

# A Comparative Study of Japanese and Taiwanese Pre-service Teachers' Concept of Enduring Hardship: How This Relates to Children's Learning

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The purpose of this study was to examine the concept of enduring hardship among Japanese and Taiwanese pre-service teachers majoring in early childhood education and how this relates to the education of young children. The participants consisted of 55 Japanese pre-service teachers (five males and 50 females) who were in their third or fourth year of college, and of 47 Taiwanese participants (four males and 43 females) who were in their third or fourth year of college. Qualitative analysis of the data revealed five major themes: self-control, social relationships, physical issues, the importance of children learning to endure hardship, and resilience. Implications for early childhood education and limitations of the study were presented.

*Keywords:* enduring hardship, Japanese and Taiwanese pre-service teachers, a comparative study

## Introduction

Although both Japanese and Taiwanese tend to subscribe to collectivism (Ali, Lee, Hsieh, & Krishnan, 2005; Azuma, 1998; Chan, 2019), many differences exist in political, social, educational, and religious systems between the two countries. Collectivism refers to having concern for others (Azuma, 1998; Chan, 2019; Hui & Triandis, 1986). However, educators in both countries highly value early childhood education (Izumi-Taylor, Lin, & Ito, 2024; Izumi-Taylor & Lin, 2023; Widyawati, Pariboko, & Juraidah, 2025), and the educational guidelines set forth by both Japanese and Taiwanese governments emphasize the importance of developing children's social/emotional skills, including self-control skills (The Ministry of Education [MOE], 2017; The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology [MEXT], 2018; 2019). In Japan learning to endure hardship is valued, and it is closely related to self-control skills (Huber, 2023; Izumi-Taylor, Lin, & Kaneda, 2024; McRoy, Gerde, & Linscott, 2022; Norman, Juhasz, Useche, & Kinniburgh, 2021; Yoko, 2023), and it can

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be translated to *gaman* in Japanese. *Gaman* means to endure hardship, and it is the act of tolerating difficulties (Izuru, 2008). In one study (Izumi-Taylor et al., 2024) *gaman* is found to be related to self-control which refers to “voluntary, internal regulation of behavior” (Marion, 2007, p. 51). The Japanese consider it to be a very important quality or skill that one should learn early in life, and people practice the act when they are facing difficulties in their lives (Litter, 2019; Muhammad, 2023; Yoko, 2023). Japanese self-control refers to the act of denying one’s desires and engaging in socially accepted behavior, of harmonious human relationships, and of appropriate social conduct (Litter, 2019; Yoko, 2023).

In Taiwan people are more likely to embrace the traditional values of collectivism and harmonious human relationships (Chan, 2019; Wu, 2004), and Taiwanese early childhood education has been influenced by economic, political, and pragmatic factors (Chen & Li, 2017). Today the Ministry of Education provides support to preschool education through its website and demonstrates its commitment to high quality early childhood education for all children (Leung & Chen, 2017). One research reports that Taiwan’s research on early childhood education between 2012 and 2022 focused on the importance of both pre-and-in service teacher education (Lee & Ho, 2023). This research indicates that Taiwan’s higher education institutions are committed to developing high quality early childhood education.

Although the curriculum standards (MOE, 2017) do not use the word, self-control, they ascertain the importance of developing children’s healthy social/emotional development. Teachers are encouraged to support children’s healthy expressions of negative feelings. In spite of the governmental commitment, some teachers struggle to balance academically-oriented and child-centered approaches in classrooms (Lin, 2015; Wilkinson & Kao, 2019). Generally, Taiwanese early childhood education programs are based on traditional Chinese Confucius philosophy, but currently their early childhood education programs focus on many dimensions of Western philosophies, including those of Piaget, Froebel, Montessori, and Reggio Emilia (Lin, 2015).

### **The Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to examine the concept of enduring hardship among Japanese and Taiwanese pre-service teachers majoring in early childhood education and how it relates to the education of young children. In both countries keeping harmonious human relationships and working as teams are considered to be important (Chan, 2019; Wu, 2004), and such notions can affect people’s perceptions of the education of young children (Izumi-Taylor et al., 2024). Teachers’ beliefs and perceptions influence their teaching (Vartuli, 2005; Wanless et al., 2015); thus, examining early childhood education in both countries could broaden educators’ understanding of how the growing prominence of Asian economies and corporations are advancing the field of early childhood education (Izumi-Taylor & Ito, 2017; Izumi-Taylor & Lin, 2023; Maclean & Symaco, 2017). Because few cross-cultural studies have pre-service teachers’ concept regarding enduring hardship, research was needed to explore their perceptions. This study was conducted to fill this need based on the following research questions: (1) What views are revealed in Japanese and Taiwanese pre-service teachers’ concepts of children’s abilities in enduring hardship? (2) Are there any similarities or differences among these teachers’ views? (3) How are they similar or different? This article first outlines the contexts concerning promoting such children’s skills in both countries, as well Japanese and Taiwanese educational guidelines. It is followed by a report on the study, analyses of findings, discussions, implications, and limitations.

### **Enduring Hardship in Japan and Taiwan**

In Japan a current study about children enduring hardship indicates that pre-service teachers consider that preschoolers need to learn to control their emotions in preschool classrooms (Izumi-Taylor et al., 2024). Because “these pre-service teachers took courses in child development, early childhood education, and psychology, they appear to have a good understanding of how children learn and develop within their age range” (Izumi-Taylor et al., 2024, p. 563). However, these pre-service teachers do not expect preschoolers to practice such skills in the early years; rather they perceive preschoolers need to learn to control their emotions gradually in group-oriented environments. As such skills on children develop slowly and haltingly, adults should not expect children to maintain perfect control (Izumi-Taylor, 2023; 2024; 2025; Nakatsubo, Ueda, & Kayama, 2022). Regarding children’s self-control, Hosokawa and others (2023) have found that implementing a universal preventive intervention program improves preschool children’s self-control and cooperation. Other researchers (Imafuku et al., 2021) have discovered that mothers’ persistence and responsiveness are related to the development of preschoolers’ self-control skills.

Generally, Japanese people agree that acknowledging how children learn and develop as individuals in the context of others is important. Such agreements may come from Japanese collectivist culture. In collectivist cultures, people tend to emphasize harmony and social cohesion. For these reasons, enduring hardship is related to interacting with others peacefully (Izumi-Taylor et al., 2024; Litter, 2019). Japanese preschoolers’ self-care abilities are associated with their self-control skills (Zhu et al., 2020). Such abilities are closely tied to their teachers’ strong beliefs that preschoolers’ self-regulation skills can be nurtured in warm, caring, and non-authoritarian environments (Izumi-Taylor, 2023; 2024; 2025). Children learn to express their emotions appropriately with teachers’ gentle help in group-oriented classrooms.

To promote developmentally delayed children’s self-control skills, a Taiwanese study (Lee & Ho, 2023) has found that music and technology can support such skills. Other Taiwanese educators have examined teachers’ perspectives of children’s social/emotional development, including self-control (Wilkinson & Kao, 2019). This study reveals “in some pre-schools more attention was paid to developing other areas of the curriculum such as language and math, rather than to developing social and emotional skills” (p. 2). Another study (Wanless et al., 2015) has found that some teachers consider developing children’s self-control skills to be their responsibility because they agree that it would show how much teachers care about students. Also, they conclude that such care is related to Taiwan’s highly valued culture of interdependence.

As both Japanese and Taiwanese governments regulate early childhood education, reviewing their educational standards might help us understand how their guidelines influence the education of children in each country (Ito & Izumi-Taylor, 2018; Izumi-Taylor & Ito, 2017). In Japan the governmental guidelines focus heavily on the promotion of children’s social and emotional development and learning (MEXT, 2018; 2019). The guidelines state that children’s healthy hearts and bodies need to be nurtured in cooperative environments. Teachers support children’s social/emotional skills by creating social environments in which children play together freely, solve problems with peers, and learn social skills (Izumi-Taylor, 2023; 2024; 2025; Nakatsubo et al., 2022). One of the Japanese early childhood educational goals is to socialize children in group-oriented environments (Izumi-Taylor, 2023; 2024; 2025). Through respectful and mutual relationships with children, teachers provide ample opportunities and time for them to interact, to solve problems by themselves, and to nurture their positive emotions toward each other. In many Japanese group-oriented preschool classrooms,

generally teachers support preschoolers' self-regulation skills so that they can regulate their emotions and behaviors by creating positive social relations with others (Izumi-Taylor, 2023; 2025). Children learn to express their emotions appropriately with teachers' help. Such self-regulation skills can promote children's resilience (Collet, 2017; Grogan, 2013; Hill & Adesanya, 2019; Izumi-Taylor & Ro, 2025).

In Taiwan, the government declares the importance of early childhood education (Leung & Chen, 2017), and the curriculum standards advocate the development of children's health, daily life experiences, and moral development (MOE, 2017). As previously noted, the curriculum standards do not use the term, "self-control", but children are encouraged to identify their own emotions and understand the emotions of others to learn to express positive feelings and to develop various strategies to regulate negative emotions. The standards also emphasize teaching children to express their emotions in a manner appropriate to social and cultural norms. Through the development of children's morals, teachers must support children's awareness of their social/emotional and physical health, as well as nurture their curiosity and interests in learning through play (Izumi-Taylor & Lin, 2023; Lin, 2015). In the curriculum guidelines, the following three areas of the curriculum are deemed to be important: the social, the emotional, and the aesthetic. Among these areas, teachers are expected to develop children's skills in perception and identification; in expression and communication; in caring and cooperation; in reasoning and appreciation; in imagination and creation; and in self-management (MOE, 2017).

After reviewing both Japanese and Taiwanese curriculum standards with other Asian countries, Widyawati et al. (2025) have found that "Japan and South Korea excel in teacher training and technology integration, while Taiwan and Hong Kong place significant focus on preparing children for globalization" (p. 61). Teacher training in Japan is highly valued and is viewed as a salient part of high quality of education, including early childhood education (Fujimura & Sato, 2020). On the other hand, Taiwan's education approach focuses on preparing children for globalization. "The bilingual approach enables children to develop language skills in both Chinese and English, making them competitive in an increasingly interconnected world" (Widyawati et al., 2025, p. 60).

## Method

### Data Collection

The data concerning pre-service teachers' concepts of self-control came from written responses of Japanese and Taiwanese pre-service teachers majoring in early childhood education at one university located in Tokyo, Japan and one university in Taichung, Taiwan. The respondent pool was selected through convenience of access (Hancock & Algozzine, 2016). The third author in Tokyo gave randomly selected pre-service teachers the questionnaire in one session and collected their responses. The participants were told that their participation was voluntary and that the results of this study would be available upon request. The second author followed the same procedure to collect the data in Taiwan. Our questionnaire included: (1) What kind of hardship do you endure? Please give three examples. (2) When have you been told to endure something? Please give three examples. (3) What were the benefits of enduring hardship? (4) What was the most difficult aspect of enduring hardship? (5) Do you think it is important for children to learn to endure something? Yes/Sometimes/No. (5a) If you say "yes" to Question 5, please explain why. (5b) If you say "no" to Question 5, please explain why not. (6) When do you tell children to endure something? (7) What does enduring hardship mean to you? These questions were based on one study by Izumi-Taylor, Lin, and Kaneda in 2024.

## **Participants**

The Japanese participants consisted of 55 pre-service teachers (five males and 50 females) of early childhood education who were in their third or fourth year of college, the majority of whom usually become early childhood educators because they are working toward their teaching credentials. All of them had different levels of field experiences of teaching at preschools and childcare centers. They had taken courses in early childhood education, psychology, and child development. In Taiwan, 47 of them (four males and 43 females) participated in this study who were in their third or fourth year of college majoring in early childhood education. They had taken courses in child development, early childhood education, and psychology.

## **Data Analysis**

The first author, a native of Japan, translated the students' responses into English, and two Japanese bilingual educators then reviewed each response and reached consensus on translation (Izumi-Taylor, Ito, & Gibbons, 2010). Data were coded and categorized using qualitative analysis methods (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003; Lichtman, 2010). The first author trained two assistants (native Japanese speakers) to code and categorize responses. In the first stage, each statement was read without any concern with its relationship to other aspects of the text. In the second stage, each statement was read repeatedly to familiarize us with the transcript. In the third stage, we began to watch for patterns and themes to develop. In the fourth stage, among themes, patterns, as well as similarities and contradictions, we selected relevancies and discarded irrelevancies. Each assistant coded and categorized each response independently, and coders reached agreement upon the coding and categorization of all responses. Finally, in the fifth stage, we brought together the themes from each response, unified the themes under the umbrella of the cultures being studied, and then related them to the review of the literature (Lichtman, 2010). The second author followed the same procedure for the Taiwanese data analysis.

## **Results**

Qualitative analysis of the data revealed four major themes: self-control, social relationships, physical issues, the importance of children learning to endure hardship, and resilience. Self-control is defined as "the capacity to manage strong emotions and keep one's attention focused" (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009, p. 12). Social relations are related to any social interactions among people. Physical issues include physical pain, stress, and uncomfortable situations. Resilience refers to children being "able to overcome whatever adversities they have been exposed to so they can learn and reach their full potential" (Erdman, Colker, & Winter, 2020, p. 29). Each theme will be discussed accordingly.

### **Self-control**

The theme of self-control emerged through Japanese participants identifying it to be associated with enduring hardship. In particular, when asked to list their examples of enduring hardship, Japanese participants (69%) noted that they endure hardship because they want to maintain self-control. A Japanese female participant stated, "Enduring hardship means you consider others around you and control yourself". However, only 2% of the Taiwanese participants noted that it was self-control. One Taiwanese male participant simply wrote, "Improve self-control". Interestingly, two female Taiwanese participants related enduring hardship to their self-affirmation and self-confidence that appeared to be related to self-concept. To Taiwanese pre-service teachers, this concept was associated with learning processes that make them better (29%), and 6% claimed that it helped them develop their self-affirmation and self-confidence. To typify, one female Taiwanese pre-service teacher observed, "It

gives you the opportunity to grow. After enduring and overcoming difficulties, you get a sense of accomplishment and self-affirmation”.

For Japanese pre-service teachers, the meanings of enduring hardship were associated with developing their self-control skills (29%), to learning to think about others’ feelings (about 15%), to developing their cooperation skills (5%), and to thinking about their conduct (9%). Three Japanese male participants mentioned the following: “To live in a society, we need to endure things. By doing so, we can become strong and accomplish things for others”, “To endure hardship is to keep social conventions”, “It is to keep harmonious human relationships”, or “When we endure hardship, we become social persons”.

### **Social Relationships**

Participants identified commonly held views on social relationships through their response to the first question. Social relationships are defined by these participants as how they maintain good interactions with others. Almost 51% of Japanese participants observed that they make efforts to not cause trouble for others. For example, a Japanese male pre-service teacher wrote, “To me, it is to respect others, to have an empathic heart by suppressing my insistence, opinions, and feelings, although it can cause stress”. Likewise, 34% of Taiwanese pre-service teachers claimed that when social relationships got hard, they endured, and appropriately 30% wrote that working on exams was one of the hardships they endured. A female Taiwanese pre-service teacher remarked, “Difficulties in interpersonal relationships such as integrating into a group”. Their responses appeared to be related to their interactions with others. On the other hand, none of the Japanese participants described the exams as being examples of enduring hardship.

Regarding Question 2, when they were asked to endure, 27% of the Japanese participants wrote that they endured when they were asked to wait for something, while 11% of their Taiwanese counterparts commented that they endured family problems. A Japanese female said, “I endure it when I can’t buy things that I want to buy, and I just tell myself to forget about it”. Another Japanese female claimed, “If there is only enough for others to eat, I don’t eat anything and endure it”. A Taiwanese female wrote, “After my mother finished cooking, she would ask me to endure hunger and to wait for the whole family to get home”. It appeared that both Japanese (27%) and Taiwanese participants (11%) delineated that they were asked to endure family problems.

Question 3 was about the benefits of enduring hardship, and almost 31% of Japanese pre-service teachers said that the benefits of enduring hardship were being able to think about others. To illustrate, a Japanese female pre-service teacher delineated, “I think we do this to think about others and to have open hearts. We have to compromise sometimes”. On the other hand, 34% of Taiwanese pre-service teachers noted that the benefits were that they could become stronger, and 11% of them stated that they could maintain good relationships with others. A female Taiwanese pre-service teacher stated, “Through enduring hardship, you learn to be nice to those around you”. Both Japanese and Taiwanese participants were more likely to relate enduring hardships with their social relationships.

### **Physical Issues**

Both participants identified physical pain (7% of Japanese and 4% of Taiwanese pre-service teachers) as their examples of enduring hardship. To illustrate, one Japanese man noted, “I endure my hardship and finish my project till the end even though I am sleepy and want to sleep”. A Taiwanese woman reported, “I endure academic pressure and illness such as depression, anxiety, and injuries”. Regarding Question 4 about the most difficult aspect of enduring hardship, 20% of Japanese participants articulated that having stress was hard, 18% remarked

having no needs met was not easy, and about 15% indicated having pain was difficult. Taiwanese participants (8%) also mentioned having pain was hard, just as their Japanese counterparts remarked. Both Japanese and Taiwanese participants stated that enduring hardship was associated with painful experiences. For example, a Japanese female participant explained, “Having pains”, and a Taiwanese female participant said simply, “Physical pains”.

### **The Importance of Children Learning to Endure Hardship**

Regarding Question 5 (if children need to learn to endure hardship), approximately 42% of Japanese participants said that children need to learn to tolerate hardship, while their Taiwanese counterparts (42%) reported the same. Almost 50% of Japanese pre-service teachers considered that sometimes children need to learn to deal with hardship, and 68% of Taiwanese pre-service teachers agreed with this. Many Japanese participants indicated that children should learn to tolerate hardship so they would develop interpersonal relations (53%), not to become self-centered (36%), and to understand others’ feelings (36%). To illustrate, a Japanese female participant expressed, “Learning to endure is important to children because it will give them the opportunity to develop self-control, and it will prevent them from becoming self-involved. But, I am strongly against us insisting that children be constantly self-monitoring. It takes time to develop this”. However, the majority of their Taiwanese counterparts claimed that it would help them learn and build their abilities to face difficulties in their lives, but they did not mention anything about others. A Taiwanese female participant observed, “I think enduring hardship at certain moments can build a child’s abilities, rather than avoiding all suffering”.

When asked to describe when they tell children to endure, 47% of the Japanese participants suggested that they do this when children’s situations do not allow them to get what they want, 27% said when children cause trouble for others, and 18% noted when children need to take turns. A Japanese male pre-service teacher commented, “Children need to learn that the world does not revolve around them, and they need to know that other people have their own opinions and thoughts. Thus, they need to learn to compromise once in a while”. A Japanese female pre-service teacher also reported, “When children learn to endure, they can learn that not everything can go their way, and they can become unselfish. Through enduring hardship, children can develop empathic hearts”. Interestingly, approximately 15% of Taiwanese participants also remarked that when situations do not allow them to get what they want, they will tell children to endure, and 4% mentioned that when they caused trouble for others, they would tell children to endure. A Taiwanese female participant noted, “When things don’t go his way, I would tell a child to be patient because not everything can go his way”. It appeared that both Japanese and Taiwanese participants agreed with occasions of when to tell children to endure. It seemed that both participants considered that children should learn to endure hardship sometimes, but they did not expect children to do this all the time.

### **Resilience**

When asked when they teach children to endure something, only Taiwanese pre-service teachers (45%) responded that it improved children’s abilities to cope with difficulties and supported their resilience, but none of their Japanese counterparts indicated such. One Taiwanese female pre-service teacher commented, “Letting children learn to endure some difficulties can help them develop problem-solving skills and resilience so that they can cope with challenges more strongly and confidently in the future”. When asked about the benefits of enduring hardship, 30% of Taiwanese pre-service teachers associated it with resilience. Many indicated that it would help them grow and become stronger. Two female pre-service teachers commented, “At the moment of

relief, I felt like fireworks were setting off in my head and learned to be optimistic”, and “Occasional tolerance can build your own stress resistance”.

### Discussion

The thematic analysis of results indicates how a sample of Japanese and Taiwanese early childhood education pre-service teachers perceived enduring hardship and related it to their future roles in teaching young children. Certain themes emerged as being more commonly identified by one or two of the two samples in their responses to what were essentially open and negotiable questions. To illustrate, the responses to Question 1 indicate stronger association between enduring hardship and self-control for the Japanese participants, consistent with much of the current focus on enhancing the teaching skills of pre-service teachers through the educational guidelines set forth by the government (Izumi-Taylor, 2023; 2024; 2025; MEXT, 2018; 2019). The Japanese participants perceive enduring hardship as maintaining social relationships with self-control. However, only one Taiwanese participant connects enduring hardship with self-control.

The stronger connection identified between enduring hardship and social relationships by both Japanese and Taiwanese pre-service teachers suggests that enduring hardships is a highly valued outcome of early childhood education educators in both nations. In other words, when Japanese and Taiwanese educators think of the benefits of enduring hardship, the suggestion is that they primarily envisage more opportunities to connect with others. Connecting with others is extremely valued and is important in collective societies such as Japan and Taiwan (Ali et al., 2005; Chan, 2019; Hui & Triandis, 1986).

These participants appear to agree with the notion that sometimes children need to learn to endure hardship, but they do not expect them to do this all the time. These findings could be supported by the guidelines by both governments clearly stating that children’s healthy social and emotional development develop slowly (MEXT, 2018; 2019; MOE, 2017). Similarly, Wanless and others (2015) have found that when teachers support children’s developing of self-control skills as their responsibilities, stating such support is associated with Taiwan’s highly valued interdependence culture. Also, because both participants have taken courses in child development, early childhood education, and psychology, they have had enough information regarding how young children develop and learn (Izumi-Taylor et al., 2024). Likewise, the importance of children learning to endure hardship is acknowledged by both participants. In this study these participants appear to understand that enduring hardship is developmental and that they do not hasten children’s learning. Japanese people value the act but do not expect children to engage in it in early years (Izumi-Taylor et al., 2024; Litter, 2019; Muhammad, 2023; Yoko, 2023). In Taiwan, teachers are expected to support the development of self-management skills that could be related to enduring hardship, and these participants seem to understand how children learn and develop gradually (MOE, 2017).

In this study, to Taiwanese pre-service teachers, taking exams and studying for them are part of enduring hardship, but none of their Japanese counterparts mention such endurance of hardship. However, both participants agree that enduring hardship causes some pain, including stress, depression, and anxiety. Additionally, these pre-service teachers’ responses are based on their materialistic needs, and these reasons appear to be related to personal pleasure and satisfaction. Interestingly, both participants connect their physical issues with enduring hardship. More Japanese participants mention physical pains than their Taiwanese counterparts.

A final point of discussion emerged through the general and open nature of the survey questions. These required responses to interpret the meaning and relevance of the questions in terms of their understanding of early



childhood education. To typify, the interpretations of Question 1 suggest that the Japanese sample is more likely to identify enduring hardship with self-control and social relationships. This finding is supported by the study by Izumi-Taylor et al. (2024) stating that the majority of pre-service teachers tend to connect enduring hardship with self-control. On the other hand, the responses to Question 5 suggest that the Taiwanese sample is more likely to regard prompting children's resilience as an important component of enduring hardship. Regarding children's resilience, they are not born resilient; thus, teachers need to facilitate such development in children (Grogan, 2013). These Taiwanese participants' concepts of enduring hardship being connected with resiliency align with the theory that it is teachers' responsibility to nurture children's resilience (Grogan, 2013; Izumi-Taylor & Ro, 2025).

### **Implications and Limitations of This Study**

Each of the themes emerging from the data provides an insight into the education of young children regarding enduring hardship. The findings of this study indicate the ways in which Japanese and Taiwanese pre-service teachers' perceptions of enduring hardship are related to their cultural and social contexts. People in different cultural backgrounds are more likely to focus on different aspects of the same phenomena, such as education. Thus, through the discovery that Japanese and Taiwanese pre-service teachers responded in similar ways to generic questions but differed in some of the particular characteristics of education, this study allows us to discover different characteristics of the same phenomena that are important to these groups of Japanese and Taiwanese teachers. The frequency and nature of responses to the questions in themselves provide an indication of the ways in which pre-service teachers in different cultural settings make their connections between enduring hardship and teaching.

Given the current interest in cross-cultural comparisons, we need to make better distinctions between what teachers say and what they actually teach in classrooms. Therefore, teacher educators may work together to expand pre-service teacher education with the diverse ways in which the concepts of enduring hardship are understood in early childhood classrooms. As part of such collaboration, teacher educators can come up with the effective methods to create educational materials and sessions that enable pre-service teachers to translate theory and research into practice. By doing so, teacher educators from different countries can comprehend how they can teach pre-service teachers to better assess the activities that promote children's endurance of hardship skills in their own classrooms. Also, teacher educators need to provide space to understand and to appreciate the different views of enduring hardship held by pre-service teachers, through open debate about this concept in both general and applied contexts.

However, this indication must be considered limited, given the size and particularity of the two samples, and low response rate to some questions. Also, because of differing preparation requirements for teaching in Japan and Taiwan, the responses by participants in this study may have been influenced by their educational backgrounds. As any study relies on self-reporting, this study's dependency on self-reporting might be considered a limitation.

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