

T.A. Rezvushkina

*Ye.A. Buketov Karaganda State University, Kazakhstan
(E-mail: rezvushkina_178@mail.ru)*

Motherhood in social and philosophical discussion

In the article the ethnic structure of Kazakhstan, which was formed in the Soviet period and changed in the period getting republic independence is considered. Also the ethnicity influence on women reproduction function is studied which has ethnic features, when cultural traditions and practices define «right» motherhood, «right» number of children, and daily care after children, interpretation of mother's role, value and her status in the family. It is important to understand how the ethnic factor influences on birth rate level nowadays and what is the reason of intervals in birth rate at these or those ethnic groups — social-economic living conditions, traditions and ideology. The author, on the basis of statistical data, compares the dynamics of births for women from different ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan. It is concluded that in Kazakhstan there is a significant differentiation in fertility strategies. Thus, more children are born in the southern and western regions than in the north, center and east. At the same time, rural women give birth to children more than urban ones and representatives of Turkic-speaking ethnic groups do, more often acquire children than representatives of European ethnic groups. By the end of the 21st century, Kazakhstan is likely to face a demographic crisis, since there will be a decrease in the birth rate due to intensive aging and high mortality of the population and the expected increase in the urban population. To equalize the situation is possible due to the economic growth of cities in each region of Kazakhstan, when the outflow of rural population to the city will occur and the structure of fertility of each ethnic group will change.

Keywords: ethnicity, birth rate, motherhood, ethnic structure, families with few children, families with many children, demographic behavior, urban and country people.

Developing motherhood in this or that society, during different periods, within this or that culture is defined by various factors. One of them is the ethnic origin of a woman as the Russian ethnologist V. Tishkov, understand a form of the social organization of cultural distinctions [1] and has such characteristics as: the ideas of the general territorial and historical origin divided by members of the group, one language, common features of material and spiritual culture; politically issued ideas of the homeland and special institutes, as, for example, statehood which can be considered as a part of what makes the concept «people»; differences, i.e. understanding by members of the group of the belonging to it, and forms of solidarity based on it and common actions [1].

Ethnic aspects of motherhood are meanwhile poorly studied in the Kazakh science. There are several works which updated this subject, but the main attention in them is paid to the description Kazakh family and its life, small attention is paid to the motherhood (see: M.P. Kabakova, 2010; S.H. Shalginbayeva, 2002; I.V. Stasevich, 2011).

In this article we will consider ethnic features of women reproductive behavior in modern Kazakhstan and for this purpose, initially, it is necessary to study historical context on formation of ethnic structure in modern Kazakhstan.

After the revolutionary events in October, 1917 in imperial Russia began formation of new Union States. Lenin's decree dated by August 26, 1920 carried out the first territorial division: on the map appeared Kyrgyz ASSR, which became the part of the Russian SFSR, with the capital in Orenburg. In 1924 it was renamed into the Kazakh ASSR with the capital in Kzyl-Orda in the beginning, and then, since 1929 — in Alma-Ata. Constitution in 1936 gave the Kazakh ASSR status of the union republic. Republic Sovietization happened especially violently: civil war, hunger in 1920–1921, 1929, 1931 and 1933, collectivization and violent transition to settled life, provoked reduction of indigenous people from 3.7 to 2.3 million people [2; 34].

Russification of Kazakhstan went «from above» (since 1928, the national elite supporting the new power underwent gradual elimination), and «from below» and also to active inflow of immigrants. Under census in 1926 the Russians in Kazakhstan reached 20 %, and the Kazakhs made 58 %. The last were in the majority, except the Kostanay region, and the Russians made a third of the population only where they lodged long since — in Ust-Kamenogorsk and Semipalatinsk. Presence of Russians in Kazakhstan grew in the 1930th. Their number was filled up by the peasants repressed during the company on a dispossession of kulaks. So, in 1930 — 1931 50,000 families were sent from Russia to Kazakhstan [2; 35]. The Soviet power

set as the purpose to turn the region into one of the industrial centers of the USSR while in other republics of Central Asia it was supposed to put the main emphasis on development of agriculture, especially cotton breeding.

The first industrialization programs started in 1920th and 1930th led to deep ethno demographic moves: between 1926 and 1939 the number of Kazakhs in the total number of the population decreased from 58 to 37 %, and Russians, on the contrary, grew from 20 % to 40 % [2; 35].

The Great Patriotic War promoted further russification. In 1941 on the East more than 1500 industrial enterprises, were evacuated from them the fifth part — to Central Asia [3; 62]. More than one hundred enterprises were placed in Kazakhstan that brought their total number to 500 [3; 63]. Hundreds of thousands of people belonging to the repressed people (Germans, the Crimean Tatars, natives from the North Caucasus, Koreans, Greeks, etc.) were banished to Central Asia, having enhanced ethno cultural diversity of the region.

Russification continued also after war. Since 1954, N. Khrushchev presented the development plan of virgin lands in Kazakhstan (38 million hectares). About 2 million volunteers arrived to develop the republic that forced many Kazakhs to leave subsequently own areas of accommodation. There were built large collective farms and state farms where Russians who arrived from the Central Russia and Western Siberia [4; 367] worked. Between 1939 and 1959 the population of Kazakhstan considerably increased thanks to inflow of Slavs: growth of the number of Russians by 2.5 times exceeded this indicator for Kazakhs who made no more than 30 % of inhabitants of the republic in 1959. Russians were on the whole concentrated in the northern areas of Kazakhstan (80 %) [4; 368].

Since 1960 Moscow provides to the republics certain independence and promotes «indigenization» of local authorities. Migrations to the region gradually calmed down: in 1970 all Central Asia was not considered as the territory of priority development any more. It affected on population. So, there was a delay in number of Russians. A dale of Russians made 42 %, in 1979 and even decreased to 40.8 %. Thus, the difference in the number of Russians and Kazakhs began to be overcome in late Soviet period, but quantitative domination of Russians in Kazakhstan remained. That is why in the USSR the republic had the special status and often assimilated to the Slavic republics (Ukraine and Belarus), as separated it from the republics of Central Asia.

In the 1990s, after the collapse of the USSR the process of national revival in federal republics began. Transformation of the internal borders which were earlier separating one administrative unit from another, in external, recognized as the international community, raised many disturbing questions, especially at representatives of those people who unexpectedly fell into the new independent states, into a state of minorities. The question of the new states and their ethnic minorities stood absolutely differently, depending on whether there was a speech about the Slavic republics — Ukraine and Belarus; about Baltic or about mainly Muslim, considered as the most culturally remote from «the Russian world».

By the beginning of 1990, in five republics of Central Asia there lived 37 % of Russians who are out of Russia (9.5 million people [4; 369]. Most of all they were in Kazakhstan — about 6 million on the last all-union population census in 1989. This group took the second place after Ukraine (11 million people in 1989) by the absolute sizes, but the first place on a share in the total number of the population: 37.8 % in Kazakhstan and only 13 % in Ukraine. In other states of the region these figures as of 1989 were much lower: 21.5 % — in Kyrgyzstan, 9.5 % — in Turkmenistan, 8.4 % — in Uzbekistan, 7.6 % — in Tajikistan [4; 370]. The importance of «the Russian question» in Kazakhstan speaks not only the number of Russians. The matter is that they treat indigenous people — in the sense that their vast majority (66 %) was born here (it is the highest rate among other republics, including Ukraine), and from the remained 34 % who are natives of other territories, 33 % by the time of the collapse of the USSR lived in the Kazakh SSR more than 20 years [4; 371]. Also it is important to note the distribution of Russians on the territory of the country: according to a population census of 1989 they made 70–80 % of the population in seven areas in the north of the country (Akmola, Karaganda, Kokchetav, Kostanay, East Kazakhstan, North Kazakhstan and Pavlodar) [5; 92]. Thus, Kazakhstan faced a specific problem to join almost Russian or rather «European» North (except Russians, in these areas many Germans, Ukrainians, Poles, etc. live) mainly «Kazakh-Uzbek» South and median populated regions of the country.

Consequences of an economic crisis in the 90th, at once affected the living standard of the population. In 1994 more than 50 % of the population of the country lived in poverty (in 1989 it made only 5 %). Within one decade natural increase of the population was reduced three times (from 13.4 % to 4 %), the birth rate — by one and a half times (from 21.6 % to 14.7 %), mortality grew from 8.2 to 10.1 %, and life expectancy decreased (in particular up to 59 years for men). Loss about 10 % of the population (more than

1.5 million people) during the period between two censuses of 1989 and 1999 — an eloquent indicator of those difficulties with which independent Kazakhstan left by many inhabitants met their knowledge, professionalism and talents — all what makes value for development of any country.

Now, if to consider the main statistics connected with birth rate and ethnicity, we see as follows:

– total number of the population in Kazakhstan as of September 1, 2018 is 18311700 people. Kazakhstan takes the 74th place in the list of the countries on population today. Average density is a little more than 6.71 people on km² (the 184th place in the list of the countries on population density). It shows that Kazakhstan, taking the 9th place in the world by the territory sizes, is the low-populated territory and it demands maintaining the effective population policy directed to increase in birth rate;

– according to data of the Ministry of Economics and social development of the Republic of Kazakhstan for the beginning of 2018 Kazakhs make most of the population of the republic (67.47 %). Russians (19.76 %), Uzbeks (3.18 %), Ukrainians (1.53 %), Uigurs (1.46 %), Tatars (1.11 %) and representatives of other ethnic groups go the following, on numerical representation;

– in Kazakhstan in 2017 by bodies of RAGS (civil registration) it is registered 390,262 been born, including in the city area — 226847 people, in rural — 163415 people. As we see, the birth rate in the city area became higher than in rural that indirectly shows increase in a share of the women of reproductive age living in the city area and, on the contrary, reduction of those in rural. But at the same time, the total coefficient of birth rate (TCBR), that is the number of the children born on average by one woman during all reproductive age (from 15 to 49 years), is equal to 2.73, i.e., on average, the Kazakhstan woman gives birth from 2 to 3 children. But in the cities of (TCBR) there it is equal 2.57, in rural areas — 3.00. On an indicator of (TCBR) there are in the lead Mangystau Region — 3.78 and SKD — 3.62. The lowest results are in Almaty, it makes 1.67 and Kostanay region makes 1.73:

– in comparison with 2007 the number of been born increased by 21.2 % (boys — for 21.9 %, girls — for 20.5 %), including in the city area — for 30.1 %, in rural — for 10.7 %. From among been born boys made 51.7 %, girls — 48.3 %. Sex ratio at the birth made 107 boys on 100 girls;

– in 2017 28589 abortions were made in Kazakhstan. About 50 % of cases these are women senior than 30 years. On number of abortions Almaty with an indicator 3720, Astana — 3238, Karaganda region is 2810 in the first place. At the same time artificially interrupt pregnancy least of all in the west of Kazakhstan. In the West-Kazakhstan Region in 2017 392 abortions were made, in Mangystau Region — 359, and in Atyrau Region 222 (the smallest quantity) were made. But in the west of Kazakhstan criminal abortions are often made. So, 75 % of criminal abortions are the share of this region [6].

– if to analyse birth rate trends according to ethnic origin of women, then we see that most often children are born by Kazakh women — 231,016 and by Russians — 28,354 that corresponds to the general representation of these ethnoses in Kazakhstan [7] (Table).

Table

Ethnic aspects of birth in the Republic of Kazakhstan, people

Ethnic groups	Born							
	total		including				From them	
			boys		girls		Father of another nationality	
2017	2018	2017	2018	2017	2018	2017	2018	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Total	293262	297279	151469	153614	141793	143665	28251	27794
Kazakhs	225504	231016	116665	119583	108839	111433	5864	5830
Russians	29594	28354	15124	14543	14470	13811	8317	8300
Uzbeks	12203	12609	6318	6485	5885	6124	1487	1422
Uigurs	4613	4678	2372	2364	2241	2314	848	876
Ukrainians	3074	2943	1566	1502	1508	1441	2201	2210
Germans	2821	2640	1447	1329	1374	1311	2101	1991
Tatars	2393	2331	1204	1191	1189	1140	1768	1774
Azerbaijanians	2168	2073	1144	1097	1024	976	749	688
Dungans	1644	1742	875	918	769	824	144	156

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Turks	1230	1158	648	608	582	550	451	431
Koreans	1160	1010	593	527	567	483	607	493
Tajiks	982	979	516	504	466	475	161	160
Kyrgyz	964	986	500	507	464	479	559	561
Kurds	752	767	379	384	373	383	128	122
Belarusians	685	615	346	338	339	277	542	494
Kara-Kalpaks	644	738	324	359	320	379	556	639
Chechens	405	362	211	186	194	176	107	90

Note. Data of the Ministry of National economy of the RK. On Demographic situation in the Republic of Kazakhstan for the period from January to September, 2018. http://stat.gov.kz/faces/homePage?_adf.ctrl-state=y28ulehg3_4&_afLoop.

But at the same time the difference in birth rate at Kazakh and at the Russian women makes more than 200,000 children (Fig. 1).

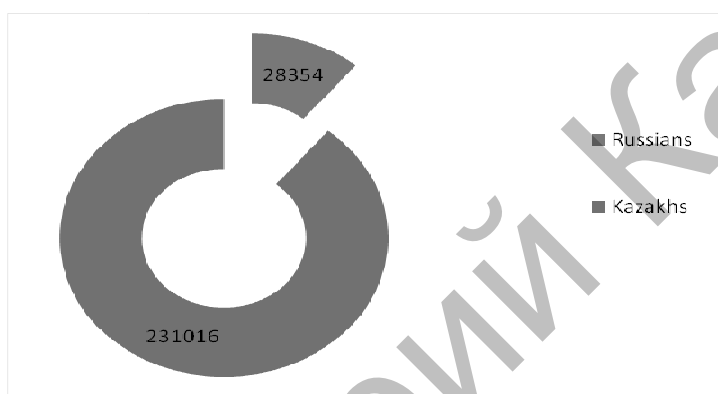


Figure 1. Birth of Russian and Kazakh women in the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2018 (people)

Note. Data of the Ministry of National economy of the RK. On Demographic situation in the Republic of Kazakhstan for the period from January to September, 2018. http://stat.gov.kz/faces/homePage?_adf.ctrl-state=y28ulehg3_4&_afLoop.

It should be noted that the birth rate of women from Turkic-speaking ethnic groups (Kazakh women, Uzbeks, Uigurs, Tatars, Azerbaijanians) (Fig. 2) is higher than women from the European ethnic groups (Russians, Ukrainians, Germans) (Fig. 3).

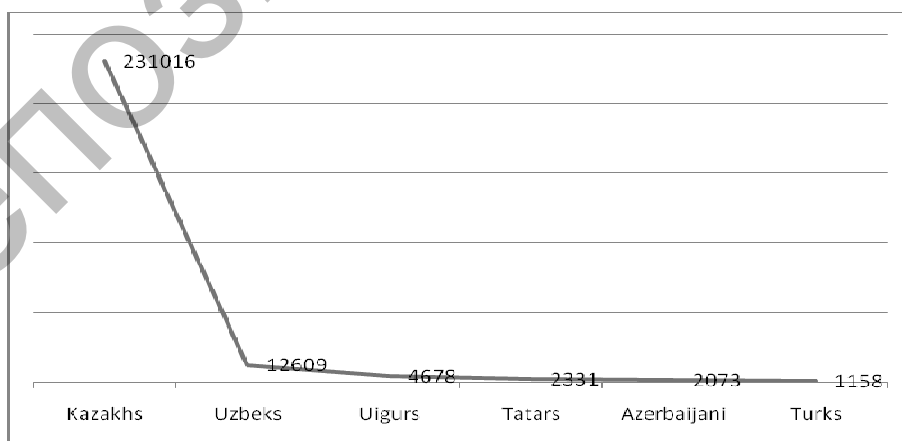


Figure 2. Birth rate of women of Turkic-speaking ethnic groups in the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2018 (people)

Note. Data of the Ministry of National economy of the RK. On Demographic situation in the Republic of Kazakhstan for the period from January to September, 2018. http://stat.gov.kz/faces/homePage?_adf.ctrl-state=y28ulehg3_4&_afLoop.

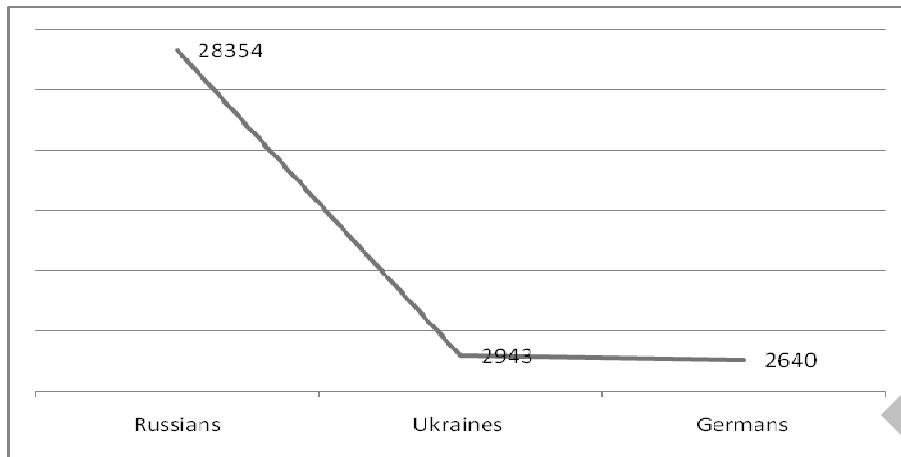


Figure 3. Birth rate of women of the European ethnic groups in the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2018 (people)

Note. Data of the Ministry of National economy of the RK. On Demographic situation in the Republic of Kazakhstan for the period from January to September, 2018. http://stat.gov.kz/faces/homePage?_adf.ctrl-state=y28ulehg3_4&_afLoop.

The main conclusions which we can make proceeding from official data, are as follows:

- in Kazakhstan there is seen regional differentiation of birth rate. So, in the southern and western regions children were born more, than in the north, the center and the east of the country, in the capitals children were born less than in regions;
- rural women give birth to children more, than city women, but number of women of reproductive age in rural areas is reduced;
- representatives of Turkic-speaking ethnic groups get children more often than representatives of the European ethnic groups;
- the main share of abortions is done by women of 30 years, are more senior and there are regional specifics of abortive behavior.

These indicators characterize not just the number of children for women of different ethnicity, it is about essentially different types of demographic behavior: when Turkic ethnic groups keep traditionally high birth rate, and the European ethnic groups revise criteria of birth rate, making demographic transition. Thus, it is possible to track differences of demographic indicators in the considered ethnic groups. Indicators of birth rate of the European ethnic groups «are most modernized», Turkic ethnoses are most traditional.

Domination in ethnic structure in Kazakhstan, Turkic ethnic groups promote longer maintaining and further following traditions of having many children. An ethnic environment (especially in rural areas) strengthens social control over behavior and a way of life of people, supports traditional values and ideals. Despite culture resistance, profound changes concerned also demographic behavior of country people that it is simple to track on reduction the number of large families, growth of illegitimate birth rate, etc. But demographic transition at the European and Turkic ethnic groups began not at the same time, that was caused by the historical and social and economic reasons. Proceeding from all aforesaid, we can draw a conclusion that ethnicity still is one of the defining birth rate factors.

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Т.А. Резвущкина

Әлеуметтік-философиялық дискурстағы аналық

Мақалада Кеңес үкіметі уақытында қалыптаса бастаған және тәуілсіздік жылдары барысында өзгеріске ұшыраған Қазақстанның этникалық құрылымы қарастырылды. Сонымен қатар этностың әйелдердің репродуктивті функциясына, мәдени дәстүрлер мен тәжірибелердің «жақсы» ана болуды, отбасындағы баланың «дұрыс» саны, күнделікті өмірде балаға күтім жасау мен оны тәрбиелеу, отбасындағы ананың орны мен дәрежесі, оның маңызын анықтауға деген әсері көрсетілді. Осыған орай, қазіргі таңда этникалық фактордың туу деңгейіне әсері, әртүрлі ұлт өкілдерінің туудағы айырмашылықтарына — дәстүрлер, идеология – өмір сүрудің әлеуметтік-экономикалық себептерінің ықпалын анықтау маңызды болып келеді. Автор статистикалық деректер негізінде Қазақстанда тұратын әртүрлі этникалық топтарға жататын әйелдердің туу динамикасын салыстырады. Осы мәліметтерге сүйене отыра, ол белгілі бір қорытындыға келеді: Қазақстанда әйелдердің туу стратегияларында айтарлықтай дифференциация байқалады. Осылайша, солтүстікке, орталыққа және шығысқа қарағанда, оңтүстік және батыс аймақтарда дүниеге көп бала келеді. Сонымен бірге ауылдық әйелдер, қалалықтарға қарағанда, және түркітілдес этникалық топтарының өкілдері, еуропалық этникалық топтар өкілдеріне қарағанда, жиірек дүниеге бала әкеледі. ХХІ ғасырдың соңына қарай Қазақстан демографиялық дағдарыспен бетпе-бет келуі мүмкін, оған себеп қарқынды қартаю, халықтың өлім-жітімі және қала тұрғындарының күтілетін ұлғаюы, туу деңгейінің төмендеуі болып табылады. Егер Қазақстанның әрбір өңіріндегі қалалардың экономикалық өсуі байқалса, ауыл тұрғындары қалаға өтсе және әрбір этникалық топтың туу құрылымы өзгеріске ұшыраса, онда жағдайды теңестіруге болады.

Кілт сөздер: этнос, туу, аналық, этникалық құрылым, азбалалы, көпбалалы, демографиялық мінез-құлық, қала, ауыл халқы.

Т.А. Резвущкина

Материнство в формате социально-философского дискурса

В статье рассмотрена этническая структура Казахстана, которая формировалась в советский период и подверглась изменениям в период обретения республикой независимости. Также исследовано влияние этничности на осуществление женщинами репродуктивной функции, которая имеет этнические особенности осуществления, когда культурные традиции и практики определяют «правильное» материнство, «правильное» количество детей, повседневные практики ухода за детьми, интерпретацию роли и значения матери, ее статус в семье. В связи с этим важно понять, как этнический фактор оказывает воздействие на уровень рождаемости сегодня и что является причиной разрывов в рождаемости у тех или иных этносов — социально-экономические условия существования, традиции, идеология. Автор на основе статистических данных проводит сравнение динамики рождений у женщин — представительниц разных этнических групп, проживающих в Казахстане. Делается вывод, что в Казахстане существует значительная дифференциация в стратегиях рождаемости. Так, в южных и западных регионах детей рождается больше, чем на севере, центре и востоке. При этом сельские женщины рожают детей больше, чем городские, и представительницы тюркоязычных этнических групп чаще обзаводятся детьми, чем представительницы европейских этнических групп. К концу ХХІ в. Казахстан, скорее всего, ожидает демографический кризис, так как будет происходить снижение рождаемости из-за интенсивного старения и высокой смертности населения и предполагаемого увеличения городского населения. Выровнять ситуацию возможно за счет экономического роста городов в каждой области Казахстана, в результате чего произойдет отток сельского населения в город и изменится структура рождаемости у каждой этнической группы.

Ключевые слова: этничность, рождаемость, материнство, этническая структура, малодетность, многодетность, демографическое поведение, городское, сельское население.

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