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CREATION OF THE JAPANESE ETHNIC IDENTITY ON THE BASIS OF MODERN CHILD REARING CONCEPT

The article illustrates an example of modern Japanese society's uniqueness model in the framework of program "Spiritual Renewal" published by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The basis of the Japanese society's unity is the formation of ethnic identity that is focused on the national characteristics of family institution. Particularly, the upbringing of a Japanese citizen starts with child rearing, including the concept of "amae", which is the development of personality through the relationship between the child and mother.

Key words: Spiritual renewal, identity, Japanese family, concept of «amae», Japan.

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Бала тәрбиелеу концепті негізінде жапон этникалық бірегейлігінің қалыптасуы

Осы жұмыс Қазақстан Республикасының Елбасы жариялаған «Рухани жаңғыру» бағдарламалық мақала аясында жапон заманауи қоғамының бірегейлік қалыптасу моделі мысалымен таныстырады. Жапон қоғамы бірегейлігінің қалыптасуына негіз болатын жапон этникалық сәйкестігінің қалыптасуы, оның ішінде отбасы институтының ұлттық ерекшеліктеріне назар аударылды. Әсіресе, жапон азаматын өсіру мақсатында балалық шақта тәрбиелеу моделі, «амаэ» концептісінің ана мен бала қарым-қатынасында жеке тұлғаның дамуына әсері қарастырылады.

Түйін сөздер: рухани жаңғыру, сәйкестік, жапон жанұясы, «амаэ» концепциясы, Жапония.

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Формирование этнической идентичности японцев на основе современной концепции воспитания

Статья иллюстрирует пример модели уникальности современного японского общества в рамках программной статьи «Духовное возрождение», опубликованной Президентом Республики Казахстан. Формирование японской этнической идентичности, лежащей в основе единства японского общества, было сфокусировано на национальных особенностях института семьи. В частности, для воспитания гражданина Японии рассматривается модель воспитания в детстве, концепция «амаэ» по развитию личности в отношениях ребёнка с матерью.

Ключевые слова: духовное возрождение, идентичность, японская семья, концепт «амаэ», Япония.

Introduction

Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, has published the program article “Future-oriented: spiritual renewal” – “Course towards the future: modernization of Kazakhstan’s identity” in 2017, April 12 (Official site of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Accessed 30 July 2018). This article is a continuation of the address “Third Modernization of Kazakhstan: Global Competitiveness” to the people of Kazakhstan from the President, that is released in the same year (Official site of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Accessed 30 July 2018). According to the address from 2017, the First Modernization of Kazakhstan is the foundation of a new state on the global map, as well as moving from a planned economy to market economy. The Second Modernization started with an adoption of the strategy “Kazakhstan-2030” and construction of a new capital – Astana. Finally, since 2017, Kazakhstan has begun to implement the Third Modernization of the country aimed on achieving global competitiveness. The main goal is to become one of the 30 leading countries in the world. Therefore, the main purpose of the program article is to form a nation consisting of strong and responsible citizens who are able to cope with global competition through modernization of public consciousness. “Spiritual renewal” is the preservation of a national identity associated with traditions and customs, language and cultural heritage. In addition, formation of the national consciousness through mind modernization of every citizen of Kazakhstan, revising modern processes in the world through evolutionary development of the country.

It is well known fact that Japan is one of the 30 most developed countries in the world (OECD). Additionally, Japanese national identity and their modern society can serve as a good example for the “Spiritual Renewal” of the Republic of Kazakhstan. In that regard, this article should draw attention to the formation of the Japanese ethnic identity, which is the basis of the Japanese society’s uniqueness, including the national peculiarities of the family institution. In particular, we believe, it is necessary to consider the impact of child-rearing model, childhood education and specific Japanese concept “amae”, which is the relationship between mother and child, on the creation of real Japanese citizen.

Research Purposes and Objectives

The aim of the research is to provide a general description to the process of Japanese identity’s

formation by analyzing and studying the main peculiarities of child rearing. The task of this work is to examine the traditional and modern Japanese families and their model of upbringing, as well as to define the importance of the “amae” concept, i.e. the concept of interdependence in maternal and child relations, and to identify the specific of teaching ways.

Research Methodology

In the research, there were used a method of content analysis of the previous research works in Japanese and English languages.

Literature Review

In this research, there were considered the works of Western and Japanese researchers about the model of child rearing, education system and ethnic identity of Japanese. From the point of Western view, following authors’ studies were analyzed in approach to the establishment of the Japanese family institute, its model of education and the role of the child in family and society: S.D.Holloway, A.Nagase “Child Rearing in Japan” (3), F.A.Johnson “Dependency and Japanese Socialization: Psychoanalytic and Anthropological Investigations into Amae” (4), Hendry Joy’s “Marriage in Changing Japan: Community and Society” (6) and “Becoming Japanese: the World of the Pre-School Child” (21), M.Jolivet “Japan: the Childless Society?” (8), R.Hess, H.Azuma “Cultural support for schooling: Contrasts between Japan and United States” (14), M.White, R.LeVine “What is an “ii ko”?” (15), H.W.Stevenson, J.W.Stigler “The learning gap” (19). And the most important among Japanese studies in Japanese and English languages: N.Imano “Edo kosodate jijō” (5), S.Takao “Reflections on Japanese Language and Culture” (7), H.Kojima “Child rearing concepts as a belief-value system of the society and the individual” (9).

Results and discussion

Child rearing concept in traditional and modern Japanese families

Japan, as one of the most developed countries in the world, has faced many challenges and obstacles in its social and economic growth. Until this time, Japan has gone through three crisis. As a result, not only economic and politics, but also family institutions have undergone a radical changes, that also affected to the family life.

The first crisis occurred in 1868, when Japan opened its doors after 250 years of isolation and

Western ideas about marriage, child rearing and education begun to come to the country. Secondly, after the end of the Second World War, the concept of the family institution has rebuilt and renewed its basic ways of thinking. The third crisis is the way from more than thirty years of extreme poverty to present-day Japanese population's standard of living (Holloway S.D., Nagase A. (ed.), 2014: 59-72).

Before the Second World War, the Japanese families was formed formally patriarchy around the household "ie" (家). Their place and authority were regulated by the age differences of the relatives. According to the Buddhism traditions, families are connected biologically and socially with their close and distant ancestors over time (Johnson F.A., 1993, 75). This is the reason of long-standing Japanese tradition of loyalty to a big family. However, it has changed after the Second World War. Therefore, the process of child's upbringing in Japan has gradually changed, too.

In the pre-World War II era, three generations of families lived together in a very large home. In addition, the head of the family, his wife, children, parents, and other relatives, servants, disciples: all lived as a family and formed the household. The family was primarily considered as a means of preserving the continuity of the family through economic unity as well as honoring ancestors and producing descendants. Husband and wives were not regarded as romantic partners, and usually marriages were organized in support of the economic conditions and social status of the "ie" (家).

During the Edo period, young mothers in wealthy families we expected to take care of their mothers-in-law and husbands, not the childhood. Fathers had to take responsibility for training and educating their children, especially when it comes to the boys. In middle-income families, the process of child rearing was a community-based. That upbringing was distributed not only within the family, but also among all the villagers (Imano N., 1988: 87).

Nowadays, special attention to child rearing is undoubtedly linked to the high values provided to them. In Japan, there are nearly no couples without children, and many families will have their first child right the after marriage. Those who do not have children usually face many comments and suggestions. Even young married couples could call each other "mother" – "Okaasan" (お母さん) and "father" – "Otousan" (お父さん) before their first baby was born. The main purpose of marriage in Japan is to leave descendant. In fact, in Japan, marriages are seen as something more self-evident than in the Western countries. This family is a part

of the traditional ideology of Japan (Hendry J., 2010: 116).

In the case of small families, the marriage seems to be more secure once children are born to the union. Most of family occasions following the birth of a first child are often visited by all the important guests who were at the wedding ceremony, too. It is described as a community affirmation. Japanese journalist Takao Suzuki (1987) said that the Japanese did not allow the choice of a conditional kind of relationship between such couples, and that their lovely relations between parents and children. Once a child is born, the husband and wife may feel themselves as related more permanently with their children through "natural" vertical relationships rather than their old "chosen" horizontal role. According to Takao Suzuki, Japanese couples call each other mostly as "mother" and "father" instead of the "saccharine" terms like "darling" and "honey", which confirm the relationship of Americans (Takao S., 1987:133-140).

This concept is discussed in many scientific researches in Japan, but the most important aspect at this point is primary responsibility to leave the descendants after themselves. Each offspring owes ancestors for their lives and upbringing. Each subsequent generations are obliged to have their own existence and upbringing, so they hope to come to terms with traditions on behalf of their ancestors, to care for the elderly and to provide the next generations. Therefore, they try to hold traditional activities for their ancestors, take care, support elder generation, and leave descendants as thanks for their lives.

To understand the way of Japanese children's socialization, firstly, it is important to determine the role of the child in the family. Some researches associate society with the view of human nature and the prevailing religious or philosophical traditions to a particular society. For example, the physical punishment of the child might be related to the Calvinism in United States, and you can see that it is directed to the first stages of sinfulness. Parents who believe that their children are inclined to sinful behavior may think that children should be strictly disciplined so that they can "beat up the devil" (Jolivet M., 1997: 93).

Confucian ideology, which has deeply influenced the Japanese society, considers such acts to be inadequate to human nature, and pays great attention to the moral fairness of the child. Thanks to these confucian beliefs, parents can feel that it is necessary to bring these qualities and protect children from the negative influence in the civilization (Kojima H., 1986: 39-54).

A good view of the children's nature is the concept of Japanese child dependence on the mother and the need of appropriate psychological care in Japan. The dynamics of such relations are called "amae" (Doi T., 2001: 12). Psychiatrist Takeo Doi (1973), at first, attracted the attention of the Japanese and Western researchers to the "amae" (甘え) and then described the term as a key dynamics in the relationship between Japanese mother and infant. In turn, he concluded that «amae» would be a prototype for further relationships in life. For example, the relationship between the employee and employer may also be defined by the term "amae". According to Takeo Doi, the need for such care and retaliation is not necessarily a sign of imperfection or self-gloating. The construction of Takeo Doi's "amae" helped to determine the nature of Japanese social relationships (Doi T., 1981: 28-65).

1960s and subsequent studies suggests that such close, maternal relationships between mother and child are achieved through the preservation of physical closeness with the baby (sometimes called "skinship" in Japan) (Caudill W., Plath D.W., 1966: 344-366). In those times, Japanese mothers often carried their kids in bags of clothing or backpacks. However, now mothers prefer to use baby strollers. Due to comparative researches, Japanese mothers try to feed and reassure the crying baby immediately when it is needed, but they are less adapted to the oral type of relationship and motivation (Azuma H., 1986: 3-12). This level of interdependence between mother and infant also occurs at night, because sleeping near the children has been a normal situation for many centuries in Japan and is now being maintained by many families.

As soon as children reach the age of awareness, parents usually start to teach them the skills and rules they will need in communication with others in their society. Japanese parents usually focus on the importance of developing personal qualities of the kids and want them to be good at communicating with others (Hess R., Azuma H., 1991: 55). In this purpose, the mothers try their children to improve such qualities as *kindness* – "yasashisa" (優しさ), *empathy* – "omoiyari" (思い遣り), *sensitivity* – "sensai" (繊細) and *politeness* – "reigitadashii" (礼儀正し) and the rule of *not disturbing others* (迷惑かけないように – meiwaku kakenai youni) (White M., LeVine R., 1986: 56). Comparatively, there not so much research works on the fathers roles in the Japanese family, however some studies show that they also have own place in the physiological interdependent with children (Stone G., Davis U., 2015: 27).

However, it does not mean that mothers who are socially responsible and submissive want their children to be obedient. The Japanese sometimes describes an ideal child as a "sunao" (素直). It is a child who follows the direction and words of an adult. (White M., LeVine R., 1986: 57). "Sunao" are children who are kind and friendly to others. Instead of being compelled to do so, it is important to be sensitive and to have good relationships with others because of their own mood.

At the same time, mothers often want their children to be active and well-mannered, even, sometimes harsh or rebellious, so that they could express their thoughts directly. For instance, the National Women's Education Center of Japan 2005 (next - NWEJC) in international comparative survey has asked the parents of five-year-olds kids what kind of teenagers they want their children become. Features such as working in harmony with others, helping others, expressing their opinions, and achieving goals in life are often mentioned (National Women's Education Center of Japan. International comparative research on "Home Education", 2005. Accessed 24 February 2018).

Mothers consider that one of the important attributes children should distinguish is the gender differences. In the survey conducted by the Benesse Educational Research and Development Institute in 2008 was found that most mothers want their children, both girls and boys, to greet others correctly, look after themselves and be acquainted with their friends. Much attention is paid to the fact that girls do not use abusive language and help with housework, while mothers of boys pay more attention for their social life and health. For example, parents prefer their sons to play games outside with friends rather than video games (Benesse Educational Research and Development Institute. Accessed 24 February 2018).

Although Harold Stevenson (1992) notes that Japanese parents pay a lot of attention to the education and learning of their children, today's Japanese parents do not control the academic achievement so strictly as parents from other Asian countries (Stevenson H.W., Stigler J.W., 1992: 115). In a study conducted in Tokyo, Seoul, Beijing, Shanghai, and Taipei, it is revealed that parents in Tokyo were less likely to value children's study progress than the parents in other cities. Comparison with Western parents has given similar results. In the NWEJC (2005) international survey, only 11.9% of Japanese parents expected children to have excellent academic achievements, while the US and France had a higher rate of 70% (National

Women's Education Center of Japan. International comparative research on "Home Education", 2005. Accessed 24 February 2018).

For the development of children's social skills, Japanese parents are usually try to avoid direct conflict with kids. According to the Hess and Azuma's comparative studies in the 1970s, American mothers did not hesitate to punish pre-school age children, but Japanese mothers are afraid to shame the children among others. It is believed that shaming the child, yelling or even physical punishment can cause negative consequences as self-esteem and so on. Instead of using punishment or other forms of child abuse, researchers say that the Japanese mothers prefer to show what might cause disobedience. Parents often stimulate sympathy by expressing their emotional impact on other people or even inanimate objects. As an example of this strategy, Hess and Azuma report that if the child draws on the wall, his mother says she feels sad that the wall is no longer so beautiful as it was before. These scholars viewed the Japanese social behavioral learning process as osmosis rather than direct learning (Hess R., Azuma H., 1991:77).

Another socialization strategy that many Japanese mothers use is to let the child understand the reasons of doing something instead of just obeying it. Studies conducted in the 1950's and 1960's show that Japanese parents pay attention to "wakaraseru" (分からせる). It means child's understanding. In order to form a child's understanding, mothers are trying to explain what good behavior is and why they need it. They also believe that instead of resisting to a short-term disobedience, it is better to make an effort to form long-term good behavior.

Another parent technique used by many Japanese mothers in socialization of children without getting into conflicts is called "mimamoru" (見守る). The term "mimamoru" means, "look after" or "observe from a far". The purpose of this strategy is to give the child the opportunity to understand the consequences of their actions by themselves. For example, if the boy refuses to share his toy with a friend and the two start to quarrel, his mother looks without interfering. Later, she may ask what happened and start a brief discussion with him about the feelings of the second boy, who could not play with that toy. The term "mimamoru" is defined as the strategy used by mothers and pre-school teachers (Holloway S.D., 2010: 92).

The child who fits to the age of pre-school was distinguished in some parts of Japan as some extend within the sphere of the divine world from which it was thought to have emerged. There is a saying

"Until seven amongst the Gods" and special care should be given to children who are under seven. Many rituals and ceremonies accompany during the first seven years of development, and described by the fact that danger surrounds children in the first years after birth. Children also called "gifts from the gods" and "bestowed by the gods" and should be given proper care and attention. There are many expressions as "there is no greater treasure than a child" in songs and some poetry.

The collective view of this creature and the unmatched difference between children born in a Christian society are the absence of the idea of a spirit of rebellion, which is the original sin or destruction. As the Japanese say, there are no bad or sinful child. Even making child cry is a sin. As you can see in one of the words: "You cannot overcome the gatekeeper or the baby who is crying".

The head of the Shirayuri kindergarten said that children are "pure white" – "mashiro" (真白), and that if they are naughty with difficult character, then it is the teacher's fault or an inappropriate upbringing of parents (Hendry J., 1992: 167).

Thus, in the Japanese society there is a traditional concept of child rearing that has been spread from generation to generation, consisting of beliefs and practices. These patterns might change or adapt to time, cultural, and social factors.

Before the Second World War, the Japanese family had a strict patriarchy structure where the head of the family are men. Upbringing and education of children, especially taking care of sons, were the responsibility of fathers, while mothers took care of the mother-in-law and husband. However, since the rights of all members of the modern society are equal, nowadays, the role of mother and father in the family is the same. That is why both are involved in the child's upbringing.

The concept of "amae" in the mother-infant relations

The relationship between Japanese mother and child is formed on the basis of interdependence. This concept is well described by the term "amae" which was introduced by Takeo Doi (1973). "Amae" was a simple word for the Japanese. However, it has been shaped as a great term after Takeo Doi's considering the indigenous Japanese concept of human relationships. According to him, "amae" (甘え) is often used to describe the relationship between the Japanese mother and the child, as well as to express their unity. The child tries to get the warmth and favor of the mother through good behavior, due to which he shows an unwillingness to move away from her. Thus, there become a close relationship

between them. The work of T. Doi "The Anatomy of Dependency" written for the term "amae", gave a new look to this concept and became a bestseller (Befu H., 1986: 16). Soon this book was translated into English and became the basis of the dependency concept in Japan. As a result, this term has no direct translation, but its familiar definition interested many foreign researchers. According to T. Doi, from the psychoanalytic view, "amae" is not the feeling only between mother and infant, but also a universal relationship of patient and doctor, man and woman, who communicate warmly in with each other. That is "an important aspect in any interpersonal relationship". Even though Doi thought of "amae" as of a tendency of a human being that continuous from childhood to adulthood, he did not consider the possibility of change in every development's stage.

Instead, he did not give a definite definition to the concept, but he made a great research on the lack of "amae" in childhood and the pathology of "amae" as well. A number of scientists have tried to get the right idea. For example, Y. Taketomo and H. Okonogi (1986), but their studies were unsuccessful without consensus (Taketomo Y., Okonogi H., 1986: 525-544).

K. Behrens (2004) acknowledged that it is impossible to describe the meaning and function of this term fully, and gave a multilateral definition of the "amae". In that purpose, he divided the "amae" into two categories: instrumental and non-instrumental, and five types. These five types, in turn, are reflected in three stages (infancy, childhood, adulthood) and describe "amae" in different contexts. According to K. Behrens, only Amae I is non-instrumental and is more affective in nature, while the remaining four are instrumental, intuitive (Behrens K.Y., 2004:13).

The concept of "amae" is considered to be very similar to the Western concept of «dependency». However, there is a huge difference, because "amae" means "self-expression, tendency to coincide with others", while dependence is "the individual's dependence on someone" (Vereijken C.J., Riksen-Walraven J.M., Van Lieshout F.M., 199:442). Early researchers of Japanese sociology E.F. Vogel (1963) and T.S. Lebra (1976) studied the physical and psychological proximity of the Japanese mother and child, as well as their unity (Vogel E.F., 1963: 185). In particular, T.S. Lebra describes how interdependence of mother and child occurs in traditional practice. For example, sleeping, bathing, and carrying child on the back (Vogel E.F., 1963: 242). According to T. Doi, the mother and child's proximity and sense of "amae" is very important for a healthy spiritual life in Japan. Due to this

argument, Hara and Wagatsuma (1974) point out that knowing when, how and to whom show "amae" is a sign of maturity in Japan (Wagatsuma H., Hara H., 1974: 185) However, in Western culture, adolescent is characterized by independence, while dependency is a view of childishness. However, according to Mizuta, Zahn-Waxler, Cole and Hiruma (1996) empirically the behavior "amae" is not only spread in Japan, but also in other countries. Referring to this research, "amae" characterizes the relationship between the child and mother, along with interdependence and the personal development of the child (Mizuta I., Zahn-Waxler C., Cole P. M., Hiruma, N., 1996: 141-159).

In Japan, self-recognition of the child is an important prerequisite for socialization. As a result, the main purpose of Japanese parents' it to teach the child to communicate with other society members. In this context, the principle of not disturbing someone of Japanese might be the hardest one to teach. For example, Japanese mothers reported that the lack of social sensitivity is the most negative characteristic of the child. Because, if the child is crying out in public places and incommode surrounding people, what should a mother do? In Japan, mothers do not scold or shout at an infant or a child. For this reason, the mothers need to calm the crying child and then, after the kid comes to the age of understanding, she should try to explain why it is not permitted to cry and disturb others (Lau A.S., 2006: 12-29).

If the pupils in the kindergarten or school are unable to agree on a thing, cannot share toys or other things, it is one of the purposes to educate them to solve the problem peacefully, considering that one's private space cannot be invaded. In addition, non-disturbing is one of the criteria taken into account, when the Japanese mothers give the freedom their children to make decisions (Yamada H., 2004: 164-179). If it is a bad attitude for a child and a parent making trouble to others, making feel them comfortable, then an empathy (or "omoiyari" in Japanese) is one of the most important. Lebra believes that "omoiyari" (思い遣り) is the "feeling the emotions, desires, moods, feelings of others, helping to overcome obstacles" (Lebra T.S., 1976: 245). Befu (1986) and Vogel have shown that Japanese parents pay more attention to the spiritual development of the child than the United States and other countries (Befu H., 1986; Vogel E.F., 1963). The Omoiari concept is taught not only by parents, but also by schools. In Japan, child education begins with absorbing the qualities necessary for human beings rather than reading, math, languages. Tobin, Wu and Davidson (1989) made a survey

with the teachers of in kindergartens of Japan, the United States, and China. During the interview, for the question “What should be taught in preschool centers” 31% of Japanese teachers answered as empathy, humility, and the ability to show concern for others. Comparably, 5% of Americans and 4% of Chinese responded similarly (Tobin J.J., Wu D.Y.H., Davidson D.H., 1991: 248).

Conclusion

Japan is a mono-ethnic country and its identity is determined by one language, nation, religion and country. However, the purpose of this research was to study the ethnic identity of the Japanese from the view of sociology and psychology, as well as to determine what kind of strategies are used in child rearing of the Japanese. The identity is the social identification of the individual and the process of self-identification because of organization life experience.

In the process of ethnic identity’s development, a number of stages are linked to the phases of mental development of the child. They include early childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. Each of these stages has its own peculiarities in the perception of social skills. In this context, it was planned to consider the formation of Japanese ethnic identity by dividing into two stages, such as early and later socialization. Early socialization stage is about child rearing around the family, developing a common skills and Japanese mentality consciousness. In this work, special attention was given to this period.

Considering many theoretical and practical research on the topic of the study, came to the following conclusion.

The main purpose of Japanese child rearing is to teach the kindness, empathy, sensitivity,

sincerity, do not disturb others, and responsibility. In addition, one of the basic principles is not putting the child under harsh treatment, physical abuse and direct conflict. There is a view that conflict or shaming in public can cause negative consequences as low self-esteem and psychological problems in the future.

The close emotional relationship between Japanese mother and child is based on the concept of interdependence. It is usually explained by the term “amae”. The child tries to get the warmth of mother by good behavior. The mothers, in turn, carry out the child’s education at that moment. Making upset the mother, who always support a choose of the child, does not shout and yell at him, is the main fear of the kids and keeps him away from bad attitude.

Although the term “amae” and western “dependency” seem to be similar, the two have a significant difference. “Amae” is the process of self-expression process, harmonizing with others, while the «dependency» is the individual’s dependence on others. As a result, “amae” is important not only between mother and child, but also in any interpersonal relationship. For example, the relations of teacher and student, doctor and patient, men and female.

Western researchers have seen a number of differences in observing the Japanese child rearing process. First of all, in western countries parents support child’s total independence, whereas emotional dependence is important in Japan. Secondly, in the west, if child might be punished for any mistake, in Japan parents may close the eyes in it, trying to explain the mistake with warm words. As a result, it has been found that the American hypothesis that strict control is needed in the upbringing of ideal child does not comply with the Japanese practice.

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