

UDC 316. 356.2 (574)

T.A.Rezvushkina

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

**Family policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan:
Official discuss and everyday practice**

In this article, we study institutional and everyday context to realize family policy in RK. At the modern stage in Kazakhstan, family institute is transformed. Differentiated family forms appear and it must lead to the differentiation of social policy standards to family and parenthood. However, under Kazakhstan practice there are disagreements between officially claimed goals and everyday practice of simple citizens.

Key words: family policy, official discuss, everyday practice, social structure, actors.

In many postcommunitic countries economics transformation sin 1990 more and less followed by revival of traditional values and serious changes in official ideology of family and family policy. In this situation, Kazakhstan is not exception. In mass media, in political and theoretical discussions there is emphasized increasing of social importance for traditional women's roles as a wife and mother. A man is economically responsible for providing family. Important role is paid to «traditionally strong» family during consolidation and nation revival. As a matter of fact, postsoviet traditionalism (in its different variants) became leading form of state ideology in transition society. It appears both in public and academic discussion and has many characteristics

In this article we will try to analyze problems for formation neotraditional discuss in relation to family politics in Kazakhstan. We will study three different points of view — official (government programs for development), theoretical (articles, interview Kazakh demographers, sociologists, lawyers, economists), everyday (correspondents in Internet blogs). Comparing these three levels of construction/reality vision, we will try to prove possibility to use the approach of Australian sociologist Connell R. He studies joint paradigm in gender researches, using meaning «structure» and «practice» which he takes from Giddens E.

Joint paradigm in sociology is the attempt to overcome opposition of objective (social structure) and subjective (agent actions). Under the theory about structuration, Giddens structure and practice connected as follows: human practice always supposes social structure. It follows social rule sand resources (Tartakovskaya, 2005). Giddens describes this structure as structuring qualities. It allows to connect time and space in social systems, qualities which explain existence less or more similar social practice in time and space giving them «systematic» form [1; 135].

Using joint paradigm, Connell suggests describe structure, understand what it is inexact situation and then study the fact as structure restrict free practice. Practice in this meaning shows transformation of concrete situation in definite direction according or against the structure. Abovementioned structural models are the main elements of any gender order or gender regime. Konnell introduces meaning «gender order» understood as complex of everyday practice and structural conditions organizing gender interaction on different levels of society [1; 136]:

- institutional (social institutes regulating genders behavior);
- ideological (gender ideology and discussions, genders behavior norms);
- symbolic (idea on manhood and womanhood);
- everyday (gender identities).

Therefore, using Connell's researches, we will analyze how objective structures as ruling discussions, actions of state institutes influence on everyday practice of a man in family, marriage and reproduction.

The structure of the given article consists of two chapters. First chapter «family-demographic policy of Kazakhstan: official myths and everyday reality». It analyses official rhetoric of representatives for political and academy society (government programs, speeches of political speakers, opinion of Kazakh demographers). There we can see neo traditional discuss. The second chapter discusses family policy in Internet (blog sand forums). At the end of the text here will be made conclusions on how official structures restrict or support free practice in demographic or reproduction behavior of citizens.

As research materials we use state documents, official statistical data connected with demography politics accepted and published from 2009–2011. As helping material we use speeches of the President Nazarbaev N.A., interviews with demographers and state representatives and stories published in Internet-blogs and forums.

Family-demographic policy in Kazakhstan: official myths and everyday reality.

The President of Kazakhstan, Nazarbayev N.A. in his annual speech to Kazakhstan people «Kazakhstan's way-2050»: Common goal, common interests and future «in 2015 made the goal»... actively tries to join 50 the most competitive countries of the world» [2]. At the same time, if we consider this problem in the context of family policies, the experts know that these countries are concerned about low birth rates and consequently high rates of population aging. Researchers only state that in such countries the citizens are aimed at having only few children, women in developed countries delay childbirth — first, second, third — at a later date, because they are engaged in career and self-development. It is unlikely to Kazakhstan on the way to a post-industrial society prepared for a different, special way of development.

How it can influence on demographic processes of the state. It forms different ways — some taking active measures against migrants, constantly taking care of citizens' health, prolonging their life. But, the most popular method is to write all kinds of programs, including population policy.

Official discussion. Thus, the «Program on demographic development of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2001–2005» (hereinafter — the Program) was developed in accordance with the Government of RK dated August 17, 2000 N 1272 «On the Concept of State Demographic Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan» and is aimed for 5 years. Implementation of the program was assigned to Kazakhstan Agency for Migration and Demography.

Under the authors of the Program: «Development of this Program due to the need for a common strategy for the implementation of focused, coherent work of all branches of government and society to create conditions for the qualitative and quantitative development of the people» [3]. The program sets out the aims and objectives of the demographic development of Kazakhstan, as well as the main directions and mechanisms of their implementation.

The program aimed at regulating basic processes in natural and mechanical movements of population: fertility, mortality and migration by taking measures to improve the reproductive health and promote the birth rate, reduce mortality, migration management.

The aim of the Programme is to develop and implement comprehensive solutions to overcome the negative trends in demographic processes and on this basis to achieve the population growth. The main objectives of the program are:

- 1) birth rate stabilization and its long-term growth to a level that ensures the expanded reproduction of the population;
- 2) decrease in mortality, increasing life expectancy of the population, improving the health of the population;
- 3) strengthen family institution;
- 4) reduce negative balance of migration;
- 5) increase the population quality of life.

As expected results program implementation are as follows: «... will provide the basis for further increasing the quantity and quality of population growth for sustainable socio — economic development of Kazakhstan in the medium and long term. It is expected that the total population of RK in 2005 will be about 15 mln. people. It will create conditions for demographic development for 2001–2005 should ensure population growth up to 16.0 mln. people in 2010 and up to 20.0 mln. people in 2030 due to increase in the TFR (up to 2.5), life expectancy, reduce the negative balance of migration and population growth to 22 mil. people in 2030» [3].

Also in the Program were formulated and indirect results as follows: 1) to reduce abortions and sexually transmitted diseases through, particularly among teenagers; 2) to correct the imbalance in internal migration and the establishment of framework for the rational distribution of population in view of its living conditions and state needs for development of productive forces, which will help improve the living standards of the population.

Duration of the program was over, and with it were forgotten and unfounded promises of government officials. So far, Kazakhstan has managed to avoid the threat of «demographic cross» when the curve intersects the birth rate of mortality and population rather than to grow, it falls. But it is just now. The increase in population is expected due to the increase in fertility, when the era of global change increases insecurity. Economic situation becomes worse and therefore there is a fear that tomorrow will be even worse — all this contributes to the desire of the population not to give birth to babies.

Former Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, now the Deputy Prime Minister of Kazakhstan Gulshara Abdykalykova explains that the task to achieve the concept of increasing the number and percentage of families with three or more children. Under her words, for these purposes, provided state expenses. At the same time, no one argues that the motivation of the child's birth is not only the amount of social benefits. They give birth to children, usually those who don't need such payments. As the Russian sociologist G.Chernova marks «... family policy in Russia, reduced to a stimulating cash payments, the amount of which is inadequate spending real family for a child. It is actively reinforced by ideological campaigns to promote the model of a large family and traditional patterns of family behavior is ineffective for this groups (young adults). Under this family policy and the labor market, situation widespread model three- child family may be feasible in the first place, by continuing «the professionalization of motherhood». When they will adopt the legislative initiatives of the payment by the state labor mothers from the third child and latching of these activities in the workbook; secondly, by means of more marketization of social care for children when parents will employ nannies to a woman could go back to work...» [4; 36]. These trends are typical for Kazakh citizens, although it requires additional theoretical study and empirical research.

Implementation of the program is also problematic because of Statistics today in Kazakhstan; women of childbearing age from 18 to 49 years are 4,346,000. Simple arithmetic: multiply that number by three and get more than 13 million. Less mortality. Even if the migration balance is zero (the difference between entering and leaving the republic). The assigned task is completed. However, this is far from reality. The reality is as follows: approximately 17 women, only one becomes a mother once a year. In addition, the reproductive health of women is Kazakhstan that will not allow many to decide on motherhood after 40 years. Health Index Kazakh women of childbearing age is 10–20 percent of normal. Only 11 percent of women of reproductive age can be called healthy.

Another problem today that there are 15 % of marriages are considered fruitless. Moreover, according to the director of the center of in vitro fertilization, Vyacheslav Lokshin, this figure is actually much higher. Many of ignorance or because of training not in a hurry to address to experts [5]. This medical treatment for infertility is not included in the list of guaranteed free public services. According to Vyacheslav Lokshin in vitro fertilization (IVF) — the procedure is expensive, and the average salary is more than 2000 ths. dollars [5]. Many couples are not able to pay such a sum. At the same time, in most advanced countries, infertility is treated by the state or insurance companies. Despite the emerging favorable trends, birth rates of all demographic processes, as is proved by the world practice, the least amenable to regulation and forecasting.

Note that the «recipes» suggested to Kazakhstan people for solving demographic problems were very diverse. So, some Kazakh parliament on several occasions raised the issue of introducing the institution of polygamy in Kazakhstan. However, it did not find support among many deputies. First, to realize the idea of polygamy suggested the President of the «League of Muslim Women of Kazakhstan» Amin-apai Abdugarim-kyzy. She believes polygamy can really change the demographic situation in the country. It will increase the birth rate, decrease the number of abortions and illegitimate [6]. So far, these ideas are not widely spread among the Kazakhstan parliament, who understand that the introduction of polygamy blow to the image of Kazakhstan and the Republic toss into the category of countries that are considered by the world community as a fundamentalist, traditional ideas about gender roles. In addition, this practice is contrary to both the fundamental law of the republic — the Kazakh Constitution, ratified international instruments (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and Children), and put into effect in the territory of the Law «On Marriage and Family» and «On gender equality of citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan».

Therefore, Kazakhstan has to rely on outside help. It should be a great number of people willing to elect Kazakhstan the country of residence. However, expect to replenish the population only through Oralman. It is also problematic. Today in the country since 1993 came about 50 ths. families of repatriates. Even taking into account that each family consists of 7–9 people total increase very little. In general, until more questions than answers. Officials do not lose their optimism.

Academic discussion. Numerous publications, interviews and public speeches of scientists demographers in Kazakhstan mass media in relation to the demographic problems of the republic demonstrates improvement of the demographic situation requires a return to the traditional family with many children [7]. Why do we need active promotion in educational institutions, the media, financial support? For example, Kazakhstan demographer Tatimov Makash in his interview to «Caravan» offers his recipe for boomers, «...for example, I support civil marriages. My proposal is based on the demographic situation. In our country, due to the high mortality of men observed preponderance of the female population. Yes, more boys are born than girls. But around the age of 30, they cancel each other out, and then begins the male deficit...» [8]. If this scientist is so obsessed with the idea to improve the demographic situation in Kazakhstan, which was able to significantly influence it. For Tatimov on the eve of the third millennium, appealed to the bankers with a proposal to hold a rally, «The real money — for real children», when the first two thousand babies born in the period from 1 to 5 January 2000, allocated a hundred thousand tenge. Since that Tatimov M. called the father of the Kazakh baby boom.

On the question of the journalist: «Who is going to give birth?» — M.Tatimov said: «Muslim women — Chechen, Tatar and Kazakh women... The European Diaspora — Russian, Germans, Belarussians, Ukrainians, and others — focused on western type of demographic behavior, but other nations — Uzbek, Uighur, Dungan, Tajiks, Kurds, Kazakhs — are still stuck with Oriental type of demographic behavior, and it involves many children...» [8].

The statements are characterized by sexism: a woman is perceived as a media artist, and the main roles — reproductive, that is «natural» and should be made mandatory as a civic duty as a civic duty. This interesting fact that a demographer agrees that would be violated traditional attitudes towards women's reproductive behavior — the birth of children in the marriage, at a certain age, for the sake of increasing the birth rate in the country. These statements can be explained from the perspective of the theory of nation and gender N.Yuval-Davis, who writes: «The national mythology operates the images of masculinity and femininity, which mostly correspond to traditional gender roles. For example, the image of the nation as a family plays in the men's division of spheres of public and private women, giving more legitimacy to this division» [9].

Consider how the official discourse discussed issues related to reproductive behavior of the Kazakhstan women. For example, take an interview with the press secretary of the Minister of Labour and Social Protection of the Republic of Kazakhstan Dyusenov Arseniy, which he gave to a journalist online blog:

Journalist: As a state currently provides support for young single mothers, because examinations in good specialists are expensive and give a birth in good hospitals estimated at \$700. As a young girl, abandoned by the father of her child, bear and give birth healthy children?

Dyusenov A.: Probably for any state it would be absurd to encourage and support lone motherhood. Another thing is that motherhood, birth of children and childhood, of course, is one of the priorities of social policy in Kazakhstan...» [10].

Representative of the state bodies officially and openly discriminates against one of the main groups of women who, in spite of the failed demographic policy of the state, is still «reproduce» the citizens of this state. Formal structures are not prepared to change the traditionalist attitudes and beliefs in relation to women who give birth to children outside marriage differentially relate to new forms of marriage, a change in official terminology, but easily reproduce the stereotype that family and childhood are still the priorities of social policy. Such texts and speeches give rise to a clear assurance that everything is «good» reproductive behavior, and what is «bad».

Reasons for Kazakhstani are unwilling to give birth to babies, it is quite obvious. Insecurity, social and economic instability, poverty, unemployment, delayed motherhood — these attributes of our time has become commonplace, and without a shadow of concern ascertained at the state level. It's amazing just the same desire to have children. In addition, health officials have reported absolutely quiet about a catastrophic increase in the number of abortions. The process of the pregnancy and the actual birth of the child has become a clearly dramatic. According to the Ministry of Health of Kazakhstan, 60 % of births take place with a variety of complications, the percentage of normal births is only 35 percent, and in some regions of Kazakhstan, and even lower — 25. In some areas, up to 90 % of pregnant women suffer from anemia [11].

As for the state material incentives, it is in many places is still on paper. As you know, the President ordered the government in early 2003 to pay every conscious citizen, gave birth to a child, a lump sum of 13 thousand tenge. This sum is small, but in the process it would be very useful. The government has shifted the financial responsibilities to local executive bodies, which, however, traditional for us paradoxical scheme, the budget did not provide for delivery. Social guarantees in demographic processes are declared in official discourse, but in reality is often lacking. For example, women working in the private entrepreneurs, small and medium-sized businesses are not guaranteed benefits for care, as well as the right to retain the workplace during pregnancy. Making maternity leave is also very problematic. Most employers are not happy pregnant employees. Likewise, the situation with free delivery when they are officially and ostentatiously proclaimed, but, nevertheless, there are all sorts of bribes, as hospitals are still funded by unintelligible principle, does not imply the availability of basic health products and services.

Today in the Kazakh media actively discussed a sharp decline in reproductive function in men. According to the director of the «National Center for Healthy lifestyle» Aykana Ayzhanova, only 25 % of men in the country can be called healthy and able to conceive. According to statistics, men die more than women, it makes 26.5 % [12]. It turns out that the Government and relevant ministries — aware of the situation, but their strategy aimed at forming a kind of benevolent total picture, which is weakly correlated with the actual situation. In this rather complex situation, it is necessary to understand that the ordinary citizens of this state form their own strategy and tactics of demographic and reproductive behavior.

Everyday practice. Realizing that the concern of the state is minimal and is formalized, Kazakhstan looking for ways and means of adaptation that few relate to existing government policy. For example, surveys conducted by the Centre for Public Opinion Research (CBOS) in Almaty from 1990 to 2000 in Almaty and Astana show that the basis of reproductive preferences of most of the women surveyed in Kazakhstan advocates the value of children, as evidenced by the excess of the ideal and desired number of children in families compared to actual and expected [13]. At the same time the real reproductive practices reveals the gap between the ideal setting for reproductive behavior and their implementation.

As an example, consider the story of Helen, who was told by the site «www.babyblog.ru», which is dedicated to pregnancy and motherhood, it posted blogs pregnancy and development of children, pregnancy calendar, reviews of products, hospital, as well as many other branches and services:

Before the birth...... how will births — much depends on me, and only then on doctors...

Informant shows distrust of medicine to doctors.... State support for mothers and children have a completely free. The room — a very long queue, which is better to hold early... at the first examination for the money offered to prepare an analysis of smear.... Such indifference to the pregnant women as a reception in the LCD (prenatal), I did not see anywhere else. US made itself at 12 weeks paid in the diagnostic center.

Here we see that the stated lack of orientation Kazakh medicine patient antenatal clinics are characterized as «not friendly» to patients, as they are always crowded schedule does not correspond to the rhythm of pregnant working women, lack of emotional support for pregnant women. Women also focused on additional costs for the purpose of timely diagnosis, despite the fact that officially all kinds of diagnostics for pregnant women free of charge.

Maybe it's wrong, but I ignored half the prescriptions that I was given at the antenatal clinic. I wanted this natural process interfere as little as possible... these doctors.

We see that women constantly question the adequacy of diagnosis and treatment, which is carried out in antenatal clinics, and again choose the strategy of «self-responsibility».

The LCD I was subscribed iron to raise hemoglobin. When raised to 130, continued to be administered in large doses. When I asked why, he replied: the state gives you the drugs for free, that's nothing to show off, just take... Auntie in LCD subscribed the candles for me. I bought it, read the instructions in which pregnant women are not recommended to take them, and threw it out...

The patient is completely subordinated to the recommendations of the Appointments and that the doctor prescribes. Nobody spends clarifying conversations, doctors do not take into account the individuality of pregnancy, starting from some average, overall performance.

Childbirth. To go to the hospital I don't want. As I give a birth for the first time, it will take much time. So I don't want to measure hospital hall with my steps... Again we see the fixation of distrust of the health care system as a whole by the patient.... Give something to change. In the battle I can not understand what it is — a faded piece of cloth with a large hole. It turns out that shirt. I have something injected into a vein. Shouting, all is not Precious.... Bad health care to patients demonstrated through such factors as the hospital clothes, sanitation, emotional abuse in the form of shouts and compulsions.

After childbirth. «... Do not allow overhead light off, burning all night, sleep is difficult. What about the staff! If in a family doctors and nurses very careful in the postpartum — the horror. Nurses Soviet era... yelling at each other, with all the dope slam doors, so the children one by one, raise the cry throughout the department, and arrange drafts in the corridors. On the second day just a weekend, the toilet was broken. One on the floor. It has not been cleaned and washed. Baby care physicians, but once again did not themselves explain until you ask...» [14].

Making a general conclusion, we can say that because in the value system of Kazakhstani women is still a super-value of motherhood and childhood, Kazakh women continue to focus on the birth of children. The main task of the Kazakh woman carries and delivers a child — to be able to resist the current system, especially in health care facilities, to make, to give birth to a healthy baby and save. Women ready for the fact that they are wrong to advise or treat in antenatal clinics, that they will demand all sorts of payment in hospitals, doctors will treat you as a «meat», in spite of the formally declared and prescribed state guarantees. Of course, more research is needed, how women adapt to the current situation in the Kazakh medicine, what are the strategies and tactics they produce, but this task is beyond the scope of this article.

Consider three discourses — official, academic and everyday for the family, population policy, fertility and reproduction, it is possible to ascertain the existence of several problem fields.

Official and academic discourse form, support and correct each other. They clearly mark the boundaries between «we» and «we». These two discourses do not exist independently, but on the contrary, are closely intertwined. Both men and women are at a particular pressure from official policies and programs, expert opinions, are put in front of them different «national problem.» This is especially noticeable concerning women who are «multi-load,» and as a citizen and as a woman and as a wife and as a mother.

Official and academic discourse is not discussing the features, the specifics of various socio-demographic groups, genders, ages, ethnicities, which have their own strategy and tactics to adapt to the prevailing socio-economic conditions. Assuming in the official documents, that there are certain «normative» women and men «regulations» of the family.

A key theme for the official and academic discourse, as a rule, are those conditions under which socio-demographic group can claim a particular status, social benefits, social security benefits. However, the differences between men and women are not given much attention.

Saved absolutisation of the family as one of the highest social values, the idealization of this social institution, both at the official level, and the everyday. The family acquired the status of a moral absolute: everything that comes from the family, it is by definition positive. The crisis of the family as a social institution (declining birth rates and a decrease in the number of marriages, increase in the number of divorces, the spread of single-parent families and illegitimate forms of cohabitation) is considered from this point of view the crisis of society return to family values, life, family education, family production. It is seen, therefore, as the main way to solve the problems of the transitional society.

Official and theoretical discussions reduce family to reproductive function, to the problems of procreation and socialization of children. The relationship of the spouses are treated as derivative of the function of parenthood, the family without children demographers not even considered as a family. Naturally, that has received widespread small families (and, in particular, one-child) family is assessed as very negative phenomenon.

As a social ideal of the official discussion involves only one type of family: two parents and at least two or three children. Alternative forms of family, marriage they strongly rejected.

Illustrative is the position of official and academic discourse on family policy, which is determined by the collective interests of the family as a community is not differentiable. Accordingly, relevant to the issue of reproductive rights ranges from indifferent — to the sharply hostile. This ignores the diversity of family types and models, as well as the existence of conflicting interests within it.

Of course, these two discourses do not constitute a monolithic unity of opinions and judgments. Is their extreme manifestations, when, for example, offers a resolution of polygamy, a ban on abortion, coercive methods of birth control. A more moderate members of the family is considered as the most important institution, providing the socialization of the individual, the family is given more auxiliary functions offered by preserving the traditional division of gender roles.

With regard to the strategies and tactics of everyday actors in reproductive, family, and marital behavior, we can draw the following conclusions. In the original there is a willingness of the actors to resist the authorities (registry office, social services, clinics, reproductive centers) because of the understanding that «your situation» can not fit within the official framework. Kazakhstan medicine is not aimed at the patient's

antenatal clinics are characterized as «not friendly» to women, bureaucratic structures, and where there is no qualified assistance, and emotional support. One strategy out of this situation is to create a social network of actors, «included» in this or that family, reproductive, demographic problems, which design their own rankings, reputation, recipes solutions — neighbors, relatives, friends. Despite the current situation, Kazakh women continue to appreciate the status of motherhood. The main task of their mission — to be able to resist successfully the current system, especially in medical institutions. One of the basic strategies of Kazakhstani people of reproductive age is the formation of a social network of actors, «included» in this or that family, reproductive, demographic problems, which design their own rankings, reputation, recipes solutions.

As noted by R.Connell, «Of course, the agent of social action there is a certain degree of freedom, and yet it is limited by existing social structures. The current system is not predetermined, rigid structure, however, it has sufficient stability and rigidity» [1; 138]. Thus, formed asymmetric relationship between the official bodies and everyday reality. Since the demographic crisis is officially recognized and articulated, state actors aimed at, with the help of public policy to influence individual behavior in the field of reproduction. This trend finds expression in official discourse.

At the same time citizens of the state act contrary to official rhetoric. They make decisions and implement reproductive rights, based on their own preferences and arguments that, in turn, they can tell, ask advice from relatives, neighbors, friends. In this situation, the actions of citizens focused on partial compliance with rules and procedures approved by the official structures with extreme caution due to the potential adverse consequences for their own lives or the lives of their children.

References

- 1 *Тартаковская И.Н.* Гендерная социология. — М.: ООО «Вариант» при участии ООО «Невский Простор», 2005.
- 2 Стратегический план развития Республики Казахстан до 2020 года. — [ЭР]. Режим доступа: http://www.akorda.kz/ru/category/gos_programmi_gazvitiya (дата обращения: 9.09. 2015 г.).
- 3 Программа демографического развития Республики Казахстан на 2001–2005 годы. — [ЭР]. Режим доступа: http://www.akorda.kz/ru/category/gos_programmi_gazvitiya (дата обращения: 9.09. 2015 г.).
- 4 *Чернова Ж.В., Шпаковская Л.Л.* Политэкономика современного родительства: сетевое сообщество и социальный капитал // Экономическая социология. — Т. 12. — № 3. — С. 34–40.
- 5 *Братцев И.* Плодитесь и размножайтесь. — [ЭР]. Режим доступа: <http://wap.gazeta.kz/article/54970/> (дата обращения: 3.09. 2015 г.).
- 6 *Неталиев Т.* Если бы я был Ельсултан... — [ЭР]. Режим доступа: <http://www.nomad.su/=8-200411220007> (дата обращения: 7.09. 2015 г.).
- 7 *Уалиева С.К.* Семейно-брачные отношения населения Казахстана на рубеже веков: историко-демографический аспект. — Усть-Каменогорск: Либриус, 2012.
- 8 *Сугурбаева М.* Женитесь и размножайтесь. — [ЭР]. Режим доступа: <http://www.caravan.kz/article/13755> (дата обращения: 9.09. 2015 г.).
- 9 *Ювал-Девис Н.* Гендер и нация: Пер. И.Новиковой. — М.: Епра, 2001.
- 10 Вот так, или пособие самомам в Казахстане. Форум. — [ЭР]. Режим доступа: <http://www.zakon.kz/print:page,1,113795-kak-gosudarstvo-na-dannujuj-moment.html> (дата обращения: 5.09. 2015 г.).
- 11 *Нуркенов А.* Перспективы экономического роста в Казахстане. — [ЭР]. Режим доступа: http://rus.azattyq.org/content/deti_smertnost_central_asia_kazakhstan_vvp/24431343.html (дата обращения: 3.09. 2015 г.). (дата обращения: 7.09. 2015 г.).
- 12 *Захаров И.* Люди ночами НЕ делают новых людей. — [ЭР]. Режим доступа: <http://www.materick.ru/index.php?section=analitics&bulid=48&bulsectionid=3859> (дата обращения: 7.09. 2015 г.).
- 13 Медицинское обслуживание населения Казахстана: реальность и оценки. Отчет по результатам социологического исследования. Сентябрь 2003 г. — [ЭР]. Режим доступа: <http://ciom.kz/ru/our-publications.html> (дата обращения: 7.09. 2015 г.).
- 14 Моя история для тех, кто мечтает о легких родах, или роды в Астане. Рассказы о родах. — [ЭР]. Режим доступа: <http://www.rod.ru/birth-stories-cis/rodi-astana.html> (дата обращения: 7.09. 2015 г.).

Т.А.Резвушкина

Қазақстан Республикасындағы отбасылық саясат: ресми дискурс пен күнделікті тәжірибелер

Мақалада Қазақстан Республикасындағы отбасылық саясатты іске асырудың институционалды және күнделікті тетігі қарастырылды. Қазіргі таңда Қазақстанда отбасы институтының өзгерісі байқалады, соның салдарынан отбасы мен ата-аналыққа деген әлеуметтік саясаттың дифференциациясы байқалуы тиіс. Алайда, тәжірибе көрсеткендей, қазіргі қазақстандық отбасы балаларға қамқорлық, демалыс уақытын ұйымдастыру, ата-ана қызметін атқару жайында өзіндік шешімдерін қабылдау үстінде.

Т.А.Резвушкина

Семейная политика в Республике Казахстан: официальный дискурс и повседневные практики

В данной статье рассматривается институциональный и повседневный контекст реализации семейной политики в Республике Казахстан. На современном этапе в Казахстане происходит трансформация института семьи, возникают дифференцированные формы семей, что должно повлечь за собой дифференциацию мер социальной политики по отношению к семье и родительству. Но, как показывает казахстанская практика, существует рассогласование между официально провозглашаемыми целями социальной политики и повседневными практиками рядовых граждан.

References

- 1 Tartakovskaya I.N. *Gender sociology*, Moscow: JSC Variant with the assistance of JSC Nevsky Prostor, 2005.
- 2 The strategic development plan of the Republic of Kazakhstan to 2020 goda, [ER]. Access mode: http://www.akorda.kz/ru/category/gos_programmi_razvitiyahttp://www.akorda.kz/ru/category/gos_programmi_razvitiya(date of the address: 9.09. 2015).
- 3 The program of demographic development of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2001–2005, [ER]. Access mode: http://www.akorda.kz/ru/category/gos_programmi_razvitiya(date of the address: 9.09. 2015).
- 4 Chernova Zh.V., Shpakovskaya L.L. *Economic sociology*, Vol. 12, No. 3, p. 34–40.
- 5 Bratsev I. *Be fruitful and multiply*, [ER]. Access mode: <http://wap.gazeta.kz/article/54970/>(date of the address: 3.09. 2015).
- 6 Netaliyev T. *If I was Elsultan*, [ER]. Access mode: <http://www.//=====8-200411220007>(date of the address: 7.09. 2015).
- 7 Ualiyeva S.K. *Family and marriage relations of the population of Kazakhstan at the turn of the century: historical and demographic aspect*, UstKamenogorsk: Librius, 2012.
- 8 Sugirbayeva M. *Marry and multiply*, [ER]. Access mode: <http://www.caravan.kz/article/13755> (date of the address: 9.09. 2015).
- 9 Yuval-Devis N. *Gender and nation*. I.Novikova's translation, Moscow: Elpa, 2001.
- 10 *Here, so or a grant of self-mothers in Kazakhstan. Forum*, [ER]. Access mode: <http://www.zakon.kz/print:page,1,113795-kak-gosudarstvo-na-dannyj-moment.html>(date of the address: 5.09. 2015).
- 11 Nurkenov A. *Prospects of economic growth in Kazakhstan*, [ER]. Access mode: http://rus.azattyq.org/content/deti_smertnost_central_asia_kazakhstan_vvp/24431343.html(date of the address: 3.09. 2015). (date of the address: 7.09. 2015).
- 12 Zakharov I. *People don't do at the nights newlyudey*, [ER]. Access mode: <http://www.materick.ru/index.php?section=analitics&bulid=48&bulsectionid=3859> (date of the address: 7.09. 2015).
- 13 *Medical care of the population of Kazakhstan: reality and estimates. Report on results of sociological research*. September, 2003, [ER]. Access mode: <http://ciom.kz/ru/our-publications.html>(date of the address: 7.09. 2015).
- 14 *My story for those who dreams of easy childbirth, or childbirth in Astana. Stories about childbirth*, [ER]. Access mode: <http://www.rodi.ru/birth-stories-cis/rodi-astana.html>(date of the address: 7.09. 2015).