaj ovih pitanja. U posljednjem ajetu sure al-Mulk (Vlast) istaknuto je:

Reci: Šta mislite, ako bi sva vaša voda nestala duboko u zemlju, ko bi vam mogao donijeti tekuću vodu? (67: 30).

Tumačenja ovog ajeta u pravilu naglašavaju Božiju svemoć kao centralni motiv. Međutim, ne iscrpljuju se svi kolopleti značenja u, vjerniku općepoznatoj, činjenici o Božijoj apsolutnoj snazi. Ovaj jezgroviti kur'anski scenarij poziva vjernike na duboko promišljanje o potencijalnoj situaciji u kojoj će se postotak tekuće vode rapidno smanjiti. Ova nam rečenica, danas, zvuči poznato, zar ne? Naime, svijet se u takvoj situaciji nalazi već desetljećima. Program Ujedinjenih naroda za okolinu (UNEP) podsjeća nas da „ekosistemi koji opskrbljuju čovječanstvo slatkom vodom nestaju alarmantnom brzinom.”²⁵ Močvare, tresetišta, šumoviti slivovi, jezera, rijeke i podzemne vode stradavaju uslijed klimatskih promjena, prekomjerne eksploatacije i zagađenja. UNICEF redovno objavljuje precizne podatke, navodeći da „više od dvije milijarde ljudi živi u zemljama gdje je snabdijevanje vodom neadekvatno. Nadalje, polovica svjetske populacije mogla bi živjeti u područjima s nedostatkom vode već do 2025. godine.”²⁶ Zaključak je da već generacijski osjećamo „samopromjenu”²⁷ citiranog kur'anskog scenarija. Da paradoks bude potpuniji, većina muslimanskih društava pogođena je oskudicom vode.

Najugroženije regije jesu Bliski istok i zapadna Azija, uključujući, ali ne ograničavajući se na Saudijsku Arabiju, Ujedinjene Arapske Emirate, Katar i Oman. Navedeni prostor jedno je od najsušnijih područja svijeta, s udjelom od samo jedan posto obnovljivih slatkovodnih resursa na globalnom nivou.²⁸

Sukladno svemu navedenom, nameću se pitanja: Imaju li muslimanska društva scenarije o budućnosti vode, čak i u ovim kritičnim trenucima kada nedostatak vode prijeti njihovom opstanku? Jesu li odgovorili na pitanje o budućnosti koje im je Bog postavio u Kur'anu prije četrnaest stoljeća, na kraju sure sa simboličnim nazivom Vlast? Da li je za opstanak na ovome svijetu dovoljno utvrditi da samo Bog može sve?

25 Dostupno na: <https://www.unep.org/news-and-stories/story/global-water-shortages-are-looming-here-what-can-be-done-about-them>. pristupljeno 5. 9. 2024.

26 Dostupno na: <https://www.unicef.org/wash/water-scarcity>. pristupljeno 5. 9. 2024.

27 Ranije spominjani pojam Eleonore Beribieri Masini: *self-alterity*.

28 Syeda Mariya Absar, „The Future of Water Resource Management in the Muslim World“, *Journal of Futures Studies*, vol. 17 (2013), str. 3. Također pogledati „Water crisis and security threats facing the Islamic world (With West Asian focus)“, u M. R. Dehshiri, Z. Bahrami, *The Fundamental and Applied Studies of the Islamic World*, 1:1 (2019), str. 54-80; Lisdey Espinoza Pedraza i Markus Heinrich, *Water Scarcity: Cooperation or Conflict in the Middle East and North Africa?* (2016). Dostupno na: <https://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2016/09/02/water-scarcity-cooperati-on-or-conflict-in-the-middle-east-and-north-africa/>; Ghazi Ismail Rababa'a, „Water Conflict in the Middle East“, *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 2:21 (2012).

Duboko zabrinut zbog ovog i sličnih scenarija, poslanik Muhammed, a. s., pridavao je veliku pažnju racionalnoj potrošnji vode, čak i prilikom uzimanja abdesta.²⁹ U raznim prilikama upozoravao je svoje ashabe da „ne rasipaju vodu, čak i kada su pored tekućeg potoka”.³⁰

U klasičnom razdoblju islama muslimani su bili svjesni ovih scenarija. Primjer je al-Razijevo tumačenje prema kojem spomenuti ajet nastoji probuditi „odgovornost za blagodati” (*iqrar bi al-ni‘am*),³¹ upozoriti na relativnost brojnih dobara, posebno tekuće vode, te na kraju potaknuti razmatranje budućnosti ovog pitanja i pripremu za mogući odgovor. Razrada ovog kur’anskog scenarija posredno je ostvarena kroz rad brojnih muslimanskih učenjaka, poput al-Džezzerija iz 12. stoljeća, koji je razvio dvostruku usisnu pumpu i uređaje za podizanje vode, ili Takija al-Dina iz 16. stoljeća i njegove šestocilindrične vodene pumpe. Marwan Haddad analizira inspirativni doprinos učenjaka i inženjera poput „al-Džezzerija, al-Muradija, al-Kindija, al-Birunija, Banu-Muse, Ibn Wahšije, al-Haradžija, Ibn al-‘Avvama, Ibn Bessala i drugih (...) koji su razvijali novo, kreativno i inovativno znanje o upravljanju vodnim resursima”.³² Njihovo poznavanje kur’anskih scenarija, nastojanja da ponude odgovor na Božija poticajna pitanja i, prije svega, njihovo sistematsko razmišljanje o budućnosti i danas su nenadmašni.

Na kraju, treba spomenuti da pored scenarija vezanih za (ne)mogućnost društvene promjene na konkretnom historijskom primjeru (Musaov narod), te scenarija vezanih za planetarne izvore života, Kur’an predstavlja scenarije koji se doimaju mnogostrukom složenim. Studije budućnosti takve predodžbe budućnosti nazivaju *nemišljenim* budućnostima odnosno obzorima čiste mogućnosti.³³ „Nemišljene budućnosti nisu nezamislive, nego su više horizont gdje nešto uvijek ostaje *nemišljeno*, što znači da ga čine naizgled beskonačne alternativne budućnosti – a za svaku je potreban poseban polilog kako bi se počele istraživati različite perspektive koje ih okružuju.”³⁴ Ovakva vrsta scenarija podriva osjećaje samodovoljnosti i samopropisanu moralnu nadmoć određenih zajednica i pojedinaca. Ilustrativni primjer nemišljenih kur’anskih scenarija nalazimo u suri Ono što dolazi (al-Waqia):

29 *Sabih al-Bukhari*, knjiga 3, hadis 85.

30 Ahmedov *Musnad*, 7065.

31 Dostupno na: <https://www.altafisir.com/Tafasir.asp?tMadhNo=0&tTafsirNo=4&tSoraNo=67&tAyahNo=1&tDisplay=yes&UserProfile=0&LanguageId=1>, pristupljeno 25. 8. 2024.

32 Marwan Haddad, *Flowing Through History: Water Management in Muslim Civilization*, dostupno na: <https://muslimheritage.com/water-management/>.

33 Opširnije o nemišljenim budućnostima pogledati (*Unthought Futures*) u: Elizabeth Grosz, “Thinking the New: Of Futures Yet Unthought”, *Symploke*, 6:1/2 (1998), University of Nebraska Press, 38-55; Kelly Freebody i Michael Finneran, *Imagining and Acting in the Extended Present for Unthought Futures* (UK: Routledge, 2021).

34 Ziauddin Sardar i John Sweeney, “Tri sutrašnjice postnormalnih vremena”, u *Postnormalna vremena: Čitanka*, Ziauddin Sardar (ur.) (Sarajevo: CNS, 2021).

Mi određujemo kada će ko od vas umrijeti, i niko nas ne može spriječiti da likove vaše izmijenimo i da vas iznova u likovima koje vi ne poznajete stvorimo (56: 60–61).

Na prvi pogled, ovaj ajet može izgledati kao distopijska transformacija koja podsjeća na scenarij iz naučno-fantastične serije *Westworld*. Međutim, suština poruke jasna je: vjernici nemaju ekskluzivno pravo na Božiju naklonost; mogu biti uklonjeni iz budućnosti ako Bog tako odredi. Međutim, ovaj potencijalni ishod uvjetovan je njihovim vlastitim djelovanjem, izborima i sposobnošću da aktivno oblikuju svoje budućnosti. Slične scenarije nalazimo i u surama Pokajanje (9: 39) i Muhammed (47: 38).

Konačno, čini se da je zajednički naziv svih vrsta kur'anskih scenarija oličan u ključnom pitanju: Da li želimo biti objektom neminovnih probraženja ili smo spremni biti pokretačima transformativnih promjena? Drugačije kazano, možemo birati između proaktivnog pristupa vlastitoj budućnost (*islam*) ili ćemo prepustiti da je neko drugi oblikuje umjesto nas (*istislam*)?

Nužnost alternativa i hitnost promjena

To je zato što Allah neće lišiti blagostanja narod kome ga
je podario – sve dok se on sam ne promijeni
– a Allah sve čuje i sve zna. (8: 53)

Središnje pitanje svakog scenarija neosporno je vezano za koncept alternative ili promjene, stoga nije iznenađujuće što su ideje promjene i alternativnih puteva čest motiv u kur'anskom tekstu. Kur'an aktivno podstiče potragu za alternativama (... *a Allahova zemlja je prostrana...* 39: 10) te razvija svijest o stalnom toku promjena (*Ako vas je zadesila nevolja, već je narod imao sličnu prije vas; a takve dane Mi ljudima naizmjenično dajemo...* 3: 140). Ključni ajet vezan za značaj promjene nalazi se u suri Ar-Ra'd (Grom) i često se citira u muslimanskim zajednicama: (...) *Allah neće izmijeniti jedan narod dok on sam sebe ne izmijeni* (13: 11). Ovaj ajet naglašava centralnu ulogu transformativne promjene koja započinje na individualnom nivou. Ukratko, inicijacija promjene predstavljena je kao ljudska odgovornost ili promišljena odluka da se djeluje drugačije. Promjena, prema tome, postaje fundamentalni element bilo kakvog smislenog odnosa prema budućnosti.

U središtu svakog scenarija leži pitanje alternativa i transformacije, koje Kur'an jasno naglašava. Načelo samoinicirane promjene potcrtava recipročni odnos: kada pojedinac ili zajednica preuzmu obavezu unutrašnje transformacije,

Božanska se podrška aktivira. Pozitivno interpretiran, ovaj ajet može se razumjeti kao poziv na djelovanje: „budite pokretači promjena i Allah će biti uz vas“.

Ideja neprestane promjene predstavlja zaglavni kamen studija budućnosti, što se usko povezuje s konceptom proaktivnog usmjeravanja prema transformativnim ishodima.³⁵ Promjena u ovom kontekstu nije samo neizbježna pojava, već i dinamična sila koja definira puteve prema alternativnim budućnostima. Ona djeluje i kao pokretač inovacija i kao izazov kojim treba upravljati. Uloga promjene nadilazi pasivnu prilagodbu, ona zahtijeva namjernu intervenciju i aktivno oblikovanje kako bi bila usklađena s kolektivnim aspiracijama. To podrazumijeva prilagođavanje u našim trenutnim djelovanjima, modifikacije u svakodnevnim rutinama, preispitivanje društvenih normi i realokaciju društvenih prioriteta, a sve s ciljem stvaranja temelja za poželjne budućnosti. Promjena je osovina na kojoj se budućnosti grade, a njeno upravljanje zahtijeva učešće na svim nivoima društva. To naglašava značaj planiranja scenarija kao jedne od mnogih metodologija unutar šireg okvira upravljanja. Planiranje scenarija, međutim, nije cilj samo po sebi, već sredstvo za predviđanje, procjenu i utjecaj na višestruke putanje promjene koje definiraju obrise budućih mogućnosti. Prava, konstruktivna promjena zaživljava kada zajednice kolektivno definiraju svoje aspiracije, suočavaju se s izazovima i uključuju se u aktivnu manufakturu svoje budućnosti. Kur'anski tekst podržava proaktivni proces promjena, nastojeći pripremiti čovječanstvo za ono što ga čeka. Shodno tome, budućnost se redefinira i ne biva pasivna domena predviđanja, već arena namjernog djelovanja u kojoj upravljanje promjenama postaje sinonim za oblikovanje poželjnih sutrašnjica.

Kur'an kontinuirano promiče razmatranje alternativa kroz često isticanje ciklusa smjene dana i noći, svjetla i tame. Nadalje, u njemu se promovira načelo budnog predviđanja i dalekovidosti (*al-basira*, 12: 108, 75: 14). Kada su trenutne okolnosti nepovoljne, Kur'an implicitno pita: Kako možemo zamisliti i izgraditi bolju budućnost? Suprotno tome, čak i u vremenima blagostanja, Kur'an podstiče težnju ka izvrsnosti i stalnom napretku (67: 2). Riječ je o kur'anskoj etici *istiqame*, koja podrazumijeva istrajnu potragu/istraživanje (*idžtihad*) za najboljim rješenjima ili izvrsnošću (*ihsan*). Etika *istiqame* duboko prožima kur'anski tekst, koji pojedinca i zajednice ustrajno vodi ka trajnom promišljanju, adaptivnoj spremnosti i neprekidnoj težnji ka uzvišenijoj budućnosti.

U tom kontekstu ilustrativan je 97. ajet iz sure *Žene* (al-Nisa). On nam pruža upečatljivu sliku (eshatološke) budućnosti u kojoj meleki preispituju izgubljene duše, postavljajući pitanje: „*U kakvom ste stanju bili?*“ Duše odgovaraju: „*Bili smo potlačeni na ovoj zemlji*“, na što meleci odgovaraju: „*Zar Allahova zemlja nije bila dovoljno prostrana da se preselite na neko drugo mjesto?*“ (4: 97)

35 Elina Hiltunen, “Was it a wild card or just our blindness to gradual change?”, *Journal of Futures Studies*, 11:2 (November 2006), str. 61-74.

Ovaj izraziti prizor iz Kur'ana sadrži nekoliko dubokih poruka. Prvo, naglašava se pojam kosmičke polifonije – mnoštvo glasova i perspektiva u univerzumu – koja se proteže i na (eshatološke) budućnosti. Meleki, kao zamišljene figure na metafizičkom horizontu, prenose čitateljima bezvremensku istinu: ne postoji prihvatljivo opravdanje za odustajanje od vlastitih vizija budućnosti. Fraza „bili smo slabi i potlačeni“ (*mustad'afun*) nije valjan alibi u perspektivi odgovornosti za budućnost. Takav stav je ustvari tek signal, Datorovim riječima kazano, „da smo kolonizirani ondje gdje se s pravom nalazi 'posljednja granica': u budućnosti”.³⁶ Meleki nadalje ističu da je potencijal „prostranih alternativa Allahove zemlje“ (*ardullah*) za navigaciju ka poželjnim budućnostima i alternativama neograničen. Ovo je jasan poziv na proaktivno djelovanje i signal da su horizonti za akciju, djelovanje i transformaciju neizmjereno prostrani. Za vjernika, vizija usmjerena na budućnost treba služiti kao zvijezda vodilja, osvjetljavajući put naprijed i nadilazeći ograničenja koja nameću izazovne privremene okolnosti (*al-dunya*). Poruka ovog kur'anskog ajeta jasna je: fokus treba biti čvrsto usmjeren na vizioniranje budućnosti i nesebičnu težnju ka transcendentnoj budućnosti, umjesto sputanosti pred neposrednim i složenim stvarnostima sadašnjosti.

Odbacivanje neizbježnosti promjene i odustajanje od potrage za alternativama budućnosti predstavlja (fatalni) čin dobrovoljnog ulaska u stanje inercije. Nažalost, ovo predstavlja sliku brojnih pasiviziranih i desubjektiviziranih zajednica. Kur'an direktno izaziva samozadovoljstvo torpidnim stanjem (5: 104, 10: 78, 31: 21), upozoravajući na rigidnu privrženost naslijeđenim tradicijama kada one sprečavaju dalekovidost i prilagodljivost. Takva nepokolebljiva lojalnost tradiciji, lišena kritičkog propitivanja, usklađuje se sa šejtanskim strategijama stagnacije i nazadovanja. Kada se ljudima kaže: „*Slijedite ono što je Allah objavio*“, neki odgovaraju: „*Slijedit ćemo ono što smo zatekli kod naših predaka*.“ Kur'an kritikuje ovaj stav, postavljajući pitanje: „*Zar i onda kad ih šejtan poziva na patnju u ognju?!*“ (31: 21).

Kur'an neprestano potiče (re)orijentaciju ka budućnosti i takav je pristup prirodna brana od opasnosti slijepog tradicionalizma. Usmjerenost prema različitim budućnostima prožima kur'anska učenja, zastupajući prilagodljivost, refleksiju i anticipaciju kao ključne elemente vjere. Na kraju, kur'anska vizija dostiže svoj vrhunac u podsticanju vjernika na duboko promišljanje budućnosti, ne pristaje na „varljivi sjaj” naslijeđenih konvencija, koje najčešće ograničavaju ili sputavaju transformativni potencijal pojedinca i čitavih zajednica.

36 Jim Dator, "De-Colonizing The Future", *Journal of Futures Studies*, 9:3 (February 2005), str. 102.

Zaključak

Kur'an, kao neiscrpna riznica duhovnih i filozofskih učenja, pruža slojevite vizije budućnosti, koje nadilaze tradicionalne teološke interpretacije. U ovom radu razmotreni su ključni fenomeni koji ukazuju na značaj koncepta budućnosti u kur'anskom tekstu. Posebna pažnja posvećena je ključnim pripovijestima, poput priče o stvaranju Adema, u kojoj je istaknut pojam poliloga kao temeljnog principa u promišljanju budućnosti. Analizirani su brojni scenariji predstavljeni kroz kur'anske prizore mogućih budućnosti – od društvenih scenarija (Musaov narod), preko globalnih promjena (ajet o nestajanju vode iz sure Mulk), do naglašavanja ljudske agentnosti u procesu promjene kao ključnog faktora u (de) kolonizacije vlastitih budućnosti.

Riječ je samo o dijelu pojmovnog instrumentarija u Kur'anu koji ukazuje na važnost proaktivnog odnosa prema budućnostima. U drugom dijelu ovog istraživanja, koje predstavlja zaseban rad, osvjetlit će se izravne kur'anske naredbe o promišljanju Kur'ana,³⁷ semiotika orijentacije u Kur'anu te glavni kur'anski likovi kao nositelji vizija boljih budućnosti.

Povezujući narative o budućnosti s principima transformacije, odgovornosti i ljudske proaktivnosti, analizirani ajeti otkrivaju Kur'an kao tekst duboko usmjeren na kreiranje alternativa u kojima je budućnost dinamično polje izbora, a ne nepromjenjiva sudbina. Rad nastoji naglasiti važnost integracije kur'anskih učenja u savremena promišljanja i djelovanja, osnažujući zajednice za oblikovanje poželjnih budućnosti i premošćivanje izazova sadašnjosti. Konačno, nadam se da ova i slične vrste istraživanja mogu biti poticaj za nove teorijske pristupe kur'anskom univerzumu u kojima se argumentirano sučeljavaju i predočavaju različite interpretativne perspektive.

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37 O ovoj temi opširnije pogledati u: Mirza Sarajkić, „Futures in The Qur'an“, *Critical Muslim*, 29 (2019) (London: C. Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd.), str. 16-27.

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The Concepts of Futures in the Qur'an

Abstract

The Qur'an, as a timeless spiritual and intellectual guide, offers profound insights into the conceptualization of futures, transcending conventional theological interpretations. This paper examines Qur'anic visions of futures through the lens of futures studies, emphasizing its pluralistic and transformative scenarios, the power of Qur'anic narrations and (re) conceptualisation of the idea of change. By exploring eschatological dimensions and pragmatical guidance for ethical and preferable futures, the analysis reveals the Qur'an's role as a dynamic framework for envisioning and constructing a just and meaningful future. The study highlights the Qur'an's emphasis on human responsibility, proactive engagement, and adaptability, positioning it as a foundational text for future-oriented thought and action.

Key words: Qur'an, Tafsir, Futures Studies, Narrative, Scenario, Polylogue, Transformation, Responsibility

Perceived Parenting Style and the Mental Health of Adolescents in North Macedonia's Albanian Community

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Arta Xhelili

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Abstract

The family factor (i.e., parenting style) is among the most important factors affecting adolescents' development, in particular their mental health. This study investigates the relationship between perceived parenting styles and mental health among adolescents, through the mediating effects of gender, age, child order, family type, income and religious attachment. It then quantitatively evaluates perceptions regarding the prevalence of mental health disorders among adolescents in seven Albanian community secondary schools in North Macedonia's capital, Skopje. The results showed that authoritative parenting was the most common perceived style, followed by authoritarian and permissive parenting, and that mental health among adolescents was generally poor. Further, correlations were found between different parenting styles and particular aspects of mental health among Albanian adolescents in North Macedonia. It is hoped that the findings of this study will provide targeted guidance for the prevention of adolescent mental health problems.

Key words: parenting style, mental health, adolescents, family

Introduction

The World Health Organization (1979) defines mental health as:

...a state of well-being in which every individual realizes his or her potential, can withstand normal life stresses, work productively and fruitfully, and is able to contribute to his or her community.¹

This includes developing feelings, thoughts, behaviours and social skills, and the ability to experience independence, flexibility, vitality and a sense of belonging.

Good mental health is essential to learning, development and self-expression in children and young people. Adolescence is a vulnerable time in many people's lives, and can contain periods of great physical and mental turmoil in the quest for self-discovery, and in the face of new challenges and expectations. It is a period of intense physical, psychological and intellectual growth that can cause disorders in many adolescents. According to Kessler, this stage of development is associated with an increased risk of emerging mental health problems.²

Mental health problems among adolescents have increased, and now affect between 10 and 20 percent worldwide³. Numerous studies have examined the factors that have contributed to this, including the impact of family on adolescents' mental health, which has garnered significant attention for its essential role in overall adolescent development. A substantial body of research focuses on the role of family in the healthy development of adolescents. Wang, Peng, and Chi, for example, discovered that harmonious parent-child communication positively contributed to adolescents' development.⁴ Similarly, Skrove, Romundstad and Indredavik found that living with both parents and having a harmonious relationship with them was associated with a lower rate of mental disorders.⁵ A high level of family support was also associated with better general mental

1 World Health Organization, "Mental Health 2022", <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/mental-health-strengthening-our-response>, Accessed January 2024.

2 Ronald C. Kessler, Paul G. Amminger, Sergio Aguilar-Gaxiola, Jordi Alonso, Sing Lee, and Bedirhan Ustun, "Age of Onset of Mental Disorders: A Review of Recent Literature", *Current Opinion in Psychiatry*, 20: 4 (2007), pp. 359–64, <https://doi.org/10.1097/ycp.0b013e32816ebc8c>.

3 Collishaw Stephan, "Annual Research Review: Secular Trends in Child and Adolescent Mental Health", *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 56: 3 (2014), pp. 370-93, <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.12372>.

4 Qiuying Wang, Siya Peng, and Xinli Chi, "The Relationship Between Family Functioning and Internalizing Problems in Chinese Adolescents: A Moderated Mediation Model", *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12:1 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.644222>.

5 Marit Skrove, Pål Romundstad, and Marit S. Indredavik, "Resilience, Lifestyle and Symptoms of Anxiety and Depression in Adolescence: The Young-HUNT Study", *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 48: 3 (2012), pp. 407-16, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00127-012-0561-2>.

health.⁶ In contrast, living in an impaired and dysfunctional family was a key trigger for mental health issues such as anxiety, depression and withdrawal.⁷

From this perspective, parents and parenting style play a vital role in adolescents' development. Parenting styles are a set of practices that parents use to monitor and socialise with their children, and include discipline, supervision, maturity expectation, and willingness to confront a troublesome child. Previous studies have shown that these practices can significantly influence the mental health and academic, social, and emotional development of children and adolescents.⁸

Some research has suggested that parenting style might be associated with internal symptoms such as depression, anxiety, and somatic complaints, and external symptoms such as aggression and behavioural problems.⁹ There are, however, inconsistencies in the literature as a result of the different models used to understand parenting styles, and, potentially, because of cultural variability.

This study investigates the relationship between different parenting styles and adolescents' mental health. To narrow down this broad topic, we focused on four sub-scales: anxiety/insomnia, severe depression, somatic symptoms, and social dysfunction. We tested these sub-scales using The General Health Questionnaire – 28 (GHQ-28), which is a self-reporting questionnaire for psychological well-being (Goldberg & Hillier, 1979). The mediating effects of gender, age, child order, family type, income and religious devotion were also tested, and the perception of mental health disorders among teenagers residing

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- 6 Jo Inchley, Dorothy Currie, Taryn Young, *Growing up unequal: Gender and socioeconomic differences in young people's health and well-being. Health Behaviour in School-aged Children (HBSC) study: International Report from the 2013/2014 Survey* (Copenhagen: World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe, 2013).
 - 7 Emily G. Simpson, Anna Vannucci, and Christine McCauley Ohannessian, "Family Functioning and Adolescent Internalizing Symptoms: A Latent Profile Analysis", *Journal of Adolescence*, 64: 1 (2018), pp. 136-45, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2018.02.004>.
 - 8 Qiuying Wang et al. "The Relationship Between Family Functioning and Internalizing Problems in Chinese Adolescents: A Moderated Mediation Model", *Frontiers in psychology* vol. 12, 644222. 24 Mar. 2021, doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2021.644222. See also: Marit Skrove et al. "Resilience, lifestyle and symptoms of anxiety and depression in adolescence: the Young-HUNT study", *Social psychiatry and psychiatric epidemiology* vol. 48,3 (2013), pp. 407-16, doi:10.1007/s00127-012-0561-2. See also: Inchley, *Gender and socioeconomic differences in young people's health and well-being. Health Behaviour in School-aged Children (HBSC) study: International Report from the 2013/2014 Survey*. See also: Simpson, Vannucci and Ohannessian, "Family Functioning and Adolescent Internalizing Symptoms: A Latent Profile Analysis", *Journal of Adolescence*, pp.136-145.
 - 9 Simpson, Emily G. et al., "Family functioning and adolescent internalizing symptoms: A latent profile analysis". See also: Rebecca J. Scharf, Graham J. Scharf, and Annemarie Stroustrup. "Developmental Milestones", *Pediatrics in Review* 37: 1 (2016), pp. 25-38, <https://doi.org/10.1542/pir.2014-0103>. See also: Ann Polcari, Keren Rabi, Elizabeth Bolger, and Martin H. Teicher, "Parental Verbal Affection and Verbal Aggression in Childhood Differentially Influence Psychiatric Symptoms and Wellbeing in Young Adulthood", *Child Abuse & Neglect* 38: 1 (2013), pp. 91-102, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2013.10.003>. See also: Rivka Yahav, "The Relationship Between Children's and Adolescents' Perceptions of Parenting Style and Internal and External Symptoms", *Child Care Health and Development* 33:4 (2006), pp. 460-471, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2214.2006.00708.x>.

in Albanian-speaking municipalities in North Macedonia's capital Skopje were evaluated. The results of this study provide targeted guidance for the prevention of adolescent mental health problems.

Family and parenting styles

A family is a group of individuals united by blood, marriage, adoption, or other intimate ties. The family is the fundamental social unit of most societies, but its form and structure can vary widely, to include the biological family, extended family, stepfamily, and even groups of friends known informally as “framilies”. Various academic disciplines widely accept that family members influence each other's thoughts, feelings, and behaviours.

As a social group, the family unit performs certain traditional functions. Hendrick & Hendrick in international report for WHO assert that it fulfils biological, psychological and social functions; cultivates, increases, protects and provides psychosocial support; enables adaption to the culture in which the family lives; cultivates socio-cultural features and specifications and transfers them from generation to generation; and allows its members to develop their individual identity.¹⁰ A crucial function within the family is the role that parents perform. Parenting, or child rearing, refers to the intricacies of raising a child, and should promote and support the physical, emotional, social, spiritual and cognitive development of a child from infancy to adulthood.¹¹

The process of choosing a particular parenting style depends on several factors, including the specific situation, past parental experiences, and child age. The foundation of parenting rests on whether a parent sets high or low requirements, behaves with liability or irresponsibility, expresses love, care or rejection, and sets limits for permissibility or rigidity and control.¹² Many parents create their own parenting style by combining several factors. Over time, that style evolves in accordance with changes to the personality of the child, and the characteristics of developmental stages. Most often, parenting style mimics the one that parents were exposed to when they were children themselves. In other words, parents copy their parents' style when parenting their own children. Some

10 World Health Organization. Regional Office for Europe, “Growing up Unequal: Gender and Socioeconomic Differences in Young People's Health and Well-being” (2016), <https://iris.who.int/handle/10665/326320>, Accessed January 2024.

11 Jane B. Brooks, *The Process of Parenting* (New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2012).

12 Diana Baumrind, “The development of instrumental competence through socialization”, in *Minnesota symposia on child psychology Minneapolis*, A. Pick (Ed.) (University of Minnesota Press, 1973), pp. 3-46.

individuals reject this model, however, and create their own completely different style.

Parenting style can affect everything from a child's self-esteem and physical health to how they relate to others, and therefore plays a crucial role in supporting healthy development. The way a child is disciplined will influence them for the rest of their life.¹³

Baumrind identifies four main parenting styles: authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, and uninvolved or avoidant.¹⁴

The authoritarian parenting style (autocratic, strict) is a combination of emotional coolness and determined control. It is characterised by high demand and strict control on one hand, and insensitivity to children's needs on the other. This style is also known as totalitarian parenting because it refers to a restrictive and punitive parental relationship, in which the child is forced to follow the instructions and commitments of parents, with no room for open dialogue or questioning views. It is a super-dependent relationship in which the parent uses the power of authority to subdue the child, thereby limiting freedom of expression and the right to choose, discouraging individuality and impeding independence.¹⁵

Authoritarian parents are rigid, and tend to use threats and verbal (or even physical) punishment to discipline and teach obedience. They may also substitute punishment for discipline; i.e. Instead of teaching a child how to make better choices, they make them feel remorseful for their mistakes. Children who grow up with strict authoritarian parents tend to follow rules most of the time, but their obedience comes at a price¹⁶: these children are often uncooperative, and suffer from depression, low self-esteem, low levels of initiative, and difficulties making decisions in adulthood.¹⁷

The product of such parenting is socially incapable children who expect to be led, and do not know how to behave nor make independent decisions. These children will have a low level of prosocial behaviour, and do not show curiosity, creativity or independence. They also have low levels of confidence and self-

13 Xinwen Bi, Yiqun Yang, Hailei Li, Meiping Wang, et al., "Parenting Styles and Parent-Adolescent Relationships: The Mediating Roles of Behavioral Autonomy and Parental Authority", *Frontiers in Psychology* 9 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.02187>.

14 Diana Baumrind, "The Influence of Parenting Style on Adolescent Competence and Substance Use", *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 11:1 (1991), pp. 56-95, <https://doi.org/10.1177/02724316911111004>.

15 Diana Baumrind, "The Influence of Parenting Style on Adolescent Competence and Substance Use".

16 Joan Durrant and Ron Ensom, "Physical Punishment of Children: Lessons From 20 Years of Research." *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 184, 12:1 (2012), pp. 1373-1377, <https://doi.org/10.1503/cmaj.101314>.

17 Charles L. Whitfield, *Healing the child within: Discovery and recovery for adult children of dysfunctional families* (Deerfield Beach, FL: Health Communications, 1987). See also: Susan Forward, *Toxic parents* (New York: Bantam Books, 1989). See also: Baumrind, "The Influence of Parenting Style on Adolescent Competence and Substance Use". See also: Jerry J. Bigner, *Individual and family development: A life-span interdisciplinary approach* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994). See also: Charles Wenar, *Developmental psychopathology: From infancy through adolescence* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994).

confidence, and can tend towards aggression, self-destruction, and other forms of problematic behaviour. Baumrind, however, explains that in some cultures this kind of parenting can have positive results when it comes to forming a child's personality.¹⁸

The authoritative parenting style (democratic, balanced) is a combination of emotional warmth and determined control, and is the generally recommended form of parental behaviour. It is supported by research, and experts consider it the most developmentally healthy and effective parenting style. Studies have shown that children raised with authoritative parenting have better mental health.¹⁹ This style is characterised by a parent's consistent and responsible behaviour, which includes love, warmth, support and understanding, with clearly defined boundaries and rules of conduct, while respecting the needs and rights of the child according to age. Previous research has shown that emotionally responsive parenting styles that are democratic and involved in children's activities are positively linked to firm parental religious beliefs.²⁰

Authoritative parents are determined, but not strict or rigid. They develop active communication with their child, listen and explain, discipline with advice rather than punishment, use positive reinforcement to teach positive behaviour, and involve children in family decisions. Within a framework of control and restrictions, they promote the development of autonomy, creativity and freedom to make independent decisions, while setting high standards for mature behaviour.

The children of authoritative parents display high self-esteem and tend to be self-reliant, self-controlled, secure, popular, and inquisitive,²¹ and manifest fewer psychological and behavioural problems than those raised by authoritarian or permissive parents.²² Researchers have found children who have authoritative

18 Diana Baumrind, "The development of instrumental competence through socialization".

19 Fahimeh Rezaei Niaraki and Hassan Rahimi, "The impact of authoritative, permissive, and authoritarian behavior of parents on self-concept, psychological health, and life quality", *European Online Journal of Natural and Social Sciences*, 2:1(2013), pp. 78-85. See also Priyanka Bajaria, "A study on self-concept and parenting styles in adolescents with learning disabilities", *Indian Journal of Mental Health*, 2:3(2015), pp. 2072-276, <https://indianmentalhealth.com/pdf/2015/vol2-issue-3/A-study-on-self-concept-and-parenting-styles-in-adolescents-with-learning-disability.pdf>. See also Avidan Milevsky, Melissa Schlechter, Sarah Netter, and Danielle Keehn, "Maternal and paternal parenting styles in adolescents: Associations with self-esteem, depression, and life-satisfaction", *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 16:1(2007), pp. 39-47, doi: 10.1007/s10826-006-9066-5.

20 Paul D. Williams, William M. Hunter, Elisabeth Seyer, Stephen Sammut, and Matthew M. Breuninger, "Religious/spiritual struggles and perceived parenting style in a religious college-aged sample", *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, 22:5 (2019), doi:10.1080/13674676.2019.1629402.

21 John Bun, Peggy Louiselle, Misukanis, and Rebecca Mueller, "Effects of parental authoritarianism and authoritativeness of self-esteem", *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 14:2 (1988), pp. 271-282, doi: 10.1177/0146167288142006. See also Charles Wenar, *Developmental psychopathology: From infancy through adolescence* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994).

22 Susie Lamborn, Nina Mounts, Laurence Steinberg, and Sanford Dornbusch, "Patterns of competence and adjustment among adolescents from authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, and neglectful families", *Child development*, 62:5(1991), pp. 1049-1065, doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8624.1991.tb01588.x.

parents are most likely to become responsible adults who feel comfortable self-advocating and expressing their opinions and feelings.²³

The Permissive Parenting Style is a combination of emotional warmth and poor control. It is defined as having low demands and an expressed sensitivity to children's needs, without clear restrictions or behavioural rules. It is characterised by disinterest, ignoring unwanted behaviour, and avoiding responsibility for shaping children's behaviour. Permissive parents do not control, discipline or make requests. They prove their love by meeting all the child's needs and desires, generally to compensate for a lack of communication, the pretext of which is often a strong preoccupation with factors other than the child, or exposure to stress.

Excessive freedom results in immature, irresponsible children with low self-control, who have difficulty dealing with frustration and develop a tendency for aggression²⁴: by breaking the rules of prosocial behaviour, often through deviating from acceptable norms, they try to attract the attention of those around them. There are also cases, however, where the freedom to make independent decisions produces children who mature faster, and are emotionally secure, independent and ready to accept defeat.

Parents who adopt the permissive style encourage their children's autonomy, and enable them to make their own decisions and regulate their own activities. They avoid confrontation, tend to be warm, supportive people, and do not wish their children to see them as figures of authority. Children raised by permissive parents have poor social skills and low self-esteem²⁵ and are often seen as selfish, dependent, irresponsible, spoiled, unruly, inconsiderate of others, and antisocial.²⁶

The uninvolved or neglectful parenting style combines emotional coldness with poor control. This style is defined as being heartless, ignorant, and indifferent and is applied to parents who are not involved in the parenting process; either because they are focused on themselves and their comfort, or for various other reasons including fatigue, disappointment or substance dependence, or as a result chew their parental authority. Although these parents meet their children's fundamental survival needs, they do not tend to show affection or authority, and instead display rejection, neglect, and hostility. This style is associated

23 American Academy of Pediatrics, "Boundary and parenting setting: Pediatric mental health series", (n.d.), <https://www.aap.org/en/patient-care/mental-health-minute/parenting-and-boundary-setting/>.

24 Chen, Xinyin, Liu Mowei, and Li Dan, "Parental warmth, control, and indulgence and their relations to adjustment in Chinese children: a longitudinal study", *Journal of Family Psychology*, 14:3 (2000), pp. 401-419, doi: 10.1037//0893-3200.14.3.401.

25 Diana Baumrind, "The Influence of Parenting Style on Adolescent Competence and Substance Use". See also David Reitman, Paula Rhode, Stephen Hupp and Cherie Altobello, "Development and validation of the parental authority questionnaire - revised", *NSU Works*, 24:2 (2002), pp. 119-127, https://nsuworks.nova.edu/cps_facarticles/687/.

26 Jerry J. Bigner, *Individual and family development: A life-span interdisciplinary approach* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994). See also: Charles Wenar, *Developmental psychopathology: From infancy through adolescence* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994).

with the most unwanted developmental outcomes in such children, who tend to self-protect or attempt to become independent of their parents, giving the impression of maturity regardless of their age. Parental emotional negligence can give children a heightened but unhealthy attraction to social interactions. This damaged connection is later reflected in their interpersonal relations, and does not exclude the subsequent development of deviating behavioural patterns.

This lack of parental emotional responsiveness and love means that children raised by uninvolved parents may have difficulty forming attachment later in life.²⁷ Such children generally perform poorly in nearly every area, and tend to display particular deficits in cognition, attachment, and emotional and social skills.²⁸

Adolescent mental health

Mental health has a substantial impact on the learning, development and self-expression of children and young people. It plays a crucial role in maintaining interpersonal relationships, which makes it important to overall quality of life.²⁹ Adolescence is a vulnerable period for many, as it is associated with high levels of turmoil and an increased prevalence of mental health disorders.³⁰

Mental health problems impact teenagers' lives and can lead to a variety of short- and long-term consequences. Leaving issues such as developmental and intellectual disorders undiagnosed during childhood and adolescence increases the chance of developing mental health problems in later life.³¹ Studies have shown a link between mental health problems and issues at school,³² and dropping out of

27 Yoo Rha Hong, and Jae Sun Park, "Impact of attachment, temperament and parenting on human development", *Korean Journal of Pediatrics*, 55(2012), pp. 449-454, doi: 10.3345/kjp.2012.55.12.449.

28 Zahra Zahed Zahedani, Rita Rezaee, Zahra Yazdani, Sina Bagheri, and Parisa Nabeieci, "The influence of parenting style on academic achievement and career path", *Journal of Advances in Medical Education & Professionalism*, 4:3(2016), pp. 130-134.

29 Helen Herman, Shekhar Saxena, and Rob Moddie, *Promoting mental health: Concepts, emerging evidence, practice* (Geneva: World Health, 2005).

30 Jane Kroger, Monica Martinussen, and James Marcia, "Identity status change during adolescence and young adulthood: A meta-analysis", *Journal of Adolescence*, 33(2010), pp. 683-698, doi: 10.1016/j.adolescence.2009.11.002. See also Ronald C. Kessler, Paul G. Amminger, Sergio Aguilar-Gaxiola, Jordi Alonso, Sing Lee, and Bedirhan Ustun. "Age of Onset of Mental Disorders: A Review of Recent Literature", *Current Opinion in Psychiatry*, 20: 4 (2007), pp. 359-64, <https://doi.org/10.1097/ycp.0b013e32816ebc8c>.

31 Ronald C. Kessler, Paul G. Amminger, Sergio Aguilar-Gaxiola, Jordi Alonso, Sing Lee, and Bedirhan Ustun. "Age of Onset of Mental Disorders: A Review of Recent Literature", *Current Opinion in Psychiatry*, 20: 4 (2007), pp. 359-64, <https://doi.org/10.1097/ycp.0b013e32816ebc8c>.

32 Jan-Eric Gustafsson, Mara Westling Allodi, Britta Alin Åkerman, Charlie Eriksson, Siv Fischbein, Roland Persson, *School, learning and mental health: A systematic review* (Stockholm: Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien, 2010).

school can trigger problems in a person's subsequent work life.³³ In the worst-case scenario, mental health problems can lead to suicide.³⁴

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), suicide is a major cause of death among adolescents worldwide,³⁵ but can be prevented if its underlying causes – such as anxiety disorders, depression, behavioural disorders, bipolar disorder, eating disorders, schizophrenia, substance use, and other mental spectrum disorders – are properly treated.³⁶

When children experience severe, frequent or prolonged distress without the support of a mental health specialist, they can experience serious and long-lasting negative consequences in their cognitive development and emotional regulation. This can have a lifelong impact on an individual's mental and physical health. According to Krug et al. it is therefore of vital importance that the emotional and physical care of children and adolescents is prioritised.³⁷ This is supported by the World Report on Violence and Health, which characterises abuse and neglect in the early stages of life as a main cause of mental health issues.³⁸ Because mental health disorders in adolescents (and therefore their consequences in later life) as recorded by World Health Organization (2021) have increased globally, it is important to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the issues, both to prevent them and to help adolescents address them.³⁹

In recent years, a growing number of countries and organisations have highlighted the importance of adolescent mental health awareness. In response, the WHO launched its Special Initiative for Mental Health (2019-2023), which highlighted the need for universal health coverage to include mental health, and included guidelines on how to promote mental health among adolescents.⁴⁰

The Republic of North Macedonia has adopted the National Strategy for the Promotion of Mental Health 2018-2025, which addresses mental health care for young people. It states that 5% of children need mental health services, and that 50% of mental health disorders start by the age of 14 and 75% by the age of 24, highlighting the need for prevention and intervention to take place during

33 Gustafson et al., *School, learning and mental health*.

34 Danuta Wasserman, Christina Hoven, Camilla Wasserman, Melanie Wall, Ruth Eisenberg, Gergo Hadlaczky, Vladimir Carli, "School-based suicide prevention programmes: The style cluster-randomized, controlled trial", *The Lancet*, 385:9977 (2015), pp. 1536-1544, 10.1016/S0140-6736(14)61213-7.

35 For more information, see: World Health Organization, "The European mental health action plan 2013, <https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/9789241506021>, Accessed January 2024.

36 For more information, see: World Health Organization, "Adolescent mental health 2021", <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/adolescent-mental-health>, Accessed February 2024.

37 Etienne Krug, James Mercy, Linda Dahlberg, Anthony Zwi, "*World Report on Violence and Health*", *The Lancet*, 360 (2002), pp. 1083-1088.

38 For more information, see: World Health Organization, "Adolescent Health 2020", <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/adolescent-mental-health>, Accessed February 2024.

39 For more information, see: World Health Organization, "Adolescent mental health 2021".

40 For more information, see: World Health Organization, "Adolescent Health 2020".

childhood.⁴¹ These facts emphasise the need for further research into adolescents' mental health.

A 2021 study by the Faculty of Philosophy at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje found that the most prevalent mental health issues for young people in North Macedonia were depression (64%), stress (55%), anxiety (58%), suicide (56%) and general mental health care (67%). Separated by age groups, the five main issues were suicide (66%), depression (65%), anxiety (58%), mental health care (58%) and stress (55%) for those aged 15-19; mental health care (66%), depression (61%), anxiety (60%), stress (57%), and suicide (55%) for those aged 20-24; and mental health care (71%), depression (65%), anxiety (56%), suicide (54%), and stress (53%) among those aged 25-29. Only 27% of young people in North Macedonia believed that society perceived them in a positive light. In addition, 50% of respondents did not seek help because they felt embarrassed, 47% because of its cost, another 47% because they thought their problems were not big enough, a further 47% because they did not want to be judged, and 39% because they did not know who to talk to.⁴²

The COVID-19 pandemic caused adolescents additional stress by limiting their contact with friends and peers at an important stage of their development. During this period, young people started to spend more time online, and teachers lost the ability to monitor their mental health. Another North Macedonian study focussed on COVID-19 restrictions and their mental health effects on adolescents and their caregivers. It found that 30% of adolescents had moderate to severe symptoms of depression, and 42.1% had moderate to severe symptoms of anxiety.⁴³ If this is the case, the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic on the mental health of young people will be increasingly visible in the near future, which heightens the urgency of investigations into the mental health of adolescents in North Macedonia.

The mental health of adolescents is influenced by many factors, among which personal (i.e., biological and psychological) and environmental (i.e.,

41 Министерство за здравstvo, "Национална стратегија за унапредување на менталното здравје во Република Македонија септември 2018-2025 година со акциски план (септември 2018 – 2025)" [Ministry of Health, «National strategy for the improvement of mental health in the Republic of Macedonia September 2018-2025 year with action plan (September 2018-2025)»] (2018), <http://zdravstvo.gov.mk/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/strategija-za-MZ-2018-2025-170718-pf-1.pdf>.

42 Национален младински совет на Македонија, "Застапувачко-нормативен документ за ментално здравје кај млади" [National Youth Council of Macedonia, Replacement-normative document for mental health among young people], 2021, <https://www.nms.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/%D0%9C%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BB%D0%BD%D0%BE-%D0%B7%D0%B4%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B2%D1%98%D0%B5.pdf>.

43 Stojan Bajraktarov, Ivo Kunovski, Marija Raleva, Gjorgji Kalpak, Antoni Novotni, Branko Stefanovski, and Kadri Hadzihamza, "Mental health of adolescents and their caregivers during the Covid-19 pandemic in North Macedonia" (Skopje: University Clinic of Psychiatry, 2023), <https://www.unicef.org/northmacedonia/media/12486/file/Mental%20health%20of%20adolescents%20and%20their%20caregivers%20during%20the%20Covid-19%20pandemic%20in%20North%20Macedonia.pdf>.

family, school and peer groups) factors are considered key.⁴⁴ The family factor (parenting style) has been shown to be particularly important to adolescents' mental health,⁴⁵ as it has direct and lasting effects on personality development and other psychological characteristics.⁴⁶

This study examines the effect of parenting style on adolescents' mental health, and provides targeted guidelines for the prevention and treatment of such issues among young people.

Parenting style and adolescent mental health

Parenting style is formed through parent-child communication, and parents' reactions to their child's actions.⁴⁷ It encompasses the behaviours and strategies parents use to supervise and socialise with their children, and is crucial to healthy development.⁴⁸ Frey et al. state that parental care, warmth and support can help adolescents face challenges, and suggest that the parent-teen relationship should be strong, and characterised by support, stability, encouragement and counselling. Such relationships equip children to overcome crises they may face in their lives.⁴⁹

A number of researchers have studied the impact of parenting style on the development of mental health disorders in adolescents.⁵⁰ Repetti et al. concluded that a cooperative and safe family atmosphere promotes psychosocial

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- 44 Alan Carr, *The handbook of child and adolescent clinical psychology: A contextual approach* (Milton Park: Routledge, 2015).
- 45 Kathy Newman, Lynda Harrison, Carol Dashiff, and Susan Davies, "Relationships between parenting styles and risk behaviors in adolescent health: An integrative literature review", *Revista Latino-Americana de Enfermagem*, 16 (2008), pp. 142-150.
- 46 Xiuqin Huang et al., "Mental health, personality, and parental rearing styles of adolescents with Internet addiction disorder", *Cyberpsychology Behavior and Social Networking*, 13 (2010), pp. 401-406.
- 47 Hillard Kaplan et al., "Evolutionary approach to below replacement fertility", *American journal of human biology: the official journal of the Human Biology Council*, vol. 14.2 (2002), pp. 233-56, doi:10.1002/ajhb.10041.
- 48 Beverly Lightfoot et al., "Gaining insight: harm reduction in nursing practice", *The Canadian nurse*, vol. 105,4 (2009), pp. 16-22.
- 49 Ariel Frey et al., "Adolescents in transition: school and family characteristics in the development of violent behaviors entering high school", *Child psychiatry and human development*, vol. 40.1 (2009), pp. 1-13, doi:10.1007/s10578-008-0105-x.
- 50 Rena L. Repetti et al., "Risky families: family social environments and the mental and physical health of offspring", *Psychological bulletin* vol. 128,2 (2002), pp. 330-66. See also: Kathryn E. Williams, and Joseph Ciarrochi, and Patrick C.L. Heaven "Relationships between valued action and well-being across the transition from high school to early adulthood", *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2015), pp. 127-140, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17439760.2014.920404>. See also: Joan Liem H. et al., "The influence of authoritative parenting during adolescence on depressive symptoms in young adulthood: examining the mediating roles of self-development and peer support", *The Journal of genetic psychology*, vol. 171,1 (2010), pp. 73-92, doi:10.1080/00221320903300379; See also: E. H. Wagner et al., "Organizing care for patients with chronic illness", *The Milbank quarterly*, vol. 74,4 (1996), pp. 511-44.

adaptation and mental health among adolescents.⁵¹ In the mid-1960s, Diana Baumrind proposed three parenting styles based on demand (control) and reaction dimensions. Baumrind classified parenting as authoritative, authoritarian or tolerant.⁵² Authoritative parents displayed high levels of demand and accountability, and although they set strong boundaries, they showed warmth and compassion and encouraged two-way communication. Authoritarian parents were less responsible, and had high demands. They behaved harshly towards their children, raising their voices and physically punishing them, and showed little or no warmth and love. Tolerant parents were very responsible and made few requests. They had no restrictions, and rarely engaged or ordered their children to accept obligations. Such children were treated like co-owners of the home, but without any responsibility.

Lamborn described a fourth parenting style: neglect. Such parents are emotionally detached from their children, and express low levels of both control and warmth. They do not often react to their children, and are not interested in their lives.⁵³

Previous studies suggest that perception of parenting style plays a crucial role in the development of anxiety in children.⁵⁴ Studies on the impact of parenting style on depression in adolescents have shown that those with authoritative parents appear to have less severe symptoms than those without.⁵⁵

When stressful events occur, research has found a much lower incidence of depression symptoms in adolescents raised with caring parents than in those whose parents' had severely disciplined them.⁵⁶ An open and coherent communication style between parents and children helps the latter become socially competent, and reduces the possibility of mental health problems and dangerous behaviours.⁵⁷ Dusek and Danko reveal that a dominant and commanding parenting style is linked to psychological concerns among adolescents.⁵⁸ The father's parenting style has been found to be associated with psychological adaptation. Although authoritarian mothers had an advantage over permissive ones in all estimated

51 Rena L. Repetti et al., "Risky families: family social environments and the mental and physical health of offspring".

52 Diana Baumrind, "The Influence of Parenting Style on Adolescent Competence and Substance Use".

53 S. D. Lamborn et al., "Patterns of competence and adjustment among adolescents from authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, and neglectful families", *Child development* vol. 62.5 (1991), pp. 1049-65, doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.1991.tb01588.x.

54 Peter Muris and Harald Merckelbach, "Perceived parental rearing behaviour and anxiety disorders symptoms in normal children", *Personality and Individual Differences* 25 (1998), pp. 1199-1206.

55 Joan H. Liem et al., "The influence of authoritative parenting during adolescence on depressive symptoms in young adulthood: examining the mediating roles of self-development and peer support".

56 Wagner, E H et al. "Organizing care for patients with chronic illness".

57 Diana Baumrind, "Current Patterns of Parental Authority".

58 Jerome B Dusek and Maribeth Danko, "Adolescent Coping Styles and Perceptions of Parental Child Rearing", *Journal of Adolescent Research* 9 (1994), pp. 412-426.

results, this advantage was not clear in the case of authoritative fathers, and was only visible in the case of depression.⁵⁹ In a study of Vietnamese teenagers, for example, those with authoritarian fathers reported higher levels of depression than those with authoritative fathers.⁶⁰

Depression and anxiety are more common when both parents are perceived as authoritarian.⁶¹ The children of these parents have lower self-control and emotional regulation than their authoritarian parents, which can result in psychopathology.⁶² A tolerant (neglectful) parenting style leads to a poor self-concept and reduced mental health.⁶³ Chan and Koo found authoritarian parenting to be associated with social problems, volatile actions, and a lower degree of achievement.⁶⁴ Yaffe concluded that children and adolescents with anxiety disorders were more likely to have been raised by non-authoritative parents who employed exaggerated, harsh, or inconsistent control.⁶⁵ Similar conclusions have been derived from Scharf et al.'s significant 2016 study, which found that moderately high levels of internalising symptoms (anxiety, depression, and withdrawal) were associated with high levels of harsh parenting.⁶⁶ Similarly, Singh et al. showed that positive and supportive parental behaviour predicted better mental health among adolescents.⁶⁷

The parent's gender is reported to affect the perception of parenting style, and society and culture play an important part in this. In most societies, cultural norms are such that mothers spend more time with children than fathers. They are therefore expected to devote more time to their children's emotional and

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- 59 Avidan Milevsky et al., "Maternal and Paternal Parenting Styles in Adolescents: Associations with Self-Esteem, Depression and Life-Satisfaction", *Journal of Child and Family Studies* 16 (2007), pp. 39-47.
- 60 Peter V. Nguyen, "Perceptions of Vietnamese fathers' acculturation levels, parenting styles, and mental health outcomes in Vietnamese American adolescent immigrants", *Social work* vol. 53.4 (2008), pp. 337-46, doi:10.1093/sw/53.4.337.
- 61 Cliff McKinney and Kimberly Renk, "Differential Parenting Between Mothers and Fathers: Implications for Late Adolescents", *Journal of Family Issues* 29(6) (2008), pp. 806-827, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X07311222>.
- 62 Kathryn E. Williams and Joseph Ciarrochi, and Patrick C.L. Heaven, "Relationships between valued action and well-being across the transition from high school to early adulthood", *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2015), pp. 127-140, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17439760.2014.920404>.
- 63 Fahimeh Rezaei Niaraki and Hassan Rahimi, "The impact of authoritative, permissive, and authoritarian behavior of parents on self-concept, psychological health, and life quality", *European Online Journal of Natural and Social Sciences*, 2:1(2013), pp. 78-85.
- 64 Tak Wing Chan, Anita Koo, "Parenting Style and Youth Outcomes in the UK", *European Sociological Review*, Volume 27, Issue 3 (June 2011), pp. 385-399, <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcq013>.
- 65 Yosi Yaffe. "A narrative review of the relationship between parenting and anxiety disorders in children and adolescents", *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 26(1) (2021), pp. 449-459, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673843.2021.1980067>.
- 66 Rebecca J. Scharf et al., "Developmental Milestones", *Pediatrics in review*, vol. 37,1 (2016), pp. 25-37, quiz 38, 47, doi:10.1542/pir.2014-0103.
- 67 Vijeta Singh, Rakesh Kumar Behmani and Suresh Kumar, "Role of Parenting Style in Mental Health and Coping Style of the Adolescents", *Remarking An Analisisation*. 3(8) (2018), 32-38, <https://www.socialresearchfoundation.com/upoadreserchpapers/5/234/1901170651451st%20vijeta%20singh.pdf>.

psychological needs, while fathers are cast as providers and discipliners.⁶⁸ In recent decades, however, fathers in many cultures have begun to spend more time with their children as social perceptions and gender roles have changed.⁶⁹

This extended literature review implies a strong relationship between adolescents' mental health and parenting style, with authoritarian and permissive parenting styles strongly linked to mental health disorders. To date, however, most data have been obtained from developed countries, and there is a lack of research into the relationship between perceived parenting style and its impact on North Macedonian adolescents' mental health. To counter this, two research objectives and hypothesis are defined:

- a) *Research objective 1*: To explore the relationships between perceived parenting style and mental health among adolescents.
- b) *Hypothesis 1*: There is a significant correlation between parenting style and adolescents' mental health.
- c) *Research objective 2*: To analyse the mediating effects of sociodemographic factors on the relationship between perceived parenting style and adolescents' mental health.
- d) *Hypothesis 2*: The association between perceived parenting style and adolescents' mental health will differ by gender, age, child order, family type, family income and religious attachment.

Method

Participants

Data was collected using simple random sampling. The sample consisted of 573 participants (N=573) recruited from seven Albanian community secondary schools in Skopje, North Macedonia. Of these, 142 (24.8%) were males and 431 (75.2%) females; the age range was 14-22 (M= 16.17, SD= 1.17); and 35.1% were in their third year of middle school, 32.5% in their first year, 17.8% in their second year and 14.7% in their fourth year (Table 1). All participants were Muslim (N=573), and felt a rather strong (41.7%) or very strong (47.8%) attachment to their religion. The religious homogeneity of the sample is a reflection of the

68 Cliff McKinney and Kimberly Renk, "Differential Parenting Between Mothers and Fathers: Implications for Late Adolescents", *Journal of Family Issues* 29(6) (2008), pp. 806-827, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X07311222>.

69 Gryczkowski, Michelle R., Sara S. Jordan, and Sterett H. Mercer, "Differential relations between mothers' and fathers' parenting practices and child externalizing behaviour", *Journal of child and Family studies* 19 (2010), pp. 539-546.

country's demography. According to the 2021 national census, 46.14% of North Macedonia's population is Orthodox Christian, and 32.17% is Muslim (State Statistical Office, 2022). There is a correlation between ethnicity and religious affiliation: the majority of Orthodox Christians are ethnic Macedonian, and most Muslims are ethnic Albanian,⁷⁰ which means that any sample of the country's Albanians population will have an overwhelmingly Muslim base. Albanians make up the largest origin group among Muslims in North Macedonia.

Table 1. Sociodemographic characteristics of the sample

	Adolescents	
	N	%
Gender		
Male	142	24.8
Female	431	75.2
Place of residence		
Urban	348	60.7
Rural	225	39.3
Family type		
Nuclear family	361	63
Extended family	194	33.9
Single parent family	12	2.1
Birth order		
Oldest child	219	38.2
Middle child	185	32.3
Youngest child	145	25.3
Only child	10	1.7
Mothers' age		
<35	20	3.5
36-40	148	25.8
41-45	231	40.3
46-50	115	20.1
+51	59	10.3

70 United States Department of State, "Report on International Religious Freedom: North Macedonia" (2019). <https://www.state.gov/reports/2019-report-on-international-religious-freedom/north-macedonia/>.

	Adolescents	
	N	%
Mothers' level of education		
Uneducated	17	3.0
Primary education	297	51.8
Secondary education	160	27.9
Bachelor's degree	67	11.7
Master's degree	12	2.1
Doctorate	10	1.7
Other	10	1.7
Mother's work status		
Full-time employed	124	21.6
Part-time employed	34	5.9
Unemployed and not seeking work	317	55.3
Unemployed and seeking work	39	6.8
Self-employed	59	10.3
Fathers' age		
<35	1	0.2
36-40	48	8.4
41-45	235	41.0
46-50	172	30.0
+51	117	20.4
<35		
Fathers' level of education		
Uneducated	2	.3
Primary education	154	26.9
Secondary education	266	46.4
Bachelor's degree	102	17.8
Master's degree	22	3.8
Doctorate	12	2.1
Other	15	2.6

	Adolescents	
	N	%
Father's work status		
Full-time employed	392	68.4
Part-time employed	60	10.5
Unemployed and not seeking work	23	4.0
Unemployed and seeking work	40	7.0
Self-employed	57	10.0
Retired	1	.2
Family income in Euro		
<200	65	23.6
200-400	143	12.2
450-650	160	27.9
700-900	70	12.2
>1000	135	23.6
Religious attachment		
Weak	10	1.7
Moderate	49	8.6
Rather strong	239	41.7
Very strong	274	47.8
None	1	0.2

Procedure

Before the survey was implemented, participating middle schools in Skopje were contacted to give their consent. The questionnaires were completed online through Google Forms. Participant recruitment was supported and facilitated through collaboration with teachers and other staff. Adolescents were informed about the purpose of the study, and the confidentiality of the information they would share. Participation was voluntary and data were presented anonymously.

Measurements

Divya and Manikandan's (2013) self-administered Perceived Parenting Style Scale (PPSS) and Goldberg and Williams' (1991) General Health Questionnaire (GHQ-28) scale were used to collect data. Both questionnaires were translated and adapted to the Albanian language by bilingual researchers, and reviewed by a clinical psychology expert.

The PPSS is based on Baumrind's theory of parenting styles, and measures perceived parenting style according to three categories: Authoritarian, Permissive. It consists of 30 items rated on a five-point Likert scale that ranges from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The PPSS has been widely used to study the relationship between parental style and adolescents' development, and has been found to be reliable and valid across cultural contexts. The Cronbach's α coefficients for the Authoritative, Authoritarian and Permissive subscales were .906, .806, and .870, which indicates internal consistency. The scores for each variable had a range of 10-50; the higher the score, the greater the perceived level of the parental prototype measured.

The GHQ-28 measures adolescents' mental health in four subscales: somatic symptoms (items 1-7); anxiety/insomnia (items 8-14); social dysfunction (items 15-21) and severe depression (items 22-28). Each item has four possible responses, scored from 0 to 3: not at all, no more than usual, rather more than usual, and much more than usual. A higher GHQ-28 score indicates a higher level of distress. Goldberg, Oldehinkel and Ormel (1998) suggest that participants with scores > 24 can be considered to have poor mental health. In this study, the internal consistency of the GHQ-28 was found to be $\alpha=.903$.

Three variables based on the mean of all related items were calculated by grouping the PPSS items into three subscales: Authoritative, Authoritarian and Permissive. Five subscales were calculated based on the mean of related items in the GHQ-28: Mental_Health, Somatic, Anxiety, Social Dysfunction and Depression.

Data analysis

Data were analysed using SPSS 20.00, and the level of significance was set at $p < .05$. After entering the data in the system, tests were run for reliability, descriptive statistics and inferential statistics. Frequency tests and descriptive statistics were run on all variables to find the averages and means of their data. The associations

between sociodemographic data, parenting style and mental health were analysed using parametric tests; the Pearson correlation coefficient was used to establish the association between different parenting styles and mental health symptoms; and the independent T-test, ANOVA tests and regression analysis were used to examine differences in dependent measures as a function of specific demographic variables including gender, age and child order.

Results

Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics were run on the Authoritative, Authoritarian and Permissive scales (Table 2) and revealed that on average, adolescents rated their parents' parental style highest on the Authoritative scale, with a mean score of 40.38 (SD=8.55), followed by the Authoritarian at 23.25 (SD=7.6), and the Permissive at 19.45 (SD=8.18). The fourth parenting style (uninvolved/avoidant) was not included, since there was no evidence in the literature review that such style is evident among the Albanian families surveyed.

Table 2. Means and standard deviations of the parental scales

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Authoritative	40.380	8.5544
Authoritarian	23.250	7.6487
Permissive	19.450	8.1791
N=573		

The descriptive statistics on the Mental_Health scale displayed a mean response of 46.75, which indicates poor mental health (>24). The separated mean scores showed these scores were higher for Social Dysfunction, with a mean of 2.23; followed by Somatic, with 1.72; Anxiety with 1.43; and Depression, with 1.29 (Table 3). Females reported slightly higher mental health scores (M=47.51, SD=17.78) than males (M=44.48, SD=18.41).

Table 3. Means and standard deviations of the mental health subscales

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Mental_Health	46.7574	17.97664
Somatic	1.7195	.75801
Anxiety	1.4346	1.04281
Social Dysfunction	2.2339	.62266
Depression	1.2917	1.02169
Valid N=573		

Inferential statistics

Hypothesis 1: There is a significant correlation between parenting style and adolescent mental health.

The results in Table 4 show a weak, non-significant positive relationship between authoritative parenting and mental health among adolescents: $r=.034$, $p>.05$.

A significantly weak positive relationship was found between permissive parenting and mental health. A correlational analysis found that adolescents who perceived their parents as permissive rated higher on the mental health scale ($r=.086$, $p<.05$). This implies that adolescents who perceived their parents as spending less time with them and not having expectations of them would report poor mental health (Table4).

The correlation results showed a significantly weak positive correlation between the authoritarian parenting style and mental health: $r=.072$, $p>.05$ (Table 4). This suggests a non-significant relationship between authoritarian parenting and overall mental health.

Table 4. Pearson Correlation coefficients for parenting style and mental health

	Authoritative	Authoritarian	Permissive	Mental Health
Authoritative	-			
Authoritarian	-.341**	-		
Permissive	-.471**	.727**	-	
Mental health	.034	.072	.086*	-

Correlation tests were run to measure the association of each parenting style with the mental health subscales. An inspection of the correlation coefficients between permissive parenting and the mental health subscales (Table 5) revealed a positive relationship between permissive parenting and anxiety: $r=.070$, $p<.05$. A strong positive relationship was also found with depression: $r=.106$, $p<.01$.

Table 5. Pearson Correlation coefficients for permissive parenting and the mental health subscales

	Somatic	Anxiety	Social dysfunction	Depression	Permissive
Somatic	-				
Anxiety	.691**	-			
Social Dysfunction	.090*	-.096*	-		
Depression	.620**	.775**	-.128**	-	
Permissive	.053	.070*	.000	.106**	-

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed).

Table 6 presents the correlation coefficients for authoritative parenting and the mental health subscales. The results revealed a weak positive relationship with Social Dysfunction ($r=.074$, $p<0.05$) and statistically insignificant relationships between authoritative parenting and Anxiety ($r=.002$, $p>.05$), Depression ($r=.010$, $p>.05$) and Somatic ($r=.039$, $p>.05$) scores.

Table 6. Pearson Correlation coefficients for authoritative parenting and the mental health subscales

	Authoritative	Somatic	Anxiety	Social Dysfunction	Depression
Authoritative	-	.039	.002	.074*	.010
Somatic		-	.691**	.090*	.620**
Anxiety			-	-.096*	.775**
Social Dysfunction				-	-.128**
Depression					-

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

An inspection of the correlation coefficients between authoritarian parenting and the mental health subscales (Table7) revealed a weak positive relationship with anxiety ($r=.069$, $p<0.05$), but no statistically significant relationships with other mental health subscales.

Table 7. Pearson Correlation coefficients for authoritarian parenting and the mental health subscales

	Somatic	Anxiety	Social Dysfunction	Depression	Author- itarian
Somatic	-				
Anxiety	.691**	-			
Social Dysfunction	.090*	-.096*	-		
Depression	.620**	.775**	-.128**	-	
Authoritarian	.056	.069*	.001	.068	-

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed).

Hypothesis 2: The association between perceived parenting style and adolescents' mental health will differ by gender, age, child order, family type, family income and religious attachment.

Levene's test was used to ascertain differences between perceived parenting style and mental health based on the participant's gender. A comparison of the means (Table 8) of the two groups of the independent variable (gender) in relation to parenting style shows no notable difference, but a slight difference was found in relation to mental health.

The second part of the table shows the Levene's test data. The t-test value for all variables was greater than 0.05, a common indicator of significance, indicating no significant difference between the two groups. This means there was no difference in the perception of male and female participants regarding parenting style and mental health. A comparison of means for parenting style (authoritative= 4; authoritarian 2.3; permissive 1.9) and mental health (an average score of 1.6) confirms this, which means the differences between male and female adolescents in these areas are not statistically significant. This part of Hypothesis 2 is therefore rejected.

Table 8. Inferential statistics for gender in relation to perceived parenting style and mental health

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Authoritative	Male	142	4.0120	.88538	.07430
	Female	431	4.0466	.85561	.04121
Authoritarian	Male	142	2.3331	.73675	.06183
	Female	431	2.3223	.77473	.03732
Permissive	Male	142	1.9627	.80174	.06728
	Female	431	1.9392	.82401	.03969
Mental_Health	Male	142	1.5885	.65772	.05519
	Female	431	1.6967	.63526	.03060

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of Difference	
								Lower	Upper
Authoritative	.714	.398	-.415	571	.678	-.03466	.08351	-.19869	.12936
			-.408	233.856	.684	-.03466	.08496	-.20206	.13273
Authoritarian	.583	.446	.146	571	.884	.01082	.07407	-.13466	.15631
			.150	251.503	.881	.01082	.07222	-.13140	.15305
Permissive	.229	.632	.296	571	.767	.02346	.07920	-.13210	.17903
			.300	246.434	.764	.02346	.07812	-.13039	.17732
Mental Health	.493	.483	-1.745	571	.082	-.10819	.06201	-.22999	.01361
			-1.714	233.750	.088	-.10819	.06311	-.23252	.01615

Table 9 presents the results of the analysis of variance (ANOVA) for parenting styles and adolescents' mental health, by age. The value of significance in the ANOVA test was > .05, which means that the groups were homogeneous (Table 9). These results indicate that age is not significantly related to perceived parenting style and mental health. This part of Hypothesis 2 is therefore rejected.

Table 9. ANOVA results for perceived parenting style and mental health, by age

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Authoritative	Between Groups	4.511	6	.752	1.011	.417
	Within Groups	420.940	566	.744		
	Total	425.451	572			
Authoritarian	Between Groups	4.604	6	.767	1.316	.248
	Within Groups	330.029	566	.583		
	Total	334.633	572			
Mental Health	Between Groups	2.783	6	.464	1.127	.345
	Within Groups	232.992	566	.412		
	Total	235.775	572			
Permissive	Between Groups	3.948	6	.658	.983	.436
	Within Groups	378.710	566	.669		
	Total	382.658	572			

Table 10 contains the ANOVA results for the moderating effects of child order on perceived parenting style and mental health. The value of significance for perceived parenting style and mental health was $> .05$, which means that the groups were homogeneous (Table 10). These results indicate that child order is not significantly related to perceived parenting style and mental health. This part of Hypothesis 2 is therefore rejected.

Table 10. ANOVA results for perceived parenting style and mental health, by child order

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Mental Health	Between Groups	1.125	4	.281	.681	.605
	Within Groups	234.649	568	.413		
	Total	235.775	572			

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Authoritative	Between Groups	2.119	4	.530	.711	.585
	Within Groups	423.332	568	.745		
	Total	425.451	572			
Authoritarian	Between Groups	.904	4	.226	.385	.820
	Within Groups	333.729	568	.588		
	Total	334.633	572			
Permissive	Between Groups	2.012	4	.503	.750	.558
	Within Groups	380.647	568	.670		
	Total	382.658	572			

The one-way ANOVA test revealed a value of significance of $> .05$ for perceived parenting style and mental health differences by family type, which means that the groups were homogeneous (Table 11). This indicates that family type is not significantly related to perceived parenting style and mental health. This part of Hypothesis 2 is therefore rejected.

Table 11. ANOVA results for perceived parenting style and mental health, by family type

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Mental Health	Between Groups	.519	3	.173	.418	.740
	Within Groups	235.256	569	.413		
	Total	235.775	572			
Authoritative	Between Groups	4.389	3	1.463	1.977	.116
	Within Groups	421.062	569	.740		
	Total	425.451	572			

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Authoritarian	Between Groups	2.386	3	.795	1.362	.253
	Within Groups	332.247	569	.584		
	Total	334.633	572			
Permissive	Between Groups	.317	3	.106	.157	.925
	Within Groups	382.341	569	.672		
	Total	382.658	572			

The one-way ANOVA test for family income showed a value of significance of > .05 for perceived parenting style and mental health, which means that the groups were homogeneous (Table 12). This indicates that family income is not significantly related to perceived parenting style and mental health. This part of Hypothesis 2 is therefore rejected.

Table 12. ANOVA results for perceived parenting style and mental health, by family income

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Mental Health	Between Groups	.811	4	.203	.490	.743
	Within Groups	234.963	568	.414		
	Total	235.775	572			
Authoritative	Between Groups	.546	4	.136	.182	.948
	Within Groups	424.905	568	.748		
	Total	425.451	572			
Authoritarian	Between Groups	1.870	4	.468	.798	.527
	Within Groups	332.763	568	.586		
	Total	334.633	572			

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Permissive	Between Groups	2.263	4	.566	.845	.497
	Within Groups	380.395	568	.670		
	Total	382.658	572			

The multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) test showed statistically significant differences among the combined dependent variables and parental styles. For religious attachment, Wilks $\Lambda = .942$, $F(12.14)2,846$, $p < .005$; and for adolescents' overall mental health, Wilks $\Lambda = .984$, $F(3.56)3.034$, $p < .005$ (Table 13).

Table 13. MANOVA test for parenting style, level of religious attachment, and mental health
Multivariate Tests^a

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
	Pillai's Trace	.592	273.390 ^b	3.000	565.000	.000
	Wilks' Λ	.408	273.390^b	3.000	565.000	.000
Intercept	Hotelling's Trace	1.452	273.390 ^b	3.000	565.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	1.452	273.390 ^b	3.000	565.000	.000
	Pillai's Trace	.016	3.034 ^b	3.000	565.000	.029
	Wilks' Λ	.984	3.034^b	3.000	565.000	.029
SUM_MH	Hotelling's Trace	.016	3.034 ^b	3.000	565.000	.029
	Roy's Largest Root	.016	3.034 ^b	3.000	565.000	.029
	Pillai's Trace	.058	2.815	12.000	1701.000	.001
	Wilks' Λ	.942	2.846	12.000	1495.141	.001
Trust_level	Hotelling's Trace	.061	2.871	12.000	1691.000	.001
	Roy's Largest Root	.053	7.505 ^c	4.000	567.000	.000

- a. Design: Intercept + SUM_MH + Trust_level
- b. Exact statistic
- c. The statistic is an upper bound on F that yields a lower bound on the significance level.

A Test of between Subjects Effects was then conducted to examine the extent to which the independent variables and their interaction had a statistically significant impact on the mental health of adolescents. In the Sig. column, the results indicated a statistically significant interaction at the $p = .001$ level, for religious attachment level and parenting style. Notably, Authoritarian parenting yielded $F = 4.805, p < .01$; Authoritative $F = 5.429, p < .01$, and Permissive $F = 4.415, p < .01$. These findings provide valuable insights into the relationship between parenting style and religious attachment level, which may have significant implications for the mental health of adolescents.

Table 14. MANOVA descriptive statistics for religious attachment level and parenting style

Descriptive Statistics				
	Religious attachment	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Authoritat_SUM	Weak	32.3000	8.65448	10
	Moderate	37.5306	8.80602	49
	Rather strong	40.1506	8.38079	239
	Very strong	41.3504	8.56314	274
	Total	40.3805	8.62435	573
Authoritar_SUM	Weak	28.3000	9.12932	10
	Moderate	26.9388	9.00326	49
	Rather strong	23.2050	7.25031	239
	Very strong	22.4781	7.44710	274
	Total	23.2496	7.64868	573

	Religious attachment	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Perm_SUM	Weak	27.1000	8.93744	10
	Moderate	21.9184	8.31123	49
	Rather strong	19.5021	7.85952	239
	Very strong	18.7117	8.21867	274
	Total	19.4503	8.17914	573

To support this conclusion, an ANOVA test was conducted (Table 15). The results show significant statistical differences among religious attachment levels and parenting styles at the level $p < .01$.

Table 15. ANOVA test for religious attachment and parenting style

		ANOVA				
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Authoritar_SUM	Between Groups	1171.073	4	292.768	5.150	.000
	Within Groups	32292.239	568	56.853		
	Total	33463.312	572			
Authoritat_SUM	Between Groups	1413.815	4	353.454	4.881	.001
	Within Groups	41131.246	568	72.414		
	Total	42545.061	572			
Perm_SUM	Between Groups	1089.287	4	272.322	4.161	.002
	Within Groups	37176.545	568	65.452		
	Total	38265.832	572			

The graphs in Figures 1-3 enable easier visualisation of these findings:

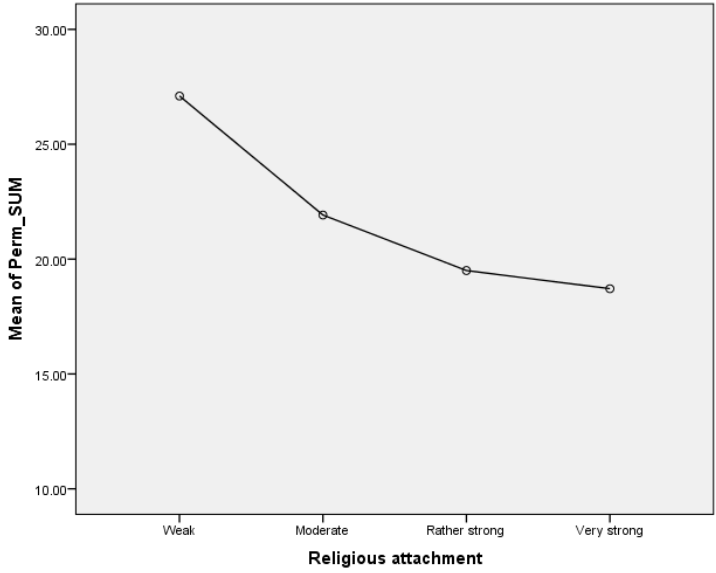


Figure 1. Religious attachment and permissive parenting style means

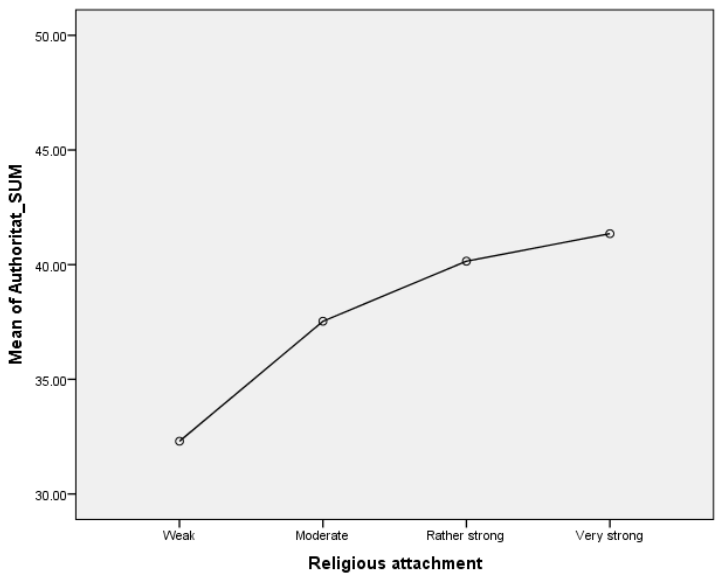


Figure 2. Religious attachment and authoritative parenting style means

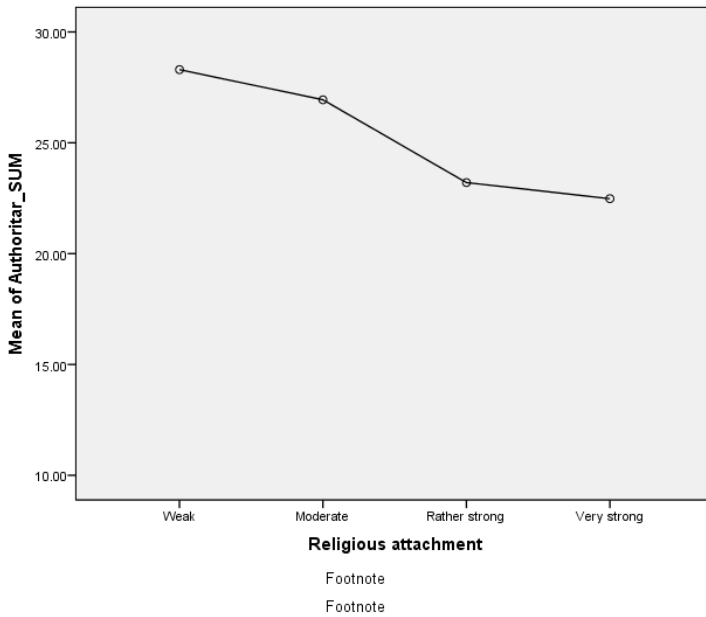


Figure 3. Religious attachment and authoritarian parenting style means

These graphs clearly demonstrate that the authoritative parenting style is related to stronger levels of religious attachment compared to the permissive and authoritarian parenting styles. This variable remains under-explored, however, and it should be subject of further studies, as the literature review shows that religion tends to play a significant role in modelling family traditions, roles and behaviours in traditional societies. This could explain why the present study did not find a relationship between the authoritative parenting style (the most prevalent perceived parenting style among participants) and adolescents' mental health.

Discussion

This study investigated the relationship between perceived parenting style and adolescents' mental health, and examined the extent to which the variables of gender, age, child order, family type, income and religious attachment mediated this relationship.

Authoritative parenting was the most common perceived style, followed by authoritarian and permissive. The mental health score revealed a poor level of overall mental health among participants. Previous studies identify a set of key risk factors that can help predict poor mental health in adolescents, including withdrawal, antisocial behaviour, substance use, and self-harm.⁷¹

The results provide partial support to previous research findings,⁷² although the study did not find a significant relationship between authoritative parenting and mental health, with the exception of a weak positive correlation to social dysfunction. Previous studies were conducted in more developed countries, and might not be applicable to the North Macedonian cultural context. This is still an under-explored research topic at the national level, and should be the focus of researchers in future studies.

The permissive parenting style was found to have a more negative impact on mental health than the authoritative and authoritarian styles. Paternal permissiveness increased symptomatic problems related to anxiety. Some studies have demonstrated that adolescents who are raised by permissive parents are more prone to anxiety and depression.⁷³ The findings of the present study are in contrast to other studies that confirmed the positive effect the permissive parenting style can have in younger adolescents. For instance, Azman et al. (2021) claim that with the permissive parenting style, younger children more often react negatively to fewer rules and low levels of parental control, whereas adolescents tend to react positively to the opportunity to develop their own personality without strong parental control.⁷⁴

In many cases, children of permissive parents are taught to keep their problems to themselves, which causes them to withdraw. The authoritarian style was also found to have a positive relationship with anxiety symptoms, and the authoritative style with social dysfunction. Ilyas, U., & Khan, S. D. found that authoritative parenting did not cause social withdrawal or social anxiety in adolescents (despite the fact that it was positively connected to social-emotional difficulties), and that authoritarian parenting was significantly correlated with high levels of Social Anxiety Disorder in adolescents.⁷⁵

71 Justė Lukoševičiūtė-Barauskienė et al., "Adolescent Perception of Mental Health: It's Not Only about Oneself, It's about Others Too", *Children*, vol. 10,7 (June 2023), doi:10.3390/children10071109.

72 Baumrind, 1971; Milevsky et al., 2007; Nguyen, 2008; McKinney&Renk, 2008; Liem et al., 2010, Williams et al., 2012; Singh et al., 2018

73 Fahimeh Rezaei Niaraki and Hassan Rahimi, "The impact of authoritative, permissive, and authoritarian behavior of parents on self-concept, psychological health, and life quality".

74 Özge Azman et al., "Associations between Parenting Style and Mental Health in Children and Adolescents Aged 11-17 Years: Results of the KiGGS Cohort Study (Second Follow-Up)", *Children*, vol. 8,8 672 (August 2021), doi:10.3390/children8080672

75 Uzma Ilyas and Saima Dawood Khan, "Role of Parenting and Psychosocial Correlates Contributing to Social Anxiety in Asian Adolescents: A Systematic Review", *Innovations in clinical neuroscience*, vol. 20:7-9 (2023), pp. 30-36.

All three parenting styles therefore showed a slight connectedness with specific mental health subscales. In regard to the second research question, the study found that gender, age, child order, family type and family income did not have a significant impact on the relationship between perceived parental style and mental health.

The study's findings are in line with those of Williams which found responsive, involved, and democratic (authoritative) parenting styles to be positively related to firm religious beliefs.⁷⁶ When applied to adolescents' mental health, these findings were statistically significant, which implies that religion plays a mediating role in the relationship between parenting style and mental health.

To summarise: parenting style alone cannot sufficiently explain adolescents' mental health. The study indicates that adolescents have poor mental health overall, although females scored slightly higher than males. Partial support was obtained for the relationship between mental health and parenting style; future studies should examine adolescents' mental health and its relationship with other variables.

Limitations and future directions

This study has some limitations. First, it may have issues with external validity since it was restricted to a particular ethnicity and municipality in North Macedonia, and its results may not be universally applicable. Second, its internal validity may not be sound. Because mental health is an intimate topic, the adolescents surveyed might have skewed their responses, despite being guaranteed anonymity. This means there is a possibility of social desirability bias. Moreover, the study incorporates only perceived parenting from the adolescents' point of view. In future research, it would be beneficial to include parents' perceptions.

Implications

The findings highlight the fact that different parenting styles have different impacts on adolescents' mental health, which implies that a healthy parenting

76 Paul D. Williams, William M. Hunter, Elisabeth Seyer, Stephen Sammut, and Matthew M. Breuninger, "Religious/spiritual struggles and perceived parenting style in a religious college-aged sample", *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, 22:5 (2019), doi:10.1080/13674676.2019.1629402.

style might be a factor in preventing mental health issues. The study recommends incorporating healthy practices in parenting styles, and the creation of programs and projects that promote family cohesion and strengthen parenting skills. A parental education program should be developed, to give parents the necessary abilities to deal with their adolescent children.

Conclusion

Links between parenting style and adolescents' mental health are under-explored in many traditional societies. The literature review suggests that not all four parenting styles are found in every context, but that some styles are common in some societies, and their influence is crucial to roles and functions within families. There is a link between adolescent mental health and parenting style, with authoritarian parenting strongly associated with disorders of this nature. These assumptions led to the creation of the present study, which aimed to identify which parenting style was perceived to be more influential in adolescents' mental health and overall development.

Authoritative parenting was the most common perceived style, followed by authoritarian and permissive parenting. In societies that are transitioning from traditional to modern, under the influence of many other internal and external factors, authoritative parenting is the *modus operandi*. This type of parenting does not seem to have a significant or negative influence on adolescents' mental health compared to the permissive style. This study did not find a significant relationship between authoritative parenting and mental health, with the exception of a weak positive correlation to social dysfunction. The findings did, however, show permissive parenting to have a significant negative impact on adolescents' mental health compared with the authoritative and authoritarian styles. Paternal permissiveness increased symptomatic problems related to anxiety. Optimal parenting itself includes the element of control but also that of warmth towards children.⁷⁷

The most alarming finding to emerge from this study, however, was that the overall results revealed poor mental health among adolescents and this should be the subject of extensive awareness raising. Mental health problems during adolescence are considered exceptional as they have versatile correlates and may have long-term biopsychosocial consequences. Parenting style alone is insufficient to explain adolescents' mental health, but the results of this study contribute

77 Elisabeta Bajrami Ollogu, Arta Xhelili and Nita Beluli Luma, *Familja, prindërimi dhe shëndeti mendor tek adoleshentët* (Skopje: Asociacioni për Afirmimin e Gruas, 2024).

to the provision of targeted guidance for the prevention of adolescent mental health problems. The relationship between adolescents' mental health and other variables should be the focus of future research.

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Uočeni odgojni stilovi roditeljstva i mentalno zdravlje adolescenata u albanskoj zajednici Sjeverne Makedonije

Sažetak

Faktor porodice (tj. roditeljskog odgojnog stila) je među najvažnijim faktorima koji utječu na razvoj adolescenata, a posebno na njihovo mentalno zdravlje. U ovoj studiji se istražuje odnos između uočenih roditeljskih odgojnih stilova i mentalnog zdravlja kod adolescenata, kroz indirektno utjecaje roda, dobi, redoslijeda rođenja djeteta, tipa porodice, prihoda i religijske pripadnosti. Potom se kvantitativno procjenjuju zapažanja o učestalosti poremećaja mentalnog zdravlja kod adolescenata u sedam srednjih škola albanske zajednice u glavnom gradu Sjeverne Makedonije, Skoplju. Rezultati pokazuju da je autoritativni stil roditeljstva najčešći, iza kojeg slijede autoritarni i permisivni, te da je mentalno zdravlje adolescenata općenito loše. Nadalje, nađene su korelacije između različitih odgojnih stilova roditeljstva i konkretnih aspekata mentalnog zdravlja kod albanskih adolescenata u Sjevernoj Makedoniji. Nadati se je da će nalazi ovog istraživanja dati ciljane smjernice za prevenciju problema mentalnog zdravlja adolescenata.

Ključne riječi: načini odgoja, mentalno zdravlje, adolescent, porodica

Freedom of Religion or Belief: The Right to Wear the Hijab in Public Spaces¹

Amila Svraka-Imamović

Wearing the hijab is a religious command and obligation prescribed by Islamic law. It is not merely a religious or political symbol, as portrayed by those advocating for its ban. For Muslim women, wearing the hijab is a significant aspect of practicing the rules and teachings of their faith. This commitment is not conditioned by any specific public place, as the nature of Islamic teaching does not recognize the separation or division of the life of Muslims who practice their faith. This is a fact on which Islamic scholars have agreed both in the past and present, and it has been confirmed by Muslim experts across all parts of the world.²

Abstract

Despite the achievements of Western civilisation and regulations requiring gender and religious equality, Europe still exhibits a low tolerance for Muslim dress practices. France may be considered a leader in this, as, after banning the hijab in institutions, it has also prohibited face coverings in public. The United Kingdom (UK) stands as a traditional European opponent to the French model of laicism. In the UK, wearing the hijab is allowed in public schools and at the workplace. Meanwhile, authoritarian states in the Muslim world impose conservative dress

- 1 This article is written in memory of Professor Fikret Karčić, to whom I owe knowledge and gratitude.
- 2 Declaration of the European Council for Fatwa and Research. For more details, see: W. Shadid and P.S. van Koningsveld, "Muslimanska odjeća u Evropi: debate oko mahrame", Hamida Karčić (trans.), *Novi Muallim*, 3 (2006), 33; and Nedim Begović, *Vjerska sloboda i muslimanske manjine u Evropi* (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 2015), p. 145.

codes on women, the most radical of which have been enacted by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country with an indigenous Muslim population, is trying to find its own path. Between secularism and religiosity, certain legislative solutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina lean toward a form of secularism.

Key words: manifestation of religion, expression of religion, religious dress, religious symbols, hijab, European Convention on Human Rights, laicism, multiculturalism

Introduction

The Strasbourg bodies hesitated for a long time before confirming that wearing the hijab was a religious practice, and that states must justify its restriction if they are to avoid violating Article 9 of the European Convention. This hesitation can be explained by the fact that the Court, whose members are largely from countries where the Christian faith dominates, is reluctant to acknowledge the importance of religious practices that are not present or do not hold particular significance in Christianity.³

While Muslim women perceive the hijab as a strict religious obligation, most Western countries, including the judiciary of Bosnia and Herzegovina, view it as a religious symbol.

These views are groundless, as it is well known that Islam has no official symbols prescribed by the primary sources of Sharia law. The two most commonly used symbols associated with Islam are the crescent and star, which were symbols of the Ottoman Empire, and the Shahada, which is a symbol of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The historical significance of the Ottoman Empire, which for centuries was the most powerful Muslim country and the centre of the Caliphate, meant that both Muslims and non-Muslims began to acknowledge the Ottoman symbol as a symbol of Islam. This is evidenced by numerous books from the 20th and early 21st centuries that discuss the cross and crescent as opposing symbols.⁴ Although there is no ambiguity when it comes to the symbolism of the cross, the European Court applies double standards in its interpretation of Article 9 of the Convention. Not only does the cross represent “a principle and value that forms the foundation of democracy and Western civilization”,⁵ but it is also a discreet

3 Nedin Begović, *Vjerska sloboda i muslimanske manjine u Evropi*, p. 146.

4 Fikret Karčić, “Pravosuđe i vjerska obilježja”, in *Kroz prizmu historije* (Sarajevo: Centar za napredne studije, 2017), p. 198.

5 *Lautsi v. Italy*, <https://www.hrlc.org.au/human-rights-case-summaries/lautsi-ors-v-italy-2011-echr-application-no-3081406-18-march-2011>, accessed 22 September 2022.

neutral administrative environment". This ruling highlights the trend of banning the hijab in public, thereby narrowing the scope of activities for Muslim women, and creating economic dependence on male family members.

It is possible that a similar practice will be adopted in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the reasoning in the European Court of Justice's ruling could serve as an excuse to ban the hijab in schools, municipalities, and other public places, not only in judicial institutions and the armed forces.

The first part of this article discusses the policies of the French Republic, which strictly adheres to the principle of laicism and views the hijab as a means of proselytism, a symbol of the subjugation of women, and a representation of a value incompatible with the European way of life. The second part addresses the multiculturalist approach towards minority religions in the United Kingdom (UK), including religious practices such as wearing the hijab. A traditional opponent of the French laic model, the UK has not experienced the European Court's "negative consequences" – which it uses in rulings to justify rigid positions – from allowing the hijab to be worn in schools and workplaces. Conversely, while women in the West face violations of their right to wear the hijab, some countries, such as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Republic of Iran, force their citizens to wear it. To highlight the harmfulness of such policies, it is important to identify the need for legislative change in these countries as well. The legal victory of women in Muslim countries is essential to provide traditional societies with the opportunity to initiate internal debates on models of reform and the redefinition of the socio-political space. In this way, much-needed answers can be found to pressing questions, thereby awakening new hope for the establishment of a just order, which is of great importance for the entire Muslim world, where authoritarian and patriarchal regimes control women's bodies.¹²

Finally, the article discusses the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a multi-ethnic and multireligious state that needs to choose its own path when it comes to state regulation and abstention from regulating the wearing of the hijab in public spaces.

This issue of the hijab in public spaces has been researched by both domestic and foreign authors, who have primarily focused on the limitations of this right in workplaces or educational institutions in countries such as France. Several studies have examined cases before the European Court of Human Rights regarding the

brusselstimes.com/816905/european-court-permits-headscarf-ban-for-public-servants, accessed 2 January 2024. The European Union's highest court emphasised that such restrictions must be applied equally to all employees, and fit within the legal context of each member state. For more, see: Ashifa Kassam, "Government offices in EU can ban wearing of religious symbols, court rules", <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/nov/29/government-offices-in-eu-can-ban-wearing-of-religious-symbols-court-rules>, accessed 2 January 2024.

12 Ivan Ejub Kostić, "Protiv Moralne policije ili režima?", *Novi Magazin*, 598 (2022), 41.

violation of Article 9 of the ECHR, and others discuss religious freedoms, which include the perspectives of Islamic theology. This article takes a comprehensive and comparative approach, filling the gap in the literature by contrasting regulations and practices in countries that apply different approaches to the relationship between state and religion, and the right to enjoy freedom of the latter.

The literature used in the preparation of this article includes Professor Nedim Begović's *Religious Freedom and Muslim Minorities*,¹³ which discusses the European Court's approach to the right to express religion; the fatwas of the European Council; Islamic rituals; and the practice of Islam. Chapters addressing the institutional aspect of expressing Islam and selected cases before the European Court of Human Rights are also covered.

Professor Silvio Ferrari writes about the freedom of religion in European public spaces.¹⁴ His text discusses the place of religion on the Old Continent; the transformation of society; the understanding of public space; and the manifestation of religion. Assistant Professor Ehlimana Memišević addresses similar topics. Her article "Religion in Public Space: The Issue of Displaying Religious Symbols",¹⁵ provides an overview of practices in countries that include France, Germany, Belgium, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada. These texts, however, focus solely on Western societies, and do not cover the issue of the hijab in the Middle East or Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The issue of the hijab in public spaces has been most extensively discussed in English, primarily in academic articles that question its right to be worn in particular countries. These texts include: Elaine R. Thomas' "Competing Visions of Citizenship and Integration in France's Headscarves Affair"; Britton D. Davis' "Lifting the Veil: France's New Crusade"; Stephen M. Croucher's "French-Muslim Reactions to the Law Banning Religious Symbols in Schools: A Mixed Methods Analysis"; and Jeremy Gunn's "Religious Freedom and Laicity: A Comparison of the United States and France".¹⁶

A large number of books and book chapters have been written about the status of women in the Middle East, specifically Saudi Arabia and Iran. These works discuss the obligation to wear the hijab, which will be addressed in this article.¹⁷

13 Nedim Begović, *Vjerska sloboda i muslimanske manjine u Evropi* (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 2015).

14 Silvio Ferrari, "Religija u evropskim javnim prostorima: pravni pregled", *Context* 1:2 (2014).

15 Ehlimana Memišević, "Religija u javnom prostoru: Pitanje isticanja vjerskih obilježja", *Godišnjak Pravnog fakulteta u Sarajevu*, 59 (2016).

16 Elaine R. Thomas, "Competing Visions of Citizenship and Integration in France's Headscarves Affair", *Journal of European Area Studies*, 8:2 (2000); Britton D. Davis, "Lifting the Veil: France's New Crusade", *Boston College International & Comparative Law Review*, 34:1 (2011); and Stephen M. Croucher, "French-Muslim Reactions to the Law Banning Religious Symbols in Schools: A Mixed Methods Analysis", *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, 2:1 (2009).

17 Judith Colp Rubin, "Women in the Middle East", in *The Middle East: A Guide to Politics, Economics, Society and Culture*, Barry Rubin (ed.) (New York, London: M.E. Sharpe, 2012); Hamideh Sedghi, *Women and Politics in Iran: Veiling, Unveiling, and Reveiling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

Regulations and practices in Bosnia and Herzegovina will be analysed on the basis of Professor Fikret Karčić's texts: "The Application of the Law Banning the Wearing of the *Zar* and *Feredža* in BiH: A Research Note";¹⁸ "The Views of the Leadership of the Islamic Community in Yugoslavia on the Ban on Wearing the *Zar* and *Feredža*";¹⁹ and "Judiciary and Religious Symbols".²⁰ Since this area of research is relatively unexplored, the article will analyse domestic regulations such as the constitutions of BiH²¹ and the entities²², the *Law on Courts*, the *Conclusion of the HJPC on the Prohibition of Wearing Religious Symbols*, and rulings by the Court of BiH and the Constitutional Court.

Through a comparative review of regulations in different legal systems, the article observes the model of the relationship between state and religion in the countries it researches, and ascertains whether the right to wear the hijab – as part of the freedom of religious expression – is restricted.

In this sense, the research demystifies the issue of Muslim women's dress practices, and highlights the advantages and disadvantages of the solutions adopted in the countries studied. To do so, it uses historical, dogmatic, normative, and comparative methods.

In the Name of Laicism: The Hijab Affair in the French Republic

Within Europe, France is known for its low tolerance of Muslim women's religious dress practices. This deserves more attention because it is a form of double discrimination that affects women generally, and Muslim women specifically. In this regard, the article shows that France has failed to achieve gender equality despite its global reputation for upholding human rights and freedoms.

The French headscarf affair, or *l'affaire du foulard*, began with what initially appeared to be a trivial local problem.²³ In September 1989, three Muslim girls

2009); and Ziba Mir-Hosseini, *Islam and Gender: The Religious Debate in Contemporary Iran* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999).

18 Fikret Karčić, "Primjena zakona o zabrani nošenja zara i feredže u BiH: istraživačka bilješka", *Novi Muallim*, 16 (2013).

19 Fikret Karčić, "Stavovi vodstva Islamske zajednice u Jugoslaviji povodom zabrane nošenja zara i feredže" *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke*, 42 (2013).

20 Fikret Karčić, "Pravosuđe i vjerska obilježja", in *Kroz prizmu historije* (Sarajevo: Centar za napredne studije, 2017).

21 *Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, https://www.ustavnisud.ba/public/down/USTAV_BOSNE_I_HERCEGOVINE_bos.pdf, accessed 23 May 2022.

22 *Constitution of the Federation of BiH*, https://parlamentfbih.gov.ba/dom_naroda/bos/parlament/o_parlamentu/ustavfbih.html; *Constitution of Republika Srpska*, https://www.narodnaskupstinars.net/sites/default/files/upload/dokumenti/ustav/lat/ustav_republike_srpske.pdf; *Constitution of Brčko District of BiH*, http://www.ohr.int/ohr_archive/statut-brko-distrikta-bosne-i-hercegovine-2/, accessed 23 May 2022.

23 Elaine R. Thomas, "Competing Visions of Citizenship and Integration in France's Headscarves Affair", p. 167.

from Creil were sent home from school for wearing the hijab during class.²⁴ Because of increasing government involvement, this local conflict escalated into a national issue, with the greatest responsibility falling on Minister of Education Lionel Jospin. Jospin initially insisted on negotiations, but when this approach did not yield results, he decided that the students would attend certain courses designed to discourage them from wearing the hijab. His policy triggered a strong reaction, particularly from women, which led him to refer the matter to the Council of State (*Conseil d'État*).²⁵

The *Conseil d'État* soon concluded that wearing the hijab was not contrary to laicism,²⁶ as it promotes freedom of expression and the manifestation of religious beliefs.²⁷ The council emphasised that the wearing of religious symbols could only be restricted if their purpose was provocation, propaganda, proselytism, or the disruption of school activities or functionality of the public education system.²⁸ After this decision, five intellectuals published a manifesto titled "Profes, ne capitulons pas!" (Teachers, do not surrender!). The manifesto stated that allowing hijabs in schools was similar to surrendering to the Nazis in 1938.²⁹ French philosopher André Glucksmann called the hijab a "terrorist sign" stained with blood.³⁰

Despite the small number of women who wore the hijab in France, this issue became central to political debate. Right-wing parties, such as Marine Le Pen's National Front, particularly focused on the hijab issue, with Le Pen repeatedly stating that foreigners must adapt to French customs and way of life. Le Pen emphasised that the girls from Creil showed a lack of respect for France and French people. She also claimed that the girls behaved as if they were on their own territory, suggesting that they were colonising France, and that foreigners should either respect French customs or return to their countries of origin. For Le Pen, incomplete assimilation is equivalent to invasion, as only cultural conformity signifies respect for the territorial rights of the host country.³¹ Other politicians also expressed radical views. Charles Millon of the Union for French Democracy

24 Fikret Karčić, "Pravosuđe i vjerska obilježja", p. 200; Stephen M. Croucher, "French-Muslim Reactions to the Law Banning Religious Symbols in Schools: A Mixed Methods Analysis", p. 3.

25 Elaine R. Thomas, "Competing Visions of Citizenship and Integration in France's Headscarves Affair", p. 167.

26 Jeremy Gunn, "Religious Freedom and Laicity: A Comparison of the United States and France", *Brigham Young University Law Review*, 2 (2004), p. 455; Ramazan Kilić, *Alien Citizens: The State and Religious Minorities in Turkey and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 3.

27 Britton D. Davis, "Lifting the Veil: France's New Crusade", *Boston College International & Comparative Law Review*, 34:1 (2011), p. 123.

28 Ehlmana Memišević, "Religija u javnom prostoru: Pitanje isticanja vjerskih obilježja", p. 254.

29 Akbar Ahmed, *Putovanje u Evropu – islam, imigracija i identitet* (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 2020), p. 200.

30 Adrien Katherine Wing & Monica Nigh Smith, "Critical Race Feminism Lifts the Veil?: Muslim Women, France, and the Headscarf Ban", *UC Davis Law Review*, 39, 3, 2005, p. 772.

31 Elaine R. Thomas, "Competing Visions of Citizenship and Integration in France's Headscarves Affair", pp. 176-177.

(*Union pour la démocratie française* – UDF) argued that the hijab affair was a potential disaster. He called for an urgent debate on the issue, claiming that the “national community will break into fragments” and that France faced the threat of “Balkanization” and “tribalization”.³²

In 1994, the new Minister of Education, François Bayrou, ordered all schools to ban any form of expression of religious affiliation.³³ In Lyon in 2002, teachers went on strike after the school administration refused to punish girls who came to school wearing the hijab. Public interest in this issue soon increased, and Jean-Louis Debré, President of the National Assembly, brought the discussion of religious symbols in schools to parliament. Following these events, the Levy sisters were expelled from a school in Aubervilliers in 2003 for refusing to remove their hijabs.³⁴

In 2003, in light of the renewed attention being paid to this issue, Jacques Chirac established a committee known as the Stasi Commission.³⁵ The commission published a report stating that wearing overly conspicuous religious symbols violated the principle of secularism in the French school system,³⁶ with the general understanding that religious symbols referred to the hijab and the veil.³⁷ The Stasi Report strongly reaffirmed laicism as a principle of the French public service, and claimed that it should be enforced by public servants and respected by all users of public services.

At the same time, the need for greater respect for religious diversity in France was emphasised, and the Law on Secularism and Religious Symbols in Public Schools, based on the Stasi Report, was passed in 2004.³⁸ Although the proposed law purported to cover all religious symbols, in reality it restricted the wearing of the Islamic hijab, thereby constituting religious discrimination directed at Muslim women. The implementation of the law itself confirmed its discriminatory nature, as it primarily affected members of two religious minorities: Muslims and Sikhs.³⁹

A short time later, French authorities enacted regulations on photographs for passports and identification documents, requiring that the head be visible

32 Elaine R. Thomas, “Competing Visions of Citizenship and Integration in France’s Headscarves Affair”, p. 177.

33 Hilal Elver, *The Headscarf Controversy: Secularism and Freedom of Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 116.

34 John R. Bowen, *Why the French Don’t Like Headscarves: Islam, the State and Public Space* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 236.

35 Ehlimana Memišević, “Religija u javnom prostoru: Pitanje isticanja vjerskih obilježja” p. 255.

36 Anne-Laure Zwillig, “Francuska”, in *Muslimani u Evropi*, Jorgen S. Nielsen, Samim Akgonul, Ahmet Alibašić, et al. (eds.) (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, Centar za napredne studije, 2011), p. 191.

37 Fikret Karčić, “Pravosuđe i vjerska obilježja”, p. 200.

38 This law prohibits the wearing of the hijab, yarmulke, and large crosses in public schools. See: Stephen M. Croucher, “French-Muslim Reactions to the Law Banning Religious Symbols in Schools: A Mixed Methods Analysis”, pp. 3-4; and Ramazan Kiliniç, *Alien Citizens: The State and Religious Minorities in Turkey and France*, p. 4.

39 Nedim Begović, *Vjerska sloboda i muslimanske manjine u Evropi*, p. 145.

without any covering, ornament, or scarf. Protests followed, during which demonstrators tried to explain that a woman who wears the hijab cannot appear in public without it.⁴⁰

The principals of some schools even advocated banning hijab-wearing mothers from entering school premises, while others were not content with banning halal meat in school cafeterias, but also advocated that Muslim children should eat non-halal meat. The Deputy Mayor of Dreux, responsible for education, stated that children who refused to eat the meat would be expelled from the cafeteria, but the mayor quickly rejected his deputy's initiative.⁴¹

Several Muslim women and two Sikhs who were excluded from the educational process after the law was passed appealed to the European Court of Human Rights. They sought to examine the law's compliance with European guarantees of freedom of religion. The Court reiterated its earlier position, stating that the protection of the principle of laicism was in line with the values of the European Convention. The Court held that claims of a violation of Article 14 of the Convention were groundless, because the law was neutral and applied to all religious symbols. The truth, however, is that the primary goal of the law was to ban the wearing of the hijab in public schools. The European Council for Fatwas shares this opinion, stating that the ban constitutes religious discrimination aimed at Muslims. The practice itself has proven the discriminatory nature of the law, as its implementation has primarily affected members of two religious minorities.⁴²

In the *Dogru* case, one reason cited for the student's expulsion from school – which was imposed as a sanction for her refusal to remove the hijab during physical education classes – was the protection of other students' health and safety.⁴³ The European Court referred to the opinion of the Council of State from 27 November 1989, which stated that the expression of religion in schools must not jeopardise the health and safety of students. The circumstances of this case demonstrate the extent to which justifications for the ban on wearing the hijab can be trivial and unconvincing. The physical education teacher required the student to remove her hijab for safety reasons, and she, as a compromise, suggested wearing a cap instead. The teacher rejected this, and when asked by the disciplinary committee how the student's safety was compromised by wearing a cap, the teacher refused to provide an answer. Despite this, the European Court accepted the argument,⁴⁴ and although the petitioners were denied the

40 Anne-Laure Zwillig, "Francuska", pp. 191-192.

41 Olivier Roy, *Sekularizam u suočavanju sa islamom*, E. Mušinić (trans.) (Sarajevo: Centar za napredne studije, El-Kalem, 2012), p. 57.

42 Nedim Begović, *Vjerska sloboda i muslimanske manjine u Evropi*, p. 145.

43 *Dogru v. France* (application no. 27058/05), [https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng-press#{"itemid": \["003-2569490-2781270"\]}](https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng-press#{), accessed 2 September 2022.

44 Nedim Begović, *Vjerska sloboda i muslimanske manjine u Evropi*, pp. 154-155.

opportunity to attend a public school, the court held that there was no need to consider their claims that the French authorities violated their right to education under Article 2 of Protocol 1.⁴⁵

Face coverings became a subject of debate in France in 2008. Reflecting the government's hardline stance, the Minister of Immigration launched what became known as the "great debate" in 2009, on banning the burqa and asking whether the French identity was under threat.⁴⁶ Specifically, the issue of the burqa was raised in the assembly in reference to a text by communist MP André Gerin, which was signed by 58 French representatives from various political factions. Gerin stated that the burqa represented an attack on individual freedoms and femininity, and called it a "walking prison".⁴⁷ He was then appointed the issue's chief investigator in parliament, and the outcome was predictable from day one. The investigation lasted six months, during which 221 professionals were heard, including legal and gender studies experts, religious leaders, and academics.⁴⁸

Gerin's investigation culminated in a 658-page report, which focussed on the symbolism of the burqa, and paid particular attention to how non-Muslims perceived it in everyday life.⁴⁹ At the beginning of 2016, the French Minister for Women's Affairs Laurence Rossignol compared women who wore the burqa to "American blacks who supported slavery", and criticised companies that sold hijabs as socially irresponsible.⁵⁰ Later the same year, the wearing of the burkini, a swimsuit for Muslim women, was also banned.

It remains unclear why this issue has garnered so much attention, given the small number of women in France who wear face coverings. Some studies estimate the number to be around 367, while others suggests around 2,000.⁵¹ The final ban on wearing the burqa or niqab was formalised in 2011, with the passing of a law.⁵² Interestingly, the Constitutional Court cited security concerns and the preservation of women's dignity as reasons for passing the law, without asking the women who wear Islamic clothing for their opinion. The court stated that even women who voluntarily wore the burqa were in a state of subordination and inferiority, which is incompatible with the constitutional principles of freedom

45 Nedim Begović, *Vjerska sloboda i muslimanske manjine u Evropi*, p. 144.

46 Akbar Ahmed, *Putovanje u Evropu – islam, imigracija i identitet*, p. 200.

47 Chloe Patton, "Defacing Levinas: Vision, Veiling and the Ethics of Republican Citizenship in France", *Social Identities*, 20: 2-3 (2014), p. 187.

48 Patton, "Defacing Levinas: Vision, Veiling and the Ethics of Republican Citizenship in France", p. 187

49 Chloe Patton, "Defacing Levinas: Vision, Veiling and the Ethics of Republican Citizenship in France", p. 187.

50 Akbar Ahmed, *Putovanje u Evropu – islam, imigracija i identitet*, p. 200.

51 Anne-Laure Zwillig, "Francuska", pp. 191-192.

52 Fikret Karčić, "Pravosuđe i vjerska obilježja", p. 201., LOI n° 2010-1192 du 11 octobre 2010 interdisant la dissimulation du visage dans l'espace public, <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/dossierlegislatif/JORFDOLE000022234691/>, accessed 12 November 2024.

and equality.⁵³ “Behind this assertion is the belief that if national identity must be built on the idea of secularism, then it is ‘the role of the state to create secular citizens,’ by educating them on the values of secularism and protecting them from rival values conveyed by religions.”⁵⁴

In *S.A.S. v. France* from 2014,⁵⁵ the European Court of Human Rights accepted the French Government’s argument that covering one’s face in public could affect coexistence, and emphasised that the face played a crucial role in human interaction. The Court also accepted the view that covering the face creates a social barrier, thereby infringing on others’ rights to live in a social environment that facilitates coexistence. Although the Court recognised that the contested ban affected certain Muslim women, it noted that any other clothing could be worn in public as long as it did not cover the face.⁵⁶ The new principle of *living together* was therefore wholeheartedly embraced by the European Court, with the aim of limiting the freedom of religion.

Even before French authorities banned the wearing of the abaya in schools in August 2023, there were instances in which they banned long skirts. In 2016, a school principal in eastern Paris told a 16-year-old Muslim girl that the length of her skirt was a “conspicuous religious symbol.”⁵⁷ When the girl continued to wear long skirts, it was decided that such clothing violated the rules of secularism in the education system. The Supreme Administrative Court upheld this decision, rejecting claims that it was discriminatory or could incite hatred.⁵⁸ Given the fact that any form of body covering is seen as a threat to secularism and a trend subordinate to traditional Islam, the question arises: what are Muslim women, especially girls, allowed to wear to express their loyalty to the French Republic?

French laws that ban the wearing of the hijab in schools or the burqa in public spaces restrict both freedom of religion and individual freedom of expression, and primarily impact the daily lives of women. Political authorities are obliged to ensure that the wearing of the burqa or niqab is a matter of personal choice, rather than something imposed by family or religious communities, but they should not go beyond that. Once individual freedoms and public interest are

53 Decision no. 2010-613 DC of 7 October 2010, <https://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/en/decision/2010/2010613DC.htm>, accessed 22 September 2022.

54 Silvio Ferrari, “Religija u evropskim javnim prostorima: pravni pregled”, *Context*, 1 (2), p. 7-8.

55 For more, see: *Case of S.A.S v. France* (Application no. 43835/11), <https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng>, accessed 22 September 2022.

56 “Review of the Practice of the European Court of Human Rights,” uredzastupnika.gov.hr, accessed 2 September 2022, p. 21.

57 John Lichfield, “Muslim girl sent home by school in France over long skirt”, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/muslim-girl-sent-home-by-school-in-france-over-long-skirt-a7019706.html>, accessed 16 September 2024.

58 Angélique Chrisafis, “French court upholds ban on girls wearing abayas in schools”, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/sep/07/french-court-upholds-ban-on-girls-wearing-abayas-in-schools>, accessed 2 January 2024.

protected, wearing clothing that expresses one's religious and cultural beliefs should not be restricted in shared public spaces. Wearing a cross, yarmulke, or turban can convey a message about a person's beliefs, even when they are simply buying bread and butter, but the same message can be conveyed by a hairstyle, an earring, or a tattoo, so there is no reason why the wearing of religious symbols should be more restrictively regulated than other symbols.⁵⁹

Inclusive Multiculturalism in the United Kingdom

The United Kingdom is the European country that has advanced furthest in seeking a comprehensive, multicultural organisation of society. Although two churches (Anglican and Scottish) are considered state churches,⁶⁰ there is a high degree of accommodation for minority religions.⁶¹

In the mid-1960s, this former colonial power saw a rise in the population of ethnic others. To prevent conflicts, Britain quickly adopted anti-discrimination laws and policies,⁶² primarily through the Race Relations Act of 1976. This law did not fully protect Muslims, however, as it did not address discrimination based on religion but rather ethnicity, as recognised for Jews and Sikhs.⁶³ Accordingly, the law viewed the yarmulke or turban not as religious clothing, but as an integral part of ethnic identity. Conversely, Islamic women's dress practices are seen as a symbol of pure religiosity.⁶⁴

Like in France, the UK's headscarf affair began in an all-girls high school, where sisters Aisha and Fatima Alevi were told they could not attend school while wearing the hijab. The school principal insisted that the hijab, aside from violating the dress code, would disrupt discipline, breach the school's uniform colour rules (traditionally navy blue), and pose hygiene and safety concerns (during scientific experiments and gymnastics).⁶⁵

Media coverage of this incident and the ensuing public debate focused on the individual right to religious freedom, and the hijab as part of religious identity.

59 Silvio Ferrari, "Religija u evropskim javnim prostorima: pravni pregled", p. 16.

60 Anthony Bradney, "Religion and the Secular State in the United Kingdom", in *Religion and the Secular State: National Reports*, W. Cole Durham and J. Martinez-Torron (eds.) (International Center for Law and Religions Studies, Brigham Young University, 2010), p. 739.

61 Ehlimana Memišević, "Religija u javnom prostoru: Pitanje isticanja vjerskih obilježja", p. 259.

62 Tarik Modood, "The Place of Muslims in British Secular Multiculturalism," in *Muslim Europe or Euro-Islam: Politics, Culture, and Citizenship in the Age of Globalization*, Nezar Al Sazzad (ed.) (Lanham, Boulder, New York: Lexington Books, 2002), pp. 113-114.

63 Tahir Abbas, *Muslim Britain: Communities under Pressure* (London, New York: Zed Books, 2005), p. 40.

64 Sevgi Kiliç, "The British Veil Wars", *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 15:4 (2008), p. 440.

65 Sevgi Kiliç, "The British Veil Wars", p. 440.

Contrary to the views that frame it as a symbol of female subjugation, an obstacle to assimilation, and an incompatibility with democratic principles, the British public recognised the hijab as a sign of religious devotion and female modesty, and the decision was overturned.

Since this incident, no disputes regarding the wearing of the hijab by girls in state schools have been reported. Additionally, the Department for Children, Schools, and Families issued guidelines on school uniform policies, which state that schools must consider their obligations according to anti-discrimination laws and the Human Rights Act of 1998 when making such decisions. This means schools are required to ensure that their uniform policies do not interfere with the individual's right to manifest religion or beliefs. The restriction of religious freedoms is justified only in cases that concern the protection of health, safety, or the rights and freedoms of others.⁶⁶

Wearing the hijab is also permitted for officials in other public institutions. Raffia Arsha was appointed deputy district judge in the Midlands in 2020. In an interview with *Vogue*, she said that this was not only a personal success but a victory for all women, especially Muslim women. The 40-year-old mother of three hopes her appointment will inspire Muslims to pursue their dreams in all professions.⁶⁷

In addition, the military and police in Britain have approved versions of the hijab for Muslim women, and after the burkini ban in France some municipal pools began to offer special swimming times for Muslim women, and in some cases imposed an Islamic dress code on all swimmers.⁶⁸

At one point, then Prime Minister Theresa May greatly impressed the Muslim public. In response to the increasing headscarf controversies across Europe, she stated: "It is every woman's right to freely choose her clothing, and we have no intention of passing laws on this matter [...] it is not for the government to tell women what they can or cannot wear, and we want to continue the tradition of freedom of expression."⁶⁹

Subsequently, schools, local authorities, and employers regularly lost court cases for imposing dress codes that discriminated against individuals based on race or ethnicity. The House of Lords' 2006 ruling against Shabina Begum, a student who wished to wear a jilbab instead of the school uniform, however, illustrates that such cases had reached their limits.⁷⁰

66 Sevgi Kiliç, "The British Veil Wars", p. 444

67 Naheed Iteqar, "This Muslim Woman Just Became UK's First Hijab-Wearing Judge", <https://en.vogue.me/culture/raffia-arshad-uk-first-hijab-wearing-judge/>, accessed 22 September 2022.

68 Seán McLoughlin and Tahir Abbas, "Velika Britanija", in *Muslimani u Evropi*, Jorgen S. Nielsen, Samim Akgonul, Ahmet Alibašić (eds.) (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, Centar za napredne studije, 2011), p. 567.

69 Seán McLoughlin and Tahir Abbas, "Velika Britanija", pp. 683-684.

70 Seán McLoughlin and Tahir Abbas, "Velika Britanija", p. 567.

In 2002, Shabina Begum sued Denbigh High School in Luton. Almost 80 percent of the student population at this high school was of Muslim origin,⁷¹ and the school's uniform policy accommodated South Asian dress customs, which included the shalwar kameez (trousers and shirt) and the hijab.⁷² Shabina wore this uniform for two years, but in 2002 she decided she wanted to wear a jilbab, a long dress that covers the entire body except the face and hands.⁷³ The school administration rejected her request, and insisted that she continued to wear the approved school uniform for students of South Asian origin. Begum offered to compromise by wearing a jilbab in the school colours, but the school administration dismissed her suggestion, claiming it could lead to divisions.

The Judicial Committee of the House of Lords ruled in favour of the school,⁷⁴ which had formulated its uniform policy in consultation with students and their parents, and imams from three local mosques, to include the shalwar kameez and hijab.⁷⁵ This restriction did not constitute a violation of human rights under Article 9 of the European Convention, especially given that Begum could have attended one of several other schools that did permit the jilbab.

In their speeches, several lords commented on the balance they had achieved, considering the facts of the case and the specific concerns of the school authorities, including evidence of fears expressed by other students. Lord Bingham noted that “the school made considerable efforts to design a uniform policy that respects Muslim beliefs, but did so in an inclusive, benign, and non-competitive way”. Other schools throughout the United Kingdom allow the jilbab as part of their school uniform.⁷⁶

In several cases, courts ruled in favour of schools that prohibited face coverings.⁷⁷ Following a student's lawsuit, in 2007, the Supreme Court ruled that the banning policy of a girls' high school in Buckinghamshire was acceptable.⁷⁸

Debates about face coverings have also been held in spaces other than schools. In 2006, former Foreign Secretary Jack Straw stated in his *Guardian* column that the practice made him uncomfortable. He described an encounter with a pleasant and educated British woman who wore a niqab, when she visited his office to consult about voting rights. Although it was not the first time he had spoken

71 Mohammad Mazher Idriss, “The Defeat of Shabina Begum in the House of Lords”, *Liverpool Law Review*, 27 (2016), p. 417.

72 Sevgi Kiliç, “The British Veil Wars”, p. 445.

73 Mohammad Mazher Idriss, “The Defeat of Shabina Begum in the House of Lords”, p. 418.

74 For more, see: *R (on the application of Begum (by her litigation friend, Rahman)) (Respondent) v. Headteacher and Governors of Denbigh High School (Appellants)*, <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200506/ldjudgmt/jd060322/begum.pdf>, accessed 22 September 2022.

75 Mohammad Mazher Idriss, “The Defeat of Shabina Begum in the House of Lords”, p. 424.

76 Sevgi Kiliç, “The British Veil Wars”, pp. 445-446.

77 Ehlmana Memišević, “Religija u javnom prostoru: Pitanje isticanja vjerskih obilježja”, p. 260.

78 “Schoolgirl loses niqab veil case”, <https://www.asianimage.co.uk/news/1209113.schoolgirl-loses-niqab-veil-case/>, accessed 19 August 2022.

to a woman whose face was completely covered, and despite the pleasantness of the conversation, Straw noted that he felt uncomfortable in her company.⁷⁹ He claimed that the niqab was a “visible demonstration of separation that pushes white and Asian communities into ‘parallel lives’”, and suggested in later media interviews that he would like to see a ban on face coverings. He argued that banning the niqab would almost certainly reduce the wearing of the hijab, which is a significant and growing part of British Muslim women’s fashion.⁸⁰

Some members of the Conservative Party also saw an opportunity to gain populist support. In 2010, Phillip Hollobone announced the introduction of a bill to ban face coverings, calling the niqab the most ridiculous piece of clothing anyone could wear.⁸¹ He argued that it was not a religious requirement, as most Muslim women do not cover their faces, and he expected that after the French ban, other European countries would follow suit. A complaint was filed against Hollobone after he stated that wearing the niqab was the “religious equivalent of a paper bag with two holes for eyes”.⁸² The British public reacted strongly, and the proposal was never submitted for further consideration.

Mandatory Covering: The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Republic of Iran

The law of Saudi Arabia does not guarantee gender equality. On the contrary, gender inequality is embedded in governmental and social structures and is an integral part of the state’s interpretation of Islam, which stems from a literal reading of the Quran and Sunnah.⁸³ According to this religious interpretation, women should not hold public roles, and covering the face is recommended. The country’s ulema (religious scholars) have responded extremely cautiously to any attempt to reform regarding women’s rights.

The first such attempts emerged in 1990, when a group of entrepreneurs, academics, and journalists submitted a petition that called for the formation of a new Advisory Council, equality for all citizens, more freedom for journalists,

79 Jack Straw, “I felt uneasy talking to someone I couldn’t see”, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2006/oct/06/politics.uk>, accessed 17 August 2022.

80 Sevgi Kiliç, “The British Veil Wars”, pp. 433–434.

81 Ralph Grillo and Prakash Shah, “Reasons to Ban? The Anti-Burqa Movement in Western Europe”, https://www.mmh.mpg.de/59760/WP_12-05_Grillo_Reasons-to-Ban.pdf, accessed 22 September 2022, p. 22.

82 Helen Pidd, “Niqab-ban Tory MP told he is breaking the law”, <https://www.theguardian.com/global/2010/jul/25/niqab-ban-mp-philip-hollobone>, accessed 22 September 2022.

83 Eleanor Abdella Doumato, “Saudi Arabia”, in *Women’s Rights in the Middle East and North Africa*, Sanja Kelly and Julia Breslin (eds.) (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), p. 425.

and the improvement of women's rights. Later that year, on 6 November, 40 women drove cars through the streets of Riyadh to protest the customary ban on women driving. The protest, however, had the opposite effect; not only did the government punish the protesters, but it formalised the law banning women from driving cars.⁸⁴ This law followed a fatwa issued by the country's leading religious scholar, stating that women driving cars was contrary to Islamic tradition.⁸⁵

On the other side of the societal spectrum, traditionalists called for stricter adherence to Sharia law, and a greater role for the ulema in decision-making processes. Certain segments of society, especially young Saudis, argued that the regime had failed to uphold Islamic principles. They accused the government of corruption and incompetence, and claimed it was increasingly influenced by Western values.⁸⁶ The situation was further inflamed by a statement from the Grand Mufti, Bin Baz, who said: "Removing a woman from the home, which is her kingdom, means removing her from her natural state and what her character demands."⁸⁷

Despite this opposition, the calls for reform did not cease and the religious establishment accepted a role for women outside the household, on the condition that they remained hidden from the male gaze. Women were required to have separate spaces, and if this was not possible they had to wear an abaya, hijab, and niqab to prevent sexual promiscuity, which was becoming prevalent in society. These conditions did not diminish the increasing visibility of women, who, in accordance with the extant code, pursued education and employment.⁸⁸

Quranic commands on modesty require women to wear loose, opaque clothing that covers the entire body, concealing its contours and any expression of sexuality.⁸⁹ In 2001, to prevent the hijab entering the realm of fashion, the Saudi authorities enacted a regulation banning the sale of embroidered and designed hijabs and abayas. Soon, local newspapers reported attacks on stores selling modern scarves, detailing the destruction of all "offensive" content. Sheikh Ibn 'Uthaymeen later issued a fatwa warning against the anti-Islamic campaign that

84 Esther van Eijk, "Sharia and National Law in Saudi Arabia", in *Sharia Incorporated, A Comparative Overview of the Legal Systems of Twelve Muslim Countries in Past and Present*, J. M. Otto (ed.) (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2010), p. 151.

85 Judith Colp Rubin, "Women in the Middle East", p. 615.

86 William L. Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000), pp. 477-478.

87 For more, see: "Fatwas of Ibn Baz", <http://www.alifta.net/Fatawa/FatawaSubjects.aspx?language=en&View=Page&HajjEntryID=0&HajjEntryName=&RamadanEntryID=0&RamadanEntryName=&NodeID=4660&PageID=75&SectionID=14&SubjectPageTitlesID=21173&MarkIndex=1&0>, accessed 22 September 2022.

88 Muddassir Quamar, "Sociology of the Veil in Saudi Arabia: Dress Code, Individual Choices, and Questions on Women's Empowerment", *Domes: Digest of Middle East Studies*, 2016, p. 9.

89 C.A. DeCoursey, "Attitudes of Professional Muslim Women in Saudi Arabia regarding Wearing the Abaya", *Asian Culture and History*, 9:2 (2017), p. 18.

promoted embroidered, designer-style abayas and hijabs, which he held could lead to the spread of *fitna* (temptation)⁹⁰ in society.⁹¹

In one widely reported incident, religious scholar Ahmed al-Ghamdi, then an official of the religious police in Mecca, tweeted that wearing the niqab was a matter of choice, not a strict religious obligation. His views sparked major debates on social media, and he reiterated his opinions on television alongside his wife, who did not cover her face. This enraged many, and some called for his punishment and removal from the religious police board. Eventually, the Grand Mufti Abdulaziz bin Abdullah al-Sheikh responded, stating that al-Ghamdi's views were personal and misleading, and calling on him to retract his statements and repent.⁹²

This shows that despite the absence of a law mandating face covering, the practice is strongly encouraged by the Saudi government. It is rare to see a young Saudi woman, married or unmarried, without a niqab, and it is almost impossible, even in liberal and cosmopolitan Jeddah, to find a woman without a hijab.

There are, however, cases in which educated, accomplished women express support for covering the face. Nora al-Fayez, the Minister for Girls' Education, stated in an interview that she would not like her photograph to appear in newspapers, and that she preferred to wear the niqab as it was both a social custom and a religious duty. There are also examples of the opposite, including scientist Khawla al-Kuraya, who was awarded the King Abdulaziz Medal in 2009 for her outstanding research contributions, and received the award without covering her face. Not only did the King meet this woman, he awarded and shook hands with her, and the photographs were published in daily newspapers.⁹³

As previously mentioned, the then Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman stated in a March 2018 interview that women no longer had to wear the black abaya or hijab, as long as their clothing was respectful and modest.⁹⁴ This statement, however, did not change the kingdom overnight. Today, women who choose to abandon the abaya still face condemnation and discrimination in public places, and some – like Mashaal al-Jaloud, a 33-year-old Saudi woman who shared her experience on social media – are still forced to cover their hair at

90 "Fitna (lit. rebellion, conflict, disorder). Any rebellion against a fair and honorable ruler is considered fitna. The spread of fitna is one of the traditional signs of the Day of Judgment". Cyril Glassé, *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Sarajevo: Libris, 2010), p. 165. The term is often used in the context of testing believers.

91 Maha A. Z. Yamani, *Polygamy and Law in Contemporary Saudi Arabia* (UK: Ithaca Press, 2008), p. 154.

92 Muddassir Quamar, "Sociology of the Veil in Saudi Arabia: Dress Code, Individual Choices, and Questions on Women's Empowerment", p. 15.

93 Muddassir Quamar, "Sociology of the Veil in Saudi Arabia: Dress Code, Individual Choices, and Questions on Women's Empowerment", p. 15.

94 "Women in Saudi Arabia Do Not Need to Wear Head Cover, Says Crown Prince", <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/middle-east/women-in-saudi-arabia-do-not-need-to-wear-head-cover-says-crown-prince-1.3433096>, accessed 2 September 2019.

work. Al-Jaloud explains that not wearing the hijab puts her in uncomfortable situations; she is subject to disapproving looks, and one shopping mall barred her from entry because it deemed her improperly dressed.⁹⁵ Although many citizens are aware of Mohammad bin Salman's views, the absence of an official decree means that the practice of wearing the niqab has not significantly changed.

Based on conversations with Saudi women, it can be concluded that most do not think dress codes hinder them in pursuing education or employment, or enjoying their leisure time. Instead, Saudi women see the hijab as a part of their lives, a protection from unwanted male attention, and a means by which they can enjoy being in public without feeling insecure. It is true, however, that for some wearing the hijab or niqab is not a choice, but something imposed by societal customs and state regulations.⁹⁶

The now Islamic Republic of Iran followed a diametrically opposite policy on women's covering with the rise of the Pahlavi regime in 1925 (then the Imperial State of Iran), under which efforts were made to minimise the role of religious authorities. Sharia law was replaced by secular law, and civil matters were placed under the jurisdiction of secular courts.⁹⁷

The reforms did not stop there, however: one of Pahlavi's most radical moves was the unveiling policy (*kashf-e hejab*), which banned women from appearing in public in the traditional Iranian chador. This extreme secularising measure was intended to send a strong public message about the abolition of laws and practices rooted in religion.⁹⁸

The ban began with a grand ceremony held at the Teachers' College in Tehran on 7 January 1936, known as *Hefda-be Dey* or *Rooz-e Azadi-ye Zan* (Women's Emancipation Day). An earlier order had been issued for the wives of ministers, senior military officers, and government officials to appear in European clothing and hats, rather than chadors. Before the ceremony, the Shah told his family that the decision to enforce unveiling was the hardest thing he had to do. He then asked his wife and daughters to attend the ceremony unveiled to serve as an example for other Persian women.⁹⁹ Pahlavi urged all women to "discard the veils, symbols of inequality and shame, into the fire of oblivion."¹⁰⁰ The implementation of the

95 "Rebel Saudi women appear in public without hijab, abaya; onlookers stunned," <https://www.nst.com.my/world/2019/09/521602/rebel-saudi-women-appear-public-without-hijab-abaya-onlookers-stunned>, accessed 26 September 2022.

96 Muddassar Quamar, "Sociology of the Veil in Saudi Arabia: Dress Code, Individual Choices, and Questions on Women's Empowerment", p. 16.

97 Hamideh Sedghi, *Women and Politics in Iran: Veiling, Unveiling, and Reveiling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 85.

98 Ziba Mir-Hosseini, "Sharia and National Law in Iran", in *Sharia Incorporated, A Comparative Overview of the Legal Systems of Twelve Muslim Countries in Past and Present*, Jan Michiel Otto (ed.) (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2010), pp. 327-328.

99 Ziba Mir-Hosseini, "Sharia and National Law in Iran", p. 86.

100 Judith Colp Rubin, "Religion in the Middle East", p. 598.

new policy was ruthless. High-ranking officials whose wives appeared in public wearing chadors were immediately dismissed, while lower-ranking government employees were generally punished.

Police stopped women on the streets to tear their chadors off, and there were even reports of them entering private homes and arresting women. Women who refused to remove their chadors stopped leaving their homes, visiting friends, going to public baths, and attending other gatherings.¹⁰¹

The late 1970s were marked by events that led to the Iranian Revolution. A sudden increase in crude oil prices enriched Iran, and created a large division within society: the wealthy led lavish lifestyles with access to resources, while the poor struggled to survive. Lower- and middle-income families, who were generally more devout and traditional, were angered by these rapid changes. During this historical moment, various (anti-monarchist) ideologies among the religious class and the ulema, along with those of other dissatisfied factions (such as socialists), became popular not only among the poor, but also among college-educated individuals.¹⁰² At that time, many traditional women returned to wearing the chador.

Women played a significant role during the revolution, a fact of which Khomeini was well aware,¹⁰³ and he stated that women were obliged to join the protests, even without the permission of their fathers or husbands.¹⁰⁴ In return, Khomeini promised freedom and equality for women within the framework of the Islamic state.¹⁰⁵ Many women therefore showed a willingness to embrace the Islamic regime, a return to Sharia law, and the wearing of Islamic clothing.¹⁰⁶ Suddenly, the hijab, once seen as a symbol of oppression, became a symbol of revolution.¹⁰⁷

The proposed post-revolution mandatory wearing of the hijab caused discontent among some women, leading to demonstrations on March 8 (International Women's Day), and this opposition from secular and liberal citizens forced the authorities to delay the implementation of the mandatory covering law. By July 1980, however, the law was partially enforced. The wearing of the hijab was introduced in all government institutions, and by 1981, a decree was issued requiring covering in public. The decree officially came into full effect

101 Judith Colp Rubin, "Religion in the Middle East", p. 598.

102 Faegheh Shirazi, "The Veiling Issue in 20th Century Iran in Fashion and Society, Religion, and Government", *Religions*, 10 (2019), p. 11.

103 Homa Hoodfar, Shadi Sadr, "Islamic Politics and Women's Quest for Gender Equality in Iran", *Third World Quarterly*, 31:6 (2010), p. 893.

104 Delaram Farzaneh, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: A Brief History of Legal Discriminations against Women in Iran and the Violations of International Human Rights", *Annual Survey of International and Comparative Law*, 20:1 (2014), p. 217.

105 Judith Colp Rubin, "Women in the Middle East", p. 599.

106 Ziba Mir-Hosseini, *Islam and Gender: The Religious Debate in Contemporary Iran*, p. 7.

107 Judith Colp Rubin, "Women in the Middle East", p. 599.

in 1983, with legal penalties prescribed for non-compliance. Since then, the issue of the mandatory hijab in Iranian society has been the subject of numerous public debates.¹⁰⁸

Dissatisfaction with this policy has become particularly vocal in recent years. Some believers argue that compulsion in religion is strictly forbidden, and therefore that such a measure is not religiously justified, while the Morality Police claim that wearing the hijab is part of the Muslim duty to “enjoin good and forbid evil”. The actions of this police force, known in Persian as *Ershad*, inspired an anonymous team of Iranian developers to create an app based on this name.¹⁰⁹ The app uses user data to identify where the mobile checkpoints of these police – who are responsible for sanctioning those who do not wear the hijab – are located at any given time.¹¹⁰

In recent years, women have shown more courage in their opposition to the religious police, and have started to dress more freely, with the hijab barely covering part of their hair. Those who genuinely wish to wear the hijab as prescribed by their religion have remained faithful to their style.

The first campaign led by Iranian women was called One Million Signatures to End Discriminatory Laws. This campaign began in 2006 at a conference attended by prominent members of society, but as authorities intervened, the campaign moved to the streets. Members of the campaign were soon arrested, and were monitored after their release, which prevented them reaching their goal of one million signatures. The campaign left its mark, however, and some laws were soon reformed in favour of women.

In a 2013 interview with the Huffington Post, then President of Iran Hassan Rouhani criticised the actions of the police, and stated that the majority of women who did not follow the dress code were still moral. Rouhani emphasised that the focus should be on values rather than outward appearances. Reactions quickly followed, and a year later the president said that the police’s duty was to enforce the law, not religion, and that “you can’t send people to heaven with a whip”. Ayatollah Khamenei opposed his views.¹¹¹

In 2014, the My Stealthy Freedom movement emerged, aiming to achieve the right to choose. This movement was the brainchild of Iranian activist Masih Alinejad. In an interview with *Al Arabiya*, the 40-year-old activist, who currently resides in New York, said that it all started when she posted a photo of herself

108 Ivan Ejub Kostić, “Protiv Moralne policije ili režima?”, pp. 39-40.

109 The Iranian Morality Police are called *Ershad* in Farsi; the name of the app translates as “avoiding *Ershad*”.

110 Faegheh Shirazi, “The Veiling Issue in 20th Century Iran in Fashion and Society, Religion, and Government”, p. 16.

111 Faegheh Shirazi, “The Veiling Issue in 20th Century Iran in Fashion and Society, Religion, and Government”, p. 17.

without a hijab.¹¹² In protest, a large number of women across the country took photos of themselves without hijabs, and posted them on social media.¹¹³

Alinejad's 2022 meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo¹¹⁴ sparked debates on social media. While some defended her, others claimed she was a U.S. government agent trying to influence Iran's internal politics by manipulating women.

Nevertheless, the campaign continued. As a form of protest, some women shaved their heads, claiming that they no longer needed to wear the hijab because of their lack of hair. Men also showed solidarity by appearing in public wearing head coverings. These acts of protest were posted on the My Stealthy Freedom Facebook page.¹¹⁵

This unrest led to a new campaign called White Wednesday. The goal of this movement was the same: to end the law requiring the mandatory wearing of the hijab in Iran and give women the freedom to choose. As Masih Alinejad explained, white scarves symbolised the protest, and soon, women began to appear in public with their hair fully uncovered. The turning point, which led to the hashtag #GirlsOfRevolutionStreet, occurred when Vida Movahedi waved her white scarf like a flag on Revolution Street.¹¹⁶ Vida was arrested just a few hours later, but her photograph went viral. Since Facebook is banned in Iran, Alinejad continues to receive photos daily from women with white scarves or without hijabs, and she posts them on the platform. Today, My Stealthy Freedom and White Wednesday have more than 2.3 million followers combined.

Many Iranian officials and high-ranking functionaries look upon the women's choice movement with disdain. General Naghdi on the occasion of "media day in Iran" spoke about the dangers of using foreign terminology in the country's media. He stated that "those prostitutes" (in reference to women protesting mandatory covering in public) "[...] use the term 'mandatory hijab', like our enemies; it's a calculated choice of words ...".¹¹⁷

112 "Woman behind ripple of change in Iran starts with campaign against hijab mandate", <https://english.alarabiya.net/features/2018/03/09/Iranian-activist-who-started-White-Wednesday-movement-says>, accessed 30 September 2022.

113 Annual Report 2019, International Religious Freedom, <https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/2019USCIRFAnnualReport.pdf>, 30. 9. 2020, p. 55.

114 "Secretary Pompeo's Meeting With Iranian Women's Rights Activist Masih Alinejad", <https://ir.usembassy.gov/secretary-pompeos-meeting-with-iranian-womens-rights-activist-masih-alinejad/>, accessed 30 September 2022.

115 Faegheh Shirazi, "The Veiling Issue in 20th Century Iran in Fashion and Society, Religion, and Government", p. 18.

116 "Woman behind ripple of change in Iran starts with campaign against hijab mandate", <https://english.alarabiya.net/features/2018/03/09/Iranian-activist-who-started-White-Wednesday-movement-says>, accessed 30 September 2022.

117 Faegheh Shirazi, "The Veiling Issue in 20th Century Iran in Fashion and Society, Religion, and Government", p. 2.

In 2022, Iran was again shaken by protests following the death of 22-year-old Mahsa Amini. According to initial media reports, Amini was killed by the Morality Police immediately after being arrested for wearing inappropriate clothing and taken to a police station.¹¹⁸ It was soon clarified that Amini was not killed at the time, but died three days later in hospital after collapsing in police custody. After conducting an autopsy, Iranian authorities denied the use of physical violence against Amini, and claimed her cause of death was a heart attack. Her family, on the other hand, claims that Amini received several blows to the head while in custody.¹¹⁹

Amini's death sparked a wave of protests in Iranian cities, and around the world. Conservative factions viewed them solely as an attempt to overthrow the regime, which aligns with claims and reports from Western media. Further, the extensive solidarity expressed by people from the West toward the "women of Iran" via social media is often seen as hypocritical. This is because such concern and solidarity are permanently absent when it comes to advocating for the lifting of sanctions, which prevent Iranian citizens from securing basic necessities, such as adequate medical care.¹²⁰

When discussing the status of women in Iran since the Iranian Revolution, it becomes clear that men have dictated whether women should cover or uncover themselves, and the hijab has been synonymous with the regime in power. During Pahlavi's reign, all women had to remove their chadors, even those who did not want to. When the new regime rose in 1979, all women were required to cover their hair. Both legal mandates represented the same form of violence against women, as every woman should have the right to decide whether or not to wear Islamic clothing, without male intervention or dominance. Forced veiling, just like forced unveiling, is a crime against the women of Iran.

Between Secularism and Religiosity: Bosnia and Herzegovina

Between the two world wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina, an intense debate emerged among the ulama and intellectuals regarding the obligation of women to cover their faces.¹²¹ Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević, an interpreter of religious law, expressed the opinion that Islamic law did not oppose the uncovering of

118 Monir Ghaedi, "Who are Iran's 'morality police'?", <https://www.dw.com/en/irans-morality-police-what-do-they-enforce/a-63200711>, accessed 21 October 2022.

119 Ivan Ejub Kostić, "Protiv Moralne policije ili režima?", p. 39.

120 Ivan Ejub Kostić, "Protiv Moralne policije ili režima?", p. 39.

121 Fikret Karčić, "Zašto ne treba zakonom zabraniti nikab", <https://www.islamskazajednica.ba/component/content/article?id=9294&catid=207>, accessed 30 September 2022.

women's faces. His views sparked sharp reactions.¹²²

After World War II and the socialist revolution, Muslim women's clothing was characterised as an obstacle to their emancipation. The campaign to abolish this attire began with the Women's Antifascist Front in 1947.¹²³ As the campaign was only partially successful, a law was enacted on 27 September 1950, prohibiting the wearing of the *zar* and *feredža* (traditional veils).¹²⁴ The law had four objectives: the abolition of the *zar* as a centuries-old symbol of subjugation and cultural backwardness; achieving gender equality; the fulfilment of constitutional rights; and the participation of women in the social, cultural, and economic life of the state.¹²⁵ The law prescribed a penalty of up to 3 months in prison or a fine of up to 20,000 dinars for wearing the *zar* or *feredža*, as well as for anyone demanding that this attire be worn. For forcing a woman to wear such clothing, a penalty of up to 2 years of forced labour or a fine of up to 50,000 dinars was imposed.¹²⁶ The law and its enforcement left deep traumas among many Muslim women who had been raised to wear this traditional clothing.¹²⁷

The practice of face-covering in Bosnia and Herzegovina resurfaced after the 1990s. Under the pretext of addressing the "Muslim question", the practices in European states, and security concerns, the parliamentary caucus of the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats proposed the enactment of a law prohibiting the wearing of clothing that prevented identification.¹²⁸

After the draft law was not adopted, the issue of the niqab was no longer addressed. The focus shifted to headscarves (*mahrime*) in public spaces in two contexts: within the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and after the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council of BiH's decision banning religious symbols and the practice of faith during working hours in judicial institutions was issued.

Emela Mujanović's struggle has been ongoing for more than ten years. After being admitted to the Armed Forces of BiH in 2008, Mujanović went to Greece for military training as a non-commissioned officer. During her studies, she decided to wear the headscarf, without significantly altering her appearance. She continued to wear her uniform to work, with the olive-coloured headscarf discreetly incorporated, making it almost unnoticeable. Despite this, Emela

122 Fikret Karčić, *Društveno-pravni aspekt islamskog reformizma: pokret za reformu šerijatskog prava i njegov odjek u Jugoslaviji u prvoj polovini XX vijeka* (Sarajevo: Islamski teološki fakultet, 1990), p. 216.

123 Fikret Karčić, "Primjena zakona o zabrani nošenja zara i feredže u BiH", p. 51.

124 *Official Gazette of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, no. 32 (5/10/1950)

125 Marko Božić, "The Law Unveiled: On Burka Ban, Kanzelparagraph and Militant Secularism in the Socialist Yugoslavia", *Pravni zapisi*, 12:2 (2021), pp. 422-423.

126 Fikret Karčić, "Primjena zakona o zabrani nošenja zara i feredže u BiH", p. 51.

127 Fikret Karčić, "Zašto ne treba zakonom zabraniti nikab".

128 Significantly, this proposal came from a party that questions the statehood and historical continuity of this country, and considers its history to have begun with the Dayton Peace Agreement. Despite this, the party was willing to accept that the 1950 Law on the Prohibition of the *zar* and *feredža* remains valid. See: Fikret Karčić, "Zašto ne treba zakonom zabraniti nikab".

was prevented from performing her duties and tasks in accordance with her employment contract. As a result, two lawsuits were initiated: in 2012¹²⁹ and 2020.¹³⁰ After the case was conclusively resolved, an appeal was filed with the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the first-instance ruling from 2012, the court rejected the claim, stating that the plaintiff was returned to work and transferred to another barracks in Ustikolina, where she was allowed to wear the headscarf for a certain period of time. The transfer itself, however, did not resolve the issue of wearing the headscarf, and in 2019 Mujanović was reprimanded for violating regulations regarding the military uniform, soldierly appearance, and personal hygiene, which prompted the second lawsuit.

In the 2021 lawsuit, the plaintiff requested the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina to rule that the Ministry of Defense of BiH violated her right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion under Article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), and that the defendant had discriminated against her by not allowing her to wear a headscarf for religious reasons. The lawsuit included a claim that the defendant be ordered to amend the Armed Forces of BiH Uniform Regulations to allow women to wear headscarves for religious reasons. The claim was declared inadmissible, since it could not be the subject of civil litigation.

The plaintiff argued that she had been placed in an unequal position because of her gender. Specifically, Mujanović stated that male members of the Armed Forces of BiH who served as religious officers were allowed to express their faith by wearing beards; and professional soldiers of other faiths were permitted to wear religious bracelets. The plaintiff's claim was dismissed in its entirety, and the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina referred to the European Court of Human Rights' decision in *Dahlab v. Switzerland*. One of the European Court's arguments in this case was the strong influence that teachers have on their students, and that the headscarf in this case could be interpreted as a tool of proselytism. It is therefore inappropriate to compare these two cases, given that Mujanović works in an environment with fully-formed adults, eliminating the possibility that her headscarf would in any way encourage others to change their religion.

According to the understanding of the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the neutrality required of teachers in public schools is far more restrictive when applied to matters of national security and the armed forces. The plaintiff's argumentation, both in the lawsuit and during proceedings, was not accepted by the Court. The comparison group the plaintiff referred to (male religious officers)

129 *First-Instance Judgement of the Court of BiH no. S1 3 P 008767 12 P 2*, dated 29 November 2012; *Second-Instance Judgement of the Court of BiH no. S1 3 P 008767 13 Gž*, dated 22 March 2013.

130 *First-Instance Judgement of the Court of BiH no. S1 3 P 035228 20 P*, dated 23 February 2021; *Second-Instance Judgement of the Court of BiH no. S1 3 P 035228 21 Gž*, dated 19 April 2021.

was not factually comparable or relevant to her position, because religious officers are under religious rather than state authority, and are perceived as such by the public. On the other hand, according to the Court's understanding, soldiers in the armed forces represent the state, and in this sense, it is reasonable to expect neutrality. This neutrality is grounded in the state's approach to the public expression of religious beliefs in Bosnian society, which is particularly sensitive to these issues. In the second comparison group (professional soldiers of other faiths), the Court concluded that the plaintiff did not provide the name of any member of the Armed Forces of BiH who wore religious symbols (such as a bracelet) during service, nor did she demonstrate that the defendant allowed this practice.

For the Court, witness testimonies were not sufficient to prove the aforementioned fact, but a statement by the defendant's legal representative was considered enough to conclude that the restriction of the plaintiff's religious rights had a legitimate aim: it was necessary for the preservation of public safety, protection of public order, and protection of the rights and freedoms of others, as well as for the unified functioning of the defence system. The representative stated during the Court hearing that the headscarf issue had been discussed within the Armed Forces of BiH, and that its wearing was bothersome to members of the other two ethnic groups. Implementing regulations allowing the headscarf to be worn would therefore disrupt the unity of the Armed Forces of BiH, which could jeopardise public order in BiH.¹³¹ It is not clear why the Court did not consider it necessary to name the individuals in the Armed Forces of BiH who were allegedly bothered or offended by the wearing of the headscarf, yet did deem it essential for the plaintiff to identify who wore religious bracelets. The defendant's legal representative made several conclusions in his testimony, which the Court accepted as its own, even though a witness is not allowed to present conclusions during testimony; their role is limited to testifying about their knowledge of certain matters, not giving opinions. It is clear that the evidence provided by the parties in this case was not treated equally, which constitutes a violation of the right to a fair trial, an issue the Constitutional Court of BiH did not address when resolving the plaintiff's appeal.

On 11 July 2024, the Constitutional Court issued a ruling stating that the prohibition of displaying religious symbols in the Armed Forces of BiH did not violate the appellant's right to manifest her religion. In light of the case law of the European Court of Human Rights, the Constitutional Court deemed that the ban on wearing the hijab was a necessary measure in a democratic society, and that the

131 *First-Instance Judgement of the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina No. S1 3 P 035228 20 P*, dated 23 February 2021.

appellant was not discriminated against on any grounds.¹³² Judge Mirsad Ćeman voted against this decision, and in his dissenting opinion emphasised that such a measure was not necessary in Bosnian society, given its specific characteristics. He noted that there should have been more understanding in this context, partly because the undercap, which is already part of the uniform, closely resembles a headscarf, and especially since neither the regular courts nor the Constitutional Court proved how the wearing of a headscarf could infringe on the rights of others. Judge Ćeman stated, “Due to the wrong premise they started from, they ultimately made the decision they did”.¹³³

Regarding the controversial Conclusion on the prohibition of wearing religious symbols, the HJPC referred to legal provisions that regulate this matter. In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, this is Article 13 of the Law on Courts in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which states:

Judges and court officials are not permitted to display any religious, political, national, or other affiliation while performing their official duties. Symbols of religious, political, national, or other affiliation must not be displayed on court buildings or within court premises.¹³⁴

The Conclusion authorises courts to assess and decide in each individual case whether it is necessary to limit the right to freedom of manifesting religion, concerning parties and third parties.¹³⁵ This stance towards third parties has already been ruled discriminatory, in *Hamidović v. Bosnia and Herzegovina*.¹³⁶

After the Conclusion was forwarded to the courts and prosecutor’s offices, they were requested to provide information by 6 January 2016, on whether there “had been any instances of wearing religious symbols by judicial function holders or other employees in the institutions, and what specific measures had been taken to ensure compliance with positive regulations and the council’s guidelines”.¹³⁷

The Islamic Community recognised the ban as a strike against wearing the hijab and raised an objection, citing discrimination. The subsequent debate focused media attention on the status of Muslim women. The HJPC’s Conclusion was interpreted, both by the authority of political functions and the authority of academic titles and institutions where they are employed, as a violation of the

132 *Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, <https://www.ustavnisud.ba/bs/146-plenarna-sjednica-drugi-dio-saopcenja-za-javnost>, accessed 16 September 2024.

133 *Dissenting opinion of Judge Mirsad Ćeman, Case No. AP-1795/21*.

134 *Official Gazette of the Federation of BiH*, no. 38.

135 Sevima Sali Terzić, “Manifestacija vjerskih uvjerenja u pravosuđu: legitimno ograničenje ili diskriminacija”, in *Vjerski simboli u sudovima*, p. 25.

136 For more, see: Amila Svraka-Imamović, “Hamidović v. Bosnia and Herzegovina”, *Godišnjak Pravnog fakulteta u Sarajevu*, 62 (2019), pp. 231-25.

137 Fikret Karčić, “Pravosuđe i vjerska obilježja”, p. 197.

right to religious expression, and discrimination against women who wear the hijab.¹³⁸

Edin Šarčević explains that the issue of religious symbols is still unresolved, but refers to the fatwa of the Council of Muftis on the obligation of wearing the hijab.¹³⁹ From the perspective of believers, the fatwa establishes that a Muslim woman wearing a hijab does not symbolise Islam, but is merely a believer performing a religious ritual and adhering to religious rules as fundamental principles of her life, decisions, and views. In this regard, Šarčević states that the general public, which includes court staff, parties in various types of disputes, witnesses, visitors, and law enforcement officers, sees the hijab as a sign of belonging to Islam. Their reading of visual messages will not, nor must it, correspond to the meaning that the hijab holds for the Council of Muftis, the Islamic Community, or the individual Muslim woman. Šarčević argues, however, that the opinion held by the general public is the only one that is relevant.¹⁴⁰

In Bosnia and Herzegovina there are other factors that can suggest the religious and/or ethnic affiliation of a judge or other personnel within a judicial institution. This includes given names and surnames, which may imply whether the judge belongs to the same religious group as the prosecutor or defendant. This could potentially provoke concerns, particularly in the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina's War Crimes Department. Further, this frequently used argument fails to consider gender differences. At the very start of my career, I had to abandon any attempt at employment or professional development within the courts or prosecution offices, while my husband could perform the same duties, even though we share the same religious beliefs. What is critical for evaluating objective impartiality is therefore not necessarily what the judge personally

138 Edin Šarčević, "O temi i povodu", in *Vjerski simboli u sudovima*, p. 7.

139 "The hijab, or headscarf worn by Muslim women, is both a religious and clothing practice prescribed by the primary sources of Islam, the Qur'an, Sunnah, and Ijma (consensus of Islamic scholars). In a narrower sense, the term 'hijab' is used as a synonym for covering the head with a headscarf, while in a broader sense, it refers to a specific style of dressing in accordance with Islamic norms. According to international codifications of human rights, the hijab falls under the domain of religious expression. The hijab, or headscarf in Islamic tradition, is not considered a distinct religious symbol or emblem, just as other garments covering different parts of the body, which are also part of the Muslim woman's dress code, are not treated as religious symbols. Therefore, they cannot be included under the legal provision banning the display of religious symbols and emblems in judicial institutions. While generally supporting the legal provision on the prohibition of displaying religious symbols and emblems in judicial institutions, as well as the principle of separation between religious institutions and the state, and considering that the headscarf worn by Muslim women does not represent a symbol or emblem of Islam, the Council of Muftis believes that banning Muslim women from wearing the headscarf in judicial and other institutions would represent a flagrant form of discrimination and a violation of their religious and human rights.", <https://www.islamskazajednica.ba/index.php/vijesti/vijecje-muftija/25665-fetva-vijeca-muftija-o-obaveznosti-nosenja-hidzaba>, accessed 30 September 2022.

140 Edin Šarčević, "O temi i povodu" pp. 9-10.

believes, but how the public or the parties in proceedings perceive them.¹⁴¹ Such perceptions, as mentioned, can also be shaped by an individual's name.

Among the arguments in the literature that support the HJPC's decisions, it is noted that "Judges and prosecutors are in no way prohibited or restricted from participating in other activities related to their religious beliefs, but only from manifesting those religious beliefs in the courtroom. Furthermore, anyone applying for the position of judge or prosecutor knows the requirements set by the public authority in this regard, and by applying for such positions, they agree to fully comply with the requirements of the public authority. Therefore, such a measure is necessary in a democratic society".¹⁴² This argumentation, however, does not take into account that this approach excludes from judicial institutions members of religious communities who wear religiously prescribed clothing.

There have been no recorded cases of judges violating the ban on wearing religious symbols, with the exception of one media-reported instance involving a judge from the Municipal Court in Sarajevo who wore a headscarf. In this regard, the HJPC had information that the wearing of the headscarf was more common among administrative staff and in prosecutorial institutions than in courtrooms.¹⁴³ For this reason, even those employees in judicial institutions who support the Conclusion, such as Judge Branko Perić, have questioned the justification for extending this ban to employees who are not in communication with the court, and are not necessarily involved in judicial procedures.

Similarities and Differences

The issue of the hijab in public spaces depends largely on the model adopted for the relationship between religion and the state, and on the state's approach to minority religions. In the Republic of France, the cradle of laicism, the hijab in public spaces is defined in an authoritarian manner. The issue of religious attire emerged in the early 1990s, amid intolerance toward immigrants, particularly those from former French colonies. Statements from politicians and academics exerted pressure on legislative bodies, and led to the eventual prohibition of wearing the hijab in educational institutions and in photographs on official documents, and of covering the face in public spaces.

141 Sevima Sali Terzić, "Manifestacija vjerskih uvjerenja u pravosuđu: legitimno ograničenje ili diskriminacija?" in *Vjerski simboli u sudovima*, pp. 32-33.

142 Sevima Sali Terzić, "Manifestacija vjerskih uvjerenja u pravosuđu: legitimno ograničenje ili diskriminacija?" pp. 37-38.

143 Branko Perić, "Šta predstavlja vjerski simbol", in *Vjerski simboli u sudovima*, p. 60.

The UK has a state religion model that includes a high degree of accommodation for minority religions. The country's cultural pluralism encourages ethnic minorities to practice their religious traditions;¹⁴⁴ unlike the French assimilation model, the UK practices "inclusive multiculturalism".¹⁴⁵ Wearing the hijab is permitted in all public places, and it exists in approved versions for particular workplaces, without the need for religious evaluation.

A third category is states where covering the hair is legally mandated. Saudi Arabia has implemented certain reforms in recent years, enforcing mandatory covering only in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. In other (particularly urban) centres like Jeddah, it is now possible to see women without the hijab, though they still wear modest clothing. The Islamic Republic of Iran remains loyal to its policy of mandatory covering, despite protests across the country caused by the actions of the Morality Police. The need for reforms in these Muslim countries runs deeply, and is not limited to a woman's right to choose her clothing. More rights are required in the areas of marriage, child custody, and inheritance. Interestingly, international support for a woman's right to choose manifests almost exclusively when the right not to wear the hijab is in question; it does not apply to the decision to wear it in non-Muslim countries. This creates the impression that Islam, particularly its visible practice, is undesirable, and leads to the conclusion that France, Saudi Arabia, and Iran have commonalities. All these countries prescribe either the obligation to wear or the prohibition of wearing the hijab, in an authoritarian manner.

Bosnia and Herzegovina's policy has certain similarities with that of the UK. In general, there is no regulation addressing the wearing of the hijab in public spaces. With the exception of the Armed Forces and judicial institutions, women can declaratively be employed in public and private institutions, regardless of whether they wear the hijab or not. Those two exceptions, however, imply that Bosnia and Herzegovina has not yet resolved the crucial question of the path it wants to take. Do we want the French model of laicism with legal solutions that have been abandoned in other countries, or the British model, which emphasises freedom of religion? While this question remains to be answered, it is telling that the issue of the hijab has become so significant in recent years. There is a growing number of young, educated women in BiH's public sphere who do not wish to confine religion to the private domain.

144 Ehlmana Memišević, "Religija u javnom prostoru: Pitanje isticanja vjerskih obilježja", p. 259.

145 Susanna Mancini, "The Power of Symbols and Symbols as Power: Secularism and Religion as Guarantors of Cultural Convergence", *Cardozo Law Review* 6:11 (2009), p. 2642.

Conclusion

Wearing the headscarf in public spaces is integral to the right to freedom of religion. This right is seriously threatened in several European countries, with the Republic of France leading the charge. By interpreting the headscarf as an element of religious indoctrination and a practice difficult to reconcile with principles of gender equality, tolerance, and European values, legislators have prohibited many Muslim women from attending educational institutions. Conversely, the opinions of the European Council for Fatwas, which assert that “wearing the headscarf should be based on personal conviction and understanding, otherwise it loses its value”, have been entirely disregarded.

The UK is evidence that the arguments presented by France and other European countries, which have been supported by rulings from the European Court of Human Rights, lack a foundation in practice. Muslim women in Britain conscientiously perform their educational and work duties while wearing the headscarf. For the British, it doesn't matter what colour the cat is, as long as it catches mice.

Some Muslim countries also pursue harmful and ineffective policies. By forcing women to wear the hijab, these governments violate the religious principle that there is no compulsion in religion. In addition, countries like Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Republic of Iran must reform women's rights and recognise their demands for visibility in public spaces, because human rights cannot be chosen at will. In this way, Middle Eastern countries will limit the involvement of international actors, who are often accused of undermining and attempting to overthrow governments.

Bosnia and Herzegovina has not yet chosen its path. The silence of the public, aside from a few political points that representatives of certain parties have attempted to score, is tacit approval for the current tendency to restrict the right to wear the headscarf. Expanding such a ban would significantly affect the daily lives of women. Negative values, judgements, or prejudices regarding the headscarf, as the HJPC expressed in its imposition of the de facto ban on headscarves, formed the justification for its Conclusion.

The correct policy would ensure that wearing the headscarf is a matter of personal choice, not a requirement imposed by families or religious communities, but it should not go further than that. Once individual freedoms and the public interest are protected, there should be no restriction on wearing clothing that manifests an individual's religious and cultural beliefs in public spaces.¹⁴⁶ Such practice would send the message that the system is tolerant, pluralistic, and

146 Silvio Ferrari, “Religija u evropskim javnim prostorima: pravni pregled”, p. 16.

respects everyone equally. Banning or excluding visible manifestations of faith in the workplace can be interpreted as the state promoting or favouring non-religious (agnostic or atheistic) beliefs, or excluding members of religious communities whose faith requires specific clothing.¹⁴⁷

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Sloboda vjere ili uvjerenja: Pravo na nošenje mahrame u javnom prostoru

Sažetak

Unatoč propisima kojima se zahtijeva rodna i vjerska ravnopravnost, te dostignućima zapadne civilizacije Evropa i dalje iskazuje nisku stopu tolerancije prema muslimanskoj odjevnoj praksi. U ovom pitanju svakako prednjači Francuska koja je nakon zabrane nošenja mahrame u institucijama zabranila i pokrivanje lica u javnosti. S druge strane, Velika Britanija predstavlja evropski, tradicionalni oponent francuskom modelu laicizma. Dozvoljeno je nošenje mahrame u javnim školama kao i na radnom mjestu. Istovremeno, autoritarne države u muslimanskom svijetu ženama nameću obavezu konzervativnog odijevanja. Najradikalnije propise donijele su Kraljevina Saudijska Arabija i Islamska Republika Iran. Svoj put pokušava pronaći i Bosna i Hercegovina, država sa autohtonim muslimanskim stanovništvom. Između sekularnosti i religioznosti, određenim zakonodavnim rješenjima, Bosna i Hercegovina naginje svojevrsnoj formi laicizma.

Ključne riječi: manifestiranje religije, iskazivanje religije, vjerska odjeća, vjerska obilježja, mahrama, Evropska konvencija o ljudskim pravima, laicizam, multikulturalnost

Razvoj vještine mudrog rasuđivanja kao cilj odgoja

Amina Smajović Ibrović

Sažetak

U prvom dijelu rada nastoji se bolje upoznati fenomen mudrosti i ponuditi jedno viđenje pedagogije mudrosti kroz tri forme podučavanja: podučavanje o mudrosti, podučavanje mudrosti i mudro podučavanje. Polazeći od pretpostavke da se ciljevi podučavanja mudrosti (donošenja ispravnih prosudbi, posjedovanje širih uvida, razlučivanje unutrašnjih kvaliteta i odnosa, prihvatanje, uvažavanje i integracija različitih perspektiva) mogu postići intencionalnim pedagoškim djelovanjem, nastojalo se istražiti da li su sastavnice mudrog rasuđivanja integrisane u kurikulum medrese. Rezultati su pokazali kako je prepoznata potreba obogaćivanja planova i programa elementima mudrosti u predmetima islamskog područja. Međutim, ova dimenzija izostaje u općeobrazovnim predmetima.

Rad predstavlja poziv za buđenje svijesti o važnosti obogaćivanja nastavnih planova i programa u svrhu razvijanja mudrosti. Razvoj mudrosti treba biti važan cilj odgoja, što traži i odgovarajuću vidljivost kroz kurikulum.

Ključne riječi: mudrost, nastavni plan i program, podučavanje vještini mudrosti

Uvod

U radovima koje potpisuju najjemenentniji naučnici¹ mudrost se priznaje kao karakteristika podložna pedagoškom utjecaju.² Ovakvo razumijevanje mudrosti ima nekoliko implikacija za odgojno-obrazovnu praksu, a najbitnija je ona kojom se otvara prostor za konstituisanje pedagogije mudrosti.

Pedagoška kovnost mudrosti ukazuje na nesagledive mogućnosti za preobražaj kroz brojna iskustva koja djeca i mladi doživljavaju u školama, a što doprinosi njihovom rastu i afirmaciji sposobnosti. Podrška razvoju mudrosti iziskuje i dodatne obrasce učenja za razvoj vještine mudrog rasuđivanja. Jasno se razabire da su od odlučujućeg značaja za razvijanje vještine mudrog rasuđivanja znanja i životna iskustva te primjena znanja prema općem dobru kroz balansiranje vlastitih, tuđih i institucionalnih interesa. Tragom navedenog, u radu se mapiraju i analiziraju modaliteti pedagogije mudrosti, ali i nudi empirijski uklon kako bi se propitala zastupljenost ciljeva, zadataka i ishoda u kurikulumu medresa koji omogućavaju ispoljavanje i poticanje mudrosti.

Pojmovno određenje mudrosti

Jedna od bitnih kvaliteta potrebnih za snalaženje u svakodnevnom životu jeste mudrost. Ne postoji općeprihvaćena definicija mudrosti, najprije, zbog kompleksnosti ovog fenomena. Etimološki, riječ mudrost ukazuje na vještinu prosudbe i praktičnog postupanja u bitnim stvarima; duboko znanje, uvid i dobro rasuđivanje. U enciklopediji Britannica³ mudrost je označena kao: (1) znanje koje se stječe kroz mnoga iskustva u životu, (2) razumijevanje stvari koje većina drugih ljudi ne može razumjeti, (3) znanje o onome što je ispravno, (4) zdrav razum ili prosudba, (5) savjet ili informacija data nekoj osobi. U nešto starijoj literaturi, mudrost je tretirana kao najviša moralna vrlina, navodi Hercigonja.⁴ Proučavanje mudrosti u izvorima islama upućuje da je ova riječ sa stanovišta Kur'ana i hadisa izraz za postojane i izvrsne uvide na znanstvenim, djelatnim

1 Robert J. Sternberg "What is Wisdom and How Can We Develop It?", *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 591:1 (2004), str. 164-174; Elżbieta Plóciennik, "Teaching for wisdom in early modern education", *Journal of Preschool and Elementary School Education*, 2:4 (2013), str. 27-48.

2 Vidjeti više u Sternberg "What is Wisdom and How Can We Develop It?" i Plóciennik, "Teaching for wisdom in early modern education".

3 Vidjeti: <https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/wisdom>, pristupljeno 18.4.2024.

4 Zoran Hercigonja, *Odabrane teme iz opće pedagogije* (Varaždin: Vlastita naklada autora, 2020)

i duhovnim područjima u svrhu dostizanja uzvišenih ljudskih ciljeva.⁵ Al-Rāzī⁶ podržava poimanje mudrosti kao moći razumijevanja u vezi sa svjesnošću i refleksijom koja mudroj osobi omogućava da spozna granice i shvati prednosti i nedostatke djelovanja prije donošenja odgovarajuće odluke. U Bosansko-engleskom pojmovniku za edukatore mudrost se tumači kao “akumulirano saznavanje, znanje; sposobnost da se razluče unutrašnji kvaliteti i odnosi”,⁷ dok je u APA rječniku⁸ elaborirana kao sposobnost pojedinca da ispravno prosuđuje, da pronađe prave ili barem dovoljno dobre odgovore na teška i važna životna pitanja te da savjetuje druge o složenim problemima svakodnevnog života i, osobito, međuljudskim odnosima.

Može se zapaziti da sve analize semantičkog polja mudrosti pokazuju da je riječ o mentalnom procesu koji rezultira donošenjem ispravnih odluka. Činiti prave stvari za sebe i druge, i činiti to na pravi način oslikava suštinu mudrosti.

Temeljem navedenog, evidentno je da su definicije mudrosti donekle različite i da one sa sobom nose i različita značenja. Otuda su ključne teorije mudrosti koje se uzimaju kao polazište u naučnom i, slijedom toga, nastavnom radu. U najširem smislu, razlikuju se eksplicitne i implicitne teorije mudrosti. Dok se kroz implicitne teorije dugo vremena sugerisalo da je mudrost osobina zrele ličnosti, tj. da pojedinci postaju mudriji s povećanjem hronološke dobi, rezultati empirijskih studija ovaj zaključak ozbiljno relativiziraju, pa i osporavaju. Psihološka i gerontološka istraživanja koja su otpočela 1970-ih godina⁹ doprinijela su rasvjetljavanju ovog enigmatičkog konstrukta. Znanstvenici ne dvoje da postoji relacija između životnih iskustava i vještina mudrog rasuđivanja. Za razvoj vještine mudrog rasuđivanja potrebna su iskustva¹⁰, ali iskustva se vežu za zrelost, a ne nužno za stariju dob. Isto mišljenje dijele i Smith i Baltes,¹¹ naglašavajući kako su znanja povezana s mudrošću jedina znanja koja nisu “rezervisana” ekskluzivno za jednu životnu dob ili skupinu, već odražavaju individualno i specifično životno iskustvo. Slično, Yang¹² otkriva da učenje iz važnih i značajnih životnih iskustava može potaknuti razvoj mudrosti. Shodno tome, ispravnije bi bilo zaključiti da je

5 Vidjeti: <https://bastinaobjave.com/znamenje-rijeci-znanje-mudrost-i-spoznajal/>, pristupljeno 18.4.2024.

6 Prema: Fella Lahmar, “Islamic Education: An Islamic ‘Wisdom-Based Cultural Environment’ in a Western Context”, *Religions*, 11 (2020), str. 1-15.

7 Nada Hrasnica, Milka Babić i Miroslava Topić, *Bosansko-engleski pojmovnik za edukatore* (Sarajevo: Connectum, 2005).

8 Vid: <https://dictionary.apa.org/wisdom>, pristupljeno: 18.4.2024.

9 Katherine J. Bangen, Thomas W. Meeks i Dilip V. Jeste, “Defining and assessing wisdom: a review of the literature”, *The American journal of geriatric psychiatry: official journal of the American Association for Geriatric Psychiatry*, 21:12 (2013), str. 1254-1266.

10 Alex C. Huynh i Igor Grossmann, “A pathway for wisdom-focused education”, *Journal of Moral Education*, 49:1 (2020), str. 9-29.

11 Jacqu Smith i Paul B. Baltes, “Wisdom-related knowledge: Age/cohort differences in response to life-planning problems”, *Developmental Psychology*, 26:3 (1990), str. 494–505.

12 Shih-ying Yang, “The Complex Relations Between Wisdom and Significant Life Learning”, *Journal of adult development*, 24:4 (2017), str. 227-238.

“nečija sposobnost da ‘profitira’ iz životnih iskustava i ista iskoristi u različitim okolnostima, zahvaljujući procesu (samo)refleksije, ono što određuje kako se mudrost razvija.”¹³

Mudrost je dragocjena za napredak i prosperitet jednog društva. Autori¹⁴ drže da mudrost na globalnoj razini doprinosi društvenoj dobrobiti, smanjenju nejednakosti, neprijateljstava i političke polarizacije, dok na individualnoj razini pomaže pojedincima da se bolje nose sa životnim izazovima i gubicima.¹⁵ Osim toga, mudro razmišljanje povezano je s većim zadovoljstvom životom¹⁶ i osjećajem sreće,¹⁷ unosi sklad u unutrašnji život¹⁸ i, u konačnici, vodi do dubljeg osjećaja blagostanja kroz razvoj smirenosti, zahvalnosti i prihvatanja.¹⁹ Navedeno ukazuje na potrebu da se promisli o pedagoškim aktivnostima svrhovito osmišljenim za promicanje mudrosti, odnosno o odgoju mudrosti kroz tri forme podučavanja: podučavanje o mudrosti, podučavanje mudrosti i mudro podučavanje. Značajno je naglasiti da se o ovim formama može samo uslovno govoriti, naročito ako se ima u vidu didaktičko/metodički okvir razumijevanja/ interpretacije. Pa tako, kod podučavanja o mudrosti fokus je na nastavnom sadržaju, kod podučavanja mudrosti na učeniku, a kod mudrog podučavanja na nastavniku.

13 Amina Smajović, “Promicanje mudrosti u kurikulumu opće gimnazije”, *DHS – Društvene i humanističke studije*, 2:19 (2022), str. 550.

14 Igor Grossmann i Justin P. Brienza, “The Strengths of Wisdom Provide Unique Contributions to Improved Leadership, Sustainability, Inequality, Gross National Happiness, and Civic Discourse in the Face of Contemporary World Problems”, *Journal of Intelligence*, 6:2 (2018), str. 1-17; Huynh i Grossmann, “A pathway for wisdom-focused education”.

15 Monika Ardel, “How wise people cope with crises and obstacles in life”; *ReVision: A Journal of Consciousness and Transformation*, 28:1 (2005), str. 7-19; Monika Ardel i Dilip Jeste, “Wisdom and Hard Times: The Ameliorating Effect of Wisdom on the Negative Association Between Adverse Life Events and Well-Being”, *The Journals of Gerontology*, 73:8 (2018), str. 1374-1383.

16 Robert J. Sternberg, “Why Schools Should Teach for Wisdom: The Balance Theory of Wisdom in Educational Settings”, *Educational Psychologist*, 36:4 (2001), str. 227-245; Sternberg “What is Wisdom and How Can We Develop It?”; Igor Grossmann i dr., “A route to well-being: intelligence versus wise reasoning”, *Journal of experimental psychology. General*, 142:3 (2013), str. 944-953.

17 Robert J. Sternberg, “Teaching for wisdom”, u *Oxford handbook of happiness*, Susan David, Ilona Boniwell i Amanda C. Ayers ur. (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2013), str. 631-643; Ad Bergsma i Monika Ardel, “Self-Reported Wisdom and Happiness: An Empirical Investigation”, *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 13 (2012), str. 481-499.

18 Michel Ferrari “Teaching for Wisdom in Public Schools to Promote Personal Giftedness” u *International Handbook on Giftedness*, Larisa V. Shavinina, ur. (Dordrecht: Springer, 2009), str. 1099-1112; Płóciennik, “Teaching for wisdom in early modern education”.

19 Monika Ardel, “Wisdom and well-being” u *The Cambridge handbook of wisdom*, Robert J. Sternberg i Judith Glück (ur.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), str. 602-625.

Pristupi pedagogiji mudrosti

Sve je veća svijest da je podučavanje praksa u kojoj je moralno djelovanje neodvojivo od pedagoškog djelovanja²⁰ i da je razvoj vještina mudrog promišljanja i rasuđivanja dužnost škole. Ovu zahtjevnu ulogu moguće je ostvariti jedino kombinirajući učenje i aktivnosti uključivanja učenika u svijet moralnih dilema. Inkluzivna perspektiva koja odgovorno učenje i podučavanje mudrosti posmatra u relaciji s akademskim učenjem u teorijskim tematizacijama široko je priznata i opravdana. Ovakav, tzv. infuzioni pristup mudrosti u Sternbergovoj pedagogiji²¹ zasniva se na sljedećim aktivnostima: (1) poticanju učenika na čitanje klasičnih književnih i filozofskih djela, kako bi više saznali o mudrosti, (2) uključivanju učenika u rasprave o lekcijama koje su naučili iz ovih djela i ohrabrivanje na primjenu naučenog, (3) angažiranju učenika u proučavanju “istine”, prije svega kroz refleksivno razmišljanje, (4) akcentiranju kritičkog, kreativnog i praktičnog mišljenja u službi ostvarivanja dobra, (5) ohrabrivanju učenika na razmišljanje o tome kako bi se gotovo sve o čemu uče moglo iskoristiti za bolje ili lošije ciljeve i koliko je važan taj krajnji rezultat te na (6) pružanju uzora mudrosti.

Kultivisanje mudrosti u nastavi ostvaruje se i kroz posredovanje vrijednosti, osporavanje uvjerenja, samorefleksiju i sagledavanje perspektive drugih²² uz prožimajuću ideju općeg dobra. U presjeku svih razmatranja pedagogije mudrosti jeste usvajanje egocentriranog stava. Samodistancirano viđenje realnosti omogućuje mudro razmišljanje o osobno značajnim pitanjima.²³ I Bracher²⁴ ističe da su svijest o ego sistemu i poznavanje načina na koji on “potkopava” mudrost ključni za mudro donošenje odluka.

U ovom radu, a temeljem određenih ranijih analiza²⁵ odgoj i obrazovanje mudrosti operacionalizira se kroz tri forme podučavanja: podučavanje o mudrosti, podučavanje mudrosti i mudro podučavanje. Iako ove tri forme imaju različite pedagoške ciljeve, najveći odgojno-obrazovni benefiti nalaze se tamo gdje se pomenuti oblici pedagogije mudrosti zbližavaju i sinergijski djeluju.

20 Ruhi Tyson, “Pedagogical imagination and practical wisdom: the role of success-narratives in teacher education and professional development”, *Reflective Practice*, 17:4 (2016), str. 456-471.

21 Sternberg “What is Wisdom and How Can We Develop It?”

22 Brian Bruya i Monika Ardelt, “Fostering Wisdom in the Classroom, Part 1 in advance: A General Theory of Wisdom Pedagogy”, *Teaching Philosophy*, 41:3 (2018), str. 239-253.

23 Ethan Kross i Igor Grossmann, “Boosting Wisdom: Distance from the self-enhances wise reasoning, attitudes and behavior”, *Journal of Experimental Psychology General*, 141:1 (2011), str. 43-68; Igor Grossmann i Ethan Kross, “Exploring Solomon’s Paradox: Self-Distancing Eliminates the Self-Other Asymmetry in Wise Reasoning About Close Relationships in Younger and Older Adults”, *Psychological Science*, 25:8 (2014), str. 1571-1580; Igor Grossmann, „Wisdom in Context”, *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 12:2 (2017), str. 233–257.

24 Mark Bracher, “Foundations of a Wisdom-Cultivating Pedagogy: Developing Systems Thinking across the University Disciplines”, *Philosophies*, 6:3 (2021), str. 1-26.

25 Smajović, “Promicanje mudrosti u kurikulumu opće gimnazije”.

Podučavanje o mudrosti

Podučavanje o mudrosti odnosi se na izravno podučavanje o tome šta jeste mudrost i zašto su vještine mudrog prosuđivanja korisne u učenju, radu i životu uopće. Da bi nastavnici mogli podučavati o mudrosti treba da budu kompetentni; da posjeduju znanja, vještine i umijeća u ovoj domeni. Poznavanje definicija, sadržaja i značenja mudrosti, pristupa i teorija, polazišta, postavki i principa pedagogije mudrosti osnova je podučavanja o mudrosti. Imajući u vidu da mudrost proizilazi iz vizije dobrote,²⁶ nužno je da nastavnik podučava djecu i mlade o vrijednostima te razvija svijest o kulturalnim raznolikostima i kulturalnom relativizmu. Dodatno, svaki (van)nastavni susret treba da unaprijedi sposobnost sagledavanja šire slike, elaboriranja situacije s različitim stajališta osoba unutar dijaloga i analiziranja i integrisanja različitih perspektiva. Baltes i Smith,²⁷ temeljem relevantne literature, mudrost određuju preko pet komponenti, i to: bogato činjenično znanje (deklarativno znanje o životu, uvjetima života i varijacijama), bogato proceduralno znanje (opća i specifična saznanja o strategijama prosuđivanja), kontekstualizam životnog vijeka (znanje o različitim kontekstima i o tome kako se oni mijenjaju tokom vremena), relativizam vrijednosti (znanje o razlikama u vrijednosnim orijentacijama, ciljevima i prioritetima), nesigurnost (znanje o neodređenosti i nepredvidljivosti života, kao i načinima upravljanja neizvjesnostima). Sva navedena znanja moguće je objediniti u sklop podučavanja o mudrosti.

Da mudrost zahtijeva teoretsko znanje i kontinuirani proces dubinske kritičke refleksije kako bi se došlo do odgovarajuće prosudbe smatra i Lahmar.²⁸ Prateći genealogiju mudrosti, Rooney i McKenna²⁹ bilježe kako mudrost traži znanje, ali ne nužno i veliku akumulaciju istog i, dalje, da je za mudrost značajnije *kako* nešto činimo. Do sličnog zaključka dolaze i mnogi drugi autori³⁰ konstatirajući da naglasak treba staviti na podučavanje npr. *kako misliti* razvijanjem vještine refleksivnog, dijaloškog i dijalektičkog mišljenja. I Karelitz, Jarvin i Sternberg,³¹

26 Katariina Stenberg i Katariina Maaranen, "Promoting practical wisdom in teacher education: a qualitative descriptive study", *European Journal of Teacher Education* (2020), str. 1-18.

27 Paul B. Baltes i Jacqu Smith, "The fascination of wisdom: Its nature, ontogeny, and function", *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 3 (2008), str. 56-64.

28 Lahmar, "Islamic Education: An Islamic 'Wisdom-Based Cultural Environment' in a Western Context".

29 David Rooney i Bernard McKenna, "Wisdom in organizations: Whence and whither", *Social Epistemology*, 21:2 (2007), str. 113-138.

30 Sternberg, "Why Schools Should Teach for Wisdom: The Balance Theory of Wisdom in Educational Settings"

Sternberg, "What is Wisdom and How Can We Develop It?"; Robert J. Sternberg, Linda Jarvin i Alina Reznitskaya, "Teaching for wisdom through history: Infusing wise thinking skills in the school curriculum" u *Teaching for wisdom: Cross-cultural perspectives on fostering wisdom*, Michel Ferrari i Georges Potworowski (ur.) (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008), str. 37-57; Amir Pušina, *Navodjenje na kreativnost: Psiholojski fundamenti* (Sarajevo: Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Sarajevu, 2020); Karen Elizabeth Bohlin, "The Practical Wisdom Framework: A Compass for School Leaders", *Journal of Education*, 202:2 (2022), str. 156-165.

31 Tzur M. Karelitz, Linda Jarvin i Robert J. Sternberg, "The meaning of wisdom and its development

Aljughaiman i Berki,³² kao i Sternberg, Jarvin i Grigorenko³³ napominju da se podučavanje mudrosti ne ostvaruje isključivo predavanjima i lekcijama o mudrosti putem specijalnih kurseva, raznolikih treninga i procedura već kroz pružanje prilika učenicima da iskuse mudro donošenje odluka. Spomenuti autori, dakle, predlažu podučavanje mudrosti.

Podučavanje mudrosti

Podučavanje mudrosti traži od nastavnika posjedovanje znanja o organizaciji iskustava učenja koja će podržati i gajiti mudre iskaze učenika.³⁴ Nekoliko je načela podučavanja mudrosti apstrahiranih iz balansne teorije mudrosti.³⁵ Ta načela od nastavnika zahtijevaju sljedeće: (1) propitivanje ideja s učenicima i zaključivanje da konvencionalne sposobnosti i postignuća nisu dovoljni za osjećaj zadovoljstva u životu, (2) ukazivanje i pokazivanje da je mudrost bitna za zadovoljstvo i sreću, (3) podučavanje o koristi međuovisnosti, (4) pružanje uzora mudrosti modelirajući mudro rasuđivanje i mudre akcije, (5) poticanje učenika da čitaju o mudrim prosudbama i odlukama, kako bi uvidjeli da one postoje, (6) pomaganje učenicima da spoznaju vlastite interese, interese drugih ljudi i interese institucija, (7) osnaživanje učenika u balansiraju vlastitih interesa, interesa drugih ljudi i interesa pripadnika institucija, (8) potcrtavanje da nije važan samo cilj nego i sredstva koja vode do cilja, (9) razvijanje vještina kod učenika koje će im osigurati adekvatan izbor između prilagodbe postojećem okruženju, oblikovanja okruženja ili odabira novog okruženja, (10) podsticanje učenika da formiraju, kritikuju i integiraju vlastite vrijednosti u svoje razmišljanje, (11) promicanje dijalektičkog mišljenja uz shvatanje da se i pitanja i odgovori mijenjaju tokom vremena, (12) ukazivanje na važnost dijaloškog razmišljanja pri čemu učenici treba da uvažavaju perspektive drugih, (13) osposobljavanje učenika da tragaju za općim dobrom, (14) nagrađivanje mudrosti, (15) ohrabivanje učenika da prate događaje u svojim životima i misaone procese koji ih slijede te (16) pomoć učenicima da razviju strategije borbe protiv pritisaka neuravnoteženih vlastitih interesa i interesa drugih.

Nema sumnje da nastavnici imaju mnogo, nastavnim planom i programom, propisanog sadržaja koji treba realizirati i da rade s velikim skupinama učenika zbog čega nije jednostavno osmisliti djelatnosti koje će podupirati mudre izričaje

throughout life” u *The handbook of life-span development*, Willis F. Overton i Richard M. Lerner (ur.) (New Jersey, SAD: John Wiley & Sons, 2010), str. 837-881.

32 Abdullah Aljughaiman i Matthew Berki, “Wisdom and giftedness: Perspectives from Arabic thought” u *Gifted Education as a Life-Long Challenge: Essays in Honour of Franz Mönks*, Albert Ziegler i dr. (ur.) (Muenster, Germany: LIT-Verlag, 2013), str. 119-140.

33 Pušina, *Navođenje na kreativnost: Psiholojski fundamenti*.

34 Smajović, “Promicanje mudrosti u kurikulumu opće gimnazije”.

35 Sternberg, “What is Wisdom and How Can We Develop It?”.

učenika. Sukobi u obrazovnoj politici i praksi, standardizacija procesa učenja i podučavanja, normiranje postignuća, kvantificiranje brojnih aspekata nastave i učenja i strah od kurikularnog haosa - samo su neki od problema s kojima se nastavnici redovno susreću. I pored njihove dobre volje, mnogi napori usmjereni na promicanje mudrosti učenika često bivaju ignorisani, pa i ugušeni drugim zahtjevima, primarno okrenutim prema akademskim postignućima. Svakako da su analitičke vještine bitan prediktor uspjeha u životu, ali one ne garantuju ni sreću ni zadovoljstvo. Ovi ciljevi ostvarljiviji su uz poticanje razvoja vještine mudrog rasuđivanja,³⁶ što ukazuje na to da je mudrost jednako važna kao analitičke vještine, ako ne i još važnija.³⁷

Mudro podučavanje

Neizostavna je uloga nastavnika u usvajanju i razumijevanju vrijednosti kroz razvoj pozitivnih relacija, jer su, poručuje Sternberg,³⁸ vrijednosti baza mudrog rasuđivanja. Vrijednosti treba promovirati u što ranijoj dobi i u svakoj prilici. Podučavanje mudrosti potrebuje širok spektar aktivnosti koje imaju za cilj transformaciju vrijednosti u vrline. Kako je nastavnik najistureniji akter u odgojnom i obrazovnom procesu, njegov utjecaj je i najveći. Dewey je još 1959. godine³⁹ ustanovio da je moralno obrazovanje uspješno u onoj mjeri u kojoj kod učenika izaziva emocionalni odgovor koji će pokretati na aktivnost. Vitalni aspekt odgoja i obrazovanja karaktera jeste pružanje moralnog uzora.

Nastavnik treba svojim postupcima da bude primjer vrijedan divljenja, izvor nadahnuća i da inspiriše učenike u zauzimanju svjetonazora koji je usmjeren i na druge, a ne samo na sebe. Kod ovog oblika pedagogije mudrosti, mudrog podučavanja, u fokusu je nastavnik. U podučavanju moralnih vrijednosti, pedagogija orijentisana na moralno razmišljanje i djelovanje (konvencionalna ili kontekstualna) ističe modeliranje kao jednu od nastavnih strategija jer su nastavnici ti koji oblikuju karakter učenika u razredu kroz pružanje uzora - demonstriranje moralnog ponašanja učenicima.⁴⁰ Zbog kontinuiranog prisustva i učešća u životima djece i mladih, nastavnici treba da njeguju vrijednosti koje smatraju bitnim i koje su, prvenstveno, kolektivni izraz onoga što je cijenjeno

36 Pušina, *Navodjenje na kreativnost: Psiholojski fundamenti*.

37 Neala Ambrosi-Randić i Marlena Plavšić, "The Role of Education in Development of Wisdom", *Quality, Social Justice and Accountability in Education Worldwide*. BCES Conference Books, 13:2 (2015), str. 11-17.

38 Sternberg, "Why Schools Should Teach for Wisdom: The Balance Theory of Wisdom in Educational Settings"; Sternberg, "What is Wisdom and How Can We Develop It?"

39 Ferrari "Teaching for Wisdom in Public Schools to Promote Personal Giftedness".

40 Eva Johansson i dr., "Practices for teaching moral values in the early years: a call for a pedagogy of participation. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 6:2 (2011), str. 109-124; Wouter Sanderse, "The meaning of role modelling in moral and character education", *Journal of Moral Education*, 42:1 (2013), str. 28-42.

u nekoj kulturi. Učenicima treba pružiti priliku za obrazovanje karaktera kroz učenje vrijednosti, a DeRoche i Williams⁴¹ kazuju da je model poželjnog ponašanja i poželjnih vrijednosti koji pružaju nastavnici vjerovatno najsnažniji od svih faktora koji utječu na obrazovanje karaktera. Nastavnici koji pokazuju uzorne karakteristike omogućuju učenicima da razviju vlastite vještine i djeluju kao “moralni agenti”, čime nesumnjivo doprinose općem dobru u društvu.⁴² Podrška razvoju mudrosti bez postojanja moralnog predvodnika nije dostatna, a takva pedagogija nije učinkovita.

* * *

Sternbergova konceptualizacija mudrosti u svoje okvire ugrađuje reflektivno, dijaloško i dijalektičko mišljenje. Sposobnosti reflektivnog, dijaloškog i dijalektičkog mišljenja neće se razviti same po sebi. Podučavanje mudrosti iziskuje nastavnim planom i programom isplanirano, svrhovito odgojno-obrazovno djelovanje. Vodeći se ovim, u istraživačkom dijelu propitat će se zastupljenost ciljeva, zadataka i ishoda koji omogućavaju ispoljavanje i poticanje mudrosti, odnosno sastavnica mudrog rasuđivanja - reflektivnog, dijaloškog i dijalektičkog.

Metodološki okvir istraživanja

Potaknuti naučnom argumentacijom o odgojivosti i obrazovljivosti mudrosti kroz razvoj reflektivnog, dijaloškog i dijalektičkog mišljenja, u istraživanju se nastojala propitati zastupljenost ciljeva, zadataka i ishoda u nastavnim planu i programu medresa koji omogućavaju ispoljavanje i poticanje mudrosti kao najuzvišenije moralne vrline. Na osnovu nalaza istraživanja, ponuđeno je nekoliko implikacija za odgojno-obrazovnu praksu. Zadaci istraživanja su:

- 1) Ispitati da li se u okviru zasebnih predmeta planira eksplicitno podučavanje o mudrosti
- 2) Analizirati ciljeve, zadatke i ishode nastavnih predmeta kako bi se utvrdilo da li omogućavaju ispoljavanje i poticanje mudrosti, a s obzirom na prirodu nastavnih područja koja se izučavaju i
- 3) Ispitati koje su odgojne vrijednosti dominantne u kurikulumu

Istraživački korpus sačinjavao je Nastavni plan i program medresa Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini, konkretnije, Nastavni plan i program JU Gazi

41 Ilhavenil Narinasamy i Aravindan Kalisri Logeswaran, “Teacher As Moral Model – Are We Caring Enough?”, *World Journal of Education*, 5:6 (2015), str. 1-14.

42 Narinasamy i Logeswaran, “*Teacher As Moral Model – Are We Caring Enough?*”.

Husrev-begova medresa u Sarajevu te prateći Program odgojno-obrazovnog rada u učeničkom domu u medresama Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini. Od školske 2021/2022. godine nastava u medresama Islamske zajednice u BiH realizira se po novom nastavnom planu i programu, koji je odobrio Rijaset Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini. Razlog opredjeljenja za analizu srednjoškolskog nastavnog plana i programa proizilazi iz razmatranja Baltesa i Staudingera⁴³ i, nešto kasnije, Pasupathija, Staudingera i Baltesa,⁴⁴ koji su pronašli da se znanja i vještine vezane uz mudrost stječu relativno rano u životu, u adolescenciji, sa malo promjena tokom kasnije odrasle dobi. S obzirom na to da je adolescencija značajno razdoblje u razvoju karaktera pojedinca⁴⁵ očekuje se da se osnove mudrosti usvoje u ovom periodu.⁴⁶

Od istraživačkih metoda primijenjene su deskriptivna i komparativna metoda, uz pripadajuću tehniku analize sadržaja. Primjenom ovih metoda obavljena je analiza nastavnog plana i programa te je bilo moguće prikazati stanje i opisati fenomen, ali i porediti, evaluirati i interpretirati dobivene nalaze. Kao jedinice analize pri kreiranju analitičke matrice određene su sastavnice mudrog mišljenja; reflektivno, dijaloško i dijalektičko mišljenje. Odabir navedenih jedinica analize izvršen je deduktivnim putem. U Tabeli 1 prezentirane su kategorije uz teorijski opis.

Tabela 1. Teorijski opis kategorija

Kategorije	Teorijski opis
Refleksivno mišljenje	Samosvijest i samouvid, povezan s dobrim prosuđivanjem u životu. Katalizator u aktiviranju vještina mudrog razmišljanja. ⁴⁷ Refleksivna misao u literaturi operacionalizirana je i kao: (1) sposobnost opažanja problema i svijest o ograničenosti znanja, ⁴⁸ (2) decentracija ega, smanjenje subjektivnosti i vlastitih projekcija kako bi se sagledale pojave iz perspektive drugih, ⁴⁹ (3) vještina razlučivanja, dubokog uvida u ono što se zapravo događa, uz odvajanje osobne želje i emocije od događaja ili pitanja koje treba riješiti. ⁵⁰

43 Paul B. Baltes i Ursula M. Staudinger, "Wisdom: A metaheuristic to orchestrate mind and virtue towards excellence", *American Psychologist*, 55:1 (2000), str. 122-136.

44 Monisha Pasupathi, Ursula M. Staudinger i Paul B. Baltes, "Seeds of wisdom: Adolescents' knowledge and judgment about diffi cult life problems", *Developmental Psychology*, 37:3 (2001), str. 351-361.

45 Claire Briggs i David Lumsdon, "Practical wisdom: How do personal virtue beliefs and contextual factors interact in adolescents' moral decision-making?", *Journal of Moral Education*, 51:2(2021), str. 293-311.

46 Robert J. Sternberg, "Older but not wiser? The relationship between age and wisdom", *Ageing International*, 30 (2005), str. 5-26.

47 Sternberg, "Teaching for wisdom".

48 Karelitz, Jarvin i Sternberg, "The meaning of wisdom and its development throughout life".

49 Monika Ardel, "Wisdom as Expert Knowledge System: A Critical Review of a Contemporary Operationalization of an Ancient Concept", *Human Development*, 47:5 (2004), str. 257-285.

50 Stephen A. Small i David Charles Metler, "Exploring the Role of Practical Wisdom in Addressing Adolescent Childrearing Dilemmas", *Family Relations*, 69:2 (2020), str. 365-379.

Kategorije	Teorijski opis
Dijaloško mišljenje	Izostanak egocentrične orijentacije, subjektivnosti i projekcija radi spremnosti na promišljanje o najboljim strategijama za postizanje ciljeva. Bitna pretpostavka mudrosti koja osigurava odmak od problemske situacije, što daje priliku da se pojave i događaji sagledaju iz različitih perspektiva i, mnogo bitnije, uvažavaju različita poimanja i referentni predloži tokom razmišljanja i djelovanja. Optimizira mudrost, čineći pojedince sposobnim da se brinu za druge ljude.
Dijalektičko mišljenje	Integracija ambivalentnih stajališta, prihvatanje proturječnosti i konsolidacija različitih gledišta. Razumijeva se kao postformalno mišljenje, jer je drugačije od formalnog mišljenja (praktičnije i fleksibilnije) i pruža alternativni način kognitivnog funkcioniranja ⁵¹ kroz sintezu oprečnih i naizgled nepomirljivih gledišta. Postformalno mišljenje složeno je logičko mišljenje koje se razvija u komunikaciji s drugim ljudima čiji su stavovi o nekim aspektima stvarnosti vidno drugačiji. ⁵² Pretpostavlja snažan kapacitet radne memorije za razmatranje i harmonizaciju suprotnih informacija pri donošenju mudre odluke. ⁵³ Vrijedno je naglasiti da se proces ponavlja; teza – antiteza - sinteza. Pri tome, sinteza postaje teza u novom krugu dijalektičkog mišljenja. Sintetiziranjem suprotstavljenih perspektiva uči se i kako ista pitanja mogu polučiti različite odgovore s obzirom na različite tačke vremena. ⁵⁴

Rezultati istraživanja

Rezultati istraživanja bit će predstavljeni u skladu s definiranim zadacima.

EksPLICITNO PODUČAVANJE O MUDROSTI

U analiziranom kurikulumu pronađen je jedan predmet u sklopu kojeg se planira kontekstualno podučavanje o mudrosti. Radi se o nastavnom predmetu Historija

51 Dominik Borawski, "Supporting the development of wisdom: The dialogical perspective", *Roczniki psychologiczne/Annals of psychology*, 20:3 (2017), str. 563-578.

52 Eeva Kallio, "From causal thinking to wisdom and spirituality: some perspectives on a growing research field in adult (cognitive) development", *Approaching Religion*, 5:2 (2015), str. 27-41.

53 Despina Moraitou i Anastasia Efklides, "The Wise Thinking and Acting Questionnaire: The Cognitive Facet of Wisdom and its Relation with Memory, Affect, and Hope", *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 13 (2012), str. 849-873.

54 Amir Pušina, "Kompetencije nastavnika i njegova osobnost", *Vidici*, 4 (2022), str. 215-243.

(izborna nastava) gdje se u trećem razredu izučava tematska oblast *Grčka i Rim (život i kultura) - velikani - bizantska i latinska mudrost*. Broj sati predviđen za ovu tematsku oblast iznosi 8+4. Smatramo važnim spomenuti i da se posebna pozornost mudrosti pridaje u Programu odgojno-obrazovnog rada u učeničkom domu u medresama Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini. Primjera radi, kao jedna od tema za obradu u prvom razredu ponuđena je *Mudrost Jusufa, a.s.* Izuzev navedenog, sadržaj još jednog predmeta referira se na koncept mudrost. U navođenju uloge i značaja predmeta Tefsir (III, IV razred) naznačeno je da ova *nauka pomaže da proniknemo u značenja kur'anskih ajeta, da shvatimo njegove propise i mudrosti.*

Zastupljenost ciljeva, zadataka i ishoda koji omogućavaju ispoljavanje i poticanje mudrosti u aktualnom nastavnom planu i programu

Deskriptivni prikaz prisustva pojedinih dimenzija mudrog mišljenja u nastavnom planu i programu (na osnovu analitičke matrice) prezentiran je u tabeli 2.

Tabela 2. *Prisustvo pojedinih dimenzija mudrog mišljenja a u nastavnom planu i programu*

Područje	Nastavni predmet	Dimenzije mudrog mišljenja		
		Refleksivno mišljenje	Dijaloško mišljenje	Dijalektičko mišljenje
Islamsko područje	Kiraet	+	+	-
	Akaid	+	+	+
	Fikh	+	+	+
	Ahlak	+	+	+
	Tefsir	+	-	-
	Hadis	+	-	-
	Povijest islama	+	+	+
Jezičko područje	Bosanski jezik	+	-	-
	Arapski jezik	+	-	-
	Engleski jezik	+	-	-

Područje	Nastavni predmet	Dimenzije mudrog mišljenja		
		Refleksivno mišljenje	Dijaloško mišljenje	Dijalektičko mišljenje
Društveno područje	Historija	+	+	-
	Geografija	+	-	-
	Filozofija	+	-	-
	Psihologija	+	-	-
	Logika	+	-	-
	Sociologija	+	-	-
Prirodno-matematičko područje	Matematika	+	-	-
	Fizika	+	-	-
	Hemija	+	-	-
	Biologija	+	-	-
Multidisciplinarno područje	Osnovi informatike	+	-	-
	Tjelsni i zdravstveni odgoj	+	-	-
	Demokratija i ljudska prava	+	+	+

Analizom plana i programa zapaženo je da se u svim nastavnim predmetima promiče refleksivno mišljenje. Ovaj je nalaz ohrabrujući, naročito zbog zaključaka studije koju su vodili Ardeli i Jeste,⁵⁵ a u kojoj se pokazalo da refleksivna dimenzija ima najsnažniju povezanost s općom dobrobiti. U daljem tekstu navedeno je nekoliko primjera takvih ciljeva, zadataka i ishoda:

- *Učenik utvrđuje kakve je refleksije Ebu Hanifino učenje imalo na život muslimana općenito, a naročito na život muslimana u Evropi i Bosni i Hercegovini; nabraja i drugačije akaiidske stavove te, s posebnim osvrtom na savremeno doba, utvrđuje prednosti, koristi i fleksibilnosti Ebu Hanifinog učenja (Akaid).*
- *Učenik analizira kako dva ili više tekstova obrađuju slične teme ili predmete zanimanja u cilju akumulacije znanja ili poređenja pristupa autora (Bosanski jezik i književnost).*

55 Ardeli i Jeste, "Wisdom and Hard Times: The Ameliorating Effect of Wisdom on the Negative Association Between Adverse Life Events and Well-Being".

- *Učeci o vlastitoj zajednici i drugim kulturama i društvima, učenici razvijaju razumijevanje sila i procesa koji oblikuju lični i kolektivni identitet (Historija).*
- *Diskutira o teoriji evolucije i teoriji kreacije, navodeći i stavove vjere o tome (Biologija).*
- *Potrebno je kod učenika razviti nazore koji će omogućiti razlikovanje, ali i integraciju virtualnog i stvarnog, te kritičko prihvatanje sadržaja (Informatika).*

Međutim, koliko god je pokazatelj o refleksivnom mišljenju optimističan, zabrinjavajući je izostanak ciljeva, zadataka i ishoda usmjerenih prema kultivisanju dijaloškog i, naročito, dijalektičkog mišljenja. Čini se da se dijalektičko mišljenje kurikularno najmanje podupire. Ovaj zaključak indikativan je iz razloga što se sinteza i integracija različitih gledišta etablira kao središnji konstrukt mudrog mišljenja. Štaviše, neki autori mudro mišljenje identificiraju s dijalektičkim mišljenjem.⁵⁶ Al Zeera⁵⁷ donosi ideju o dijalektičkom razmišljanju na dvjema razinama; kao metoda transformacije i kao najviši stepen razvoja vjere. Svjesnost o paradoksima i proturječnostima, i prihvatanje istih ocrta srž oba razmatranja. U svakom slučaju, očigledno je da dijalektika omogućava pojedincima da postignu višu razinu mudrosti.⁵⁸ Neki primjeri koji ilustriraju dijalektičko mišljenje uključuju:

- *(...) prosuđuje da li je tradicija vremenska kategorija ili ima vjersku implikaciju (Akaid).*
- *(...) razumjeti da različitost metodologija ne znači i različitost ciljeva, jer su svi osnivači mezheba imali za cilj provođenje Božijeg zakona na zemlji i uspostavu harmonije (Fikh).*
- *(...) potrebno je da imaju predodžbu o drugim etičkim tradicijama i najznačajnijim etičkim teorijama. Posebnu pažnju trebalo bi pokloniti pravilnom razumijevanju islamskog shvatanja moralnosti u kontestu osnovnih izvora islamske etike, Kur'ana i hadisa, te specifičnim moralnim izazovima i problemima savremenog društva (Ahlak).*
- *Učeci o vlastitoj zajednici i drugim kulturama i društvima, kod učenika podsticati razumijevanje sila i procesa koji oblikuju lični i kolektivni identitet, bez kojeg nema postojanja (Povijest islama).*
- *Razvijanje pozitivnog stava i spremnosti za relativiziranje vlastitog stanovišta i sistema vrijednosti, razvijanje spremnosti za otklon u odnosu na ustaljena ponašanja prema drugim kulturama (Demokratija i ljudska prava).*

56 Vidjeti više u Despina Moraitou i Anastasia Efklides, "Wisdom as complex-dialectical thought: relations with emotional and cognitive functioning in older age", *The Journal of Nutrition Health and Aging*, 13 (2009).

57 Zahra Al Zeera, *Cjelovitost i svetost u obrazovanju* (Sarajevo: Centar za napredne studije, 2019).

58 Ira Gollobin, "Dialectics and Wisdom", *Science & Society*, 62:3 (1998), str. 483-496.

Iz tabele je vidljivo da se u medresi mudro mišljenje kroskurikularno podržava u nastavi demokratije i ljudskih prava te predmeta islamskih područja kakvi su Akaid, Fikh, Ahlak i Povijest islama, dok se u prirodno-matematičkim, pa i društvenim naukama znatno manje vodi računa o razvoju vještina mudrog prosuđivanja.

Odgojne vrijednosti u nastavnom planu i programu

U kurikulumu medrese naglašena je potreba da *učenici promoviraju, razvijaju i čuvaju svoj vjerski i kulturni identitet, dijalog i toleranciju s drugim ljudima*. Ostvarivanje takvih i njima bliskih ciljeva u pravilu pretpostavlja i involviranje aspekata mudrosti u praksu savremenog odgoja i obrazovanja, i to kritičko-refleksivnog, dijaloškog i dijalektičkog mišljenja. Mudrost se legitimira jedino kroz etički prikladno djelovanje. Za Bennabija⁵⁹ etička komponenta ne samo da sadrži snagu za ujedinjavanje društva, već također određuje društveno kulturološko usmjerenje, pružajući ljudskom djelovanju obilježje svjesne i svrhovite aktivnosti. Moralna dimenzija prožimajući je aspekt islamskog odgoja i obrazovanja. S tim u vezi, osnovni zadatak islamskih škola jeste kreirati okruženje koje učenike izlaže izazovima i izborima u društvu, omogućava im da se kreću životom s osjećajem povjerenja uz promicanje vrijednosti kakve su sloboda i dostojanstvo te djelovanje u skladu s istim.⁶⁰ U okvirima trećeg zadatka istraživanja proučen je kurikulum kako bi se propitale dominantne odgojne vrijednosti. Cjelokupan nastavni rad u medresama utemeljen je na vrijednostima vjere i na univerzalnim vrijednostima koje sadrže načela morala. U kurikulumu je istaknuto da su *vrijednosti medrese izvedene iz kur'anske i sunetske odgojno-obrazovne paradigme*. Fundamentalne općedruštvene i islamske odgojne vrijednosti posebno zastupljene u kurikulumu jesu istina, dobrota, pravda i svetost. Ove vrijednosti mapirane su na osnovu studioznog pregleda kurikuluma. U narednim redovima navedeni su primjeri za svaku od pobrojanih vrijednosti:

- (...) *da učenika upozna s temeljnim istinama vjere* (Akaid).
- (...) *prepoznati vrijednost matematike njezinom primjenom u različitim disciplinama i djelatnostima, kao i neizostavnu ulogu matematike u razvoju i dobrobiti društva* (Matematika).
- (...) *dovodi u vezu zaštitu prava, pravdu i pravednost u društvu s funkcioniranjem demokratskih institucija i razvijenošću demokratske građanske kulture* (Demokratija i ljudska prava).

59 Lahmar, "Islamic Education: An Islamic 'Wisdom-Based Cultural Environment' in a Western Context".

60 Zidniyati Zidniyati, "Building Character by integrating Local Wisdom in Islamic Elementary School in Banyuwangi", *Journal of Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Education*, 2:1 (2018), str. 43-61; Lahmar, "Islamic Education: An Islamic 'Wisdom-Based Cultural Environment' in a Western Context".

- *Ljubav prema Allahu i Njegovom Poslaniku, s.a.u.s. (duhovno osjećanje, uvjerenje i svojstvo koje treba da krasi ličnost i prožima život svakog muslimana; to je istovremeno pokretačka snaga da se čovjek bori na Njegovom putu, bude ustrajan u činjenju dobra; ova ljubav predstavlja integrativni dio vjere, tj. života u vjeri, a voljeti Allaha, dž.š., i Njegovog poslanika Muhammeda, s.a.u.s., praktično znači biti privržen islamu i težiti približavanju Allahovoj dobroti, milosti, pravdi i ljepoti...)* (Povijest islama).

Moralno djelovanje i vrijednosti kao integral moralnog djelovanja čine osnovu mudrosti, a u istraživanju se pokazalo da se u medresi nastoje razviti i unaprijediti moralni kvaliteti učenika.

Rasprava

Prvi zadatak glasio je: *Ispitati da li se u okviru zasebnih predmeta planira eksplicitno podučavanje o mudrosti.* Iz kurikuluma predmeta analize izdvojen je jedan zaseban predmet u okviru kojeg učenici uče o mudrosti. Nije izgledno da će kreatori kurikuluma modelirati prostor za podučavanje vještinama mudrog mišljenja u okviru posebnih nastavnih predmeta, cjelina i/ili jedinica. Umjesto toga, potrebno je iznaći prilike da nastavnici podučavaju o mudrosti i mudrosti u didaktičkim aranžmanima redovne nastave i svih školskih predmeta. Povrh toga, mudrost se ne može naučiti samo direktno, "podučavanjem u kojemu učitelj 'instruira' studente da uče činjenice i procedure, da daju sve od sebe kako bi zapamtili ono što se od njih očekuje".⁶¹ Ovakva, instruktivna pedagogija mudrosti nije djelotvorna. S druge strane nalazi se konstruktivizam u kojem je akcentiran proces stvaranja smislenih ideja, uvida i produkata. Da bi se doživjela iskustva rasta potreban je maksimalan angažman učenika. Odgojno-obrazovna iskustva trebaju biti koncipirana tako da djeluju kao motivacijska udica u razvoju vještina mudrog razmišljanja, procjenjivanja i postupanja. Ovaj modalitet pedagogije mudrosti, podučavanje mudrosti, pozicioniran je u središte drugog zadatka. Kako su u mudrost utkane vještine reflektivnog, dijaloškog i dijalektičkog mišljenja, analizirani su ciljevi, zadaci i ishodi nastavnih predmeta i nastojalo se utvrditi da li sadrže težnju da se kod učenika razviju navedene vještine, a s obzirom na prirodu nastavnih područja koja se izučavaju. Na osnovu Tabele 2 može se konstatirati da se u medresi od sastavnica mudrog mišljenja kroskurikularno najviše podržava

61 Pušina, *Navođenje na kreativnost: Psiholojski fundamenti*, str. 30

refleksivno mišljenje. Ako bi se dobiveni nalazi uporedili s onima do kojih se ranije došlo,⁶² ne bi se uočila neka bitnija razlika u ciljevima, zadacima i ishodima usredotočenim prema refleksivnom, dijaloškom i dijalektičkom mišljenju. U ranijem istraživanju nađeno je da su u Nastavnom planu i programu za gimnaziju (izborno područje: opći smjer) refleksivno, dijaloško i dijalektičko mišljenje najmanje podržani u kurikulumu informatike, biologije i geografije, dok se pobrojani oblici mišljenja najviše podupiru u kurikulumu islamske i katoličke vjeronauke te kulture religije. Ovi nalazi donekle su očekivani i dosljedni s prvim ozbiljnijim teorijskim interpretacijama mudrosti. Proučavanje mudrosti dugo se vremena poklapalo s proučavanjem duhovnosti, tako da se tradicionalni koncept mudrosti umnogome veže s religijskim i duhovnim tradicijama i doktrinama. O'Connor⁶³ je ukazao na potrebu za načelom u obrazovanju koje će intelektualnoj djelatnosti osigurati istinsku vrijednost i svrhu. Navodi da nije bilo teškoća oko pronalaženja odgovora na pitanje koji princip uzeti kao relevantan, jer teologija pruža mudrost kojom može "urediti" sve druge nauke i ljudsko znanje, dajući im viši smisao. Mnoge generacije su tokom ljudske historije u svakodnevne prakse ugradile određene normativne segmente duhovnog i vjerskog obrazovanja.⁶⁴ U medresama su vjera i obrazovanje usko povezani. Abu-Nimer i saradnici⁶⁵ ističu kako religijsko učenje nudi prednosti za prevladavanje globalnih izazova s kojima se djeca i mladi suočavaju. Slično, Nasr⁶⁶ tvrdi da je uloga islamskog obrazovanja u globaliziranom društvu odupiranje homogenizaciji, gradnja mostova s različitim kulturnim grupama i očuvanje svog jedinstvenog identiteta.

Istraživanje je orijentisano (samo) na ciljeve, zadatke i ishode koji eksplicitno sadrže zahtjeve za podučavanje o mudrosti i mudrosti. Kazano je kako su ovo dvije karike pedagogije mudrosti. Važno bi bilo ispitati da li nastavnici mudro podučavaju učenike i, ako podučavaju, kako to čine. Još jedno bitno ograničenje istraživanja jeste da ciljevi, zadaci i ishodi mogu biti deklarativno postavljeni, ali da suštinski ne potaknu učenike na mudro promišljanje i djelovanje. Broj procjenjivača (jedan) zbog pristrasnosti također može dovesti u pitanje validnost i pouzdanost procjene. Ne treba zaboraviti ni da je nastavni plan i program javni dokument koji je ograničen samo na planiranje, na zamisli i vizije o onome što će učenici biti u stanju učiniti. Imajući u vidu da je nastava autentičan, kreativan i dinamičan proces, može se javiti raskorak između planiranja i izvedbe nastavnog

62 Smajović, "Promicanje mudrosti u kurikulumu opće gimnazije".

63 William R. O'Connor, "The wisdom of theology", *Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America*, 1 (2012), str. 21-33.

64 André Habisch i Claudius Bachmann, "Empowering practical wisdom from religious traditions: a ricoeurian approach", *International Journal of Corporate Social Responsibility*, 1 (2016), str. 1-10.

65 Desi Erawati i Rahmayanti Rahmayanti, "Development of Local Wisdom-based Islamic Education Learning Material for Secondary School Students: A Design based Research", *Jurnal Iqra': Kajian Ilmu Pendidikan*, 6:2 (2021), str. 148-165.

66 Lahmar, "Islamic Education: An Islamic "Wisdom-Based Cultural Environment" in a Western Context".

časa. Tako bi u narednim istraživanjima valjalo opservirati nastavne časove i ispitati da li bi dobiveni nalazi bili kompatibilni. Također, između zvaničnog i skrivenog plana i programa može, ali i ne mora postojati visok stepen podudaranja. Skriveni utjecaji mogu biti jako snažni i ostaviti trag na razvoj učenika. I dok mnogi naučnici, primjećuju Oron i Blasco,⁶⁷ skriveni kurikulum često predstavljaju kao nepoželjan, kontraproduktivan element u obrazovanju zbog čega ga treba eliminirati (što je nemoguće), smatra se da se ovdje kriju neslućene mogućnosti za razvijanje mudrosti, ponajprije, kroz pružanje moralnog uzora - vrijednosti, ponašanja i norme koje nastavnik živi i komunicira s učenicima.

Zaključak

Radom se nastojao bolje upoznati koncept mudrosti i istražiti da li su sastavnice mudrog mišljenja integrisane u kurikulum medrese. Rezultati su pokazali kako je u vjerskim školama prepoznata potreba obogaćivanja planova i programa elementima mudrosti u predmetima islamskog područja. Međutim, ova dimenzija izostaje u općeobrazovnim predmetima. Poziva se na promišljanje kreatora kurikuluma o didaktičko-metodičkim scenarijima kojima će se podržati razvoj vještina mudrosti u svim školskim predmetima, naročito jer se gubitak etičkog kompasa smatra nečim što je dobrim dijelom trasirano u sistem odgoja i obrazovanja.

Podržavam stav znanstvenika da je mudrost esencijalni element koji nedostaje za potpunije razumijevanje i promicanje učinkovitih praksi odgoja i obrazovanja djece i mladih.⁶⁸ Metodičko organizacijske, ali i metodičko izvedbene kreacije nastavnih scenarija upotpunjene elementima mudrosti pomažu učenicima da znanje upotrijebe u svrhu afirmisanja individualne i kolektivne dobrobiti. Mudronosno mišljenje dovodi se u vezu s ljudskom kreativnošću. Svjesno donošenje ispravnih odluka, posjedovanje širih uvida, prihvatanje, uvažavanje i integracija različitih perspektiva iziskuje stvaralački proces. Mudrost potrebuje kultivisanu i oplemenjenu kreativnost što omogućava da se generisane ideje i rješenja kritički propitaju i donese odluka o onome što je u nekom trenutku najispravnije. Mudrost i kreativnost nadopunjuju se stvarajući osnove za kreiranje humanijeg svijeta. Rad završava mišlju kojom Isanović⁶⁹ otpočinje svoj rukopis:

67 Semper Oron i Maribel Blasco, "Revealing the Hidden Curriculum in Higher Education", *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 37:5 (2018), str. 481-498.

68 Small i Metler, "Exploring the Role of Practical Wisdom in Addressing Adolescent Childrearing Dilemmas".

69 Nusret Isanović, *Refleksije o društvenim i kulturnim fenomenima* (Sarajevo: Centar za napredne studije i El-Kalem, 2016), str.18.

“Ako želi opstati, današnji čovjek će morati biti mnogo ljudskiji nego što jeste, moraće biti odgovoran za moralno bivanje u svijetu”, a navedeno je moguće postići kroz odgoj i obrazovanje karaktera, odnosno mudrosti.

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Dokumenti

Nastavni plan i program JU Gazi Husrev-beg ova medresa

Wise Reasoning Skill Development as a Goal of Education

Abstract

The first part of the paper attempts to understand the phenomenon of wisdom better and offer a view of the pedagogy of wisdom through three forms of teaching: teaching about wisdom, teaching wisdom, and wise teaching. Starting from the assumption that the goals of teaching wisdom (making correct judgments, having broader insights, distinguishing internal qualities and relationships, accepting, appreciating, and integrating different perspectives) can be achieved through intentional pedagogical action, the paper sought to investigate whether the components of wise reasoning are integrated into the madrasah curriculum. The results showed that the need to enrich curricula with elements of wisdom in Islamic subjects was recognised. However, this dimension is absent in general education subjects.

The paper calls for raising awareness of the importance of enriching curricula to develop wisdom. Developing wisdom should be an important goal of education, and it requires appropriate visibility throughout the curriculum.

Key words: wisdom, curriculum, teaching the skill of wisdom

Mogućnost razvijanja otpornosti na ekstremizam u digitalnom okruženju kroz nastavu vjeronauke

Muamer Hirkić

Sažetak

Ovo istraživanje nastoji uspostaviti poveznicu između *online* ekstremizma, izgradnje digitalne otpornosti u školskom okruženju i nastave Islamske vjeronauke. Promjena paradigme u načinu promatranja odnosa religije i ekstremizma, i sve veći fokus na izgradnju otpornosti, otvara značajan prostor za analizu uloge vjerskog obrazovanja u osnovnim i srednjim školama. Stoga, analizirajući intervjue s nastavnicima Islamske vjeronauke, u radu se izvode zaključci o njihovim trenutnim praksama i viđenjima vlastite uloge u procesu izgradnje digitalne otpornosti kod učenika. Isto tako, istraživanje nudi i njihova shvatanja digitalnih kompetencija, kao i percepcije važnosti digitalizacije nastavnog sadržaja. U istraživanju je učestvovalo ukupno 12 nastavnika vjeronauke s prostora sedam muftijstava – Banjalučkog, Bihačkog, Mostarskog, Sarajevskog, Travničkog, Tuzlanskog i Zeničkog – a sa svim sagovornicima urađeni su polustrukturirani *online* intervjui. Istraživanje je pokazalo da nastavnici vjeronauke prepoznaju važnost svoje uloge u izgradnji digitalne otpornosti na ekstremizam u školi, kao i potrebu osavremenjavanja i digitalizacije nastavnih praksi.

Ključne riječi: online ekstremizam, digitalna otpornost, vjeronauka, nastavnici, škola

Uvod

Dosadašnja istraživanja o prevenciji *online* ekstremizma i ekstremizma općenito u Bosni i Hercegovini nisu posvetila dovoljno pažnje ulozi predmeta Islamska vjeronauka, koji bi mogao predstavljati snažan temelj za izgradnju otpornosti učenika u osnovnim i srednjim školama. U studijama koje se bave temom ekstremizma primjetno je da dolazi do promjene paradigme kada je u pitanju percepcija religije i vjerskog (islamskog) obrazovanja, te se, shodno tome, javlja potreba da se vjersko obrazovanje počne posmatrati u kontekstu izgradnje otpornosti na negativna ponašanja. Pored toga, u Bosni i Hercegovini ne postoji dovoljan broj studija koje su uzele u obzir ulogu digitalizacije u procesima koji se vezuju uz ekstremizam – pogotovo kada je riječ o preventivnom djelovanju. Uzimajući u obzir sve navedeno, ovo istraživanje nastoji odgovoriti na tri osnovna pitanja: i) koja je uloga vjere u digitalnom životu učenika; ii) u kojoj je mjeri pet karakteristika koncepta digitalne otpornosti prisutno u nastavi vjeronauke te iii) jesu li nastavnici vjeronauke dovoljno opremljeni za rad na digitalnim izazovima.

Slijedeći osnovna istraživačka pitanja, ovaj rad pokušava napraviti pregled trenutnih praksi nastavnika vjeronauke i istaknuti neke od uobičajnih prednosti ili nedostataka islamske edukacije namijenjene učenicima koji su dio digitalnog ekosistema. Nadalje, povezivanje inovativnog teoretskog konstrukta digitalne otpornosti sa *online* ekstremizmom i nastavom vjeronauke predstavlja značajan korak za unapređenje nastavnog sadržaja, kao i za preventivno djelovanje u školskom okruženju. Ovakav pristup može polučiti korisne preporuke koje će biti značajne nastavnicima vjeronauke, Islamskoj zajednici, akademskoj zajednici i široj javnosti. Na taj način mogu se graditi kapaciteti u oblasti nastave islamske vjeronauke, ali i ponuditi kontranarativi i alternativne prilike za negativne društvene pojave poput *online* ekstremizma.

U nastavku rada najprije opisujemo teorijski okvir koji je korišten za potrebe ovog istraživanja, kao i pregled najrelevantnije literature za predmet studije. Treći dio objašnjava metodologiju koja je korištena, navodi ciljeve istraživanja, kriterije za odabir učesnika, kao i opis uzorka, istraživačke aktivnosti i adaptacije. Četvrti dio nudi pregled analize dobijenih rezultata kroz nekoliko podsekcija – Vjera u digitalnom životu učenika, Digitalna otpornost, Online ekstremizam, Nastavnici Islamske vjeronauke i Digitalni izazovi. Istraživanje završava diskusijom u petom dijelu te zaključkom u šestom.

Digitalna otpornost u obrazovnom kontekstu

Otpornost se generalno može posmatrati kao konstrukt koji opisuje „proces pozitivnog razvoja, između ostalog i razmišljanjem o tome kako prevladati nedaće i stresne situacije“.¹ Iako je digitalna otpornost definisana na različite načine u različitim poljima istraživanja, za potrebe ovog istraživanja koristiti će se rad i teorijski pregled Suna i saradnika, koji se fokusiraju na digitalnu otpornost u školskom okruženju. Naime, Sun i saradnici u svom su radu pokušali dati sveobuhvatnu definiciju koncepta ‘digitalne otpornosti’, kao i karakteristika koje bi obuhvatile sve ključne aspekte prilikom pokušaja definisanja ovog pojma. Pritom, digitalna otpornost opisana je kao „proces koji vodi ka boljim performansama, u smislu razumijevanja, znanja, učenja, oporavka i napredovanja“ – u svim onim slučajevima kada se osoba suočava sa stresom, izazovima ili nedaćama.² Pet glavnih odlika koncepta digitalne otpornosti uključuje:

- a) *razumijevanje online prijetnji* – pojedinci prepoznaju rizike ili prijetnje u *online* prostoru i mogu donijeti adekvatne odluke;
- b) *poznavanje rješenja* – pojedinci poznaju načine za pronalazak i ocjenu više izvora pomoći, što označava vještine kritičkog promišljanja;
- c) *učenje o znanjima i vještinama* – ako pojedinci posjeduju digitalne vještine i znanja, mogu se nositi sa nedovoljno poznatim tehnološkim okolnostima;
- d) *oporavak od stresa* – pojedinci se mogu oporaviti kada stvari krenu po zlu u *online* prostoru tako što će dobiti odgovarajući nivo podrške i
- e) *napredovanje kroz samoeфикаsnost* – pojedinac je u mogućnosti da vjeruje da postoji način da se prevaziđu poteškoće kroz odnose s drugima i podrškom koju ima.

S druge strane, Winter i saradnici primjećuju da se *online* ekstremizam razvio izuzetnom brzinom u posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća, što je rezultat napretka tehnologije, kao i promjene u fizičkom i informacijskom sigurnosnom okruženju.³ Otkako je ova tema postala relevantna u naučnim krugovima, religija, kao i individualne percepcije religije, u većini literature posmatraju se i analiziraju kao jedan od značajnijih pokretača za (*online*) ekstremizam – što je vidljivo i u

1 Patrizia Garista & Giancarlo Pocetta, “Digital Resilience: meanings, epistemologies and methodologies for lifelong learning [Digitalna otpornost: značenja, epistemologije i metodologije za cjeloživotno učenje]”, *Conference paper* (2014), str. 1.

2 Haiyan Sun et al., „Digital Resilience Among Individuals in School Education Settings: A Concept Analysis Based on a Scoping Review [Digitalna otpornost među pojedincima u školskom okruženju: analiza koncepta zasnovana na pregledu obima]“, *Frontiers of Psychiatry*, 13:858515 (2022), str. 1.

3 Charlie Winter et al., „Online extremism: Research trends in internet activism, radicalization, and counter-strategies [Online ekstremizam: Istraživački trendovi o internet-aktivizmu, radikalizaciji i kontrastrategijama]“, *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 14:2 (2020), str. 5.

radu Tzvetkove i Mancheve koji posmatra ulogu religijskih institucija u Bosni i Hercegovini.⁴ Međutim, vjera isto tako može biti važan dio svakodnevnog života pojedinca, te se s vremenom javila potreba da se u kontekstu ove teme počne više posmatrati sa stanovišta izgradnje otpornosti na sve oblike negativnih ponašanja u *online* i *offline* okruženju.

Skorašnja istraživanja koja uključuju Bosni i Hercegovinu, poput onog Halilović Pastuović i drugih, pokazuju prve pokušaje prebacivanja fokusa i promjenu paradigme s pokretača/faktora ranjivosti na ekstremizam, na faktore koji mogu doprinijeti otpornosti pojedinca da se odupre negativnim pojavama u društvu.⁵ Prve obrise ovakvom pristupu u Bosni i Hercegovini dali su Turčalo i Veljan, koji su pisali o otpornosti u generalnom kontekstu otpornosti zajednica na ekstremizam – ali, ipak, detaljna analiza uloge nastavnika, vjerskog obrazovanja u školama i samog školskog okruženja do sada nije urađena.⁶ Jedno od prethodnih istraživanja Kapidžića i saradnika pokazalo je da postoji potreba za inicijativama i obrazovnim programima koji podstiču kritičko razmišljanje i medijsku pismenost, kako bi se moglo raditi na otpornosti pojedinaca na negativne pojave na društvenim mrežama poput *online* ekstremizma.⁷

Uzimajući u obzir sve navedeno, moguće je dovesti u korelaciju religiju i vjersko obrazovanje, i izgradnju otpornosti na (*online*) ekstremizam, što otvara mogućnost za procjenu trenutnog stanja kada su u pitanju vjersko obrazovanje u školama (nastava Islamske vjeronauke) i prakse nastavnika koje imaju utjecaj na izgradnju digitalne otpornosti kod mladih. Stoga, autor pokušava napraviti direktnu poveznicu između nastave vjeronauke, nastavnika kao mogućih facilitatora otpornosti i potencijala za izgradnju digitalne otpornosti na *online* ekstremizam, koristeći spomenuti konceptualni okvir Suna i saradnika. Pritom, istraživanje će ponuditi širi pregled praksi i percepcija nastavnika vjeronauke, njihovo viđenje digitalnog prostora, digitalnih kompetencija i online ekstremizma, kao i procjenu postojanja pet karakteristika digitalne otpornosti u svakodnevnom radu.

4 Gergana Tzvetkova & Mila Mancheva, "Country Report: Bosnia and Herzegovina [Izveštaj za državu: Bosna i Hercegovina]", *GREASE – Radicalisation, Secularism, and the Governance of Religion: European and Asian Perspectives* (2019), str. 11.

5 Maja Halilovic Pastuovic et al., "Interactions between States and Religious Institutions in the Balkans – Working Paper 3 [Interakcije između država i vjerskih institucija na Balkanu – Radni dokument 3]"⁴, *PAVE Project Publications* (2022), str. 5.

6 Sead Turčalo & Nejra Veljan, "Community Perspectives on the Prevention of Violent Extremism in Bosnia and Herzegovina [Perspektive zajednice u prevenciji nasilnog ekstremizma u Bosni i Hercegovini]"⁴, *Berghof Foundation* (2018), str. 9.

7 Damir Kapidžić et al., „Drivers of radicalisation and violent extremism in the light of state dynamics in MENA and the Balkans: Bosnia and Herzegovina [Pokretači radikalizacije i nasilnog ekstremizma u svjetlu državne dinamike u MENA i Balkanu: Bosna i Hercegovina]"⁴, *The European Institute of the Mediterranean (IEMed)* (2021), str. 17.

Metodologija

Ciljevi istraživanja

Jedan od primarnih ciljeva istraživanja jeste proširiti postojeću literaturu empirijskom studijom, koja objasni mogućnost razvijanja digitalne otpornosti na ekstremizam kroz nastavu Islamske vjeronauke. Pored toga, zadaci istraživanja su i, s jedne strane, ispitivanje generalne uloge vjere u digitalnom životu mladih – kroz iskustva nastavnika koji ih podučavaju – te, s druge strane, utvrđivanje mjere u kojoj u školama, kroz časove vjeronauke, nastavnici uključuju pet karakteristika koncepta digitalne otpornosti. Na taj način moguće je procijeniti postojanje i relevantnost obrazovnih inicijativa i praksi usmjerenih na prevenciju negativnih društvenih pojava u *online* okruženju. Na kraju, značajan istraživački prioritet predstavlja i utvrđivanje spremnosti i opremljenosti nastavnika vjeronauke za rad s učenicima na digitalnoj otpornosti.

Kriteriji, način odabira učesnika i opis uzorka

Trenutno, u sklopu Islamske zajednice u BiH postoji ukupno devet muftijstava – Banjalučko, Bihaćko, Goraždansko, Mostarsko, Sarajevsko, Travničko, Tuzlansko, Zeničko i Vojno muftijstvo – što korespondira administrativnom uređenju Bosne i Hercegovine sa devet kantona u Federaciji BiH, te Republikom srpskom i Distriktom Brčko. U Zapadnohercegovačkom kantonu ne postoji dovoljan broj učenika, te samim tim vjeronauku ne predaju nastavnici, već lokalni imami. Slijedom toga, cilj ove studije bio je postići pokrivenost prema geografskom kriteriju muftijstava, pritom uzimajući u obzir da svi potencijalni sagovornici budu aktivno i službeno zaposleni kao predavači u nastavi Islamske vjeronauke u svojim sredinama. Svi ispitanici primarno su kontaktirani putem Mreže nastavnika i profesora Islamske vjeronauke u BiH, a geografsko područje koje je pokriveno studijom uključuje ispitanike iz svih muftijstava osim Vojnog (koje ne provodi nastavu vjeronauke) i Goraždanskog, gdje nije bilo zainteresovanih članova aktiva koji bi učestvovali u istraživanju.

Istraživački postupci, metode istraživanja i etika

Ovo istraživanje rađeno je sa ukupno 12 nastavnika vjeronauke iz osnovnih ili srednjih škola s područja Bosne i Hercegovine, u periodu od jula do oktobra 2022. godine. Pritom, korištene su dvije tehnike prikupljanja podataka: prva je uključivala intervjue putem *online* platformi za videokonferencije (ukupno pet) i telefonske poziva (ukupno 3), dok je druga uključivala upitnik s pitanjima

otvorenog tipa, koji je tražio opširne odgovore (ukupno 4). U istraživanju su učestvovala tri ispitanika iz Tuzlanskog, dva iz Bihaćkog, dva iz Travničkog, dva iz Sarajevskog, jedan iz Mostarskog, jedan iz Zeničkog i jedan iz Banjalučkog muftijstva – od toga ukupno osam muškaraca i četiri žene sa preko pet godina radnog iskustva u nastavi. Svim ispitanicima postavljen je isti set pitanja (polustrukturirani upitnik sa 13 okvirnih pitanja), a svaka interakcija u realnom vremenu prosječno je trajala 30 minuta.

Fokus pitanja bio je na ulozi vjere u digitalnom životu učenika, izazovima s kojima se učenici suočavaju u digitalnom okruženju te mogućnostima koje vjeronauka pruža u podučavanju digitalne pismenosti i prevenciji nepoželjnih ponašanja u *online* prostoru. Konkretno, pitanja su uključivala: evaluaciju digitalnih vještina učenika, razumijevanje *online* prijetnji i rizika te sposobnost kritičkog promišljanja učenika o *online* izazovima. Također, pitanja su se bavila ulogom nastavnika vjeronauke u pružanju podrške učenicima, kao i njihovim stavovima o *online* ekstremizmu i načinima doprinosa njegovom smanjenju kroz nastavu vjeronauke.

Samim tim, za analizu podataka prikupljenih kroz oralne intervjuje i pismene odgovore u istraživanju je korištena metoda analize sadržaja. Podaci su analizirani kroz kodiranje četiriju osnovnih tema, koje su istim redoslijedom predstavljene u dijelu o rezultatima istraživanja. Također, autor je osigurao anonimnost ispitanika, uz poštovanje važećih nacionalnih zakona Bosne i Hercegovine o zaštiti ličnih podataka, kao i općih etičkih propisa za pisanje naučnog rada iz oblasti društvenih nauka. Lični podaci svih sagovornika anonimizirani su i neće postojati način individualnog raspoznavanja u skladu s datim odgovorima, a autor se na njih referira u najširoj kategoriji muftijstva iz kojeg dolaze.

Adaptacije i izazovi

Tokom provedbe istraživanja zabilježeno je i nekoliko adaptacija i izazova. Prvo, svi intervjui morali su biti obavljani u *online* formatu, primarno iz razloga efikasnije i brže organizacije svih razgovora s ispitanicima iz sredina do kojih bi bilo otežano fizički doći u kraćem vremenskom periodu. Drugo, zbog privremenog odsustva nekoliko ispitanika, kao i ličnih obaveza, četiri ispitanika zahtijevala su da na upitnik odgovore pismenim putem – što im je na kraju omogućeno. Treće, nakon što je ispitanik kontaktirao aktive iz Goraždanskog muftijstva, niko od članova nije odgovorio potvrdno na molbu. Iako izostanak učešća predstavnika ovog muftijstva ne utječe na generalne nalaze studije, njihova iskustva i stavovi doprinijeli bi boljem razumijevanju digitalnih izazova u nastavi vjeronauke na ovom prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine.

Rezultati istraživanja

Vjera u digitalnom životu učenika

Razgovori s ispitanicima pokazali su da vjera, prvenstveno, može služiti učenicima (bez obzira na dob) kao korektivni faktor za postavljanje granica, kako u digitalnom tako i u stvarnom svijetu. U posljednoj deceniji, granice između *online* i *offline* svijeta postale su nejasne i sve više isprepletene. To se posebno odrazilo na poglede mladih naspram savremenog svijeta, što znači da se njihovi stavovi i vrijednosti u velikoj mjeri prilagođavaju novim trendovima unutar digitalizovanog ekosistema. Prema mišljenju jedne ispitanice, upravo vjera može ponuditi odgovore na savremene izazove današnjice, jer digitalni svijet nekada može donijeti veći broj izazova od onog stvarnog.⁸ U velikom broju slučajeva, značajan problem predstavlja samo korištenje i konzumiranje sadržaja putem interneta, gdje značajan broj mladih – i pored dobrih tehničkih sposobnosti – još uvijek nema dovoljno razvijenu vještinu razdvajanja štetnog od korisnog sadržaja. Ispitanik iz Travničkog muftijstva vjeruje da upravo u ovom segmentu vjera može kanalisati učenike da sadržaju pristupaju selektivno, jer – kako napominje druga ispitanica iz Bihačkog muftijstva – vjera razdvaja korisno od nekorisnog znanja, štetno od dobrog i smisleno od besmislenog.⁹

Digitalizacija i vizualizacija znanja u određenoj mjeri dovela je i do problema zadržavanja koncentracije učenika, te se i nastava vjeronauke pokušava prilagoditi ovim trendovima kroz interaktivno korištenje *online* platformi i multimedijskog sadržaja. Većina ispitanika tvrdi da o digitalnim izazovima redovno razgovara s učenicima, dok nekolicina navodi i primjere radionica na tu temu. Ipak, istaknuto je da nastavni plan i program uglavnom ne dozvoljava preveliku diskusiju o ovim temama, te da se uglavnom stariji nastavnici 'slijepo' pridržavaju svojih naviknutih metoda rada i tematskih okvira. S druge strane, prema procjenama ispitanika, nastavnici vjeronauke u velikoj mjeri aktivno koriste digitalne alate u nastavi vjeronauke. To je posebno došlo do izražaja od pojave pandemije koronavirusa, kada je, kako jedna ispitanica kaže „u obzir dolazila svaka vrsta aplikacije poput *WhatsApp*-a, *Messenger*-a, pa i *Viber*-a“.¹⁰

Najčešće korišteni softveri, alati i aplikacije uključuju *PowerPoint* i ostale *Office* alate, *Zoom*, *Google Classroom*, *You Tube*, *Wordwall*, *Prezi* i druge. Ispitanik iz Sarajevskog muftijstva navodi i jedan pozitivan primjer digitalizacije u nastavi vjeronauke, gdje je upravo on bio idejni začetnik inicijative omogućavanja

8 *Online* intervju s ispitanicom iz Bihačkog muftijstva, 14. 9. 2022. godine.

9 *Online* intervju s ispitanikom iz Travničkog muftijstva, 03. 9. 2022. godine i *online* intervju s ispitanicom iz Bihačkog muftijstva, 14. 9. 2022. godine.

10 *Online* intervju s ispitanicom iz Bihačkog muftijstva, 14. 9. 2022. godine

jednostavnog (i otvorenog) pristupa sadržajima i materijalima nastave vjeronauke u srednjim školama – kako učenicima tako i roditeljima, te generalnoj javnosti i svim zainteresovanim stranama. Ističe da je ta ideja omogućila ‘Instagram generacijama’ jedno kvalitetno i sistematizirano znanje u potpuno novom okruženju.

Tako je i nastala moja inovacija – platforma s digitaliziranim sadržajima predmeta,¹¹ koja je nagrađena na kantonalnom i državnom nivou, a kojom sam prije svega, omogućio učenicima da na nastavi legalno koriste svoj mobitel – i to kao nastavno pomagalo, što je jedno od rješenja za zloupotrebu tehnologije na nastavnom satu, a ujedno i alternativa besmislenom gubljenju vremena. To, dakako, Instagram generacijama znači mnogo, naročito zbog toga što nastavnim sadržajima u cjelosti pristupaju putem svog mobitela, i zbog toga što ne moraju više zapisivati u sveske, koje na kraju godine svakako odlože i nikad im se više ne vrate. Nasuprot tome, platformi se vraćaju.¹²

Digitalna otpornost

Govoreći o prvom teoretskom stubu digitalne otpornosti – razumijevanju *online* prijetnji – nastavnici vjeronauke slažu se u mišljenju da učenici još uvijek nisu svjesni svih digitalnih oblika rizika, prvenstveno iz razloga što je ovo polje koje bilježi konstantan napredak. Njihovo razumijevanje *online* prijetnji još uvijek je na bazičnom nivou, te postoji potreba za boljim adresiranjem svih potencijalnih izazova s kojima se svakodnevno susreću. Vjeronauka je, prije svega, zasnovana na odgoju, što znači da već postojeće tematske oblasti potenciraju međuljudske odnose. Jedan od ispitanika iz Tuzlanskog muftijstva tvrdi da je, kroz vlastito iskustvo, spoznao da bolje razumijevanje digitalnih prijetnji posjeduju stariji učenici, koji su duži vremenski period prisutni u ovom polju.¹³ Razmatrajući ulogu vjeronauke u procesu razumijevanja *online* prijetnji, ispitanici također imaju isti stav o važnosti uloge ovog predmeta, gdje se često napominje uloga vjeroučitelja kao osobe koja bi povremeno na časovima vjeronauke trebala proširivati vidike učenika kada je u pitanju ova problematika. Ispitanica iz Bihaćkog muftijstva smatra da je jedan od efektivnih načina na koji bi se moglo pozitivno djelovati na učenike korištenje audiovizuelnog materijala koji govori o prijetnjama, te provlači moralnu i odgojnu nit.¹⁴ U tom smjeru razmišlja i

11 Platforma dostupna na linku: <https://sites.google.com/view/islamska-vjeronauka/islamska-vjeronauka>.

12 *Online* intervju s ispitanikom iz Sarajevskog muftijstva, 20. 7. 2022. godine

13 *Online* intervju s ispitanikom iz Tuzlanskog muftijstva, 28. 9. 2022. godine

14 *Online* intervju s ispitanicom iz Bihaćkog muftijstva, 14. 9. 2022. godine

ispitanik iz Mostarskog muftijstva, koji vjeruje da nastavnici već „pomažu koliko mogu“, ali i da je „potrebno dalje raditi na osvještavanju učenika“. ¹⁵ Također, ispitanik iz Travničkog muftijstva dodaje:

Mislim da [učenici] nisu dovoljno upoznati sa rizicima i prijetnjama koje su oko njih svakodnevno. Vjeronauka tu ima ogromnu ulogu i važnost. Na časovima vjeronauke proširujemo vidike učenika i pokušavamo im ukazati na sve te rizike, pripremajući ih za ono što ih očekuje u virtualnom svijetu. ¹⁶

Jedan primjer dobre prakse razgovora o nepoželjnim oblicima ponašanja u digitalnom svijetu, navodi nastavnik vjeronauke iz Banjalučkog muftijstva, koji kaže:

Baš danas sam im objašnjavao da im se život može okrenuti za 180 stepeni zbog samo jedne slike ili snimka. Rekao sam im da paze da ne budu kompromitovani i da nikada druge ne kompromituju. Na primjer, objasnio sam im da je to grijeh. Za ovaj primjer se može iskoristiti i onaj hadis o sakrivanju sramote bratu, tj. da će Bog tvoju sramotu sakriti, ukoliko ti to isto uradiš za svoga prijatelja. ¹⁷

Drugi stub digitalne otpornosti – poznavanje rješenja – u prvi plan stavlja vještine kritičkog promišljanja učenika i traženje rješenja i odgovora iz više izvora. Iskustva nastavnika pokazuju da je trenutni nivo kritičkog promišljanja kod učenika na niskom nivou, što predstavlja značajan izazov zbog toga što je svijet napredovao i – kako tvrdi nastavnik iz Sarajevskog muftijstva – zbog činjenice da „danas trebamo ljude koji misle kreativno, inovativno, kritički, nezavisno, sa mogućnosti povezivanja“. ¹⁸ Usmjeravanje ka kritičkom promišljanju obaveza je svih nastavnih predmeta, ne samo vjeronauke – ali jedan segment u kojem vjeronauka može iznjedrati rezultate jeste upravo kritičko promišljanje o digitalnim sadržajima koji nisu u skladu s lijepim odgojem i islamskim učenjem. Vjeronauka, kroz primjer vjere i vjerskih propisa, može ukazati na potencijalne probleme i poslužiti za detaljnu analizu prije donošenja bilo kakvog zaljučka. Ipak, bitno je napomenuti i da je nekolicina nastavnika istakla važnost edukacije i mogućnosti kritičkog promišljanja samih edukatora, jer se često promovise manjak propitivanja autoriteta i sistem „šuti i budi dobar“. ¹⁹ Govoreći o kritičkom promišljanju i *online* izazovima, ispitanik iz Travničkog muftijstva kaže:

Učenici su u određenoj mjeri svjesni izazova, jer o njima razgovaraju i sa roditeljima, ali ponekad bivaju zavedeni primamljivošću sadržaja koji im se

15 Pismeni odgovor ispitanika iz Mostarskog muftijstva, Sarajevo, 07. 9. 2022. godine.

16 *Online* intervju s ispitanikom iz Travničkog muftijstva, 03. 9. 2022. godine.

17 *Online* intervju s ispitanikom iz Banjalučkog muftijstva, 05. 10. 2022. godine. Hadis u izvornom obliku glasi: „Ko sakrije sramotu svoga brata na dunjaluku, Allah, dž. š., sakrit će njegovu i na dunjaluku i na ahiretu“ (bilježe Buharija i Muslim).

18 Pismeni odgovor ispitanika iz Sarajevskog muftijstva, 20. 7. 2022. godine.

19 *Online* intervju s ispitanikom iz Banjalučkog muftijstva, 05. 10. 2022. godine.

nude u toj mjeri da zaboravljaju na sve dobronamjerne savjete. Kao vjeroučitelj, smatram da imam veliku odgovornost u ovim stvarima i nastojim svoj dio posla uraditi na najbolji način. U okviru plana i programa za nastavu vjeronauke postoje lekcije koje obrađuju ove teme, što svakako predstavlja olakšanje za učenike i nastavnike.²⁰

Također, ispitanica iz Bihaćkog muftijstva ističe da učenici nisu spremni kritički razmišljati o digitalnim izazovima:

Ako nešto prihvate, onda se vrlo sporo toga odriču, ili nikako. Ako im je nešto od online ponuđenih pubertetskih materijala drago, neće odoljeti, a da ga ne pogledaju – pa makar to značilo i loše po njih. U udžbenicima vjeronauke bi se trebalo uvrstiti i odgojni segment koji bi potakao učenike na razmišljanje da li neke online sadržaje ne bi ni trebalo otvarati i kako ih prepoznati. Tako bi se pridržavali i islamske etike i vrlina.²¹

Treći stub digitalne otpornosti – učenje o znanjima i vještinama – prvenstveno se odnosi na posjedovanje digitalnih vještina i znanja, pomoću kojih se korisnici mogu samostalno nositi sa nedovoljno poznatim tehnološkim okolnostima. Generalna zapažanja nastavnika pokazuju da su digitalne vještine učenika (posebno u tehničkom smislu), u značajnoj mjeri, bolje od vještina velikog dijela nastavnog kadra – primarno iz razloga što „nove generacije provode više vremena za računarima, a novi trendovi u njihovim životima to od njih traže“.²² Ipak, većina ispitanika se isto tako slaže da, iako su digitalne kompetencije učenika na izrazito visokom nivou, njihova upotreba interneta i konzumacija informacija ne odvija se nužno na način na koji to žele odgajatelji ili odrasli.

Kako navodi jedan od ispitanika iz Travničkog muftijstva, trenutno je zastupljena prekomjerna upotreba „neadekvatnih i beskorisnih sadržaja“.²³ Pritom, među sagovornicima vlada mišljenje da učenici gube vrijeme na različite igre, Instagram, YouTube, TikTok te se ugledaju na osobe iz digitalnog ‘miljea’ i oponašaju modu, kao i izražavanje. Nadalje, ispitanik iz Sarajevskog muftijstva tvrdi da „dok igraju igrice, učenici ne razmišljaju ni o hrani, a kamoli o namazu ili vjeri“.²⁴ Nova opasnost, koju ispitanici prepoznaju i koja je sve prisutnija, jeste i trend neprovjerenih vjerskih stranica i sekta, koje mogu imati *online* prisustvo – pogotovo na mrežama poput TikToka i Facebooka. Govoreći o prijetnjama u digitalnom svijetu, ispitanica iz Bihaćkog muftijstva napominje:

Činjenica je da učenike treba konstantno usmjeravati na korisne i pozitivne sadržaje ili bolje rečeno čuvati ih od onih negativnih. Kao profesor vjeronauke

20 *Online* intervju s ispitanikom iz Travničkog muftijstva, 03. 9. 2022. godine.

21 *Online* intervju s ispitanicom iz Bihaćkog muftijstva, 14. 9. 2022. godine.

22 Pismeni odgovor ispitanika iz Sarajevskog muftijstva, 20. 7. 2022. godine.

23 *Online* intervju s ispitanikom iz Travničkog muftijstva, 03. 9. 2022. godine.

24 Pismeni odgovor ispitanika iz Sarajevskog muftijstva, 20. 7. 2022. godine.

nastojim kod učenika postići to da svakom sadržaju pristupaju kritički, a ne samo da budu oni koji slijepo slijede nametnute trendove u raznim segmentima.²⁵

Četvrti i peti stub digitalne otpornosti – oporavak od stresa i napredovanje kroz samoeфикаsnost – u prvi plan stavljaju sisteme podrške koje učenici treba da imaju u školskom okruženju. Ovi sistemi podrške uključuju dva primarna segmenta: adekvatan oporavak kada stvari krenu po zlu u *online* svijetu i mogućnost prevazilaženja poteškoća kroz podršku i odnose s drugima. Značajan broj ispitanika potvrdio je da je u prošlosti imao iskustva s intervencijama, nakon što su učenici doživjeli stresne situacije u digitalnom prostoru. Ipak, neki od njih ističu da postoje razlike u pristupima samog nastavnog osoblja, gdje „samo posvećeni prosvjetni radnici pokazuju interes za stresne situacije kroz koje prolaze učenici“.²⁶ Također, dodaju i da vjeroučitelj koji ima izgrađen kredibilitet kod učenika može „puno pomoći u tom polju, jer će se učenici rado povjeriti upravo njima“.²⁷ U određenim situacijama nastavnici ne razumiju učenike i izazove s kojima se suočavaju, te im prva reakcija bude osuda – što onda dovodi do toga da se učenik zatvori i ne traži savjet o tome kako graditi i razvijati pozitivne karakterne osobine. Zbog toga je, kako napominje ispitanik iz Travničkog muftijstva, važna izgradnja povjerenja između učenika i nastavnika:

Učenici imaju povjerenje u nastavnike vjeronauke i imao sam nekoliko slučajeva gdje su mi se učenice i učenici žalili na slične stvari, što će se na kraju ispostaviti kao pravi problem, koji je uspješno riješen (...). Ovdje nastavnici vjeronauke mogu mnogo pomoći našoj djeci, jer vjeronauka ne radi samo na obrazovanju, nego veliku pažnju posvećuje odgojnom segmentu rada sa učenicima. Zaista se trudim da učenicima budem konstantno na raspolaganju i stalno im podvlačim da mi se mogu javiti bilo kada, a ne samo za vrijeme nastave. Čini se da je to dalo rezultata (...). Neki od njih ne prekidaju tu komunikaciju ni nakon završetka srednje škole i ostajem otvoren za njihove probleme i nakon toga. To je zaista nešto što čovjeka čini ponosnim.²⁸

Online ekstremizam

Nastavnici vjeronauke pokazali su ispravno razumijevanje termina ‘*online* ekstremizam’ i širok spektar potencijalnih prijetnji koje su prisutne u digitalnom prostoru, a koje mogu rezultirati konkretnim slučajevima radikalizacije mladih. Ono što se ističe kao primarno shvatanje usko se vezuje uz trenutne *mainstream* poglede na islam, gdje termin ‘ekstremizam’ u javnom diskursu često pogrešno asocira isključivo na oblike religijskog ekstremizma među muslimanima,

25 *Online* intervju sa ispitanicom iz Bihačkog muftijstva, 14. 9. 2022. godine.

26 Pismeni odgovor ispitanika iz Sarajevskog muftijstva, 20. 7. 2022. godine.

27 *Online* intervju s ispitanicom iz Bihačkog muftijstva, 14. 9. 2022. godine.

28 *Online* intervju s ispitanikom iz Travničkog muftijstva, 03. 9. 2022. godine.

bez uzimanja u obzir široke lepeze drugih pokretača. Govoreći o religijskom ekstremizmu, ispitanici su istaknuli propagiranje ekstremističkih tumačenja vjere i vjerskih propisa kroz džihad, kao i slijeđenje sekti čije se polje kretanja većinom odvija u zatvorenim *online* grupama, forumima i platformama. Iako univerzalna definicija *online* ekstremizma još uvijek nije usvojena, ispitanici su kroz svoje odgovore dali općeprihvaćeno tumačenje, koje ekstremizam primarno definiše kao: i) širenje ekstremističkih stajališta kroz upotrebu interneta²⁹ te ii) iznošenje stavova koji se ne uklapaju u današnji sistem života većine ljudi.³⁰ Pritom, djeca (i mladi generalno) u najvećoj su opasnosti od *online* ekstremizma, upravo iz razloga što je njihova mogućnost kritičkog sagledavanja potencijalno negativnog sadržaja još uvijek na niskom nivou – gdje djeca mogu podleći utjecaju i lobiranju ekstremista u kratkom vremenu. Jedan od ispitanika, istakao je sljedeće:

Online ekstremizam bi bio uključivanje ljudi u ono što im može donijeti veliku štetu. Prethodno sam dijagnosticirao neke od tih problema sa kojima se suočavam. Danas svjedočimo da je taj ekstremizam u porastu i da se sve više mlade osobe uključuju u njega. Ovdje škole i vjeroučitelji mogu dati veliki doprinos i djelovati preventivno.³¹

Pored štetnih oblika religijskog ekstremizma, koji propagiraju neinstitucionalne grupe i individualni akteri u digitalnom prostoru, ispitanici su prepoznali i moguće opasnosti na polju zabave, gdje se posebno ističu platforme poput YouTubea i TikToka. Kako ističe jedna od ispitanica iz Bihaćkog muftijstva, to se čak može ogledati i u „načinu razmišljanja, odijevanju, ili ishrani“.³² Na kraju, ispitanici su prepoznali i ekstremističke narative u političkom djelovanju, gdje postoji opasnost konstantnog ‘podgrijavanja’ atmosfere, što u psihološkom smislu može imati značajan utjecaj na razvoj mlade osobe. Nerijetko su žrtve ovakvih narativa ne samo mladi već i njihove porodice, što onda može predstavljati i problem na većem nivou, koji je onda izuzetno teško riješiti.

Razgovori s ispitanicima također su pokazali da nastava vjeronauke može doprinijeti smanjenju *online* ekstremizma – kako direktno tako i indirektno. Prvenstveno, taj rad svodi se na savjetovanje i izgradnju zdrave populacije društva, a jedna od ispitanica iz Travničkog muftijstva napominje da je njena uloga usmjeravanje učenika prema „pravom putu“, jer je islam „vjera srednjeg puta“.³³ Pored toga, drugi ispitanik vjeruje da nastavnici vjeronauke „mogu mnogo pružiti, jer je njihova uloga u tom polju velika“ – pogotovo ako se uzme u obzir da se kroz nastavni sadržaj objašnjavaju vjerski propisi, kao i ljepote vjere i njena

29 Pismeni odgovor ispitanice iz Travničkog muftijstva. 30. 8. 2022. godine.

30 *Online* intervju s ispitanikom iz Tuzlanskog muftijstva, 28. 9. 2022. godine.

31 *Online* intervju s ispitanikom iz Travničkog muftijstva, 03. 9. 2022. godine.

32 *Online* intervju s ispitanicom iz Bihaćkog muftijstva, 14. 9. 2022. godine.

33 Pismeni odgovor ispitanice iz Travničkog muftijstva. 30. 8. 2022. godine.

jednostavnost.³⁴ Kako je spomenuto, uloga vjeronauke, a i islama, primarno se ogleda u zagovaranju ‘srednjeg puta’, te shodno tome, jedan od ispitanika napominje:

Islam je protiv bilo kakvog oblika ekstremizma i zbog toga se čudimo onima koji neke devijantne pojave pripisuju islamu u današnje vrijeme. Islam čovjeka uči da bude biće sredine i da ne pretjeruje u bilo čemu, pa čak ni u jelu i piću. Vjeroučitelji ulažu velike napore na ovim poljima, ali bez većeg angažmana šire društvene zajednice, teško će se doći do željenih rezultata.³⁵

Što je još važnije, nastavnici vjeronauke smatraju da njihov rad može pozitivno djelovati i na samu digitalnu otpornost učenika, gdje jedan od ispitanika napominje da je upravo vjeronauka školski predmet koji daje najveći doprinos pri izgradnji otpornosti u odgojno-obrazovnom sistemu:

Tim temama posvećujem posebnu pažnju, kada učenike neprestano upućujem na relevantne izvore za prikupljanje informacija, odnosno ukazujem na izvore koji mogu predstavljati prijetnju i rizik. Srednjoškolci to vrlo dobro razumiju, a preveniranju rizika, za razliku od svih ostalih predmeta u odgojno-obrazovnom sistemu, najviše doprinosi upravo predmet Islamska vjeronauka.³⁶

Nastavnici Islamske vjeronauke i digitalni izazovi

Mišljenja ispitanika u velikoj se mjeri razlikuju kada je u pitanju procjena kompetencija nastavnika Islamske vjeronauke i njihovog snalaženja u digitalnom prostoru. S jedne strane, vlada percepcija da oni ne mogu da prate tehnološke izazove, dok, s druge strane, postoji viđenje da su upravo nastavnici vjeronauke pokazali spremnost za digitalne izazove kroz razvoj *online* predmetne platforme za vrijeme pandemije. Opći je zaključak da se u ovom segmentu dosta kompetencija svodi na individualni nivo, gdje – kako jedan od nastavnika ističe – „mlađe generacije to dobro prate i prilagode se djeci i novim alatima, dok starije generacije ipak teže prihvataju promjene“. U narednim godinama, obrazovni sektor težit će sve većoj digitalizaciji, te se shodno tome javlja potreba za inovativnim pristupima djeci koji su kreativniji, manje monotoni i motivirajući za kontinuiran rad i razumijevanje predviđenih tematskih oblasti. Ispitanik iz Sarajevskog muftijstva ističe:

Sticanje kompetencija za upotrebu digitalnih alata, nesumnjivo poboljšava kvalitet nastave i prilagođava je potrebama novih generacija koje standardne načine učenja i podučavanja smatraju monotonima i krajnje demotivirajućima.³⁷

34 *Online* intervju s ispitanikom iz Tuzlanskog muftijstva, 28. 9. 2022. godine.

35 *Online* intervju s ispitanikom iz Travničkog muftijstva, 03. 9. 2022. godine.

36 Pismeni odgovor ispitanika iz Sarajevskog muftijstva, 20. 7. 2022. godine.

37 Pismeni odgovor ispitanika iz Sarajevskog muftijstva, 20. 7. 2022. godine.

Isto tako, jedna od ispitanica smatra i da ne smijemo izostaviti činjenicu da su, iako u manjoj mjeri, i mlađe kolege doživjele veliki broj izazova, ali da su ipak pokazali spremnost za njihovo adekvatno savladavanje.³⁸ Tokom masovnog prelaska na *online* nastavu za vrijeme pandemije, nastavnicima je ponuđen značajan broj digitalnih alata koji su morali biti uvedeni u nastavu. Da bi takvi alati ostali i opstali, ispitanici smatraju da je potrebno više razumijevanja i podrške od svih institucionalnih aktera – počevši od Islamske zajednice do nadležnih ministarstava i samih škola. Islamska vjeronauka predstavlja i svojevrsnu okosnicu Islamske zajednice i potencijali nastavnog kadra, kao i unapređenje kvalitete nastave kroz konkretnu finansijsku podršku i ulaganja, nameću se kao primarni sektori na kojima je potrebno kontinuirano raditi. Posmatrajući trenutno stanje, ispitanik iz Zeničkog muftijstva napominje da nastava vjeronauke predstavlja glavnu poveznicu učenika s ovom institucijom i vjerom u generalnom smislu, te igra bitnu ulogu pri izgradnji ličnosti i izbjegavanju priklanjanja tzv. parainstitucijama.³⁹ Evidentan je i značajan disparitet u informatičkoj opremljenosti učionica, što najbolje oslikava tvrdnja nastavnika iz Tuzlanskog muftijstva, koji napominje da „ukoliko nema uslova u školi, onda ih pokuša sam obezbijediti“.⁴⁰

Zaključak

Ovo istraživanje imalo je za cilj povezati koncept digitalne otpornosti u školskom okruženju, *online* ekstremizam i/ili negativne oblike ponašanja na internetu te nastavu vjeronauke kao mogući prostor unutar kojeg nastavnici vjeronauke mogu djelovati kao facilitatori otpornosti. Usto, istraživanje je predstavilo percepcije nastavnika vjeronauke kada su u pitanju uloga vjere u digitalnom životu učenika, spremnost i opremljenost nastavnog osoblja za rad na digitalnim izazovima te trenutno (i potencijalno) postojanje pet osnovnih stubova digitalne otpornosti u svakodnevnim praksama i radu u školi. Podaci su prikupljeni primjenom intervjua i pismenog odgovaranja na upitnik s pitanjima otvorenog tipa.

Digitalni život učenika donio je novi set izazova, na koje vjera i vjersko obrazovanje mogu odgovoriti na nekoliko načina. Tu se uglavnom ističu korektivno djelovanje u smislu postavljanja granica, ali i selektivnog pristupanja i mogućnosti razdvajanja štetnog od korisnog sadržaja. Iako u nekim slučajevima nastavni planovi i programi ne dozvoljavaju pretjerano fokusiranje na ove tematske oblasti, većina ispitanika ipak redovno govori o nepoželjnim oblicima

38 Pismeni odgovor ispitanice iz Travničkog muftijstva, 30. 8. 2022. godine.

39 Pismeni odgovor ispitanika iz Zeničkog muftijstva, 28. 9. 2022. godine.

40 *Online* intervju s ispitanikom iz Tuzlanskog muftijstva, 29. 8. 2022. godine.

ponašanja u digitalnom prostoru, a isto tako i koristi digitalne alate za bolje razumijevanje nastavnog sadržaja. Kao primjer dobre prakse ističe se potpuna digitalizacija predmeta Islamska vjeronauka za srednje škole, koji je sada dostupan široj javnosti.

Posmatrajući pet karakteristika digitalne otpornosti u školskom okruženju, njihovo prisustvo u praksi nastave vjeronauke, kao i mogućnosti za buduće djelovanje kroz korištenje ovog teoretskog okvira – uvida se potencijal koji ovakav pristup može imati. Isto tako, jasno je ukazano i na važnost uloge nastavnika vjeronauke kao svojevrsnih facilitatora za razvijanje digitalne otpornosti na *online* ekstremizam u školskom okruženju. Prvi stub – razumijevanje *online* prijetnji – pokazao se kao važan dio već postojeće prakse, gdje nastava vjeronauke upravo pokušava osvijestiti učenike i upoznati ih s rizicima i prijetnjama. Drugi stub – poznavanje rješenja – fokusiran je uglavnom na razvijanje sposobnosti kritičkog promišljanja, gdje nastava vjeronauke može dati doprinos u smislu otvorenih razgovora i debata o digitalnim sadržajima koji nisu u skladu s lijepim odgojem i islamom.

Treći stub – učenje o znanjima i vještinama – usmjeren je ka digitalnim vještinama, koje korisnicima omogućuju samostalnost pri korištenju digitalnih alata i/ili u potrazi za rješenjima za nepoznate tehnološke okolnosti. Razgovori s ispitanicima pokazali su da postoji percepcija učenika kao samostalnih korisnika internetskih sadržaja, ali da problem predstavlja njihova konzumacija informacija. U tom smislu, korištenje samog sadržaja ne odvija se na način na koji bi to željeli njihovi roditelji/odgajatelji i nastavnici, ali su njihove tehničke vještine na izrazito visokom nivou. Četvrti i peti stub digitalne otpornosti – oporavak od stresa i napredovanje kroz samoeфикаsnost – predstavljaju dva dijela slagalice koja se odnose na sisteme podrške u školskom okruženju. Razgovori upućuju na to da nastavnici vjeronauke mogu doprinijeti prilikom intervencija s učenicima koji su doživjeli stresne situacije u digitalnom prostoru – uzimajući u obzir da je prethodno izgrađeno povjerenje između obiju strana.

Prilikom razgovora o definiranju pojma *online* ekstremizam, ispitanici su pokazali široko razumijevanje ovog problema, pritom uzimajući u obzir i često povezivanje ekstremizma u generalnom smislu sa isključivo religijskim ekstremizmom. Istaknuti su i izazovi na polju zabave i *online* platformi poput YouTubea i TikToka, koji često mogu da promovišu određeni način razmišljanja, odijevanja, pa čak i ishrane. Ipak, ispitanici isto tako čvrsto vjeruju da upravo nastava vjeronauke i islam mogu pomoći pri direktnom ili indirektnom smanjenju *online* ekstremizma, primarno jer je islam vjera tzv. srednjeg puta. Na kraju, nastavnici vjeronauke istakli su i da je upravo vjeronauka jedan od rijetkih školskih predmeta koji može dati značajan doprinos u odgojnom smislu,

a što bi onda moglo polučiti rezultate i pri izgradnji digitalne otpornosti učenika. Ipak, značajno je potcrtati i da dominira mišljenje da digitalne kompetencije nastavnika umnogome nisu na adekvatnom nivou. To se prvenstveno odnosi na starije nastavnike, koji teže mijenjaju rutinu i sporije se prilagođavaju izazovima digitalnog doba, što znači da postoji potreba za sistemskim moderniziranjem cjelokupnog nastavnog procesa, kao i digitalnim opismenjavanjem nastavnog kadra.

Rezultati istraživanja ukazuju na značajan potencijal vjeronauke kao školskog predmeta za jačanje digitalne otpornosti učenika, posebno u prevenciji *online* ekstremizma. Identifikacija pet osnovnih stubova digitalne otpornosti i njihova povezanost s nastavom vjeronauke otvara prostor za dalju integraciju ovih koncepata u nastavni proces. Ovo istraživanje ima nekoliko ograničenja. Prvo, uzorak od 12 nastavnika vjeronauke ne može se generalizirati na sve škole u Bosni i Hercegovini, posebno zbog različitih regionalnih i kulturnih konteksta. Drugo, upotreba intervjua i pisanih odgovora na pitanja otvorenog tipa može ograničiti dublju interpretaciju određenih odgovora, jer su ispitanici možda suzdržani u davanju potpunih ili kritičkih informacija.

S obzirom na ograničenja ovog istraživanja, preporučuje se nekoliko pravaca za buduća istraživanja. Prvo, potrebno je proširiti uzorak na veći broj nastavnika iz različitih škola i regija kako bi se dobila reprezentativnija slika o ulozi vjeronauke u jačanju digitalne otpornosti. Drugo, buduća istraživanja mogu uključiti i učenike kao ispitanike, s ciljem razumijevanja njihove perspektive o ulozi vjeronauke u rješavanju digitalnih izazova. Treće, longitudinalna istraživanja omogućila bi analizu promjena u stavovima nastavnika i učenika kroz vrijeme. Na kraju, preporučuje se razvoj i evaluacija specifičnih edukativnih programa za digitalno opismenjavanje nastavnika vjeronauke, s fokusom na prevenciju *online* ekstremizma.

Diskusija

Iako je istraživanje pokazalo da nastavnici vjeruju da mogu imati važnu ulogu u izgradnji digitalne otpornosti učenika – iz razloga što smatraju da je pet stubova koncepta digitalne otpornosti već prisutno u njihovom svakodnevnom radu – i dalje je teško napraviti detaljnu procjenu značaja nastavnika i samog predmeta Islamska vjeronauka. Pored toga, tvrdnje da vjeronauka od svih predmeta najviše doprinosi preveniranju rizika potrebno je dodatno propitati i istražiti. Budući da je istraživanje obuhvatilo mali broj nastavnika, a da pri tome nemamo mišljenja drugih učesnika odgojno-obrazovnog procesa poput učenika i roditelja, sve

izjave potrebno je razumjeti kao ilustrativne primjere koji predstavljaju polazište za dalja, obimnija istraživanja. Isto tako, i pored općeg razumijevanja pojma 'online ekstremizam', za adekvatno djelovanje nastavnog kadra potrebno je obaviti dodatne stručne edukacije i obuke za specifične preventivne programe, koji bi za cilj imali jačanje otpornosti kod učenika. Na kraju, nezainteresovanost dijela nastavnog osoblja da promijeni postojeće metode u nastavi kao i manjak digitalnih kompetencija mogu predstavljati značajan izazov za bilo kakav oblik reforme nastavnog sadržaja.

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Intervjui i pismeni odgovori na upitnik

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Online intervju s ispitanikom iz Tuzlanskog muftijstva, Sarajevo, 05. 9. 2022. godine

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Possibility of Developing Resilience to Extremism in the Digital Environment Through Religious Education

Abstract

This research establishes a connection between online extremism, building digital resilience in the school environment, and Islamic religious education. The paradigm shift in viewing the relationship between religion and extremism, alongside an increasing focus on building resilience, opens up significant space for analysing the role of religious education in primary and secondary schools. By analysing interviews with Islamic religious education teachers, the study concludes their current practices and perceptions of their role in fostering digital resilience among students. The research explores their understanding of digital competencies and perceptions of the importance of digitalising teaching content. Twelve teachers from seven mufti districts – Banja Luka, Bihać, Mostar, Sarajevo, Travnik, Tuzla, and Zenica – participated in the study, with all respondents interviewed through semi-structured online interviews. The research reveals that religious education teachers recognise their role in building digital resilience against school extremism and the need to modernise and digitalise teaching practices.

Key words: online extremism, digital resilience, religious education, teachers, school

CONTEXT

Prikazi knjiga / Book Reviews

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Elma Dizdar i Amra Mulović, *Adverbijali mjesta, vremena i načina u arapskom jeziku*, Sarajevo: Centar za napredne studije, 2024. 164 str. ISBN 978-9926-555-08-5.

Knjiga *Adverbijali mjesta, vremena i načina u arapskom jeziku* objavljena je 2024. godine u izdanju Centra za napredne studije. Djelo autorica Elme Dizdar i Amre Mulović sadrži stotinu šezdeset i četiri stranice. Recenzije potpisuju prof. dr. Sabina Bakšić, prof. dr. Munir Mujić i prof. dr. Munir Drkić. Nastala je kao rezultat naučnog istraživanja o adverbijalima mjesta, vremena i načina u arapskom jeziku.

U *Uvodu* (str. 7–9) autorice ističu da se radi o temi kojoj nije posvećena velika pažnja u savremenim istraživanjima arapskog jezika te da nije objavljen iscrpan i sistematičan opis ove gramatičke kategorije u arapskom jeziku. Ovo istraživanje rađeno je na temelju analitičko-deskriptivnog i tipološko-funkcionalnog metoda kako bi se opisale sve formalne karakteristike kategorije i predstavile sintaktičke funkcije u kojima se ona realizira.

Prvi tekst *O kategoriji adverbijala u arapskoj gramatičkoj tradiciji* (str. 11–16) donosi povijesni prikaz pojmova koji su korišteni u arapskoj lingvistici za izražavanje kategorije *adverbijala*, njihov sadržaj, opseg sintaktičkih funkcija koje su mogli izraziti, njihovo razumijevanje i status u kasnijim i savremenim istraživanjima te prijevodne ekvivalente u istraživanjima arapske gramatičke tradicije pisanim na drugim jezicima.

Tekst *O kategoriji adverbijala u savremenim istraživanjima arapskog jezika* (str. 17–19) nudi nam indikativne zaključke u kontekstu pravca u kojem studija autorica ide te određivanju njenih zadataka i ciljeva. Naime, opis ove kao i drugih gramatičkih kategorija u radovima pisanim na arapskom jeziku i dalje je pod snažnim utjecajem “klasične gramatike”, s nedovoljnim zanimanjem za funkcionalni pristup u analizi. Radovi pisani na engleskom i drugim jezicima, najčešće pisani u okviru minimalističkog pristupa, zadržavaju se uglavnom na formalnom (morfološkom) kriteriju za određivanje kategorije adverbijala. Karakterizira ih nesistematičnost i terminološka neusklađenost, dok neke forme poput rečenica u različitim adverbijalnim funkcija često ne prepoznaju.

Stoga autorice u glavnom dijelu ove studije prvo definiraju pojam adverbijala i njegov sadržaj (*Definicija i određenje adverbijala*, str. 21–24), određujući ga kao funkcionalnu kategoriju naspram priloga kao leksičke kategorije. Izbor izraza *adverbijal* pojašnjavaju uvođenjem semantičkog kriterija u analizu onih formi koje se rečenici dodaju kako bi se izrazile okolnosti događaja ili radnje. Na temelju istraživanja izdvojeno je pet formi koje se pojavljuju u funkciji adverbijala u arapskom jeziku: pravi prilozni, neodređene i određene imeničke fraze u akuzativu, pridjevske fraze u akuzativu, prijedložna fraza, finitna, nefinitna i bezglagolska rečenica.

Tri glavna poglavlja knjige podijeljena su prema predmetu istraživanja na *Adverbijale mjesta* (str. 25–44), *Adverbijale vremena* (str. 45–93) i *Adverbijale načina* (str. 95–126).

U svakome od ovih poglavlja opisane su redosljedom sve forme u funkciji adverbijala mjesta, adverbijala vremena te adverbijala načina. Svaka forma demonstrirana je primjerima iz najistaknutijih savremenih arapskih književnih djela, koja zajedno s prijevodima sačinjavaju korpus od pedeset i jednog izdanja. Korišteni prijevodi objavljeni su na bosanskom, srpskom i engleskom jeziku. Studija je temeljena na obimnoj i relevantnoj naučnoj literaturi iz ove oblasti pisanoj na različitim jezicima. Čitaoci će uvidjeti, što autorice konstatiraju na kraju knjige u tekstu *Umjesto zaključka* (str. 135–138), kako se adverbijali mjesta, vremena i načina u arapskom jeziku izražavaju istim konstrukcijama, dok se distribucija i frekventnost različitih konstrukcija u funkciji adverbijala mjesta, vremena i načina bitno razlikuju i mijenjaju se s vremenom i mijenjanjem jezika.

Tako ćemo vidjeti kako je za izražavanje adverbijala mjesta posebna pažnja posvećena prijedložnoj frazi zbog semantičkog potencijala i frekventnosti upotrebe primarnih i otvorene klase sekundarnih prijedloga. U opisu adverbijala vremena nailazimo na posebnu analizu rečenice u ovoj funkciji s detaljnim opisima različitih vremenskih odnosa između radnje nadređene i zavisne vremenske rečenice. Adverbijali načina najopširnije su opisani u formi imeničke i pridjevske fraze, koja je u gramatikama arapskog jezika često obrađena tek kao jedan od objekata u poglavljima o objektima i komplementima glagola.

Autorice stoga, što je jedan u nizu naučnih doprinosa ove studije, kao posebno poglavlje izdvajaju *Adverbijalne komplemente mjesta, vremena i načina* (str. 127–133). Iako to nije osnovni zadatak istraživanja, adverbijalni komplementi izdvojeni su kako bi se istaknula jasna distinkcija u odnosu na adverbijale mjesta, vremena i načina detaljno opisane u prethodnim poglavljima a koji pripadaju *adjunktima* kao opcionalnim rečeničnim elementima. Ove dvije klase razlikuju se po kriteriju obaveznosti. Time se ukazuje na pitanje kojemu se u klasičnim arapskim izvorima ne posvećuje dovoljna i potrebna pažnja čak i prilikom određivanja elemenata koji

se opisuju kao *zarfi maf'ūl fthi*. Ova dva koncepta najfrekventnija su za izražavanje adverbijala mjesta i vremena u klasičnim arapskim gramatikama. Njihov sadržaj samo dijelom korespondira sa sadržajem koncepta adverbijala opisanih u ovoj knjizi, koja ih reinterpreтира i integrira u novi koncept na način da prikazuje njihov položaj u savremenom jeziku i savremenim jezičkim istraživanjima.

Knjiga sadrži *Sažetak* na bosanskom (str. 139–141) i engleskom jeziku (*Summary* str. 143–145), popis *Izvora* (str. 147–149) i *Literature* (str. 151–157) te *Indeks imena* (str. 159–160) i *Indeks pojmova* (str. 161–164).

Na mjestima gdje prijevod ne odražava u potpunosti strukturu i ditribuciju adverbijala u originalnom arapskom tekstu, autorice nude doslovan prijevod koji jasnije ilustrira upravo takvu strukturu i distribuciju adverbijala.

Pored niza značajnih naučnih doprinosa, primjetno je i navođenje više mogućih, potencijalnih funkcija u kojima se određeni adverbijal može naći. Tako se nastoje otkloniti poteškoće u razgraničavanju funkcija različitih formi adverbijala s jedne strane, dok se s druge strane potvrđuje značaj kontekstualnog, intuitivnog i značenjskog kriterija u određivanju adverbijala, njihove distribucije i funkcije. Pored tipičnih značenja adverbijala, posebno izraženih pravim priložima ili njihovim složenim oblicima, studija ističe i njihova atipična značenja i semantički ili stilski markiranu upotrebu.

Naučni rezultati studije predstavljaju značajan doprinos istraživanjima savremenog arapskog jezika, naročito u sintaksi. Ona je često zapostavljena, čak i u savremenim istraživanjima arapskog jezika na način da je obrađena samo u pojedinim aspektima i to u okviru opštih gramatika. Knjiga autorica Dizdar i Mulović otvara prostor i otkriva nove horizonte istraživanjima u oblasti arabistike kakva ona i zaslužuje.

Almin Mahmutović

CONTEXT

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Thijl Sunier, *Making Islam work: Islamic authority among Muslims in Western Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2024. 317 str.
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Antropologija islamskog autoriteta

Knjiga intrigantnog naslova *Making Islam work: Islamic authority among Muslims in Western Europe* [Pokretanje islama: islamski autoritet među muslimanima u zapadnoj Evropi] objavljena je krajem 2023. godine, a izdavač je renomirani Brill iz Leidena. Autor ove knjige je Thijl Sunier, profesor emeritus antropologije religije s Univerziteta Vrije iz Amsterdama (Nizozemska). Pisao je i objavljivao o islamu u Evropi, islamskim pokretima, a i glavni je urednik *Journal of Muslims in Europe*. Knjiga sadrži uvodni dio, šest poglavlja, zaključak, rječnik pojmova, popis literature na koju se autor referirao u knjizi i indeks imena i pojmova na ukupno 317 stranica vrlo preglednog i tehnički lijepo uređenog teksta.

Središnja tema ove knjige izražena je u podnaslovu, a to je islamski autoritet među muslimanima zapadne Evrope, tj. muslimanima migrantskog porijekla. Izraz „islamski autoritet“ svjesno je izabran u odnosu na „muslimanski autoritet“ jer Sunier želi naglasiti da je upravo ono što se poima kao „islamsko“ uvijek i stalno predmet jedne vrste spora. Istraživanja koja su utkana u ovu knjigu većinom je provodio autor, a pojedina istraživanja proveli su doktorandi pod njegovim mentorstvom. Ta istraživanja dominantno su provođena u muslimanskim zajednicama zapadne Evrope, dok muslimanske zajednice istočne i jugoistočne Evrope, tj. autohtone muslimanske zajednice, nisu uključene. Ipak, Sunier smatra da je ono što je izrečeno u sadržaju ove knjige relevantno i za te zajednice.

Ključno pitanje kojim se bavi u ovoj knjizi Thijl Sunier definira na sljedeći način: „Na koji se način islamski autoritet manifestira među muslimanima koji potječu iz migrantskog okruženja u Evropi te koji faktori, konteksti i okolnosti određuju proces oblikovanja autoriteta?“ Ovo pitanje razmatrano je kroz

unutarnje muslimanske rasprave, ali i u širem društvenom kontekstu, okolnostima i događajima koji imaju važnu ulogu u ovom procesu. U sadržaju knjige, odgovor na ovo pitanje ponajprije je opisnog karaktera u smislu oslikavanja širokog dijapazona različitih vrsta razumijevanja i razvoja islamskog vjerskog autoriteta. Takav pristup nudi široko polje teorijske utemeljenosti različitih pristupa ovoj temi. Potencijalna slabost ovog pristupa nalazi se u mogućnosti pogrešnog razumijevanja snage i utjecaja različitih vrsta vjerskih autoriteta. Svaki opisani fenomen u ovoj knjizi zaslužuje svoje mjesto, no nisu svi na istoj razini društvene relevantnosti i to ne treba gubiti iz vida prilikom općenite analize ove teme. U kontekstu glavne teme ove knjige, upravo se pitanje hijerarhije otvara kao ključno pitanje koje bi pomoglo strukturirati i jasnije pozicionirati elemente širokog polja predstavljenog u sadržaju ove knjige.

Glavni naslov knjige (*Making islam work*) deriviran je iz naziva istraživačkog projekta koji je autor proveo od 2013. do 2019. godine s kolegom u Nizozemskoj, a kao antropolog religije on navodi da je potaknut istraživanjem pitanja kako ljudi čine da religija radi za njih i druge te koji faktori utječu na to. Među prvim napomenama u uvodu potcrtan je stav da islamski autoritet ne emanira, sam po sebi, iz dekontekstualizirane srži onoga što bismo mogli nazvati „islamom knjige“. Iako je utemeljenost znanja ključna, po autoru je praktična primjena tog znanja ono što „pokreće stvari“.

Pri definiranju religijskog autoriteta, Sunier navodi da se ta tema bavi pitanjima istine, autentičnosti, legitimnosti, povjerenja, etike i imaginacije u saodnosu s religijskim pitanjima. Iako se pojam „religijskog autoriteta“ najčešće pripisuje *religijskim profesionalcima* (Sunier ovaj izraz koristi kad govori o ulemi, imamima i sl.) povezanim s institucionalnim i sa znanjem povezanim kompetencijama i pozicijama, autor navodi da ovaj pojam smatra sveobuhvatnijim i raznolikijim od pukog statusa religijskih profesionalaca i elita ili islamskih teoloških izvora te u ovoj knjizi prikazuje upravo tu raznolikost. Temeljeno na shvaćanju autoriteta kao atributa koji kreiraju ljudi, Sunier tvrdi da je vjerski autoritet naglašeno privremen i uvjetan, uz stalno evoluirajuću društvenu dinamiku i konfiguraciju moći, a sve se odvija kao interaktivna društvena praksa unutar društveno-političkog područja. Važna je i napomena u kojoj se navodi da čak i kad autoritativni status osobe proizlazi iz vjerske institucionalne strukture poput katoličkog svećenstva ili službene uleme u nekim zemljama, vjernici praktičari njihov autoritativni status moraju priznati te stalno iznova potvrđivati.

Ključna dimenzija Sunierovog predstavljanja i razumijevanja vjerskog autoriteta jeste izraz *authority-making* (nastanak ili oblikovanje autoriteta) jer ovim izrazom ukazuje na shvaćanje autoriteta kroz procesni i atributivni karakter. Upravo zato fokus ove knjige jeste na stvaranju (nastanku) autoriteta i faktorima

koji doprinose tome. Sunier naglašava da je nastanak ili oblikovanje autoriteta posebno izraženo u situacijama promjene, transformacije ili u situacijama bez presedana. Tada dolazi do određene vrste „preslaganja“ i redefiniranja autoriteta, a u konkretnom slučaju kojim se ova knjiga bavi, takav je proces pokrenut migracijom muslimana u Evropu nakon Drugog svjetskog rata.

U prvom poglavlju, Sunier se bavi „religijskim posrednicima“ (*religious brokers*) koji su bili glavne kontaktne tačke unutar migrantskih zajednica u ranijoj fazi. Pojavili su se krajem 70-ih godina 20. stoljeća, da bi ih tijekom 90-ih godina jednostavno prerasli. Oni su predstavljali muslimane u različitim zajednicama unutar raznih država (kontekst se razlikovao), ali su utjecali i na samopercepciju muslimana na lokalnoj razini. Bili su ključne osobe koje su imale ulogu posrednika u snalaženju doseljenika u novim sredinama te su bili i neka vrsta autoriteta.

Drugo poglavlje govori o tekućim debatama o načinima definiranja izvora znanja o islamu u evropskom kontekstu, a sve je prikazano kroz pitanje obrazovanja imama u Evropi. To je pitanje koje je, kako autor kaže, visoko politizirano i u njemu sudjeluju brojni učesnici iz različitih segmenata društva. Svi oni sudjeluju u pokušajima definiranja „dobrog“ imama te nude svoja gledišta o legitimnosti i kvaliteti religijskih profesionalaca. Redefiniranje shvaćanja autoriteta i promjena u nastanku i razvoju autoriteta događa se u spomenutoj specifičnoj situaciji nakon migracije muslimana u Evropu nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, a jedan od primjera je i izmjena uloge imama u Evropi, u odnosu na ulogu koju imam ima u većinskim muslimanskim državama. U ovom poglavlju navodi se da imami u Evropi spajaju više zadataka, a pored ritualnih i pastoralnih praksi, imaju vrlo važnu ulogu u komunikaciji i primjeni islamskog znanja te često djeluju kao predstavnici i glasnogovornici islama. Važnost teme obrazovanja imama za evropske vlade autor vidi u trima temeljnim motivima: usklađivanju religijskih aktivnosti s projektom sekularno-liberalne države, uključivanju imama u vladine integracijske ciljeve i sprečavanju radikalizacije mladih muslimana. Navodi se da je, iz perspektive muslimana, ključni uvjet za islamski autoritet legitimnost imama koju razumijeva šire od kvalitete kurikuluma, a tiče se i pitanja da li lokalna muslimanska zajednica prihvaća nekog imama. To prihvaćanje svoj korijen ima u znanju, dodatnim vještinama, ali i u praktičnom iskustvu koje se stječe kroz godine rada u nekoj zajednici.

U trećem poglavlju analizira se primjer praksi unutar pokreta Hizmet, uz naglasak na *sohbet* u njegovom edukativnom i pobožnom smislu. Autor vezu s temom islamskog autoriteta vidi u načinu kako se „diskurzivne zajednice konstituiraju kroz pedagoške programe oko specifičnih shvaćanja *islamijeta* (*muslimness*)“. U ovom poglavlju nudi se povijesni pregled djelovanja pokreta Hizmet, posebno unutar Nizozemske, a detaljno se analizira atmosfera i način

provođenja *sobbeta*, kao posebne vrste pobožne prakse unutar pokreta koja usmjerava i oblikuje način pobožnog samooblikovanja osobe. U tom procesu neizostavna je uloga vjerskog autoriteta koji predstavlja vezu s vođom pokreta koji je „prisutan“ u analiziranoj aktivnosti „plačne propovijedi“ (*weeping sermon*).

Četvrto poglavlje posvećeno je onome što je autor nazvao „alternativnim autoritetima“, tj. onim procesima nastanka i razvoja autoriteta koji u većini slučajeva nisu percipirani kao autoriteti, ne posvećuje im se dovoljno pažnje, ali imaju vrlo važnu ulogu u svakodnevnoj vjerskoj praksi. Sunier govori o ženskom autoritetu i vodstvu u različitim inicijativama koje se odnose kritički prema ustanovljenom religijskom *statusu quo*, autoritetu na lokalnoj razini te halal-područjima ili oblastima u kojima muslimanke i muslimani oblikuju prostor oko sebe tragajući za načinima življenja svoje vjere (različite vrste treninga, sporta, islamskog savjetovanja...). Radi se o modalitetima koji često ostaju neprepoznati, neprimijećeni ili, čak, marginalizirani, ali su vrijedni razmatranja u razumijevanju autoriteta jer nude raznolike uvide u vjersku svakodnevnicu muslimanki i muslimana.

Peto poglavlje govori o praksi ‘medžlisa’ u šiitskom vjerskom životu, uz poseban naglasak na *online* praksama, koje predstavljaju izazov tradicionalnom shvaćanju i doživljaju autoriteta. Narator ima važnu ulogu i on vodi kroz duhovno, vjersko i emotivno putovanje. Taj ritual Thijl Sunier razumijeva kao snažnu emotivnu formu koja pokreće proces potvrđivanja autoriteta. Analizirani su i pojedini popularni šiitski učenjaci koji su vrlo prisutni u *online* svijetu, uz poseban naglasak na Sayedu Ammaru Nakshawaniju, koji je najčešće spominjan u istraživanju o medžlisu.

Šesto poglavlje bavi se različitim praksama i situacijama uz zajednički nazivnik u obliku *brendiranja* islama, tj. analiziraju se načini kako sve različiti sudionici debata, razgovora i društvenog diskursa karakteriziraju različite stvari „islamskim“. Sudionici pretendiraju na to da opišu i predstave ono što oni doživljavaju „pravim“ islamom ili tačnim razumijevanjem onoga što islam predstavlja. Takav postupak *brendiranja* zahtijeva i određene sposobnosti da bi nešto bilo prihvaćeno i prisutno u javnosti. Neizostavan primjer za javne debate o islamu jeste pitanje hidžaba, te je to pitanje analizirano u ovom poglavlju knjige. Navedeno je kako se tijekom tih debata nudi simplificirana slika koja gubi iz vida nijanse i širu sliku, a „hidžab na javnom mjestu“ postaje brend s brojnim slojevima značenja. Kroz godine, hidžab je postao simbol borbe protiv diskriminacije i isključivanja muslimanskih žena sa tržišta rada. Više od svega, navodi autor, hidžab je postao objekt islamskog brendiranja u Evropi u zadnjim desetljećima. Drugo pitanje kroz koje je analizirano brendiranje islama jeste pojam halala, a tu su i „halalifikacija“ te islamizacija. Postepenim razvojem, halal postaje način

„bivanja u svijetu“. S druge strane, pojam „islamizacije“ Sunier koristi da bi opisao različite vrste brendiranja islama kroz kritiku kojom se ukazuje na egzistencijalnu prijetnju koju islam predstavlja Evropi. Autor navodi da je „muslimanski bijes“ postao temeljna jezička figura u medijima kojom se ukazuje na zločine i nasilje koje čine muslimani, a sve biva vizualizirano kroz sliku gnjevnog, bradatog muslimana. I jedna i druga strana („halalifikacija“ i „islamizacija“) povezane su s pitanjem islamskog autoriteta jer ukazuju na suprotstavljene predodžbe o islamskom pejzažu u Evropi, tj. o odnosu muslimanki i muslimana prema svom okruženju u Evropi. Treći dio koji se analizira u ovom poglavlju jeste pitanje predstavljanja, produkcije znanja i akademskog brendiranja. U svakom od ovih dijelova Sunier navodi primjere izazova koji opterećuju tu tematiku. U pitanju predstavljanja, postavljaju se dva temeljna problema. Prvo je etičko pitanje o „pravom“ islamu i ko može imati privilegiju da određuje što je tačno, a što nije. Drugi problem jeste problem odanosti, tj. postavlja se pitanje u čije ime nastupaju aktivisti i lideri. Sunier ističe da u kriznim situacijama ove dimenzije imaju vrlo snažnu interakciju. Zahtjev postavljen pred muslimane da govore „jednim glasom“ također predstavlja svojevrstan izazov jer se tako simplificira brendiranje „dobrog“ i „lošeg“ muslimana, a u takvom kontekstu snažni i moćni glasovi dominiraju političkom scenom i javnom platformom, što u konačnici dovodi do onemogućavanja diversifikacije. Akademski svijet nudi svoje vrste izazova u razumijevanju islamskog autoriteta, poput epistemološkog pitanja pozicioniranja proučavanja islama te pozicionalnosti istraživača (njegovog odnosa prema različitim segmentima vlastitog identiteta). Propituje se pristranost istraživača koji je muslimanskog porijekla, no taj izazov postaje potpuno drugačiji i opisuje se kao „vrijedna insajderska perspektiva“, ukoliko se radi o ljudima koji su muslimanskog porijekla ali su kritični prema islamu. Autor navodi da je sasvim jasno da je autoritet temelj odgovora na pitanje „ko govori u ime islama“, bez obzira postavlja li se to pitanje u doktrinarnom, političkom ili znanstvenom smislu.

U zaključku, Sunier nudi opći pregled sadržaja knjige, međusobnu isprepletenost dijelova i poglavlja ove knjige te povezanost konceptualnih niti unutar knjige. U ovome dijelu ističe odnos moći i uleme te nudi negativan odgovor na pitanje da li se proces islamskog autoriteta na kraju svodi na potvrdu moći ustanovljene uleme. Također, Sunier ističe da je uvidio krucijalnu ulogu muslimanskih žena u nastanku islamskog autoriteta. Usto, on naglašava da je, kroz rad na ovoj knjizi, izoštrio vlastito gledište na aktivnu ulogu evropskih država u religijskim pitanjima. Na samom kraju, u završnom dijelu zaključka, Sunier, kako sam kaže, hrabro predlaže da njegova knjiga nudi dovoljne temelje i početne tačke za nastavak istraživanja na polju islamskog autoriteta.

Profesor emeritus Thijl Sunier u ovoj knjizi nudi akademski utemeljen uvid u dinamiku nastanka i oblikovanja islamskog vjerskog autoriteta među muslimanima u zapadnoj Evropi. Identificirajući i analizirajući brojne aktere te faktore u ovom procesu, knjiga nam nudi pregled vrlo kompleksnog pejzaža koji nadilazi simplificirajuću sliku u svakom svome koraku. Posebna je vrijednost ove studije što poziva na konstantno širenje polja i otvaranje prostora za upoznavanje utjecaja brojnih faktora. Samim time dolazi i do produbljivanja spoznaje o (samo) percepciji muslimanki i muslimana u savremenom društvu zapadne Evrope.

Senad Hevešević

CONTEXT

Uputstva autorima

Tematika

Context: Časopis za interdisciplinarnu studiju je recenzirani, naučni časopis posvećen unapređenju interdisciplinarnih istraživanja najurgentnijih društvenih i političkih tema našeg vremena kao što su posljedice ubrzane globalizacije, pluralizam i raznolikost, ljudska prava i slobode, održivi razvoj i međureligijska susretanja. Pozivamo istraživače u humanističkim i društvenim naukama da daju doprinos boljem razumijevanju glavnih moralnih i etičkih problema kroz kreativnu razmjenu ideja, gledišta i metodologija. U nastojanju da premostimo razlike među kulturama, u ovom časopisu objavljivat ćemo i prijevode značajnih radova. *Contextu* su dobrodošli i članci i prikazi knjiga iz svih područja interdisciplinarnih istraživanja. Svi radovi za ovaj časopis moraju biti originalni i zasnovani na znatnom korištenju primarnih izvora. Uredništvo također podstiče mlađe naučnike, na počecima karijere, da dostavljaju svoje radove.

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Podnošenje rukopisa za objavljivanje u *Contextu* podrazumijeva sljedeće:

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Bibliografske jedinice u fusnotama

1. Rad iz časopisa: Ime autora, „Naslov rada u časopisu”, *Naziv časopisa*, 16:2 (1992), 142–153. [John Smith, „Article in Journal”, *Journal Name*, 16:2 (1992), 142–153].
2. Rad u uredničkoj knjizi: Ime autora, „Naslov rada u knjizi”, u *Naslov knjige*, Ime urednika (ur.) (Mjesto: Izdavač, Datum), str. 24–29. [John Smith, „Article in journal”, in *Book Name*, John Smith (ed.) (Place: Publisher, Date), pp. 24–29].
3. Knjiga: Ime autora, *Naslov knjige* (Mjesto izdanja: Izdavač, Datum), str. 65–73. [John Smith, *Book Name* (Place: Publisher, Date), pp. 65–73].
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6. Za izvore sa interneta slijediti sljedeći format: Ziaudin Sardar, „Welcome to postnormal times“, <http://ziauddinsardar.com/2011/03/welcome-to-postnormal-times/>, pristupljeno 4. 12. 2014.
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Slike

Dijagrami, grafikoni, mape, nacrti i drugi crteži moraju se predati u formatiranom obliku. Mora se dati popis potpisa pod slikama označenih kao Slika 1, Slika 2, itd., uključujući odgovarajuće priznanje autorskih prava. Fotografije se dostavljaju u elektronskom formatu (JPEG ili TIFF) i moraju imati minimalno 300 dpl. Za sve ilustracije na koje postoje autorska prava autori moraju pribaviti odgovarajuće saglasnosti od njihovih vlasnika.

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Prikaz obično sadrži između 800 i 1.200 riječi. Podnaslove treba svesti na minimum, a fusnote treba što rjeđe koristiti. Prikaz knjige treba biti naslovljen bibliografskom informacijom u skladu sa sljedećim pravopisom:

Ime i prezime autora, *Naslov knjige*, Sarajevo: Matica bosanska, 2014. 215 str., ISBN....., 25 KM. ili

Observing the Observer: The State of Islamic Studies in American Universities, By Mumtaz Ahmad, Zahid Bukhari & Sulayman Nyang (eds). London: IIIT, 2012. Pp. xxxiii+258. ISBN 978 1 56564 580 6. €17. \$23.

Ime autora prikaza i njegovu institucionalnu pripadnost navesti na kraju rada (npr. Sarah Kovačević, Free University of Sarajevo).

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CONTEXT

Instructions for Authors

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Bibliographical References in Footnotes

1. Article in journal: John Smith, "Article in journal", *Journal Name*, 16:2 (1992), 142-53.
2. Article in edited book: John Smith, "Article in journal", in *Book Name*, John Smith (ed.) (Place: Publisher, Date), pp. 24-9.
3. Book: John Smith, *Book Name* (Place: Publisher, Date), pp. 65-73.
4. If a reference in a footnote has been mentioned already in an earlier footnote, the footnote should give surname and a brief title only, e.g. Smith, *Book*, p. 23 or Smith, "Article", p. 45. Do not use op.cit.
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The reviewer's name and institutional affiliation will be given at the end of the manuscript (eg. Sarah Kovacevic, Free University of Sarajevo).

Contents of a review

Reviews should be written for a multi-disciplinary readership that spans academic, policy, and religious communities. It is up to the individual reviewer to decide exactly what points should be covered in the review, in what order and in what depth, but as a rule of thumb, please consult the following checklist:

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CONTEXT

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