

Slobodno vrijeme u prevenciji problema u ponašanju djece i mladih

/ Leisure time in the Prevention of Problematic Behavior of Children and Adolescents

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Problemi u ponašanju djece i mladih razvijaju se u interakciji više različitih rizičnih i zaštitnih čimbenika koji se nalaze u pojedincu i njegovom okruženju. Slobodno vrijeme dio je mikrosustava pojedinca te kao takvo ima snažan odgojno-formativni i prevencijski potencijal. Ovaj rad ima za cilj dati pregled pojedinih teorija i recentnih empirijskih spoznaja o ulozi slobodnog vremena u suvremenoj prevencijskoj praksi. U radu se analizira organizacija i implementacija aktivnosti slobodnog vremena te njihov utjecaj na djecu, napose u dijelu strukturiranih i nestrukturiranih aktivnosti. Daju se neki od primjera kvalitetne prakse iz zapadnih zemalja te se kritički osvrće na hrvatsku praksu u ovom području. Navedene spoznaje stavljuju se u odnos sa suvremenom prevencijskom znanosti i pripadajućim empirijskim rezultatima koji idu u prilog važnosti slobodnog vremena u prevencijskim intervencijama.

/ Problems in the behavior of children and young people develop in the interaction of several different risk and protective factors found both in individuals and their environment. Leisure time is part of an individual's microsystem and as such has a strong educational and preventive potential. This paper aims to provide an overview of certain theories and recent empirical knowledge about the role of leisure time in modern prevention practice. The paper analyzes the organization and implementation of leisure activities and their impact on children, especially in the part of structured and unstructured activities. Some examples of quality practice from Western countries are given, and Croatian practice in this area is critically reviewed. The aforementioned knowledge is put into relation with modern prevention science and associated empirical results that support the importance of leisure time in prevention interventions.

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Djetetov razvoj uvijek se odvija u nekom kontekstu, okruženju pri čemu je dijete aktivna i dinamična figura koja na to okruženje utječe i mijenja ga (1). Riječ je o dvosmjernom, recipročnom odnosu djeteta i okruženja. Jedno od važnih okruženja koje po ekološko sustavnoj teoriji pripada mikrosustavu djeteta, jer neposredno utječe i važno je za djetetov razvoj jest - slobodno vrijeme. Postoji snažan konsenzus znanstvenika i praktičara o važnosti istraživanja slobodnoga vremena djece i mladih s obzirom na to da je upravo slobodno vrijeme jedan od važnih čimbenika odrastanja koji utječe na cijelokupan razvoj djeteta (2, 3, 4). Međutim, poimanje slobodnoga vremena razlikovalo se tijekom povijesti i njegova uloga uvijek se preispitivala kroz njegovu korisnost i/ili štetnost. Dijete slobodno vrijeme može provoditi na različite načine koji mogu pozitivno utjecati na njegovo fizičko i mentalno zdravlje. Pozitivnim korištenjem slobodnog vremena reduciraju se rizični, a jačaju zaštitni čimbenici (5). Način i organizacija provođenja slobodnog vremena, ali i njegovo poimanje razlikuju se i kulturno. Iz toga proizlazi važnost istraživanja slobodnoga vremena različitih kultura kako bi se do bila šira i jasnija slika čimbenika zaštite i rizika koji proizlaze iz područja slobodnoga vremena. Veliki broj znanstvenika diljem svijeta (4-7), a raste i broj onih u Hrvatskoj (8,9) uvidjeli su potencijal slobodnog vremena u području prevencije problema u ponašanju. Ovaj rad želi teorijski doprinijeti hrvatskoj prevencijskoj literaturi te dati pregled pojedinih teorija, klasifikacija i domena slobodnog vremena, kao i recentnih empirijskih spoznaja o ulozi slobodnog vremena u prevencijskoj praksi.

SLOBODNO VRIJEME

Slobodno vrijeme kao ideja, koncept, odgojni konstrukt plijeni pažnju filozofa, sociologa, psihologa, pedagoga, socijalnih pedagoga

INTRODUCTION

A child's development always takes place in a context, an environment where the child is an active and dynamic figure that influences and changes that environment (1). It is a two-way, reciprocal relationship between the child and the environment. One of the important environments that, according to the ecological system theory, belongs to the child's microsystem, because it directly influences and is important for the child's development, is leisure time. There is a strong consensus among scientists and practitioners on the importance of researching children's and youth's leisure time, given that it is one of the important factors of growing up that affects the overall development of a child (2, 3, 4). However, the concept of leisure time has differed throughout history and its role has always been reexamined through its usefulness and/or harm. A child can spend his or her leisure time in different ways that can positively affect his or her physical and mental health. Positive use of leisure time reduces risk factors and strengthens protective factors (5). The way and organization of spending leisure time, as well as its concept, differ culturally. From this stems the importance of researching the leisure time of different cultures in order to get a broader and clearer picture of the protection factors and risks arising from that area. A large number of scientists around the world (4-7), and a growing number of those in Croatia (8,9) have seen the potential of leisure time in the field of behavioral problem prevention. This paper aims to theoretically contribute to Croatian prevention literature and provide an overview of individual theories, classifications, and domains of leisure time, as well as recent empirical findings on the role of leisure time in prevention practice.

LEISURE TIME

Leisure time as an idea, concept, or educational construct has been attracting the attention of philosophers, sociologists, psychologists,

i drugih struka već dugo vremena. Iako se u ovom radu neće se davati povijesni prikaz poimanja slobodnog vremena, važno je nglasiti kako su postojala razdoblja u kojima se cijenio isključivo rad kao vrijedno ljudsko djelovanje, dok se slobodno vrijeme čak smatralo moralno dvojbenim (10). Percepција slobodnog vremena mijenjala se tijekom povijesti, od nepoželjnog do izuzetno važnog dijela ljudskog života da bi se krajem 20. stoljeća i tijekom 21. stoljeća sve se više počeo istraživati i njegov preventivni potencijal, odnosno njegov doprinos jačanju kapaciteta i dobrobiti pojedinca (11).

Shodno tome, postoje brojne definicije slobodnog vremena koje su se kroz povijest mijenjale sukladno društvenoj percepцији slobodnog vremena. Slobodno vrijeme uglavnom je stavljano u suodnos s radom i radno-formalnim obvezama. Navedene promjene percepцијe i poimanja slobodnog vremena podijeljene su unutar tri teorije: teorija kontrasta, teorija proporcije i teorija neutralnosti (12). Istraživanja usmjerena na promatranje slobodnog vremena izvan odnosa s radom pripada teoriji kontrasta. Kontrastna teorija smatra kako su rad i slobodno vrijeme ravnoteža kod čovjeka, dok teorija proporcija slobodno vrijeme objasnjava povezivanjem sličnosti rada i slobodnog vremena, bez isključivog odvajanja. Smjer u kojem je slobodno vrijeme kroz povijest bilo istraživano kao koncept koji nema utjecaj na rad spada u teoriju neutralnosti, smatrajući kako rad i slobodno vrijeme imaju svoje kvalitete.

Suvremene klasifikacije poimanja slobodnog vremena uglavnom su se grupirale na „pozitivne“ i „negativne“ definicije (12). Negativne definicije slobodno vrijeme promatraju kao konstrukt koji podrazumijeva vrijeme izvan radnih obveza, hranjenja, spavanja, vožnje do posla i slično. U poimanje slobodnog vremena uzima se vrijeme koje je izuzeto od navedenoga. Dalnjim istraživanjem slobodnog

pedagogues, social pedagogues, and other professions for a long time. Although this paper will not provide a historical account of the concept of free time, it is important to emphasize that there were periods in which work was valued exclusively as a valuable human activity, while leisure time was even considered morally dubious (10). The perception of leisure time changed throughout history, from an undesirable to an extremely important part of human life, so that at the end of the 20th century and during the 21st century, its preventive potential, i.e., its contribution to strengthening the capacities and well-being of the individual, began to be increasingly explored (11).

Consequently, there are numerous definitions of leisure time that have changed throughout history according to the social perception of leisure time. Leisure time is mostly placed in correlation with work and work-formal obligations. The mentioned changes in the perception and concept of leisure time are divided into three theories: the theory of contrast, the theory of proportion and the theory of neutrality (12). Research focused on the observation of leisure time outside the relationship with work belongs to the contrast theory. The contrast theory considers that work and leisure time are in equilibrium in a person, while the proportion theory explains leisure time by connecting the similarities of work and leisure time, without exclusive separation. The angle from which leisure time has been explored throughout history as a concept with no influence on work belongs to the theory of neutrality, where work and leisure time are considered to have qualities on their own.

Modern classifications of the concept of leisure time are mainly grouped into “positive” and “negative” definitions (12). Negative definitions view leisure time as a construct that includes time outside of work duties, eating, sleeping, driving to work, and the like. The

vremena znanstvenici su uvidjeli kako se slobodno vrijeme ne može promatrati isključivo kao vrijeme u kojem pojedinac nema nikakvu obvezu, dakle, kroz „negativističku perspektivu“ odvojivu od rada. Suvremeni pristup tzv. negativno definiranje zamjenjuje pozitivnim. Ono se odnosi na aktivnosti koje pojedinac provodi u skladu s vlastitim željama. Aktivnosti slobodnog vremena smatraju se prostorom napretka za pojedinca te se dovode u suodnos s radom. Aktivnosti koje su obuhvaćene tzv. pozitivnim definiranjem slobodnog vremena ne odvajaju se od rada i formalnih obveza pojedinca nego istražuju njihov utjecaj, kako na poslovni i formalni aspekt ljudskog života, tako i na cjelokupno zadovoljstvo životom (13).

Osim toga, slobodno vrijeme koncept je podložan subjektivnoj percepciji pojedinca. Caldwell i Faulk (14) navode kako slobodno vrijeme, kao subjektivan koncept pojedinca, sačinjavaju sljedeće domene:

- Osobno slobodno vrijeme (engl. *personal leisure*),
- Društveno slobodno vrijeme (engl. *social leisure*) i
- Ekološko slobodno vrijeme (engl. *ecological leisure*).

Domene se, kako navode autorice, odnose se na ulogu slobodnoga vremena u životu pojedinca. Osobno slobodno vrijeme (engl. *personal leisure*) svodi na intrapersonalnu razinu, to jest način na koji pojedinac proživljava i doživljava aktivnost u kojoj provodi vrijeme. Istraživanja navedene domene pokazala su utjecaj na subjektivnu dobrobit, akademska postignuća, emocionalne kompetencije i vještine povezane s donošenjem odluka (15-17). Ona se pojavljuje u društvenom slobodnom vremenu (engl. *social leisure*), ali uz kombinaciju s interakcijskom domenom slobodnog vremena. Unutar domene društvenog slobodnog vremena naglasak je na interakciju pojedinca s grupom. Istraživanja su

concept of leisure time includes time that is excluded from the above. By further researching free time, scientists realized that it cannot be viewed exclusively as a time in which an individual has no obligation, therefore, through a “negativistic perspective” separable from work. The modern approach replaces the so-called negative definition with a positive one. This refers to the activities that an individual carries out in accordance with his or her own wishes. Leisure activities are considered a space of progress for the individual and are brought into relation with work. Activities that are included in the so-called positive definition of leisure time are not separate from the work and formal obligations of the individual, but they rather investigate their influence both on the business and formal aspects of human life, and on the overall satisfaction with life (13).

In addition, the leisure time concept is subject to the subjective perception of the individual. Caldwell and Faulk (14) state that leisure time, as a subjective concept of an individual, consists of the following domains:

- Personal leisure,
- Social leisure and
- Ecological leisure.

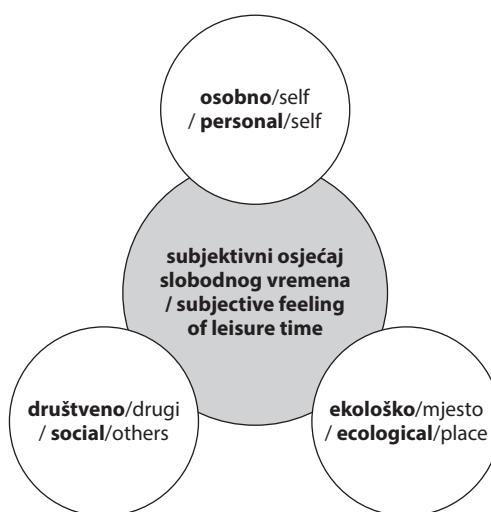
The domains, as stated by the authors, refer to the role of leisure time in an individual's life. Personal leisure is brought down to the intrapersonal level, that is, the way in which individuals live and experience the activity in which they spend their time. Research in the mentioned domain has shown an impact on subjective well-being, academic achievements, emotional competence, and decision-making skills (15-17). It appears in social leisure, but in combination with the interaction domain of leisure time. Within the domain of social leisure, the emphasis is on the interaction of the individual with the group. Research has shown that its influence is visible in the development

pokazala kako je njezin utjecaj vidljiv u razvoju osjećaja pripadnosti i stvaranju novih odnosa s vršnjacima (18,17). Ekološko slobodno vrijeme (engl. *ecological leisure*) odnosi se na mjesto provođenja aktivnosti za koje se smatra da ima utjecaj na sam odabir aktivnosti (19). Navedeni utjecaji svake pojedine domene važni su pokazatelji zaštite unutar slobodnog vremena. Iako se navedene domene promatraju zasebno, u slučaju istraživanja utjecaja aktivnosti slobodnoga vremena na djecu i mlade, preporuka je navedene domene promatrati kao cjelinu (slika 1.). Na takav način dobit će se bolji uvid u uzroke, posljedice i utjecaj slobodnog vremena općenito (20).

Unatoč rastućem broju istraživanja slobodnog vremena i njegovih aktivnosti znanstvenici nemaju usuglašenu definiciju koja bi bila univerzalna za sve znanstvene discipline i društvene aspekte koji su prožeti slobodnim vremenom (21,22). Suvremena paradigma slobodnog vremena u pedagoškim znanstvenim krugovima odnosi se na vrijeme provedeno u aktivnostima koje je pojedinac izabrao slobodno, prema vlastitoj želji (23). Za potrebe ovog rada, konstrukt slobodnog vremena promatrati će se uvažavajući potonju definiciju.

of a sense of belonging and the creation of new relationships with peers (18,17). Ecological leisure refers to the place where activities are carried out, which is considered to have an influence on the very choice of activities (19). The listed influences of each individual domain are important indicators of protection within leisure time. Although the mentioned domains are observed separately, in the case of research on the impact of leisure activities on children and young people, it is recommended to observe the mentioned domains as a whole (Figure 1). In this way, a better insight into the causes, consequences and impact of leisure time in general can be obtained (20).

Despite the growing number of research on leisure time and its activities, scientists do not have an agreed definition that would be universal for all scientific disciplines and social aspects that are imbued with leisure time (21, 22). The contemporary paradigm of leisure time in pedagogical scientific circles refers to the time spent in activities that individuals chose freely, according to their own desire (23). For the purposes of this paper, the construct of leisure time will be observed respecting the latter definition.



SLIKA 1. Prikaz sheme slobodnog vremena kao subjektivnog doživljaja uz njegove domene (14)
FIGURE 1. Presentation of the scheme of leisure time as a subjective experience along with its domains (14)

Preventivni potencijal slobodnog vremena

Polazeći od Bronfenbrennerove teorije ekološkog razvoja (1) slobodno vrijeme može se promatrati kao mikrosustav s obzirom na to da je riječ o okruženju koje ima neposredan utjecaj na pojedinca. Slobodno vrijeme kao dio ekološkog sustava „prostor“ je brojnih rizičnih i zaštitnih čimbenika za funkcioniranje pojedinca pa tako i za razvoj problema u ponašanju. Za potrebe ovog rada polazi se od definicije prema kojoj su problemi u ponašanju djece i mladih skupni naziv za sva ona ponašanja biološke, psihološke, pedagoške ili socijalne geneze, kojima dijete/mlada osoba značajno odstupa od ponašanja primjerenog dobi, situaciji, kulturnim i etničkim normama te štetno ili opasno utječe na sebe i/ili druge pojedince ili društvene sustave (24).

Istraživanja preventivnog potencijala koji se nalazi u slobodnom vremenu mogu se organizirati, uglavnom, u dva područja. Prvo područje obuhvaća recentna istraživanja u kojima se kvaliteta slobodnoga vremena promatra kao jedan od glavnih indikatora kvalitete života pojedinaca (25), te se istražuje povezanost aktivnosti slobodnog vremena s mentalnim zdravljem (26) i fizičkim zdravljem (27). Zbog svoje sveobuhvatnosti i velikog utjecaja na pojedinca, Kuykendall i suradnici (28) smatraju kako upravo slobodno vrijeme ima presudno značenje za životno zadovoljstvo. Smatraju kako slobodno vrijeme doprinosi kvaliteti života zbog intrinzične motivacije i slobode u izboru onoga čime se pojedinac želi baviti. Problem može nastati kada motivacija nije intrinzična nego pojedinac bira aktivnost zbog toga što nema ništa drugo raditi. U tom slučaju benefit aktivnosti može biti upitan te donijeti više štete nego koristi (29). Iz toga je razvidna važnost intrapersonalnog aspekta slobodnog vremena koji objašnjava kako je bitan doživljaj pojedine aktivnosti. Ako je ona percipirana kao dobra i poželjna, veći su bene-

The preventive potential of leisure time

Starting from Bronfenbrenner's theory of ecological development (1), leisure time can be viewed as a microsystem since it is an environment that has a direct impact on an individual. Leisure time, as a part of the ecological system, is the “space” of numerous risk and protective factors for the functioning of the individual and also for the development of behavioral problems. For the purposes of this paper, the starting point is the definition according to which problems in the behavior of children and young people are a collective name for all those behaviors of biological, psychological, pedagogical or social genesis, in which the child/young person deviates significantly from the behavior appropriate for the age, situation, cultural and ethnic norms and has a harmful or dangerous effect on oneself and/or other individuals or social systems (24).

Research into the preventive potential found in leisure time can be organized mainly in two areas. The first area includes recent research in which the quality of leisure time is viewed as one of the main indicators of the quality of life of individuals (25), and the connection between leisure time activities and mental (26) and physical health (27) is investigated. Due to its comprehensiveness and great influence on the individual, Kuykendall, and colleagues (28) believe that leisure time has a crucial meaning for life satisfaction. They believe that leisure time contributes to the quality of life due to intrinsic motivation and freedom in choosing what the individual wants to do. The problem can arise when the motivation is not intrinsic, but the individual chooses the activity because there is nothing else to do. In this case, the benefit of the activity may be questionable and bring more harm than good (29). This shows the importance of the intrapersonal aspect of leisure time, which explains how important the experience of a particular activity is. If it is per-

fiti pojedinaca (14). Rastući je broj empirijskih istraživanja koji konstrukt slobodnog vremena promatraju kao model pozitivnog razvoja mladih potvrđujući povezanost kvalitetnog i konstruktivnog provođenja slobodnog vremena s pozitivnim razvojnim ishodima kod djece i mladih (8,9,30,31).

U drugom području nalaze se istraživanja slobodnog vremena koja su više fokusirana na selektivnu i indiciranu razinu prevencije. Riječ je o empirijskim istraživanjima koja aktivnosti slobodnog vremena promatraju u odnosu na stres (32), probleme u ponašanju (33) i/ili korištenje opojnih sredstava (34).

Bez obzira o kakvoj je perspektivi riječ znanstvenici su složni da se u „okruženju“ slobodnog vremena nalaze brojni rizični i zaštitni čimbenici koji imaju važnu ulogu za razvojne ishode pojedinaca (35,36). Polazišna točka većine istraživanja prevencijskog potencijala slobodnog vremena jest razina strukturiranosti aktivnosti slobodnog vremena pa se tako razlikuju nestrukturirane i strukturirane aktivnosti slobodnog vremena (33).

Nestrukturirane aktivnosti slobodnog vremena odnose se na provođenje vremena bez točnog plana i rasporeda u kojem su djeca u velikom broju slučajeva bez nadzora. Primjeri takvih aktivnosti jesu druženje s prijateljima, gledanje TV-a, igranje virtualnih igara i slično. Istražujući utjecaj nestrukturiranih aktivnosti pokazalo se kako dječaci kod takve vrste aktivnosti pokazuju znakove problema u ponašanju i lošiji školski uspjeh (33). Do sličnih rezultata dolaze i Barnes i suradnici (37) koji naglašavaju kako djeca i mladi koja nisu uključena u aktivnosti pod nadzorom imaju veću mogućnost razvoja problema u ponašanju kao i korištenje opijata. Druženja s vršnjacima mogu biti pozitivna kod stvaranja boljih socijalnih vještina, ali sa starijom dobi djece dolazi do povećanog broja druženja bez nadzora što predstavlja rizik za razvoj problema u ponašanju. Navedeno se posebno odnosi na povećan broj večernjih dru-

ceived as good and desirable, the benefits for individuals are greater (14). There is a growing number of empirical studies that look at the construct of leisure time as a model of positive youth development, confirming the connection between quality and constructive spending of leisure time and positive developmental outcomes in children and youth (8,9,30,31).

In the second area, there is research of leisure time that is more focused on the selective and indicated level of prevention. These are empirical studies that look at leisure activities in relation to stress (32), behavioral problems (33) and/or the use of intoxicants (34).

Regardless of the perspective, scientists agree that the “environment” of leisure time contains numerous risk and protective factors that play an important role in the developmental outcomes of individuals (35,36). The baseline of most research into the preventive potential of leisure time is the level of structuredness of leisure time activities, thus distinguishing between unstructured and structured leisure time activities (33).

Unstructured leisure time activities refer to spending time without an exact plan and schedule, in which children are often unsupervised. Examples of such activities are hanging out with friends, watching TV, playing virtual games and the like. Investigating the impact of unstructured activities, it was shown that boys with this type of activity show signs of behavioral problems and poorer school performance (33). Barnes and colleagues (37) have reached similar results, emphasizing that children and young people who are not involved in supervised activities have a greater possibility of developing behavioral problems and using opiates. Socializing with peers can be positive for creating better social skills, but as children get older, there is an increased number of unsupervised socializing, which poses a risk for the development of behavioral problems. The above refers in particular to the increased number of

ženja s vršnjacima koja mogu rezultirati ranim korištenjem opijata (29).

Mahoney, Stattin i Magnusson (38) proveli su longitudinalno istraživanje u trajanju od 20 godina u švedskim centrima za rekreaciju. Navedeni centri pružaju aktivnosti generalno niske razine strukturiranosti. Dokazali su kako polaznici kao grupa pokazuju antisocijalno ponašanje u usporedbi sa svojim vršnjacima koji nisu bili polaznici centara. Osim toga, zabilježena je veća vjerojatnost pojave kriminalnih radnji polaznika. Slične rezultate dobili su Badura i suradnici (39) na uzorku ($n=6935$) čeških učenika između 13 i 15 godina. Autori navode kako polaznici nestrukturiranih aktivnosti imaju veće izglede za pušenjem, opijanjem i ulaskom u nepoželjne seksualne odnose. Primjetili su kako nestrukturirano provođenje slobodnog vremena utječe na negativan školski uspjeh. Rezultati istraživanja Spillanea i sur. (40) slični su i jednako zabrinjavajući pokazujući povezanost nestrukturiranog provođenja slobodnoga vremena s povećanim konzumiranjem alkohola i marihuane. Koliko negativan učinak može imati nestrukturirano provođenje slobodnoga vremena pokazuje istraživanje Prieto-Damma i suradnika (41) koji objašnjavaju kako se pokazalo da djeca koja su polaznici strukturiranih aktivnosti ne bilježе pozitivne učinke zbog vremena koje provode nestrukturirano. Navedeno implicira kako unatoč visokoj razini strukturiranosti pojedinih aktivnosti one ne mogu pružiti dovoljnu otpornost naspram riziku koji se javlja u nestrukturiranom obliku provođenja vremena. Osgood i Anderson (42) navode kako nestrukturirane aktivnosti bez nadzora doprinose i razvoju maloljetničke delinkvencije.

Rijedak, pozitivan utjecaj nestrukturiranog slobodnog vremena, kako navode Abbot i Barber (43), razvidan je kod mladih konzumenata opojnih sredstava tako da hobijima i sportskim aktivnostima pronalaze i ostvaruju vlastiti identitet. Uz to, pozitivni aspekti vezani su i za

evening socializing with peers, which can result in the early use of opiates (29).

Mahoney, Stattin, and Magnusson (38) conducted a 20-year longitudinal study in Swedish recreation centers. The mentioned centers provide activities of a generally low level of structuredness. They proved that the participants as a group showed antisocial behavior compared to their peers who were not participants of the centers. In addition, a higher probability of occurrence of criminal acts of participants was recorded. Similar results were obtained by Badura et al. (39) on a sample ($n=6935$) of Czech students between the ages of 13 and 15. The authors stated that participants of unstructured activities were more likely to smoke, drink, and engage in unwanted sexual relations. They noticed how the unstructured spending of leisure time had a negative effect on school performance. The results of the research of Spillane et al. (40) are similar and equally worrisome, showing the association of unstructured leisure time with increased consumption of alcohol and marijuana. The research by Prieto-Damma et al. (41) shows how negative an effect the unstructured spending of leisure time can have, explaining how it was shown that children who attended structured activities did not experience positive effects due to the time they spent in an unstructured way. The above implies that despite the high level of structure of certain activities, these cannot provide sufficient resilience against the risk that occurs in an unstructured way of spending time. Osgood and Anderson (42) state that unstructured unsupervised activities also contribute to the development of juvenile delinquency.

The rare, positive influence of unstructured leisure time, as stated by Abbot and Barber (43), can be seen in young users of intoxicating substances, where they find and realize their own identity through hobbies and sports activities. In addition, positive aspects are also

sklapanje prijateljstava koji dovode do toga da se dijete osjeća sretno i zadovoljno (44).

Viša razina strukturiranosti aktivnosti slobodnog vremena podrazumijeva uključivanje mladih u sportska udruženja, klubove mladih, umjetničke radionice vođene pod stručnim nadzorom kvalificirane osobe, glazbene škole i slično. Takve aktivnosti većinom su organizirane kao izvanškolske aktivnosti. Upravo viša razina strukturiranosti prema navedenim istraživanjima ima ključnu ulogu u ostvarivanju preventivnog potencijala kao i osnaživanju pojedinca. Pokazalo se kako djeca i mladi u izvanškolskim aktivnostima pronalaze priliku za vlastiti izričaj i pronalazak identiteta što takve aktivnosti čini značajnima i vrijednima (45).

Poznato je kako je izvanškolske aktivnosti, ponajviše one sportskog karaktera, utječu na tjelesno zdravlje (46), no novija istraživanja doveđe izvanškolske aktivnosti u odnos s mentalnim zdravljem. Badura i sur. (39) navode kako njihovo istraživanje na uzorku adolescenata ukazuje kako aktivnosti više razine strukturiranosti doprinose njihovom fizičkom, ali i mentalnom zdravlju. Osim toga, organiziranim i kvalitetnim aktivnostima, izvan školskog okruženja, djeca i mladi uspijevaju graditi bolje odnose sa svojim vršnjacima.

Istraživanja strukturiranih aktivnosti slobodnog vremena u odnosu na korištenje alkohola pokazuju različite rezultate. U tom području uvijek se promatra i utjecaj vršnjaka s obzirom da konzumacija alkohola počinje u vršnjačkom okruženju (47,48). Sportaši uključeni u klubove i druge oblike sportskih udruženja imaju veći rizik za rano konzumiranje alkohola od ostatka vršnjaka koji se bave drugim izvanškolskim aktivnostima (49). S druge strane, aktivnosti slobodnog vremena više razine strukturiranosti, u ostalim istraživanjima, dobar su otpor prema korištenju alkohola kod djece od 12 i 13 godina (50). Iako participiranje u strukturiranim, stručno nadziranim sportskim aktivnostima pozitivno utječe na školski uspjeh i angažman

related to making friends that lead to the child feeling happy and satisfied (44).

A higher level of structuredness of leisure activities implies the inclusion of young people in sports associations, youth clubs, art workshops conducted under the expert supervision of a qualified person, music schools and the like. Such activities are mostly organized as extracurricular activities. It is precisely the higher level of structuring that, according to the mentioned research, plays a key role in realizing the preventive potential as well as empowering the individual. It has been shown that in extracurricular activities, children and young people find an opportunity for self-expression and finding their identity, which makes such activities significant and valuable (45).

It is known that extracurricular activities, especially those of a sporting nature, affect physical health (46), but recent research brings extracurricular activities into a relationship with mental health. Badura et al. (39) state that their research on a sample of adolescents indicates that activities with a higher level of structure contribute to their physical and mental health. In addition, through organized and high-quality activities outside the school environment, children and young people manage to build better relationships with their peers.

Studies of structured leisure activities in relation to alcohol use show mixed results. In this area, the influence of peers is always observed, given that alcohol consumption begins in a peer environment (47,48). Athletes involved in clubs and other forms of sports associations have a higher risk of early alcohol consumption than the rest of their peers who engage in other extracurricular activities (49). On the other hand, in other studies, leisure time activities with a higher level of structuredness show a good resilience in respect of the use of alcohol in children aged 12 and 13 (50). Although participation in structured, professionally supervised sports activities has a positive effect on

te borbu s pretilosti, ono nije univerzalna zaštita od ranog korištenja alkohola (51). Kada je u pitanju konzumacija duhana i marihuane kod djece i mlađih koji su uključeni u strukturirane slobodne aktivnosti, zabilježena je manja konzumacija (51,52).

Izvanškolske aktivnosti, kao strukturirano korištenje slobodnog vremena, doprinose razvoju socijalnih vještina polaznika strukturiranih aktivnosti (53-55). Istraživanje provedeno na velikom uzorku ispitanika (56) pokazalo je kako i intenzitet provođenja aktivnosti utječe na pojedinca. Strukturirane aktivnosti koje je pojedinac percipirao subjektivno pozitivnim nazvane su „zdravim slobodnim vremenom“. Vrijeme provedeno u aktivnostima u kojima se polaznika „pronalazi“, a provode se u grupi značajno je, jer je pripadnost grupi dodatan zaštitni čimbenik (57). Pojačavanjem takvih aktivnosti smanjivalo se konzumiranje alkohola, duhana i marihuane. Iz navedenoga je vidljiva i važnost slobodnoga odabira aktivnosti i domene osobnog slobodnog vremena koja se bazira na doživljaju aktivnosti pojedinca i njegovoj percepciji.

Prethodno navedena istraživanja pokazuju kako je strukturiranost aktivnosti slobodnog vremena važan element u prevenciji problema u ponašanju. Međutim, istraživanja pokazuju kako, kada je u pitanju prevencija, treba biti svjestan spolnih razlika djece i mlađih. Za dječake je značajno kako će njihovo uključivanje u sportska udruženja rezultirati dobrim odnosima s vršnjacima (58). Kod djevojčica, uključenost u strukturirane izvanškolske aktivnosti rezultira smanjenjem internaliziranih (15) i eksternaliziranih problema u ponašanju (59, 60) i razvijenijim socijalnim vještinama (61-63). Osim toga, djevojčice su sklonije provoditi vrijeme u nestrukturiranim aktivnostima kao što je druženje s vršnjacima. Dječaci vrijeme više provode na aktivnostima u kojima se mogu natjecati i strukturiраног su karaktera.

school performance and engagement and the fight against obesity, it is not a universal protection against early alcohol use (51). When it comes to the consumption of tobacco and marijuana among children and young people who are involved in structured leisure activities, lower consumption was recorded (51,52).

Extracurricular activities, as a structured way of spending leisure time, contribute to the development of social skills of participants of such activities (53-55). Research conducted on a large sample of respondents (56) showed that the intensity of carrying out the activity affected the individual. Structured activities that the individual perceived as subjectively positive were called “healthy leisure time”. The time spent in activities in which participants are “found”, and are spent in a group, is significant, because belonging to a group is an additional protective factor (57). By enhancing such activities, the consumption of alcohol, tobacco and marijuana decreased. The importance of free choice of activities and the domain of personal leisure time that is based on the individual's experience of the activity and their perception is evident from the above.

The aforementioned research shows that the structuredness of leisure activities is an important element in the prevention of behavioral problems. However, research shows that, when it comes to prevention, one should be aware of gender differences in children and young people. For boys, it is significant that their involvement in sports associations will result in good relations with their peers (58). In girls, involvement in structured extracurricular activities results in a reduction of internalized (15) and externalized behavioral problems (59, 60) and more developed social skills (61-63). In addition, girls are more likely to spend time in unstructured activities such as socializing with peers. Boys spend more time on activities in which they can compete, and which are of a structured character.

PREVENTIVNI PROGRAMI BAZIRANI NA AKTIVNOSTIMA SLOBODNOG VREMENA

Sve veći broj autora (14,64) ističe značenje prevencije problema u ponašanju u aktivnostima slobodnog vremena. Unatoč prepoznatoj važnosti rijetki su primjeri uspješnih preventivnih programa s naglaskom na aktivnosti slobodnog vremena (5). Kriterij odabira preventivnih programa i pozitivnih primjera iz prakse koji će biti prikazani u ovom poglavlju je korištenje slobodnog vremena kao ključnog alata za prevenciju problema u ponašanju. Jedan od takvih preventivnih programa jest *TimeWise: Taking Charge of Leisure Time* koji je razvila Caldwell (65), a ima za cilj prevenirati konzumaciju opijata kod djece i mladih. Unutar programa djecu se ne poučava o štetnosti opijata već o prepoznavanju vlastitih interesa za aktivnosti slobodnog vremena te kako organizirati vrijeme poslije škole. Aktivnosti programa usmjerene su jačanju samosvijesti, samoanalize i samoregulacije polaznika. Pored toga, osnažuju se kompetencije planiranja aktivnosti te donošenja odluka te osvještavanje motivacije za aktivnostima slobodnog vremena. Jedna od važnih tema jest reguliranje dosade s obzirom na to da se upravo dosada povezuje s mnogim rizičnim ponašanjima djece i mladih (66,67). Evaluacija programa pokazala je pozitivne rezultate u odnosu na smanjenje korištenja marihuane, alkohola, duhana (68). Program *TimeWise* kasnije je kulturološki prilagođen za djecu Afrike i kao takav implementiran u afričke škole. Pod nazivom *HealthWise South Africa* proveden je u afričkim školama s ciljem prevencije korištenja opijata kao i ranog ulaska u rizične seksualne odnose. Prevencijska intervencija se odvijala poučavanjem učenika o pravilnom korištenju slobodnog vremena (69). Rezultati su pokazali kako su djevojčice nakon programa uočile mogućnosti provođenja slobodnog vremena, dok su dječaci prestali s aktivnostima koje su radili zbog dosade (70). Također, rezultati su

PREVENTIVE PROGRAMS BASED ON LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES

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An increasing number of authors (14,64) emphasize the importance of prevention of behavioral problems using leisure activities. Despite the recognized importance, there are few examples of successful preventive programs with an emphasis on leisure activities (5). The criterion for selecting preventive programs and positive examples from practice that will be presented in this chapter is the use of leisure time as a key tool for the prevention of behavioral problems. One such preventive program is *TimeWise: Taking Charge of Leisure Time*, developed by Caldwell (65), aims to prevent opiate consumption in children and young people. Within the program, children are not taught about the harmful effects of opiates, but about recognizing their own interests in leisure activities and how to organize their time after school. The activities of the program are aimed at strengthening the self-awareness, self-analysis, and self-regulation of the participants. In addition, the competencies of activity planning and decision-making are strengthened, as well as awareness of the motivation for leisure activities. One of the important topics is the regulation of boredom, given that it is precisely boredom that is associated with many risky behaviors of children and young people (66,67). The evaluation of the program showed positive results in relation to the reduction of the use of marijuana, alcohol, and tobacco (68). The *TimeWise* program was later culturally adapted for African children and implemented as such in African schools. Under the name *HealthWise South Africa*, it was carried out in African schools with the aim of preventing the use of opiates as well as early entry into risky sexual relations. The preventive intervention took place by teaching students about the proper use of leisure time (69). The results showed that after the program, the girls noticed opportunities to spend their leisure time, while the boys stopped the activities they were doing

pokazali kako je važno percipiranje onoga čime se pojedinac želi baviti. Navedeno je u skladu s definicijom slobodnog vremena koja potiče slobodan odabir aktivnosti prema vlastitom interesu. Navedeno implicira kako je motivacija jedan od glavnih čimbenika koji doprinosi kasnijim benefitima koji proizlaze iz aktivnosti slobodnoga vremena.

Respektirajući rezultate postignute preventivnim programima, napose u dijelu prevencije ranog odustajanja od škole, konzumacije alkohola i opojnih sredstava, američka obrazovna politika započela je sa značajnjim stručnim i finansijskim ulaganjima u promociju slobodnog vremena, izvanškolskih aktivnosti, te općenito odgoja za slobodno vrijeme. Uviđajući važnost strukturiranosti slobodnog vremena započinju se financirati izvanškolske aktivnosti poslije nastave u školama, a na kraju svake školske godine evaluira se njihov utjecaj na svako pojedino dijete te njegov napredak od uključivanja u pojedinu aktivnost (71). Izvanškolske aktivnosti uklapaju se u cilj američkog javnog školstva koji promovira ulaganje u djecu i mlade kako bi odrasli u odgovorne i informirane pojedince s naglaskom na razvoj građanskih vrlina i moralnosti (72). To je jedan od pozitivnih primjera povezivanja škole i pružatelja izvanškolske aktivnosti, ali i prepoznavanje i upućivanje mlađih u strukturirani oblik provođenja slobodnog vremena.

U Republici Hrvatskoj, prema saznanjima autora ovog rada, ne postoji sveobuhvatna i sustavna praksa povezivanja škole i provoditelja izvanškolskih programa, kao predstavnika organizatora strukturiranih aktivnosti slobodnog vremena. Financiranje organizatora aktivnosti slobodnoga vremena provodi se projektnim natječajima različitih, uglavnom državnih, institucija. Za sportske aktivnosti slobodnog vremena najznačajnija su financiranja Središnjeg državnog ureda za sport (73). Cilj ovakvih natječaja jest osigurati finansijsku potporu udrugama i provoditeljima sportskih sadržaja

due to boredom (70). Also, the results showed how important it is to perceive what the individual wants to do. This is in accordance with the definition of leisure time, which encourages the free choice of activities according to one's own interest. The above implies that motivation is one of the main factors that contributes to later benefits resulting from leisure activities.

Respecting the results achieved by preventive programs, especially in the area of prevention of school dropout, consumption of alcohol and intoxicants, American educational policy began with significant professional and financial investments in the promotion of leisure time, extracurricular activities, and general education for leisure time. Recognizing the importance of structured leisure time, they began to finance extracurricular activities after classes in schools, and at the end of each school year, they began to evaluate the impact on each individual child and their progress from when they first joined a particular activity (71). Extracurricular activities fit into the goal of American public education that promotes investment in children and youth to grow into responsible and informed individuals with an emphasis on the development of civic virtues and morality (72). This is one of the positive examples of connecting the school and extracurricular activity providers, but also recognizing and directing young people to a structured way of spending their leisure time.

In the Republic of Croatia, according to the knowledge of the authors of this paper, there is no comprehensive and systematic practice of connecting the school and the implementers of extracurricular programs, as representatives of the organizers of structured leisure time activities. Financing of leisure activity organizers is carried out through project tenders of various, mostly state, institutions. For leisure time sports activities, the most significant funding is provided by the Central State Office for Sports (73). The goal of such tenders is to provide financial support to associations

za njihove aktivnosti, no ne navodi se teorijska podloga ili znanstveno uporište na osnovi kojeg se objavljaju navedeni natječaji. Osim sportsa, u Hrvatskoj djeluju i organizacije civilnog društva koje se bave prevencijom i tretmanom problema u ponašanju kroz aktivnosti slobodnog vremena. Primjeri takvih organizacija su udruženja Igra iz Zagreba (74) i udruženja Most iz Splita (75). Obje organizacije djeluju na različitim razinama prevencije problema u ponašanju (univerzalnoj, selektivnoj i indiciranoj) i promociji mentalnog zdravlja oslanjajući se, između ostalog, na aktivnosti slobodnog vremena. Njihovim korisnicima, osim psihološke podrške, osigurana je pomoć učenju, ali i različite aktivnosti slobodnog vremena (kreativne radionice, sportske, društvene igre, filmske i dr.).

Osim toga, u Hrvatskoj djeluje mnogo centara mladih koji svojim aktivnostima i projektima nude mladima mogućnost korištenja slobodnog vremena u aktivnom članstvu. Svi navedeni pozitivni primjeri djelovanja u prostoru korištenja slobodnog vremena djece i mladih fokusirani su na „pozitivističko“ korištenje slobodnog vremena isključujući tako vrijeme kao što su vožnja, hranjenje i sl. što je u skladu sa suvremenim poimanjima slobodnog vremena. Iako se direktno ne navode ključne domene (14) takve organizacije slobodnog vremena, iz njihovih programa vidljivo je kako one respektiraju osobno slobodno vrijeme kao dominantan aspekt polaznika te ekološko i socijalno slobodno vrijeme kao važne indirektne činitelje slobodnog vremena.

Iako se u ovom radu promatraju izvanškolske aktivnosti, za istaknuti je pozitivna promjena u poimanju slobodnog vremena u kontekstu odgojno-obrazovnog sustava u Republici Hrvatskoj. Reformom obrazovanja *Škola za život* donose se međupredmetne teme koje uz interakciju s učenicima, učitelji implementiraju unutar plana i programa predmeta koji poučavaju. Koncept slobodnog vremena za-

and providers of sports content for their activities, but the theoretical or scientific basis on which the said tenders are published is not specified. In addition to sports, there are civil society organizations in Croatia that deal with the prevention and treatment of behavioral problems through leisure activities. Examples of such organizations are the Igra association from Zagreb (74) and the Most association from Split (75). Both organizations operate at different levels of prevention of behavioral problems (universal, selective, and indicated) and promotion of mental health relying, among other things, on leisure activities. Their users, in addition to psychological support, are provided with learning assistance, as well as various leisure time activities (creative workshops, sports, board games, film, etc.).

In addition, there are many youth centers operating in Croatia, which, through their activities and projects, offer young people the opportunity to use their leisure time in active membership. All the mentioned positive examples of action in the field of children and young people's use of leisure time are focused on the “positivist” use of leisure time, excluding thus time such as driving, eating, etc., which is in line with modern concepts of leisure time. Although the key domains (14) of such leisure time organization are not directly specified, it is evident from their programs that these respect personal leisure time as a dominant aspect of participants, and ecological and social leisure time as important indirect factors of leisure time.

Although extracurricular activities are considered in this paper, it is worth highlighting a positive change in the concept of leisure time in the context of the educational system in the Republic of Croatia. The educational reform of *Schools for Life* introduces cross-curricular topics that teachers, by interacting with students, implement within the curriculum of the subjects they teach. The concept of leisure time is represented in the cross-curricular topic called *Health*

stupljen je u međupredmetnoj temi pod nazivom *Zdravlje* (76). Jedan od glavnih ciljeva navede međupredmetne teme jest „pružanje znanja i potpore učenicima za razumijevanje povezanosti tjelesnoga, mentalnoga i emocionalnoga zdravlja“ (76). Navedeni cilj ostvaruje se ishodima učenja koji su implementirani unutar nastavnih predmeta prema odabiru učitelja. Navedeno implicira kako se slobodno vrijeme prepoznaće kao važan čimbenik djetetovog razvoja i to ne samo za razvoj fizičkog nego i mentalnog zdravlja što je u skladu s trenutnim aktualnim istraživačkim interesima. Pozitivno je što se učenika na takav način može potaknuti za prepoznavanje vlastitih interesa što se u dosadašnjim istraživanjima, uz strukturiranost, pokazalo kao ključan aspekt koji donosi dobrobit za pojedinca (66). Može se smatrati kako se navedenim odgaja dijete za slobodno vrijeme što je sustavan početak stvaranja kulture slobodnog vremena. Iako je ovime slobodno vrijeme deklaratивno priznato kao važan čimbenik razvoja, postavlja se pitanje jesu li učitelji i praktičari sposobljeni za odgoj za slobodno vrijeme. Kako bi se konkretnije pristupilo odgoju za slobodnog vremena važna su istraživanja utjecaja aktivnosti slobodnog vremena, ali i općenito poznavanje čime se točno djeca u Hrvatskoj bave u sklopu svog slobodnog vremena. Prvi korak detektiranja aktivnosti djece proveden je u nekolici radova hrvatskih autora (8,76), no korak u kojem se istražuje njihov utjecaj i preventivni potencijal, prema saznanjima autora ovog rada, rijetko je istraživan. Strana istraživanja daju smjernice i poticaj hrvatskoj istraživačkoj praksi, ali treba imati na umu kako dobiveni rezultati preventivnog potencijala slobodnog vremena ne moraju nužno vrijediti za razlike zemlje i kulture (64). Respektirajući ključne domene osobnog doživljaja slobodnoga vremena (14) važna su daljnja istraživanja onoga što na području Hrvatske djeluje preventivno i osigurava poticajno okruženje slobodnog vremena za djecu i mlade.

(76). One of the main goals of the mentioned cross-curricular topic is “providing knowledge and support to students to understand the connection between physical, mental and emotional health” (76). The stated goal is achieved through learning outcomes that are implemented within the teaching subjects according to the teacher’s choice. The above implies that leisure time is recognized as an important factor in a child’s development, not only for the development of physical but also mental health, which is in line with current research interests. It is positive that in such a way students can be encouraged to recognize their own interests, which in previous research, along with structuredness, has been shown to be a key aspect that brings benefit to the individual (66). It can be considered that the aforementioned is used to raise a child for leisure time, which is the systematic beginning of creating a culture of leisure time. Although leisure time is hereby declaratively recognized as an important factor in development, the question arises as to whether teachers and practitioners are trained in education for leisure time. In order to take a more concrete approach to education for leisure time, it is important to research the impact of leisure time activities, as well as general knowledge of what exactly children in Croatia do in their leisure time. The first step in detecting children’s activities was carried out in several papers by Croatian authors (8,76), but the step in which their influence and preventive potential is investigated, according to the knowledge of the author of this work, has rarely been investigated. Foreign research provides guidance and encouragement to Croatian research practice, but it should be kept in mind that the obtained results of the preventive potential of leisure time are not necessarily valid for different countries and cultures (64). Respecting the key domains of the personal experience of leisure time (14), further research into what works preventively in Croatia and ensures a stimulating leisure time environment for children and young people is important.

Hrvatski i svjetski znanstvenici prepoznali su slobodno vrijeme kao važan čimbenik odgoja i obrazovanja. Međutim, značajna razlika leži u činjenici da se svjetska empirijska istraživanja već dugi niz godina usmjeravaju na prevencijski potencijal slobodnog vremena, njegovu važnost za dobrobit djece i mlađih, dok hrvatskih istraživanja ima malo i uglavnom su usmjerena otkrivanju onoga čime se djeca i mlađi bave u slobodnom vremenu (77). Istraživanjem onoga čime se djeca i mlađi bave u Hrvatskoj napravilo se važan korak prema dalnjem istraživanju i analizi rizika i zaštite koji proizlaze iz aktivnosti slobodnog vremena. Polazišna točka razgraničenja između zaštite i rizika, prednosti i nedostataka slobodnoga vremena jest razina strukturiranosti aktivnosti (33), ali i sama motivacija za aktivnošću (66). Kao što se može vidjeti iz rezultata istraživanja inozemnih autora, doprinos razvoju djeteta koji proizlazi iz aktivnosti slobodnog vremena jest višestruk. S druge strane, pokazalo se kako postoje i brojne aktivnosti, većinom nestrukturiranog načina provođenja slobodnog vremena koje su rizične za dijete. Kako se rezultati ne mogu generalizirati (64), važno je istraživati navedeno područje i na području Hrvatske kako bi bilo razvidno što pomaže djeci i mlađima u njihovom razvoju te što je otežavajući čimbenik razvoja. Također, bilo bi važno u budućim hrvatskim istraživanjima ispitati kako prevencijski programi koji se baziraju na slobodnom vremenu utječu na specifične probleme u ponašanju, primjerice, na ovisnička ponašanja ili druge eksternalizirane ili internalizirane probleme u ponašanju, ali i na osjećaj dobrobiti pojedinca. Poticaj za daljnja istraživanja o slobodnome vremenu daje i međupredmetna tema „Zdravlje“ donesena reformom hrvatskog školstva. Ona potiče poučavanje djece i mlađih pravilnom korištenju slobodnog vremena, organizaciji i planiranju.

CONCLUSION

Both Croatian and international scientists have recognized leisure time as an important factor in upbringing and education. However, a significant difference lies in the fact that for many years worldwide empirical research has been focused on the preventive potential of leisure time, its importance for the well-being of children and young people, while Croatian research is scarce and mostly aimed at discovering what children and young people do in their leisure time (77). By researching what children and young people do in Croatia, an important step has been taken towards further research and analysis of risks and protection arising from leisure activities. The baseline for the demarcation between protection and risk, advantages and disadvantages of leisure time is the level of structuredness of the activity (33), but also the motivation for the activity itself (66). As can be seen from the results of research by foreign authors, the contribution to child development resulting from leisure activities is multiple. On the other hand, it was shown that there are also numerous activities, mostly unstructured ways of spending leisure time, which are risky for the child. As the results cannot be generalized (64), it is important to research the mentioned area in the territory of Croatia as well, in order to make it clear what helps children and young people in their development and what is a complicating factor in development. Also, it would be important in future Croatian research to examine how prevention programs based on leisure time affect specific behavioral problems, for example, addictive behaviors or other externalized or internalized behavioral problems, as well as the individual's sense of well-being. The incentive for further research on leisure time is also provided by the cross-curricular topic "Health", brought about by the reform of the Croatian education system. It encourages teaching children and young people the proper use of leisure time, organization, and planning. In or-

Kako bi navedena međupredmetna tema zaživjela u životima djece i mlađih, potrebno je poučavati praktičare o njegovoj implementaciji u nastavi kao i dati znanstveni doprinos u smislu prepoznavanja zaštita i rizika u navedenim aktivnostima.

der for the mentioned cross-curricular topic to take root in the lives of children and young people, it is necessary to teach practitioners about its implementation in classes, as well as to make a scientific contribution in terms of recognizing protection and risks in the mentioned activities.

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