# 文化與幼兒教育：

## 重構幼兒教育概念

## 國際研討會

2008 TMUE International Symposium

Reconceptualizing Early Childhood Education: A Cultural Approach

“會議資料集”

2008.04.18-19

★臺北市立教育大學幼兒教育學系暨碩士班★

★臺北市立教育大學兒童發展碩士學位學程★

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# 文化與幼兒教育：重構幼兒教育概念國際研討會

2008 TMUE International Symposium
Reconceptualizing Early Childhood Education: A Cultural Approach

一、研討會主題

本研討會邀請美國與亞洲幼教學者針對幼兒教育之核心概念與議題進行探討，期盼藉由美國與亞洲幼教學者間之交流，引導與激發出幼兒教育之新思維。研討會主軸為文化與幼兒教育，來自不同文化之幼教師培工作者將回顧與檢視個人師培經驗，對所觀察到之幼教議題進行深入剖析，並分享其觀點。而與會學者剖析之重點將著重於文化對幼兒教育之影響，如文化如何提供幼兒教育的基本架構?文化如何限制幼兒的發展？文化對幼教師在教學實務上之影響等議題。藉由來自不同文化幼教師培工作者之對話，期盼創造出相互觀照與思考之可能性，並進而對何謂幼兒教育重新定位。

本研討會也是幼教學者與工作者一集體發聲之管道，對幼教懷抱熱誠與理想之學者與工作者各自的聲音或許很微弱，但若集合為一群體，有共享之訴求，其產生之凝聚力可為幼兒教育提供革新的動力。

二、主講者簡介

Dr. Walsh為國際知名幼兒教育學者，目前為美國伊利諾大學香檳校區教育學院之專任教授。Dr. Walsh致力於幼兒教育師資培育與研究已逾二十多年，研究成果豐碩，常發表於重要國際期刊及會議上，廣為學者所推崇。Dr. Walsh 曾擔任弱勢族群幼兒教師多年，並且致力於幼兒教育師資培育不遺餘力。他的研究主軸含括四個領域: 幼兒教育民族誌研究、弱勢族群幼兒教育、文化與教育、以及質性研究法(尤其是與幼兒相關之研究方法)。

Dr. Walsh 現正著手將其過去二十年之成功的幼兒教育師培經驗做深入之整理及分析、並針對幼教師培之重要議題提出其個人精闢之見解。伊利諾大學香檳校區幼教師培課程目前以文化心理學與課室研究(Lesson Study)為中心思想，特別強調幼教職前師資文化信念之自覺；藉由探索本身潛藏之信念，進一步協助其檢視個人潛在信念；於解構舊有信念之後，重新建立起專業幼教信念。而課室研究(Lesson Study)在幼教師培上主要為強化幼教職前師資之課程規劃能力及專業成長動力。台灣幼教界目前正值幼托整合之關鍵階段，在職前師資之培育上面臨重要變革，各大幼教系及幼保系皆極力思索幼教師培課程更新之方向，本系希望能藉由邀請Dr. Walsh來台訪問之機會，學習其幼教師

培之寶貴經驗，供台灣學界參考；並藉由與Dr. Walsh深度對話之機會，激發出多元之思維。此外Dr. Walsh 對於跨國與跨文化之研究甚為推崇，於過去十年與亞洲學者之互動甚為频繁，對台灣、日本及韓國等國之教育制度與師培制度極為瞭解(如Dr. Walsh於1997-98年曾受邀至日本Hyogo University of Teacher Education擔任訪問學者，進行半年之幼兒教育研究，並與日本的大學保持研究合作關係至今，更數度受邀至亞洲擔任國際學術會議主講人)。

三、活動期間：2008年4月18、19日

四、活動地點：臺北市立教育大學 公誠樓二樓 第三會議室（臺北市愛國西路一號）

五、辦理方式：邀請專家學者進行專題演講與議題討論。

六、主辦單位：臺北市立教育大學幼兒教育學系暨碩士班
臺北市立教育大學兒童發展碩士學位學程

七、參加對象：全國幼教、幼保學者專家、學術團體、幼教幼保工作者、及各大專院校之相關人士。

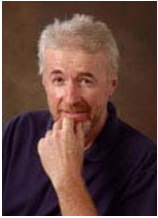
八、參加人數：180人。

九、報名方式：一律採網路報名，請上網站 http://www.tmue.edu.tw/~kid

# 會議議程

| 2008 年 4 月 18 日（星期五） | | |
|---|---|---|
| 時間 | 分鐘 | 主題 |
| 08:20 ~ 8:50 | 30 | 報到 |
| 08:50 ~ 9:00 | 10 | 開幕致詞<br><br>臺北市立教育大學 校長 林天祐<br>臺北市立教育大學 教育學院院長 楊龍立<br>臺北市立教育大學 幼教系、兒童發展碩士學位學程主任 幸曼玲 |
| 09:00 ~10:20 | 80 | 專題講演（一）<br><br>主 題：Who are we: Integrating culture into teacher education<br>主講人：Dr. Daniel Walsh（美國伊利諾大學香檳校區課程與教學系）<br><br>主持人&翻譯人：鍾雅惠（臺北市立教育大學幼兒教育學系） |
| 10:20 ~ 10:40 | 20 | 茶 敍 時 間 |
| 10:40 ~ 12:00 | 80 | 專題講演（二）<br><br>主 題：日本幼教師資培育課程之探討<br>主講人：Dr. Riyo Kadota 門田理世（日本西南大學人類科學系）<br><br>主持人&翻譯人：盧雯月（臺北市立教育大學幼兒教育學系） |
| 12:00 ~ 13:30 | 90 | 午 休 時 間 |
| 13:30 ~ 14:50 | 80 | 專題講演（三）<br><br>主 題：Lessons from lessons: Integrating lesson study into teacher education<br>主講人：Dr. Daniel Walsh（美國伊利諾大學香檳校區課程與教學系）<br><br>主持人&翻譯人：鍾雅惠（臺北市立教育大學幼兒教育學系） |
| 14:50 ~ 15:10 | 20 | 茶 敍 時 間 |
| 15:10 ~ 16:30 | 80 | 專題講演（四）<br><br>主 題：「龍山寺」--主題教學的在地性探究<br>主講人：陳真真（國立台北護理學院嬰幼兒保育系）<br>林惠文（臺北市老松國小附設幼稚園）<br>黃伊利（臺北市老松國小附設幼稚園）<br>蔡玉英（臺北市老松國小附設幼稚園）<br><br>主持人：幸曼玲（臺北市立教育大學幼兒教育學系） |

| 2008 年 4 月 19 日（星期六） | | |
|---|---|---|
| 時間 | 分鐘 | 主題 |
| 08:30 ~ 09:00 | 30 | 報到 |
| 09:00 ~ 10:20 | 80 | 專題講演（五）<br><br>主　題：They're kids, aren't they? Contemporary challenges in ECE<br>主講人：Dr. Daniel Walsh（美國伊利諾大學香檳校區課程與教學系）<br><br>主持人&翻譯人：陳正乾（臺北市立教育大學幼兒教育學系） |
| 10:20~10:40 | 20 | 茶 敘 時 間 |
| 10:40~12:00 | 80 | 專題講演（六）<br>主　題：Portfolios as a tool for understanding young children's minds: Possibilities and challenges<br>主講人：Dr. Jin-Hee Lee 李真希（韓國啟明大學幼兒教育學系）<br><br>主持人&翻譯人：鍾雅惠（臺北市立教育大學幼兒教育學系） |
| 12:00 ~ 13:30 | 90 | 午 休 時 間 |
| 13:30 ~ 14:50 | 80 | 專題講演（七）<br>主　題：我們在同一艘船上嗎？幼稚園組織文化之初探與啟示<br>主講人：丁雪茵（國立新竹教育大學幼兒教育學系）<br><br>主持人：林佩蓉（臺北市立教育大學幼兒教育學系） |
| 14:50~15:10 | 20 | 茶 敘 時 間 |
| 15:10~16:30 | 80 | 綜合討論<br>主持人：幸曼玲（臺北市立教育大學幼兒教育學系）<br><br>討論人：Dr. Daniel Walsh（美國伊利諾大學香檳校區課程與教學系）<br>Dr. Riyo Kadota 門田理世（日本西南大學人類科學系）<br>Dr. Jin-Hee Lee 李真希 （韓國啟明大學幼兒教育學系）<br>陳正乾（臺北市立教育大學幼兒教育學系）<br>鍾雅惠（臺北市立教育大學幼兒教育學系）<br>盧雯月（臺北市立教育大學幼兒教育學系） |




Daniel Walsh

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## Research Biography

Dr. Walsh 目前任教於美國伊利諾大學香檳校區教育學院，他致力於幼兒教育師資培育與研究已逾二十多年，研究成果豐碩。他的研究主軸包含四個領域: 幼兒教育民族誌研究、弱勢族群幼兒教育、文化與教育、以及質性研究法(尤其是與幼兒相關之研究方法)。他現正撰寫一本有關文化對日本幼教師教學實踐的影響以及探究不同文化對何謂好的教學的看法。他未來的研究活動將包含：探究多元的研究方法，特別是如何將影像運用到研究上；文化心理學於幼教上之運用；以及如何將課室研究(Lesson Study)，一種傳統日本教師專業成長的方式，應用在幼兒教育上。

## Degrees

- Ph.D., Early Childhood Education, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1985
- M.A., Early Childhood Education, California State University at San Francisco, 1972
- B.A., Philosophy, Josephinum College, Columbus, Ohio, 1966

## Key Professional Appointments

- Associate Professor, Curriculum and Instruction, University of Illinois, 1992-- present
- Assistant Professor, Curriculum and Instruction, University of Illinois, 1990-1992
- Assistant Professor, Curriculum and Instruction, University of Virginia, 1985-1989
- Research Associate, LaFollette Institute for the Study of Public Policy, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1984-1985

## Activities & Honors

- Outstanding Graduate Teaching Award, College of Education, 2004
- Outstanding Undergraduate Teaching Award, College of Education, 2005
- Member, Early Childhood Program Advisory Committee, Parkland Community College District 50, 2000-2003
- Member, Illinois Association of Early Childhood Teacher Educators, 2000- present
- Editor, Qualitative Research Special Interest Group Newsletter, American Educational Research Association, 1999-2000
- Fellowship, Center for School Education Research, Hyogo University of Teacher Education, 1998-1999
- Fellowship, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Hyogo University of Teacher Education, 1997

- Associate Editor, Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 1990-1991
- Editorial Board Member, Editorial Board, International Journal of Early Childhood Education, 1996- present
- Faculty Fellow, Bureau of Educational Research, University of Illinois, 1991-1993
- Editorial Board Member, Editorial Board, Early Education and Development, 1989- present

## Grants

- Consultant, Yojikyouiku ni okeru Kyoshi no Hoikukan no Nichibei Hikaku Bunka Kenkyu: Video Shigekiho niyoru Kento [Cross cultural comparisons of Japanese and US Teachers' Perceptions of Early Childhood Education: Analysis through Video Stimulation Methods], Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, 2004
- Co-Principal Investigator, Computers and Young Children's Writing, U.S. Department of Education, 2002

## Selected Publications

- Lee, J-H., & Walsh, D. J. (in press). Early childhood practitioners and accreditation: Perspectives and experiences. *International Journal of Early Childhood Education*.
- Walsh, D. J., Bakir, N., Lee, T. B., Chung, Y., & Chung, K. (2006). Using digital video in field-based research with children: A primer. In A. Hatch (Ed.), *Early childhood qualitative research* (pp. 43-62). New York: Routledge.
- Chung, Y., & Walsh, D. J. (2006). Constructing a joint story-writing space: The dynamics of young children's collaboration at computers. *Early Education and Development, 17*, 373-420.
- Walsh, D. J. (2006). Humility, Continuity, and Culture: Considering Some Contemporary Realities of Early Schooling. *International Journal of Early Childhood Education, 12,* 55-72.
- Lee, J. -H., & Walsh, D. J. (2005). Quality in early childhood programs: Underlying values. *Early Education and Development, 16,* 449-468.
- Walsh, D. J. (2005). They're kids, aren't they? Culture, quality, and contemporary preschool. *International Journal of Early Childhood Education*, *11*(2), 7-30.
- Walsh, D. J. (2005). Developmental Theory and Early Childhood Education: Necessary, but not sufficient. In N. Yelland (Ed.), *Critical issues in early childhood* (pp. 40-48). Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Walsh, D. J. (2004). Frog boy and the American monkey. In L. Bresler (Ed.), *Knowing bodies, feeling minds* (pp. 97-109). Amsterdam: Kluwer.
- Walsh, D. J., & Liebovich, B. (2003). Educating early childhood teachers. In J. W. Guthrie (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of education* (2nd ed.) (vol. 2, pp. 621-626). New York: McMillan.
- Walsh, D. J. (2002). The development of self in Japanese preschools: Negotiating space. In L. Bresler & A. Ardichvili (Eds.), *Research in international education: Experience, theory, & practice* (pp. 213-245). New York: Peter Lang.
- Walsh, D. J. (2002). Constructing an artistic self: A cultural perspective. In L. Bresler & C. Thompson (Eds.), *The arts in children's lives: Context, culture, and curriculum* (pp.101-112). Amsterdam: Kluwer
- Graue, M.E., & Walsh, D. J. (1998). *Studying children in context: Theories, methods, and ethics. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.*

## who are "we"? integrating culture into teacher education

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1

## overview

- teaching is an inherently and intensely cultural act
- good teaching is built on the foundation of connections with others
- to connect with others one must
  - get in touch with one's cultural selves
    - learn to see below the surface
  - begin to understand others' cultural selves

2

## two images of people

- infinite onions
  - no matter how many layers you pull off, still infinitely more
- infinite round rubik's spheres (cubes)
  - where any single cube-section can come immediately to the surface
  - each cube section a cultural dimension

3

## culture

- a "we": a group of people who
  - share a sense of how daily life is supposed to go
  - share expectations, beliefs, and values
- some cultures **big** & **general** (big-C), others **small** and/or **local** (little-c)
- in the contemporary complex and rapidly changing world, we all belong to many little-c cultures, to many "we's"

4

## myths about culture

- culture something people with darker skin, strong ethnic identity, or from another country have
- culture basically visible—clothes, skin color, language, celebrations
- underneath cultural differences, people are all the same

5

## teaching in cultures

- we see kids, and everyone else, through the lenses of culture—our beliefs about
  - who kids are
  - who they should be
  - how they **do** act and how they **should** act
  - what they are capable of and incapable of, and so on

6

7

## culture strongly affects who we are

- what is possible and probable (and what is not)
- what is accessible (and not accessible)
- what is valued (and not valued)

8

9

10

## connecting with others

- foundation of good teaching
  - ability to connect with
    - kids
    - families
    - communities

11

## to connect with others culturally

- to understand others, first touch, *feel*, the expectations, beliefs, and values we share

**step 1**

- learn to experience, to touch oneself culturally

**step 2**

- learn to understand others culturally

**step 3**

- repeat steps 1 and 2 next 100 years

12

## seeing oneself culturally

- what groups do I belong to
  - how do *we* view others
  - what values do we share
- what about other groups makes us uncomfortable
- emotional reactions, times we cringe are windows onto deeply embedded values and beliefs
  - not about psychoanalyzing yourself—about examining shared values, shared sense of the way "it's s'pozed to be"

13

14

## culture is hard

- culture is complex and exists in the deep structure of the group, where we take life for granted and don't question
- we will never fully understand ourselves culturally, and we will never fully understand others

15

## nevertheless . . .

- because we all belong to many groups
- because we have many cultural selves, many dimensions
- because we move across these groups regularly
  - we can find ways, moments, places, where we can connect with others who may at first seem different and distant

16

## learning to see below the surface

- we experience our own culture from the deepest levels toward the surface, and so our own culture can be largely invisible to us. . . .when we look at another culture, however, we tend to see the surface first, and we may fail to probe toward the deeper well-springs of meaning. this, too, can cut us off, and make culture and other people invisible. (Bill Ayers, 1993, p. 79)

17

## the 3 levels of seeing

- "[the trick is] seeing something noticeable which makes you see something you weren't noticing which makes you see something that isn't even visible." (Norman Maclean, 1976, p. 92)

1. the immediately visible
2. that which is visible but noticeable only to the careful observer
3. the invisible or the unobservable

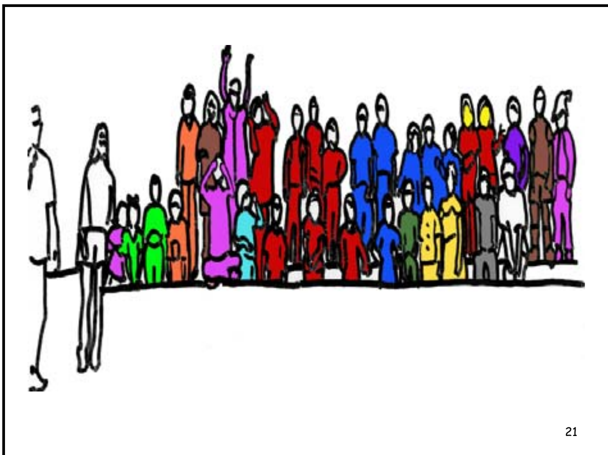
18

**many (multi) cultures and diversity**

- contemporary US discourse
  - focus on others
  - stays on the surface
  - avoids conflict
  - romanticizes cultural mixing

19

20



21

**a different view of many cultures and diversity**

- the many cultures and the diversity that each person brings to the mix
- if you and I belong to many cultures, we can eventually find something in common, ***if*** we are in touch with ourselves culturally. and there we can begin to connect

22

## *Lesson Study* with Early Childhood Preservice Teachers: Lessons from Lessons

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university of illinois at urbana-champaign

1

**overview**

- Lesson Study—a form of teacher-led professional development
- 2-year process of integrating Lesson Study into introductory course in the early childhood (birth-third grade) program
- analyze obstacles, adaptations, and outcomes.

2

**in Lesson Study teachers**

- explore long-term goals of schooling, eg, love of learning, respect for others
- explore goals of a particular subject area, unit, and lesson
- plan and conduct a *research lesson,* designed to bring to life both specific and long term goals for students
- carefully observe students, looking for evidence of learning, engagement and behavior during lesson
- discuss and revise the lesson based on these observations (Lewis, 2002)

3

**what attracted me**

- teacher-led: teachers learning from teachers
- emphasis on goals long—term and immediate
- emphasis on continuity
- the group-constructed lesson
- the focus on kids and their learning
- "the lesson is sacred"
- quality rather than "originality"

4

**overview**

- **year 1**: 32 students; **year 2**: 26 students.
  - 2 masters students each year
- *Foundations of Early Childhood Education.* second-semester juniors (4-year program)
- first 6 weeks, class meets 3 mornings a week 2 ½ hours; next 7 weeks half-time practicum in k-3; final 2 weeks, class meets 3 mornings a week
- 2 firm guidelines: (a) no pretend lesson; (b) integrated into the existing curriculum

5

**basic story line**

- first year looked good on the surface but students were not achieving the goals we set.
- "tweaked" what we were doing
- second year more successful.

6

## outline

- challenges
- goals
- our plan (research lesson)
- how we revised our plan
- evidence that we met the goals

7

## challenges

- *lesson study* used by practicing teachers in the upper elementary grades
  - mainly in math and science
- limited time
- semester schedule
- students had same amount of experience—little or none

8

## long-term goals, general

- move students beyond their own perspectives to consider their *students'* thinking and experiences
- build students ability to be self-critical and to accept and seek criticism from others

9

## long term goals, specific

- begin building awareness of the invisible underlying the visible in teaching
- begin building awareness of the ongoing thinking that underlies an effective lesson as it proceeds, e.g., tweaking the flow of the lesson with goals in mind, and so on.

10

## specific research lesson goals:

- learn to analyze lessons in light of lesson goals,
- engage in detailed discussions about instructional strategies (e.g., questioning techniques, anticipating student responses, and how the lesson flow affects student understanding)
- critique the lesson plan, not the teacher

11

## plan

- Lewis' (2002) *Lesson Study,* articles, videos
- 3 groups: kindergarten, 1st, 2nd-3rd grade
- research lesson using Venn diagrams (6 sample lessons)
- two 2-hour planning sessions, one 2-hour revision session after 4 weeks in practicum
- 1 lead teacher from each group—each student would teach lesson but only lead teacher videoed
- 2-hour debriefing session end of semester

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**findings**

- misunderstanding and misconceptions
- no use of sample lessons
- little attention to goals
- little attention to details at revision session
- discussions pleasant but superficial
- lesson seen as lead teacher's not group's
- watching video tape a limited experience

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**plan revisions** (after first year)

- complete Lesson Study cycle
- increase group collaboration
- enrich planning discussions
- better use of lesson planning template
- define observation protocols
- improve debriefing discussions
- include an outsider observer
- end-of-semester feedback
- added a goal:
  - observe with focus on gathering evidence to inform lesson revisions

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**tweaked structure**

- 3 Lesson Study groups. careful selection
- each group to teach a chapter of a class text: *To Teach: The Journey of a Teacher* (Ayers, 1993)
- 2 3-hour planning sessions: series of 3 lessons, research lesson to be the first
- each group: facilitator, time-keeper, recorder
- up to three co-lead-teachers—chosen after plan well formulated; others, observers
- 75 minutes: 40 minutes for research lesson, 5 to set-up for debriefing, 20 for debriefing, 5 for outside observer.

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**further *tweaking***

- no lesson planning template 1st session:
- 2nd session: lesson planning template
  - organize thoughts from 1st session
  - use the template while teaching
  - observers use template
- developed *Observation and Evidence Worksheet*
- developed *Debriefing Guide*
- Sims to take more active role in debriefing session

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**student watching debriefing session**

- This really made me think about the importance of careful observation. While the group was debriefing, I kept wanting to shout, "No, no! This is why we said that!" I realized that if you miss certain subtleties, you can really get the wrong impression. Jessica was sitting right next to my table and listening the whole time, but she still didn't get the complete picture. It also made me think about how important it is for me to *really* observe the students in my classrooms. I never thought about how easy it is to miss stuff and get the wrong idea.

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**student during a debriefing session**

- Okay, I am blown away here. When we started this Lesson Study project, I thought, "How in the world could you ever spend hours talking about one lesson?" But just watching this one session…I don't know. There's so much here I never knew. I think we could talk about one lesson for *weeks*!

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**a lead teacher during debriefing session**

- We were so excited when we were planning this , "Oh, they're going to *love* this!" And at one point we said, "We're going to be so disappointed if it doesn't go the way we think it will." Well, it *didn't*. People just didn't seem that interested. And I was *dying* up there, thinking, "What actually is going wrong? I just want everyone to get it. I just want you to understand what I'm trying to get you to understand. *We* understood it. I don't see why you don't!" But I kept telling myself that it was okay, that I could calm down because afterwards I was going to talk to my Lesson Study buddies and we could figure out what happened. I couldn't wait to hear what the observers were noticing out there while I was dying up here!

19

**end of semester feedback**

- template as organizational aid
- criticism and reflection
- anticipating student responses and developing good questions.

20

**preliminary conclusions**

- Year 2 based on Year 1
- need to support students during planning with explicit tools and during discussion with probing questions from a facilitator
- collaborating on lesson that made sense *our* lesson began to emerge
- progress in getting students to focus on evidence of learning
- influenced how students related to mentors during student teaching

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**student being observed by mentor**

**before the lesson** (written on template)

- watch to see if Jared is paying attention.
- do you think this would work better on carpet.
- I don't know if they will get this part, advice please.

**after the lesson** (talking to mentor)

- I have so many things to ask you.

22

**final thoughts**

- making the lesson part of the whole
- meaningful real experiences
- we (Sims & I) followed the lesson study process
- the importance of goals and evidence
- explicitness
- support
- continual, incremental "tweaking"

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## they're kids aren't they? restricted contemporary childhood

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1

- it is the special task of the social scientist in each generation to pin down contemporary facts…[and] to realign culture's view of [people] with present realities.

  (Lee Cronbach, 1975, p. 126)

- "You *must* doubt the experts. . . . Science is the belief in the ignorance of experts." (p. 187)

  Richard Feynman (1999)

2

**contemporary fact that needs to be pinned down and explored**

- contemporary institutions as contexts for children's development,
- how they are constraining contemporary children's development
  - constraints: conditions that facilitate development and learning as well as restrict its possible range (Inagaki, 1992).

3

**types of constraints on development and learning**

- *external*
  - culture
  - situation
- *internal*
  - innate (biology/evolution)
  - knowledge, familiarity

(Hatano & Inagaki)

4

**cultural constraints**

- the claim:
  - can't really understand early schooling (defined broadly) unless we understand the cultural and situational constraints operating in schools

5

**identifying cultural constraints hard**

- taken for granted, invisible
- particularly difficult in the West given the influence of Western psychology and the focus on the individual
- academic arrogance—we academics believe we can stand outside and see things as they *really* are (unlike the *hoi polloi*)
  - maybe even more difficult for us academic school people, who can be most arrogantly certain

6

**the challenge**

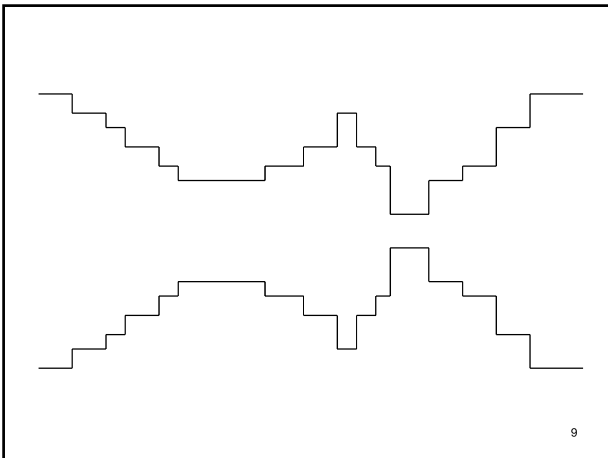
- explanations of how kids develop and learn, beliefs about how kids develop and learn
  - become part of the context within which kids develop
- cultural views of childhood do not so much ***reflect*** the realities of childhood as much as they ***create*** the realities of childhood
  - cultures organize childhood to ensure that it matches their views of childhood

7

**cultural compression model**

- becoming a good member of any group requires adjusting to the requirements of group membership
- cultures (subcultures etc) compress members across their development, at some times more than others, as they enculturate members to group ways

8



9

- **compression necessary**
  - both for the survival of a culture and for the development of the individuals within the culture
- **schooling a major cultural compressor**
  - many critical compression points occur in school
  - idea that “we” ece folks don’t compress kids romantic nonsense

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- **challenge**—to understand how kids are being compressed by contemporary culture
  - step back
    - look carefully at compression points
    - look at changes across time and place
    - take different perspectives
    - recognize the arbitrariness of cultural markers

11

**considerations**

- successful compression must allow for variation from the norm
- the more intense the compression, the more important *safety valves* become
- do compression points occur at times when kids are capable of handling them

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**working hypothesis**
- in post-industrial societies
  - as women enter the workforce
  - as single-parented families increase
  - as marriage becomes less the norm in parts of society
- child-rearing increasingly done in institutional and semi-institutional contexts from an increasingly early age

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- as child-rearing institutionalized, childhood becomes increasingly restricted—physically, emotionally, socially, and intellectually
- raising kids in large same-age groups away from families a most recent phenomenon in history of human race
  - 30/150,000= .0002

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**preschool teachers' beliefs about emotions**
- readiness for K requires emotional competence
- emotional competence viewed narrowly, as controlled verbal expression of emotion
- physical expressions of emotion limited
- labeling of emotions important
- emotions viewed with suspicion—seen as contagious, dangerous, and vulnerable

(Sung, 2005)

15

- "the simulation and inauthenticity of emotion":[S]tatements about feeling ('I feel angry') replace expressions of feeling ('Give me the truck, you doo-doo head!'), which replace actual feelings (anger? competition? desire?)" (Tobin, 1995, p. 231).
- a template for emotional expression is to emotional development what painting-by-numbers is to painting. It is not the real thing, and it does not support the development of the real thing.

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**assumptions**
- schools conserving institutions, but conserving alone not enough
- traditions important, but appeals to traditions always selective
- learning and development require space
- learning and development require time
- ece focused on development. focus on learning and development

17

**wordism**

| *bad* | *good* |
|---|---|
| • sit in the corner | time out |
| • detention | refocus |
| • whole group | centers |

| *illusion* | *reality* |
|---|---|
| • "use your words" | "use my words" |
| • "your choice" | no choice |

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## final thoughts

- compressing later better than earlier
- provide opportunities earlier
  - what is accessible, valued, supported
- take time (give time), but don't wait
- people resilient—but don't take advantage of their resilience
- schools should provide supports that contemporary society does not

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# Frog Boy and the American Monkey :
# The body in Japanese early school

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中文摘要：幸曼玲

Danial Walsh 最有興趣的研究議題是「文化情境如何影響到兒童發展」，而以文化信念作爲一種文化情境的表徵，並探究其與兒童發展的關係。在兒童發展的層面 Dr. Walsh 特別關心「自我」(self)在文化情境中如何建構和被建構以及不同文化中自我如何建構和被建構。

Dr. Walsh 在日本訪問期間，觀察到日本 Yashiro 地區的幼兒在身體動作的發展及能力的展現。他認爲，日本文化中有重視孩子身體發展的文化信念，相信認知的發展需要有平衡的身體動作的發展，而這些發展需靠孩子在身體動作的遊戲中來校正結合。因此，許多幼兒園每天都有超過一百分鐘的戶外遊戲時間：而 Dr. Walsh 觀察的地區，其幼兒園每天都以戶外的自由遊戲開場，或延長其戶外遊戲的時間。

在日本幼兒園強調「健康」，而伴隨而來的是孩子的勇氣。孩子有勇氣爬上任何地方，也有準備好站上任何高點。「勇氣」被定義爲一個人對危險的感覺，而面對危險卻是由期待中被建立而成的。而日本幼兒的自我 (self) 被看成是，被人接受爲屬於身體的自我 (physical self)。而幼兒身體的自我是在遊戲場中，或是不受拘束的與他人互動時建構而成。幼兒被鼓勵要能跑，能爬，會摔跤，也要會打鬥。

然而，文化比較有許多陷阱。文化比較會誘使人忽略文化中的複雜處和矛盾點，以達成文化比較誘人的目標。在解釋日本幼兒園所展現的文化信念時，需考慮到原本的文化脈絡。

# FROG BOY AND THE AMERICAN MONKEY
# THE BODY IN JAPANESE EARLY SCHOOLING

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Walsh, D. J. (2004). Frog boy and the American monkey. In L. Bresler (Ed.), *Knowing bodies, feeling minds* (pp. 97-109). Amsterdam: Kluwer.

> Below our apartment in Yashiro, Japan, was an exercise area with parallel bars, gymnastic bars, climbing ropes, a balance beam, and so on. Signs about 75 centimeters high explained how to use each one. My daughter, Scooter, a sixth grader, spent much time there climbing and swinging. She used the parallel bars to learn to ride a unicycle. One evening a fourth-grade boy from her school came by with friends. They ignored Scooter, as she did them. He stood in front of one sign, then jumped up and landed on the top of the sign. He hunkered there; buttocks on his heels Asian style, then jumped effortlessly down. He repeated the jump on two other signs before leaving. Awe struck, Scooter asked, "How does he do that? He's like a frog. He's a frog boy."
>
> On the wall of the elementary school gym were mounted horizontal wooden bars used for climbing and exercising. Waiting for PE class to start, Scooter climbed up the bars. Using the bars, ropes pulled over against the wall, and window ledges, she climbed three-quarters of the way to the ceiling. Her teacher, Kikkawa-Sensei, looked up and shook his head. "Our American monkey," he announced, motioning for her to come down for class.

Working within the general framework of cultural psychology (e.g., Bruner, 1996; Cole, 1996; Shweder et al., 1998), I am particularly interested in how the self is differently construed and constructed across cultures (e.g., Kitayama & Markus, 1999, 2000; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Markus, writing in Shweder et al. (1998), described the self as "where the individual, the biological entity, becomes a meaningful entity—a person, a participant in social worlds. Although the experience of self may appear as primarily individual creations, they are in several ways also cultural and historical constructions" (p. 895). This chapter explores the development of a physical self in Japanese early schooling.

I did not come to Japan to study children's physical development or ability. I came to study how cultural beliefs serve as a critical context for children's development (Walsh, 2002a). I soon concluded that cultural beliefs about children's physical capabilities and about the importance of physical development informed this developmental context. In Japanese culture young children are viewed as essentially and importantly physical—their physical development central to early schooling.

Many Japanese early childhood educators believe that intellectual development requires a balanced body and that physical play aligns the body (e.g., Harada, 1997). Harada argues that running games requiring children to change direction, like soccer and tag, help align the body. He suggests that each preschool day begin with 100 minutes of outdoor physical activity. The preschools (described below) that were my main research sites all began with or had extended outdoor free-play periods.

I look at development of the young Japanese self from two perspectives: (a) my fieldwork, primarily in, but not restricted to, preschools, and (b) through the eyes of my two children, Buck, 5, and Scooter, 12, as they developed selves that became in their eight months in Japanese schools increasingly Japanese.

I had five primary research sites, in or near Yashiro, a town on 22,000 50 minutes northwest of Osaka: three yochien (kindergartens) and two hoikuen (day cares). Kindergartens in Japan are separate from elementary schools and can have three– to five–year–old children. One kindergarten was three to five; one, four and five: and one, fives only. The day cares had toddlers through five–year–olds. The kindergartens were half-day; the day cares, full day. I do not differentiate between the two in this



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chapter, referring to them generically as *preschools*. I also visited other preschools in Himeji, Osaka, Yao, Nagoya, Gifu, Tokyo, Nishinomiya, and Yokohama as opportunities arose.

I watched children in daily life—on the local playgrounds, in the shopping malls, and on the street. Both my children play ice hockey and joined a team in Kobe. I was able to systematically observe children in an organized sport—practices, games, and tournaments—from August through January.

Some cautions: I strive to remain critical, but I do admire much about Japanese early schooling. We lived in a small town, away from the restrictive pressures of daily life in Tokyo or Osaka. I describe good schools, schools that interested me. All were public preschools, which tend to be truer to Japanese early childhood traditions and less varied than private preschools, which predominate in big cities. My limited observations in urban preschools allowed me to calibrate my sites against urban ones. My descriptions were vetted by Japanese colleagues to ensure that they were identifiably Japanese, that is, within the range of normal practice.

Finally, my wife is Asian. Both children have dark hair and eyes and tan easily. The only *gaijin* (foreigners), Buck in a kindergarten of 180 children, and Scooter in an elementary school of 600, they did not stand out physically, merging relatively easily into their schools. They grew up in a bi-cultural home and had visited family in Thailand many times—both had been to Japan. They had an intuitive sense of Asian culture—they instinctively bowed, could use chopsticks, were familiar with Japanese food, and so on.

Each section of the chapter begins with a vignette then briefly explores one aspect of growing up physical in Japan. I conclude with a discussion of physical development.

## GETTING PHYSICAL

> I sat on a bench reading near a small playground in married student housing. Buck climbed on the jungle gym. Four mothers stood across the playground talking, occasionally glancing at their toddlers. One toddler climbing on the jungle gym slipped then caught himself, momentarily hanging precariously. His mother turned slightly then returned to her conversation. He repeated the maneuver three times, purposely losing his footing, hanging for a few seconds, and then regaining it. Each time he laughed elatedly. Later a different toddler, a boy about three, squat, square-headed with a crew cut and a mischievous grin, charged across the playground directly at me. I watched him uneasily—was he going to jump on me! I moved my book down to protect my genitals. At the last second he veered to his right and hopped, froglike, up on the bench next to me. He squatted there for 20 seconds, showing no awareness of me. Then he hopped down and ran back to his friends laughing.

On a beautiful day in May 1998, Buck, and I arrived in Yashiro. My wife and Scooter would come a month later. The rainy season had not yet begun, and the oppressive heat of summer remained a month away.

I was beginning a fellowship at the Center for School Education Research at Hyogo University of Teacher Education. I had been to Yashiro twice and was familiar with the area. I looked forward to eight months of full-time fieldwork. It promised and turned out to be a wonderful year.

The next day we shopped for Buck for kindergarten—the school year in Japan begins in April, breaks for vacation in August, and then resumes in September. We purchased a long list of necessary items—bento box (lunch box), washcloth, school hats, seat cushion, bathing cap, and jacket. He was ready for kindergarten.

I was *very* apprehensive about Buck's going to kindergarten. I had observed in many Japanese preschools. The last time I had been to his kindergarten, I had to protect my backside because some mischievous young boys repeatedly snuck up behind me and "goosed" me vigorously. They thought it great fun and laughed uproariously. I tried my sternest looks, threats, all to no avail. Eventually I kept close to walls. No one seemed to notice—the teachers, the principal who welcomed me, and the professor who brought me. I tried to imagine a Japanese professor visiting a kindergarten back home and no adult noticing kids goosing him. I couldn't. Later my children informed me that Japanese children are fond of goosing. Full disclosure: I was goosed on no other occasion, although, at one preschool, I was kicked in the genitals, and at another a sweetly smiling girl gouged a fingernail-full of flesh from the side of my nose.

Japanese preschools are, compared to contemporary American preschools, raucous places, filled with loud rambunctious kids who run, wrestle, hit, roughhouse, and climb on and over everything. Buck was a gentle soul. At his university preschool in Illinois children were encouraged to "use their

words," as in "I don't like it when you hit me," fighting and hitting were forbidden, and rambunctiousness was constrained. Japanese children do use their words, but words of their *own* choosing—two of the first words that Buck learned were *baka*, fool, and *ochidi*, buttocks. But they are more likely to use their bodies. Would Buck be tough enough? Colleagues on sabbatical had packed up their families to the other side of the world, only to have the experience spoiled by one unhappy family member.

Would Buck, having been pushed around enough, refuse to go to kindergarten? Would I be doing fieldwork with an unhappy five-year-old in tow? American friends whose kids had been in Japanese preschool had described their kids being harassed and teased mercilessly. One told of his son taking a peanut butter sandwich from his Power Rangers lunch box to hear all the kids yell derisively, "Shit sandwich!"

I had told Buck what to expect, explaining that even if he spoke Japanese, "using his words" might not help. Scooter, as physical as her brother is cerebral, and about whose adjustment I had few worries, worked to "toughen and roughen" him up. She teased and pushed him around, urging him to fight back.

Each day I waited up for tears and tales, and none came. Each day he emerged happy and excited, eager to tell me about his day. After a week I asked if kids hit him or pushed him around. He shook his head emphatically, "A lot!" He continued admiringly, "The kids like to hit and fight, and the teachers don't make us stop." What did he do when the kids hit him? "I do this!" He crouched, feet wide apart, fists up like a boxer, growling and shaking his body—transformed. I was stunned. "What do the kids do when you do that?" I asked. "They run away, and then I chase them." Weeks later, teachers asked me to talk to Buck. They feared that he was being too aggressive and might hurt someone. Brave new world!

Buck did face subtle frustrations. His friends could climb the six-meter metal poles on the playground, and he could not. We returned to the empty playground in the evening for pole-climbing practice. First a half meter up the pole, then two. One evening he climbed to the top. The secret, he told me, was "sweaty sticky feet." His friends were still more agile and more confident about their physical abilities. Over the next eight months, however, with occasional tutoring and prodding, Buck became more confident physically. He ran, jumped, climbed, wrestled, and roughhoused with a new-found exuberance, reveling in his physical presence and developing abilities. Young children's friendships are profoundly physical. They develop their sense of a physical self in physical contact with others.

Then one day in early Fall, visibly upset, he stalked into my office. I waited for the worst. He stood shaking his head and staring at the floor. What was wrong? "It's just like CDL [his preschool back in Illinois]," he grumbled. I was puzzled. "The teachers said no more hitting and fighting. Just like CDL," shaking his head in disgust. I murmured sympathetically. "But we're going to keep on doing it," he said firmly. "We're not going to let it be like CDL!"

## CONSTRAINING DEVELOPMENT

> He was Japanese-American and had been working at an international company in Kobe for three years. She was Japanese and worked at the same company. They were engaged and visibly in love, sitting close on a warm day. They politely asked me about my research, and I described the physical precocity of young Japanese children. He was skeptical, sure that American children were more physically and athletically advanced than Japanese children. I explained how common unicycles were in preschools—that week some five-year-old girls had ridden unicycles across the playground swinging "hula hoops" over their heads then riding through them. He remained skeptical. Surely I was describing a rare event. He turned to his fiancée and asked confidently if she could ride a unicycle. She looked at him as though he were daft, "Of course, I can ride a unicycle! [Am I uncoordinated?]" He jerked back involuntarily; mouth and eyes opened wide, "You can ride a unicycle?" She looked at us, rolling her eyes. Just when you think you know everything about your lover.

Central to the idea of cultural contexts for development is the notion of *cultural constraints*. *Cultural constraint*s support some kinds of learning, making them easier, but at the same time make other learning difficult, even impossible. Hatano and Miyake (1991) pointed out that "cultural effects on learning are both enhancing and restricting. It is an important task for researchers in this area to specify how cultural constraints produce this double-sided effect" (p. 279). Constraints refer to how a culture enhances and restricts (a) what is possible and probable, (b) what is accessible, (c) what is valued, and (d) what is supported.

How, then, do preschools constrain Japanese children's physical development? What is seen as possible, and impossible, accessible and inaccessible, and so on? The constraints operating in preschool enhance children's physical development. Returning to the unicycle example: Unicycles are common in Japanese preschools—riding a unicycle is seen as possible. Children have access to them at school. Unicycles are readily available and relatively inexpensive in department stores, and children rode them in our campus neighborhood. School playgrounds often have long low bars that children can hold as they learn to ride. Being able to ride a unicycle is valued, by both children and adults. Being able to ride a unicycle in the U.S. is not seen as a possibility for young children; unicycles are not readily available and so on.

The culture values physical activity. The major fall event in schools is the Sports Festival, a daylong athletic competition of group rather than individual events. Families begin to arrive shortly after 8:00 a.m. and set up their tables, mats, and coolers. The competitions begin at 9 and continue until 3. All the children in the school are involved, including those with special needs. A most memorable experience was attending a sports festival at a school for children with mental and physical handicaps. The memory of children on walkers running short races and the cheers as the last ones crossed the line remains vivid.

In the Yashiro area, each town had a sports festival, with neighborhood teams. One event was a long relay race. Young children ran the first lap; the next by slightly older children, up through adulthood to seniors and back down again to a final lap run by young children. No runner dropped a baton during the entire race. I was astonished, then remembered the children in the preschools practice running relays. The runners had been running relays all their lives. Demure housewives sprinted around the track like experienced track and field athletes, which, in fact, they were.

The athletic activities in preschools reflect larger cultural constraints. At one preschool the children moved from 100 minutes of outside play to inside activities by slowly massaging each muscle group with towels, chanting, "Ichi, ni, san...(1, 2, 3,...)." A colleague explained that they were massaging each muscle group—the counting ensured that they massaged each one long enough. A few weeks later on a Tokyo subway, a business man in a well-cut suit was vigorously slapping his leg. No one appeared to notice. Done with one leg, he switched to other. Remembering the preschool kids, I realized he was massaging his muscle groups. After that I noticed this phenomenon often.

As a Japanese scholar friend explained to me, the body is central to the Japanese cultural narrative. The Western mind-body distinction was never part of the cultural view of self. As he put it, "We never accepted Christianity or Freud."

## GROWING UP *GENKI*

> One evening, when I returned home with a colleague, Scooter was practicing on the high bar. Envious of her classmates' proficiency on the school playground bars, she struggled to catch up with them. We watched and encouraged her. She grew increasingly frustrated. My colleague, in his early 30's, took off his sports coat and tie and joined her. He pulled himself up on the bar and performed series of flips. He showed her what do at each point in each move. I was astounded. I thought of him as a "techy," graceful, but not athletic. Maybe I saw all Japanese academics as pleasant bookish types, but not athletic. I should have realized that the little frog boys eventually grew up and some became academics. A few days later a friend complained to my wife and me about the scarcity of available and interesting unmarried men in the area—some topics cross cultures. We mentioned my colleague. She dismissed him—too bookish, not athletic enough, boring. Excitedly I described how he had transformed himself into a gymnast. She looked at me and my wife with the same look the young Japanese woman had given her intended, "All Japanese can do that." We had forgotten.

To be *genki*—an exuberant word meaning fit, strong, healthy, and physical—is highly valued. Kids respond to roll by jumping up and loudly announcing their presence, perhaps referring to a favorite cartoon character, "**Doraemon!!**" The teacher nods approvingly, "Genki!" Kids are expected to be tough and strong. Yashiro was unbearably humidly hot in the summer and bone-chillingly cold in the winter. On the coldest days, when I was shivering in coat and hat and unable to hold my video camera, kids ran around the playground in shorts, t-shirts, and unlined cloth jackets. Back in the classroom, heated by a portable kerosene heater in the middle of the room, I attempted to thaw my frozen fingers. The kids opened windows and asked the teachers to turn to heater off, "Too hot!" All part of being a Japanese self, kid-style.

The children's daring fascinated me. They appeared ready to climb to the top of anything. In time I understood that children appeared daring because the daring moment masked the gradual process of becoming daring. The daring of five-year-olds had begun when they were toddlers and had been developed slowly and with much practice. Price (1982) emphasized the importance for children's learning and development of "experiencing a prolonged, pressure-free period of familiarization" (p. 282). Extended periods of free play outside on playgrounds with challenging equipment and a sense of unrestricted space allowed children to push the limits of this equipment and of themselves. For example, they not only climbed the poles, at the top they climbed out on the bar connecting the poles and sat there.

Daring is defined by one's sense of danger, and *danger* is to some important extent constructed by expectations. The kids did not consider their actions dangerous, nor did the teachers, because the kids had been performing them in some form since they were toddlers. Developing a sense of daring is process of continual small steps over a long period of time. The young Japanese self is seen as, and accepted as, a physical self, developed on the playgrounds and in rambunctious interaction with others from an early age. Kids are encouraged to run, to climb, to fall, and to roughhouse. They are given the time and space to persist and practice.

Over the years I have watched too many ice hockey practices. Scooter has played for 10 years, Buck for five. American practices are rapid-fire affairs, with drills lasting a few minutes at time, driven, apparently, by a cultural belief in children's short attention spans. Move on to a new drill before kids get bored. As a result American kids' basic skills are often weak. One cannot develop good skills practicing them a few minutes a couple times a week. Their Japanese team's practices were more patiently paced. The same drill often continued 15 minutes or more, for example, kids in pairs passing to each other, back and forth, back and forth. The coaches accompanied the drills with explicit detailed instruction, squatting down, often kneeling on the ice, making small adjustments in the angle of a skate or stick blade, adjusting arm position, extending the follow through. Gaining mastery takes a long time and much practice.

Bordering the sidewalk up the hill to Buck's kindergarten stood a slightly sloped concrete wall that was about 4 meters high at the bottom of the hill, slowly diminishing in height as one climbed the hill. The wall was made of square pieces of formed concrete that allowed for toe and finger holds. For the kids on the way to school it became a climbing wall. The older more experienced kids climbed at the bottom where the wall was the highest and then walked along the top. The younger kids climbed closer to the top where the wall was not as high, slowly moving down the hill as they got more proficient. All jumped off at some point. I often saw kids jumping from heights of two meters, occasionally jumping over their mothers.

Both Scooter and Buck became more physical in their time in Japan. They became stronger—they had more hours of physical education than they had at home. They had more opportunities—all Japanese schools have swimming pools, and children swim every day in June and July. They sat still less and exercised more. They also learned the importance of being *genki*—aware of and confident in their physical capabilities.

A common culminating activity to elementary school is for the sixth grade to go to the sea and swim a kilometer or more. They swim as a group, with the fast swimmers in the back and the slow ones up front, teachers along the way urging them on and leading them in chants. Scooter arrived in Yashiro late June, less than a month from the planned trip to the Sea of Japan. She was not a strong swimmer, which her teacher diagnosed the first day. I anticipated that he would apologize profusely and tell me that given the late date, Scooter would have to maker the trip as an observer. I was completely wrong. He asked me for permission to keep her after school for additional swimming lessons and instructed me to take her to the university pool on weekends.

Scooter left for the sea apprehensive and nervous. She returned three days later changed. As she got off the bus, her smile transfigured her, and her feet seemed not to touch the ground. She had completed the 2-kilometer swim, and she came back more confidant than I had ever seen her, not only in her physical abilities, but also in her abilities in general. She was *genki*.

## NATURALLY SENSIBLE

> Scooter rushed into my office. “You won’t believe what happened,” she shouted. “You know how I’ve been practicing walking across the swinging structure?” It was a 20-meter-long narrow metal structure, ubiquitous on preschool and elementary school playgrounds—two parallel elongated inverted-u-shaped bars connected across the top by parallel metal bars at short intervals. Kids swing from one bar to the next from one end to the other. They soon master swinging and begin experimenting. “I finally got so that I could walk across the top without hesitating. I was so excited so I called Kikkawa-Sensei over and showed him. I thought he would congratulate me. He just watched and asked, ‘Can you run across it?’” She shook her head in total disbelief. “Can you believe that a teacher would encourage me to do something like that? Something dangerous? That would never happen in America.” She was never able to run across the top; by the time she left she could move across it rapidly. She was, after all, only an *American* monkey.

In an earlier report of this research (Walsh, 2002a), I identified common Japanese cultural beliefs about children. Three are relevant to this discussion.

1. Children are naturally good and naturally sensible (e.g., Fujinaga, 1967). They can be trusted to make sensible decisions.
2. The “spirit” formed by early experience provide the basis for later life. A proverb states, “The spirit of a three-year-old [by Western counting, two-year-old] will last until 100.”
3. Children are physical beings, and their physical development and expression critical to their well being.

I focus on the first two and how they inform the third. The belief that children are naturally sensible and can be trusted to make sensible decisions explains why children are given so much space, literally and figuratively, on the playgrounds for athletic and other activities. Teachers trust that children will not endanger themselves. Japanese parents and teachers are surely concerned about their children, but the concern starts from a trust in their ability to take care of themselves. People told me often that children were smart enough not to do things they weren’t capable of. The most difficult adjustment we had to make as parents was giving Scooter and Buck more space than we did back home in Illinois.

Tobin (2003) wrote that

> The concluding argument of *Preschools in Three Cultures* [Tobin, Wu, & Davidson, 1989] is that the great strength of Japanese preschools is that they provide young children with the kind of social complexity otherwise lacking in these children’s overly sheltered, narrow lives. This social complexity, in turn promotes *chiteki hattatsu* [difficult to translate—something like “intellectual development’] that occurs not so much because of how teachers interact with individual children as because of how they restrain themselves from interacting, by giving children space and time to interact with each other and with their environment. (p. 8)

Tobin is certainly correct that preschools provide a needed alternative to the home. But he does not argue that preschool completely breaks from the home. The constraints change, but the larger constraints of Japanese culture pervade both school and home. Even protected Japanese toddlers experience a physical freedom that, when seen on video, makes Americans uncomfortable (Walsh, 2001). The key is the space provided by teachers and parents who maintain a distance, again both figuratively and literally, from children. Children’s interactions with each other are seldom directly mediated by teachers.

Preschools playgrounds are, by American standards, unsupervised. Teachers come and go, at times playing with children, but they do not “supervise,” keeping the children and the playground under surveillance. A Japanese kindergarten teacher who had visited U.S. preschools asked me, “When American teachers are standing against the fence watching the playground,” she leaned against the wall, arms folded across her chest slowing rotating her head from side to side, “what are they ***doing***?”

What had I been doing all the times I had spent supervising playgrounds as a teacher? I replied that they were making sure that kids followed playground rules and didn’t get hurt. “But can’t the children do that themselves?” she asked. Good question.

In one kindergarten the kids liked to climb a tall tree behind one of the buildings. The tree was made for climbing with large evenly spaced branches. The older kids sometimes climbed quite high, at times making me nervous. The teachers paid little attention and seldom came into this area. I asked the teachers about the tree and how high the kids were climbing. By this time I knew that teachers cultivated an apparent inattention while almost clairvoyantly aware of every little thing happening on the playground and off. They had talked about the tree climbing at length in their daily meetings. They decided to ignore it because they didn’t want to inhibit the children’s explorations and because they were concerned that if they supervised the climbing in any way, the kids would become dependent on them and would, in this dependence become less careful. Further, they wanted the older kids to be

responsible for the younger ones. Later, I saw older children helping younger ones climb and keeping them from climbing too high.

The first time I visited Japan, in the late 80's, our hosts took my wife, Scooter, then a toddler, and me to a zoo in Tokyo. As we got off the train, a class of third graders emptied out of the next car. The teacher, a young man, alone with his class, went to the front of the children, who more or less lined up three and four across behind him, and led them across the street to the zoo. I counted 30-some children. I asked my hosts if we could follow them for a while. The children were loud and spirited, and occasionally one or two would wander from the group. Each time they did, other kids ran out and pulled them back into line. The teacher *never* looked back. He continued straight ahead. I realized then, although I certainly did not understand how, that teaching in this culture was deeply differently defined from teaching, as I knew it. Children were to be trusted to make sensible decisions and to take care of themselves, not only individually but also as a group.

Japanese kids eventually develop into the polite quiet adults of the stereotype, which, in fact, they are when the context calls for quiet and politeness. But children are expected to be loud and wild—their spirit is not be quashed. Middle school and high school will do that, but by then the spirit will be fully formed. Exuberance in word and deed is valued. Children are seldom corrected. The typical strategy for dealing with behavior too troublesome to be ignored (ignoring is the rule) is distracting kids—something Japanese adults do well. My head often rang from the noise in the large playrooms on rainy days; more than once I got hit by objects being flung across the room. But, "They're kids, aren't they," teachers explained. Their words were more than explanation, they were encouragement. Spirited behavior is not an unfortunate fact of life, the noise and the chaos and the rambunctiousness are markers of the spirit needed to become the polite mature adult valued by the culture. A mature polite adult not informed by this spirit is an empty shell.

## TRANSFORMING FROEBEL

> We walked through a large park in Osaka with friends and their toddler. A large fiberglass dragon curled around part of the playground. From it protruded climbing and swinging apparatuses. The dragon was about 30 meters long, and the head; the mouth opened wide, rose about 7 meters in the air at its top. Many kids were playing on the dragon; most on the tail section, clambering over the triangular ridges that spanned the dragons back from head to tail. A boy, about 11, moved along the top of the dragon, stepping from the top of each triangular ridge to the next, balancing effortlessly until he came to the highest point on the head. Scooter and I were transfixed—the others had gone on down the hill. He stood balancing on the tip of the triangle—at this point about a quarter meter high with a rounded (I checked later), not flat, top. He stared off across the Osaka skyline for about 5 minutes then slowly turned and walked back the same way. In total envy Scooter rued, "I wish I could do that. I wish I could do that."

In 1837 Friedrich Froebel founded the institution that three years later he would name the *kindergarten*. The German word *kindergarten* can be translated in two ways, *a children's garden*, that is, a garden belonging to or for children, and *a garden of children*, that is, a garden where children grow like plants, and where, like plants, they are to be tended and nurtured. Both meanings can be found in Froebel. In fact, Froebel wanted each child to have an individual garden as well a larger garden tended by the class. In the history of American kindergarten the latter meaning eventually became dominant (Chung & Walsh, 2000). The Japanese prefer the former. Plants, after all, do not move. They cannot run and jump and climb.

As have many ideas imported from abroad, Froebel's ideas were made Japanese as they were interpreted through the lens of Japanese cultural beliefs. Japanese early educators take the idea of a garden for children literally. Plants proliferate. One sees the principal out weeding the flowers and the plants. Animals—rabbits, ducks, and chickens—are common, and the children's feeding the animals is an important activity.

The second way that the preschools are like gardens is that preschool is seen as an outside activity. A most visible difference between American and Japanese preschools is size of the playgrounds—Japanese playgrounds are generally large, even in the large cities. A second difference is materials. Classrooms have comparatively few puzzles, books, toys and so on. Playgrounds are elaborately equipped, not only with climbing structures and slides and so on, but also with unicycles, bicycles, tricycles, shovels, stilts, gymnastic equipment, hoses, troughs for diverting water, buckets, tools, and so on. Children do spend time inside, and in the large private urban kindergartens—I observed one with

more than 700 children—organizational constraints keep kids inside more than in my five primary sites. But even there, the kids were outside many more than American preschool children. In my primary sites, children spent at least as much, and often more, time outside than inside, and until organized inside activity, usually late in the day, they moved freely from inside to out and back.

A preschool focused on outside activities will be more focused on the physical than one that emphasizes inside activities. Ironically, Froebel's *gifts*, which have generally disappeared from preschool education, emphasized the use of small muscles, as early critics of Froebel pointed out. These critics missed the importance that Froebel placed on nature walks, which he picked up from Pestalozzi, and other outdoor activities. In any case, American critics of Froebel replaced the small muscle activities of the gifts with limited large motor activities, for example, the circle games popular in early schooling.

The Japanese went from the gifts to unrestricted outdoor physical play. The emphasis on large muscle development was never limited to a circle games. Playgrounds encourage children to push themselves. Ayers (1993) argued that classrooms should be "laboratories for discovery and surprise, spaces where children can be active and experimental in following their own compelling goals, places where knowledge opens to future knowledge" (p. 58). Japanese preschool playgrounds are laboratories for physical discovery and surprise.

## CONCLUSION

Japan is in transition—the long stagnant economy, the declining birth and marriage rates, changes in social structure have all had a serious and deleterious impact on early schooling. Enrollments in preschools have declined precipitously. Three of my primary sites had empty classrooms, and the birth rate has declined more slowly in small towns and rural areas than in large cities. Private preschools in big cities compete intensely for children. They must to survive. Japanese early childhood educators worry that traditional preschool values and practices are being lost in this competition. They worry about the appearance of societal problems they have never faced before.

I do not intend to romanticize Japanese early schooling. I note in passing Holloway (2000), who presents a bleak picture of Japanese early schooling. Her research is, at best, problematic (see Walsh, in press). Certainly one can find poorly run preschools and bad teachers in Japan. But they are not the norm.

Comparisons across cultures are tricky. The temptation to ignore the complexities and contradictions within in order to facilitate comparisons across cultures always beckons. I struggle with the temptation. I admire much about Japanese early schooling. A prominent Japanese professor told me that kindergarten is the high point of Japanese education. I certainly agree. I also believe that Japanese preschool is "a last best place" (Walsh, 2002b) in early schooling across the world. Early schooling in the U.S. has become increasingly restrictive, with children given little of the space and time needed for development. The dominant discourse of "developmentally appropriate practice" has contributed to the increasing restrictiveness (see, e.g., Lee, J-H, 2003; Walsh, 1991).

Focusing on the physical in early schooling, encouraging, supporting, valuing physical activities and development benefits children in profound ways. Whether physical and social development serve as the foundation of intellectual (and emotional) development, and I believe they do, young children can reach levels of physical and social expertise much more readily than they can equivalent levels of intellectual expertise. Intellectual development is a long slow process, constrained (hindered) by complex symbol systems and by well developed bodies of knowledge that take years, even decades, to master or to begin to.

Early on children can master climbing poles, riding unicycles, running fast, tumbling, walking on stilts, kicking soccer balls, and so on—if they have adequate space, time, support, and so on. American educators emphasize "self-esteem." Bruner argues (1996), however, that self-esteem is meaningful only within the context of agency and the ability to evaluate that agency.

A transformation occurs when young children begin to master a physical skill. Take, for example, ice skating. When kids can jump out on the ice without first steadying themselves on the rink door. Kids who are ordinary or even klutzy on dry land become graceful and in control on the ice, aware of their agency. Scooter, struggling with early adolescence, confided to me that no matter how bad her life

was off the ice, how out of control and frightening, as soon as she stepped on the ice, she entered a world where she was in control, where she didn't worry about being awkward or accepted.

Children need rich opportunities to develop physically that give them many ways to excel. A dirty little secret about schooling is that one has to be good at only a few things to be wildly successful, and, one has to be bad at an only a few things to be wretchedly unsuccessful.

Not every child can be a dominant athlete, but every child can have an athletic self. Every child can be supported in this quest. I saw hundreds of preschoolers in Japan swinging themselves up and over bars. I also saw on playgrounds "scaffolds," not in the figurative Brunerian sense, but actual wooden devices that helped children get their legs up and over the bars. They walked up the scaffold and then easily swung over the bar. Again, what is possible, accessible, supported, and valued?

The developmental psychology encountered in the latest *Handbook of Child Psychology* (1998) is complex and systems-oriented. The developmental psychology encountered in everyday discussions within education, the folk psychology, is Piagetian stage-theory with maturationist underpinnings and that underestimates children's physical, social, intellectual, and other abilities. Development is viewed as *natural* and distinct from *learning.* Within developmental psychology, the longstanding distinction between development and learning was blurred years ago. Within American folk psychology, the distinction remains strong. If development is *natural* and *distinct from learning*, then norms for development can be determined by carefully observing children and establishing what children can do at a specific age. The *normality* of the individual child can then be measured by comparing the child to these norms. This approach, traceable back to G. Stanley Hall and his Child Study Movement and to Arnold Gesell, underlies the idea of *mental age* and IQ.

This limited discourse on development ignores the reality that what children can do at any given historical and cultural moment depends a great deal on cultural constraints—what is accessible and not accessible, valued and not valued, and so on. The norms themselves become constraints that both enhance and restrict as society sets strong expectations about what children can and cannot, and should and should not do.

Missing is the sense of the possible. Today's female athletes differ markedly from their often ground-breaking predecessors. They runs faster, jump higher, skate faster, and so on. The advances have not been the incremental ones that mark men's athletics over recent decades. Women's basketball or ice hockey or soccer is different sports from 20 years ago. Why? The cultural constraints have changed. Women's athletic development, once restricted, has been enhanced. Women have been able to begin to explore the bodily possible.

Enough said.

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# Lesson Study with Preservice Teachers: Lesson from Lessons

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中文摘要：幸曼玲

這篇文章是針對主修幼兒教育的學生，在「教學原理」(principle of teaching)的課堂上，進行二年的教學歷程的研究:；課程中結合課室探究 (Lesson Study)的方式。課室探究是一種由老師自己引導的專業成長模式。成員以小組合作的方式進行，大家聚在一起討論學習的目標，規劃實際的課程，觀察在實際現場運作的狀況，最後討論課程該如何修訂。

這門教學原理與教學實習結合，而且在附近學校實施。我們採用課室探究的方式與這些課程結合，過程中大家討論實施的困難，修正的方式，以及獲得的結果。透過這樣的方式，職前訓練的學生們不但會特別注意到教學策略 (如問問題的技巧，其帶學生的回應，以及課程的流動如何影響到學生的學習) ，而且他們會特別針對教學計畫進行批判式的建構，而不會針對老師。

# Lesson Study with Preservice Teachers: Lessons from Lessons

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Sims, L. M., & Walsh, D. J. (submitted). Lesson Study with preservice teachers: Lessons from lessons. *Teaching and teacher education*.

ABSTRACT

This article examines a two-year process of integrating Lesson Study—a form of teacher-led professional development— into an introductory course on the principles of teaching for students majoring in early childhood education. The course is taught in conjunction with beginning practicum work in area schools. We describe obstacles, modifications, and outcomes as we adapted the Lesson Study process to help preservice teachers pay closer attention to instructional strategies (such as questioning techniques, anticipating student responses, and how lesson flow affects student understanding), and become more comfortable with constructive criticism by focusing on the lesson *plan* rather than the teacher.

# Lesson Study with Preservice Teachers:
# Lessons from Lessons

Lesson Study—a form of teacher-led professional development first developed in Japan—has been shown to improve student achievement and development by providing a framework for the continuous professional growth of teachers (Chokshi & Fernandez, 2004; Fernandez & Chokshi, 2002; Fernandez & Yoshida, 2004; Lewis, 2002, 2005, 2006a, 2006b; Lewis & Tsuchida, 1998a; Stigler & Hiebert, 1999; Takahashi & Yoshida, 2004).

Lesson Study has been most widely used by inservice teachers in the upper elementary and middle school, primarily in science and math. This article reports on a two-year project to adapt Lesson Study for use in an early childhood teacher education program for preservice teachers. (To avoid confusion, we use the term *preservice teachers* throughout this paper to refer to the students enrolled in our teacher education program.) We found Lesson Study to be a promising pedagogy for teacher education that, if implemented properly, lays an important foundation for preservice teachers' learning.

We came to this project because of a shared interest in Lesson Study. The first author, an experienced teacher, has been involved in helping school districts incorporate an adaptation of Lesson Study into their professional development programs. The second author, also an experienced teacher now teacher educator, first encountered Lesson Study in Japan. Fascinated by its potential, he explored ways to integrate it into a two-course sequence in the early childhood teacher education program at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Both authors were involved in planning and continually revising the project. Taking a Lesson Study approach, we set goals, planned, observed, analyzed, and revised our teaching and course assignments. [Author1] was primarily responsible for implementation. [Author2] observed. In this article, when we switch from the first person plural to the first person singular, [Author1] is speaking.

We begin with a short review of some of the pressing challenges facing preservice teacher education. Next, we provide an overview of Lesson Study, as a potential vehicle for meeting those challenges. We then describe and analyze the two-year project, which represents an initial and then a refined attempt to incorporate Lesson Study into preservice teacher education. Finally, we evaluate the possible role of Lesson Study in preservice teacher education.

## Challenges Facing Teacher Education

A perennial challenge for teacher education is the belief that teaching is mostly common sense, with little need for serious sustained professional study (Ball & Cohen, 1999; Kennedy, 1999; Munby, Russell, & Martin, 2001). Good teaching, however, reaches far beyond common sense and quick fixes. Effective teachers collect and interpret data, make judgments about student learning, invent new ideas and approaches, understand the content they teach, examine the effects of their instruction on student learning and motivation (Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005; Lampert & Ball, 1998)—the list goes on.

Efforts to address this "common-sense" notion have concentrated on practicing, rather than preservice, teachers (Kennedy, 1999). Preparing highly qualified teachers begins early,

with preservice teachers engaged in thoughtful and challenging work, ready for serious lifelong learning (Ball & Cohen, 1999; Hammerness, Darling-Hammond, & Bransford, 2005; Kennedy, 1999; Lampert & Ball, 1998, 1999; Meier, 1992). Teacher education has long assumed that knowledge is acquired in coursework and later applied in classroom practice (Feiman-Nemser & Buchman, 1986; Kennedy, 1999). Critics point to the disconnect between these two domains, noting that novice teachers report being most influenced by practicum experiences, seeing little connection between their coursework and fieldwork (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Feiman-Nemser, 1983; Lampert & Ball, 1999; Tabachnik, Popkewitz, & Zeichner, 1979,1980).

Whence this disconnect? Kennedy (1999) noted that coursework, discussions, and lectures may provide a strong theoretical basis for teaching, but, without situated knowledge, preservice teachers may be unable to recognize the situations that call for the enactment of their knowledge.

Familiarity and frame of reference also play a role. Preservice teachers bring preconceived notions—the "apprenticeship of observation" (Lortie, 1975)—to their professional learning. They were, and are, students. As students, however, they have seen only the external trappings, not the critical behind-the-scenes details—the goal setting, planning, and decision-making—that preceded each lesson or activity. Because the underlying knowledge and skills of effective teaching are often invisible to those on the receiving end, preservice teachers may view teaching as effortless or deem a particular strategy a success or failure without adequate evidence (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Munby, Russell, & Martin, 2001).

To move beyond preconceived, limiting notions about teaching, Feiman-Nemser and Remillard (1995) insisted that teaching knowledge must be learned in practice. Classrooms, however, are chaotic, unpredictable, and complex places. Classroom chaos may add authenticity, but it also makes it difficult for novice teachers to learn (Ball & Cohen, 1999; Kennedy, 1999).

Reform efforts may appear doomed if beginning teachers are equipped with only the remnants of their apprenticeships of observation, university coursework that seems disconnected from authentic challenges, and field experiences in apparently chaotic and certainly complex classrooms. Darling-Hammond (2006), however, finds hope in programs that successfully integrate coursework and clinical experience. These programs are characterized by a "pedagogy of investigation" (Lampert & Ball, 1998, 1999) or "inquiry stance" (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999). They emphasize questions, analysis, and criticism—allowing preservice teachers to experience the realities of teaching without the classroom chaos. Teaching processes that are slowed down can be critically examined, enabling preservice teachers to examine preconceived notions, refine conceptual and practical tools, develop a reflective disposition, and appreciate the importance of a professional community in learning to teach (Ball & Cohen, 1999; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993,1999; Darling-Hammond, 2006; Feiman-Nemser, 2001; Hammerness, Darling-Hammond, & Bransford, 2005; Little, 1999; Lortie, 1975; Shulman & Shulman, 2004; Smylie, 1995).

Combining inquiry with professional growth or "adaptive expertise" (Hatano & Inagaki, 1986) is more likely to be embraced in practice if preservice teachers have already had experience critically analyzing their teaching. Darling-Hammond & Hammerness (2005) assert that teacher education programs must move beyond the idea that one can

amass adequate knowledge, or “learn *for* teaching,” in a few short years. Rather, programs must be designed to help novice teachers develop a “lifelong ability to learn *from* teaching.”

## Overview of Lesson Study

Lesson Study is about learning *from* teaching—the systematic and collaborative examination of instruction. Originating in Japan (*Kenkyuu Jugyou—Jugyou* : lesson or instruction; *kenkyuu,* research or study), it has a long history in elementary and middle schools. Stigler and Hiebert’s *The Teaching Gap* (1999) brought Lesson Study and its potential to increase student achievement to the attention of American teachers and administrators. Lesson Study is currently used in the U. S. in at least 125 school districts in 32 states (Lewis, 2006b) and continues to attract the attention of Western educators (e.g. Chokshi & Fernandez, 2004; Fernandez & Chokshi, 2002; Fernandez & Yoshida, 2004; Lewis, 2002, 2005, 2006; Lewis, Perry, Hurd, & O’Connell, 2006; Lewis & Tsuchida, 1998b; Takahashi & Yoshida, 2004).

Lesson Study—a simple, cyclical process of planning, observation, reflection, and revision—systematically embeds professional development in the classroom. Teachers meet to formulate goals for students’ learning and long-term development. Through extensive discussion (ideally, the group ranges from new teachers to seasoned veterans), teachers plan a “research lesson” designed to meet their stated goals. One team member teaches this research lesson while others observe and gather evidence on student learning and engagement. Afterwards, team members debrief, focusing on what was observed and how to revise the lesson to better meet intended goals. Often, an outside observer is invited to join the group to offer advice as the lesson is developed or provide a summary at the debriefing. A revised lesson is sometimes taught by another group member to a different group of students. The cycle continues: planning, teaching/observation, debriefing, revising. Finally, teachers synthesize their learning in a report containing the detailed research lesson plan, summaries of their professional learning, and new questions to consider in subsequent research lessons (Chokshi, 2002; Lewis, 2006; Stigler & Hiebert, 1999, Takahashi & Yoshida, 2004).

Lesson Study focuses on just one or two lessons over a school year. A single lesson, however, contains many (if not all) of the critical components that teachers must consider to improve instruction. The scrutinized lessons serve as valuable tools for improving not only the examined lessons, but also the larger unit of lessons and instruction (Lewis, 2002).

## Integrating Lesson Study: Year One

We began in Year One with 32 preservice teaching students (30 undergraduate juniors and 2 graduate students) enrolled in “Foundations of Early Childhood Education,” (hereafter Foundations) taught by Walsh. We set two firm guidelines for the project: (a) the Lesson Study project would be authentic, and not, for example, a contrived lesson where a preservice teacher teaches a second-grade math lesson to her peers who pretend to be second graders; and (b) it would be integrated into the existing curriculum of Foundations.

Methodologically, we wanted to move beyond some the limitations of self-study by having Sims, an outsider, implement the project. In best Lesson-Study tradition, we worked together and observed each other. Because observer bias is inherent in any such study, we took great pains to record observations accurately and to be critical. During each

phase of the Lesson-Study process, a video or audio recorder captured discussions, lectures, and comments. We took handwritten notes when possible. None of the data presented in this report—preservice-teacher students' comments, written and oral, or their performance in planning and teaching the lesson—was graded.

We first discuss the goals of the project. We then look at how we attempted to address challenges. We next describe the Lesson Study activities across the semester. We end by discussing what we learned from Year One and how that knowledge informed revisions for Year Two.

*Goals*

What did we want the preservice teachers to learn? We wanted them to be able to step outside their own perspectives and consider the *students'* thinking and experiences. Preservice teachers are not prepared to consider the behind-the-scenes thinking that informs an effective lesson: thoughtful questioning, anticipating student thinking, tweaking the flow of the lesson with goals in mind, and so on. They also, as do many inservice teachers, take critiques of a lesson personally, responding to constructive (and gently stated) suggestions defensively, often with tearful, fearful looks. This inability to separate the teach*ing* from the teach*er* (e.g. Ball, 1996; Lewis, 2002; Stigler & Hiebert, 1999) impedes professional growth.

We set three broad goals for Year One: teaching preservice teachers to (a) analyze lessons in light of lesson goals, (b) engage in detailed discussions about instructional strategies (such as questioning techniques, anticipating student responses, and how the lesson flow affects student understanding), and (c) critique the lesson plan, not the teacher—we wanted them to move beyond superficial critiques like, "I thought the lesson went really well" and become more comfortable with constructive criticism.

The step-by-step components of Lesson Study are straightforward, yet the underlying principles are complex and require time and practice to fully develop. The structure of Foundations limited the time we could devote to Lesson Study. The first six weeks are spent in the university classroom; the next seven weeks in a half-day practicum in a kindergarten, first-, second-, or third-grade. (The preservice teachers attend other classes each afternoon.) They reassemble for one 3-hour class period during the fourth week of placement. The final two weeks of the semester they return full-time to the university classroom.

*Concerns*. In Lesson Study, goal-setting alone would normally take weeks of discussion. Collaborative planning and observation, two integral components of Lesson Study, presented a challenge because of the structure. We knew we risked trying to do too much, skimming only the surface, and doing nothing well.

Ideally, Lesson Study groups bring together teachers with a range of teaching experience to insure a rich planning process. Preservice teachers' experience pales in comparison to practicing teachers'. Lesson Study is premised on teachers investigating real questions from their practice. The preservice teachers had, at best, limited classroom experience, and *no* experience in their placement until the seventh week. They would likely be unable to generate meaningful questions from actual practice.

Finally, we were concerned about how limited collaboration time would affect the preservice teachers' ability to analyze the lesson as a group effort. Would groups focus on how the *teacher* was doing, rather than critically examining the research lesson *plan*? It

seemed reasonable to expect them to fall back on the familiar model: Preservice teachers teach while others pass judgment.

*The Plan*

To introduce Lesson Study, we assigned Lewis' (2002), *Lesson Study: A Handbook of Teacher-Led Instructional Change.* We divided the class into three groups by practicum grade level—kindergarten, first, and second/third-grade groups. Each group selected one member to be the lead teacher, who agreed to have the lesson videotaped for later viewing. Each group was instructed to plan a research lesson for the lead teacher using a planning template adapted from Lewis (Appendix A). The rest of the group would adapt and teach the research lesson to meet the needs of their particular students, but would not be videotaped.

We asked each group to incorporate a similar topic, Venn diagrams, into their research lesson. We did this for several reasons: (a) time was short; (b) asking groups to design a lesson for students they had not yet met was difficult; asking them to start from scratch, completely impractical; (c) Venn diagrams are easily adapted to many subjects—math, reading, science, and so on—and provided a common thread for future discussions; and (d) we were able to provide groups with sample lessons using Venn diagrams. Although each group member would be teaching a slightly different lesson depending on her placement, we hoped that the shared experience of teaching about Venn diagrams to students of the same grade would enhance analysis of the research plan during debriefing. We urged groups to revise one of the sample lessons to suit their needs—both to save time and to emphasize that Lesson Study is about exploring the details of a lesson plan (and then observing and learning from practice)—not about creating an original masterpiece.

By the first planning session, all preservice teachers had briefly visited their classrooms at least once; their knowledge of their class and co-operating teacher was limited. Each group had two two-hour segments of class time to prepare a preliminary research-lesson plan. In the fourth week of placement, when the class returned to the university classroom, groups met for two hours to revise the plan based on the suggestions of the lead teacher, who had been instructed to use the first four weeks of placement to reflect on her group's research-lesson plan and jot down her thoughts about grade/age appropriateness, lesson length and pacing, and possible student confusion.

During the final two weeks of the semester, each group met with Sims for a 2-hour debriefing. The group observed the videotaped research lesson, shared impressions, and discussed possible revisions.

*Analysis of Year One*

Following Lesson Study protocol, we moved from goal-setting, planning, and implementation to an evidence-based analysis of student learning. We used written notes and video/audiotapes of classroom discussion, planning sessions, and lesson debriefing sessions to evaluate our efforts in light of our goals. We first describe observations of the preservice teachers' preliminary discussions about Lesson Study. Next, we describe the planning sessions. We then briefly discuss the process of videotaping lessons and editing the resulting tapes. Finally, we describe the debriefing sessions and discuss the issues that would inform our plan revisions for Year Two.

*Observations of introductory discussions*. Because the preservice teachers in Foundations are responsible for leading all discussions about assigned readings, we were able to listen to their initial interpretations of the Lewis book. We learned a great deal about

their understandings and misconceptions. For example, many expressed confusion about how Lesson Study differed from lesson planning--many interpreted it as a more painful way to do a lesson plan. One commented, “This is giving me a headache. I just want to teach—but now I think that I’ll be too bogged down in paperwork.” Most surprising, and enlightening, was that many viewed Lesson Study as an instructional strategy. For some, this notion persisted throughout the course. One commented at debriefing, “I think I may use Lesson Study in the future, but if other teachers in my building are using something else—like units or centers—then I might be more likely to follow their lead.” Lesson Study as *professional development* proved elusive to many.

*Observations of planning sessions.* At the first planning session began, I (Sims) reviewed the Lesson Study planning template and emphasized that it was a working document—not an assignment to turn in. I moved from group to group, observing and taking notes. I was surprised to find that no group was using the sample Venn diagram lesson plans that we provided, even though I repeatedly advised them that revising an existing plan was a good place to start.

During the second planning session, the Friday before placement began, I mentioned that I heard many comments such as, “Oh, that would be so cool! Let’s do that!” during the first planning session. There was nothing wrong, I noted, with planning “cool” activities, but the focus should be on moving students toward the goals. Nevertheless, for the rest of the session, I heard no mention of goals. I attended closely to discussions about the merits of doing one thing over another. In all groups, the rationale for activities was how much the students would like it.

Four weeks later, when the preservice teachers returned to the university classroom, they had an hour to revise the research lesson based on the lead teacher’s suggestions. We soon realized that the lead teachers had paid little attention to how the plan fit their students and classrooms. The main topics of conversations remained unrelated to the details of the research lesson: “I still don’t know enough about how my classroom works to figure out the best way to do this”; “I think my co-op’s going to change units next week, and she’s going to want me to do the spelling group. I don’t know how to make this fit.” Confusion reigned. No group completed their plan. Everyone parted cheerfully, promising to email each other and finish things later. We saw no evidence of the collaboration needed in a planning session. Discussions were pleasant, but superficial. No one seemed bothered that the plan would end up an individual endeavor.

*Observations While Videotaping the Lead Teachers’ Lessons*

During the final two weeks of practicum, I videotaped each lead teacher’s research lesson. I used two cameras, one aimed at the preservice teacher and the other at the students. Each lead teacher gave me a word-processed copy of the research lesson, but none actually used the plan as a reference during the lesson. Instead, they used a separate sheet, usually handwritten. Later, I asked them if the final plan was a collaborative or individual effort. All responded that the basic outline was a group effort, but they had done the final revisions themselves.

Unable to take notes while operating the video recorder, I carefully reviewed each lesson tape. We would not have enough time to watch the entire lesson during the debriefing session, so I edited each tape to approximately 20 minutes, putting the teacher and student views side by side. Interested in whether the preservice teachers would notice important lesson details and use these to discuss possible lesson revisions, I edited the tapes

looking for details to spark discussion. For example, I intentionally included a segment showing the lead teacher labeling Venn diagram circles with pictures and words. When she asked her kindergarten students to place objects in the correct part of the diagram, mass confusion resulted. My goal was to spark discussion: What was unclear? The instructions? The materials? Were students paying attention to directions? Did students understand Venn diagrams?

Based on the edited tapes, I created categories I expected the preservice teachers to address in the debriefing. I used these categories as a rough coding system to analyze the discussion.

1. Questioning Strategies—*choice of questions and prompts, the importance of anticipating student responses, finding the balance between helping and allowing to struggle*
2. Affective Concerns—*student engagement and interest, classroom atmosphere*
3. Lesson Organization and Flow—*student grouping strategies, small or large group settings, order of activities, effectiveness of materials, pacing*
4. Student learning—*student understanding of the concepts presented in the lesson, whether or not the activities moved the students towards the stated goals*

5. Explanations and Instructions—*appropriateness or clarity of explanations or instructions*

*Observations and Analysis of Debriefing Sessions*

Each debriefing session lasted two hours. I acted as facilitator, but intentionally played a limited role. I wanted to know how involvement in collaborative planning, teaching, and video viewing would spark discussion. I began by asking the lead teacher to talk about the lesson. I showed the video. I then asked the lead teacher to provide additional comments. Next, I opened the discussion up to the entire group. I kept everyone involved by asking questions like, “Sue, do you have anything to add to what Mary said?” I asked broad, open-ended questions such as, “Based on what you just saw and your own experience teaching a similar lesson, how do you think the research lesson plan should be revised if we were going to reteach it?”

In all debriefing sessions, the discussion was lively and animated—but not in the way that we had hoped. Discussions revolved around praising the lead teachers. Comments often began, “I really liked the way you….” Clearly each group saw the videotaped research lesson as the *lead teacher*’s lesson, not the *group*’s lesson. Two of the three lead teachers began their summary by saying that they had changed the plan a lot since they last worked on it. Groups focused on evaluating the lead teacher’s presentation more than on the merits of the lesson plan.

Trying to redirect discussion to instructional details of the lesson, I asked each preservice teacher to briefly describe how her Venn diagram lesson differed from the research lesson and whether they learned anything from watching and comparing. Again, conversation was spirited and friendly. Everyone enjoyed sharing what they did. The discussion, however, remained superficial: “First we did X, then I had the kids make Y, then we talked about Z….”

I decided to ask more focused questions, for example, "Would you revise the choice of materials in any way? Why? How?" "Do you think the students understood the main point? How could you tell?" Again, they all responded enthusiastically but stayed on the surface:

> If I had to do this lesson again, I think I'd try to get the kids to do it more hands-on, like Liz did. I liked the way she got them involved in such a creative way. I mean, my lesson went great, and my co-op thought so too, but I think the kids would have liked it better if they could get messier and, you know, experience it in a new way. (Group 1 member)
>
> I used that popsicle stick idea where you pull out a stick to know who to call on, and I think it worked well. I felt like I was giving everyone an equal chance, so that's good. If I had to revise the lesson, I might try a different approach. (Group 2 member)

At the end of the debriefing, I reminded them that the process that we just completed, though *based* on Lesson Study, fell far short of being "true" Lesson Study because of the constraints of placement and coursework schedules. I asked what they learned and what suggestions they had for future Lesson Study endeavors. Almost everyone described how she enjoyed hearing about others' experiences:

> I loved the chance to hear all the different ways that we ended up doing a lesson on Venn diagrams. I thought it was really cool that we came up with so many different ideas, and it was great to have a chance to hear everyone share. Usually, we don't have this much time to sit back and listen to each other's classroom experiences.

They also expressed frustration. Three or more voiced the following:

1. The process was confusing.
2. It was difficult to see and hear the students when watching a videotape. It would be better to visit classrooms and watch firsthand.
3. The research lesson didn't feel like a true collaboration. Instead, the individual lead teachers ended up refining most of the lesson on their own.
4. The videotaped lesson didn't have much to do with the lesson the others taught, so it was difficult to make connections.
5. The lesson planning template was too overwhelming. It was too hard to anticipate student responses and come up with good questions before actually teaching the lesson.
6. It was too difficult to feel connected to other group members once we were in placement. We lost momentum. Lesson Study felt like just another assignment that made no sense.

After the three debriefing sessions, I listened to the audiotapes of the sessions to analyze the comments the preservice teachers made. Table 1 shows the number of comments made about selected lesson features. The table represents combined totals of comments for all Lesson Study groups during the three two-hour debriefing sessions (six hours of discussion time).

Table 1

*Year One: Comments About Lesson Features and Instructional Practices*

| Lesson features and instructional practices | Total number of comments made by all groups - year one |
|---|---|
| Questioning strategies | 1 |
| Affective concerns | 7 |
| Lesson organization and flow | 9 |
| Student learning | 3 |
| Explanations and instructions | 1 |
| All categories combined | 21 |

Preservice teachers made few comments about lesson features and instructional strategies. Having edited the videos to focus on these categories, we were most disappointed with this outcome.

*Reflecting on Possible Plan Revisions*

After carefully observing and analyzing student outcomes in Year One, we revised goals and the plan for Year Two. Year One failed to achieve a critical component of successful Lesson Study—purposeful and collaborative planning. Doing the bulk of planning before placements began had not worked. Once in placement, the class scattered across area schools with but one mid-placement planning session to continue to work together. With limited teaching experience and no actual classrooms with real children, they were unable to construct a detailed plan.

We reached several hypotheses about why Lesson Study, as enacted here, did not succeed. First, the preservice teachers were unable to observe the research lessons firsthand. Videotaping proved an inadequate substitute for "being there"—two stationary cameras did not adequately capture student dialogue, facial expressions, and so on. Related to this, by editing the videotapes, we may have robbed the preservice teachers of the opportunity to watch the entire lesson unfold. We naively thought that novices could attend to lesson details in one viewing with minimal guidance. Sherin and Han (2004) found that a full year of video viewing was necessary before a shift occurred in *experienced* teachers' thinking. The lesson-planning template—intended as a working document to be used while teaching—was underutilized. Finally, the plan was seen as an "assignment," not as a teaching tool. During debriefing, the preservice teachers mentioned the difficulty of filling in the columns about anticipating student responses and formulating questions because of their lack of access to the students during planning. One commented, "I felt like we were operating in a vacuum." We expected deeper, more insightful discussion about the video. The videos *could* have launched discussions about questioning techniques, order of

activities, clarity of explanations, student understanding, and so on. Yet they did not. We expected too much from a one-time viewing by novices. Other factors came into play: First, the groups viewed the lesson as the lead teacher's rather than theirs; they were understandably hesitant to criticize the lead teacher. Second, we misjudged the importance of direct guidance. I intentionally maintained a low profile to give them more freedom to share opinions and comments. As Lampert and Ball (1999) noted, the notion of teachers (novice or expert) learning together from video, lesson plans, student work, or other materials related to practice is a new venture. Teachers—especially new teachers—require support to direct their attention to salient features and to talk about the details of classroom practice. Finally, the groups never addressed evidence—*how* the group would know if the lesson was moving their students towards the desired goals.

## Integrating Lesson Study: Year Two

Year Two marked the beginning of another Lesson Study cycle—both for the 25 preservice teachers (24 undergraduate juniors and 1 graduate student) and for us. We begin our description of Year Two by explaining revised goals. Next, we describe the revised Lesson Study activities, the structure, as well as additional tools and supports. We then describe preservice teacher participation in the Lesson Study cycle and the end-of-semester interviews and reports.

### *Goal Revisions*

To the Year-One goals, we added the goal of improving the preservice teachers' observation skills. The revised goals were to teach preservice teachers to (a) analyze lessons in light of lesson goals, (b) engage in detailed discussions about instructional strategies (such as questioning techniques, anticipating student responses, and how the lesson flow affects student understanding), (c) critique the *lesson plan*, not the teacher, and (d) observe lessons with a focus on gathering evidence to inform lesson revisions.

### *Plan Revisions*

Based on analysis of Year One, we revised the structure to (a) increase group collaboration, (b) enrich planning discussions, (c) better utilize the lesson-planning template, (d) define observation protocols, (e) improve debriefing discussions, (f) include an outsider observer, and (g) provide a means for end-of-semester feedback.

*The structure.* We significantly changed the structure so that the preservice teachers would experience an actual Lesson Study cycle: collaborative planning, firsthand observation of the research lesson, and debriefing sessions that included an outside observer. We shifted the timing so that the entire Lesson Study process would take place during the first six weeks of class, before practicum began.

During the third week of the semester, we divided the class into three Research Lesson groups. We constructed the groups carefully, attending to individual strengths and personalities. We chose the content for each research lesson, assigning each group a chapter of *To Teach: The Journey of a Teacher* (Ayers, 1993), which they were to teach to the rest of the class. The chapters were *Seeing the Students, Creating an Environment for Learning,* and *Building Bridges (Instruction).*

Two 3-hour class sessions were given to planning. Each group was to plan a series of three lessons about their chapter. The research lesson was to be the first in the series. For the second and third lesson, only a brief description was required. We intended the 3-lesson requirement to push the preservice teachers to think beyond one lesson and focus on the

bigger picture—what were they hoping to accomplish with these lessons; where were they headed?

Each group could choose up to three co-lead-teachers; the remaining group members were to act as observers. We dedicated 75 minutes from three class days to research lessons: 40 for the lesson, 5 to set-up for debriefing, 20 for debriefing, and 5 minutes for the outside observer. Our intent was that experiencing one complete, albeit condensed, Lesson Study cycle would give the preservice teachers a basic understanding of Lesson Study as teacher-led professional development.

*Emphasis on collaboration.* Convinced that the success of the debriefing session depended on the group's perception of the lesson as a joint effort, we discouraged the groups from choosing lead teacher(s) until the plan was well formulated. We wanted groups to focus on the plan, not the teacher. We instructed each group to choose a facilitator (to keep the group on task and make sure everyone participated), a time-keeper (to watch the time and help pace the group's work), and a recorder (to take careful notes about all discussions).

*Rethinking preliminary planning and the lesson-planning template*. I did not distribute the lesson planning template on the first day of planning. We wanted to avoid the "overwhelmed feeling" reported in Year One. More importantly, we wanted to present the lesson planning template as a useful tool, not more paperwork. The first planning day was for brainstorming, requiring only the Preliminary Planning Worksheet (Appendix B), designed to keep groups focused on the big picture as they sketched out a series of three lessons. A handout (Appendix C) outlined group roles and tasks.

On the second planning day, I distributed the lesson planning template (Appendix A). I emphasized, much more than in Year One, that the template was a working document for organizing plans from the first planning day. Lead teachers were expected to use the plan while they taught. It needed to contain all necessary details—questions, additional notes, alternative suggestions, materials, and so on. Observers were to use the plan to remind them what to watch. They were encouraged to write their observations on the lesson plan, as space permitted.

*Emphasis on observations, evidence, and keeping goals in mind.* We developed an Observation and Evidence Worksheet (Appendix D) to help the preservice teachers (a) reflect on the reasons for planning decisions, (b) evaluate their plans in light of goals, and (c) determine what would constitute evidence of success. The worksheet provided specific guidelines for observers. Year-One planning meetings had been spirited but shallow. We intended the worksheet to push the preservice teachers to think deeply while planning. For each lesson segment, they were to discuss and record their decisions about the following:

1. What is this segment designed to do?
2. How will we know if this segment is successful?
3. What should the lesson observers do during this segment?

*Redesigning the debriefing session and the role of the facilitator*. In Year Two, I took a much more active role during the debriefing sessions. The Debriefing Guide (Appendix E) outlines the steps I followed as well as questions and prompts designed to keep the discussion focused on analyzing the plan in light of goals and on evaluating activities based on evidence.

*Including an outside observer*. Having the Lesson Study cycle in the university classroom allowed us to bring in an outside observer. We asked the outside observer, an

education professor, to observe the lesson, sit in on the debriefing session, and, at the end, give a 5-minute commentary of suggestions, insights, and other summarizing remarks.

*Lesson Study feedback*. We wanted to hear the preservice teachers' impressions of Lesson Study at the end of the semester, after their practicum. Did the Lesson Study template help their planning in placement? Did the experience with collaborative planning and examining the details of a lesson affect their teaching? I interviewed groups of 2 or 3 for 10-15 minutes. I also collected the responses to the following prompt on their end-of-semester Self Reports: "Comment on how the research lesson influenced your efforts in practicum."

*Observations of Year Two*

As we did for Year One, we first describe the planning sessions; next, research lessons and debriefing sessions; and finally, the feedback from interviews and self-reports.

*Observations of planning sessions.* We begin with an example of an exchange during the second day of planning. The group had mapped out a preliminary plan on the lesson-plan template and was using the Observation and Evidence Guide to refine their plan.

> *Preservice Teacher One*: We're supposed to talk about this first segment—where they talk about how they stereotype people. So what is this designed to do? How is it related to our goals?
> *Preservice Teacher Two*: Yeah, goals. Aren't we doing this so that they realize they have stereotypes?
> *Preservice Teacher Three*: But that's not a goal, really. Or if it is, then we should change it because they already know that. It's nothing new.
> *Preservice Teacher Two*: I thought we were trying to get them to see that stereotypes can be incorrect—
> *Preservice Teacher Four*: Yeah, and that we all do it.
> *Preservice Teacher Three*: If that's what we're trying to do, then we should consider making it more of an ah-ha moment. Because if we want them to realize that we all do this, then the only way to make them take notice is to make them go, "Oh my gosh, I didn't realize I do that too!"
> *Preservice Teacher Five*: Yeah, that's great. So let's scratch the talking idea and think of an activity that will bring that out.
> *Preservice Teacher One*: That's good. But I'm wondering if we should start with an activity or have them review that passage from the book first to sort of set the stage?

Many similar conversations occurred during the planning sessions. In contrast to Year One, Year-Two discussions explored goals, lesson features, and instructional strategies at a deeper level. In the above example, five different group members discussed their goals, the students' prior understanding, revising to make a stronger point, and a change in the order of activities.

Circulating among groups, we noted that groups approached the lesson as *our* lesson. No group chose lead-teachers until well into the second day of planning. No group finished the lesson plan by the end of the second session, but each group made specific arrangements to meet again *as a complete group* to finalize the plans.

*Observations of research lessons and debriefing*. During each research lesson, observers were positioned around the room, watching silently, constantly taking notes.

Clear about their assigned duties, some observers attended to one table, others, the entire classroom. All the group members had copies of the research lesson plan. Some observers wrote notes on the plan; most used additional paper to take notes. The lead teachers referred to the plan throughout the lesson. Some had additional notes and alternated between the plan and notes. We will not describe the lessons themselves except to note that the groups had thought deeply about the planning process and made strong efforts to bring the chapters to life.

For debriefing, the presenting group gathered around a large table at one end of the classroom. Those who had been students during the lesson remained in the room, but observed in silence. I facilitated the debriefing session as outlined in the Debriefing Guide (Appendix E). Only once in the three debriefing sessions did I have to remind the preservice teachers to refer to the lesson as *our* lesson and to avoid focusing on the presentation skills of the lead teachers.

To keep the discussion based on evidence, I continually asked, "What did you see or hear that caused you to make that statement?" For example, one group member stated, "I noticed that every single person in the group I was watching really got into it! They really enjoyed it!" Prompted for evidence, she added, "They talked nonstop. Everyone had something to contribute. Their voices sounded enthusiastic and excited." With prompting, in every instance observers were able to provide evidence from their observations for their comments. After one debriefing session, a preservice teacher who had been watching the debriefing commented about the observer role:

> This really made me think about the importance of careful observation. . . .I kept wanting to shout, "No, no! This is why we said that!" I realized that if you miss certain subtleties, you can really get the wrong impression. Jessica was sitting right next to my table and listening the whole time, but she still didn't get the complete picture. It also made me think about how important it is for me to *really* observe the students in my classrooms. I never thought about how easy it is to miss stuff and get the wrong idea.

I asked groups to debrief the lesson as though it would be retaught the following day to another group of education majors. This technique helped group members translate their observations and insights into actual revisions based on evidence.

> *Facilitator*: Ruth, what did you observe during the brainstorming activity?
> *Ruth*: I heard a lot of comments from the table I was watching. I was jotting down things they said, and I wrote down at least a dozen ideas. But when they had to talk about it with the whole group, they only mentioned a few of the ideas. I was surprised.
> *Facilitator*: Jessica, what did you observe?
> *Jessica*: I saw something similar to what Ruth described. Lots of ideas in the small groups, but not as much sharing when they wrote ideas on the board later.
> *Facilitator*: Any other thoughts from the group?
> *Marcy*: Well, I don't think people are shy. We know them. They're not shy. So I wonder if we weren't clear that we wanted as many ideas as possible in the large group setting.
> *Facilitator*: Do you want more responses in the large group setting? Or are you ok with what you ended up with?. . . How does it affect your goals?
> *Angela*: More responses would ensure there's more to talk about in the next activity.
> *Facilitator*: Okay, so if you were doing this again tomorrow, what would you change?

> *Angela*: Maybe we could ask everyone to write down their thoughts in small groups, then read them aloud. That would sort of force everyone to share everything they came up with.
> *Jessica*: Should we have them read them, or collect them and have the teachers read them?

I took notes on the lesson for each debriefing session, but I never had to use them. At each debriefing, we ran out of time after discussing less than one-third of the lesson. A preservice teacher watching a debriefing described the detail and depth of discussion:

> Okay, I am blown away here. When we started this Lesson Study project, I thought, "How could you ever spend hours talking about one lesson?" But just watching this one session… There's so much here. I never knew. I think we could talk about one lesson for *weeks*!

Participating in (or observing) the debriefing process also provided opportunities for the preservice teachers to appreciate how feedback from colleagues can help a teacher explore teaching challenges. One lead teacher exclaimed during a debriefing session:

> [My group] was so excited when we were planning this lesson, "Oh, they're going to *love* this!" We even said, "We're going to be so disappointed if it doesn't go the way we think it will." Well, it *didn't*. People didn't seem that interested. I was *dying* up there, thinking, "What actually is going wrong? I just want everyone to get it. I want you to understand what I'm trying to get you to understand. *We* understood it. I don't see why *you* don't!" But I kept telling myself that it was okay, that I could calm down because afterwards I was going to talk to my Lesson Study buddies and we could figure out what happened.

Interestingly, the outside observer affected s*ubsequent* research lessons. At the beginning of the debriefings for the second and third research lessons, I asked, "Before we discuss what happened today, I want to ask if you changed anything in your plan because of what you witnessed during the previous research lesson(s)." Both groups said they made changes based on comments by the outside observer. One reported that they wrote out more detailed questions so they were prepared to probe their classmates for deeper responses. The other explained that they decided to leave out part of an activity because the outside observer talked about revising plans to "get the most bang for your buck."

*Analysis of Comments Made During Debriefing*

In Year One, I reviewed the transcripts of debriefing sessions and tallied how often groups mentioned certain lesson features and instructional strategies. For Year Two, I repeated that task. The table below contrasts the two years. A caution: the table format provides a quick way to compare the years, but we are actually comparing apples to elephants here. The activities in Year Two differed vastly from Year One. Nevertheless Year-Two activities resulted in much more discussion about instructional strategies and lesson features. The data from Year Two are based on 20-minute debriefing sessions, compared to two-hour sessions in Year One. Compared to Year One, the Lesson Study activities of Year Two generated four times as many comments about lesson features and instructional practices in one-sixth the time.

Table 2

*Comments About Lesson Features and Instructional Practices in Year One and Year Two*

| Lesson features and instructional practices | Total number of comments made by all groups - year one[a] | Total number of comments made by all groups - year two[b] |
|---|---|---|
| Questioning strategies | 1 | 25 |
| Affective concerns | 7 | 21 |
| Lesson organization and flow | 9 | 21 |
| Student learning | 3 | 10 |
| Explanations and instructions | 1 | 7 |
| All categories combined | 21 | 84 |

*Note.* The two years cannot be directly compared because the discussions were of different durations and preceding activities were set up differently. However, even though the discussion in year two was shorter, the preservice teachers made many more comments referring to the lesson features and instructional practices. [a]Total discussion time: 360 minutes (3 debriefing sessions, each of 120 min). [b]Total discussion time: 60 minutes (3 debriefing sessions, each of 20 min).

*End-of-Semester Feedback: Year Two*

At the end of the semester, I interviewed groups of 2 or 3 and analyzed their responses to the question on their end-of-semester Self Report, "Comment on how the research lesson influenced your efforts in practicum." Three themes emerged, each mentioned 15 or more times. These themes were (a) organizational aid, (b) criticism and reflection, and (c) anticipating student responses and developing good questions.

*Organizational aid.* (15 interview comments) The lesson planning template helped preservice teachers organize their thoughts while planning. They cited the comments sections as particularly useful for jotting down "the million little things that, if you remember, make you look like a pro."

*Criticism and reflection.* (15 interview comments, 16 self report comments) The preservice teachers said that Lesson Study and the lesson plan template helped them become more self-critical, be better able to accept constructive criticism, and be more willing to take risks without fear of failure.

> The whole Lesson Study experience made me more open to criticism. Since I had "practiced" [with my Lesson Study group] how to evaluate a lesson based on planning, I was much more able to see comments as constructive criticism, and I was actually excited to get feedback. Without that, I would have been much more protective of my ideas.

> Using the lesson plan—having to do the post-reflection part—really helped me step back and think. Without it, I really don't think I would have reflected. It was helpful to think, "If I had to do this tomorrow, what would I do differently?" Usually I noticed extra fluff. It helped me focus on what I was really trying to do. All this goes along with what we're learning—that teaching is not set in stone and that it's a process where we keep learning.

*Anticipating student responses (ASR) and developing good questions.* (23 interview comments, 18 self report comments) This was, by far, the most frequently mentioned theme in both interviews and self reports. The preservice teachers talked about the value of the ASR/Questioning column on the template in different ways. Some commented that preparing questions and considering student responses sometimes resulted in lesson revisions before they taught the lesson:

> Thinking about what questions I would ask helped me structure the lesson in a way I thought would help them learn the best. I would sometimes even rearrange the activities, based on how I thought the order would help them understand better. At first, I wasn't good at doing this. I'd just write, "Oh, they'll probably say this or this...," but then I realized I could anticipate student responses to help me refine the lesson before I even taught it.

Others connected anticipating responses to helping them think about individual differences:

> For me, the biggest thing was anticipating student responses. I started paying attention to what students would say—or what I thought they might say. The lesson plan section devoted to that made me stop and think. In placement, it helped me focus on children with special needs, made me think about adaptations they'd need. I tried to pick out a different individual each time and think specifically about how the lesson would seem to him or her.

Others noted that filling out the ASR column forced them to consider important details:

> Anticipating student responses was most helpful. I would sketch out the main points, then ask what the students would think and what I would ask them. It really made me think about the little things that I hadn't thought about before but that I really needed to include.

Finally, some noted that contemplating student responses and questioning ahead of time helped them feel more confident when teaching:

> By the time I finished thinking about student responses and the questions I'd ask, I had so many different directions to go. It gave me confidence knowing that lots could happen, but I had thought through most every scenario. It helped me step up there and teach without fear.

## Discussion

We began by asking what Lesson Study, this "teacher-led instructional improvement" process (Lewis, 2002), offers preservice teachers, and whether (and how) teacher educators can effectively integrate it into coursework. The list of ways that Lesson Study can help in-service teachers improve their practice is long: Teachers can learn to think deeply about long-term goals; they can improve lessons, learn valuable instructional approaches, and deepen their subject matter knowledge. They can learn to work collaboratively, bring standards to life, learn to study student learning and behavior, refine analytical skills, and become more self-reflective. And so on.

From this list, we developed goals that we saw as important first steps for preservice teachers' development. Year Two was a step in the right direction. We emphasize that Year One, despite its shortcomings, was an important step. Everything we improved in Year Two resulted from what we learned from Year One. For Year One, we carefully planned every step and gave it our best shot, but our goals were unmet. Would we have realized this if we hadn't discussed and carefully scrutinized the preservice teachers' learning? The activities were infused with positive energy. We could easily have been fooled into thinking, "This is going well!" The critical lens of Lesson Study helped us see the reality and provided us with a process for revising and improving.

Did we meet our goals? Our first goal was to teach preservice teachers to analyze their lessons in light of lesson goals. The second goal focused on how to talk about lessons. We wanted preservice teachers to look beneath the surface and begin to pay attention to features like questioning and lesson flow and anticipating student thinking. Both the planning and debriefing sessions of Year Two provide evidence that Lesson Study can help preservice teachers can move toward these first two goals *if* they are explicitly supported during planning, for example, with the Lesson Planning Template and Observation and Evidence Worksheet, and supported during discussion with probing questions from a facilitator.

The third goal was to help the preservice teachers learn to critique the lesson, not the teacher. In Year One, the preservice teachers experienced a disconnect between the planning and the teaching. In Year Two, the far more manageable university setting allowed the groups to plan, start to finish, with their colleagues. Immersed in true collaboration around an assignment that made sense in their common context, a sense of *our* lesson began to emerge.

The fourth goal, added in Year Two, focused on developing the preservice teachers' ability to observe and gather actual evidence about learning. The Observation and Evidence Worksheet provided strong support, as did the opportunity to observe the research lesson firsthand. Unexpectedly, for those watching, the debriefing session became a learning opportunity. Listening to others discuss their observations of what one has just experienced can be a powerful experience.

Our learning went well beyond these goals. A lead teacher, quoted earlier, described her frustration when a part of their lesson bombed. We have repeatedly read her words: "I could calm down because afterwards I was going to talk to my Lesson Study buddies and we could figure out what happened. I couldn't wait to hear what the observers were noticing out there." More than refining analytical skills, more than learning to develop goals, more than improving lessons, more than any of the many important benefits that Lesson Study can offer—from Lesson Study, the preservice teachers learned that the power to improve is in teachers' hands. The lead teacher, "dying" in front of her class,

found comfort and courage in the knowledge that her colleagues would help her figure out what went wrong—no small realization, one that eludes many practicing teachers. Stigler and Hiebert (1999) eloquently explain:

> Through the process of improving lessons and sharing the knowledge they acquire, something remarkable happens to teachers: they begin to view themselves as true professionals. They see themselves as contributing to the knowledge base that defines the profession. And they see this as an integral part of what it means to be a teacher. (p. 83)

What happens to these beginnings of professionalism when preservice teachers leave the safety of the university classroom? We'd like to wave a magic Lesson-Study wand and keep this gift alive for our students throughout their careers. The practicum just around the corner, however, was a big enough step for these preservice teachers. Consider another Year-Two student, Anna, writing about connecting her Lesson Study experience and her practicum work:

> Lewis (2002, p. 78) said, "Sharing one's teaching is an intensely personal risky activity." Other people observing and critiquing my lessons worried me. I did not want someone to point out my mistakes; it made me feel too vulnerable. After the research lesson, I understood how collaborating on a lesson and discussing it as a group helped. We had all put time and effort into the lesson. We were all invested in its success. The debriefing discussion did not criticize me as a teacher. We saw where our lesson had succeeded and where it had faltered. However, planning a lesson on my own was not the same. I became the sole reason if the lesson failed. But the feeling of vulnerability and fear disappeared after my first lesson. I realized I wanted and really needed feedback. I had tried to shift the lesson when one student was struggling, and I had tried to challenge those students who seemed to be getting it quickly. I felt good about the lesson, but I really wanted to know how someone else would see it. I could not wait to discuss my lesson with my mentor and co-op.

For a preservice teacher, Anna's statement is remarkable. She brought the tools of her Lesson Study experience into her practicum classroom. When she gave that first lesson plan to her mentor (our term for "supervisor"), she had written dozens of questions in the notes column: "Watch to see if Jared is paying attention. Do you think this part would work better on the carpet? I don't know if they'll get this part. Advice, please!" Immediately after the lesson, in Lesson Study fashion, Anna, as lead teacher, spoke first, but not with, "How'd I do?" Instead she said, "I have so many things to ask you!"—questions about her own practice. She viewed her mentor and cooperating teacher as problem-solving partners, not as evaluators. The attitudes and professionalism of the mentor and cooperating teacher supported her, but Lesson Study played an important role. Anna entered her practicum with a practical tool, the lesson planning template, and knowing what teacher-led instructional improvement *feels* like.

Moving the entire cycle of Lesson Study to the university classroom at first appeared to remove school-classroom connection. We may have given up the classroom *location*, but the connection remained.

## Conclusion

Between Year One and Year Two, I (Sims) shared a cab with Dr. Clea Fernandez, prominent in the field of Lesson Study. I asked her for suggestions for my work with preservice teachers. Her advice: “You can read and think about this for a long time, but in the end, you just have to *do* it in order to really understand the power of it.” I walked away thinking, “That certainly wasn’t much help.” I now appreciate Dr. Fernandez’s advice. She was stressing the importance of teachers (or, in this case, preservice teachers) experiencing the complete Lesson Study cycle, as *a whole*. Looking back, the set-up of Year Two—jumping in during the first six weeks of class and experiencing the entire process—allowed the preservice teachers to get a true glimpse of what it means to learn *from* teaching.

Learning from teaching is a critical component of successful teacher education. Lesson Study can provide a workable framework to make that happen. Even before preservice teachers step into their first practicum experience, Lesson Study can help them take that first step out of the apprenticeship of observation and position them to look at the complexities of teaching with a more investigative lens—a stance that may help them seek out and grow from the support of fellow teachers as they begin their careers.

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# APPENDIX A: LESSON PLANNING TEMPLATE

**LESSON PLANNING TEMPLATE**

Name ________________
Grade level ___________

Long-term goal(s):

1. Title of Research Lesson:

2. Lesson Goal:

3. Standards addressed:

4. Background of the Lesson:

5. Lesson Procedure

page _________

| **Activities**<br>(Consider dividing this into sections. Sections might include: Set-up, Introduction, Teacher-guided instruction, Individual Practice, Group Work, Sharing Ideas, Summing Up…) | **Teacher's Questions; Anticipated Student Responses** | **Materials, Strategies, Adaptations** | **Comments** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |

6. Evaluation:
(How will you know whether or not you have achieved your goals?)

7. Post Lesson Reflection:
(How did it go? What would you change? What surprised you? Other thoughts?)

APPENDIX B

Group Name: ____________________

## PRELIMINARY PLANNING WORKSHEET

**This worksheet is designed to help you develop the *specific goals related to your group's research lesson*.**

After you've reviewed your chapter, use the following questions to help guide your goal-setting and planning. (Turn in this worksheet at the end of today's session.)

1) What do our students already know about this topic?

2) What do we want our students to understand at the end of our lesson? (Lesson goal)

3) What are some possible ways that our lesson could unfold? What kinds of activities/experiences do we envision as a "good path" to move us from point 1 to point 2?

Reminder: Your research lesson is the first in a series of three lessons about your topic. As you brainstorm, remember to consider the Big Picture. How does your research lesson lead to subsequent lessons?

APPENDIX C

## PLANNING SESSION 1: OVERVIEW

**Assign responsibilities within your groups:**

- **Recorder**: Takes careful notes of all discussions
- **Facilitator**: Keeps group on task and makes sure everyone participates
- **Time-keeper**: Watches the time, helps pace the work

**Get to work!**

- Review and discuss your chapter. Recall the chapter discussion that occurred when it was first assigned as a reading. Was there a topic that warranted a deeper look? What other elements can you focus on for your research lesson? ASK MENTORS FOR HELP AND SUGGESTIONS.

- Formulate a goal for the lesson you will teach. Think: *What do we want the students to learn from this lesson?* Be aware that your goal might change slightly after you begin detailed planning. That's fine! But, for now, it's important to sketch out a draft of a goal that will guide your work together. Remember, without a goal, you will have nothing against which to measure the success of your efforts during the debriefing phase.

- Use the remaining time to brainstorm about how you might reach this goal. In the next planning session, you will use this brainstorming list to get you started on your detailed planning. Remember to take notes about your discussions on the "PRELIMINARY PLANNING WORKSHEET"

APPENDIX D

**OBSERVATION AND EVIDENCE WORKSHEET**

| | Segment: | Segment: | Segment: |
|---|---|---|---|
| **This segment is designed to…** (Why are we doing this? What do we hope this segment helps students understand or think about? How is it related to our goals?) | | | |
| **We will have a strong indication that this segment was successful if the students…** (What are we hoping the students will do/say?) | | | |
| **During this segment, lesson observers should…** (What kinds of notes should observers take? Who/what should they pay attention to?) | | | |

## APPENDIX E

## DEBRIEFING GUIDE

Before the research lesson is presented:

- Ask observers to review their roles so they know exactly what kinds of data they will be collecting. (These roles should be clearly defined in the Observation and Evidence Worksheet.)
- Remind observers to write comments directly on the lesson plan (if space permits.) This will save time by keeping everyone "on the same page" during the debriefing discussion.
- Remind the lesson presenters about the time constraints. Make sure they have someone assigned to watch the time and keep the lesson moving.

Flow and key points of post-lesson debriefing discussion*:*

- Introductory comments: (2 min)
  - Welcome!
  - Remind group that the discussion session is an opportunity to learn. Group members should always address the lesson as "**our** lesson".
  - Remind group that our lesson study enactment is atypical because the *students* are present for the debriefing.
  - Briefly outline the agenda for the session:
    - First, the presenting teacher(s) will speak
    - Next, observers will present and discuss evidence gathered.
    - General discussion
    - Comments by outside observer
  - Situate the discussion by saying: "We are going to pretend that we will repeat this lesson tomorrow with another group of students. During our debriefing session, we'll first discuss what happened today, then follow up with questions such as, *If we were doing this again tomorrow, what, if anything, would we change, and why?*"
  - Briefly state the goals of the lesson as noted on the lesson plan. Remind all participants that we are examining our lesson in light of these goals.
  - Assign someone from the group to take notes about possible lesson revisions as those comments come up during the discussion
- Presenting teachers comment first: (5 min or less)
  - What happened that you expected/did not expect?

  - Initial impressions about what you learned from planning and conducting the lesson.

- Observing team members present and discuss evidence gathered. General discussion follows. (13-15 min.)
  - Discuss the lesson segment-by-segment. (Groups broke down their lesson into "segments" when they filled out the Lesson Plan and the Observation and Evidence Worksheet.) Because time is limited and it is unlikely that a group will get through the entire lesson, the facilitator should make decisions about what to focus on, how fast to move along, etc.

  - Allow each observer to report on what he/she observed related to each segment. Open up discussion to the entire group. Try to keep the session on track by soliciting multiple comments about particular aspect of the lesson before the presenting teacher(s) address the issue. (This 'waiting etiquette' is designed to prevent the discussion from becoming a "point-volleying" session, allowing all participants to absorb feedback in a productive manner.)

  - Ask questions to keep the group focused on examining evidence in light of the goals of the lesson. Possible questions:

    - Think back to our planning sessions and WHY we chose to implement this particular segment of the lesson in this way. (These reasons should be spelled out the Observation and Evidence Worksheet that each group used in conjunction with the Lesson Plan Template) Did this particular segment serve the intended purpose? What did you see/hear that supports that opinion?

    - What did you notice that gives us clues as to whether our students were learning from the experience in the way that we had anticipated?

    - Based on the evidence presented, what have we learned about "what worked and what didn't"? What revisions might we make to better help us meet our goals? (Remind group that we are simply "brainstorming" a list of possible revision ideas. We won't have time to go deeply into the pros and cons of each suggestion. That would generally happen at a subsequent lesson study group meeting.)

  - Summarize the key points of the group discussion up to this point. (In an abbreviated debriefing session, there will much more to discuss—but stop when time's up to allow time for the outside observer.)

- Comments by outside observer (5 min)
- Thanks to all!

# They are Kids, Aren't They？
# Culture, Quality, and Contemporary Preschool

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中文摘要：幸曼玲

本篇文章以文化心理學的角度來檢視當代學前機構 (preschool) 的現實(realities)。文化心理學將早期教育機構視爲個體學習和發展的一個文化情境。後工業時代的學前機構的範圍很廣，泛指幼兒在正式進入幼稚園或小學前的一般機構式的或類似機構式的照顧情境 (這是美國的制度)。這些機構如保母中心，日托中心等等。Dr. Walsh 在本篇文章中提出兩個假設來檢視。第一個假設是，後工業時代，藍領階級人數降低，中產階級抬頭，但是婦女就業情況增加，單親數目增多，這些現象使得教養孩子重新被定義。孩子從極早時候就由機構或類似機構來照顧。

第二個假設是，當孩子委由機構或類似機構的單位來照顧，孩子，在各方面的發展逐步受到限制。而孩子的發展會受到限制的理由有許多，且成因複雜。要探討這些原因需要更大層次的文化和社會的動態運作模式。

本篇文章以文化和發展爲起點，然後探究文化壓縮 (culture compression) 和文化限制 (cultural constraints) 的影響來論述這樣的假設。以文化壓縮的觀點看來，孩子在極早的時候就進入機構，過早承擔文化的規範，而這樣的作法有礙孩子的發展。而以文化限制的觀點來看，面對文化既成的限制，如文化信念，有時會增進孩子的發展，但有時卻會限制孩子的發展。

最後，本篇文章檢視有關學前機構品質 (quality) 的研究，以及當代研究幼兒教育應抱持的態度。

# “They’re Kids, Aren’t They?”: Culture, Quality, and Contemporary Preschool

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Walsh, D. J. (2005). They’re kids, aren’t they? Culture, quality, and contemporary preschool. *International Journal of Early Childhood Education*, *11*(2), 7-30.

ABSTRACT

This article explores the contemporary realities of preschool within the framework of a cultural psychology that views early schooling as a cultural context for development and learning. It argues that these realities are, at times, not supporting young children's development. It begins with a discussion of culture and development then explores the effects of cultural compression and cultural constraints. The emphasis on research on quality is critiqued, and a research attitude for contemporary early childhood education is examined.

# "They're Kids, Aren't They?": Culture, Quality, and Contemporary Preschool

> It is the special task of the social scientist in each generation to pin down contemporary facts. . . .[and] to realign culture's view of [people] with present realities. (Lee Cronbach, 1975, p. 126)

As a graduate student in the early 80's, I spent a wonderful semester in a seminar with the preeminent educational anthropologists George and Louis Spindler. One day they described a 4th grade class they had observed in Germany. The teacher, a rather proper, even stiff, young man, finished the lesson and left the classroom. The moment he was out the door, the students, to this point quiet and orderly, went, as Louise described it, "crazy." They dashed wildly around the room, shouting and throwing erasers at each other. They ran across the tops of the desks. When the teacher returned, he appeared to take no notice of their behavior. The classroom soon returned to order, and he began the next lesson. Later the Spindlers asked him about the episode, more chaotic than anything they had ever witnessed in an American school. He looked at them with a puzzled expression and replied, "They're kids, aren't they?"

This article discusses kids, younger kids than the Spindlers observed, and what is expected of them in early schooling. I suggest that contemporary societies in general, and the field of early childhood education in particular, are forgetting the German pedagogue's simple admonition—to remember that they're kids. The goal is to instigate deep discussion on research on and directions for early childhood education.

## Contemporary Preschool

In recent decades preschool has become widespread in post-industrial, first-world societies. The term *preschool* is used broadly, to refer to the wide range of institutional and semi-institutional settings for children before they enter kindergarten or the primary grades. However varied these institutional settings, young children, at times from shortly after birth, spend extended parts of their waking hours during the work week in the care of someone other than their parents. In day cares, which may open as early as 6:00 a.m and close 12 or more hours later, a child who comes early and leaves late will have been passed through many caregivers, working in shifts. For many young children, the institutional day lasts longer than the adult work day and also longer than the school day that they will experience when they enter formal schooling. In Urbana, Illinois, where I work, in the dark of winter, for some children, preschool begins before sunrise and concludes after sunset—most of their waking hours and all of their daylight hours.

I begin with a two-part working hypothesis: First, in post-industrial societies, as women enter the workforce in large numbers, as single-parented families increase, as families have fewer children, as marriage becomes redefined in terms of its relation to childbearing (e.g., the increase in the U.S. of single middle-class women adopting or having children using sperm banks), child-rearing from an early age increasingly occurs in institutional and semi-institutional contexts.

This dramatic change in early child-rearing has not been carried out as part of an overall and explicit societal plan to change how children are raised but rather in response to the factors noted above and, no doubt, others. The contemporary fact is that child rearing for large segments of post-industrial societies—the dwindling working class and the increasing middle class—has changed dramatically. Giving one's children over to others to raise is a new phenomenon for the working and middle classes.

The second part of the hypothesis is this: As child-rearing is shifted from the family to institutions, children's development, in fact, childhood itself, is becoming increasingly

restricted—physically, emotionally, socially, and intellectually. The reasons for this restrictiveness are many and complex. Understanding them requires understanding the larger cultural and societal dynamics at work.

This article explores this hypothesis, drawing on our group's research on early schooling. The group works within the general framework of a cultural psychology that views early schooling as a cultural context for development and learning (e.g., Bruner, 1990, 1996; Shweder et al., 1998), and within that theoretical frame, by work on the cultural self by Markus, Kitayama, and colleagues (e.g., 1991, 1994, 2000). From this cultural perspective development is viewed as the lifelong and dynamic process of growing into culture.

I begin with a brief discussion of culture and development. I then turn attention to *cultural compression*, arguing that in preschools children are being compressed too much too soon. I then explore *cultural constraints*, showing how cultural values and beliefs restrict children in preschools. I next critique the contemporary emphasis on *quality* as myopic and distracting the field from more important developmental issues. A *research attitude* for contemporary early childhood education is suggested. The article ends with a brief general discussion.

## Culture and Development

> There is no such thing as human nature independent of culture. (Geertz, 1973, p. 49)

Culture is necessary for development—it completes the child. It provides the scripts for "how to be" and for how to participate as a member in good standing in a cultural community and in particular situations, like preschool. Understanding children's development requires taking culture seriously. Espousing *multiculturalism* or adding *culturally appropriate practice* (CAP) to the discourse of *developmentally appropriate practice* (DAP) ignores the underlying reality. Development occurs only within culture and in particular situations, and both culture and development need to be understood, not as templates, as ways to know what 2-year-olds are like or what 2-year-olds in culture **x** are like, but as ways to begin thinking about children in a specific place and time.

The challenge facing early schooling is not how to set up schools to match children's development, a long standing and, at first glance, attractive idea. This mistaken notion assumes that development is independent of culture and situation and that there is an optimal developmental trajectory that is knowable. The challenge instead is to answer these questions: How are children developing in this culture, in these times, and in this situation, given the constraints of the culture and the times and the situation? Further, how should children, given cultural expectations and what is known about children's development, be developing?

Both development and culture are dynamic. Vygotsky demonstrated that development is "a dynamic process full of upheavals, sudden changes, and reversals" (Kozulin, 1986, p. 266). It is, in most instances, not particularly stage-like, and it is not linear and predictable. Bruner (1996) wrote of culture,

> It is no longer a very useful fiction to conceive of a culture as an established, almost irreversibly stabilized way of thinking, acting, judging. Cultures have always been in the process of change, and the rate of change becomes greater as our fates become increasingly intermingled through migration, trade, and the rapid exchange of information. (p. 97)

Development, then, is a dynamic process occurring within a dynamic context. Development is not "natural"—there is no ideal developmental trajectory that is knowable and predictable across time and cultures. Children develop only in a given culture and situations, and their development will reflect what is accessible, what is valued, what is expected, what is probable, what is possible and so on, in those situations and that culture. Americans visiting Japanese preschools are stunned by children's, especially girls', ability to ride unicycles. That ability is virtually non-existent in the American preschools. But consider a simple but profound difference between the two cultures: In Japanese preschools, children have access to unicycles; the skill is valued; playgrounds have long metal bars at the right height to support children in their efforts to

learn to ride. Riding unicycles is seen as not only possible but as probable. None of this describes American preschools.

In a world of many psychologies (Shweder et al., 1998) and, thus, many developmentalisms, development will differ in important ways across cultures, and what is viewed as optimal will differ across cultures and will continually change within cultures. Vygotsky (1934/1987) warned against quest for the "eternal child [arguing instead for the search] for the historical child" (p. 91). Minick (1989) pointed out that children are "historical, social, and cultural . . . [and live] under particular social and historical conditions" (p. 162). Seeking optimal development, like the search for the eternal child, is an illusion.

The goal should be to make theoretically and empirically informed decisions about what is best for kids and to keep refining those decisions in order to make early schooling a rich context for kids' development and learning. Doing this requires continual and searching questioning, continual and thorough description, and continual and creative attempts to understand schooling, the kids involved, and the development and learning that occurs.

The argument is not one of a naive cultural relativism—whatever group x believes is good for them is good for them—something people believe in a patronizing way about others, seldom about themselves. Researchers need challenge not only their own cultural group but other groups as well. Knowledge production occurs best in a context of challenge and disagreement, in distrust of received knowledge. As Bruner (1996) argued, some knowledge is better than other knowledge—some theories provide better explanations, and they generate better practice.

> [T]he human sciences in their very nature face a daunting challenge: to formulate a view of man that is sometimes incongruent with folk psychology, but what is even more serious, incongruent with our cultural ideals. Yet the human sciences are also a part of the culture that sustains them. So it is of the utmost importance that psychology offer its views about man in a fashion that is sensitive to those ideas yet nonetheless reflects an honest standard that is beyond bias and selfishness. (p. 162)

## Cultural Compression

Children in contemporary early schooling are undergoing cultural compression earlier and in ways that previous generations did not, and I am concerned about its impact on their development. As children enter school at earlier and earlier ages, they are being expected to exhibit developmental skills and knowledge that they do not have. They are being expected to develop in contexts that do not support the development of those skills and knowledge, that do not support the exploration and experimentation that is necessary for full and rich development. Further, they are not being allowed the opportunity to move freely within a reasonable range around cultural norms.

All cultures compress their members, that is, they shape their members from birth to conform to the expectations for cultural membership. The process, to be successful, must allow for variation from the norm, although cultural membership requires peoples to stay within a given range. This compression is necessary for both individual and cultural survival. The individual develops a cultural self, and culture maintains its identity.

Compression begins early. Even newborns experiences some compression. Although cultural habits for rearing babies change—they will be fed on demand, breast-fed or bottle-fed, placed on their backs, and so on, according to the wisdom of the time and place—these habits become part of the context within which babies develop. As they get older, they encounter further compression. They go through toilet training. They are expected to sleep through the night, in the U.S., in their own beds and bedrooms.

In time, they go to school. When I entered school in the early 50's, the local Catholic school did not have kindergarten. My first major institutional compression, my first experience of being away from home and in the care of non-family members, occurred when I was 5 years 8 months, entering first grade. For many children today that compression begins much earlier. I noted earlier

that many children begin preschool at age 2 or younger. Interestingly, when pundits talk about major changes in society, from technology to changes in family structure, they rarely mention this most profound change—the early move from family to preschool. I believe that this is a most profound change and one with many and many unknown ramifications for children and for society.

*Safety Valves*

A critical feature of a functional cultural compression process is that those being compressed have safety valves to relieve the pressure. So schools have recesses, extra-curricular activities, holidays. Work places have lunch hours, "casual Fridays," and coffee breaks. Work weeks have weekends. Soldiers have leaves; workers, vacations. Kids may have grandparents or other adults to go to when parents become too demanding. The point is that people can handle even intense compression if, first, it occurs at a time when they are capable of handling it, and, second, if they have safety valves, times to decompress, to get a break from being compressed.

Young children in preschools have few safety valves. Children in day cares often do not get vacations—typically day cares close only for major holidays. They do not have the freedom to wander from room to room or to the backyard that they have at home. They cannot seek out other teachers when the ones in their rooms are getting on their nerves. Their options are restricted.

When do kids get the opportunity to decompress? Certainly young children can and do resist adult intrusion into their lives. But is this where they should be putting their energies, finding small moments to break free of the constant organization and surveillance that has become the norm in preschools?

*Privacy*

Some years ago, my now 12-year-old son, returning from 8 months in a most unrestrictive Japanese kindergarten, resumed his kindergarten career in the U.S. Each day he came home visibly agitated. When asked, he described how much he disliked having to stay in his classroom and how boring the playground was—no poles to shinny up, no structures to climb on. Why did he have to stay inside so much of the day? Why couldn't he visit his friends in the classrooms down the hall? After about a week he came home visibly upset. I inquired. He responded in frustration, "Everyone is always looking at me." I replied, "You're a new kid in the middle of the year. People are curious about you." But that wasn't it. As we talked more, I realized that he was referring to the constant adult surveillance. After 8 months of being able to play with his friends with no adults around and in nooks and crannies of the playground where adults seldom came, he was upset that his privacy was being violated.

*Emotional Development*

In preschool, children are provided with templates for acting and speaking that bear little relationship to how young children would speak or act if left to their own devices. Certainly one way children learn is by imitation, but when the rules of preschool turn them into imitators rather than constructors, their learning is being stunted.

For example, children who are being told to "use their words," an ubiquitous instruction in American preschools, are, in fact, not being told to use or develop their own words, their own ways of expressing themselves. They are being given scripts to use, scripts with adults' words. Tobin (1995) explained this "simulation and inauthenticity of emotion" thus, "[S]tatements about feeling ('I feel angry') replace expressions of feeling ('Give me the truck, you doo-doo head!'), which replace feelings (anger? competition? desire?)" (p. 231). A template for emotional expression is to emotional development what painting-by-numbers is to painting. It is not the real thing, and it does not support the development of the real thing.

Sung (2005), studying emotional development in 3 to 5-year-olds in 3 preschools, came to the following conclusions about teachers' (and preschools') views of children's emotions: (a) Emotional competence is viewed as necessary for going to kindergarten, but emotional competence is viewed narrowly as controlled expressions of emotion; (b) children's physical expressions of emotion are restricted; (c) the emphasis is on teaching children to label emotions;

and (d) emotion in general is viewed with suspicion and seen as contagious, dangerous, and making children vulnerable. These conclusions resonate with Tobin's concerns.

The emphasis is on emotional control, but an emotional control that previous generations of young children in this culture were not expected to have. Ironically, not only are "negative" emotions like anger viewed with suspicion, but also more positive ones like joy. The kids are seen as being too wound up, and if one kid starts jumping up and down in excitement, soon all the children will be out of control, apparently never to return.

Sung concluded that young children in school do not have the prolonged and pressure free time (Price, 1982) necessary for healthy emotional development. They do not have the physical and psychological space to explore, to experiment with, and, ultimately, to master regulation of emotions. Missing is a sense of the dynamic nature of development. Missing is a wide range of opportunities for children to explore their emotions with others in a variety of contexts. Certainly control of emotions is viewed in American culture as part of being a mature adult. But turning young children into imitative adults is not contributing to their development. This is too much, too early. Children's development is being sacrificed to order.

*Summary*

I am not arguing that compression itself is bad. Compression is required for growing into culture. Cultures (subcultures etc.) compress members across their development, at some times more than others, as they enculturate members to the ways of the group. Kids grow into specific cultures, and becoming Korean or Portuguese or American requires adjusting to a set of norms that identify one as Korean or Portuguese or American.

The issue is not compression. The issue is *when* and *how* it occurs. Compression is happening at an increasingly early age and in forms that children are unable to deal with and, most importantly, this compression hinders development. Young children face in preschools social challenges for which they have little experience to draw on and for which they have yet to develop the necessary skills. Suddenly they are in a group of children who are all the same age, something that seldom happens except in school, and with whom they must negotiate friendships and myriad daily interactions across long days. All in a context that emphasizes order and control.

## Cultural Constraints

All cultures face the challenge of cultural compression. It is necessary, but its effects on members must be carefully monitored. Cultural constraints differ across cultures, some constraints more than others.

*Constraint* is being used here in a technical sense: Cultural constraints both enhance and restrict development and learning, a double-sided effect that supports some developmental trajectories and not others and makes some learning easier and other learning more difficult or impossible (Hatano & Miyake, 1991). How, then, do preschools constrain those children whose lives unfold within it? Within any culture, because culture constrains, the possible are finite, and the probable are predictable.

I focus on external constraints—culture and situation (Hatano & Inagaki, 1998). Traditionally psychology has focused on internal constraints, namely biology and evolution. These are important. Hundreds of thousands of years of evolution leave their marks. But development must occur in a certain place (culture and situation) and time (now).

Within a cultural psychology the distinction between learning and development, once held dearly by developmental psychologists, has become increasingly blurred. Development and learning are of a piece. When I discuss how children's development is constrained within early schooling, I am not making sharp distinctions between the two. Development cannot occur without learning. In fact, as Vygotsky pointed out long ago, learning leads development, or, in other terms, learning constrains development. Unfortunately, in the contemporary discourse in early childhood education, development is still seen as leading and constraining learning.

Constraints are contained in the contemporary realities within which development occurs. For example, growing up in a musical family, with musical instruments available and music part of daily life and conversation, will enhance a child's musical development, to the point of making it seem "natural." Such a familial context is a constraint. The more genetically inclined may argue that musical parents facilitate musical development through the passing down of specific genetic traits or tendencies. But these genetic influences cannot be enacted except in specific situations that support, or do not support, musical development. In any case, research on preschools as contexts for development needs to focus on those constraints that can be identified through careful observation and that are amenable to adjustment. Educators cannot adjust children's genetic makeup, but they can adjust the micro-culture of a given preschool and classroom.

*Cultural Beliefs*

A major cultural constraint is cultural beliefs about children and how they develop and learn. These cultural beliefs and their inherent values not only *reflect* the realities of childhood, they also help *create* the realities of childhood by becoming themselves part of the cultural context for development. A given culture will organize childhood and the situations within which childhood occurs, like preschools, so that children match cultural views of children. For example, if young children are viewed as being incapable of abstract thinking, preschools will be organized in ways that children have few opportunities for abstract thinking.

*Safety*

In the U.S., and probably other societies, preschool teachers face the daily pressure to return children to their parents at the end of the day unharmed, clean, with clothes intact—basically to return kids to their parents in the same state in which they were received earlier that day. To some extent this is driven by parental guilt at leaving their young children in the care of others. Franklin (2005) noted, "Over the past few years, at least a dozen books have attempted to analyze the miserable, manic, obsessive-compulsive state of contemporary [American] motherhood" (p. 30). Additionally, societal fears, at least in the U.S., of law suits, have resulted in preschools and the agencies regulating them becoming obsessed with reducing risk. Regulations affect all aspects of preschool, from hand washing to the playground to the kitchen. Although the goal is to make preschools safer, an unintended consequence is that young children in preschools are being restricted in ways detrimental to their development.

*Space*

When young children come to preschool, they are put into a room, with occasional group trips down the hallway or, in the U.S., onto an often pathetically small playground. This basic restriction does not receive the attention it deserves. Young children don't come to preschool, they come to a room, and however much "free choice" is emphasized in that room, their major choices have already been restricted. The basic choice of which room and which school was probably not made by the child, and once in that room, they cannot leave that room without an adult. In fact they cannot be anywhere in that room absent the watchful eye of an adult.

*Surveillance*

In the state of Illinois in any institution licensed by the Illinois Department of Child and Family Services, which includes all licensed day cares and preschools, all children must be seen by an adult at all times. This regulation leads to regulations on height of cabinets and regulations that restrict nooks and crannies where children might find respite from watchful adult eyes. Tobin (1995) compared this continual surveillance to Bentham's notion of the *Panopticon*, the basic design for the modern penitentiary, where a single guard can see many prisoners. Citing Foucault, who suggested that "we are all imprisoned by our sense of being watched . . ." (p. 227), Tobin described the American preschool as a "literal panopticon obsessed with sight-lines and other techniques for making young children constantly visible" (p. 227). Whatever the intentions of such surveillance, the important question is what are the consequences. Although the regulations purport to ensure the safety of children, I am not sanguine that it is good for a society to rob young children of their privacy. Children at home are not under constant surveillance. They are

free to wander from room to room. What does it mean for children's development to be watched at all times?

*Free Play*

Within the room, their behavior is seriously restricted. For example, free play in Japanese preschools accounts for 50% of the day (Lewis, 1995). Certainly free play is given value in American early schooling. But there is free play, and there is free play. In Japanese preschools, free play is remarkably free. Children move from inside to outside and back, on their own. Often they and their activities are not confined by what, in the U.S., would be required adult supervision—for example, children may be playing in a classroom with no adult present. Adults may or not be on the playground, and certainly parts of the playground will be adult-free. Children's options, particularly on the playground, make U.S. preschool playgrounds look sterile—children have access to unicycles, bicycles, shovels (proper shovels, not plastic sand-box shovels), wheel barrows, bars to swing on and poles to climb, heavy ropes for tug-of-wars, and so on. I have observed children digging holes in the sand boxes that are a meter or more deep. They may flood portions of the playground. Whatever restrictions are placed on their activities are done subtly (Walsh, 2002). Children are allowed, even encouraged, to engage in activities that are not possible or permitted on U.S. playgrounds, for example, climbing 6 meter poles or climbing high into trees.

In American preschools children are not permitted to move inside and outside freely. Typically, all children from a classroom are either inside, or they are outside. Children move with adults. Rigid distinctions are made between "outside" and "inside" voices, walking (inside) and running (outside). A question: Does restricting children's physical activities in the name of safety really make them safe in the long run? Are they able to develop the physical agility and coordination that well-being requires?

*Choice*

Students in teacher-education programs in the U.S. are educated in the language of *choice*, that is, children are always to be given a choice. The problem is that children are seldom give *meaningful* choices, and their choices are quite restricted. What are children learning in this context of restricted choice?

Free-choice time typically involves a limited number of options or centers, and the number of children who are allowed in a center or area is often restricted—the typical number seems to be 4. At times the choice making becomes stressful—I want to go to this center, but if I do, I won't be able to play with my friend, who chose another center. As noted earlier, children cannot, for example, *choose* to walk down the hall to another room to visit a sibling or a best friend. A most important choice in anyone's life, that is, the freedom of movement, is severely restricted

Choice has also become a mode of discipline, referring to management techniques, where, whatever language used, the choice ultimately comes down to the child "choosing" to do what she is told to do or "choosing" to be punished. A good question for researchers to explore would the contemporary discourse of such wordism. And even better question be to explore would be the facade of enlightenment that even young children learn to see through quickly. Whatever they are told about being able to choose, they find themselves in an essentially adult-dictated environment that is dressed up in "appropriate" language.

*Abilities*

The field of early childhood education has long had an uncomfortable relationship with intellectual pursuits. An unfortunate outcome of the dominance of Piagetian theory has been a focus on what children cannot do (Donaldson, 1978). Certainly children who cannot tell that a stick doesn't change length when it is moved will not be able to deal with abstractions or, for that matter, anything at all complex. As a result preschools often restrict kids to simple and meaningless tasks.

In fact, young children are much more intellectually capable than Piaget claimed (e.g., Bruner & Haste, 1987; Donaldson, 1978, 1996; Gelman & Baillergeon, 1983). They are able to

take the perspective of another, to make inferences, to conserve, and so on. They may lack the experience of older children or adults and their sophistication at doing these things, but they are much more capable than Piaget claimed. I suspect that one reason why the field clings to Piagetian theory is the fear that if children are shown to be able to perform intellectually demanding tasks, the increasingly academic curriculum of the primary grades and kindergarten will be pushed down further into preschool. The fear has basis, certainly in today's political and educational climate in the U.S. And children in kindergarten and the primary grades are certainly capable of more than the increasingly narrow academic curriculum they encounter, which is most notable for its lack of intellectual content. The belief, however, in children's inabilities is a powerful constraint on their learning and intellectual development.

*Independence*

A strong cultural constraint on American young children is the European-American focus on independence and autonomy (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991). This cultural focus leads teachers to stress individual differences and individualized education. Hong and Walsh (1996), in a study of a preschool classroom in Illinois, found that the teacher felt pressured by peers and by the discourse of early childhood to work with individuals and small groups and to avoid large-group activities or teaching. This teacher was, in fact, a masterful large-group teacher, who worked with large groups often and successfully, at times in the face of criticism. Hong and Walsh concluded that the emphasis on individualized and small-group teaching hinders the development of community and ultimately children's development. Ting (1998) studied group interaction in a preschool and found that the lack of large-group activities and community identity resulted in children's forming stable and often closed cliques. She concluded that the children formed these cliques in order to ensure that they had playmates each day and that once in a group children excluded others out of fear that admitting a new member might result in their being pushed out of the group.

Lee and Walsh (2004, 2005) found that teachers emphasized community and social interactions but that they saw the most important social interactions and relationships as being between teacher and children rather than between the children themselves. Teaching, and learning, were defined in terms of communication between children and teacher, rather than communication among children. The strong stress on low student-teacher ratios, even within the discourse of independence, actually promotes a reality where young children are dependent on the adults in the classroom. Independence, which was also stressed, was used to describe children who were able to get along without adult intervention.

> We have concerns about the individualism of American early schooling. Missing from American schooling and its valuing of the independent self may be the emphasis and guidance on an emotionally charged engagement in life with others. Strong emotional bonds and a sense of belonging do not develop automatically through group membership. The importance of nurturing these bonds and this sense of belonging is not an American cultural priority. (2005, p. 76)

*Summary*

Cultural constraints are many and varied. These examples give a brief glance at a few constraints that have an impact on children's development. The challenge is to first identify, then describe, then understand these constraints and their effects. Because they are often culturally specific, they remain taken for granted and invisible to those within a given culture. Because they are difficult to identify, insufficient attention is paid to them. Ayers (2001) explained,

> We experience our own culture from the deepest levels toward the surface, and so our own culture can be largely invisible to us. . . . When we look at another culture, however, we tend see the surface first and fail to look more deeply. In both cases, culture is invisible. (p. 76)

## Quality as Distracting

The contemporary emphasis on quality is distracting the field from more important questions about young children in preschools. As a quick perusal of the past 10 years of journals in the field will attest, quality has become defined in terms of universal standards, for example, DAP with its definitive lists of acceptable and unacceptable practices. More recently in the U.S. accreditation of preschools and day cares by the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) has become common and is viewed as the "gold standard" for quality (Lee & Walsh, 2005).

But what is quality? The assumption appears to be that once high quality early schooling has been achieved, the really important question has been answered. I disagree. *Quality* is a most problematic concept, and getting at quality requires beginning with more basic questions. Uncovering the contemporary realities of children in early schooling requires careful attention to the deep structure of their lives and of early schooling.

Quality as defined by universal standards is particularly troublesome. Universal standards do not attend to local needs and local values, and they are seldom constructed in the daily mix to which they are applied. They ignore the cultural matrices in which they were formed and to which they are applied. New (2001), discussing the Reggio Emilia phenomenon, compared the local nature of Italian schools to local foods, "Each of these interpretations—whether of a good cheese, a good wine, or the proper way to make a certain pasta dish—is associated with a particular place and its people, with both the benefits and the burdens of responsibility shared by the stakeholders" (p. 212).

Universal standards tempt early childhood people to export standards from one culture to another, often, from the U.S. to other countries. Early childhood professors and researchers in many countries receive their graduate training at American universities before returning to their home countries. They bring back with them American ideas and explanations about who children are, what good schooling is, and so on. For example, an article in the Fall 2005 *Journal of Research in Childhood Education* explored Korean teachers' understanding and uses of developmentally appropriate practices for young children (Kim, Kim, & Maslak, 2005).

### *Questioning Quality*

A special issue of *Early Education and Development* on *Early Childhood Program Quality* (2005, October) challenges these universal definitions and approaches to quality from many different perspectives. For example, Moss (2005) asks

> why "quality" is talked about so much at this particular historical moment, and puts forward *an* other possibility for talking about and evaluating pedagogical work which, unlike quality, welcomes plurality, contingency, subjectivity, provisionality, political process and ethics: this other possibility, termed "meaning making," is inscribed with different values and assumptions and works with different methods in particular pedagogical documentation. (p. 405)

Tobin, writing from the perspective of an anthropologist, questions "such core U.S. standards of quality . . . as low student-teacher rations and multicultural curricula . . . . [arguing] that quality standards should reflect local values and concerns and not be imposed across cultural divides" (p. 421). Einarsdottir, writing about Icelandic Play Schools, points out that most discussions of quality ignore a central stake-holder group—the children. When she asked children to describe what was good about their preschool experience, perhaps not surprisingly, they rated the times when teachers left them alone as more valuable than teacher-led activities.

The focus on quality is based on two questionable assumptions: The first is that quality is understood and agreed upon; the second is that once quality is taken care of, everything else will fall in place. The real issue is this: Given this definition of quality, what are the implications for kids, or to return to the initial question: Given this definition of quality and its underlying assumptions, what are the implications for preschools as contexts for children's development. The

assertion that high quality schooling enhances optimal development, which sounds good on the surface, breaks down when subjected to questioning. What is high quality? What is optimal development?

I argue that the field must look first at children's development in the cultural context of preschool and construct a strong understanding of that. And only after that can issues like quality be addressed meaningfully. The conflation of high quality and optimal development, both over-used and under-defined terms, precisely misses the real question: Given this context for development, how is children's development being constrained? Who is being developed in this context? Given who a society wants its children to become, will these schools enhance their progress in that direction?

## Doing Research on Preschools

You must doubt the experts. . . . Science is the belief in
the ignorance of experts (Richard Feynman, 1999, p. 187).

The field of early childhood education tends to be confident that it understands what children are truly like, and what is best for them. Too often theories are selected because they support, a phrase heard repeatedly in the field, "what we've known all along." Hence the staying power of Piagetian theory long after the larger world of developmental psychology moved beyond it (e.g., Bruner & Haste, 1987; Donaldson, 1978, 1996; Gelman & Baillergeon, 1983). Hence the fascination in the field with the "new brain research," which is not particularly new, and which is looked at selectively to support "what we've known all along." This confidence is troubling. Certainty is neither possible, nor desirable. The goal of research, as Cronbach (1982) noted, is reducing uncertainty. The first step to reducing uncertainty is, counter-intuitively, to reduce certainty.

Educational research is applied research. Its goal is to improve schooling, in this case, early schooling. Any discussion, however, of what *should be* must begin with a solid understanding of what *is.* During periods of rapid change, pinning down contemporary facts becomes critically important. Culture changes more rapidly than language. As a result today's facts are described in yesterday's language. Researchers, then, must not only pin down contemporary facts, they must find contemporary language with which to do it. Researchers have the responsibility not only to realign people's views of realities, but also, and here Cronbach failed to step back, to realign the research community's views.

Obviously I believe that research on preschools should look at cultural compression and cultural constraints. More to the point I argue for a research attitude. Researchers in early childhood education need to become more skeptical—to take Feynman's warning to heart and believe in the ignorance of experts. Without a healthy skepticism, research supports the existing discourse and its values instead of questioning them (Krathwohl, 1998). The knowledge in any field is often "received," that is, passed down by the field's experts across the generations of research and practice. Received knowledge should be looked at skeptically.

The dominant discourse in any field is inherently conservative. It serves to protect and promote the existing belief structures of the field. This is as it should be—to survive and thrive groups must develop and maintain their identity. The danger arises when maintenance overwhelms development. Unless this dominant discourse is challenged from within, it will stagnate. The guiding questions for research on young children and early schooling are straightforward: How does early schooling affect kids, at this time and in this place. What benefits does this culture see as important? What are these benefits? What are the underlying values? Is what this society, or a segment of society, wants for kids actually good for them, or for society, in the long run. Or more basically: What is known about contemporary kids in prechools; how well is it known; and what is not known? Even more basically: "What's in it for kids?"

In this spirit of healthy skepticism, I have questioned aspects of early schooling and have respectfully suggested ways in which contemporary early schooling is not good for young

children's development. Answering the basic question, what's in it for kids, requires looking carefully at who kids are in a given culture and time. Childhood is a cultural construct (e.g., James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998; Postman, 1994; Suransky, 1982). Whatever "natural" childhood, the product of evolution and biology, lies beneath that cultural construct will become enacted only, again, in a given time and place. Ideas of childhood vary across cultures and subcultures, and time. For example, expectations about young children's physical capabilities vary dramatically between the U.S. and Japan—unicycles were mentioned earlier—because of cultural beliefs about children. Japanese educators are much more sanguine in their beliefs about children's physical capabilities and the role of physical development (Walsh, 2004).

Research questions increase in number dramatically in the move to a cultural view of children, as they must be asked in each culture and subculture. Much of the received knowledge about young children is based on studies children of the middle-class who live within 50 miles of major research universities in the U.S. and, more particularly, children who attend those same universities' laboratory preschools. About other groups little is known and not known very well—specifically, children of the poor, particularly those who live in areas into which researchers, understandably, hesitate to enter.

## Conclusion

Preschool, barring wide spread economic and other structural changes in post-industrial, first-world societies is here to stay. How it stays, what forms it takes, can be manipulated.

The important questions about early schooling are not about individual practices but about the larger daily practice and the discourse of daily practice as cultural contexts for development. How children develop, that is, who they become, is constrained by the various cultural contexts within which they develop. These contexts include the physical situations within which children develop, for example, a specific classroom, but, more importantly, what is valued, what is expected, what is accessible in the microculture of that classroom, as well as the larger cultural belief and value systems within which that classroom is nested. One cannot understand children's development absent a thorough understanding of what is viewed within a given culture as a mature and good adult, and, most importantly, how that culture views the process of moving from an immature child to a mature adult.

This discussion ends with a call for more cross-cultural research. Cross-cultural research provides a way of looking at one's own embedded values by having them challenged by those of others. When people confront the reality that educators in other cultures, who are as caring and knowledgeable as they, have different views of children and schooling, they are forced to examine their own deeply embedded beliefs and values. Cross cultural research forces one not only to question practice but research on practice.

An interesting outcome is that the more international early childhood education becomes, the messier and more diverse it should become. If, as Shweder et al. (1998) argue, there should be many psychologies, there should also be many developmentalisms (in some ways different, in others similar), many approaches to early schooling within the tensions of competing ideas, cultural beliefs, and local needs.

The good thing about doing research is, as Geertz (1973) wisely pointed out, "It is not necessary to know everything in order to understand something" (p. 20). But you do have to know that you don't know everything in order to get started finding it out.

And remember—they are kids, aren't they?

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## Author Note

I thank the members of Illinois Early Childhood Research Group for the work and insights that formed the foundation for this article, particularly Jin-hee Lee, Soyoung Sung, Kyunghwa Lee, and Yonghee Hong.

# The development of self in Japanese preschools：Negotiating space

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中文摘要：幸曼玲

本篇文章以日本的幼稚園和托兒所爲文化情境，來探究日本孩子自我的發展。以文化心理學爲觀點出發，本篇文章探究「在孩子發展的過程中，存於個體的社會習性，文化實踐和活動如何成爲個體的智能資源，以支持其成爲文化社會群體中有能力的一份子」。

俗民心理學 (folk psychology) 和俗民教育學 (folk pedagogy)是文化心理學的重要概念，指的是以文化的方式來解釋一般大眾關注的層面，而這樣的看法會嵌植在價值系統中。日本人對孩子的信念有以下五項：(1) 孩子的本質是善良的，且是敏感的；(2) 所有的孩子都是平等的，且該被平等對待；(3) 孩子在七歲之前都屬於天神的；(4) 孩子的心靈由早期經驗形成，且是後來生活的基礎；(5) 孩子是身體性的個體，他們身體的發展和身體的表達對其幸福是重要的。這些文化信念反映在日本學前機構所表徵的「空間」上，而這些空間的規劃和使用，不但孩子的自我自其間建構，也在其間被建構。

日本屬東亞國家，和西方社會相異。相對於西方社會，東亞社會的自我有幾個特質：(1)相互依賴 (2)相互連繫 (3)敏感 (4) 開放與接受等等。而幼兒進入一個寬廣且無限制的空間中，他們要學習如何在團體中運作，成爲重要的、有歸屬感的一份子。本篇提出許多觀察的全是來佐證這樣的論點。

# The development of self in Japanese preschools: Negotiating space

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In L. Bresler & A. Ardichvili (Eds.). (2002). *Multiple paradigms for international research in education: Experience, theory, & practice* (213-245). New York: Peter Lang.

# The development of self in Japanese preschools: Negotiating space

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> From...work on folk psychology and folk pedagogy has grown a new, even a revolutionary insight. It is this: In theorizing about the practice of education in the classroom (or any other settings, for that matter), you had better take into account the folk theories that those engaged in teaching and learning already have....For once we recognize that a teacher's conception of a learner shapes the instruction he or she employs, then equipping teachers (or parents) with the best available theory of the child's mind becomes crucial. And in the process of doing that, we also need to provide teachers with some insights about their own folk theories that guide their teaching. (Jerome Bruner, 1996, pp. 46-49)

In this chapter I investigate the ways in which Japanese preschools--kindergartens (yochien) and day nurseries (hoikuen)--serve as contexts for young Japanese children's development of a Japanese self. Operating within the general framework provided by Cultural Psychology (e.g., Bruner, 1996; Cole, 1996; Shweder et al., 1998), I investigate the "ways in which custom complexes, activities, and practices contain within themselves the categories, principles, or 'mentalities' that are the intellectual resources for becoming a competent member of the group" (Shweder et al., p. 911).

There is, as Geertz noted, "no such thing as human nature independent of culture" (1973, p. 49). What is viewed as "natural" in development will depend on who children are expected to become, that is, how a competent adult is defined. Markus, Kitayama, and Heiman argue "that there may be multiple, diverse psychologies rather than a single psychology" (1996, p. 859).

More specifically I draw on the work of Kitayama, Markus, and colleagues (e.g., Kitayama & Markus, in press; Kitayama & Markus, 1999; Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunit, 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Markus, Kitayama, & Heiman, 1996) on culture and self. The basic argument of this chapter is that "folk theories" about children form the basis for "folk pedagogies." As these folk pedagogies are put into practice, they form critical contexts of development for children. Japanese preschools serve as contexts for development (Pianta & Walsh, 1996) of a Japanese self.

Understanding these contexts for development requires looking beneath and beyond pedagogical practice to underlying folk beliefs about children. I focus in this analysis on how beliefs about children inform representations of *space* in Japanese preschools. My analysis builds on and extends recent research on Japanese preschools, most notably, Lewis (1995), Tobin, Wu, & Davidson (1989), and Tobin (1992).

I begin by briefly describing the fieldwork on which this chapter is based. I then discuss folk psychology and a cultural view of the development of self. Next I explore how a Japanese self is forged in the daily life of preschools. Finally I discuss implications of this work for research on schooling.

## Background

I conducted fieldwork in Japanese preschools over an eight-month period (June, 1998 through mid-January, 1999, and again in May and June, 1999). Five preschools served as primary research sites--two public kindergartens, one national kindergarten, one public and one private day nursery. The 5 sites were in within a 30-minute drive of Yashiro, a town of 22,000 located about an hour northwest of Osaka in Hyogo Prefecture. The preschools ranged in size from 50 to 190 children. Typically I observed 3 to 4 days a week for periods of 2 hours, visiting each site once a week. Observations were collected using a small digital video camera and hand-written field notes. I also observed one or more times in preschools in Himeji, Osaka, Yao, Nagoya, Gifu, Tokyo, Nishinomiya, and Yokohama.

Sites were selected to provide a range of Japanese preschools while keeping the number of sites small enough that I could get to know each one well. I chose sites that exemplified "traditional" Japanese early schooling, with its emphasis on free play, free movement between inside and outside, and little attention to academic activities. These emphases can be traced to Kurahashi Sozo (1882-1955), who is considered the founder of the kindergarten in Japan, and have been maintained in a series of kindergarten guidelines published by the Ministry of Education (the Mombusho) since the Second World War (Oda, Suzuki, & Walsh, 1999). Some private kindergartens, particularly in large cities, have moved away from these traditions. I also chose sites that differed from each other in significant ways, for example, size and community served.

I do not claim that the sites were typical. *Typicality* is an ephemeral concept at best. But all sites were *identifiable* examples of Japanese early schooling--identifiable to anyone familiar with Japanese early schooling. Over the course of my research I showed my video tapes to a wide range of Japanese people to verify this identifiability. I make no claims of generalizability to all

Japanese preschools. Certainly significant differences exist between large urban private preschools and public preschools in smaller towns or cities. But the practices described are identifiably Japanese, even to the urban dweller.

Interviews were conducted with numerous subjects: parents, teachers, principals, student teachers, graduate students in early childhood education, and professors. When possible, interviews were conducted in English. Otherwise they were conducted with the assistance of my colleague Suzuki Masatoshi, who is bilingual. All interviews were video-taped.

In August I observed at a four-day youth-hockey camp in Himeji. From August through January I observed at weekly youth hockey practices and games. My two children, son 5 and daughter 12, played for a team that practiced in Kobe and Himeji. Youth hockey provided a unique view of teaching in a non-school situation. Because my children played on the team, I was able to observe as an insider. I also observed children and their interactions with others in the daily conduct of life--on playgrounds, in our neighborhood, on the street, in department stores, at festivals, and so on.

A few cautions on methodology are in order: My Japanese is limited, and Suzuki Masatoshi assisted with translation. Most often I observed from a distance and was more interested in what people were doing than in what they were saying. Video data records have allowed for translation after the fact.

The Japanese cultural habit of humility made interviewing challenging. The cultural prohibition against speaking well of oneself or members of one's family inhibits educators from speaking well of their own schools or practice. At times subjects were more willing to speak well of American schools, about which most knew little or nothing, than of their own schools about which they knew a great deal. I eventually developed ways of dealing with this reticence. For example, I asked teachers to describe what other teachers did. But interviewing remained a challenge.

Although I did observe some preschools in large cities, this chapter is based on observations in five primary sites. I argue that the influence of cultural beliefs is more visible in small towns than in big cities where it is mediated by the press of daily urban life. To give one example: I observed in a kindergarten in Osaka, the second largest city in Japan, with an enrollment of 700 children. Although similar in many regards to my primary research sites, it was also more structured--the logistics of managing 700 children did not allow the children the freedom of movement from inside to outside typical of smaller preschools.

Cross-cultural comparisons, even if not intended, are unavoidable. If I describe how large playgrounds are or the freedom children have on those playgrounds, implicitly I am making

comparisons to (smaller) preschool playgrounds in the U.S. and the restrictions kids face here. Precisely those events or practices that differ from expectations will stand out. For example, Tobin, Wu, and Davidson in *Preschool in Three Cultures* (1989) described how they and their video camera were continually drawn to one boy whom the Japanese teachers did not find interesting or unusual. At best, one can hope to make the implicit comparisons explicit.

### Folk Psychology

> Folk psychology...is a culture's account of what makes human beings tick. It includes a theory of mind, one's own and others', a theory of motivation, and the rest....But folk psychology, though it changes, does not get displaced by scientific paradigms. For it deals with the nature, causes, and consequences of those intentional states--beliefs, desires, intentions, commitments--that most scientific psychology dismisses in its effort to explain human action from a point of view that is outside human subjectivity....So folk psychology continues to dominate the transactions of everyday life. (Bruner, 1990, pp. 13-14)

Adults hold deeply embedded implicit cultural beliefs about children--how they learn and develop, what kids should and should not learn, how they should be viewed and treated, what is good for kids and what is not, what works with kids and what does not, and so on. Bruner terms these cultural beliefs "folk theories" or "folk psychology" (1996). For those who do not interact with children in their daily lives, these folk theories may remain largely dormant. But for people, like educators, who interact with children daily, these folk theories are enacted, albeit often subtly, in daily practice. As these theories are enacted, they contribute to the daily mix in which children's development occurs.

Folk beliefs are embedded in value systems. Shweder (1996) argued that a shared morality underlies culture. In this view culture is less shared beliefs about how life *is* than about how life *should* be, less about how children *are* than about how they *should* be, and, importantly, about how adults should be in relationship to them. Bruner (1990) pointed out that an obvious premise of folk psychology is that people have beliefs and desires: we *believe* that the world is organized in certain ways, that we *want* certain things, that some things *matter* more than others, and so on.

Folk beliefs are often sources of embarrassment, dismissed as folk tales, superstitions, "self-assuaging illusions" (Bruner, 1990, p. 32) that must be replaced by scientific knowledge. But they are seldom replaced. Instead, they are overlaid with academic theories and language and pushed, as it were, underground, making them difficult to get at, both for those who hold them and for the researcher investigating them. Nevertheless, folk theories are central to cultural life and to understanding a culture's views of itself and, for the purposes of this chapter, its children.

> ...a culture's folk theories about the nature of human nature inevitably shape how the culture administers justice, educates its young, helps the needy, and even conducts its interpersonal relationships--all matters of deep consequence. In a certain way, the ordinary conduct of life, social life particularly, requires that *everybody be a psychologist*, that everybody have theories about why others are acting as they do. Call it ethnopsychology or folk psychology, but without beliefs about other minds and their *modus operandi,* we would be lost. (Bruner, 1996, p. 162)

***Japanese Beliefs about Children***

I identified five core folk beliefs about children inform pedagogical practice in Japanese preschools. I constructed this list from my observations of practice, from interviews with educators and psychologists and anyone else who would talk to me, and from extensive reading of studies of Japanese culture. As I constructed the list, I continually consulted with Japanese scholars. The list is, no doubt, incomplete and will be revised as I continue my analysis, but I am confident that it is a reasonable and useful list.

1. Children are naturally good and naturally sensible (e.g., Fujinaga, 1967). They can be trusted to make sensible decisions. If they do not, it is because they do not understand the situation; this lack of understanding can be rectified with knowledge. Children are not naturally well behaved. They are naturally rambunctious, and this rambunctiousness is highly valued.

2. All children are equal and must be treated as such (e.g., Hendry, 1995). Japanese have long rejected Western notions of intelligence and its related measures. After the Second World War, the Japanese docilely accepted most forms of governance imposed by the Occupation forces, but they refused to accept local school boards arguing they would result in unequal treatment of children because of inequality of resources across districts (as it has in the U.S.).

3. Children before the age of seven belong to the gods. Lebra wrote, "...the folk belief has it that a child is a god's gift or a god himself to be looked after" (1976, p. 144). For example, in pre-World-War-II years, when schools became increasingly rigid, reflecting an increasingly militaristic society, guidelines for kindergarten specified 1 to 2 hours a day of free play (Sato, 2000). Even during the War, kindergartens were left untouched.

4. The "spirit" formed by early experience provides the basis for later life. A proverb states, "The spirit of a three-year-old [by Western counting, two-year-old] will last until 100." Japanese children are encouraged to have a strong spirit, to be loud and physically rambunctious. By American standards, Japanese preschools can be incredibly loud and chaotic, a noise and activity level that is not only accepted but expected and encouraged.

5. Children are physical beings, and their physical development and physical expression is critical to their well being. In general, Japanese culture is a physical culture, with a strong emphasis on physical education at all levels of schooling. I was repeatedly amazed by the physical prowess of young children.

These five themes combine to form a strong reverence for and emotional attachment to young children. A poignant example of this reverence is provided by an officer describing Japanese soldiers' actions toward children during the Sino-Japanese War.

> There were many small children abandoned on the battlefield. These children, it turned out, were looked after and loved with remarkable tenderness by the Japanese soldiers who were...destructive and cruel otherwise. ...Toward evening, after a day's march of fifty kilometers, we would enter a village and find children abandoned there. The soldiers would not begin their routine duties of the military life, such as taking care of horses and guns, until they had cooked the little food they carried and had fed the children. Even though I, as platoon leader, yelled at them, they paid no attention to me, saying, "The kids are crying, sir."....There was no one who committed atrocities on a child, and any soldier who was not kind enough to children was looked down upon as subhuman. (in Lebra, 1976, p. 56)

## The Japanese Self

> Self is where the individual, the biological entity, becomes a meaningful entity--a person, a participant in social worlds....[A]lthough the experience of self and the structures and processes of the self may appear as primarily individual creations, they are in several ways also cultural and historical constructions.... (Shweder et al., 1998, p. 895)

The dominant view of the self within Western Psychology has been markedly acultural in its quest for universals. It has also been markedly individualist. The assumption has been that "there is some inherently individualist Self that develops, determined by the universal nature of man, and that is beyond culture. In some deep sense, this Self is assumed to be ineffable, private" (Bruner, 1987, p. 85). Cultural psychologists argue that the self is formed in culture and that different cultures form different selves. In many ways a cultural psychology marks an general effort to move away from the quest for universals. While not denying the possibility of universals, it is skeptical of attempts to define development in terms of universal abstract criteria. It focuses on the contexts within which the individual develops as well as on the individual (Shweder et al., 1998).

Kitayama and Markus and their colleagues have examined the development of self across cultures. This discussion draws heavily on their work. The references to the Shweder et al.

chapter from the recent *Handbook of Child Psychology* are from the section written by Markus, which lucidly summarizes the work of her and her colleagues.

To speak of a Japanese or American self is, of course, to oversimplify. People differ in countless important ways, but to develop in a given culture is to develop in ways similar to others in that culture: "Thus, although any two American selves will obviously differ in countless ways, as will any two Japanese selves, cultural participation in either current complex of American or Japanese practices will produce some important resemblances" (Shweder et al., 1998, pp. 900-901). Certainly a cultural psychology does not deny individuality. Children grow up to become particular selves. Geertz wryly observed that "we all begin with the natural equipment to live a thousand kinds of life but end in the end having lived only one" (1973, p. 45).

The distinction is often made between the individual nature of Western culture and the group nature of Japanese culture. This distinction is clumsy at best and misleading at worst, as though Japanese are not individuals and Westerners do not affiliate with others. The difference between the two cultures is better understood, rather, in how the *self* is defined in each culture. Kitayama and Markus describe the Japanese self as *interdependent* with the social context--the self in relation to others. They describe the European-American self as *independent.* They argue that to understand the interdependent self requires dissolving the self/other and the self/society boundary that is the starting point of Western formulations. In fact, the root meaning of *jibun*, the Japanese word for self, is "my share of the shared space between us" (Shweder et al., 1998, p. 905). The interdependent and independent selves are contrasted along the following dimensions (Shweder et al, p. 901):

Table 10.1. The Good European-American Self vs. the Good Asian Self

| The Good European-American Self | The Good Asian Self |
|---|---|
| • *Independent* | • *Interdependent* |
| • separate, bounded, stable, and consistent | • connected |
| • based in traits, preferences, goals | • context based |
| • clear, confident, articulated, elaborated | • relational, flexible, malleable, responsive, in control to others' expectations, preferences, and feelings |
| • different from others--unique | • similar to others and concerned about fitting in |
| • positive regard | • sensitive to inadequacy, self-critical |
| • success oriented | • improvement and mastery oriented |
| • expressive and enthusiastic | • open and receptive |

This view of self challenges the traditional Western view of both who a self is and who the self should be. Cultural psychology questions how much psychology's academic constructs have been formed by the Western culture within which psychology itself developed. As Markus et al. argued earlier, more than one psychology may be needed.

Western views of Japanese tend to be one-dimensional, and as I will argue below, based on one tier of what is a two-tiered self. The theme of the "true" Japanese self being hidden behind a mask is common, for example, *Behind the Mask* (Buruma, 1984) and *Unmasking Japan Today* (Kumagai, 1996). The Japanese self remains hidden to the Western observer, however, less because it is masked by Japanese culture than because it is masked by Western cultural expectations of who a self should be. Reischauer explained:

> The cooperative, relativistic, group-oriented Japanese is not thought of as just the bland product of a social conditioning that has worn off all individualistic corners, but rather as the product of inner self-control that has made him master of his less rational and more antisocial instincts. He is not a weak-willed yes-man but the possessor of great self-discipline. In contrast to normal Western perceptions, social conformity to the Japanese is no sign of weakness but rather the proud, tempered product of inner strength. (1981, p. 152)

How then does the preschool contribute uniquely to the development of a Japanese self? What dimension does the preschool add to the development that was begun in the family? The strength that Reischauer describes begins somewhere, and I argue that in important ways it begins in the space of the preschool where children are encouraged to become masters of their physical selves and the environment.

## Space and the Development of Self

The basic narrative I present is this: Children leave the protective and indulging world of the home and come to preschool. There they enter a wide, unrestricted space where they move freely, for example, between inside and outside with little direct adult intervention. Within this space, much is expected of them. They learn to fit in, but fitting in does not assume quiet docility. It can require being raucous and wild and loud. They learn to function within the group. Preschool classrooms often have more than 30 children and one teacher, limiting interactions between teacher and children.

Within this space and within the group, children begin to develop autonomy and responsibility. They also begin to develop a "two-tiered" self capable of moving back and forth between the formal and the informal. Entering group life and developing autonomy and

responsibility as well as the ability to move back and forth between the formal and the informal contribute significantly to the development of a complex interdependent self.

The beliefs about children described earlier form a distinctly Japanese relationship between teachers and children, allowing children this wide, both literally and figuratively, space in which to move with minimal adult intervention. The pedagogical practices I describe are not taught in teacher education programs in Japan. They are learned in the process of becoming Japanese.

***A Separate Space for Kids***

Daily life in Japan is marked by boundaries, both physical and figurative. An ubiquitous boundary marker involves the changing of shoes. “Outside” shoes are removed as one moves from outside to inside and replaced by “inside” footwear--often, but not always, slippers. Once within, inside footwear is removed to enter a tatami-mat room. In day nurseries, inside footwear is removed when entering a room for babies. When children arrive at preschool, they change from outside shoes to inside shoes--a canvas slip-on with a gym-shoe-like sole. When teachers arrive, they change into “school” shoes, usually athletic shoes.

At each preschool I observed a boundary marked where the child moved from parent (usually mother) into the preschool. In four of the five sites, this boundary coincided with the “shoe boundary.” At the fifth site, children arrived in neighborhood groups, and the boundary was the front gate. The critical point is that parents did not cross this boundary. Once children moved from parent to teacher, they moved into a world of kids, with very few adults. The preschool and its playground are separated from the outside world by gates--heavy metal gates on rollers are common--and fences, at times by thick shrubbery.

**Figure 10.1. Taro and the Umbrella**

### *Taro and the Umbrella*

> The morning is overcast. Rain has been falling off and on. Children and their parents begin to arrive at the kindergarten. The teachers stand on the covered walkway outside their classrooms greeting the children as they arrive. The children bow to their teacher with a loud “ohayo gozaimasu.” They then remove their shoes and climb the two steps to the walkway and get their inside shoes from the shelves along the wall. They go inside the classroom and perform the prescribed morning ritual of storing obento (lunch) boxes, exchanging school hats for colored caps, hanging up wash cloths, and putting a sticker in attendance books. The parents and teachers chat. A boy and his mother arrive. He bows, then hurriedly changes his shoes and moves into the classroom to be with his friends. He has forgotten his umbrella. His mother leans forward calling his name and holding the umbrella at arm’s length. The teacher continue to chat but does not intervene. She appears not to notice the umbrella and makes no attempt to intervene--either calling the child or taking the umbrella. The mother carefully keeps her feet on her side of the boundary. She continues to call, but the boy is busy with his friends. She patiently persists, holding out the umbrella.

When I show this video clip to American audiences, a common response is, “Why doesn’t she just slip off her shoes and take the umbrella in?” But the boundary is more than a shoe boundary. It divides the child’s family world from her school world. The child is not just moving from outside to inside, but to a different world, to a separate world devoted to kids. In my many hours of observations, I saw 2 parents, both at day nurseries and both obviously in a hurry, cross the boundary and enter the classroom. They appeared uncomfortable with their actions, moving almost furtively along the edge of the room. Otherwise parents respected the boundary. At times, for special events, the boundaries changed and parents entered the preschool, but generally the boundaries remained firmly in place.

A common interpretation is that at this boundary the child passes from the indulgent world of home to the rigid and compressing world of the school. Tobin humorously described this view:

> The Japanese school system is viewed by most Westerners (and not a few Japanese) as a Godzilla-like monster with Mombusho (the National Ministry of Education)...for a brain and preschools for a mouth, each spring (the school year begins in April) swallowing up alive whole cohorts of happy, spoiled kids, chewing them up, and then spitting out armies of robot-like business men, bureaucrats, office ladies, and housewives. (1992, p. 21)

Tobin rejected this notion: “Japanese children are neither as spoiled and indulged going into preschool nor as subdued and controlled coming out as our stereotype suggests” (p. 32). He described preschools as places intended to provide “sheltered home-bound children with a chance to learn to function as members of a group” (p. 22). He posed the question, “How do Japanese preschools help today’s home-reared toddlers develop a culturally appropriate sense of self” (pp. 22-23).

Beyond the stereotype, the image of the child being passed from parent to teacher is also incomplete. In kindergartens, arrival can take from 15 to 30 minutes, and at day nurseries, even longer. During this time, the teacher's primary activity is greeting children. Once the children have greeted the teacher, they move past the teacher into an unrestricted and basically unsupervised space, perhaps the most free and unrestricted space they will inhabit until they go off to university. They do not move from one adult to another, but from one adult, past another adult, into a world of kids. As noted above, class sizes of 35 are common, although with the declining birth rate in Japan, the decreasing population of preschool-age children is resulting in smaller classes.

No assistant teacher waits for the children when they move past the teacher. The morning ritual of changing shoes and caps and so on is prescribed--shoes must arranged just so, towels hung a specific way. But once these tasks are performed, the children begin free play, which lasts from one to two hours. During freeplay, children move freely from inside to outside, with no restrictions on inside-versus-outside behavior common to American preschools, where children are reminded not to run inside and to use their "inside" (quiet) voices. Teachers do not ignore children, but one commonly sees groups of children alone, that is with no adult present, in classrooms, on the playground, in the big room (gym-like play rooms). The only places where an adult is always present are in infant-toddler rooms in day nurseries and in the swimming pools (all 5 sites had pools). Free play is a time when, to quote my son, a most helpful informant who attended one of my primary sites, "It is appropriate to do whatever we want to do."

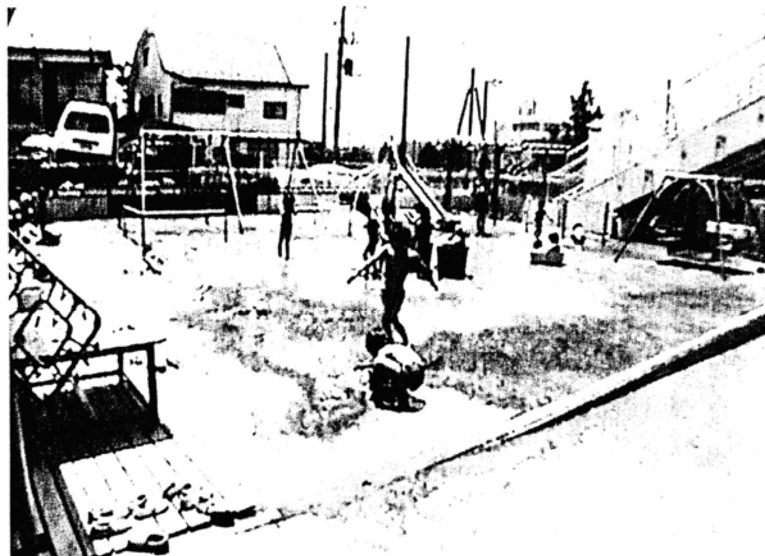

**Figure 10.2. Water Play**

### ***Water Play***

> It is a bright sunny day in early June, hot, but not uncomfortably so. The children have flooded the play ground with hoses, turning it into a sea of water and mud. In places the water is 15 or more centimeters deep. Children run about and pelt each other and teachers with handfuls of mud. One girl lies in a pool of water happily splashing herself. The children laugh and shout. In the far corner a group of children have taken their clothes off and painted their bodies in bright colors. A teacher is helping them wash the paint off.

The vignette above provides a striking example of differences in cultural expectation. Water play occurs in American preschools but most often consists of a small group of children playing with containers in a "water table," pouring water and being reminded not to splash water on the floor. In hotter weather, one might see children splashing in an inflatable pool. In Japan, I commonly saw children flooding part of a playground and covering themselves with water and mud. Japanese and American kindergarten teachers would readily agree that water play is good for kids, but they would have two dramatically different mental images.

Children are encouraged to extend themselves physically. Unicycles are common on preschool playgrounds, interestingly, most often ridden by girls (see Figure 3). At one site, some girls rode unicycles to and from preschool. Children routinely climb poles five meters and higher and then sit atop the pole cluster observing the playground. At one kindergarten, children walked old cable spools across the playground the way a lumberjack rolls a log across water (see Figure 3). Much of what Japanese children routinely do on playgrounds is considered dangerous, even irresponsible, by American audiences to whom I have shown videos of playground activities.

Preschool playgrounds have long metal structures that children mount at one end and then swing across from bar to bar to the other end (see Figure 3). Similar structures exist on American playgrounds, but they are not as ubiquitous. Japanese children swing on them, but they also climb all over them. I often saw young children walking across the top of two-meter-high structures, from bar to bar. One day my 12-year-old daughter came home from school visibly excited, "You won't believe what happened! I've been practicing walking across the top of the swinging structure. So today I called Kikkawa-Sensei (her teacher) to come watch me. I thought he'd be impressed. But he just watched me, and then he asked, 'Can you run across?' I thought he was kidding, but he was serious. Can you imagine an American teacher encouraging a student to do something dangerous." By the time we left Japan, she could run across the top of the structure, which was 15 meters long and 2.5 meters high (longer and higher than the structure in Figure 3).

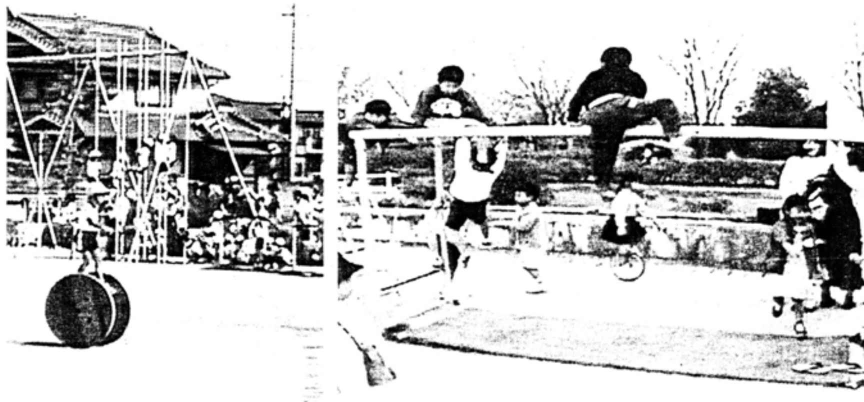

Figure 10.3. At Play

It was rare for me not to see children doing things on a preschool playground that would be considered "dangerous" by American educators, for example, climbing in and out of windows, climbing trees, using sharp knives, perching precariously atop playground structures. I often asked myself, "What are children not allow to do here?" Forbidden activities were difficult to discern.

***Autonomy***

This unrestricted space is critical for learning the "joys of group life," a phrase one hears often when speaking with Japanese early childhood educators. Lewis (1995) described vividly the emphasis in early schooling on children becoming connected to others. In this space, children are able to explore both socially and physically, and they are able to develop autonomy.

***"Aah, rules!"***

On a stifling hot day in August I take my 12-year-old daughter, Scooter, to Himeji for a four-day hockey camp. Scooter is apprehensive. She has been in Japan only a month and speaks very little Japanese. We sign in at the rink entrance and then go upstairs to the "dormitory," a large open room containing about 40 beds and a tatami-mat section that can be closed off by a sliding screen (beds for the boys, futons on the tatami mats for the girls). We stand against the wall and wait for the meeting to begin. Scooter relaxes when she sees that 10 of the 40 campers are girls. The meeting is brief. The coach and his assistants stand at the front of the room and greet all the kids. He introduces the new kids, including Scooter. He assigns an older player to each of the youngest ones with instructions to make sure they are dressed on time for practices. And that's it. Remembering all the rules at the camps Scooter had attended in the U.S., I ask our interpreter, a young Japanese woman who attends college in Canada, about the rules-- I don't want Scooter to be sent home for unknowingly breaking a rule. She takes me to Tamura-san, who manages the camp. He looks perplexed as the young woman translates our question. He thinks deeply then brightens. "Ah, rules! Be out front at 7 for morning

exercises, and start getting dressed 45 minutes before practice sessions." I am stunned. What about leaving the building? When are lights out? What parts of the building are off limits, and so on? He shrugs and smiles and tells me not to worry.

It took me many months before I understand that the kids are expected to know those things, to figure them out for themselves. The boundaries for children in preschools (and at hockey camps) are set very wide, but the kids are expected to stay within them, without adult intervention. Generally, they do.

A common theme in interviews with adults--student teachers, teachers, parents--was that children have less freedom today than they, the adults, had as kids. No doubt adults romanticize their youth, but Tobin (1992) found the same theme in his interviews. It is a reasonable working hypothesis that recent changes across societies often described as "modernization" have increasingly restricted children. If so, then the unrestricted space of Japanese early schooling becomes critical at a time when children's worlds outside of school are, in Tobin's word, "shrinking."

What allows Japanese educators to provide this unrestricted and, to the Western eye, largely unsupervised space for children? To begin with, the space is not, from a Japanese perspective, unsupervised. A common response in interviews with teachers when I asked them about supervising the children was, "We know where the children are. We know what they are doing. We don't have to watch them." At one preschool I asked teachers whether they knew that children were climbing high in a large tree behind one of the buildings. They laughed and said they had talked about it. They decided that if they were to watch the kids while they were climbing, the kids would become dependent on them, the teachers, and not be as careful. Unsupervised by adults, the children have to watch out for themselves. In another interview, a teacher described visiting preschools in the U.S. and seeing teachers standing, back against the fence, looking over the playground. She stood and imitated a teacher, arms folded across her chest, looking back and forth across an imaginary playground, "When teachers are standing there like that, what are they doing?"

Looking after children, it turns out, is very culturally defined. In order to understand the Japanese view of "supervision," it is useful to understand expectations for shared knowledge within a group. In preschools, children and teachers form a group. As Kondo (1990) points out, members of the group are expected to know each others' minds. For example, when leaving the house, a child announces, "Ittekimas," (I am leaving, but I am coming back). The adults respond, "Itte irrashai" (Go, and come back safely). The parent does not ask, "Where are you going? Who are you going with? How are you getting there? When are you coming back?" Being expected to know the other's mind frees one from the Western pursuit of details--a pursuit of details that is

born of not only a different way of communicating but of different beliefs about what needs be verbally communicated. Teachers are comfortable knowing where the children are and what they are doing. Going out to check on them is not necessary.

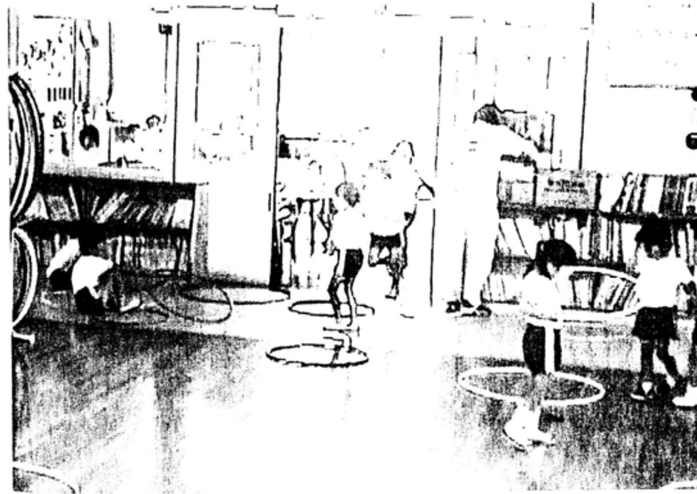

Figure 10.4. The Big Room

***The Big Room***

> Children are playing in the kindergarten "big room," a large room that is used for assemblies and as a playground when it rains. A group of girls is jumping rope. A dozen boys are running around with "hula hoops." They are spinning the hoops across the floor and throwing them at each other. Some boys are chasing and tackling each other. The room is, to my American ears, chaotically loud. The teachers are all in their classrooms. A teacher walks out of her classroom into the big room and looks for something in a box on a bookshelf by her door. She goes straight to the box, not once looking around the room. Her search takes about a minute. Children are wrestling on the floor, yelling loudly, two meters from her feet. She finds what she is looking for and goes back into the room without even glancing at the boys. She and the children appear oblivious of each other.

I have shown this particular episode to many groups of American early childhood educators. The surprised response, "She didn't even look," is typical. The teacher feels no need to look.

***Responsibility***

The space is, of course, not unrestricted. It is physically bounded. And it contains expectations for group responsibility. As children take up responsibility for the group, they develop the beginnings of the interdependence and self-discipline that marks the mature Japanese self. Children begin to assume responsibility from an early age. I watched 18-month-old toddlers

serving juice for snack while the teacher attended to other matters. As children get older, they routinely serve meals and clean the school.

An epiphanic moment in my research occurred at the Sports Day Festival at my daughter's elementary school. We arrived early and set up our cooler and mats among the hundreds of other families surrounding the athletic field. A large stage with a beautifully colorful backdrop had been set up in front of the school. I stood with my video-camera waiting for the opening ceremony. I assumed that the day would begin with the principal welcoming everyone.

To my amazement, two sixth graders took the podium and with a welcoming speech began the festivities. The first time an adult spoke from the stage was six hours later, when the principal thanked everyone for coming. Teachers were visibly there, and no doubt running everything from the sidelines, but they stayed off center stage. After the Sports Day, I began to notice many instances of this "within-group" responsibility, for example, captains at hockey practice leading the warm-ups (rather than the coach), the lay leader at Sunday Mass at the local Catholic church directing the service (rather than the priest), children in the elementary school cleaning the school each day (no janitors), and so on.

Two beliefs underlie these practices: First, children, and others, are capable of taking responsibility for the group; secondly, they should take responsibility, because responsibility for the group--the school, the class, the hockey team, the Sunday service--is located within and shared by the group. In fact, unless the responsibility is located in the group, the group does not exist as a group. The role of the principal, the teacher, the coach, the priest, is to administrate, teach, coach, and minister, respectively, not to manage or organize or supervise. Each principal, teacher, coach, and priest and so on has an important role, but responsibility for the group lies within the group itself.

In the more than 200 hours of video records I made of preschools, many forms of teacher-child interactions occur. One form almost never occurs--direct intervention in disputes or when children are distressed. Many instances occur of teachers standing to the side watching, waiting for other children to comfort a hurt or distressed child, to solve a conflict between two or more kids, but actual intervention is rare, occurring mostly with toddlers in day nurseries. In toddler rooms, Japanese teachers' ability to squat and sit comfortably on the floor brings them in close, face-to-face contact with the youngest children. Toddler rooms also have more teachers (often 2 or 3) and fewer children than rooms for older children. In toddler rooms teachers routinely reached out to stop hitting, most often moving kids away from each other or distracting them. These interventions occurred casually, often accompanied by laughter and never by

lecturing or scolding. Toddlers are viewed as still unable to form a cohesive group, and little group responsibility is expected of them.

I also observed intervention in two extreme situations. The most forceful intervention I witnessed was at a hockey practice when a five-year-old player hit another five-year-old, who had taken her helmet off, on the head with his stick. The hit was not vicious but was too forceful to be playful. A coach grabbed the boy and kneeling in front of him, holding him by his face mask, lectured him intensely. The second occurred on a playground and involved a young boy who became violent.

### *From the Informal to the Formal and Back Again*

> All these contradictions... are...true....The Japanese are, to the highest degree, both aggressive and unaggressive, both militaristic and aesthetic, both insolent and polite, rigid and adaptable, submissive and resentful of being pushed around, loyal and treacherous, brave and timid, conservative and hospitable to new ways. They are terribly concerned about what other people will think about their behavior and they are also overcome by guilt when other people know nothing about their missteps. Their soldiers are disciplined to the hilt, but they are also insubordinate. (Benedict, 1946, p. 2)

Ruth Benedict's description of the inherent contradictions of the Japanese personality has powerfully influenced Western views of Japanese culture. Western psychology, in particular, has been troubled by this notion of contradiction in which there appears to be no true core self, which in Western tradition bespeaks psychological malfunctioning. The image of the "mask," as noted earlier, recurs. The notion is that behind an external mask of apparent contradiction lies the internal true Japanese person.

More recently Doi's (1977, 1986) theory of Japanese self has become influential. Using the paired terms *omote* and *ura*, and *tatamae* and *honne*, common terms that distinguish the public or formal from the private or informal, Doi argued that the Japanese self is two-tiered. "*Omote* is the front-side of the self, the side of the self one shows in public; *ura* is the private side of the self, the side one shows only to family and friends" (Tobin, 1992, p. 23). Tobin's analysis of Japanese preschools is influenced by Doi. Tobin wrote:

> To have a proper two-tiered Japanese sense of self one must learn to make...fluid and subtle distinctions, learn to step back and forth across the gap dividing *omote* from *ura*....Japanese preschool helps children develop and integrate this twofold selfhood not by offering a world completely unlike the world of mother and home, but instead by offering a world that is simultaneously home (*uchi*) and not-home (*soto*), front (*omote*) and rear (*ura*), a world of both spontaneous human feeling (*honne*) and prescribed, formal pretense (*tatamae*). (1992, pp. 24-25)

Japanese culture places high demands on it members. Children must learn many rules and behaviors. They must learn to place their shoes in the cupboard just so, how to hang their jackets

and hats in their "cubbies." They learn that there is one proper sequence to form kana symbols, and later kanji characters, a proper way to hold chopsticks, to hold the rice bowl, and so on. They must learn how to act in a wide range of formal to informal situations.

Because of the demands, becoming Japanese presents particular challenges. How are these challenges met in preschool? Clearly it is assumed that children will learn what is necessary, but it is also assumed that learning takes time. And time, and practice, are provided. Each morning as children arrive and each afternoon when they leave, they perform the ritual of bowing and greeting or saying goodbye. My video record contains hundreds of instances of children bowing. The bows only faintly resemble the graceful bows that adults perform automatically. Learning to bow takes time, years actually. If kids resist by clowning, as Kondo pointed out, resistance is expected, "Japanese culture allows for this resistance. It is expected, part of a culturally familiar script. Eventually, perseverance in fulfilling one's duty...will temper one's resistance and provide a source of satisfaction" (1990, p. 137).

One often sees the contrast made between the formality of Japan and the informality of the U.S. This distinction misleads because it focuses on one aspect of Japanese culture, that is, the formal, ignoring the informal or the spontaneous. It then sets American culture in false contrast. The difference between the two cultures is better explained in this way: Japanese culture has a wide range of expected behaviors as one moves from the formal to informal, that is, the distance and distinction between the formal and informal are relatively large. American culture has a much narrower range of expected behaviors as one moves from formal to informal contexts; the distance and distinction between the two is small. The case can be made, in fact, that the distance and the distinction between the formal and informal have increasingly eroded in American culture. In any case, a marked difference exists between the two cultures, but it is not between formality and informality. When Japanese are formal, they are very formal. When they are informal, they are very informal. And both extremes occur regularly. Americans can be very formal, but are so rarely. Generally when they move from the formal to the informal, they do not move that far. Tobin noted wryly:

> Americans viewing the Japanese preschool find themselves faced with a conundrum: the Japanese preschool strikes us as an institution at the same time both too chaotic and too structured for American tastes. This is no accident. Like a conductor leading his musicians through a symphony by Stravinsky, the Japanese preschool leads children through wildly changing yet carefully composed, orchestrated, and directed changes in tempo and mood. When Japanese preschools are structured, they are highly structured (though not somber, rigid, or joyless). And when Japanese preschools are chaotic, they are wildly chaotic.... (1992, p. 35)

Tobin argued (noted earlier) that the formal and the informal are complementary. I argue that they not only complement each other, they form the basis for each other--the formal provides the basis for the informal, the spontaneous for the constrained and vice versa. By this I mean, to give a simple example, that children learn to tolerate the occasional extreme formality and structure of the preschool because they are never far from the informal and spontaneous. For their part, teachers do not fear the chaos of their classrooms because underneath is a developing foundation of orderliness.

The stereotypical Japanese society--subdued, controlled, rigidly formal, and so on--would be unlivable. The knowledge that, in fact, they are not always subdued, controlled, rigidly formal allows people to live a life that is at times subdued, controlled and so on. They also live in a world that is spontaneous, informal, fluid, and so on.

In preschools children begin to learn to make the shifts back and forth. In time they will be able to do so effortlessly. They gain *kejime*, that is, the knowledge needed to be able to shift fluidly back and forth. They also learn that the shifting is very much a group activity, that is, something that "we" do together.

Figure 10.5. The Bug-Eyed Principal

### *The Bug-Eyed Principal*

The first day back after the winter vacation is a bitterly cold and windy day. I have difficulty holding my video camera as my hands get numb. Despite the cold the children are playing outside, many in t-shirts and shorts. After free play the children go inside and make the slow transition from outside play to inside activity. They put on their blue smocks, marking today as a formal day. They sing a song with the teacher and then get up to go to the "big room." The children sit on the floor in a semblance of straight lines. The vice-principal greets them and welcomes them back. The children fidget, but most

are listening. The principal, who is also the principal of the elementary school across the street, stands formally to the side in a three-piece gray suit. He seldom comes to the kindergarten except for ritual occasions like this. The children stand. The vice-principal introduces the principal. He moves to the front. He and the children bow and greet each other. The principal gazes at them somberly. Suddenly he opens he eyes very widely, and his eyes appear to protrude out at the children. The children burst into laughter. For the next few minutes as he talks, he and the children shift continually from the formal to the informal and back, from sober lecture to uproarious laughter. When he finishes, they all bow again. The ceremony is over, and everyone leaves the auditorium. This time there are no lines. At the bottom of the stairs a boy runs up and jumps on the principal's back. The principal laughs and carries him a few steps before putting him down.

**Figure 10.6. Jan-Ken: 1**

### *Jan-Ken*

At the day nursery, the children are sitting on the step dividing the walkway from the playground waiting to be picked up. At first glance the scene looks orderly--the kids sitting in a line, holding their back packs and bags, wearing their hats--if one ignores the kids who are running up and down the walkway and the two who are shinnying up the poles supporting the roof. A mother arrives and stands a few feet away from where the children are sitting. The teacher calls her son, and they both approach the mother. The boy slowly hands his bag and his back pack to his mother and stands facing her. The teacher waits. After about 15 seconds, the boy turns to the teacher and bowing formally says, "Sayonara." Immediately as he rises up from his bow, he and the teacher play "jan-ken" (rock, paper, scissors). The boy wins and breaks into a big smile.

Figure 10.7. Jan-Ken: 2

***Birthday Celebration***

It is the monthly birthday-celebration day at the kindergarten. 190 children are wearing their dark blue jackets (worn only for special days) and sitting in chairs arranged in three sides of a square, three rows deep. The children who are celebrating birthdays this month stand off to the side with their mothers waiting to march in. A teacher begins the activity. The children sing a song together that ends with the teacher announcing, "Jan ken pon." He brings his hand down with each word and opens his palm (paper) on "pon." The 60 or so kids who have "won" immediately jump from their chairs and rush across the open space in the middle of the square toward the teacher waving their arms and shouting loudly. They return, somehow everyone finding their chairs. The room quiets down, and the scene is repeated three more times. Each time it is chaos--the winners screaming loudly and running across the open floor to the teacher. Finally the time comes for the birthday children to march in. A teacher at a large grand piano begins playing a solemn marching tune. The dozen birthday children march in, each with his or her mother. They move along the seated children to receive congratulations. The first few children slap hands, but soon the seated children are grabbing the birthday children's hands and not letting go. The "high 5's" become increasingly exuberant, and the noise level climbs. It takes more than 10 minutes for the birthday children to work their way around the three sides of the square. The adults wait patiently.

I end this discussion with two more examples, one from my research and one from Kondo's. Neither are from preschool. I present these examples to illustrate the fluidity of movement that marks everyday adult life. The first occurs in a night club in Kyoto. The second, Kondo's, at a ward bazaar in Tokyo.

### *The Blues Club*

Our directions are vague ("If you come to the large crab, you have gone too far, but you are close so start looking"), and the club is hard to find. But eventually we find it and settle in. The club is a spacious basement room, with one bar serving food and another drinks. In the corner is a stage. It is comfortably crowded and friendly. My 12-year-old daughter immediately likes it. She calls it "funky" and says she wants to come back. Tonight a blues band is playing. They are excellent. About half way through the first set the bartender puts a small basket on a chair in front of the stage area. The next song is upbeat, and the singer-harmonica player, an energetic showman, dances exuberantly as he plays and sings. A woman approaches the stage and places a 1000 yen note (about $8 US at the time) in the basket. Without missing a beat, the singer turns toward her and bows deeply and formally. The transformation is instant and total, as is the retransformation. He straightens and becomes a blues singer again.

### *The Ward Bazaar*

We...wandered down row after row of stalls to inspect the merchandise. I knew that [the company where I worked] would be represented, but I was surprised to see the artisan who was manning the booth. There, polite and subdued, his body possessing the closure and disciplined grace of Japanese formal posture, was Suzuki-san. The same young man who would stagger around the floor groaning about his cold and exhaustion, the same person who engaged in roughhousing and physical antics with his co-workers, including episodes where the guys would kick and punch each other, the same person who never issued an utterance without using the most informal, "macho" Japanese, was now a model of propriety. He was a perfect representative for the company: gracious, soft-spoke, respectful. (Kondo, 1990, p. 217)

## Conclusion

Early in the chapter I quoted Markus et al.'s assertion that the goal of a cultural psychology may well be many psychologies. It remains to seen how differentiated these psychologies will be. At the very least, a more flexible psychology is required. Within a single psychology, moving across cultures was challenging but ultimately doable--or so we placed out bets. Cultural psychology make a different wager.

> The wager of cultural psychology is that relatively few components of the human mental equipment are so inherent, hard wired, or fundamental that their developmental pathway is fixed in advance and cannot be transformed or altered through cultural participation. The bet is that much of human mental functioning is an emergent property that results from symbolically mediated experiences with the behavioral practices and historically accumulated ideas and understandings (meanings) of particular cultural communities. (Shweder et al., 1998, p. 867)

Ultimately, the acceptance of many psychologies may make moving across cultures not necessarily easier, but more doable, as expectations become more realistic and as we no longer need to fit disparate findings to a single set of explanatory principles.

For example, different psychologies may well present different trajectories of development, that is, different paths from infant to mature member of the cultural group. Is childhood seen as direct preparation for adulthood, so that characteristics expected of adults are also expected in some rudimentary form in children? Is the basic cultural narrative that polite children become polite adults? That is, is the trajectory seen as more or less linear? Or is the trajectory seen as more roundabout. Do rambunctious, mischievous children become well mannered adults, and do they do so precisely because of their rambunctious mischievousness. Obviously, I argue that the trajectory in Japanese culture is seen as roundabout. The spirit of the three-year-old may last until 100, but the spirit takes a different external form in childhood from adulthood.

The problem of language will always remain. For example, I described Japanese teachers as not supervising playgrounds, and compared to American teachers, they do not. But they do not see their playgrounds as unsupervised. They view supervision very differently. Some years ago, before I did the fieldwork described in this chapter, I was visiting a kindergarten in Japan. At the end of the day, the teachers asked to me to meet with them and talk about their kindergarten. I made the mistake of mentioning that I was impressed by the fact that children played on the playground unsupervised while teachers were involved in various activities with children. I intended my comments as a compliment. I described how in American schools, teachers were always on the playground watching the children, but often not engaged with them. When I returned the next day, to my chagrin, a teacher was on the edge of the playground watching the children. I felt a terrible guilt, as though I had introduced a virus into the kindergarten. I greeted the teacher and then went across the playground and into a classroom and watched some children playing with large wooden blocks. From where I sat I could see the teacher. She looked markedly uncomfortable, as though asking herself (I think now of the teacher quoted earlier in this chapter), "What am I doing?" After about 20 minutes, she shook her head and left the playground and returned to her normal morning activity. My feeling of relief was immense--the virus had died. Since then I have been very careful about what I say to teachers.

Making comparisons across cultures will remain problematic (e.g., Locke, 1996). Shweder et al. asserted that "if your research procedures and instruments travel readily and well...then you probably have not traveled far enough into a truly different cultural world" (1998, p. 869). One always runs the risk of romanticizing the "other." For example, I find much about traditional Japanese preschools appealing. The preschools have maintained a sense of childhood that I see being lost in our own culture. To what extent do I focus on those aspects that I find attractive and

ignore those that I do not? Certainly I observed in preschools I did not find very interesting. They were Japanese, but the quality of the staff suffered in comparison to the ones where I chose to spend most of my time.

The acceptance of many psychologies will make more manifest the difficulties of attempting to move practices from one culture to another. Poorly done comparisons across cultures are not helpful, but actually moving practice can have an immediate negative affect on kids and school. Japanese schools are about developing Japanese selves, selves that are significantly different from American selves. The practice itself is less important than the meaning underlying it. Hatano and Inagaki warned educators about attempting to improve educational practice in one culture by incorporating ideas and techniques from another:

> Because every culture has a more or less coherent matrix of values, policy-oriented researchers... must consider carefully whether an intended change can be induced in the given matrix at all and whether doing so will do harm to the matrix's coherence. (1998, p. 100)

Nevertheless, looking across cultures is important. Equipping educators with the best available theory of the child's mind requires providing them with some insight into their own folk theories. And one way to do this is to expose educators to other folk theories, particularly folk theories that contradict their view of how life is supposed to be. Making the strange familiar is, as anthropologists have long argued, the first step to making the familiar strange. I urge American early childhood educators to look carefully at the "space" we provide young children in our culture and to look seriously at early schooling as a context for development and to take seriously the idea that many different developmental trajectories and paths are possible.

I believe that American early childhood educators can learn, albeit cautiously, from their Japanese colleagues. Decades ago American educators flocked to Britain to study the British Infant Schools. More recently, they have crowded Reggio Emilia in Italy. Curiously, there has been no rush among American early childhood educators to learn from Japan. I expected the fascinating portrayal in Tobin, Wu, and Davidson's *Preschool in Three Cultures* and more recently Catherine Lewis's delightfully compelling *Educating Hearts and Minds: Reflections on Japanese Preschool and Elementary Education* to stir interest within the American early childhood community. So far at least, I have been wrong. Perhaps the distances, physical and cultural, are simply too great. I remain hopeful.

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## 2008 TMUE International Symposium

***Reconceptualizing Early Childhood Education: A Cultural Approach***

**Friday, April 18**

Speech II: **ECE Teacher Education Programs in Japan**

Riyo KADOTA (Seinan Gakuin University)
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## Level of education and quality of practice

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- Higher levels of teacher education are linked to higher quality in center-based care (Blau, 2000; Howes, Whitebook, & Phillipsm 1992) and to children's better academic skills (NICHD ECCRN, 2002)
- Other structural features of the setting (e.g., adult-child ratio, teacher wages) (Phillipsen, Burchinal, Howes, and Cryer, 1997)
- Selection effect: teachers with more education may choose to work at higher quality centers (Hamre and Bridges, 2004)
- Academic skills: only girls' not boys' (Burchinal, et al, 2000)

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## In elementary schools,

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The range of teachers' education

- elementary < child care facilities

(virtually all elementary teachers have at least a BA)

↓

- No link between teachers' education and classroom quality has been established ( Pianta, La Paro, Payne, Cox, & Bradley, 2002; NICHD ECCRN, 2002)

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## Between Specific Degree's & Better Quality

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- AA > less AA (Hamre and Bridges, 2004)
- BA and specialized training in EC > AA and specialized training in EC (Howes, 1997)
- Few studies between BA and beyond BA

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## The Japan Association of Training Schools for Nursery teachers, Inc. (2007)

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| | T. edu. institutes | EC institutes |
|---|---|---|
| % | 62.6%:<br>4-year: 56.8%(75/132)<br>2-year:64.5%(147/228)<br>Others:63.2%(48/76) | 38.9% (1182/3042) |

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## Masters' Degree?

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100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
T.Ed. Inst.: 1.8, 4.1, 19.9, 64.9, 29.8
EC Inst.: 6.8, 4.7, 35.4, 46.4, 15.3
NA
others
no need
special training
research

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## Does Bachelors' Degree mean a lot? YES!

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- Every EC classroom have a teacher with a Bachelor's degree (the National Academy of Sciences Committee on EC pedagogy, 2000)
- Requiring preschool teachers to have a 4-year college degree and specialized training in order to increase the educational effectiveness of publicly funded programs (Trust for Early Education, 2004)

↓

- Improving classroom quality, children's outcomes, improving wages, decreasing turnover, professionalizing the workforce (Barnett, Hustedt, Robin, & Schulman, 2004)

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## Teacher education & types of certification

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100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
T.Ed. Inst.: 2.6, 8.8, 13.6, 49.1, 26
EC Inst.: 1.4, 4.1, 21.9, 44.2, 28.3
NA
others
4-year cert
second/first/special cert
2-year/single cert.

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## Reasons for BA Degrees

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T.Ed. Inst.
EC Inst.
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
H.Q of practice
H.Q of Edu
H.Q of caring
H.Q of SpEd
Caring mind
Counseling skill
child-caring support
higher qualification
instructive
maturity as person

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## Expecting contents to make practicum fruitful

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100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
T.Ed. Inst.: 10.3, 58.2, 15, 33.3, 54.2, 9.9, 2.2
EC Inst,: 23.2, 61.1, 12.7, 23.7, 50.5, 6.8, 2.7
increasing days
before/after instruction
year-around practicum
reflecting
cralify practicum stages
others
NA

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## Does Bachelors' Degree mean a lot? Not really.

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According to Early, et al's study (2006),

- Do teachers with more education, an EC major, or credentials have higher quality classrooms? → No association found
- Should a BA degree be required for all pre-k teachers? → Not entirely support
- How can classroom quality and academic gains be improved? →No simple strategies for ensuring high quality programs; not attain high-quality in all classrooms using current teacher preparation and support system; mentoring and supervision that encouraged reflection on practice were associated with higher quality (Howes, James, and Ritches, 2003)

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## Elements of being a reflective practitioner

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- Critical: to keep raising questions of what her theory/theoretical framework is
- Creative: being back and forth between reflecting and modifying her practices to make an improvement
- Communicative: to build a sound/open relationships with children & parents without being authoritarian & self-defensive
- Confirmation: To scrutinize what is need to acquire by herself as a teacher
- Consciousness: To figure meanings of learning from others (attitudes as a learner)
- Collaboration: Fostering a cooperating activity through demonstrating her abilities

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- To what extent, do freshmen at a 4-year institution accumulate an attitude of being a reflective practitioner?
  - Examining their modification through interviewing their seniors



## Learning Opportunities: Outside Campus



**Learning outside**

**Participating in community services**

**Mingling with Teachers**
- Student supporter system
- Volunteer at the Seinan child-rearing support center
- In-service training session at EC institutions

**Mingling with Grads/Undergrads at other department**
- professional conferences
- Interdisciplinary courses

**Cooperating with Instructors**
- Active participation in GP (reading forum for children and parents, children's museum project, etc.)



## Learning Opportunities: On Campus



**Lectures/Seminar**

**To study herself and ascertain a her decision-making process**

**Association with other certifications (elementary, kindergarten, preschool credential)**

**Graduation Thesis**
- Process of writing thesis through seminars I & II
- Building theories and expressing her outcomes

**Student Practicum**
- Learning from children and teachers
- Dealing with a real world (prospect/experience)

**Required/recommended Course**
- With different grades in the same division
- With students in the different department

With senior students: Modification through [EC principles I]



## Learning through lectures: learning from seniors



**Interview Project**
**(freshmen 122+ others 16=138)**

**Assignment**
- Choose and interview two seniors in Childhood education division
- **Group activity**: Ways of choosing, making arrangements (e.g., finding gate keepers, making appointments, setting date/places), creating interview contents, interviewing (e.g., creating optimal atmosphere, communication manners), organizing data set (e.g., transcribing, designing data analysis sheet), analyzing data, writing a report, and giving a presentation.
- **Individual activity**: taking journals, writing a self-reflection report
- Presentation and evaluation: Listening to the other groups' presentation and filling with an evaluation sheet (open vote/with their names)



## Interview project (cont')



**Points to note:**
- Completed as a group activity
  - Should not be one on one interview
  - Set a group discussion before summing/writing up a group report. A report with no consistency is not acceptable.



## Interview project (cont')



**The report should contain the following items:**

***As a group***
- Life story of each participant
- Interview questions and its answers: including reasons why these questions are raised
- Analysis:
  - Compare two participants and examine commonalities and differences
  - Attentions/notes while interviewing

***As an individual***
- What did you learn as a group activity and as a person majoring education
- What is the most impressive matter in the interviews and its reasons.

## Presentation Samples

## Contents of questions (ex.)



- Life story (essential)
- Reasons to choose this university/major
- Expected certifications/credentials
- Ideal images/icon of teachers (role models)
- How to enjoy campus life
- Things impacted your life (teachers, books, etc)
- Things to be noted before practicum, reality in practicum
- The hardest/happiest experiences during practicum
- Activities outside of campus (volunteers, social services, etc)
- Current issues in education
  - Committed suicide, reforming the fundamental law of education, moral education, bullying in school, corporal/physical punishment, children with behavior problems, etc



## Findings



*Reviewing their conducts/campus life*

- It is simply a waste to spend a time as somehow I did
- I should reflect on my conduct during this semester. I spent lazily as I felt “I have four more years”





*Recognizing where they are*

- Can I be like the seniors in two years? Very anxious.
- Since this project has assigned, it passed already 4 months. Have I changed since?





*Things they learned through group activities*

- I was able to expand my perspectives and shift values on education
- I realized how ignorant we are. Most of us have not understood the current educational issues or thought it in depth.
- By arguing the current issues in education among the group members, I was able to think a direction in my campus life.
- I felt the importance of considering other people’s feelings and cooperating one another.





*Things learned from seniors*

- I was surprised that they have their own opinions and capabilities to transfer it to the others.
- Impressed by their character which creates a warm atmosphere. I felt so secure while talking to them because of the circumstances. I felt they were caring toward us. Having these aptitude would be essential to be a teacher.
- Not only knowledge discrepancies but also awareness differences are existing between us. Awareness I mean is to define how much we think of children. Things should be understood from children’s point of view. I realized that I am not sensitive enough.

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*Things important in practice (as a teacher)*

- I learned that not only parents and teachers but also adults surrounding children and environments are essentials to raise children.
- Broad-mindedness
- Knowledge and experience which backs up our practices
- A positive attitude
- Communication skills. Capabilities to awake someone's interests.

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*How to spend their rest of campus life*

- During summer break, I plan to go into the field of practices and interact with children.
- To give myself a diverse experiences and broader perspectives, I will listen to the others and cultivate a mind of exploring.

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## Things noted for practicum

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- Suggested that be there as who I am (giving myself a pressure as a teacher may create awkward atmosphere!) . But can I be accepted as I am?
- Anxious, tension, hard but pleasure of meeting children. Need a positive attitude.
- Important to prepare several practical skills which would not learn in lectures.
- Be humble and be with an open mind!

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## Modification toward practicum

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- I thought being practical is top priority in the practicum as I heard from my friend attending community college but I recognized learning theory such as understanding children and their developmental stages is also important. Keeping a good balance between practice and theory is fundamental.
- I was encouraged by "everything is up to you". I will give myself an opportunity to interact with children with autonomous and positive attitudes.
- Although writing lesson plans won't me give an enough sleep, I would be able to manage myself because now I know it is for children.

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## *Grasping one of the objects in this project (student A)*

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"Why we have to interview two seniors?"

→Differences could be observed/interpreted by their life stories

→Comparing the two, come to realize ways of generating diverse perspectives

→As a matter of fact, diverse opinions were observed in the group presentations

→While listening to other groups presentation, I've been wondering how they choose what to present.

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## *Grasping one of the objects in this project (student B)*

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"Why do we have to do such an awkward project?"

↓

Listening to seniors, I come to realize I am not conscious enough to be a prospective teacher.

↓

Modifying awareness and creating a collaborative relations with others are important

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## Students' Learning Process

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outsider

insider

Group activity: Constructing Qs, interview, comparative analysis, presentation

Individual: Organize information, select, express to others

Ways and means to get accepted by others

Awareness of importance of communication skills and manners

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## Interaction between freshmen and seniors

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What is the most important thing in practicum?

Fmen

Wondering identity, why interview?

Senior is a mentor who sheds light on my direction

Next is my turn!

Given serious look from Fmen
Talking own exp.
↓
Reflecting

Interacting children and teachers with a positive attitude?!

Senior

Caring freshmen
Reflecting past exp.

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## Cultivating among freshmen?

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- Critical: to keep raising questions of what her theory/theoretical framework is
- Creative: being back and forth between reflecting and modifying her practices to make an improvement
- Communicative: to build a sound/open relationships with children & parents without being authoritarian & self-defensive
- Confirmation: To scrutinize what is need to acquire by herself as a teacher
- Consciousness: To figure meanings of learning from others (attitudes as a learner)
- Collaboration: Fostering a cooperating activity through demonstrating her abilities

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## Discussion (1)

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"only two years difference between us…"
"I feel so close to them, so…"
↓
"I could be like them…"
Awareness of being a concerned party
↓
To be authorities, a powerful voice
**Things uttered by seniors become the only facts to them**

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## Discussion (2)

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Practical experiences and knowledge of seniors are diverse and its quality has not been examined yet
↓
Are more likely to answer with their own senses
↓
Suggest that we should examine senior students' quality of experiences and practical knowledge:
**How they enrich their practical experiences and accumulate practical knowledge?**
**What if it's done outside of curriculum…?!**

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## Discussion (3)

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Impact on acquiring plural certifications & credentials
↓
"Which certifications or credentials are you going to apply?"
"I am still wondering. As I aim to be a elementary school teacher, it'd be better to study kindergarten education in order to understand children's developmental flow and gain insight into interpersonal relations among children"
↓
**Taking into account the transition issues between elementary, kindergarten, and preschool,**
**scope and sequence of college curriculum should be re-examined**

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## Discussion (4)

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**Understanding meanings of student's diverse experience and being reflective**

- "I want to have diverse experience and expand my perspectives"
- "When I encounter problems or concerns, I want to have several strategies and solve it by myself"
- "Interacting with many people and accumulating good diverse experiences"

↓

Building a foundation: holding diverse perspectives, understanding themselves relativity, being reflective

↓

The more the students build a solid foundation,

- the less they stay in the field (seeking a different approach to the field)
- the more they leave the job (less stimulating, less motivated)

**Ended up with not being a preschool teacher**

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## Thank you!

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# 李真希 Jin-Hee Lee

目前任教於韓國啟明大學幼兒教育學系，兼系主任，研究興趣包含質性課程評鑑，幼兒教育品質，文化心理學與後皮亞傑理論。她最感興趣的地方為經由質性與參與式的課程評鑑，協助幼兒教育相關人員反思其信念與目標，並且根據反思與共構意義的結果，來改善其實務作法。

Areas of interest: qualitative program evaluation, assessment, ECE program quality, cultural psychology, post-Piagetian theories. Most interested in helping ECE stakeholders to reflect upon their beliefs and goals and, based upon the reflection and shared meaning-making, improve practices through the process of qualitative/participatory program evaluation.

**EDUCATION**

Ph.D., Curriculum and Instruction (Specialization: Early Childhood Education, Program Evaluation), University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2003

**TEACHING EXPERIENCES**

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Assistant Professor, Department of Curriculum & Instruction, College of Education, Northeastern State University, August 2003-January 2005

**MAJOR PUBLICATIONS**

Lee, J., & Walsh, D. J. (2004). Quality in early childhood programs: Reflections from program evaluation practices. *American Journal of Evaluation, 25,* 351-373.

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Pham, P. M., Lee, J., & Shin, I-S. (2007). A cross-cultural study on parenting attitudes of Vietnamese and Korean parents. *The Journal of Child Education, 16*(2), 235-252.

**PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

Associate Editor, *Early Education & Development,* 2007-present.

Portfolios as a Tool for Understanding Young Children's Minds: Possibilities and Challenges

Presented by Jin-Hee Lee, Ph.D.
April 19(Sat.), 2008

Culture and Early Childhood Education: Reconceptualizing Early Childhood Education Symposium

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## Portfolio Assessment

- Definition:
  - evaluating children's development and learning over time through an organized, purposeful compilation of evidence (McAfee & Leong, 2006)
- Characteristics:
  - Focus on change, individualization, curriculum, reflection, and information sharing (Gullo, 1997)
- Contents:
  - work representing all areas of the curriculum (Gullo, 1997)
  - work samples, anecdotal records, photos, audiotapes, reading logs, web, tests, etc. (Helm, Beneke, & Steinheimer , 1998)

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## Portfolios in Korean ECE

- In ECE field
  -Evaluation method recommended by Korean department of education and ECE organizations
  -a widely spread assessment method in early childhood programs in Korea over the last decade
- In ECE teacher preparation program
  -Keimyung University(KMU) utilizing portfolios s a part of Project 『Understanding Young Children's Minds』

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## KMU ECE Teacher Preparation Program

- KMU ECE practicum sequence
  - freshmen: a field trip to model ECE programs
  - sophomore: 8-day (1 day per week, for 8 weeks) observation
  - Junior: 8-day tutoring along with "Understanding Young Children's Minds" project
  - Senior: 1 month full-time practicum

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## "Understanding Young Children's Minds" Project

- A case study of a target child

  → portfolio as a window to understanding the child's learning and development in contexts

- In connection with 3 ECE courses as well as previous ECE courses
  - Portfolio Evaluation for Young Children
  - Social studies in early childhood education
  - Education of Mathematics and Science For Child

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## Possibilities

- Be able to integrate their personal experiences with young children and knowledge of developmental psychology and pedagogy
- Be able to actively connect theories from university courses and the reality of early childhood education, and also reflect upon their differences
- See the value of both knowledge & teaching experiences
- Develop the professional habit of carefully seeing and listening to the children

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## Challenges

- Conflicts coming from the superficial portfolio evaluation practice in the field
- Portfolio evaluation in the field embedded in the contexts of Korean ECE → Compromise or Challenge?

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## Practices in the Field – Typical Portfolio Contents and Procedure

- Contents and Organization
  - Typical binder: a) work products done on paper--from traditional unit-related activities, a teacher-made or commercial learning materials; b) 2 dimensional artworks; and c) origami and NIE (Newspaper in Education) activity outcomes
  - (additional binder): for field-trip related experiences, consisting of a) photos from field-trip sites; and b) pre-visit and post-visit writings and drawings
  - Some teachers going "beyond" these typical practices have to keep it secret...

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## Practices in the Field – Typical Portfolio Contents & Procedure (cont.)

- Collecting Procedure:
  - Collect almost every work product, usually from large-group activities, but no procedure to select samples that represent each child's learning and development
  - Children's work dated, stamped "Good Job", but hardly with teachers' description, analysis, comments, or interpretation
  - All items organized only by chronological order
- Areas covered
  - centered around writing and visual art, more paper-and-pencil, easy-to-collect type items

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## Practices in the Field – Utilization of portfolios

- Communication with parents
  - Utilized inconsistently/informally during regular (weekly or bi-weekly) phone conferences with parents
  - Portfolios sent home twice a year without much explanation
- Within the Teaching/Learning Context
  - Noticing children's progress in writing and visual-art skills over time
  - Understanding children's creativity and problem-solving abilities

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## Practices in the Field – Multiple Perspectives

- Parents
  - Many of them viewing the current evaluative feedback from teachers are somewhat superficial
  - wanting portfolios to include more detailed and useful information about their child's learning and development along with some tips for parents on how to help him/her learn better
  - Some being worried if "any" evaluation would worsen competition among parents and make curriculum become overly academic

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## Practices in the Field – Multiple Perspectives (cont.)

- Teachers
  - Feel somewhat unsure about "what to do with collected portfolios"
  - View portfolio as it is now as helpful but limited
  - When it comes to any "assessment or evaluation," become afraid of parents
- Administrators
  - Deep concerns over the possibility that portfolio assessment might make parents upset and leave the program

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## Practices in the Field – Difficulties Teachers Encountered

- Lack of time and high student/teacher ratio
- Focus on quantity and visual attractiveness over quality and meaning due to parents' demands and expectations
- Identical contents across classrooms (uniformity over uniqueness)
- Concerns over inaccuracy and subjectivity with a lack of evaluation expertise
- Difficulties of portfolios in representing various aspects of development
- Lack of opportunities for the teachers to discuss and collaborate for better understandings of children's learning and development reflected in children's works

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## Practices in the Field – Underlying Values and Contexts

- Culturally situated uneasiness about "evaluating" young children
  - Evaluation as judgment vs. evaluation as understanding
  - Evaluation viewed as worsening competitive attitudes among parents
- Increased parental need for information
  - Want to be informed of their child's development and learning in a more meaningful and detailed manner
  - Various voices among parents

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## Practices in the Field – Underlying Values and Contexts

- Insecure identity as a private for-profit program (as of April 2005, children in private kindergarten: 77.1% → following the market principles)
  - Feeling afraid of doing anything that will make parents upset and move their child to another program
  - More and more extra-curricular activities by "experts" at the sacrifice of ECE curriculum and teacher-children time
  - Teachers disempowered in the curriculum planning and implementation
  - Portfolios for superficial accountability

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## Implications

- Unless we build a culture of deep reflection upon educational practices and engage in on-going dialogues, portfolios may be doomed to fade out of educational scene just like many reforms before them.
- Portfolios need to go beyond the mere "memory book" functions, and move to a deeper understanding of children's minds.
- Portfolio assessment needs to be studied in the larger context of school culture and social values.
- Portfolios may serve the function of change agent.

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# Quality in Early Childhood Programs? Underlying Values

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中文摘要：李昭明、幸曼玲

品質是一個價值乘載（value-laden）和與情境脈絡結合的概念。本研究從文化心理學的觀點出發，檢視美國學前教育課程中潛藏的品質定義中的文化本質。在以機構為主（center-based）的學前課程之中，以半結構訪談 15 位教師和 15 位學校管理者，浮現了三個主題。這三個主題分別是：安全和健康，培養獨立的兒童和發展的適切性（developmental appropriateness）。雖然受訪者對品質的定義與童年和學習的信念交織在一起，但是他們認為「幼兒最好透過自我探索（self-exploration）這個世界」，這個觀點是很明顯的。探索的能力會隨著兒童發展而更顯精緻。我們分析受訪者對於幼兒能力和幼兒學習和發展的觀點，且以兒童如何受到西方獨立自主和個人主義價值觀的方式來檢驗這些觀點。我們認為，在社會和文化環境下，這些價值限制了教育者搭建幼兒學習鷹架的視野。

過去的政策制訂者、學者、評鑑者都過度簡化動態、價值乘載的「品質」，然「品質」卻是一個複雜的概念。本研究的目的，就是要去發現文化假定和價值是如何體現在品質的優勢觀點（dominant notion）當中，以及有關幼兒和學前教育的文化價值如何束縛這些優勢觀點。

*Early Education & Development*
*Volume 16, Number 4, October 2005*

# *Section II - Quality from the Perspective of Stakeholders*

## Quality in Early Childhood Programs? Underlying Values

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Quality is a value-laden and context-bound concept. Drawing on cultural psychology, this study examines the nature of cultural values underlying definitions of quality in American early childhood programs. From semi-structured interviews with 15 teachers and 15 administrators in center-based early childhood programs, three themes emerged: (a) safety and health first, (b) raising independent children, and (c) developmental appropriateness. Although participants' definitions of quality wove together diverse beliefs about childhood and learning, the view that young children learn best by self-exploration of their world was salient. The ability to explore was believed to become more elaborate as children move through developmental stages. We analyze practitioners' views of young children's abilities and of their learning and development by examining how they are shaped by Western values of independence and individualism. We suggest that these values restrict educators' vision of how to scaffold children's learning in the social and cultural milieu.

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## *Quality in Early Childhood Programs?*

### *Underlying Values*

Efforts of early childhood educators to extract standards of and criteria for quality from expert opinion, research, and program evaluations (e.g., Fiene, 1992; NAEYC, 1984, 1991, 1998; Phillipsen, Burchinal, Howes, & Cryer, 1997; Scarr, Eisenberg, & Deater-Deckard, 1994) have raised concerns about the universalization and decontextualization of the dynamics of quality (Moss & Pence, 1994; Swadener & Kessler, 1991).

Following those who stress the dynamic and value-laden nature of quality (e.g., Mooney & Munton, 1998; Moss & Pence, 1994; Stake, 1997, 1999), we argue that policymakers, scholars, and evaluators too often reduce the dynamics and complexity of quality into manageable and measurable indices. Layzer, Goodson, and Moss (1993) note, "Discussions about the quality of early childhood programs often confuse the program elements that influence quality with quality itself. They are written and spoken of in a kind of shorthand as if they constituted rather than predicted quality" (p. 13). Well-intended attempts to judge and improve quality in early childhood programs may simplify, even de-professionalize, the complex nature of programs if focusing only on easily observable and controllable factors. Local contexts and value systems require serious attention. Notions of children, education, and quality are situated in broader cultural beliefs:

> Watch any mother, any teacher, even any babysitter with a child and you'll be struck by how much of what they do is steered by notions of "what children's minds are like and how to help them learn," even though they may not be able to verbalize their pedagogical principles. . . .Stated boldly, the emerging thesis is that educational practices . . . are premised on a set of folk beliefs about learners' minds, some of which may have worked advertently toward or inadvertently against the child's own welfare. They need to be made explicit and to be reexamined. (Bruner, 1996a, pp. 46, 49-50)

This study analyzes cultural values underlying definitions of quality in American early childhood programs. We focus on practitioners' perspectives. Our research questions are two: (a) What cultural assumptions and values are embedded in the dominant notions of quality; and (b) how do cultural values about young children and early education constrain these notions of quality?

Drawing upon cultural psychology, we assume that definitions of quality reflect culturally embedded values, assumptions, and beliefs regarding the ideal self, childhood, and education. A central issue in cultural psychology is the relationship between culture and self—how a culture views an ideal self and how individuals in the culture interpret and accommodate culture-specific images of the good self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Miller, 1997; Shweder et al., 1998). Markus and Kitayama (1991) distinguish an independent view of the self in Western cultures from an interdependent view of the self in Asian, African, Latin-American, and many southern European cultures—the independent self is "individualist, egocentric, separate, autonomous, idiocentric, and self-contained" (p. 226); the interdependent, "sociocentric, holistic, collective, allocentric, ensembled, constitutive, contextualist, connected, and relational" (p. 227).

Studies making embedded values and beliefs visible, that include unheard or even silenced voices, may open undiscovered possibilities for early childhood programs.

## Methods

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 30 early childhood practitioners[1]—15 program directors and 15 teachers—in center-based early childhood programs in 3 adjacent Midwestern cities. Programs varied widely: (a) publicly funded programs such as Head Start and state-funded programs for children deemed at-risk, (b) for-profit private programs, (c) not-for-profit programs, (d) franchise programs, and (e) university lab schools.

From an exhaustive list of local programs, we randomly contacted 3 programs from each category above. All except 1 from the first sampling were willing to participate, and we contacted and included another program. With permission from directors, we contacted 3 teachers of 3- to 5-year-olds from each category; 12 of 15 agreed to participate. We invited another 3 teachers, who all agreed to participate. Most interviews were conducted by the first author between Fall 1999 and Spring 2000.

The interview protocol included the following:(a) Briefly describe your program; (b) describe yourself as an early childhood teacher/director—how you entered the field, your background; (c) if neighbors new to this area were looking for a program for their young child, what would you tell them to look for; (d) when you think of high-quality programs, what practices, criteria, and so on do you think about; why these; (e) you must have worked with many teachers and seen many things; what sorts of things concerned you most; and (f) is there anything else you want say about high quality early childhood programs?

The goal was 2 or 3 30-minute interviews with each participant. Some participants, especially teachers, preferred a single 1-hour interview because of schedules. Depending on participants' schedules and experience, we scheduled follow-up interviews. Eight directors and 1 teacher consented to 2 or 3 interviews, most lasting more than 45 minutes. We followed up some interviews with e-mail. We recorded and transcribed 43 30- to 60-minute interviews. We coded the transcripts and discussed emerging themes. Transcriptions were analyzed using Nud*ist 4.0.

## Results

Three primary and interrelated themes emerged from the analysis: (a) safety and health of young children, (b) raising independent children, and (c) developmental appropriateness.

### *Health and Safety First: Do No Harm*

About a half (7 directors & 7 teachers, 46.7% of the total) described health and safety as critical to a high-quality program.

> Number one is "Are children being kept safe?" I don't care about anything else until I know they are safe. After safety is taken care of, you have to have discipline. . . . They go hand in hand. And then you can talk about education. (Teacher 12, 12/19/2000)

[1] Biographical information of the participants will be provided upon request.

The following, from a director of a private child care center, shows how careful, if not obsessive, practitioners have become about sanitization procedures:

> We weren't sure we really needed to sanitize the changing table every time they're changed because the children stand there, and it's just their feet touching the surface. . . .I had a Petri dish. . . . and in a few days, something was growing there. And it wasn't important to me to know what it was, but I asked the public health nurse if she could bring a couple of more of these dishes. . . .She said that it's possible that I just used Q-tips [for the experiment] that weren't sterilized and it could have come from the Q-tips. And I said, "Don't tell the teachers. They can think this makes a difference." [Laughs] (Director 10, 4/23/2001)

The second major criterion for a safe environment was vigilant supervision of children.

> As a principal, I agree that teachers have to see all children. . . .But you are going to have kids in areas you can't see. . . . And if you can't see certain children, you need to get up and make a sweep of the room [because of] accidents, or even inappropriate behaviors, like hitting. I mean all sorts of things can go on. Sexual play can go on. Some children have seen a lot of things. You need to keep looking at what they are doing because you wouldn't want children to feel unsafe in school. (Director 1, 11/13/2000)

Participants reported trying to supervise children all the time, although it was sometimes impossible. A low children-teacher ratio and small groups facilitated supervision. Most directors mentioned law suits over injuries, sexual abuse, or sexual play among children; one director referred to our "lawsuit-happy society."

> Probably about the mid-80s there were a lot of concerns about sexual abuse in child care centers. . . . It affected our liability insurance. Either companies charge more for liability insurance, or they simply are not covering sexual abuse at all. As an owner, you want to really know your staff. . . .There was some big cases in California, like the McMartin preschool and a few other ones—they were the witch-hunts of the 1980s. . . .At this point, I would be quite cautious about hiring a male teacher. (Director 10, 2/8/2001)

Although the charges against the McMartin preschool and other preschool programs were found groundless, fears of sexual abuse survive and strongly influence many aspects of programs. Directors of chain programs expressed a unique concern about litigation.

> When you are a big company, people are more inclined to sue you, as opposed to when you're a small company and they are not going to get any money. There are different issues for big organizations and smaller organizations. . . .That's just something in our culture. People sue. (Director 13, 12/14/2000)

When we inquired, directors said that they were not aware of any litigation by parents against programs in the local communities. Nevertheless, their fear was real and affected their operations.

The emphasis on health and safety and on physical features was strongly related to licensing regulations. One director deplored licensing regulations, describing them as punitive and not helpful for maintaining and improving quality. A director of a private program said:

> We've had several inspectors, and each one sees something different. . . . We had some people who came and just absolutely loved the program. And we had another inspector who came and cited us because we didn't have enough doll furniture [laughs]. Another one gave me a real hard time because I didn't have enough of the indoor playground equipment that was on her list. I bought something stupid, we hid it in the back, and we bring it out when she needs to see it. That's what the clown tunnels are for. . . . You would not call them to ask them for help about how or what would you do, because then they will come out and cite you. So actually coming forward and trying to do something about a difficult area gets you in trouble. . . .When I first started, I had a DCFS worker who did that, who helped, here's how you could do this. I was also teaching her child, so that was very helpful [laughs]. But they had her leave. They didn't like her being helpful. They want someone to come in and cite. She wasn't turning in enough citations. It looked like the department wasn't finding enough things. So they got somebody who went in and found these five things wrong. (Director 11, 3/21/2001)

After describing his frustration, this director shared his desire for more supportive evaluation procedures that would help programs to understand and then improve quality.

Participants portrayed sanitation and safety procedures as necessary, but some wondered if regulations had gone "too far." One cynical joke, which a few shared quietly, was, "All we do is wash hands." One director thought sanitary regulations made teaching more difficult.

> How do they expect the teachers to do this, this, this, this, this, this, this and take care of the kids? Some sanitary things are frustrating. For instance, if you wipe a child's nose, you need to go wash your hands. But if you got five running noses, you're going to spend your time wiping the noses and washing your hands for the whole hour. Sure, we try to do that. . . .But the child will go like this [wiping nose], go like this on toys [touching toys], you know what I'm saying, they're just kids. I think sometimes they ask the teachers too much. They wash their hands all day long now. (Director 8, 1/21/2001)

A few pointed out that safety and health practices could be disruptive, for example, keeping all children in sight all the time while managing transitions or toileting.

> One former teacher who works in Virginia in a company-owned program says that every time a 2-year-old has to be changed, they literally get all eight children and march into the bathroom. They're sitting there, they're fighting, they're talking, they are touching stuff in the bathroom, probably picking up germs. You've disrupted their concentration. And that's counterproductive to try to keep them in your vision but interrupt their attention span. But that's what their company wants them to do, probably

> for some kind of security kinds of reasons, because of liability (Director 10, 1/17/2001)

*Raising Independent Selves*

> In a culture that emphasizes the autonomy and self-reliance of the individual, the primary problems of childhood are what some psychoanalysts call separation and individuation—indeed, childhood is chiefly preparation for the all-important even of leaving home. . . . In traditional Japan, the expression "leaving home" was reserved for those entering monastic life, who abandoned all ties of ordinary existence. For us, leaving home is the normal expectation, and childhood is in many ways a preparation for it. (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985, pp. 56-57)

The European-American values of independence and self-determination (Shweder et al., 1998) permeated conceptions of quality. Good programs raise independent selves. This strong cultural belief was reified in the emphasis on an enriched environment, free-choice, individualized teaching, and heightened self-control by positive discipline.

*Enriched environment.* A majority of the participants (8 directors & 8 teachers, 53.3%) stressed that the physical environment tells much about quality of the program and that children learn best from self-exploration of the environment. The teacher's role is to support children's independent explorations in a well organized and enriching environment. A director echoed this emphasis on environment.

> I think mainly if you have a lot of appropriate kinds of materials and toys around, and nice playground and opportunities for the kids to get their physical exercise, it [learning] just happens. It's not anything teachers necessarily need to invite them or entice them into doing. Just have it there, then they go towards it. (Director 10, 4/23/2001)

Quality of educational experiences was often equated with easily observable indicators, such as amount, quality, and variety of materials and attractiveness of facilities. Participants described parents' lack of understanding of quality leading them to focus on attractive buildings and materials. Dahlberg, Moss, and Pence (1999) state that in a post-industrial society parents seek "reassurance rather than understanding" (p. 92).

*Individualized teaching and learning.* Twelve participants (7 directors & 5 teachers, 40%) stressed the importance of individualized teaching for the different abilities and developmental stages of young children. Individualized teaching and learning, long stressed in American schooling, was viewed as especially critical in early schooling.

> It should be individualized because no two 2-year-olds are at the same place in their development. [We should include] individualized instruction as much as possible. And I think kids benefit a lot from one-on-one with an adult. (Director 9, 12/20/2000)

Individualized teaching meant an emphasis on free-choice and child-initiated activities and providing one-on-one support as needed. Differing parental expectations, mixed-age grouping,

inclusion of children with disabilities, and turnover of children across the year also contributed to the emphasis on individualizing teaching. Appeals to developmental theory buttressed this belief, as did a perception of young children's short attention span.

Other indicators of quality, for example, low child-to-teacher ratio and small group size (4 directors & 7 teachers, 36.67%), reflect both the value placed on individualization and the safety concerns discussed earlier.

> I don't think a high-quality program can have too many children, really, in order to pay each individual child the attention they need. I even think this isn't too bad here; the limit is 10 children per teacher, and that's okay. I think ideally it would be somewhat lower. Maybe, 8 or something. (Teacher 11, 4/4/2001)

The lower the child-to-teacher ratio, the better the program. Only one director noted that a small groups limit interaction among children. Children's interactions and the development of community did not appear in participants' conceptions of quality.

Almost unanimously participants believed that one-on-one interaction is the most effective and meaningful way of teaching and learning. This focus on individualized teaching and assumptions about young children's abilities, however, often limit teachers' expectations for and opportunities given to children, as we discuss later.

*Choice and child-centeredness.* About a half the participants (9 directors & 4 teachers, 43.33%) specified "child-centered" curriculum and practice as criteria of quality. Child-centeredness meant allowing children to choose activities and/or attending to children's interest in planning activities. They spoke of the importance of a classroom arrangement that facilitated independent choice and free exploration. Well-defined "learning centers" or "areas of interest" marked an appropriate learning environment.

Some explained that giving children choices signals to them that teachers respect and believe in them. Choices allow children to control their behaviors and learning, building the foundations of independence and positive self-image.

> Another thing that is important is the children need to make choices. We need to let the children make choices about their life. . . . Children need to feel like they're important. How they feel and what they do is important. . . . if they have a choice and they choose one thing, they feel like we care about them being happy. (Director 8, 1/25/2001)

One director, however, pointed out how limited, in reality, the choices given to children are. She noted that perceptions of quality are constrained by beliefs about what choices children should have at each developmental level.

> I had early childhood educators come and ask me, "Why are the scissors out in the fall? You know, this is not appropriate for 3-year-olds." I said, "Well, you know, they can do this. You get them safe scissors and they can be out." Or, "Why do we have all of these choices?" They tend to think that young children need to have very limited choices. . . . One said to me, "Well, I don't put the paints out until October or November." And I was

> like, “Why? I want them to use the easel from the Day 1.” (Director 5, 7/12/2000)

A few participants expressed concerns about the currently popular practice of following children’s interests. Their concerns provoked questions about how meaningful are the choices given to children and whether this minimal approach restricts the breadth and depth of children’s experiences.

> There’s something wrong or missing in what we’re doing and saying—don’t force the child, don’t do anything to them, let them learn and experience on their own. To me, who’s worked in child care for 20 years, it’s lacking something. (Teacher 7, 8/31/ 2001)

*Discipline for self-control.* Three directors and 5 teachers (26.67%) mentioned the importance of positive guidance for young children.

> Support the children to solve the problems themselves together. That especially works with 4- and 5-year-olds. Discipline stated in a more positive way than just saying, “No, don’t do something.” Maybe you can say, “Use it over here, use it on the carpet,” instead of saying, “No, don’t do that.” (Teacher 10, 4/23/2001)

These respondents wanted to give the children a sense of control and a chance for independent decision making. Again choice was expected to heighten children’s self-esteem and their ability to make important choices in later life.

> I think that without realizing what they’re doing sometimes, teachers may do harm to children’s self-esteem by certain guidance practices. Perhaps time-out, if it’s used as a method to really teach the children to control their own behavior, might be useful. But in most cases when I hear *time-out* and I see it used, it’s basically a punishment. Instead of going the extra steps to help the children to learn and have inner self-control, teachers feel that they must have iron control of the classroom. (Teacher 4, 5/14/2001)

While most talked about positive redirection of children to other activities, a few emphasized teaching children interpersonal skills. One director pointed out that redirecting children does not teach them how to behave in a group setting and get along with other children.

> So you actually want to see the teachers handle some discipline problems. It can even be a fairly nice time-out or something, but if that’s all they use, then the children will never learn. . . . I recommend programs where children are actually taught how to get along well, where teaching social skills is a natural part of discipline policy. That’s going to have a long-term effect on the child. (Director 11, 5/22/2001)

A teacher described the tension surrounding appropriate discipline strategies for young children.

> I agree with [NAEYC and DAP] to a point, but I think you need to give some children guidance and direction. . . . I get the sense that if you give direction to the children and if you use the word, “no,” that it’s wrong. And I just think that there’s too many people in day care who don’t feel it’s wrong. . . . We’re supposed to help children have good, positive direction so that you tell children what they can do more than what they can’t do. Unfortunately, I’m an old lady, and I am a conservative person. I believe children need to know what is expected because we live a life in our grown-up years of having to meet expectations that people put upon us. You cannot go through a life doing what you want to do when and how you want to do it. And to me, developmentally appropriate practice is at least skipping that part. (Teacher 7, 8/31/2001)

Although positive guidance and redirection were often described as developmentally appropriate, these latter respondents stressed the importance of explanations and understanding group life.

The emphasis on an enriched learning environment, one-on-one teaching, and choices reflected participants’ views of what is important for young children and their learning. Piagetian theory was cited often to support individualized practices and developing independence. Theories that explore the social nature of learning were not mentioned.

*Developmental Appropriateness*

*Developmentally appropriate practice* (hereafter DAP) (Bredekemp, 1987; Bredekemp & Copple, 1997) deeply influenced perceptions of quality. Although many viewed DAP as a umbrella covering all aspects of programs, they described it in terms of (a) age-appropriateness of learning activities, (b) a curriculum based on play and hands-on experiences, and (c) a focus on social and emotional development. Underlying these was a belief that young children think and learn differently from older children and adults, reflecting stage theories of development.

*Age and developmental appropriateness.* The most salient interpretation of DAP, that activities should not require children to perform beyond their age- and development-based readiness, was provided by 7 teachers and 5 administrators (40%). Deep concerns over “hurried” children in modern society, resistance to pressures to teach children basic academic skills, and a strong belief in stage theories prevailed.

> The first thing is, if you’re working in a 3-year-old classroom, you’re going to make sure you’re not expecting too much of them. They are just learning how to communicate in there, and you can’t expect them to always use their words or share. . . . If you expect more out of them, then you have to show them how. I guess the biggest thing is to be able to make sure you’re expecting the right, age-appropriate actions. (Teacher 14, 5/8/2001)

For participants the most important quality of a good early childhood educator is knowledge of child development and proper expectations for children at each age. They described red flags that signified inappropriate practices—worksheets, all children doing the same activities at the same time, waiting in a line, sitting still, and too many fine-motor

activities. They held shared images of and objections to academic-oriented early childhood education.

> Sitting still too long, focusing on fine-motor activities, having to do many of them at one time. . . .Children can't hold still. Standing in line is not appropriate. I get nervous when I see classrooms in which all of children are required to do the same activity at the same time, whether it is art, craft—nervous seeing worksheets that a child has to produce, or especially reproduce something specific. I think it's pushing them too soon cognitively and with fine-motor skills for many of the children. And it can be very frustrating, even frightening. (Teacher 4, 5/14/2001)

All participants reported that their programs had developmentally appropriate curricula, despite diverse approaches across programs—a traditional theme approach, the project approach, discovery learning, creative curriculum, a company-developed curriculum, and teacher-directed instruction for basic skill acquisition.

For-profit child-care chains often adopt "canned" curricula. Three directors of such programs pointed out that many day care centers do not have any curricula and emphasized how developmentally appropriate their curricula were. One director reported,

> Our program is already made to be developmentally appropriate for their age. . . . We have lesson plans and activities from infants on. . . .We do build on development. So our program is developmentally appropriate. . . (Director 13, 4/18/2001)

Others expressed great concern about ready-made curricula. They believed that each child is different and should be approached differently—a "canned" curriculum cannot be developmentally and individually appropriate.

> Most for-profit chains have canned curriculums. At LaPetite, the director has this huge binder that has their curriculum. All 2-year-old classrooms in LaPetite do the same thing. All 3-year-olds do the same thing. To me, that's a very inappropriate way to approach curriculum, because the kids have different abilities, different interests. They come from different backgrounds. So the curriculum has to be fluid. (Director 4, 11/29, 2000)

Two examples follow of difficulties people had differentiating what is appropriate and inappropriate for children to know or do, for different personalities, and for specific situations.

> I think some people can look at a situation and say, "Oh that's appropriate," and some can look at it and say it's not. And the distinctions aren't real clear because sometimes there might be an individual child who is able to do something that most other children their age are not. Sometimes, practices in some other cultures. . .wouldn't be quite called developmentally appropriate in American education. But it just makes sense for that child at that time. . . . The day we opened 25 years ago, a little 4-year-old Japanese boy came, and he would ask you how old you were. . .and he would calculate it and say what year you were born. It was pretty impressive for a 4-year-old. (Director 10, 2/8/2001)

> There are preschool teachers who really do a lot of letter sounds and stress different group activities about the sounds of the letters or whatever, but for that teacher, it works. And I am always amazed. . . .If somebody asks

> me, "Should we push letter names and letter sounds?" I would say no. But this teacher does, and parents like her. She works well with the kids. She has a great relationship. Children are learning that. Is it wrong? I don't know. I don't think it's clear cut. (Teacher 3, 1/16/2002)

A director of a state-funded early childhood program described the tension around one teacher's literacy instruction, viewed as developmentally inappropriate by other teachers.

> We have a teacher who got really involved with literacy, taking kids further than we've ever taken them before in terms of things that we typically would think of as kindergarten. Some kids are even reading, but she's worked for about 3 years to figure out how you break this down . . .so it's not over their head, so they are enjoying it. And. . .because she's so into it and because she's working so hard and because she's taking these baby steps up to this, kids are thriving on it. . . . I'm not sure that same model would work for everyone. But I think it works for her and it works for those kids. . . .And there has been a little tension in the building as to whether what she's doing is developmentally appropriate, whether she's pushing down kindergarten skills to prekindergarten kids. . . .If it isn't done carefully, it could be really inappropriate. So we haven't encouraged everybody to do. But I do feel that her kids are going to be good readers. . . .They are going to be successful. And if we can say that about every child in the program, that will be enormous. (Director 3, 1/5/2001)

Only 1 director and 2 teachers discussed the need to challenge children and to move them beyond their current ability and knowledge level.

> We want to make sure that we're challenging them. And if they are ready, go. Don't say, "Well, this is not appropriate." It's appropriate if they are happy and they are ready and they're interested, and you're building on that interest, and they're not hitting a frustration level, then I think it's appropriate. (Director 3, 1/5/2001)
>
> I don't agree with pushing them, but I do agree with a lot of challenges. Physically challenging them, like outside, like with climbing and running. Some kids are not able to run a long distance, I mean a long distance like probably 50 feet. (Teacher1 5, 3/8/2001)

The participants generally, and strongly, interpreted DAP as not pushing children beyond their current ability and developmental levels. They commonly used the term *developmentally appropriate* to describe what they were doing or what they believed that they should be doing. Nevertheless, some challenged the dominant notion of DAP.

> We can't get too locked in these development stages. . . . It [DAP] locks you in one thing that may not be true. You know, even babies understand more about the world around them than Piaget had a clue about. (Director 4, 11/29/2000)

*Play and hands-on activities: The best ways to learn.* Twelve participants (6 directors & 6 teachers, 40%) described the critical role of play and hands-on activities. Children learn best through play; knowledge and skills learned through play create a solid foundation for future schooling; play helps children to learn to love school.

> Particularly with the 3- to 5-year-old group, children learn through play and hands-on experience, not so much sitting in a seat and listening to the teacher talk all day. (Director 9, 12/20/2000)

Participants talked little about making play purposeful and meaningful. Only 1 teacher commented on the importance of play with a clear purpose, facilitated by teachers. Most often, play meant free-choice and non-facilitated interaction with the environment and other children.

Although many emphasized play and hands-on activities, 2 directors and 4 teachers (20%), concerned about emphasis on child-initiated activities and play-based curricula, articulated the need for a variety of activities and a balance of different teaching strategies, especially between child-initiated and teacher-directed and small- and large-group activities.

> I think you need to have both teacher-directed and student-initiated activities. And that's a high-quality program. (Director 1, 11/13/2000)

*Focus on social and emotional goals.* Ten participants (7 directors & 3 teachers, 33.3%) said social and emotional goals should be at the center of early childhood programs. These often mentioned the *whole child* and *whole development*.

> I would like to see the philosophy reflect that they're interested in the total child's development, not just his cognitive development, or not just his physical development, but the total child. (Teacher 1, 4/24/2001)

The following comments reflect a prevalent discomfort with school-like programs and the perception that socializing young children should be the focus of programs.

> Socialization, I think, is probably the thing that should be emphasized the most at this level, because once the kids know how to share, how to interact with other children, then the learning can take place. (Director 9, 12/20/2000)

> Social skills are very important especially at three. Learning to cooperate with one another, learning to be without mom and dad for the whole day, is important. Teaching them to regulate their own emotions and what to do when they're angry or when they're sad or they're happy. How they can appropriately express those things within the classroom community, because a lot of times it is very different [from] the way it's appropriate in some families to express those emotions. (Teacher 5, 5/14/2001)

Some viewed socialization skills as fundamental for kindergarten readiness. Needed social skills included getting along with other children, regulating emotions, following teachers' instruction well, using words to resolve conflicts, and taking turns.

The participants emphasized that programs should help children build their self-esteem and learn to love school, for success in later schooling. Pushing children beyond their abilities and developmental level was inappropriate—play was the best learning mode. A caring environment, providing encouragement and opportunities to succeed were crucial.

> Our goal is for children to learn through play so that they learn to love school. That's my goal personally too. If you teach the kids to love school, then no matter what, they're going to excel. If you have a child who loves going to school but can't count to 10, he will still be successful in life, as long he has a love of learning. (Director 14, 3/8/2001)

One director talked maintaining early childhood's identity in the face of academic pressures and accountability.

> They're going to get their ABCs and 1, 2, 3s once they get into the kindergarten. . . .We're just not doing worksheets. My son's in the kindergarten, and he does tons of them. I'm really disappointed with that. (Director 7, 2/2/2002)

Only a few talked about the importance of actively facilitating children's learning. The director of a university-based program, once a gifted program, talked about the lack of intellectual challenges in many programs.

> In the gifted field, the teacher is the facilitator of learning. We take an active role in manipulating the environment, in our conversations, to provoke higher level thinking, to provoke creativity. The human development model is more laissez-faire, let the kids do and develop on their own. So I really differ from that approach. We take a very active role, not in directing the child, but in facilitating. So to me, in a high-quality program the teacher is the facilitator, not sitting back. (Director 5, 7/12/2000)

## Discussion

Throughout the research, we were struck by the tone of passivity that colored the discourse on quality, especially teachers'. The focus on following children's interests is closely tied to the belief that young children learn best by self-initiated, self-directed activities. Given the historically strong reluctance to specify what to teach to children, early childhood educators concentrate on interactions with individual children, supporting the unfolding of their innate abilities, at their own pace, through their own choices. In this section, we first discuss each major theme and then try to put them all in perspective.

### *Health and Safety First*

A safe and clean environment dominated the discourse of program quality. Although a first wave of research on possible harm of early childhood programs has passed (Zaslow, 1991), deep-seated societal apprehension about institutionalized care lingers. A ubiquitous below-the-surface whisper is, "First, please do no harm." Underlying the practitioners' emphasis on health and safety are unconscious anxieties of adults, especially in the middle and upper classes, about children's vulnerability and victimization, the "bogeyman syndrome" (Corsaro, 1997). These fears intensify in early childhood programs and are reified into regulations for health and safety.

Increasingly regulations focus on children's safety and health. Frequent handwashing is required. The odor of bleach permeates centers. Parents may not bring homemade food for children to share, even for birthday parties—only prepackaged foods.

Society wants safe, clean, and loving environments for its children, reflecting an cultural commitment to maternal care and to the image of programs as a substitute home (Dahlberg, Moss, & Pence, 1999). As regulations increase, however, some begin to wonder, "How far should we go for safety and sanitation at the sacrifice of education?" A perceived obsession with safety and sanitation was viewed as sometimes hurting the dynamics of teaching and learning.

Wolf (1994), in a study of a day care center, described how regulations and unrealistic expectations constrain teachers and caregivers.

> The teachers know the regulations, but as they all state, it is difficult to follow them perfectly all the time. The rules are seen as necessary, but also as too demanding and unrealistic at times. Ann believes that too much emphasis is placed on the structure and physical setting, and not enough on how "you're treating the children". . . .The tension exists between following the rules exactly and doing what seems to be okay and necessary at the time, yet realizing that it is not really okay and they could get caught at any time. . . ."They can close you down." (pp. 189, 207-208)

Many participants viewed some regulations unreasonable—from people "who had never been to early childhood classrooms." The task of prioritizing safety, sanitation, and other responsibilities falls to those who must make the minute-by-minute decisions, and they feel most constrained. Participants expressed confusion, and fears, about how regulations should be applied in a specific time and place.

*Raising Independent Selves*

The cultural value of independence leads to an emphasis on choice and individualized learning. In Western cultural belief that, everyone is unique and distinct from other selves (Shweder et al., 1998), thus teachers must meet different individual needs. Our findings reflect Lee's (2001) findings, in an ethnographic study of four early childhood teachers, about strengths and limitations of individualized education.

> I was moved by the teachers' immense effort to get to know each child and his or her family. The idea of maximizing the individual child's potential, no matter what the child's background, gender, age, or disability is, in fact, one of the great merits of American individualism. . . .However, focusing only on one set of a child's attributes often hinders the teacher from realizing that this set of attributes is but one subset of many other attributes. . . .The American discourse on individualized education often does not provide enough space and time for the teacher to think about how children learn from each other, how they see their relationships with their classmates, and how children's relationships. . . help build a sense of solidarity in the classroom. (pp. 306-307)

Individualism as self-reliance is deeply embedded in this culture. Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton (1985) categorized American individualism as Biblical, republican, utilitarian, and expressive. Utilitarian and expressive strands focus on personal success, either material or self-expressive, while Biblical and republican strands stress morality and active involvement in public affairs. They argue that individualism in contemporary society, represented by the image of managers and therapists, has lost its Biblical and

republican traditions and has caused people to become isolated and powerless. Bellah et al. argue the need to recapture these lost traditions in order to regain meaningful social communion. They provide a framework for early childhood educators to rethink life's meanings, both their own and their children's, and their goals for early childhood education.

### *Developmental Appropriateness*

Developmental appropriateness, the last theme, has standardized how educators and evaluators define quality. Many participants saw DAP helping them to defend their philosophies, identity, and practices from pressures to teach young children academics. They valued the development of the whole child, social skills, and preparing children to be ready for school and saw these as goals for early childhood programs.

Some expressed concern about DAP keeping educators from seeing other possibilities for good programming or alternative views on development and learning. Practices viewed as developmentally appropriate may restrict teachers' freedom and the potential of early schooling. For example, Hong (1995) explored how DAP discourages teachers from doing large-group activities—they don't want to look developmentally inappropriate. Hong concluded that the lack of large-group activities limits the building of classroom community. In her study, participants' discussions of curriculum presented a dichotomy between meaningless academics versus child-initiated play and hands-on activities—similar to the "either-or" positions that Dewey (1938/1997) warned against.

DAP can be used to justify certain practices and, to silence dissenting voices. Perceived as presenting everything as right or wrong, appropriate or inappropriate, it can suppress meaningful discussion of practice and curriculum. For example, other pedagogical possibilities such as in-depth inquiry of real-life questions, the Project Approach, the Reggio Emilia approach, and apprenticeship models were seldom brought up. Emphasis on children's own choice restricted teachers' active facilitation of children's curiosity and motivation to learn. Children certainly benefit from learning that school is safe and enjoyable, although later they may encounter different realities. Programs, however, limit children by not providing opportunities to develop meaningful problem-solving skills and other important intellectual abilities.

Early childhood educators share a fundamental fear that opening doors to possibly good but different practices may let in harmful practices as well. This fear appears based on negative images of public kindergartens—sitting at tables for long periods, doing meaningless worksheets. The field stresses protecting children from inappropriate practices, such as drill and practice, worksheets, academic red-shirting, and standardized tests (Bredekamp & Shepard, 1989).

### *Putting Them All Together*

Quite possibly the participants were repeating what experts, licensing agents, and policymakers have highlighted as indicators of quality. Strong resistance to academic "trickle-down" and a desire to maintain self-identity as professionals may be a motive. Although participants' definitions of quality reflected a range of beliefs about who young children are and how they learn, the dominant view was that young children learn best by self-exploration of their world, a self exploration that becomes more elaborate as they move through developmental stages. This image of the young child, "Piaget's child" (Dahlberg, Moss, & Pence, 1999, p. 46), becomes crystallized in DAP.

Bruner (1996a) underscores how deeply folk psychologies and the folk pedagogies that flow from them affect daily lives in school. For example, Case (1996) describes different views of education from empiricist, rationalist, and sociohistoric perspectives.

> In the empiricist tradition. . .education [is] the process by which the external conditions that affect children's learning and motivation are brought under control, so that socially desirable goals may be achieved. . . .In the rationalist tradition. . .education is seen as a child-centered process: one that involves the provision of an environment that will stimulate children's natural curiosity and constructive activity, and promote active reflection on the results of that activity. . . .[I]n the sociohistoric tradition. . .education is seen as the process by which a community takes charge of its young and moves them from a peripheral to a central role in its daily practices. (pp. 82-83)

Kruger and Tomasello (1996) describe three types of instruction and the underling beliefs. From a maturationist view, instructional activities take a laissez-faire form, with simple tasks. From the view that learning takes place with assistance, children are scaffolded through more complex or valued tasks. If young children are viewed as learning best through direct instruction, didactic teaching of highly complex or valued knowledge occurs.

The dominant view of children among the participants was a romantic maturationism overlaid with the language of Piagetian constructivism, mirroring Walsh's (1991) analysis of the field's dominant developmental perspective. Despite the well-known limitations of Piagetian stage theory (e.g., Bruner & Haste, 1987; Donaldson, 1978; Gelman & Baillargeon, 1983) and the supposed demise of maturationist theory, this romantic version of "Piaget's child" still dominates the field, informing the notion that a quality program provides an enriching physical environment with as many opportunities for self-exploration and self-learning as possible. This maturationist-Piagetian constructivism can be seen in NAEYC accreditation criteria[2] (Spodek & Saracho, 1997; Walsh, 1991).

Young children are seen as active constructors of their own knowledge, but only within the limited boundaries of their assumed maturational status, weakening the teachers' role as careful planners and active facilitators of learning. The environment and "child-centered" activities become the main markers of quality. A low child-teacher ratio as well as small group size become the ideal way to help "Piaget's child" freely explore the environment and to develop naturally through stages. The environment replaces curriculum, in the same way that developmental theory has replaced educational theory in early schooling (Kessler, 1991). Although the cultural deprivation perspective of the 1960s has been discredited, an almost religious belief in the power of enriched environments for development endures. Recently popularized "brain research" suggesting that an enriched environment leads to better brain development and higher intelligence reinforces the image of early childhood education as a panacea for social ills (Bruner, 1996a).

This limited and limiting view of childhood as a series of biologically determined developmental stages, which cannot and should not be hurried, has also been shaped by Western values of independence and individualism (Dahlberg, Moss, & Pence, 1999; O'Brien, 2000). Various developmental theories, especially Piagetian stage theory, have been selectively borrowed to validate cultural beliefs about young children and about best practices for raising independent and self-assertive selves. This dominant view of childhood and early schooling remains resistant to challenge, even in the face of strong research evidence that supports the

[2] This study was completed before the new NAEYC criteria came out, thus does not reflect changes in the new criteria.

social, cultural, and relational aspects of human learning and critiques the assumptions of stage theories that see young children as having limited cognitive and other abilities (e.g., Bruner & Haste, 1987; Donaldson, 1978).

Critics have repeatedly pointed out that the environments and pedagogical practices in early childhood programs are based on and promote middle- and upper-class ideologies on child rearing (e.g., Bruner, 1996b; Cannella, 1997; Lubeck, 1996; O'Brien, 1993). Cuffaro (1991) points out how this emphasis on specific environments for early childhood programs limits possibilities of teaching and learning activities.

Early childhood classrooms, particularly with the increasing number and influence of quality standards, are becoming standardized. This standardization, especially as it reflects dominant-class values, may help the field gain recognition as professional. However, we argue this standardization limits the vision for early childhood education. The search for possibilities and diverse visions becomes replaced by a narrow orthodoxy. Needed is a deep rethinking of values and beliefs about young children and early schooling.

Low child-to-teacher ratio and small group size as indicators of quality are socially constructed. For example, Tobin (1992) described how, in Japanese preschools, a low child-to-teacher ratio and small group size are not only not valued but seen as detrimental to children. A Japanese preschool teacher remarked,

> Teaching is different from being a parent or aunt or friend to a child. . . .I'm not suggesting that teachers should be cold or formal. What I'm trying to say is that I believe a teacher should emphasize relating to the class as a whole, rather than to each student, even if this is a little sad for the teacher sometimes. (p. 31)

Without understanding cultural assumptions and beliefs about childhood and education, presupposing that structural variables are universally true indicators of high quality leads to culturally biased views of program quality. Given the influence of American education on much of the rest of the world, standardized definitions of quality may limit educators' imagination of what programs can become not only in the U.S. but elsewhere.

The Western values of independence and autonomy (Shweder et al., 1998) were deeply embedded in participants' definitions of quality. Teachers were expected to support this independence and autonomy. But defining teachers as stand-to-the-side facilitators can limit children's learning. Without denying the importance of discovery in learning, we argue that in our contemporary complex world, teachers must provide guidance and scaffolding. Lee (1999) pointed out that the early childhood teacher's role is often reduced to a safety-monitor. Markus and Kitayama (1991) underscore possible intracultural differences and encounters with other values that can prompt social and cultural changes.

> Even within highly individualist Western culture, most people are still much less self-reliant, self-contained, or self-sufficient than the prevailing cultural ideology suggests that they should be. Perhaps Western models of the self are quite at odds with actual individual social behavior and should be reformulated to reflect the substantial interdependence that characterizes even Western individualists. Sampson (1989) has recently argued that the reality of globalization and a shrinking world will force just such a rethinking of the nature of the individual. (p. 247)

Our research did uncover challenging voices, though they remain the minority. Practitioners whose educational backgrounds varied from the norm or who had encountered

different cultural values voiced alternative understandings of young children and ways to run programs. Given the ethnic and cultural diversity of the U.S. opportunities to explore and expand notions of quality are ample, but only if educators are encouraged to explore and understand different ideas. When a particular perspective dominates the field, forcing compliance, diverse views, unshared and unelaborated, become lost opportunities.

As the field becomes standardized, even enthusiastically standardized, "developmental" notions of quality are promoted and institutionalized by well intentioned groups, particularly through the NAEYC accreditation criteria. We argue that these developmental views are markedly out of step with contemporary developmental theory, which is neither maturationist nor Piagetian but systemic and cultural (see the 1998 *Handbook of Child Psychology*). Individualist views of young children's abilities, of their learning and development restrict educators' vision of what and how to scaffold children's learning in the social and cultural milieu. When quality becomes reduced to standardized environments in which children ideally learn by self-initiation and self-exploration, an important part becomes substituted for a much larger whole.

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我近五年內主要的研究重點在於探究幼稚園組織文化相關議題。大致介紹如下：

「幼稚園組織文化個案研究」是由國科會補助之專題研究計畫（2002-2004 結案），以詮釋性個案研究的方式針對一所私立與一所公立附設幼稚園進行深入瞭解。由於公、私立幼稚園所面對的外在環境、內部組織、以及法令規章等方面都有很大的不同，因此本研究旨在探索公、私立幼稚園所發展的組織文化以及兩者之間有何異同，並探討此組織文化與鉅觀層面的本土社會文化之間的關係。本研究共進行三年，前兩年分別針對一所個案做研究，第三年則將結果加以歸納比較，並進一步以焦點團體訪談的方式作類推檢驗，瞭解此二個案的比較面向是否也可以類推於其他公私立幼稚園。研究結果發現公、私立幼稚園在組織結構與制度上、以及其所面對的外部環境、內部整合問題都有極大的差異。園長領導方面雖有差異之處，然而其間的領導互動文化卻也有相似之處，顯示領導者與老師之間的倫理與關係似乎仍受到超越園所之中國人社會文化的影響。

該研究堪稱國內第一個針對幼稚園的組織文化研究，其結果將可以作為後續發展幼稚園組織文化問卷與相關理論的基礎，此外，該個案研究結果亦可以作為幼稚園組織文化與一般企業組織文化異同之探討基礎。

接下來與劉慈惠教授合作的另一個研究案是「當幼稚園畢業生進入小學一年級：學童的經驗及親師的想法和互動」，也是獲得國科會補助之專題研究(我是共同主持人)（2003 年），該研究乃透過教育民族誌的方法，探討小一新生的學校適應及親師之間的期待與互動關係。研究中發現學校文化深深形塑與影響教師之班級教學與學童之學校經驗。

96 年 1 月我應國科會之邀請，於「95 年度國科會教育學門幼兒教育領域專題研究成果發表會」中擔任主題演講，講題為「組織文化與幼兒教育」，從組織文化的研究領域之緣起與概況縱覽、以及國內目前對組織文化研究之概況，進而思考未來幼兒教育組織文化研究可以探究的方向。該文經修改後已經投稿當代教育研究(TSSCI)期刊（16 期 1 卷）。

身為教育學者，我總希望我的學術研究應該與我的教育實務緊密連結，教育學術研究應該要能對於實務有所啟示。正好 95 學年度開始，教育部開始幼稚園輔導專案，鼓勵幼稚園長期邀請學者專家入園輔導，我也開始投入輔導工作。這個輔導經驗卻意外地讓我找到學術研究與實務結合的一個線索，因為在組織文化研究中，研究者往往是透過受邀擔任「顧問」（consultant）的角色才得以進入企

業組織，而研究者本身也直接對組織之發展有所介入與影響。我過去的幼稚園組織文化研究僅以單純的民族誌研究者角色進入，總是盡量降低研究者對於個案幼稚園組織文化之影響，因此研究之歷程與結果對於個案幼稚園的幫助並不大。如今幼稚園輔導方案正好提供我以「輔導者」的角色進入幼稚園的機會，並嘗試以 Schein 所提出之臨床研究法來進行組織文化之研究。

因此我於 2006-2007 年進行「組織文化與幼兒園本位之輔導歷程」之研究（2007 年獲國立新竹教育大學研究補助）。該研究比較偏向從輔導者的角度切入，採臨床行動研究的取向，希望瞭解組織文化對輔導歷程之影響。探究焦點包括：輔導者介入的歷程中所顯露出的幼稚園組織文化；如何因應個案幼稚園所獨有之組織文化調整輔導之策略，以達到園所輔導之目的；整個輔導過程前後，幼稚園在組織文化層面與個人層面有哪些轉變；以及園長、組長、及輔導者在整個輔導歷程中所扮演的角色等。由於個案幼稚園的課程改革仍在繼續進行中，因此今年提出延續性研究，希望對於該幼稚園之組織文化與整體課程改革歷程有一個較完整的、長期性的瞭解。

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# 幼稚園組織文化個案研究(I-III)

計畫編號：NSC 89-2413-H-134-016
計畫編號：NSC 90-2413-H-134-004
計畫編號：NSC 91-2413-H-134-014

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## 摘　要

學校文化對於學校教育之重要性早已受到肯定，然而組織文化相關研究文獻中卻很少針對幼稚園的部分做較深入的瞭解。公立與私立的幼稚園不論在組織目標及其所面臨的外在環境（法令、經費、市場）等方面都有極大的差異，因此其發展出的組織文化自然也不同，這些組織文化不但無形中影響幼兒學習與教師成長，也影響幼兒教育的整體改革。基於此，本研究以詮釋性個案研究法嘗試瞭解幼稚園的組織文化。本研究前後共進行三年，前兩年先後分別進入一所私立幼稚園與一所公立國小附設幼稚園進行深入探究，資料蒐集包括：1.參與觀察，包括各項全園性會議及活動、課堂上課、辦公室互動等；2.訪談，包括校長或負責人、園長或主任、以及老師等；3.文件檔案蒐集，如幼稚園行政相關資料檔案、會議記錄、活動記錄等。第三年則企圖從二所幼稚園的文化資料中進一步做比較分析與對照，並邀請其它不同幼稚園的負責人、園長、主任、或老師等進行二次焦點團體訪談，希望藉此幫助研究者對於一般公私立幼稚園之異同有更多的覺察，並省思本研究在類推上的可能限制。本研究報告主要呈現第三年的比較分析與歸納，將從組織架構與制度、組織面臨的外在環境與挑戰、內部整合問題、以及園長的角色與所需具備的能力等幾個面向來看二所公私立幼稚園組織文化上的異同。本研究在希望學術上可以作為後續各類型幼稚園組織文化研究的參考，在實務上希望可以提高教育相關人員對於幼稚園組織文化的知覺。

關鍵詞：幼稚園文化、組織文化、詮釋性研究、個案研究、質性研究

# 幼稚園組織文化個案研究（III）

The Organizational Cultures of Kindergartens: An Interpretive Case Study (III)

計畫編號：NSC 91-2413-H-134-014
執行期限：91 年 8 月 1 日 –93 年 1 月 31 日

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中、英文摘要

學校文化對於學校教育之重要性早已受到肯定，然而研究文獻中卻很少針對幼稚園組織文化的做深入的瞭解。公立與私立的幼稚園不論在組織目標及其所面臨的外在環境（法令、經費、市場）等方面都有極大的差異，因此其發展出的組織文化自然也不同，這些組織文化不但無形中影響幼兒學習與教師成長，也影響幼兒教育的整體改革。基於此，本研究計畫以詮釋性個案研究法，分三年進行，目的有三：（一）分別深入瞭解二所公、私個案幼稚園的組織文化特色；（二）比較兩所公私立幼稚園組織文化的異同；（三）探討幼稚園文化與本土社會文化的關係。本報告即為第三年計畫初步分析報告。

關鍵詞：幼稚園文化、組織文化、詮釋性研究、個案研究、質性研究

Abstract

Although the importance of school culture to school success has been recognized, there are few empirical studies on kindergarten culture. The kindergartens develop various types of organizational cultures due to different environmental challenges. The organizational cultures of kindergartens have important influences not only on the children's learning and the teachers' development, but also on the reform of the whole early childhood education system. Taking an interpretive approach, this case study will explore and compare the organizational cultures of two kindergartens. It will focus on: (I) Understanding the organizational culture of the two kindergartens; (II) Understanding the similarities and the differences of the two kindergartens' cultures; (III) Understanding how the two kindergartens' cultures might be related to the larger society's Chinese culture. This report shows the preliminary analysis from the data of the third year, focusing on answering the second and the third research questions.

Key words：School Culture, Kindergarten Culture, Organizational Culture, Interpretive Study, Case Study, Ethnographic Study

## 一、前言

學校文化對於學校教育之重要性早已受到肯定，然而研究文獻中卻很少針對幼稚園組織文化的做深入的瞭解。公立與私立的幼稚園不論在組織目標及其所面臨的外在環境（法令、經費、市場）等方面都有極大的差異，因此其發展出的組織文化自然也不同，這些組織文化不但無形中影響幼兒學習與教師成長，也影響幼兒教育的整體改革。然而，目前文獻中卻缺乏這方面的深入研究。

## 二、研究目的：

基於此，本研究計畫以詮釋性個案研究法，分三年進行，目的有三：（一）分別深入瞭解二所公、私個案幼稚園的組織文化特色；（二）比較兩所公私立幼稚園組織文化的異同；（三）探討幼稚園文化與本土社會文化的關係。本報告即為第三年研究資料初步分析結果。

三、文獻探討

（一）學校文化之重要性

一些有關企業組織文化的研究指出，表現良好的企業通常都有強勢（strong）且具有特色的公司文化（見張慶勳，民 85）。換句話說，組織文化是預測組織營利表現的重要指標。至於學校文化的重要性，Levine and Lezotte 回顧 1970 年晚期與 1980 年早期的研究指出，效能高的學校通常都有著明顯的目的性以及致力於學生學習的組織氣候與風氣。在一個著名的英國研究中，Rutter 等人也發現學校風氣（ethos）（包含潛在的規範、價值、與傳統等）是學生學術成就的主要影響因素。（引自 Deal & Peterson,1999）。

另一個由 Mclaughlin 於 1995 年發表的長期個案比較研究報告中指出，兩所學校學生表現的差距極大，其原因可能是因為表現較好的那一所學校的教師形成學習型社群（teacher-learning community），老師之間有緊密的互動、凝聚力、熱情、與承諾因此整個學校呈現一種正向的焦點文化（引自 Deal & Peterson,1999）。

國內的部份教育學者（如：林清江，1989；吳清山，1994）也肯定學校文化與學校教育之成功與否有密切的關係。儘管如此，國內對於學校文化的實徵研究卻如鳳毛麟角，少數有關學校文化的研究均為未發表的博、碩士論文，且焦點多集中於中學以上的學校或學生的次級文化。吳璧如（民 80）針對學校組織文化與組織效能關係的研究也是針對國民小學。整體而言，國內學校文化文獻嚴重缺乏，而針對幼稚園組織文化的深入研究更是付之闕如。從學校文化對學校效能的重要性來看，幼兒教育學者及實務者實有必要對於幼稚園組織文化作進一步的深入研究與瞭解。

（二）學校文化與教育改革成效

Deal & Peterson（1999）指出，近期的研究（如：Fullan，1998； Rossamn, Corbett, & Firestone，1988）發現學校組織文化是教學改革的重要關鍵。如果學校文化不鼓勵改革，則學校就無法進步；相對的，如果學校有正面的專業文化，其規範、價值、與信念均強調教育的特殊任務(mission)，則改革比較容易成功。此外，由 Newmann 等人（1996）的研究亦發現，只是改變組織結構並不能達到改革的目的，必須配合專業的文化才能根本改革。經過五年的研究，他們發現成功的學校擁有一種重視學生學習、致力於高期望、支持創新、對話、與新點子的文化。此外，成功的學校「基於教職員彼此的尊重、信任、與共享的權力關係，教職員之間及師生之間充滿一種關懷、分享、與互助的風氣」（引自 Deal & Peterson，1999，p.7）。

雖然國外研究已經逐漸重視學校文化在教育改革過程中的重要性，國內的教育改革相關文獻卻仍未將學校文化列入改革的重點。簡楚瑛與林麗卿（民 86）試圖以生態學觀點來看幼稚園內課程轉型過程的影響因素，發現組織層次相關因素與個人因素彼此互動配合才能導致改革成功。此研究針對影響課程轉型的各種組織因素（如組織願景、溝通模式、園長領導特質、團隊風氣、學習模式等）做個別的探討，但是對於這些因素之間的交互作用歷程、其背後所潛藏的組織深層文化（基本假設）、以及組織與較大的社會文化之間的關係並未做深入的探討，本研究將可以加強我們對於這些方面的瞭解。

由教育改革的經驗來看，只針對實務作法的改變往往無法成功地達到教育改革的目的，由上而下的教育改革政策的往往因為與根深蒂固的個別學校文化衝突而使教改成效大打折扣。由於學校文化的發展有其歷史根源，許多基本假設可能早已被組織成員視為「理所當然」，如欲改變它，第一步就是要意識到它的存在。換句話說，我們不能只看到問題的表象，而必需進一步意識、發現到影響學校日常運作的深層假設。如果真如文獻所言，學校文化是教育改革的重要關鍵，則本研究將可以幫助我們瞭解這些潛在文化的影響與運作，進而思考進一步的教育改革之道。

（三）企業管理模式對幼稚園文化的影響

管理理論已經逐漸影響幼稚園的經營，民間的管理顧問公司紛紛開班授課，教導業者如何以企業管理的理念經營幼稚園。尤其是私立幼稚園系統中，有些業者甚至相信：「找有教育理念的人開幼稚園一定倒！」對於師範學院或有強烈教育專業理念的人，他們往往嗤之以鼻，導致師院畢業的合格老師往往無法發揮所學，對整體幼兒教育品質的提昇有很大的影響。

雖然幼稚園組織與企業組織有相似之處，然而，學校組織畢竟與以營利企業組織不同，因為學校「產品」的品質既不是生產量可以決定，也不是短期內可以看到果效的。因此，企業組織中的管理理念是否適合教育組織實有待進一步的瞭解與深入探討（Deal & Peterson ，1999）。透過這個個案研究，可以幫助我們思考企業管理理念與教育理念兩者的相容性，並進而思考發展符合幼教理念的管理模式。

（四）不同類型幼稚園組織文化的差異

目前台灣幼稚園的型態主要分為兩大類：公立與私立。其中公立包括國小或國中附設幼稚園、獨立幼稚園兩大類。而私立幼稚園則包括獨立幼稚園、連鎖幼稚園、企業投資或附設的幼稚園、宗教機構（如教會）附設幼稚園等幾大類型。

台灣幼兒教育生態不同於一般中小學以公立學校為主流的生態，私立幼兒園為台灣幼教界主流之一，在某些地區，其影響力甚至足以威脅公立幼稚園的生存。私立幼稚園不論在組織目標及其所面臨的組織外在環境（法令、經費、市場）與一般公立幼稚園差異甚遠，如果依照 Schein 的組織文化定義來看，私立幼稚園所發展出的組織文化與公立幼稚園自然也迴異。兩大陣營所面對的問題與需求大異其趣，對幼兒教育改革的訴求點也南轅北轍，因此在制定幼教改革政策的時候，行政當局往往無所適從。雖然公私立幼稚園的差異如此明顯，而且長久以來都是幼教界的一大問題，但是國內目前尚無這方面的深入研究。

從生態系統觀來看，幼稚園組織文化是在職幼教教師專業社會化與幼兒發展的重要潛在情境之一，組織文化的差異將影響幼教品質。因此，本研究針對幼稚園組織文化做深入瞭解，應可以幫助有關當局更深入瞭解影響幼兒教育的組織文化因素，並作為擬定幼教相關政策的參考。

（五）幼稚園組織文化與本土文化的關係

從文化生態系統觀來看，組織文化與其所處的外在環境有極大的關係。許多本土研究指出，台灣的企業文化深受本土大社會文化傳統的影響，呈現出不同於一般西方文化的獨特組織文化模式。這些研究發現，中國文化中的人情、面子、關係、報、父權領導、差序格局等人際心理影響著本土企業組織中的文化（Farh & Cheng, 1999; 鄭伯壎, 民 84a; 鄭伯壎, 民 84b; Farh, Tsui, Xin, & Cheng, 1996; 劉兆明, 1992；黃光國, 1985）。本土幼稚園的組織文化是否也像企業組織一樣，受中國傳統文化的影響而有獨特的文化與運作模式？又如王震武與林文瑛（民 85）所說的，欲達到「根本改革」，就必須深入反省整個社會既有的教育範式。除了深入瞭解個案幼稚園的組織文化之外，本研究也將注意幼稚園組織文化所處的歷史與社會脈絡，探討台灣整體的教育文化與幼稚園組織文化的關係。而此個案研究未來還可以進一步作為跨文化個案比較的基礎。

四、研究方法

本研究為詮釋性研究取向的個案研究，前兩年分別進入一所司立幼稚園與一所公立國小附設幼稚園進行深度的瞭解。透過民族誌的研究方法，以參與觀察、訪談、文件檔案等資料收集方式，試圖對兩所幼稚園的文化有一個整體而深入的詮釋。而本案第三年除了從二個個案幼稚園的文化資料中進一步做歸納與對照之外，並進行二次焦點團體訪談，希望能透過個案園所以外的幼稚園實務工作者的觀點，進一步驗證或補充前兩個個案研究的發現，以幫助研究者對於一般公私立幼稚園的組織文化面向與異同有更完整的瞭解。

焦點團體訪談共進行兩次，與會成員八至九人，涵蓋了公、私立幼稚園的老闆、園長與老師，其中包括一位男性，在幼教服務的年資最少三年，最多十七年。訪談過程以一個開放性的問題為開端—公私立幼稚園組織文化的異同，然後便鼓勵成員們以個人的體驗為出發作互動式分享。

## 五、結果與討論

經過分析，我們可以歸納出公私立幼稚園組織與文化之差異大致可以從以下幾方面來看。但是在比較之時，我們仍必須牢記在心的是—個別差異仍然存在。

### 一、組織架構與制度

| | 私立幼稚園 | 公立幼稚園 |
|---|---|---|
| 組織 | 垂直式組織（階層關係為主） | 扁平式組織（同儕關係為主）（非正式組織—年資階層） |
| 決策模式 | 老闆決策—權力集中<br>上對下模式<br>正式階層控制系統 | 集體參與—權力分散<br>協商、民主模式（領導者以非正式系統發揮影響力） |
| 溝通模式 | 上對下為主：宣達式，對成員社會化<br>上下溝通管道較暢通 | 幼稚園內平等溝通、民主式，共同建構；但是無一致性的園則可能各自為政、溝通不良。與小學校長與三長的溝通則依循行政倫理，不能越級上報 |
| 經費來源與運用 | 經費：完全來自家長。由老闆全權處理。<br>學費由老闆決定。<br>彈性運用空間大！<br>退費：若家長有意見，可以隨時彈性處理退費事宜。 | 經費：由國家規定、撥款補助經費額固定。<br>學費固定。學費需統一繳庫，雜費（餐點費、活動費、材料費）按月收取，得由學校保管運用，但仍專款專用，一切依法辦理，彈性小。例如：與廠商定點心以人頭算，不多不少，若臨時請假，退費困難！學費繳庫後，要退費很難！ |
| 經濟大權 | 經濟大權：老闆授權程度<br>一、 完全不授權：園長不得過問<br>二、 部份授權：雜費由園長決定、請假退費<br>三、 全部授權：園長參與經費規畫<br>學雜費一旦訂定，很難跟家長另外收取臨時支出費用。 | 經濟大權：<br>一、 政府：學費由政府統一收取繳庫，分配掌管，<br>二、 國小校長：專款專用，但是需經校長等同意，經總務會計系統，常需與小學共享資源。<br>三、 園長：可以規畫雜支支出。其他額外支出有時可以透過家長會費或班費。 |
| 師資 | 超收班級為常態，不完全為合格教師 | 依立案班級數開班，全部為合格教師 |
| 權責 | 職責界定清楚（制度化程度看老闆採法治或人制） | 職責界定較不清楚，只有教師法做大範圍規範，無詳細明文規定職責，大家都是「平等」的老師。 |
| 考核制度 | 明確的考核標準，不一定制度化，但老闆為考核標準。師鐸獎由老闆決定。 | 無考核機制（或形同虛設），只有保障教師權益的教師法，毫無篩選不適任教師的機制。師鐸獎用輪的。 |
| 行政教學 | 行政與教學大多分開（小規模者仍有教師兼部份行政） | 老師必須兼行政職務（包括兼任園長） |
| 人力資源 | （大多）有外聘老師 | 國小老師支援、家長參與<br>以家長費外聘老師 |
| 教學自主性 | 比較低（招生不成問題者：給教師較大的自主空間）（課程模式不同也有不同的自主空間，蒙式教室硬體上幾乎都比較類似） | 比較高（甚至可以關起門來各自為政）（視校長與園長的領導或影響力而定）（通常各教室都不太一樣） |
| 課程 | 課程全園統一、教材統一，進度大多一致（不要讓各班差異太大，家長比較）<br>老師分工寫教案 | 大多全園進行同一主題或單元，其他由老師自行發展。有的園老師分工寫教案。 |
| 作息時間 | 全園作息時間固定一致（有時需要全園協調空間使用） | 多傾向全園固定課程時間、配合國小作息 |
| 最高原則 | 以組織生存為主要考量，彈性大 | 一切按照規定，依法行事 |
| 對外在環境 | 敏感度高，反應快，調整內部快 | 敏感度低，危機意識低，反應慢，不易彈性調整或改變 |
| 改革動力 | 外在環境壓力與個人生存緊密相關；內部潛在競爭促使教師追求個人成長 | 外在環境壓力對個人生存影響不大（要垮一起垮；要爛一起爛！）<br>鐵飯碗心態；一輩子的同事（以和為貴，不要得罪人）<br>不要太出風頭！<br>難以產生內部改革動力 |
| 組織與個人認同 | 強調組織認同<br>（組織榮譽）<br>（在哪一家幼稚園服務可能會影響個人的名譽累積，影響下一個工作機會） | 個人工作認同常大於組織認同<br>（個人榮譽）<br>（到那裡都是公幼老師，老闆仍是政府，薪資依據同樣制度，調校的依據以年資等個人項目為依據，與其所服務的幼稚園無關） |
| 主要問題 | 外在環境壓力與組織生存，如何彈性調整組織內部，以因應市場需求（利益取向）。 | 內部整合—人際和諧、如何長久共事（以和為貴）（齊頭式平等、不要太出風頭） |

### 二、外在環境

| | 私立幼稚園 | 公立幼稚園 |
|---|---|---|
| 主要挑戰 | 家長與其他同行：<br>如何迎合家長需要，招生？如何在眾多競爭同行中爭取到家長的青睞？ | 國小與上層主管機關：<br>如何與國小維持若即若離的關係？（分工合作、資源分配與共享；園長與校長，幼小老師之間、實習教師的工作分配等；與上層主管機關的關係 |
| 市場 | 市場壓力直接且持續 | 市場壓力小而不明顯 |
| 服務 | 類似商業服務：幼稚園可以鎖定特定族群的家 | 類似社會工作服務：零拒絕，依法不得針對特定族群的家長（不 |

| 取向 | 長，有的是刻意的，有的是自然吸引的結果 | 得拒絕弱勢族群） |
|---|---|---|
| 家長的期待 | 期待高、干預多：家長是顧客至上，出錢的是老闆的姿態。<br>學費愈高、家長要求愈多（但不一定是對專業的要求）<br>蒙式家長似乎較少質疑老師的專業性 | 一般期待低、干預較少：學費便宜，就不要求太多服務或品質。<br>對教師專業態度：依社經地位而不同，社經地位低者—尊重老師；社經地位高者—介入多。<br>家長意識逐漸抬頭，家長會的介入也愈多。 |
| 幼教專業的地位 | 以滿足家長為主—完全服務，「專業」只有在不影響招生的前提下才會被考量。由組織外在環境（家長、同行潮流、政府法令）決定專業的地位。 | 以專業或組織內部的人為主要決策考量，家長意見為次。由組織內部人員決定「專業」在組織中所佔的地位。 |
| 名聲品牌之建立 | 由市場機制（家長）反映、決定幼稚園的品牌名聲。<br>家長口耳相傳、同行競爭（補習班、托兒所）、潮流（如：美語）、政府政策等，都會影響幼稚園的存亡。 | 幼稚園的名譽（業績）主要由上層主管機關評定：評鑑、是否配合上層命令、是否舉辦交辦的活動（配合政策）、學生出外比賽是否得獎（上派的專業評審，而非家長）<br><br>外在環境對於幼稚園的生存、名譽較無直接關係，學校不需要刻意招生，學生來源通常不於匱乏，即使學生減少，學校也沒有太大的責任。家長與學生的反應對於學校的生存或老師的飯碗沒有太大的影響。 |
| 「評鑑」對於幼稚園 | 一、對於某些已經建立品牌，或是完全市場導向（商業化）的幼稚園來說，家長才是衣食父母，評鑑是政府監督的工具，對幼稚園的經營沒有幫助，甚至有可能影響幼稚園市場取向的彈性經營策略。評鑑結果若公開，則可能影響家長的選擇，所以不完全合法的幼稚園採取排斥態度。<br>二、對於正在求生期的私立幼稚園，若該園的理念與政府評鑑的理念一致，則評鑑對該園的改進與招生有利，評鑑獎金也對該園有實質的幫助。此類幼稚園自然對於評鑑有較正向的回應。 | 一、評鑑有直接監督的效果，政府為主要的生存憑藉（衣食父母）與考核者，所以幼稚園大多非常重視，且盡力爭取榮譽。<br>二、評鑑除了學校整體的名譽之外，還可能有個人的嘉獎機會。<br>三、評鑑績優獎金是公立學校難得的大筆額外財源，學校大多希望爭取。<br>四、對於有些內部分裂不合作的幼稚園來說，評鑑可能成為一個「共同外敵」，迫使讓幼稚園必須整體合作，一致對外。<br>五、評鑑委員的建議，則可能啟動公立幼稚園內部難以發起的改革運動，促進教師的成長動機。 |
| 親師關係 | 家長—傾向把老師當成服務人員。強勢介入課程與教學之規畫，對教師的專業較不尊重。<br>有的幼稚園不太讓家長到幼稚園參觀，但有的幼稚園讓家長全天候隨時上網觀察孩子的學習。<br>園方（園長或老闆）大多會介入親師關係，面對家長。 | 家長—對公幼老師要求較低，可能原因：<br>1. 收費低，要求低；能抽到籤進入就好，不再要求什麼；<br>2. 對公幼的教育政策已經清楚（一切按照規定：不教注音、寫字）；<br>3. 信任合格老師專業，以學習心態向老師請教；<br>4. 公幼轉班不易，沒什麼選擇，家長害怕老師對孩子不利，所以能忍則忍。<br>但是隨者家長意識提高，家長會的影響力已經開始升高 |

## 二、內部整合問題

| | 私立幼稚園 | 公立幼稚園 |
|---|---|---|
| 主要的內部問題 | 如何藉由公平的考核制度，讓老師願意為幼稚園付出？如何透過一些社會化儀式，讓老師認同幼稚園理念（組織認同），並讓各班老師素質整齊，願意一起成長，以達到組織整體最大的效益？ | 如何與其他老師和諧共處，做一輩子的同事？如何與理念不同的搭班老師一起教學？ |
| 同僚關係—階層關係 | 階級上下關係明確（主從關係）。一切由老闆決定，老師之間的權力位階分配隨時可因老闆的調整而改變。若是制度化的幼稚園，則老闆的主權就比較低） | 同僚或階級關係不明確。園長也是老師兼的，有的更是用輪的。若是（正式）職位階級與（非正式的）年資階級不符，則可能產生矛盾，出現所謂「地下園長」與「掛名園長」的現象。園長可能沒有實際的影響權力，造成領導的困難。 |
| 內部統整原則 | 競爭—合作原則，以幼稚園整體利益考量，鼓勵老師成長，但不培養明星教師。同班搭班老師必須合作，才能生存。老闆會刻意營造全園一體的共存意識與榮譽感，以維持整個園的生存。（階層關係） | 平等原則—大家都一樣。若是園長有其領導魅力，則全園一起成長；若是領導者沒有刻意營造「同舟共濟」的精神，則很容易各自求發展。各自進修研習。 |
| 搭班問題 | 主教副教分工明確<br>由老闆決定搭班人選 | 主教副教不分，兩人都是老師；職責很少明列出來。<br>由老師們一起決定搭班人選 |

## 四、園長的角色與能力

| | 私立幼稚園 | 公立幼稚園 |
|---|---|---|
| 園長角色 | 橋樑（上有老闆、下有老師；成為兩者的橋樑） | 橋樑（T&T，實習老師與老師，老師與校長）；代表幼稚園參與國小事務。<br>定位：行政服務或領導？ |
| 影響力 | 老闆（領導者）影響力大；園長的影響力視老闆的授權而定。 | 園長是否有影響力視個人魅力而定。園長若用輪的，則還需需克服年資倫理的影響。 |
| 權力基礎 | 老闆是所有權力中心，園長的權力主要來自老闆授權的正式權力，考核權是一個重要基礎 | 無考核權，需靠個人領導魅力，建立非正式領導關係，才能有實質的權力 |
| 主要任務 | 園所生存問題，面對家長。保持園內溝通、方向、教師職責、獎賞等制度的建立或實施 | 最主要任務角色：與上級（國小與政府）維持良好關係，為幼稚園的對外窗口。「人際關係」與「協商溝通」的能力變得非常重要。 |
| 具備 | 人際溝通、行銷、領導<br>對上：跟老闆溝通 | 人際溝通、領導、經費規畫、政治 |

| 能力 | 對下：有效傳達老闆理念、園長領導每年都可能有異動的老師群<br>對外：面對家長，察覺市場變動（如：入學幼兒的人數）、適度調整內部組織(混齡或分齡）。掌握家長期待、適時教育家長或是調整服務方向、行銷策略、對外形象塑造。 | 對上：遵循行政倫理做良好的溝通，適應每幾年就變動一次的不同的長官（包括：校長、三長、行政人員、政策改變）；<br>對下（同事）：如何協調很少異動的老師之間的問題？如何透過非正式關係建立領導權力？<br>對內：規畫雜費部份經費<br>對外：跟小學相依存、卻又維持獨立主權。面對校長之外、也要面對其他老師。校長幾年一換，如何爭取資源卻又不得罪其他老師（一輩子的同事）？ |
| --- | --- | --- |

## 五、幼稚園組織文化與本土文化的關係

至於本土文化與幼稚園組織文化的關係，從兩所公私立幼稚園的比較對照中，可以發現兩幼稚園的領導者都有家長式領導的跡象，而且兩所幼稚園的老師們都強調「以身作則」以及「帶人要帶心」，老師們也都提到大家「好像一家人」、「不要太計較」等。不過有趣的是，仔細觀察之下，發現兩者所指的「家人」的實際關係卻略有差異。個案公立幼稚園的「家人」關係延伸至彼此的家人，同事之間彼此都認識另一半，園長對老師們的關心不限於校內的事務，更涉及個人情感與財務問題的諮商角色。老師們的非正式互動頻繁，甚至攜家帶眷一起出國旅遊。園長更常常請老師們一起到他家聚餐，自己親自下廚，儼然把所有老師當成自家姊妹一般。至於私立幼稚園個案的「家人」關係就比較止於學校之中。由於該園長吃素，因此較少跟老師們一起出去聚餐，也因而缺少了跟老師建立非正是關係的機會。而老闆是男性，因此對於老師們的關懷也比較偏向於職業生涯的發展。加上私立幼稚園個案比公立的規模大，而且沒有寒暑假，上班時間不允許個人聊天。因此，相較於公立幼稚園個案，這所私立幼稚園的「家人」關係似乎較不那麼緊密，也較不涉及關懷私人家庭生活。

## 六、計畫成果自評

本研究成果對於學界與教育界將有幾項貢獻：一、可以彌補學校組織文化文獻在幼稚園研究上的不足。二、本研究的個案資料可以作為發展幼稚園組織文化問卷的基礎。三、透過對公私立幼稚園文化異同的深入探討，可以幫助我們進一步瞭解公私立幼稚園組織文化的主要現象，以及這些現象對於幼兒發展與學習、教師專業成長、教育改革等的可能影響。四、本研究結果可以提供教育相關機構以及幼稚園本身規畫未來發展發向與幼稚園專業成長計畫的參考。

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「龍山寺」
主題教學的在地性探究

臺北市萬華區老松國小附設幼稚園
星星班教師—黃伊利、梁亮玉
月亮班教師—蔡玉英、徐慈敏
太陽班教師—林惠文〈園長〉、徐椿奎
國立臺北護理學院助理教授-陳真真

1

## 老松附幼與主題教學的淵源

- 民國九十一年曾實施主題教學
- 放棄主題教學的原因
- 家長教育程度普遍較低，無法提供相關資源
- 多數幼兒來自隔代教養、新移民家庭
- 老師對於課程的統整能力較弱

2

## 老松附幼與主題教學的再度結緣

- 與臺北護理學院師資培育中心幼稚園教育學程的實習合作。
- 九十五年教育部補助公私立幼稚園輔導計畫-建立園所的教學特色。
- 選擇主題教學的目的;在加強幼兒基本能力的單元教學之外，提供幼兒多元的自主學習經驗。

3

## 老松附幼教師們的優勢經驗與能力

- 良好的團隊精神
- 豐富的教學經驗
- 突破教學困境的強烈意願
- 開明的教學引導能力
- 與家長的良好關係

4

## 選擇鄉土教學主題「龍山寺」的原因

- 老松國小為臺北市的鄉土教學重點學校。
- 所有的幼兒對於龍山寺皆有先備經驗。
- 龍山寺為老松國小所在地的地標。
- 龍山寺為萬華地區家長主要的精神象徵。
- 龍山寺具有悠久的歷史與豐富建築特色。

5

## 老松附幼的主題教學時間

- 民國九十五年十月到民國九十六年六月底
- 每週五上午九點到中午十一點三十分

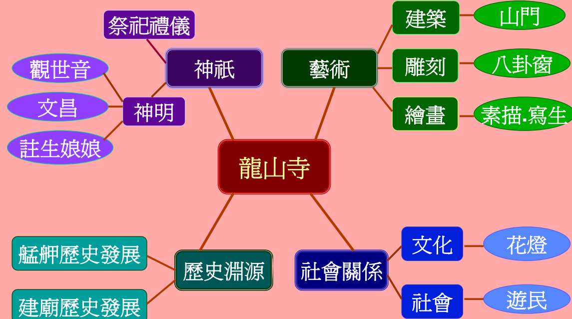
6

# 主題教學活動進行的方式

- 團體討論(回想上一次的活動內容)
  例如：淨心瀑布裡有〈大中小〉瀑布、石頭、樹、魚
- 發展活動(延續上一次的造型活動)
  例如：利用積木作圍牆、滑溜布做成瀑布、收集各種瓶罐做成魚、利用雨傘、竹竿、吸管及美勞材料做成樹、報紙做成石頭。
- 分享活動(分享本次活動的感受、困難點與解決方法、想法的延伸)
- 大家一起分工合作完成作品、小朋友在使用美勞材料時遇到的難題、如何將個人的作品和大家一起展示、如何與他人一起討論，小朋友經由老師的引導、同儕的互動，慢慢有了自己的想法與做法。

7

星星班主題網---「這是咱的好所在-龍山寺」

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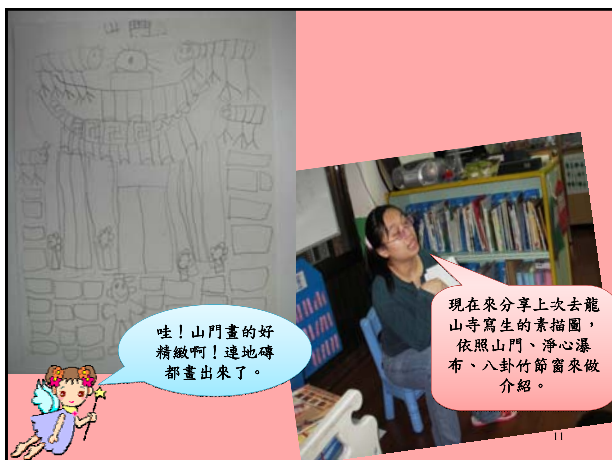
# 星星班



現在來分享上次去龍山寺寫生的素描圖，依照山門、淨心瀑布、八卦竹節窗來做介紹。

11

好漂亮的山門喔！
顏色很豐富而且做
的又很像。

看我做好的山門，
帥吧！哈哈哈哈...
認真、認真
13

厲害吧…我們做
的很像喲！
嗯嗯~
真的很棒！
14

哈哈!看我如何做
出立體的山門。
小朋友將利用
陶土做出立體
的山門。
15

讓我們來看看小
朋友的作品吧!

小朋友參觀龍山寺之後，
給他們一個任務~為黏土
做成的龍山寺添加裝飾。
嗯…還要再
加上什麼呢?
17

小朋友覺得八卦竹節
窗太單調了，於是他
們在上面做了一些裝
飾，請大家注意看囉!
我們終於把消
失的八卦竹節
窗又變出來囉!
18

大家照過來！
我們漂亮的八卦竹
節窗完成囉！

另外一組小朋友正
準備把所有紙箱組
合成山門，加油!!!
小朋友準備將黏
成一串的瓶子固
定在紙箱上。
老師這樣
黏對不對
啊?

小朋友們終於
把原本的山門
恢復原狀。

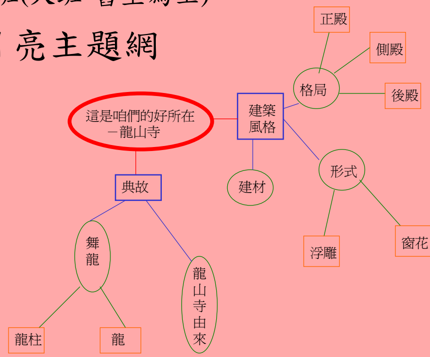
來喲!!大家看
這是我們星星
班做的山門，
厲害吧~

看色彩豐富的
八卦竹節窗出
現在你們的眼
前仔細看囉！
星星班製

酷耶~迷你的山
門與八卦竹節
窗，大家快來欣
賞一番吧!!

老松附幼各班的主題教學歷程-
月亮班(大班-舊生為主)

月亮主題網




25

月亮班

26

30

## YA～終於完成龍柱囉！！

色彩繽紛的龍柱
出自於孩子們的巧手和巧思

31

## 我們現在要做大龍柱唷！

32

33

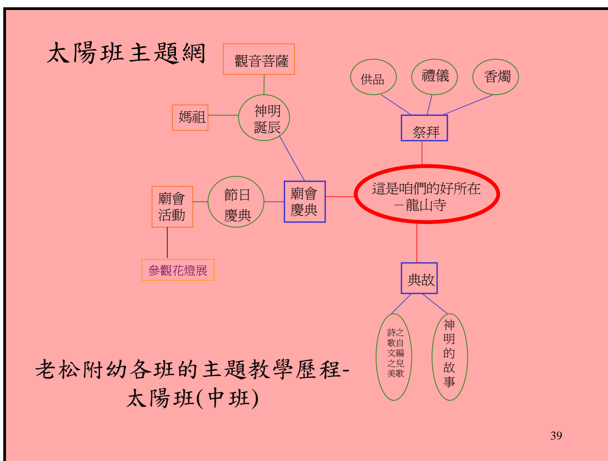
34

35

36

我們的龍柱快要完成了吻!!
37

三組作品大功告成囉!!
38

太陽班主題網
觀音菩薩
媽祖
神明誕辰
供品
禮儀
香燭
祭拜
廟會活動
節日慶典
廟會慶典
這是咱們的好所在－龍山寺
參觀花燈展
典故
詩之歌自文編之兒美歌
神明的故事
老松附幼各班的主題教學歷程-太陽班(中班)
39

太陽班
龍山寺裡還有些什麼東西呢？大家來找看看
我最愛的龍柱咧？
40

大家來看我畫的觀音
龍山寺裡的觀音跟媽祖的故事

大家來討論龍山寺還有哪些東西
老師我有看到瀑布

我們用寶特瓶、
鋁箔包做魚喔
我用報紙做淨心
瀑布石頭喔～
43

還記得之前參觀的供品嗎？
這些是我們
做的創意供
品喔～
44

你要做什麼
供品阿？
嘿嘿～我的
紙黏土蘿蔔
完成囉！

太陽班紅龜粿
1.捏碎粿
2.加糖揉成團
3.加紅色素
4.蒸一蒸
5.使用模板，
加上餡料…
紅龜粿完成了!
46

來~
仔細看了喔!
要這樣.用..

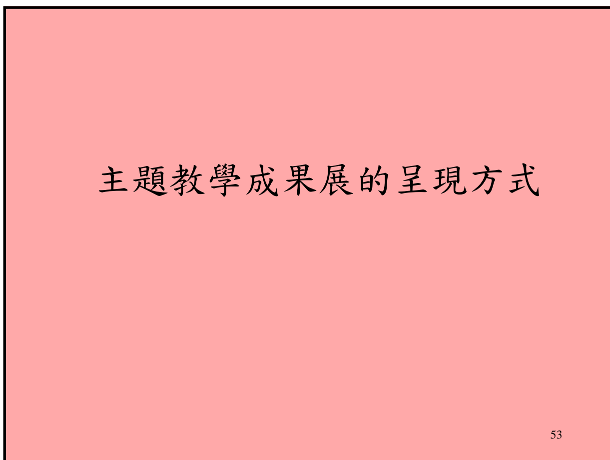
太陽班插花
我們年紀小~
但也會插花喔!
48

我們除了插花~還會做紙花喔
這是我們做的紙花^^
49

樹、籤、燭台
報紙樹、鐵絲樹、吸管樹
我們的供桌及燭臺
自製籤文與籤筒
50

籤筒和樹都是我們自己做的
我們的燭臺好美呀
哇哇哇~有樹的樣子囉
我們的愛心瀑布
51

供桌、燭台、籤
完整呈現


主題教學成果展的呈現方式
53

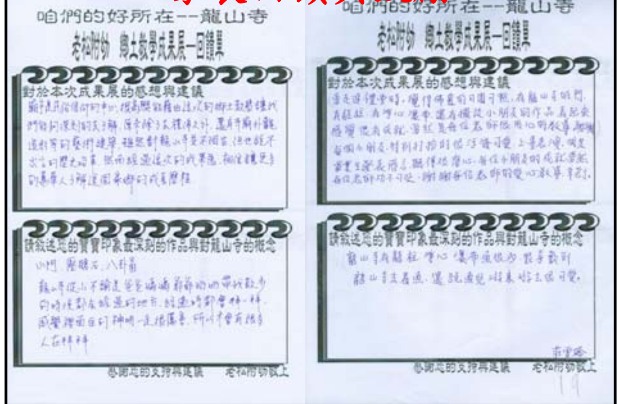
現場環境佈置
54

## 幼兒學習歷程海報

## 幼兒學習檔案

## 動態活動

## 家長回饋與鼓勵




## 主題教學對於教師專業能力的影響

- 釐清主題教學的理念。
- 增進蒐集資料能力。
- 能適時引導幼生潛能。
- 增強主題統整的經驗。
- 保有接納與開放的心胸。
- 發揮教學相長的效能。
- 讓親師、師生、同事情誼更加昇華。

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## 主題教學對於幼兒學習能力的影響

- 認識『龍山寺』神明的故事。
- 認識『龍山寺』的建築風格。
- 知道『龍山寺』的歷史典故。
- 知道祭拜的方法與流程。
- 從平面創作到大型立體作品的建構。
- 發展具體空間概念。
- 成為『小小導覽員』。
- 具有創造思考、發揮創意的能力。
- 具有解決問題的能力。
- 增進領導能力。
- 養成互助的精神。
- 增進觀察的能力。
- 學會彼此尊重。
- 增加自信心與專注力。
- 增進表達能力。
- 增加審美能力。

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## 主題教學對家長觀念的影響

- 每一樣有關龍山寺的特色，像是山門、龍柱、淨心瀑布，都是利用資源回收的物品來完成的，真的很令人讚嘆。
- 此次成果展無論是動態表演或是靜態作品的展示均能把握”龍山寺”的核心概念，呈現多樣立體化的作品，在表演上也將自編歌曲加以表現”紅龜粿”的串場十分可愛有趣，讓孩子的表演得以發揮，並且順暢活潑，十分成功。
- 讓城市的小孩能夠了解台灣的民俗活動與參予。
- 希望能延續鄉土教學。

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## 老松附幼針對主題教學的未來展望

- 將艋舺文化轉變為本園課程之特色
- 將主題教學精神延伸至自然領域
- 出版專刊推廣鄉土文化
- 整理成為行動研究

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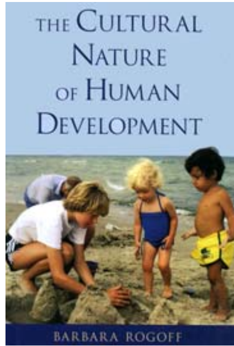


## The Cultural Nature of Human Development
## 人類發展的文化本質

Author: Babara Rogoff

Publisher: Oxford University Press, USA (February 13, 2003)

翻譯者：幸曼玲、李昭明、陳欣希

（中譯本將由心理出版社出版）

## 第一章　理解人類發展文化本質的定位概念 (orienting concepts) 和方式

人類發展是一個文化的歷程。作爲一個物種，人類的本質被定義成我們的文化參與度。我們不但利用已具備的文化和生物性遺產，像是語言或其他文化工具；我們更使用已具備的文化遺產來相互學習。使用像是語言和文學這樣的工具，使我們能夠共同記住一些我們個體不曾經驗過的事件---使得我們能跨越不同的世代，以感同身受的方式進入他人的經驗。

做爲人類，就隱含了人類自古以來對生活的束縛，也蘊含了創造生活的其他可能性。同時，每個世代都會繼續修正和調適他們的文化和生物性的遺產，以面對當時的環境。

在這本書中，我的目的是藉由檢驗社群間生活實踐與傳統的相同點和相異點，以理解人類發展的文化型態。爲了與文化歷程做對照，我把注意力放在描繪社群生活取向中例行事物的行事結構。我把焦點放在人類參與他們社群文化實踐和傳統的過程中，而不是平衡個人在國族或種族的文化差異。

爲了理解人類發展的文化層面，這本書的主要立場是：***人類在發展過程中如同是文化社群中的參與者。他們的成長或改變只能以他們所在社群的文化實踐和社群的狀態來理解。***

## 第二章　「發展」是參與於文化活動中的轉化

數十年前，那些對「文化歷程如何有助於人類思考」感興趣的心理學家們，對於他們所觀察到的現象感到困惑。此困惑所產生的原因是──這些心理學家試著以當時盛行的「人類發展與文化」的概念來理解人們的日常生活。由於這個困惑，當中許多的研究者便開始尋找一些更有用的方式來思考「文化」與「個體功能」之間的關係。

本章節，我會討論為什麼那時所盛行「**個體和文化歷程之間的關係**」的想法會造成這些研究者的困惑。其中一個關鍵性議題是在於對「個體」(individual)的基本假設。那時，研究者常假設個體是與世界分離的，而且，假設個體所擁有的基本和普遍特徵也許會其次地受到文化的「影響」(influenced)。由此伴隨而來的另一個問題是──「文化」(culture)常被認為是一靜態的特徵混和物。檢視這些假設之後，我會進一步討論文化－歷史理論。此理論有助於解決研究者的困惑，但是，在此所談的文化歷史理論只著重於我自己的觀點。**我的觀點是，人類發展是一個歷程，在此歷程中，人們持續參與文化活動而逐步轉化，而這些文化活動反過有助於跨世代間文化社群的改變。**

## 第三章　個體，世代和動態的文化社群

*我們每個人以一種獨特在地性的表現形式，活出屬於我們種族的本性…我們的文化和歷史是這個本性當中不可或缺的重要部分。*

*—Shore, 1988, p. 19*

學者和戶口普查者一樣，都努力想瞭解個體和文化社群間的關係。這個章節的焦點在於，如果我們認為，發展是在動態文化社群中的持續改變參與狀態的過程，那我們如何具象化各種文化的歷程和社群。

當本章嘗試描繪出人們文化遺產的面貌時，有兩個主要的挑戰。第一個挑戰是需要超越長久以來的二分法的概念：文化性特徵相對於生物性特徵，以及相似性相對於相異性。第二個挑戰則是如何思考文化歷程的動態特質，這個動態歷程維繫了人類社會的連續性；而非將文化視為伴隨個體而來的靜態的社會位置而已。

### 動態文化社群中的參與

當界定人類在社群中的連結時，有一個普遍的想法是使用單一的類別來進行分類，通常是以人種或種族分類個體。這樣的想法造成了「黑箱裡的問題(box problem)」：箱子中的哪些問卷可以界定你的種族？被區分到同一個箱子裡的個體被假設為，以一些決定性的條件作為判斷跟其他箱子中的個體相似或相異之處。(以種族或國籍作為分類標準的相關議題討論可見 Ferdman, 2000; Gjerde &Onishi, 2000; Hoffman, 1997; Nagel, 1994; Phinney, 1996; Rogoff & Angelillo, 2002;Verdery, 1994;Waldron, 1996; and Wolf, 1994, 1997.)

為了瞭解發展，找出在不同社群，**以什麼樣的路徑**造就出相似或不同的發展歷程是必要的。我們要拋棄無意義的二選一的方式，去思考各社群間的人類發展是相似的**或**相異的，以及影響人類的究竟是文化性**或**生物性的問題。這樣二選一的問題跟去問人類比較喜歡用左腳或右腳走路一樣沒有意義。我認為生物層面是和文化層面是共同運作的。

Vygotsky 提供一個有用的思考架構，來看待個體、文化和人類發展的統整、動態本質。他提出有四個相互關連，且包含在不同的時間架構下個體和環境的發展階段研究：

微發生（microgenetic）、個體發生（ontogenetic）、種體發生（phylogenetic）和文化-歷史發展（cultural-historical development）（Scribner, 1985; Wersch, 1985; Zinchenlo, 1985）。傳統的發展心理學家處理**個體發生的發展**，它是指個體生命的時間架構裡所出現的變化情形，例如在兒童期的階段會有什麼發展狀態。這只是一個不同於其他三個發展層次的時間架構。**種體發生**的發展是一種緩慢改變人類歷史的過程，它是指給予個體留下一些遺產，使其遺傳因子的形式在百年或千年當中漸漸轉化。**文化-歷史發展則**橫跨在幾十年和幾百年進行變化，留給個體一些符號和工具技能形式（例如文學、計數系統和電腦），以及價值系統、日常生活形態和概念的遺產。**微發生**是個體在獨特情境中當下時間片段（moment to moment）中的學習，是建立在個體基因遺傳和文化-歷史背景之下的。

這些層次的發展是無法分割的：個體的成就是建立文化實踐，而這些實踐也促進個體的發展。相同地，人類生物性發展與文化制度和實踐共同運作，構成了人類，展現了人性。個人生命進程（course）的發展在文化歷史的進程，以及和種體發生的歷史進程間產生。

## 第四章　家庭中和社群中的教養

就如 Beatrice Whiting（1980）所提出來的主張一般，兒童生命中的各種角色和發生的故事是人類發展關注的主要面向。未成熟的人類嬰兒需要他人大量的照顧來維持他們的生存，而且，兒童需要別人提供機會來學習社群中所需的成熟運作方式，使得自己能夠持續存活下來。

在兒童發展過程中，家庭和社群所扮演的角色在世界各地大不相同。下面所談的議題在世界各地都有文化差異。例如：嬰兒死亡或存活的可能性、兄弟姐妹和延伸家庭的可得性、兒童廣泛參與社群活動的機會、文化的原型是以團體的形式參與社群而非以成對方式參與社群…等。這些議題在不同的文化都展現不同的樣貌。

## 第五章　社群中個體角色的發展轉變歷程

發展心理學的核心問題，是確定人類從一個發展時期，到另一個時期轉變過程中的本質和時間表；就像是從嬰兒期到兒童期，再到成人期。許多社群的人種誌記錄中，研究者藉由自己的研究結果，用文件記錄了自己所定義的發展階段或時期。舉例來說，在 Navajo（北美印地安人）的發展模式中，嬰兒的第一個微笑被視爲重要的轉變，就如同一位 Navajo 母親所提到的：

> 在兩三個月大的時候，他們會舉辦一個**第一個微笑**（First Laugh）的儀式….不管是誰都會逗這個嬰兒笑，然後爲這個嬰兒舉辦一個盛宴。[這個人]在他家，爲

嬰兒辦這個宴會。這個儀式代表這個嬰兒未來能表現寬容、幸福和快樂，讓他以後能夠具備良好的溝通能力。嬰兒的第一個微笑就是表示他成爲一個真正的人了。（Chisholm, 196, p. 173）

一般而言，發展的轉變歷程被研究者認爲是屬於個體的，例如 Piaget 的認知發展階段。然而，兒童期的轉換歷程同時也改變了他們在社群結構中的角色。通常，發展時期是依據個體發展出的關係和社群中的角色所決定的。例如，在 Navajo 模式中，成熟的發展狀態是一個獲得知識的歷程，使得個體能爲自己和他人負責。當被問及發展目標時，一位 Navajo 人回答說：

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成爲族人的領導者是發展的最高層次，也是發展的目標。總結來說就是責任感——能關心萬物。首先你只能學習如何照顧自己。接著是照顧一些事物、一些動物，接著是自己的家庭。然後你能夠幫助你的族人和整個世界。所謂話說的很好的意思，就是當你準備好幫助族人、在一大群人面前把你想表達的內容說的很清楚，那就表示你已經開始可以幫助別人了。（Chisholm, 1996, p. 171）

## 第六章　相互依賴與獨立自主

西方的「自主」概念是強調個人有追求自己目標的自由，而不被社會責任所束縛…。

馬克薩斯人認爲成熟的大人並不是指那些放棄個人目標…而順從團體的人，所謂成熟的大人是指那些能把他們自己的目標與其團體目標合而爲一的人。

──Maritini, 1994b, pp. 73, 101

許多作者認爲「強調個人主義和獨立自主」是歐裔美人文化實踐的特徵（Harrison et al., 1990；Harwood et al., 1995；Kagitcibasi, 1996；Strauss, 2000）。除此，中產階級的歐裔美籍父母已經把「獨立自主」當成是培養嬰兒最重要的長期目標（Richman, Miller, & Solomon, 1988）。

當父母們被問到「養育小小孩時，什麼是最重要的？」，大專程度的歐裔美籍母親著重在獨立自主的概念，此概念包含了個體、自我表達、以及擁有在行動和思想方面獨立於他人的自由。相反地，移民到美國的中國母親則著重於一種完全不同性質的獨立自主概念──逐步有自信，學習生活技巧，以及成爲一個對家庭和社會有貢獻的人（Chao, 1995）。

美國的青少年常有一個目標，就是擺脫對父母的依賴，開始獨立的生活，嘗試「依靠自己雙腳站立」（stand on one's own tow feet），並且能靠自己的努力而成功。然而，當成熟被視爲「從原生家庭走向獨立自主」或被視爲「重新建立與原生家庭的聯繫並轉換對原生家庭的責任」，實際上存在著許多文化差異。例如，日本就非常注意個人與家庭繼續存在的聯繫關係和相互關係。

在夏威夷，中產階級的日裔美籍父母描述養育孩子是一個長期歷程，是一個使孩子

準備好終生與家庭結合的長期歷程。

相反地，中產階級的白人父母則是把養育當成是延展一個與小小孩參與的歷程，然後將孩子與外在的訓練機構做一連結。當孩子引導他們自己「離開巢穴」（leave the nest）時，父母則要監控孩子的發展（Martini, 1994a）。

在日常生活的文化研究中，「社會關係」的議題引起研究者注意到人們考慮私人利益和集體利益運作的方式。在某些模式裡，個人和社群的利益被假定爲相對的，如此一來如果其中一個（如：個人利益）較爲顯著，另外一個（如：社群利益）就會被削弱。然而，在其他模式裡，個人利益和社群利益是可以共同運作的。無論是哪一種例子，在談到此主題時都要有個人歷程、人際歷程，和文化－制度歷程的考量。

一些最戲劇性的獨立自主和互相依賴的議題與跨世代的社會關係有關，所謂跨世代的社會關係即是指成人和孩子之間的社會關係。透過這些關係的參與，以及在那些同儕關係中的參與，下一個世代學習到「個體和社群如何連結一起」的社群模式。在這過程中，每一世代也許會質疑並修正其祖先前輩的實踐方式，尤其是當不同社群的明顯實踐在其生命中並列時，則更會發生質疑或修正的現象。

若沒有其他方式與之並列，那麼文化傳統就仍是內隱的，就像那些在他們自己社群中、從未質疑過所謂「普通常識」（common sense）的人們。即使這些文化傳統是內隱的，或特別當文化傳統是內隱時，文化傳統和價值不但存在於個人和社群的非正式互動之中，也存在於正式的活動中。

### 獨立自主與有自主性的互相依賴

在許多文化團體中的教養實踐與在歐裔美籍中產階級所強調的獨立個體是成對比的。在許多社群中，兒童要社會化成爲互相依賴的個體──與團體做一協調──而不是成爲獨立的，個人主義的個體。

有些社群中的兒童被鼓勵要多方向地與團體中的其他人互動（見第四章）。在有他人存在的環境裡，嬰兒很少會單獨坐著，也很少會和物品一起玩或從事於一對一、臉對臉的互動。反而，他們會花大部份的時間在團體與進行中的事件互動（Paradise, 1994）。如果不是和照顧者面對面，嬰兒也許和照顧者一樣面對同樣方向（「向外」”outward”），並且，從照顧者的活動中以及和他人互動的過程中學習到東西（見圖 6.3）。

在某些社群中，嬰兒也許是被抱著，或是依偎在大人手臂中睡覺，或是揹在背上或臀部上，這種社會參與涉及親密的身體接觸。在 Kipsigis（一種肯亞的語言），「照顧嬰兒」這個語詞的字面意義是「抱著嬰兒」（holding the baby）（Harkness & Super, 1992b；see also LeVine et al., 1994）。熟練的勞動階級、非裔美籍照顧者知道如何抱嬰兒就像是「他是你的一部份」（he's a part of you）（Heath, 1983, P. 75）。相對地，中產階級的美國嬰兒被抱的時間是肯亞 Gusii 嬰兒被抱的時間的一半（Richman, Miller, & Solomon, 1988）。

然而，在某些強調互相依賴的社群中，親密的身體接觸並不見得是參與團體的一部份。例如，馬克薩斯（玻里尼西亞人）的成人不是護理嬰兒就是把嬰兒放下來，而不是以一又抱又照顧的方式來帶孩子（Martini & Kirkpatrick, 1992）。

是否有親密的身體接觸，是否強調互相依賴都是以團體爲導向。然而，與團體接合

同時也可以重視個人的自主。個人的自主是建立在自願、個人選擇之上，就像在馬克薩斯人中一樣：

馬克薩斯人重視團體參與但拒絕個人要服從於權威的觀念。理想的情境是人們有相似或互補的目標而且願意在相互有益的活動中，沒有任何人主導任何人的狀況合作。幼小的兒童學習到自主的重要，然後學習到當自己仍然是團體成員時，何時並如何運用它。（Martini & Kirkpatrick, 1992, P. 218）

## 第七章　與文化工具和文化典章制度一起思考

雖然思考常常被認為是私下、獨立的活動，但是文化研究已經指引了許多方向，說明思考不只是隱藏在個體的發展歷程當中，思考同樣包含在人際互動和社群的發展歷程之中。現在的認知發展研究，不僅僅想瞭解兒童期之中的兒童理解情形，它還包含對於「當人們投入社會文化活動時，他們如何透過與他人共同的努力，理解他們所處的世界」的關注。

這個領域之所以改變對於個體、人際互動和社群等在認知發展的觀點，實立基在文化和認知領域數十年的研究成果之上（Rogoff & Chavajay, 1995）。早期的研究工作關注認知測驗任務（task）結果上的比較，而那些測驗任務普遍是歐美研究學者是用來檢驗「普遍性的（general）」認知歷程——Piaget 學派所指的推論、分類、邏輯和記憶的測驗。在 1970 年代（含以前）的跨文化心理學一般是用來檢驗那些歐美學者發展的認知任務，運用在其他文化情境的情形。

其結果顯示，受試者在這些無關情境的測驗任務表現的結果並不是普遍性的。那些當時假設可以概括一切的測驗任務受到質疑－而其結果可以建立普遍性的原則的說法也受到了挑戰。因為在這些研究情境下，那些在認知任務表現很差的人，其在日常生活中展現出令人驚訝的思考。這得歸功於一個理論上的轉變（已在第二章討論過），而解決了「在測驗情境似乎不能解決邏輯問題的人們，卻在其他情境裡展現出高層次的邏輯」的困境。

除此之外，這些研究逐漸指向人們接受教育後，他們在學校的經驗反映在許多的測驗上。比起測量出與經驗無關的普遍性能力，認知測驗（特別是邏輯、分類和記憶等領域）與這樣文化制度更有相當密切且窄化的關係。直到跨文化研究出現之前，認知測驗表現裡學校教育所扮演的角色並沒有被彰顯。畢竟，歐美在認知能力測驗的所有研究「樣本」都至少接受了若干年的學校教育，而研究者本身也是花了一輩子的時間在這樣的制度中過活。一切很容易被視為理所當然。

學者尋找著理論上的證據，希望幫助他們瞭解人類的思考如何緊密的與個體的文化經驗相結合，以便把「認知能力是一個普遍的歷程」這樣的觀念，取代為「認知能力會被文化所『影響』」。許多新的觀念都受到 Vygotsky 的文化歷史理論所啓發，這個理論界定個體的認知技巧，是源自於人類在社會文化中的參與。根據這個理論，認知發展的出現，是由於人類為了學習而使用思考性的文化工具（如文學和數學），過程中不但得到

已有使用這些工具經驗的他人，也得到其所在的文化制度的協助。

社會文化取向也提供了一個人類發展的整體觀點。認知、社會、感官、動機、生理、情緒和其他能力的發展歷程，都被視爲是社會文化活動中的一個層面，而不是傳統心理學所認爲的清楚分割、各自獨立的能力或「機能（faculties）」。不以人爲的方式切割各個領域的統整觀點，使得理解「思考歷程如何涵蓋社會關係和社會經驗」的問題變的容易許多。

這個觀點已經把我們對於認知能力的理解，從原本只把焦點放在個體個別的思考歷程，轉變成把焦點放在「當個體投入文化社群共同努力的活動時，個體的的主動歷程」。以這樣的觀點來看，認知發展並不是知識或技巧上的獲得；而更屬於是一種動態的形式。認知發展的組成，是由個體在與其他人所建立的文化實踐和社群習俗思考的共享活動之中，不斷改變他們理解、感受、關注、思考、記憶、分類、反思、問題設計、問題解決、計畫等活動方式的總和。認知發展是人類在社會文化活動中參與的轉換。

## 第八章　在文化投注中透過引導式參與學習

當文化領域和認知領域的學者首次開始接觸認知發展領域中協同合作的本質時，他們藉由 Vygotsky 近側發展區（zone of proximal development）的互動概念而獲得啓發。這個互動指的是，兒童透過與更有經驗的成人和同儕的互動而學習，這些人能超越「區間（zone）」協助兒童進行思考，讓兒童能超越自己。在近側發展區的互動行爲當中，兒童學習使用社群內需要用到智力的工具（intellectual tools），包括讀寫、數字系統、語言，以及記憶或做計畫時會運用到的工具。

雖然 Vygotsky 的想法是很重要的，但是它似乎特別把焦點放在學校內的互動，以及在學校的對話和學校工具的使用上。（這其實不令人意外，因爲 Vygotsky 在他的國家之中，就對學校技能的推動特別感興趣。）把焦點放在教學互動上，則會有忽略互動的其他形式的傾向，而其他的互動形式對於兒童的學習來說也是重要的。

在每日的互動活動中，父母常常不把焦點放在教導兒童，甚至強調學校教育的社群也是如此。日常對話不被刻意用來做爲教導之用，日常對話也不被用來當作提供兒童經驗的重要入口，使他們能獲得社群內生活技能的相關訊息和參與機會。舉例來說，一個四歲大的英國小女孩正在協助她的母親準備購物清單。這件事給她機會學習把清單當作是做計畫的工具，或是學習計算和推估以確認她們要買的東西不會超出預算，或是學習閱讀清單上的物品名稱（Tizard & Hughes, 1984）。

除了在這種情境裡，父母不但不會刻意對子女進行教學，父母有時候可能會試著避免和子女互動。例如他們在趕時間或不想被打擾時，他們可能會單獨做自己的工作，避免跟子女分享工作的內容（Rheingold, 1982）。假如他們不認爲兒童以後需要瞭解如何完成這個工作的話，他們也比較不要子女投入這個工作。舉例來說，如果母親已經跟自己四歲大的子女談過，之後要讓他們自己去完成某項任務時，美國母親和子女在計畫逛一間模型雜貨店的路線時，她們會讓子女分擔比較多的責任（Gauvain, 1995）。

無論父母是否有把焦點放在幫助子女的學習上，兒童都可能會主動觀察和參與身邊持續進行的活動（Rogoff, 1990; Rogoff et al., 2003）。兒童也常常主動和成人或其他兒童交談，幫助他們學習。

## 第九章　社群中的文化變遷和其相互關係

爲了理解人類的發展，探究人們參與的文化制度和實踐是相當必要的。這樣的工作，比起大多數人們透過個人經驗的探究方式，更需要一段對於文化變遷的長遠觀點，因爲我們全都會受限在我們有限的生命當中，只去觀察眼前的文化實踐狀態而已。想像一下我們祖父母當時的生活和文化社群樣態已經很困難了，更別說要瞭解他們過去歷經過的各個世代和世界上發生的各種變化情形。

此類的歷史文化變遷是與當時不同世代人們生活和思考的方式都有關係。文化變遷這個議題在今日的世界受到相當的矚目；或許它早就受到重視了（Weisner, Bradley, & Kilbride, 1997; Wolf, 1997）。以下的評論說明了這樣的觀點：

> 這個世界對我們而言相當的廣大。太多事情正在進行著、太多的罪惡、太多狂熱的和令人興奮的事情。不管你做了什麼樣的嘗試，它都會讓你在整個世界的競賽中落後他人越來越多。這是一種持續的壓力，讓你在這個跑道上前進…但漸漸地退卻下來。你很快地將各種科學發明消耗殆盡，使你在擁有這些新發明的情境中，帶著無助的慌亂心情搖搖晃晃的前進著。政治世界被視爲快速變化的新聞事件一樣，讓你處於不斷有人加入或退出的競賽裡，爲了保持自己前進的節奏而喘不過氣。每一件事都呈現高度的緊張壓力。人類的天性無法忍受這樣多的壓力。（摘自 Disney, 1998, p. 5）

上述的評論出自於 1833 年的 The Atlantic Journal。

變遷的步伐是否較過去更快呢？世界上的許多不同狀態，在近期的變遷速度確實有某種程度的提升，而這些變遷彼此都是相互關連的。電話、電視、電子郵件、傳真和網際網路的出現，都對世界各地小村落和大城市之間的快速溝通和聯絡有所助益。

電視的普及是特別快速的。從 1950 年，只有 9%的美國家庭有電視；五年後，增加到 65%；而到 1965 年，又增加到 93%（Bushman & Anderson, 2001, citing figures from Nielsen Media Research；見圖 9.1）。

電視普及到世界其他其他地區，代表著世界各地發生的事件可以在世界各地看到，在紐約或好萊塢製作的節目也可以在各地觀賞到。在 1974 年，我第一次到達 San Pedro 的馬雅人城鎮，電力系統被構築起來了，而且出現了第一台電視機。我很訝異能在電視上看到環球小姐的選舉節目，而這個科技帶來的所有優點也傳播到各個馬雅家庭——原本這些家庭包含許多不同標準。25 年之後，大部分 San Pedro 的家庭都有電視，並且通

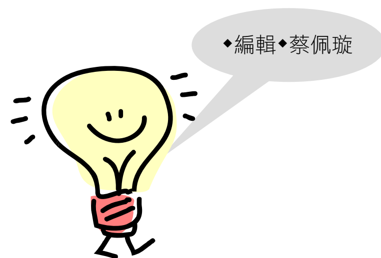
常還能收看到邁阿密的有線電視頻道。

「在電視上顯現出來的世界，爲觀眾提供了模特兒彼此的競爭」這個概念很清楚的被建立起來。舉例來說，在美國的研究中，「媒體暴力造成閱聽人的暴力行爲」是相當明顯的（Bushman & Anderson, 2001; Huston & Wright, 1998）。不管是寫實或科幻的節目，從一個國家到其他地區的節目播送所造成世界各地文化和發展的影響，都一定是相當巨大的。

除了這些源自於電子溝通型態所產生的變遷之外，現在居住在許多國家的人群總數，比起這些人們自己或其父母出生當時，其數量是前所未有的多。全球移居正以一種驚人的比例進行著，甚至已經持續了好多年。舉例來說，美國的人口總數主要就是由移民者所組成的。在 20 世紀的前十年，超過六百萬的移民抵達美國，他們大多來自於南歐、中歐和東歐（Hall, 1990）。近年來（1991 到 1998），超過七百萬的移民加入了這個國家，最大的移民來源是來自過去的蘇俄、中國、印度、菲律賓、墨七哥、加勒比海和中美洲（U.S. Census Bureau, 2000）。

當代的各種變化造成快速的文化變遷歷程出現在研究者面前。這些變化也使的許多社群中文化變遷和互動狀態，成爲大多數兒童發展的重要影響因素。

在這個總結的章節裡，我把焦點放在個體之間和不同文化系統社群之間的文化變遷和互動狀態歷程。首先，我簡要地審視一些普遍在個體和群體中受到關注的議題，而在這些議題之下，會如何處理跨文化系統的關係。然後我會回到文化變遷的概念，將這個概念做爲人類存在世界千百年來的理由（reality）。我下個焦點是西方的學校教育，因爲這個制度是近期文化變遷最被普遍運用的工具之一，而且它帶來的經驗是人類發展議題當中最核心的內容。隨後，我會提出在改變中的文化社群之中，還堅持的一些傳統活動方式。我認爲，與其試著以一種文化取向取代另一種取向，不如說，社群本身能透過不同的文化取向，建構出一些概念，能支持人類能在一種以上的生活方式裡順利的適應。在結論部分，我會回頭說明我在本書開頭談到的定位概念，以及一些有助於我們理解社群間相異處和相同處的重要架構。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