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Analysis of gender relations through kinship systems

Gender studies are one of the promising directions in social philosophy. This article discusses the possible future analysis of gender relations through the study of kinship and family relations. As their relationship represent a model of social relations, we made the assumption that it is in studies of kinship can be found specifics of gender relations. To confirm this hypothesis, we turned to the work of the famous anthropologist, a representative of comparative sociology Radcliffe-Brown.

Key words: gender, relationships, history, kinship, society, social relations, mothers right, fathers right, gen, customs.

Relationships between the sexes, which are already not reduced to their biological manifestations certain way form the very public life. Previously, we were able to observe some changes in the social life of ancient Greek culture, when in relation to the feminine have been significant changes. An even greater difference can be observed when comparing different cultures that is the subject of comparative sociology, the foundations of which, according to the work of Radcliffe-Brown, laid by Montesquieu. According to the observations of the Brown, in a society can be identified quite «certain set of actions and interactions of people who are conditioned by the relations of kinship or marriage, and that in a given society, these actions and interactions are linked in such a way that we can analytically describe them as a system» [1; 12]. It is a system of kinship, the examination of which will help to understand the mechanism of some form of social life.

Kinship system should be regarded as a special social relations that form part of a broader — general — network of social relations that Radcliffe — Brown calls social structure. For example, the cult of ancestors is a fundamental part of the system of kinship through which real people build relationships with each other. Which in turn is reflected in the concept of kinship. Thus, social relations determine the social structure in which individuals are presented not as random connections, but depending on the very social process, where all human relations regulated by the rules and regulations that are manifested in the fact that each member knows that his behavior must comply with these standards. Most established forms of social life, recognized a certain class or social group, usually called institutions. According to Radcliffe-Brown, the concept is easily recognizable institution type or kind of social relationships and interactions. As one of these established institutions may be considered the family institution, which expresses the generally accepted rules of behavior towards its members. According to the principle of kinship existed sister's son allowed greater freedom in dealing with the mother's brother. An alternative way to study this institution requires its theoretical understanding of how the kinship system of a certain type, in which he performs a function to be revealing. Among the variety available kinship systems can, we think, distinguish types that can be conditionally called « father's right » and « mother-right. » Each child is under the patronage of the family of a father and his brothers — in the case of actions of « father-right » or family mother and her brothers. The relationship between the mother's brother and his nephew is the key element so-called «mother-right».

It is recalled that in the Turkic language kinship system varies considerably depending on their matrilineal or patrilineal descent. Children daughters — it Jien and mother's relatives — it Nagashi. Isolation of maternal kinship says at least about once existed a special relationship with the relatives of the mother. We can not justify our guess besides linguistic examples and descriptions of the origin of the ancient Turks from mythical wolf. Nevertheless, full of hope to find them in further studies in the field of mother-right among the nomads. Job Radcliffe — Braunapridaet we share the optimism. His description of customs, when the sister's son has unlimited, in fact, the right to property is the mother's brother, similar to those traditions and customs that have been preserved among the Kazakhs.

Description of the principles of mother-right, which took place in the tribes of East Africa, European scientists perceived with a certain degree of suspicion. In them, she looked like a hypothesis confirmed by empirical evidence. For researchers becoming the Kazakh ethnic group during the earliest stages of this situation does not look so exotic. Apparently, for the detection of « mother-right » in the history of the Kazakhs, the researchers will be forced to turn to their nearest kindred tribes not undergone the process of Islamization. According to Radcliffe-Brown, the relationship between the mother's brother and sister's son to

be of importance in many parts of the world. He also leads the discussion of this issue among anthropologists, which essentially boils down to the fact that matrilineal organization preceded patrilineal. The author is inclined to regard the difference patrilineal and matrilineal kinship as a relative rather than insisting on the absolutism of their opposites. In the apparent prevalence of one type of relationship, he sees the presence of the other, and it's not in the original conflict, and quite naturally their coexistence. Analyzing the life of tribes in East Africa — Ba-Thonga, Radcliffe-Brown summarizes his conclusions as follows: — Nephew matrilineal his entire life is the subject of special care from an uncle. — When sick nephew, brother, mother sacrifices to ancestors, to he recovered. — Nephew allowed much in relation to his mother's brother, for example, he may come to his uncle's house and eat what is prepared for the future. — Nephew claims rights to the property 's mother's brother, when the latter dies, and sometimes one of his wives. — When the brother of the mother brings the victim 's sister's son steals and eats a piece of meat or drink of the beer intended deities. In the part of Polynesia, which he learned best, namely the islands of Friendship (Tonga) and Fiji, he meets customs, traditions are very similar to Ba-Thonga. There's sister's son is also very willingly allowed to behave in relation to his mother and brother from the property uncle take whatever he wants. And here we also find the custom according to which the sister's son takes and eats part of the gods intended for food when a victim brings his uncle by the mother. Reflecting on the matrilineal kinship system, a researcher at the same time trying to draw attention to those traditions that have been associated with his father's sister.

Among all people, in which he had ever be, he notes that no less important, although quite different role for the father's sister. Apparently, the custom is allowing free treatment of the mother's brother, as a rule, accompanied by the duty to provide special reverence sister father and obey it. Kinship institutions require in-depth consideration, otherwise the idea of kinship system would be incomplete. Sphere itself, covering kinship system is important for the reason that in most primitive societies regulate social relations between individuals based primarily on kinship. This adjustment is possible thanks to the formation of stable and more or less certain behaviors for relationships with each category recognized relatives. Behavior of his son to the father follows the model of submission and reverence, the ratio of younger to the older brother followed by another stereotype, etc. Taken separately standards vary from society to society, but there are a number of fundamental principles or trends emerging in all societies of a certain type. The task of social anthropology as it sees itself Radcliffe-Brown, includes discovery and explanation of the general trends.

In primitive societies, has its own classification system relatives. The most characteristic principle — a principle of equivalence brothers. It is expressed in the fact that, while in some respects to a specific person, the same ratio will apply to his brothers. If it 's about a woman, the relationship with her and go to her sister. Thus, the father's brother is seen as a kind of analogue of his father, and his sons, in turn, are relatives of the same category as my own brothers. Similarly, his mother's sister is considered as if the other mother, so her children — is also brothers and sisters. In all societies, both primitive and advanced, inevitably kinship bilaterally, ie dually. Individual related by kinship with some persons through his father, and with others — through the mother. And the kinship system, adopted in a given society determines what should be the nature of human interactions with the maternal and paternal relatives, respectively. But society tends to be divided into segments (local groups, lineages, clans, etc.), and where as a criterion for determining if an individual belonging to a particular segment, the principle of heredity — and it happens often — it is necessary choose between the origin of paternal and maternal origin. If society is divided into groups, and it contains a rule that the children belong to the group of father, patrilineal descent is before us, and if the children always belong to a group of mothers, the descent is matrilineal. In the vast majority of primitive societies are neither matriarchal or patriarchal, although some of them tend to be first, and the other — to the second. For Radcliffe-Brun, it is clear that the distinction between matriarchal and patriarchal societies is not absolute, but relative. Even in the most patriarchal societies consistently some social significance attached to kinship is traced through the mother, and in the same way in most consistently matriarchal societies father and his relatives will always play a role in an individual's life.

Next, we would like to give a description of a custom associated with maternal kinship, in which are interwoven concepts of «mother» deity. This custom is remarkable in that its final destination — the opportunity to receive a gift of a cow (calf), preserved in the Kazakh customs. «The natives of the Transkei most emphatically assured me that the «mother» of the deity — patrilineal ancestors mother — never nashlyut per person supernatural punishment in the form of the disease. But at the same time, it is believed that a married woman can get help from the spirits of the ancestors of his patrilineal lineage, as well as can get help from them her small children — while they are still closely associated with it. Because children are fully incorporated into the lineage of his father only after reaching adolescence. So, in the Transkei woman getting mar-

ried, should get the cow from his father, from the herd of the lineage to which it belongs to my father. This cow she can take with them to a new home. Since the first time after her marriage is forbidden to drink milk from cows from the herd of her husband, to the extent it can use animal milk, reduced herd of her lineage. This cow as it serves as a link between a woman and her lineage belonging to this lineage of cattle, as well as deities and lineage, because cattle — is a material intermediary between the living members of the lineage and the ancestral spirits. If she gets sick, he can make a bandage on his neck from his cow tail hair and thus to secure the protection of the deities of his lineage. Moreover, if one is sick of her young children, it can do the same for him bandage, bandage and this will protect the child. And when her son grows up, he will be due a bull from the herd of her father and son can do for yourself charms, amulets from the hair of the tail of the animal. Likewise, her daughter marrying and being in the separation from the mother can get the cow from his father» [1; 65].

What is most remarkable of the above descriptions of the types of relationship can be observed among the different tribes, Radcliffe-Brown distinguished between male and female type of relationship is not on the biological basis, and on their social affiliation to a particular clan or lineage. For example, a female relative of the father perceived as male, father and relatives of the mother were treated as members of the female line. One of the important aspects of the relationship with its complex ramifications touch on issues of rights and responsibilities of numerous relatives. An interesting fact is that Radcliffe-Brown repeatedly referring to Morgan and Mc Lennon, in his study of the kinship system, where it causes different types of law and did not mention the work of J. Bach of maternal law. His idea of implied rights following its variants. The first is the right of a person to impose any obligation on it. For example, according to Roman law the father can have those rights to his son, and the state — its citizens. The second type is named Radcliffe-Brown as the «right to identity «in opposing the world, «to impose on everyone else responsibilities towards the individual. It jus in rem (right to a thing) Roman law as applied to people» [1; 68]. And finally, the right to a thing, not a person, which impose on other persons duties in relation to the subject.

Here we see, perhaps, the main difference between the point of view of Radcliffe-Brown's ideas of Bach. According to the First Law with its variants is a universal means of regulating relations with both matrilineal and patrilineal kinship system. For Bach judging by his maternal and paternal work right have significant difference. That Radcliffe-Brown called as rights in personam, he explained on the example of certain rights that a husband is to his wife. By virtue of these rights, he may require the execution of her respective duties. If in relation to his wife, someone commits a violent action, the mechanism will take effect right in rem, and the offense will be treated as a crime against her husband.

Dominant in many Australian tribes the custom of levirate is not nothing but a transfer of rights to his wife and children after her husband's death his closest relatives in the male line. In this case, the transmitted and rights in personam and in rem rights on certain people (wife and children), and together they passed, of course, certain obligations towards them. And now we would like to go back to the descriptions of the history of the ancient Greek polis, from the pen of those authors whose method of Radcliffe-Brown called conjectural or theoretical. In particular, to that period of history, formulated weighty phrase «decomposition communal tribal system and the transition to a class society». This expression is remarkable in that a priori exposes communal-tribal or primitive tribal system in a negative light, which is bound to go bad (as in the following with the same inevitability becomes decaying capitalism). Still in the works of the French Enlightenment had a question about the cause of the moral «fall» so close to the natural nature of man, does not know the «horrors» of civilization. This question can be attributed to reason that if we assume hypothetically the existence of matriarchy, and then replaced it patriarchy, you should explain the reason for such a transition.

According to popular explanation of this transition took place as a result of the development of agriculture, in which the need for physical strength attracted men, allowing them to seize power and all rights to the land in their hands. Nevertheless, this process many authors looks like a fact. Here 's what he wrote Radcliffe-Brown that caused the « decomposition « of tribal relations in ancient Greece: «So, the reason for the decline of clan (genos, gens) in ancient Greece and Rome was the transition of his rights in rem (and hence, necessarily, and some his rights in personam) to the city and the state, the nature of these rights will inevitably vary significantly during this transition» [2; 63]. This formulation is distinctive in the first place so that the appearance of the city and state it represented not as a consequence of the crisis of tribal relations, and their immediate cause. Urban culture does not look exceptional value and in this case, the logic of social relations is not related to the justification of a political system or cultural type. New type inevitably destroys the old — this is the formula sounds different, as if we said — old gives birth to new.

This view casts doubt on the idea that each new step is predetermined previous. This is the familiar pattern formation approach to historical development, where the idea of development, all with the same inevitability demonstrates predestined events. From this we can only conclude that the search for the roots of what is happening in the last case unpredictable, if we understand how this search process of removing the present from the past. At least, this process maloobyasnim in terms of Kant to the interpretation that gives Mamardashvili M.: «Nothing is impossible to deduce, so each time specifically and given... Kant reclaims the space for action, saying, understand the world as one in which nothing from nothing follows» [2; 64]. And yet, conscientious act does not follow from the concept of conscience. This idea could be interpreted in the spirit of M.Mamardashvili so: not the fact that the idea of justice produces justice. Applied to the theory of gender relations as it sounds deep doubt in establishing gender equality because of the wide spread of the concept of gender equality. Study of the nature of this action is the subject of social philosophy. In this case, M.Mamardashvili discusses the phenomenon of freedom, but we think it may be relevant to the social being. Here is what he wrote: «reality of the unseen, or received can not deduce a reasonable possibility that reality, and no tricks you can not undo the fact that in this world I have to take place and it will all depend on how I'm his loan. Say, I am called to tell the truth and I have to commit this act anew each time — what I said just now, the truth can not be derived from my understanding of the truth» [3; 184].

What is important is what is happening here and now, a kind of ritualization in the sense of recreation and again the sacred action, the essence of which can not be committed acts themselves, and that they experienced each time anew. But you can also assume that once the situation changes-such an unpredictable way and everything is going wrong, as always. But back to Radcliffe-Brown, who proposed to consider as a possible hypothesis that religion is an integral part of a complex mechanism, part of a complex system that allows human beings to live together and have ordered public relations. This is not about the origins and social function of religion, ie the contribution that religion makes to the creation and maintenance of social order. Many will say that the only true religion (ie that which they hold) provides the basis for an orderly society. This hypothesis is different from other studies religions in that it completely abstracted from the actual content of religious teachings, referring to her only social function. Comparing different religions according to their degree of complexity, the truth or falsity, reveal the social nature of religion is impossible. According to Radcliffe-Brown, religion, so-called savage tribes, despite their apparent absurdity, may shed light on an important and effective part of the social mechanism, social evolution and development of modern civilization. Using the method of social anthropology in the first place he tried to uncover the social importance of rites and rituals committed because he was convinced that any religion or any religious cult, contains, in addition to attitudes, certain practical requirements prescribing committing an action, or refraining from certain actions. It should be noted that in today's presentation religion is seen primarily as a creed. Therefore, many anthropologists tend to assume primary faith and perform the ritual to see a derivative of these beliefs. For many researchers the main objective becomes explanation of the origin of certain ideas about the supernatural powers of the reasons for worship heaven, fire, etc. For Radcliffe-Brown causation in explaining the origin of religion is a dead end.

He believes that, for example, a belief in the afterlife can not be considered as a cause of burial rites. On the contrary, performed the rite as it acquires further explanatory motif. In fact, the rituals and their subsequent rationalization in the form of beliefs developed in parallel as part of an inseparable whole. But the primary in this process is still just to take actions that, among other things should be viewed as a symbolic expression of feelings. «I believe that trying to understand what is religion, we must focus primarily on the rituals and not on beliefs. From the very beginning to realize that the rituals and practices are, strictly speaking, the essence of ancient religions — a matter of prime importance. Religion in primitive times was not a belief system with a practical application, it was a set of established traditional practices, which every member of society followed without thinking» [3; 185]. Of course, do not just imagine ancient people speculating about the meaning of life and compose religious opus, and then coming up with what it should be to perform the ceremony. Most likely, the ancient man and his life consisted of most of these rites which he perceived differently than the researcher anthropologist. Sounds quite witty remark our anthropologist: «Political Institutions older than political theory, and exactly the same religious institutions older than religious theory» [3; 186]. His theory of the social function of rites and Radcliffe-Brown was first formulated in 1908 in the thesis devoted to research inhabitants of the Andaman Islands. The essence of this theory is that an ordered social life of the people depends on the senses that control the behavior of the individual in his interactions with other people, a symbolic expression of which can be considered the existing rites and rituals. Therefore, Radcliffe-Brown believed that rituals have a specific social function, because thanks to them they are regu-

lated, maintained and passed on from generation to generation feelings upon which the social order. These feelings he called a dependency on some external force, but essentially this is a spiritual force, or moral.

Along with the sacrifice of other important unifying element according to Radcliffe-Brown is a cult of ancestors, linked directly to the kinship system. This cult is almost universal, as is ubiquitous. Radcliffe-Brown himself cites the cult of ancestors existed in ancient Greece and Rome and ancient China. Since the concept of ancestor worship wide enough Radcliffe-Brown proposes to narrow it, highlight the cult as a group of relatives on one line, leading his kinship from a common ancestor. Based on my experience studying and observing religious rites, he makes the assumption that it is the study of various forms of ancestor worship easiest to discover and demonstrate the social function of religious cults in general. Interestingly, the kinship can be traced with both paternal and maternal lines. Thus, the cult group may consist of representatives of the descendants of a grandparent or ancestress. Each clan or, as he calls Radcliffe-Brown, lineage, may consist of three or more generations belong to a different lineage. For example, in China the cult group can have up to thousands of members and carry the same name. What is characteristic that in the lineage includes both living and dead his representatives, so the essence of the ritual can be considered as committed in their honor offerings of food and drink, ie as meals together. It is similar rites generate certain feelings of its members against the past, present and future of their own lineage, like life itself, which is not thought beyond race and clan.

The strongest feeling that grows and cultivated as a result of the strict implementation of rites devoted to the cult of ancestors, this sense of duty to all members of lineage. Not being able to trace the formation of the society with the cult of ancestors, Radcliffe-Brown uses as an argument to those examples in history when the old social solidarity and integrity destroyed in parallel with the decline of the cult of the ancestors. It can be assumed, the creation of a new community by the creation of new cults and worship them, that becomes possible only when the destruction and destabilization of the former religious practices. The new historical epoch — it is inevitable new religion. Whether it is a change of dynasties in ancient China, the collapse of the Roman Empire, which coincided with the advent of Christianity, the emergence of the Islamic world, or the period associated with the ideology of atheism of the Soviet regime.

In his works, Radcliffe-Brown alluded to such a famous theorist of religion, as Emile Durkheim, set himself the task of creating a general theory of the nature of religion. But Radcliffe-Brown draws precisely the part of the work, which focuses on the function of religious ritual. Analyzing totemic rituals of Aboriginal Australia, he came to believe that the religious ritual is an expression of social cohesion, and its function is to be strengthened social solidarity and the corresponding social order. This idea was new in that for many authoritative researchers such as Fraser, totemic ceremonies of Australian tribes tended to be the sphere of magic than religious faiths. Durkheim explained his approach that ceremonies wore the sacred character and is an analogue of the sacred beings, and were associated with sacred places and sacred objects. Among the sacred ceremonies a special place belongs to the rite of initiation.

The essence of the ritual was to ensure that initiates during initiation ceremonies as would die and are reborn to life again. Defining the nature of man, Radcliffe-Brown identifies as a key quality of a sense of dependence, having different shapes. Socialization process originates from the first days of life, when the baby is most dependent on the parents and the people around him, from which he receives, assistance and supervision. Thus, the behavior of each member of the community are governed by the rules imposed. This, in brief theory of the social functions of religion, which at different times developed by such scholars as Robertson Smith, Fustel de Coulanges, Durkheim, M. Moss and which itself Radcliffe-Brown has devoted nearly 40 years. According to his research, this theory existed in the writings of Chinese philosophers. Assessment of the Radcliffe-Brown, this theory, like scientific theories, is preliminary and more methodological in nature and therefore subject to further development and revision.

For us, the results of studies of Radcliffe-Brown's interesting that allow you to see the problem of gender relations through the prism of the formation of sociality as such, but also get an idea of the structure of sociality. And that is also important for our theme, we can get a better idea of what factors in varying degrees, affect people's behavior. And most importantly, thanks to research scientist and his particular vision of history of sociality, we found the answer to the question about the reason for the expansion of communal-tribal system and the transition to the polis, the city of culture.

Radcliffe-Brown calls them «state of mind» and has in mind the feelings that can give rise to religious cults. Therefore, studies are so important religious ceremonies and rites, as it relates to them anthropologist socialization process, citing the example of totemism and ancestor worship Australians demonstrating compliance religion existed among them the social structure. If you follow the logic of Radcliffe-Brown, then,

between the fact that the world's monotheistic religions, we are referring to Christianity and Islam, there is a divine person is masculine, and the special situation in religious cults, as the social position of men and women, there definite relationship. We can not trace this dependence on the example of Christianity, but try to compare the ideology of patriarchy and the philosophy of the Middle Ages.

Monotheism can be considered not only a special outlook, but remembering that the method that has developed Radcliffe-Brown, but a particular form of social relations, where his father finally approved by his wife, children, and the very concept of land rights and ownership of particular specificity. If a person had the right to belong to family, clan, and then, in the era of the ancient Greek polis — the city, but now they do not even belong to the State, all rights belong to the Church. Radcliffe-Brown's ideas on the basics of social anthropology similar in methodology and in the whole spirit of the disciple of the founder of the French school of sociology, Emile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss original thinker. Many of the provisions of the works of Radcliffe-Brown's becoming closer and more understandable for parallel reading no less important and interesting study M.Moss entitled «Essay on the gift» [4; 103]. As Radcliffe-Brown, Moss analyzes the relationships in ancient societies in which gender relations originally played by two sides, between which were exchanged. As a kind of property turnover advocated various clans and it looked like her husband's property and the property of his wife. As a parent or female property are not only things that property in our understanding, but also the child. Giving it with a family of mother and her relatives, my father's family to establish contacts to flow into the form of gifts from one family to another, from one clan to another. Thus, from the perspective of social anthropology in ancient societies gender relations have not intrafamily status, and more global, they exist almost in the status of economic relations. But economic background gives them a look of «modern economist». In those days, and the tribes referred to by M.Moss, the exchange of things came into force on the sacred nature of things, due to the fact that the thing was endowed with spiritual power, «everything — food, women, children, property, mascots, land, labor, services, religious duties and ranks — is the subject of the transfer and compensation. Everything comes and goes as if between clans and individuals, distributed through the ranks, genders and generations, there was a constant exchange of spiritual matter contained in the things and people» [4; 8].

Apart from the people were given gifts to the gods and nature. But the understanding of this important point is impossible without understanding the nature of mythological consciousness. And, in contrast to Radcliffe-Brown, who in his studies tried not to touch the subject of folklore, leaving her for philologists, M.Moss actively used data from folklore, which is very beneficial complement its findings and evidence. Having before it a rich epic material, we can interpret it in terms of the proposed rules Moss generosity. In many civilizations exchanges and agreements made in the form of gifts and so-called potlatch — a grand feast. For example, one of the major episodes in the Kazakh epic acts of the rich feast, accompanied by chants, jumps, contests.

The significance of these unprecedented bounty filled with special meaning and value, and not useless extravagance. M.Moss saw it as a sign of mixing shower and things, which was followed by reverse transition of things in their spiritual condition. This confusion is the principle of unity, which is the principle of the social as a factor uniting people and structuring their social relationships as established links between them. Noting the nature of the potlatch, M.Moss completely reduces it to such duties. And potlatch traditionally staged leaders who thus had the opportunity to demonstrate its power, its special position among the tribesmen, and before the leaders of other tribes. They maintained their status primarily through attention gods as their divinely wealth and patronage. Distribute gifts implied reverse process — from accepting gifts. To be able at any moment to invite guests and share with them the catch, harvest coming from gods or totems meant also to save face, his place among the nobility, disrupt the order of mean losing face. Accepting a gift or invitation is not less painful and leads to the same consequences — losing its status in society. Moving things accompanies the movement of men, women, children, rituals, feasts, jokes and even ridicule. On the background of these descriptions of ancient societies and practices exchange, identifying things and spiritual substance, sharing practices of male and female property arguments about the nature of women's ancient philosophers — the representatives of the city-state culture, has a striking contrast to the ideas of an earlier period. Considering gender relations as those relations which, like all that is in people's lives, including religious, religious practices depends on the detected M.Moss essence gift — exchange, we can trace the history of their transformation.

According to the authors the idea of such transformations could not arise if, in real life things would be strictly separated and had strictly appropriate destination. This applies also in our opinion, and social relationships. Above institory kinship as blood and acquired, may indicate a transition from one clan to another.

Or wear ambivalent when the child has features of both parents and their relatives. In general, the idea of using the exchange as a fundamental fact in the history of social development fully in a subsequent J. Baudrillard. Capitalism with its practice exchange accumulation gives unilateral and deprives him of the original value. This issue he devoted one of his famous works «Symbolic Exchange and Death,» in which he was interested, unlike M. Moss and Radcliffe-Brown, he was interested in the present. Here is what he wrote in it about the formation of society «from primitive society to modern societies is irreversible evolution: dead gradually cease to exist. They found beyond the symbolic turnover of the group. They are no longer full-fledged beings worthy partners exchange» [5; 234].

It is that in modern societies symbolic exchange plays no role organizing forms. Symbolic exchange as formative beginning socialization inherent in ancient societies. For Jean Baudrillard is quite natural that it has become so base exchange, which was common to both Marxism and Freudianism for. Theoretically, this is possible thanks anagrams Saussure and claims exchange / gift M. Moss. In our opinion it is the category of the exchange may be a key in the analysis of non-traditional in the sense of production specifics society, including nomadic and its social structure. Symbolic form is its reversibility. For example, the reversibility of the gift is the need for its further present, gift «reversibility of exchange — the sacrifice, the reversibility of time — in the cycle, the reversibility of production — in the destruction, the reversibility of life in death, the reversibility of each language element and meaning — in the anagram, everywhere, in all areas — the same general form, the form of reversibility, cyclic treatment withdrawal; everywhere it puts an end to the linear nature of time, language, economic exchanges and accumulation of power. Everywhere it takes for us the form of destruction and death» [5; 44]. In particular, Jean Baudrillard speaks of «the end of production». A distinctive feature of political economy is that before its appearance in the history of all the conclusions of the grace of God or natural bounty.

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Д.А.Жақыпбекова

Туыстық жүйелер арқылы жыныстық қатынастарды қарастыру

Жыныстық қатынастарды зерттеу — әлеуметтік философияның аса қомақты бағытының бірі. Мақалада жыныстық қатынастардың туыстық жүйелерге сүйеніп зерттеудің амалдары қарастырылды. Жынысты gender, яғни әлеуметтік жыныс, деп білеміз. Ал туыстық қатынастардың өзін әлеуметтіліктің түрі деп бөлуге болғандықтан, жыныстық қатынастардың да ерекшелігін сол арқылы анықтауға болады деп ойлаймыз. Осы болжамды растау үшін белгілі антрополог, салыстырмалы әлеуметтанудың өкілі Рэдклифф-Браунның еңбегін талдауды жөн көрдік.

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Анализ гендерных отношений посредством системы родства

Гендерные исследования являются одним из перспективных направлений в социальной философии. В статье рассмотрены возможные перспективы анализа гендерных отношений посредством изучения системы родства и родственных отношений. Поскольку родственные отношения представляют собой некую модель социальных отношений, мы сделали предположение, что именно в исследованиях системы родства можно обнаружить специфику гендерных отношений. Для подтверждения данной гипотезы мы обратились к работе известного антрополога, представителя сравнительной социологии Рэдклиффа-Брауна.

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*Карагандинский государственный университет им. Е.А.Букетова (E-mail: newtime_kz@mail.ru)***Модели электорального выбора в странах с развитой демократией и в развивающихся демократиях: сравнительный анализ**

Исследованы классические модели электорального выбора — социологическая, социально-психологическая и рационального выбора. Выявлено, что эти модели действуют с разной эффективностью, в зависимости от уровня демократизации общества. Предложено добавить контекстную составляющую к анализу электорального выбора. Выявлены отличия эффективности базовых моделей электорального поведения в странах со стабильным демократическим режимом и в новых демократиях.

Ключевые слова: модели электорального выбора, новые демократии, контекстные эффекты, мичиганская модель электорального выбора, теория рационального выбора, рочестерская модель электорального выбора, развитые демократии, неолдемократии.

Среди существующих моделей электорального выбора в данной статье будут обсуждены три наиболее употребительные и признанные научным сообществом: социологическая модель, модель партийной идентификации и рациональная экономическая модель. Эти модели являются наиболее влиятельными в контексте исследования развитых демократий. При их применении к неолдемократиям необходимо помнить, что они ограничены в своей способности объяснить вариации электорального выбора в основном из-за отличий социальных и политических условий, характеризующих развивающиеся демократии.

Существующие модели не могут объяснить и анализировать совершенно разные модели электорального выбора со стороны избирателей с аналогичными композиционными свойствами. В отличие от основных положений перечисленных моделей, индивидуальные избиратели подвергаются воздействию различных социальных и политических контекстуальных факторов, в связи с чем электоральный выбор может быть вызван взаимодействием между индивидуальными чертами и различными контекстами.

Проведем анализ последних исследований и публикаций, в которых содержатся решения данной проблемы. Повышение внимания к избирательным процессам началось из доказательств того, что классовые и религиозные идентичности почувствовали уменьшение влияния на электоральный выбор. Например, С.Липсет в своих исследованиях продемонстрировал снижение уровня классового голосования для нескольких западных демократий [1]. Подобные выводы содержатся в исследованиях Я.Макалистера, М.Франклина [2], Дж. Бейкера, Р.Инглхарта, С.Эрссон и другие.

Свое видение решения проблемы эффективности моделей электорального выбора с разным уровнем институционализации демократии предложили Р.Андерсон, С.Бартолине, Д.Батлер, Р.Далтон [3], П.Норрис, Д.Сандерс, М.Торкал, М.Фиорина и другие.

Целью статьи является сравнение особенностей классических моделей электорального выбора в период становления демократического политического режима по сравнению со странами с развитой демократией.

Первый подход, который часто называют социологическим, моделью социальной идентификации, колумбийской моделью, был основан П.Лазарсфельдом и его коллегами из Колумбийского университета. Центральным предположением социологической модели является то, что членство в одной