Abstract: This paper investigates the influence of social-economic factors of transition on changing of everyday habits of families, role and functions of breadwinner in modern Kazakh families. Main question is how transformation processes of the economy in Kazakhstan are reflected on the values and the structure of Kazakh families. There are regarded changes in values of Kazakhstani people through the shift from demographical to economical criterion in defining breadwinner.

Key words: Values of families • Head of the family • Transition

INTRODUCTION

The current situation of Kazakhstan’s economy reflected the rapid and dynamical growth of most macro-economic indexes like GNP, GNI, poverty level, level of education and healthcare, life expectancy, etc. according to the World Bank dates [1] or another sources like National Statistic agency of Kazakhstan [2]. The stable growth of economy affords to appearance and developing contemporary market institutions in the former soviet country. Today surrounded by a lot of banks, trading centers, insurance companies, micro-credit organizations, credit cards etc. Kazakh households are adapting to new conditions of using or behaving within these institutions. There is not only problem of evaluating or modernization processes of society by the historical line of development through differentiation or industrialization of traditional society. The change or transit from one strict ideology like socialism to another totally different one like capitalism is enough harsh process especially for Central Asia region, which had own trajectory of liberalization under great influence of traditional institutions [3]. Because this changing of thinking lead to the further changing of everyday habits of households, who are still adapting to the new market conditions. Therefore we consider that the role and position of the head of household has been changing as well in transition.

The influence of different social-economic factors of transition can be reflected in changing of everyday habits of families. In case of family structures in Kazakhstan it is obvious the trend of nuclearization [4] of multigenerational families.

Also the role of the head of family and the role of breadwinner in Kazakh society traditionally were separated, because there is the status of “wise man” (or women if she widow) in ruling housekeeping despite of his income contribution to family budget [5]. These kind of traditional families often use a life experiences and social networks of the eldest member of family for solving all problems. The problem is changing of the traditional family structures in Kazakh society under the great influence of market rules, where elder generation have not already got enough experiences and knowledge of dealing with market institutions. Therefore we are going to explore how transformation processes of the economy in Kazakhstan are reflected on the values and the structure of Kazakh families (on micro level)?.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Kazakhstan like all post-communist countries has experienced transformational process of economy, which is certainly reflected in life and behaviors of ordinary households. Currently after over 20 years of independence country has a growing economy with
market institutions. In order to understand what was happened at the country entirely during transition process it is necessary to start analysis from exploring of micro-units as families, which in contrast to macro-economic indexes enable to give more reliable information. Thus it is necessary to start with making research of everyday life of families during their adaptation process to the market problem we used qualitative research method as a narrative interview, which was conducted in Astana to entirely investigate this city from 40 urban families.

In narrative interview were gained data about motives and subjective intentions of households dealing in the market. The approach of using private, biographical and narrative prisms during the learning relationships, networks and life experiences of households afford us to gradually consider social changes and transformational process from micro-level of the society and make “micro-translations” of the households’ behaviors and actions [6]. According to Collins in order to detailed exploration of macro-sociological processes is necessary to pay attention to micro-elements of society [6]. In our case the households are the micro-elements. Social reality is considered like series of micro-experiences, which construct the main objects for macro level analysis as well [6]. Hence, in order to get the whole picture of sociological processes is necessary pay attention to micro-situations and micro-experiences like people activities instead of to work with macro-concepts that could not lead to grassroots of everyday social life, but also tend to neglect them in search of plain theoretical generalizations.

Main Body: The main concepts that were used in this paper are values and value generalization. Williams defined values as beliefs or ideals concerning that should be esteemed, respected, aims, to which the person should aspire [7]. Generalization of values means universalization of them and equal distribution of norms and roles for different groups of people [8]. Changing of the role of breadwinner is a result of generalization, that change role of women in family and also change opinion to the age, when young person also can be breadwinner if he has a bigger salary than another member of family.

The transformational reforms of the post-soviet countries concerning the transition to the market economic system much influenced on ordinary local household’s life. The households have experienced not only an economic crisis in transformational period [3], but also they had a cultural shock, which is still reflecting in their everyday life. It is important to note that private households acquired contradictions of values and settings after the transition to market economic system.

The adaptive period of Kazakh households to the market economy is going under the institutional changes of cultural life, which also is adapting to new economic conditions during the transformation process [9]. There is change of traditional economic and everyday habits of households.

Astana is developing with very high rates at the same time build new economy cluster for Kazakhstan based on trading, construction, new technologies and administrative resources. Also Astana has one of the highest degree of salary among the rest regions [10]. Social-economic infrastructure of Astana is unlike to the other regional centers and capitals within CIS. Uniqueness of Astana is high level of construction the modern, city of new pattern for the Central Asia region. For instance, for 13 years the new part of the city – left side has already reached the volume, which equal to area of old city (right side). Status of capital lets to Astana opportunities to accumulate around itself the more administrative sources, finances and human resources.

If we consider the macroeconomic indicators of the Astana city, we can observe: gross regional product according to the forecasts will be 1,9 trillion tenge (12,3 billion USD according to exchange rates of National Bank of the Republic of Kazakhstan at 30.11.2013) [11]; macro-economic growth reached 8% [2]; industry of manufactured products and rendered services worth about 164 billion tenge [2]; investment in fixed capital increased by 35,7% to 570.2 billion tenge [11]; the proportion of the city of Astana in the national volume of investments in fixed assets reached 11.4% [11]; average nominal wages - 124 000 tenge [11] (806,87 USD); the unemployment rates - 5.8% [11].

The territory of Akmola region (where located Astana city) 146.2 thousand square meters, which is 5.4 percent of the republic territory [12]. Astana as the city with the most rapid growth of economy and population in Kazakhstan was explored in terms of lives of ordinary families, who has experienced transition changes on own social relationships within households. The growing of population and the role of market institutions in Astana reflected in changing of lifestyles of families in transition, where some traditional attitudes of social capital were replaced by more rational dispositions [4].
Ronald Inglehart, Christian Welzel in “Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy” assumed that level of social-economic development influences on changing of interactions between people including family relationships [13]. Gender equality as result of economic growth changed role of women in different institutions including family, they became more egalitarian.

Findings from the Research on Kazakh Families
The Positions in Families in Terms of Gender:
What factors define the role of the person in the families? As data demonstrates the role division according to gender, age, the social-economic status dominates in investigated households and also joint decision-making takes place. It seems that roles division on the basis of the socio-economic status and joint decision-making more often meets in well-off families.

The traditional roles division is observed in given sample, more often the important decisions in the households are made by men as breadwinner. As it is demonstrated from the interview men is more confident as decision maker in households.

I am head of the household and usually run all issues at home. I am a main breadwinner as well (Int. Askar, male, rural, §5)

I’m a head of our household. Definitely, therefore I make main decisions in the household (Int. Mukharbek, male, rural, §4).

However because of the man was absent and more often he was outside of the house historically the role of the woman was perceived as main house-keepers in the Kazakh families and as a person responsible for all events that occur in a family. Therefore the wife is the person who always in the house. She knows a situation in a family better and accordingly responsible for the major decisions’ making.

If there are some urgent problems, we solve these questions with my husband, my decision is more crucial (Int. Alma, female, urban, §41)

I manage the family budget as well since I’m a woman I should calculate all expenses of the household (Int. Nagima, female, urban, §40).

Such families have remained in modern Kazakhstan however it is difficult to establish the reasons that define these families. It is possible to assume more charismatic character of the woman [14]. The other factor is different social background of the woman related with various conditions of socialization. In general situation is quite controversial, often woman said: we run our family budget with my husband, but I’m the decision maker.

Responsibility to run issues related with kid’s education – mostly by female:

My wife used to run issues of child’s education (Int. Serik, male, urban, §13)

Saving money as the Woman Responsibility:
Also my wife runs the family budget (Int. Serik, male, urban, §13).

Due to the changing labor market, male are tending to lose their jobs (because all soviet industry is destroyed), many post-soviet researches show how woman are successfully adjusting to market conditions, nowadays they tend earn good money [15], therefore one may suggest the changing gender division, that females nowadays become more powerful in own families.

The Positions in Families in Terms of Age: Historically as nomadic households the important decisions in Kazakh households were made based on the age. The senior generation usually solved the major questions in the households. Despite serious social and cultural transformations during the Soviet time these social relations remained particularly in countryside.

Our household consists of my husband’s mother, me, my son, my daughter-in-law and four grandchildren. I am the main decision maker in the household. I am a pensioner now. We jointly make decision about education of children after discussing it. I manage the family budget (Int. Gulnazia, female, rural, §2).

I am the oldest member of our household. I am the “ot anasy” (mother of the fire place). I make the main decisions in the household (Int. Mariyam, female, rural, §3).

Modernization in the Kazakhstan has influenced on certain social groups, since we see that in many families despite the market the relations important decisions are still are made by the senior generation [16].

The Changing Positions among Generations in Family:
The clash of generations is a confrontation between the different systems of values. Children usually do not perceive the value of their parents' generation. They do not want to take them as a reference. It seems that there is “the generation gap” when the difference between parents and children is much higher than among children who belong to different social classes of society.

This is obvious, since we are from the twentieth century and they are from the twenty first century. My kids say now everything is not the same as in XX century… For example, my child wants to engage in
business, but financial situation doesn't let us to do it in this time. I say that in our times no one had made appropriate conditions for us, my parents didn't leave us any patrimonies too. Recently we had a conversation about it. I said: "I taught you to earn money and now what do you want to do." (Int. Magira, urban, female, §9).

Current market conditions led changes on all levels, including people’s values and orientation. There are values of individualism and self-expression in the new social realities, which is the cause of disagreements between fathers socialized in the Soviet Union and children brought up in modern Kazakhstan. Children make decisions and act in accordance with the values of individualism and their own interests in preference to public purposes.

Sometimes such kinds of debates appear between me and my daughter. She says: “Daddy, you live like you in former century. In that period there was other time and currently there is another time. Today you must live for yourself. You were brought up in that time, but today is another time. Everything is different and we must live only for ourselves. But on another hand everything is like commerce now.” I reply her: “Daughter, we should ever be a human in any circumstances. We must respect elder persons.” Then she replied me with laugh: “Of course, you so well-bred. I can’t change your mind, but today everyone must live only for himself.” (Int. Galym, rural, male, §11).

Today, a new consumer identity naturally leads to the predominance and the mass distribution of consumer interests [17] and the triumph of wealth (especially in children), when confronted with the traditional values of the Kazakh people causes the emergence of tensions.

Of course, we have some misunderstandings between generations. These misunderstandings are between daughter and niece, also misunderstandings with granddaughter. This is other parenting, other lifestyle, other environment. Mostly the younger generation wants to have more material things than they could afford. (Int. Galina, urban, female, §9).

In Kazakhstani sample as in any country men tends to specialize in household tasks that take place outside and men are often not the ones who keep track of and schedule household labor, but will do the work if asked. While women typically do household tasks that are regularly necessary like cooking, shopping, child care, washing and cleaning. Their work tends to take place indoors and women typically plan and enlist other family members’ help.

**CONCLUSION**

The issues of power in household are one of the most urgent in current researches of family. One of the popular statements of concept of social change is that women with higher income are less dependent form their husbands in decision making process within household [18]. Thereby the position of main breadwinner of households determines possession of power in household. Kazakh households have specific determination of notions “main breadwinner” and “head of the household”. According to traditional settings and customs men always were the main breadwinner of family and therefore get formal status of head of the household. Nevertheless among traditional determinations the main breadwinner is not always a head of the households, because the eldest member of the household should be the head despite of his gender (mother, father, brother, etc.). Therefore to be the main breadwinner is not enough to get a power in Kazakh households. These traditional settings are enough wide spread among society that even they could survive after soviet modernization with ideas of gender equality and egalitarian values. Multi-generational households usually support ideas of traditional power distribution at home.

Important to note that the both positions of the main breadwinner and the head of the household are getting merge during last post-transformational changes and splitting up multi-generational households. These processes mainly are typical for urban households surrounded by high rates of institutional changes, which demand to be more mobile in making important decisions. Also the huge networks of relatives, community members (neighbors, villagers) are getting split up or lose their functions in a city under strong pressure of formal institutional changes. This dynamic underlines changing role of traditional family settings of Kazakh households at the present.

Change of role of breadwinner is a result of generalization process, which reflects on gender role in family and also changes age dispositions, when young person also can be breadwinner if he has a bigger salary than another member of family. Living in transition society provides us some samples in modern Kazakh families, where the role of breadwinner is getting more important and in some cases main breadwinner automatically gets the position of the head of family.
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REFERENCES