Promoting Multicultural Education for Early Childhood Students in Japan

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Chapter 1

Introduction

According to James A. Banks, "Multicultural education is at least three things: an idea or concept, an educational reform movement, and a process" (1997, p.3). He also stated that a multicultural education should provide on equal opportunity for every child. Based on his ideas, we can think about multicultural education from different perspectives with the idea that every child has the right to know and learn about cultures that differ from his/her own experience.

What kind of teaching and learning take place in a multicultural class? Is it necessary to have children from different cultures to have a multicultural lesson? The multicultural classroom introduces other cultures to children. For example, national flags are cultural symbols, so it is good for children to see many countries' flags in the classroom. Also, languages can be used to emphasize multicultural ideas. The word "Good morning" in many languages can be introduced in the multicultural classroom. This might help children become curious about the sounds and letters of different languages. Developing a positive curiosity about differences is exactly what the multicultural classroom should

do for all students.

There are significant differences that influence children growing up cross-culturally. As Farver and Shin (1997) point out, "A major task in developmental theory is to explain how structure in culture-specific settings shapes children's development" (p.554). Therefore, teachers must have an adequate theory of child development that is culturally sensitive before they can plan a curriculum.

As mentioned above, multicultural education comes from many primary factors like geography, environment, and history. The United States has been trying to provide multicultural education to children, but Japan has never tried a multicultural curriculum.

Why are there significant differences about how multicultural education is approached in the United States and Japan? There is an answer in the resident population. In the United States, there are five main ethnic groups. In July of 1999, Whites in the U.S. numbered 224,611,000 (82.4%), Blacks 34,862,000 (12.8%), American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts 2,397,000 (0.9%), and Asians and Pacific Islanders numbered 10,820,000 (4.0%). Persons of Hispanic origin numbered 31,337,000 (11.5%) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Compared to the United States population statistics, the total Japanese popula-

tion in October, 1995, numbered 125,568,504. "Foreigners" in Japan registered in December, 1998, numbered 1,512,116; they included; 638,828 Koreans, 272,230 Chinese, 222,217 Brazilians, 105,308 Filipinos, and 42,774 Americans. Peruvians living in Japan numbered 41,317, Thais 23,562, Indonesians 14,962, British 14,762, Vietnamese 13,505, Canadians 9,033, Indians 8,658, Australians 7,613, Iranians 7,217. Stateless persons numbered 2,186 ("The Statesman's Yearbook," 2001). Therefore, about 1.2% of the Japanese populations are foreigners registered in the Japanese census.

These statistics mean that the United States "naturally" provides multicultural education to children. It is natural for U.S. children to meet different cultures in their classrooms. American children learn to get along with different cultures. However, it is very hard for Japanese children to meet different cultures in their classrooms because of the population in Japan. If multicultural situations cannot be met easily in classrooms, then teachers must create multicultural classrooms. Japanese children need to learn about different cultures.

Significance of the study

Japanese education is known for producing high academic achievement. Japanese students have scored at the top or near the top in every international study since the 1950's. Yes, Japanese education apparently allows its students to succeed in academic achievement. Now, not just academic achievement but also, international relations are important in Japan. Japan, however, has traditionally been isolated from other countries. The Japanese know very little about other cultures.

The level of understanding of other cultures among Japanese young people is low. In Japan a child growing up does not often think about different cultures because there are very few minority people. There are people who come from different countries and cultures as noted above, but the number of their population is not big in Japan. It is not too much to say that Japan has only one "race" and one culture. However, there are some children whose backgrounds are different from most Japanese, so every Japanese teacher should think about the cultural background of these children. Children who have different backgrounds go to Japanese schools, so most of them can speak Japanese and some have families who have been living in Japan for two or three generations. Japanese schools provide these children the same curriculum offered to all students; this curriculum includes only Japanese programs, traditions, and events. Many Japanese are not used to being with culturally different people. Japanese use the word "Gaijin" to mean foreigners or non-Japanese. This word is not derogatory. Everyone who looks different from Japanese is categorized as "Gaijin".

In Japan, it is slowly becoming more common to think about other countries and cultures. The Japanese education system needs to provide children with a multicultural experience. The best time to introduce study about other countries and cultures is during a child's early education. The U.S. has a history of integrating students from many cultures; therefore it can serve as a model to Japan providing ideas for a multicultural curriculum in the schools.

In education, as in other areas, the United States is known for its various cultures and ethnicities. Therefore, there are many things that

Japanese education might be able to learn from American education. Students can learn how the students' backgrounds or different cultures influence each other. When U.S. teachers plan curricula for classes that include students from many cultures and backgrounds, the teachers need to know about, and understand the differences among the cultures. Teaching cultural differences is an important dimension in American education.

The problem

The critical and primary question is: How can the early childhood curriculum in Japanese schools be improved to meet multicultural needs?

Several sub questions need to be addressed in the review of literature to tackle this critical and primary question:

1. How can Japanese schools pursue multiculturalism based primarily on James A. Banks' ideas?

2. How can comparisons of cross-cultural developmentally appropriate practices in other nations help Japanese schools?

3. What important Japanese cultural values can be used to develop an early childhood education program for Japanese students?

4. What education theories are relevant for developing a Japanese multicultural curriculum?

5. How have pretend play and story telling been used to transmit important cultural values in various nations?

Definition of Terms

Multiculturalism – A philosophical position and movement that assumes that the gender, eth-

nic, racial, and cultural diversity of a pluralistic society should be reflected in all of the institutionalized structures of educational institutions, including the staff, the norms and values, the curriculum, and the student body (Banks & McGee Banks, 1997, p.435).

Chapter 2

Literature of Review

Introduction

Chapter Two provides a review of literature relevant to developing a practical, multicultural classroom experience for Japanese children. The literature review is based on the five sub questions raised in Chapter One.

1. How can Japanese schools pursue multiculturalism based primarily on James A. Banks' ideas?

The Ideas of James Banks

"Race, ethnicity, class, gender, and exceptionality – and their interaction – are each important factors in multicultural education" (Banks, 1993, p.4). According to James A. Banks, the major goal of multicultural education should be to reform schools and other educational institutions to meet the needs of students who come from diverse racial, ethnic, and social-class groups. Banks mentions five significant points concerning multicultural education: 1) content integration, 2) the knowledge construction pro-

cess, 3) prejudice reduction, 4) an equity pedagogy, and 5) empowering the school culture and social structure (1994). The following section addresses these five points.

Content integration is concerned with the teacher's examples, data, and information from various cultures and groups. Teachers use examples, data, and information for explaining key concepts, principles, generalizations, and theories in their subject area or discipline. Teachers must consider what kind of multicultural information should be used in their existing curriculum, how these data can be enriched, and when multicultural examples should be introduced to children (Banks, 1994, p.4&5).

The knowledge construction process occurs when teachers illustrate for students how knowledge is created, and how racial, ethnic and social-class positions of individuals and groups influence the curriculum. Banks conceptualized four aspects to integrating ethnic content. These aspects include: contributions, additives, transformation, and social action ideas. Contributions are based on heroes and heroines, holidays, and individual cultural elements. Additives include culturally distinctive content, themes, and perspectives to the curriculum. It should be noted that additive cultural characteristics do not change the basic structure of the traditional curriculum. Transformations present concepts, issues, events, and themes from the point of view of each culture or ethnic group. The transformation approach helps children change their ideas and develop new and more challenging ideas. The social action ideas foster children's decisions about what kind of social issue should be thought of and how the issues should be solved. This is an extension of the transformation approach.

The significance of prejudice reduction is to help children to develop democratic attitudes, behaviors, and values concerning different cultures. A common idea is that young children do not realize racial differences. Therefore, many people, especially teachers, tend to think that developing a curriculum and talking about racial differences may lead to prejudice among children. However, Banks suggested that children already realize racial differences in some ways. Teachers, then, should consider how to reduce the prejudices that are already developing.

Equity pedagogy is concerned with teaching techniques that support the idea that all children can learn. "Banks stresses the importance of equity pedagogy to select studies of approaches, theories, and interventions that are designed to help students who are members of low-status population groups to increase their academic achievement" (Banks, 1994, p.4-5). Banks states that learning styles may be related to class and ethnicity.

The empowering school culture issue stresses that students who come from diverse racial, ethnic, and social-class groups should be given equal educational experiences and an opportunity for cultural expression. Therefore, the culture and organization of the school should be reformed. In this process, teachers need knowledge about different cultures represented by a few children who come from different cultures in their classes to understand these children. Misunderstanding racial issues can become an obstruction and lead to negative racial attitudes and behaviors.

Additional Multicultural Ideas

Other important multicultural ideas for early childhood education relate to content and concepts. Content can be described as what is specifically taught in the classroom. Concepts are ideas or abstractions that provide a common logic for understanding new things (Ellis et al., 1988).

First of all in the content, the teachers and children might not be sure about any differences in other people, countries, and cultures. "A positive self-identity is enhanced through multicultural curricula" (Cohn, 1986, p14). Children gradually come to recognize themselves as human beings. Then later, they think about other children as separate human beings. Even on TV, and in books, and photographs, children notice that some people look different from themselves although they don't know why.

The problem is that there are few programs and curriculum for children to learn about different people, countries, and cultures with age-appropriate activities. Productive multicultural activities help to "1. enhance each child's self-concept and esteem; 2. support the integrity of the child's family; 3. enhance the child's learning process; 4. extend experiences of children and their families to include knowledge of the ways of others, and; 5. enrich the lives of all participants with respectful acceptance and appreciation of differences and similarities among them" (Cohn, 1986, p.17).

Secondly, the concept of sharing fosters multicultural education. Schools often lack the opportunity to feel different cultures, to get along with other countries' people, and to know about other countries. "Multicultural education is about sharing one's culture with others …"

(Cohn, 1986, p.8). Also, children can also learn the socialization from multicultural concepts. Multiculturalism helps children learn how to be less egocentric and more sociocentric persons (Cohn, 1986, p.6, 8, &14).

Implications for Japanese schools

As has been noted, there are many Koreans in Japan. The Korean population is the second largest in Japan, even though the number of Koreans is very small compared to the Japanese population. Many Korean children go to Japanese schools where they learn to speak Japanese. In fact, many second and third generation Koreans speak only Japanese. They do not learn about their own cultural heritage, language, and customs in Japanese schools.

Although cultural diversity is limited in Japan, in reality children do encounter cultural differences in their classroom. For example, they meet these Korean students, but they do not learn about Korean culture. Korean children never study their own culture in Japanese schools, and Japanese students never study about Korean culture. In addition, they never study about members of other cultures they meet such as American, Saudi Arabians, or Taiwanese.

However, this presents an opportunity for Korean and Japanese students. This is a good opportunity for Japanese children to start learning about the Korean culture as part of their multicultural education. Japan needs to change as the U.S. has changed. For example, in the U.S., African-American people missed learning about their own culture because they were forced to learn only about European civilization. Educators in the U.S. changed the curriculum to include information about African culture and

history with the result that the curriculum in the U.S. today is more multicultural.

2. How can comparisons of cross-cultural developmentally appropriate practices in other nations help Japanese schools?

Hoot, Parmar, Hujala-Huttunen, and Chacon (1996) compared the developmental differences of early childhood programs cross-culturally among Finland, the United States, China, and Ecuador. One purpose of this study was to find out how preschool administrators, preschool teachers and parents of preschool children in Finland, the United States, China, and Ecuador felt about Developmentally Appropriate Practices (DPA). The authors were particularly interested in finding out if there were significant differences (p.161).

The researchers personally contacted administrators, teachers and parents from each country through the Association for Childhood Education International (p.160). The researchers used two types of surveys based on the thirteen categories identified in the DPA document. The answers in each item were forced choice: either "developmentally appropriate" or "developmentally inappropriate" (p.161).

Concerning curriculum goals, the researchers found that administrators from China preferred separate times for various subjects. This was significantly different from the other three countries where administrators preferred an integrated curriculum. Regarding teaching strategies, Chinese and Ecuadorian teachers preferred to have students follow their demonstrations of lessons, and directly forced their students to watch and listen to the demonstrations. Both countries' educators and parents thought that early academics were necessary for a child's future.

Concerning social-emotional development, U.S. parents favored rule enforcement for behavior while Finnish parents favored a more developmentally based approach. In language development/literature, Chinese and Ecuadorian teachers used repetition drills to teach the alphabet while U.S. and Finnish teachers used more developmentally appropriate strategies. In parent-teacher communication, there was a significant difference. Finnish parents desired meetings with teachers more often than the other countries' parents, as they wanted to resolve conflicts and problems quickly. The researchers emphasized, "Finally, differences identified in this study suggest a possible starting point for professional discourse regarding the development of a set of international guidelines for quality programs for the world's children" (p.165-167).

The researchers concluded that the economic situation in China and Ecuador made educators and parents feel it was very important to get an early start on academics. (p.168).

This research has implications for educational policies in Japan. As in China, the Japanese curriculum in most subjects has tended to separate time, and teachers have tended to use listen-watch lectures. However, Japanese teachers need to try different methods to encourage interaction for multicultural education. It is very effective for children to learn about different cultures by experience and through developmentally appropriate activities. Therefore, curriculum integration and cooperative learning are ideas that should be implemented in Japanese early childhood education.

3. What important Japanese cultural values can be used to develop an early childhood education program for Japanese students?

Traditions are fundamental to understanding all cultures, especially Japan. Japanese traditions have a long history. Traditions are based on cultural values. Therefore, Japanese traditions reflect cultural values; however, Japanese society is gradually changing, so the needs of children are also changing. While the needs of children may be changing Japanese traditions are invariable (Shigaki, 1983, p.15).

An important image in Japanese society is a *ningen-rashii kodomo* – "a human-like child". This image is commonly the aim in a Japanese teachers' mind for developing children. Specifically, there are three concepts that Japanese teachers want to stress to children.

The first concept can be categorized as sympathetic-empathetic (*omoiyari*) and encompasses, gentleness (*yasashii*), social consciousness (*shakaisei*), kindness (*shinsetsu*), and cooperative-harmoniousness (*kyouchousei*). This cluster describes children's desirable harmonious human relationships. Cooperation and harmony are important, too. Thus, the group needs and interdependence are very important in Japanese culture. Doing the same things together and using the same material is important for sharing a common knowledge. Sharing, cooperation, and interdependence foster a child's sympathetic-empathetic, characteristics and development (Shigaki, 1983, p.15-18).

The second concept encompasses patience, persevering (*nintai*) and concentration (*shuuchuuryoku*). Morsbach (1978) described this as follows:

When someone is undergoing training in Japan, it is a commonly held belief that the body is greatly malleable as long as the will is strong enough. The terms '*gamansuru*' (to persevere) and '*ganbare!*' (Hold out!) are often heard in this context, and have a very positive flavor (Shigaki, 1983, p.7).

Lanham (1966) observed that Japanese four-year old children have a longer attention span and can work for a longer period without any interruption than the same-aged American children. Caudill (1972) states that this difference is based on the maternal way. Japanese mothers mostly spend time with their children without hurrying. Consequently, they work slowly with their children in a patient atmosphere. On the other hand, American mothers busily move around their children (Shigaki, 1983, p.16 & 21-23).

The first concept is about nurturing harmonious human relationships. The second concept is about nurturing strong will. How children think about and cooperate with others is very important in Japanese early childhood education.

The third concept is creativity (*souzousei*). Creativity is, relatively, a recent Japanese value. Although this value is not exactly what the society wants the most, it is getting popular to provide creative activities to children (Shigaki, 1983, p.16-17).

These three concepts are very basic and important in Japanese early childhood education. Multicultural education in Japan must consider these ideas. New educational ideas must be combined with traditional Japanese values.

4. What educational theories are relevant for developing a Japanese multicultural curriculum?

Five theories that influence early childhood education will be briefly discussed in this section. First, Rousseau's theory, second, Pestalozzi's theory, third is Froebel's theory, fourth, Dewey's theory, and fifth, the High/Scope foundation.

Rousseau's Theory

According to Rousseau's theory, human beings are naturally good when they are born. However, negative influences from the environment, such as social institutions, cause people to become "bad". Even schools can negatively influence human beings. Therefore, Rousseau strongly maintained that we should promote the freedoms of emotion, intelligence, and education. He emphasized that children should learn from their experience. These experiences can include field trips, physical activities, and developing the inquiring mind. This helps to foster the hidden talent in children. He said that children must have the talent in each of children (Pulliam & Van Patten, 1999).

In his book *Emile*, Rousseau presents his ideas for fostering a child. In this book, what he mostly maintained is that he is not going to lead a child to act in a certain way. On the other hand, Rousseau completely takes the initiative for the growth process. For example, he does not do anything to a child while the child is crying. When the child stops crying, he immediately does something to the child. This means that the child can think about what he or she needs to do without any force. If someone, especially an adult, immediately placates a crying child, the child will think this is the way that he or she can get whatever he or she wants (Rousseau, 1762/2001).

Pestalozzi's Theory

Swiss educator, Johann H. Pestalozzi was influenced greatly by Rousseau's *Emile*. His theory of education was also based on experience. Pestalozzi observed his son often to develop some of his teaching ideas. Pestalozzi believed that his theory for children, curriculum, and educational programs could be useful for all children. He believed that education should not be reserved for only one special place: the classroom. He believed that children could be educated from observing all around. Thus, he believed that education should be based on the observations of children. Developing senses, in Pestalozzi's theory, such as the senses of touch, sound, sight, and smell were promoted during object lessons. Also Pestalozzi trusted that the most important thing was how teachers motivated children (Pulliam & Patten, 1999).

Pestalozzi had an "ideal man" in his mind. The man in Pestalozzi's mind was well educated naturally and characterized by the harmonious development of all human powers and capacities. The human power in his meaning was not as a specialist but as a man. Pestalozzi's theory is based on large amounts of romanticism and scientism. Pestallozi advocated that both the home and school were critical for children's education. He mentioned that the home especially had a big influence on children's first emotional experiences (Gutek, 1968, p.129-135).

Froebel's Theory

Froebel was a follower of Pestalozzi. He was especially concerned with the education of young children. Froebel is also famous as the person who opened the first kindergarten for the world. It was Froebel's point that children are the people who transmit God's will. Froebel believed that children's spirits were connected to God through experiences in the nature. Froebel stressed that children are learning or discovering something even though they are playing alone. Therefore, he said that every move in children should provide meaning, creativity, and self-revelation.

Froebel was especially innovative in using objects, storytelling, and cooperative social activities. Froebel's conceptions about the objects were that children could easily express their ideas by using objects. Froebel created new objects for helping children develop their creativities and expressions (Shouji, 1957, p.116-119).

Dewey's Theory

John Dewey is very famous as an advocate of Pragmatism. He thought that experience was very important for developing a human's mind. He advocated that solving problems could only be achieved through experience (Pulliam & Van Patten, 1999).

John Dewey believed that the classroom should represent life. For example, he even cared about how desks were organized in his classroom to facilitate his students' learning. He wanted his students to be active learners. "Dewey believed that people learn by putting thought into action: primarily, by confronting problems that arise while engaging in activities that inter-

est them" (The stuff of Education Week, 2000, p.102). Teachers should thus provide many opportunities for students to be actively engaged in the curriculum (Ellis et al., 1988).

High/Scope

The High/Scope Foundation for early childhood education was organized in 1970. The High/Scope program maintains that children can learn spontaneously from activities with teachers, friends, parents, and even alone, with instructional resources (High/Scope, 2001).

The High/Scope Foundation supports a progressive early childhood program. The High/Scope concept is based on an open but guided framework. Children learn in a guided High/Scope classroom setting. The High/Scope includes 58 key experiences that facilitate a child's appropriate developmental level. Those 58 key experiences are categorized in ten areas: 1) Creative Representation, 2) Language and Literacy, 3) Initiative and Social Relations, 4) Movement, 5) Music, 6) Classification, 7) Seriation, 8) Number, 9) Space, and 10) Time.

Each High/Scope lesson uses the "Plan-Do-Review" model. In the beginning of class students "Plan", then they "Do" and finally "Review" with other children and the teachers. In High/Scope, teachers and caregivers participate as partners with children (High/Scope, 2001).

With High/Scope, it is most important, also, that children actively learn by themselves. The teachers do not need to prepare special equipment for the High/Scope curriculum. Teachers manage their classrooms like other typical nursery school programs which give students a lot of freedom (Schweinhart, 1988).

All of the above theories influence early childhood education. The theories of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Froebel are strongly related. Natural experiences are basic to their theories. Dewey stressed the importance of environment and keeping students active. The High/ Scope curriculum supports these theories with the "Plan-Do-Review" model. These ideas can all help to assist Japanese education with active learning for a multicultural classroom.

5. How have pretend play and story telling been used to transmit important cultural values in various nations?

Pretend Play

Farver and Shin (1997) considered research concerning how social pretend play is different between Korean- and Anglo-American preschoolers. They drew two hypotheses. One is that Korean-American children would enact familiar play themes that require little explanation and negotiation and in turn minimize potential social conflict. The other is that Anglo-American children would enact fantastic play themes that require more negotiation, explanation, and peer direction than familiar play themes (p.546).

The researchers selected 92 (46 Korean-American and 46 Angle-American) preschoolers whose ages were from 44 to 63 months (Korean-American, M = 48.50, SD = 3.56; Anglo-American, M = 48.10, SD = 4.56). In each group half of the participants were male and half were female. Every preschooler had been in full-day preschool programs for at least five months when the researchers collected their data. The

Anglo-Americans' preschool was located in a suburban community in the United States. All of the Anglo-American preschoolers came from middle-class, white families. On the other hand, the Korean-American preschoolers who came from middle-class Korean immigrant families went to two all-Korean preschools in a Korean section of a west coast city. The researchers observed and videotaped the preschoolers' pretend play. A bilingual second author and a bilingual graduate student assistant observed the Korean-American children. Two graduate student assistants observed the Anglo-American children. The bilingual second author and a bilingual and bicultural assistant analyzed and recorded the Korean-American and Anglo-American videotapes. Four psychology undergraduate students analyzed the Anglo-American videotapes. (p.547-549)

In their statistical results, Farver and Shin established several categories of social play complexity: communicative strategies, descriptions of action, semantic ties, tag questions, directives, calls for attention, paralinguistic cues, reject play, statements of agreement, polite requests, thematic content, family relations, everyday activities, and danger in the environment. (p.549)

In one of three categories, comparison of social pretend play by culture and play condition, the significant interaction of culture and condition did not exist. The Anglo-American preschoolers provided higher proportion in their social pretend play than the Korean-American preschoolers [F (1,90) = 12.31, p< .001]. The proportion of toy play was higher in social pretend play than in the free play condition (p.549-550).

In the comparison of communicative strategies in the toy play condition by culture, the researchers discovered no significant multivariate F results for the effects of culture and strategies [F (10, 81) = 19.29, p< .000]. Korean-American responded to actions of their partner [F (1,90) = 13.58, p< .01], used semantic ties [F (1,90) = 9.23, p< .01], tag questions [F (1,90) = 9.79, p< .01], statements of agreement [F (1,90) = 84.58, p< .000], and polite requests [F (1,90) = 120.69, p< .000], more frequently than the Anglo-Americans. Anglo-Americans own actions [F (1,90) = 9.73, p< .01] are used directives [F (1,90) = 33.08, p< .000], and rejected their partners' play [F (1,90) = 7.23, p< .05] more frequently than Korean-Americans (p.550).

In the final category, Frequency of Social Pretend Play Themes in the Toy Play Condition by Culture, the effects of culture and play themes [F (4,87) = 7.79, p< .001] existed in significant multivariate F results. Korean-American children generally play in family roles and everyday activity themes more than Anglo-American children. Anglo-American children generally play in fantastic themes and danger in the environment themes more than Korean-American children (p.550).

In conclusion, Korean-Americans engaged in their traditional culture even after immigrating to the United States. In Anglo-American preschools, teachers promoted children's play activities and social interaction in their free time in learning centers, peer activities, and play with their available toys. Each culture's point of view could be illustrated in children's play; it seems that Korean- and Anglo-American children might have had different purposes socially in their play interactions. Establishing realistic

themes in which they share with their play partners made Korean-American children minimize social conflict. Also, Korean American parents have a major influence concerning the themes that their children follow when they are playing. Anglo-American children might more often seek their own interest, because their culture tends to point Anglo-American children toward self-reliant social behavior and independent thinking (p.551-553).

Haight, Wang, Fung, Williams, and Mintz (1999) conducted research on how children's pretend play differed cross-culturally. They compared the play of Irish American children in the United States with Chinese children in Taiwan. The purpose of the research was to discover how different each group's pretend play was in universal, developmental, and culturally variable dimensions (p.1477).

The researchers found fourteen middle-class, two parent families by using referrals from preschool teachers, local church leaders, and other community residents. The researchers' target was 2.5 year old children whose families had from one to three children. These families each had their own house, so they were fairly well-to-do. Every father and most of the mothers had completed a college education. "In many respects, the families were not typical Chinese or European American" (p.1480). In the first step, researchers did ethnographic fieldwork. Researchers were from each country, and they made themselves familiar with the families' community by informal observation. Then, they collected information about the home and play areas. In the second step, they did naturalistic observations. They video recorded the 2.5, 3, 3.5, and 4 year-old children at home. These were

2-hour recordings. They thought the first hour was very important because "the most sustained and complex episodes of pretend play occur subsequent to the first hour of observation" (p.1480).

In their statistical results, they established 5 contexts: 1) the physical ecology of pretend play, 2) the interpersonal context of pretend play, 3) interactions within caregiver – child pretend play, 4) the social functions of caregiver – child pretend play, and 5) the content of caregiver – child pretend play. Each report has the same two stages that are 1) ethnographic description and 2) observations of pretend play.

In the physical ecology of pretend play, the researchers observed, "All but one child (from Taipei) incorporated toy miniatures into their play, but this practice was more typical of Irish American than Chinese children. All children also engaged in some pretending that involved no objects at all, but this practice was more typical Chinese children" (p.1482).

In the interpersonal context of pretend play's ethnographic description, they observed that Taipei's middle-class families didn't have a strong and close relationship with neighbors, even though their residential segregation was so tight (p.1482). However, "the Irish American children had extensive contact with other children and adults within their homes and neighborhood. All of these children were cared for at home full-time by their mothers until they reached school age" (p.1482). Then, in observations of pretend play, typical of Chinese children's social pretending was provided more by Chinese caregivers on average (p.1483).

The researchers said that Irish American caregivers seemed to care more about and support children's individual needs and interests in

interactions within caregiver-child pretend play's ethnographic description, and in observations of pretend play, "Both Chinese and Irish American children and their caregivers generally were responsive to one another's initiations of pretend play, with children becoming increasingly responsive over time" (p.1483).

In social functions of caregiver-child pretend play's ethnographic descriptions, the researchers recognized that "Irish American caregivers prioritized the development of self-esteem through focused attention from the parent" (1483). On the other hand, Chinese caregivers thought that moral development and social skills are "culturally sanctioned forms of social interactions" (p.1483).

Finally, regarding the content of caregiver-child play, Haight, et al. considered that Irish American caregiver-child pretend play was based more on fantasy and on caretaking than Chinese, but that Chinese caregiver-child pretend play included more routine and tasks about social skills (p.1484).

In conclusion, these researchers considered differences concerning cross-cultural pretend play. They described the variable dimensions of pretend play. "First, the interpersonal context of pretend play varies" (p.1485). Chinese children tend to be more with their caregivers during pretend play while Irish American children pretend more with other children. Second, they discussed and analyzed the extent to which pretend play varied socially across cultures. Irish American children mostly started their caregiver-child pretend play by themselves. Fourth, the nonplay functions of caregiver initiations varied cross-culturally. Fifth, the centrality of particular themes varied cross-culturally. "Finally,

the centrality of objects, particularly toy minia-
tures, varies" (p.1486). Irish American caregiv-
ers bought many objects to be ready for chil-
dren's pretending, and Irish American children
were surrounded by these many toy miniatures
during their major pretend play time. Chinese
children's props were not mostly constructed by
other available materials in the Chinese fami-
lies who did not have enough space and children
were not usually allowed to have their own per-
sonal possessions (p.1485-1486).

Haight and Miller (1992) described the
interaction between children and caregivers and
the emergence and early development of pre-
tend play. The researchers selected nine full-time
caregivers and their children (five boys and four
girls) who were in middle-class urban commu-
nities and surrounding suburbs. All of the par-
ents had graduated from colleges. Every child
except one had older and/or younger siblings
(p.333-335).

The researchers videorecorded each child at
ages 12, 16, 20, 24, 30, 36, and 48 months, for 3
to 4 hours in each session. The researchers tried
to record the children's usual activities in and
around their homes. (p.335)

The researchers analyzed all episodes of
pretend play, both verbal and nonverbal, from
videorecordings. First, the researchers consid-
ered whether the relative length of pretend epi-
sodes involved a partner or not. Second, the
researchers analyzed three defining child repro-
ductions: The first one was that children exactly
copied a mother's transformational statement.
The second one was that children reproduced the
transformational statement that the mother signi-
fied with words omitted or added. The third one
was that children reproduced the nonverbal con-

text from which can be inferred without verbal
explication (p.335-337).

Results indicated three important contexts.
In the interpersonal context of early pretending,
the researchers found out that mothers played an
important role as children's play partners when
children play equally with mothers and other
children. In the social conduct of pretend play,
the researchers found out that mothers started to
teach children how to pretend at age 12 months.
Then, mothers built up children's pretend play
completely. In immediate outcomes of mother
participation, the researchers considered that the
pretend playtime with mothers or other children
as partners were gradually longer. However, chil-
dren's solo pretend playtime was twice as long
as mother-child pretending (p.338-342).

In conclusion, it was obvious that high
interaction with others existed in everyday pre-
tending during the whole period of emergence
and early development. The pattern of mother-
child pretend play was more important than
child-other child pretend play, because the
researchers revealed that mothers had different
roles from the other children. Children under-
stood how to pretend from mothers, and then
quickly moved to a joint activity (p.343-344).

Storytelling

Miller, Wiley, Fung, and Liang (1997) inve-
stigated whether Chinese and American families
use personal storytelling as a medium of social-
ization. The researchers made two hypotheses
that were: (1) Chinese use personal storytelling
for handing down moral and social standards; (2)
European American families use personal story-
telling as a medium of entertainment and prov-
erb rather than using stories that relate to chil-

dren's past experiences as a lecture or training resource (p.557).

The researchers observed six Chinese families in Taipei, Taiwan and six American families in a section of Chicago, a European American community. The study was conducted for approximately two years. All of the children, who were approximately 2 years 6 months (M = 2,6, range = 2,5 to 2,9), had at least one sibling. The subjects in the study were well balanced by gender. The families lived in large cities, had their own houses, and were economically well off. The parents' final educational level was college (p.558-559).

The language problem was solved by using researchers from each country. The researchers used two steps that involved fieldwork and videotaped two 2-hour observation sessions in the home (pp.560-561).

Results were reported in four categories: Basic Descriptive Information; Narrated Transgressions; Occasioning Transgressions; and Endings. Concerning Basic Descriptive Information, the researchers noted that every family showed that they routinely used the past experiences of their 2 ½-year-old children in their home. In Narrated Transgressions, the researchers discovered that there was a difference about the average rate of pointed transgressions between Taipei and "Chicago" (.35 in Taipei and .07 in "Chicago"). In Occasioning Transgressions, the researchers observed that the Taipei families seemed to point out their children's transgressions immediately after the child committed the transgression more often than the "Chicago" families. In Endings, the researchers considered that the Chinese communication with their children seemed to be stronger, stricter, and more

didactic in the distinct relations with present or future in a rule or rule violation (pp.562-564).

The researchers concluded from their results that both Chinese and American middle-class families routinely used personal storytelling with their 2-year-old children. The researchers also showed that Chinese families seemed to use personal storytelling for significant moral and social standards more than European American families, whereas, European-American's stories of children were likely to be functional, primarily for entertainment and affirmation. It was the didactical way for Chinese families to point out their children's past transgressions.

There are many significant and interesting differences in each of these research studies. In pretend play, cultural differences from each country played a significant role. Cultural traditions are used abundantly for children's pretend play among Korean-Americans. Thus, pretend play helped children learn about their own traditions. Children who are from Anglo-American families were allowed to use pretend play for general activities and social interaction, beyond cultural traditions (Farver et al., 1997).

Irish children use many miniatures that their parents buy for them. Irish children tend to engage in pretend play using these miniatures. In the next step, Irish children also initiate pretend play with their caregivers. On the other hand, in pretend play for Chinese, playing with one's mother was more frequent than playing with other children. Pretend play with one's mother was very meaningful for Chinese children. Also, Chinese children don't have as many personal possessions (Haight et al., 1999).

Significant differences appear in the use of storytelling. Chinese parents use storytelling for

teaching significant moral and social standards. They also use storytelling for teaching their children didactically. On the other hand, European-American parents use storytelling for their children's entertainment and affirmation. However, storytelling was used routinely by both groups for interacting with their children.

Pretend play and storytelling as categories can influence the curriculum of the multicultural classroom in early childhood education. There are many aspects that teachers need to think about when they make a curriculum for the multicultural classroom in early childhood education. One of the most interesting things is the need to incorporate traditions in Asian education. Tradition is so important for Asian people that education is a reflection of traditional culture. Asians strongly believe and "keep doing" their own traditional culture not only in their home countries, but also in countries to which they have immigrated.

Of course, each early childhood curriculum must be based on the culture in general. For example, the United States is a "salad bowl". There are many people who have totally different cultures. Chinese children in America may not be familiar with materials such as toys or miniatures. If a teacher doesn't know this cultural preference, the Chinese child may become confused or misunderstood. This should be avoided.

The curriculum is not for the teachers but for the children. Curriculum should be designed specifically for every single child who is in the classroom. Therefore, teachers in multicultural classrooms need to know the culture of every child in their classroom.

A multicultural education is a very impor-

tant characteristic of schools in the United States. Children who are in multicultural classrooms can learn first-hand how their cultures are different from others. Also, they learn to respect other cultures from these experiences. This should also be a reality in Japanese early childhood education programs.

Conclusion

This idea can be the beginning of Japanese multicultural education. Of course, each early childhood educational field can make their own multicultural curricula that are based on their situation. The multicultural education in Japan is not known and familiar with Japanese education field. Therefore, it must be very careful to develop their own multicultural curricula. The most important thing to carry out the multicultural education in Japan is what young children need to meet in multicultural education.

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