

Teaching Agency in Preschool Children in the Montenegrin Context

Sanja Čalović Nenezić and Milica Jelić

University of Montenegro, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Pedagogy

Abstract

In this study, we have tried to map the pedagogical influences in the preschool context which encourage the development of agency in preschool children. In the methodological part of this paper, we present the qualitative research we carried out in educational units in the three regions of Montenegro. Besides systematic observations (the sample was made up of 8 preschool teachers and 114 children), our study also includes conducting focus group interviews with preschool teachers (the sample was made up of 101 preschool teachers). We used the ATLAS.ti software to analyze and prepare the produced results. This type of research has not been conducted in Montenegro before. We researched all three regions of Montenegro (Northern, Southern, and Central). In this way, we obtained a sample that can be considered as a representative one. The significance of its timing is evident in preschools, as well as in peer interactions and the environment in which children spend their time. Preschools in Montenegro operate according to a structured daily regime, especially in larger groups (Central region), and there is no space left for children to use materials or research them, nor is there enough open space for children's implicit learning. The greatest barrier to their undisturbed work and even the encouragement and expression of the agency is to be found in the fact that the educational groups are too large. Therefore, the standardization and reduction of the number of children in educational groups are definitely recommended to improve the children's work and education.

Key words: Children's Agency; Education; Environment; Preschool; Preschool teacher.

Introduction

Bandura (1997) relates the term 'agency' to feelings of self-efficacy, and new research relates it to an individual's subjective awareness of whether they are the bearer or initiator of action (Hilppö, Lipponen, Kumpulainen & Rainio, 2016). Lipponen and

Kumpulainen (2011), following Bruner (1996) and many others, emphasize that a very important element in the success of the educational process is a child's awareness of being able to make changes and influence things. If the agency in children is connected to the process of education and learning, then the quality of the educational process is influenced, as is the level of learner involvement. Zimmerman (2001) emphasizes that agency in children is in direct relation to the quality and intensity of their engagement in the educational process. Layard and Dunn (2009) emphasize that children's behavior should be looked at as a whole, as well as the lack of or existence of the agency, and a child's problems should be considered following that. Many life situations, rights inequalities and similar things affect the educational opportunities and possibilities for an individual's professional development and society in general (Sairanen & Kumpulainen, 2014). The concept of agency is founded on numerous philosophical, psychological and social points of view (Bandura, 1997; Bjerke, 2011; Barton & Tan, 2010; Carpendale & Lewis, 2006; Markström & Hallden, 2009; Paris & Lung, 2008;) and it is also considered to be the ability of an individual to initiate activity which will reach the desired goal.

Different societies offer different options and have different demands and challenges regarding participation, knowledge, and moral action. Alongside the primary factors, such as the family and preschool teachers, relations inside and outside the family are also crucial influences on agency in children and their welfare in a wider sense (Hilppo, 2016). For example, preschool teachers have very important roles in creating a social context for supporting classroom interactions, which contribute to children's agency development (Johnson, 2008; Luther & Zelazo, 2003).

Nowadays, children are considered to be individuals who, through their actions, influence different relations and decisions, introduce/adopt different value systems and the like (Mayal, 2002). Focusing on a child's action has led to the discovery and reconceptualization of the term and meaning of the context of childhood and the way children can be understood and observed as active participants in society (James, 2009). It is important to note that such considerations are usually observed in everyday activities and comparing common everyday activities in different social scopes. The term *children's agency* is defined as a dynamic process constructed by the mutual social interaction of a child with their social environment (Kumpulainen, Lipponen, Hilppö & Mikkola, 2014). Adults (parents, preschool teachers and teachers) can significantly influence agency development by creating an encouraging environment (Johnson, 2008; Luther & Zelazo, 2003). Agency controls the results of behavior, and it is developed right from birth. Findings on changes and the influences of one's actions on others contribute to successfully solving tasks, overcoming failure and developing personality and identity.

Theoretical framework

The socio-cultural starting point of this phenomenon is approached by researching the situational, current, and socio-culturally directed nature of agency. This direction

emphasizes one's own understanding of personal agency and general actions coming from an individual's interaction with the environment. Vygotsky (1978) emphasizes that the skills and competencies noticed in others (parents, peers, etc.) are internalized through children's social interactions and significantly affect cognitive development. Our starting points are also based on Giddens' theory of structuralism (1991), which thoroughly examined the relationship between structure and agency, and considered those children who can be bearers of change, who can shape, self-socialize, create daily routines in their own environment, point out their own needs at certain moments and predict their future development to be active members of society (James, 2009).

Children are initiators of actions; they are not only passive observers of social structures and processes but are active participants in the construction of their own lives, the lives of the people surrounding them, as well as the societies in which they live as equal members (James, Jenks & Prout, 1998). As actors in the educational process and overall social development, they participate in family relations, express their wishes, demonstrate their strong beliefs, and fight passionately for justice (Mayall, 2002). Their actions are conditioned by different social influences, possibilities and common motives (Hilppö, Lipponen, Kumpulainen & Virlander, 2016). Also, we can understand agency as a direct product from the interaction between an individual and the social environment (social and cultural context). For theorists of a socio-cultural approach, action is not only conditioned by human agency, but it is a synthesis of multiple social, material and historical influences (Fenwick, Edwards & Sawchuk, 2011; Hasse, 2014). Even consideration of action is an agency in itself. Agency is not something that people feel but something that people cause, provoke in dependence on the particular situations they find themselves in (Wetherell, 2005). Agency in children is usually expressed through peer interactions, "free" play and everyday activities.

Greimas and Porter (1977) dealt with the structure and modalities of agency in giving directions to certain actions. Their tendencies were updated by Fontanille (2007), while Sairanen and Kumpulainen (2014) state that agency is something that should be recognized and developed by educational processes.

Hilppo (2016) observed agency in his research as a synthesis of socially conditioned relations (individual abilities, personal aspirations, and perceptible possibilities) and limitations in a certain context. According to Jyrkama (2008), agency is mostly expressed via six modalities: *to want* – something that an individual wants to do; *to know* – concrete knowledge and character features; *to be able* – estimation of physical abilities and limitations; *have to* – refers to something that an individual has to do; *to feel, experience, appreciate* – personality features of feelings and experience; and *to have the possibility* – indicating the ability to manage in certain situations (Hilppö, Lipponen, Kumpulainen & Rainio, 2016). These modalities are observed from a cultural point of view and from the aspect of everyday activities carried out by a child. The focus of our research is reflected in the mapping of children's expressions of agency, which we discovered through the abovementioned aspects.

Several significant ethnographic studies of early childhood in Italy and the United States of America, by William Corsaro (2003, 2015), point out that during play, children are significantly more engaged, participate, show initiative, and achieve proactive connections with the environment than previously assumed. The significance of children's everyday environment for the development and encouragement of agency has also been confirmed by a group of scientists from Finland, through several different studies: 'Sense of Agency and Everyday Life: Children's Perspective' (Hilppo, Lipponen, Kumpulainen & Virlander, 2016), 'Children's sense of agency in preschool: A sociocultural investigation' (Hilppo, Lipponen, Kumpulainen & Rainio, 2016), 'Building on the positive in children's lives: a co-participatory study on the social construction of children's sense of agency' (Kumpulainen, Lipponen, Hilppo & Mikkola, 2014). All the mentioned studies talk about different modalities in which children's agency is manifested. Research shows that children's experiences of agency take place in everyday, simple, and special situations. In addition, the role of adults, parents, educators, as well as other professionals, who want to support children in the area of encouraging agency, is significantly highlighted, which can be compared with the results we have obtained.

Methodology

The problem

Practice and the conditions in contemporary life impose the following questions: How much freedom should be given to children? How much should they be encouraged to express, practice, and adopt agency? Are all children capable of expressing agency? Do they all have the same capacity for the development and encouragement of agency? Can the agency be limited or prevented, and under what conditions?

In this study, we have tried to map pedagogical influences in the preschool context, which encourages agency development in preschool children. Bearing in mind the abovementioned, we set up a task to examine whether preschool children express agency in preschools and how it can be encouraged.

Research design

While looking at the children's experiences, we discovered that a qualitative approach, which can better register the richness of children's experiences and provide better-quality documentation of children's everyday experiences (Greene & Hill, 2005), would be effective for this research. . Our study aimed to examine preschool children's activities and everyday routines in preschool institutions, which would relate to the development and encouragement of agency.

We conducted the research in three preschools, which we chose deliberately, trying to cover and illustrate the diversities that can appear due to geographical, cultural or other diversities and to cover the diverse contexts of preschools. This way, we tried to present the colorful picture of multicultural Montenegro. We accentuated children's general strategies in the agency domain, as we only observed the differences regarding the social context. The preschools we included in the research are from all three regions

of Montenegro (Central – Podgorica, Southern – Ulcinj, and Northern – Pljevlja). We stayed in each of the preschools for ten days, and we carried out a non-intrusive observation of preschools' everyday activities and daily routines. The second phase of the research included the implementation of two focus groups consisting of preschool teachers employed at the institution. In the first phase of the research, the sample was made up of eight preschool teachers and 114 children, and in the second phase (in the part of focus group interview), the sample was made up of 101 preschool teachers working in the chosen preschools from the three Montenegrin regions. The sample is presented in Table 1.

Table 1
Research sample

Region	Central	Southern	Northern	Total
Place	Preschool Poletarac I, Podgorica	Preschool Solidarnost, Ulcinj	Preschool Eko bajka, Pljevlja	
Observation				
Time period	21 February–2 March, 2017	13–23 March, 2017	10–20 April, 2017	30 days
Preschool teachers	2+1.	2+0.5 ¹	2+0.5	8
Number of children	57	22	35	114
Focus group interviews				
Number of preschool teachers	Group I – 11 Group II – 10 Group III – 10 Group IV – 10	Group I – 11 Group II – 10 Group III – 10	Group I – 10 Group II – 10 Group III – 9	101

Data collection

To observe children's and teachers' everyday activities in preschools and examine the teachers' attitudes regarding ways of encouraging and 'teaching' agency in preschool children, a specially designed observation protocol ² and a focus group interview for preschool teachers was used. We documented the social context, physical and material conditions, daily routines and interactions, and everyday activities in preschools. We considered the ethical issues which could arise during research, and we obtained consent to carry out the research. First of all, our intention was to observe the children's activities, how they can manage their own behavior, and how they show agency and actively participate in daily life.

¹ In the Southern and Northern regions in relation to the number of children it is prescribed that two teachers work in preschool groups, and one trainee teacher is there to help in two groups.

² The observation protocol was made and adjusted to our research in relation to the Instrument: Criteria for the qualitative evaluation of early education institutions: (NAEYC, 1991, in Petrović – Sočo, 2009)

The key aspects that we observed were interactions in groups at different levels (children–children, adults–children, adults–adults), the influence of how well-equipped the workrooms are on the expression of agency (many research works were used as role models: Christensen & James, 2000; Mayall, 2002; Morrow & Richards, 1996;). We tried to research how the children use different resources (materials), how they express agency in playing games and everyday situations and collective or individual activities. The goal was to see key items and, concerning them, to map and shed light on strategies and ways of expressing agency. The observation protocol we designed during the observation of educational groups also included a scale of estimating the presence of the indicators. To each indicator, we gave one of five possible marks (1 – not noticed, 2 – partially noticed, 3 – present, 4 – significant, 5 – substantially present).

Through the questions in the guide for focus groups, the respondents were invited to make statements regarding the previously noted units, which we recognized as being important in the domain of teaching and development of agency in preschool children (for example: “What do you do when you notice that a child can do a task or work independently?”, “Are there any possibilities for individualizing the daily curriculum activities, and if so, what are they?”, “Do you try, while working with children, to find a causal connection between the children’s abilities, aspirations and opportunities and limitations perceived to encourage agency?”, “What is the main stimulus for an agency in children?”, etc.). Focus group interviews were carried out in March and April 2017 and were organized in the preschool institutions, lasting 90 minutes each. The moderator of the focus groups was the paper’s author (Milica Jelić), and with the oral consent of the participants, audio recorded.

Data analysis

The material collected during the observation was analyzed using qualitative thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to analyze and identify the themes (presenting categories) included in the data. When we gathered all the necessary findings, they were unified and coded into the domain of the item “encouragement and teaching of the agency”. For the needs of data processing, we used ATLAS.ti software. We saved the observation protocols and focus groups’ transcripts in Microsoft Word, then entered them into the ATLAS.ti program as separate documents in the scope of one H.U. (hermeneutic unit).

During data analysis, we applied open, quick, and in vivo coding (according to Friese 2012; Creswell, 2006) to note down and record every segment we found important and appropriate for consideration in the analysis. We consistently evaluated the previous code choices to establish whether the coding was being done consistently and systematically. Using the observation protocol, the registered items were anatomized into initial codes, and then the initial codes were classified into smaller units. After that, networks were formed and classified in relation to the defined codes and formed certain conclusions and answers to the research questions.

We tried to evaluate the teaching phenomenon of agency teaching in preschools concerning the confirmation, presence or absence of the examined and noted factors. Intending to collect as comprehensive a corpus of data as possible on the examined issue in Montenegro, we supplemented the observational conclusions with answers from the interviewed preschool teachers working in the preschools. For the purpose of rationalization, we commented on the given results in parallel by region and followed in parallel the results obtained by the different techniques.

Results and discussion

As previously noted, agency, the feeling of 'authorship' over one's actions is emerging as a central question and topic in pedagogical research. Studying the effects of education on children's awareness of the possibilities of action is becoming the basis for validating and understanding educational processes (Lipponen & Kumpulainen, 2011). Agency also helps with the evaluation of the quality of a child's work, and it is based on the idea that control over the learning process should be left completely, or at least partially, up to children (Niemi, Kumpulainen & Lipponen, 2015; Siry, Wilmes & Haus, 2016).

We have presented the items and parallel grades (determined by the observation protocol) in Table 2 and Table 3 according to regions, and we completed the analysis with answers from preschool teachers in the focus group interview.

Table 2
Evaluation of indicator (interaction)

Interactions in the workroom – preschool teacher, activity, knowing children	Centr.	North	South
Agency			
1. Preschool teacher encourages children to take the initiative during activities	2	4	4
2. Encourages children to give their opinions	4	5	5
3. Preschool teacher refers to the next steps in the learning process	3	4	3
4. Helps when necessary but lets the children do what they can do on their own	3	4	4
5. Ensures sufficient stimulating and interesting materials and prepares activities that encourage children's agency and independence	3	3	5
6. Ensures necessary time so that children can complete their tasks	2	4	5
7. Preschool teacher involves children in making decisions about the daily work regime	2	3	3
8. Preschool teacher respects and values things important to the children (family, relationships, interests...)	4	4	4

We primarily considered *the ways to encourage agency in children*. We observed that children take the initiative in activities (Northern and Southern regions – graded with 4, Central with 2). In the Central region, children mostly had the given topics monthly,

based on which the activities were planned and prepared. There is not enough time left for free play or topics for children. The most common *ways of expressing agency* (recorded in all three regions) are through motion – children are active. They run through the room, sing, choose the different activity centers to stay in, decide how long to stay in the chosen center, change centers, and the preschool teachers fully support them in that, which we somewhat concluded by observation as well.

Another encouraging activity agency in children is selecting *the child of the day*. Preschool teachers emphasize that they try to give the children the opportunity to choose, to enable them to do an activity as long as they need to, which, unfortunately, we could not confirm by observation (in any region). According to the statements of the preschool teachers (summarised answers in all three regions), *agency in children is mostly encouraged* by offering children the freedom to choose, encouraging independence, free expression and creativity, creating an encouraging environment, offering many different materials and encouragement in the areas of emotions, the physical sense and will. Preschool teachers supplemented our findings, emphasizing that *agency is expressed* by children's initiation of some activities, recognizing children's needs and abilities, children's independence, free expression, voicing their own opinions, giving them the freedom to choose partners in playing games, in learning, as well as in various interactions in the room. A significant aspect that had been noticed was that preschool teachers lead the children in the learning process, helping them when necessary and letting them do independently whatever they can do. As we expected, graduality is a little less present in the Central region (given a grade of 3), as the presence of this item in the Northern and Southern regions was evaluated with a grade of 4. In all three regions, the children can express their feelings. Children carry out some of the activities on their own: they get themselves ready for bed or walks, draw, build things, have lunch, etc. A structured plan is usually followed when children solve set tasks or during planned activities.

We supplemented the elaborated segments by talking to preschool teachers. To the question, "What do you do when you notice that a child can do a task or work independently?" we obtained answers in all regions, which were not substantially different. Preschool teachers emphasized that in such situations, a child is encouraged to keep working, and a child is affirmed, encouraged and not disturbed. Also, *how the children are treated* is important and the preschool teachers emphasized that sometimes they give *clear/explicit instructions to the children*. Preschool teachers agreed that those are usually instructions referring to planned activities, the use of materials, introduction to rules, the tasks in workbooks, photographs, coloring, etc. In this part, we noticed that, in all three regions, the educational process tended to be organized and conducted according to an established set of rules, which to a certain extent, negatively affects the encouragement and the expression of agency in the children.

The next segment we observed in the agency research domain is *the environment*. Dependent on the educational group's space and material conditions, preschool teachers

try to encourage children and make sure the available materials are used effectively and creatively. We recorded that the best situation was found in the Southern region (probably because of the reduced numbers in educational groups), and we gave a grade of 5 for this item. To the other two regions, we gave a grade of 3, and while talking to preschool teachers and through observations in the Northern region, we registered a lack of didactic material (which is substituted by paper, paints, play dough, etc.), and having too many children in the groups is the main problem in the Central region. Every day, children have time allocated for free activities. Usually, this is when children arrive at the preschool, and for children who stay for the afternoon rest, this is also the period after sleeping and before going home.

This segment is unique because children can choose between the offered activity centers, and if they are not satisfied with the offer, they can start new activities on their own, asking for additional materials (workbooks, TV, cartoons, songs, internet content where possible). They can work with ready materials (paper, collage paper, tempera, watercolor paints, felt-tip pens, crayons, clay, plasticine...), and there are often prepared materials (play dough, down feathers, flowers, pine cones, earth, plants, water, ice, etc. – see Fig.1). We noted such situations in all three regions.



Figure 1. Prepared materials used during work

A significant difference in the various regions of Montenegro, which also supports having an appropriate number of children in the groups, was noticed regarding the time given to children to fulfill the given tasks. Therefore, we have grades that are

inversely proportional to the number of children in groups. The Central region was evaluated with a grade of 2 (over 40 children in a group every day), the Northern region with a grade of 4 (about 30 children in a group every day), and the Southern region with a grade of 5 (20 children). In all three regions, we noticed that the *daily regime* is clearly defined and planned, which makes children's participation more difficult.

At the beginning of the day, they discussed what had been planned for them to do. The children were given information about the planned activities, and there was a chance for something to be changed if they decided to do so and if they wanted to do something else (Northern and Southern regions). The key determinants of applying the regime during the day are when the children have to sleep, prepare for lunch, and then the English class. In such situations, preschool teachers interrupt the children in their started activities. We noticed some situations where the agency in children was not being encouraged enough or even stopped. Also, we registered that teachers did not support this kind of action.

We are going to describe an example that we noted in the Northern region, which caused big disagreement with the teacher: while the children were outside, music, shouting, and laughter could be heard. The children were exploring on their own, they were playing, cooperating, working independently, in pairs, in groups... and they attracted the attention of passers-by. Also, there was a boy aged about two and a half with his grandmother. The grandmother and the boy were sitting on a little bench in the yard of the preschool watching the children play. Teacher Aida approached them and asked how old the boy was.

“The boy's name is Andrej, he is still little,” – emphasised the grandmother.

Aida: “He wants to play.”

Grandmother: “Yes, yes, he can see the children.”

Aida: “Take him to the sand to play.”

Grandmother: “Oh no, he will get dirty; when he gets to preschool, then he will play. Now he is with his granny, his granny is looking after him and he should be clean.” Aida left to go to the children commenting: “So what if he gets dirty, children should get dirty...”

The grandmother and the boy remained on the bench. The boy kept turning and looking at children playing in the sand, and the grandmother turned him in the opposite direction, because in that way he would be still and would not insist on getting dirty, playing in the sand.

We can ask ourselves why such tendencies are more present nowadays, why a child is not allowed to get dirty. Is that a consequence of conformism, some “popular trends,” or something else. How appropriate the attitudes and actions of adults are is another question altogether...

Something that we noticed that is praiseworthy is that *things that are important to the children were praised and respected* in all the groups (this indicator received a high

grade in all three regions), talking about families, family values, customs, and the children's lifestyles are present every day. Friendly relationships between children were maintained, and it was also noticed that the relationships between children and people outside of the preschool were also mentioned during the day. We also asked *if there were any possibilities for individualizing the daily activity schedule, and if so, what they were*. Preschool teachers from all three regions emphasized that they individualize the daily activities, there is flexibility following the children's needs, and respect the children's interests, but the answers contradict the situation we noticed in our observations. They emphasized that satisfying the children's primary needs is very important, but we still did not notice any flexibility (individualization) in satisfying them.

In all three regions, children's needs are fully satisfied only at the level of physiological needs, while eating and sleeping are satisfied at the group level. To further explain such tendencies in the scope of the focus group interviews, we asked preschool teachers *if the children take part in the planning and selecting activities and materials for that working day and to give an example if they do*. This question confirmed our assumptions. The respondents in all three regions emphasized that they usually do not consult children about the selection of their daily activities, but in their answers, we noticed discrepancies by region. The most freedom in selecting activities and materials was expressed in the Southern region, which we can also relate to the lower number of children enrolled in the educational groups.

Preschool teachers in the Northern region emphasized that if the children express certain interests, it is not unusual to change the topic, continue working on some previous activity, etc. In the Central region, it was emphasized that the teachers often talk to the children about their interests, trying to find something that the children would find most interesting (especially in older groups) to form topics following that. They also emphasized that the things planned for that day seldom change because it is very complicated when you have a lot of children in the group.

The next question that was 'raised' during the interview was: *Do you try, during your work with children, to find a causal link between the children's abilities and aspirations, as well as the opportunities and limitations that arise towards the goal of encouraging agency?* Preschool teachers from all three regions stressed the importance of children's pre-knowledge and abilities, and they emphasized that they are trying to connect the physical environment, material conditions and desires of children and that it is very important for children to express their wishes because in that way they can be helped to build up their personality and identity. They encourage the children; If they need it, they direct them and offer many activities following their potential. They also add that neither their family background nor the environment a child comes from can be neglected, which is very important so that the children are not found in a situation wherein they inhibit themselves (consciously or otherwise) if the requests are opposed to the ones they have at home.

Table 3
Evaluation of indicators (peers)

Peer interactions	Central	Northern	Southern
Identity, self-control, agency			
1. Children freely communicate in the workroom	4	5	5
2. Children do tasks in groups	4	4	4
3. Children do tasks in pairs	2	3	3
4. Children express agency in their work	4	4	4
5. There are possibilities for mutual interaction between the children and freedom of choice of the co-learner (the one they want to learn with)	4	4	4
6. The preschool teacher encourages interaction among the children, children's choices, and active engagement.	4	4	4
7. Children independently do the given tasks	4	4-5	4
8. Children use the available materials together	5	4	5

Peer interactions are very important in the domain of encouraging agency. During our observations, we registered several cases of agency among children. Almost all the children, at some point during the day, approached and started a conversation with an observer, asking what they were doing and why they were doing this, emphasizing what they were able to do, where they could go, and what they liked playing. For example, “My mother has the same computer,” “My aunt has the same slippers,” “My brother is color-blind, and he is two meters tall and older than me.” Several of them wished to draw something (sun, girl, sky, butterflies, flowers...) for the observer because they like drawing when they are happy, which we have shown in Fig.2.

The children worked in pairs to a lesser degree, so the grade is 2 in the Central region and 3 in the Northern and Southern regions. We did not record any tasks planned for pair work, and the present modality of pair work is for when they play together and assemble sets of blocks and puzzles, and this was present only with the rationalization of the necessary time and joint learning or encouragement of agency was rarely planned for.

We noticed children's interactions and their freedom to choose a co-learner during the learning process, and the significant thing was that we noticed that teachers were encouraging them. Children choose activities on their own, the children they would like to learn with, work with, and even whom they would put their bed next to during the afternoon rest. We received homogeneous answers from preschool teachers to the question: *How important is peer interaction for an agency?* With this, they confirmed the findings resulting in the observation that peer interaction is always present and very important for children's development.

Preschool teachers stated that, during interactions, children learn from each other, pick up and adopt certain models of behavior, socialize and encourage a competitive spirit. Preschool teachers from all three regions emphasized that *cooperation with parents* is

very important because the results are not as good if this is missing. Sometimes a child must be observed from different aspects and points of view because sometimes a child is not the same at home and in preschool; parents are sometimes too indulgent and take an uncritical attitude, etc. Therefore, it is very important that “there is cooperation and it is sincere”. They emphasized that it is very important for the work to be transparent and for parents to be involved and help realize the activities.

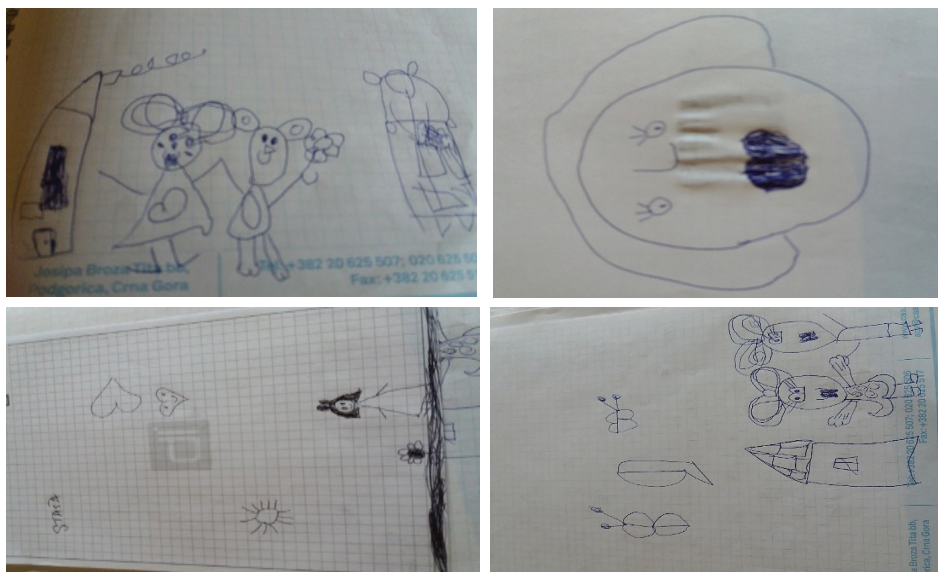


Figure 2. Children's drawings for the observer

Conclusion

Reforms of the preschool system and of the educational system in Montenegro have contributed to a holistic approach to the child, where the focus is on the child's benefits, happiness, and satisfaction, as well as free play and learning through playing games. The daily regime determines what is to be done during the day, and children and preschool teachers are also given opportunities to become independent. We noticed that children find the concept of time – time for planned activities – very important. Such daily dynamics, the fixed work regime which we noticed in all three observed units, influenced the specific actions of children. The times for meeting physiological needs (eating, hygiene, rest, sleeping, etc.) are fixed. The rest of the time is allocated for children to play games and group and individual activities. The indications we received from preschool teachers are that children usually have planned group activities, which are done in activity centers, and that free time for play is not planned, but the children are given the freedom to choose both their play partner and the activities.

As in many other studies (see Einarsdottir, 2003; Holligan, 2000; Markström & Hallden, 2009; Strandell, 1997;), our research has shown that the time for free play

is limited by many factors, such as the time for going home, the arrangement in the classroom and the structured activities during most of the day. Routine is a part of social and institutional rules, and the schedule, activities and materials used are made for groups. Even when the schedule prescribes activities that adults do not control, children function as part of a group and have their duties. Children look up to their peers and appreciate feedback concerning their behavior, activities, achievements, etc. From a child's point of view, preschools are not only institutions but places and arenas where they can act, learn and express agency (Christensen & James, 2000; Corsaro, 1997; Jenks, 1996; ; James & James, 2004; Mayall, 2002). Studies of children's behavior shed light on the knowledge that children develop and practice in institutions and that they have not learned them directly from others (adults or children), but it is a kind of implicit learning imposed by the preschool environment. In this way, there is a question about whether the children in preschools in Montenegro find the preschool environment encouraging enough, whether the children are allowed to use the available resources in different ways, ways they find interesting. The findings we obtained imply that there is still insufficient space for implicit learning by children in preschool.

Such findings again emphasize our contradiction by comparing the preschool teachers' answers with our observations. We need to emphasize that, in practice, there is still no theoretical planning and no ideal types of approach put forward by preschool teachers. There are small variations in approach, corresponding to the number of children in the classroom – the more children in the classroom, the fewer possibilities there were for individualization of both work and schedule. The positive aspect is that we noticed in all three regions that there are tendencies to 'sense' the children's needs and work according to them.

Our study shows that preschools in Montenegro work according to a structured daily regime, especially in larger groups (Central region), with little space left for children to use materials or investigate them. As we noticed, oversized groups are the major problem for undisturbed work. Groups with fewer children leave space for a more flexible schedule, and it is not necessary to plan all activities, but some could be left for children's independent expression, creativity, self-control, and agency. Therefore, standardizing and lowering the number of children in groups is certainly recommended to improve children's overall work and education.

Limitations

In addition, it should be mentioned that our research had some limitations in the field of generalization of the obtained findings. The data relating to the context of the preschool institution represent only a tiny insight into the ways of raising initiative and identity. Future research could include multidimensional analyses that would consider all the factors that encourage the development of identity, which occur in children's environments and quantitatively support and improve the obtained results.

References

- Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The Exercise of Control*. W.H. Freeman.
- Barton, A. C., & Tan, E. (2010). We Be Burnin'! Agency, identity, and science learning. *The Journal of the Learning Sciences*, 19(2), 187–229. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10508400903530044>
- Bjerke, H. (2011). 'It's the Way They Do It': Expressions of agency in child–adult relations at home and school. *Children & Society*, 25(2), 93–103. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2009.00266.x>
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Bruner, J. S. (1996). *The culture of education*. Harvard University Press. <https://doi.org/10.4159/9780674251083>
- Carpendale, J. & Lewis, C. (2006). *How Children Develop Social Understanding*. Blackwell Publishers.
- Christensen, P.M. & James, A. (2000). *Research with children: Perspectives and practices*. Falmer Press.
- Corsaro, W. (1997). *The Sociology of Childhood*. Sage Publications.
- Corsaro, W. (2003). *We're Friends, Right? Inside Kids Culture*. Joseph Henry Press. <https://doi.org/10.17226/10723>
- Corsaro, W. (2015). *The Sociology of Childhood, 2nd edn*. Pine Forge Press. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483399027>
- Creswell, J.W. (2006). *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research*. Prentice-Hall.
- Einarsdottir, J. (2003). The role of play-schools and play-school teachers: Icelandic playschool educator's discourses. *Early Years. An international Journal of Research & Practice*, 3, 47–68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09575140303110>
- Fenwick, T.J., Edwards, R. & Sawchuk, P. (2011). *Emerging approaches to educational research: Tracing the socio-material*. Routledge.
- Fontanille, J. (2007). *The Semiotics of Discourse (Berkeley Insights in Linguistics and Semiotics)*. Peter Lang.
- Friese, S. (2012). *Qualitative Data Analysis with ATLAS.ti*. Sage. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781529799590>
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Polity Press.
- Greene, S. & Hill, M. (2005). Researching children's experience: Methods and methodological issues. In (missing initial) Greene & initial?Hogan (Eds.), *Researching children's experience: Approaches and methods* (pp. 1–19). Sage. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849209823.n1>
- Greimas, A. & Porter, C. (1977). Elements of Narrative Grammae. *Diacritics*, 7 (1), 23–40. <https://doi.org/10.2307/464872>
- Hasse, C. (2014). The material co-construction of hard science fiction and physics. *Cultural studies of Science Education*, 10 (4), 921–940. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11422-013-9547-y>
- Hilppö, J. (2016). *Children's sense of agency: a co-participatory investigation*. Doctoral Thesis. Helsinki: University of Helsinki. <https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/160434/Children.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

- Hilppö, J., Lipponen, L., Kumpulainen, K. & Rainio, A. (2016). Children's sense of agency in preschool: A sociocultural investigation. *International journal of early years education*, 24 (2), 157-171. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669760.2016.1167676>
- Hilppö, J., Lipponen, L., Kumpulainen, K. & Virlander, M. (2016). Sense of agency and everyday life: Children's perspective. *Learning, Culture and Social Interaction*, 10, 50-59. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lcsi.2015.10.001>
- Holligan, C. (2000). Discipline and normalization in the nursery: the Foucaultian gaze. In H. Penn (Ed.), *Early Childhood Services: Theory, Policy and Practice*. Open University Press.
- James, A. & James, A. (2004). *Constructing Childhood. Theory, Policy and Social Practice*. Palgrave. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-230-21427-9>
- James, A. (2009). Agency. In initial? Qvortrup, Corsaro & Honig (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Childhood Studies*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- James, A., Jenks, C. & Prout, A. (1998). *Theorizing Childhood*. Polity Press.
- Jenks, C. (1996). *Childhood*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203129241>
- Johnson, B. (2008). Teacher-student relationships which promote resilience at school: a micro-level analysis of students' views. *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling*, 36 (4), 385-398. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03069880802364528>
- Jyrkämä, J. (2008). Toimijuus, ikääntyminen ja arkielämä: hahmotelua teoreettis-metodologiseksi viitekehykseksi [Agency, aging and everyday life: a sketch of a theoretical- methodological framework]. *Gerontologia*, 22 (4), 190-203.
- Kumpulainen, K., Lipponen, L., Hilppö, J., & Mikkola, A. (2014). Building on the positive in children's lives: a co-participatory study on the social construction of children's sense of agency. *Early Child Development and Care*, 184 (2), 211-229. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03004430.2013.778253>
- Layard, R. & Dunn, J. (2009). *A good childhood*. Penguin.
- Lipponen, L. & Kumpulainen, K. (2011). Acting as accountable authors: Creating interactional spaces for agency work in teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 27 (5), 812-819. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2011.01.001>
- Luther, S. & Zelazo, B. (2003). Resilience and vulnerability: An integrative view. In S. Luther (Ed.), *Resilience and vulnerability: Adaptation in the context of childhood adversities*: 510-550. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi:10.1017/cbo9780511615788>
- Markström, A.M. & Hallden, G. (2009). Children's Strategies for Agency in Preschool. *Children & Society*, 23 (2), 112-122. <https://doi:10.1111/j.1099-0860.2008.00161.x>
- Mayall, B. (2002). *Towards a Sociology for Childhood, Thinking from Children's Lives*. Open University Press.
- Morrow, V. & Richards, M. (1996). The ethics of social research with children: an overview. *Children and Society*, 10 (2), 90-105. [https://doi.org/10.1002/\(sici\)1099-0860\(199606\)10:2%3C90::aid-chi14%3E3.0.co;2-z](https://doi.org/10.1002/(sici)1099-0860(199606)10:2%3C90::aid-chi14%3E3.0.co;2-z)
- NAEYC. (1991). *Accreditation Criteria & Producers*. National Center for the Early Childhood Work Force.
- Niemi, R., Kumpulainen, K. & Lipponen, L. (2015). Pupils as active participants: Diamond ranking as a tool to investigate pupils' experiences of classroom practices. *European Educational Journal* 14 (2), 138-150. <https://doi:10.1177/1474904115571797>

- Paris, C. & Lung, P. (2008). Agency and Child-Centered Practices in Novice Teachers: Autonomy, Efficacy, Intentionality, and Reflectivity. *Journal of Early Childhood Teacher Education*, 29 (3), 253-268. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10901020802275302>
- Petrović-Sočo, B. (2009). Mijenjanje konteksta i odgojne prakse dječijih vrtića – akcijsko istraživanje s elementima etnografskog pristupa [Changing the Context and Educational Practice in Kindergartens - Action Research with Elements of an Ethnographical Approach]. Mali profesor.
- Sairanen, H. & Kumpulainen, K. (2014). A visual narrative inquiry into children's sense of agency in preschool and first grade. *International Journal of Educational Psychology*, 3 (2), 141-174. <https://doi.org/10.4471/ijep.2014.09>
- Siry, C., Wilmes, S. & Haus, J. (2016). Examining children's agency within participatory structures in primary science investigations. *Learning, Culture and Social Interaction*, 10, 4-16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17457823.2016.1159971>
- Strandell, H. (1997). Doing reality with play: Play as a children's resource in organizing everyday life in daycare centers. *Childhood*, 4 (4), 445-464. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568297004004005>
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in Society: Development of Higher Psychological Processes*. 14th ed. Harvard University Press.
- Wetherell, M. (2005). Unconscious Conflict or Everyday Accountability? *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 44 (2), 169-173. <https://doi.org/10.1348/014466605x39619>
- Zimmerman, B. J. (2001). Self-Regulated Learning. In N.J. Smelser & P.B. Baltes (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 13855-13859). Pergamon. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-043076-7/02465-7>

Sanja Čalović Nenezić

University of Montenegro
Faculty of Philosophy
Department of Pedagogy
Danila Bojovića bb, 81400 Nikšić, Montenegro
sanjac@ucg.ac.me

Milica Jelić

University of Montenegro
Faculty of Philosophy
Department of Pedagogy
Danila Bojovića bb, 81400 Nikšić, Montenegro
milicak@ac.me

Odgoj za inicijativnost djece predškolske dobi u crnogorskom kontekstu

Sažetak

Ovom studijom nastojale smo istražiti pedagoške utjecaje u kontekstu predškolske ustanove koji potiču razvoj inicijativnosti djece predškolske dobi. U metodološkom dijelu rada predstavile smo kvalitativno istraživanje koje je provedeno u predškolskim ustanovama u trima regijama Crne Gore. Uz sustavno promatranje (na uzorku od 8 odgojitelja i 114 djece) studija obuhvaća i fokus-grupe s odgojiteljima (uzorak od 101 odgojitelja). Za analizu i pripremu dobivenih nalaza korišten je softver Atlas.ti. Istraživanja toga tipa do sada se u Crnoj Gori nisu provodila. Istraživanje je provedeno u svim trima regije Crne Gore (Sjeverna, Južna i Centralna) i tako je dobiven uzorak koji možemo smatrati reprezentativnim. Očita je važnost vremenskoga određenja rada u predškolskim ustanovama, vršnjačkih interakcija, kao i okruženja u kojem djeca borave. Budući da se u predškolskim ustanovama u Crnoj Gori radi prema strukturiranom dnevnom rasporedu, osobito u većim skupinama (Centralna regija), nije ostavljeno dovoljno prostora za dječje manipuliranje materijalima ili za njihovo istraživanje, a ne otvara se ni dovoljno mjesta za dječje implicitno učenje. Najveći su problem za nesmetan rad pa i poticanje i izražavanje inicijativnosti prekobrojne odgojne skupine. Stoga se preporučuje ujednačenje i smanjenje broja djece u odgojnim skupinama da bi se poboljšao i unaprijedio i cjelokupan rad i odgajanje djece.

Ključne riječi: dječija inicijativnost; odgoj; odgojitelj; okruženje; vrtić.

Uvod

Pojam inicijativnosti Bandura (1997) povezuje s osjećajem samoučinkovitosti, a novija istraživanja sa subjektivnom svjesnošću pojedinca da je on nositelj ili inicijator radnje (Lamiel 2013; Hilppo, Lipponen, Kumulainen i Rainio, 2016). Lipponen i Kumulainen (2011) po ugledu na Brunera (1996) i mnoge druge ističu da je za uspjeh odgojno-obrazovnog procesa vrlo važna djetetova svjesnost da nešto može promijeniti i na promjenu utjecati. Ako se dječja inicijativnost poveže s procesima odgajanja i učenja, utječe se i na kvalitetu odgojnoga procesa i na stupanj uključenosti njegovih sudionika. Zimmerman (2001) ističe da je inicijativnost djece izravno povezana s kvalitetom i intenzitetom njihova angažiranja u odgojnom procesu, a Layard i Dunn (2009) da je

potrebno problematizirati cjelokupno ponašanje djece, dakle i nedostatak ili postojanje inicijativnosti, pa djetetove probleme razmatrati u skladu s time. Brojne životne situacije, nejednaka prava, socijalni položaj i slično utječu i na obrazovne prilike i mogućnosti za profesionalni razvoj kako pojedinca, tako i društva u cjelini (Kumpulainen, 2012; Ahola i Kivela, 2007). Koncept inicijativnosti utemeljen je u mnogobrojnim filozofskim, psihološkim i socijalnim stajalištima (Bandura, 1997; Carpendale i Lewis, 2006; Macfarlane i Cartmel, 2008; Paris i Lung, 2008; Markström i Hallden, 2009; Bjerke, 2011; Barton i Tan, 2010), a razumije se i kao sposobnost pojedinca da sam inicira aktivnost kojom će postići željeni cilj.

Različita društva nude različite mogućnosti i imaju drukčije zahtjeve i izazove kada je riječ o sudjelovanju, znanju, kao i moralnom djelovanju. Uz primarne čimbenike, kao što su obitelj i odgojitelji, odnosi u obitelji i izvan nje također presudno utječu na inicijativnost djece i njihovo blagostanje u širem smislu (Hilppo, 2016). Na primjer, odgojitelji igraju vrlo važne uloge prilikom stvaranja socijalnoga konteksta za podržavajuće interakcije u radnoj sobi koje potiču dječju inicijativnost (Johnson, 2008; Luther Zelazo, 2003).

Danas se djecu promatra kao osobe koje svojim djelovanjem utječu na različite odnose i odluke, donose/usvajaju različite sustave vrijednosti i slično (Mayal, 2002). Fokusiranjem na ta djelovanja došlo se do spoznaja i rekonceptualizacije ne samo pojma i značenja konteksta djetinjstva, nego i načina na koje se djecu može razumjeti i promatrati kao aktivne sudionike u društvu (James, 2009). Važno je uočiti da se takva razmatranja najčešće promatraju u svakodnevnim aktivnostima te usporedbom svakodnevnih zajedničkih aktivnosti u različitim društvenim okvirima. Pojam *children's agency* definira se kao dinamičan proces konstruiran uzajamnom socijalnom interakcijom djeteta i društvene okoline (Kumpulainen, Lipponen, Hilppö i Mikkola, 2014). Odrasli (roditelji, odgojitelji i nastavnici) mogu znatno utjecati na razvijanje inicijativnosti stvarajući okruženje koje će ga poticati (Johnson, 2008; Luther i Zelazo, 2003). Inicijativnost određuje ishode ponašanja i razvija se od rođenja. Spoznaje o promjenama i utjecaju vlastitih djelovanja na druge pridonose uspješnom rješavanju zadataka, nadilaženju neuspjeha i razvoju ličnosti i identiteta.

Teorijski okvir

Sociokulturno polazište prilazi ovom fenomenu istražujući situacijsku, trenutačnu i sociokulturološki usmjerenu prirodu inicijativnosti. Taj pravac ističe vlastito razumijevanje inicijativnosti pojedine osobe, kao i generalnih akcija koje nastaju iz pojedinačnih interakcija s okolinom. Vigotsky (Vygotski, 1978) ističe da djeca putem socijalnih interakcija internaliziraju vještine i kompetencije koje uočavaju kod drugih (odraslih, vršnjaka...) i da one znatno utječu na njihov kognitivni razvoj. Svoje polazišne osnove utemeljile smo i Giddensovom teorijom strukturacije (1991), koja je detaljno proučavala odnos struktura – inicijativa (*agency*), a djecu smatrala aktivnim članovima društva koja mogu biti nositelji promjena te mogu oblikovati, „samosocijalizirati se”, kreirati

dnevne rutine u svojem okružju, uputiti na vlastite potrebe u određenim trenucima te predvidjeti svoj budući razvoj da bi bili aktivni sudionici u društvu (James, 2009).

Djeca su inicijatori akcija, nisu samo pasivni promatrači društvenih struktura i procesa, nego aktivni sudionici konstrukcije vlastitih života, života ljudi koji ih okružjuju, kao i društava u kojima žive kao ravnopravni članovi (James, Jenks i Prout 1998). Kao akteri odgojnoga procesa i cjelokupnoga društvenog razvoja sudjeluju u obiteljskim odnosima, izražavaju svoje želje, demonstriraju snažna uvjerenja i žustro se bore za pravdu (Mayall, 2002). Akcije su uvjetovane različitim kulturnim utjecajima, mogućnostima i zajedničkim motivima (Hilppö, Lipponen, Kumpulainen i Virlander, 2016). Također, inicijativnost možemo razumjeti kao izravan proizvod interakcije pojedinca i društvene okoline (socijalnoga i kulturnoga konteksta). Za teoretičare sociokulturnog pristupa akcija nije uvjetovana samo ljudskom inicijativnošću, ona je sinteza višestrukih socijalnih, materijalnih i povijesnih utjecaja (Fenwick, Edwards i Sawchuk, 2011; Hasse, 2014). Čak je i razmatranje neke akcije inicijativa za sebe. Inicijativnost nije nešto što ljudi osjećaju, nego nešto što izazivaju, provociraju ovisno o određenim situacijama u kojima se nalaze (Wetherell, 2005). Dječja se inicijativnost najčešće izražava putem vršnjačkih interakcija, u „slobodnoj” igri i svakodnevnim aktivnostima.

Strukturom i modalitetima inicijativnosti u smislu davanja pravca određenim akcijama bavili su se Greimas i Porter (1977). Njihova nastajanja osuvremenio je Fontanille (2007), a Sairanen i Kumpulainen (2014) isticali su da je inicijativnost nešto što treba biti prepoznato i poticano odgajanjem. Hilppo (2016) je inicijativnost u svojem istraživanju promatrao kao sintezu socijalno uvjetovanih odnosa (individualnih sposobnosti, osobnih aspiracija i percipiranih mogućnosti) i ograničenja u određenom kontekstu. Jyrkama (2008) ističe da se inicijativnost najčešće očituje u šest modaliteta: *htjeti* – nešto što pojedinac želi učiniti, *znati* – konkretno znanje i karakterne osobine, *moći* – ocjena fizičkih mogućnosti i ograničenja, *morati* – odnosi se na nešto što pojedinac mora učiniti, *osjetiti*, *iskusiti* i *procijeniti* – karakterne osobine, osjećaji i iskustva i *imati mogućnosti* – indicirati mogućnosti snalaženja u određenim situacijama (Hilppö, Lipponen, Kumpulainen i Rainio, 2016). Ti se modaliteti promatraju s kulturološkoga aspekta i s aspekta djetetovih svakodnevnih aktivnosti. Fokus našega istraživanja ogleda se u istraživanju dječjih izražavanja inicijativnosti koje smo utemeljili na prethodno navedenim stajalištima.

Nekoliko značajnih etnografskih istraživanja ranoga djetinjstva u Italiji i Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama William Corsara (2003, 2015) ističe da se djeca tijekom igre znatno više angažiraju, participiraju, pokazuju inicijativnost te ostvaruju inicijativne veze s okruženjem nego što se prije pretpostavljalo. Važnost svakodnevnoga dječjeg okružja na njihov razvoj i poticanje inicijativnosti potvrdila je i skupina znanstvenika iz Finske u više različitih studija: „Osjećaj inicijativnosti i svakodnevni život” (Hilppo, Lipponen, Kumpulainen i Virlander, 2016), „Dječji osjećaj inicijativnosti u predškolskim ustanovama: sociokulturni pristup” (Hilppo, Lipponen, Kumpulainen

i Rainio, 2016), „Izgradnja pozitivnoga u dječjim životima. Susudjelujuća studija u sociokonstruktivističkom pristupu inicijativnosti” (Kumpulainen, Lipponen, Hilppo i Mikkola, 2014). Sve te studije govore o različitim modalitetima kojima se očituje dječja inicijativnost. Istraživanja pokazuju da se dječja iskustva inicijativnosti događaju u svakodnevnim, jednostavnim i posebnim situacijama. Uz to, ističe se uloga odraslih, roditelja, odgojitelja i drugih profesionalaca koji žele ohrabriti djecu u pogledu poticanja inicijativnosti, a to se može usporediti s rezultatima ovoga istraživanja.

Metodologija

Problem

Praksa i suvremeni uvjeti života otvaraju pitanje koliko slobode davati djeci i koliko ih poticati na pokazivanje, vježbanje i usvajanje inicijativnosti. Jesu li sva djeca sposobna pokazati inicijativnost, imaju li jednak kapacitet za razvijanje i poticanje inicijativnosti te može li se i pod kojim uvjetima pokazivanje inicijativnosti ograničiti ili spriječiti? Ovom studijom nastojale smo istražiti pedagoške utjecaje u kontekstu predškolske ustanove koji potiču razvoj inicijativnosti djece predškolske dobi. Imajući na umu naprijed navedeno postavile smo zadatak da se ispita pokazuju li djeca predškolske dobi inicijativnost te kako se ona može poticati.

Istraživački okvir

Pri proučavanju dječjih iskustava učinkovitijim se pokazao kvalitativan pristup koji može bolje zabilježiti bogatstvo tih iskustava i kvalitetnije dokumentirati svakodnevne dječje doživljaje (Greene i Hill, 2005). Cilj ove studije bio je proučiti aktivnosti i svakodnevne rutine djece predškolske dobi koje bi ukazale na razvijanje i poticanje inicijativnosti.

Istraživanje smo provele u trima predškolskim ustanovama, koje smo namjerno odabrale kako bi se obuhvatile i ilustrirale raznolikosti koje mogu nastati zbog zemljopisnih, kulturnih ili drugih različitosti te raznolike kontekste predškolskih ustanova. Na taj smo način željele predstaviti šaroliku sliku multikulturalne Crne Gore. U radu smo naglasile opće dječje strategije u području inicijativnosti, a razlike smo promatrale samo u odnosu na društveni kontekst. Predškolske ustanove koje smo uključile u istraživanje iz sve su tri regije Crne Gore (Centralna – Podgorica, Južna – Ulcinj i Sjeverna – Pljevlja). Boravile smo u predškolskim ustanovama po deset dana pri čemu je provedena opservacija dnevne rutine vrtića bez izravnoga sudjelovanja u svakodnevnim dječjim aktivnostima. U drugoj fazi istraživanja provele smo dva fokus intervjua sa zaposlenima u tim ustanovama. U prvoj fazi istraživanja uzorak čine 8 odgojitelja i 114 djece, a u drugoj (u dijelu izvođenja intervjua s fokusom grupom) uzorak čini 101 odgojitelj u odabranim predškolskim ustanovama iz triju navedenih regija. Uzorak istraživanja prikazan je u Tablici 1.

Tablica 1

Tablica 1
Istraživački uzorak

Regija	Centralna	Južna	Sjeverna	
Mjesto	Vrtić Poletarac I, Podgorica	Vrtić Solidarnost, Ulcinj	Vrtić Ekobajka, Pljevlja	Ukupno
Posmatranje				
Vrijeme	21 February–2 March, 2017	13–23 March, 2017	10–20 April, 2017	30 dana
Odgojitelji	2+1.	2+0.5	2+0.5 ¹	8
Broj djece	57	22	35	114
Fokus grupni intervjui				
Broj odgojitelja	Grupa I – 11 Grupa II – 10 Grupa III – 10 Grupa IV – 10	Grupa I – 11 Grupa II – 10 Grupa III – 10	Grupa I – 10 Grupa II – 10 Grupa III – 9	101

Prikupljanje podataka

U cilju promatranja svakodnevnih dječjih aktivnosti i aktivnosti odgojitelja u predškolskim ustanovama te ispitivanja stavova odgojitelja o načinima poticanja i „odgajanja” inicijativnosti djece predškolske dobi koristile smo posebno konstruirani *protokol promatranja*² i *intervju u fokus grupama za odgojitelje*. Dokumentirale smo socijalni kontekst, fizičke i materijalne uvjete, dnevne rutine i interakcije kao i svakodnevne aktivnosti u navdenim predškolskim ustanovama. Razmotrile smo etička pitanja koja se mogu javiti tijekom istraživanja te smo zatražile i dobile odgovarajuće suglasnosti za istraživanje. Namjera je prvenstveno bila promatrati dječje aktivnosti, način na koji djeca mogu upravljati vlastitim ponašanjem, načine na koje pokazuju inicijativu te aktivno sudjeluju u dnevnom životu.

Ključni aspekti koje smo promatrale bili su: interakcije u grupi na različitim razinama (djeca – djeca, odrasli – djeca, odrasli – odrasli...), utjecaj opremljenosti radnih soba na pokazivanje inicijativnosti (kao primjeri poslužila su mnogobrojna istraživanja: Morrow i Richards, 1996; Christensen i James, 2000; Mayall, 2002). Nastojalo se istražiti kako djeca koriste različite resurse (materijale), na koji način očituju inicijativnost u igri i svakodnevnim dnevnim situacijama, kolektivnim ili individualnim aktivnostima. Cilj je bio uočiti ključne stavke te u odnosu na njih istražiti i rasvijetliti strategije i načine očitovanja inicijativnosti. Protokol promatranja koji smo konstruirale tijekom opservacije odgojnih skupina sadržavao je i skalu procjene prisutnosti samih indikatora, a svakom indikatoru dodijelile smo pet mogućih ocjena (1 – nije uočeno, 2 – donekle uočeno, 3 – postoji, 4 – značajno je, 5 – postoji u velikoj mjeri).

¹ U južnoj i sjevernoj regiji u odnosu na broj djece propisano je da u predškolskim skupinama rade dvije odgojiteljice, a u dvije skupine radi po jedan odgojitelj pripravnik.

² Protokol promatranja konstruiran je i prilagođen ovom našem istraživanju u odnosu na instrument: Kriterijumi za procjenu kvaliteta ustanove ranog vaspitanja i obrazovanja (NAEYC, 1991, prema Petrović – Sočo, 2009)

Pitanjima u vodiču za fokus grupe respondenti su pozvani iznositi stavove koji se tiču uočenih jedinica koje smo prethodno prepoznale kao značajne u pogledu odgajanja i razvijanja inicijativnosti djece predškolske dobi (npr. „Što činite kada primijetite da dijete može samostalno obavljati neki zadatak, raditi...?“ „Postoje li mogućnosti za individualizaciju rasporeda dnevnih aktivnosti, i ako postoje, na koji način?“ „Trudite li se u radu s djecom pronaći uzročnu vezu između dječjih sposobnosti, aspiracija, kao i prilika i ograničenja koja se naziru radi poticanja inicijativnosti?“ „Što najviše potiče inicijativnost djece? Pojasnite.“ „Koji su načini izražavanja i razvijanja inicijativnosti djece?“ i slično). Intervjui s fokus grupama obavljani su u ožujku i travnju 2017. godine, a organizirani su u predškolskim ustanovama u trajanju od 90 minuta. Moderator fokus grupa bila je Milica Jelić, autorica rada, a uz usmenu saglasnost sudionika načinjeni su audiozapisi.

Analiza podataka

Materijal prikupljen opservacijom analiziran je primjenom kvalitativne tematske analize (Braun i Clarke, 2006) s ciljem analize i identifikacije teme (izvođenjem kategorija) sadržane u podacima. Kada smo prikupile sve potrebne podatke, objedinjenile smo ih i kodirale s obzirom na stavke poticanja i odgajanja inicijativnosti. Za potrebe obrade podataka koristile smo softver ATLAS.ti. Protokole promatranja i transkripte fokus grupa sačuvali smo najprije u *wordovim* dokumentima i zatim smo ih unijele u program ATLAS.ti kao posebne dokumente u okviru jedne hermeneutičke jedinice (HU).

Tijekom analize podataka primijenile smo *open coding*, *quick coding* i *in vivo coding* (prema Friese, 2012; Creswell, 2006) kako bi se uočio i evidentirao svaki segment koji se učinio bitnim i koji bi valjalo razmatrati u analizi. Konstantno smo evaluirali prethodne izbore kodova da bismo utvrdile je li kodiranje obavljeno dosljedno i sustavno. Protokolom promatranja zabilježene stavke raščlanjene su na inicijalne kodove, a potom su inicijalni kodovi grupirani u manje jedinice. Poslije toga formirale smo mreže koje su grupirane u odnosu na izdvojene kodove, pa smo izvodile određene zaključke i odgovore na istraživačka pitanja.

Nastojale smo evaluirati fenomene odgajanja inicijativnosti u predškolskim ustanovama u odnosu na potvrđenost, prisutnost ili odsutnost proučavanih i uočenih čimbenika. Radi prikupljanja što obuhvatnijega korpusa podataka o proučavanoj problematici u Crnoj Gori, zaključke promatranja dopunile smo odgovorima intervjuiranih odgojitelja u predškolskim ustanovama. Dobivene smo rezultate, radi racionalizacije, komentirale usporedno po regijama i istodobno su praćeni nalazi dobiveni različitim tehnikama.

Rezultati i rasprava

Inicijativnost, osjećaj „autorstva“ na vlastitim akcijama, kao što smo već elaborirale, postaje jedno od ključnih pitanja i problema pedagoških istraživanja. Proučiti utjecaj odgoja na svjesnost djece o mogućnostima djelovanja postaje osnova za validaciju i razumijevanje odgojnih procesa (Lipponen i Kumpulainen, 2011). Inicijativnost

pomaže i pri vrednovanju kvalitete dječjega rada, a naslanja se na ideju da bi djeci trebalo potpuno ili barem u većoj mjeri prepustiti kontrolu nad procesom učenja (Niemi, Kumpulainen i Lipponen, 2015; Siry, Wilmes i Haus, 2016).

Stavke i paralelne ocjene (opredjeljenje protokolom promatranja) po regijama prikazale smo u tablicama 2 i 3, a analizu smo dopunile odgovorima odgojitelja na intervju u fokus grupama.

Tablica 2

Najprije smo razmotrile načine na koje se potiče dječja inicijativnost. Uočile smo da: djeca preuzimaju inicijativu u aktivnostima (Sjeverna i Južna regija – ocjene 4, Centralna – ocjena 2). U Centralnoj regiji djeca najčešće na mjesečnoj razini imaju zadane teme na temelju kojih se planiraju i osmišljavaju aktivnosti. Ne ostavlja se dovoljno prostora za njihove slobodne igre ili za slobodne dječje teme. Najčešći su načini izražavanja inicijativnosti (zabilježeni u svim regijama) pokreti – djeca su aktivna, trče, jure prostorijom, pjevaju, biraju različite centre aktivnosti u kojima će boraviti, odlučuju koliko će boraviti u izabranom centru, mijenjaju centre, a odgojitelji ističu da im u tome pružaju potpunu potporu što smo donekle potvrdile i promatranjem.

Inicijativnost djece potiče još jedna aktivnost – izbor djeteta dana. Odgojitelji dalje ističu da djeci nastoje omogućiti izbor, odnosno omogućiti im bavljenje nekom aktivnošću koliko je potrebno, što nažalost, opservacijom nije uočeno (ni u jednoj regiji). Prema iskazima odgojitelja (sumarni odgovori odgojitelja svih triju regija) *inicijativnost djece najviše se potiče* pružanjem djeci slobode izbora, poticanjem samostalnosti, slobodnoga izražavanja i kreativnosti, stvaranjem poticajne okoline, nuđenjem mnoštva različitoga materijala, poticajima u emocionalnom, fizičkom i voljnom području. Odgojitelji su nam dopunili nalaze ističući da se *inicijativnost izražava* dječjim iniciranjem nekih aktivnosti, prepoznavanjem dječjih potreba i mogućnosti, samostalnošću djece, slobodnim izražavanjem, iznošenjem vlastita mišljenja, slobodnim izborom suradnika u igri, učenjem te raznim interakcijama u radnoj sobi. Važno je to što smo uočile da odgojitelji djecu vode u procesu učenja, pružajući im pomoć prema potrebi, ali im i dopuštajući da samostalno rade ono što mogu. Kao što smo i očekivale u Centralnoj je regiji malo manje prisutna postupnost (ocjena 3), a u Sjevernoj i Južnoj prisutnost je te stavke ocijenjena četvorkom. U svim regijama djeca mogu izraziti svoje osjećaje kada žele. Djeca dio svakodnevnih aktivnosti obavljaju samostalno: pripremaju se za spavanje, za šetnju, crtaju, konstruiraju, ručaju i slično. U situacijama kada djeca rješavaju postavljene zadatke ili tijekom planiranih aktivnosti, najčešće se slijedi strukturirani plan.

Elaboriran segmente dopunile smo razgovorom s odgojiteljima. Na pitanje: *Što činite kada primijetite da dijete može samostalno obavljati neki zadatak, raditi...?* dobile smo odgovore koji se s obzirom na navedene regije nisu znatno razlikovali. Odgojitelji ističu da dijete najčešće u takvim situacijama potiču da nastavi raditi, pohvale ga, ohrabre, ne uznemiravaju ga. Važan je i način na koji se postupa s djecom, a odgojitelji su istaknuli

da djeci nekad daju *jasne/izričite upute*. Odgojitelji su suglasni da su to većinom upute koje se odnose na planirane aktivnosti, korištenje materijala, upoznavanje s pravilima, zadatke u radnim bilježnicama, korištenje fotografija, radnih blokova, bojenje i slično. U tom je dijelu uočeno da se u svim regijama odgojni proces nastoji organizirati i izvoditi prema utvrđenom skupu pravila što u određenoj mjeri utječe na negativno poticanje i izražavanje dječje inicijativnosti.

Okružje je sljedeći segment koji je promatran u istraživanju inicijativnosti. Ovisno o prostornim i materijalnim uvjetima u odgojnoj skupini, odgojitelji se trude poticati djecu da se dostupni materijali koriste učinkovito i kreativno. Najbolji primjer zabilježile smo u Južnoj regiji (vjerojatno zbog manjega broja djece u odgojnoj skupini) i toj stavki dodijelile smo ocjenu 5. Preostalim dvjema regijama dodijelile smo ocjenu 3, a u razgovoru s odgojiteljima u Sjevernoj regiji zabilježile smo nedostatak didaktičkoga materijala (koji se nadomjesti papirom, bojama, tijestom...), a u Centralnoj se regiji kao problem nameće previše djece u skupini. Svakoga dana djeca imaju predviđeno vrijeme za slobodne aktivnosti. To je najčešće vrijeme nakon dolaska djece u predškolsku ustanovu, a za djecu koja ostaju na popodnevnom odmoru i vrijeme nakon spavanja, a prije odlaska kući.

Taj je segment karakterističan po tome što se djeca sama raspoređuju u ponuđenim centrima aktivnosti, a ako nisu zadovoljna ponudom, sama pokreću nove aktivnosti, traže dodatne materijale (radne bilježnice, TV, crtani filmovi, pjesmice, sadržaji s interneta ako za to postoje mogućnosti). Radi se s gotovim materijalima (papiri, kolažni papiri, tempere, vodene boje, flomasteri, voštane bojice, glina, plastelin...), a često su tu i pripremljeni materijali (tijesto, paperje, cvijeće, šišarke, zemlja, biljke, voda, led... Slika 1). Takvo smo stanje zabilježile u svim regijama.

Slika 1

Znatnu razliku među regijama, koja ponovno govori u korist primjerene veličine skupina, uočile smo i s obzirom na vrijeme koje je djeci ostavljano za obavljanje postavljenih zadataka. Tako imamo gradacije u ocjenama koje su proporcionalne u odnosu na brojnost grupa. Centralna regija ocijenjena je ocjenom 2 (svakodnevno više od 40 djece u skupini), Sjeverna ocjenom 4 (oko 30 djece) i Južna ocjenom 5 (20 djece). U svim je navedenim regijama uočeno da je *dnevni raspored* jasno definiran i planiran, što otežava sudjelovanje djece.

Na početku dana razgovara se o tome što se planira raditi. Djecu se obavijesti o planiranim aktivnostima, ali moguće je i da se nešto od planiranog izmijeni ako djeca tako odluče i ako žele raditi nešto drugo (Sjeverna i Južna regija). Ključne odrednice postupanja prema rasporedu tijekom dana su razdoblja kada djeca moraju na spavanje, vrijeme pripreme za ručak, zatim sat engleskoga jezika. U tim situacijama odgojitelji djecu prekidaju u započetim aktivnostima. Uočile smo i neke situacije u kojima se dječja inicijativnost ne potiče dovoljno ili se čak sputava. Također je zapaženo da odgojitelji nisu poduprli takva ponašanja.

Slijedi primjer koji je zabilježen u sjevernoj regiji i koji je izazvao veliko negodovanje odgojitelja. Djeca borave vani, čuju se glazba, graja, smijeh. Djeca sama istražuju, igraju se, surađuju, rade samostalno, u paru, u skupinama... privlače pozornost prolaznika. Ondje je i dječak od otprilike dvije godine koji s bakom sjedi na klupici u dvorištu vrtića. Promatraju djeca u igri. Prilazi im odgojiteljica Aida i pita kako se dječak zove i koliko mu je godina.

„Dječak je Andrej, on je još mali”, odgovori baka.

Aida: „On bi da se igra.”

Baka: „Da, da vidi djecu.”

Aida: „Povedite ga u pijesak da se igra.”

Baka: „A ne, isprljat će se, kada bude išao u vrtić neka se igra. Sada je s bakom, baka ga čuva i treba biti čist”. Aida odlazi za djecom uz komentar: „Pa što ako se i isprlja, djeca se i trebaju prljati...”

Baka i unuk i dalje sjede na klupici. Dječak se uporno okreće i promatra djecu u pijesku, a baka ga usmjerava u suprotnom pravcu jer će tako biti mirniji i neće inzistirati na tome da se zaprlja, da se igra u pijesku...

Zašto se danas sve više javljaju takve tendencije, zašto se djetetu ne dopušta da se zaprlja!? Je li to posljedica konformizma, nekih „popularnih trendova” ili nešto treće?! Upitno postaje i to koliko su stavovi i postupanja odraslih usuglašeni...

Pohvalno je, kako smo uočile, da se u svim grupama *vrednuju i poštuju stvari koje su važne djeci* (visoke ocjene toga indikatora u svim regijama) - razgovori o obitelji, obiteljskim vrijednostima, običajima, kao i o načinu života djece, vode se svakodnevno. Zagovaraju se prijateljski odnosi među djecom, a uočeno je i da se tijekom dana spominju i odnosi djece s drugim osobama izvan vrtića. Postavile smo i pitanje *postoje li mogućnosti za individualizaciju rasporeda dnevnih aktivnosti, i ako postoje, na koji način?* Odgojitelji svih triju regija ističu da individualiziraju dnevne aktivnosti, da je moguća fleksibilnost u skladu s potrebama djece te da poštuju interese djece, no ti su odgovori u koliziji sa situacijom koju smo uočile opservacijom. Vrlo važnim ističu zadovoljavanje primarnih dječjih potreba, ali ipak nismo primijetile fleksibilnost (individualizaciju) pri njihovom zadovoljavanju.

U svim trima regijama potrebe djece zadovoljavaju se u potpunosti jedino s obzirom na fiziološke potrebe, a hranjenje i potrebe za snom zadovoljavaju se na grupnoj razini. S ciljem daljnjega objašnjenja takvih tendencija u intervjuima s fokus grupama pitale smo odgojitelje *sudjeluju li djeca u planiranju i izboru aktivnosti i materijala za radni dan te zamolile da navedu primjer ako sudjeluju*. Tim pitanjem potvrdile smo svoje pretpostavke. Respondenti u svim regijama ističu kako nije praksa da se djecu konzultira prilikom dnevnoga izbora aktivnosti, no u odgovorima smo uočile odstupanja po regijama. Najveća sloboda izbora aktivnosti i materijala izražena je u Južnoj regiji, što ponovno možemo povezati s manjim brojem djece upisane u odgojne skupine.

Odgojitelji Sjeverne regije ističu da, ako djeca pokažu određene interese, nije neobično da se prijeđe na drugu temu, da se nastavi i dalje raditi prethodna i slično.

U Centralnoj regiji ističu da s djecom često razgovaraju o njihovim interesima, da pokušavaju zajednički pronaći ono što im je najzanimljivije (posebno u skupinama starije djece), pa teme osmišljavaju s obzirom na dječje interese. Napomenuli su i to da se ono što je planirano za određeni dan gotovo nikada ne mijenja jer je to vrlo komplicirano uz velik broj djece u skupini.

Tijekom intervjua „nametnulo” se i pitanje *trudite li se prilikom rada s djecom pronaći uzročnu vezu između njihovih sposobnosti, aspiracija, kao i prilika i ograničenja koja se naziru u cilju poticanja inicijativnosti?* Odgojitelji svih triju regija apostrofiraju važnost predznanja i sposobnosti djece i ističu kako se uvijek trude povezati fizičko okruženje, materijalne uvjete i želje djece te kako je vrlo važno da djeca izraze svoje želje jer im se tako može pomoći da izgrade svoju ličnost i identitet. Potiču djecu ako im je to potrebno, usmjeravaju ih i nude izbor aktivnosti u skladu s mogućnostima. Dodaju također da se ne može zanemariti ni obiteljsko naslijeđe i sredina iz koje dijete dolazi. To je, naime, vrlo važno kako se djeca ne bi dovela u situaciju da sama sebe (svjesno ili nesvjesno) inhibiraju (svjesno ili ne) ako su zahtjevi suprotni onima koje imaju kod kuće.

Tablica 3

Vršnjačke interakcije vrlo su važne u poticanju inicijativnosti. Za vrijeme promatranja evidentirale smo više slučajeva dječje inicijative. Gotovo su sva djeca u nekom dijelu dana prilazila i započinjala razgovor s promatračicom, pitala su je što se to radi, zbog čega se to radi, isticala što ona mogu, kamo mogu ići, što se vole igrati... Na primjer, „Moja majka ima isti kompjuter”; „Moja tetka ima iste papuče”. „Moj brat ne razlikuje boje, a visok je dva metra, stariji je od mene”. Nekoliko njih izrazilo je želju da promatračici nešto nacrtaju (sunce, djevojčicu, nebo, leptire, cvijeće...) jer vole crtati kada su sretna... što smo prikazale Slikom 2.

Slika 2

U manjoj mjeri djeca rade u parovima, pa je u Centralnoj regiji dodijeljena ocjena 2, a u Sjevernoj i Južnoj regiji 3. Nismo evidentirale zadatke planirane za rad u parovima, a zastupljeni modalitet rada u paru bio je kada su se djeca zajedno igrala, slagala kockice, *puzzle* ... a prisutan je bio samo radi racionalizacije potrebnoga vremena, teško da je osmišljen radi zajedničkoga spoznavanja ili poticanja interakcije.

Uočile smo interakcije među djecom, slobodu izbora suspoznavatelja prilikom učenja, a značajno je i to što smo primijetile da odgojitelji to podupiru. Djeca sama biraju centre aktivnosti, kao i djecu s kojima će učiti, raditi, igrati se, pa čak i pored koga će postaviti krevet za popodnevnoga odmora. Odgojitelji su nam dali homogone odgovore na pitanje: *koliko je važna vršnjačka interakcija za inicijativnost?* te potvrdili nalaze dobivene promatranjem, naime, da je vršnjačka interakcija stalno prisutna i vrlo značajna za dječji razvoj.

Odgojitelji, nadalje, navode da djeca interakcijom uče jedna od drugih, stječu i usvajaju određene modele ponašanja, socijaliziraju se i potiču natjecateljski duh. Svi

odgojitelji ističu da je *suradnja s roditeljima* itekako važna, jer se u radu ne može mnogo postići ako ona izostane. Nekad je potrebno da se dijete sagleda iz više perspektiva; dogodi se da se dijete drukčije ponaša kod kuće i u vrtiću, roditelji znaju biti previše popustljivi, nekritički se postave i slično. Zbog toga je vrlo važno da „postoji suradnja i da bude iskrena”. Ističu kako je vrlo važno da rad bude transparentan, da se roditelji uključuju i pomažu u aktivnostima koje se provode.

Zaključak

Reforme predškolskog i uopće odgojno-obrazovnog sustava u Crnoj Gori prindoijele su tome da se djetetu pristupa holistički, da u fokusu budu djetetova korist, sreća i zadovoljstvo, te slobodna igra i učenje putem igre. Dnevnom je režimom određeno kada se što radi u tijeku dana, a djeci i odgojiteljima ostaje i nekoliko mogućnosti da se „osamostale”. Uočili smo da je djeci vrlo važan koncept vremena, vremenska određenost za planirane aktivnosti. Upravo ta dnevna dinamika, uvriježeni režim rada koji smo uočile u svim trima promatranim jedinicama utječu na konkretne akcije djece. Fiksno je vrijeme kada se obavljaju fiziološke potrebe (hranjenje, higijenske potrebe, odmor, spavanje i slično). Ostalo vrijeme predviđeno je za dječiju igru, učenje, grupne i individualne aktivnosti... od odgojitelja smo dobile indikacije da djeca uglavnom imaju planirane grupne aktivnosti, koje se odvijaju po centrima aktivnosti, a da se slobodno vrijeme za igru ne planira nego se djeci prepušta izbor i suigrača i aktivnosti.

Ipak, kao i mnoga druga istraživanja, naše je pokazalo da je to vrijeme za slobodnu igru ograničeno brojnim čimbenicima kao što su vrijeme polaska kući, razmještaj u sobi strukturirane aktivnosti u većem dijelu dana (vidjeti i Strandell, 1997; Holligan, 2000; Einarsdottir, 2003; Markstrom, 2005; Markstrom & Hallden, 2009). Rutina je dio društvenih i institucionalnih pravila, a raspored, aktivnosti i materijali koji se koriste načinjeni su za skupine. Čak i kada raspored predviđa aktivnosti koje ne kontroliraju odrasli, djeca funkcioniraju u kolektivu i imaju svoja zaduženja. Ugledaju se na vršnjake i cijene povratne informacije u odnosu na svoje ponašanje, aktivnosti, postignuća i slično. Promatrano iz perspektive djeteta, predškolske ustanove nisu samo institucije nego mjesta, arene gdje djeca djeluju, uče, pokazuju inicijativnost (Corsaro, 1997; Jenks, 1996; Christensen & James, 2000; Mayall, 2002; James & James, 2004). Studije dječjeg ponašanja rasvjetljavaju znanja koja djeca razvijaju i prakticiraju u institucijama, a nisu ih naučila izravno od drugih (odraslih ili djece); to je jedan oblik implicitnog učenja koje je nametnuto vrtićkim okruženjem. Stoga se postavlja pitanje je li djeci u predškolskim ustanovama u Crnoj Gori vrtićko okruženje dovoljno poticajno, dopušta li im se da raspoložive resurse koriste na različite, njima „zanimljive” načine? Nalazi do kojih smo došle impliciraju da se u vrtićima ipak ne otvara dovoljno mjesta za njihovo implicitno učenje. Takvi nam nalazi ponovno apostrofiraju proturječja na koja smo naišliesintezom odgovora odgojitelja i promatranjem. Moramo istaknuti da se u praksi ipak ne očitava teoretsko planiranje i idealni načini postupanja, koje odgojitelji potenciraju. Postoje male varijacije u postupanju, koje korespondiraju s brojčanim

stanjem u radnoj sobi - veći broj djece u grupi, manje mogućnosti za individualizaciju i rada i rasporeda. Ipak pozitivno je to što smo u svim trima regijama jasno uočile nastajanja da se potrebe djece „osluhuju” i da se postupa u skladu s njima.

Naša studija pokazuje da se u predškolskim ustanovama u Crnoj Gori radi prema strukturiranom dnevnom režimu, posebno u većim odgojnim skupinama (Centralna regija), a da je malo prostora ostavljeno za dječje manipulacije materijalima ili za istraživanje. Kao što smo uočile znatno prekobrojne grupe najveći su problem za nesmetan rad. Skupina s manje djece ostavlja prostor za fleksibilniji raspored; nije neophodno unaprijed osmisliti sve aktivnosti, dio se može ostaviti za samostalno dječje izražavanje, kreativnost te vježbanje samokontrole i inicijativnosti. Stoga se svakako preporučuje ujednačenje i smanjenje broja djece u odgojnim skupinama da bi se poboljšao i unaprijedio i cjelokupan rad i odgajanje djece.

Ograničenja

Moramo napomenuti i da naše istraživanje ima neka ograničenja u pogledu uopćavanja dobivenih nalaza. Podaci koji se odnose na kontekst predškolske ustanove predstavljaju samo mali uvid u načine odgajanja inicijativnosti i identiteta. Buduća istraživanja mogla bi uključiti višedimenzionalne analize koje bi uračunale sve čimbenike poticanja razvoja identitetakoji se javljaju u dječjim okruženjima te kvantitativno potkrijepiti i poboljšati dobivene rezultate.