THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN KAZAKH NOMADIC SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT
This article examines the role of women in the Kazakh nomadic society. For centuries, the nomadic Kazakh society formed social foundations and traditional values, which consisted in respect for the mother woman as the keeper of the home. The position and role of women in Kazakh nomads were largely determined by the specific nature of the nomadic economy and the nomadic views about the place of women in life. Analyzing the social status of women in the nomadic Kazakh society, the authors of the article investigated the notes of travelers, the fundamental works of well-known ethnographers, as well as articles of modern researchers. The authors also skillfully cite Kazakh proverbs and sayings about the role and position of women in the family and society. The popular wisdom of nomadic Kazakhs contains a philosophy of being and worldview, where the role of a woman mother is given a special and one of the key roles. Legends and tales of the Kazakh people preserve the image of a woman as a brave warrior, in words of edification, there is the wisdom of women rulers. The article is an interdisciplinary study based on methods and materials on history and ethnography, sociology and culturology.

Keywords: Kazak kadınlar, Kazak göçebe toplumu, Kazak göçebeçiler, Göçebe kültür, Annenin rolü, Eşin rolü, Kadınların eşitliği

INTRODUCTION
In the traditions of the Kazakh people mothers and daughters were always honored. In his message to the people, the "Strategy-Kazakhstan-2050": a new political course in Kazakhstan" on December 15, 2012, the Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed, "Dear women! You are a pillar of the family, and therefore – a pillar of the State... First of all, it is necessary to pay great attention to the upbringing of our daughters. They are our future wives, mothers, our heart and home keepers... Women are an important part of our society and should not be restricted from driving cars, pursuing a career or forced to wear traditional dress that has never been worn in Kazakhstan.

Our people emphasize that "A girl's path is fragile". A girl's path, a daughter's path is fragile, you can’t break it. A girl, a woman has always been an equal member of our society, and a mother is our society's most respected figure. We must return unconditional respect to the woman – the mother, wife,
daughter. We must protect the rights of women. I am worried about the situation about the growth of the domestic violence against women and children. There should be no disrespectful attitude to a woman and violence should not be tolerated. The State should intervene to stop blatant cases of sexual slavery, attitude to a woman as a commodity.

There are a lot of broken families in our country. The State should help singles mothers. We should provide women with flexible employment schemes and create conditions to work at home. The Law, State and I will be on the side of our women. We will create conditions so that women's roles in the life of our country can grow. The modern Kazakhstan woman should pursue her career" (Nazarbayev 2012).

We would like, as an evidence-based argument, to quote Kazakh writer Ilyas Esenberlin (2001), who in the last century said such important words, "The nature of the people is determined by the woman-mother. Women of each people actually determine the national character. Perhaps, in the entire East, you will never find a more freedom-loving and free woman than the Kazakh woman. She never hid her face behind the tight net of the veil, she knew how to love and fight for her love, she was not afraid to hold advice together with the eldest, and, if necessary, she took a quiver with arrows, short and curve, and sat in the saddle. Kazakh legends preserved many names of brave and wise women", – said the author of the trilogy "The Nomads" (Esenberlin, 2001).

This article is an attempt to consider in various aspects the position of a woman in the traditional nomadic culture of Kazakhs. One of the incentives for writing this work has become an increased, especially in recent times, interest in the issue of Muslim women, including in post-Soviet Kazakhstan.

Gender studies, based on Kazakhstani materials, are one of the most complex modern scientific areas. The specificity of the issue lies in the fact that the traditional position of women in the Kazakh society is radically different from that in Europe.

At present, the process of revival of certain forms of traditional Kazakh culture is underway. On the one hand, the impulses come from the side of ordinary culture bearers, on the other hand, on the part of the state propagandizing the ideas of national revival.

In modern conditions of increased interest in studying the history and culture of Kazakhstan and returning to some religious and legal, as well as everyday traditional norms of the Kazakh society, the article devoted to the study of the role of women in traditional Kazakh society will be useful not only for historians, ethnographers, representatives of human rights structures and employees of social spheres dealing with social and legal support of women in modern Kazakhstan, but also a wide range of readers interested in the history of Kazakhstan.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The traditional economic theory postulates that forward-looking individuals maximize expected lifetime utility using economic information to build retirement assets over their working lives (Behrman et al., 2012). The popular microeconomic approach to saving and consumption decisions in the area of personal finance postulates that a fully rational and well-informed individual will consume less than his income in times of high earnings, thus saving to support consumption when his income falls. During the years of high earnings, an individual accumulates wealth in order to spend it during the years of low income. Individuals do consume and do invest and their decisions affect the whole economy. Throughout their lifetime, individuals make different decisions about saving, investing and consumption both in the short run and in the long run. Such authors as Modigliani and Brumberg (1954) and Friedman (1957) discussed the issue of financial literacy as the consumer is posited to arrange his optimal saving and decumulation patterns to smooth marginal utility over his lifetime. Such microeconomic models generally assume that an individual can formulate and execute saving and spend down plans, which requires them to have the capacity to undertake complex economic calculations and to have an expertise in dealing with financial markets. Keown (2009) described key issues of financial literacy and pointed out the importance of personal finance in his textbook “Personal Finance: Turning Money into Wealth”. The author scientifically described such issues as the
personal financial planning process, mortgage loans, consumer loans, investment in stocks, bonds etc. Financially educated individuals in the sphere of personal finance usually make wise decisions about housing, mortgage, short-term and long-term investment. They push demand on particular financial products such as deposits, loans, and also on financial instruments such as stock and bond. During the economic recession, they may influence the economy counter-cycle way by investing in stock or bonds. Using this strategy they may facilitate economic growth, increase Gross Domestic Product of their country. As it is universally accepted, consumption and investment are significant parts of Gross Domestic Product and they are managed by physical entities. By investing their excess funds into stocks, bonds or placing them in bank deposits, they may facilitate economic growth during the period of the recession of an individual.

Lusardi and Mitchell (2014) mentioned that despite the rapid spread of such financially complex products as student loans, mortgages, credit cards, pension accounts, and annuities, many of these have proven to be difficult for financially unsophisticated investors to deal with. Such developments have their advantages, they also impose on households a much greater responsibility to borrow, save, invest and decumulate their assets sensibly by permitting tailored financial contracts and more people to access credit (Johnson and Sherraden, 2007). Such authors as Lusardi and Mitchell (2007b) and Lusardi and Tufano (2009), have found low levels of financial literacy in the US population, an inability to understand basic financial concepts, such as the importance of retirement savings and poor judgment in borrowing decisions. At the same time, Cole, Sampson, and Zia (2011) found out that there are very low levels of financial literacy for households in India and Indonesia. Lusardi finds widespread lack of financial literacy among people with low levels of education, women, and minorities. This lack of financial literacy is associated with poor financial making, in particular, regarding retirement planning (Lusardi and Tufano, 2009; Stango and Zinman, 2009).

Yet despite the strong association between financial literacy and a range sure of financial well-being, little is known about the efficacy of financial training programs in improving these outcomes. Bernheim, Garrett, and Maki (2001) studied variation across states and time in mandatory financial education for high school students and find that mandates increased exposure to financial curricula asset accumulation. However, subsequent work by Cole, Paulson, and Shastry uses a larger sample and finds a little effect. Cole, Sampson, and Zia (2009) randomized evaluation of a financial education program in Indonesia. Gracer et al. (2014) mentioned that financial literacy is strongly correlated with the demand for financial literacy education.

In terms of training in the sphere of financial literacy, many researchers analyzed whether there is a causal link between literacy and individual outcomes. In their studies, Garrett (1996) and Lusardi (2005) provide survey evidence that attendance of financial counseling programs does positively affect those attendees with low income and that education effects of the programs are large; however, with self-selection into an upward bias. In contrast, Duflo and Saez (2003) conduct exposing employees to a benefits fair that raises awareness, but they find only a small effect on savings plan enrollment.

**METHODOLOGY**

The role of women in society is usually determined on the basis of its social status. In the scientific revolution, the term "role" was introduced in the 1920s-1930s. George Herbert Mead and Ralph Linton. G. Mead, when presenting his concepts, applied this term when he developed the idea of "accepting the role of another", for explaining the act of interaction of individuals in the process of speech communication. In fact, the concept of a role was taken from the theater, where it was used as a metaphor for a number of phenomena of social behavior.

The status, according to R. Linton, is the place that an individual occupies in a given system. And the concept of "role" is used by scientists to describe the entire diversity of cultural patterns of behavior associated with a particular status. The role, therefore, includes the attitudes, values, and behavior prescribed by society for everyone with a certain status. Due to the fact that the role is external behavior, it is a dynamic aspect of the status, i.e. what the individual should do to justify the status he occupies (Andreeva, Bogomolova & Petrovskaya, 2001).

The social role is a function of different levels of objective and subjective order, which are reflected in the role behavior of the individual (Andreeva et al., 2001).
In modern social sciences, the concept of status is seen as "a stable position within the social system, associated with certain expectations, rights, and responsibilities" (Jerry & Jerry, 1999). Each person occupies several positions in the society. For example, a woman can be a teacher, wife, and mother. Each of these social positions is called status. Although a person can have a number of statuses, one of them, which can be called the main one, determines his social position (Smelser, 1994).

Social status is determined by the functions of the individual in society, his rights, and duties with respect to other participants in social interaction. It is important to distinguish between the social status (or, as it is also called, prescribed), social status, conditioned by gender, ethnic and social background, and the achieved status acquired at the expense of a person's personal abilities. Public status can combine prescribed and achieved elements. The prescribed status of a Kazakh woman in a nomadic society was determined by her descent, that is, belonging to the family-related group of her parents, and the initial formal status of the woman in the husband's family that she received while marrying, and the achieved status - her position in the family-related group husband, which she occupied by virtue of her personal qualities and abilities both during her husband's life, and after his death or in case of divorce (Stasevich, 2011).

In this study, we propose, as a basis for determining the social status of a woman in society, to take the ratio of the statutory status and status acquired by a woman during her life as prescribed by the statutory law of the Kazakhs.

Before talking about the components of social status, you need to determine the scale of its evaluation. How to define this scale: from the point of view of modern consciousness, using the modernist approach, or from the point of view of the traditional worldview, based on the traditional values of the nomadic society? It is necessary to identify a specific feature of the Kazakh society, which will persist for a long time, having its own projections in modern times. The traditional, and to some extent, modern Kazakh society is patriarchal. Therefore, the scale of assessing the social status of a woman in the "low-high" line will take place in relation to the status of a man in a nomadic Kazakh society in a particular historical epoch. This approach does not exclude the fact that, in accordance with its nature, a woman has different rights and duties than men's, as well as life goals that she realizes within her inherent sphere of life (Stasevich, 2011).

The traditional economic status of a woman is determined by the woman's right (or lack thereof) to own personal property. In addition, the economic status of women in society is determined by the very well-being of the family, and therefore also by the property that it inherited after the death of the husband or in the event of a divorce.

The social status of women, in addition to the designated components, includes the family status of women. In a traditional nomadic society, family status is of great importance and automatically affects the social status of women. In the traditional nomadic culture, the age of a woman is directly related to her social position. Age classes are the basis of traditional social organization. The transition from one age group to another is clearly recorded and is accompanied by a change in the behavior of women in accordance with the new age status (Stasevich, 2011).

Given all the above features in the definition and evaluation of the status of women in the nomadic Kazakh society, the work used both general scientific and specific methods of historical analysis. In particular, it is a systemic approach, a comparative-historical method, a method of structural-functional analysis, a coincidence of historical and logical.

LITERATURE REVIEW
In science to this day, there is no single view on the traditional position and role of the Kazakh woman in nomadic society and family. Some researchers write about the degraded status of women in society compared to men, while others, on the contrary, note the rather high status of Kazakh women who historically do not know seclusion, who are distinguished by freedom and independence. These contradictions are explained by the fact that a woman performs several social roles during her life, sometimes simultaneously. The woman is a mother, wife, sister, daughter... It is important to identify...
the main status that will determine the social status and role of the Kazakh woman in a nomadic society at different periods of her life (Stasevich 2011).

Thus, A.S. Abdirajymova, R.S. Zharkynbayeva, K. Bizhigitova (2014) have undertaken the attempt to show that in the works of the Russian authors in the context of imperial policy in the Steppes (the end of the XVIII-beginning of XX century) a peculiar image of the Kazakh woman as "depressed", "without rights" but at the same time "free from Muslim dogmatism and reticence" was formed. Also, a historiographic analysis of the already written works on the history and culture of Kazakhstan demonstrates how the scientific approaches of researchers changed over time, how scientific concepts succeeded each other, at certain periods that were directly dependent on the political regime of the state. Naturally, the theme of the role of women in the Kazakh nomadic society in each historical period received specific coverage in the works of historians and culturologists.

In prerevolutionary sources, there is an assessment of the social role of the Cossacks from the point of view of Europeans who first became acquainted with the way of life of the Central Asian nomads. In publications of the Soviet era, the pre-revolutionary situation of Kazakh women is described as a hopeless nightmare, and their life under Soviet power is described as "the happy life of Soviet workers". At the beginning of the XIX century, in connection with Russia's growing interest in the Central Asian region, the first written adat compiled by Russian officials appear, as well as ethnographic publications on the way of life of the nomadic population of the steppes (Gaines 1897; Levshin 2005).

When starting research, it is necessary to address the legacy of predecessors. The majority of historians, local historians, ancient lovers of Kazakh culture were sincere adherents of science, while others carried out the social order of the state, conducted a scientific study of the traditional culture of nomadic peoples to accelerate the integration of their lands into the Russian Empire or the processing of their legal norms into "new legislation". During this period, both opportunistic works and unique scientific works on the history and culture of the Kazakh people were written. But all these works need careful analysis since they reveal the very "picture of life" of the era when they were written and allow us to present the degree of study of the problems raised in our work.

The first historical information about the nomadic people, who inhabited the territory of Kazakhstan, is contained in the works of scientific travelers. Their work is an example of a purposeful study of the history, geography of the country, life and culture of the local population. Ethnographic information in these sources refers to individual aspects of family-marriage relations, descriptions of life-cycle rituals, customs, and laws of the nomadic population of the Kazakh steppes (Duffy, 1874; Huntington, 1905).

In the XVIII-early XX century in the literature the name of Kazakhs as "Kirghiz-kaisaki" or "Kirghiz-Cossacks" was widespread. In many works of that time, Kazakhs are also described under the name "Kirghiz".

In the 1830s, the work of Orientalist A.I. Lyovshina "Description of Kirghiz-Cossack or Kirghiz-Kaisak hordes and steppes", which became the first scientific monograph devoted to the history, geography, and ethnography of Kazakhstan. The author used the materials of the archive of the Asian Department of the Foreign Ministry, the archive of the Orenburg Border Commission. An important advantage of the work of A.I. Levshina (2005) lies in the fact that he indicated the sources, from which he borrowed the information given to him. This fundamental work was reissued in 2005 already in sovereign Kazakhstan under the heading "Description of hordes and steppes of Kazakhs". A significant ethnographic material on the topic under consideration is contained in the work of K. Kustanaev. The author, being a pupil of the Turkestan Teachers' Seminary, wrote his work on the basis of his own observations. Studying the culture "from within", Kustanaev (1894) gives a number of information not known to European observers. In particular, he stops in his work on the specifics of the social status of women in a nomadic environment.

The history of the nomads of Eurasia was studied by the Russian historian, geographer and thinker L.N. Gumilev. In his famous work "Ancient Turks" the author analyzed the ethnic, political and
religious aspects of the existence of the Great Turkic Khaganate of the 6th-8th centuries A.D. (Gumilev, 1967).

The general monograph of the Kazakh ethnographer K.A. is devoted to the study of family and marriage among Kazakhs. Argynbaeva, published in 1973 in the Kazakh language. In the works of H.A. Argynbaeva considers family-marriage relations and associated customs and rites in the period from the second half of the XVIII century to the present day (Argynbaev, 2005).

The book of the Russian ethnographer I.V. Stasevich "The social status of women from Kazakhs: traditions and modernity" is devoted to the study of the position of the Kazakh woman in traditional and modern culture. The attention of the author is focused on changes in the social status of the Kazakh woman that have occurred over the past 200 years and are associated with the cardinal transformation of the traditional nomadic society. His conclusions about the specifics of the social status of women author confirm the arguments about the role of women in the rituals of the life cycle. I.V. Stasevich (2011) believes that "traditionally Kazakh women are the guardians of the family traditions and values of Kazakh ethnos... Respect for a woman is present in each Kazakh national tradition or ceremony".

Comprehensive research by K.A. Argynbaeva and I.V. Stasevich is one of the most complete on the issue of the role of women in the Kazakh nomadic society.

The scientists of the Amazon world, women warriors, are of great scientific interest. For a long time, the Amazons were considered mythical women from ancient Greek legends. But recent archaeological research has shown that these bold women lived in the boundless steppes of Eurasia, in the territory of modern Kazakhstan. It is scientifically proven that women warriors were from the Saka (Scythians) and Sarmatians, nomadic peoples of ancient Kazakhstan. And today, Kazakhs consider themselves descendants of these women warriors.

Jeannine Davis-Kimball, now the director of the American Eurasian Research Institute and its subsidiary, the Center for the Study of Eurasian Nomadism, at the University of California at Berkeley has found that in reality, warrior women were quite common among ancient Eurasian societies and also among other nomads. "Our new evidence shows that women have always had a pretty prominent place in nomadic societies," she says ("Amazon Warrior Women" n.d.). Jeannine Davis-Kimball and Mona Behan have uncovered an entire ancient class of courageous women who played vital and respected roles. "Warrior Women" is the first mainstream book to explore the lost world of women warriors that stretches from Europe to Asia. What emerges is not only a thrilling and exotic ride but a provocative re-examination of gender roles for the 21st century.


Albeit, Katheryn M. Linduff, Karen S. Rubinson (2008) argue that, "Men versus women’s activities or roles were not of interest and were rarely recorded, and some of the observations, such as those about the presence of "warrior-women", were highly mythologized rather than accurately observed." Considerable information about the social and cultural life of nomadic Kazakhs is contained in the work of Steven Sabol, which is a comparative history of the United States and Russia during their efforts to colonize and assimilate the two indigenous groups of people within their national borders: the Sioux of the Great Plains and the Kazakhs of the Eurasian Steppe. He has compared the various forms of Sioux and Kazakh martial, political, social, and cultural resistance evident throughout the nineteenth century (Sabol 2017).

The article also uses the work of Morris Rossabi (n.d.), I. Winner (1963), A.E. Hudson (1938), Raphael Patai (1951), in which are consecrated some problems of nomadism in Central Asia, social organizations and social structure of the Kazakhs.
The role of women in military affairs of ancient Nomadic tribes of Kazakhstan was observed in the articles of Kazakhstani researchers Gaukhar Z. Balgabayeva, Sergey V. Samarkin, Elizaveta V. Yarochkina, Aigul B. Taskuzhina, Aigul B. Amantseva, Svetlana V. Nazarova, Elmira Nauryzbayeva, Utegen Isenov, and Tolkyn Erisheva (2016). Zamza Kodar, Aigul Adilbaeva, Gulmira Urankhaeva, Gulnar Baipeisova, and Auezkhan Kodar (2018) studied gender stratification in nomadic culture. Gulnara Mendikulova and Evgeniya Nadezhuk (2017) illustrated the role of women in Kazakh society by reviewing the activities of some important figures in the field of education during the colonial period in Kazakhstan.

FINDINGS

Legends of distant times brought to us the sung by narrator-akyns (improvisatory poets and singers) heroic and majestic image of the steppe woman – daughter, mother, wife, ruler, and batyr (heroine). The Kazakh people have always admired their daughters, their beauty, their intelligence and valiant appearance. And women of the Great Steppe always used a special status in the social and political hierarchy of the Kazakh state.

According to the true laws of the Kazakh people, the girl was not meant for entertainment as a bond slave, she was equal in a severe nomadic life, and therefore, could only become a wife, mother, and, when required, a defender of the motherland. From an ancient period in the Kazakh language, for example, such archaisms were preserved: "ot-anasy" – the main keeper of the hearth; "ot-agasy" – the head of the family.

In a nomadic society, Kazakh women have had a larger say in family matters than women in traditional sedentary societies, where they were often relegated to enclosed compounds and are rarely seen even outside the home (Kassymova, Kundakbaeva and Markus 2012). Whereas nomadic Kazakh women were free of veils, as they had to ride horses and work in activities, like herding, alongside men (Saidazimova, 2005).

Women played a very important role in the nomadic group. The economic structure of the nomadic organization cannot be sustained without them. Women carry out all the chores and labor. These so-called "barbarians" by the Chinese are far advanced in terms of women's rights. We know in later periods of nomadic history that women have to right to own property and animals, which is unique in traditional times. They have a right to divorce. While the men can focus on warfare and fighting against enemies, the women would take care of economic basis of the entire economy of a nomadic group (Rossabi, n.d.).

Women have always played a significant role in Kazakh society, especially in the economy, which derived from a pastoral nomadic system with specific customs and traditions that influenced all spheres of human activity in the steppe (Hudson, 1938). Because women were productive and reliable workmates to their men on their difficult nomadic routes, their position in society, family, and the clan was higher than that of their sedentary sisters in the neighboring Central Asian countries. They were never veiled and, in general, were subject to far fewer restrictions than women of the sedentary peoples of Central Asia (Mendikulova & Nadezhuk, 2017).

Written sources and historical monuments indicate that in the Kazakh Khanate, mothers and daughters had a special place and role in society. The role of mothers in society was determined by established clan and clan relations, traditional economy, mentality, customs and traditions (Mayor, 2014b). Wise people esteemed and valued daughters as future mothers. If the firstborn was born a daughter, then they were happy to consider this a good sign, because the Kazakh folk wisdom says: "yrys aldy qyz" (literally, "a harbinger of happiness is a daughter"). Kazakhks believed that "qyz az kungi qonaq" (literally, "daughter is a short-lived guest in the house"), so they dressed daughters in the most elegant, fed the most delicious and cherished them, planting them at the most honorable place in the house. Kazakhks esteemed daughters as intermediaries capable of bringing together distant nations and reconciling the warring nations. It's not those rich families who lived in luxury, but even Kazakh families with an average income first of all paid attention to the triumph of daughters. "The girls wore clothes from expensive fabrics, and elegant expensive jewelry made of gold and silver; beautiful expensive saddles and sets of riding harness, paddlers with a convenient for the rider's movement,
phaetons harnessed by a pair of beautiful horses were meant for girls," writes the well-known Kazakh scientist, ethnographer K. Argynbaev (2005).

In the history of the Steppe, there were many outstanding women who became the greatest pride of the nation. In the pleiad of prominent women of the world – the great queen of the Massagetae Saka Tomyris, who overthrew the king Cyrus the Great, the founder of the great Persian Empire. It is worth noting the daughter of the Saka king, the wife of the commander Mermer, the ruler of the whole city Roxonaki, about whom there is a beautiful legend that made her a symbol of justice and patriotism (Mayor, 2014a). We must remember the powerful and warlike Boarix, the queen of the Humno-Savrian Union, who owns the historical merit of concluding a peace treaty with the Byzantine Empire. We all know and are proud of our heroines – Aliya Moldagulova, Manshuk Mametova, Hiuaz Dospanova, and our beauties – Kyz Zhibek and Bayan Sulu. Kazakh poet, composer and philosopher Abai Qunanbaiuly became a great son of the Kazakh Steppe thanks to his mother Ulzhan and grandmother Zere. We are also proud of the famous composer-kuishi (dombyra player) Dina Nurpeisova, who was recognized as the National Artist of Kazakhstan for her musical accomplishments.

Kazakhs comprehensively developed, never belittled or humiliated their daughters. On the contrary, in addition to courtesy and goodwill in accordance with the laws of the steppe, they were baptized with courage and determination, perseverance and perseverance, true self-esteem and honor. And this upbringing was not in vain. Kazakh history remembers and praises the descendants of the daughter of Kabanbai batyr Nazym, who attacked the dzhungar with a war cry, showing courage in several decisive battles with the jungars Aitolkyn and daughter Abylai khan Gauhar, daughter of the hero of the Naiman genus Zhankai. In addition to them, there were many people who enjoyed great prestige among women mothers (Mayor, 2016). This was the wife of Bulanbai Batyr Aibike, the younger sister of Knesary Khan Bopay, who became the leader of five hundred soldiers and showed remarkable bravery in the fight against the Russian colonizers, grandmother Chokan Valikhanova Aigan Khansha, who knew several oriental languages and corresponded with the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire and the Siberian Committee of the Government on problems and needs with of its people (Mukhatova, 2010).

It so happened that the daughters of the Kazakh people did not have to close their faces. They lived in a parental home, next to their fathers, brothers, relatives, they were guarded, they were taken care of. The steppe law on the blood relationship of seven generations was strictly observed. Clothing of the Kazakh woman at all times corresponding to a harsh climate, a nomadic way of life, emphasized not only the religious, but also the age, social status of the female child, girl, and woman. Thus, the Soviet ethnographer, orientalist, specialist in Central Asia O.A. Sukhareva (1954) argues that such types of dresses as "kimeshek", "turban", "oramal" and "borik" were distributed, mainly, among the Turkic-speaking peoples, whose women did not hide their faces.

Women in Kazakh society also played a critical role. They were never veiled or secluded (Sabol 2017). Ellsworth Huntington visited some Kazakh camps, and he remarked that women were "continually engaged in their household tasks. They converse freely with men and make no attempt to keep themselves hidden". This is something Huntington (1905) likely expected to see because Kazakhs were Muslims, and Muslim women in his understanding of Islamic society were secluded and veiled. Contrary to expectations, Kazakh women participated in councils and assemblies; they joined in songs and games and "respond readily to jests interchanged with men" (Patai, 1951). The head of the Kazakh family at all times (however, like many other peoples) was a man. He combined the role of the defender and the breadwinner. However, despite this, the mother woman always took her special place. She was not only the keeper of the hearth and a teacher of children but also a companion, counselor for her husband. Knowingly Kazakhs said, "Zhaqsy aiyel zhaman erkekti khan qylady", which means "A good woman will even make a bad man a khan". The Kazakhs consider that it is the woman whom the future of the family and the solvency of the spouse depends on (Sukhareva, 1979).

The Kazakh people have such a proverb: "Qyzdyng zholy zhingishke" ("A girl's path is fragile"). The path of the girl, the daughter's way is thin, you cannot cut him off. Therefore, in the traditional nomadic Kazakh society the interests of women were under protection to support in Kazakh women an
unquenchable desire to make a worthy contribution to the process of transferring life experience to the younger generation of the country, love for their native language, customs, traditions, a unique national culture, spiritual universal values and ideals.

To judge the significance of a woman in a nomadic society, we will have less historical sources than legends, which are the most authentic source, because legends are people's interpretation of an extraordinary event. It is known that steppe women differed from women of other Eastern peoples in that they possessed much greater independence and freedom, often taking a direct part in the fateful decisions of the people (Winner, 1963). The steppe gave birth to such types of women as a friend-companion, a counselor of the khan, a kinswoman, a woman-wit, and, finally, a warrior woman. It is amazing that the nomads did not have women for entertainment. According to the steppe code of honor, a tribeswoman could become only a wife in the future (Kodar & Kodar 2011; Balgabayeva et al., 2016; Kodar et al., 2018).

The greatest respect for a woman is filled with the creators of the Kazakh epic. There, a woman is valued along with a horse and a weapon. And the most interesting is that she is personified as the batyr's (Kazakh hero's) mind, his intellectual resourcefulness, while the batyr himself is portrayed as a kind simple-minded ruffian who should always be guided and supported. But, one way or another, a woman in the steppe is always with a man. Even the Turkic goddess of childbirth and fertility Umai is necessarily the wife of Tengri (Kodar & Kodar 2011; Balgabayeva et al., 2016). In the opinion of Soviet and Kazakhstani Turkologist Y.A. Zuev, among the ancient Turks, not only the Khagan but also his wife had the right to supreme power. This also led to the sacralization of their clans, Khagan and Katun (Zuev, 2002; Kodar et al., 2018). In this, we can see a vestige of gynecocracy, or mother right, especially strong in ancient and medieval society. In this regard, it is interesting to quote Kazakhstani researcher N. Ospanuly's reasoning about the Turkic goddess of childbirth and fertility. "Umai does not personify the femininity in the male-female opposition. This opposition does not exist in the Turkic metaphysical system, which is thoroughly realistic and functional, phenomenological. Heidegger's "man lives on earth poetically" is said as if about the Turkic spirit. Umai has many functions according to how diverse human life is, but at the core, she protects the genealogical and anthropological identity of the Turks..." (Ospanuly, 1999).

The Turks considered a woman-mother wealth and happiness, foundation and warmth of the family. Apparently, therefore, a brilliant Russian historian, geographer and thinker L.N. Gumilev (1967) wrote in his famous fundamental work "Ancient Turks", "Attitude to the woman was emphatically respectful, chivalrous. The son, entering the yurt, bowed first to his mother, and then to his father. The Orkhon inscriptions with the greatest pathos describe the battle in which Kul Tigin defended the horde, where there were his kinswomen who were threatened with death... The origin of the mother was given great importance". Indeed, Kazakhs say, "Zhigitting zhaqsy boluyi nagashysynan" ("The guy is good thanks to his relatives on the mother’s line"). The basis of this wisdom lies in the fact that the ancestors of the Kazakhs attached special importance to the dignity and origin of their mothers and wives. This fact testifies to the high and responsible role of the girl in procreation.

The Kazakh people have always admired their daughters, called them "aq mangdaily" ("who has white forehead"), "quralai kozdi" ("who has eyes of saiga calf", i.e. "who has beautiful round brown eyes"). Women of the Great Steppe always had a special status in the social hierarchy of the Kazakh state, that is why the Kazakh people traditionally retained a respectful and careful attitude to women – keepers of the hearth.

In turn, Russian researchers who visited the Kazakh villages also expressed their opinion, praising such a particularly exemplary upbringing and majesty of the daughters and mothers of the Kazakh nomadic people. For example, researcher A.K. Gaines (1897) wrote, "Wives of Kirghiz are acquired, like all Mohammedans, by purchase, called "kalym", so parents are all the more profitable than their more beautiful daughters and it often happens that the poor Kirghiz with the help of their daughters not only corrected their condition but even very rich. To this end, in some Kyrgyz families, in order to preserve the beauty of the girls, it became customary before marriage to save them from all the hard work and trouble... praise beauties is considered a decent act by the Kirghiz, and beauties who deserve general praise are often glorified in the steppes." In fact, beautiful girls filled the content of legends and fairy tales with beauty, in them graceful beauties of many admired and fascinated. Fairy tales
about exceptional beauties, described as "ai dese auzy, kun dese kozi bar" (literally, "the moon is her mouth, the sun is her eyes"), always ended in good, and her characters achieved their goals. For example, many folk tales have survived in Kazakh folklore, "In ancient times (literally, long ago, long ago, when a goat had a gray fluff), there lived a one-bye (rich man) and had a daughter of beauty unseen. The girls who saw beauty lost consciousness. In addition to beauty, the girl also possessed intelligence." It is obvious that a generation that grew up with such tales and legends, strives for beauty (Mukhatova, 2010).

The daughters of the Kazakh people did not close their faces, were not in seclusion, legalized by the norms of the Sharia, and were not legally deprived of the right to communicate with members of other families without the permission of the husband. These provisions were fixed by adat. As during life, and after the death of their husbands, women could manage entire villages and keep a separate independent household. The apparent lack of influence of Shariah norms on the position of women in everyday life, as well as the increased importance and viability of the adat provisions in this sphere, are explained by the traditional way of life of the nomad and the economic significance of women in the nomadic household. Owing to strong-willed qualities and freedom-loving nature, Kazakh women could take part in making crucial decisions for their people.

Following the national traditions, the Kazakh woman is primarily a mother, her main purpose is to give birth to children, to bring them up, but in addition, she must support her husband in all of his good beginnings, maintain peace and comfort in the family. And what could be more valuable than the family? For the Kazakh society, it is the family and the kin that are the values of the first order, a kind of "microcosm", the guarantee of stability and well-being. "Women were important social and economic partners with their husbands in Kazakh society" (Sabol, 2017).

A woman during her life performs several social roles, and sometimes she does it at the same time. The woman is a mother, and wife, and sister, and daughter... At a certain age, she goes to the next sex-age group, the rights, and responsibilities of women in relation to family members, to people around her change and also the attitude of others towards woman changes.

It is difficult to single out the most significant periods in a woman's life. Each step is important. But if we start from the idea of the role of women in Kazakh culture, a wedding and the birth of a child can be called the most important moments in the life of any woman.

Traditionally, the girl was being prepared for marriage from her childhood, being inoculated the norms of the behavior of a worthy woman, preparing a dowry, which is still regarded as a sign of the status of the girl's family. And the birth of the firstborn was always evaluated as a proof of the ability of a young daughter-in-law to become the mother of numerous offspring. In the tradition, it was the numerous offspring that became the guarantor of the survival of the kin. The mother woman had much more rights, at least, with respect to her children. And the non-execution of the mother's will by her children, especially if she was a widow who kept an independent household, according to the traditional ideas of the nomads, was equated with offenses.

A widowed mother had the right to marry daughters, marry sons and allocate to them, at her discretion, property from their father’s inheritance (in case he did not leave a will). As soon as a woman became a mother, especially after the birth of her sons, she acquired a higher status in society. The mother of many sons enjoyed respect in society, especially if her sons or grandsons were noted men among the people, for example, famous batyrs or reasonable and impartial judges. Since childhood, the girl was taught to stay in the saddle, communicate with ease, be strong and dexterous. The girl should be able to stand up for herself, having shown physical endurance in competitions and resourcefulness in musical-speech duels with young men. Girls along with boys took part in horse races baigue, and in equestrian competitions kyz kuu – "girl chasing" they were the main participants. Girls hunted with hunting birds, already at 14-15 years they tamed and rode wild horses (Stasevich, 2011).

Modern Kazakh girls, like boys, are taught to ride a horse and shoot a bow and arrow as part of their upbringing (Davis-Kimball & Littleton, 1997). They also engage in riding exercises and games, in direct competition with boys. There is little or no gendered division of labor – both males and females...
in this society work with wool and share various other labor tasks, such as herding while on horseback (Davis-Kimball, 1997/98). The activities of modern Kazakh nomads show a remarkable resemblance to the descriptions of nomadic Sauromatians and others portrayed by ancient authors (Penrose, 2006). Life on the steppes requires women to have the capability to perform certain tasks which may be considered men's work elsewhere. Kazakh women need to manage the herds while the men are away. Neither male nor female nomads today engage in warfare, but both are trained in the use of arms. While today's nomads do not live in a perpetual state of war, it makes sense that the nomadic women of the past needed to be able to at least defend themselves, if not take offensive roles in warfare (Davis-Kimball & Behan, 2002; Melyukova, 1990; Penrose, 2016).

For Kazakh girls, there was no prohibition in obtaining an education. In addition to homeschooling, some girls attended Muslim schools (mektebs). For both boys and girls, education in Muslim schools was purely religious and carried out through religious books (Mendikulova & Nadezhuk, 2017).

Oral history brought us the legendary stories about the famous girls-batyrs who were not afraid to challenge men. Women's competitions were not for the fun of the audience, they were no less serious, and sometimes even more dramatic than men's fights. "The Kyrgyz (Kazakh - author) woman is freely admitted to the society of men, takes part in all folk entertainments... in no way ashamed of either fellow tribesmen or strangers" (Kustanaev, 1894).

Works of oral folk art brought to us the images of women warriors – beautiful equestrians, skilled in handling weapons, who, if necessary, could protect themselves and their families, engage in battle with the enemy and win.

Thus, in the national character of the Kazakh women, one can note such qualities as love for home and family, respect for older relatives and husband, loyalty to the family, the ability to educate children, inoculating in them a love for the motherland and national Kazakh etiquette.

Before discussing the legal status of a Kazakh woman, we must remember that throughout their history, Kazakhs have been nomads, and the nomadic society differs from the agricultural one. As G. Deleuze and F. Guattari (1992) wrote, "Nomads do not share space, but they are divided in space". This circumstance meant that a nomadic community is a clan family that originates from a common ancestor and observes the purity of blood, that is, does not marry among themselves to the seventh tribe. In this regard, it is recalled the Kazakh proverb that the zhigit (guy) belongs to three genera, first of all, to the native paternal family (ata zhurt), secondly, to the mother’s kin (nagashy zhurt), thirdly, to the wife’s kin (qaiyn zhurt). Consequently, the marriage, especially of the nobles, was a political act, and the woman played the role of the supreme value, the possession of which gives the right to kinship and protection (Kodar & Kodar, 2011).

Kazakh women in addition to rearing offspring, albeit indirectly, but participated in all public affairs, expressed their opinion. They were widely known in the steppe as advisers and teachers of khans and sultans, batyrs, and biys. And this fact could not be ignored by representatives of other nations. For example, the research scientist A.K. Gaines (1897) writes, "A Kyrgyz woman plays an important role not only as a complete mistress of the family but also as a member of society. At the meetings of the Kirghiz, women voice on a par with men, especially on matters relating to public needs. Sometimes even the opinion of women has some advantage over the opinion of a man."

The inimitable qualities of Kazakh women were not only the motifs of epics and legends but also the topic of scientific research. Probably, therefore, a number of ethnographic, historical and other fundamental works about Kazakh girls and women was published. In one of such works it is stated, "... As for the girls, when they reach the age of ten, they usually obey the older woman in the family, who watches over their actions and who somehow teaches about the management of the household. Thanks to this, the Kyrgyz (Kazakh - author) women are for the most part much more modest, kindhearted and hardworking men... " (Gaines, 1897).

As a result, Kazakh girls absorbed all human and honored qualities, which distinguished them from the girls of other nations. Especially the diligence of Kazakh girls turned them into the core of the family, as well as the entire traditional economy (Mukhatova, 2010). This provision is proved by the

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evidence of the Russian researcher A.I. Levshin (2005), who was closely acquainted with the life of Kazakh auls, "Kirghiz (Kazakhs - author) far surpasses the Kirghiz (Kazakhs) in diligence. They cope with the entire household, they have half the care of the cattle, they are also engaged in needlework and making clothes for themselves and children, they must take care of everything they need for their husbands, even sometimes make them horses and put them on horseback... To the industriousness of the Kirghiz, the Cossacks are joined by the inherent virtues of their sex, love for children and compassion. Former Kyrgyz people respond to them much better than men...". 

Kazakh people treated girls with great care and love. Girls in auls (villages) were under the protection of the young men, who were forbidden from insulting or offending them. Girls were also taught self-respect, how not to get lost, and how to stand up for themselves (Mendikulova & Nadezhuk, 2017). In Kazakh auls, a woman was considered a family good and her role in the family was priceless. In the nomadic economy, when a yurt was put up, a man would pick up the shangyraq (a wooden circle on the top of the yurt, the chimney of the yurt), and the women would stretch out the kerege (wooden lattice, part of the yurt), put the uyq (concave poles on which the upper dome of the yurt is kept), covered them with a tuyrlyq tuyrlyq (koshmy, which cover the yurt). In the Kazakh society, men seeing such dignity and advantage of women-mothers protected them according to the unwritten laws of the steppes. In the family and in the family, every woman-mother had her own place (Kuzmenko, 2015). This provision is described in Russian studies, "No matter how many wives the Kirghiz have, every one of them, with the slightest of his abundance, lives in a special tent or yurt, because it is supposed to be the rules that the bride must have a kibitka in her dowry" (Levshin, 2005). 

At the same time, respect for women was considered as characteristic of a real Kazakh. Polygamy existed, but only rich men could take advantage of it, and the larger part of Kazakh society practiced monogamy (Mendikulova & Nadezhuk, 2017). As you can see, this is only one of the faces of a woman mother. A woman mother is the beginning of life, for it is not in vain that the Kazakh people have such words of edification: "aiyel bir qolymen besikti, ekinshi qolymen alemdi terbetedi" (literally, "a woman shakes a cradle with one hand and the whole world with another hand"). It is also natural that there are conflicting opinions about the role and place of women in the Kazakh family and society. Such contradictions were also full of the early Soviet Kazakh literary works. To them, the nomadic lifestyle encompassed the most rigid, ossified and backward structures of domination. It enslaved women, the poor, and all those who strived to knowledge and thus new life... In general, these literary works defamed nomadism and nomadic lifestyle, which was considered to be the source of women's suppression in the traditional Kazakh society (Kudaibergenova, 2017). 

Many prerevolutionary works report on the disenfranchised status of Kazakh women in social relations, while they also rightly note their special place in the family, their freedom in contrast to the women of the peoples of Central Asia. Thus, in addition to the image of the Kazakh woman as "depressed", "without rights" but at the same time "free from Muslim dogmatism and reticence" was formed (Abdirajymova, Zharkynbayeva & Bizhigitova, 2014). 

Perceptions by outsiders in the nineteenth century typically characterized women as subordinate in Kazakh society; the women did all the work and the men were inherently lazy (Sabol, 2017). For outside observers, gender roles were important demarcation Russian women, in comparison to Kazakh women – a clear contrast between the relative freedom Russian women enjoyed and the "drudgery, subservience, and patriarchal oppression" exhibited in Kazakh society (Bush, 2006). These ideas reinforced one of the traits that colonizers detected in backward, nomadic society: that a society's treatment of its women revealed the level of its civilization. Visitors to a Kazakh aul described the women as "active and energetic, and they perform nearly all the labor which should devolve jointly" to men and women, but the men are "distinguished for their indolence". Another noted that the women cook and do most of the work, while the men are "too lazy to do more than look after the horses" and "lead a lazy, shiftless life" (An American in Turkestan, 1876). Women exercised some control, but only because the men were so lazy. According to E. B. Duffy (1874), the men "assume to treat them (women) as servants but are so indolent themselves that an energetic Kirghiz (Kazakh – author) wife easily assumes the reins of the household and her husband soon learns to make no protest as long as he is allowed to recline idly on his silken cushion".
In the Kazakh tradition, the freedom of a woman in a house, if she did not harm the name of the family, but rather protected her honor, then such free-will behavior gained authority among the people, deserved praise and respect, he was set as an example. Cooking, sewing clothes, whipping wool, felting, spinning, carpet weaving, sewing various household products, milking cattle, washing and cleaning the dwelling, tying and untying bales during the wandering, disassemble and install a yurt, care for young children and the elderly her husband's parents and other minor household chores completely fell on the responsibility of the woman. Kazakh women, although not engaged in the sale of livestock, did not go to the city bazaars, but entirely engaged in household management. Husbands have always consulted their wives in the organization of housekeeping (Mukhatova, 2010).

In pre-revolutionary literature, there are also such erroneous and one-sided judgments that the Kazakhs did not respect women, beat them and kept them in slavery. Of course, it is not logical to believe that such a phenomenon is characteristic of the whole people. In support of the opposite, the Russian ethnographer and folklorist S.G. Rybakov wrote, "I have not met the severity of husbands in relation to their wives, apparently, this happened very rarely" (Argynbaev, 1973).

Kazakh women raised the children, engaged in domestic handicrafts, did the cooking and cleaning, and were fully involved in the day-to-day activities of the camp. Men guarded the herds, defended the camp, and made the political decisions; women did everything else. Despite Russian perceptions, Kazakh women were not enslaved. Observations by Russians, or foreigners, however, rarely dismantled the power of nineteenth-century negative conceptions and perceptions about the Kazakhs, which more frequently, and typically reinforced false beliefs (Balgabayeva et al., 2015).

The German travel scholar Richard Karutz also noted that even among the Kazakhs of Mangystau region, where at the beginning of the 20th century patriarchal relations were widely spread and patriarchal, the relations between the spouses were completely different from the relationship between the master and the slave, most often they were based on mutual respect, Kazakh women behaved freely and at ease (Argynbaev, 2005). Women in Kazakh society have traditionally held a very important position. They have always been valued as the core of stability and continuity in the Kazakh family and in Kazakh history in general. Proof of their strong position lies in the many centuries-old traditions, customs, and laws that existed in traditional Kazakh society (Mendikulova & Nadezhuk, 2017).

The position of women among the Kazakhs has nothing to do with the textbook "oppressed woman of the East" - women in the Steppe enjoyed equal rights with men. Kazakh women competed on equal terms with men in poetic mastery in aityses. On the big toja (holidays) the female struggle was necessarily spent, the most known winners left to struggle against men.

CONCLUSION

The history of Kazakh people clearly demonstrates that the Kazakh woman in her social status and status in the social hierarchy differed from the women of other Eastern peoples. The great steppe people gave the woman a special tribute of respect as to the keeper of the home and mother. A Kazakh woman could be a worthy companion, a counselor, a support for her father, husband, brother. She had the opportunity to get an education, learn to play musical instruments, sing, participate in aitys (singing poetic competition) (Beyond the silk road, n.d.).

The daughters of the Kazakh steppes were not just an ornament, but also the pride of their fellow tribesmen. Kazakh women have always made a great contribution to the culture and spirituality of their people, occupying an equal position in society. Daughters of the Kazakh people differed from their peers – representatives of Eastern and other peoples, by having greater independence, freedom and a developed sense of dignity. Owing to natural qualities, ingenuity, open and strong-willed character, the steppe woman participated in making crucial decisions for the people. In all Kazakh legends and stories, the sublime and majestic image of a Kazakh woman, daughter, mother, wife, ruler, is sung.

Attitude to the woman was emphatically respectful, chivalrous. The son, entering the yurt, bowed first to his mother, and then to his father. The Orkhon inscriptions with the greatest pathos describe the
battle in which Kul Tigin defended the horde, where there were his kinswomen who were threatened with death.

The attitude of parents and relatives to an unmarried girl is often more caring than to boys. She seems to be in the status of a "guest" in her family, and therefore, should be endowed with great attention and love than the boys who remain in the family of their father and will inherit his property.

Every Kazakh woman took an active part in the fate of her family. Conditions for the existence of the family depended on the actions and work of women. Therefore, women in the home and family issues acted freely and at ease, engaged in affairs at their discretion and were real helpers of their husbands.

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