Sažetak: Iako je deficit pažnje/hiperaktivni poremećaj (ADHD) najčešći neurorazvojni poremećaj u dječjoj dobi, istraživanja ADHD-a u Republici Hrvatskoj iznimno su rijetka, a posebice se to odnosi na istraživanja u kojima su sudionici sama djeca s ADHD-om. Stoga je opći cilj ovog rada opisati osobno, doživljeno iskustvo svakodnevnog života vezanog uz školovanje osnovnoškolskih dječaka s ADHD-om. U istraživanje je uključen namjeran uzorak sudionika, 14 dječaka s ADHD-om kronološke dobi od 8 do 11 godina, koji su uključeni u redovan sustav obrazovanja. Sa svakim dječakom provedena tri polustrukturirana fenomenološka intervjua. Posebna pažnja u ovom istraživanju posvećena je metodološkom pristupu usmjerenom na dijete, prilagođenom djetetovim razvojnim osobinama te sigurnom za dijete. Podaci su obrađeni metodom interpretativne fenomenološke analize (IPA), a iskustvo školovanja dječaka s ADHD-om prikazano je kroz dvije teme: (1) Izazovi školovanja s ADHD-om te (2) Podrška u školi: važnost uvažavanja, senzibiliziranosti i odnosa. Istraživanje je pokazalo da dječaci s ADHD-om prepoznaju svoje izazove vezane uz školovanje, a njihove teškoće najviše dolaze do izražaja u obrazovnim aktivnostima koje od njih zahtijevaju usmjeravanje i održavanje pozornosti, organiziranost, usmjerenost, fleksibilnu pažnju i radno pamćenje. Posljedično se suočavaju s iskustvom školskog neuspjeha, frustracije te sniženog samopouzdanja kad su posrijedi njihove sposobnosti. Dječaci prepoznaju podršku koju u školi dobivaju od učiteljice i pomoćnice u nastavi, ali i ograničenja koja doživljavaju radi nerazumijevanja, manjka senzibiliziranosti za njihovu neurorazličitost te neprimjenjivanja IOOP-a. Dječaci vrlo jasno opisuju koje prilagodbe bi im olakšale iskustvo školovanja. Rezultati ovog istraživanja upozoravaju da su djeca s ADHD-om u posebnom psihosocijalnom riziku, dok je

“I MEAN, REALLY, WHO LIKES SCHOOL?”: EXPERIENCES OF BOYS WITH ATTENTION DEFICIT HYPERACTIVITY DISORDER IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

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u smislu participativnih prava djece, njihova iskustva potrebno uvažiti kao ravnopravnih dionika obrazovnih politika.

Ključne riječi: neurorazličitost, intervjuy s djecom, interpretativna fenomenološka analiza

UVOD
Neurobiološka i neuropsihološka obilježja ADHD-a

Deficit pažnje/hiperaktivni poremećaj (u nastavku teksta: ADHD od engl. Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder) razvojni je poremećaj samoregulacije. Neuropsihološke teorije upućuju na to da se u podlozi ovog sindroma nalaze teškoće u izvršnim funkcijama te posljedično teškoće u emocionalnoj, kognitivnoj, verbalnoj, motoričkoj i hićericialnoj inhibiciji (samoregulaciji) (Barkley, 2015; Salkičević i Tadinac, 2017). Prema teorijama biološke podloge ADHD-a ova je neurorazličitost većim dijelom (iako ne jedino) posljedica sporijeg sazrijevanja moždanih struktura i puteva odgovornih za izvršne funkcije i inhibiciju (posebice prefrontalni korteks i anteriori cyngulate korteks), neujednačenog moždanog krvotoka te aktivnosti parasimpatikusa, nepravilnosti u metabolizmu neurotransmitnera koji uključuju dopaminergičke, adrenergičke, serotonergičke i acetilholinergičke puteve (Cortese, 2012) te genetske podloge povezane s metabolizmom neurotransmitnera (Faraone i Mick, 2010; Tye i sur., 2012). Sve navedeno ukazuje na objektivne biološke različitosti neurološkog sustava djece s ADHD-om u odnosu na normativne skupine (npr. Qiu i sur., 2011; Musser i sur., 2011).

Pri opisivanju ADHD-a potrebno je napomenuti da je riječ o neurorazvojnoj različitosti čija se obilježja pojavljuju u spektru, pri čemu se trajni obrazac teškoća pri regulaciji pozornosti te hiperaktivnosti/impulzivnosti kod pojedinog djeteta mogu ispoljavati u različitom intenzitetu. Ipak, za dijagnosticanje ADHD-a simptomi bi se trebali pojaviti “prije 12. godine, a moraju biti prisutni najmanje 6 mjeseci u barem dva različita okruženja te biti izraženi u mjeri koja nije u skladu s razvojnom razinom, a pritom znatno omota ili smanjuje kvalitetu socijalnog i akademskog funkcioniranja” (DSM-5). Stoga ovaj dijagnostički priručnik kate-

during the development of educational policies, given their participatory rights and their role as equal stakeholders.

Keywords: neurodiversity, child interview, interpretative phenomenological analysis

INTRODUCTION
Neurobiological and neuropsychological features of ADHD

Attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) is a developmental disorder associated with self-regulation. Neuropsychological theories suggest that the underlying issues in this disorder are difficulties in performing executive functions that consequently leads to difficulties in emotional, cognitive, verbal, motor, and behavioural inhibition (self-regulation) (Barkley, 2015; Salkičević and Tadinac, 2017). Studies on the biological basis of ADHD indicate that this neurodevelopmental disorder is largely (although not completely) a consequence of slower maturation of brain structures and pathways responsible for executive functioning and inhibition (i.e., the prefrontal and the anterior cyngulate cortex); uneven cerebral blood flow and parasympathetic activity; a genetic background associated with neurotransmitter metabolism (Faraone and Mick, 2010; Tye et al., 2012); and abnormalities in neurotransmitter metabolism involving dopaminergic, adrenergic, serotonergic, and acetylcholinergic pathways (Cortese, 2012). These characteristics point to objective biological differences in the neurological system of children with ADHD in relation to normative groups (e.g., Qiu et al., 2011; Musser et al., 2011).

ADHD can be described as a type/form of neurodevelopmental diversity with specific features the appear in the spectrum of neurodevelopmental disorders: a child with ADHD experiences persistent patterns of difficulty in regulating attention, as well as hyperactivity impulsivity that can manifest in varying intensities. However, for a clinical diagnosis, ADHD symptoms should appear before the child is 12 years old: these symptoms have to be persistent for at least six months in at least two different settings to a degree that is inconsistent with the child’s developmental status, and they must interfere with, or reduce the quality of social and academic functioning (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, DSM-5). Therefore, DSM-5
gorizira pojavnost (1) dominantno nepažljivog, (2) hiperaktivnog/impulzivnog ili (3) kombiniranog tipa obje skupine simptoma (APA, 2013). Osim simptoma navedenih u nazivu ovog poremećaja prisutne su i brojne druge, “nevidljive” teškoće koje se povezuju s nezrelošću inhibitornih i regulirajućih izvršnih funkcija kao što su: kognitivna, verbalna i motorička impulzivnost, slabiji kapacitet radnog pamćenja, odgođeno postizanje socijalne zrelosti, teškoće u učenju, narušen osjećaj za vrijeme, otežano učenje iz nagrada i kazni te niska tolerancija na frustraciju (Barkley, 2015), kao i teškoće sa spavanjem (Yürümez i Kılıç, 2016). Kofler i suradnici (2019) potvrđuju narušenost izvršnih funkcija u 89% djece s ADHD-om (od toga najviše u području radnog pamćenja, 62%). Barkley (2015) navodi da ADHD usporava razvoj izvršnih funkcija za 25–40%. Drugim riječima, djetetu koje kronološki ima deset godina izvršne funkcije razvijene su na razini sedmogodišnjaka.

Unatoč čestom pripisivanju djetetovog ponašanja različitim socijalnim čimbenicima (Mikami i sur., 2015; Lebowitz, 2016) u literaturi ne nalazimo znanstvene dokaze koji bi ukazivali da je ADHD uzrokovao neprimjerenim roditeljskim postupcima (odgojom), igranjem videogara, gledanjem televizora ili konzumiranjem šećera, već je riječ o biološkoj različitosti razvoja središnjeg živčanog sustava (Barkley, 2015). Zbog društvenog nepoznavanja i nerazumijevanja uzroka djetetova ponašanja, odnosno pripisivanja takvog ponašanja namjeri ili preterano popustljivom odgoju, ova djeca, pa i cijela obitelj, izloženi su stigmatizirajućim stavovima okoline (Lin i sur., 2009; Moen i sur., 2011; Mueller i sur., 2012; Lebowitz, 2016).

**Izazovi školovanja djece s ADHD-om i mogućnosti podrške**

Istraživanja i praksa potvrđuju da ADHD ima značajan utjecaj na sve vidove života djeteta, kao što su: nesamostalnost u svakodnevnim aktivnostima (Mendes i sur., 2018; Spaulding i sur., 2020), narušeni obrasci igre (Cordier i sur., 2010; Zainab i Delport, 2019) te izazovi socijalizacije s vršnjacima (npr. Velki i Dudaš, 2016; Kouvava i Antonopoulou, 2020). Simptomi ADHD-a posebno dolaze do izražaja u strukturiranom školskom okružju, a istraživači bilježe teškoće u akadem-

provides a categorization of observed symptoms: (1) a predominantly inattentive presentation, (2) a predominantly hyperactive/impulsive presentation, or (3) a combined presentation of both groups of symptoms (APA, 2013). In addition to the symptoms associated with the name of this disorder (i.e. difficulty regulating attention and motor activity), there are numerous other “invisible” difficulties associated with immaturity of inhibitory and regulatory executive functions, including cognitive, verbal, and motor impulsivity, weaker working memory capacity, delayed achievement of social maturity, learning difficulties, impaired sense of time, difficulty learning from rewards and punishments, low tolerance to frustration (Barkley, 2015), and disturbed sleep patterns (Yürümez and Kılıç, 2016). Kofler et al. (2019) reported impaired executive functioning in 89% of children with ADHD (mostly in the area of working memory, 62%). Barkley (2015) stated that ADHD slows the development of executive functions by 25–40%. In other words, a child, who is ten years old chronologically, was only able to develop the capability to perform executive functions like a seven-year-old.

Even though the behaviour of children is frequently attributed to various social factors (Mikami et al., 2015; Lebowitz, 2016), there is no scientific evidence to support the claims that ADHD is caused by inadequate parenting styles, playing video games, watching TV or consuming sugar. In contrast, there is strong evidence for the biological diversity in the development of the central nervous system (Barkley, 2015). Due to the lack of social awareness and understanding about the causes of the child’s behaviour (e.g., attributing such behaviour to the child’s intentions or an excessively lenient upbringing), children with ADHD and their families are exposed to stigmatizing social attitudes (Lin et al., 2009; Moen et al., 2011; Mueller et al., 2012; Lebowitz, 2016).

**Schooling challenges for children with ADHD and support options**

Research and practice confirm that ADHD has a significant impact on all aspects of a child’s life, such as lack of independence in daily activities (Mendes et al., 2018; Spaulding et al., 2020), impaired play patterns (Cordier et al., 2010; Zainab and Delport, 2019), and challenges in peer socialization (e.g., Velki and Dudaš, 2016; Kouvava and Antonopoulou, 2020). The symptoms of ADHD are particularly pronounced in a struc-
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suvremenim kategorizacijama.\(^1\) Ukoliko se škola angažira i podnese zahtjev, u pojedinačnim slučajevima djetetu može biti omogućena podrška pomoćniku u nastavi (u skladu s Pravilnikom o pomoćnicima u nastavi i stručnim komunikacijskim posrednicima, NN 102/2018 ), koji se uglavnom financira iz proračuna osnivača škola kroz projektna sredstva udrugna ili EU-fondova, no u ograničenom broju sati nastave tjedno. Koliko je ovakav oblik podrške prisutan u obrazovnom sustavu, u kojoj se mjeri došljedno provodi i koliko ga uspješnim doživljavaju krajnji korisnici (djeca s ADHD-om i njihovi roditelji), tek je potrebno istražiti.

**Djeca s ADHD-om kao aktivni sudionici istraživanja**

U akademskim elektroničkim izvorima (npr. EBSCO, Google Scholar) u posljednjih je 20 godina registrirano preko 400 tisuća znanstvenih radova koji se bave ADHD-om. Unatoč tome iz uvida u istraživačke baze vidljivo je da su perspektive djece s ADHD-om rijetko zastupljene u istraživanjima te se premalo pažnje pridaje djetetu iz življenja s ADHD-om (Singh, 2011; Brady, 2014). Ringer (2020) je u svoju recentnu metasintezu kvalitativnih istraživanja provedenih s djecom i adolescentima s ADHD-om uključio tek 16 kvalitativnih istraživačkih radova, od kojih su četiri bile neobjavljene disertacije. Ringer zaključuje da djeca i mladi s ADHD-om imaju brojne ambivalentne osjećaje i iskustva; imaju snažnu potrebu prilagoditi se neurotipičnoj većini, ali i biti prihvaćeni takvi kakvi jesu, osjećaju nedostatak pripadnosti i stigmu, ali istovremeno i potrebu za tuđom pomoći. Ujedno ih prati osjećaj nedostatka kontrole te iskustvo poteškoća pri sudjelovanju u svakodnevnim aktivnostima, a posebno školi. Međutim, u metasintezi je većina uključenih istraživanja obuhvaćala djecu adolescentne dobi od 10 do 19 godina starosti, dok su djeca mlađe osnovnoškolske dobi i dalje ostala podzastupljena. Prikupljanje valjanih i pouzdanih, strukturiranih podataka od djece koja imaju biološku podlogom.

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1. Ovaj Pravilnik svrstava ADHD u skupinu poremećaja u ponašanju i oštećenja mentalnog zdravlja iako DSM-5 još od 2013. godine definira kao neurorazvojnu teškoću. Ovakva kategorizacija u većoj mjeri izlaže djecu dodatnim prerasadama koje se povezuju s teškoćama mentalnog zdravlja negoli točnija kategorizacija koja njihove teškoće svrstava u skupinu razvojnih neurorazličitosti s biološkom podlogom.

2. Fatigue that occurs while completing the questionnaire can cause a significant drop in attention. At the same time, it is possible that children with ADHD make systemic errors due to their impulsive cognitive nature, which is why they fill in the questionnaire too quickly, raising reasonable doubts about the reliability of the data collected.
Andreja Bartolac: “Mislim, realno, tko voli školu?”: Iskustvo školovanja osnovnoškolskih dječaka s ADHD-om. / “I mean, really, who likes...
osnovnoškolskih dječaka s ADHD-om. U skladu s ciljem istraživanja oblikovana su sljedeća istraživačka pitanja: (1) Kako dječaci s ADHD-om opisuju svoje iskustvo školovanja? (2) Prepoznaju li dječaci s ADHD-om izvore podrške i ograničenja s kojima se susreću tijekom školovanja? (3) Što bi dječaci s ADHD-om željeli promijeniti u svojoj školskoj svakodnevici?

**METODOLOGIJA**

S obzirom na postavljene ciljeve te nedostatak dosadašnjih istraživanja ove tematike, u ovom je istraživanju primijenjena kvalitativna istraživačka metodologija. Kako bi se dobio dublji uvid u doživljeno iskustvo svakodnevnog života dječaka s ADHD-om, primijenjen je polustrukturirani fenomenološki interjuz. Kako ističu Smith i Osborn (2008) u fenomenološkom interjuzu sudionici se smatraju iskustvenim ekspertima o temi i stoga im je nužno omogućiti i prepustiti pričanje vlastite priče.

U pripremi nacrta istraživanja posebna je pažnja usmjерena na osmišljanje metode intervjua koja će omogućiti djetetu koje ima teškoće sa samoregulacijom pažnje i ponašanja da se usmjeri na razgovor. Metode koje se koriste za facilitaciju intervjua djetetu moraju biti zanimljive, pristupačne, neugrožavajuće i privlačne, što je posebice važno za dječake s ADHD-om, kako bi se podigli razina uzbuđenja te spriječili dosadašnje iskustvo svakodnevnog života. Einarsdóttir (2007) sažima preporuke različitih autora koji se bave istraživanjima sa djecom i koji preporučuju uključenje djeteta u neku aktivnost za vrijeme razgovora ili korištenje konkretnih artefakata kao poticaja na razgovor. S obzirom na to da je igra djetetova prirodna okupacija, u ovom je istraživanju kao metodologija izabrana propala tehnika sa minijaturskim dijelovima koja omogućuju djetetu na svoje način manipulirati, construct, and modify.

**METODOLOGIJA**

Considering of the aforementioned objectives and the lack of previous research on this topic, a qualitative research methodology was deemed appropriate for the present study. To delve deeper into the life experiences of boys with ADHD, a semi-structured phenomenological interview was applied. Smith and Osborn (2008) highlighted that participants in a phenomenological interview are considered to be *experiential experts* on the discussion topic, and, as such, it is necessary to enable and allow them to tell their own story.

During the process of developing the research design, special attention was given to devising an interview method that would allow a child who has difficulty with self-regulating attention and behavior to focus on the conversation. It was important to ensure that the methods used to facilitate the interview with the child were interesting, accessible, non-threatening, and attractive; this is especially important for a child with ADHD in order to raise their arousal level and prevent boredom and distractibility. Einarsdóttir (2007) summarized the recommendations of various scientists who engaged in research with children, and suggested involving the child in an activity during the interview or using specific artifacts as conversation facilitators. The present study used play, a child’s natural occupation, to adapt the research method to the child and create a safe and child-friendly context; we used a technique borrowed from play therapy called the *World Technique* in order to facilitate the interview process (Lowenfeldt, 1950; Alaine Polcz, according to Pavlović and Petó, 2012). This method allows the child to construct his or her own perception of the “World” in a limited play space (a tray measuring 75x52 cm) using a standardized set of 332 miniatures representing people, plants, animals, buildings, furniture, vehicles, and scaled-down versions of other real-world objects. After construction, the researcher engages the child in a conversation about his life experiences while making references to the presentation of his “World”. In the present study, this technique was not used for projective-interpretative purposes, but rather as a means of communication, and, more specifically, as a tool for facilitating conversation with the child, to help the child focus his/her (often distracted) attention more easily on the conversation, and to offer concrete materials that the child could independently manipulate, construct, and modify.
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cije istraživačica je uključila dijete u razgovor o njegovim iskustvima, referirajući se na prikaz djetetova svijeta. U ovom se istraživanju navedena tehnika nije koristila u projektivno-interpretativne svrhe, već kao metoda komunikacije, odnosno facilitator razgovora s djetetom, kako bi se djetetova (često raspršena) pažnja lakše usmjerila na temu razgovora te ponudio konkretan materijal koji dijete može samostalno konstruirati i modificirati.

Sudionici istraživanja

U istraživanje je uključen namjeran uzorak sudionika, 14 dječaka s ADHD-om kronološke dobi od 8 do 11 godina. Zahvaćeno je razdoblje osnovnoškolske dobi pretpuberteta kako bi se isključio ili barem umanjio utjecaj puberteta na ponašanje djeteta. Dijagnozu ADHD-a postavio je liječnik psihijatar ili klinički psiholog, a roditelji posjeduju dokument koji to dokazuje. Dijete je uključeno u redovan sustav obrazovanja s individualiziranim pristupom. Većina dječaka (njih desetoro) ide u 3. i 4. razred osnovne škole, te po dvoje u 2. i 5. razred. Sedmero dječaka ima pomoćnika u nastavi, a još dječak je u vrijeme prikupljanja podataka bilo u postupku ostvarivanja tog prava. Nijedan dječak nije dobivao farmakološku terapiju za reguliranje simptoma ADHD-a. Uvidom u obiteljsku strukturu bilježi se da je u tri obitelji dijete jedinac, u sedam je obitelji dvoje djece, dok je u četiri obitelji troje i više djece. U većini obitelji prisutna su dva roditelja (ne nužno biološka), samo je jedan roditeljski par razveden.

Postupak provedbe istraživanja

Prije formalnog početka istraživanja provedeno je pilot-istraživanje s ciljem jasno definiranja protokola i pripreme pribora za provedbu intervjua. Djeci se pristupilo preko osnovnih škola te roditelja. Školama je izravno upućena poziv na sudjelovanje u istraživanju putem elektronske pošte na službene adrese osnovnih škola u Gradu Zagrebu, a odazvalo se ukupno 10 škola iz različitih i međusobno udaljenih dijelova grada. Ravnatelji/stručni suradnici su detaljno pismeno i usmeno informirani o svrsi i postupku istraživanja. Stručni su suradnici (psiholog, logoped, pedagog ili socijalni pedagog) nakon pristanka kontaktirali roditelje čija su djeca zadovoljavala kriterije uključivanja u uzorak. Detalji i

Participants

We included a purposeful sample of participants in this study: 14 boys with ADHD, ranging in age from 8 to 11 years. The elementary school period prior to puberty was considered to exclude or at least reduce the influence of puberty on the child’s behaviour. We included only participants who had been diagnosed with ADHD by a psychiatrist or a clinical psychologist, and this diagnosis had to be further supported by official documentation. The children included in this study attended schools that followed regular mainstream education systems with an individualised approach. Most of the boys (n = 10) were in the 3rd and 4th grades of primary school (8-9 years), while the others (n = 4) were in the 2nd (two 7-year-olds) and the 5th (two 10-year-olds) grades. At the time of the study, seven of the boys had teaching assistants and another two were in the process of obtaining official recognition of the right to have access to teaching assistants. None of the participants had received any pharmacological therapy to regulate ADHD symptoms. In three families, the participating child was the only child, while seven boys came from families with two children, and four from families with three or more children. In most cases, the participants lived in two-parent (not necessarily biological) households; in one case, the participant’s parents were divorced.

Research implementation procedure

Prior to the formal start of our research study, a pilot study was conducted with the aim of clearly defining the protocol and preparing the equipment necessary for the interviews. Children were approached to participate through elementary schools and their parents. Schools were directly invited to participate in the study via an e-mail sent to the official addresses of all primary schools in the City of Zagreb. In total, 10 schools from different parts of the city responded. School principals and/or counselling staff were informed in detail (in writing and verbally) about the purpose and procedure of the study. After receiving consent from the school, the counselling staff (psychologist, speech language pathologist, pedagogue, or social pedagogue) contacted the parents of children who met the criteria for inclusion. The details of the study and the dates for interviews with the participants were discussed and decided with the parents, the child, and the school. The entire
U svakoj obitelji proveden jedan intervju s roditeljem/ima te tri intervjua s djetetom. Intervjui s roditeljima neće biti prikazani u ovom radu. Prvi intervju s djetetom imao je osnovnu svrhu međusobnog upoznavanja sudionika i istraživača, uspostavljanja odnosa povjerenja te poticanja djeteta na istraživanje prostora i pribora Igre svijeta. U iduća dva susreta s djetetom se uz pomoć navedene metode razgova ralo o svakodnevici djeteta, obitelji i školi. Dijete se potaknulo na slaganje svijeta u kojem prikazuje svoju školu, viđenje škole, smješta sebe u taj kontekst, što sve u školi radi, socijalno okružje u školi, međusobne odnose, izazove s kojim se susreće. Iako je svaki susret zabilježen videokamerom te popraćen bilješkama, što je rezultiralo obilnom istraživačkom gradom, u ovom radu glavni fokus u obradi podataka biti će na verbalnim podacima dobivenim od djeteta. 

Podaci su prikupljeni od sredine veljače do kraja prosinca 2018. godine. Zbog tehničkih osobitosti (priprema Igre svijeta, smanjenje broja distraktora) intervjuji s djetetom provedeni su u zasebnoj prostoriji s manjim brojem distraktora, najčešće u prostoru (uredu) stručnog suradnika ili u praznoj učionici. Vrijeme potrebno za pripremu prostora i materijala bilo je 40 minuta, dok su djetetovo slaganje svijeta te razgovor trajali od 25 do 48 minuta. Rezultat intervjuja s djecom jesu 143 stranice prijepisa.

Istraživanje je provedeno u skladu s načelima Etičkog kodeksa u istraživanju s djecom (Vijeće za djecu Vlade Republike Hrvatske, 2003). Prije započinjanja prikupljanja podataka dobivena je Suglasnost na izravno učesništva u istraživačkim procesima (Council for Children of the Government of the Republic of Croatia, 2003). Nakon informiranja o samom istraživa nju roditelji je dao pismeni pristanak na sudjelovanje djeteta, no nije dao pristanak unjesto djetea. S obzirom na to da je djetetu potrebno objasniti svrhu istraživanja i njegovu ulogu u istraživanju na način koji dijete može razumjeti, odnosno koji će potaknuti razumijevanje (Phelan i Kinsella, 2013),

3 “Djetetu starijem od 7 godina, a koje nije navršilo 14 godina, mora biti objašnjenja svrha i način provođenja istraživanja u skladu s nje govom zrelošću” (Etički kodeks istraživanja s djecom, točka 3.5.).
korištena je forma stripa od tri sličice. Ujedno je djetetovu pristanku pristupljeno kao procesu, a ne jednakotnom događaju te je stabilnost djetetova izbora provjerena u svakoj fazi istraživanja. Sudionicima nije bila skrivena prava svrha istraživanja ni u jednoj fazi istraživanja.

Vjerodostojnost i dosljednost te saturacija podataka

Pitanje vjerodostojnosti posebno je važno za ovo istraživanje jer su kriterijski članovi istraživanja (sudionici) osnovnoškolski dječaci s ADHD-om koji se susreću s teškoćama regulacije svoje pažnje i misli, a u istraživanjima se bilježi sklonost pristranstva i teškoće razlikovanju mašte i stvarnosti (Barkley, 2015; Volz-Sidiropoulou i sur., 2016). U radu su dosljedno poštovana tri obilježja vjerodostojnosti i dosljednosti (Ajduković, 2014: 358). S obzirom na korištenje multimitodičnosti prilikom prikupljanja podataka zadovoljen je metodološki princip triangulacije podataka, što je dodatno doprinijelo vjerodostojnosti. Unutarnja dosljednost postignuta je potkrepljivanjem svih rezultata podacima (citatima) što čitaju omogućuje da sam preispita ponuđene interpretacije istraživača (Smith i Osborn, 2008). Princip zasićenja podataka korištenjem metode saturacijske rešetke (Brod i sur., 2009) koji je uvjetovao broj sudionika u uzorku primijenjen je samo na roditeljske intervjuje zbog heterogenosti intervjuja s djecom.

Obrada podataka: Interpretativna fenomenološka analiza

U skladu s ciljem i metodologijom istraživanja podaci su obrađeni primjenom interpretativne fenomenološke analize koja je u ovom radu primijenjena postupkom koji su opisali Smith i Osborn (2008), Lindseth i Norberg (2004) te Smith, Flowers i Larkin (2012). U skladu s time na temelju doslovnih transkriptata i naivnog isčitavanja upisane su (1) inicijalne zabilješke (označavanje zanimljivih dijelova teksta, inicijalnih sažetaka, zapažanja, preliminarnih poveznica i interpretacija), zatim (2) kodiranje svakog pojedinog intervjuja (transkripta), (3) razvijanje nadolazećih tema – prva verzija, (4) tematska strukturalna analiza: klasteri – grupiranje kodova u smislene skupine (traženje poveznica

about the study to all children. The child’s assent was considered a process rather than a one-time event, and the stability of the child’s decision to participate was checked at each stage of the research process. The real purpose of this study was not concealed from the participants at any stage of the research.

Trustworthiness, consistency, and data saturation

The issue of trustworthiness is of particular importance in this study given that the criterion members (participants) were elementary school boys with ADHD who encounter difficulty regulating their attention and thoughts. Previous research has demonstrated a tendency towards bias and difficulties distinguishing imagination and reality among these children (Barkley, 2015; Volz-Sidiropoulou et al., 2016). This study consistently followed the three features of trustworthiness and consistency (Ajduković, 2014: 358). First, given the use of multiple methods in data collection, the methodological principle of data triangulation was met, which further contributed to the credibility of the findings. Second, internal consistency was achieved by substantiating all results with data (citations), thus allowing the reader to reconsider the offered interpretations of the researcher (Smith and Osborn, 2008). Finally, the principle of data saturation using the saturation grid method (Brod et al., 2009), which determined the number of participants in the sample, was applied only to parent interviews after considering the heterogeneity observed in the interviews with the children.

Data processing: Interpretative phenomenological analysis

In accordance with the aim and methodology used in this study, data were analysed using interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA). IPA was applied according to the procedure described by Smith and Osborn (2008), Lindseth and Norberg (2004), and Smith, Flowers, and Larkin (2012). More specifically, with respect to verbatim transcripts and naive reading (re-reading), the following steps were applied: (1) writing initial notes (marking interesting parts of the text, initial summaries, observations, preliminary links, and interpretations); (2) coding of each individual interview (transcript); (3) developing emerging themes – first version; (4) conducting thematic structural analyses: in clusters - organizing codes
među nadolazećim temama kroz sve transkriptpe), (5) kreiranje glavnih (nadređenih) tema, sažima-
unj e promišljanje o nadređenima temama i podte-
mama u odnosu na istraživačko pitanje i kontekst
istraživanja – za svaki pojedini transkript i za sve
transkriptpe u cjelini, ponovno čitanje cijelog teksta
s naivnim razumijevanjem (imajući teme na umu),
(6) redukcija i odabir nadređenih tema te (7) inter-
pretativna analiza: interpretacija kroz kritičko pro-
mišljanje i povezivanje s relevantnom literaturom.
Faza organizacije transkripta u skladu s pripada-
jućim kodovima, povezivanje kodova, kreiranje
nadolazećih (inicijalnih) i nadređenih (glavnih)
tema provedena je uz pomoć računalnog progra-
mne za obradu kvalitativnih podataka Quirkos v2.1.

REZULTATI I RASPRAVA

U inicijalnoj analizi podataka dobivenih od
djeca krijeana su 62 koda s ukupnim brojem od
195 citata. Kodovi su organizirani u dvije glavne
(nadređene) teme: (1) Izazovi školovanja s ADHD-
om i (2) Podrška u školi: važnost uvažavanja,
senzibiliziranosti i odnosa. U Tablici 1 prikazane
su navedene glavne teme te šest podtema koje će
u nastavku teksta biti razrađene i interpretirane.
Uvidom u teme ovog istraživanja koje proizlaze iz
intervjua s dječacima te komparativnim pristupom
učavaju se sličnosti s temama drugih istraživa-
nja, primjerice naglasak na izazovima vezanim uz
školovanje (Wiener i Daniels, 2016; Flack 2018),
očekivanja drugih i odnosi s drugima (Singh, 2011;
Wiener i Daniels, 2016) te izvori podrške (Kendall
i sur., 2003; Walker-Noack i sur., 2013).

U prikazu rezultata posebna je pozornost usmje-
rena zaštiti identiteta sudionika. Svi su identifici-
rajući podaci uklonjeni iz citata i rasprave, a u
kodove sudionika dodana je samo kronološka dob

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the initial analysis of the data obtained from
the interviews with children, 62 codes were cre-
ated with a total of 195 citations. The codes were
organised into two main (superordinate) themes:
(1) Challenges of schooling with ADHD, and (2)
Support in school: the importance of recognition,
sensitivity, and relationships. Table 1 lists the main
themes and subthemes that will be further elabo-
rated and interpreted. A comparison of the themes
arising in this study and the themes from previous
research reveals a number of similarities. For exam-
ple, the emphasis on challenges in school (Wiener
and Daniels, 2016; Flack 2018), expectations of
others and relationships (Singh, 2011; Wiener and
Daniels, 2016), and sources of support
(Kendall et al., 2003; Walker-Noack et al., 2013).

In the presentation of the results, special atten-
tion was paid to protect the identity of the partic-
ipants. All data related to the identity of the child
was removed from the citation and discussion, and

| Main theme                                | Subthemes                                      |
|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| **1. Challenges of schooling with ADHD** | Perception of school: “A school that does (not?) inspire for the future” |
|                                           | “It’s hard for me at school”: Symptoms of ADHD in the school context |
|                                           | Challenges of homework: “Well, no one likes to do homework” |
| **2. Support at school: the importance of**| School troubles: “No one believes me” |
| **recognition, sensitivity, and relationships** | Teacher support: “She forgives me a lot” |
|                                           | Experience with a teaching assistant: “It means a lot to me” |
Izazovi školovanja s ADHD-om

Općenit doživljaj škole dječaka s ADHD-om oblikuje se kroz njihove stavove temeljene na iskustvima s drugima, iskustvu školskih obveza i ugodnom ozračju školskog prostora. Pozitivnom stavu pridonosi pozitivan odnos s učiteljicom, struktura i jasna pravila, estetski dojam o prostoru škole (" nova, lijepa, savršena"; D9/10), ali i povezivanje učenja sa zabavom. Zanimljiva je primjedba dječaka koji kaže da djeca u školi mogu mnogo toga naučiti, ali " ne smiju prepuno onog što oni žele" (D1/10), što ukazuje na doživljaj otuđenosti školskog sadržaja od stvarnog interesa djeteta. Ujedno upoznajemo vrijednosti koje dijete polaže na obrazovanje, zabavu, zdravlje i budućnost. Škola koja inspirira budućnost zvuči kao slogan za školu koja je djetetu smislena. Dodatni smisao ovom dječaku daje ideja škole kao mjesta koje povezuje ljude ("spaja"). Osjećaj pripadnosti školskoj zajednici i njezine povezanosti može biti snažan motivator ili želja.

Ali najvažnije je učit nego da se zabavljaš. Zapravo učenje i zabavljanje je isto, to su dvije dobre stvari za školu i za djece. Al zdravlje je najvažnije na svijetu. […] Zapravo nije da odvaja ljude jedne od drugih nego ih SPAJA [naglašava]. Spaja ljude, da i inspirira ih za njihovu budućnost. (D1/10)

S druge strane dječaci uključeni u ovo istraživanje znatno češće govorile o svojem doživljaju škole kao glavnog područja živотnih izazova, a njihove teškoće iz spektra ADHD-a upravo u tom kontekstu najviše dolaze do izražaja, što prepoznaju i mnogi drugi autori (npr. Loe i Feldman, 2007; DuPaul i Langberg, 2015; Barkley, 2015; DuPaul i Stoner, 2016; Koller-Trbović, Mirosavljević i Ratkajec Gašević, 2019). Dječaci redovito doživljavaju školu kao sinonim za sve opterećujuće aktivnosti povezane s obrazovanjem ("… što mi je teško raditi? Ne znam… to je to. Škola., D4/9; Glupa škola. Mislim, realno, tko voli školu?, D4/9). Jedan dječak opisuje svoj boravak u učionicii: "Pa evo, recimo, ja sjedin i guvim dane" (D5/10), opisujući školu kao

Only the chronological age of the child was added to the initial participant codes (for example, D1/10 denotes boy number 1 who is 10 years old).

**THEME: Challenges of schooling with ADHD**

For the boys, general perceptions of school were shaped through their attitudes based on experiences with others and school obligations, as well as the perceived agreeableness of the school space. A positive attitude was facilitated through a positive relationship with a teacher, structure and clear rules, an aesthetic impression of the school space ("new, beautiful, very respectable"; D9/10), and also by connecting learning with fun. In an interesting remark, one boy said that "children in school can learn a lot, but not enough of what they want" (D1/10), suggesting an experienced alienation of the school content from the child’s real interests. At the same time, we recognized the values that children place on education, entertainment, health, and the future. For example, one boy offered what might be a school slogan that made sense to him: "A school that inspires for the future" (D1/10). The notion of school as a place that connects people also gave additional meaning to this boy, where a sense of belonging and connection to the school community was perhaps a strong motivator or wish.

"But the most important thing is to learn, then to have fun. In fact, learning and having fun are the same, they are two good things for school and for children. But health is the most important thing in the world. (...) In fact, (school) is not here to separate people from each other, but to CONNECT them. It connects people, yes, and inspires them for their future." (D1/10)

However, the boys participating in this study were much more likely to talk about their school experience as a major area of challenge and a place where difficulties arising from the spectrum of ADHD symptoms were most pronounced; this finding is consistent with previous studies on this subject (e.g., Loe and Feldman, 2007; DuPaul and Langberg, 2014; Barkley, 2015; DuPaul and Stoner, 2016; Koller-Trbović et al., 2019). The boys regularly perceived school as being synonymous to burdensome activities associated with education ("… what is hard for me to do? I don't know... that's it. School.", D4/9; "Stupid school. I mean, really, who likes school?", D4/9). One boy described his involvement in the classroom and in school as a point-
besmislen i uzaludan posao, gubitak vremena koje bi mogao smislenije iskoristiti.

Iako je hiperaktivnost istaknuti simptom ADHD-a, dječaci ga ne spominju često, kao da je to dio njihova nesvjesnog ponašanja. Prepoznaju ga kroz svoju nezauzatljivu potrebu za kretanjem (Kad (mi) noge jednostavno krenu, a ja ih ne zaustavim, D7/9) što im otežava dugo i mirno sjedenje za vrijeme školskog sata (slično spominju i Rowlands, 2016 te Miller, 2017). Dječak D7/9 primjećuje da su njegove teškoće u regulaciji potrebe za kretanjem povezane s nemogućnošću održavanja pozornosti na školskom satu:

A reci mi, ima li nešto što ti je teško raditi?  
Pa da. Sjediti na satu 45 minuta i biti miran.  
A zašto je to teško?

Zato što ja nemam toliko koncentracije. Jer sam zaigran. Onda se znam glupirati na satu. (D7/9)

Dječaci uočavaju da je njihovo ponašanje izvan njihove kontrole, dio njihova sustava (D1/10) i da to ne čine namjerno (D2/8). Nakon nekog vremena provedenog u školi dječaku iz sljedećeg citata postaje teško pratiti nastavu. Uz mnogo pretjerivanja u ovoj priči ipak se stječe dojam kako cijelu situaciju iz svoje perspektive dječak vidi iznimno napornom i samim pretjerivanjem naglašava koliko mu je teško izdržati školski dan.

Znači mene boli glava kada jedan učitelj ili učiteljica pričaju tri sata. Isuse, glava me počne bolit i, ne znam, padnem u nesvijest od tog [očajnim glasom].  
(D1/10)

Idući nam dječak nudi kratak uvid u misaoni proces koji se događa u njegovoj glavi dok sjedi u razredu za vrijeme školskog sata koji mu nije dovoljno zanimljiv. Kako ne uspijeva ostati dovoljno pobuđen da bi usmjerio pažnju na nastavu, on odluta u svoj željeni svijet mašte u kojem konstruirana stvara sebi zanimljive sadržaje.

A kakva je tvoja škola?

Dosadno je. Jako dosadno.
Što bi ti onda radio?
Radije bih se igrao s legićima ili stvarao nešto.

Although hyperactivity is a prominent symptom of ADHD, it was not mentioned often by the boys in this study, as if it was part of their subconscious behaviour. In the instances where hyperactivity was recognized, it was mostly through their unstoppable need to move (“When (my) legs just start moving, and I don’t stop them”, D7/9), a feature that made it difficult for them to sit for long and quietly during school hours; these results are consistent with Rowlands (2016) and Miller (2017). One boy reported that his difficulty in regulating his need to move is related to his inability to maintain attention during school:

“And tell me, is there anything hard for you to do in school?”

Well yes. Sitting through the whole class for 45 minutes and being calm.
And why is it difficult?

Because I don’t have that much focus. Because I’m playful. Then I fool around in class. ” (D7/9)

The boys recognized that their behaviour was out of their control, “part of their system” (D1/10) and that they were “not doing it on purpose” (D2/8). After spending some time in school, one boy explained how it felt for him to follow the lessons. Despite the exaggeration present in his story, one still gets the impression that the entire situation is extremely difficult for him. Perhaps only through exaggeration can he adequately emphasise how difficult it is for him to endure the school day.

“So, I get a headache when a teacher talks for three hours. Jesus, my head starts to ache and, I don’t know, I faint because of that (in a desperate voice). ” (D1/10)

Another boy offered a brief insight into his thought process as he sits in class during a school lesson that he does not find interesting. Unable to stay interested enough to focus on the lesson, his thoughts wander into his desired imaginary world where he constructs and creates personally interesting content.

“And what is your school like?
It’s boring. Very boring.
What would you do then?
Andreja Bartolac: “Mislim, realno, tko voli školu?”: Iskustvo školovanja osnovnoškolskih dječaka s ADHD-om. / “I mean, really, who likes...
izvršne funkcije (radno pamćenje) imaju ograničen kapacitet i mogu se “potrošiti”: *Puno pišem, razmišljam i tu svu tu snagu i energiju potrošim* (D13/9). Ovaj dječak nadalje objašnjava kako ga teškoće s pisanjem dovode u neugodnu situaciju s učiteljicom koja vjeruje da on namjerno ne želi pisati (iako on *zapravo hoće, ali ne može*) te mu stoga piše opomenu u informativku. On opisuje svoj trud i želju da sve odradi na vrijeme, no dogodi se da to uspije tek kad je opomena već napisana. Dječak prepoznaje da bi mu pomogao odmor između zadataka i vjerojatno nešto više vremena kako bi uspio završiti zadatak, međutim ne nailazi na razumijevanje i poticaj.

*Pa da, (teško mi je) jako puno pisat. Puno pišemo i umori mi se ruka. A to mi je jako velik problem u školi jer učiteljica misli da ja neću pisat, a zapravo hoću, samo ne mogu. Pa mi napiše opomenu. Danas mi je bilo teško... Ono mi je sve bilo jako lagano i zato sam jako brzo pisao i zato su mi se jako brzo ruke umorile. Kad mi je ona napisala slovo zadnje na opomeni, kad je stavila uskličnik, ja sam riješio.*

*Treba li ti ponekad malo odmora između tih zadataka?*

*Pa da, to bi jako pomoglo. (D13/9)*

Istraživanja potvrđuju da djeca s ADHD-om imaju teškoće s pisanjem (rukopisom i brzinom pisanja) te pismenim izražavanjem povezanim s organizacijom sadržaja i posvećenosti detaljima u tekstu (Racine i sur., 2008; Molitor i sur., 2016). Posljednji navode da su teškoće u pismenom izražavanju i čitanju u sličnoj mjeri zastupljene u ove djece (17%‒24%) te su značajno povezane sa školskim ocjenama i procjenom roditelja o izvedbi koja je znatno ispod djetetovih intelektualnih mogućnosti.

Da čitanje može predstavljati područje školskog izazova, potvrđuju i pojedini dječaci u ovom istraživanju. Iz njihovih se opisa čini da im je tijekom čitanja najteže održavanje pozornosti, posebice ukoliko je mnogo teksta (ograničenja u radnom pamćenju, čitanje s razumijevanjem) ili ako se od djeteta traži da čita u buci ili prostoru s više distraktora. Uz navedeno dječaci posebno naglašavaju teškoće s vođenjem bilješki iz lektire. To zahtijeva znatan napor koji uključuje istovremeni therefore ‘run out’: “I write a lot, I think and I spend all that strength and energy” (D13/9). This boy further explained how his difficulties with writing put him in an awkward situation with the teacher, who believed that he deliberately did not want to write (although he “actually wants to, but cannot”), and as a result, wrote him a note to take home to his parents.

He described his efforts and desire to do everything on time, but that he only succeeds once the teacher’s note has already been written. While this boy recognized that a break between tasks and extended time would likely help him complete the task, he did not experience understanding or encouragement from the teacher.

“Well, yes (it’s hard for me) to write a lot. We write a lot and my hand gets tired. And that’s a really big problem for me at school because the teacher thinks I don’t want to write, and I actually want to, I just can’t. So, she writes a note home. It was hard for me today - it was all very easy for me and that’s why I wrote very fast and that’s why my hand got tired very quickly. When she wrote me the last note home, when she put the last exclamation mark, I was done.

*Do you sometimes need a little rest between those tasks?*

*Well yes, that would help a lot.” (D13/9)*

Previous research has confirmed that children with ADHD have difficulties associated with writing (handwriting and writing speed) and written expression related to content organization and attention to detail in the text (Racine et al., 2008; Molitor et al., 2016). Molitor et al. (2016) further stated that difficulties in written expression and reading are equally common among these children (17-24%) and are significantly related to school grades and the parents’ assessment of their child’s performance, which are both significantly below the child’s intellectual capacities.

Challenges with *reading* in school were also confirmed by the participants in this study. From their descriptions, the boys found it very difficult to maintain attention while reading, especially if there was a lot of text (limitations in working memory and reading comprehension), if the child was asked to read in a noisy environment, or a room with multiple distractors. In addition, the boys particularly emphasised difficulties while taking notes and reading mandatory literature. This requires considerable effort that
angajažan čitalačkog razumijevanja, dosjećanja i radnog pamćenja te organizaciju teksta i samo pisanje rukom. 

_Dosadno_ u ovom citatu vjerojatno je ponovno sinonim za napor.

_Moraš sam pročitati neki dan pet lektira. Svaka ima 4-5 strana. To mi je bilo dosadno. I još sam sve to morao zapisati. I to zapisivanje je bilo dosadno._ (D6/9)

Navedene školske izazove primjećuju i sudionici istraživanja Wiener i Daniels (2016) te Kendall i suradnici (2003) koji su u svom istraživanju s djecom s ADHD-om izdvojili zasebnu temu _Svakodnevne teškoće vezane uz ADHD_ koje posebice primjećuju u obrazovnom području života djeteta. Pritom navode _sporije učenje, dosadu te osjećaj trajne distraktibilnosti i zbunjenosti uputa_ koje dobivaju, što se javlja i u sljedećem opisu izvedbe matematičkih zadataka.

_Računanje_ većini dječaka predstavlja značajan izazov. Neki o matematici govore sa strahom (D9/10) ili se osjećaju _glupo_ (D3/8) i _zbunjeno_ (D9/10). Osim što im je teško koncentrirati se, čini se da govore o teškoćama s _radnim pamćenjem_ (kad moraju istovremeno baratati s više brojeva) te o _omaškama_ zbog kojih previde i pogrešno izračunaju zadatak: _Ali ne volim računati. Kad moram na ploči ustati i kad je plus, a ja ga ne vidim_ (D7/9).

_Kako se osjećaš tada, kad trebaš rješavati matematiku?_

_Jako, jako zbuženjo._ (D9/10)

Sustavna analiza 30 radova o povezanosti ADHD-a i izvedbe u matematičkim zadacima koju su proveli Tosto i suradnici (2015) ukazuje na negativnu korelacionu izraženosti simptoma ADHD-a (posebice regulacije pažnje) i matematičkih sposobnosti, koju potvrđuju i značajne genetske korelacije u istraživanjima s blizancima. Uspješnost u matematičkoj izvedbi povezana je i s izvršnim funkcijama, posebno radnim pamćenjem te inhibicijom impulzivne reakcije (Bull & Scerif, 2001; Cragg i sur., 2017). Neurološka nezrelost izvršnih funkcija i posljedične teškoće u svakodnevnom životu djece i odraslih s ADHD-om dobro su dokumentirane u literaturi (npr. Ptacek i sur., 2019; Rubia, 2018; Toplak i sur., 2017; Barkley, 2015; Schreiber i sur., 2014). Narušenost i/li nezrelost _izvršnih funkcija_ prepoznaje se u naraciji dječaka: 

_involves the simultaneous engagement of the reader’s comprehension, recollection, and working memory, as well as organisation of the text and writing itself. In the following quote, “boring” is probably again synonymous with tiring or strenuous work."

_“I had to read five novels the other day. Each has 4-5 pages. That bored me. And I still had to write it all down. And that writing was boring.” (D6/9)_

These challenges were reported by participants in research conducted by Wiener and Daniels (2016) and Kendall et al. (2003), who identified a specific theme exploring the ‘Everyday difficulties related to ADHD’. In doing so, they reported experiences including slower learning, boredom, and a feeling of permanent distractibility and confusion with received instructions; these challenges were also reported by the boys in this study in relation to mathematical performance.

_Completing mathematical calculations_ is a considerable challenge for most of these boys, and they spoke about it with “fear” (D9/10) or in relation to feeling “stupid” (D3/8) and “confused” (D9/10). Apart from the fact that it was difficult for them to focus, they also talked about difficulties with _working memory_ (when they had to process several numbers at the same time) and about mistakes they made because they overlooked something and miscalculated the task:

_“But I don’t like to count. When I have to come to the board and when it’s a plus sign and I don’t see it”_ (D7/9).

_“How do you feel then, when you need to complete a math problem?_"

_Very, very confused.”_ (D9/10)

A systematic analysis of 30 papers examining the relationship between ADHD and performance in mathematical tasks conducted by Tosto and colleagues (2015) indicated a negative correlation between the severity of ADHD symptoms (especially attention regulation) and mathematical abilities; this finding was also confirmed in studies with twins via significant correlations related to genetic traits. Success in mathematical performance is also associated with executive functions, particularly working memory and the inhibition of an impulsive response (Bull and Scerif, 2001; Cragg et al., 2017). Neurological immaturity of _executive functions_ and the consequent difficulties in the daily lives of children and adults with ADHD are well
čaka tijekom intervjuja kroz teškoće u organizaciji misli, teškoće u sekvencioniranju ali i aktivnosti, organizaciji predmeta i vremena, ali neustrajnom ulaganju napora i odustajanju od dovršavanja zadataka. Ujedno, teškoće s izvršnim funkcijama pri rješavanju matematičkih zadataka dovode i do narušavanja slike o sebi. Dječak u sljedećem primjeru govori za sebe da nije dovoljno pametan da bi riješio zadatak. Trudi se, ali opetovano ne uspijeva, što dovodi do frustracije i želje za oduzimanjem. Ta frustracija čuje se u njegovu glasu, ali i u verbalnoj komunikaciji, pri čemu se on udara rukom po glavi kako bi se kaznio za neuspjeh.

Što misliš zašto je to računanje tako teško?

Ne znam. Dok ti zbrojiš 1 plus 2 plus 3 … pa - Glupan! [za sebe] Opet sam zaboravio! Glupan! Opet, opet, opet …[udara se po glavi] i onda mi pukne na žive i neću više. Idem doma! Neću više! A moram… (D3/8)

Više je roditelja u intervjuima govorilo o teškoćama njihova djeteta pri svladavanju tablice množenja. No samo je jedan dječak to i priznao, ali na način kao da odaje tajnu za koju ne želi da je itko snaža. Osjeća da je to socijalno sramotno (užasno) jer on već pohađa 4. razred, a tablicu množenja još nije svladao. Kako bi si olakšao, pribjegava računanju kalkulatorom. Ovdje kao da promišlja što je važnije – točan izračun ili ulaganje značajnog truda uz upitnu točnost rezultata.

Matematiku glupu! Iskreno da vam kažem ovo je mala tajna… ma neću reći… to je sad užasno jer idem u 4. razred, a to se učilo u drugom razredu… Tablica množenja! Da, da to me još uvijek muči. Znam nešto malo. Mislim, mogu ja napraviti zadataću, ali kod kuće uzmem digitron. (D4/9)

Sažeto gledajući, dječaci s ADHD-om prepoznaju svoje teškoće s regulacijom pažnje što im stvara poteškoće u praćenju i razumijevanju uputa (zburnjeni su, nije im jasno, nema im smisla ili ne razumiju) te ih posljedično ometa pri uspješnoj izvedbi školskih zadataka; čitanju, brojanju, računanju, pisanju i učenju gradiva. Istraživanja dokumentiraju teškoće u učenju kod 50% do čak 80% djece i adolescenata s ADHD-om (DuPaul i Stoner, 2014), a ove teškoće se najviše pripisuju sržnim osobinama poremećaja; teškoćama u regu-
Andreja Bartolac: “Mislim, realno, tko voli školu?”: Iskustvo školovanja osnovnoškolskih dječaka s ADHD-om. / “I mean, really, who likes...

nekim drugim komorbidnim stanjima (DuPaul i Langberg, 2015). Kad govore o obrazovnim teškoćama djece s ADHD-om, DuPaul i Langberg (2014: 313) posebno se osvrću na neuspješni pri učenju gradiva, razvoju vještina ili školskoj izvedbi na razini koja bi bila primjerena djetetovoj dobi, intelektualnim sposobnostima te obiteljskom i školskom kontekstu.

Više dječaka u ovom istraživanju žalilo se na teškoće prilikom pisanja pismenih testova te prijavljivaju koliko su uspješniji pri usmenom u odnosu na pismeno ispitivanje znanja. Objasnjavajući zašto je pismeni ispit zahtjevno, govore da su to testovi s previše pitanja koja ih preplave te ih to umara i žele odustati (ne da mi se).

Nemam pojma. Jednostavno ne mogu. Usmeno naučim za 5, a nisam ni učio, a iz ispita dobijem jedan (...) Ima previše tih pitanja i odgovora koje moraš zapamtiti i napisati na papiru. Boli me od toga glava i ne da mi se. (D4/9)

Na slican način sljedeći dječak želi učiteljicu objasniti na koji mu način može olakšati preveliku test (smanjiti broj pitanja), što ukazuje na to da dijete prepoznaje koja bi mu prilagodba pomogla i frustriran je što učiteljica sama to ne uvide. Međutim razlika je u moći i ulogama prevelika i on nema snage izboriti se za sebe.

Iz prirode mi je teško kad (...) je ispit ovoliki veliki [naglašava širenjem ruku]. Dobiješ 25 zada-taka. Ne stignem ja to riješiti. A nešto riješim, nešto znam, nešto ne znam, nešto preskočim. Ali u biti teško.

Kako se osjećaš kad dobijesi tako veliki ispit? Onda mi dođe da odem do učiteljice i kažem – dajte mi ispit izrežite po pola. Ali ja to ne kažem, nego pregrizem jezik i krenem pisati. (D7/9)

Iako se žalio na više situacija u školi, dječak D4/9 zaključuje da njemu nije zapravo u školi teško (jer bi to pretpostavljalo da je sniženih kapaciteta?), već da je njegov školski uspjeh vezan uz manjak motivacije (Lijen sam i ne da mi se). Je li atribuiranje svojeg (ne)uspjeha lijenosti (čimbeniku nad kojom bi trebao imati kontrolu) ovom dječaku prihvatljivije nego stvarnim teškoćama (nad kojima nema kontrolu)? Ili je lijenost kao obilježje usvojeno iz poruka koje pristižu iz okoline, a koje dječak doživljava kao istinite? Lijenost kao etiketa čini se successful completion of school assignments including reading, counting, doing math assignments, writing, and learning. Previous studies have reported that learning difficulties can occur in 50-80% of children and adolescents with ADHD (DuPaul and Stoner, 2014), and these difficulties are attributed mainly to the core features of the disorder, such as difficulties in attention regulation and executive functions, and not to other comorbid conditions (DuPaul and Langberg, 2014). In their discussion about the educational challenges of children with ADHD, DuPaul and Langberg (2014: 313) referred specifically to the failure of children to learn school curriculum, develop skills, or perform at a level appropriate to the child’s age, intellectual abilities, and family and school contexts.

Most of the boys in this study reported difficulties in writing tests and noted that they were much more successful when their knowledge was tested orally rather than in a written test. When explaining the reasons for which written tests were demanding, they reported that tests had too many questions that overwhelmed them and tired them out until they wanted to give up (“I don’t feel like it”).

“I have no idea (why is difficult). I just can’t. I get the best grade in the oral exam, and I didn’t even study, and I fail in the written exam (...) There are too many of these questions and answers that you have to remember and write on paper. My head hurts and I don’t feel like it.” (D4/9)

Similarly, another boy talked about his wish to explain to the teacher how she might make a test that is “too large” more manageable for him (by reducing the number of questions), indicating that the child recognized the modifications that would help him and is frustrated that the teacher was unable to realise it on her own. However, the difference in power and roles is too great and he does not have the strength to advocate for himself.

“In biology class, it is difficult for me when (...) the exam is so big (he emphasizes it with wide hands). You get 25 questions. I can’t handle it. And I solve something, I know something, I don’t know something, I skip something. But essentially it is difficult.

How do you feel when you get such a big exam?

Then it occurs to me to go to the teacher and say - cut the exam in half for me! But I don’t say that, I bite my tongue and start writing.” (D7/9)
kao prečica ili jednostavnije objašnjenje izazova pri organizaciji ponašanja i usmjeravanju pažnje, posebice ako uzmemo u obzir da dječaci u pravilu ne znaju da za njihov način funkcioniranja postoji razlog u obliku neurorazvojnog poremećaja. Svoju izjavu ovaj dječak završava zavratacijom bespo-
moćnosti, pri čemu on nema moć ista promijeniti, odnosno zaključuje da je školu najbolje izbjeći, čak i po cijenu bolesti.

Ma nije meni teško, nego sam lijen i onda ne
znam i onda... previše... boli me glava od te škole. Jednostavno mi se ne da ići u školu. Da sam barem
znaim i onda... previše... boli me glava od te škole.

Millerovo istraživanje (2017) ukazuje da su
tijekom djetinjstva i adolescencije sudionici bili
izloženi ponavljanim negativnim porukama koje
su odražavale nerazumijevanje njihovih teškoća
uzrokovanih ADHD-om. Kao opisuje ovaj autor,
ta su iskustva imala štetan utjecaj na njihov razvoj
pojma o sebi i, općenito, na psihosocijalno funk-
cioniranje, što je dodatno pojačalo teret nošenja
s njihovom neurorazličitost. Od dječaka se čuje
vlastiti opis koji ukazuje na djetetovu osobinu (on
znaje da za njihov način funkcioniranja postoji
posebice ako uzmemo u obzir da dječaci u pravilu
poznaćenje, kao pretpostavka za djelovanje, on je
zajedno s rukovateljima i učiteljima. Millero svoj
izlaznicu neurodevelopmental reason for the manner in
which they function. This boy ended his narration
with a statement of helplessness, expressing that he
had no power to change anything and that it was per-
haps best to avoid school, even at the cost of illness.

"It's not hard for me. I'm lazy and then I don't
know and then it is ...too much... my head hurts
because of that school. I just don't feel like going
to school. If only I were sicker..." (D4/9)

Miller (2017) indicated that, during childhood and
adolescence, participants were exposed to repeated
negative messages that reflected a misunderstanding of the difficulties they experienced as a result of
ADHD. He went on to describe that these experiences had a detrimental effect on their development of
a self-concept and general psychosocial functioning,
which further increased the burden of coping with
their neurodiversity. The boys in the present study
also spoke of the internalization of social messages
used to describe them, which points to the child’s trait
("he is simply like that – lazy") or place the child’s
behaviour in the domain of voluntary control. The
suggestion that a child “could control his behaviour
only if he wanted to” indicates a lack of awareness of
the biological mechanisms of ADHD on the part of
those who send such messages to the child. Wiener and
Daniels (2016) and Miller (2017) described the
internalization of feelings of shame and helplessness
among children with ADHD as a result of messages
from the environment suggesting that their behaviour
was intentional and that they should be able to control
it. Miller (2017) further described how, through con-

Another boy (D4/9) complained about several sit-
uations at school, but concluded that it was not dif-
hicult for him at school (perhaps because this would
indicate that he had reduced capacity); he mentioned
that his school success was related to a lack of moti-
vation (“I'm lazy and I don't feel like it”). Is attrib-
uting his failure to laziness (a factor that he should
have control over) more acceptable to this boy than
attributing failure to real difficulties (that he has no
control)? Or, has laziness been absorbed and subse-
quently perceived to be true from the messages he has
received from his social environment? Laziness as a
label seems like a shortcut or simpler explanation to
the challenges experienced in organising behaviour
and directing attention, especially given that these
boys generally do not know that there is an under-
lying neurodevelopmental reason for the manner in
which they function. This boy ended his narration
with a statement of helplessness, expressing that he
had no power to change anything and that it was per-
haps best to avoid school, even at the cost of illness.
Andreja Bartolac: “Mislim, realno, tko voli školu?”: Iskustvo školovanja osnovnoškolskih dječaka s ADHD-om. / “I mean, really, who likes...”

razlog za dobivanje programa za ADHD (vjerojatno naziv za IOOP). Kako bi naglasio koliko je zaigranost nepovoljna za njegovo školovanje on koristi sintagmu maksimalni problemi, koju je vjerojatno čuo od odraslih.

A kako je kad si u školi?

Pa problemi su maksimalni.

Kakvi problemi?

Igram se pod satom. Ne znam zašto. I zato smo dobili taj program za a-de-ha-de (naglašava svaki slog). (D9/10)

Neki dječaci uvidju da se razlikuju od druge djece upravo po tomu što moraju uložiti više napora od druge djece kako bi se usredotočili na gradivo i uspješno ga svladali. U sljedećem citatu dječak se uspoređuje s vršnjakom u razredu kojemu je za svladavanje školskog gradiva dovoljno uložiti tek neznatan napor, dok je njemu to jako teško. Ovaj dječak uspoređuje i opterećenja djece i odraslih, smatrajući da je učenje najteži zadatak, odnosno da je djeci teže učiti negoli odraslima ići na posao.

“Mislim, posao, mislim da je lakši od učenja.

Misliš da je učenje teže?

Da mislim. Nekima kao mom prijatelju [ime dječaka] ovako ide... [bez problema, pucketa prstima]

A kako tebi ide?

A moram si nekako pomoći. Da to napravim.

Kako si pomogneš?

A računam...

Je li ti teško?

To je jako teško. (D3/8)

Postavlja se pitanje što takav manjak informiranosti o vlastitoj neurorazličitosti znači za razumijevanje sebe i svojeg ponašanja kod ovih dječaka. Svjedočenja odraslih osoba kojima je ADHD diagnosticiranih tek u odrasloj dobi govore o različitim psihološkim reakcijama na konačno objašnjenje razloga vlastitog ponašanja tijekom djetinjstva i kasnije; od žalovanja, tuge i ljutnje do olakšanja, prilagodbe i prihvaćanja (Young i sur., 2008).

Školske ocjene dječaci u ovom istraživanju ne doživljavaju kao poseban poticaj. Opisuju i svoja stant exposure to such messages, children with ADHD gradually build these notions into their self-image.

The boys in this study seemed to notice that they are different from their peers in some way, but only one boy labelled these differences as ADHD (D9/10) in a statement relating his behaviour in the school context to his diagnosis. Here, the boy (D9/10) stated that he needed to solve only selected tasks in a test because he has ADHD (probably as part of an individualised program). He also described how he typically plays during class (although he can’t explain the reason) and that he thinks that playfulness is one of the reasons for getting him into an ADHD program (likely his label for the IEP). To emphasise how unfavourable this playfulness was at school, he used the phrase “maximal problems”, an expression perhaps heard from adults.

“And what about when you’re at school?

Well, the problems are maximal.

What problems?

I play during class. I don’t know why. And that’s why we got that program for A-D-H-D (emphasizes each syllable).” (D9/10)

Some boys recognised that they differed from other children in the amount of effort they had to exert in order to focus in class and successfully master tasks. In the following quote, the boy compared himself to a peer who was able to master the school curriculum with very little effort, and said that such a task was very difficult for him. This boy also compared the workload of children and adults, and expressed the belief that studying was the most difficult task and that it is much harder for children to learn than for adults to go to work.

“I mean, work, I think it’s easier than learning.

Do you think learning is harder?

Yes, I think so. Some people, like my friend (naming a boy), does it like this... (with no problem, snapping fingers)

And how are you doing?

I have to help myself somehow. To do it.

How do you help yourself?

I count...

Is it hard for you?

That is very difficult.” (D3/8)
promišljanja o ocjenjivanju koja su pod utjecajem socijalnih normi (najbolje je [imati prosjek ocjena] 5.0), ali i (vjerojatno) roditeljskih savjeta (važnije je znanje od ocjena).

Ali ipak je važnija škola nego ocjene. Dobro je da prođeš s 5 isto, ali bolje je da učiš nego da prođeš s 5. Da nešto naučiš. Jer netko te može prevariti u matematici. (D3/8)

Ipak, progovaraju i o osjećaju nepravde prilikom ocjenjivanja, pri čemu ocjenu doživljavaju kao kaznu za teškoće s kojima se suočavaju (kad nešto ne mogu napraviti) i koje su izvan njihove kontrole. Jedan dječak (D10/11) se požalio na sustav ocjenjivanja u situacijama kad se ne uvažavaju njegove slabe strane (rukopis), što mu snižava ocjenu (Pa da se ne gleda rukopis i da se ne gledaju pravopisne greške; D10/11). Drugi dječak (D2/8) govori kako mu za neorganiziranost i zaboravljanje pribora za školski rad (koji pripadaju u domenu izvršnih funkcija) također može biti dodijeljena kazna u obliku negativne ocjene:...

Na pitanje Ima li nešto što zaista ne vole ili im je teško raditi vezano uz školu, svi dječaci jednoglasno ustvrdjuju: pisati domaću zadaću. Dječaci govore: Želio bih da je nema (D7/9); To mi je naj-gore (D11/11); Dosadna je (D5/10); To mi se ne da. Ne volim pisati zadaću (D6/9); To me ne zanima (D7/9); Zadaća mi je teška (D9/10); Počne mi biti muka (D5/10). Pokušavajući saznati kako objašnjavaju zašto im je teška, bilo je potrebno postaviti više pitanja jer dječaci često nisu znali kako objasniti to iskustvo (Jer... ne znam... ima stvari koje (zamišljen)... D10/11; To je to objasniti... D3/8). Jednom dječaku se čini nemogućim da bi ikome ta aktivnost bila privlačna i u konačnici opisuje svoj osjećaj kao užasnu prisilu koju unatoč trudu teško svladava (Pa nitko ne voli pisati zadaću. Jesi ti voljela? (…)) Užasan (osjećaj). Moras, moraš, a ja se trudim... D3/8). Drugi dječak koji opisuje svoj osjećaj za vrijeme pisanja zadaće koristi dramatične izraze ili geste (D5/10), dojma je da je vrijeme potrošeno na pisanje domaće zadaće izgubljeno, odnosno da bi za to vrijeme mogao raditi bilo što drugo:

One question that comes up often concerns the extent to which such a lack of information about one’s own neurodiversity can influence their understanding of self and their behaviour. The testimonies of adults diagnosed with ADHD in adulthood show a variety of psychological reactions to finally having an explanation for their behaviour during childhood and later on: from grief, sadness, and anger to relief, adjustment, and acceptance (Young et al., 2008).

In the present study, school grades were not perceived by the boys as a special incentive. Their opinions on grading also appeared to be influenced by social norms (“it is best to [have a grade point average] of 5.0”), but perhaps also by parental advice (knowledge is more important than grades):

“But still, school is more important than grades. It is good to pass with 5 (highest grade), but it is better to learn than to pass with 5. To learn something. Because someone can fool you in math.” (D3/8)

However, they also expressed the feeling of injustice during school performance evaluations, where their grades were perceived as a punishment for the difficulties they experienced (“when I can’t do it”) and were beyond their control. One boy (D10/11) complained about the grading system in situations where his weaknesses (handwriting) were not considered, leading to lower grades (he proposed “that the handwriting is not looked at and spelling mistakes are not looked at”; D10/11). Another boy (D2/8) said that he might also be punished for disorganization and forgetting school supplies (executive functions domain) in the form of a failing grade (“Then I got failing grade. Because I didn’t bring all the things. We were supposed to bring glue and scissors, and I only brought one of those” ; D2/8).

When asked if there was something they really do not like or find difficult to do related to school, all the boys unanimously stated: homework. In their words, “I wish it was gone” (D7/9); “that’s the worst” (D11/11); “It’s boring” (D5/10); “I don’t like it. I don’t like to write homework” (D6/9); “I’m not into it” (D7/9); “my homework is difficult” (D9/10); “I start to feel sick” (D5/10). In order to better understand why the boys thought that homework was so difficult for them, it was necessary to ask more questions because they often did not know how to explain this experience (“Because,... I don’t know... there are things that... (lost in thoughts)"
Andreja Bartolac: “Mislim, realno, tko voli školu?”: Iskustvo školovanja osnovnoškolskih dječaka s ADHD-om. / “I mean, really, who likes...
Pa ima teških zadataka, ne razumijem i kad idem gledat knjigu, udžbenik, još uvijek se zburn i ne razumijem. (D8/10)

Bilo je zanimljivo saznati o čemu djeca razmišljaju kad se suoče sa njih prezahtjevnim zadatkom i kako opisuju to svoje iskustvo. Govore da u tim situacijama odlutaju mislima, razmišljaju o ničemu ili nečemu drugomom, kako bi radije bili negdje drugdje, samo ne razumijem i kad idem gledat knjigu, udžbenik. (D8/10)

It was interesting to discover what children think about when faced with a task that is too demanding and the manner in which they describe their experience. In these situations, they described how their thoughts wandered, how they thought about nothing or something else, they thought about how they would rather be somewhere else, or just did not think about school. This lack of focus, daydreaming or difficulty initiating the task to begin with was described by one boy (D4/9) as something beyond his control ("I can't persuade myself in any way"). At the same time, he explained how having the answers dictated to him would not help because it required good writing skills and considerable engagement of working memory ("But you have to learn to write fast when someone dictates to you to remember it", D4/9).

Dječaci se žale da se ni u danevikeda ili praznika nemaju mogućnost odmoriti od školskih obveza, što ih zamara i frustrira. Jedan dječak to opisuje revoltiranim glasom iz kojeg se očitava osjećaj nepravde zbog uskraćivanja prava na odmor i igru, djetinjstvo.

And what is difficult about homework?

Well, there are difficult tasks, I don’t understand it. And when I go to look in a book, a textbook, I still get confused and I don’t understand.” (D8/10)

It was interesting to discover what children think about when faced with a task that is too demanding and the manner in which they describe their experience. In these situations, they described how their thoughts wandered, how they thought about nothing or something else, they thought about how they would rather be somewhere else, or just did not think about school. This lack of focus, daydreaming or difficulty initiating the task to begin with was described by one boy (D4/9) as something beyond his control (“I can’t persuade myself in any way”). At the same time, he explained how having the answers dictated to him would not help because it required good writing skills and considerable engagement of working memory (“But you have to learn to write fast when someone dictates to you to remember it”, D4/9).

The boys complained that, even on weekends or holidays, they did not have the opportunity to take a break from school obligations, which made them tired and frustrated. In an almost disgusted tone, one boy described this with a feeling of injustice due to the denial of the right to rest and play, the right to childhood.

“Then I have to do something (for school) on the weekend too. I have to do something both on weekends and on school days. For school(...)
nom odnosili na vrijeme izvan nastave: igrati se (D1/10, D2/8; D3/8; D5/10; D6/9); igrati igrice (D1); ići na igralište (D1/10; D2/8); igrati košarku, nogomet (D1/10; D8/10); crtati (D3/8; D6/9; D9/10); jesti u školi (D5/10); izradivat (čestite, snježnog od papira, D14/9). No odgovor na to pitanje može biti i kratko Ne. (D6/9) ili: Ne znam, ne pada mi na pamet (sliježe ramenima i odmahuje glavom, D11/11). Omiljeni su školski predmeti oni koji odgovaraju afinitetima i jakim stranama dječaka. Primjerice dječak (D9/10) to opisuje kao školu u kojoj je zabavno (kad na vjeronomu gledamo crtiče), kad ima mogućnost kretanja (njadraž je tjelesni jer trčimo, a ja imam ADHD) i slikanje prema kojemu dijete ima sklonost i smisao (likovni zato što sam jako dobar slikar i volim slikati stvari). Dječak govori da se osjeća ispunjeno kad ima mogućnosti biti uključen u aktivnosti koje mu omogućuju ostvarivanje potreba za zabavom i odmorom, tjelesnom aktivacijom i postignućem.

Podrška u školi: važnost uvažavanja, senzibiliziranosti i odnosa

Osim teškoća s kojima se susreću tijekom školskog rada te pri svladavanju građiva, dječaci spominju i nevolje u kojima se nađu boraveći u školi, kao i doživljaj njih samih kao izazivača senzibilnosti i odnosa. (D2/8)

Kako se upadne u nevolju?

A ne znam kako se upadne. Samo tako upadnem. Jer ne razmišljam glavom. (D2/8)

Ovaj opis impulzivnosti (djelovanje bez razmišljanja) dobro ilustrira manjak kontrole nad svojim ponašanjem. Sljedeći dječak opisuje sebe kao nekoga tko je najgori i uvijek čini nešto neprimjereno u školi. To čini na način kao da ponavlja optužbe koje sluša od drugih (koristeći riječ kao) te na kraju rezignirano zaključuje kako mu onako nitko ne vjeruje. Opisujući takve situacije, dječaci teško verbaliziraju svoje osjećaje, no čuje se: I wasn’t even allowed to (play) in the holidays. I had to study. In the holidays!

How did you feel then?

It was awful. “ (D10/11)

Enumerating all the previous challenges, the boys concluded that they were “tired after school” (D4/9, D6/9, D13/9). In one case, this fatigue was so pronounced that he had a psychosomatic reaction (vomiting). Another boy (D4/9) described a feeling of constant pressure that only stopped when the holidays began:

“Well, I just want to take a little break from that school, because I’m tired of all that pressure. Luckily, the school year is almost over, so I can relax like a normal person.” (D4/9)

The boys were asked if there was anything they actually liked to do at school. Their answers mostly related to spending time outside of class: “playing” (D1/10, D2/8; D5/10); “go to the playground” (D1/10; D2/8); “play basketball” (D1/10, D8/10); “draw” (D3/8; D6/9; D9/10); “play Catch and Freeze Tag” (D3/8); “eating at school” (D5/10); “card games” (D5/10; D6/9); “handicrafts (greeting cards, paper snowman)” (D14/9). However, in many cases, the answer to this question was a short: “No.” (D6/9), or, “I don’t know, it doesn’t occur to me” (shrugs and shakes his head, D11/11). Favourite school subjects were those that matched the boys’ affinities and strengths. For example, one boy (D9/10) described his favourite time at school: when it was fun (“when we watched cartoons in religious education”), when he can be physically active (“my favourite is PE because we run, and I have ADHD”) and when he was “painting”, an activity that is meaningful and interesting for this child (“because I am a very good painter and I like to paint things”). Furthermore, this boy described a feeling of “fulfilment” when he has the opportunity to be involved in activities that allow him to realise his need for enjoyment and rest, physical activation, and achievement.

THEME: Support in school: the importance of recognition, sensitivity, and relationship

In addition to the difficulties they encounter related to school work and mastering the curricula, the boys also described the “troubles” they found themselves in while at school, as well as the perception that they were “troublemakers”. “Trouble”
grozno (D4/9), ljuto, tužno i nepravedno (D13/9, D2/8).

Uvijek kao da ja nešto, kao da ja ovo, kao da ono, kao da ja sve. Ja sam kao najgori.

Je li to istina?
Što?
Sve to što kažu da radiš?
Ne. Ja to ne radim. Jest da mi nitko ne vjeruje... ali valjda ja znam šta ja... (radim). (D4/9)

Ovdje je važno dotaknuti se doživljaja nepovjerenja u istinitost dječakovih izjava. Zbog ilustracije bit će prikazan tek jedan primjer, no čitajući transkripte u cijelosti, stječe se dojam da se dječaci često žale kako im drugi ne vjeruju i kako su često optuženi za nešto što smatraju da nisu skrivili.

Ma čim nešto kažeš ili napraviš, oni te tuže učiteljici, upadneš u probleme. I to me toliko živciru. Ja ništa loše ne radim! I učiteljica mi onda normalno ništa ne vjeruje jer me uvijek optuže zbog nečeg. A ja to stvarno ne radim. Ali kužite, zbog puno puta mi učiteljica više ništa ne vjeruje. Kako će mi vjerovat?

Kako se onda osjećaš kad ti tako nitko ne vjeruje?

Pa grozno... (D4/9)

Ovu ulogu “dežurnog krivca” spominju Grant (2009) i Ringer (2020) koristeći sintagmu: meta za okrivljavanje (engl. target to blame). Takvo etiketiranje dolazi iz različitih izvora; roditelja, nastavnika pa i druge djece koja su spremna odraslima prijaviti njihovo ponašanje. Doživljenu frustraciju naglašava osjećaj nepravedne okrivljenosti (Ali meni nitko ne vjeruje!). Drugim riječima, dječake se uopće ne pita za pojašnjenje ili njihov doživljaj situacije, a u takvim se situacijama osjećaju tužno, nepravedno, grozno i ljuto. Ova iskustva nisu izolirana, i drugi autori spominju slične izjave svojih sudionika, primjerice Grant (2009:46) citira dječaka koji govorili: ADHD je kad ti nitko ne vjeruje kad govoršiš istinu. Svi će ionako biti protiv tebe iz nekog razloga.

Istovremeno, dječaci u ovom istraživanju govore i o nedostatnoj podršci koja bi im omogućila uspješnije izvršavanje školskih obveza i

is a situation that one boy (D2/8) did not know how to explain, nor was it something that he wanted to talk about (“do not ask”) since such trouble usually occurred when he acted without thinking. In his words, the boy reported that he “gets into trouble just like that”, and later, that “this is what happens to me every day”, suggesting that this happened to him regularly without his intention or control.

“How do you get in trouble?

I don’t know how it happens. I just get into trouble like that. Because I don’t think with my head.” (D2/8)

This description of impulsivity (acting without thinking) clearly illustrates the boy’s lack of control over his behaviour. Another boy described himself as someone who was “the worst” and who always “does something inappropriate at school” by repeating the accusations he hears from others (adding the conditional words ‘as if’ ‘like’). In the end, he resignedly concluded that no one believed him anyway. When describing such situations, the boys found it difficult to verbalise their feelings, but we heard a number of negative emotions: “awful” (D4/9), “angry, sad and unfair” (D13/9, D2/8).

“It is always as if I did something, as if I did this, as if I did that, as if I did everything. I’m, like, the worst.

Is that true?

What?

Everything they say you are doing?

No. I don’t do that. But no one believes me... but I guess I know what I (do).” (D4/9)

This citation raised an important issue evident in many of the statements made by the boys: lack of trust in the truthfulness of their statements. As an illustration, only one example is being presented, but when the transcripts are read in their entirety, it becomes evident that the boys often complain that others do not trust them and that they are often accused of wrongdoings that they do not think they did.

“As soon as you say or do something, they report you to the teacher and you get into trouble. And that annoys me so much. I’m not doing anything wrong! And then the teacher usually doesn’t believe me at all because they always accuse me of something. And I really don’t do that. But you see,
bolju uključenost u razrednu zajednicu. Na primjeru jednog od dječaka čuje se da učiteljica ne razumije kako on određene zadatke nije u stanju odraditi na način kao i ostala (neuropitčna) djeca u razredu ili u skladu s njezinim očekivanjima (Kad ja baš nešto ne mogu napraviti, a učiteljica se najljuti; D13/9). Dječak je zbog toga nesretan jer nije u stanju (ni u poziciji moći) argumentirati svoju situaciju, a učiteljica se ljuti jer ima drukčije razumijevanje njegova ponašanja. Fruzacija koju dječaci osjećaju prvenstveno se odnosi na nerazumijevanje i neuvlačenje njihovih specifičnosti od strane nastavnika. Miller (2017: 27, 32) spominje poruke koje su njegovi sudionici dobivali od svojih nastavnika (Ne trudiš se dovoljno! Pametan si, ali si lijen.). Navode da su zaista jako željeli biti uspješni u školi, no ovakve poruke su internalizirali, što im je u konačnici snizavalo motivaciju za školski uspjeh i narušavalo sliku o sebi.

U svim navedenim izazovima s kojima se dječaci suočavaju, a koji proizlaze iz dječakovih simptoma te reakcija okoline na simptomatska ponašanja, dječacima je potrebna snažna psihosocijalna podrška; uvažavanje kao osobe, senzibiliziranost na njihovu neurorazličitost i praktična podrška u svladavanju građiva. Dječaci spominju da podrška najčešće dolazi od odraslih, učiteljica i pomoćnica u nastavi (asistentica)⁴, ukoliko dijete ima na raspolaganju takvu vrstu podrške. Važnost svakodnevne pomoći i podrške koju djeca i adolescenti s ADHD-om dobivaju od bliskih drugih ističe Ringer (2020) u svojoj metasinteti. Schei i suradnici (2016) izdvojili su zaštitne čimbenike koji mogu ublažiti emocionalne i ponašajne teškoće te povećati kvalitetu života adolescenata s ADHD-om, kao što su individualne kompetencije, obiteljska kohezija i socijalna podrška. Osim podrške vršnjaka za neurorazličitost djecu podrška kompetentnih odraslih posebno je značajna za osjećaj prihvaćenosti u školskoj sredini. Dječaci doživljavaju učiteljicu i pomoćnicu u nastavi (ukoliko ju imaju) kao najvažnije izvore podrške u školi. Iako se muče s praćenjem nastave i učenjem, dječacima koji

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⁴ Svi dječaci svoje pomoćnike u nastavi nazivaju asistentom ili asistenticom pa će se oba pojava naizmjenično koristiti u tekstu, posebice ako se referira na dječakovu izjavu u kojoj koristi taj pojam.
su u nižim razredima razredne nastave važan je odnos s učiteljicom koja je dobra, pomaže kad im je teško, brine se i nagrđuje. Najviše cijene pomoć i podršku koju dobivaju tijekom nastave ili pisanja testova. Kad govori da mu učiteljica puno oprašta, ponovno potvrđuje da njegovo ponašanje često izlazi iz okvira socijalno prihvatljivog te svoje uvjerenje da ovisi o tudem razumijevanju i oprostu.

Kakva ti je učiteljica?

*Jako dobra. Jako mi puno oprašta. Jako se brine za mene...* (D13/9)

A kako bi bilo da ti ne pomaže?

*Iskočio bi kroz prozor. Bilo bi to teško.* (D5/10)

Djeca u nižim razredima uglavnom su orientirana na učiteljicu razredne nastave, dok se dječaci u petom razredu (D10/11, D11/11) obraćaju za pomoć pojedinim predmetnim nastavnicima, ovisno o predmetu koji im je zahtjevniji: *Profesorica iz engleskog mi pokaže što trebam učiti i što će biti u testu. A iz hrvatskog da mi olakša testove* (D11/11). Uz prethodno naveden primjer tek dvojica dječaka prepoznaju da se s njima primjenjuje individualizirani pristup, a samo jedan to povezuje s ADHD-om (npr. *Nama dvojici se zaokružuju zadaci zato što imamo ADHD*; D9/10). Dječaci spominju situacije u kojima učiteljica daje jasne, individualne upute ili dodatno objašnjava zadatak, priprema ih za testove ili olakšava testove, što su sve stavke individualiziranog obrazovnog plana. Ipak, najveću vrijednost polažu na njihov odnos koji se temelji na brižnosti, razumijevanju i senzibiliziranosti. Dječaci koji imaju topao i prihvaćajući odnos sa svojom učiteljicom, opisuju svoje iskustvo u školi ugodnijim i rjeđe spominju teškoće pri praćenju nastave i svladavanju gradiva. To ne začuđuje s obzirom na to da su i drugi autori zaključili da djecu s teškoćama učenja i ponašanja svidaju nastavnici koji su razumjeli da djetetova nemogućnost potpunom udovoljavanju zahtjevima škole, kao što je održavanje pozornost u razredu, organizacija svojeg školskog pribora i ponašanja te završavanje zadataka, uglavnom nije bila namjerna (Elik i sur., 2010). Dodatno, ukoliko je učenikov stav i odnos s nastavnikom pozitivan te ukoliko učenik doživljava osobine i themselves as a person, sensibility to their neurodiversity, and practical support in learning the curricula. In cases where support was available, the boys reported that such support came mostly from adults, teachers and teaching assistants. The importance of daily help and support that children and adolescents with ADHD receive from significant others is highlighted by Ringer (2020) in his meta-analysis. Similarly, Schei et al. (2016) identified a number of protective factors that can alleviate emotional and behavioural difficulties and increase the quality of life of adolescents with ADHD, such as individual competencies, family cohesion, and social support. Alongside peer support, competent adult support is especially important for achieving a sense of acceptance in the school environment for neurodiverse children. The boys in the present study perceived the teachers and teaching assistants (if they had one) as the most important sources of support in school. For boys in elementary school, although they struggled with staying focused in class and learning, their relationship with a teacher who is “kind”, “helps” when they are having a hard time, “cares” and “rewards” was very important. They valued the help and support they received during class or when completing tests. In the following quote, when this boy said that his teacher was forgiving, he reaffirmed that his behaviour often goes beyond that which is socially acceptable and that he depended on other people’s understanding and forgiveness.

*“What is your teacher like? Very kind. She lets many things go. She cares a lot about me...”* (D13/9)

*“And what would happen if she didn’t help you? I would jump out the window. It would be difficult.”* (D5/10)

Children in the lower grades were mostly orient-ed towards their primary school teacher, while the boys in the fifth grade (D10/11, D11/11) turned to individual subject teachers for help, depending on the subject that was more demanding for them: “The English teacher shows me what I need to learn and what will be on the test. And the Croatian teacher makes my tests easier” (D11/11). Altogether, only two boys recognised that an individualised approach was applied to them and only one associated this support with ADHD (e.g., “the two of us only do selected tasks because we have ADHD”; D9/10). The boys described situations in which the teacher gave clear,
stručnost nastavnika kvalitetnima, učenik će biti intrinzično motiviran za sudjelovanje u nastavi, a ta povezanost je dvosmjerna (Bratanić i Marišić, 2005). Dvorski i suradnici (2018) ističu socijalnu prihvaćenost kao značajan zaštitni čimbenik u postizanju pozitivnih obrazovnih ishoda adolescenta s ADHD-om (mjerenje u skolskim ocjenama koje su bile više za cijeli bod), posebice za one dominantno neapžljivog tipa. Mastoras i suradnici (2018) u svojem istraživanju s djecom s ADHD-om u dobi od 8 do 11 godina, potvrđuju značajnu povezanost između socijalne podrške i svih mjera samopoimanja (uključujući osjećaj vlastite vrijednosti, otpornost i specifičan doživljaj školske kompetentnosti i socijalne prihvaćenosti).

Sedmoro dječaka imalo je u vrijeme prikupljanja podataka osiguranu podršku pomoćnica u nastavi (sve su šenskog spola). Dječaci posebno naglašavaju da im asistentica pomaže: oko zadaće, u nevolji (D2/8); U rješavanju stvari. Ako nešto ja ne znam pa mi pomogne (D9/10) i to mu puno znači (D1/10). U sljedećem primjeru dječak opisuje odnos sa svojim pomoćnicom u nastavi. Činjenica da ju naziva moja asistentica govori o njegovu razumijevanju kako je ona dodijeljena samo njemu. Osim što mu pomaže u školskim zadacima, dječak govori da se s njome najviše druži, odnosno da bi se želio samo s njome družiti. Može se pretpostaviti da ga ona upućuje na druženje s vršnjacima u razredu (kad kaže: Ali ona se ne želi sa mnom više družiti), međutim kako je njemu socijalizacija s vršnjacima teška, u njoj nalazi jedinu osobu u razredu koja mu je sklona, koja mu pomaže i s kojom se osjeća sigurno. Ova usmjerenost na jedinu osobu u razredu koja ga prihvaća, a pri tomu je i odrasla osoba, ilustrira izazove u razrednoj socijalizaciji za ovo dijete.

Jako je dobra prema meni. Pomaže mi u nevolji.
Koliko ti to znači?
Puno. Puno mi to znači. (D2/8)

U istraživačkim se bazama ne nailazi na istraživanja iskustava, stavova ili doživljaja učenika o pomoćnicima u nastavi. Istraživanja su rijetka i bave se uglavnom percepcijom nastavnika, roditelja ili samih pomoćnika (npr. Dasović, 2016; Romstein i Velki, 2017; Ćurić, 2018; Jedud, 2019). Individual instructions or further explained the task, prepared them for tests, or “makes tests easier”, all directives from an individualised educational plan. The most important aspect of their relationship with the teacher was the caring, understanding, and sensitivity shown to the boys. Boys who had a warm and accepting relationship with their teacher described their experience at school as being more pleasant and did not talk a lot about difficulties in following classes and mastering curricula. This is not surprising given that previous studies have concluded that children with learning and behavioural difficulties prefer teachers who understand that a child’s inability to fully meet school requirements, such as maintaining attention in class, organising their school supplies and behaviours, and completing tasks, is generally not intentional (Elik et al., 2010). Additionally, if the attitudes of the student towards the relationship with the teacher is positive and if the student perceives the characteristics and expertise of the teacher to be of high quality, the student will be intrinsically motivated to participate in class, making it a two-way connection (Bratanić and Marišić, 2005). Dvorski and colleagues (2018) highlighted social acceptance as a significant protective factor in achieving positive educational outcomes among adolescents with ADHD (as measured by school grades that were higher by a full point), especially for those with predominantly inattentive type ADHD. In another study involving children with ADHD aged 8-11 years, Maastoras and colleagues (2018) reported a significant association between social support and self-perception (including self-esteem, resilience, as well as the specific experience of school competence and social acceptance).

In the present study, at the time of data collection, seven boys had the support of a teaching assistant. These boys emphasised the ways in which the assistant offered support: “with the task, when I’m in trouble” (D2/8); “In dealing with things. If I don’t know something, she helps me” (D9/10) and that this “means a lot” (D1/10). In the following example, the boy described his relationship with his teaching assistant: the fact that he called her “my assistant” reflects his understanding that she was assigned only to him. In addition to helping him with school assignments, the boy said that he socialised most often with her, that is, that he “would only like to hang out with her”. While it might be assumed that the assistant directs him to socialise with peers in
Pomoćnica u nastavi u pričama dječaka ima manje istaknutu ulogu od učiteljice; dječaci ne naglašavaju samoinicijativno taj oblik podrške te se stječe dojam da je ta pomoć supitnija, nenametljiva (nevidljiva?) ili da ne žele isticati kako su oni jedini u razredu koji dobivaju dodatnu pomoć. Međutim na izravno pitanje da opisu svoj odnos s pomoćnicom, svi koji imaju to iskustvo govore u afirmativnim terminima (dobr (D1/10, D2/8, D3/8), brižna (D1/10), izvrsna (D2/8)).

Dječaci koji imaju iskustvo suradnje s pomoćnicom u nastavi otvaraju pitanje dovoljnog broja sati stručne podrške koje imaju na raspolaganju te izmjenu pomoćnika iz godine u godinu, pri čemu tek uspostave odnos i onda odlaze. Nestabilnost i nedosljednost podrške stavlja ih u situaciju opetovane adaptacije koja im troši energiju namijenjenu obrazovnim opterećenjima. Sljedeći dječak govori o situaciji u kojoj se svake godine pomoćnici u nastavi mijenjaju. Dijete uspije uspostaviti odnos s pomoćnicom tijekom jedne školske godine i već iduće godine ponovno prolazi proces prilagodbe na novu osobu. Stoga ovaj dječak govori kako bi rado da mu se, kad već mora mijenjati pomoćnika, ponovno vrati pomoćnik kojeg već otprije poznaje (On je već bio asistent prije, D3/8). Jednako tako dječaci progovaraju i o tomu kako pomoćnica u nastavi nije prisутna na svakom satu koliko je njemu potrebno. Govori kako mu je važno da ga netko prati dok uči, odnosno da mu razjasni gradivo ili zadatak koje ne razumije (Kad nešto ne znam uvijek mi objasni; D14/9). Međutim više puta naglašava kako ona ne dode svaki put kad je njemu potrebno. Pitanja dostupnosti i opsega podrške koju bi trebali pružati pomoćnici u nastavi izlaze iz ovog teksta, no imajući u vidu buduću istraživanja, nužno je uvažiti iskustvo djece kao korisnika te usluge i voditi se njihovim potrebama, preusmjeravajući organizacijske, financijske, socijalno-političke i druge resurse u službu djece.

Što bi dječaci s ADHD-om željeli promijeniti u svojoj školskoj svakodnevici

Dječaci su imali različite ideje o promjenama koje bi voljeli vidjeti u školi. Najviše se dječaka izjasnilo kako bi voljeli da se ukine domaća class (when he says, “But she doesn’t want to hang out with me anymore”), it seems that, as a result of the challenges he experiences in socialising with peers, the assistant is the only person who he considers as friendly and ready to help and with whom he feels safe. This focus on a single person, and an adult in particular, as a trusted person who accepts him illustrates this child’s difficulties in socialisation within the class.

“She is very good to me. She helps me when I am in trouble.”

How much does that mean to you?

A lot. It means a lot to me.” (D2/8)

Very few studies have examined the experiences of children, as well as their attitudes or perceptions of teaching assistants. Such research is rare and deals mainly with the perceptions of other teachers, parents, or the assistants themselves (e.g., Dasović, 2016; Romstein and Velki, 2017; Ćurić, 2018; Jedud, 2019). In the boys’ narratives, the teaching assistant has a less prominent role than the teacher; the boys do not initiate or emphasise this form of support and one gets the impression that this form of support is more subtle and unobtrusive (invisible?), or that they do not want to emphasise that they are the only ones in the class who receive additional help. However, when asked directly to describe their relationship with an assistant, children who have had such an experience speak in affirmative terms (“kind” (D1/10, D2/8, D3/8), “caring” (D1/10), “excellent” (D2/8)).

Those receiving assistance also raise questions about the number of hours of professional support they receive and being assigned to new assistants every year. The instability and inconsistency of support places them in a situation of repeated adaptation that consumes energy, otherwise intended for educational workloads. Another boy talked about the annual replacement of teaching assistants where, after managing to establish a relationship with an assistant over the school year, he had to repeat this process and adjust to another new person the following year. This boy expressed a wish that he would like to be assigned to his former assistant for the next few years, because he already knew him (“He was already an assistant before”, D3/8). The boys also talked about how the teaching assistant was not present in every class in which they needed support. One boy reported that it was important that someone supported him.
Andreja Bartolac: “Mislim, realno, tko voli školu?”: Iskustvo školovanja osnovnoškolskih dječaka s ADHD-om. / “I mean, really, who likes...
dobro, lijepo, pravědno – da sve to maknem i stavit da sve to bude obrnuto – da bude lijepo, dobro i pravědno. To bi mi bilo jako lijepo. (D13/9)

Osim nastavnog rasterećenja, dječaci priželjkuju poboljšanje uvjeta u okolini koji im otežavaju uključivanje u različite aktivnosti, kao što je održavanje pozornosti na školskom satu. Prvenstveno im smetaju različiti distraktori, kao što je buka djece ili vikanje učiteljice u razredu, kad je svega previše, natrpano, ali i mikroklimatski uvjeti u učionici (prevruće, nema zraka).

Dječaci predlažu i promjene u prostoru učenja te u načinu poučavanja koje bi po njihovom mišljenju dovele do ugodnijeg iskustva školovanja: više terenske nastave (D10/11), učenje kroz igru i zabavu (D11/11), kasniji početak nastave (D12/9), korištenje tehnologije (D10/11) i ugodnij školski prostor (D12/9, D14/9). Nešto stariji školari s ADHD-om u istraživanju Wiener i Daniels (2016) na sličan način nabrajaju ideje koje bi po njihovom mišljenju olakšali školovanje, primjerice: smanjenje distrakcija u učionici (buka, vizualni distraktori), manji razredni odjeli, jasno naznačene i istaknute važne upute, njima primjerenije metode poučavanja (aktivno, praktično, zabavno, uključujuće, više prilike za raspravu), više vizualnih pomagala i tehnologije, učenje kroz igru, korištenje edukativnih videomaterijala i terenske nastave.

Obuhvatno gledajući, dječaci priželjkuju svijet koji bi bio više po njihovoj mjeri; više naklonjen njihovim interesima, potrebama i načinu funkcioniranja, pravědno i uključiv, a manje naporno, kontrolirajući i ugrožavajući. Iz ovih rezultata saznajemo da je škola važna za osjećaj dobrobiti ovih dječaka, u njoj traže prihvaćenost te učenje koje im je manje naporno, ali koje hrani njihovu znatiželju i tako potiče na sudjelovanje.

Ograničenja istraživanja

Ograničenja ovog istraživanja ogledaju se u samoselekciji sudionika po principu dobrovoljnosti sudjelovanja, što proizlazi iz odabrane kvalitativne istraživačke metodologije te kriterija za odabir sudionika. Iako ne možemo govoriti o generalizaciji podataka za populaciju (što ova metoda ni ne nudi), zbog broja uključenih sudionika, principa Another boy identified other areas that were difficult for him and that he would like to magically change, such as time orientation (mental clock), how to remain silent when necessary (or how not to give impulsive, reckless answers, recognise in which social situations it is better to keep one’s thoughts to oneself), or to better understand mathematical tasks.

“What else would you change at school?

That there is no (school)... that I am smart. To know everything in the world. That without a watch on my hand I know exactly what time it is. Yes, and when someone asks me something, I tell him - and that it is true. Or I keep quiet about it. I mean, I know a lot, but I don’t know some things. For example, decimals. I don’t understand them.” (D7/9)

Better social relationships and a more pleasant school climate were also desired by another boy who would like school to become a more pleasant and socially just place.

“ I would like everyone to be happy, that learning or anything is not difficult for anyone. That everything in school that is not very good, nice, fair - to remove it all, and put it all in reverse - to be nice, good and fair. That would be very nice to me.” (D13/9)

In addition to relief from learning, the boys expressed a wish to improve the conditions in the environment that made it difficult for them to engage in various activities, such as maintaining attention in school. They mentioned that they were primarily bothered by various distractors, such as the noise that other children made or the teacher “raising her voice” in the classroom, when there was “too much of everything”, when it was “too crowded”, and the microclimatic conditions in the classroom (“too hot, no air”). The boys also suggested changes to the classroom design and teaching methods that, in their opinion, would lead to a more pleasant school experience: “more field trips” (D10/11), “learning through play and fun” (D11/11), “starting classes later” (D12/9), “use of technology” (D10/11), and a “more comfortable school space” (D12/9, D14/9). Wiener and Daniels (2016) showed that children with ADHD who were slightly older than those in the present study identified similar ideas that they believed would facilitate a better school experience, for example, reduction of classroom distractions (noise, visual distractors), smaller classrooms, clearly indicated and
Andreja Bartolac: “Mislim, realno, tko voli školu?”: Iskustvo školovanja osnovnoškolskih dječaka s ADHD-om. / “I mean, really, who likes...
ćih zadaća predstavlja im poseban izazov i svi dječaci ističu želju ukidanja te obveze. Dječaci imaju iskustvo slabijeg uspjeha u školskim aktivnostima u odnosu na vršnjake te usvajaju vjerovanje da su nedovoljno kognitivno sposobni. Dječaci imaju iskustvo slabijeg uspjeha u školskim aktivnostima u odnosu na vršnjake te usvajaju vjerovanje da su nedovoljno kognitivno sposobni. Imaju osjećaj manjka kontrole nad svojim ponašanjem, govore da se tako ne ponašaju namjerno, a pritom se osjećaju zbunjeno, smeteno, nedoraslo zadatku, zabrinuto, dezorientirano, ugroženo te frustrirano jer smatraju da im nitko ne vjeruje.

Na konotativnoj razini otkriva se njihova nezrelost, naivnost, ranjivost i preplavljenost koje proizlaze iz osjećaja manjka kontrole nad svojim životom, svojim postupcima i reakcijama okoline. U tim situacijama oni ne nalaze snagu za aktivno suočavanje s tim izazovima, žele odustati, nestati, izbjeći napornu svakodnevnicu.

Dječaci prepoznaju podršku koju u školi dobivaju od učiteljica i pomoćnice u nastavi. U kontekstu te pomoći najvažniji im je topao i podržavajući odnos i prihvaćanje, a tek na sljedećem mjestu praktična pomoć pri svladavanju gradiva ili obveza. U smislu participativnosti djece u oblikovanju obrazovnih politika i usluga i ovo istraživanje potvrđuje da djeca prepoznaju i razumiju svoje potrebe te znaju jasno identificirati područja potrebne podrške. Primjerice dječaci sami prepoznaju različite oblike podrške koji bi njima pomogli u lakšem i uspješnijem svladavanju obrazovnih zahtjeva kao što su: individualna pomoć druge odrasle osobe, smanjivanje količine zadataka u pismenom testu znanja, jasne upute za rad te uklanjanje ili smanjivanje distraktora iz okoline.

Zaključno, etiketiranje od strane odraslih uz internalizaciju tih poruka te nesrazmjernost među djete povijest i školske uspješnosti narušavaju djetetovo samopoimanje te osjećaj samopouzdanja. Važno je istaknuti da dječaci u ovom istraživanju ne znaju da je ADHD razlog njihove neurorazličitosti, što otvara pitanje razumijevanja vlastitog ponašanja, identiteta i samozastupanja temeljenog na informiranosti. Rezultati ovog istraživanja upozoravaju da su djeca s ADHD-om u posebnom psihosocijalnom riziku te da se njihova iskustva moraju uvažiti kako bi imali jednake šanse za ostvarenje školskog uspjeha, ali i razvoj osobni i socijalni razvoj.

**CONCLUSION**

Consistent with the objectives of this study, we presented the everyday school experiences of 14 elementary school-aged boys with ADHD. Our findings show that these boys face different challenges in school and that this area of their lives significantly shapes all their other life experiences and perceptions. The difficulties associated with ADHD are most pronounced in activities that require good organisation skills, perseverance, flexible attention, and working memory; unfortunately, these are all competencies required for school activities. In school, these boys faced challenges in following and understanding instructions, reading, counting, arithmetic, writing, and learning, but also in organisation and taking care of their belongings (i.e., forgetting school supplies). Doing homework was a special challenge and the boys emphasised the desire to abolish this obligation. They experienced less success with school-related activities than their peers, and adopted the belief that they were not cognitively capable of achieving success at school. They lacked a sense of control over their behaviour, and reported that they did not behave in a certain way “intentionally”, and at the same time felt confused, muddled, out of order, worried, disoriented, threatened, and frustrated because they think that no one trusts them. Their immaturity, naivety, vulnerability and sense of being overwhelmed were revealed as a result of a sense of a lack of control over their lives, their actions, and the reactions of the environment. In these situations, they were unable to find the strength to actively face these challenges, and wanted to give up, disappear, or avoid their strenuous everyday life.

The boys recognised the support they received at school from the teachers and teaching assistants. All things considered, the most important aspect of this support, from the boys’ perspectives, was a
Andreja Bartolac: “Mislim, realno, tko voli školu?”: Iskustvo školovanja osnovnoškolskih dječaka s ADHD-om. / “I mean, really, who likes... warm, encouraging attitude and acceptance from others. This was more important than practical help in managing the school curriculum or responsibilities. In terms of their participation in shaping educational policies and services, this study confirms that children recognise and understand their needs and know how to clearly identify areas of support that will improve their daily life. For example, the boys identified and describe different forms of support that would help them more readily and successfully master educational requirements, such as individual help from another adult, reducing the number of tasks in a written test, clear work instructions, and removing or reducing distractors from the school environment.

In conclusion, the negative labelling by adults, as well as the internalisation of these messages/labels can cause a discrepancy between the child’s potential and school performance, thus impairing the child’s self-perception and self-confidence. It is important to point out that the boys who participated in this study did not know that ADHD was the reason for their neurodiversity, which questions their understanding of their own behaviour, their identity, and their readiness for informed self-advocacy. The results of this study raise a serious concern that children with ADHD are at significant psycho-social risk and that their experiences must be considered in order to enable equal chances for school success, but also for developmentally appropriate personal and social development.

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