

A. Shabdenova 

Center for Study of Public Opinion, Kazakhstan, Almaty
e-mail: a.shabdenova@ciom.kz

DYNAMICS OF SOME SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES IN KAZAKHSTAN FAMILIES (BY RESULTS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH)

The article presents a sociological analysis of various aspects of family structure in Kazakhstan. The dynamics of changes in the structures of families in the transformation period is shown. It is based on data from international research projects supported by grants from the European Union. The designated projects are aimed at studying the life of the population of the countries of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). These are large-scale sociological surveys with a representative sample, the results of which are still used to write scientific articles, since they reflect the social processes of countries in a period of transformation, accompanied by changes in social ties and institutions. The results showed that over the past ten years there have been quite noticeable changes, both in marital status and in the structure of families in Kazakhstan, both in the urban and in the rural. One of the main changes is a decrease in the proportion of those who were married, both among men and among women; first, this change was due to the increase in those who never married. The structure of Kazakh families has also changed; the share of extended families has increased. In general, residents of Kazakhstan are positive about the prospects for changing the welfare of their families.

Key words: family, families of the population of Kazakhstan, transformation period, family changes, social structure.

А.Б. Шабденова

Қоғамдық пікірді зерттеу орталығы, Қазақстан, Алматы қ.
e-mail: a.shabdenova@ciom.kz

Қазақстандық отбасылардағы кейбір әлеуметтік-экономикалық өзгерістердің динамикасы (әлеуметтанулық зерттеудің нәтижесі бойынша)

Мақалада Қазақстандағы отбасылардың құрылымы жайлы әртүрлі аспектілерде талданылған әлеуметтанулық зерттеудің нәтижесі көрсетілген. Негізгі мәселе – мемлекеттегі динамикадағы халықтың әлеуметтік-демографиялық сипаттамалардың негізінде отбасылық модельдерді қалыптастыру. Трансформация кезеңіндегі отбасылар құрылымындағы өзгерістер динамикасы көрсетілген. Жұмыстың негізі ретінде Еуропалық Кеңестің гранттық қолдауымен жүзеге асырылған халықаралық ғылыми жобалар алынған. Аталған жобаларда Кеңес Социалистік Республикасы Одағының (КСРО) құрамына кірген бұрынғы елдердің халқының өмірін зерттеуге бағытталған. Бұл кеңмасштабты әлеуметтанулық сұраулар репрезентативті іріктеу жиынтықта және олардың нәтижелері қазіргі кезге дейін ғылыми мақалаларды жазуға қолданылады, себебі трансформациялық кезеңдегі мемлекеттегі әлеуметтік үрдістерді көрсетіп, әлеуметтік байланыстар мен институттардың өзгерулерін талқылайды. Нәтижелер көрсеткендей өткен он жыл бойынша отбасылық жағдайдың өзгергендігін, Қазақстандағы отбасы құрылымының қала және ауылдық жерлерде де өзгергендігін көрсетеді. Басты өзгерістердің бірі ретінде – некеде тұрғандардың санының азайғандығын көрсетеді, ол ерлер мен әйелдердің ішінде де бірдей көріністе. Бұл ең алдымен некеге бір рет болмасын тұрмағандардың санының көбеюімен байланысты. Сонымен қоса қазақстандық отбасылардың құрылымы да өзгерген болатын, ол кеңейтілген отбасылардың санының көбейгендігін білдіреді. Жалпы алғанда кезде, қазақстандықтар отбасылардағы әл-ауқаты деңгейінің келешектегі өзгерістерін жағымды бағалауда.

Түйін сөздер: отбасы, қазақстандық отбасылар, трансформациялық кезең, отбасының өзгеруі, әлеуметтік құрылым.

А.Б. Шабденова

Центр изучения общественного мнения, Казахстан, г. Алматы

e-mail: a.shabdenova@ciom.kz

ДИНАМИКА НЕКОТОРЫХ СОЦИАЛЬНО-ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИХ ИЗМЕНЕНИЙ В СЕМЬЯХ КАЗАХСТАНА (ПО РЕЗУЛЬТАТАМ СОЦИОЛОГИЧЕСКОГО ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ)

В статье представлен социологический анализ различных аспектов структуры семей в Казахстане. Основная проблема – формирование моделей семей в разрезе социально-демографических характеристик населения страны в динамике. Показана динамика изменений структур семей в трансформационном периоде. За основу взяты данные международных научных проектов, поддерживаемых грантами Европейского Союза. Обозначенные проекты направлены на изучение жизни населения стран бывшего Союза Советских Социалистических Республик (СССР). Это широкомасштабные социологические опросы с репрезентативной выборкой, результаты которых до сих пор используются для написания научных статей, поскольку отражают социальные процессы стран, находящихся в трансформационном периоде, сопровождающемся изменениями социальных связей и институтов. Результаты продемонстрировали, что за прошедшие десять лет наблюдаются достаточно заметные изменения как в семейном положении, так и в структуре семей в Казахстане, как в городе, так и на селе. Одно из основных изменений – снижение доли состоявших в браке как среди мужчин, так и среди женщин, в первую очередь, такое изменение произошло за счет роста ни разу не вступавших в брак. Также изменилась структура казахстанских семей, увеличилась доля расширенных семей. В целом, жители Казахстана позитивно оценивают перспективы изменения благосостояния своих семей.

Ключевые слова: семья, казахстанские семьи, трансформационный период, изменения семей, социальная структура.

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to trace how the Kazakhstani family has changed from 2001 to 2010. Such aspects as the marital status of the residents of Kazakhstan, the structure of the modern family of Kazakhstan in the city and in the countryside, the material security of families, as well as the subjective assessment of the well-being of their families by respondents in the past, present and future will be considered. In present article showed comparative sociological research conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center (CIOM, Almaty). Wide national surveys were done in all regions of Kazakhstan, it was scientific HITT project (Health in the Time of Transition, «Public health and social changes in the transition period», a comparative sociological study in 8 post-Soviet states, a grant from the European Union) in 2010 and within the LLH project (Living Conditions, Lifestyle and Health) in 2001. Main objective of these researches – study social well-being, lifestyle and health. In total 1800 respondents were interviewed in 2010 and 2000 respondents in 2001. Method of research is quantities standardized interviews F2F with respondents of 18 and older. As the result sample represents the whole population of Kazakhstan by different socio-demographic characteristics. In order to select households it was used a route sample, respondents in households were selected based on the next day rule birth.

Literature Review

The generally accepted model of the family consists father, mother and children; this is an idealized type. This type of family is part of a system of female and male roles that describe the structure and function of the family. Key characteristics in defining the concept of a family include the description of the nuclear family - man, woman and their children, which is ubiquitous in every society and at all times (Skolnick & Skolnick 1989). In modern society, the typical family does not always coincide with this ideal concept, there are various families, so in addition to the ideal nuclear family, children are raised in single parent families as well as in extended families, some of these families are foster families, some of these parents - representatives of same-sex marriages (Kinnear K. L. 1999). The collapse of the Soviet Union entailed various changes and consequences, not only in the political, economic, social spheres of independent Kazakhstan, but also in the field of family and marriage relations. (Agadjanian Victor 1999). Studies carried out in the republics of Central Asia indicate the negative impact of transformation on the life satisfaction of the population of these countries (Abbott 2002; Abbott, Wallace & Sapsford, 2011; Cockerham, Hintoe, Abbott & Haerpfer 2004; Nazpary 2002; Namazie & Sandfrey 2002; Abbott & Wallace 2009a). At the same time, the situation in Kazakhstan is slightly better than in the rest of Central Asia and some post-Soviet countries of

the Caucasus (Abbott, Wallace & Sapsford, 2011; Richardson, Hoelscher & Bradshaw 2008).

The family is the foundation of any society, as noted by researchers from different countries and at different periods. Such classics of sociology as E. Durkheim, M. Weber, P. Sorokin wrote about the importance of the institution of the family for the functioning of society. In the theories of P. Sorokin, the family is considered as an organized social group, which is at the base of the hierarchy of social structures. The main functions of the family allocated by Sorokin are education and upbringing, that is, the primary socialization of new members of society. The family is also seen as one of the channels of social vertical mobility (Sorokin, 1992). P. Berger defines the family as one of the main subjects of social control: during the process of socialization, norms of behavior in society and basic life values are instilled in the new generation (Berger, 1996).

A. Kharchev defines a family as some social group, which members do marriage or have relations as parents, community of life and mutual moral responsibility connect, and social necessity for which is due to need of society for physical and spiritual reproduction of nations (Kharchev, 1979). Accordingly, considering the transformation of families in Kazakhstan, it is necessary to review how the primary characteristics of the family have changed: marriage, family structure, everyday life.

Giddens (Giddens, 1999) examined the history of the development of the institution of the family and changes in the structure of the family in detail in his works. The pre-industrial era was characterized by families-organizations that consume what they themselves produce. Largely, such families were self-sufficient. The large number of children in such families was of great importance for the family, as it provided additional benefits in labor help. Children began working at the age of seven or eight for the benefit of the family as a whole, or they went to apprentices and might never see their parents again. Since the beginning of industrialization began an active process of displacement of smallholder families from their land. The production of goods and services has moved to workshops and factories. Men and at first the children began to leave their homes to work there. The family ceased to be a production unit, «work» and «home» were divided. The financial motives behind the marriage (dowry) and the need for a large number of children have become significantly less significant. The formation of a new type of family relations and a new type of family began – a family closed from external influence from clan and clan communities, for which

emotional closeness between family members is of paramount importance. This process is accompanied by a decrease in the number of children in the family and the formation of closer relations between all family members.

The displacement of the family from the system of production of goods and services in the process of industrialization, the entry of women into the labor market, as well as the decrease in the number of children in the family negatively affect the stability of the family. Because of such changes, the mutual dependence of family members on each other disappears. This, in turn, may be one of the reasons for the increase in the proportion of unmarried and the increase in the number of divorces. A similar picture is observed in Kazakhstan.

Materials and Methods

In Kazakhstan, the Public Opinion Research Center (CIOM) conducted this survey. It was a large-scale sociological survey throughout Kazakhstan. The main goal of this research is to understand social transformations and lifestyle of post-soviet population after collapse USSR. As a result of this project it have been written some papers, scientists from different countries still use this data for analysis. Generally, 1800 and 2000 respondents were interviewed in this projects, it was used face-to-face method that is personal interviews using standardized questionnaire. Questionnaire was developed by experienced researches from several European and post-soviet countries. A standardized interview is an interview that uses a questionnaire with clearly defined order and wording of questions in order to maximize the comparability of the data collected by different interviewers. Sample consists of population at the age of 18 and older, finally it is very representative. It represents the distribution of the general population of Kazakhstan by all socio-demographic characteristics, including gender, age, ethnicity, type of settlements and etc. A combined method using stratified and random approaches was applied to select households and respondents. Respondents in households were selected based on the rule of the nearest birthday.

Results

Marital status of citizens of Kazakhstan. For 10 years, from 2001 to 2010, there have been some changes in the structure of the marital status of residents of Kazakhstan. There has been a noticeable increase in the proportion of never married in all age

groups. This is especially noticeable for young people between the ages of 18 and 29: the percentage of never

married in this age group increased by 5.4%. Some results of marital status are represented in table 1.

Table 1 – Marital status of citizens of Kazakhstan in 2001 and 2010

	2010					2001				
	18-29	30-34	35-44	45-54	55 - older	18-29	30-34	35-44	45-54	55 - older
Never married	59,6%	10,9%	6,2%	4,2%	2,8%	54,2%	7,6%	4,1%	2,5%	1,4%
Married (including civil marriage)	38,4%	75,2%	81,3%	75,7%	62,3%	40,2%	79,6%	83,5%	82,7%	59,5%
Divorced	1,8%	13,4%	10,5%	12,0%	3,9%	5,2%	10,8%	10,0%	6,0%	5,0%
Widowed	0,2%	0,5%	1,9%	8,1%	31,2%	0,4%	2,0%	2,4%	8,8%	34,1%

The number of divorced and non-remarried people in the 30-34 and 45-54 age groups increased. At the same time, there is a significant decline in divorced and unmarried young people. There is an increase in the number of people who have never been married, both formal and civil, for both men and women,

although this process is less pronounced for women. Never married 27% of men, 17.3% of women in 2010, 20.1% of men, and 14.2% of women in 2001. In 2010, 63.9% of men and 61.5% of women are married (including civil marriage), in 2001 – 72.4% of men and 61.4% of women.

Table 2 – Marital status of men and women in Kazakhstan in 2001 and 2010

	2010		2001	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Never married	27,0%	17,3%	20,1%	14,2%
Married (including civil marriage)	63,9%	61,5%	72,4%	61,4%
Divorced	6,1%	8,0%	3,9%	9,7%
Widowed	3,0%	13,1%	3,6%	14,7%

Women are significantly less likely than men to remarry after the death of a spouse. This trend is typical for both 2001 and 2010. This can partly be explained by the decline in the number of men over 45 years old. Also, women are less likely to remarry after divorces.

An interesting pattern is characteristic of 2001: the proportion of men who are married (registered or in a common-law) is 11% higher than the proportion of women who are married. At the same time,

divorced women in 2001 are significantly higher. For 2010, this difference is within the sampling error. It is rather difficult to explain this feature of 2001. Considering the structure of marriage status in different age groups among men and women, it can be seen that young people under the age of 30 are significantly less likely to marry than girls. Almost 71% of men and only 47.3% of women aged 18-29 have never been married. Almost half of the girls in this age group are married (formal or civil).

Table 3 – Marital status of men and women in Kazakhstan in 2001 and 2010

	2010					2001				
	18-29	30-34	35-44	45-54	55 - older	18-29	30-34	35-44	45-54	55 - older
Male										
Never married	70,9%	12,1%	6,4%	2,5%	1,4%	61,7%	10,6%	2,8%	2,3	1,2%
Married (including civil marriage)	28,4%	77,8%	83,1%	85,4%	78,6%	35,9%	82,9%	90,1%	90,1%	82,5%
Divorced	0,7%	10,1%	10,5%	9,5%	5,0%	2,4%	5,7%	6,6%	2,3%	2,4%
Widows	0%	0%	0%	2,5%	15,0%	0%	0,8%	0,5%	5,3%	13,9%
Female										
Never married	47,3%	9,7%	6,1%	5,7%	3,6%	47,4%	4,7%	5,2%	2,7%	1,5%
Married (including civil marriage)	49,2%	72,8%	76,9%	66,9%	52,0%	44,1%	76,7%	78,0%	77,4%	45,5%
Divorced	3,0%	16,5%	10,5%	14,3%	3,1%	7,7%	15,6%	12,8%	8,6%	6,6%
Widowed	0,4%	1,0%	3,9%	13,2%	41,2%	0,7%	3,1%	4,0%	11,3%	46,5%

In the 30-34 age group, the proportion of men who were married becomes slightly higher than the proportion of girls (77.8% and 72.8%, respectively, for 2010, 82.9% for men and 76.7% for women in 2001). It can be expected that this difference is partly due to men who are married to girls in the 18-29 age group. The same trend is typical for the 35-44 age group. That is, a family in which the wife is somewhat younger than her husband is characterizes modern Kazakhstan. The proportion of divorced women in most age groups is significantly higher than the proportion of divorced men.

The level of education has a rather serious impact on the structure of marital status among residents of Kazakhstan. In both 2001 and 2010, the proportion of respondents with no education or with primary education who have never been married is very low - only 3.9% and 5.3%, respectively. A relatively low proportion of never-married citizens of the country with higher and secondary specialized education, although this proportion has increased since 2001.

The highest share of never married is observed among respondents with incomplete secondary and secondary education. The respondents with incomplete higher education stand out separately - the high proportion of never married in this group is primarily related to the age of representatives of this group - young people are most often under 25.

The highest share of married people is among citizens of the country with higher education, although even among them the share of married people has decreased since 2001. The high proportion of widows among the country's citizens with primary education is most likely explained by the fact that this group includes the elderly. Among rural residents, the proportion of married people is higher than among those living in cities. Although for both types of settlements, there is a tendency for the share of families to decrease due to an increase in the share of never married. Differences in the shares divorced in rural and urban areas, as well as changes from 2001 to 2010, are within the sampling error.

Table 4 – Marital status of urban and rural residents, 2001-2010

	2010		2001	
	Город	Село	Город	Село
Never married	23,7%	20,4%	18,7%	16,0%
Married (including civil marriage)	58,1%	66,4%	61,3%	69,3%
Divorced	9,0%	5,5%	10,7%	4,2%
Widowed	9,3%	7,7%	9,3%	10,5%

Household structure

The following indicators characterize the family structure as a household: the size of the household, as well as the number of children in the family. In recent decades, there has been a worldwide trend towards decreasing family size, from extended families of three or more generations to nuclear families of parents with one or two children. This trend is not yet typical for Kazakhstan. From 2001 to 2010, the share of households consisting of one person decreased, as well as the share of nuclear families. This is typical primarily for families from cities, where the share of households of 2-3 persons

has decreased by 10.4% in 10 years. At the same time, the number of extended families is growing, consisting not only of parents with children, but also of grandparents. The number of such families in the city increased by 12% compared to 2001 (Table 5).

In rural areas, these processes, which are characteristic of the city, appeared less bright. We can say that in general, the family structure has remained unchanged since 2001. The share of one-person households decreased slightly (less than 2%), while the share of nuclear families decreased by 2.8%. The share of large families with more than six people has grown significantly from 16% in 2001 to 25.8% in 2010.

Table 5 – Family size in urban and rural areas in 2001 and 2010

	2010		2001	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
1 person	7,8%	3,1%	9,4%	5,0%
2-3 persons	44,0%	28,9%	54,4%	31,7%
4-5 persons	37,6%	42,3%	33,5%	47,3%
6 and more people	10,6%	25,8%	2,7%	16,0%

These changes in household structure were reflected in the average family size. Therefore, if in 2001 the average urban family consisted of 3.08 people, then in 2010 the size of the average urban family is 3.6 people. In rural areas, the average family size increased from 4.04 person in 2001 year to 4.5 in 2010 year. That is, both in the city and in the countryside, there was an increase in households by an average of 0.5 people.

Another characteristic of the household structure is the number of children. In this study, a question was asked about the number of children under 16 living in a household. From 2001 year, it has been tendency towards decreasing trend in the average number of children in family, such tendency observed in urban and rural. If in 2001 there were 1.41 children under the age of 16 in an average urban family, then in 2010 it was only 0.76. In the village, the average number of children decreased from 1.77 to 1.18 in ten years.

Thus, the following trend is observed, which is typical for both urban and rural families: the size of households is growing, while the number of children in a family is decreasing. It can be assumed that the increase in family size was due to the merger of nuclear families with grandparents and other relatives during the 2008 crisis, which allowed households to survive difficult times.

The economic burden coefficient, which characterizes the ratio of breadwinners who bring income either in cash or in kind, to the total number of household members, has remained practically unchanged, both in the countryside (0.42 in both 2001 and 2010) and city (0.54 in 2010 and 0.53 in 2001). The lower this coefficient, the greater the number of non-working people (children, pensioners, unemployed) per one working family member. It can be seen that this indicator is significantly lower in the village. That is, for one income-generating family member, there is a greater number of non-working family members in the village.

Material security of households

In this study, a number of both objective and subjective factors assessed the material security of households. Objective factors include the structure of basic household income in rural and urban areas, as well as the provision of durable goods. This includes the size of the household plots for growing agricultural products. Subjective factors include the assessment of the financial situation of the household at the moment, five years later, and the assessment of the financial situation of the household 10 years ago.

If in 2001, the provision with basic durables (refrigerator, TV, washing machine) in urban was significantly higher than in rural, by 2010 the situation had practically leveled off. The share of families with TVs and refrigerators in rural and in urban is practically the same: almost every family has these household items. At the same time, while the share of urban families with TVs has grown by 8.6% since 2001, the share of rural families with TVs has grown by 18.9%.

At the same time, the provision of rural households with non-essential durables (computers, cell phones, home theaters and dishwashers) lags significantly behind urban households. The only indicator by which rural households outpace urban households in 2010 is the provision of cars. In total 2001 was characterized by the same level of provision of vehicles for urban and rural households. The structure of the main sources of income can serve as one of the indicators of changes in the material well-being of households. The main indicator of the improvement in the well-being of households, both in urban and rural areas, is a significant reduction in households without sources of income over 10 years. In urban households, the structure of the main sources of income as a whole has not changed much: there has been an increase in households for which the main source of income is wages due to a reduction in the share of households without income sources and households with pensions and social assistance as the main sources of income.

The structure of basic income for rural households from 2001 to 2010 changed significantly. The share of households for which the main source of income is wages increased by 19%, primarily due to a significant decrease in households for which the main source of income is income from the sale of agricultural products. This change occurs against the background of the generally unchanged size of the area for growing agricultural products. If in 2001, the average rural family had at its disposal 14.6 acres of land, then in 2010 – 13.1 acres (for urban households there was an increase in the area for growing agricultural products from 3.3 acres in 2001 to 4.84 acres in 2010). If we analyze the change in the size of plots for growing agricultural products, we can see that for nuclear families (no more than three people per family), both in the city and in the village, the size of plots has increased. The size of plots for urban families of six or more people has also increased (most likely families consisting of three or four generations living in private houses within the city limits fall into this category).

At the same time, the size of plots for rural families larger than four persons has decreased. This is especially true for rural families of six or more. This phenomenon can be explained quite simply. As mentioned above, over the past 10 years there have been quite noticeable changes in the structure of the family. There has been a consolidation and an increase in the average household size. This is especially noticeable in the share of families of six people or more: since 2001, the share of such families has increased by 9.8%. At the same time, the size of land holdings remained unchanged. Thus, households that in 2001 fell into one group by family size and were characterized by a certain plot size, in 2010, due to an increase in family size, fell into another group, characterized by large average plot sizes. Which led to a decrease in the average size of the sites.

Another indicator of changes in the well-being of families in Kazakhstan is the provision of utilities, in particular, access to piped cold and hot water. In general, across Kazakhstan, 98% of urban and 74.5% of rural households have access to cold-piped water in 2010. At the same time, 45.5% of rural residents have access to piped water through water pumps on the street. Only 25.5% of rural families have centralized water supply inside the house.

The supply of hot tap water is significantly lower than the supply of cold tap water, especially in rural areas. Almost 78.8% of urban families and only 4.1% of rural families in 2010 had access to hot tap water. The changes that have taken place since 2001 have affected only urban families, the share of households provided with centralized hot water increased by 10.6% by 2010. The share of rural Kazakhstani families provided with hot tap water remained practically unchanged.

The subjective assessment of the family's well-being reflects the respondents' perception of their own well-being and the well-being of the family, often taking into account the lives of neighbors and friends, as well as the family's past well-being. For 10 years, from 2001 to 2010, the overall assessment of the material well-being of families, both in the village and in the city, has significantly improved. The share of families who rate their well-being as very poor has decreased (especially among urban families). More than 4 times for urban families and almost 3 times for rural families decreased the share of households who assess their material well-being as poor. The share of urban and rural households who rate their well-being as good has approximately doubled.

Table 6 – Assessment of the material well-being of urban and rural families in 2001 and 2010

Оценка	2010		2001	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Very good	2,2%	1,3%	1,7%	0,7%
Good	29,2%	29,4%	14,8%	13,9%
Average	62,0%	61,5%	56,0%	62,8%
Bad	5,7%	7,3%	24,1%	21,3%
Very bad	0,9%	0,6%	3,4%	1,3%

It is characteristic that if in 2001 there was a statistically significant relationship between the assessment of the well-being of the family and the place of residence of the family (villagers assessed their well-being as a whole lower than the villagers, the significance of the χ -square statistic at the level of $p = 0.003$). Then in 2010 such a pattern no, urban and rural families assess their well-being approximately the same. The data obtained on the dynamics of the subjective

assessment of welfare from 2001 to 2010 are in good agreement with the respondents' assessment of the changes in the welfare of the family over the past 10 years. Thus, 59% of respondents from urban families and 52.1% of respondents from rural families in 2010 noted that over the past 10 years their well-being has improved to one degree or another. Only 13.9% of respondents from the city and 13.2% of rural residents said about the deterioration in the well-being of their families.

Table 7 – Assessment of the well-being of urban and rural families over the past 10 years in 2001 and 2010

	2010		2001	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Definitely improved	17,1%	9,8%	3,9%	3,0%
Rather improved	41,9%	42,3%	22,2%	23,0%
Remained unchanged	26,8%	34,1%	29,5%	35,6%
Rather worsened	12,1%	11,1%	25,9%	29,8%
Definitely worse	1,8%	2,1%	18,6%	8,6%
Difficult to answer	0,4%	0,6%	-	-

In 2001, a negative trend in assessing changes in welfare prevailed. Only 26.1% of respondents from the city and 26% of respondents from the countryside noted positive changes in the material security of their families since 1991. In addition, 44.5% of urban families and 38.4% of rural families characterized the change in well-being as a deterioration. The

assessments of urban and rural families regarding changes in their well-being in the next five years are very positive. More than 73% of urban and almost 67% of rural families are confident that their well-being will improve. Only 2.9% of families from cities and 3.2% of rural families have a negative assessment of the prospects for changes in well-being.

Table 8 – Expectations of changes in the level of material well-being of urban and rural families in 2001 and 2010

Оценка	2010		2001	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Will improve significantly	13,1%	7,4%	3,7%	4,1%
Will improve	60,3%	59,5%	43,2%	42,5%
Will remain unchanged	17,8%	23,6%	33,6%	40,2%

Get worse	2,8%	2,9%	17,0%	12,1%
Will worsen significantly	0,1%	0,3%	2,5%	1,1%
Difficult to answer	5,9%	6,3%	-	-

In 2001, the expectations of Kazakhstanis were less positive. Thus, 19.5% of urban families and 13.2% of rural families expected a deterioration in their well-being.

Conclusion

According to the results of the data obtained in the course of two studies conducted in 2001 and 2010 over the past 10 years, there have been quite noticeable changes, both in marital status and in the structure of families in Kazakhstan, both in the city and in the countryside. One of the main changes is a decrease in the proportion of married people, both among men and among women. Primarily due to the growth of never married. At the same time, this tendency is observed both in the city and in the countryside. The share of divorced and not remarried since 2001 has practically not changed, just as the divorce structure has not changed: there are more women in this group than men. The structure of the Kazakh family itself has changed. Firstly, according to the research data, there was an increase in the number of people in the family, both in the city and in the countryside, by about 0.5 people. At the same time, there is a significant decrease in the average number of children in families, significantly below the minimum level of simple reproduction of the population. Even taking into account the fact that the conducted studies asked about the presence of children under the

age of 16 (and not 18, as is customary in official statistics), the data obtained indicate a very small number of children in Kazakhstani families. Thus, the increase in family size was due to the unification and formation of extended families, including not only parents with children, but also grandparents and other relatives. Most likely, these processes were caused by the 2008 crisis, when the unification of several families became one of the methods of survival. Since 2001, the material well-being of Kazakh families has improved. This is confirmed by both objective indicators in the form of the provision of basic durable goods, a decrease in the proportion of families without sources of income and access to quality drinking water, and subjective assessments of the well-being of families now and in the past. Residents of Kazakhstan are positive about the prospects for changing the welfare of their families in the next five years.

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