

TV and The Children's Social Development :

A study based on a content analysis from Japanese TV programs

by Eiko Kato

I. Introduction

Children learn how to count, how to read alphabet, how to cooperate with their peers, and so many other things from educational television like Sesame Street. They, however, learn something besides this. I remember begging my parents to let me stay up late for a television drama about a girl and her stepmother when I was five or six years old. The drama, which depicted a mother's affair with her son's teacher, was not designed for children. I sympathized with the girl protagonist who was always being teased by her stepmother and I did not want to miss what was going to happen to her. I learned how she was dealing with her troubles and was growing up in spite of a difficult relationship with her stepmother. Thus, TV helped me to grow in my emotional development.

TV showed me another impact when I moved to Boston from Japan five years ago. As I began to watch American TV programs, I came to notice how different American social interaction is from the Japanese style. I have learned how Americans portray interaction from their TV programs, such as Family Ties and The Cosby Show.

As Holtzman and Akiyama (1985) point out, TV may play an important role in socialization by illustrating acceptable behaviors in a given society. My experiences with the American TV programs made me interested in speculating how Japanese TV programs which were designed for young children portrayed Japanese culture, social behaviors, values and morality. For the purpose of delineating cultural social

interaction patterns in Japanese society of TV, I did a content analysis of programs which are popular among children in Japan and attempted to analyze how these programs would affect the social development of Japanese children.

II. What is on Japanese TV

1) A brief introduction of Japanese TV and its effects on education in Japan

Japan has been influenced by the United States in a number of ways since World War II ended, such as educational reforms, women's suffrage, and freedom of speech and press. According to Head (1986), General MacArthur, supreme commander of the Allied Powers, and his staffs tried to establish a Japanese TV regulatory body similar to the U.S. Federal Communications Commission.

Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK), which means Japanese Broadcasting Corporation, began to broadcast the first Japanese TV programs in February, 1943 (NHK,1953). The Japanese government allows NHK to collect fees, \$15 per month, which make TV programs without any commercial sponsors; however, users are allowed to refuse the fee. Head points out that NHK is able to collect audience data while fee collectors of NHK go from door to door. However, I do not think it is available today because most of the users pay the fee by having it withdrawn from their bank accounts automatically.

As Head (1986) points out, the mixed system of Japan's public and commercial TV has worked well in Japanese society. According to Head, broadcasting services of the NHK must be available to the entire country under the broadcasting law of 1950. NHK is considered to be responsible for TV networks in nationwide like public corporations in Britain, Canada, and Australia. Private TVs are encouraged to operate local programming. However, it is expected that both NHK and private TV respect and cooperate with one another in order to provide broadcasting for the nation. Today, there are two NHK channels, the

general and the educational station, and seven private TV stations in the Tokyo area.

Educational programs on NHK have had an important effect on children. According to NHK (1977), NHK made educational programs for classroom use when they began to broadcast in 1943. An experiment with liquid air in a science program attracted educators because it was too difficult to handle it in a classroom. However, it was very difficult for schools to purchase expensive TV sets in their classrooms in those days. Students of Gundo Jr. High School in Ibaragi prefecture collected funds to purchase TV sets for their school by collecting waste articles. A thousand schools began to use TV programs in their classrooms by the end of 1955.

An interesting example of improved school achievement was reported in 1961. The students in a very rural mountain elementary school lacked motivation and brightness. One day, a teacher took them to a city school to show them what the city school looked like. They saw a classroom using a TV program and wanted to have a TV set in their classroom. NHK lent a TV set for them, and their learning motivation towards nature and their village grew. Eventually, a number of students volunteered to do research on insects and plants, and their writing abilities on reports were improved. After the use of TV in their curriculum, the students showed a remarkable improvement in achievement on Japanese language arts and science. Their results on standardized tests given by Japan Ministry of Education were far above average on science nationally and the highest in their prefecture in 1961. I thought it was effective for NHK to make a documentary program about this school to demonstrate the good influence of educational TV programs. The documentary was highly valued in "the international educational TV seminar" held at Purdue University in 1961 (NHK,1977).

According to a NHK survey of 1975, 81.7% of kindergartens, 92.5% of elementary schools, 41.3% of middle schools, and 49.8% of high schools used TV programs by NHK in their school curriculum (NHK,

1977). I remember watching some of the NHK programs, such as science, social studies, and moral education at elementary school. Programs of social studies enabled us to learn various areas where we could never reach on foot and to learn about people's works in those areas. Moral education programs portrayed troubles which often happen in our daily life in a drama and made us think what we should do when similar troubles occur. We usually had a class discussion or wrote an essay after we watched the moral education programs.

2) A content analysis: children's social development

For the purpose of delineating how cultural social interaction patterns in Japanese society were portrayed on TV, I did a content analysis of programs which are popular among Japanese children. My constructs of socialization includes discipline, customs and traditions, and Japanese behavior patterns. Children need to acquire their culture when they grow up, and I speculate that TV programs may help them to develop their culture.

A) Method

Twenty Japanese programs designed for children which were taped in 1989 were used for my content analysis. My interest of the content analysis was focused on the cultural social interaction patterns for socialization which I think important for children's social development in Japanese society in the programs, and I attempted to code (1) discipline; (2) customs and traditions; (3) Japanese behavior patterns; (4) a bully character; (5) moral; and (6) the use of English words. I also attempted to code the way of transmitting these elements.

Let me explain why these elements are important in children's social development. Discipline, such as training of manners and etiquette, must be very important in any society; however, as Hendry (1986) points out, there is different discipline concept in Japanese mind. Hendry discusses that Japanese people may train children to "fit into a

shape". This means that children are expected to be a member of a group without misbehavior. Parents, especially mothers, would lose face if their children misbehave themselves socially.

Customs and traditions are generally taught by older people; however, this is difficult to do because of the nuclear family style today. There are a huge number of customs and traditions for children to internalize in Japan, which has a history of two thousand years as a nation. I believe that it is important to convey our nation's customs and traditions to young children.

As mentioned in my introduction, Japanese behavior patterns are quite different from American patterns. For example, Japanese people are expected not to say things straight forwardly because such behavior is considered disturbing the harmony of society, which is group oriented. Therefore, people need to use a number of strategies to convey their intention. I speculate that TV may play an important role in conveying human behavior patterns, just as I have learned about American social interaction from TV programs in America.

Bullies called *ijimekko* are very common in Japanese children's society, and I often heard that a number of children refused to go to school because of bullies. Bullies are usually big and strong and tease small and weak children in various ways. For example, they take toys from small children, or they tease somebody who look different using offensive words. I have freckles which are unusual among Japanese, and bullies often said to me, "Ugly freckles," which really hurt me. However, I was strong enough not to refuse to go to school. It is necessary for children to learn how to deal with bullies.

Moral education is highly valued in Japanese school curriculum. According to the curriculum guidelines of the Ministry of Education (1980), moral education is a compulsory subject for elementary school curriculum from grade 1 through 6. It is expected for children to learn to take responsibility by teaching, by discussion, and by practice. For example, we often watched the NHK moral education drama which was designed

for elementary school children in class and had a discussion or wrote an essay about the program which we viewed.

The Use of English words and Caucasian models in Japanese CM and magazines are frequent. My American friend's children who lived in Japan for a year asked their parents why so many Caucasians appeared in CM as they began to watch Japanese TV. I am curious how the use of unnecessary English words and appearance of Caucasians affect Japanese children's viewing races in society.

The following programs were viewed for my content analysis, and it was interesting to note that most of the morning programs were produced by the NHK educational station while most of the evening programs were produced by commercial (CM) TV. A target audience age of each program was based on my judgement of how old children would be who would probably watch.

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Program Name	Station	Broadcasting Day & Time	Type of Program	**Target Audience
With Mama [Ohasanto Issho]	NHK (General)	Mon-Fri 9:30-9:55 AM	1	A. B
Let's go Nontack [Soreike Nontaku]	NHK (Ed.)	Mon 9:30-9:45 AM	4	B. C
Fun Class [Tanoshii Kyoshitsu]	NHK (Ed.)	Mon 10:15-10:30 AM	3	A. B. C.
Puppet Show [Ningyogeki]	NHK (Ed.)	Mon 10:30-10:45 AM	3	A. B. C. D
Let's get together [Atsumare Jankenpon]	NHK (Ed.)	Tue 9:30-9:45 AM	7	B. C
ABCDE [AIUEO]	NHK (Ed.)	Tue 10:00-10:15 AM	5	A. B
Fresh Class 3 [Sawayaka 3 Kumi]	NHK (Ed.)	Wed 9:45-10:00 AM	9	C. D
1 2 3 Arithmetic [Ichinino Sansu]	NHK (Ed.)	Wed 10:00-10:15 AM	6	A. B
Hey! Clay Figure [Ooi! Hanimaru]	NHK (Ed.)	Wed 10:15-10:30 AM	7	A. B
Pico Pico Pon [Piko Piko Pon]	NHK (Ed.)	Th 10:30-10:45 AM	7	A. B
Mr. Yanchar [Yappari Yanchar]	NHK (Ed.)	Th 10:15-10:30 AM	1	B
Open Pon-ki-ki [Hirake Pon-ki-ki]	CM	Mon-Fri 7:45-8:30 AM	2	A. B. C
New Maple Town [Shin Meipuru Town]	CM	Sun 6:00-6:30 PM	10	A. B. C. D
Live Man [Live Man]	CM	Mon 5:30-6:00 PM	12	A. B. C. D
X Army Maskman [Xsentai Maskman]	CM	Tue 5:30-6:00 PM	12	A. B. C. D
Mrs. Sazae [Sazae-san]	CM	Tue 7:00-7:30 PM	10	A. B. C. D

(To be continued)

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Program Name	Station	Broadcasting Day & Time	Type of Program	** Target Audience
Draemon [<i>Draemon</i>]	CM	Wed 7:00-7:30 PM	10	A. B. C. D
Sacred Worrier Seiya [<i>Seitoshi Seiya</i>]	CM	Th 7:00-7:30 PM	11	A. B. C
Dr. Slump Arale [<i>Dr. Slump Arale</i>]	CM	Fri 7:00-7:30 PM	10	A. B. C. D
Japanese Old Tales [<i>Nihon Mukashibanashi</i>]	CM	Sat 7:00-7:30 PM	13	A. B. C. D

* Type of Program

- 1 : Omnibus program which is composed of dance, song, physical exercise, puppet show, story-telling, and animation
- 2 : Program which is composed of the segments in type 1 plus the concept of number and letters
- 3 : Puppet show which plays both famous Japanese and foreign stories
- 4 : Educational program which explores life in a community
- 5 : Educational program which teaches Japanese letters
- 6 : Educational program which teaches arithmetic
- 7 : Puppet show which depicts dramatic stories
- 8 : Moral educational drama
- 10 : Animation : drama
- 11 : Animation : action
- 12 : Action drama
- 13 : Animation of Japanese old tales

** Target Audience

A : 2- to 4-year-old children
 B : Preschool children
 C : 1st- to 3rd-grade children
 D : 4th- to 6th-grade children

b) Results and Discussion

Table 1 shows the distribution by discipline, customs & traditions, Japanese behavior pattern, a bully character, ethical and moral issues, and the use of English words, themes I consider important for Japanese children's social development. One of these cultural social interaction patterns appears in every program, and the frequency of the elements resulted in similar percentage.

However, looking at the data by stations, it is found that the NHK programs emphasized discipline than the CM stations' programs as shown in Table 2. Seventy two % of the NHK programs produced the segments of discipline compared to 22.2% of the CM stations' programs.

It is also interesting to see the data by target age as shown in Table 4 and 5; for example, programs which are designed for preschool children show more discipline segments than the programs which are designed for elementary school children. Table 3 also illustrates that discipline is emphasized in the morning programs which younger children who have not gone to school yet probably watch.

Program Name	Discipline	Customs & Tradition	Japanese Behavior Pattern	A Bully Character	Moral	The Use of English Words
With Mama	1	1	0	4	0	0
Let's go Nontack	1	0	0	0	0	0
Fun Class	0	1	0	0	0	0
Puppet Show	0	1	0	0	1	0
Let's get together	1	0	0	1	1	0
ABCDE	1	0	1	0	0	0
Fresh Class 3	0	0	1	0	1	0
1 2 3 Arithmetic	0	0	0	1	0	0
Hey! Clay Figurine	3	1	0	0	0	0
Pico Pico Pon	0	0	0	0	1	0
Mr. Yanchar	1	0	0	1	0	0
Open Pon-ki-ki	1	0	2	1	1	2
New Maple Town	0	0	0	0	1	1
Live Man	0	0	0	0	0	1
X Army Maskman	0	0	0	0	1	1
Mrs. Sazae	1	1	2	0	0	0
Draemon	0	0	0	1	1	0
Sacred Warrior Seiya	0	0	0	1	1	1
Dr. Slump Ara,e	0	0	0	1	0	1
Japanese Old Tales	0	3	0	0	0	0
Total	10 (50%)	8 (40%)	6 (30%)	11 (55%)	9 (45%)	7 (35%)

Table 1: Cultural social interaction patterns distribution by a program

	NHK (11)	CM (9)
Discipline	72.7% (8)	22.2% (2)
Customs & Traditions	36.4% (4)	44.4% (4)
Japanese Behavior Pattern	18.2% (2)	44.4% (4)
A Bully Character	63.7% (7)	44.4% (4)
Moral	36.4% (4)	55.6% (5)
Use of English	—	88.8% (8)

Table 2: Cultural social interaction patterns distribution by stations

	Morning (12)	Evening (8)
Discipline	75.5% (9)	12.5% (1)
Customs & Traditions	33.3% (4)	50.5% (4)
Japanese Behavior Pattern	16.7% (2)	50.0% (4)
A Bully Character	58.3% (7)	50.0% (4)
Moral	33.3% (4)	62.5% (5)
Use of English	—	87.5% (7)

Table 3: Cultural social interaction patterns distribution by broadcasting hours

	A	B	C	D
	(15)	(19)	(14)	(11)
Discipline	46.7%	52.6%	28.6%	8.9%
	(7)	(10)	(4)	(1)
Customs & Traditions	40.0%	36.8%	35.7%	41.7%
	(6)	(7)	(5)	(5)
Japanese Behavior Pattern	33.3%	26.3%	35.7%	25.0%
	(5)	(5)	(5)	(3)
A Bully Character	60.0%	57.9%	35.7%	50.0%
	(9)	(11)	(5)	(6)
Moral	46.7%	42.1%	57.1%	58.3%
	(7)	(8)	(8)	(7)
Use of English	46.7%	36.8%	50.0%	45.5%
	(6)	(6)	(6)	(4)

Table 4: Cultural social interaction patterns
distribution by target age group

	A & B (34)	C & D (25)
Discipline	50.0% (17)	20.0% (5)
Customs & Traditions	38.2% (13)	38.5% (10)
Japanese Behavior Pattern	29.4% (10)	30.8% (8)
A Bully Character	58.8% (20)	42.3% (11)
Moral	44.1% (15)	57.7% (15)
Use of English	41.2% (14)	48.0% (10)

Table 5: Cultural social interaction patterns
distribution by target age group

* Target Audience

- A: 2- to 4-year-old children
- B: preschool children
- C: 1st- to 3rd-grade children
- D: 4th- to 6th-grade children

Discipline

Looking at the content of the discipline segments, different kinds of disciplines were portrayed; (1) not to leave your belongings behind; (2) greetings; (3) safety warning; (4) cleaning up your toys and books; and (5) how to treat your school items.

These disciplines seem to be universal; however, it is interesting to speculate why they are emphasized in Japanese TV programs, especially in the NHK programs and in the programs which are designed for younger children.

An interesting findings is that discipline receives greater emphasis in the NHK programs than in the CM station programs, and it is also more frequent in programs which are designed for preschool or younger children than programs for elementary school children. It seems to me

that NHK stands for the sense of national identity and responds to the need of the nation. This means that education for children is not only a family concern but also a nation's concern with raising children to be capable in a society where group harmony is highly valued.

White (1987) points out that moral and behavioral attributions are important in child development in Japan. Her eight-year-old son was puzzled to meet Japanese children who are so polite and well-mannered and can get along with adults while he spent a year in Japan. This may be because Japanese children are strictly disciplined from the time they are very young.

A bully character (*Ijimekko*)

A contradictory fact happens in Japanese society; I wonder why bullies called *ijimekko* exist if every child is expected to be well-behaved. It is interesting to speculate why so many bully characters are portrayed in Japanese TV programs and why young children are attracted by characters who misbehave themselves.

A bully character, which rated the highest of my coded elements, was portrayed using a puppet or an animated character. It was surprising to find that four different bully characters were portrayed in With Mama which is designed for very young children.

With Mama portrayed these bully characters using puppets or animated characters. *Jajamaru*, a cat puppet character who is very popular among children like Big Bird in Sesame Street, was portrayed as a mean bully character. The program starts with a short skit of *Jajamaru* and two other puppet characters who are portrayed to be friendly and nice. The two other characters are always nice to *Jajamaru* even though he is acting selfish. He always does whatever he wants to do without consideration to others, and it seems to me that his selfishness is portrayed to be acceptable because the other two characters are nice to him. However, I wondered that the program intended to let children learn to be nice no matter what a bully character did.

Another segment in With Mama was portrayed a number of different personality or behavioral style using a short animation. According to Akiyama and Kodaira (1987), the segment intends to have children learn a lesson from characters which they resemble to. It was decided not to give a moral conclusion on characters; for example, *Tazura*, a mischievous boy, who is portrayed as a bully character disgusted himself after he teased two other characters, and no judgment was given in a program which I watched. It appears that the judgment is left to children. The research by Akiyama and Kodaira reveals that *Yadamon*, hard to please boy, and *Tazura* are the most attractive characters of ten characters for both 2-year-olds and 4-year-olds. The result indicates that children may be influenced from the characters who misbehave themselves.

I speculate that children who have not gone into a social society may need to see different behavior patterns. Younger children were attracted by *Yadamon*, hard to please child, and *Tazura*, a mischievous child, and I believe that the younger children were more attracted by them than older children because the younger ones might have never met such characters in their lives which are protected by their parents. The intention of depicting such characters may be to let children learn that they will meet children who have unfamiliar behavioral patterns.

The relationships between bully characters and their friends may teach two things to children: one is that they should not behave like bully characters, and the other is they should be nice to bullies. Comstock et al (1978) assert that human beings are able to acquire to inhibiting behaviors, lose inhibitions, and add new behaviors through modeling. It appears that children are left to choose which model, a bully or a bully's friend, to emulate. Therefore, it is important for parents to guide them and give appropriate suggestions to them while or after watching TV. For example, parents may ask what their children feel about a bully character and his friend and may develop an idea what children should do when they encounter such a bully character in a real life with children. This is what Lesser (1974) suggests; that is,

Sesame Street is designed for children to watch with their parents in order to receive support from their parents. Japanese parents also should not let TV babysit their children.

Customs and Traditions

Customs and traditions are portrayed less frequently compared to discipline; however, some programs are intended to portray Japanese customs and tradition which I view as very important.

As the program were taped in summer, the customs and traditions were related to that season. For example, Fun Class, one of the NHK educational programs, dealt with the *Tanabata* Festival which is celebrated on July 7th. It is said that the Herdboy Star (Altair) and the Weaver Star (Vega) are able to meet on the Milky Way once a year on the evening of *Tanabata*, if it does not rain. Children write wishes on *tanzaku* which are oblong pieces of colored paper and tie them on bamboo branches as well as many other decorations. It is believed that the wishes come true when you pray to the two stars, Altair and Vega. The bamboo branches are placed at the front door and they are as beautiful as a Christmas tree. In the program, children were taught the meaning of the festival by listening to the story of *Tanabata* and how to decorate the bamboo branches with their wishes.

Another custom during the summer is the Obon Festival which is celebrated for the dead. The Japanese people commonly believe that the spirits of their ancestors return to their homes to meet surviving family members from the 13th to the 16th of August. Buddhist services are held at temples and homes in order to welcome the spirits of their ancestors. I remember crying during the celebration when I was little because the coming home of dead people scared me. However, the Obon Festival was depicted in one of the cartoon programs in a very humorous way. It was described how to celebrate and how to welcome a priest of a family's buddhist temple. Children of the family were excited about asking the priest about the world after the death.

Japanese Behavior Pattern

Japanese behavior pattern was also portrayed less frequently compared to disciplines; however, what struck me was a little boy character's behavior in a puppet show of Open Pon-Ki-Ki. The boy who was portrayed as a preschool child was making a chair for his grandmother's birthday present. Three of his friends found him making the chair and wanted to make it with him. Although it was obvious that the little boy wanted to make the chair by himself, it was difficult for him to say "No" to his friends because saying "No" is unacceptable behavior in Japanese society which regards group harmony as the most important thing.

Children sometimes fight over toys and refuse to let their friends play their toys. I wonder how these children learn harmonious behavior which is expected in society. Their parents' discipline may be effective; however, I speculate that children may learn expected behaviors from characters in TV programs.

One of the cartoon programs attempted to portray one of the most interesting of Japanese behaviors, the distinction *honne* (what is intended) and *tatemae* (what is said). For example, a father character defeated his friend over Japanese chess and was praised his excellent technique by his friend in a cartoon program. However, the father replied, "I was just fortunate, and I don't think I can defeat you again." When he talked to his wife that his friend was not good at playing chess after his friend left, his three-year-old grandson overheard the conversation and said, "Granpa, why are you saying that? You just said you would not be able to defeat your friend again." The grandfather got embarrassed and did not know what to say, and his son who was in the sixth grade began to explain to the little boy saying adults have two faces, a true and a fake face. The little boy got more confused and finally understood when it was explained that people need to change their words as they would change their dress when they were

going to party.

A similar segment was also described in the same cartoon. A family was asked to be a model family for an advertisement of a house. A father hesitated to be a model because he thought his colleagues would make fun of him if he became a model. However, his wife and his son were very excited about being a model and he finally agreed. He asked one of his colleagues not to tell anybody if he saw the advertisement. His colleagues interpreted this in the opposite fashion and told everybody at work that he would be a model. When the man asked his colleague why he told everybody, he replied, "Not to tell anybody means to tell everybody, doesn't it?"

Moral Education

It is difficult to deal with moral education; however, the NHK program which is designed for moral education has played an important role. Nishimoto (1966) points out that moral education, on themes such as responsibility, respect to others, truth, and justice could be learned from the TV educational programs because it is difficult for children to grasp ethical concepts from textbooks. The NHK program dealt with conformity, which is another social characteristic of Japanese culture. A third grade girl did not have a video game at home; however, she could not tell her friends that she did not have it because everybody else did. The program depicted her suffering from having told a lie to her friends and caring about her by her friends who noticed something wrong with her. This kind of problem often happens in Japanese society and the program may have children think about what they should do when a similar trouble happens.

Moral, which was not the main topic, was also portrayed in a cartoon program by CM station. A boy who is in the 5th grade dreamed that he found a ten dollar bill on the street and wondered whether he should take it to a police station. He woke up when he was wondering, and he wanted to keep the money. He thought he may be

able to find the money on the way to school, and he found a quarter and he wondered he should take it to the police station. His friend, who was a bully character, saw him picking up the coin, and screamed, "I saw it! I'll follow you if you are going to a police station." The boy who found the coin was forced to go to the police station, but he was pleased when a police officer praised him and told him that he could have it when nobody showed up for the coin in a month. It may be difficult for Americans to imagine the situation; however, Japanese children are encouraged to take something or money they find on the street to a police station even if it is a small amount of money. The program reinforces expected morals in real life in a cartoon program.

The Use of English Words

English words and Caucasian models are frequently used in Japanese CM and magazines. Four out of nine CM station programs which I viewed use English for their program titles, and in some programs they used English words in characters' lines. The study of Haarmann (1984) illustrates that certain Western ethnocultural stereotypes are embedded in Japanese commercials and valued more than any other countries. He says that the use of foreign words, in English, French, Italian, and Spanish has attracted Japanese customers of domestic products and promote Japanese preoccupation with Western fashionable style. This means that the Japanese tend to view Caucasians and romance languages as superior to anything else.

I grew up in such a culture which views Caucasians as superior to other races, and I was surprised to discover how much prejudice I had developed against Asian countries when I visited China four years ago. I was impressed by the country and the people that I had ignored for such a long time, and I believe that I had been given stereotypes of Caucasian superiority through Japanese mass media. I'm afraid that the use of English words and Caucasian models may affect Japanese children's view of the world and races. Japan is considered to be a homogeneous

country; however, it is true that a number of Japanese born Koreans, a minority group called *Ainu*, and many students from Southeast Asia also play roles in Japanese society. Although discipline and moral education are emphasized on TV, this important aspect of moral education is ignored.

The way of transmitting cultural social interaction patterns

Looking at the way of transmitting cultural social interaction patterns is also interesting. A number of songs and dances are used as a tool to transmit the cultural social interaction patterns; for example, one of the NHK programs which dealt with disciplines created a song and a dance which demonstrate "Not to leave your things behind! Write your name on your stuff!" Similar songs are also found in Open Pon-Ki-Ki and in other programs. It was also interesting to note that every single program except animations and a drama used puppet characters with human characters.

Lesser (1974) points out that music evokes physical participation for children and variations in musical style also evoke different participation. He says that a child viewer gets up and dances along a song and the child gets verbal if she knows the words of the song. Japanese children who learn songs which indicate discipline may learn the intended meaning of the song while singing. Same songs are often repeated in a program, and some songs are repeated through the year on Japanese TV. Lesser also points out that repetition or reappearance of same segments recapture children's attention. It seems that the way to get children's attention is universal.

The use of puppet character is also effective; however, I was surprised that almost every program of NHK uses puppet characters, a rarity while I was growing up. This may be influenced by Sesame Street characters, imported to Japan in 1971 (NHK, 1977).

Characters in Japanese programs are portrayed as the same age as children for whom programs are intended to reach, and this suggests

that puppet characters are models for child viewers. Lesser (1974) points out that "by watching televised models, children learn both socially desirable and undesirable behaviors" (p.24). In this sense, puppet characters who ask questions, behave or misbehave themselves, try to challenge, and so on, are good models for children. Children may see themselves in those characters.

However, an arithmetic program which was designed for preschool children by NHK surprised me because there was an animated witch character who got a little boy in trouble by counting numbers using nasty words. It seems to me that the witch character was portrayed as a person who made the little boy face a challenging task. However, I wondered if there was another way to motivate children to work on a difficult task.

The use of *Haniwa* (clay human or animal figurines which were made during the Tumulus Period during the 3rd through the 6th centuries) as a puppet in the NHK program was quite effective because the puppet itself presents the custom visually. It was a custom for retainers to follow their lord to the grave and die a martyr's death in those days. *Haniwa* came to be buried together with the dead in the tumulus instead of men and were believed to console the spirit of the dead lord.

Human adult characters are also effective because the same segment which is reinforced by parents may appeal to children through a different character. Children may see, "This character says the same thing that Mom says" and this provides support to mothers who sometimes get tired of disciplining their children; for example, my friend who has a 3-year-old boy complained that she had to scold her son many times a day. She said she had to do so because she would lose face if her son misbehaves in public. This may be another reason why discipline is highly expected in Japanese society, since parents feel that they lose face if they fail to train their children.

III. Concluding Remarks

The study of Ebata (1981) illustrates that culturally patterned behavior, thinking and values are portrayed in children's television programs. He points out these elements have "a reciprocal impact on child development and personality formation" (p.301).

As Ebata's study and my results indicate, TV may play an important role for development of children's socializing behavior which is expected by Japanese society. Hendry (1986) points out that the Japanese TV programs which present child-training are quite effective for the development of children's behavior. He also suggests that songs used in programs appeal children to remember what they learn from a program which they watch. I found this true because a number of songs which reflect on educational points are introduced in With Mama, Open Pon-Ki-Ki as well as other programs. For example, a song of "Greetings" which is introduced to children in Open Pon-Ki-Ki is repeated for a week, and children may learn its intended meaning while singing the song.

Comstock et al (1978) suggest that TV viewers interpret programs in terms of their previous experience. They indicate this by the violence reinforced by previously learned aggressive behavior patterns. Rotating their example to the discipline programs on Japanese TV, children who are reinforced to be well-behaved at home may get stimulus from TV and may learn what is intended.

Discipline, customs & traditions, Japanese behavior pattern, moral, and the use of English which may help children's social development are portrayed on Japanese TV. Discipline is considered to be very important in producing children's TV programs in Japan. This is what parents and society expect in children if they are to be good; yet, bullies called *ijimekko* exist in Japanese children's society. The programs which I viewed for my content analysis portrayed bullies, and I speculate they may allow children reflect on which kind of person should be: a bully or a considerate one.

It is quite effective when customs & traditions are portrayed on TV because TV can appeal things which are difficult to explain in words visually. It is disappointing that grandparents who used to teach old tales and customs & traditions have less contact with their grandchildren; however, with respect to conveying old tales, customs and traditions to the next generation, TV may play an important role in Japan.

I have internalized some American social interaction patterns from TV and in my daily life, and sometimes have a conflict with Japanese people when I do not use Japanese behavior patterns. I do not intend to judge which pattern is "better" because behavior patterns are rooted in a specific culture; however, what I want to point out is that Japanese children need to acquire Japanese behavior patterns in Japanese society. TV programs may be influential in letting them see expected Japanese behavior patterns on TV.

Moral education is highly valued in Japanese society; however, it fails to teach morality if it does not let children learn that everybody should be treated equal. Romance language words and Caucasian models are frequently used on Japanese TV and I assume that they may encourage Japanese children to imagine certain races and languages are cool and superior. They also may help minority or foreign children who live in Japan develop a sense of their inferiority. Japan, generally considered a homogeneous country, may be expected to allow TV to reproduce culturally-patterned discipline, behavior, moral concepts, customs & traditions. However, it is more important to raise children who are socialized to play useful roles in an internationalized world. I believe that this is what Japanese TV has to deal with and that TV can play an important role to develop Japanese children socialize internationally.

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