This document presents three papers on multicultural education in early childhood, followed by a selected ERIC bibliography on the same subject. The first paper, "Multicultural Approaches in Education: A German Experience," by Carmen Treppte, describes the development of Turkish Children and Mothers, a project designed to help preschoolers in the Ruhr Valley of Germany develop linguistic, motor, cognitive, and social abilities. The paper also describes various aspects of the project, including those that relate to maternal involvement, educational facilities, the needs of project participants, and cultural factors that should be considered when serving the ethnic Turkish minority that is adapting to German culture. In the second paper, "Culture, Schooling, and Education in a Democracy," Victoria R. Fu defines multiculturalism, draws distinctions between education and schooling, proposes a conceptual framework for implementing multicultural education, and examines Bronfenbrenner's and Vygotsky's concepts of development. The third paper, "Responsive Teaching: A Culturally Appropriate Approach," by Andrew J. Stremmel, explains responsive teaching, which involves the construction and negotiation of shared meaning or perspectives during interactions, and suggests ways to help early childhood teachers become more responsive in their interactions with children of various backgrounds. A reference list is provided with each paper. The bibliography that follows the papers contains 34 documents and 36 journal articles on multiculturalism in early childhood programs selected from a search of the ERIC database. Each item in the bibliography contains bibliographic information and an abstract of the document or article.
Multiculturalism in Early Childhood Programs

by Victoria R. Fu
Andrew J. StreimmeL
Carmen Treppte
Perspectives from ERIC/EECE: A Monograph Series

Multiculturalism in Early Childhood Programs*

Carmen Treppte
Victoria R. Fu
Andrew J. Stremmel

*Based on papers presented at the European Forum for Child Welfare (EFCW) (Hamburg, Germany, April, 1992) and the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) Conference (Denver, Colorado, November 1991).
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Perspectives From EECE: A Monograph Series

In the course of carrying out its mission, the ERIC Clearinghouse on Elementary and Early Childhood Education (ERIC/EECE) annually abstracts and indexes thousands of documents and journal articles, responds to thousands of questions, and exchanges views with countless educators around the country at conferences and meetings. This monograph is the third in a series of analyses, summaries, and position papers addressed to topics frequently raised by ERIC/EECE users.

Publications in this series will address current issues in all areas of the clearinghouse scope of interest: early, elementary, and middle level education; child development; child care; the child in the family; the family in society; and issues related to the dissemination of education information. Perspectives from ERIC/EECE: A Monograph Series publications will suggest the consideration of new ways of looking at current issues.

Suggestions of topics and authors for this series are always welcome. Please contact the clearinghouse with suggestions or comments:

ERIC/EECE
University of Illinois
805 W. Pennsylvania
Urbana, IL 61801
Telephone: 217-333-1386
Fax: 217-333-3767
Email: ericeece@ux1.cso.uiuc.edu
Preface

We are very pleased to present this collection of papers as part of our monograph series. The issues taken up by Carmen Treppte and Professors Fu and Stremmel are among the most challenging facing the entire field of education, and permission to include their papers in this collection is gratefully acknowledged.

The Fu and Stremmel papers included here were originally presented at the 1991 National Association for Education of Young Children (NAEYC) meeting. The paper by Carmen Treppte is based on a presentation at the European Forum for Child Welfare (EFCW) in Hamburg, Germany, in April, 1992. Each paper provides a different perspective on the challenges of multiculturalism and cultural diversity in early childhood programs, and in education in general.

We are especially grateful to the author and the Bernard van Leer Foundation for their permission to include the Treppte paper describing the German experience with the same kinds of issues we all face daily in this country. The Treppte paper provides the insights of a reflective practitioner on the day-to-day challenge of providing services to children and families of diverse cultural backgrounds. Victoria Fu comments, "We are most likely to notice the role of culture when we compare to each other the practices of groups other than our own, with a focus on the practices of minority groups." Readers of Treppte's paper will quickly recognize their own feelings and anxieties as she describes the difficult but rewarding task of bridging widely divergent cultures. In keeping with our philosophy of using an extended discussion of a "case" to interest readers in important concepts, the Treppte paper is presented first.

Victoria Fu provides a theoretical perspective on multicultural education that is based in the sociocultural theorizing of Bronfenbrenner, Vygotsky, and contemporary feminism. Relationships among schooling, education, and culture are explored in this paper, with the aim of enabling teachers, parents, policymakers, and others to critically examine their assumptions about diverse cultures, and to provide an integrative framework to organize multicultural pedagogy. It may be helpful to remember that the concepts of democracy and multiculturalism are of themselves cultural products. There is no way to discuss these issues outside of cultural premises.
Andrew Stremmel provides the third perspective in this collection: that of the teacher educator. How can we know which teaching practices are appropriate for whom, and under what circumstances? asks Stremmel. He argues that the powerful concepts of responsive teaching, zone of proximal development, and intersubjectivity have implications for teacher education if we are truly to meet the educational needs of an increasingly diverse population of young children.

Together, these papers have a great deal to offer us, as we confront the biases and habits we learned as we grew up, and as we try to interpret our own successes and failures.

We look forward to hearing from you about your experiences in this realm.

--Lilian G. Katz
May 1993
Editor’s Note: Since 1985 the Bernard van Leer Foundation, together with the Freudenberg-Stiftung, has supported a project in Gelsenkirchen, Germany, to focus on the needs of immigrant Turkish families, whose men originally came to the country to work in the local coal mines and steel industry. Today, these mines are nearly all closed, and the steel industry is in decline. While the project began by addressing the needs of young children without preschool facilities, it has developed over time a wide program of activities that involves parents in their preschooler’s education, provides skills training and parent education, and engages in advocacy for minority communities. The project has emphasized the need to sensitize and change the delivery of services, to make professionals more aware of the needs and perceptions of members of minority groups, and to draw attention to their special needs.

Introduction

"If we hate, we lose. If we love, we become rich," Philomena Franz, a German Sintiza—a female member of the Sinti people, often wrongly referred to as gypsies—writes in her autobiography (Franz, 1992). It is a simple but powerful message, and it summarizes in a few clear words the content of this paper.

This text is about learning in a multicultural context. It is not an outcome of academic research, nor has it been composed in the tradition
of armchair anthropology. It describes the development of a project which began as an initiative in the field of preschool education to improve opportunities for Turkish migrant children, without expecting them to accomplish a one-sided process of assimilation. Hence the work of the project and its cooperating partners involved and affected a much wider range of people than the original target group, which accounts for the fact that in this paper relatively little will be said about Turkish children.

It seems rather presumptuous that these days a project in Germany should dare to talk about multiculturalism. In fact, its outcomes are by no means spectacular enough to make good headline material. And yet the effect it has had goes beyond the improvement of opportunities for Turkish migrant children in the narrow sense of the word. As a German father involved in the project once put it when talking to a journalist: "What we try to do here is to live together in peace. No more and no less."

Concepts of Multiculturalism

When in 1744 white settlers in Virginia renewed their offer to receive a group of Native American children and educate them, the spokesman of the Iroquois nation firmly opposed the proposition, claiming that the first group of children they had sent to the white man's school came back to their tribe knowing all sorts of things except what was needed to survive in their traditional environment: they were useless as runners, unable to endure hunger and cold; they did not have the slightest idea how to build a hut and were completely unqualified for hunting. In short, they were absolutely hopeless. And yet, the spokesman went on, the Iroquois were basically willing to cooperate. To show their appreciation, they proposed that, for a change, the Virginian settlers should send a dozen of their youngsters to have them educated by the Iroquois (Feest, 1976). Of course, the Virginian settlers never sent their sons.

Even today, over 200 years later, the anecdote sounds symptomatic of the problems children face when traditions and priorities of the home differ from those of the school, and symptomatic also of a
multicultural situation in which one side has the power to impose its standards. If, however, pluralism exists without equality, ethnicity is likely to become a variable of social stratification.

Multicultural or intercultural education has for quite a long time been a topic of discussion among professionals who work with children of ethnic minorities. Recently, the concept of intercultural education in a multicultural society has been gaining a wider audience. For some of its advocates, it is a priority to promote the development of a European spirit or to enable people to communicate in what they consider "the global village" (Samovar and Porter, 1991).

If it is true that we are affected by the consequences derived from conflicts, wars, or severe environmental problems no matter where in the world they take place, we have to develop a consciousness of the interdependence of events and relations. Even more so, we need skills that enable us to negotiate effectively across borders. To others, this approach seems to be viewed as a remedy for solving increasing conflicts concerning migrants and refugees in their host society. If a multicultural society is a political fact which we have to face whether we like it or not, strategies are needed to enable its members to come to an understanding with each other, regardless of their ethnic, national, or religious background.

To some, multicultural education seems to be an additional subject that should be introduced into the school curriculum. To others, it is rather a lifestyle with underlying principles that can and should be implemented in any educational situation. Some approaches suffer from political naivety or turn out to bear a sophisticated hidden potential for the assimilation and political neutralization of minority groups. Others are used by fundamentalist minority organizations and right-wing majority groups alike to plead for segregation for the sake of maintenance of cultural identity (Gill, Mayor, and Blair, 1992; Donald and Rattansi, 1992; Braham, Rattansi, and Skellington, 1992).

Are we talking about an approach which aims at improving a minority's ability to meet the standards of the majority? Or are we also
expecting the majority to reconsider its own presuppositions? Some who, in line with a post-modern disposition, plead for overall cultural relativism, might easily get stuck considering seemingly culture-bound values and behavior patterns which are suspected of being incompatible with the achievements of the Enlightenment. "Shouldn't there be limits?" some will say at this point; "Just think of the Rushdie affair! Don't we in fact need a certain amount of Eurocentrism? It's not that we like to be chauvinistic, but isn't ours the best of all possible, or at least existing, worlds?"¹

In a book on cultural psychology, Richard Shweder (1991) writes:

One of the central myths of the modern period in the West is the idea that the opposition between religion-superstition-revelation and logic-science-rationality divides the world into then and now, them and us. According to this myth the world woke up and became good about three centuries ago when Enlightenment thinkers began to draw distinctions between things that pre-modern thinkers had managed to overlook (p. 2).

There is some ground for doubt, indeed. Bearing in mind the domestication of European women and the colonization of other peoples, it seems that Enlightenment was a limited agenda. Obviously, not everybody was meant to gain from its achievements. To really accomplish distinct but equal status for everybody, we have to reconsider our thinking and develop adequate strategies. At this stage, some practical experiences encountered in the microcosm of a project working with members of disadvantaged ethnic minorities might be of help.

The Turkish Children and Mothers Project

The project Turkish Children and Mothers started in late 1985, supported by the Bernard van Leer Foundation and the Freudenberg Stiftung. At present, it is also funded by the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Municipality of Gelsenkirchen. In the course of the years, an additional program for refugee families from Lebanon was set up with the

¹ For this discussion, see Webster (1990); Ahmed (1992); Mernissi (1992).
support of the *Lindenstiftung für vorschulische Erziehung* (the Linden Foundation for preschool education).

The project is located in Gelsenkirchen, a town in the industrial area of the Ruhr Valley in North Rhine-Westphalia. It is based in the premises of a primary school in a marginalized part of the town. The area is one of the few regions where coal mines are still operating, though the mine in the neighborhood of the project might close down in the near future. During the 1960s, coal miners were recruited from Zonguldak, a Turkish province on the Black Sea, where coal deposits were discovered in the nineteenth century. Today, the unemployment rate in this part of town is above average and dependence on social welfare is on the increase. More and more children come from single parent families. The percentage of the non-German population is about twice as high as the town average. Deprived ethnic groups compete with one another for economic rewards, and consequently, interethnic conflicts are likely to occur. In areas like this, the lack of preschool facilities for non-German and non-Christian children is typical. Thus minority children face almost certain failure when they enter school because they have had no preparation.

It was against this backdrop that the project came into being. The objective was the organization of groups for five-year-old children to help them with linguistic, motor, and cognitive abilities, and social behavior for one year before school entry. Taking as its starting point the situation of preschool children, the project developed a varied set of community-oriented activities in the course of the years, some of which are outlined below. Other activities included a two-year home-visiting program on health and nutrition; work with refugees; work with second generation youth; and the production of toys and learning materials. Today, the project focuses on the dissemination of project experiences, while at the same time maintaining its community-based program.

The Children

Five-year-old Ahmet is of Kurdish origin and was born in Lebanon during the civil war. After leaving Beirut to escape from the war, the family settled in a house near the school. It has Lebanese residents only, a Turkish mosque on the ground floor, a view of the railway line dividing the backyards of the houses in the area, and the coal mine right in front of the house. Most of the families living in the street come from Turkey, and have been observing the so-called "Arab invasion" with a frown ever
since refugees started to move in. Even those—in both communities—who have never heard of the Ottoman Empire, or do not know that during the First World War Turks and Arabs fought against each other, are sure "the people over there are not our friends." To the sparse German neighbors, both communities look more or less the same.

In spite of this uninviting environment, and notwithstanding numerous problems with the administrative machinery of refugee custody, Ahmet's mother is happy to live in a situation that to others might look scarcely favorable. At least, she says, there is no bombing, and the children will go to school and get a good education. Though she has no school experience herself, she shows high respect for any kind of formal education that she believes will be of benefit to others. The teachers of her oldest daughter Samira, however, consider the mother indifferent to school affairs: a mother who, like so many others, is insensitive to what can be expected of cooperative parents who support their children in becoming school achievers.

Of this reputation, Samira's mother knows little. It never occurred to her that her daughter's school achievement might be her business: she believes that professionals know better and that "her sort doesn't have much of a chance anyway." At the age of five, Ahmet does not speak a single word of German, and sophisticated play materials are not to be found in the house. To the family, the best way to keep Ahmet quiet and soothe his temporary aggressive disposition is to let him watch his favorite Rambo video as often as possible. "All this blood, you know," his sister comments, "it reminds him of back home in Lebanon."

Mother Involvement

All the children and parents involved in the project have specific stories to tell. Usually, however, a life history that fits West European middle class views of child development is not to be found in the group. More often than not the lifestyles—including the allocation of resources—of professionals like educators, social workers, and teachers, and those of their clients, are miles apart. Professional unawareness of this
easily leads to what John Rennie (1985) called one of the "educational ghosts": the notion of incompetent parents not interested in the child's achievement and unwilling to cooperate—a misinterpretation that all too easily leads to mechanisms through which schools tend to perpetuate inequality.

Four days a week, a group of preschool children comes to the project together with their mothers to spend the morning with the educator, while older siblings meet in the afternoon for playgroups or to do their homework. Mother involvement is particularly emphasized by the project. In order to prevent alienation within the family, and to break the cycle of deprivation by increasing the mothers' support and competence for the benefit of their offspring, mothers are drawn into the work with their children.

Thus the educator's behavior does not remain a never-ending mystery—"The children are just playing. Why don't you teach them anything?"—but becomes an activity which is transparent, shows visible effects—"How come she doesn't beat the children and yet they do what she wants?"—and can still be questioned without having to be afraid of sanctions—"I do think our way to raise children is better. The German kids don't have any discipline, don't you think?" Information is provided about the formal education system, and specific topics of child care are discussed in the group. Eventually, the mothers acquire the knowledge they need to fulfill their role as prime educators in perfect line with tradition. This is often difficult to cope with in a strange environment, where traditional concepts of child care might be no longer functional, or may even be counterproductive.

Mother involvement also encourages women to think for themselves by enabling them to identify their own needs, and make use of further education opportunities. Having lost the social net which in the village back home was provided by other women, often ill-prepared for the dynamics of the nuclear family, and not knowing the language and the "rules" of the host society, women often experience migration as a process of increasing seclusion. For many

It is usually only after a period of strengthening their own self-assurance that the women are prepared to show any interest in working with their children.
of the mothers the daily walk to the project is the first step in overcoming isolation.

It is usually only after a period of strengthening their own self-assurance that women are prepared to show any interest in work with their children. Over the years, a variety of courses have been established following the wishes of the mothers. In the long run, a considerable number of women develop a self-assertive attitude towards life, the outcome of which will probably far exceed the immediate aims of the current project, and those of the school. Some manage to create more cooperative structures in their relationships, or gain mobility by taking their driving test. Some search for jobs. "We have become important. Women who are important can achieve anything!"

This eventually also leads to an attitude change toward the achievements of their children. While in the beginning the drawings and other things the children had worked on were usually considered unimportant, and therefore carelessly overlooked or thrown away, today the little artists receive much admiration and their works are taken home and hung on the wall for others to see. It is only when mothers know that they themselves matter that they can encourage their children in developing self-esteem.

The Setting

The project’s activities respond to specific needs of ethnic minorities in the catchment zone of the cooperating school. However, project activities are not meant to be exclusive. When the project started, the team looked for a base where a transfer of experiences to the formal system seemed feasible. After all, it did not make much sense to promote mother involvement for a whole year without having the prospect of longer term continuity once the children had entered school.

At that time, the school had just started to implement approaches of community education and intercultural education. To begin with, communication structures and modes of cooperation among the teaching staff were developed. Only after a basis of mutual consent had been established internally did the school reach out for the neighborhood. At this stage, the project began trying to play a mediating role and to support the school’s efforts to respond more adequately to the needs of Turkish children and their parents.
When the children entered school, the educator cooperated with the first grade teacher in the classroom for the first months of school life. The transfer of project experiences led to regular home visiting activities by the teachers and to mothers’ meetings in the classroom. Organizational changes improved the basis for parental involvement. Because they work in shifts, most of the fathers found it difficult to dispose of their time freely, while most of the Turkish mothers found it inappropriate to join an evening meeting. They did, however, show up in great numbers if they were invited to attend at a time in line with their values and the rhythm of the family’s everyday life. By and by, a bond of trust was established, on the basis of which parents and teachers started to perceive each other as cooperative partners.

To Be Distinct but Equal

As a considerable number of German families in the school’s catchment zone were regarded as marginal, it was important to establish a climate in which they would not feel excluded from, or disadvantaged by, activities oriented to a minority group. Literacy courses, German lessons, sewing and cooking groups, informational meetings and work parties for Turkish and Arab mothers that were set up by the project are now part of a community-oriented program that the school itself developed. Children can come back to school in the afternoon to do their homework, join a dance or music group, a sports group, and so on. They can borrow tapes and books in different languages, and they produce a newsletter. The youth board has set up a day care center. The school is a center where children and parents can contact others, take part in school life, and find opportunities to learn, regardless of their ethnic, national, or religious backgrounds.

In the school’s Mother and Child Group, Ahmet’s mother slowly started to give up her conviction that she would never be able to learn for herself. At the same time, Turkish mothers decided to reconsider their negative perceptions about Arabs. And while Ahmet’s mother still prefers to attend a weekly tea party of Arab women only, some of the others have started to look for opportunities to meet together with German mothers. They have come to the conclusion that one can have a lot in common with people whose cultural background at first seems to be very different from one’s own.
The approach taken has had an impact on proceedings in the classroom. For example, it has affected the way in which children are encouraged to refer to their cultural background as a resource for special skills, and the way people involved in the process establish relations with each other. Consequently, changes concerning the exchange of experiences between members of different cultures and between parents and professionals have occurred.

In the beginning, there was no difficulty in defining the target group which was to profit from the process: Turkish children and mothers, of course; Lebanese families, possibly; a couple of German coal miners, perhaps. Today we are not so sure. Once initiated, the process brought about changes and new perspectives for everybody involved: project staff, teachers, cleaning staff, the authorities. In fact, all of us became learners, which for the project staff and its partners implied a growing awareness and modification of the professional role of teachers, social workers, and educators (Bernard van Leer Foundation, 1986; Bastian, 1987). In its efforts to transform theory into action, the team had to face the fact that it had to stop preaching and learn to listen carefully to what people had to say. Thus, migrant and refugee mothers were not the only ones who underwent change, developed new skills, and questioned their most basic assumptions.

The Occupational Culture Revisited

I never went to kindergarten, and the only happy day of my school career I remember was the day I left for good—at least, that’s what I thought at the time. To me, school was an institution that was boring, depressing, and incredibly out of touch with the everyday world of most of its consumers. It certainly did not feel good to be there. Today, I suspect that school tends to be a place not good to be in for a lot of teachers as well.

In a way, this is arrogant and Eurocentric: one must have access to resources before one decides not to appreciate the way in which they
operate. But there are good reasons to question the formal system, its efficiency as a whole, and the impact it has on all those involved, and especially its impact on the children of minority groups. Why should one cooperate with the system's agencies? To some it might appear that a project operating independently of the formal system would be easier to realize in many respects, since it is less dependent on the need to adjust and compromise. But such a project would find it next to impossible to influence the shaping of relations between children, parents, and professionals outside the boundaries of a limited area.

Even taking into account the lack of preschool facilities, the problem in our part of the world is not so much the absence of infrastructure as such, but the way in which existing services operate. One example is the exclusion of, or discrimination against, a considerable number of people who are supposed to benefit from the system's resources. Literature regarding the impact that formal education has on members of disadvantaged groups provides abundant examples of how the system tends to perpetuate inequality, instead of realizing equal opportunities for all (Berger and Berger, 1976). Members of deprived ethnic groups are particularly liable to experience this negative effect. Today, the project emphasizes the dissemination and transfer of its experiences. Many of its address-ees are part of the formal education system. Sensitization to the needs and constraints of cultural minorities is an important aspect of its work.

One of the cultural obstacles faced by the formal education system is that of professionalism. The system is likely to perpetuate inequality, as it tends to be oriented to middle-class values in its messages and in the approaches taken. The same is true for many social services. Members of cultural minorities tend to be either perceived as a problem or as a group of people that has problems; they are associated with deficiency and deviance. With this background, counseling agencies and professionals in the field of education tend to label clients belonging to cultural minorities as pathological. Patterns of behavior that are not in line with the
counselor’s theory of what is adequate are defined as unreasonable and inappropriate (Sue and Sue, 1990).

At the end of a parent-teacher meeting at school, one of the teachers initiated a discussion on the effectiveness of the style of communication usually applied. "Oh, there was this mother, you know. And I said, 'Well, your daughter is weak in math. You should practice with her.' And the woman looked at me and said 'Okay, I'll do it.' And off she went. We always tell parents what we expect them to do but we never explain to them what could be the right way of doing it. And thinking of the mother, how could she possibly know what I was talking about?"

Once the school's process of becoming more open had begun, the professionals saw themselves confronted with a set of new situations demanding new skills. There was a decline in hierarchical structures and a changing attitude on the part of parents, who showed an increasing tendency to no longer take for granted what professionals said, but to expect convincing arguments.

It can be challenging to be unable to withdraw into hierarchical power structures when somebody who holds less formal authority starts defending differing opinions. Teachers who were accustomed to talking about children’s progress in class felt insecure about how to react when parents started to discuss their family problems. Sometimes they felt it was difficult to integrate their newly gained insights into the living conditions of children and parents, or they felt that the responsibility for unfamiliar problems was more than they could cope with. The process brought about the necessity to exchange views and cooperate with colleagues in other fields of work who were likely to look at a problem from a different angle and come to different conclusions.

The professional’s potential for cultural arrogance is high and by no means limited to those working in the formal system. The tendency of professionals to display cultural arrogance can be intentional, but often it is not. It can be based on consciously assuming that one knows better because of one’s vocational background; often it isn’t. It can be due to the quality of the professional’s vocational training or the degree to which the professional is unconscious of his or her motives and capacities. Unfortunately, it is often reinforced by the need for constant self-adulation, and by the success-seeking that results from a lack of job security.
There are key questions concerning professional self-image and the resulting attitudes and behavior that have to be discussed. Professionals must ask, Why do I want to help? Do I want to show everybody how very clever I am? Am I striving for confirmation and approval? Do I promote dependency instead of facilitating the development of self-reliance? Am I hiding behind the label of professionalism? Am I striving for power? In terms of disadvantaged groups, am I prepared to give up at least some of my own privileges?

Professionals or not, people are human beings who are not always holy or infallible. They often have to work under a lot of pressure. Their ambition to realize nice-sounding visions may be negatively affected by legal and bureaucratic restrictions. They may be expected to compensate for problems that are rooted outside the educational system. Even a well-functioning formal system pursuing innovative approaches is still a formal system and subject to specific limitations and structural constraints.

Still, there is a potential for change that may contribute to both an increase in equal opportunities for disadvantaged children and to the quality of life of professionals. Professionals may find out, as was the case in this setting, that although life is becoming more demanding, it is also becoming more interesting and more satisfying as far as the quality of human relationships is concerned.

Ingredients

There is a whole set of ingredients that the project’s approach is based on. Many of them came into consciousness only in the course of the work. One aspect given priority was the question of how to operate in a multicultural setting and take into consideration the impact of culture-bound influences. How do people recognize at first sight that in this building there are children and people from more than one cultural background? is still a key question we often ask when entering a new multicultural setting. We also ask, Are the people working in this building used to being greeted in passing, regardless of their nationality, job, and
social position? Trite as these questions might sound, the answers they provide often hint at the quality of the work and the climate in which it is effected.

Design of the Premises

On entering the project's office, there will be little doubt about a certain affinity with the Near East. As a Turkish social worker once put it: "When you leave home to live in another country, your identity is threatened easily. You're likely to lose your bearings. Whenever I feel lost, I come to sit in your office. It helps me to find the bits and pieces I lost on the way."

Of course, the issue is more complex than it sounds. Pictures showing Anatolian village life might look rather exotic and out of place to Turkish visitors with urban backgrounds. The tapestry on the wall showing Mecca was highly appreciated by the imam of the local mosque when he came for a visit, but left-wing intellectuals tend to be less sympathetic. Traditional costumes are admired as exceptional artifacts of skilled handiwork by some and rejected by others as symbols of the seclusion of Muslim women. Turkish women of the neighborhood sometimes find it hard to understand the team's liking for traditional weaving: "Oh that...no need to make so much fuss about it. I used to do it when I was a young girl. I'm glad to see no more of it."

Of course, one doesn't need elaborate decorating material to start working. In addition, one might argue that our understanding of design is rather unscrupulous: there are a lot of different ways to have an affinity to the Near East and still feel comfortable in Western Europe. Of course, the arrival of the Lebanese refugees contributed to the design. In fact, the decoration—and not only the decoration—is open for change; it does not necessarily have to stay oriental.

Before the school in which the project is based changed its image—on the initiative of a new headmistress—there were signs on the walls telling parents they were not allowed to "disturb" classes. At least these signs were bilingual. Apart from that, there was next to nothing to create an atmosphere in which children or adults from varying cultural backgrounds were likely to feel comfortable.

This has now changed considerably, and there is quite a lot of evidence that school has become a place where people feel at home. The decoration of the house reflects the various cultural backgrounds of the
children, while at the same time brings into consciousness a much wider perspective.

**Need Orientation**

It was said that lack of preschool facilities is a characteristic of the marginalized families with whom the project works. Of course, preschool facilities are not the only facilities that are lacking. Once in contact with the project, people started to bring up all sorts of problems that they were facing: a husband spending most of the family income on drink; quarrels with neighbors; conflicts with official authorities; housing; unemployment; disabilities; diseases; delinquency. The structure of a professional world in which life is split into distinct and sometimes rather absurd spheres of responsibility did not make much sense to the families. The attitude seems to be that "If you're working in preschool education, the older sister's problem at school is not your business, nor is the father's conflict with the foreign police." However, if you want the families to trust you, you've got to react to their needs.

This is not to say the project rises to meet each and every expectation, thus absorbing its staff in trying to do everything. But project staff did feel the need to respond by establishing activities going beyond the promotion of the development of five-year-old children. And they did feel the need to contact the relevant organizations to cooperate, mediate and sensitize existing social services to the needs and expectations of cultural minorities. Again, this is not only relevant to the Turks. On starting to work with German parents, the school had similar experiences. In consequence, a process was initiated in the course of which other professionals who traditionally operate outside the school system were introduced into the building.

Given the background outlined above, staff in a similar project might have to start working from quite an unexpected angle in order to achieve their objectives. Mothers will not share their priority of discussing early childhood education issues as long as they don't know how to pay the electricity bill. There's no use discussing the value of mother involvement during a home visit as long as the father expects a staff member to help him fill in some challenging forms he doesn't understand.
Access to Information

Access to information can be vital to improving a marginal situation. A lot of women claimed that, before coming to the project, they did not know whom to ask when there was a problem and where to go to get it solved. They found it difficult to support their children's chances of school achievement when they had no schooling themselves and, in addition, did not know how the German school system worked.

Again, it is not only those who come from the shores of the Black Sea who lack access to information. When the project started to train mothers about how to support their first grade children effectively in doing their homework, it was taken for granted that Turkish mothers need this kind of support. It was only when, two years later, a teacher started working with German parents on the same issue that their identical needs became apparent.

Access to information and provision of new skills are needed to develop efficient techniques of self-help. We should, however, bear in mind that to perceive members of (cultural) minorities as deficient or deprived in the first place can be misleading. This approach, all too easily, tends to lead to a "person-blame model" (Sue and Sue, 1990).

Supply and Demand

On visiting a community center in another part of the country, we were told by the staff that "As you know, working with Turkish mothers is very difficult. It's consuming, really. No matter what you do, they hardly ever respond. They definitely lack motivation." The woman in charge had decided that in order to best serve the needs of Turkish mothers it would be a good idea to start a German language course. In the beginning, a couple of women attended, but they did not return as the course went on. In discussing the problem with the woman in charge, she claimed that of course Turkish women should learn German: "Without any German it's impossible for them to find their way in society."
Unfortunately, the target group did not seem to share the professional's perception of this state of affairs.

When leaving the building, we met a group of Turkish women sitting on a bench near the playground watching their children play. "Oh yes," one of them said, "we know the house. I went a couple of times to learn German. But, you see, it was much too difficult. I mean, I'm illiterate, I don't even read and write Turkish. I found it impossible to follow the course."

There is always a great potential to do the wrong things based on best intentions. The women in question might have decided that, before learning a foreign language, it would have made sense to be literate in their mother tongue. If only they had been asked.

It's always easier to advise other people on how to approach a problem adequately than to live up to elegantly verbalized standards oneself. When talking about responding sensitively to needs formulated by the families coming to the project instead of imposing our own standards, examples of professional failure come to mind all too easily. How do you manage to perceive needs if they are put forward in a manner you are not familiar with? A Turkish woman might have formulated her wishes ages ago while you're still waiting for her to be what we appreciate as being outspoken and saying: "This is what I want!"

You might be so absorbed developing concepts and general rules of procedures that you don't receive the message if it doesn't fit the schedule. For example, for years it was taken for granted that sewing courses were an adequate means for initial access to secluded Turkish women. In our project women never showed the slightest interest in sewing until literacy and language courses had long been established. Years later, the women decided they wanted to learn dressmaking.

**Bargaining across Borders**

There is more to working in a multicultural setting than providing the means for a minority to adjust to the standards defined by somebody else. There are a whole lot of everyday situations in which it can be very important for staff to take into account the cultural background of the people they work with if they want to be capable of acting. For example, when the project began, there was a group of German mothers who met once a week to chat and do needlework. At that time the relationship between Turks and Germans in the neighborhood could be defined as
somewhere between tense and nonexistent. Based on some sort of common sense logic—which they had hardly reflected on—the team decided to bring the two groups together, arguing: "It's ridiculous that there should be a group of German women and a group of Turkish women meeting in the same house, on the same day, on the same floor, doing the same things, and yet ignoring each other, isn't it?"

In those days, spending time in the project was still quite a new experience for the Turkish mothers, which made them feel rather insecure. There were considerable tensions between the various subgroups, which varied in regional and ethnic descent as well as in lifestyle, and a rather deeply rooted feeling of being rejected by the host society.

The German group considered itself open-minded, as it had integrated a participant of Turkish descent but of German nationality who took care not to display any kind of behavior and attitudes that the German women could have labeled distinct or strange. Both the German and the Turkish groups claimed that they had a general (rather abstract) interest in getting to know the other side, which today I think was mainly due to an attempt at being polite to professionals who "always know better." The German group had been long established at school. In addition, its members were perceived as natives by the Turkish women, who felt that, for the time of the meeting, they themselves were the guests, with the German women being considered as hosts. As usual, some of the German women had brought biscuits and put them on the table. And there they all sat staring at each other. What on earth do you talk about in a situation like that?

Irritated, the German women decided to have their biscuits and cakes. The Turkish women gave them some sort of dramatic stare, accompanied by a solemn silence which made the German women eat even faster. When the meeting was over, the Turkish women declared they never wanted a repeat of that situation. They made a point of "the Germans bringing their own biscuits and keeping them all for themselves."

From the Turkish women's point of view, this was the limit—clear evidence of the utmost bad manners! And apart from that, it was a hidden symbol of rejection. "They don't want us to be around. That's why!" the Turkish women thought. The German group never came to understand the point. They thought that, of course, anybody can eat biscuits as long as there is something on the table; it's not necessary to make such a fuss about guests, asking them to help themselves before thinking about taking
something yourself. A Turkish woman, on the other hand, would generally make sure that everybody else got their share first.

In the end, both sides had found considerable evidence for what they had known perfectly well beforehand: Germans know that "Turkish women are suppressed, reserved, don’t speak up in public, and don’t want to get into contact with other people." Turks know that "Germans don’t like Turks, are cold and egoistic, and have no manners." The woman of Turkish descent holding a German passport was in a quandary, finding it impossible to mediate. The Turkish women at that time tended to compensate for their feelings of inferiority by claiming to hold the monopoly on superior moral values, treating the outsider as a traitor of the Turkish nation. On the other hand, the latter found herself under strong pressure to adjust to the expectations of the German group if she wanted to be accepted. The misinterpretations and mistakes which manifested themselves in the example are manifold:

1. staff did not behave in accordance with its own postulated theory of operating on the grounds of needs formulated by the community;

2. one group applied inadequate patterns to interpret the other group’s behavior;

3. misinterpretations tend to have a stronger and negative impact if the power structure between the groups involved is not symmetrical, or is influenced by negative previous experiences.²

Years later, the wish to contact "the other side" was formulated by the women themselves. Today, the same kind of misunderstandings still occur but they don’t have the same kind of impact, as those involved have gained in self-assurance.

In a multicultural setting, it is of little help to presume that everything will be easy as long as everybody behaves naturally—which usually means "the way I do." Nor is it useful to assume that no relationship is possible because people are so very different. Staff should

² This mechanism comes across very vividly in Forster (1924).
learn to read the various codes involved to be able to adjust the expectations of either side. But how is this done?

In a book on cross-cultural communications, Samovar and Porter (1991) define culture as:

...the deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving (p. 51).

In order to understand how culture might influence the thinking and perception of, and behavior to, other people, it can help to define building blocks and organize patterns of culture which bear a potential for different concepts and misunderstandings. These might include concepts of time and space, nonverbal communication, styles of verbal communication, behavior patterns, and values. These items tend to be less specific to a certain culture than we might expect, and they often characterize the difference between industrialized and other societies. More often than not, industrialized societies operate on the basis of a linear, progress-oriented world view. Other societies tend to operate on circular, organic patterns.3

Some of the crucial facets which are susceptible to misunderstandings are outlined below.

**Concept of Time**

When the project started, the cleaning staff found it rather difficult to adjust to the new situation. They were expected to leave the school door open. For years it had been closed in the afternoon. The cleaning staff felt embarrassed: "We might get robbed." They no longer controlled the situation: "Anybody can pop in and out at any time." The weekly afternoon tea party for Turkish women started at three o’clock. To the cleaning staff, it seemed all too logical to open the door at five minutes to

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3 In literature, commonly used classification systems include polychronic vs. monochronic; low context vs. high context, and sociocentric vs egocentric. See Hall (1989 and 1990); Hofstede (1991); Harris, (1989); Foster (1992).
three and close the door about ten minutes later. However, a realistic estimation of the mothers’ time of arrival would be any time between two thirty and four thirty.

Week after week, Turkish women were locked out. Week after week, the cleaning staff was upset. Occasionally, the team was locked in for a change: "You don’t expect people to stay in an office after five, do you?" Things went on like that for about six months. We spent an incredible amount of time discussing the various aspects of opening hours with all parties involved.4

The point is that, during these months, people involved in the process started to establish a relationship, getting to know each other and trying to see things from the other’s point of view. By and by, the atmosphere changed. Today, the door is always open until at least six, while most of the Turkish women tend to be punctual in the German sense of the word.5

We should bear in mind, however, that sometimes differences in concept and behavior do not so much indicate culture-bound values of a certain ethnic group, but rather have to be regarded as characteristics of marginalization. Lebanese women joining the weekly tea party proposed that, each week, one of them should be phoned by the teacher on the morning of the day they were expected to come. They argued that in the situation they live in—lacking perspectives, with nothing to do and nowhere to go—they find it difficult to remember the day of the week. It just doesn’t make any difference

4 Maybe this process was similar to the kind of group consent Japanese businessmen are trying to achieve in their companies, while American managers spend their time complaining about how much time it takes to conclude business in the Far East.

5 It should be made clear that we are talking about an adjustment of expectations, not behavior. Stereotyped adjustments to behavior patterns can lead to complications. See Foster (1992), p. 34.
whether it’s Monday or Thursday. Of course, we take it for granted that our way of organizing and defining sequences of time is rational and the only possible way to do it. Yet, it is not.6 There are cultures which developed different modes of organization. From the example given above, however, one could hardly conclude that ignorance of weekdays was a Kurdish/Lebanese cultural trait.

**Concept of Space**

Gender segregation is still valued by the Turkish community. In order to be able to come to the project, most women needed to be sure the place is safe and decent. They tended to handle this rule rather flexibly, however, as long as the decision was left to them. Among other examples concerning different concepts relating to space is that the distance between two persons which is considered adequate can vary from culture to culture. Cross-cultural communication counsellor E.T. Hall (1990) gives an example:

Americans who have spent some time in Latin America without learning these space considerations make other adaptations, like barricading themselves behind their desks, using chairs and typewriter tables to keep the Latin American at what is to us a comfortable distance. The result is that the Latin American may even climb over the obstacles until he has reached a distance at which he can comfortably talk (p. 53).

Turkish and Arab women in the project might not go as far as to climb over obstacles. They do tend, however, to sit close to each other and to be quite expressive in their body language, touching each other or holding each other’s hand. To German visitors this can be irritating, and sometimes is associated with obtrusiveness or disregard if they are exposed to the same kind of treatment.7

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6 For examples, see Wimmer (1990), p. 45 ff.

7 A certain readiness of body contact between males and females, on the other hand, can be a misleading signal to Turkish people.
NonVerbal Communication

On visiting a Turkish family at home, a German female teacher seems to take a particular interest in the father. Sitting close to him, she looks in his face in a concentrated and affectionate way, trying to express general sympathy and willingness for cooperation on behalf of the child. As the father is the only family member who speaks German, she feels that it is easier to address him directly instead of the mother, with whom she must rely on the bilingual colleague to translate what she wants to say. Coming from a cultural background which emphasizes verbal skills, she might feel helpless in addressing the mother on the basis of nonverbal communication skills. In addition, she might be backed up by the misleading stereotype that in a Turkish family it is usually the men who make decisions.

Meanwhile, the mother recollects abounding stories of neighborhood husbands having gone off with German women. As time goes by, the father gets this ambitious look in his eyes which should be reserved for female coffee house acquaintances—as he might not have had many other contacts with German women, there’s little to correct his perception of the situation. The mother of the house has meanwhile left the room—the welcoming smile deep frozen—and is watching the teacher suspiciously from a distance.

Nonverbal communication is important, as it influences first impressions and helps us to judge the reliability and credibility of what is actually said. With the emphasis on verbalization, we tend to underestimate the amount of nonverbal messages we send, often without being aware of them and the impact they have (Samovar and Porter, 1991). In addition, the extent to which people express themselves by gestures and facial play can differ from culture to culture. Patterns of interpretation are just as likely to cause considerable, and sometimes incompatible, differences.

Communication Styles

Being a Christian, a young Arab refugee once claimed I should be careful never to invite Muslims into my house—it being bad enough to work with them. "You can't trust them, you know. No way," he said. After having used all the rational arguments that I could think of, I let my fist fall on the table, yelling at the man that, for people of his thinking,
there was no place in my house. This was by no means a cross-cultural communication strategy—I had simply lost my temper. The young man leaned back, giving me a big, affectionate "you’re part of the family" smile, and said, "This was wonderful. Just like back home. I am happy, very happy indeed. This is the first time since I left my home country that I am having a serious conversation. When can we go on?" Two days later his friends arrived, having heard that there was a place where people could have a decent discussion about topics of general interest. Within a week, the young man went to see our Muslim colleague to invite him to his home.

European travelers in the Near East filled many pages labeling the Arabs as the noisiest people on earth. Germans present during an Arab conversation easily mistake expression of emotions for liability to violence, thus coming to the conclusion that they are about to witness a fight. Again, the interpretation of different concepts of behavior goes hand in hand with prejudice.

Just as there are differences in interpreting volume and expressiveness, there may be differing attitudes concerning the display of emotions, the priority of securing harmony, or the value of not provoking a situation in which the other is likely to lose face (Sue and Sue, 1990). While the Turkish people might tend to think that Germans are rather rude and direct, the latter might develop a theory of their own about Turkish people never saying what they really think—in fact, they do, but it may not be noticed.

In project life, the (German) professional’s inclination to control the situation by prearranged agendas is likely to ensure failure. A lot of things might take place at the same time instead of one after the other as they should, according to linear thinking. Clients might not share the professional’s concept of a confidential counseling situation. People might not show up for a meeting at all, because they are having visitors. "Why not tell them you have to go to a meeting?" the professional might grumble. Whereas to the clients, not to show up in a case like that is in perfect line with logic (Hall, 1989).

Values and Behavior Patterns

When training international managers to become cross-culturally skilled negotiators, D.A. Foster (1992) uses proverbs. Participants are asked to fill out a sentence starting with "God helps those who..."
American participants usually write down "...help themselves." Asian participants tend to add things like "God helps those who help others." Foster adds:

I remember one gentleman from Thailand who refused to believe that Westerners really thought this way. 'After all,' he said, 'how can you help others if you are only helping yourself?' (p. 80).

We have a German equivalent of the American proverb and it is quite likely that Turkish or Arab participants in Foster's training courses would produce an answer similar to the one of the Asian colleague.

Of all the cultural differences concerning values, behavior patterns and philosophies of life, perceptions of the role of the individual seem to be particularly crucial. Anything that seems to question individual liberty and the postulates of the Enlightenment tends to touch the very nerve of Western European and North-American self image. In international management encounters, conflicts arise when, during negotiation, North Americans proceed from the assumption of individual decision taking. Their Japanese counterparts value group orientation and, in addition, may insist on a process of establishing personal relationships before talking about business at all.

What Germans might see as an unacceptable suppression of the individual's right to live up to his or her full potential of personal development, Turkish counterparts might see as a natural subordination of personal interest for the benefit of the family or community.

In the course of a panel discussion with Arab women writers in

Of all cultural differences, perceptions of the role of the individual seem to be particularly crucial.

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8 For examples, see Foster (1992), p. 73 ff.; Sue and Sue (1990), p. 39.

9 The clash between these concepts causes severe intergenerational conflicts between parents and adolescents of Turkish descent who grow up in Western Europe.
Amsterdam, a European journalist described her frustrating experiences regarding the suppression of women's talents in the Near East. Luckily, she summarized, here they were, sitting around a table, with a small handful of Arab women who had "made it," women who had managed to hold an independent position as self-reliant and successful individuals. The Western European audience applauded, but the Arab women writers were far from being impressed. "I'm definitely not to be reduced to the role of an independent individual!" one of them claimed repeatedly. "I am what I am because of my people, and because of my family. And this I will never forget!"

**Individual Options**

When we read about characteristics of groups, we might easily feel misunderstood or personally ill-treated when reference is made to the group to which we ourselves belong in terms of culture or ethnicity. Our reaction tends to be: "This is not me," or, at least, "I am more than that."

Books on cross-cultural communication have to provide generalizations in order to be useful. At the same time, however, they usually make it very clear that whatever they say is to be understood as guidelines, tendencies, or possibilities. Individual behavior is influenced not only by culture-bound elements, but also by personal experiences and subgroup membership. In addition, cultures are not isolated, static units; they constantly shift and change. Accordingly, the examples presented above relate to conflicts and misunderstandings that can happen, but by no means follow any inevitable law of nature.

During an in-service training session in a neighboring town, the following exchange occurred:

"By the way, do you ever manage to diminish the suppression of Turkish women? I mean, head scarfs and all that?"

"What makes you think all Turkish women are suppressed?"

"Oh, come on, you can't fool me. I have a Turkish boy in my class. His mother is not even allowed to leave the house!"

"Did the woman tell you this is the way she feels?"
"What do you mean, did she tell me? You know very well they are not allowed to talk!"

To put theory into practice seems to be difficult. It is common place knowledge in the social sciences that we need generalizations to reduce complexity and make everyday life manageable. If, however, the generalizations are not open to challenge and change, they easily become stereotypes that are impervious to logic and experience (Sue and Sue, 1990). In dealing with members of another culture, we tend to subsume them under a homogenous and often discriminating image of what we think "these people" are like. Often enough, this is the best way to provoke exactly the kind of behavior we expect; not so much because this is what they are like, but because we didn't give them a chance to show a different kind of behavior. When it comes to dealing with disadvantaged minorities, their members more often than not are left with the choice between various alternatives of being deviant. What we deny them, in fact, is the right to display individuality which, among other things, at times appears to be a white monopoly.

Cross-Cultural Communication As an Eye Opener

The project does not aim at the establishment of a nostalgic variety of Turklestans. Its approach implies information about culture-bound values and behavior patterns as well as a knowledge of political, social, and economic forces on minority groups. It implies acceptance of differences without making children and parents hostages tied to a particular culture as a result of their ethnic origin (CERI, 1989). Cultures are changeable and permeable entities, and there has to be room for individual options in the dynamic between personal and social identity.

Besides, we are not suggesting that every element in a culture is beautiful and has to be accepted just because it is a specific cultural trait. But it is only when people feel accepted instead of having their backs to the wall that they can develop the concept of potential change—to the
extent they feel appropriate to their individual situation, and at a speed they think they can cope with.

The outcome of multicultural education is often somewhat mysteriously described as an experience of mutual enrichment. This, however, does not mean an accumulation of folkloric artifacts such as exotic food and Turkish folk dance groups (Parker, 1992). Everyday life in a multicultural situation also implies conflicts and the search for conflict resolution, mediation, and compromise. It is a process in which we can learn about the other only if we are willing to learn more about ourselves. Based on dialogue, it can be "an act of criticism and liberation, as well as of discovery" (Shweder, 1991, p. 110).

But how do we get there? If we want to support minorities, we have to work with the majority as well. And if we want to change other people's minds, there is good reason to take into account the probability of having to change a bit of ourselves as well.

The Intercultural Perspective

In Germany, as in many other countries, it's natural that a taxi should have a taximeter, thus providing us with a sense of objectivity and reliability of the price we have to pay. Could it be any different? In Turkey a lot of the taxis do not have taximeters. In fact, there might be very good reasons to avoid one that has. Only a fool would assume the objective validity of a fair price, just because it is written somewhere. How do you know the taximeter has not been manipulated? To newcomers, going by taxi in Turkey can be irritating. Most probably, however, they will be rewarded for their efforts. In Turkey, you don't just go by taxi; you establish a relationship with the driver.

Of course, I'm not suggesting that we should get rid of taximeters—though I do have a personal liking for going by taxi the Turkish way—I'm just trying to say there are different ways to reach a goal. A lot of them seem to be effective, at least in a given context. And there might be good reasons to suggest that at least some—if not all—of them should be open to discussion.

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10 The application of one's own orientation can look rather absurd when applied in the context of another culture. See Theroux (1971); and Ghosh (1986).
Perception is not just a biological process. It implies socially learned skills and interpretation patterns. Usually, we take it for granted that things are the way we learned to see them and we tend to repress any evidence that other worlds might exist, and, even worse, claim validity. Our perception of the "otherness" of other people is often based on two principal models of procedure which:

1. deny or ignore the existence of cultural differences. "We are all the same kind of people"; or

2. perceive differences as evidence of inferiority and deviance, idealization being the other side of the coin.

What we need is to develop an intercultural perspective, that is, to first accept the fact that values, attitudes, and modes of looking at life that are different from our own might exist, be significant, and even be effective.

To Get to Know One’s Own Cultural Baggage

What offends members of cultural minorities often is not so much that the other side shows wrong behavior and is not sensitive to the do’s and don’ts of their own cultural context. What really hurts is the negation of the minorities’ everyday experience of having to question the validity of what they learned to be normal, adequate, logical, or valid. Or, as a Turkish father once put it:

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11 Hence the importance that Japanese lifestyle has in publications on cross-cultural relations. Given the economic success of the country in capitalist business structures, it is evident that differing modes of social organization, values, and behavior patterns cannot be so easily labelled inferior. They have to be coped with. See, among others, van Wolferen (1990).

12 Todorov’s analysis of how Columbus organized his perception of the unknown provides vivid examples of how both strategies can be applied by the same person. See chapter 1 in Todorov (1982).
They don’t even realize I’m trying to compromise. And in a situation like this, I don’t mind if they hurt me. It’s nearly inevitable; often enough, they don’t mean it. If only just once they would notice that I have to act in contrast to my cultural baggage and that they constantly expect me to change.

Long before the school started to initiate a dialogue between the churches and the mosque in the area, a group of Turkish women decided to take part in a Catholic church service. On coming out one of them said: “You know, I never quite believed what people are saying about Christians. But now? I couldn’t believe my ears! These folks do pray to three different gods at a time. It’s really shocking, don’t you think?”

To see oneself reflected in the mirror of another culture can be amusing as well as irritating. The embarrassment we are likely to feel in such moments can be a revelation and sensitize us to everyday communication patterns which constantly put members of ethnic minorities under pressure to defend or justify their strange, exotic customs. Can we really be sure that our interpretation of other people’s values or behavior patterns is more adequate than the other way round? German project visitors tend to take it for granted that women who cover their hair are suppressed and those who don’t are liberated. The women concerned sometimes feel hurt by the labeling process in which they don’t have a say. Sometimes they just laugh wholeheartedly. It might be helpful to bear in mind that, as Lawrence of Arabia wrote in his famous book, a lot of his Arab fellow combatants thought the British habit of wearing hats had to do with the sinful bearers’ futile attempts to protect their guilty eyes from meeting the reproachful gaze of God (Lawrence, 1962).

Intercultural relations can be irritating. Being based on dialogue, however, they offer vast opportunities for a self-reflective, open-ended process in the course of which we can learn as much about ourselves as about other cultures. “However, understanding oneself and understanding others are closely related processes. To do one, you must start with the other, and vice versa” (Hall, 1989).

Once, during a training session, a Turkish nurse complained about the priorities adopted by German experts discussing Turkish manners. “You’re always talking about the Turks. It’s always us who have to explain, to justify, to question. Would anybody please try to explain to me ‘German culture’ right now?”
In the end, after a journey halfway across the world, we might come back to face our own share of the story. When reflecting on how to develop skills for cross-cultural communication, we are not talking about accumulating as much information about the Turks, or whatever group, as possible. We are talking above all about how to develop a deeper awareness of our own cultural baggage, its history of origin in a given context, and the impact it has on our beliefs, modes of behavior and expectations in relation to other people. In this respect, working in a multicultural context can be an eye opener, and eventually make us realize that "the trouble I have with him is with me" (Hall, 1989). (See also Kristeva, 1988; Erdheim, 1982.)

Knowledge about Other Cultures

When a black psychiatrist in the United States asked the National Institute of Mental Health to set up an institute or task force to study racism or white supremacy, he was told, "We will set up an institute to study minority groups." In other words, "we won't study ourselves, but we will study you" (Weinberg, 1977).

It seems to be a commonly shared belief that the one-sided accumulation of knowledge about minority groups is the appropriate step to take. And who else could be better prepared for that than Europeans looking back on a long tradition of exploring and evaluating other cultures (CERI, 1989)? We should not, however, ignore the fact that this tradition belongs to the context of European expansion and colonization of other peoples. More often than not, our knowledge accumulated on the way is biased. Stereotypes of biased "intercultural relationships" can be traced down to children's rhymes, adventure books, comics, and other media we deal with in the course of our socialization.

In this regard, additional information about a minority's cultural background tends to confirm preconceived notions rather than provoke a change of attitude on either side, especially as stereotyping does not allow a perception of the individual differences and of the strengths and resources that members of a given minority have to offer.

Members of different cultures do not meet in a vacuum. They have a past and a present to contend with, and both are often characterized by a history of inequality in inter-relationships. In this respect, multicultural education cannot be reduced to a one-sided process of improving a
minority's chances to adjust to the status quo. It is about changing white attitudes as well—perhaps more than anything else.

Looking for New Perspectives

Due to one of the numerous surprises that social bureaucracy has ready for the innocent observer, the catchment zone of a day care center was cleared of its marginal German population, the families having been given new housing in the course of a reintegration program. Practically overnight, the German staff of the day care center was confronted with a unique situation: there were people from all over the world who neither understood each other nor the educators. Describing her work, one of the staff said, "You know, there is this family from Zaire. I mean these people come right out of the bush. No civilization, nothing! Luckily, I know some French, so there is at least some communication possible with the parents."

Basically, the professionals were left alone feeling they could cope with neither their own occupational roles nor with the problems of the families coming to the center. One might wonder about the concept of civilization presented in the example, and question how people manage to learn French in a place where there is "nothing." Working to develop a growing awareness of one's learned racist attitudes, however, is one thing; the underlying structure in the situation described is another: in this example, interculturalism was programmed for failure. What happens in a multicultural everyday situation often is not a question of incompatible differences between human beings but the result of an unequal distribution of resources and inappropriate policies to cope with the effects of multiculturalism.

To be sensitive to cross-cultural communication skills is en vogue, for the most varied reasons. Advertising experts see to it that symbols, colors, and slogans employed in the presentation of their products should not become counterproductive to the objectives of sales psychology (Dulfer, 1991). International business managers participate in training courses to become cross-culturally skilled negotiators. This should sensitise us to the fact that underlying motives of those who speak in favor of the issue are not always entirely altruistic.

Not without reason has the approach of multicultural education been called "the latest and most liberal variant of the assimilationist perspective" (Troyna, 1992). The hidden dangers easily come into
consciousness when we follow the dispute between multiculturalists and anti-racists (Gill, Mayor, and Blair, 1992; Finkielkraut, 1987). Among other labels, the different means of understanding and putting into practice approaches of multicultural or intercultural education have been accused of being ineffective, idealistic, discriminatory, and even segregative by artificially maintaining boundaries (Donald and Rattansi, 1992).

In fact, we tend to suspect that members of other cultures hide behind nebulous traits of everlasting strangeness. Often enough in doing so, we reproach them for holding onto communication obstacles we ourselves set up in the first place. Ever since Commodore Perry landed on the Japanese coast in the middle of the 19th century, the Japanese were labeled as being very different and difficult to understand. As they seemed to be reserved and withdrawn, most efforts to describe and analyze their "national character" achieved little more than the stabilization of their image of being incomprehensible: obviously, they didn’t want to be understood. Looking at Perry’s report of the mission, we find that on going ashore, the crew had received strict orders to listen carefully to anything they heard, but to give as little information as possible themselves. A few pages later, the same report complains about the Japanese being uncommunicative and evasive about the most simple things they were asked (Barr, 1988).

When all is said and done, we are not so much talking about technical rules to facilitate intercultural acrobatics, but about how people come together in a given context, and what they can make of the situation they are in. People involved in our project experience the change process. In living and working together, they came to achieve a greater awareness of themselves, a better understanding of other people, and eventually enlarged their options (Geertz, 1973; Rabinow, 1977; Clifford and Marcus, 1986). The process, once started, is open ended. The development of, for instance, the mathematical sciences, or the flamenco, or the books of Hanif Kureishi and others gain their strength from the integration of many cultural facets.
To be able to use distinctness as a potential for creativity, we have to realize that there is no such thing as "the Turk" and "the German." To take into account the possibility of culture-bound differences is one thing; to insist on their existence, another. To declare them insurmountable, is ridiculous in argument, and may result in fatal consequences.

References


Culture, Schooling, and Education in a Democracy

VICTORIA R. FU  
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University  
Blacksburg, Virginia

Introduction

The population of the United States is composed of people of many cultural backgrounds with a diversity of traditions. At the threshold of the twenty-first century, the demographic portrait of this nation is continuing a trend of rapid change, for example, the aging of the population, and changes in family structure and in ethnic minority population. In the foreseeable future, demographers expect that current minorities will make up the new majority in this country. Thus, there is more than ever a need for an inclusive definition of multiculturalism that is representative of the diverse groups in our society and based on an organizing conceptual framework. This definition will inform our practice and our design of research and policies. An inclusive concept of multiculturalism has the potential for contributing to a framework that will guide us in our efforts to provide culturally relevant programs and services, including education, to all people in this country, regardless of their cultural background.

Rogoff and Morelli (1989) recognized that most of us are blind to our own cultural heritage. We are most likely to notice the role of culture when we compare to one another the practices of groups other than our own, and particularly the practices of minority groups. The tendency is to consider the practices of dominant cultural groups as "standard" and those of other groups as "variations." For example, I have often heard people, especially those of European heritage, say that they do not know much about their cultural heritage and that they do not see how their heritage can

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have an effect on their behavior, beliefs, and practices. This unawareness of one's heritage may be a historical effect of collective assimilation and accommodation over time.

We become aware of our heritage when we encounter contrasting practices (Rogoff and Morelli, 1989). Because we are desensitized and sensitized to an awareness of culture in these ways, it is imperative that we use culture as a resource through which our assumptions regarding human development and our practices are examined.

Each of us is a member of multiple cultures, defined, for example, by race, ethnicity, gender, age, religion, occupational status, socioeconomic status, and family background. Thus, to a large extent our participation in society, and in different segments of society, is influenced by diverse, culturally prescribed or expected beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors. Since "no one is an island," we can assume that one's behavior, skills, and interactions are closely tied to the structure of the ecology of human development, that is, the sociocultural context in which development occurs. Therefore, we would like to propose that a sociocultural perspective be used in examining issues underlying the concepts of multiculturalism in general, and multicultural education in particular, in a democratic society.

We hope that collective examination and exploration of development and practices in sociocultural contexts, coupled with self-examination based on individual experiences, will lead us to interactions that promote cultural pluralism. That is, that we will value differences as well as similarities among people from diverse cultures, while at the same time, we will advocate for the maintenance of unity in the context of American democracy (Pai, 1990). From a pluralistic perspective, we will recognize and respect our diversity of traditions, value the strengths of an individual's heritage, and try not to impose our cultural view on others. The pluralistic perspective we propose is similar to the one proposed by James Garbarino (1982), which challenges individuals to be more tolerant and creative in their practice and research, and challenges those in dominant groups to share some of their power in making policy decisions.

We would like to suggest that the concept of multiculturalism in
education in a democracy should be an inherent component of the current debate on educational reform and teacher training. Schools have traditionally been seen as a vehicle of social change. Many educators are dismayed that while other countries are struggling for democracy, we, as a nation, seem to demand less of democracy when it provides the guiding principles for our own education system (Giroux, 1991).

Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education Defined

Multiculturalism is a principle, an approach, or a set of rules of conduct that guides the interactions and influences the perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of people from diverse cultural backgrounds. It encompasses a myriad of human differences, including race, ethnicity, culture, religion, national origin, occupation, socioeconomic status, age, gender, sexual orientation, and functional status. Multiculturalism is relevant to all people, regardless of their cultural backgrounds. It is an approach that provides a framework which one can use to examine one’s values, beliefs, and perceptions about cultural diversity, human rights, and privileges in a democratic society. In the process of embracing multiculturalism, we examine and critique our interactions with individuals and families in diverse contexts, for example, the contexts of teaching children in schools and other early childhood programs; teaching college students who will teach or participate in other ways in society; and providing services to individuals and families.

Underlying multiculturalism are the values and beliefs inherent to a democracy: the promotion of human rights and privileges, the sharing of power, and equal participation in all social contexts. In a democratic, pluralistic society we have the right to evaluate, decide, and compare competing cultural ideologies in terms of what is in the best interests of human development (Garbarino, 1982).

Multicultural education refers to school policies and curriculum, and teaching practices that foster understanding and appreciation of diversity, and promote positive and constructive intercultural relations on all levels and in all systems. The values of participatory democracy and
the sharing of power are reflected in interactions between teachers and children and between children themselves; interactions between teachers and school administrators, school governance bodies (school boards, school councils, etc.), and parents; and, from a more inclusive perspective, interactions with the social and political systems in which individuals and institutions function.

Inherent to multicultural education are the notions that there are diverse ways of constructing and acquiring knowledge and that one’s cultural heritage, history, and experience are viable sources of knowledge. These sources of knowledge serve as a basis for critiquing the relevance of knowledge, curriculum content, and practices individuals are exposed to in the schools. Diverse cultural knowledge and relationships should influence decisions regarding curriculum and practice. A multicultural curriculum does not reject the relevance of cultural traditions but is used by teachers, parents, administrators, and policymakers to examine the relevance of traditional curricula (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991; Giroux, 1991).

**Multicultural education** refers to school policies, curriculum, and teaching practices that foster understanding and appreciation of diversity, and promote positive and constructive intercultural relations.

**Schooling and Education**

In order to understand the role of multicultural education in schools, we must first examine the distinction between *education* and *schooling*. This is of special importance, for policymakers often fail to recognize the difference between these two concepts (Pai, 1991; Linney and Seidman, 1989). Hyman (1979) stated that:

Few in policymaking positions understand the difference between education and schooling. Education has to do with the processes of learning; schooling is the means by which social, political and economic factors shape the learning environment...(p.1025).
In regard to multicultural education, Pai (1991) stated that:

...multicultural education has almost always been associated with schooling. This erroneous equating of schooling and education inclines us to minimize the enormous impact our families, churches, industry, mass media, and other institutions outside of the school have on the development of the young. Further...if we attempt to change people’s fundamental attitudes toward others and increase social justice by merely changing our schools, we are likely to disregard the larger sociopolitical and economic context of formal education (pp.113-114).

The fact that the concepts of education and schooling are distinctive but interrelated helps us to understand how societal values and social policies influence decisions regarding what to teach, how to teach, and when to teach children. Congruent with our sociocultural perspective, the interaction between education and schooling reflects the reciprocal influences among various ecological systems.

This interaction is congruent with the principle that curriculum is derived from many sources: knowledge of child development, characteristics of individual children, the knowledge base of various disciplines, the values of our cultures, and the society’s notions of what it is important for children to know in order to function competently (Spodek, 1988). This systemic conceptualization of the curriculum is inherent in our proposed sociocultural, or socioecological, framework of multicultural education.

This conceptualization of multicultural education complements Giroux’s (1991) suggested relationship between culture and schooling:

A more critical understanding of the relationship between culture and schooling would start with a definition of culture as a set of activities by which different groups produce collective memories, knowledge, social relationships, and values within historically controlled relations of power. Culture is about the production and
legitimation of particular ways of life, and schools often transmit a culture that is specific to class, gender, and race (p.50).

Our proposed sociocultural framework of multicultural education takes into account the manner in which social and political values and policies define the school environment. For, as Giroux (1988, p.7) notes, "from its inception the American public school system was intended to be a vehicle of social change. Political, economic and social factors have impinged on the structure and curriculum of the school system throughout history." To examine schooling, according to Roman and Apple (1990, p.41), is "to see schools as places that were and are formed out of cultural, political, and economic conflicts and compromises." Historically, mandated policies, such as school desegregation and mainstreaming, have changed the school’s social environment. These policies have resulted in increasing diversity in schools. However, such policies have not been very effective in promoting multiculturalism. This is an issue of concern, for as stated earlier, crucial to education in a democracy is the incorporation of curriculum and teaching practices that acknowledge, respect, and support individual and cultural diversity and similarity.

Crucial to education in a democracy is the incorporation of curriculum and teaching practices that acknowledge, respect, and support individual and cultural diversity and similarity. In this form of education, potential conflicts between parents, the community, and the school concerning values and priorities are recognized.

It has been suggested that the professional expertise of educators should have its place in decision-making regarding curriculum and practice (Katz, 1989). In our proposed framework, educators make decisions regarding curriculum and practice based on expert knowledge about what, when, and how to teach particular content and taking into account the cultural values and interests of parents and communities (NAEYC, 1991).

As has been noted, an educational approach that subscribes to multiculturalism involves sharing of power. Parents can help build a connection between home and school, while teachers are empowered to be thinkers and decision makers. Ultimately, children’s learning potential will be optimized, for teaching and learning will occur in contexts in which
teachers assist and guide children’s efforts to acquire knowledge, skills, dispositions, and feelings toward learning in a manner that is meaningful and relevant to the children (Katz, 1985; 1989).

We need to be cognizant of the historical, social, and political context of diversity in America. This knowledge will enhance multiculturalism in our interactions with diverse groups in many contexts.

Proposed Conceptual Framework

The sociocultural framework proposed in this paper for use in exploring multiculturalism and implementing multicultural education is based on theoretical assumptions underlying: (1) Bronfenbrenner’s ecology of human development; (2) Vygotsky’s sociocultural contexts of human development; and (3) the feminist perspective of valuing personal experience as a source of knowledge, and as a means of obtaining insight about the connection between the personal and the political systems. These three systemic theories complement each other. They promote a constructivist view of development by focusing on the contexts in which development occurs and the interactions between systems.

Bronfenbrenner’s and Vygotsky’s theories focus on the socio-ecological and sociocultural context of development. Bronfenbrenner’s theory focuses on the mutual accommodation between the developing individual and the environment. Vygotsky’s theory of cognitive development emphasizes that human development is inseparable from social and cultural activities. It is both a theory of education and a theory of cultural transmission. According to Bruner (1987, pp.1-2), "education implies for Vygotsky not only the development of individual potential, but the historical expression and growth of human culture from which man springs." Vygotsky’s theory provides concepts of socialization that have particular meaning to instruction, namely, his concepts of intersubjectivity and the zone of proximal development.

Because the feminist perspective values personal experience as a source of knowledge and insight about the connection between the personal and the political systems, it provides the practitioner with a language of critique to analyze the ways in which differences within and between social or cultural groups are constructed and sustained in various contexts. Both in terms of pedagogy and politics, the notion of democracy is central to such an analysis (Giroux, 1991; Welsh 1991).
Taken together, these three perspectives provide an integrative framework for organizing multicultural practice in pedagogy. The sociocultural perspective we are proposing can be used to critique the relevance of competing cultural ideologies on the developing individual. For example, it can be used to examine school curriculum, practice, and policies; interpret research findings, and social, political and historical events; and construct prevention and intervention strategies. In this perspective, the ideologies of American democracy would be used as a shared assumption (which is reflected in the macrosystem) about how multicultural education could be implemented.

Bronfenbrenner and the Ecology of Human Development

Bronfenbrenner’s (1979, 1986) writings on the ecological approach to human development define the interaction between an individual and the social and physical environment. Bronfenbrenner focuses on the developing individual who actively interacts with the environment in a process of mutual accommodation. The environment, according to Bronfenbrenner, is composed of four interlocking structural contexts or settings. The ecological environment includes the most immediate settings (home, school, work) in which an individual functions daily, and the interaction between these immediate settings and larger social settings (formal and informal social institutions), including the values and ideologies of a particular culture or subculture. Bronfenbrenner also defines the four interlocking structural levels of the ecological environment. In brief, these are:

1. **The microsystems.** These are the most immediate contexts in which the developing individual interacts with people. The relationships between a child and family members in the home, and the relationships between a child and teachers or peers in the school, are examples of microsystems.

2. **The mesosystems.** These are relationships between the various contexts in which development takes place. For example, the relationship between a child’s home and school is a mesosystem.

3. **The exosystems.** These are the contexts or situations that influence an individual’s development, but in which the individual
does not directly participate. The exosystem includes the parent’s workplace and the formal and informal social and political institutions that make decisions that affect the child’s life.

Decisions and interactions made in the exosystems may affect multicultural education in the schools. For example, school boards that mandate the implementation of particular curriculum or teaching practices regardless of their appropriateness are undermining the teacher’s role as thinker and decision maker. These decisions may lead to teaching practices that do not challenge children to think, explore, and question, and do not foster a child-centered, constructivist perspective on teaching and learning that takes into account individual and cultural differences and promotes multiculturalism in a democracy.

(4) The macrosystems. These consist of cultural or subcultural values, beliefs, and ideologies that influence the interactions within and between meso- and exosystems. Bronfenbrenner (1979) conceives of macrosystems as blueprints of the ecology of human development:

The macrosystem refers to consistencies, in the form and content of lower-order systems (the micro-, meso-, and exosystems) that exist, or could exist, at the level of subculture or the culture as a whole, along with any belief systems or ideology underlying such consistencies (p.26).

Hence, the macrosystem reflects a shared assumption, among people, of "how things could be done" (Garbarino, 1982, p.24). Pluralism is relevant in this respect, because culture is made up of a diversity of traditions.
Bronfenbrenner (1979) recognizes that these blueprints may be in error and need to be evaluated and criticized in terms of whether they promote or impede human development. Thus, the ecology of human development has a function in promoting and evaluating social policy. History repeatedly shows that the macrosystem can and will change. We propose that multicultural education and research can bring about changes in practices and policies in schools and other institutions.

Vygotsky's Sociocultural Context of Development

Vygotsky's sociocultural context of development complements Bronfenbrenner's ecology of human development. Vygotsky's theory has direct implications for multicultural education. We recognize that the constructivist perspectives of both Piaget and Vygotsky contribute to our knowledge of how children learn (education) and of how and what to teach (schooling) from a sociocultural perspective. Both theories emphasize that children construct their own knowledge, and that development is influenced by social interaction.

Central to Vygotsky's (1978) theory is the notion that human development is inseparable from social and cultural activities. According to Vygotsky, children's development of higher mental processes involves learning to use the inventions of society, that is, the tools of culture, such as language and mathematics, through the assistance and guidance of other people who are more skilled in the use of these tools (Rogoff and Morelli, 1989). Thus, Vygotsky suggests that while children actively construct an understanding of their own world, they also benefit from guided interactions with more skilled partners, be they adults or peers. In other words, children learn through scaffolding, Vygotsky's term for assisted interaction or guided participation (Rogoff, 1986, 1990). This interaction is a means by which children become enculturated in the use of the intellectual tools of their society, such as language. Social encounters in a variety of contexts lead to understanding and self-regulation (Stremmel, Fu, and Stone, 1991).

Vygotsky (1978) referred to the range between what children can do when they function on their own and what they can achieve with assistance, or scaffolding, as the "zone of proximal development." With the assistance of adults and more competent peers, children acquire knowledge and skills and learn ways to solve problems: first, with support and guidance, and later, independently. Rogoff and Gardner (1984)
proposed that the learning of culturally defined goals is achieved through such a transfer of responsibility.

As pointed out by Katz, Evangelou, and Hartman (1990), "Current concepts of cognitive development—the 'zone of proximal development' (Vygotsky) and 'cognitive conflict' (Piaget)—imply that children whose knowledge or ability are similar but not identical stimulate each other's thinking and cognitive growth" (p.v.). This is a description of a process of learning and interacting embedded in the notion of intersubjectivity: the process of coordinating perspectives by sharing a purpose and making sensitive adjustments to each other during interpersonal activities (Trevarthan, 1980). In our opinion, this concept is essential to teaching in a culturally diverse society.

The Feminist Perspective on Multiculturalism

In the feminist perspective, personal experience and values are acknowledged, understood, learned, and made meaningful in the joint process of constructing individual cultural selves that exist in relation to one another. The feminist perspective incorporates the belief that valuing and encouraging flexibility and difference within the self will allow for more flexible interactions across individuals.

Conclusion

It is our hope that our conceptual framework can be used as a vehicle to generate interest in further exploration of multiculturalism and in the implementation of culturally relevant practices in schools and other social institutions. We also hope that the proposed framework and the mode of language implied by it will enable teachers, parents, researchers, policymakers, and others to examine in a critical manner the assumptions embedded in multiculturalism. Finally, we hope that with the collective knowledge gained from research and practice, our commitment to multiculturalism will make a difference in our interactions across systems.
References


Responsive Teaching:  
A Culturally Appropriate Approach

ANDREW J. STREMMEL  
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University  
Blacksburg, Virginia

Introduction

Debate over appropriate educational goals and teaching methods has fueled controversy in the field of early childhood education between academically accelerated and child-centered forms of instruction (see Bereiter, 1986; Kagan and Zigler, 1987; Schweinhart, Weikart, and Lamer, 1986). On one side of the debate, there are those who believe that young children do not need to be taught learning skills; rather, teachers should build on the inherent skills and interests that children bring to learning situations (e.g., Elkind, 1987).

Advocates of academic acceleration, on the other hand, argue that providing academic skills early will accelerate children's education and result in more learning (e.g. Doman, 1965; Engelmann and Engelmann, 1981).

While most early childhood educators in this country would agree that teaching must be developmentally appropriate and take into account the developmental characteristics and interests of the child, there is still uncertainty regarding the extent to which the values, goals, and teaching methods of other cultures should determine educational aims and developmentally appropriate practices. The aim of this paper is to begin to address
the question, "Which teaching practices are appropriate for whom, and under what circumstances?"

Research suggests that early childhood curricula should provide opportunities for children to interact with peers, caregivers, and aspects of their environment, and to engage in active rather than passive activities (Katz, 1987). Caregivers must be continually responsive to the spontaneously expressed interests and intentions of children as they pursue informal activities (Elkind, 1976; Katz, 1987; Katz and Goffin, 1990; Lay-Dopyera and Dopyera, 1990). Moreover, to sufficiently meet the needs of children from diverse cultural backgrounds, teaching practices must be relevant to, and meaningful in, the sociocultural context of the systems in which children live and develop (Rogoff and Morelli, 1989).

Evidence from research suggests, however, that children from diverse backgrounds do not all interact in the same ways with adults in classroom activities (Ingham, 1982; Ogilvy et al., in press). For example, Ogilvy and associates found that nursery school teachers are less likely to be responsive to minority children, adopting a controlling style regardless of children's individual differences in ability.

In the following pages, the meaning of responsive teaching is discussed, along with ways to help early childhood teachers become more responsive in their interactions with children having various backgrounds and experiences. Responsive teaching occurs when caregivers offer sensitive guidance and assistance at points in "the zone of proximal development" at which children require assistance (Tharp and Gallimore, 1988).

Vygotsky's (1978) concept of the zone of proximal development refers to the range between what children can do on their own and what they can achieve with the assistance of others who are more skilled in a particular domain of knowledge. Working within this "zone," children gain skills that allow them to assume increasing responsibility for their own learning. They learn not only how to perform a given task, but also how to structure their learning and reasoning when they solve problems.
Responsive Teaching

Responsive teaching involves the construction and negotiation of shared meaning or perspective in conversational interaction (Stone, 1985). Intersubjectivity, the linguistic concept denoting a sharing of purpose or focus in the coordination of perspectives (Rommetveit, 1985; Trevarthan, 1980), is crucial in responsive teaching because it is important for collaborative partners to determine a common ground for communication and understanding. Within this context, children actively participate in the construction of knowledge, and as a result, gain an increasingly advanced understanding of the skills and perspectives of their culture (Rogoff, 1990).

Responsive teaching is predicated on the interactive patterns between adults and children observed in many cultures, and in joint activity settings where participants have different skills and skill levels. It differs from conventionally defined means of instruction in several ways.

First, responsive teaching should not be conceptualized as the simple transfer of knowledge and skills by those knowing more to those knowing less (Moll, 1990). Both adult and child collaborate in structuring the situations that provide the latter with opportunities to observe and participate in culturally valued activities, thereby enabling children to extend their skills and knowledge to a higher level of competence. Therefore, unlike conventional instructive practices, responsive teaching does not assist children in developing skills they do not already possess; rather, it "roused to life" those functions and skills that are in the process of maturing (Vygotsky, 1978).

Second, traditional or teacher-directed forms of instruction involve making presuppositions about a task explicitly known prior to task engagement. This minimizes the child's active role in constructing understanding of the task, while maximizing the teacher's role. In responsive teaching, however, the teacher's role is to provide just enough guidance to enable the child, through his or her own efforts, to assume full control in performing a task.
Third, teacher-directed instruction typically employs a single teaching method. Katz (1987) has argued that a single teaching method (homogeneous treatment) is bound to produce heterogenous outcomes in children from diverse backgrounds.

While the goal of education should not be to produce children who have the same talents and abilities, many outcomes with respect to knowledge, skills, and dispositions should be the same for all children. For example, we want all children to develop social and communicative competence and the disposition to read. In responsive teaching, the assumption of a single or "best" way to teach gives way to the planned utilization of a variety of teaching strategies, including modeling, questioning, giving descriptive feedback, coaching, and prompting. Responsive teaching, therefore, involves the systematic use of a repertoire of alternative strategies that are more likely to be suitable to children having diverse needs and learning styles.

For the reasons cited above, responsive teaching methods should not be confused with accelerated attempts to teach academic skills to preschool children. As Sigel (1987) has pointed out, the major factor that differentiates academic acceleration from intellectual enhancement is the way in which teachers engage children and the degree of control children have in their activities.

In sum, responsive teaching helps children to (1) build bridges between what they already know and what they are capable of knowing; (2) structure and support their efforts in interesting and meaningful activities; and (3) assume increasing responsibility for task performance and management (Rogoff, 1990; Tharp and Gallimore, 1988). Children increase their understanding by relating what they are learning to what they already know (Carey, 1986). This bridging between the known and the new in communicative interaction presumes intersubjectivity. Thus, in dealing with culturally diverse children, initial differences in perspective must be modified in order to reach a common ground for communication (and thus understanding).
Examples of Responsive Teaching

In developmentally appropriate, responsive teaching, adults observe and build on children’s understanding, interests, and intentions in helping them pursue an activity, problem, or task. This requires the adult to possess some prior knowledge of each child’s current level of functioning, and a sense of when to intervene and when to hold back. It allows children to make self-discoveries when they are able, but also provides the necessary cues when children are in need of assistance with a task or activity. Children, meanwhile, must be intrinsically motivated and interested in a meaningful activity that will allow for varying degrees of challenge.

Employing the zone of proximal development perspective in the teaching-learning context, an early childhood teacher presents an activity or play setting that provides multiple options for challenge and involvement. Because many activities (for example, building with Legos or blocks) do not require a "correct" way of approaching and engaging in them, the teacher must effectively identify the child’s intention in relation to the activity in order to achieve a measure of intersubjectivity that will enable the teacher to assist the child in extending his or her play more fully. The teacher may simply provide reminders or suggestions, or give hints or ask questions. But it may be necessary at times for the teacher to demonstrate to the child exactly what to do. Furthermore, the teacher must be ready and able to capitalize on the spontaneously expressed interests of children as they emerge from the children’s participation in ongoing events in the classroom. Some examples are helpful.

Consider a situation in which a three-year-old child has approached a collage activity which has been planned for the art area in a preschool classroom. Art is an activity engaged in by people all over the world to represent historical and cultural events, as well as personal experiences (Ramsey, 1987). Thus, like adults in their society, children use various tools and materials to represent their experiences and express their feelings through art activities. The collage activity discussed here is an example of a semistructured, creative activity that is fairly common in preschool education.

Even before interaction with the child, the teacher has responsively selected and arranged the tools and materials that are appropriate for a child of this age. For a nature collage, for example, leaves of various sizes, colors, and shapes, and paper and glue may be provided in addition
to twigs, seeds, and other items that children may have gathered outdoors. The teacher's goal may be to have the child glue the various items onto the paper. However, this may not be the child's intention. The sensitive adult must accurately tailor his or her assistance to the child by being responsive to the child's understanding of the activity. If the child has a limited understanding of what to do, the teacher may offer a suggestion or ask a question (for example, "What could you do with these?") to help the child get started. The child may proceed by gluing items together (for example, seeds onto leaves), as opposed to gluing them onto the paper.

As the interaction continues, different ideas about how to use the materials may emerge as the teacher and child work together toward achieving increasing intersubjectivity. When some mutual conception of an appropriate way to do the task has been acquired through dialogue, the child should be allowed to work creatively and unassisted within acceptable and mutually understood parameters (for example, the child may not glue items onto another's paper or onto the table). At this point, descriptive feedback about the process, such as, "You are using leaves of different colors," or questions designed to extend the activity, such as, "Is there anything else you would like to add to your collage?" are appropriate.

When done appropriately, the art activity described above requires less adult responsibility or control than activities that are likely to need careful adult supervision, such as cooking. Like art, cooking or preparing food is an activity observable in many cultures and in home settings.

In other cultures, children take part in the preparation of food through the process of guided participation, in which opportunities to observe through modeling are common in everyday experience (Rogoff, 1986, 1990). This kind of collaborative activity typically requires the adult to take greater responsibility because of its importance to survival. However, the child actively participates at points where his or her skill level is congruent with the task demands. In preschool settings, children may take part in stirring, cutting, and serving, while the teacher demonstrates certain procedures or describes what is happening as ingredients are mixed, measured, and cooked. Such opportunities for mutual involvement in culturally meaningful activity provide an important teaching-learning context.

The value of mutually directed activity is also evident in the project approach to early childhood education as advocated by Katz and Chard (1989). A project is a group undertaking that enables children of many
different ability levels and backgrounds to collaborate on a theme or topic that extends over a period of days or weeks, depending on the children’s ages and interests. In project work, the adult has an important role in guiding the work undertaken; however, the work evolves from ideas, discussion, and matters that are interesting and familiar to children.

It is critical to note that, for responsive teaching to be developmentally appropriate, it must not rely on too much demonstration or make excessive demands. For example, questioning, a crucial strategy in teaching, must lead to meaningful and reciprocal interchange. Problems may result when a child is unable to benefit from adult questioning because it is unnatural, or does not sustain meaningful dialogue. For instance, when children are asked questions repeatedly, they have little chance to contribute to a task or initiate their own ideas. In over-questioning a child, the adult assumes too much control for the learning. The responsive teacher must be able to recognize the child’s inability to understand, and know how to manage the task situation when the child fails to respond, or gives a "wrong" or unrelated response. It is the "wrong" response that often produces the most useful information about how to tailor instruction to the zone of proximal development (Blank, 1973; Tharp and Gallimore, 1988). When used appropriately, questions can serve as useful barometers of mental performance, enabling the teacher to assess the level appropriate to the next stage of learning.

Teaching that is child-sensitive and responsive involves the mututal negotiation of activity and joint construction of meaning in social, communicative contexts. It is this form of teaching that may provide the best means for early childhood teachers to be responsive to individual differences in educability (Belmont, 1989; Wood, 1988).

**Implications for Teacher Education**

How can we best prepare prospective early childhood teachers to be responsive to the needs of diverse children? In this paper, it has been argued that sensitive adult as-

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Even in early childhood classrooms where individualized learning is enhanced through activity centers, considerable time, knowledge, and skills on the part of the teacher are necessary.
sistance enables children to proceed through the zone of proximal
development. Unfortunately, few teachers know how to provide the
appropriate type of sensitive assistance. Not only must teachers be
equipped with the pedagogical skills considered important to teaching
young children (and there is no consensus on these), but they must also be
trained to use the skills essential to teaching in the zone of proximal
development.

Among other things, these skills include the ability to assess the
needs, abilities, and interests of a diverse group of children, and to know
how to meet and respond to these once they are discovered, and to do so
by drawing from a repertoire of teaching strategies. Even in early
childhood classrooms where individualized learning is enhanced through
activity centers that provide multiple options and challenges for child
involvement, considerable time, knowledge, and skills on the part of the
teacher are necessary. Tharp and Gallimore (1988) have suggested that to
develop such skills, teachers must be provided with opportunities (1) to
observe competent practitioners of responsive teaching; (2) to practice
newly acquired skills; (3) to receive audio- and videotaped feedback about
their instruction; and (4) to be assisted by a skilled mentor while they are
teaching.

Critical to responsive teaching practice is the ability of teachers to
be reflective during their interactions with children. Early childhood
teachers, according to Lay-Dopyera and Dopyera (1987), appear to rely
on what Donald Schon (1983) terms "knowing-in-action" rather than
"reflection-in-action." That is, they use actions that are carried out almost
automatically with little deliberation before or during teaching interactions.
However, responsive teaching is never entirely automatic; it involves
reflectivity and active decision making (Tharp and Gallimore, 1988).

Teachers who teach responsively need to reflect on what they are doing in
the midst of their activity, evaluate how well it is working, and, as a
result, make changes in their teaching practices.

Self-reflection has been recognized as a useful technique for
connecting personal experience to that of others (for example, see
Bowman, 1989). I believe that teachers' thoughtful and careful
examination of their prior experiences as a teacher and learner, and their
intuitive understandings are necessary for achieving intersubjectivity in
responsive teaching.

In this way of thinking, a teacher cannot begin to understand the
perspective of the learner without first considering his or her own system
of values and attitudes about teaching and children's learning. Teacher education programs must encourage prospective teachers to use self-reflection to help them get in touch with their personal experiences and the ways in which these experiences may influence their teaching practices. Once teachers have done this, they can examine their teaching practices against the experiences, values, and beliefs of others, especially those from diverse backgrounds.

References


A Selected ERIC Bibliography on Multiculturalism in Early Childhood Programs

The items listed in this bibliography were retrieved from the ERIC database. They are listed from most recently added to the database to least recently added to the database.

ERIC Documents

ED351146
Hohensee, Julie Bisson; Derman-Sparks, Louise. 1992. Implementing an Anti-Bias Curriculum in Early Childhood Classrooms. ERIC Digest. Urbana, IL: ERIC Clearinghouse on Elementary and Early Childhood Education. 3p.

An antibias curriculum seeks to nurture children's potential by addressing issues of diversity and equity in the classroom. Goals of antibias curricula are to foster children's self-identity, interaction with people from diverse backgrounds, critical thinking about bias, and ability to stand up for themselves in the face of bias. The first phase in the implementation of an antibias curriculum involves creating an appropriate climate in the classroom. In this phase, teachers raise their awareness of antibias issues that relate to themselves, learn what ideas their students have about diversity, evaluate the classroom environment for the messages it contains about diversity, and identify parents who would be willing to participate in changing the classroom environment. The second and third phases involve teachers' nonsystematic and then systematic incorporation into classroom instruction of activities that teach antibias attitudes. During these phases, parent participation should be increased. The fourth phase consists of an ongoing integration of an antibias perspective as a filter through which the teacher plans, implements, and evaluates all learning materials, class activities, and teacher interactions with children, parents, and staff.

ED351133
One method teachers can use in educating themselves about cultures different from their own is to read literature about the cultural backgrounds of students in their classes. This literature review is designed to provide teachers with descriptions of sources of information about cultural influences on African-American children. It also explains how an awareness of African-American culture, with its unique combination of African and Euro-American traditions, can help classroom teachers develop relationships and structure relevant learning experiences for African-American children of all ages. The review discusses the impact of cultural experiences on the learning style, behavior, social interactions, language, and values of African-American children. The following topics are also covered: (1) the dual socialization of African-Americans; (2) the role of the black family in shaping the personality of children and in helping children survive; (3) African-American children in single-parent families; (4) the role of the extended family and African-American institutional networks in providing emotional and social support; (5) the socialization of African-American males; (6) the social orientation of African-American females; and (7) the role of the African-American church in providing fellowship, adult role models, and material and human resources essential for the well-being of black families.

ED347606

A practicum aimed to increase global awareness in the first grade classroom. The problem was that the students were very "Americanized," predominantly white, and rarely exposed to other cultures. Therefore, the students could not recognize commonalities among people and could not understand the cultural differences in others. The major goal was to increase global awareness in all five first grade classrooms by advocating the similarities of self and the cultural differences of others using a thematic, integrated approach. Language-experience charts, portfolios, charts, and student journals were used during the implementation phase to document student growth. The results of the practicum were very positive. All four objectives were successfully reached and surpassed the original expectations. The outcome of the project was demonstrated through
improved student attitudes, new friendships, and positive behaviors toward other students and among the five first grade teachers. The students are now more aware of their own needs, and the similarities and differences of others.

ED346101

This is the first part of a three-part curriculum guide dedicated to improving the nutritional status of children and adolescents as well as inspiring lifetime habits of healthy eating. It is also a total nutrition education program that encompasses nutritional aspects of the child's daily life both at school and at home. Teachers are provided with specific grade-level lesson plans and learning activities that include student handouts and worksheets, teacher resource pages, and overhead transparency masters. The guide is organized into five sections. The first section describes the program including cultural awareness information, the interaction of nutrition education with school food service, parent involvement, and program visibility. Section 2 provides implementation of the ESR IV curriculum guide. The third section addresses modifying ESR IV for special populations. Section 4 presents an instructor's resource guide for teaching nutrition education. The final section presents prekindergarten through grade 4 nutrition lessons highlighting the influence of different cultural groups on Texas civilization. Nine appendices include: suggested teacher resources; bibliography; a pattern for daily food choices and school breakfast and lunch patterns; recommended dietary allowances; a food composition table; dietary guidelines for Americans; a glossary of terms; suggested instructional strategies; and a health hotline of agencies and organizations.

ED345865
This monograph is intended to provide a rationale for multicultural education and to serve as a manual for teachers. It includes activities and strategies for teaching preschool and primary-age children from a multicultural perspective. The document is organized into six chapters, four of which include sample lessons. Chapter 1 provides the basis for inquiry into what a multicultural curriculum is and the way in which it responds to the needs of a population of increasing cultural diversity. Chapter 2 offers a rationale for the present social studies structure in the primary grades and discusses ways to modify lessons within that structure to embody a multicultural perspective. A historical picture of changing perspectives in science and mathematics in early childhood education is provided in Chapter 3. This chapter describes ways to help all children succeed in science and mathematics through the use of a multicultural perspective. Chapter 4 focuses on teacher characteristics that enhance the teaching of a curriculum with a multicultural perspective. In Chapter 5, discussion concerns the ways in which play supports the goals of multicultural education. Chapter 6 extends the process of creating a multicultural climate to aspects of the classroom that do not fall within the established subject areas. A list of 86 references, a list of 20 children’s books, and a list of teacher resources are provided.

ED344882

This study was conducted to determine: (1) multicultural beliefs of preservice teachers; (2) participants’ feelings of confidence for working with and understanding different multicultural groups; (3) differences between students who function at a low or a high conceptual level in multicultural beliefs; and (4) differences between students who function at a low or a high conceptual level in feelings of confidence for working with
and understanding different multicultural groups. The Multicultural Beliefs Instrument and the Hunt Conceptual Level Inventory were administered to early childhood student teachers (N=64) prior to their student teaching experience. The group had been exposed to courses with multicultural components, but no separate course was offered. Results, summarized in four tables, indicate that: significant differences exist among students with high or low conceptual levels, multicultural beliefs, and feelings of confidence; students with a higher conceptual level had more positive belief responses than did students with lower conceptual levels; and high conceptual level students expressed more confidence in working with and understanding different multicultural groups. Tables display data on students' multicultural beliefs and their feelings of confidence.

ED344724

This curriculum guide was developed to assist Pennsylvania educators in developing a multicultural awareness and education program for children in preschool through grade three. The first section provides guidelines for creating a multicultural environment to include the use of classroom materials that emphasize individual and cultural differences to eliminate stereotypic and inaccurate materials. The second section offers background information about the history of Native Americans in Pennsylvania and the value and traits of contemporary Native American culture, and suggestions about how to portray Native Americans. Curriculum development is integrated into present school curriculum through an interdisciplinary approach. Suggestions for selecting appropriate stories and books by and about Native Americans are included. The third section is a list of references. The fourth section is a bibliography consisting of 65 publications relevant to multicultural education. The appendices include: (1) sample lesson plans for multicultural education; (2) an example of the thematic or interdisciplinary approach to integrating multicultural themes into core content areas; (3) a checklist for curriculum and materials on Native Americans; (4) suggested classroom activities; (5) a list of American Indian resource persons and centers; and (6) a description of Native American programs presented to schools by the Lenape Historical Society.
Storytelling has cultural roots and this can be employed to teach a culturally pluralistic curriculum. Stories can be selected from a variety of sources and used to match lesson objectives. Criteria for selecting stories should include the authenticity of cultural representation, the amount of cultural information, appropriateness, and the estimated interest of the child. In art education, these stories can be used as a basis for lessons on mask-making, drawing, toy-making, kite-making, origami, oriental brush painting, puppets, patterned quilts, and art history. Examples of stories include "Lord of the Dance" by Veronique Tadjo which explains the intended use of masks in African ceremonies, and "Arrow to the Sun" by Gerald McDermott, a story about American Indians. The most important aspect of verbal and visual storytelling is that students are given opportunities to express their own feelings about the world around them.

ED340817

This manual for first grade teachers provides suggestions and teaching materials that reflect the multicultural composition of New York City’s (New York) public schools. It is organized into two sections: the first is in English, and the second is in Spanish. The English section contains the following six sections: (1) "Planning for the First Grade," which offers strategies to assist teachers in beginning the school year successfully; (2) "The Multicultural Learning Environment," which offers guidance in organizing and implementing instructional approaches; (3) "Instructional Approaches and Strategies," which suggests approaches for implementing multicultural and basic education; (4) "Working Together," which describes shared responsibilities and activities for parents, teachers, and administrators; (5) "Societal Concerns," which discusses current societal pressures and concerns affecting young children; and (6) "Assessment,"
which outlines the procedures and strategies used to assess a child’s progress. The Spanish section contains the following sections: (1) a description of the Chancellor’s educational standards for language and mathematics; (2) a discussion of the role of first or native languages; and (3) teaching units in the context of five themes appropriate for the first grade, i.e., "so like us" (plants and animals); "my own little world" (school, community, environment); "our families", "our friends," and "numbers around us". Also included is a 64-item bibliography of Spanish- and English-language resources for teachers, children, and parents.

ED340816

This manual for first grade teachers provides suggestions and teaching materials that reflect the multicultural composition of New York City’s (New York) public schools. An introduction describes the philosophy that supports a high-quality, developmentally appropriate program through a multicultural perspective. The manual is organized into the following eight sections: (1) "Planning for the First Grade," which provides strategies to assist teachers in beginning the school year successfully; (2) "The Multicultural Learning Environment," which offers guidance in organizing and implementing a variety of instructional approaches; (3) "Instructional Approaches and Strategies," which suggests approaches for implementing multicultural education as well as basic skills; (4) "Developing Themes of Study," which illustrates the thematic approach through five themes appropriate for first grade; (5) "Working Together," which describes shared responsibilities and activities for parents, teachers, and administrators; (6) "Societal Concerns-Children With Special Needs," which discusses current societal pressures and concerns affecting young children; (7) "Assessment," which outlines the procedures and strategies used to assess a child’s progress; and (8) "Current Research," which contains information on contemporary research to support developmentally appropriate practices. Two bibliographies are appended. The first, containing over 600 citations, is divided into various categories, e.g., "Native Americans," "Asian Americans," "African Americans," and others. The second bibliography contains about 150 titles and is presented
This document is a comprehensive guide to planning and implementing a multicultural kindergarten curriculum in New York City's public schools via planned, developmentally appropriate learning experiences. The guide contains the following 15 sections: (1) "Introduction," which outlines the program and its philosophy; (2) "First Days," which offers strategies for a smooth start to the school year; (3) "Parent Involvement," which discusses the vital home/school partnership and specific recommendations; (4) "Bilingual Education/English as a Second Language," which offers data on the limited English child and strategies for teaching English as a Second Language; (5) "Creating a Learning Environment," which offers guidance in organizing the learning center approach; (6) "Enriching the Curriculum," which describes the whole language methodology, trip experiences, and effective use of computers in the classroom; (7) "A Multicultural Sampler," which offers culturally and linguistically diverse musical and literary materials; (8) "The Interactive Teacher," which explores the teacher's role; (9) "The Thematic Approach," which provides guidelines and a comprehensive flow chart; (10) "Partners in Learning," which provides appropriate shared responsibilities and an administrator guide; (11) "Looking at Today's Children," which describes current societal pressures and problems and suggests appropriate action; (12) "Assessment," which outlines informal and formal assessment procedures and includes sample checklists; (13) "Current Issues," which considers contemporary educational thinking; (14) "Developmental Skills in the Curriculum Areas," which outlines expected skills and understandings appropriate to curriculum content on the kindergarten level; and (15) "Bibliography/Teacher Resources," which offers a 466-item bibliography.
This conference focused on the central role of play and arts throughout the early childhood years, the unique learning styles of young children (ages 3-8), and children’s developmental needs. Special emphasis was placed on curriculum, assessment, the essential role of the arts in learning, multicultural awareness, needs of special populations, and the interrelatedness of the arts in the learning process. The participants were early childhood and arts educators who have responsibility for designing and implementing quality educational experiences for young children. The book is organized into four major sections. Section 1, "General Sessions," provides theoretical material in the areas of curriculum development, arts assessment, and child development. The second section, "Specific Arts Instruction," contains many practical activities as well as theoretical discourses in music, art, dance, and drama. Section 3, "Model Programs," describes three well-developed arts programs. The final section, "Multicultural/International Programs," includes information about creative arts programs of various countries and a multicultural perspective for program development.

This bibliography was compiled for educators and parents involved in early childhood migrant education. It contains more than 200 entries of publications, publishers, and book dealers, to help parents and teachers...
encourage children to learn and read. The entries are arranged into three sections: (1) resources for staff; (2) resources for parents; and (3) bilingual and multicultural books. In the first section, curriculum resources, works on early childhood education theory, and a list of periodicals are included. The second section, resources for parents, includes a list of child development books available in Spanish, informational pamphlets available in Spanish and English, and periodicals. The third section, bilingual and multilingual books, includes books in Spanish, a list of multicultural books, periodicals geared towards use with preschoolers and a listing of book dealers of international books and bilingual books. Each entry includes title, author, publication date, and publisher. The document also contains a 1989 Beginner's Bibliography compiled by the National Association for the Education of Young Children. Sources for locating additional bibliographies are listed.

ED340357

This bibliography contains lists of resources for school leaders on the following topics: (1) at risk students, 10 titles; (2) choice, 7 titles; (3) community and parent involvement, 12 titles; (4) curriculum development and evaluation, 10 titles; (5) early childhood education, 10 titles; (6) equity and multicultural education, 17 titles; (7) instructional leadership and supervision, 8 titles; (8) leadership, 9 titles; (9) management and administration, 9 titles; (10) organizational change, 10 titles; (11) partnerships, 8 titles; (12) planning, 6 titles; (13) restructuring and school improvement, 26 titles; (14) rural education, 19 titles; (15) school finance and fund raising, 6 titles; (16) school-based management, 8 titles; (17) staff development, 10 titles; (18) student assessment, 9 titles; (19) teacher evaluation, 7 titles; (20) teacher recruitment and selection, 4 titles; and (21) technology and distance education, 12 references. References are listed alphabetically by author in each section, and include all author’s names, title, year of publication, publisher, document length in pages, and library classification number. Items listed include reports, guides, literature
reviews, and other studies. A form for interlibrary loan requests is provided.

ED339585

This paper summarizes an ethnographic study conducted in 1989-1990 assessing the effectiveness of the Denver Indian Center's preschool program in preparing Native American children for the transition to public school. The Center, a fully licensed child care facility, serves an intertribal community of approximately 18,200 Native Americans. The development of literacy, pre-math and other cognitive skills, fine and gross motor skills, social emotional growth, and knowledge of Native American culture is stressed through the curriculum. The researcher, as a nonparticipant observer for the school year, recorded teacher's and children's activities and teacher child interactions. The public school teachers were interviewed to assess their evaluation of the Native American students' achievement. The Iowa Test of Basic Skills, administered by the classroom teachers, provided information about Native American students' achievement in kindergarten, first, and second grade. Results of the study indicate that in kindergarten these Native American students were socially withdrawn and struggling academically. By first and second grade the students became more verbal and some chose to share their cultural heritage with others. Results of a questionnaire revealed that parents were supportive of the preschool curriculum. The study implies the need for the involvement of Native Americans in their children's education in order to foster a cultural identity and to promote awareness of the developmental needs of young children.

ED339548
This paper discusses teaching with a multicultural perspective in early childhood education. It is emphasized that a major goal of multicultural education is to help children become accustomed to the idea that there are many lifestyles, languages, cultures, and points of view. Other topics include negative stereotypes and the influence that early childhood associated with multicultural education are presented and dispelled. These are: (1) Other cultures should be presented as distinct ways of living that reflect differences from the dominant culture; (2) Bilingualism is a liability rather that an asset; (3) Multicultural education is only relevant in classes with students who are members of the groups to be studied; (4) There should be a separate, unified set of goals and curriculum for multicultural education; and (5) Mere activities, which are not placed in an explicit cultural context, constitute viable multicultural education curriculum. It is emphasized that the promotion of positive self-concepts for children is essential, as is a focus on activities that highlight the similarities and differences of all children's lives. The challenge for educators is to present an effective multicultural education foundation by means of which all children can learn to accept others. Six references are appended.

ED332799

This paper discusses aspects of the role of music in the preschool setting. The teaching and singing of folk songs are an avenue through which cultural literacy can be explored. A sensory approach to song learning that includes visual, kinesthetic, and aural stimuli increases children's vocabulary. Some theories suggest that musical intelligence is only one of several forms of intelligence. Without active musical involvement, there is a loss of children's musical aptitude between ages five and six. Because art forms are not isolated in the child's world, music can be used as a companion to other forms, such as dramatic play and stories. Strategies for teaching must be active. When such styles are used, children will be involved through sensory modes of learning. In conclusion, research shows that musical aptitude becomes stabilized before age nine, and that more consideration must be given to the musical experiences of children between the ages of three and eight.
This monograph provides a framework for programs, states, and organizations to think about the issues in developing culturally competent programs for families of children with special needs, and offers a variety of examples from programs across the country that are providing exemplary services. The monograph is designed to help program makers compare their efforts with others, to provide options for planning additional services or altering services in existing programs, or to develop new programs. Monograph sections cover the following topics: (1) general issues in developing culturally competent programs as they relate to community-based family-centered care; (2) specific issues in policy and practice, such as assessment, outreach, family involvement, staffing, use of translators, client load, professional-paraprofessional partnerships, and training and support; and (3) descriptions of programs funded by the Bureau of Maternal and Child Health that serve families in several different types of settings.

An anti-bias, multicultural approach to family day care is presented in this book. Part A provides a rationale for such an approach; Part B outlines ideas for children’s anti-bias, multicultural projects; Part C describes children’s books and adult resources, and lists sources of hard-to-find items such as multicultural dolls and puppets. Subsections of Part A concern family day care as a site for the transmission of bias;
characteristics of an anti-bias, multicultural approach; language and stereotypes; developmental tasks at different ages; parents as partners; the family day care environment; and strategies to use with children. Subsections of Part B describe anti-bias, multicultural activities; and offer guidelines for celebrating nontraditional holidays. Subsections of Part C offer a checklist for books, toys, and materials; an annotated bibliography of 301 items of children’s literature that are indexed according to gender of the main character, the race/culture of the main culture, multiethnic content and other characteristics, such as special need content and strong anti-bias message; an annotated bibliography of 32 resources for adults; a list of companies with anti-bias and/or multicultural books and materials; and a list of resource organizations. Fifty-seven references are included.

ED327326

Designed as a companion book to a handbook for family day care providers, this resource guide begins with a checklist for use by those selecting children’s books, posters, recordings, and other teaching resources for family day care homes. The second section of the book offers an annotated bibliography of children’s literature that includes the best antibias and multicultural books. The third section provides an annotated bibliography of resources for adults. Resources that help caregivers expand their understanding of antibias and multicultural issues were chosen for this bibliography. Many of the books contain information about specific cultures. Others outline learning activities for children. Companies with antibias or multicultural books and materials are listed in the fourth section. Some companies focus on antibias, peace, and multicultural materials; others have only a few items of this sort.

ED327311
Akers, Belle L. 1990. "It Was a Calm, Quiet Sea...": Using Children’s Literature. 27p.; Paper presented at the Annual
This paper profiles learning activities for kindergartners and first graders that involve the use of literature. Numerous citations of literature for kindergarten children are provided. Curriculum components that have been used successfully in kindergarten and the first grade are addressed in a list of titles organized by theme and author, including bears, fantasy (Halloween preparation), animal friends, general literature, multicultural literature, and poetry. Classbooks and classbook topics are described. The list continues with citations for literature appropriate for reading aloud. Guidelines for creative projects, dioramas, bulletin board stories, and dramatizations are provided. Additional curriculum components recommended for the first grade include story maps, approaches to teaching skills with literature, and topics for creative writing activities. A language development program that involves child-centered activities for exploring storybooks from prekindergarten through the second grade is discussed. The paper concludes with citations and class projects on such favorite themes as winter, ocean life, fish, rain, animals, farms, mice, trees, and birthdays.

ED324590

This booklet is part of the "Children’s Activity Series," a set of four supplemental teaching resources that promote awareness about health, family life, and cultural diversity for children in kindergarten through third grade. The booklet includes eight easy-to-teach activities which introduce young children to the concepts of culture and cultural diversity. It provides a positive multicultural experience and includes illustrations and hands-on activities that help children prepare foods, build shelters, celebrate with music, and compare customs that express love and affection. Through the activities in the book, it is hoped that children will learn to appreciate their
own uniqueness, respect similarities and differences among people, understand that many diverse kinds of people are Americans, and develop good feelings about themselves and others. This simply-structured teacher's guide is designed to help young children grow into adults who are open to the diversity of the world and its cultures.

ED319493
Southern Association on Children Under Six. 1990. Five Position Statements of the Southern Association on Children Under 6 (SACUS): (1) Employer Sponsored Child Care; (2) Developmentally Appropriate Assessment; (3) Continuity of Learning for Four-to-Seven-Year-old Children; (4) Quality Child Care; (5) Multicultural Education. Little Rock, AR: Author. 41p. Available From: Southern Association on Children Under Six, P.O. Box 5403, Brady Station, Little Rock, AR 72215 (set of 5 papers, $1.00). EDRS Price - MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.

Five position statements of the Southern Association on Children Under Six are presented in this document. The statement on developmentally appropriate assessment includes such topics as testing practices that harm young children; limitations of standardized testing; misuses of test data; and assessment criteria. The statement on continuity of learning addresses the topics of children as learners; early childhood professionals and paraprofessionals; educational and child care settings for young children; and recommendations. The statement on quality of child care concerns children's needs to: (1) feel safe and comfortable; (2) be involved in meaningful activities; (3) be supported as full-time learners; (4) learn how to live comfortably with others; (5) have their physical development supported; (6) be given lessons on health, nutrition, and safety; (7) feel that there is consistency in their lives; and (8) know that parents and caregivers care about them. The statement on multicultural education concerns ways in which an improved understanding of multicultural education can be developed; ways in which teachers and parents can share the responsibility of enhancing children's multicultural awareness; and recommendations for keeping the learning environment consistently multi-ethnic. The statement on employer-sponsored child care focuses on the issues of who needs child care, why employers should care about child care, what employers can do, and the options for employer-supported care.
Any activity that brings together people from different cultures leads to the emergence of cultural differences and similarities. The 35 lesson plans contained in this document suggest activities that highlight the differences. However, without being surrounded by various activities showing essential similarities, these activities would have the opposite effect of that intended; that is, they would result in embarrassment or even indictment of minority cultural features. Therefore, it is essential to use these activities only after the group has worked together in various fields having no links to an intercultural approach. When used correctly, the materials will explain and clarify the existence of varied cultures in this society and throughout the world. Although some of the activities target specific users, such as preschool children, secondary school pupils, young people (15-20 years old), or adults in literacy courses, most of them are intended for all users. Working together and achieving a selected target together is the best intercultural approach when there are people from different cultures in a group. These activities are designed to provide that opportunity.

In recent years, strategies for multicultural education and human relations have been applied to progressively younger preschool children. This paper identifies five approaches to multicultural education, then goes on to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the predominant human relations approach. Challenging issues encountered in applying multicultural education to early childhood programs are then discussed. It is argued that a program committed to multicultural education will create an environment, recruit a staff, involve community resources, and provide toys and learning materials that reflect the diversity of the broader society.
Recommendations concern: (1) creation of a multicultural environment; (2) parent involvement; (3) developmentally appropriate activities; and (4) holiday issues. It is concluded that the most important short-term goals may be enhancement of self-esteem and appreciation of human diversity. Long-range benefits will include preparing young people to build a more equitable and inclusive society.

ED313101

Early childhood (ECE) programs should reflect the diversity of the populations and cultures for which they are designed. For example, there are varieties of support for early childhood education in the United States, where a basic distinction is made between programs for education and programs for child care. While some may believe that the alliance between the fields of ECE and child development is immutable and uniform, in reality programs differ in theories of development and educational ideology. Kohlberg and Mayer identified three educational ideologies that reflect different developmental theories: a romantic ideology reflecting a maturational view; a cultural transmission ideology reflecting a behavioral view; and a progressive ideology reflecting an interactionist, constructivist view. Although for many years the romantic ideology was associated with most preprimary programs, at present, ECE program in the United States are characterized by a cultural transmission ideology or a progressive ideology. It is well to keep in mind that while programs for young children should be developmentally appropriate, they should also be worthwhile educationally. The starting place for educational program development should be a value statement on what children ought to be and become. Implications are discussed.

ED312090
Steele, Bonnie Blandy. 1989. Fostering Appreciation and Understanding of Multiculturalism within the Elementary School Setting Using a Multidisciplinary Approach. 131p.;
A school district's international coordinator and a primary school teacher of 20 second-graders from 10 different ethnic groups implemented a practicum designed to improve the understanding and appreciation of cultural diversity among students, parents, and teachers at the Ithan Elementary School in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. The practicum also served as a pilot for possible implementation in the social studies curriculum for the district. Practicum objectives involved the identification of weaknesses in the social studies curriculum for second-grade students, development of in-service workshops for second-grade teachers, and implementation of multidisciplinary units. Involved teachers attended workshops, implemented and coordinated lessons, read research articles, discussed concerns, developed new methods for teaching multiculturalism, and evaluated change. Students gained understanding of cultural groups in the community. They developed effective ways to acknowledge and incorporate diversity and difference. School-community networks helped maximize resources that fostered multiculturalism. Evaluation data indicated improved multicultural understanding and sensitivity among teachers and students, and increased parents' comfort in the school environment. Recommendations and dissemination plans are offered. Related materials are provided in 27 appendices.

ED309406

Standard curricula at the primary level can be enlivened and enriched through storytelling and multi-ethnic literature, whereby teachers can introduce and reinforce a multicultural, unified world view. Through these materials, students in homogeneous monocultural environments can enjoy a broadened world view and new ideas to provide materials for their imaginations. Students in multicultural communities can contribute to the education of their peers by infusing the curriculum with their own experiences, thus creating a dynamic interchange. The teacher can assign "roots" projects and collect oral histories; the students can write to relatives and share their findings. Stories, assignments, projects, and activities can all reflect the particular character and culture of the class.
ED306047

This bibliography of cross-cultural materials contains 437 bibliographic citations of journal articles, books, government reports, court cases, and bibliographies of interest to rural special educators. Major topical areas are bilingual exceptional children (136 items) and culturally diverse exceptional children (135 items). Other topics include Black Americans, court cases, Hawaiians, Hispanics, migrant exceptional students, Native Americans, and nondiscriminatory evaluation.

ED305826

A study compared language skill development and cultural attitudes of second-grade children taught in an additive-bilingual program setting with those of second-grade children from a monolingual classroom setting. Subjects were 41 second-grade children participating in a Spanish immersion program and 19 children from a regular second-grade classroom. Comparisons were made on three variables: (1) nonverbal problem-solving, as language development, as measured by a picture vocabulary test; and (3) attitude toward Hispanic culture, as measured by a cross-cultural attitude inventory. Gender and age relationships were also examined. Results supported earlier research and theory on the mediation of language as an essential part of nonverbal problem-solving, on the positive effect of second-language learning on cultural outlook, and on the contribution of the additive-bilingual instructional setting to native language maintenance in immersion education. 62 references.

ED303250
Hewes, Dorothy W. 1988. Early Childhood Program Administrators and Parents from Third World Countries. 13p.;
Briefly described is a San Diego State University course in which students became aware of linkages with community groups representing families from Third World countries. Students were taught material related to the administration of early childhood programs. Summaries of student research reports are included. Student reports focused on life experiences of the Hmong, Vietnamese, Ethiopians, Iraqis, Filipinos, Nicaraguans, Hispanics, Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, Laotians, Indochinese, Salvadorians, and Native Americans, and on immigrants and Head Start, migrant education in San Diego, school district children’s centers, and California and Third World countries. Basic principles for working with parents from diverse ethnic groups are listed.

ED301028


Practical information and sample teaching activities for child caregivers who work with young developmentally disabled children in family day care settings are provided in this manual. Each chapter shares a typical experience a caregiver may have with a particular child. Chapter 1 focuses on getting to know a new child, initial expectations, and testing a new environment, with related activities such as following simple directions and learning sounds. Topics covered in chapter 2 include sensitivity to the child’s changing needs, developmental stages, sequencing and repeating activities, and creativity, with related activities which include imitating sounds and giving objects. In chapter 3, the how-to’s of designing and preparing for activities are described. Activities in chapter 4 (e.g.,
wheelbarrow walk, Simon Says) accompany a discussion of the meaning of play for children. Chapter 5 focuses on the creation and use of toys and spaces for play, with activities such as pointing to body parts and pushing objects. Discipline and setting limits is addressed in chapter 6, while the final chapter describes ways to include special needs children in group activities. Brief appendices include a summary of major points to remember, glossary of terms, developmental information, and organizational and print resources.

ED298736


Practical information and sample teaching activities for child caregivers who work with young developmentally disabled children in family day care settings are provided in this manual. Each chapter shares a typical experience a caregiver may have with a particular child. Chapter 1 focuses on getting to know a new child, initial expectations, and testing a new environment, with related activities such as following simple directions and learning sounds. Topics covered in chapter 2 include sensitivity to the child’s changing needs, developmental stages, sequencing and repeating activities, and creativity, with related activities which include imitating sounds and giving objects. In chapter 3, the how-to’s of designing and preparing for activities are described. Activities in chapter 4 (e.g., wheelbarrow walk, Simon Says) accompany a discussion of the meaning of play for children. Chapter 5 focuses on the creation and use of toys and spaces for play, with activities such as pointing to body parts and pushing objects. Discipline and setting limits is addressed in chapter 6, while the final chapter describes ways to include special needs children in group activities. Brief appendices include a summary of major points to remember, glossary of terms, developmental information, and organizational and print resources.
The Spanish translation of this guide offers information to Spanish-speaking family day care providers who desire to expand their knowledge of early childhood development in order to work with infants and young children with special needs in their day care settings. The first of four chapters answers common questions and concerns of day care providers, describes children with special needs and the importance of early intervention, lists advantages of having children with special needs in the family day care setting, and explores providers’ feelings and reactions to special needs children. Chapter 2 discusses aspects of child development, including sequential learning and developmental milestones, and describes the importance of gathering information, communicating with parents, observing the child carefully, and noting warning signs of developmental delay or other disability. Chapter 3 outlines steps to take in referring a child for assessment, describes participation in the assessment process, and discusses working with specialists. A final chapter focuses on the relationship between providers and parents of special needs children, including understanding parents’ needs and reactions, ingredients for a positive provider-parent relationship, parent meetings, and parent involvement. A bibliography and list of organizational resources are appended.

Journal Articles

EJ453719
Encourages educators to rethink approaches to teaching about Columbus’ "discovery" of the Americas. Recommends that teachers examine textbooks for balance of presentation about Columbus. Suggests using children’s literature and primary sources in addressing the topic. Underscores the need to present a balanced, multicultural explanation of the voyages of Columbus.

EJ451991

Presents teachers with guidelines for being sensitive to Native Americans and other people of different cultures and for teaching young children about cultural diversity. Stresses the need for inclusiveness of all cultural groups, especially Native Americans, in the classroom.

EJ449315

Describes a program for teaching four- and five-year-old students to appreciate and enjoy rather than fear differences among cultures. Suggests having parents participate by teaching about their own cultures. Explains that the program includes a need statement, target population, goal, and objectives. Recommends lessons focusing on families, objects, songs, languages, and foods.

EJ447650
Clark, Leilani; And Others. 1992. Teaching Teachers to Avoid Having Culturally Assaultive Classrooms. Young Children, 47(5), 4-9.

Children in a class were divided into two groups. Members of one group were called "Indians," and members of the other were called "non-Indians." Members of the so-called Indian group assaulted the cultural values of the "non-Indian" group. Children’s reactions are discussed.
EJ443506

Discusses six techniques that will help teachers evaluate their multicultural views and practices: building multicultural programs; showing appreciation for differences; avoiding stereotypes; acknowledging differences in children; discovering classroom diversity; and avoiding pseudomulticulturalism.

EJ441937

Racial preferences of 16 biracial 3-5 year olds were compared with those of 28 African-American and 18 white children. Findings indicated that biracial children’s racial preferences are not significantly different from those of white and African-American children but that the biracial category is useful for research on racial attitudes and racial identity formation.

EJ441903

The implications of developmentally and culturally appropriate practice for early childhood education are explored from the context of selections from classroom journals and personal narratives of 30 early childhood educators. The ability of developmentally appropriate practice to respond to cultural diversity is discussed.

EJ438179

Early childhood education has a long-term commitment to fostering respect for diversity and providing equal educational opportunities to all children.
Fears and frustrations underlying a backlash to this commitment are identified, and guidelines for responding to the backlash are given.

EJ438175

Describes inappropriate approaches to diversity in early childhood programs, such as teachers being proud of being "colorblind." Suggestions for making changes and for finding support for those changes are given.

EJ436467

Explores ways in which the concept of inclusion as a goal of multicultural education may be understood in reference to the concerns of early childhood education. Emphasizes the need for adults to understand more about the inner structures of their own cultures before they can be expected to recognize those structures in the children they teach.

EJ432560

Describes a literature, writing, and art activity using the Russian folktale "The Turnip" to help kindergarten students recognize and appreciate the ways in which children, families, and cultures are alike.

EJ431681

Maintains that child care teachers can help remedy cultural tunnel vision by promoting cultural diversity and understanding as they work with children and communicate with parents about what they are doing.

Recommend using children’s literature to teach cultural pluralism in early childhood and in elementary social studies programs. Delineates anthropological concepts and suggests a list of children’s books that may be helpful for teaching these concepts. A 21-item bibliography is included.


Advocates reintegrating social studies into early primary education. Provides social studies objectives for young children that include building positive self-concept; promoting understanding of cultural differences; gaining early appreciation of law concepts; and developing spatial and temporal skills. Argues that young children become more competent as they connect these skills and concepts to their life situations.


Traces and analyzes the history of African American children’s literature defined as "culturally conscious," an authentic body of literature written about and for African American children. Discusses the current status of this literature and indicates a change in focus in the last century. Authors’ perspectives, and the implications for educators, are discussed.


This paper presents a cultural model of deafness, describing the experiences of a deaf child as enculturation into a deaf world. The implications of this view on social, cognitive, and linguistic development
are explored through description of Bo Mee, an adopted Korean deaf child being raised in a multilingual, multicultural environment.

EJ420702

Demonstrates a procedure for teachers to use when evaluating multicultural books by reviewing two primary-level nonfiction books about Japan. Analyzes the use of photographs and the representation of the culture. Points out that, although nonfiction is valuable when teaching about other cultures, teachers should critically examine such books.

EJ420435

Suggests ways for early childhood programs to analyze the degree to which their parties, festivals, and celebrations are consistent with early childhood theory and research, and with good practice. Provides suggestions for increased integration of multicultural activities into the overall curriculum.

EJ420434

Describes goals for training for antibias practices. Goals involve (1) reexamining curriculum practices and materials for the purpose of enriching the curriculum; and (2) working with children, staff, and parents to overcome the biases of the dominant culture. Includes a suggested activity for beginning antibias training.

EJ415704
Explores the relationship between music education and the already occurring changes in schools and society. Notes the commitment of music educators to cultural diversity, early childhood education, educational reform, and technology. States principles of the Music Educators National Conference.

EJ401895

Sketches teacher approaches to multicultural settings and the part teachers' cultural and personal beliefs play in their curricular decision making.

EJ401266

Presents early childhood teachers with ways to teach basic concepts of anthropology. Notes the importance of selecting activities to teach these concepts only after curricular goals have been clearly defined.

EJ401175

Focuses on characteristics teachers must have to teach children in urban areas, the incorporation of the study of human development into teacher education, the process of training teachers to respond to students' culturally based intellectual skills, and expansion of the teacher education curriculum.

EJ399547

Maintains that full-day kindergarten programs can derive at least part of their curriculum from the diverse gifts of social and cultural knowledge.
that children bring to the classroom. Includes a description of a kindergarten class that explored the topic of grandparents.

**EJ397709**

A developmentally appropriate curriculum can never be standardized in a multicultural community. Thoughtful teachers can use child development principles to make the new context of school meaningful, to attach new kinds of learning to what children have already achieved, and to safeguard children's growing self-image and self-confidence as their knowledge and skills expand.

**EJ396147**

Describes the Barbara Taylor Educational Model, developed and implemented in Harlem (New York) and in day care and Head Start programs of the Somerset Community Action Program (New Jersey). Presents case studies illustrating how the model enables students to overcome barriers to their development posed by racism, sexism, and classism.

**EJ395640**

Discusses three approaches that schools and teachers can use to plan for and celebrate special days with young children: the "wholly dazed," or multicultural, approach; the holidays, or nonreligious, approach; and the "holy days," or religious approach.


Urges that an evaluative attitude be taken concerning curricular efforts to foster multicultural education. Suggests expanding the primary school curriculum, defining multicultural education, and multiplying the effects of a lesson by linking multicultural activities with concepts already being taught. Provides illustrative activities to integrate the concept of color with different languages.


Analyzes children's responses to formal and informal curricula dealing with aspects of human diversity in two mainstreamed, multicultural day care centers.

Reviews the four articles in this special theme issue. Relates the articles to a broadened understanding of the concept of integration and its implications for education in the next century.

EJ379148

Describes children's games from around the world that can be used to broaden students' global awareness. The games are cooperative, authentic, representative of a variety of cultures, and developmentally appropriate for children of 4 through 12 years.

EJ366488

Examines the dynamics of integrating the realities of cultural pluralism and socioeconomic diversity into the framework of day care programs. Covers beliefs about diversity; what makes diversity a positive force; and personnel policies. Finally, looks at what day care programs with a pluralistic focus can teach children about diversity.

EJ365173

Discusses the need for professional introspection on the part of early childhood educators. Emphasizes the need to understand and participate in the multicultural experience in this country, suggesting that in this way professionals can design appropriate curriculum strategies for schools.

EJ365170
Discusses curriculum for young children centered around the beliefs and teachings of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. His works are interpreted in a human rights context in which children find their voice in the peaceable resolution of everyday conflicts. Describes the Child of the Day program.

EJ377042

This article discusses how multiracial and multicultural families help children to develop a self identity. The roles parents, teachers and classmates play in responding to this issue are discussed and suggestions for promoting individual development are made.
The ERIC System

The Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) is a national education information network designed to provide education information users with ready access to an extensive body of education-related literature. Established in 1966, ERIC is supported by the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI).

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The ERIC database can be used by consulting the print indexes Resources in Education (RIE) and Current Index to Journals in Education (CIJE) at more than 2,800 libraries and other locations worldwide; by using online search services (usually for a fee); by accessing ERIC at several sites on the Internet; by searching ERIC on CD-ROM at many libraries and information centers; or on the local computer systems of a growing number of universities and colleges. The database is updated monthly online and quarterly on CD-ROM. For more information on how to access the ERIC database, call ACCESS ERIC at its toll free number, 1-800-LET-ERIC. ACCESS ERIC informs callers of the services and products offered by ERIC components and other education information service providers.

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The ERIC Clearinghouse on Elementary and Early Childhood Education (ERIC/EECE) has been located at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign since 1967. The clearinghouse identifies, selects, and processes the report literature, books, and journal articles on topics related to the development, care, and education of children through early adolescence (except for specific subject areas covered by other ERIC clearinghouses) for the ERIC database.

The clearinghouse also provides other products and services, many of them at no cost. Free products include a biannual newsletter; ERIC Digests and resource lists on topics of high interest to parents, educators, policymakers, and the general public; brochures and publications lists; and ERIC system materials. Major publications, Ready Searches, and a subscription newsletter on mixed-age grouping in preschool and elementary school programs are available at low cost.

In response to queries from the general public, the clearinghouse provides free materials, short searches of the ERIC database, and referrals to other information sources when appropriate. Other clearinghouse services include conducting workshops and making presentations; providing camera-ready materials for conferences; and conducting extensive computer searches (for a fee) on topics related to the clearinghouse scope of interest.

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ERIC/EECE
University of Illinois
805 W. Pennsylvania Avenue
Urbana, IL 61801-4897
Telephone: 217-333-1386
Fax: 217-333-3767
Email: ericeece@ux1.cso.uiuc.edu