

Perspective Taking of Immigrant Children

Utilizing Children's Literature and Related Activities

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Introduction

Perspective taking, which is seeing a viewpoint other than your own, is critical in interpersonal understanding (Selman, 1980) and in cross-cultural communication (Gaskell, 2006). It is especially crucial in diverse societies such as the United States as well as in countries where immigrants from other nations are living as one community. Hence, this article focuses on promoting perspective taking among African-American fourth graders, utilizing children's literature on immigrant families with follow-up activities.

Scholars have frequently suggested using children's literature about immigrants in school classrooms (Baghban, 2007; Banks, 1997; Freeman, Lehman, & Scharer, 1997; Theilheimer, 2001). However, these scholars' works have three key limitations.

First, such scholarship is not conceptually grounded in Selman's theory, Vygotsky's theory, or Bhavnagri's work with her colleagues on immigrants and children's literature. Second, these works do not suggest follow-up activities related to children's literature. Third, they do not recommend specific, empirically grounded strategies for teachers to assist elementary children in taking the perspective of immigrants.

This article addresses these limitations and thus contributes uniquely to the field. We present a conceptual framework, related children's literature and follow-up activities promoting taking the perspective of immigrant children and strategies for

teachers to promote perspective taking, based on empirical research as well as our experiences.

Conceptual Framework

Selman's Theory on Interpersonal Understanding focuses on social perspective taking and is the underpinning of our conceptual framework (Selman 1980; Selman & Schultz 1990). At Level 0 (ages 3-6), categorized as egocentric perspective taking, a child cannot differentiate the relation between physical behaviors and psychological experiences such as feelings, thoughts, and intentions. The child only has an egocentric understanding of himself/herself that perceives others simply in means of physicality. A close friendship is viewed as a momentary physical interaction.

At Level 1 (ages 5-9), called subjective perspective taking, a child has a more differentiated view of psychological and physical experience. Here a child interprets another's subjective state by outward actions (e.g., one is crying so he/she must be sad), but cannot consider the other's perspective in any more complicated way. A friendship is viewed as one-way, in which there is no give and take in the relationship and it matches self-interest (unlike level 0).

At Level 2 (ages 7-12), named self-reflective perspective taking, a child can mentally put himself/herself in someone else's place and has a self-reflective view of his/her own thoughts and actions. The child is able to give a visible appearance that does not match his/her inner feelings and knows that others can do so as well. A friendship now has reciprocity in the relationship because one is able to take into consideration the other's perspective, addressing both self and friend's needs; thus a child can consider two perspectives at a time (unlike level 1).

Our fourth graders (9-10 year olds)

could be expected to be leaving Selman's level 1 (ages 5-9) and moving to level 2. However, occasionally a couple of students commented at level 0 or 1. Those comments are also reported. Therefore, the teacher's goal was to facilitate moving each child to the next higher level. However, if they were already at level 2, then the teacher expanded their perspective taking at that level, because pushing them to take a perspective at level 3 would have been beyond their existing zone of proximal development (ZPD), and thus developmentally inappropriate.

Our second conceptual underpinning is based on Vygotsky's Socio-Cultural Theory (Vygotsky, 1978). We applied Vygotskian interpersonal dialogue and social interactions during stories and shared activities, and then scaffolded them to reflect Vygotskian intrapersonal thought, as in taking the immigrant protagonist's perspective. This shared thought process is also referred to as "distributed cognition," "socially shared cognition," and "co-construction" as it involves sharing different perspectives (Bodrova & Leong, 2007; Rogoff, 1990).

Through this co-construction of perspectives we scaffolded students from their Selman's current level, which is their lower ZPD (i.e., without teacher's assistance) to Selman's next level, which is upper ZPD (i.e., with teacher's assistance). During follow-up activities students constructed physical artifacts related to children's literature. These Vygotskian, physical tools (Bodrova & Leong, 2007) facilitated the students to empathically feel and understand an immigrant child's tumultuous emotions, challenging dilemmas, self-reflections, memories, and friendships.

Our third conceptual underpinning is based on Bhavnagri's work with her colleagues. An empirical study by Bhavnagri and Samuels (1996a, 1996b) used children's

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literature and related activities to promote social cognition of multiple peer-related skills in preschoolers, including perspective taking.

Molenda and Bhavnagri's (2009) evidence-based practice expanded from social cognition to pro-social peer-related behaviors among kindergartners. Our work here has further expanded this research by (1) now examining pro-social thought on perspective taking in depth, and (2) moving from preschoolers and kindergartners to now include 4th graders. We also selected immigrant children's books annotated and critiqued by Bhavnagri and Willette (2011).

Children's Literature and Follow-up Activities to Promote Perspective Taking

Our inner-city students do not typically have personal contact with people from other cultures, such as immigrants. Hence, we used several experts' recommendations as criteria in selecting books and designing discussion questions for story reading and follow-up activities appropriate to our students' background.

First, Hope (2007) recommends the selection of children's books in which protagonists are portrayed positively in real-life scenarios as a means to understand another culture, tradition, and predicament and to promote empathy.

Second, Baghban (2007) recommends reading about a myriad of immigrant's social and cultural experiences, including struggles of learning English, adjusting to a new school, leaving friends and family behind, and losing self-identity.

Third, Bhavnagri and Willette (2011) recommend asking discussion questions that parallel the lives of our urban students, thus showing them similarities between the characters and themselves and especially emotions, regardless of cultures. These questions should also touch upon elements of the protagonist's life that are unfamiliar or different from the lives of the urban children, thus expanding their ZPD in promoting understanding.

Turner and Brown (2008), similarly, recommend that teachers teach about the culture, lifestyle, and experiences of refugee protagonists and strive especially to identify their emotions, thus promoting empathy.

Additionally, the selection and discussion of such books and activities were firmly based on our conceptual framework. Six picture books were read three times to

our fourth graders, over a five-month period. We provide next a brief description of three of the six storybooks and the students' discussions of these stories and related activities, with inferences based on Selman's and Vygotsky's theories. Evidence of the process of moving children to Selman's and Vygotsky's higher levels is presented during the discussions of children's literature and participatory activities and is in italics for easy identification.

A Piece of Home

Discussion of Children's Literature

This is a story about a Russian immigrant boy named Gregor who is in distress about his family's move to America. He is tormented by the choice of only one personal item he is allowed to take with him. He finally settles on a baby blanket that his grandmother gave him, which acts as a Vygotskian, physical tool, for it activates memories of his grandmother and gives him emotional comfort throughout the transition (Levitin, 1996).

The teacher encouraged Gregor's perspective by asking, "Do you think that Gregor made the right choice in bringing his blanket?" A student responded, "I think he did make a good choice with the blanket because it could have more memories than anything else." When this student made this comment, the teacher observed that she was rummaging through her collection and simultaneously thinking as to which one final item to select to put inside her memory box.

Her criterion was to select an item, which had "more memories than anything else" for her, just like Gregor. *This self-reflection while taking Gregor's emotional viewpoint is a demonstration of Selman's level 2.* The teacher then asked, "Why do you think he pulls his blanket in tightly?" A second student matter-of-factly responded, "Because he's cold." *This student demonstrated level 1 because the overt physical action of Gregor (pulling his blanket in) is interpreted as being cold, instead of considering his internal psychological perspective of being worried, afraid, or sad.*

Participatory Activities

To promote perspective taking, students participated in activities eliciting emotions (e.g., being afraid, confused, worried, scared, and happy) that Gregor's family experienced when moving to America. In the first activity, the students were to place only three items in their own packing box from a long list of their favorite objects

that they would not be able to part with if they were to move away. Packing boxes were physical tools, which facilitated the same difficult decision-making process as Gregor, thus taking Gregor's perspective, which scaffolded them to their higher level of ZPD. The students expressed groaning, moaning, and exasperated gestures; the very frustration Gregor had experienced in a similar situation.

During this shared activity, the teacher encouraged students to reflect on their decision-making process that was similar to Gregor's by asking questions such as "Why are you so frustrated?" "Why didn't you choose this item?" Additionally, these students had Vygotskian, interpersonal dialogues with their peers on the emotional value that some items had over others, and that contributed to their intrapersonal thought as to how Gregor must have felt. For example, one student told his friend, "You can just buy another PS3, but you can't buy this photograph of your grandparents." *Thus, the teacher's and peers' interpersonal dialogue when constructing their memory box (i.e., a physical tool) demonstrated self-reflection, which is level 2.*

The second activity involved students starting a chart of words depicting the range of immigrants' emotions. They frequently added words and check marked and discussed emotional words that were repeated, such as "afraid, lonely, confused, worried, doubtful, timid, and excited." *This chart was a physical tool for scaffolding the students' memory, revisiting the emotions, and inferring inner thoughts of immigrant characters in each of the new stories.* They eventually realized that each and every one of those immigrants felt a kaleidoscope of thoughts and emotions. *This then is evidence of them truly understanding various immigrants' multiple perspectives, which is level 2.*

In the third activity, students were scaffolded to take the immigrant's perspective by inferring inner thoughts and emotions in Norman Rockwell's paintings (a physical tool), which were similar to the immigrant child in the story. During small group discussions, students commented on emotions immigrants undergo, such as "This boy looks sad." "She looks worried." "He looks nervous." *These comments provide evidence that the students, through interpersonal dialogue, could take a perspective other than their own, which is level 2.*

During the fourth activity, the teacher encouraged role-playing to facilitate perspective taking. The students created their

own tableau of different scenes from *A Piece of Home*. Scenes included Gregor's emotionally distraught decision regarding what to take, the happy and timid greetings of families at the airport, the worrisome and fearful traveling on the airplane, and the upsetting dinner table confusion between cousin Elie and Gregor. They switched roles to get multiple perspectives. *The teacher initially scaffolded them to try different poses, hand gestures, and facial expressions. She eventually reduced her scaffolding as students started scaffolding each other.*

The students suggested what the characters should reveal in their faces and body language; they experimented with different positions and additional props. *Through this Vygotskian, co-construction of shared tableaus these students internalized and transformed themselves into multiple characters and portrayed a myriad of appropriate sentiments. They successfully self-reflected on their own thoughts and actions in order to emotionally and mentally put themselves in place of Gregor and his family, which demonstrates that they were at level 2.*

My Diary from Here to There

Discussion of Children's Literature

In *My Diary from Here to There*, Amada uses her diary as a Vygotskian, mental tool to self-reflect and cope with the daunting, yet intriguing, news that her family will be moving from Mexico to America. Amada deals with the immigrant issues of family relocation, leaving friends, and making new friends (Perez, 2002).

When the teacher promoted multiple perspectives by asking, "Amada is very sad and worried to be leaving her friends and family. Do you think her brothers feel the same way?" The first student answered with disgust, "No! They don't even care!" Another student agreed and said, "Yeah, they just laughing and having a good time." These students, despite noticing that Amada's brothers have different reactions from that of Amada, could not accept or relate to Amada's brothers' emotions of joy and excitement about immigrating. *Since they could not take two perspectives simultaneously, they were not at level 2, but rather at level 1.*

The teacher used this teachable moment to move them to level 2 and elaborated possible reasons why Amada's brothers had that reaction by saying, "Could it be the brothers might be excited to move and so they are laughing?" "Is it possible that

some immigrant children can be happy while other children can be sad to move?"

The teacher next probed students' concept of friendship based on Selman's levels. She asked if Amada and Michi would be able to stay friends even though Michi will stay in Mexico. A student replied, "No, 'cause that too far away." This girl's response demonstrated that she understood Amada's friendship merely as *physical proximity, which is level 0 on Selman's understanding* instead of understanding that there can also be *psychological closeness, which is level 1.*

However, one student scaffolded her by stating, "Well, they can write back and forth to each other." Another student further scaffolded her by adding, "Yeah, 'cause they should stay friends because of the special rocks they gave to each other." Thus, through this *interpersonal dialogue* of writing to each other, these students demonstrated that *Amada's friendship was eventually being perceived as a reciprocal relationship. These students were now exhibiting perspective taking at level 2 and facilitating their peer at level 1 to move to level 2 as well.*

Participatory Activities

All the following activities promoted perspective taking through recognizing emotions in friends. During the first activity, these fourth graders first painted their rock. Second, similar to Amada's friendship rocks, they dedicated it to friends or family members from whom they were separated. Third, they used the rock as a Vygotskian, physical tool to remember their memorable experiences with their friends. Fourth, they had interpersonal dialogue with their peers about this special person. Fifth, they role-played the scene where Amada and her friend exchanged friendship rocks.

They then switched roles. During role-playing the teacher scaffolded them to improvise their dialogue and express nuanced emotions, which resulted in them internalizing the sadness and externalizing their love, similar to what Amada felt when saying goodbye to Michi. *This multi-task activity facilitated them to express empathy and perspective taking of both Amada and her friend's needs, which is evidence of level 2.*

In the second activity, like Amada, each student had a diary/journal, which is a physical tool for self-reflection. Self-reflection is a central component of Selman's level 2. When they were reflecting with their partner about Amada's diary, the

teacher asked, "What does Amada use her diary for?" One student told his partner, "I think Amada use her diary, kind of like a friend." His partner responded, "What, you don't write on a friend!" So then the student replied, "No, like when you have a really good friend that you can talk to about whatever you want." The partner said, "Oh, now I get it. Like when you talk to your friend when you're sad or excited about something." Thus, through this *interpersonal dialogue the student assisted his partner to a higher level of ZPD. Finally, both understood Amada's internal self-reflection through diary writing, thus demonstrating Selman's level 2.*

The teacher promoted interpersonal bonds of friendship, which is level 2, by asking children to write letters in their journals to friends for whom they made the rock. One student wrote, "Dear friend, I mish [sic] all the fun we haved together it was a good time and was bowling and going to the fair and the movies and the zoo that was a good times, you will play with us and you will take us to the rink and I miss you." His letter to a friend focused on the *shared similar interests but had no questioning or wondering of how the other is, which means there was no reciprocity in the friendship, which is level 1.*

Another student demonstrated level 2 by writing, "Dear, Cristian, I haven't send you in a long time. My mom said on summer brek well try to come see you in Texes. I'm doing good in school how about you? How's your mom and dad doing? I have new Baukogon and the new toy Bey Blades. Your best friend. P.S. are you still a cubscout? Thus, this response was level 2 because this letter demonstrates *reciprocity and it took into account the other's thoughts and feelings.*

In a third role-playing activity, called "Emotional Charades," the students chose a word from the emotions chart and acted it out. The objective was for the actor to authentically and externally portray internal emotions, and for the viewer to accurately recognize an emotion that one of the immigrant protagonists experienced. Eventually actors and viewers switched their roles to get an alternative perspective. *First, expressing the emotions of immigrant children reported in the stories (e.g., scared, worried, excited, and sad) from an internal psychological perspective, followed by interpreting it from an external viewer's perspective, and finally integrating and simultaneously taking both perspectives, moved students to level 2.*

Hannah Is My Name

Discussion of Children's Literature

This story is about Hannah moving to America from Taiwan. Her family applies for green cards and experiences multiple stressors and fear of deportation. Hannah wishes goodbye to a friend whose family got deported to Hong Kong. Hannah is very aware and empathic for her parents' daily life struggles of being an immigrant (Yang, 2004).

The teacher encouraged students to accurately recognize emotions in others, as a strategy to promote perspective taking. Therefore she asked, "How do you think Hannah felt when her mom was crying on the sofa?" A student replied, "Hannah felt sad because she knew her mom was worried about the green cards and inspectors might come up and take them and then they'll have to go back to Taiwan. And then they'll have to grow up poor."

A second student added, "I think she felt that way because her face expression and how she's loving her mother and rubbing her hair. So I think she felt scared for her mother too because she want to stay on Bush street and don't want to go back." This second student noticed facial expressions and emotional gestures like "rubbing her hair" to infer the immigrant's emotions. *Since both students considered Hannah's perspective of feeling sad and her mother's perspective of being worried simultaneously they demonstrated level 2.*

The teacher scaffolded her students to their higher-level of ZPD by asking, "Hannah tells her mom that she doesn't need toys and new shoes. Do you think that's true? Do you think she needs new shoes?" The whole class said, "Yes." She asked, "Then why did she tell her mother she didn't?" A student responded, "Because she try to make her mom feel better so she doesn't make her feel bad that she doesn't have a job, so she tries to make her feel better." *She thus realized that Hannah gave a false outward appearance that hides her inner feelings of really needing new shoes, which is demonstrating level 2.*

The teacher then asked, "How do you think Hannah feels when her friend has to move back to Hong Kong because they were caught without green cards?" Another student said, "I really think she really feels sad and scared because they might make her family go back too." *This student readily recognized that Hannah had two perspectives simultaneously, namely feeling sad for her friend and also scared for her*

family and herself, thus demonstrating that the student is at level 2.

Participatory Activities

Two activities focused on internalizing and reflecting on the emotions an immigrant child experiences. In the first activity students created tableaus about such scenes as Hannah consoling her mother when she lost her job, the man in uniform warning Hannah and her father about the green card inspectors, saying goodbye to her friend who was deported to Hong Kong, and the moment when they finally get their green cards in the mail.

Students said out loud the thoughts and feelings of immigrant families portrayed by them as statues in their tableau when tapped on their shoulder by their audience of peers. This interactive component of sharing their self-reflections and internal emotions by creating their body language, facial expressions, and own script transformed them to say, "It's ok mommy. Everything will be alright." "How am I going to buy my little one new shoes?" "I hope I don't have to go back to China." "I wonder if my green card will ever come" "Why is this man chasing us?" "This is the happiest day of my life!"

First, the students were effective because the teacher encouraged them to switch roles and scaffolded them in the use of body language, hand gestures, and facial expressions. Second, she provided them with props such as a tissue box, student-created green cards, a Chinese dress, a rabbit's foot, and a bracelet as *physical tools to activate emotions the immigrant family experienced, thus scaffolding them to their higher level of ZPD.* Third, the teacher's very suggestion of this activity gave them the opportunity to listen and become various characters, thus gaining multiple viewpoints simultaneously. As a result, these students *demonstrated that they were self-reflective when considering Hannah's perspective but also the perspective of her mother, father, friend, and man in the uniform, which is level 2.*

In the second activity the students wrote reflective journal entries comparing Hannah's emotions with theirs. Using the emotions word chart as a Vygotskian tool, they identified that Hannah felt sad, scared, worried, hopeful, disappointed, and loved. Next, they chose one of those emotions that they had also felt. They then externalized that emotional narrative through *interpersonal dialogue with peers and then internalized it into*

intra-personal thought in their diary/journal.

The students shared their entries while everyone ate pot stickers, which Hannah's family ate to celebrate receiving green cards. One girl wrote about Hannah's fear, "I felt scared just like Hannah felt scared when she ran from the cop that was looking for green cards and one time a dog chase me and my heart was beating fast." One boy wrote about Hannah's empathy: "My auntie died and my mom was very depressed. I had to bring her food and sit with her and try to make her feel better and I felt bad for her. Hannah tried to make her mom feel better when she lost her job too." Such journal entries are *evidence that students had self-reflective perspectives; for they could emotionally put themselves in Hannah's place and reflect on their own experiences, which is then level 2.*

Recommendations: Teachers' Strategies

Our recommendations that follow are based on empirical research and its effective application to our context. These recommendations are italicized for easy identification.

Discussion Strategies for Story Reading

Recommendation 1:

Based on Shure and Spivak's social problem solving research (Elardo & Caldwell 1979; Shure, 1989; Shure, & Spivack, 1980; Spivack & Shure, 1974), *we recommend that teachers ask causal, consequential, and alternative thinking discussion questions during story reading regarding the protagonist's thoughts and feelings to enhance students' concerns for the immigrant child.* Vygotsky also recommends verbal and social interactions between an expert (e.g., teacher) and a novice (e.g., child) to promote social problem-solving, which eventually contributes to perspective taking.

As shown in this research, the teacher discussed causal, consequential, and alternative thinking during Vygotskian interpersonal dialogue, thus promoting an understanding of reciprocal relationships, which is Selman's perspective-taking skill. For example, the teacher discussed: (1) the reciprocal reasons for Gregor choosing his baby blanket to take with him, thus causal thinking; (2) the alternatives to Gregor choosing something different and how that might effect his reciprocal relations with his cousin; and (3) the consequence of Amada leaving Mexico, on her reciprocal friendship with Michi.

Recommendation 2:

Based on Eisenberg and colleagues' research review on empathy (Eisenberg, Fabes, Carlo, and Karbon, 1992; Zhou, Valiente, & Eisenberg's, 2003) we recommend that teachers during story reading, (1) encourage students to observe details such as characters' facial expressions, body gestures, and vocal cues as indicators of empathy; (2) sharpen children's awareness of emotional needs and states in others through the use of "emotion-related" language; and (3) be willingly to discuss emotions with children to promote empathy, which is essential for perspective taking.

Bhavnagri and Samuels' (1996a) study also encouraged empathic and perspective-taking responses in preschoolers by first asking them to notice facial expressions of story characters and then asked them how the characters felt emotionally. Feshbach's (1975) research reported that as the child developmentally shifts from an egocentric perspective to an allocentric perspective, the child is able to increasingly recognize and differentiate expressive cues, thus contributing to the development of empathy.

Based on this research, the teacher encouraged students to notice details in facial and gestural poses in illustrations and intentionally discussed emotional needs and states of immigrant children and their family. Here are some examples: (1) How do you think Gregor felt when he left his other belongings behind? (2) Do you think Amada's brothers feel the same way as Amada does about leaving Mexico? How does writing in her diary make her feel? (3) How did Hannah feel when her mom was crying on the sofa?

Discussion Strategies for Participatory Activities

Recommendation 3:

Based on Iannotti's (1978) and Chalmers and Townsend's (1990) role-playing training research, we recommend that teachers ask probing questions during physical and verbal role taking and directly coach students to interpret and effectively communicate non-verbal behaviors (e.g., facial expressions, motor skills, gestures, moods, and tone of voice). Iannotti probed: Why did you do what you did? Why do you feel that way? What will you do next? How will they feel? Chalmers and Townsend, similarly, coached how to decipher ambiguous non-verbal behaviors and emotions, and understand other perspective through direct questioning.

Based on this research, the teacher too asked similar perspective-taking questions during role-play time: (1) How will you decide what to place in your box when you move to the new country? (2) How does Hannah feel when she's running from the immigration officer? Additionally, she too coached her students to first discuss and accurately identify immigrants' behaviors and emotions portrayed in stories and then to effectively express that emotion into their role-playing, thus effectively promoting perspective taking.

Recommendation 4:

Based on Marsh, Serafica, and Barenboim's (1980) social perspective taking research and Saltz and Saltz (1986) review of research on pretend play training, we recommend that adults actively demonstrate and participate in the roles themselves in the beginning and then gradually reduce those scaffolding strategies.

Based on this research, the teacher, in the tableaux and emotional charades, actually took on the role of a character and demonstrated proper face, body, and voice expressions as well as flat or no expression when appropriate. She additionally asked the student playing the immigrant role, "How are you feeling? What are you thinking? Why does your face look like that?" She also promoted getting deeper into the role by suggesting gestures such as putting their hand over their mouth or over their heart, or stretched out for an embrace, thus promoting affective expressions of multiple family members' perspectives during the immigration process.

Recommendation 5:

Based on Chandler's (1973), and Marsh's et al. social perspective taking research, we recommend that each student must play every role and thus be trained in role taking skills and then discuss and reflect on alternative perspectives. Chandler's study reported students improved significantly in role taking skills, and Marsh et al. reported significant effect on interpersonal problem solving and stabilized preexisting levels of perspective taking. In Krogh's (1985) study children had to role play different endings to skits, then discuss how each ending made them feel, and finally reflect on their actions and the consequences resulting in significant gains in perspective taking.

Based on this research, the teacher asked the students to switch roles and noticed they became more perceptive as a result of taking on multiple perspectives. She next asked them to reflect on their alternative roles, which expanded peer

Table 1
Summary of Recommendations

Recommendation 1: That teachers ask causal, consequential, and alternative thinking discussion questions during story reading regarding the protagonist's thoughts and feelings to enhance students' concerns for the immigrant child.

Recommendation 2: That teachers during story reading, (1) encourage students to observe details such as characters' facial expressions, body gestures, and vocal cues as indicators of empathy; (2) sharpen children's awareness of emotional needs and states in others through the use of "emotion-related" language; and (3) be willingly to discuss emotions with children to promote empathy, which is essential for perspective taking.

Recommendation 3: That teachers ask probing questions during physical and verbal role taking and directly coach students to interpret and effectively communicate non-verbal behaviors (e.g., facial expressions, motor skills, gestures, moods, and tone of voice).

Recommendation 4: That adults actively demonstrate and participate in the roles themselves in the beginning and then gradually reduce those scaffolding strategies.

Recommendation 5: That each student must play every role and thus be trained in role taking skills and then discuss and reflect on alternative perspectives.

Recommendation 6: That teachers ask students to (1) write in the first person as though they are the protagonist, (2) to make personal connections between their life experiences and that of the protagonists', and (3) respond to specific questions from prompts related to protagonists' thoughts, feelings, and situations resulting in empathy and taking their perspective.

dialogues. For example, children suggested to each other how best to depict various perspectives, increasingly shared personal memories of their treasured items, and talked passionately about their loved one for whom they created the rock. Also, based on Krogh's study, the teacher always asked how the ending of stories made them feel and to write their reflections on the story endings in their journals.

Recommendation 6:

Based on Ollmann (1996) and Zarnowski's (1996) journal writing research, we recommend that teachers ask students to (1) write in the first person as though they are the protagonist, (2) to make personal connections between their life experiences and that of the protagonists', and (3) respond to specific questions from prompts related to protagonists' thoughts, feelings, and situations resulting in empathy and taking their perspective. Ollman also found that when letters were written to real people like their buddies, as a response to the literature, the students then reported on the story characters' motivations, thus demonstrating perspective taking.

Based on this research, the teacher asked her students to write in the first person. Second, she encouraged her students to relate their personal experiences to that of the protagonists', such as saying goodbye to friends or family members, and waiting for something that they thought would never come, just like Hannah's family awaited their green cards. Third, she provided very specific prompts exactly as suggested by these researchers. See multiple examples where journal writing is discussed. She also asked students to write letters to their friends for whom they had made friendship rocks. This gave them an opportunity to understand reciprocity in friendship as a motivation to sustain friendships, which is essential to function at level 2 of perspective taking.

Conclusion

Discussion of children's literature, role-playing, and journal writing, when strongly grounded in theory and empirical research, can promote children to take the perspective of immigrants. We suggest that our strategies to promote perspective taking of immigrants be extended to students of other age groups. There is empirical evidence that with increasing age, students are increasingly able to take on the characters' perspectives within the stories (Emery & Milhalevich, 1992) and

develop empathy towards the characters (Louie, 2005).

Finally, we propose that our approach be replicated to develop perspective taking and empathy for other disenfranchised individuals historically over time (e.g., Native Americans, handicapped persons, children in labor force, gays and lesbians, women, minorities, refugees, and ESL students) (Skolnick, Dulberg, & Maestre, 2004), within multicultural education.

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