

The Educational Intention behind Non-Intervention: A Case on the Japanese Mimamoru Approach as Early Childhood Teachers' Professionalism

Fuminori Nakatsubo¹, Harutomo Ueda², Takako Yoshida³, Mariko Inoue⁴, Sayaka Nakanishi⁵, Aiichiro Sakai⁶ and Lok-Wah Li⁷

¹Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Hiroshima University

²Graduate school of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nagoya City University

³Child Education and Welfare, Osaka International College

⁴Department of Early Childhood Education and Care, Senzoku Junior College of Childhood Education

⁵Faculty of Social Welfare, Bukkyo University

⁶Faculty of Home Economics, Kyoritsu Women's University

⁷Eliot-Pearson Department of Child Study and Human Development, Tufts University

Abstract

Teachers' moment-by-moment interactions with children are powerful determinants of children's learning outcomes and development. Successful guidance involves teachers' intentionality, yet one's intent to teach may be hard to discern. Teachers using indirect, non-observable approaches are prone to be misunderstood as not actively guiding children's learning. Therefore, the present study revisited the conceptualization of Intentional Teaching, using the Mimamoru Approach within the Japanese early childhood education context as an exemplar. We investigated how Japanese educators defined the Mimamoru Approach and how it meaningfully reflected their professionalism. Three early childhood teachers participated in a focus group interview and shared their reactions towards a short video about an incident in a preschool classroom. Their narratives explicated the core values and processes of the Mimamoru Approach: illustrating the non-intervening approach as indicative of trusting and respecting children's independence and initiative. Implications of this study suggested

the subtle Mimamoru Approach and the observable US practices in Intentional Teaching should not be viewed as dichotomous, but as examples on a spectrum that considers teachers' professionalism within cultural contexts.

Key words: *Intentional Teaching; Japanese early childhood teachers; cross-cultural comparison; US early childhood teachers.*

Introduction

Early childhood teachers' professionalism has received much global attention given its impacts towards young children's learning (OECD, 2012). For example, the European Early Childhood Education Research Association (EECERA) dedicated a special feature to early childhood teachers' professionalism and training in a journal published in 2008 (Dayan, 2008; Karila, 2008). In Asia, the National Examination System for Teacher Qualification was introduced nationwide in China in 2015 (see Xu, 2019), and the Continual Professional Development requirement was issued to early childhood educators in Singapore. In the US, the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) stated in their Position Statement that "young children benefit from well-planned, intentionally implemented, culturally-relevant curriculum that both supports and challenges them" (NAEYC, 2009, p.5). NAEYC defined teachers' professionalism as displayed through teachers' intentional and mindful teaching. As a whole, early childhood teachers' professionalism is associated with one's display of intentionality in teaching. Some countries, such as New Zealand, have begun officially requiring early childhood educators to encourage children's learning with intention and purpose (Cherrington, 2018), as stated in their revised edition of Te Fariki, the national curriculum of New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2017). The conceptualizations of early childhood educators' professionalism and intentionality in teaching have a wide impact on early childhood teachers in the US, China, UK, Australia and New Zealand.

The emphasis on intentionality in NAEYC's statement aligned with Intentional Teaching, which refers to teachers having specific goals and desired outcomes in mind when guiding children's learning in aspects related to literacy, mathematics, science, and various aspects of their development: social, emotional, cognitive, physical, and creative (Epstein, 2007). Intentional Teaching is valued as best teaching practices that "require us to always be thinking about what we are doing and how it will foster children's development and produce real and lasting learning" (Epstein, 2007, p.10). In Intentional Teaching, early childhood teachers purposefully guide children's exploration by mindfully structuring the physical learning environment, scheduling the program for the day, interacting with children, and building relationships with families (Epstein, 2007). Teachers' intention in supporting children's learning manifests in educational plans, frameworks and activities (Siraj-Blatchford et al., 2002). Teachers' moment-by-moment actions and interactions with children are the most powerful determinants of

children's learning outcomes and development, and effective teachers are intentional in their use of a variety of approaches and strategies to support children's interests and abilities in each learning domain (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009). Therefore, teachers' educational intention has been an important indicator of educators' professionalism and has gained much attention from around the world.

Cultural meaning in educators' intentional teaching practices

Despite the way professionalism and intentionality in teaching are relevant to early childhood educators around the world, cross-cultural studies have long emphasized the need to understand cultural influences when defining teachers' practices and beliefs (Tobin et al., 1989). The definition of "professionalism" is often defined in limiting terms, missing the key components that give meaning to how educators within their specific cultural contexts demonstrate professionalism (Harwood et al., 2013). Teachers' practices in guiding children's learning are based on their own values and traditions (Delpit, 2006; Kern et al., 2012; Spodek, 1988). In particular, teachers from multicultural backgrounds intuitively recognise the unique needs of children from diverse backgrounds through relying on their instructional instincts, such as trial and error and personal awareness (Flores, 2001; Schwartz et al., 2010). Teachers' instincts and intuitions are valuable expertise that have positive effects on children's learning (Adair et al., 2012). When considering teachers' professionalism in Intentional Teaching, therefore, one must include teachers' individual beliefs and cultural perspectives that shape their practices in guiding children's learning.

The *Mimamoru* Approach

The present study, therefore, sought to expand the current conceptualizations of Intentional Teaching through focusing on Japanese educators' approaches to children's peer conflicts as an exemplar. Prior studies (see Lewis, 1995; Tobin et al., 2009) have compared the characteristics of early childhood education and care between the United States and Japan. These studies suggested that in general, early childhood teachers in Japan intentionally refrain from teaching and intervening directly with educational goals. Early childhood teachers in Japan tend to choose not to intervene even if their children are in conflict situations, as teachers believe providing time for their children to struggle can encourage children's emotional development (Hayashi & Tobin, 2015). Quoting from one teacher's explanation in Hayashi and Tobin's study (2015):

Japanese teachers wait until children solve their problems on their own. Children know what they are capable of. Otherwise, children become people who cannot do things without permission. Of course, if they are in a situation where they do not know what to do, we talk it over with them, and then we wait and see what happens. (p.20)

Teachers would generally wait until children resolve problems on their own – this approach should not be seen as teachers lacking the ability to react to situations (Tobin et al., 2009).

The idea of educators taking the time to wait, observe, then intervene in the Japanese early childhood education and care context is known as the *Mimamoru* (見守る) approach. In Japanese, *mi* means “to watch” and *mamoru* means “to guard”. The *Mimamoru* Approach represents a general Japanese pedagogical strategy of early childhood education and care as “teaching by watching” (Hayashi, 2011). Similar to a hands-off or low intervention approach that teachers in the US use when supporting children’s cognitive and social emotional development, the *Mimamoru* Approach can be considered as one of the strategies for early childhood teachers to provide a place and space for children to solve problems on their own. This is the pedagogical approach based on waiting, patience, taking a long perspective, and watching rather than acting (Hayashi & Tobin, 2015).

The present study

Given its cultural meaning in early childhood education, the concept of *Mimamoru* may contradict the type of Intentional Teaching endorsed by most early childhood teachers in the United States. US early childhood teachers, who practice the use of a variety of observable approaches and strategies to intentionally support children’s development, may view educators who practice the *Mimamoru* Approach as lacking professionalism. The misunderstanding may arise due to the apparent invisibility of direct teaching and immediate intervention in the work with children (Tobin et al., 2009). In order to make visible the culturally-grounded professionalism within a common practice among educators in Japan, we present a qualitative study that leveraged the voices of Japanese educators to illustrate the following:

- 1 What is the *Mimamoru* Approach and how does it relate to the early childhood teachers’ professionalism?
- 2 Why do Japanese teachers appear as refraining from intervening purposefully in a conflict situation despite having the educational intentions to do so?

Based on the answers to these questions, the current study compared the differences between the Japanese *Mimamoru* Approach and the Intentional Teaching method preferred in the United States as the teachers’ professionalism. The significance of this study is to suggest a new point of view to the discussion of early childhood teachers’ professionalism in the United States through investigating the Japanese *Mimamoru* Approach of early childhood education and care, which is different from the US style of Intentional Teaching.

Methods

Participants

The present study was conducted in Japan. Three participants were included in the study. Participants’ ages ranged from 35 to 55 years, and they were all early childhood teachers working in Japan at the time of the interview. Two participants worked in daycare centers and one worked in a kindergarten. Their work experience ranged from

15 to 30 years, and their education level ranged from completing a four-year college (bachelor's degree) to graduate course (master's degree). All participants were Japanese and thus the focus group discussions were conducted in their native language, Japanese.

The justification to recruit the three individuals to participate in this study were as follows: (1) All participants had rich experiences in early childhood education and care practices; (2) they had high interest not only in childcare practice but also in research on early childhood education and care; (3) they understood the importance of the *Mimamoru* Approach and reported that they practiced it themselves. Therefore, the information provided by the three participants could deepen our interpretation of *Mimamoru* Approach as a cultural activity. An informed consent was obtained from all participants. All procedures were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institution and national research committee, and with the 1964 Helsinki Declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards.

Procedure

Focus groups were designed based on Tobin's (1989) Video-Cued Multi-Vocal Visual Ethnography Method. The goal was to use a video clip as a stimulation media in drawing upon participants' practical knowledge. In June of 2011, the three teachers and researchers gathered to watch a four-minute short video. The video segment was extracted from a documentary on Atom Daycare Center in Osaka, Japan. The documentary was produced by Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK, a Japan Broadcasting Corporation) and was aired nation-wide in July 2003¹. The research team selected this particular video clip in eliciting participants' responses because: (1) The teacher and children's utterances, facial expressions and movements could be clearly viewed as verbal and non-verbal communication in the video clip; (2) the video clip featured a sudden situation that the teacher couldn't anticipate, and that required the teacher to decide whether to intervene or not; (3) the teacher demonstrated the *Mimamoru* Approach despite the fact children were in conflict and she could have used more direct intervention methods available. Given these characteristics, the video clip was appropriate for obtaining participants' narratives and analyzing their practical knowledge as data.

Participants viewed the four-minute video clip which featured the teacher, Hasegawa-sensei², practicing the *Mimamoru* Approach. After watching the video, participants engaged in an open discussion regarding their reactions towards Hasegawa-sensei's practices. Focus group discussions were audio recorded and later transcribed. The following is a summary of the video shown to the participants prior to their group discussion:

¹ We were given the permission by NHK to use the video clip for research purposes.

² *Sensei* means "teacher" in Japanese. This is an honorific term commonly used for all teachers or professionals in Japan.

It was the beginning of the school year in April 2002. The five-year-old children were at the river bank near the school. They gathered wild greens and used them as the ingredients for dumplings – an idea that was initiated by the children as teachers from that school encouraged children to decide what to do by themselves. Children mixed the wild greens they picked into dough and kneaded the dough into small balls for later boiling. One girl, Riho, dropped the plate with small dough balls on the floor, with almost all of them being contaminated. Some children complained to Riho and said, “I can’t believe you did that!” Riho cried.



Figure 1. A girl (Riho) has dropped them on the floor by mistake



Figure 2. Teacher decides not to intervene in this problem

The teacher, Noriko Hasegawa (Hasegawa-sensei), said to the children, “You are the members of a group, right? I’m hoping all of you will think together about what to do.” In the beginning, children seemed lost about what to do and some began playing with the dough balls on the ground. One girl said, “I hope you all think about this seriously.” Another girl said, “I think the balls would get worse if you play with them.” One boy said, “Riho should take the responsibility for this problem!”



Figure 3. Teacher has kept on watching this situation for about 40 long minutes across the counter



Figure 4. Teacher said “You will go on arguing about who dropped the balls, won’t you?”

Hasegawa-sensei continued observing the children for about 40 minutes from behind the kitchen counter. Up until this point, children had been complaining and discussing

who was to blame. Hasegawa-sensei said, “You are going to keep on arguing about who dropped the balls, aren’t you?” One child said, “No, we won’t.” At last, two girls cried and said, “It wasn’t all Riho’s fault. I should feel responsible for this because I brought them (to the table) with her.” Then, as a group, children stopped blaming others and began thinking about how to resolve the situation. They dusted the dough balls as an attempt to make them edible, even though they were no longer fit for consumption. In the end, the children cooked and evenly distributed the leftover dough dumplings.

Analytic strategy

The transcript of the three participants’ discussion was analyzed using the Steps for Coding and Theorization (SCAT; Otani, 2011) method. SCAT is an analytic strategy developed for qualitative data with a small sample size, and it is widely adopted by research studies in Japan, particularly in the fields of education (Otani, 2011). SCAT began with researchers taking four steps to decontextualise the data and create new themes. Then researchers recontextualise the data by connecting the themes to create storylines. Through the process of decontextualisation and recontextualisation, researchers investigate the deep meaning behind participants’ interview data. In the present study, analyses were conducted in the following order (Otani, 2011). First, the full interview was partitioned into 216 segments, with each segment as representing a main topic. The exact phrases or words deemed noteworthy were extracted from the text in each segment. Second, researchers paraphrased the phrases or words from each segment. Third, researchers explained the paraphrases by also including the background information of the interviewer or the context. Researchers also made connections among the paraphrased ideas by comparing, contrasting, or suggesting cause and effect. Fourth, 102 themes were generated based on the explanations (decontextualisation). Fifth, researchers also noted any questions or problems that occurred throughout the analytic process. Sixth, a storyline was created inductively by connecting the multiple themes (recontextualisation). Lastly, a theory was generated based on the storyline. In the present study, five researchers analyzed the data as a group, and any disagreements were discussed and consensus was reached.

Results

Participants’ narratives on the Mimamoru Approach

Through theoretical coding, the three early childhood teachers’ narratives on the teacher’s actions resulted in a storyline that described the processes of the *Mimamoru* Approach. In general, participants highlighted the core value of the approach was to allow children to solve the problem by themselves even if the process takes time. The participants identified the intentionality behind Hasegawa-sensei’s non-intervention: “It seems that although Hasegawa-sensei was moved by children’s reactions, she did not immediately jump in to help resolve the situation” (Participant A); “Hasegawa-sensei must have thoroughly thought about that, or else she wouldn’t be able to [give

such guidance]” (Participant B). In the video, the intentionality in Hasegawa-sensei’s *Mimamoru* Approach was evidenced in three instances, each described in detail below.

Intentional Distance. The first instance involved Hasegawa-sensei positioning herself slightly away from the children and the problematic situation. Participants who viewed the video described the teacher’s act of distancing as an intentional strategy to understand children’s emotions and provide space for them to solve problems. “When the mochi balls fell on the ground, Hasegawa-sensei was on Riho’s side watching the incident. Seeing this, I think if I were [Hasegawa-sensei], I might have already knelt down and intervened.” (Participant B). Participants explained that although Hasegawa-sensei did not speak directly to the children, her distance was intentional in giving the tacit message of “solve the problem by yourselves immediately.” Participant B noted, “Hasegawa-sensei was at a counter-like place with quite a lot of distance. Her place seemed to be out of children’s sight. I felt that Hasegawa-sensei must have been thinking about how the incident would unfold.”

According to Hayashi and Tobin (2015), in the situation of disputes between children, Japanese teachers intentionally and strategically adjust their location in the classroom to prepare for arbitration if the need should arise. In the video, Hasegawa-sensei intentionally stood at a position close enough for her to make a suggestion if needed, and at the same time distant enough to allow children solve the problem by themselves.

Intentional Gestures. The second example illustrated a core value in the *Mimamoru* Approach, related to the teacher’s use of nonverbal gestures. Participants noticed this strategy during the scene when a child, Riho, accidentally dropped the ingredients on the ground. Hasegawa-sensei responded by nodding twice, making a facial expression, and having eye contact with Riho. All participants described Hasegawa-sensei’s subtle reactions as a meaningful strategy to avoid direct intervention, to leave children with no choice but to solve the problem by themselves. Hasegawa-sensei’s gesture acted as a non-verbal message to the children, “I will not help you. Please solve the problem yourselves.” In reaction to this scene, Participant B described that “If it had been up to me, I would not have been standing like that. I would probably have gone to Riho’s side and knelt down [to intervene].” Participants interpreted Hasegawa-sensei’s seemingly withdrawn actions as intentional guidance, which aligned with the results of previous studies which showed that Japanese teachers employ non-verbal cues in guiding children (Burke & Duncan, 2015). The concept of *Mimamoru* is beyond a cultural belief of Japanese preschool teachers—it is also an embodied performance of attention and inattention in space (Hayashi & Tobin, 2015).

Intentional Timing. In addition to distancing and the use of nonverbal cues, the third instance highlighted the timing of the intervention. The use of this tactic was seen in the video segment when all children had endured about 40 minutes to resolve the problem before they began blaming each other. Hasegawa-sensei intervened and asked, “Are you all going to keep pointing fingers at who dropped the food?” Then

the teacher kept silent for a long interval, when two girls started to cry and confessed that they were responsible for the incident. The three participants described the way Hasegawa-sensei had already spent a substantial amount of time (40 minutes) to practice the *Mimamoru* Approach by allowing children to resolve the issue. Participant B noted, "It's amazing that she waited for 40 minutes. It would be much shorter if it were up to me. Hasegawa-sensei was truly amazing in the way she observed and watched over the children for 40 minutes non-stop." Eventually, the situation reached a point when the children began blaming each other out of frustration. Hasegawa-sensei intervened by using a very short prompt to teach an important lesson that blaming someone else would not solve the problem. Hasegawa-sensei's action, which we named "minimum temporary intervention", showed that she believed in the children's ability to solve problems, and the children were responsive to her *Mimamoru* Approach. This could be the reason for which the children could identify the source of their struggle and thus resolve the problem.

In general, Japanese teachers wait until children solve their problems on their own. However, if children are not able to resolve the situation and become frustrated about what to do, teachers intervene by talking to children and then wait to see how the situation unfolds (Hayashi & Tobin, 2015). In the video, Hasegawa-sensei talked to the children possibly because she sensed that they would not be able to proceed in solving the problem should she continue to wait. With her minimum temporary intervention at an intentional timing, she provided the children with the opportunity to solve the problem by themselves.

In sum, through the video prompt, the participants outlined the core components of the *Mimamoru* Approach: non-interventional involvement, positioning oneself, and scaffolding with prompts. Behind the practice of such a closed definition, there was a stance of early childhood teacher's trust in children's abilities. Children could feel safe to express themselves by understanding such teacher's positions.

The professionalism behind practicing the Mimamoru Approach

In addition to explaining the process of *how* the *Mimamoru* Approach unfolded, the participants' discussions also suggested *why* such approach was practiced. Participant A commented the hidden agenda behind Hasegawa-sensei's seemingly expressionless intervention:

Despite the way Hasegawa-sensei's expressions seemed blank or if anything, straightforward, she remained on the children's side and waited. It seems that Hasegawa-sensei gave space for children to experience the process of expressing themselves. Hence, she waited at a place slightly away from the children. Her *Mimamoru* method was perhaps captured by 'I am waiting for you.'

As seen from previous studies, Japanese early childhood teachers generally guide children to solve problems by themselves (Burke & Duncan, 2015). In order to achieve the goal, teachers refrain from teaching or intervening purposefully despite their

educational intentions and sympathetic feelings towards children and their struggles. It takes patience for the teachers to suppress their emotions and wait for children to solve problems by themselves. Therefore, this type of action by early childhood teachers, consisting of invisible teaching and intervention, does not reflect a lack of professionalism, but rather requires a high level of professionalism.

Moreover, participants explained the way *Mimamoru* Approach aligned with Japanese early childhood teachers' general emphasis on the children's ability to act without teachers' explicit instructions. This is one of the characteristics of the Japanese cultural practice of early childhood care and education (Tobin et al., 2009). In Japanese culture, understanding another person's view before finding out about it is viewed as more important than understanding another person's view after that. Therefore, as part of a culturally meaningful and accepted practice, Japanese early childhood teachers respect the independence and initiative of children and choose purposefully against direct teaching or intervention.

Discussion and conclusion

The present study sought to uncover the process and meaning behind the *Mimamoru* Approach in order to enrich the current understanding on teachers' various meaningful forms of Intentional Teaching with young children. We believe Copple and Bredekamp (2009) have highlighted the significance in understanding teachers' intentionality:

Whenever you see a great classroom, one in which children are learning and thriving, you can be sure that the teachers are highly intentional. In everything that good teachers do—creating the environment, considering the curriculum and tailoring it to the children as individuals, planning learning experiences, and interacting with children—they are purposeful and thoughtful. (p. 33-34)

Copple and Bredekamp's description of an excellent early childhood teacher in the US context required intentionality. The same requirement is also applicable to early childhood teachers in Japan. Intentionality is core to the *Mimamoru* Approach, and it is seen in the way teachers let children solve problems by themselves and become capable of initiating and completing tasks on their own. The challenge in illustrating Intentional Teaching, on the one hand, and *Mimamoru* Approach on the other, lies in the differences between the Japanese and American early childhood teachers' approaches to how they embody the intentionality.

This challenge is relevant in early childhood professionalism, since teachers' explicit display of intentionality has been considered as the acceptable way of guiding children's learning. This is seen in the way most US early childhood teachers tend to approach children through direct interventions, such as "encourage purposefully", "build a platform", and "develop children's skills" (Pianta, 2003). US early childhood teachers also engage in exchanging appropriate emotions with children through expressing empathy (Dombro et al., 2011). A rich interaction with children involves early childhood teachers' emotional support (Hamre & Pianta, 2005).

In contrast, Japanese early childhood teachers are different from the US educators because the *Mimamoru* Approach places emphasis on children's own ability to solve problems under close observation and scaffolding of the teacher. When practicing the *Mimamoru* Approach, Japanese early childhood teachers tend to approach children indirectly, suppress the expression of empathy despite having empathetic feelings, and refrain from direct intervention. They are seen as expressing intentionality in three aspects. First, teachers consider their physical distance from children's interactions and stay where they cannot be seen to create an atmosphere that can function as a message to children that they are watched, understood, trusted, and supported by the teacher. Participants in our study have noticed the way Hasegawa-sensei intentionally positioned herself behind the kitchen counter while observing children's quarrels. Hayashi and Tobin (2015) pointed out that Japanese early childhood teachers deliberately adjust their distance from children in order to allow them to solve a problem and also to intervene if necessary.

Second, educators use nonverbal cues to guide children's actions. Such indirect guidance, in fact, contains cognitive and emotional messages. The cognitive messages include "I am watching you" (attention, observation) and "I forbid it" (limitation, prohibition, control). The emotional messages conveyed consist of "I trust you" (confidence), "I understand you" (sympathy), and "Don't be worried" (support). As a result, children could have a feeling of being watched, understood, trusted, and supported; and could express themselves freely.

Third, Japanese early childhood teachers intervene directly only when children's activity becomes "frozen" and the situation becomes difficult for the children to solve by themselves. However, this direct intervention by early childhood teachers is minimal and temporary and involves making difficult decisions about when and how much to intervene.

The present study articulated the practical meaning and theoretical construction of the *Mimamoru* Approach. Findings from this study should be interpreted in light of some limitations. First, the discussion group involved three participants from the same preschool in Japan. Future studies should include more participants from various schools so as to include multiple voices in describing the *Mimamoru* Approach. Second, the video used for discussion illustrated one teacher's approach to a conflict that occurred in a classroom setting. Future studies could include a variety of video samples of different teachers and different situations, such that would provide deeper understanding of how the *Mimamoru* Approach is implemented across various situations in an early childhood setting. The present study sought to contribute to the rising cross-cultural exchange of early childhood education practices in a way that provides insights from other practices and enriches their own professionalism. The *Mimamoru* Approach should not be considered as forming a dichotomy, but instead should be studied in conjunction with other intentional teaching approaches and generate discussions on the professionalism of early childhood care and education in each country.

References

- Adair, J. K., Tobin, J., & Arzubiaga, A. E. (2012). The dilemma of cultural responsiveness and professionalization: Listening closer to immigrant teachers who teach children of recent immigrants. *Teachers College Record*, 114(12), 1-37.
- Burke, R., & Duncan, J. (2015). *Bodies as sites of cultural reflection in early childhood education*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315758718>
- Cherrington, S. (2018). *Te Whāriki 2017: A refreshed early childhood curriculum for New Zealand*. Child Research Net. https://www.childresearch.net/projects/ecec/2018_02.html
- Copple, C., & Bredekamp, S (Ed.) (2009). *Developmentally appropriate practice in early childhood programs serving children from birth through age 8*. National Association for the Education of Young Children.
- Dayan, Y. (2008). Towards professionalism in early childhood practicum supervision – A personal journey. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, 16(2), 153-170. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13502930802141592>
- Delpit, L. (2006). *Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom*. New Press.
- Dombro, A. L., Jablon, J. R., & Stetson. C. (2011). Powerful interactions. *Young Children*, 66(1), 12-20.
- Epstein, A. S. (2007). *The intentional teacher: Choosing the best strategies for young children's learning*. National Association for the Education of Young Children.
- Flores, B. B. (2001). Bilingual education teachers' beliefs and their relation to self-reported practices. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 25(3), 275-299. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2001.10162795>
- Hamre, B. K., & Pianta, R. C. (2005). Can instructional and emotional support in the first-grade classroom make a difference for children at risk of school failure? *Child Development*, 76(5), 949-967. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2005.00889.x>
- Harwood, D., Klopper, A., Osanyin, A., & Vanderlee, M-L. (2013). "It's more than care": Early childhood educators' concepts of professionalism. *Early Years*, 33(1), 4-17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09575146.2012.667394>
- Hayashi, A. (2011). The Japanese hands-off approach to curriculum guidelines for early childhood education as a form of cultural practice. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Research in Early Childhood Education*, 5(2), 107-123. <https://doi.org/10.1037/e679492011-001>
- Hayashi, A., & Tobin, J. (2015). *Teaching embodied: Cultural practice in Japanese preschools*. The University of Chicago Press. <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226263243.001.0001>
- Karila, K. (2008). A Finnish viewpoint on professionalism in early childhood education. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, 16(2), 210-223. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13502930802141634>
- Kern, A. L., Roehrig, G., & Wattam, D. K. (2012). Inside a beginning immigrant science teacher's classroom: An ethnographic study. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 18(4), 469-481. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2012.696047>
- Lewis, C. C. (1995). *Educating hearts and minds: Reflections on Japanese preschool and elementary education*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ministry of Education. (2017). *Te Whāriki. He whāriki mātauranga mō ngā mokopuna o Aotearoa Early childhood curriculum*. Ministry of Education.

- National Association for the Education of Young Children (2009). *NAEYC Standards for Early Childhood Professional Preparation*. https://www.naeyc.org/sites/default/files/globally-shared/downloads/PDFs/resources/position-statements/2009%20Professional%20Prep%20stdsRevised%204_12.pdf
- OECD. (2012). *Starting Strong III: A quality toolbox for early childhood education and care*. OECD Publishing.
- Otani, T. (2011) SCAT: Step for coding and theorization. *Kansei Engineering International Journal*, 10(2), 155-160.
- Peak, L. (1991). *Learning to go to school in Japan: The transition from home to preschool life*. University of California Press. <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520914285>
- Pianta, R.C. (2003). *Standardized classroom observations from pre-k to 3rd grade: A mechanism for improving access to consistently high quality classroom experiences and practices during the P-3 years*. Foundation for child development.
- Schwartz, M., Mor-Sommerfeld, A., & Leikin, M. (2010). Facing bilingual education: Kindergarten teachers' attitudes, strategies and challenges. *Language Awareness*, 19(3), 187-203. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658416.2010.491919>
- Spodek, B. (1988). Implicit theories of early childhood teachers: Foundations for professional behavior. In B. Spodek O. N. Saracho, & D. L. Peters (Eds.), *Professionalism and the early childhood practitioner* (pp. 161–172). Teachers College.
- Tobin, J. (1989). Visual anthropology and multivocal ethnography: A dialogical approach to Japanese preschool class size. *Dialectical Anthropology*, 13, 173-187. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00704329>
- Tobin, J., Hsueh, Y., & Karasawa, M. (2009). *Preschool in three cultures revisited*. The University of Chicago Press. <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226805054.001.0001>
- Tobin, J., Vu, D., & Davidson, D. (1989). *Preschool in three cultures*. Yale University Press.
- Xu, J. (2019). The construction of practical teaching system for the major of preschool education in applied-oriented universities under the background of preschool teacher qualification examination [in Chinese]. *Journal of Shaanxi Xueqian Normal University*, 35(2), 46-49.

Fuminori Nakatsubo

Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences
Hiroshima University
1-1-1, Kagamiyama, Higashi-Hiroshima, 7398524, Hiroshima, Japan
nakatsub@hiroshima-u.ac.jp

Harutomo Ueda

Graduate school of Humanities and Social Sciences,
Nagoya City University
Yamanohata 1, Mizuho-cho, Mizuho-ku, Nagoya, 4678501 Aichi, Japan
ueda@hum.nagoya-cu.ac.jp

Takako Yoshida

Child Education and Welfare, Osaka International College
6-21-57 Tohdacho, Moriguchi-shi, 5708555, Osaka, Japan
tak-yoshida@oiu.jp

Mariko Inoue

Department of Early Childhood Education and Care Senzoku Junior
College of Childhood Education
3-2-1 Hisamoto, Takatsu-ku
Kawasaki-shi, 2138580, Kanagawa, Japan
minoue@senzoku.ac.jp

Sayaka Nakanishi

Faculty of Social Welfare
Bukkyo University
96, Kitahananobo-cho, Murasakino, Kita-ku
Kyoto, 6038301, Japan
s-nakanishi@bukkyo-u.ac.jp

Aiichiro Sakai

Faculty of Home Economics
Kyoritsu women's University
1-43-6-1002 Sekiguchi
Bunkyo-ku, 1120014, Tokyo, Japan
asakai@kyoritsu-wu.ac.jp

Lok-Wah Li

Tufts University
Eliot-Pearson Department of Child Study and Human Development
105 College Avenue, Medford, 02155, Massachusetts, USA
Lok-Wah.Li@tufts.edu

Obrazovna svrha neuplitanja: slučaj japanskoga *mimamoru* pristupa kao dio profesionalizma predškolskih učitelja

Sažetak

*Trenutačne i kontinuirane interakcije učitelja s djecom moćne su odrednice ishoda učenja i razvoja djece. Uspješno vodstvo uključuje namjeru učitelja, a namjeru pojedinca da poučava ipak je nekada teško razlučiti. Učitelje koji koriste indirektna, neprimjetna pristupe skloni smo krivo razumjeti kao one koji dječje učenje ne usmjeravaju aktivno. Stoga ovo istraživanje revidira konceptualizaciju namjernoga poučavanja, navodeći kao primjer *mimamoru* pristup unutar konteksta japanskoga ranog obrazovanja. Istražili smo kako japanski edukatori definiraju *mimamoru* pristup i kako on uvelike odražava njihov profesionalizam. Tri učitelja ranoga obrazovanja činila su fokus-grupu unutar koje su sudjelovali u intervjuu u kojemu su podijelili svoje reakcije na kratki video o događaju u predškolskoj učionici. Njihovi narativi objasnili su temeljne vrijednosti i procese *mimamoru* pristupa: neuplitanje kao pokazatelj povjerenja i poštivanja dječje neovisnosti i inicijative. Implikacije ove studije sugeriraju da suptilni *mimamoru* pristup, kao i vidljive prakse namjernoga poučavanja u SAD-u, ne treba promatrati kao dihotomne, već kako primjere profesionalizma učitelja na istom spektru, ali unutar različitih kulturoloških konteksta.*

Ključne riječi: *japanski učitelji u ranom odgoju; međukulturalne usporedbe; namjerno poučavanje; predškolski učitelji u SAD-u*

Uvod

Profesionalizam učitelja u ranom djetinjstvu privlači globalnu pažnju s obzirom na njegove učinke na učenje mlađe djece (OECD, 2012). Na primjer, Europsko udruženje za istraživanje obrazovanja ranoga djetinjstva (EECERA) posvetilo je posebno izdanje časopisa, objavljeno 2008. godine, profesionalizmu i obrazovanju učitelja u ranom djetinjstvu (Dayan, 2008; Karila, 2008). Od 2015. godine u Kini je na snazi Državni sustav stjecanja kvalifikacija učitelja u cijeloj državi, a u Singapuru su propisani uvjeti kontinuiranoga profesionalnog razvoja za edukatore ranoga djetinjstva. U uvodnoj izjavi Nacionalnoga udruženja za obrazovanje mlade djece (NAEYC) u SAD-u navedeno

je da „mlađa djeca imaju koristi od dobro planiranoga, s namjerom primijenjenoga, kulturno relevantnoga kurikula koji ih podržava u razvoju i pred njih stavlja razvojne izazove” (NAEYC, 2009, str.5). NAEYC definira profesionalizam učitelja kao prisutan u učiteljskom namjernom i pažljivom poučavanju učenika. U cjelini, profesionalizam učitelja u ranom djetinjstvu povezuje se s pokazivanjem namjere u poučavanju. Neke zemlje, poput Novog Zelanda, počele su službeno zahtijevati od edukatora u ranom djetinjstvu da potiču učenje djece s namjerom i svrhom (Cherrington, 2018), kako je navedeno u revidiranom izdanju *Te Fariki*, nacionalnom kurikulu Novog Zelanda (Ministarstvo obrazovanja, 2017). Konceptualizacije profesionalizma edukatora u ranom djetinjstvu i namjere u poučavanju imaju širok utjecaj na učitelje u ranom djetinjstvu u SAD-u, Kini, Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, Australiji i Novom Zelandu.

Uvodna izjava NAEYC-a naglašava pristup namjernoga poučavanja koji se odnosi na učitelje sa specifičnim ciljevima i planiranim ishodima prilikom usmjeravanja učenja djece u području pismenosti, matematike, znanosti, socijalnoga, emocionalnoga, kognitivnoga, fizičkoga i kreativnoga razvoja (Epstein, 2007). Namjerno poučavanje vrednovano je kao najbolja praksa poučavanja koja zahtijeva stalno razmišljanje o tomu što se radi u smislu koristi za dječji razvoj te postizanja stvarnih i trajnih rezultata učenja” (Epstein, 2007, str. 10). U namjernom poučavanju učitelji u ranom djetinjstvu hotimično usmjeravaju istraživanje djece kroz pažljivo oblikovanje fizičke okoline, izradu dnevnoga rasporeda učenja, interakciju s djecom i razvijanje odnosa s njihovim obiteljima (Epstein, 2007). Namjera učitelja u podupiranju dječjega učenja manifestira se u obrazovnim planovima, okvirima i aktivnostima (Siraj-Blatchford i sur., 2002). Trenutku primjerene i kontinuirane interakcije učitelja s učenicima najmoćnije su odrednice ishoda dječjega učenja i razvoja, a učinkovitost učitelja odražava se u njihovo upotrebi raznolikih pristupa i strategija sa svrhom podupiranja dječjih interesa i sposobnosti u svakoj domeni učenja (Copples i Bredekamp, 2009). Stoga je obrazovna namjera učitelja bila važan pokazatelj profesionalizma edukatora i dobila mnogo istraživačke pažnje širom svijeta.

Kulturološko značenje u praksama namjernoga poučavanja edukatora

Unatoč važnosti profesionalizma i namjere poučavanja u dobi ranoga djetinjstva, međukulturalne studije već dugo naglašavaju potrebu razumijevanja kulturoloških razlika prilikom definiranja praksi i uvjerenja učitelja (Tobin, Wu i Davidson, 1989). Često se profesionalizam definira ograničenim pojmovima kojima nedostaju ključne komponente koje daju značenje načinu na koji ga edukatori pokazuju unutar svojih specifičnih kulturoloških konteksta (Harwood i sur., 2013). Prakse učitelja u usmjeravanju dječje učenje zasnovano su na njihovim vlastitim vrijednostima i tradicijama (Delpit, 2006; Kern i sur., 2012; Spodek, 1988). Posebice, učitelji iz multikulturnih pozadina intuitivno prepoznaju jedinstvene potrebe djece različitoga podrijetla kroz oslanjanje na vlastite podukovne instinkte poput pokušaja i pogrešaka i osobne osviještenosti

(Flores, 2001; Schwartz i sur., 2010). Instinkti i intuicija učitelja predstavljaju vrijednu stručnost koja ima pozitivne učinke na učenje djece (Adair i sur., 2012). Stoga, prilikom razmatranja profesionalizma učitelja unutar pristupa namjernoga poučavanja, potrebno je uključiti individualna vjerovanja i kulturološke perspektive učitelja koje oblikuju njihove prakse prilikom usmjeravanja dječjeg učenja.

Mimamoru pristup

Cilj ovoga istraživanja bio je proširiti trenutačne konceptualizacije namjernoga poučavanja kroz analizu pristupa japanskih edukatora vršnjačkim sukobima djece. Prijašnje studije (Lewis, 1995; Tobin, Hsueh i Karasawa, 2009) usporedile su karakteristike obrazovanja i skrbi u periodu ranoga djetinjstva u SAD-u i Japanu. Rezultati tih istraživanja pokazuju da se učitelji u ranom djetinjstvu u Japanu općenito suzdržavaju od izravnoga poučavanja i uplitanja prilikom obrazovnoga rada. Predškolski učitelji u Japanu odabiru ne intervenirati čak i kada su djeca u konfliktnim situacijama zbog uvjerenja da vrijeme koje djeca provedu u rješavanju sukoba doprinosi njihovom emotivnom razvoju (Hayashi i Tobin, 2015). Navodimo objašnjenje jednoga učitelja iz studije Hayashi i Tobina (2015):

Japanski učitelji čekaju dok djeca sama ne riješe svoje probleme. Djeca znaju za što su sposobna pa tako, učitelji čekaju. U suprotnom bi izrasli u ljude koji ne znaju raditi stvari bez dozvole. Naravno, ako se radi u situaciji u kojoj ne znaju što učiniti, s njima razgovaramo i zatim čekamo i promatramo što će se dogoditi. (str.30)

Učitelji obično čekaju dok djeca samostalno ne riješe problem – ovaj pristup ne treba promatrati kao manjak sposobnosti učitelja da reagiraju (Tobin i sur., 2009).

Koncept edukatora koji čekaju, promatraju, a zatim interveniraju u kontekstu odgoja i obrazovanja u ranom djetinjstvu u Japanu poznata je kao *mimamoru* (見守る) pristup. Na japanskom jeziku *mi* znači gledati, a *mamoru* čuvati. *Mimamoru* pristup predstavlja opću japansku pedagošku strategiju skrbi i obrazovanja u periodu ranoga djetinjstva kroz „poučavanje promatranjem” (Hayashi, 2011). Slično pristupu neuplitanja ili neznatne intervencije koji učitelji u Sjedinjenim Državama koriste prilikom poticanja kognitivnoga i socijalno-emocionalnoga razvoja djece, *mimamoru* pristup može se smatrati jednom od strategija kojom predškolski učitelji osiguravaju mjesto i prostor za samostalno rješavanje problema djece. Ovaj pedagoški pristup nije zasnovan na djelovanju, već na čekanju, strpljenju, zauzimanju dugoročne perspektive i promatranju (Hayashi i Tobin, 2015).

Trenutačno istraživanje

S obzirom na njegovo kulturološko značenje u obrazovanju tijekom ranoga djetinjstva, *mimamoru* koncept može se promatrati kao proturječan pristupu namjernoga poučavanja koji podržava većina predškolskih učitelja u Sjedinjenim Državama.

Učitelji u ranom djetinjstvu u SAD-u, koji prakticiraju upotrebu raznolikih vidljivih pristupa i strategija namjernoga poticanja razvoja djece, mogu smatrati edukatore koji prakticiraju *mimamoru* pristup neprofesionalnima. Do nesporazuma dolazi zbog očite nevidljivosti izravnoga poučavanja i neposredne intervencije u radu s djecom japanskih edukatora (Tobin i sur., 2009). Kako bi kulturalno-zasnovan profesionalizam unutar zajedničke prakse mnogih edukatora u Japanu učinili vidljivim, predstavljamo kvalitativnu studiju utemeljenu na izvještajima japanskih edukatora kroz odgovore na sljedeća pitanja:

1. Što je *mimamoru* pristup i u kakvom je odnosu s profesionalizmom učitelja ranoga djetinjstva?
2. Zašto se japanski učitelji naizgled suzdržavaju od svrhovite intervencije u situaciji sukoba unatoč obrazovne potrebe za istom?

Na osnovi odgovora na ova pitanja, trenutačno je istraživanje usporedilo razlike između japanskoga *mimamoru* pristupa i namjernoga poučavanja koju kao metodu preferiraju učitelji u Sjedinjenim Državama. Važnost ovoga istraživanja je predstavljanje novoga gledišta u raspravi o profesionalizmu učitelja ranoga djetinjstva u Sjedinjenim Državama kroz istraživanje japanskoga *mimamoru* pristupa u ranom odgoju i obrazovanju, koji se razlikuje od dominantnoga stila, tj. namjernoga poučavanja u SAD-u.

Metode

Sudionici

Ovo istraživanje provedeno je u Japanu i u njemu su sudjelovala ukupno tri sudionika. Dob sudionika bila je u rasponu od 35 do 55 godina i svi su bili predškolski učitelji koji su u vrijeme intervjuja radili u Japanu. Dvije sudionice radile su u predškolskom dnevnom boravku, a jedna u vrtiću. Njihovo radno iskustvo bilo je u rasponu od 15 do 30 godina, a stupanj obrazovanja od završenoga četverogodišnjeg fakulteta do magisterija. Svi sudionici bili su Japanci i stoga su rasprave u fokus-grupi bile na njihovom materinskom jeziku, japanskom.

Razlozi za odabir tri sudionice bili su sljedeći: (1) svi su imali bogata iskustva u području ranoga odgoja i obrazovanja; (2) imali su razvijen interes ne samo za odgoj predškolske djece, već i za istraživanje odgoja i obrazovanja području ranoga djetinjstva; (3) razumjele su važnost *mimamoru* pristupa i izjavile da su ga same prakticirale. Stoga, informacije koje su dale ove tri sudionice mogu produbiti naše tumačenje *mimamoru* pristupa kao kulturološke aktivnosti. Informirani pristanak dobiven je od svih sudionica. Istraživački postupci bili su u skladu s etičkim standardima institucije i nacionalnim istraživačkim odborom te s Helsinškom deklaracijom iz 1964. godine i njezinim kasnijim dopunama ili sličnim etičkim standardima.

Postupak

Fokus-grupe formirane su na osnovi Tobinove *Videom-potaknute višeglasne vizualne etnografije*. Cilj je bio upotrijebiti videosnimke kao poticaj za korištenje praktičnoga

znanja sudionika. U lipnju 2011. godine tri su predškolske učiteljice i istraživači gledali četverominutni video. Spomenuti videosegment dio je dokumentarnoga filma o Dnevnom boravku *Atom* u Osaki u Japanu. Dokumentarni film producirao je Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK; japanska radiotelevizijska kuća), a u srpnju 2003. godine emitiran je u cijeloj zemlji. Tim istraživača odabrao je ovaj videoisječak za dobivanje odgovora sudionika fokus-grupe zbog toga što: (1) govor, facijalna ekspresija i pokreti odgajatelja i djece mogu se jasno vidjeti kao verbalna i neverbalna komunikacija, (2) videoisječak predstavlja iznenadnu situaciju koju odgajateljica nije mogla predvidjeti i koja je od nje zahtijevala odluku o intervenciji i (3) odgajateljica je demonstrirala *mimamoru* pristup unatoč tomu što su djeca u sukobu i u toj je situaciji mogla upotrijebiti direktnije metode intervencije. S obzirom na te karakteristike, ovaj video bio je primjeren za dobivanje izjava sudionica i analiziranje njihova praktičnoga znanja kao podataka.

Sudionice su gledale četverominutni videoisječak koji prikazuje odgajateljicu, Hasegawa-*sensei*¹, kako primjenjuje *mimamoru* pristup. Nakon gledanja videa sudionici su se upustili u otvorenu raspravu o praksi učiteljice Hasegawa. Rasprave u fokus-grupi snimljene su i kasnije transkribirane. U nastavku rada predstavljen je sažetak videa prikazanoga sudionicima prije grupne rasprave:

Bio je travanj 2002., početak školske godine. Petogodišnja djeca bila su na obali rijeke blizu škole. Sakupljali su divlje zelenje koje su koristili kao sastojke za izradu okruglica – zamisao je potekla od djece jer su učitelji u toj školi motivirali djecu da sama odluče što će raditi. Djeca su miješala zelenje koje su ubrala u tijesto i mijesila ga u male okruglice za kasnije kuhanje. Jedna djevojčica, Riho, ispustila je tanjur s valjušcima na pod i tada su se gotovo sve okruglice zaprljale. Neka su djeca rekla Riho: „Ne mogu vjerovati da si to napravila!” Riho je plakala.

Slika 1.

Slika 2.

Učiteljica Noriko Hasegawa (Hasegawa-*sensei*) je rekla: „Vi ste članovi grupe, zar ne? Nadam se da ćete svi zajedno razmisliti o tome što učiniti.” U početku je izgledalo kako djeca ne znaju što napraviti i neka su se počela igrati s kuglicama tijesta na zemlji. Jedna djevojčica je rekla: „Nadam se da svi ozbiljno razmišljate o ovome.” Druga djevojčica je rekla: „Mislim da će okruglice biti još gore ako se igrate s njima.” Jedan dječak je rekao: „Riho treba preuzeti odgovornost za ovaj problem!”

Slika 3.

Slika 4.

Učiteljica Hasegawa nastavila je promatrati djecu oko 40 minuta sa svojega mjesta iza pulta. Do toga trenutka djeca su se žalila i raspravljala o tome koga okriviti.

¹ *Sensei* na japanskom znači učitelj. Ovo je počasni naziv koji se obično koristi za sve učitelje, tj. profesionalce u Japanu.

Učiteljica je rekla: „Nastavit ćete se svađati oko toga tko je ispustio valjuške, zar ne?” Jedno dijete je reklo: „Ne, nećemo.” Naposljetku su dvije djevojčice zaplakale i rekle: „Nije sve bila Rihoina krivica. Ja sam kriva za ovo jer sam ih s njom donesla (za stol).” Nakon toga djeca su prestala kriviti druge i započela razmišljati o tome kako riješiti situaciju. Očistili su okruglice od tijesta u pokušaju da ih učine jestivima, iako više nisu bile pogodne za konzumaciju. Na kraju su djeca skuhala i ravnomjerno rasporedila preostalo tijesto za okruglice.

Strategija analize

Prijepis rasprave tri sudionika analiziran je upotrebom metode *Koraci za kodiranje i teorizaciju* (SCAT; Otani, 2011). SCAT je analitička strategija razvijena za kvalitativne podatke dobivene na malim uzorcima i često je korištena metoda u istraživačkim studijama u Japanu, posebno u području obrazovanja (Otani, 2011). SCAT je započeo dekontekstualizacijom podataka koju su istraživači vršili kroz četiri koraka i tako stvorili nove teme. Zatim su ponovo kontekstualizirali podatke povezujući teme kako bi dobili izvještaje. Kroz postupak dekontekstualizacije i ponovne kontekstualizacije sudionici su istražili dublje značenje podataka koje su dobili u intervjuu sa sudionicima. U ovom istraživanju analize su provedene prema sljedećem redoslijedu (Otani, 2011): prvo se cijeli intervju podijelio u 216 dijelova, sa svakim segmentom kao glavnom temom. Točne fraze ili važne riječi bile su izlučene iz teksta u svakom segmentu. Drugo, istraživači su parafrazirali dijelove ili riječi svakoga segmenta. Treće, objasnili su parafraze, uključujući također kontekst ili pozadinsku informaciju voditelja intervjuja. Istraživači su također povezali parafrazirane zamisli uspoređujući, kontrastirajući ili predlažući uzrok i posljedicu. Četvrti korak obuhvaćao je stvaranje 102 teme na osnovi objašnjenja (dekontekstualizacije). U petom koraku istraživači su zabilježili pitanja ili probleme koji su se javljali tijekom procesa analize. U šestom dijelu analize induktivno je stvorena priča povezivanjem višestrukih tema (rekontekstualizacija). Naposljetku je stvorena teorija zasnovana na priči. U ovoj studiji pet je istraživača analiziralo podatke kao skupina, a u slučaju nesuglasica raspravljali su i postigli dogovor.

Rezultati

Izveštaji sudionika o *mimamoru* pristupu

Tri su izvještaja predškolskih učitelja o postupcima učiteljice Hasegawa postupkom teoretskoga kodiranja pretvorena u opise procesa *mimamoru* pristupa. Općenito, sudionici su istaknuli da je temeljna vrijednost pristupa dozvoliti djeci samostalno rješavanje problema čak i ako taj proces traje. Sudionici su identificirali namjeru u pozadini neuplitanja učiteljice Hasegawa: „Iako je bila dirnuta reakcijama djece, učiteljica nije odmah intervenirala kako bi riješila problem.” (sudionik A); „Učiteljica je sigurno dobro promislila o svojim postupcima jer inače ne bi mogla pružiti takvo vodstvo” (sudionik B). Na videosnimci namjera u pozadini *mimamoru* pristupa, koji je primijenila učiteljica Hasegawa, vidi se u tri područja koja su detaljno opisana u nastavku rada.

Namjerna udaljenost. Prvi postupak uključuje pozicioniranje učiteljice na mjesto pomalo udaljeno od djece i problemske situacije. Sudionici koji su gledali video opisali su čin distanciranja učiteljice kao namjernu strategiju kako bi se razumjele emocije djece i osigurao prostor za njihovo samostalno rješavanje problema. „Kada su kuglice tijesta pale na pod, učiteljica Hasegawa bila je na strani djevojčice Riho i promatrala događaj. Da sam bila na mjestu učiteljice Hasegawa, već bih kleknula i intervenirala.” (Sudionica B). Sudionici su objasnili da iako učiteljica Hasegawa nije razgovarala direktno s djecom, njezina udaljena pozicija bila je opipljiva poruka djeci da „odmah sami riješe problem”. Sudionica B primijetila je da je „učiteljica Hasegawa bila na mjestu nalik na pult koje je prilično udaljeno od djece. Činilo se kako djeca ne mogu vidjeti to mjesto. Mislila sam da učiteljica Hasegawa sigurno razmišlja o tome kako će se događaj razvijati.”

Prema Hayashi i Tobinu (2015), u situaciji razmirica među djecom japanski učitelji namjerno i strateški prilagođavaju svoje mjesto u učionici kako bi se pripremili za potrebu arbitraže. U videu je učiteljica Hasegawa namjerno stajala na mjestu koje je bilo dovoljno blizu da pruži prijedlog u slučaju potrebe, a u isto vrijeme dovoljno daleko da djeca sama riješe problem.

Namjerne geste. Drugi primjer koji ilustrira temeljnu vrijednost *mimamoru* pristupa odnosi se na neverbalni jezik učiteljice, tj. mimiku i geste. Sudionici su primijetili ovu strategiju tijekom prizora kada djevojčica Riho slučajno ispusti sastojke na pod. Učiteljica Hasegawa reagira kimanjem glave dva puta, mimikom i kontaktom očima s Riho. Svi sudionici opisali su suptilne reakcije učiteljice Hasegawa kao značajnu strategiju za izbjegavanje direktnoga uplitanja, zato da se djeci ne ostavi drugi izbor osim da problem riješe sami. Geste učiteljice Hasegawa kao neverbalni poticaji uključile su poruku: „Neću vam pomoći. Molim vas da sami riješite problem.” Reakcija sudionice B na ovaj prizor bila je sljedeća: „Da se mene pitalo, ne bih tako stajala. Vjerojatno bih otišla do Riho i kleknula (kako bih intervenirala).” Sudionici su protumačili naoko povučene reakcije učiteljice Hasegawa kao namjerno vođenje djece, što je u skladu s rezultatima prijašnjih istraživanja koja pokazuju da prilikom usmjeravanja djece japanski učitelji koriste mimiku i geste, tj. neverbalne upute (Burke i Duncan, 2015). *mimamoru* koncept nije samo kulturološko uvjerenje japanskih odgajatelja – on je također utjelovljena izvedba pažnje i nesmotrenosti u prostoru (Hayashi i Tobin, 2015).

Namjeran odabir trenutka. Kao dodatak distanciranju i upotrebi neverbalnoga jezika, treći primjer odnosi se na odabir pravoga trenutka intervencije. Upotreba ove taktike vidljiva je u videosegmentu nakon što je prošlo 40 minuta u pokušajima djece da riješe problem pa su počeli okrivljavati jedni druge. Učiteljica Hasegawa se uplela i pitala: „Hoćete li nastaviti upirati prstom u onoga tko je ispustio hranu?” Zatim je učiteljica dugo bila tiha, nakon čega su dvije djevojčice počele plakati i priznale da su odgovorne za incident. Tri sudionice opisale su način na koji je učiteljica Hasegawa provela znatnu količinu vremena (40 minuta) prakticirajući *mimamoru* pristup, dozvoljavajući djeci da sama riješe problem. Sudionica B je primijetila: „Zapanjujuće je da je čekala 40

minuta. Da se mene pitalo, bilo bi mnogo kraće. Učiteljica Hasegawa je zaista divna u načinu na koji je neprekidno promatrala i nadgledala djecu tih 40 minuta.” Naposljetku je situacija došla do trenutka kada su se djeca međusobno počela okrivljavati zbog frustracije. Učiteljica Hasegawa je intervenirala vrlo kratkom rečenicom kako bi poučila djecu važnoj lekciji da kriviti nekoga drugoga ne bi riješilo njihov problem. Postupak učiteljice Hasegawa, koji smo nazvali „minimalna privremena intervencija”, pokazao je da je vjerovala u sposobnost samostalnoga rješavanja problema djece, koja su reagirala na primjenu *mimamoru* pristupa. Ovo može biti razlog zbog kojega su djeca utvrdila izvor svojih teškoća i sama riješila problem.

Ipak, ako djeca nisu sposobna razriješiti situaciju i postanu frustrirana jer ne znaju što učiniti, učitelji tada interveniraju razgovarajući s djecom i zatim čekaju da vide kako se situacija razvija (Hayashi i Tobin, 2015). Moguće je da je učiteljica Hasegawa razgovarala s djecom zbog toga što ona ne bi mogla riješiti problem da je nastavila čekati. S njezinom minimalnom privremenom intervencijom u određeno, namjerno vrijeme, uvjerila je djecu u priliku da samostalno riješe problem.

Sažeto, sudionici su uz pomoć videoisječka opisali temeljne sastavnice *mimamoru* pristupa: angažman bez uplitanja, pozicioniranje i primjena *scaffolding* metode. U pozadini ove prakse nalazi se odgajateljski stav povjerenja u sposobnosti djece. Razumijevajući takav stav učitelja, djeci je pružena sigurna okolina za slobodan izričaj.

Profesionalizam u pozadini primjene *mimomaru* pristupa

Osim objašnjenja načina na koji se odvijao *mimamoru* pristup, rasprave sudionika također su ukazale na razlog prakticiranja takvoga pristupa. Sudionica A komentirala je skrivenu namjeru u pozadini naoko bezizražajne intervencije učiteljice Hasegawa:

Unatoč tome što su ekspresije učiteljice Hasegawa naizgled prazne ili u najmanju ruku izravne, ona je ostala na strani djece i čekala. Čini se da je učiteljica Hasegawa osigurala djeci prostor u kojem mogu iskusiti proces samoizričaja. Stoga je čekala na mjestu koje je bilo neznatno udaljeno od djece. *Mimamoru* metoda možda je najbolje predstavljena njezinim riječima „čekam vas”.

Kao što su pokazale prijašnje studije, japanski učitelji u ranom djetinjstvu općenito usmjeravaju djecu da samostalno rješavaju problem (Burke i Duncan, 2015). Kako bi postigli cilj, učitelji se suzdržavaju od namjernoga poučavanja ili intervencije unatoč njihovim obrazovnim namjerama i empatiji prema djeci i njihovim teškoćama. Učitelji trebaju imati strpljenja kako bi suspregnuli vlastite emocije i čekali da djeca sama riješe problem. Stoga ovaj postupak odgajatelja nevidljivoga poučavanja i intervencije prema djeci ne odražava nedostatak, već prije visoku razinu profesionalizma.

Štoviše, sudionici su objasnili na koji je način *mimamoru* pristup sukladan općem naglasku japanskih učitelja u ranom djetinjstvu na sposobnost djece da djeluju bez eksplicitnih uputa učitelja. Ovo je jedna od karakteristika japanske kulturološke prakse odgoja i obrazovanja u ranom djetinjstvu (Tobin i sur., 2009). U japanskoj

kulturi razumijevanje gledišta druge osobe prije nego se o njemu išta zna važnije je od razumijevanja istoga nakon saznanja. Stoga, kao dio kulturološki važne i prihvaćene prakse, japanski učitelji u ranom djetinjstvu poštuju neovisnost i inicijativu djece te namjerno odabiru ne poučavati, tj. intervenirati direktno.

Rasprava i zaključak

Ovim istraživanjem nastojao se razotkriti proces i značenje u pozadini *mimamoru* pristupa kako bi se proširilo trenutačno razumijevanje raznolikih važnih oblika namjernoga poučavanja mlađe djece. Vjerujemo da su Copple i Bredekamp (2009) istaknuli važnost razumijevanja namjere učitelja:

Kadgod vidite odličnu učionicu, onu u kojoj djeca uče i napreduju, možete biti sigurni da su učitelji u velikoj mjeri namjerni. U svemu što radi dobar učitelj – stvaranje okoline, razmatranje kurikula i njegovo oblikovanje primjereno djeci kao individuama, planiranje iskustava učenja i interakcija s djecom – oni su svrhoviti i promišljeni. (str. 33-34)

Copplein i Bredekampin opis odličnoga učitelja u kontekstu SAD-a podrazumijeva namjernost. Isti zahtjev također se odnosi na učitelje u ranom djetinjstvu u Japanu. Namjernost je jezgra *mimamoru* pristupa koji se odražava u načinu na koji učitelji u ranom djetinjstvu puštaju djecu da sama rješavaju problem i postanu sposobna za samostalno iniciranje i dovršavanje zadataka. Izazov ilustracije načina oboje namjernoga poučavanja i *mimamoru* pristupa kao dvije strane istoga novčića leži u razlikama između pristupa učitelja u ranom djetinjstvu u Japanu i Americi u tome na koji način utjelovljuju namjeru.

Ovaj izazov važan je za profesionalizam edukatora u ranom djetinjstvu jer se eksplicitno pokazivanje namjere učitelja smatralo prihvatljivim načinom usmjeravanja učenja djece. Navedeno se može zamijetiti u načinu na koji većina učitelja u ranom djetinjstvu u SAD-u pristupa djeci, kroz izravne intervencije poput „poticanja svrhovitosti”, „izgradnje platforme” i „razvijanja dječjih vještina” (Pianta, 2003). Predškolski učitelji u SAD-u također izmjenjuju primjerene emocije s djecom kroz izražavanje empatije (Dombro i sur., 2011). Bogata interakcija s djecom uključuje emocionalnu potporu od strane odgajatelja (Hamre i Pianta, 2005).

Suprotno tomu, japanski učitelji u ranom djetinjstvu u sklopu *mimamoru* pristupa naglašavaju sposobnost djece da riješe problem pod strogom opservacijom i primjernom *scaffolding* metode od strane učitelja. Prilikom prakticiranja *mimamoru* pristupa, japanski učitelji u ranom djetinjstvu skloni su pristupati djeci indirektno, suspregnuti izraz empatije unatoč tomu što ju osjećaju i ne intervenirati direktno. Oni izražavaju namjeru u tri aspekta. Prvo, kroz fizičku udaljenost od interakcija djece: ostaju gdje ih se ne može vidjeti kako bi stvorili atmosferu koja funkcionira kao poruka djeci da ih učitelj promatra, razumije, vjeruje im i podržava ih. Sudionici u našem istraživanju primijetili su da se učiteljica Hasegawa namjerno pozicionirala iza kuhinjskoga pulta prilikom promatranja dječjih prepirki. Hayashi i Tobin (2015) istaknuli su da japanski

učitelji u ranom djetinjstvu namjerno prilagođavaju svoju udaljenost od djece kako bi dozvolili djeci da rješavaju problem i interveniraju u slučaju potrebe.

Drugo, edukatori koriste neverbalne znakove kako bi usmjeravali dječje postupke. Takvo indirektno vodstvo u stvari sadrži kognitivne i emocionalne poruke. Kognitivne poruke uključuju „gledam te” (pažnja, opservacija) i „zabranjujem to” (ograničenje, zabrana, kontrola). Emocionalne poruke obuhvaćaju „vjerujem ti” (povjerenje), „razumijem te” (suosjećanje) i „ne budi zabrinuta” (podrška). Kao rezultat, djeca imaju osjećaj povjerenja i podrške, da ih se promatra, razumije i da se mogu slobodno izraziti.

Treće, japanski učitelji u ranom djetinjstvu izravno interveniraju samo kada se dječja aktivnost „zamrzne” i situacija postane preteška da bi ju djeca sama riješila. Ipak, ova direktna intervencija odgajatelja je minimalna i privremena te uključuje različite odluke o tome kada i koliko se umiješati.

Ovo istraživanja artikuliralo je praktično značenje i teoretski konstrukt *mimamoru* pristupa. Rezultati studije trebali bi se interpretirati s obzirom na neka ograničenja. Prvo, skupina za raspravu obuhvatila je tri sudionice iz istoga vrtića u Japanu. Buduća istraživanja trebala bi uključiti više sudionika iz raznih vrtića tako da se čuju različiti glasovi prilikom opisivanja *mimamoru* pristupa. Drugo, korišteni video za raspravu ilustrirao je pristup jedne odgajateljice sukobu koji se dogodio u razrednom okruženju. Buduće studije mogle bi uključiti raznolike videosnimke koje bi prikazivale različite učitelje u različitim situacijama, a koje bi pružile dublje razumijevanje načina na koji se *mimamoru* pristup primjenjuje u raznolikim situacijama u okruženju ranoga djetinjstva. Ovo istraživanje nastojalo je doprinijeti međukulturalnoj razmjeni obrazovanih praksi ranoga djetinjstva kako bi edukatori stekli uvid u druge prakse i produbili vlastiti profesionalizam. *Mimamoru* pristup ne bi se trebao smatrati dihotomnim, već proučavati u vezi s drugim pristupima namjernoga poučavanja i potaknuti rasprave o profesionalizmu u području odgoja i obrazovanja u ranom djetinjstvu u svakoj zemlji.