# Transitions from Preschool to Primary School Education in Japan

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## 1. Introduction

This study aimed to identify different types of transitions from kindergarten to elementary school by examining the practices of three laboratory kindergarten and elementary schools: Ochanomizu University kindergarten and elementary school, Kobe University kindergarten and elementary school, and Wako Gakuen kindergarten and elementary school. We examined the ways how each of these traditional laboratory schools enables its children to transition from kindergarten to elementary school.

OECD recommends "child-centered transitions" from early childhood education to primary education (OECD, 2017). In many countries, however, there is an increasing tendency toward "schoolification." At Ochanomizu, kindergarten and elementary school teachers collaborated to create child-centered transitions. Teachers at Kobe University kindergarten conducted research to clarify their students' readiness for elementary school education. Transition issues at Wako Gakuen were similar to those of Kobe, but after a setback in the 1990s, the school changed its practices. We collected and analyzed reports on students' transitions published by the three laboratory kindergarten and elementary schools.

In this paper, we first explain the background of the study, focusing on the revision of the National Course of Study for kindergarten in 1989. Next, we examine the case of Ochanomizu kindergarten and elementary school. We then examine the cases of Kobe kindergarten and elementary school and Wako Gakuen kindergarten and elementary school.

## 2. Historical changes in the National Course of Study for Kindergarten

This section describes the historical changes that have been made to the National Course of Study for Kindergarten, focusing on the concept of "area." In the Japanese Course of Study, "aims and content" are listed for each "area." The following five areas are currently adopted: health (physical and mental health), human relationships (relationships between the child and others), environment (children's surroundings and their relationship with them), language (the process of

language acquisition), and expression (feelings and expression). However, the concept of "areas" in kindergarten is different from that of "subjects" in elementary school. What, therefore, is an "area"? Three major revisions have been made to the Course of Study. The meaning of "area" differs in each of these revisions and has been influenced by research at laboratory kindergartens. The following discussion traces the "area" concept over the various revisions of the Course of Study.

The concept of "area" first appeared in the 1956 revision of the Course of Study for Kindergarten. Before this revision, the early childhood education and care (ECEC) guidelines implemented in 1948 were used, which listed 12 activities as "the joyful experience of early childhood" to represent curricula content (observation, rhythm, rest, free play, music, story, painting, handicraft, nature observation, make-believe play/play/puppet play, health care, and annual events). The 1956 Course of Study, on the other hand, included six areas. In the 1989 revision, "aims and content" were organized according to the five areas that are currently in use (Figure 1). The Course of Study has been revised every ten years since 1989, but the five areas have not changed.

#### (1) The 1956 Course of Study

As mentioned above, six areas were established in the 1956 Course of Study: health, society, nature, language, musical rhythm, and drawing and handicraft. These areas replaced the 12 activities from the 1948 guidelines. With the number of kindergartens rapidly increasing, the ministry was asked to present systematic guidelines that would serve as clear standards (Ohka 2012a). According to the School Education Law (1947), the purpose of kindergarten education was to "[n]urture infants and provide them with an appropriate environment to facilitate their physical and mental development." The following five goals were set to achieve this purpose:

- 1. To cultivate daily habits necessary for children's health, safety, and happiness and encourage them to engage in physical activity.
- 2. To provide children with experiences in group activities and nurture a spirit of willingness to participate with cooperation and autonomy.
- 3. To foster children's understanding of and attitude toward social life and events.
- 4. To guide children's correct use of language and foster their interest in stories and picture books.
- 5. To encourage children to be interested in creative expression through music, games, paintings, or other means.

1956, 1964	1989			
Health	Health			
Society	Human Relationships			
Nature	Environment			
Language	Language			
Musical Rhythm	Expression			
Drawing and Handicrafts				

Figure 1 Areas of the Course of Study for Kindergarten in Japan

Six areas were created by dividing the fifth goal in two. These six areas were aligned with elementary school subjects. Although it was noted that "specific life experiences of young children" covered multiple areas, the six areas served as an opportunity to expand instruction in each of the elementary school subjects. Curricula that were published in magazines for kindergarten teachers increasingly included plans for each area (Ohka 2012b). According to one teacher, some kindergartens constructed their timetables by area in line with elementary school subjects (Tampo 2004). Sakamoto (1964), a policy maker and researcher, stated that it was problematic that children's activities had become fragmented and that research into activities that cross areas such as free play had become less popular. The 1956 Course of Study was criticized for developing school-like education for kindergartens.

#### (2) The 1964 Course of Study

The Course of Study was revised in 1964. The problems of the contemporary Course of Study were recognized, and the revision intended to clarify the "significance and uniqueness of kindergarten education." According to Moriue (1989), while the areas of the 1956 Course of Study were derived from the goal of the School Education Law, the areas of the 1964 Course of Study were the result of extracting and classifying the aims of "desirable experiences or activities." Specifically, those who participated in the revision considered the comprehensive life experience of children covering all areas and examined how children are raised through experiences and activities. The revision committee identified 137 different paths of child development. The 1964 Course of Study was structured through "attainment targets" that were allocated in the six areas.

However, the intentions of the revision committee may not have sufficiently penetrated the areas of early childhood education because the same six areas were established. Instruction manuals were prepared for each area, not for a comprehensive educational experience.

## (3) The 1989 Course of Study

The Course of Study for Kindergarten in Japan was revised significantly in 1989. Moriue (1989), who participated in this revision, explained the process as follows. Under the traditional Courses of Study, teachers were expected to plan and offer "desirable experiences and activities" to children. The new Course of Study, on the other hand, emphasized that activities should be created by the children themselves, not by teachers.

As mentioned earlier, in the 1989 Course of Study, "aims and content" were organized in five areas. The five areas were positioned as the "perspective of understanding the development." Morimoto and Kawakami (2008) pointed out that the essence of the concept of "area" itself had not changed: in both the 1964 and the 1989 Courses of Study, "areas" represented goals. What did change was the ways in which areas were organized. In the 1964 Course of Study, areas were defined in reference to elementary school subjects. In the 1989 Course of Study, areas were defined in reference to the aspects of child development.

The 1989 Course of Study was highly praised for supporting child-centered kindergarten

education (Hamaguchi 2014) and for clearly defining kindergarten education (Shiomi, Matsumoto, Takada, Yaji, & Morikawa 2017). On the other hand, critics asserted that the gap between kindergarten education and elementary school education had widened, causing first-year elementary school children to fall behind (Shiomi et al. 2017).

#### (4) The 2017 Course of Study

The Course of Study has been revised three times since 1989: in 1998, 2008, and 2017. The concept of "area" in the 1989 version remained present in the future revisions, and the current Course of Study is based on the 1989 version. However, changes have been made that are consistent with the current state of primary school education. The 2017 Course of Study specified "Ideal states of the child at the end of early childhood" (Figure 2) and referred to the necessity of assessments.

Although the wording of the guidelines is ambiguous regarding the subject being assessed, there is a tendency to interpret this "assessment" as an assessment of children's development based on the "10 ideal states."

Based on the above discussion, we summarize here what the concept of "area" represented in each version of the Course of Study. In the 1956 Course of Study, "area" referred to "Subject Content." Consistency with elementary school education was ensured by systematically dividing the content of kindergarten education into areas. In the 1964 Course of Study, the six areas remained, but they came to represent "attainment targets" rather than "subject content." In the 1964 Course of Study, education contents were selected and placed in each area as goals to be achieved before entering elementary school. In the 1989 Course of Study, each "area" represented an aspect of early childhood development. "Aims" referred to expected achievements, and "contents" referred to the material children should learn to achieve those aims. The 1989 revision emphasized the differences between the areas of the kindergarten curriculum and the subjects of the elementary school curriculum. The Course of Study was also revised in 1998, 2008, and 2017. Each of these revisions essentially

# Ideal states of the child at the end of early childhood

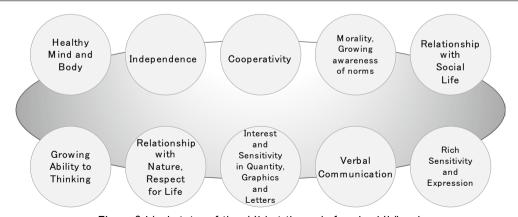


Figure 2 Ideal states of the child at the end of early childhood

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maintained the concept of the "area" as it was set out in the 1989 Course of Study.

What did the 1989 revision mean, then? In the 1956 Course of Study, although the alignment of areas in kindergarten with subjects in elementary school engendered the risk of schoolification, the six areas also indicated objects of learning and inquiry. In the 1964 Course of Study, areas functioned as subjects, as the six areas were retained. The 1989 revision removed the objects of learning and inquiry because it replaced the six areas of subject content with five areas of targets of child development. In the 1989 Course of Study, areas were designed as aspects of child development to differ kindergarten education from elementary education. In the 2017 Course of Study, however, continuity with elementary school education was emphasized through the aspect of child development. Thus, the link between kindergarten and elementary school changed from learning achievements to developmental goals.

The 1989 revision had different effects on Ochanomizu, Kobe, and Wako Kindergartens. Ochanomizu Kindergarten did not take the 1964 and 1956 revisions seriously. As the school had already valued children's free play, the 1989 revision was simply an affirmation of the way that the school was already teaching its students. Kobe Kindergarten, however, had been influenced by the revisions made in 1956 and 1964. Therefore, for teachers at Kobe Kindergarten, the 1989 revision required major changes. Since Wako Kindergarten is a private kindergarten, it was not heavily affected by each revision.

# 3. Child-centered perspective and practices

Ochanomizu University Kindergarten is the oldest kindergarten in Japan. It was established in 1876 and is affiliated with the Tokyo Women's Normal School. After World War II, it was called Ochanomizu University. This kindergarten was subsequently used as a model for the establishment of kindergartens around the country (Ochanomizu University Center for Women's Education and Development 2006). In addition, it has served as a leading kindergarten in terms of its educational and transition practices (Kodama 2017).

Both the kindergarten and the elementary school at the university have a long history of progressive, child-centered educational practices. The 1989 guidelines engendered a major change in the Japanese educational system, enabling a more child-centered kindergarten education. Although many kindergartens and elementary schools were confused by the new national guidelines, for Ochanomizu, the guidelines required no drastic changes because the school had already been free and liberal.

After 1999, the first-grade problem (the "Shoichi-problem" in Japanese) began to appear in the news and blame was placed on the freer kindergarten curriculum (1989). Teachers found it difficult to provide children with instruction; they found that children had too much freedom and were demanding rather than receptive. Many teachers had trouble managing their classes. Therefore, the transition between kindergarten and elementary school became a social issue in Japan. This presented an opportunity for Ochanomizu University kindergarten and elementary

school to engage in collaborative research starting in the 2000s.

The two Ochamomizu University schools challenged many transition practices together, embarking on the long road to achieving "good transitions". The most important task in the transition challenge was to fill communication gaps between kindergarten teachers and elementary school teachers. The schools addressed the challenges of transitions while promoting mutual understanding.

### (1) Creating continuity in the new curriculum

Ochanomizu Kindergarten teachers and elementary school teachers established a transition period from the last half-year of kindergarten to the first half-year of first grade. All teachers in both schools remained conscious of the transition throughout this period, sharing the key concept of a "smooth transition and adequate steps." They did not intend to achieve a seamless transition and knew that adequate steps and rites of passage are necessary for child development.

Figure 3 shows the continuity of the curriculum from kindergarten to elementary school. These diagrams were created by the Ochanomizu University Kindergarten and Elementary school which had been approved by the Ministry of Education to research and develop the new curriculum with room for discretion.

The curriculum comprised four overlapping areas at the kindergarten level, in which there was no segmented daily schedule. At the elementary school level, the same areas were taught and were gradually divided in the first half of the year.

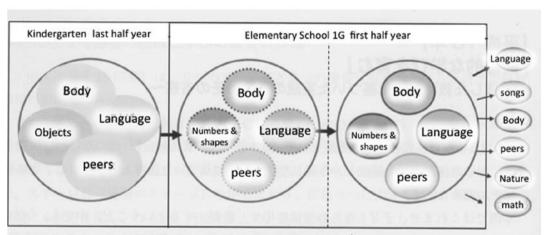


Figure 3 Relationship of the learning field in the transition, 2007 (Ochanomizu University Kindergarten 2016: 84)

Table 1 shows the hours devoted to each subject over one year at Ochanomizu Elementary School.

The bottom row represents the first half-year of the first grade, which is not divided into individual subjects and instead involves play-centered learning based on ECEC methodological principles.

Table 1 Subjects and Hours: Ochanomizu Elementary School, 2009 (Ochanomizu University Elementary School 2010: 13)

Grade	Language	Citizen (Social)	Math	Nature	Music	Arts	Home- making	Body (P.E.)	Creative Activity	
6G	175	105	175	105	70	70	70	105	140	
5G	175	105	175	105	70	70	70	105	140	
4G	175	105	175	105	70	70	-	105	175	
3G	175	105	175	105	70	70	-	105	175	
2G	210	-	175	70	52	52	-	105	176	
1G last half	132	-	88	33	33	33	-	66	99	
1G first half	206 (language, peers, body, numbers and shapes)									

#### (2) Project-based works

In the last 10 years, there have been important projects in the elementary school and kindergarten. Ochanomizu University Center for ECEC (Bunkyo-ku Municipal Ochanomizu University Center for Early Childhood Education and Care) also began introducing project-based work in 2018. The Center for ECEC is a new Japanese system of early childhood education and care that was established in 2006. Children can choose the length of their stay in this system. The Ochanomizu Kindergarten, the Ochanomizu Center for ECEC, and the Ochanomizu Elementary school all use a child-centered perspective in their curricula.

From 2008 to 2010, all grades of the elementary school worked on Project 'Citizenship'. From 2015 to date, they are working on Project 'Philosophy'.

First-grade students also work on these projects. One of the most important activities at the first-grade level is circle time in the morning, during which students are encouraged to talk freely. Students learn about reassurance, relationships, the self, others, and the world through dialogues during project work (Ochanomizu University Elementary School, 2019).

Kindergarten students also work on projects. In 2012, they worked on Project 'Transparent'; in 2013, they worked on Project 'Tools'; and in 2014, they worked on Project 'Body'. A theme was not established for the projects in advance. Rather, the themes developed according to the children's interest, as occurs in Reggio Emilia preschools. Although these projects do not necessarily focus on dialogues, children discuss their thoughts and teachers listen carefully to them. The key words used in these projects were reassurance, relationships, self, experience, exploration, expression, and invention (Ochanomizu University Kindergarten, 2014).

The new center for ECEC also implemented Project 'Conference.' This project was only for one

class of five-year old children during their last half-year at the center. At first, the project served as a time to get together and talk. Some children came to understand that it was a 'conference' in which they could talk about their thoughts, but for others, the time caused confusion. However, these conferences gradually transformed from a space to talk about oneself to a space to talk about the public. The project's key words were reassurance, relationships, self, experience, exploration, expression, invention, and dialogue (Ochanomizu University Center for ECEC, 2019).

The kindergarten and the elementary school at Ochanomizu University consciously constructed an equal and respectful partnership with many meetings. They learned about each other's methodological differences and found common methodological ground of dialogue and exploration.

# 4. Beyond "schoolification": two experimental schools

This section examines the practices of two kindergartens that were born from the corecurricula movement.

## (1) Kobe kindergarten and elementary school

First, we focus on the curriculum of the school affiliated with Kobe University's Department of Education (Faculty of Human Development). This school was established in the early 20th century as a pioneer of the Progressive Education movement. The leader of the movement was Heiji Oikawa, who was the principal of the school affiliated with Akashi Women's Normal College.

In 1948, the school became the center of the "core-curricula" movement and published the "Akashi-plan." In the 1950s, however, the core-curricula movement was criticized severely from various directions for failing to provide students with basic knowledge. The school suffered the brunt of this criticism and responded by elaborated its "Series of Experiences," which divided the experiences and contents of learning.

The school clarified its teaching goals in its 1966 annual report. The most important points in the school's attempt to create "structured teaching contents by clarifying educational goals" were to clarify and divide the aims of each life-unit, closely forecasting the development of children's experiences and activities; and to be conscious of the relationship between the aims of the six areas, which were listed in the "Teaching Guidelines" of 1964, and the aims of life-units, drawing lines between each field and life-unit.

In these analyses, index tables were restructured as educational goals in place of the old tables of sequences of experiences activities.

From 1976 to 1978, Kobe kindergarten and elementary school was appointed as a research and development school by the Ministry of Education, aiming to develop "curricula that will enrich the connection between kindergarten education and primary education." The results of the research were published in two reports.

Although the kindergarten and elementary school were managed collectively from 1912 to 1963, the teaching contents in each school differed significantly. Therefore, "teachers tried to

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At first, the kindergarten's aims were to "promote and encourage comprehensive play and experiential activities that would become the bases of systematic studies," and the elementary school's policy was to provide students with "comprehensive activities with a positive attitude towards play." The kindergarten focused on "fundamental experiential activities" concerning language, numbers, amounts, shapes, and physical activities, which would be the bases of students' later systematic studies in elementary school. The elementary school established new subjects, namely, "Comprehensive Studies One" and "Comprehensive Studies Two" (systematic learning contents). This research resulted in a report titled "Curricula from three years old to seven" in 1980.

# (2) From individual to society, 2000-2002

In 1993, Kobe was designated as a pilot school by the Ministry of Education and issued many reports, such as *Comprehensive and inquiring learning* (1993-5); *Relations between the Elementary and Secondary School* (1993-5); *Morality* (1996-9); and Relations from three to fifteen year-old children and rearrangement of curricula (1997-1999).

Around 2000, the perspective at Kobe changed due to changes in the structure of society and families and the corruption of traditional common sense and morals on the one hand, and emergence of creative activities, such as volunteer activities, IT, and social welfare on the other hand.

Educational goals changed from developing individuals to developing social individuals who could identify and solve problems and create society rather than learn independently. They reformed the curriculum, dividing it into ten fields that were called perspectives. The term perspective has been replaced by competency since April this year, with the addition of general-purpose competencies.

The most important goal of these reforms was to provide greater opportunities for reflection. In Kobe kindergarten, ten fields were established based on 3000 data points from research on children's learning. The curriculum has also been reviewed based on the concept of reflection.

Transitions from Kobe kindergarten, elementary, and secondary school proceed smoothly according to the age targets. This shows the importance of establishing educational aims gradually and smoothly during kindergarten and between kindergarten and elementary school.

# (3) Curricula to "cultivate solid power" in Wako Tsurukawa Kindergarten

Wako Gakuen, established in 1933, is a small private cooperation school separated from Seijo Gakuen. After World War II, it became an experimental school of "the Core Curriculum Federation" (now the Japan Federation of Life Education), and its curriculum was designed with reference to the "Akashi Plan." Accordingly, so the structure of its curriculum was very similar to that of the Kobe kindergarten and elementary school.

In the 1970s, the Japan Teachers' Union organized the "Educational System Review Committee" and reported a plan for total educational reform, which differed from the governmental education

system. The chairperson of this committee was Dr. Satoru Umene, the former vice chairperson of the Core Curriculum Federation and the first president of Wako University.

Wako Gakuen supported the plan and took the initiative to realize these reforms. Wako Gakuen sympathized with the focus of human nature in the committee's report, "to select curriculum according to children's own inner demands, to connect on the premise of differences, [...] to create anything returning to and suspecting usual assumptions" and attempted to allow children to create curricula and self-made teaching materials. The committee divided the curricula into three areas and established a comprehensive learning area called "Life studies, Comprehensive learning."

In the lower grades of the elementary school, projects such as "making aquariums," "bread from wheat" and "let's make dried persimmons" were promoted. Thus, in the 1970s and 1980s, the educational activities of Wako Gakuen and the Wako elementary school in particular considered children as active researchers acquiring and exploring culture.

However, ECEC practices differed slightly from the elementary school, even in the same Gakuen. Developmental research since the 1970s had a great influence on practice. Teachers were conscious of the need to develop teaching materials that matched children's developmental stages. Comprehensive activities were considered the integrated educational contents to be continued in the subject studies.

In the lower grades of the elementary school, the selection of concrete teaching materials was very flexible. Children found subjects of study in school life and familiar topics in nature and society, and teachers encouraged children's subjective learning. On the other hand, in the kindergarten, the comprehensive activities had been based on developmental research, emphasizing activities leading to subject-related studies in elementary school.

# (4) Connecting kindergarten and elementary school through exploration

After the curriculum changes in the 1990s, teachers began to wonder whether children's growth had changed. They then utilized strategies from the Reggio Emilia Approach to try to establish new project activities in cooperation with children.

Wako kindergarten has been conducting project-type activities since 2007. Both children and teachers conduct exploratory activities on themes that attract children's interest. Some examples of project themes are "Albatross," "Elmar Land," "Making stories," "Shopping street of Kyodo," "Shopping game," "Making a town," "A world of insects (mantes, grasshoppers)," "Crayfishes," "A world of creatures in the sea," "Cultivating fields and eating food," and "Making ships."

In a publication (Kagawa, 2016), Wako Tsurukawa Elementary School and Kindergarten Principal Hiromichi Kagawa wrote:

The transition from kindergarten or nursery school to primary school is extremely important. The problem is that many primary schools do not have enough time to support such transitions anymore. [···] Kindergarten children and nursery school children each bring their own unique experiences and cultures to primary school. I think starting school is a phase when they all have to manage the so-called "cross-cultural communication" that

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arises from differences in children's prior experiences.

He continues.

Sometimes, a certain topic becomes popular amongst children. [...] Children's shared interests may develop into "learning materials" that we investigate together. Elementary school integrated learning has been actively pursued since around 1980. Children are given time to share their discoveries and experiences with their classmates in the morning, and projects often start there.

Concerning subject learning, Kagawa write that in arithmetic lessons, first-grade children are instructed to run around the school looking for "three" things, from which they understand upper classes of grouping and continuous qualities like three drops of water.

Kagawa advises, "I realized that lessons in primary school are, after all, about conceptualizing children's rich experiences in early childhood, which include their experiences in kindergarten."

Teachers at the Wako kindergarten rely on the elementary school teachers to accept children based on the same policy for kindergartens.

## 5. Conclusion

It is necessary to reconsider the framework of transitions from kindergarten to elementary school. OECD (2017) proposes child-centered transitions rather than schoolification. However, in the Japanese context, kindergartens that take child-centered approaches and those that take school-like approaches face different problems. As the Kobe case shows, attempts to transform a kindergarten with a school-like approach into child-centered kindergarten face the risk of fragmenting their goals. Child-centered transitions are not magic wands that can solve all of a school's issues.

Peter Moss, a prominent British researcher identified three types of relationships between early childhood education and compulsory education (Moss, 2013). The first concerns preparation for school. In this case, early childhood education is used to prepare children to perform well in compulsory education. The second relationship involves strong and equal partnership. In this case, early childhood education is viewed as a distinctive period in which children can live out their own lives, and co-operation between early childhood education and compulsory education should be equal. The third relationship involves a vision of a pedagogical meeting place between early childhood education and compulsory education marked by mutual respect, dialogue, and co-construction.

As there are a diversity of approaches to early childhood education in Japan, it is important for each kindergarten and elementary school to design the meeting place between the two education levels according to their respective contexts.

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