

International Cooperation in Early Childhood Care and Education

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Abstract

The importance of international cooperation in early childhood development (ECD) has been recognized since the 1990s. It has been emphasized on the one hand from a human rights perspective and on the other in terms of developmental cost-benefit. Its importance is supported and its necessity pointed out in an abundance of research. Yet, ECD does not enjoy a high level of priority for the governments of developing countries, any more than it does for aid agencies. The various possible explanations for this fall into the following five categories: (1) There is a lack of prioritization to date within developing countries themselves; (2) Primary and secondary education's diffusion is prioritized on both the national and international levels; (3) Experience on ECD projects is still lacking even internationally, and an effective means of support has not yet been established; (4) Little survey research exists detailing ECD in developing countries; and (5) ECD is a field that heavily reflects a country's culture, making it a sensitive field for which extra discretion must be adopted in the provision of aid.

This paper raises five main points with regard to the issue of ECD aid. Until now, Japan's international aid has been provided through the dispatch of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) and the like, but in recent years these have concentrated more on providing training to administrative staff. Recognizing the substantial gap between early childhood education in Japan and in developing countries, it is essential to establish a means of aid that capitalizes upon the characteristics of the Japanese system. This study reviews examples of early childhood education training in western central Africa.

Key words: Education for All (EFA), early child, early childhood care and education, international cooperation, early childhood development (ECD), developing countries

Introduction

1. Introduction: Trends in International Education Cooperation and Early Childhood Education

In the field of international education cooperation, the importance of cooperation dealing with preschool-age infants-including preschool education and infant development support-began to gain real recognition in the 1990s. In the 1990 "World Declaration on Education for All," or Jomtien Declaration, factors such as infant care and preschool education were included as components of basic education. Together with a widening recognition of the importance of ECD, there developed a belief that the expansion of preschool education serves in shaping a readiness to learn, which then contributes to accessibility to primary and secondary education as well as to a rise in their quality.

In 2000, the Dakar Framework for Action put forth six goals, the first of which was to expand and improve preschool education. The Framework prescribes "expa

nding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children." UNESCO's 2007 EFA Global Monitoring Report (EFA-GMR) took as its theme early childhood care and education (ECCE). The report, entitled *Strong Foundations: Early Childhood Care and Education*, emphasizes appropriate infant care and education from birth to around preschool age in order to provide a firm foundation for later life (UNESCO 2006 a, 2006 b). Following on from this, early childhood education will surely continue to draw more attention as a field, to say nothing of its importance to international education cooperation.

In the growing discourse on early childhood education, a variety of terms are used, including Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE), Early Childhood Care and Development (ECCD), Early Childhood Education (ECE) and Early Childhood Development (ECD). In the use of each term the emphasis varies slightly, but all have in common early childhood as their subject. Of these four expressions, ECD is at present the most

widely used internationally; therefore, it will be used in this paper when another term is not specifically required.

2. Early Childhood Education as Human Right and as Investment in Development

The EFA-GMR 2007 offers a comprehensive and significant examination of theoretical supports for ECCE and the latest global information, as well as international cooperation initiatives and effective programs. In the Summary (UNESCO 2006 b), the importance of preschool is set forth as follows: "Learning begins well before a child walks through the classroom door for the first time. The paramount importance of the child's early years is expressed in the first of the six Education for All [EFA] goals adopted by 164 countries in Dakar in 2000. They are years of extreme vulnerability and tremendous potential, during which adequate protection, care and stimulation are essential to provide the foundation for the child's well-being and development" (p. 7).

The first basis given for the importance of ECCE in EFA-GMR 2007 is this reference from the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child defining early childhood education as a human right: "The Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1989 and now endorsed by 192 nations, is a unique instrument to protect children's rights to survival, development and protection. Rapid economic and social change is increasing the need for more early childhood policies and programmes. Access and to good early childhood programmes is not widespread in developing countries. In contrast, most children in developed countries have access to at least two years of free pre-school before beginning primary school" (p. 7).

ECCE's importance is not limited to the realm of human rights. While the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and other documents set out universal primary education coverage and the elimination of gender discrimination as the most critical tasks regarding education, UNESCO and the World Bank also give attention to ECD. There is a reason for this development, namely that previous studies have been consistent in stating ECD's effectiveness only through its worth as an investment. ECD, they propose, has the following characteristics: (1) it has high returns; (2) it has the potential to become a means toward development-related achievements such as poverty reduction and universalization of basic education; (3) it decreases repeating grades and school drop-outs in primary and secondary education; (4) it encourages children's physical, intellectual and emotional development; (5) it promotes stronger ties between family and community; (6) it enables mothers of young children to find

employment outside the home; (7) it has a positive impact on female education by promoting girls' school attendance, etc.; and (8) it promotes economic growth (Miwa, 2004; Weikart, 2000).

3. International Cooperation in the Field of ECD

While many studies agree on the importance of ECD's effectiveness and point out its necessity, it cannot be said that preschool education is sufficiently implemented in developing countries. Furthermore, the provision of preschool education tends to be concentrated in urban areas, while in rural and impoverished regions its rate of diffusion is lower still. The developing world faces a real shortage of professional personnel directly related to ECD, including kindergarten teachers and nursery staff, and teaching materials are similarly insufficient. The greatest problem of all is a lack of funds, as under present conditions most developing countries' governments do not allocate enough funding for preschool education programs.

In addition to all of this, ECD is not a field prioritized by aid donors. The number of projects realized to date is small, and in comparison to primary, secondary and higher education, preschool projects remain outstandingly low in numbers and in financing. Bilateral aid-based preschool education projects are almost entirely nonexistent, and most of those that do take effect within a bilateral framework are conducted as joint activities with international organizations.

Why is ECD so low among the priorities of aid organizations, despite the recognition of its importance? The various possible explanations fall into the following five categories (Hamano 2007).

(1) There is a lack of prioritization to date within developing countries themselves, and in fields where a country's own motivation is lacking, donors may find it more difficult to become involved.

(2) As witnessed in the case of MDGs, primary and secondary education's diffusion is prioritized on both the national and international levels.

(3) Experience with ECD projects is still lacking even internationally, and an effective means of support has not yet been established.

(4) Little survey research exists regarding ECD in developing countries, so that the reality of it has not been sufficiently grasped.

(5) ECD is a field that heavily reflects a country's culture, including elements such as the way in which people view children, nurseries, child-rearing, and child-bearing (in contrast, for example, with fields such as mathematics and the sciences, which have come to be thought of as having relatively little cultural bias), making it a sensitive field for which extra discretion must be adopted in the provision of aid.

Under such circumstances, most ECD projects have

come about through organizations such as the World Bank, UNICEF, and NGOs. UNESCO focuses mainly on policy analysis, the design of education projects, and other such policy-related support activities, while projects on the ground in developing countries are primarily carried out by the World Bank, UNICEF, and NGOs. These tend to comprise teacher training, development of teaching materials, information campaigns, facility construction, capacity building, monitoring and evaluation, and the like.

4. Issues Related to International Cooperation in the ECD Field

The issues related to international cooperation in the field of ECD can be summed up by the five following points (Hamano, 2007):

First is the quantitative expansion and qualitative improvement of ECD and the correction of disparities. Not many children are currently receiving early childhood education in developing countries. Statistical indicators such as school enrollment ratios show that only a few people who are rich and live in urban areas have access to early childhood education. Generally speaking, early childhood education is a “luxury” in developing countries. The quality of early childhood education is not adequate, either, in terms of teacher training and teaching materials. Among the issues of ECD, qualitative and quantitative improvement is of how to expand facilities for early childhood education into rural and poor areas, as they tend to be concentrated in cities.

Second is coordination among different sectors. Projects related to ECD are not merely the concern of the educational sector, but also involve many other sectors. In addition to the educational sector, ECD is closely related to healthcare, nutrition, family, population, gender, and village development. Since there are numerous ministries and stakeholders involved, coordination is difficult in many cases. For example, in Senegal, where Ms. Sabaly, who is seated next to me, comes from, there are two ministries related to ECD: the Ministry of Education and l' Agence Nationale de la Case des Tout-Petits. It has been reported that coordination between the two government bodies is rather difficult. In some countries, this is an area where complicated political interests exist.

This does not mean, however, that there is only a negative side to this issue. If many sectors are involved in a project, it also means that the project may have a greater propagating effect. In any case, it is important for international cooperation projects to know how best to deal with these issues in order to yield as many benefits as possible.

Third, we must make sure we set appropriate targets for our projects. In the case of a project for ECD, if the

target is inappropriate, the project may exacerbate social inequality. As I have already mentioned, in many countries, only children from wealthy families have access to ECD today. In this situation, supporting ECD may widen the gap between social classes instead of narrowing it. If we are targeting ECD to which wealthy families have access, we must consider how our activities can reach the children of poor families. If the importance of ECD is not well understood by administrative organizations and relevant parties, workshops and training for administrative officials may be effective to raise their awareness. In any case, international cooperation projects for ECD must carefully study the target populations.

Fourth, we must secure education for disadvantaged children. As I said, ECD may result in making rich people richer, depending on how we choose target populations, but if we set appropriate targets, these projects are an extremely effective investment for addressing poverty. If we can appropriately secure education for disadvantaged children, we can expect that this will not only improve the educational situation, but will also have profound effects in alleviating poverty and improving health.

Fifth, we must ensure sustainability. Like any project, international projects end after their terms expire; therefore, the success of a project depends on how the developing country can continue and develop the initiatives and efforts started by the projects. This means not only the continuation of organizations but also financial sustainability. Another important task for ensuring sustainability is to find the best way to promote the participation of local people and their organizations.

5. Characteristics of Japanese Early Childhood Education and International Cooperation Potential

Japan's history of early childhood education shows that preschool education has been fostered in this country for some time. The 1970s saw a sudden rise in preschool entrance rates, and at present, almost all children at the age of five are enrolled in either kindergarten or nursery. Japan's very first kindergarten was created in 1876, giving the practice of early childhood education a 130-year history.

Needless to say, while Japan's early childhood education may come from a long tradition, it is one that took shape within Japanese culture and history: It is not something that can be simply exported to developing countries without adjustment. Japan's homogeneity in language as well as in culture proved fortuitous in that it simplified the dissemination of education. Furthermore, since it was never colonized by any other nation, Japan enjoyed the freedom to pick and choose from foreign models of early childhood education. By adopting

the Froebel style of early childhood education and incorporating the American “child-centered” ideology, pioneers in nursery practice and research, including Sozo Kurahashi, shaped the Japan-specific early childhood education system. The completed form is said to have the following seven characteristics (Moriue, 1984; Muto, 2006; RCCADE, 2004).

(1) It gives heavy weight to both the intellectual and emotional/sociological aspects of each child’s development, recognizing that they are intimately linked. The child’s emotional stability is given importance, and activities with other children encouraged. Intellectual development is fostered naturally within this framework.

(2) In terms of lifestyle training, independence is encouraged by kindergarten play and lifestyle activities in which children take part, which aids their development. Teachers offer guidance not only in specified activities, but in all aspects of children’s life and play; however, such guidance does not come, as it were, from above. In order to draw out each child’s own self-motivation, teachers aim to provide advice and suggestions for activities, in the style of placing an object in a kindergarten that might entice children to play there.

(3) The teachers’ specialization lies in a cycle of guidance plan development, implementation, recording, reflecting, and then planning anew. The system allows the classroom teacher a great deal of discretion. National government regulations go no further than giving a general direction of alignment, and the specific embodiment is entrusted to each individual kindergarten and teacher.

(4) The work of the national and municipal governments is mainly to set a standard for facilities and secure teachers’ careers, as well as to determine the general direction of the program of childcare. Further, the government takes the role of advisor and supporter. Those close to the subjects of young children’s education, as well as occasionally those who themselves have teaching experience, frequently take decision-making positions within government as well. The administrative side takes notice of excellent childcare in practice and works toward the dissemination of its main points to other schools.

(5) The practice and research of early childhood education are closely linked. Many researchers carry out their research in the field of practice, and in the same way, the instruction at teachers’ training institutions is in many instances undertaken by active schoolteachers. Researchers who come to have leadership positions are acquainted with the reality of the schools, and theories from the West—as well as the fruits of psychology and other related fields—can be adopted and included in the childcare already in practice at these schools. It is these efforts that have led to the establishment of the

Japanese school of early childhood education.

(6) There are various ways of thinking about early childhood education, and each has a particular methodology associated with it; however, individual theories are not mechanically applied, but rather are adapted flexibly to suit the lifestyle and well-observed conduct of each child.

(7) Early childhood education takes a variety of forms, but they inspire one another, and it is possible for each to adapt good points from the others while still remaining duly and separately established in terms of specific content and method.

Along with aid based on Japan’s practical experience in ECD as described above, there is the potential for cooperation from various other fields of experience. For example: nurturing activities aimed at disadvantaged children, the dissemination of education to rural and remote areas, healthcare guidance, policy framework building, cooperation between kindergartens and nurseries (linking education and social welfare), training for instructors and caregivers, facilities of university-affiliated kindergartens, accumulation and information management for statistical data on education, formulating, monitoring and evaluating curricula, and so on. These are a number of areas in which Japan can offer a technical contribution. What is needed is the development of relevant cooperative activities based on a sufficient understanding of the actual conditions and needs of developing countries.

6. The Differences between Japan’s Early Childhood Education and that of Developing Countries

While it is important to make the most of Japan’s experience with regard to international cooperation in early childhood education, this must be based on an understanding of the differences between Japan’s early childhood education and that of developing countries. Without such an understanding, it will be impossible to reap the benefits of cooperation. The areas in which Japan’s early childhood education and that of developing countries differ are as follows.

(1) The difference in government-regulated curricula

In Japan, the nation determines the general direction of the content of early childhood education, entrusting the specific manner in which this direction is realized to individual kindergartens and teachers. In contrast, in the majority of developing countries, both curriculum and educational guidelines are defined, with even the timetable determined precisely by the government, so that nothing can proceed without these being followed to the letter. “Play” is included in this, but it is not “free play” in which the children engage at will; rather, it is play stipulated within the government-defined

timetable. A further example: there are no sculpting and drawing activities in which children can create freely; rather, an evaluation is made from the point of view of whether a model can be acceptably imitated.

(2) The difference in child-rearing environments

Generally, in developing countries (with the exception of those such as China and Vietnam that have established policies for decreasing birthrates), numbers of children per family tend to be extremely high. The number of children born to each woman is high, and some countries have systems of polygamy, so that households containing ten or more children are not rare. Within one household, there may be an environment that is very like a kindergarten. Living as part of such a large group, these children can learn human relations naturally through their everyday interactions with children of a similar age (Hamano, 2008). In the Japanese kindergarten system, the concept of “human relations” is greatly stressed, but among the issues that must be dealt with through early childhood education in developing countries, human relations is not generally given much weight.

(3) Compared to Japan, greater relative weight is given to intellectual training and information acquisition

Generally speaking, what is hoped for in developing countries’ systems of early childhood education is the stimulation of intellectual development as preparation for primary school. From kindergarten on, reading, writing, and mathematics are taught, and preparation for primary education is at the heart of the curriculum. This is in keeping with the wishes of the parents. Such a tendency can be seen in a great number of developing countries, but is especially pronounced in the former colonies of France. In France, kindergarten is referred to as *école maternelle*. *École* has the literal meaning of “school,” in keeping with the perception of kindergarten as the first step of primary education. Those countries under France’s control adopted this system, making their kindergartens into “mini primary schools.”

(4) Standard-language education in multilingual environments

Japan is a society with a high level of homogeneity, both linguistically and culturally. Wherever one travels within the country, Japanese is understood, and schooling is undertaken in the same language. Most developing nations, however, are multiethnic and multilingual, so that the language of instruction in the classroom becomes an important issue. In many cases, the language of the classroom differs completely from that which is spoken in the home. Within multilingual societies, the study of that society’s standard language (English, French, and Spanish are common examples)

proves essential for later matriculation into the best institutions of higher education and in finding work after school. For this reason, parents desire standard-language education from the kindergarten level onward, so that their children might become accustomed to its use as early as possible. Even if the child him/herself has no such hopes for his or her education, parents will not give up the hope that this early language education will at the very least prove advantageous to the child’s advancement through study.

(5) “Teacher-centered” education

In Japan’s early childhood education, teachers tend not to give guidance from above, but rather to draw out the children’s own self-motivation by giving hints and suggestions during activities and by creating a kindergarten environment in which the children will want to play. In contrast, in most developing countries, instruction is centered on the teacher, so that the amount of educational activities promoting children’s spontaneity and play is actually very low. The flexibility of curricula tends to be poor, and the responsibilities of the teacher strictly defined (with frequent inspections to confirm that these are carried out), so that the teacher has a strong sense of obligation to follow guidelines to the letter. In some facilities, particularly strict methods are used to make the children “memorize” words and numbers. While in Japanese kindergartens, nurturance of an appreciation for the characters of writing is given more importance than any systematic teaching of the written language, in developing countries, systematic guidance is widely undertaken.

In conclusion, Japan’s system can be seen as giving importance to such characteristics as child-centeredness, self-motivation, free play, learning from environment, valuing the creation of interest over intellect, and human relations. Developing countries, on the other hand, are teacher-centric, have strict guidelines, focus on teachers’ guidance, prioritize the acquisition of knowledge and standard language, follow a doctrine centered on memorization, and value the imitation of models.

Japanese and developing-country ECE differ in this way on a great number of points. Japan’s expertise in early childhood education is significant, but the Japanese system cannot be made into a model for developing countries in its present form. That being said, the people of developing countries still stand to learn quite a great deal from it. Developing countries’ kindergartens tend to be “mini-primary schools,” where the government-approved curricula and guidelines are clearly defined, teachers have little freedom, and studies concentrate on reading, writing, math, and other subjects

aimed at preparing children for primary school. In contrast, Japan's early childhood education is based on a flexible curriculum in which much is entrusted to the discretion of the care providers themselves. Furthermore, there is a tendency for Japan's ECE to be child-centered, with development encouraged through the child's independent play and interaction with the environment. On the surface, it may well appear that Japan's kindergartens are mainly places for free play, with hardly any study taking place at all. In actual fact, Japan's is a highly specialized system of childcare in which study is fostered within the appearance of play. In research comparing the elementary records of students whose kindergarten training was focused on early preparatory tutorial in literacy with those of other children, the former group showed an early lead, but the latter caught up gradually (Uchida 1999). Of course, this is not to suggest that Japan's childcare to a great extent surpasses that of developing countries, but that Japan's practice may be seen as offering an opportunity for gathering knowledge.

7. The Practice of and Issues Relating to Early Childhood Education Cooperation

Since 2006, Ochanomizu University has been offering a training course in early childhood education for people from west central Africa (Hamano, 2008). Within the nations of sub-Saharan Africa, the rate of absolute poverty-which means living on less than one US dollar per day-is 40 percent, and the living environment is severe even in relation to other developing areas. Women carry the greatest burden of responsibility for water-collection, housework, and childrearing, and opportunities for education under the strain of such responsibilities are extremely rare, so that the number of illiterate mothers in the area is unquestionably high. There are cases in which mothers' knowledge of such matters as infant care and development, hygiene, nutrition, and health is insufficient, which is one cause of malnutrition, parasites, illness, and disease; the rate of mortality for children under five years of age is considerably higher than in other regions of the world. During infancy, the brain, perception, and sense of social identity are developing, making it an important foundational period in terms of primary education and the later stages. Yet, since resources are scarce in developing countries and government officials' recognition of the importance of ECD is low, ECD is most often not prioritized in terms of government policy. As a result, access to ECD is extremely rare and specialists in the field are sorely lacking, so it is impossible to state that in terms of access and quality it is being suitably carried out. Based on such conditions, in this particular region-where the issues of improvement of access to ECD and its quality are of especially

pressing concern-for the joint purposes of devising a plan for the establishment and spread of the field and cultivation of human resources at the level of government policy as well as capacity-building, Ochanomizu has put this induction course into effect.

The ultimate goal of the course is for participants to provide feedback to parent organizations and other concerned parties regarding the intellectual experience that they have gained in Japan; thus, within the sponsoring organizations and in their surrounding areas, the expansion of ECE may take root. In order to achieve this goal, the following three sub-goals must be accomplished by this project:

(1) Determination of problems within the parent organizations that must be detected, readjusted and solved (creation of an Inception Report).

(2) Cultivation of a deeper understanding through the training program for early childhood education expertise, incorporating a multisectoral perspective; the appropriate content and method of childcare based on children's developmental stages; cooperation and support systems between the relevant parties of early childhood education; and policies and experiences relating to ECE in Japan.

(3) Problem resolution within participants' parent organizations, as well as settlement upon proposed plans of action for the improvement of the quality of ECE.

The training project emphasizes the following four points:

(1) The understanding of ECD both in theory and in practice and its practical development
ECE and ECD are not identical: ECD is the more comprehensive and wider-reaching of the two. In order to develop ECD that includes not only kindergarten education but also a combination of various fields such as education, welfare, and healthcare, it is critical to promote coordination among the various stakeholders and participants, to encourage community participation, and to understand the perspectives of the socially disadvantaged. This training deliberately enriches itself with such items as ECD support from UNICEF and the benefit of NGO experience in ECD.

(2) Quantitative and qualitative expansion of ECE and incorporation of perspectives of social disparity

As stated above, the training intentionally incorporates a great deal of ECD. That said, ECD's principal base of expansion can actually be found in early childhood education facilities; therefore, the quantitative expansion of present facilities and the improvement of the quality of services within the frameworks presently provided is essential. Trainees have a particularly strong interest in teacher training, curriculum, and evaluation, and these are deliberately incorporated into the program. Furthermore, in order to foster

awareness of issues of social disparity, aside from the inclusion of a description of such disparities within the Inception Report, field studies of facilities for special education are also incorporated.

(3) “Child-centered” childcare and ECE

Child-centered ECE takes as its objective the nurturance of a proactive power to learn, which develops within each child in an environment that is respectful of the child’s free play. In the present training project, lectures and field trips introducing this concept and its practice are widely incorporated. Contrasting the view of the child as undifferentiated and immature in comparison with the fully grown adult, the child’s active nature is esteemed, not in teacher-centered education but in an environment created for the purpose of promoting the child’s own interest and curiosity. The objective of the training is to give participants a chance to develop new forms based on a relative analysis of the needs of each country’s existing state of early childhood education, using examples of the teacher’s application of assistance where necessary, but not simply imitating them.

(4) The perspective of community participation in education

In the course of lectures on “Basic Education and Community Participation,” the importance of community participation in the advancement of early childhood education and the establishment of its foundations were emphasized. Through the cultivation of a better understanding of the social capital that is a basis for community participation, understanding was also reached regarding the development of ECE as established by residents themselves, along with their administrative support.

Training based on these points was undertaken with a focus on lectures and field trips over the course of three weeks. According to the responses to a post-training questionnaire, trainees broadened their understanding of almost all of them. Among the trainees were some people who had entered the training with the misunderstanding that the concept of being “child-centered” is equivalent to laissez-faire or nothing more than play, a misunderstanding that they managed to correct by the end of the course. They also deepened their understanding of the following concepts:

1) Children spend their time not arbitrarily playing in response to their own separate interests and whims, but acting in response to teachers’ elaborate plans and preparations, taking into consideration and evaluating the development of each and every child.

2) Teacher and child develop an emotional and physical closeness, establishing a relationship of trust at the same time that they take part in “enjoyable learning.” This is not a repudiation of the activity of collective learning, but rather a recognition of the fact that

cooperation and understanding of others are fostered through meaningful group and individual activities, which involve stillness and motion, as well as training in the general habits of life and in independence.

3) By helping the children build a connection between past and future, between the place of learning, the region, and the family, it is possible to ensure the raising of children healthy in mind and body.

After returning to their home countries, a large number of trainees later reported having adapted the above points to suit their own local contexts, conducting information sessions, devising practical applications, and so on.

It is now essential to consider ways in which to encourage self-reliant development and self-support for ECD in each developing country. Trainees must move away from a state of passive anticipation: each one must discover his or her personal challenges, carry out research and study, and formulate plans for improvement. It is for this reason that capacity-building—especially the development of research and study skills—is so very important. If it proves possible, a program of collaborative research between Japan and these developing countries would be most desirable. Japan and the developing countries’ childcare environments are very different, and the establishment of empirical study and mutual dialogue is essential in order to determine what kinds of education may be desirable within these differing environments.

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