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## **PROBLEMS OF FAMILY AND MARRIAGE RELATIONS OF KAZAKH PEOPLE (based on ethnographic materials of Southern Kazakhstan)**

This article defines the role of marriage and family in Kazakhstan. At all times, the issues of family and marriage were of concern to both society and the state. It is known that the family is the most important core of society, being part of social institution. Children and teenagers are socialized to traditional values and stereotypes in the family, including respect for old people, a sense of patriotism for their homeland. It is no coincidence, that successful moral, socio-economic development largely influences on the stability of marriage. In today's market times, the stability of the state directly depends on the stability of family.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the main features of marriage and family relations among Kazakhs. The article uses historical and ethnographic method of comparative, descriptive, systematic and others. Ethnographic data, ethnosociological data, historical literature, periodicals were used in writing the article. The chronological framework covers the period from the end of 1980 to 2014. This allows us to conduct a comparative study of the problem of marriage and family before and after independence.

The article shows the factors influencing on the stability of family. The structure of the family, control in the family, interfamily relations, the upbringing of children, the rational use of free time affect the marriage stability. Understanding these circumstances in ethnological aspect in the future will help to solve many problems related not only to the full functioning of family life of young and middle generation, but also to ensure the normal, reproductive, communicative and economic functioning of family.

**Key words:** state, society, family, marriage, stability, etiquette, bringing up children.

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### **Қазақтардағы неке-отбасылық қатынас мәселесі (Оңтүстік Қазақстандағы этнографиялық материалдар бойынша)**

Мақала қазіргі таңдағы Қазақстандағы неке және отбасының орнын анықтайды. Барлық кезеңде отбасы мен неке мәселесі қоғамды да, мемлекетті де толғандырды. Отбасы әлеуметтік институттың бір бөлшегі ретінде, қоғамның маңызды бөлігін құрайтыны белгілі. Отбасында балалар мен жасөспірімдер дәстүрлі құндылықтарды бойына сіңіріп, үлкендерді құрметтеуге үйренеді, өз Отанына деген патриотизм сезімі тәрбиеленеді. Отбасының моральдық, әлеуметтік-экономикалық дамуы некенің беріктігіне өзінің әсерін тигізетіні сөзсіз. Қазіргі нарықтық уақытта мемлекеттің тұрақтылығы отбасының тұрақтылығына тікелей байланысты.

Мақаланың мақсаты қазақтардағы неке-отбасылық қатынасқа тән негізгі ерекшеліктерді талдау. Мақалада салыстырмалы, сипаттама, жүйелі т.б. тарихи-этнографиялық әдіс қолданылды. Мақаланы жазу барысында этнографиялық деректер, этносоциологиялық мәліметтер, тарихи әдебиеттер, мерзімді басылымдар пайдаланылды. Хронологиялық шеңбері 1980 ж. аяғы мен 2014 ж. аралығын қамтиды. Бұл тәуелсіздікке дейінгі және одан кейінгі кезеңдегі неке және отбасы мәселесін салыстырмалы түрде зерттеуге мүмкіндік береді.

Мақала отбасының тұрақтылығына әсер ететін факторларды анықтайды. Осыған сәйкес некенің тұрақтылығына отбасы құрылымы, ішкіотбасылық қатынас, бала тәрбиесі, бос уақытты дұрыс пайдалану әсер етеді. Этнологиялық тұрғыдан алғанда, болашақта бұл жағдайларды түсіну жас және орта буын ұрпақтың этникалық тегіне қарамастан отбасылық өмірді толыққанды сүруге, сонымен қатар отбасының қалыпты, репродуктивті, коммуникативті, экономикалық қызметін қамтамасыз етуге қатысты көптеген мәселелерді шешуге көмектеседі.

**Түйінді сөздер:** мемлекет, қоғам, отбасы, неке, тұрақтылық, этикет, бала тәрбиесі.

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**Проблемы семейно-брачных отношений у казахов  
(по этнографическим материалам южного Казахстана)**

Данная статья определяет роль брака и семьи в Казахстане. Во все времена вопросы семьи и брака волновали как общество, так и государство. Известно, что семья составляет важнейшую ячейку общества, являясь частью социального института. В нынешние рыночные времена стабильность государства напрямую зависит от стабильности семьи. Статья выявляет факторы влияющие на стабильность семьи.

Цель статьи проанализировать основные особенности брачно-семейных отношений у казахов. В статье использован историко-этнографический метод: сравнительный, описательный, системный и др. При написании статьи использовались этнографические данные, этносоциологические сведения, историческая литература, периодические издания. Хронологические рамки охватывают период с конца 1980 по 2014 год. Это позволяет провести сравнительное исследование проблемы брака и семьи до и после обретения независимости.

В семье происходит социализация детей и подростков к традиционным ценностям и стереотипам, включая уважение к старшим, воспитывается чувство патриотизма к своей Родине. Не случайно благополучное моральное, социально-экономическое ее развитие во многом влияют на прочность брака. На стабильность брака влияет структура семьи, внутрисемейные отношения, воспитание детей, рациональное использование свободного времени. В этнологическом аспекте понимание этих обстоятельств в будущем поможет решить многие проблемы, касающиеся не только полноценного функционирования семейной жизни у молодого и среднего поколения вне зависимости от их этнической принадлежности, но и обеспечение нормального, репродуктивного, коммуникативного, экономического функционирования семьи.

Ключевые слова: государство, общество, семья, брак, стабильность, этикет, воспитание детей.

**Introduction.**

The problems of family and the development of family and marriage relations worry the society and the state. Therefore, the significance of the expression «Homeland begins with the family» is absolutely true. With the existence of family and marriage, humanity received the most important factor in development. No matter how the destiny of family and marriage develops, they are always closely connected with the social system, industrial relations, furthermore, social changes influence on the character of family and marriage relations, constantly updating them. All this shows that the stability of the family and marriage is socially very important. Modern achievements of ethnography show valuable new information for researchers of society and ethnographic science. As one of the social institutions, the family also covers social processes, directly influencing the development of society. Interest to the problems of family and marriage relations is directly related to the uniqueness of social institution. Not only the demographic significance, but also keeping stability of marriage becomes the main theme of national importance.

Study of the problem. The problem of family and

marriage of Kazakh people, as well as other nations before the October Revolution, was the theme of the research work of many scientists. Before the October Revolution, A.E. Alektorov [Alektorov 1888] wrote about the marriage of Kazakh people, wedding ceremonies, and the family issues. At the beginning of the 20th century, while studying the ethnography of Kazakh people in Turkestan region, A.A. Divaev published 130 large and small works before the revolution (Divaev 2006). B. Kuftin, V. Sokolovsky, A. Shtusser, S. I. Rudenko, F. Fielstrup, I. D. Starynkevich researched the topic of family and marriage and published small works in 1926-1930. Many articles were devoted to the role of women in the family, intra-family relations, and the distribution of responsibilities in the family [Sokolovsky 1926].

There was research work of the collective farm population of Kazakhstan in 1947-1950. Family issues, changes of marriage and family relations were considered through everyday relations in the family. Opening of Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography, a branch of Academy of Sciences of Kazakh SSR of Academy of Sciences of the USSR in 1945 contributed to this. The head of the ethnography sector of this institute, N.S. Sabitov,

conducted an ethnographic research of Zhambyl and Almaty regions and, as a result, published articles about the life and social life of Kazakh family. Analyzing intra-family relations, the author stops to the duties of a woman and a man, to relations between parents and children, to the role of a bride in the family [Sabitov 1952]. N.N. Cheboksarov, O.A. Korbe had ethnographic expedition in Almaty region in 1947-1949 [Cheboksarov 1949; . Korbe 1949]. D.Kh. Karmysheva made research about family and family life of Kazakh collective farm in 1959-1960, studied the role of women and men in intra-family relations, relationships with relatives, customs which were associated with marriage [Karmysheva 1967].

In the early 1970s, with the arrival of Y.V. Bromley as head of the Miklukho-Maclaya Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, the relevance of ethnographic research increased and the space of scientific research expanded [Bromley 1969]. During this period, valuable monograph of A. Zhakipova was published, in which the main attention was paid to marriage and family law, intra-family relations [Zhakipova 1971].

The scientist H.A. Argyubaev, who deeply studied all aspects of traditional ethnography of Kazakh people, published his monograph in 1973 [Argyubaev 1973]. In 1982, H.A. Kauanova published monographs with different ethnographic methods of research, first used ethnosociological data [Kauanova 1982].

In 1984-1986, research workers of the ethnography department of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography named after Ch.Ch. Valikhanova of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR continued to use field ethnographic materials in interdisciplinary connection with the methods of ethno-sociological research. During the conduct of the survey in Chilik and Kegen districts of Almaty region and Kirov district of Taldykorgan region, the study of the population on the topic "New and traditional in the existence of modern rural families of Kazakhstan" were the first experiments. The issues covered the sphere of family-marriage relations, family structures and intra-family ties, observance of customs and traditions in families. In the collection of materials they are directed by methodical instructions, prepared by T.A. Zhdanko and G.P. Vasilyeva from the sector of ethnography of Central Asia and Kazakhstan Institute of Ethnography and Ethnic Anthropology named after N.N. Miklukho-Maklaya AN USSR [Zhdanko TA, Vasilyeva G.P. 1980]. In 1991, a study of 13 rural districts of the southern oblasts of the South Kazakhstan, Zhambyl, Almaty oblasts and the north-

eastern Kokshetau, Pavlodar, Tselinogradskaya and Semipalatinsk oblasts were conducted by ethnologist O.B. Naumova. The author pays special attention to the ethnic peculiarities of Kazakh people, ethnic self-awareness, family-marriage relations.

Problems of marriage and families affect domestic scholars U.H. Shalekenov, A.T. Toleubaev, S.E. Azhigali, A.B. Kalysh, D.B. Eskekbaev, B.K. Kalshabaeva, N.J. Shakhanova, A.T. Abdullina, C.H. Shalgynbaeva. At the present stage, new trends have been identified in the study of family and marriage relations. These are the age of marriage, power in the family, the place of a woman, internal family relatio.

**Structure and members of the family.** The structure of the family can be nuclear or complex. As in the republic, as well as in South Kazakhstan, the largest spread has received nuclear family in various forms. Usually, such kind of family consists of two generations: parents or one of them, as well as their unborn children. Going from generation to generation, the number of family members can also be different. According to the 2009, the average family size in the republic is 4.0 person. The average member of family in in 2009: in Almaty region - 4.6 person, in Zhambyl region - 5 person, in Kyzylorda region - 5.9 person, in South Kazakhstan region - 5.8 person. This is related to the fact that in Kazakhstan, according to tradition, the significance of marriage is high, so its value is practically in a priority for the entire adult population. This trend is most noticeable, first of all, in the rural environment, in comparison with the city; secondly, among the representatives of Turkic ethnic groups, who keep the norms of Islam.

There are full families, where parents live together with children is 75.9-81.9%. There are also cases when a single man or widow lives together with children. The part of similar families in the region ranges from 11.7 to 20.1%. Such families can also be considered as bereaved families of the middle generation. In the surveyed region, the part of similar families is 4.7-8.9%. In the second place there is three-generation family in Kazakh family. Their share in South Kazakhstan is 16.8-25.2%. In similar families, the younger and middle generations are quite full, but the older generation is often represented only by the older generation - the grandfather or only the grandmother. The three-generation family is more characteristic of monoethnic districts with the predominance of Kazakh population. Sometimes with older parents live families of two brothers with children, who are considered complex or four-generation. Their share in the region is not so high - 0.3-1.5%. Similar family is characterised exclusively for the rural Kazakh population.

Ethnic and social factors, as well as the number of children in families, influence the definition of family structure. Mainly, families, where there are many children of middle class are typical for Kazakh people. Birth and upbringing of children is a priority for couples, which also shows their happy, spiritual and cultural life. In connection with this, we can remember good Kazakh saying: "Child is closer than a human liver". Many children for Kazakh people is associated with happiness and success. The child is the meaning of life for his parents and is hearth keeper. He is also their heir and hope as in the present, and in the future. Besides relatedness and close relationships, Kazakh people always loved children with a big heart [Shakhanova 1998].

The attitude towards children is systematized in the following folk wisdom: "The one who brings up one son owns only the cattle of whole family, the one who brings up two sons owns the cattle of two kinds, the one who brings up three sons owns the cattle of three kinds, the one who brings up four sons - owns cattle of four kinds, and the one who brings up five sons - owns unbreakable strength! Therefore, women who gave birth to several sons were respected by people, they were given the honors. In all regions of South Kazakhstan, most of the children are in rural families. For example, Turdykasym Aldabergenov has 5 children, resident of village Oiyk, Talas district, Zhambyl region [PMA 1: T. Aldabergenov, 1960], Zhashen Ushkempirov has 7 children, resident of village Belbasar, Shu district, Zhambyl region, [PMA 2: Zh. Ushkempirov 1969], Akbergen Boshkaev has 8 children, resident of village Tuzdybastau, Talgar district, Almaty region, his brother Auza also has 8 children [PMA 3: A. Boshkaev, 1931].

As ethnographic data show, large families with many children are typical mainly for families of workers, as well as for families in which representatives of older generation live. In such families, children grow up more hardworking, educated, respectful of older people and their parents. The wives with many children usually do not work, they are busy with housework and life. In the families of civil servants, including the intelligentsia, the number of children is usually no more than 2-4 children. Teacher of higher educational institution Manzuma Maviyaeva has 3 children [PMA 4: M. Maviyaeva, 1975].

In 2009, to study this issue in Almaty city, we conducted survey of respondents from various groups of the population, in which 100 respondents took part. The survey was conducted in the form of questionnaire, in which representatives of different

nationalities took part. They were asked the question: "What do you think is the optimal number of children in modern family?" - 50% answered - two, 41% believed that one child is quite sufficient, 7% said in favor of three children, and only 2.0% were sure that there should be four or more children in family. This study identified conditions that are not conducive to plan high fertility in families. It turned out that this process is directly affected by: a) worsening financial situation - 26.4%; b) no marriage - 15.6%; c) poor health - 15.4%; d) lack of housing conditions - 42.6%.

Since 1990, there have been negative phenomena which was noticeable in all regions of country, including the southern regions: a) decrease of birth rate; b) decrease the number of children, which results in decrease in the number of ethnic groups; c) untimely marriage. The factors that contributed to this situation were typical for all ethnic groups of Kazakhstan: hard work of women, the consequences of rural urbanization, unhealthy transition to market economy, from this financial situation, increasing housing problems, small indicator of socially vulnerable segments of population. The state, implementing various social programs, thereby creating favorable social, economic, political conditions for increasing the birth rate, regulates demographic processes, always taking into account the wishes and moods of parents.

Another function of family, which directly affects the success of family and marriage relations and stability, is the socialization of younger generation and children. According to tradition, mothers were busy with this, since the spiritual mood in the family primarily depended on them. Men, despite their busyness and nobility, always needed the presence of caring wife. It is no coincidence that men find their happiness and tragedy with their spouse, that is, a woman. In this regard, the care and attention of the wife, her assertiveness in overcoming obstacles for the family, adaptability to small everyday subtleties, as well as endurance and patience, provide an opportunity for men to show their work and strength for the benefit of children and families. The benevolent relations of wife strengthen in the spouse the faith in their strength and self-confidence.

**Head of family.** Marriage stability is strongly influenced by intra-family relationships. Family well-being is complex and depends on many factors, that is, the behavior and actions of raising family members, patterns of education. There are a large number of subtle ties between family members and no one can cancel or replace them. For example, among Kazakh people, father in the presence of his

«zhezde» (son-in-law) cannot jokingly address to adult son. Another example is when it is difficult for mother to explain to her grown-up daughter the most important subtleties of personal character, which the elder brother's wife, her zhenge (daughter-in-law), can simply and easily explain to girl. Recent circumstances may subsequently affect well-being of future family. Relationships and subtleties within the family build a logical and coherent scheme of humanity and goodwill. In many ways, the normal life of family depends on the correct distribution of intra-family relations, in which important place belongs to the head of the family (leader) and his role in the family. As evidenced by our field ethnographic materials in Kazakh family, the primacy of man - the father of the family - is traditionally preserved. The head of family can be husband, father, grandfather or the oldest man in the family. Such authoritarian leadership in the family is observed among many Turkic-speaking people or those who traditionally adhere to the norms of Islam. Usually the husband is not only the head of the family, but also the main breadwinner. This situation is typical not only for two-generation families, but also for three-generation families, in which, due to traditional respect for elders, children and other representatives of younger and middle generations do not solve their problems without their consent, often give them the reins of family rule, although they themselves can be nominally considered the head of family [PMA 5: K. Tuzelov, 1945].

The next important place is occupied by the family of egalitarian type. We include families of workers, specialists and intellectuals with high level of education. As a rule, these are families of young and middle generation, where all members are equal in their rights to dispose of their wages, incomes, including the acquisition of household items and equipment, clothes or things, travel or leisure in rest homes, sanatoriums. In such families, spouses jointly decide on issues of material support and upbringing of children. In about 5-10% of Kazakh families, despite the high status of man, the headship belongs to the mother or wife, that is, the woman. If the wife, due to wealth and education, has higher status, then, as noted above, this position is often found among the middle and younger generations. Naturally, this tendency becomes even higher among divorced women or widows who live together with teenagers, with children or with married sons, regardless of their place of residence - in the countryside or in the city [PMA 6: N. Tungatarova 1957].

It is important to emphasize that at the present time, not only in South Kazakhstan, but throughout

the country, the concept of "head of the family" does not have the past absolute meaning and is relative. Opinion of adult children is also often taken into account when there are problems or solving significant family issues. As noted earlier, this fact can be explained by the following reasons: a) in the absence of husband in the family (single-parent families), where the authority of the widow is quite high, where there are teenagers; b) during the transit of the headship of the family into the hands of woman, when she is the main person who earns for living. That is, it depends on the objective and economic circumstances.

Let us emphasize again that in the mono-ethnic regions the authoritarian type of family is especially characteristic of Kazakh families. Headship in the family and equality in the rights of spouses increases is depending on the growth of their educational level. In other cases, the primacy of the man is noticeable, that is, the traditional priority. Nevertheless, even in authoritarian families at present time, certain changes are taking place in matters of financial management. In rural areas, father of the family manages everything. With the division of labor, the traditional distribution of responsibilities is preserved, which has beneficial effect not only on life, but also on the stable functioning of family and marriage relations. This is especially noticeable in rural environment. Thus, wife and daughters are busy with household chores, husband and sons do the most difficult work or are on earnings in the field, garden or pasture. The help of men is also significant in the delivery of products from market or the store, the preparation of firewood and fuel, the delivery of water, the overhaul of the house, and the removal of children to kindergarten or school. The traditional duties of wife are the skillful maintenance of the house and yard, including their cleanliness, cooking, darning clothes, sewing, washing, looking after young children. At the same time, women, with doing housework, are actively involved in social activities of aul, village [PMA 7: U. Koshtaeva, 1973].

It is known that based on the analysis of marriage, one of the parameters of determining the structure of power in the family can be established. The study showed high degree of commonality in managerial leadership in the family in terms of gender aspects. Thus, 47% of spouses solve management issues together, in 32% the leadership of man prevails, in 14% of cases the husband decides in most cases, at the same time, the unconditional leadership of woman is not high - only 7% of respondents chose this answer option. These surveys show that

in modern Kazakhstan society, the authoritarian type of governance is traditionally preserved, and democratic or egalitarian principles are poorly represented. Undoubtedly, these realities affect the stability of family. With the traditional perception of this circumstance, the family can endure adverse trials; if it is ignored or not recognized, it can face conflict situation. This factor is especially visible in the families of young and middle generations.

Family etiquette. Respect for older generation is the next significant component of folk etiquette. This attitude is more pronounced where age, life and social status of older generation is higher, no matter whether it is a man or a woman. For example, children and other family members, including married sons, in the presence of older people or in the presence of the head of family, they still adhere to certain etiquette prohibitions. In the presence of elders, they are not allowed to lie down, they are also not allowed to sit, stand, keep their hands in their pockets, turn their backs to them. Especially the important thing is that even while standing in their presence, they should keep propriety. But if you have to sit, then in no case carelessly and not waddling, but only with their permission. It is not approved to go through in front of them or cross their way, smoke or drink without their approval, and also interrupt their speech [Tokhtabaeva 2013].

General accepted rules, which are characterized in the form of traditional respectful attitude for representatives of older generation: the elders are met and gone to the door or to the gate of the fence, hands are washed before and after the meal, the elders are helped to take off or put on their wardrobe. If the age difference is enough, then all older people are given the indicated signs of attention. Similar rules of etiquette emphasize the complex hierarchy of seniority and are also common for women. Respectful attitude towards men, regardless of age, is the next traditional feature of Kazakh family etiquette and is especially for the southern regions of Kazakhstan. For example, in full families that consist of two or more married couples, however, women, with the exception of elder grandmothers, sit down at the table after the men's meal, and serve them before the meal. In the presence of guests in nuclear families, women also serve men, and only in a narrow family circle they have the opportunity to sit next to them. Without a doubt, it remains that if the system of intra-family relations is well established and viable, then its further influence will positively affect the stability of marriages. Family and marriage relations stabilize the equality

of family members, that is, spouses, children, the elderly and grandchildren.

It is necessary to note the benevolent attitude of the older generation towards daughters-in-law and sons-in-law. Men and women have their own well-established place in the family for centuries. We must not forget that all the ethnic groups we study maintain respectful attitude towards the mother, which increases many time in relation to women with many children. It is no coincidence that the folk wisdom "Mother gives birth to a hero" sounds like edification for posterity. The daughter-in-law is also the personification of the mother, and therefore it is important that her mother-in-law gives her a good upbringing. When considering intra-family relations, it is necessary to remember this special role. It is not always easy for daughter-in-law who has come to unfamiliar to her family to get used to new family, to their traditions and orders accepted and established in it. Therefore, natural transitional period of psychological adaptation of young daughter-in-law is required. And here the help of the mother of the groom, mother-in-law of the bride, is indispensable. It is she who in many ways shapes the new, family life of young woman. If the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law find common language, reasonably solve the problems that arise, then happiness will reign in the house, and the authority of the family will only increase. Otherwise, misunderstanding, strained relations, a conflict situation may arise, which may affect the stability of family relations, lead to the breakup of the marriage of the newlyweds. Such complex and difficult environment can have a negative impact on the younger generation. Therefore, representatives of both the younger and older generations need to build family properly relationships based on respect for parents and the rights of young family members.

The formation of relationships in Kazakh family of new type is primarily characterized by improvement in the position of daughter-in-law in the emerging new relationship with "kaiyn zhurt" (parents and relatives of the spouse). Modern daughters-in-law participate equally in family affairs and even express their opinion, thereby striving to take their rightful place in the system of intra-family relations. In our opinion, the following circumstances contribute to this: the presence of a high social status associated with a high educational level (secondary special education - college, higher education) and the presence of permanent prestigious profession and well-paid job; life expectancy in new family; the birth of several children; sensitive and attentive attitude of the spouse. These days, the

relationship between daughter-in-law and husband's side is different. Often, daughter-in-law can call her husband's younger brothers or relatives by their names, which does not apply to the father-in-law, mother-in-law and older brothers, sisters and relatives in the male line. In the southern regions, the position of modern daughter-in-law is distinguished by stronger preservation of folk customs and traditions. So, the bride should not show the bare parts of her body to the elders, she should wear a long dress with sleeves, and cover her head with a scarf. She should also greet her husband, his parents, older brothers and relatives with traditional respectful bow, properly prepare refreshments for guests, while she herself will not sit at the common table with men. The same applies to others. In order to be able to listen to the instructions of elders, to accept them properly, self-consciousness is also needed. So, Kazakh kelin will never run across the road to men or the elderly. This is told by the informant Gulmira Nurgazieva, who came as a daughter-in-law to a family in Aralsk city, Kyzylorda region [PMA 8: G. Nurgazieva, 1966]. In nuclear families, due to the need for daily work for children, there are number of customs. But in full families, in the first years of marriage, woman was forced to hide her maternal feelings. This was influenced by the fact that in these families the first-born baby was given to the upbringing of the child's grandparents, and this served as an indicator that the first-born was already a child of their parents. As a result, the child's grandparents were often jealous of their real parents. In the future, thanks to this outcome of events, the child began to perceive his own parents only as an older brother and “zhenge” (wife of older brother) [PMA 9: S. Yessimova, 1975].

Considered rules of Kazakh etiquette, in addition to ethnically special moments, can also show the presence of general rules of behavior that were also characteristic of other peoples. They are based on traditional moral values and provide for a certain degree of etiquette behavior in many areas of life: at home, at a party or in a public place. At the present time, despite the impact of innovation, generally accepted norms of etiquette successfully resist them. Kazakh people, and especially rural, successfully preserve their traditions, that is, they adhere to them in everyday life, strengthening, in addition to the continuity of generations, unity with their ethnic group. But, like a different living system, traditional etiquette norms and rules develop and organically absorb modern elements. Studies in various regions of the country have shown that they are not only similar in form but also in meaning. In most cases, the studied family etiquette in the last few decades

has a tendency to a certain simplification, especially in urban areas and in multi-ethnic villages and regions. In this case, decrease in the composition of participants in etiquette communication is understood. For example, representatives of the younger generation adhered to those etiquette rules that were in relation to the grandfather, father, older brother, and the daughter-in-law in relation to the mother-in-law. But this would not apply if brother were older than him, and daughter-in-law to the husband's sister, and so on. Situations with the presence or absence of representatives of older generation, elderly relatives, strangers have a direct impact on this feature. The moments we have listed ultimately contribute to maintain a certain distance between the prescription that is valid only in necessary cases and generally accepted everyday etiquette [PMA 7; PMA 8; PMA 9].

**Family relations.** When studying intra-family relations, one cannot ignore the system of family ties of Kazakh people. Among Kazakh people, both in rural and urban environments, stable and close traditional family ties and relationships are expressed in wide variety of forms, which are based on closeness by blood and marriage. Among Kazakh people, the circle of relatives is clearly emphasized by folk proverb: “Erدين ыsh zhurty bar - oz zhurty, nagashy zhurty, kaiyn zhurty”, that is, men have three groups of family ties: blood relatives on the father's side (oz zhurty), relatives on the mother's side (nagashy zhurty) and through the line of husband or wife (kaiyn zhurty). Relatives of married sons and married daughters (күдalar) should also be added. Of course, consanguinity, which is determined by direct kinship through the male line, remains the most significant. The knowledge and significance of these family ties is preserved among Kazakh people of all regions of South Kazakhstan. The proof of this is the families that do not lose contact with close and distant relatives and give them support. For example, we can cite strong ties between related families of the Tungatarovs and Saimbekovs from Almaty region, the Tazhimuratovs and Saparbaevs from South Kazakhstan region, the Tuktievs and Aidynbekovs from Zhambyl region [PMA 5; PMA 6; PMA 7]. Giving material and spiritual help to relatives was considered an obligatory matter of Kazakh people. In the event that relatives did not give help, then people condemned them for this. In addition to side relatives on the maternal side, especially with brothers and sisters of mother (nagashy), whose children for them are nephews (zhien), Kazakh people still maintain close ties. As a rule, giving them with great material and moral

help, they show special care and warmth towards their nephews. For example, they assist them during their studies in secondary specialized or higher educational institutions, when they grow up - when they get married. In particular, identical kinship relationships are maintained between children of half-siblings. The children listed above are cousins to each other "bole", and their fathers are brothers-in-law (bazha).

Property relations (күдалык), which are largely determined both by the degree of mutual respect of the spouses, and by the directly established stable relations with in-laws, are distinguished by considerable strength. And they are characterized by the types of related communication listed above. In contrast to the past, the social status of the son-in-law and daughter-in-law has risen. Their parents and relatives, as well as other relatives listed above, enjoy the same respect. The specificity of regional, traditional and economic conditions, as well as religious principles, favored not only the formation of such wide family circle, which is difficult to find analogy in the cultures known and familiar to us, but also the centuries-old stability of this type of family structure. Every person feels the presence of close ties not only with his direct relatives, but also with all others - uncles, aunts, cousins and so on. The degree of relations that have developed between family members connected by blood ties can vary to a certain extent, and the number of people who consider themselves as relatives is naturally quite diverse. It should also be noted that among the vast majority of Kazakh people it is widely believed that at least a hundred people can be attributed to the category of their real, real relatives. This objective reality with the number of relatives is especially clearly demonstrated during the wedding celebration

and during the funeral and memorial rituals. Relatives not only from nearby villages and districts, but also from other remote cities and regions come to the sad event noted above. Any significant event in the life of an individual family, such as the birth of a child, marriage, family anniversaries naturally become a phenomenon of wide significance for relatives. At the same time, the spatial ties of relatives expanded significantly, covering not only the districts and cities of their region as a whole, but also far beyond its borders. Young people who have not yet broken the connection with their father's house regularly come to their native village on weekends and holidays, bringing a noticeable revival to local life. Those who are firmly established in the city or live in remote regions come to their native places less often, usually in summer, with the whole family. Naturally, relatives maintain close ties, firstly, with those who are closer to them by blood, spirit, age, interests, life views; secondly, with those who live in one or neighboring settlement, city, district or region.

**Conclusion.** This circumstance is typical for families in which representatives of older generation live, who carefully preserve national traditions and pass them on to the younger generation. Secondly, the formation of family values also depends on the influence of the ethnic environment in which the spouses themselves grew up. Thus, in areas with mono-ethnic Kazakh population, high level of marriage stability can be explained by the traditions of strong families and their favorable influence on newlyweds. Those young couples who have allowed departure from the norms of behavior accepted in this environment experience difficulties in communicating with society, relatives, which ultimately can lead to the destruction of the family.



### Sources and materials

PMA 1 Field materials of the authors. Expedition to the village Oyik, Talas district, Zhambyl region, Republic of Kazakhstan, 2008

PMA 2 Field materials of the authors. Expedition to the village Belbasar, Shu district, Zhambyl region, Republic of Kazakhstan, 2008

PMA 3 Field materials of the authors. Expedition to the village Tuzdybastau, Talgar district, Almaty region of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2009

PMA 4 Authors' field materials. Expedition to Kyzyl-Orda city, Kyzylorda region of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2007

PMA 5 Authors' field materials. Expedition to Shardara city, Turkistan region of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2012

PMA 6 Authors' field materials. Expedition to Almaty city, Almaty region of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2009

PMA 7 Authors' field materials. Expedition in the village Kostagan, Merken district, Zhambyl region of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2008

PMA 8 Field materials of the authors. Expedition to the city Aralsk, Kyzylorda region of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2007

PMA 9 Authors' field materials. Expedition to Shardara city, Turkistan region of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2012

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