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Comparative Analysis of Studies on the Problems of Kazakh Women in the first half of the XX century

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Abstract

The article analyzes the history of studying the problem of Kazakh women's equality in the framework of changes in society during the formation of Soviet Kazakhstan. The relevance of the topic lies in the fact that the study of the transformation of the status of women in the Soviet period allows us to assess the situation in modern Kazakhstan, determine strategies and tactics aimed at implementing the gender policy determined by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The policy of the Soviet Union led to a change in the position and status of women in Kazakhstan, as well as the institution of marriage and family, which subsequently affected the emergence of the problem of the loss of traditional family values. In the course of the analysis of the studies, it was found that when studying the living conditions of the Kazakh people, as a result of Soviet policy, scientists left out sighting the problem of the work of Kazakh women. As a result of the conclusions obtained, the history of the study of the acute women's issue, which began to rise in society after the October Revolution, was divided into several stages and a comparative analysis was carried out.

Keywords: women's equality, marriage, levirate, kalym, polygamy, eliminate inequalities, historiography.

1. Introduction

In the XX century, the policy of the Soviet government in the country led to a number of political and social changes. Among them is the “women’s question” posted after the October Revolution of 1917, which was associated with the change of the role of women in society to the type of “ordinary Soviet woman” based on the values of the Marxist and Russian folk tradition (Gradskova, 1999: 15).

Representatives of the Alash movement demanded equality of women’s political rights on an equal basis with men, and also raised the issue of the right of voluntary marriage, the need for brides to consent to their marriage, the establishment of the age of marriage at 18 for men and 16 for women, the abolition of kalym (traditional custom: a ransom paid by the groom to the bride's parents), amenity (marriage of a wife who has died and is widowed, to her brother-in-law, or to one of the closest relatives of the spouse), the need to obtain the permission of the first wife to marry the second (Alash Orda, 1992: 49-50).

The first decrees of the Soviet government of 1917, adopted on this issue, affected changes in the traditional model of marriage and family in Kazakh society, since the age of marriage for men and women was established, gender equality was declared, and it was also allowed to divorce at will. The decrees of the central Executive Committee and the Council of People’s Commissars of the RSFSR “On civil marriage, on children and on the maintenance of books of state acts” of December 18, 1917 and “On the dissolution of

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marriage” of December 19, 1917 are the first documents adopted on this issue. As a result, the minimum age of marriage was established and the possibility of voluntary divorce was provided ([Decrees of the Soviet Government, 1957:237](#)).

In addition, according to the party program adopted in 1919 at the 8th Congress of the RCP (b), for the construction of communism, along with men, it was necessary to involve workers and peasants. By creating such an image of a Soviet socialist woman, it was supposed to deny the traditional role and place of family members, the former model of marriage and family institutions of the Kazakh people, calling them “remnants of the past”.

As a result of this policy, the status of women in society and in the family has been changed. Therefore, the study of the “women’s issue” during the formation of the Soviet government we decided to start from 1917, since decrees and laws were adopted that caused for radically changing of the status of women and put the “women’s issue” on the agenda.

2. Materials and methods

Archival documents identified in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (SARF), the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (Moscow, Russian Federation), the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Almata, Republic of Kazakhstan), the Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSA RK) were used as a documentary database of sources. Scientific works and articles of Soviet, domestic and foreign researchers of the XX-XXI centuries devoted to the problems of women in Kazakhstan in the first quarter of the twentieth century were the object of study. The article provides a historiographical review of these materials and a comparative analysis depending on the results of the research.

A comparative analysis of the views of researchers of the XX-XXI centuries on the “women’s issue” in Kazakh society is based on the positions of historicism and objectivity in accordance with the real reflection of the historical situation. The usage of historical-systemic and comparative-historical methods of working with resources and materials allows us to trace and prove the divergence in the views and assessments of researchers about the impact on the position of Kazakh women of traditional social and legal institutions and political reforms of the Soviet government.

3. Discussion

Along with campaign brochures, in the 20s and 30s, women’s issues began to rise on the pages of newspapers and magazines. These are the Soviet magazines “Rabotnitsa (women labor)”, “New Vostok (New East)”, “Delegatka (women delegation)”, “Krestyianka (women peasant)”, “Komministka (women communist)”, “Zhetysu’s women”, “Semirechiya’s women”, “Women’s equality” in Kazakh, “Stalin’s way” since 1936, “Kazakhstan’s women” since 1956 and “Mother and Child”, “Azat (free) woman”, “Freedom woman”, “Working woman” in Russian in the newspapers “Pogranichnitsa (border protectors)”, “Voice of Water worker”, “Voice of labor”, the issues of involvement of Kazakh women in social and political life, women’s equality, and kalym (groom’s ransom to the bride’s side) were widely published ([Akhmetova, 1975: 12](#)).

According to foreign studies, the situation of women during the October Revolution ([Haemmerle et al., 2008: 21-34](#)), including emigrant women from other countries (Curtin, 1982:156), Soviet citizens ([Porter, 1987: 45](#)), the socio-historical life of intellectuals and ordinary peasant women ([Baher, 1985: 75-114](#)), as well as women’s equality, gender policy problem ([Leydesdorff, 1999: 597-611](#)) were considered. In the work “In the shadow of Revolution”, on the basis of oral interviews, literary memoirs, personal notes women shared their reflections and life during the 1917 revolution. It can be pointed that this work forms one of the factual basis of our work. We want to draw your attention on it because there were the true to life facts about how women of that time experienced the changes taking place in society and the system of the state during that period ([In the Shadow..., 2000: 195](#)).

The works of Turkish authors are of interest in foreign historiography on this issue. The position of Kazakh women in the first quarter of the twentieth century was devoted to her research by Jemile Kynachi, who studied the reflection of the “women’s issue” in the culture of Kazakhstan. J. Kynachi noted that in 1920–1928, in art performances staged in theaters of Kazakhstan, such social issues as equality of women, payment of kalym, polygamy, forced marriage to a girl against her will, amengerism, the “modernization” influence of the policy of the Soviets were raised.

Also, in the work of the author Kazakh writers name had been mentioned – Mirzhakip Dulatov, Zhusipbe Aimautov, Saken Seifullin, Zhiengali Tilepbergenuly, Koshke (Koshmambet) Kemengeruly, Mukhtar Auezov as representatives of the intellectuals, who first raised the issue of women in Kazakh literature. During the study of Kazakh literature of the XX century, J. Kynachi paid special attention on the change in the image of a woman before and after the October Revolution in the poems and prose of Kazakh poets and writers, about the social status and desires of ordinary women ([Kinaci Baran, 2017: 172](#)).

In the dissertation work of Junayeva, the situation of women in Kazakhstan in the XX century was analyzed and connected with the fates of the character who had become the main theme of literary prose. The works of famous Kazakh writers were used as the object of the research work: “The Unfortunate Jamal” by M. Dulatov, “The Sign of Shuga” by B. Mailin, “The Day of the Defenceless” by M. Auezov and “Ulpan” by

G. Musrepov. In his scientific work, the author, reviewing the history of Kazakhstan in general, aimed to study the situation of women since the time of the Kazakh Khanate, starting with the time of Tauke Khan.

In her work the author draws attention on the problems of Kazakh women education, profession and employment relying on the articles by representatives of the Alash movement on women's equality, comparing the situation of Kazakh women before and after the October Revolution of 1917, which had a significant impact on the fate of women in Kazakh society. The paper studies and analyzes the historical and social aspects of the status of women in the 1920s-1930s. Nevertheless, the reflection of the continuity of the women's issue in fiction increases its relevance (Junayeva, 2019: 176).

4. Results

Scientific researches of the 20-40s of the twentieth century

The problems of women began to be investigated for the first time in Soviet times, but only since the second half of the twentieth century, these issues had been raised in domestic research works. In the 20-40s of the twentieth century, the historiographical aspect of the topic of the status of women in Kazakhstan was not adequately covered. A series of historically significant publications of this period in accordance with the communist ideology consisted mainly of propaganda articles, printed newspapers and pamphlets. These publications were published in accordance with the plan of publishing work of the press department of the RCP (b) of the Central Committee on the occasion of the All-Russian Gatherings of women of eastern peoples under the leadership of the women's department. Such publications include A.Kollontai's pamphlets "Wake up, Women of the East" and Otnogulova's "The legal status of women of the east before and now", as well as the pamphlet "Social Revolution and the Woman of the East", stored in the funds of the Russian Center for the Storage and Study of Documents of Modern History (RCSMDMH).

Many articles by prominent representatives of the women's movement of the 1920s in Kazakhstan Nagima Arykova, Nazipa Kulzhanova and Sara Esova about polygamy and kalym (bride price), protection of mother and child, work of nomadic red corners, work among women were published in the popular magazine "Equality of women" (Kasabekova, 2013: 4).

Since the 1920s, the archival network began to develop in the country, which marked the beginning of the intensification of scientific research. In this regard, the work of V.G.Sokolovsky "Kazakh aul", published in 1926 (Sokolovsky, 1926), is of great interest. It is believed that this work, written based on the results of the expedition to study the rural economy of O. Zhandosov and V.G. Sokolovsky by order of the Kazkraikom of the CPC (b) and the Statistical Department of Kazakhstan in 1924-1925, was independent of propaganda and party ideology. Therefore, the researcher explains the origin of the kalym by the value of female labor in agriculture.

Another research work, independent of propaganda, was the article by A.Shtusser "Remnants of the tribal system in Kazakhstan", published in the journal "New East" of the publishing center of the Scientific Community of Orientalists of the USSR in 192 (Shtusser, 1929: 50-62). The article was written based on the results of an expedition to study the legal status of Kazakh women, organized by the Committee for the Improvement of Labor and Life of Oriental Women of the National Academy of sciences and the Women's Commission of the Scientific Community of Orientalists. The author comprehensively explores the problems of kalym, levirate, as well as other traditions and customs closely related to the status of women in Kazakhstan. Strictly adhering to the scientific point of view, he rejects the accusations of the Kazakh people in domestic crimes and explains the preservation of the kalym and levirate to the present time for economic reasons.

Citing numerous statistical data, the author made a conclusion that from the end of 1924 to 1929, despite the ongoing work against kalym and polygamy, the number of cases of domestic crimes increased but did not decrease. Investigating the problem of levirate A. Stusser identifies two reasons this phenomenon, firstly, levirate is a measure related to with the division of work on the household, secondly, women were considered as a guarantee of the availability of the main labor force in the family. Summing up his work, A. Stusser concludes that women are the main labor force in the household, and this is the main economic reason for the preservation of the kalym and levirate.

In G.A. Timchenko's book "Revolts of "soldiers" in Kazakhstan", published in 1933, the views of women on the national liberation uprising of 1916 and the revolt of women whose husbands were sent to the war in the Torgai region (Timchenko, 1933: 32). The underestimated work has great scientific significance, as there was the first time touched upon the social activity of women before the revolution documented by historical data.

There were number of works were written about the situation of married Kazakh women and investigated as well in the 20-30s of the XX century, however, the issue of the work of Kazakh women in the household and in production remained out of the field of view of the researchers. Also, the problems of Soviet society that worsened during the famine years and mass political repression, as well as high mortality, unemployment, child homelessness, forced migration and others were practically avoided in the scientific works. These arguments prove the existence of party censorship and the ideological framework in which the authors were the members, who influenced the restriction of the subject.

Thus, the historiography of this period is mainly propaganda literature and research works written on popular science topics in accordance with the ideology of the party. In the earlier soviet period, works were written concerning the equality of women, the status of women in society and family.

Scientific researches of the 50-70s of the twentieth century. Since the 50s of the twentieth century, studies on the status of women in Kazakhstan, after the October Revolution had been uncritical and written in the context of glorifying the achievements of conscientious authorities. Sh. Abubakirova's research work belongs to this time, which studies the women's movement after the October Revolution, the party activities of women, the work of Kazakhstani women during the period of collectivization. However, in this research, the author does not approach critically on the study of these issues, but considers them in the context of the role of the party without any contradictions (Abubakirova, 1950: 12).

In H.G. Seitkazieva's research, special attention is paid on the working class created from among Kazakhstani women. As the main organizers and participants of the women's movement, she emphasized the high social activity of factory workers and railway workers compared to rural women. She pointed out the works of A.S. Kocharovskaya, E.A. Shegolova and N.S. Shilova as the first women developing the ideas of Marxism in Kazakhstan (Seitkazieva, 1963: 192).

In the research work of K. Kairbekova "Participation of Kazakhstan women in the construction of socialism (1926–1937)" the women's issue is studied in the context of women's participation in the dissemination of ideas and slogans of communism. The research is based on Lenin's idea that without the proletarian movement and the class struggle of the proletarian movement there wouldn't be any special women's problem (Kairbekova, 1966: 9).

Domestic researchers started drawing attention to the problem of women's education in Kazakhstan in the 50-60s of the twentieth century. At first it was considered only in the context of works on Soviet Educational institutions using statistical materials, but since the 1960s, separate scientific studies on this question have been conducted (Sembayev, 1962: 89). For example, M. Kozgambayeva's work deals on the problem of women's education between 1917–1940.

Due to the fact that it covered the period of the October Revolution and the time of Soviet power, this work is of great historiographic relevance. However, a comprehensive study of this issue does not pay attention on women's school education and co-education of girls and boys (Kozgambayeva, 1968: 15).

The dissertation paper of K. Sadvakasova studies the prerequisites for the education of Kazakh girls in vocational, higher educational institutions after secondary schools in the 20-30s of the twentieth century (Sadvakasova, 1966: 17). Subsequently, the author published a monograph on this topic with an expanded chronological framework. The researcher examines the role and influence of the party in solving the women's issue in terms of women's education, raises the problems of schools and educational programs for illiterate women (Sadvakasova, 1969: 153).

In 1965, a monograph by A. Bisenova was published and dedicated to the organization of the case for the protection of mother and child in the period from the end of the XIX century to the 60s of the XXth century (Bisenova, 1965: 208). A. Bisenova studied the peculiarities of the organization of obstetrics and medical care for Kazakh women, childcare before the revolution and the Soviet period. She has admitted that in the first years of after revolution, due to the lack of funds allocated by the Soviet government, the insufficient number of qualified medical specialists, as well as the lack of support from the population, the issue of mother and child protection did not develop at the proper level. Also, the researcher highlighted the issues of the creation of mother and child protection centers in Kazakhstan (Bisenova, 1965: 27).

A number of dissertations of the 60s of the twentieth century, which studied the problem of raising the questions of women's equality before the revolution will be included the work of G.K. Satybekova, who studied the women's issues on the pages of the Kazakh magazine "Aykap" (Satybekova, 1965: 14). The historiographical significance of the given work lies in the comparative analysis of articles published on the pages of the magazine "Aykap" and the newspaper "Kazakh" about the social problems of women in Kazakhstan.

The research work of L.M. Akhmetova written in 1975 deals with an attempt made to study the peculiarities of the coverage of the women's issue on the pages of the Soviet periodical press and the influence of the women's press on the development of public relations in the republic. The newspapers "Enbekshi Kazakh", "Kedei tily", "Auy", "Bostandyk tuy" and the magazines "Kyzyl Kazakhstan", "Zhana mektep", "Adebiet maidanynda" published in the Kazakh language were used as sources. These papers raised the question of the activities of the journal "Equality of women", its working methods and the role of the journal in the training of specialized journalists among women for the first time.

The paper provides information about famous women publicists who published their first articles in the magazine, such works of these authors N. Kulzhanova, Sh. Imanbayeva, M. Khakimzhanova, A. Mambetova, A. Kemelova, Z. Tokbarlyna, L. Sergazina, L. Otepova are pointed out. However, despite the great scientific and informational value of the work, factual information is provided only on newspaper materials, without extensive use of archival sources, which leads to the conclusion that comparative studies were not conducted by the author (Ahmetova, 1975: 14).

The research work of R. Kumekova on the topic "The activities of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan to attract women to cultural construction", the socio-cultural activity of women in Kazakhstan in the context of the party movement is studied (Kumekova, 1973: 18).

In the ethnographic work of Argynbayev H.A. on the institution of family and marriage among Kazakhs, along with other issues, the role of women in the family has been studied, the problems of kalyms

and polygamy, the relationship of widows and brides to unequal and involuntary marriage are raised. At the same time, the author defined polygamy background connection with patriarchy and property inequality than Islam connection that took place in Kazakh society. The underestimated work raised such less studied problems as the role of the Kazakh woman in marriage customs, the relationship of the daughter-in-law and mother-in-law, the position of the first (main) wife and second wife in the family, the position of a childless women and the attitude of the Kazakh people towards her (Argynbayev, 1975: 29).

In K. Kunantayeva's monograph on women's education in the XX century as an hour of the Cultural revolution, archival materials of the Commission for the Improvement of Women's Work and Life and the "Union of the Poor", which were directly involved in the work of on the education and enlightenment of women, are used as a resource. This paper examines the problems of Kazakh women receiving higher education in boarding schools, which became wide spread in the 1960s.

However, although the researcher approves of this form of education, she does not disclose the moral aspects of the difficulties of living girls away from family and parents. The monograph contains valuable information, but not enough attention is paid to the issues of providing girls with secondary education and getting girls educated at school (Kunantayeva, 1978: 53).

The research work of Tasyrova on the topic "The activities of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan for the development of women's education in the Republic" (1928–1940) focuses on the contribution of the party to the upbringing and education of women in vocational schools, technical schools, higher educational institutions, and also highlights the participation of women of Kazakhstan in the construction of a new socialist society (Tasyrova, 1984: 19).

Thus, in the soviet period, in many studies, starting from the 50s of the XXth century, the influence of the party and ideological attitudes can be traced, but the formation of new scientific approaches, the involvement of various types of sources and statistical data and photographic documents are clearly outlined. The study of the women's issue becomes an interdisciplinary problem, since it becomes the object of research by historians, psychologists, sociologists, as well as other social sciences. At the end of the XXth century, this issue became an object of discussion in the scientific community at separate scientific and practical conferences (Ashgabat, 1972; Tashkent, 1975; Alma-Ata, 1975).

Scientific researches after 1991. The work of A.K. Baltabayeva can be distributed to a number of studies written after the declaration of independence of Kazakhstan. In this dissertation, the researcher raises the issue of the socio-legal status of Kazakh women in the late XIX- early XX centuries. The author showed that during that period Kazakh women had the right to participate in the socio-political life of society, but couldn't realize it, and only in the Soviet period a new period began for Kazakh women. She revealed the role of the Soviet state in ensuring equal rights for women, and divides the socio-political and administrative activities of Kazakh women into stages. This work shows the propaganda work and activity of women during the period of collectivization. However, the severe consequences of collectivization, especially for women and children were not considered, women who were subjected to repression in the 30-50s of the last century were not mentioned (Baltabayeva, 1995: 11).

S.S. Karpykova's dissertation work "Women of Kazakhstan: problems of historiography (20-80-s of XX century) " provided a broad historiographic review of research on women's problems. The researcher, studying the literature of historiographic importance on the problem of women, divided it into four stages: the problem of women in historical literature from the first half of the 20th to the 30th; publications in the socio-political literature from the mid-30s to the 50s; Scientific and historical literature on the problem of women in Kazakhstan from the second half of the 50-60s and historiographic analysis of scientific works on the problems of the situation of women in Kazakhstan in the 70-80s.

In the dissertation work of the researcher, a historical characterization of each period was analyzed and a stream of fully studied works on this topic is shown, which can be considered as a methodological tool for scientists. The research paper provided an objective assessment of the corresponding sequence of works and research in the historical, social, demographic, educational, health and economic fields devoted to the problem of women of Kazakhstan (Karpykova, 1997: 185).

The scientific work G.O. Nurbetova, devoted to the economic companies of 1925–1933 by the totalitarian regime of Soviet power in Kazakhstan, also showed the socio-economic changes that took place in the republic after the establishment of socialism in the country. The researcher deeply worked on social processes in the context of the policy of "Small October" in Kazakhstan, the time of Sovietization of Kazakh villages during collectivization, highlights the historical results of the campaign to eliminate literacy among the policy of the Soviet government to address the women's issue (Nurbetova, 2000: 140).

During the period from 1991 at the beginning of 2000, the researcher focused on the trend of gender equality in Kazakhstan, the contribution of the country's first president N.Nazarbayev to the establishment of equal rights for women, as well as legislation and state programs adopted for these purposes. In her work, R.O. Balgozina widely used archival materials identified in domestic archives, the works of the Kazakh intelligentsia, representatives of the Alash party, publications of the Soviet period, memoirs and letters of Kazakhstani women as one of the sources (Balgozina, 2009: 311).

A monograph work was published by A.I. Kasabekova in 2013, which was one of the historically significant works on the issue of women's equality in Kazakhstan in the 20-30s of the XX century. The author

noted that the problem of women's equality was widely raised in the Kazakh press at the beginning of the XX century, the opinions of figures of the Alash movement, decrees and decisions of the Soviet government on women's equality, the history of creation of the women's department, its work during the famine in 1921–1922, the participation of Soviet women during grain procurement, their involvement in collectivization time were given, the life of repressed women and their families. In her work, the researcher A.I. Kasabekova expressed the opinion that the freedom given to Kazakh women by the Soviet government “was expensive”.

The author attributes this to labor inequality, the absence and shortage of necessary medical and social assistance, the low number and quality of preschool institutions, as well as the fact that the Soviet government's concern for women and children was only on paper (Kasabekova, 2013: 172). Based on the study of a large layer of archival documents, the author comes to the conclusion that Kazakh women were not only observers of political events, but also took an active part in solving all the problems facing society in that historical period. The monograph suggests that the works and researches of the Soviet period gave a biased assessment of the unequal status of women in terms of domestic and social life before the revolution and magnified the role of the Bolsheviks in the liberation of women of the East (Kasabeova, 2013:172).

In her scientific work “The first figures of the women's movement” A.I. Kasabekova tells about the life and work of Kazakh women who were the first to raise the issue of women's equality and the elimination of female literacy in the Soviet period. She notes that famous Kazakh women N. Kulzhanova, A. Orazbayeva, A. Doszhanova, N. Arykova, M. Begalieva, S. Esova, Sh. Imanbayeva, N.Sanalieva, B. Kasenova, N. Alpysova took an active part in the cultural and educational work of the country. As a valuable historic material, the paper presents articles and reports of prominent activists of the women's movement who have contributed to social construction with their extensive organizational activities and a sharp pen (best writers) (Kasabekova, 2003: 81).

As for the next work “From the experience of solving the women's problem in Kazakhstan. 1920–1930s” by D. Amanzholova expressed the idea that the traditional political, ideological and cultural values of the people were recognized as obsolete and rejected by the Soviet government on the basis of a radical change in the forms and methods of socio-political activity of the mass of people. Also, in the article “From the experience of solving the women's problem in Kazakhstan. 1920–1930s” D. Amanzholova noted that the process was very difficult, especially in national republics, including in Kazakhstan. This is due to the fact that feminization itself, on the one hand, regardless of the physiological indicators of women, assumed their transformation into a direct productive force working in all spheres of production. On the other hand, a woman became an object of social policy in order to turn them into an important factor of civic life through various exclusively female public organizations and present women to the masses as a model of Soviet consciousness, order and responsibility.

The reason of that is in addition to the duties of a woman in the family, in the household, now, the functions and responsibility on production and society have been added. And the state of social infrastructure in Kazakhstan at that time, that is, educational institutions for children, and the service sector, was not very satisfactory. As a result of that, the rush to feminization – caused resistance among the population to government decrees, however, any resistance to female emancipation was seen as a criminal act. At the same time, all kinds of “corporate bonuses” inextricably linked personal life with the team. According to the communist ideology, industrial places such as a brigade, workshop, farm, collective farm or factory sought to become a second, large and complexly organized family, adhering to patriarchal hierarchical values and stereotypes.

However, the Special Research Commission on improving the labor and living conditions of women under the CAC of the KASSR showed that in 1928 Kazakh women worked an average of 154 days a year, and men-97 days. The author cited important data that while 33 days of the volume of work were spent by men on trips to markets, fairs, public institutions, meetings, etc., women allocated 1 day for such trips. In addition, in her article, D.Amanzholova testifies to the increase in the volume of women's work as a result of collectivization and famine, and nevertheless the low quality of their social and medical care, and comes to the conclusion that the goal of eliminating women's inequality as a result of the tendency of the Soviet government to harshly structure the mass population actually made the situation of women even more complicated (Amanzholova, 2017).

In the article by K.S. Bizhigitova “Changes in the role of women in the Kazakh steppe in the colonial period based on archival sources (the 40s of the XIX- early XX centuries)” based on the analysis of archival documents, the main research hypothesis is proposed that during the colonial period the traditional nomadic Kazakh society underwent significant changes. Changes have affected all spheres of life of Kazakhs, including with the change of ideas about the place and role of women in traditional society, new phenomena have appeared in public relations.

The author came to the conclusion that this led to an increase in the activity of women, an increase in their efforts to protect their “women's” rights by contacting the Russian colonial administration at various levels. K.S. Bizhigitova revealed that in the 40-50s of the XIX century, in applications submitted to the head of the Siberian border Kyzgyz (Kazakh) region, women often complained about the cruelty of their husbands, about being forced to marry when they did not reach the age of majority. Obviously, it was very difficult for women to file a lawsuit and try to defend their rights. The author confirms that for the same reason, women

faced significant difficulties: since the fact of applying to the colonial administration contradicted established traditions and Customs, women had to travel a long distance to get to Omsk and look for suitable people to write these requests. Women who had no means of their own could not submit such requests to various instances of the colonial administration without the material and moral support of their fathers and brothers, as evidence of which the author claims that some archival cases were not the women themselves, but were proxies of their fathers and brothers on their behalf. The researcher pointed to interesting facts that in order to solve their problem, unsupported women forced their relatives to threaten to convert to Christianity and put pressure on them to recognize their independence.

As a result of the research, the author made several conclusions: Russian officials considered Kazakh women as successful propagators of Russian culture among the traditional nomadic society; the decisions of the tsarist (monarchy) Russian authorities contradicted the legal system of nomads, which led to long-term contradictory trends; the colonial authorities made attempts to indirectly influence on the solution of problems of family and marriage relations and the marriage court, therefore, the traditional legal norms (customs) of nomads adapting to new conditions, began to change (Bizhigitova, 2017: 173-178).

The monograph of Zh.B. Kundakbayeva critically assesses the policy of the Soviet government towards women in Kazakhstan. The author pointed out that the change in the Kazakh institutions of marriage and family, the creation of women's department, the "Red Yurt" were considered as tools for the Bolsheviks to implement the project to create a "new Soviet woman". The author also noted that the Soviet government tried to install Soviet ideology in the local population, denying Islamic family and marriage traditions, adopting new models of children's relationships with society, changed not only the established values and lifestyle of not only women, but also significant part of the population as well (Kundakbayeva, 2017: 148).

Along with that problems above, the problem of women's equality in the works of Kazakh writers published in the 20s and 30s were taken under analysis in the monograph. The researcher devoted separate chapters to literary critic F. Gabitova and other women activists, public figures who, together with their husbands were repressed revealed in detail their lives and destinies. Valuable archival materials, articles by S. Eskyzy, A. Tursynbaykyzy, B. Smagulkyzy, N. Arykkyzy, N. Abdirashidkyzy from the magazine "Women's Equality", memoirs and letters of members of the women's department, veterans of labor and the party were used as a source.

Thus, scientific works since the 1990s demonstrate a critical approach and a comprehensive study of the women's issue in Kazakhstan. The presented works shows the data before the revolution and after 1917 are systematized, the position of women of that time is associated with changes in modern society, and their historical significance is determined. One of the qualities of scientific works of this period is an objective assessment of the policy of the Soviet government in Kazakhstan, the study of its positive and negative results that affected the issue of women's equality, and the introduction of new relevant sources into their research.

5. Conclusion

Historiographical analysis has shown that in scientific works and studies of the early 20-50s of the twentieth century, the topic of the status of women in Kazakhstan was not sufficiently covered. The first group includes works of an agitation and propaganda. In these works, there was carried out a process of internal design of the problem, which was reflected in the gradual expansion of the database and the accumulation of various information. The authors of these works, often containing a small database, were not professional historians, but directly practical workers— employees of the women's department. That is why the structure and methodological level of these works were explained by the fact that they were designed for the masses and often had an agitation and propaganda character. The scientific literature of this period is based on the intention to justify the forced nature of socialist reconstruction and to justify the necessity of the Soviet way of real emancipation of women in Kazakhstan. As a result, was identified a narrow range of issues that are considered in these publications.

These included—the disenfranchised position of the Kazakh woman before the revolution of 1917, the first decrees and resolutions adopted by the Soviet government for her "liberation", the first forms of work of the Communist Party among women (delegate meetings, women's conferences, etc.), attempts to publish the pre-revolutionary speeches of women of Kazakhstan (1916), their participation in the Civil War, as well as the experience of organizing and working among the nomadic people of Kazakhstan. It was the rise of these topics that was ideologically connected not only with the glorification of the Soviet government, but also with the need for a specific historical moment, which demanded a large and complex political and educational work in the broad masses, explaining the tasks of the women's movement in the country, in particular in Kazakhstan.

Therefore, among the literature of that period, manuals of a propaganda nature, explanatory brochures, as well as articles resembling collections of quantitative and factological material prevail, but even then these works did not lose their historiographic significance. One of the reasons is that they are also valuable in the order of historical sources describing the Soviet period at that time. It also includes an emotional assessment of the problem by its direct participants in the described events, the diversity and relevance of author's views on it, freedom from a strict ideological framework (the possibility of discussion).

Research works written about the results of ethnographic expeditions are also included in the list of literature of the 1920s-1930s. The authors of these works were professional historians, mainly scientists of

the USSR Academy of Sciences who were educated in central universities of Russia before the revolution, as well as local historians who worked at the territory of Kazakhstan in the "Society for the Study of the Kyrgyz Territory". The role of these scientists in the comprehensive study of this problem over the conditions of a strict administrative regime is very great. Paying special attention to its ethnographic aspect, this kind of works had the character of pre-revolutionary research. Thus, the following topics have found their place in the cycle of women's issues: the place of women in the social structure of traditional Kazakh society; living conditions of Kazakh women in the 20s of the twentieth century; unequal division of household labor in the family; early marriage of girls and its consequences for the female body; kalym; the position of a widow; types of women's needlework, traditional women's clothing, women's jewelry; anthropological features of women of Kazakhstan. However, on the base of the materials of the expeditions, it was found that during the study of the living conditions of ordinary Kazakh people, as a result of the influence of politics, scientists ignored the problem of the labor of Kazakh women.

Although the research raises the issues of the place and social inequality of women in traditional Kazakh society, the difficult situation that arose as a result of the famine and collectivization that swept the Republic at that time, that is, in the 20s, especially such problems as the mortality of women and children, prostitution and child homelessness, neglect of women's departments, unemployment did not find their place. This proves that the ideological policy of the Soviet government also took control of Science, and explains the widespread use of propaganda literature of this period.

Thus, the first stage of the historiography, the problems are characterized by two independent trends, that is, a gradual slowdown in the development of academic historical science due to external conditions, and a rapid flourishing of historic, party and propaganda literature.

The second stage of the research of the issue of the status of women in Kazakhstan in the XX century, considered in the frame of the changing political situation in the country, is reflected in science since the 50s of the XX century. For ten years, until the end of the 1940s, the ideology of the cult of personality blocked many promising areas in the study of women's issues, allowing only those topics that corresponded to specific tasks of the time.

During the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945, the Soviet government chose priority topics that indirectly influenced the development of the country's defense potential, and did not make significant changes to the historiography of the issue. Developing mainly in the genre of historical articles and articles in the publicist style, during the Great Patriotic War they made contribution only to the process of collecting factual materials on the women's topic in Kazakhstan.

In the early 50s of the XX century due to the rapid growth of the personnel of Republic in the field of history in the post-war period, the improvement of its qualitative composition, as well as the creation of the Institute of History in the structure of the Kazakh branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and then the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh USSR, there was a tendency to revive and deepening the ethnographic part in the study of the status of women in Kazakhstan. For this reason, research expeditions began to be conducted again in all corners of Kazakhstan. As a result of the expeditions, the following topics of the problem were raised again: the lawless situation of Kazakh women before the October Revolution; the relationship between the first and second wife; the current (40-50's) situation of Kazakh women in rural areas. And also, significant topics of the 20-30s were not ignored, including family and marriage relations of the traditional Kazakh people (marriage, betrothal, kalym); traditional women's clothing, women's jewelry, women's crafts; hygienic and medical condition of the Kazakh people. As a result of these expeditions, the scale of the problem was expanded, the background of its appearance, i.e. the problems of the status of women in Kazakh society before 1917 were systematized, has entered database of sources which were collected during field expeditions.

Due to the growth of historical specialists, the improvement of the quality of their training, the first dissertation research on the situation of women in Kazakhstan in the 20-30s of the XX century is added to the list of works of the early 50s. These research works correspond to the highest scientific and theoretical level of generalization of historical-party and civil topics and are protected in prestigious higher educational institutions of the cities of Moscow, Leningrad, Alma-Ata of the USSR. Among the issues addressed in these works are: the work of party organizations among women of different ages; In the 30s and 50s, various types of work among women (women's sectors, brigades); involvement of Kazakh women in collective farm construction (problems of collectivization in this direction), issues of women's education, the level of social and medical care for them, and the protection of motherhood and childhood were considered.

Since the 50s of the twentieth century Kazakhstan historiography has been characterized by a quantitative increase of historical publications on this issue, a significant expansion of the range of issues, an inclusion of new historical sources, identified and published from Soviet and Kazakh archives, replenishment with new scientific data obtained from various fields of science, which significantly improved the quality of research. The latter one allowed us to consider the situation of women in the first quarter of the twentieth century in several aspects, for example: the level of exploitation of women's labor (in terms of economic consequences); labor rights of women (legal aspects); the transformation of the status of Soviet women in society (philosophical and social aspects); assessment of working conditions of working women in

manufacturing industry (medical aspects), statistical and demographic analysis of the birth rate in Kazakhstan, demographic and social position of the Kazakh family (demographic aspects).

At the same time, in the historiographic period under consideration, obvious signs of a decrease in intensity appeared in the study of this issue, that is, a negative trend. This is evidenced by the biased position and lack of disclosure of the problem in the study of the topics "special medical and social assistance to women of Kazakhstan", "protection of motherhood and childhood" in the twentieth century. It is also expressed in a large number of dissertation works of historical-party, that is, socialist-Marxist orientation, in the unambiguous framework of the problems under consideration, in the uniformity of conceptual solutions with frequent repetition of well-known truths. Instead of sticking to a narrow point of view and trying to glorify the Communist Party, scientists were completely hindered by the solution of the problem under study, that is, its historiographic development.

Despite the difficulties of the historical development of society in the second half of the 50s, the politicization of science, the narrow field of a number of scientific works, history as a science began to actively research previously unexplored topics with novelty, in particular, issues about the status of women in Kazakhstan. On this basis that by the mid of 1950s, in order to increase scientific interest in the women's problem, on the basis of a deeper study of archival sources, began scientific rethinking of the historical status of women in Kazakhstan.

During the preparation of the article, it is noted that in scientific works written after the independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan, attempts to reflect the situation of women in Kazakhstan in the 20-30s of the XX century with historical realism prevail. First, one of the main reasons of that is the collapse of the totalitarian regime and the loss of pressure on science by the authorities. Secondly, the growing interest in the state of modern women in the time of the globalization trend, the relevance of the process of "feminization" in modern society. Thirdly, women are a phenomenon of increased interest among scientists in the study of the state of Kazakh women of the twentieth century, in determining their way of life, psychological and moral character.

In the research works started in 1991, historical realism prevails in comparison with previous works written on this topic. Undoubtedly, methodological approaches which are capable of providing a sufficient archival and information base and comprehensive study allowed completely reveal the object of research. In addition, State support of science is the reason for the increase of the number of dissertations defended on the topic and scientific projects being developed.

Researchers, on their part, in studying the status of women in the twentieth century, analyze the principles of transformation of the status of women in traditional Kazakh society and in Soviet Kazakhstan before the 1917 revolution, associate them with the peculiarities of the gender policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan at the present time and determine the results and consequences of a large historical period. On the works being analyzed from a critical point of view are considered the Soviet authoritarian policy, as well as the contribution of the Alash movement and active public figures who participated in the elimination of women's inequality in the 20-30s of the twentieth century. In addition, the shortcomings and achievements of research before the 1990s are highlighted and evaluated. Scientific works and studies written after 1991, their critical view of the socio-political reforms carried out by the Soviet government, the focus on in-depth study of this topic prove the continuity of the status of women, family and marriage institutions in the modern process of globalization.

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