

TRADITIONAL WAYS TO RESOLVE THE FAMILY CONFLICTS AMONG THE ETHNIC GROUPS FROM THE CAUCASUS AND ASIA DOMICILED IN KAZAKHSTAN AND THEIR IMPACT ON STATE FAMILY POLICY

**Zhuldyzay
ISKAKOVA**

Ph.D. student of L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Nur-Sultan

**Tatyana
DRONZINA**

Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor of Sofia University of St. Kl. Ohridski, Sofia, Bulgaria

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Abstract. The article presents the results of a study conducted to identify one of the deep problems of family policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan – family conflicts.

On the example of representatives of the most conservative ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan, it is described that traditional mechanisms for resolving family conflicts are losing their popularity in society in favor of modern mechanisms based on the law. As a result, this fact is the cause of an increasing number of divorces in the Kazakh society.

A reference analysis, focus group studies and in-depth interviews were used as methodological tools for the study traditional ways for resolving family conflicts.

Key words: family policy, family conflicts, divorce, conflict resolution mechanisms, peoples of the Caucasus and Asia

JEL codes: J12, J18

Аңдатпа. Мақалада Қазақстан Республикасының отбасы саясатының терең мәселелерінің бірі – отбасылық қақтығыстарды анықтау мақсатында жүргізілген зерттеу нәтижелері берілген.

Қазақстанда тұратын ең консервативті этникалық топтар өкілдерінің мысалында отбасы жанжалдарын шешудің дәстүрлі тетіктері заңға негізделген қазіргі заманғы тетіктердің пайдасына қоғамда өзінің танымалдығын жоғалтады деген сипаттама беріледі. Соның салдарынан бұл факт қазақстандық қоғамда ажырасудың көбеюіне себеп болып отыр.

Отбасылық жанжалдарды шешудің дәстүрлі механизмдерін зерттеу кезінде әдіснамалық құрал ретінде әдебиетті талдау, фокус-топтық зерттеулер мен терең сұхбатты талдау қолданылды.

Түйінді сөздер: отбасылық саясат, отбасылық қақтығыстар, ажырасулар, қақтығыстарды шешудің дәстүрлі тетіктері, Кавказ және Азия халықтары

JEL кодтар: J12, J18

Аннотация. В статье представлены результаты исследования, проведенного с целью выявления одной из глубинных проблем семейной политики Республики Казахстан – семейных конфликтов.

На примере представителей наиболее консервативных этнических групп, населяющих Казахстан, дается описание, что традиционные механизмы разрешения семейных конфликтов утрачивают свою популярность в обществе в пользу современных механизмов, основанных на законе. Как следствие данный факт становится причиной возрастающего количества разводов в казахстанском обществе.

В качестве методологического инструментария при проведении исследования традиционных механизмов разрешения семейных конфликтов, был применен анализ литературы, анализ фокус-групповых исследований и глубинных интервью.

Ключевые слова: семейная политика, семейные конфликты, разводы, традиционные механизмы разрешения, народы Кавказа и Азии

JEL codes: J12, J18

Introduction

The subjects of conflict and family policy are becoming increasingly relevant in today's rapidly changing society. The causes of conflicts, modern and traditional ways to resolve and prevent them are the problems that representatives of the social and humanitarian sciences in many countries of the world are paying increasing attention to.

The interest in traditional ways to resolve the conflicts in the families of ethnic groups from the Asia and Caucasus domiciled in Kazakhstan is due to an increase in divorce rates in a country where,

as per the official statistics, every third marriage breaks up (Family and demographic politics, 2019, p. 105). According to The Economist (2019) in 2018, Kazakhstan entered the TOP 10 countries in the world by the number of divorces per 1,000 people. The government of Kazakhstan considers the loss of traditional ways to resolve the conflicts or the degradation of the traditional family values level in society as one of the reasons for the high share of divorces (Family Development and Support Roadmap for 2019-2024).

Considering the multi-ethnicity of Kazakhstan society that includes representatives of more than 130 ethnic groups with the people from the Caucasus and Asia as the most traditional ethnic groups, the authors set a goal to investigate and describe their traditional ways to resolve the family conflicts and reveal the verity of statement about their loss.

The state and trends are usually discussed with the experts; however, the authors propose to study opinions of the ethnic groups representatives about how they assess the state and future of traditional ways in family conflicts resolving.

Review of Study

Review of studies in resolving the family conflicts in Kazakhstan since 1991 (the year of the independent republic formation after the USSR collapse) up to date, has revealed the scientific works deficiency both in general family policy and in family conflicts, in particular.

According to Demographic Yearbook (2019), in 2018, the total divorce rate in Kazakhstan was 3.0. At the same time, the coefficient in urban areas is twice higher than in rural (3.88 and 1.78, respectively). However, data on inter-ethnic divorces show that Kazakhs and Russians account for more than 57% of divorces, while exact figures for divorces among ethnic groups from the Caucasus and Asia are not available and are included in the column "other ethnic groups" with a common indicator of 10.6% from the total number of inter-ethnic divorces in the country. The data on divorces by ethnic group in Kazakhstan is not available.

Social researches that study the causes of divorce in the country, including ethnicity, are not widely available in scientific research. More detailed information is stated in government programs for the family policy development at the Situation Analysis section, approved from time to time by the Government. Thus, in 2018 a Roadmap draft for the family policy development was published in Kazakhstan. In order to solve the problem of increasing the number of divorces, it was proposed to strengthen efforts to promote the family values and traditions, and preserve the intergenerational continuity (Family Development and Support Roadmap for 2019-2024).

In view of the sustainable development of society and the state, this issue seems to be very important to study. The family functions are diverse and affect all the most important areas of social activity determining the socio-economic processes set in. In that context, the family troubles can extremely negatively affect the state of human resources and lead to various deviant phenomena in the lives of citizens, society, and therefore the state as a whole. Conflicts and divorces have a negative impact on children that can be expressed in their emotional and behavioral problems, a decrease in the quality of education, and family violence.

The suicide of spouses and/or children may be an another significant consequence of family conflicts (Beautrais, 2001, pp. 420-436.). As per the international comparisons, the Kazakhstan has a higher suicide rate among children and youth compared to other developing and developed countries of the world. The numerous studies have revealed higher suicide attempts among children who have been involved in parental conflicts, including domestic violence (Robin N. Haarr, 2018, p. 2). The empirical studies of American scientists conducted in 1995 confirmed the fact that a conflicting family environment has a significant impact on the healthy development of children (Muransky, J. M., & DeMarie-Dreblow, 1995, p. 187).

According to the World Values Survey (2010-2014), 92.4% of Kazakhstan population answered "very important" for the question in "How important is the family for you?" category (WVS-6 questionnaire, 2010). The data of social studies of the Youth Kazakhstan Scientific Research Center (2017) confirms that family, children, and parents are of great value and importance for 29.9% of the adult population surveyed, despite the impact of globalization and the socio-economic transformation, acting as the basic value in the lives of young people - 90.2%, and are valued above health, friendship and material well-being (Kazakhstan values in the spiritual and moral education of youth, 2016.). The majority of respondents (80.3%) surveyed connect the stability of Kazakhstan society and the state with the reliability of the family confirming that "the family is a small group based on love

and respect which stability is a basis for the society and the state as a whole” (Kazakhstan values in the spiritual and moral education of youth, 2016).

A number of family relations researchers have characterized a conflict as an inevitable factor of family relationships (Iwokwagh, N. S., Onasanya, S. A., & Onasanya, E. O., 2010, p. 1-15.). Originally, the theory of conflict was brought in the study of family relations in around the 70s of the XIX century. Later, in 1969, J. Sprey first noted that the family is a “system in conflict”. His main ideas are: “the conflict is typical, and the harmony is problematic”; “the ability of family members to resolve the conflicts is to be studied in research” (Sprey, J., 1969, p. 699.). The family conflict phenomenon is one of the most popular in society. According to the experts, 80-85% of families have conflicts, and the other 15-20% have quarrels on various reasons (Yemelianov S., 2009, p. 143).

Further, the theory of conflict promptly developed as a result of family studies. In the 70s of the XX century, the research was focused on studying conflicts between spouses, intra-family communication, a conflict between parents and children, intra-family conflicts management, etc. Less attention was paid to traditional ways to resolve the family conflicts, in current times as well.

Methodology

Analysis of publications and the focus group studies conducted by a student group¹ in the Mangistau region (not previously published), as well as the results of semi-structured in-depth interviews with representatives of the Caucasus and Asia peoples in three regions of Kazakhstan (Akmola region, Almaty region and the city of Nur-Sultan) was used as the methodological tools when conducting research on traditional ways to resolve the family conflicts.

Focus groups. During the study, 16 interviews were conducted in focus groups with representatives of 17 ethnic groups involved living in the Mangistau region of Kazakhstan. The smallest group consisted of 4 people and the largest one - of 9. The study involved 78 people among them 58 are men

and 20 are women. Age category: 3 respondents aged 30–40 years old, 15 respondents aged 40–50 years old, 20 respondents aged 50–60 years old, 15 respondents aged 60–70 years old, and 8 respondents aged 70–80 years old.

In-depth interviews were conducted with representatives of 11 ethnic groups. In total, 17 people were interviewed; at least 1 and a maximum of 2 people were interviewed from each ethnic group. The main selection criteria were: ethnicity, marital status, parental status, grandchildren and place of residence (city, village) that made it possible to consider selection as representative. Age category: 1 respondent aged 40-50 years old, 9 respondents aged 50-60 years old and 7 respondents aged 60-70 years old. In total, 9 men and 8 women.

To a great extent, the situation of traditions is better felt by those family members who belong to a generation older than 50 years, i.e. people who still follow the XX century traditions and have children and/or grandchildren. They see the continuity and transformation of traditions.

Being the representatives of the titular ethnic group, the Kazakhs were not included in the selection due to its numerical strength; the authors have considered that the study of its civic culture and measurements should be a subject of another study.

Research and Discussion Results

Peoples of the Caucasus. Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Georgians, Ingush, Lezghins, Ossetians and Chechens are among the largest Caucasian ethnic groups of Kazakhstan. The study showed that the listed Caucasian peoples have many similar features in resolving family conflicts.

(1) In particular, mediation i.e. the involvement of a third party (Council of Elders, a relative, a respected person etc.) to settle the conflict is a very similar way for litigation, transfer of unpleasant information, and reconciliation among the studied peoples of the Caucasian group.

Representatives of the Azerbaijanian and Ossetian groups explain that families are increasingly resorting to modern ways for resolving conflicts based on the laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan. However, in some

¹ Focus groups were conducted in 2015 by fourth-year students of the Yessenov University

cases the institution of mediation continues to be practiced. The Council of Elders is called upon both to resolve large-scale conflicts (theft, murder), and family conflicts. Such conflict management way is most widely used in rural areas of Kazakhstan, where the dozens of Caucasian families live, but less commonly practiced in the large cities.

Decisions of the Council of Elders among the Azerbaijani, Armenians, Georgians, Ingush, Lezgins, Ossetians and Chechens are of a recommendatory nature and have no legal force. The Councils consist of adult men. It is supposed that the Elders are the most respected people in each ethnic group.

Besides, the mullah plays a great role among the Chechens, Ingush and Azerbaijanis in resolving family conflicts. Mullahs are often asked for advice, including on family issues.

According to T. Magomedov - a respondent and a respected representative of the Chechen ethnic group in a small city of Kazakhstan, such participation of authoritative individuals (mullahs or the Council of Elders) is considered positive as it makes people not to bring family matters to acute conflicts. The respondent emphasized that due to shame before the third parties, people try not to bring conflicts to the acute stage that relate to proceedings between relatives (inheritance issues, family quarrels over business, etc.).

Mediation also plays an important role in resolving conflicts among the Ossetians. According to a respondent of the Ossetian ethnic group, the spouses, being on the verge of a divorce, are usually tried to be reconciled by the most authoritative relatives from both spouses. However, such practice is becoming less and less common, and the Ossetians are increasingly trying to apply to immediate legal divorce procedures.

Most Caucasian peoples living in Kazakhstan are not customary to say unpleasant things that can offend or upset a person directly. It is customary to pass such information through a mediator - a relative, or a family friend. For example, if Chechens and Ingush have a conflict with their wife, it is advisable to contact the father of the wife, but according to representatives of the Chechen people, this should be done not directly but

through a close relative, for example, a mother or his wife's aunt.

If a person assumes the role of a mediator, it also takes responsibility for the situation. For example, a respondent from the Ingush ethnic group spoke about mediation during the matchmaking when a groom, from the Lezgin ethnic group, comes for a bride. According to his custom, he came to her parents with the respected people from representatives of his ethnic group. After the ceremony, a husband fled the country and left his wife due to the personal financial problems. And it became a shame for her family among relatives. However, people who mediated between her husband and the woman's family during the matchmaking came again to her house and asked for forgiveness in front of her and her parents, kneeling down for their relative's misbehavior.

Representatives of the Armenian and Georgian ethnic groups try not to resort to the help of mediators. As respondents say, the representatives of these ethnic groups try to resolve family conflicts by their own without anyone's assistance.

(2) Another feature of Caucasian families while resolving conflicts is the strong reverence for elders that is taught about since their childhood. Almost 95% of respondents of the Caucasian ethnic groups made a point of respect for elders - a specific feature of their peoples. However, some respondents noted that there are situations when young people in families take liberties not permissible in the past. In particular, one of the respondents of the Chechen ethnic group said: Be against the parents' opinion was not strictly prohibited by society in my young days. Unfortunately, modern youth can afford it. And this phenomenon is becoming popular. Especially among the mixed marriages.

In current times, the tradition of strong respect for older people, for example, putting their opinions higher than their own, rising from the place when they enter, is still practiced among the peoples of the Caucasus. This tradition is especially strong among the Chechen ethnic group representatives.

(3) The dominant role of a man in the family is an important feature of Caucasian families in resolving conflicts. As

respondents say, humility to a man is brought up from early childhood among the Caucasian women. The leadership of a man in a family is explained by the fact that according to Sharia Islamic Law "a man is responsible for his wife and children before the God, and accordingly, he must be responsible for them on the Earth." That is why, the leading role of men is more expressed among the Muslim peoples of the Caucasus (Chechens, Ingush, Azerbaijanis, Lezgins) than among Christian (Armenians, Georgians). Moreover, among the Caucasian peoples, it is believed that if a wife does not show respect for her husband, then the relatives, friends, neighbors will also not respect him.

Future brides are taught to preserve the family due to observance of the established cultural values and traditions, establishment and maintenance of contacts with the husband's relatives, and adaptation to their lifestyle. It is believed that when joining a new family, each girl should be targeted to have a strong family and be obedient to her husband.

In addition to humility to a man, the children in Caucasian families are inculcated with reverence for their father. As Ossetian respondents say, no matter how the personal relationship of the father and children develops, the children should bestow respect for their father and his relatives in the presence of strangers. The father is the head of the family and respect for the father should also be shown in compliance with subordination. In this regard, children rarely turn to their father for personal or family problems, mainly communication takes place through the mother. The other Caucasian families have the same situation. However, among all the peoples studied, the family hierarchization is the most noticeable among the Chechen-Ingush peoples, and less - among the Armenians.

In Armenian society, the roles of women and men are less structured than in other Caucasian peoples of Kazakhstan. The Armenian group respondent noted that a man is a head in the Armenian family as well, but basically decisions are made after discussion with his wife.

(4) Caucasian peoples believe that a marriage made with representatives of their nation is an important condition for

maintaining peace in the family. According to respondents, the Caucasians prefer to give their children in marriage to representatives of their ethnic group. They can even send their children to the Caucasus to choose a life partner in case they cannot find a couple in Kazakhstan.

Usually, a spouse is chosen at the insistence of the parents. One of the Armenian ethnos respondents has noted that this is an important condition for a happy and conflict-free marriage.

Respondents from Chechen, Armenian and Ossetian groups have noted that usually, the mixed marriages have conflicts. As they say, the mixed families themselves consider their conflicts as household conflicts. However, as respondents think, the conflicts are based on the difference in cultural values.

According to personal assessments of respondents, today, when choosing a spouse, the parents' opinion is less taken into consideration than in the past. Today, young people choose their life partners by themselves and discuss their choice with parents, i.e. it is a rare occurrence when a girl marries without her consent.

As per the interviews analyzed, the interethnic marriage is permissible for the representatives of other Caucasian ethnic groups, such as Lezgins, Azerbaijanis and Muslim Ossetians. An important condition noted by respondents is the knowledge of Caucasian customs and religious affiliation with Islam.

When children make their own families, the bride's parents are prohibited from interfering in the affairs of a new family until the groom's side asks them to do so. It is customary among the Caucasian peoples that if a daughter leaves home, she must live according to the laws of her husband and his relatives. If a daughter run away from her husband, the parents try to reconcile the parties and unite the family.

(5) A temporary break in family relations also takes place among the peoples of the Caucasus in Kazakhstan. The respondents note that in case of conflicts that cannot be resolved among spouses, it is practiced to send a wife to the parental home for several months in order to rethink the relationship. After a break that can last from several days to several months, they need to

come to a final decision and notify each other. The Chechens, Ingush, Lezgins and Azerbaijanis have such a practice.

If the conflict cannot be resolved, the couple has its final stage - a divorce. Divorce, as well as marriage is executed in accordance with the legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

In general, divorce as an extreme degree of conflict is less common among representatives of the Caucasian ethnic group than among the indigenous Kazakh ethnic group and Slavic peoples living in Kazakhstan. As respondents emphasize, the traditional Caucasian families get divorced in extreme cases. There are more divorces in mixed marriages, as well as in those categories of families who live away from their relatives. There are no statistical data on divorces by ethnic group in Kazakhstan.

A respondent from a Chechen ethnic group has noted that divorce was considered a great shame for all the peoples of the Caucasus at the end of the 20th century. It often happened that parents did not take back their daughter after the divorce and she was forced to return to her husband. Thus, parents tried to avoid public condemnation of their daughter and the whole family.

Among the Chechens, Ingush and Azerbaijanis, the divorce is considered an extreme degree of conflict, and it implies that a woman has to leave her children to their father's family (Chechens, Ingush, Azerbaijanis, Lezgins), and subsequently she cannot participate in their upbringing. This factor has a strong psychological effect on women and makes them be obedient and avoid divorce even in unhappy marriages.

Representatives of the Chechen ethnic group who have had similar situations in life explain this by the fact that a woman can marry again after divorce, and she needs to start a family, give birth to children. This can be painful for children from her first marriage. In addition, it is more difficult for a woman with children to rebuild her personal life.

Common causes of family conflicts among the peoples of the Caucasus

Different circumstances can be a reason for serious conflicts in the Caucasian families. According to the respondents, the conflicts between the spouses related to the household keeping are the most popular.

Childlessness of one of the spouses can be a significant reason for conflict. When a couple has no children for a long time, this causes blame among relatives and a young couple often has conflicts. According to respondents' opinion, usually, this ends with a divorce.

Physical or moral violence can also cause divorce among Caucasian ethnic groups. In this case, close, and the most respected relatives often act as a conciliating party.

According to a respondent respected among the Chechen ethnic group, if a man does not support a family, leads an immoral lifestyle, then his wife can leave him and take the children with her. In this case, no one will blame her. However, before the woman leaves, the most respected representatives of the ethnic group call her husband to talk. If her husband still does not understand his actions, then the wife files for divorce.

There were no conflicts on the religious grounds in families, according to results of the study. The Ossetians may be an exception, since some of them are Muslims, and others are Christians. However, according to the Ossetian respondents, there are no conflicts on this basis in the families. One of the focus groups participants specifically has emphasized that her father is a Muslim, and her mother is a Christian, and the Koran and the Bible have always been read in the family of her parents. The Ossetians Christians do not cross themselves and do not keep icons at home if they live in mixed families, while the Ossetians Muslims do not kneel and do not read namaz.

In this case, the blood feud custom is not considered, because the study focuses on family issues. However, the blood feud, which existed among the peoples of the Caucasus, left its mark in the character of Caucasians. For example, according to the Chechen respondent, most Chechens will think many times before committing misconduct, including in the family, because each person's misconduct leads to the responsibility to be charged by all his generation.

Basic methods and perspectives of traditions in solving family conflicts among the peoples of the Caucasus in Kazakhstan

According to respondents, Kazakhstan has created the necessary conditions for people to preserve their traditions. There is an Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan in the country consisting of all the ethnic media, cultural associations of all living ethnic groups, Sunday schools, where citizens can study and represent the culture of their ethnic group (Menin Kazakhstanym, 2015, p. 80).

However, as respondents state, the rapidly changing standard of living makes people resort to non-traditional ways to resolve the family conflicts.

According to the Armenian respondent, today, not all traditions have been preserved among the Armenian people and there is no fault of the state or government. The process goes by itself and it is facilitated by the Internet, social networks, and the modern rhythm of life as a whole.

Respondents of Azerbaijani, Ossetian and Georgian ethnic groups agree that the Caucasian family traditions are weakening. They noted an increase in divorce rates and in civil marriages (cohabitation). However, the majority retains the patriarchal family traditions of the agrarian civilization and the nuclear family of industrial civilization.

Indeed, in the past, a large undivided family was a predominant form of the Caucasian family, where several generations lived together or in the neighborhood (parents, children, grandchildren, close relatives). Not only parents acted as the first teachers and educators for their children but the grandparents and older relatives as well. They passed on their traditional culture, original spiritual and moral views and ideas, unique family rules, habits, and mores to a new generation. Today, there is a tendency of a breakup of large families. More and more people send their children to study and work in large cities. Such destruction of a traditionally organized undivided family influenced the national culture as a whole.

In recent years, there has been a strong process of urbanization, and people leave for cities and live more separately. They less follow traditions being away from their relatives.

According to respondents, the traditional ways to resolve the family

conflicts, previously applied by the ancestors in the Caucasus, are forgotten by new generations. The farther the Armenians leave their families, the weaker their traditions.

The real traditions are less preserved in cities than in rural families, and depending on the cause of conflicts and the conflict behavior of the parties, a family conflict may have the following types of outcome:

1. Avoiding the conflict resolution: when one of the parties tries not to pay attention to the contradictions occurred;

2. Smoothing out contradictions: when one of the parties either agrees with the claims presented or seeks to justify itself;

3. Forced conflict suppression: when one party is forced by another party (due to threat of force) to accept some form of the contradiction outcome;

4. Obedience: when one of the parties does not have sufficient means to obtain more effective results; and when one of the parties intends to save friendly relations with the other. Usually, it is a woman. The method is effective for saving the family. A similar method is often used in resolving family conflicts in the Caucasian ethnic groups of Kazakhstan.

According to the social research conducted, it was found that circumvent a problem and agreement with the claims due to force are the main methods to resolve the family conflicts among the representatives of the Caucasian ethnic group. The use of these methods in aggregate depends on the specific situation in the family. As a rule, various methods of resolving family conflicts are used at various stages of the conflict, whether the pre-conflict, conflict or post-conflict. An important role is taken by the third party to reconcile the parties during the conflict resolution.

In general, the analysis of the interviews conducted makes it clear that the Chechens retained the most traditional ways of family conflict resolving; the Ossetians, Armenians and Lezghins - least of all. At the same time, all nations continue to honor and preserve their traditions and accept some transformations.

The Chechens and Ingush respect their traditions and consider them right. They think that the order in relationship and a clear

hierarchy in the family make the relationship understandable and structured.

It should be noted that the Lezghins are the people who have preserved the traditional ways for resolving family conflicts to a lesser extent. The participants of this ethnic group were unanimous confirming that, within this ethnic group, all family conflicts are resolved in accordance with current legislation. However, in Dagestan, there is still a Council of Elders assisting people in their family quarrel due to advice.

Central Asian peoples. Bashkirs, Kyrgyz, Tatars, Karakalpaks and Uzbeks were included in the group of Central Asian peoples as the representatives of the most numerous ethnic groups in Kazakhstan to conduct the study.

The study outcome showed that the mentioned ethnic group, like ethnic groups from the Caucasus, has a large number of similar traditional ways to resolve the family conflicts. Such traditions mainly originate from the nomadic past, partly from Sunni Islam, as a religion-specific for the region, as well as from the Soviet past.

(1) One of the main characteristics owned by respondents from the studied ethnic groups is tolerance shown in family relationships as well. Their tolerance is expressed in a certain system of values and patterns of behavior in the family, aimed at respecting and recognizing the individual characteristics of other family members, and the desire to interact with them on the basis of consent and mutual understanding. The Uzbek ethnic group was the most inclined to tolerance, while the Kyrgyz - least of all.

(2) The institution of mediation in Central Asian ethnic groups is less developed than in the ethnic groups from the Caucasus. People resort to mediation in extreme cases, trying to resolve family conflicts on their own. In rare cases, as respondents say, if the conflict is profound, then the respected relatives may be involved. As a rule, mediators are not involved by the conflict parties, but by their close relatives who want to help. For example, if there is a conflict between two spouses, then children, brothers or sisters involve a third party to help to resolve the conflict.

(3) The significance of men in the families of the Central Asian ethnic groups

mainly dominates. At the beginning of the twentieth century, as respondents say, a father or the eldest in the family was the head of the family who took all the important decisions (for example, aged parents). A man, a father of the family has always been an indisputable authority in the family.

Today, the analysis of family relationships among the Central Asian peoples makes it possible to see the patriarchal narrative as one of the options out of the many narratives (and even more realities) where the families live in. Juliette Cleuziou (2017, pp. 248-272), a french anthropologist, proposes to reconsider the patriarchal narrative in view of a new reality where the women have more control and act as heads of families.

Indeed, the analysis shows that positions of men in the family have changed due to the development of Kazakhstan society. This study confirms changes in family roles that also affect the traditional ways to resolve the conflicts. The Kyrgyz ethnic group respondents note that after the 90s of the 20th century, the economic situation in Kyrgyzstan began to deteriorate and many people left the country for Kazakhstan, where men and women were forced to work on equal terms. Such equality in work and earnings made a woman more liberated, able to independently manage the family budget. A Kyrgyz woman no longer allows a man to subordinate her. And this fact reduced the influence of men.

The Uzbek families preserve the power of a man over a woman more than all other ethnic groups of Central Asia in Kazakhstan do.

Respondents from the Tatar ethnic group note the dominant role of a man in the family. However, the gender equality in the family is becoming increasingly developed, i.e. when decisions are made in a coordinated manner and conflicts are resolved on the basis of a compromise.

(4) Respect for elders helps the nations studied to avoid many conflicts. For example, generational conflict is more likely an exception to the rule. Uzbek interviewers say that in disputes between parents and children, parents usually win.

As respondents from a Kyrgyz ethnic group say, the Islam forbids going against

the will of parents. In this regard, conflicts between children and parents are rare.

The parenthood is the most respected status among representatives of the Uzbek ethnic group. In some rural areas of Kazakhstan, Uzbek parents have a tradition of choosing spouses for their children. But as the respondent says, in recent decades their role has often been limited to advise, and children themselves choose a mate but coordinate their choice with the parents' one.

Still, divorce remains a difficult issue for peoples. The authors of the article do not have official statistics on divorce in terms of ethnic groups, however, since 1991, the general indicator of divorce rate in Kazakhstan was 3.28 times lower than the general marriage rate. In 2015, there were 0.36 divorces per marriage. That means, that every third marriage in Kazakhstan ended in divorce. Notably, the ratio of divorce to marriage was 40% among the urban population, while the figure was much lower and amounted to 27% among the rural areas (Ibrayeva, 2017).

Respondents of all ethnic groups are unanimous in their opinion that there are more divorces among representatives of each ethnic group in recent years.

If earlier one of the factors restraining a divorce was the fact that the child traditionally remained with his father's family, today the legal power and laws, that often take the women's side, have a great role.

The women's emancipation and the law status growth in Kazakhstan have made divorce a popular procedure for resolving family conflicts. The loyalty to divorces and divorced is increased in society.

Until the end of the 20th century, divorce was perceived as a deviation from the standards (rules). According to respondents, the Internet, television made divorce as a normal occurrence practiced throughout the world. Therefore, people change their attitude towards divorce, and the number of divorces has increased dramatically.

As a rule, conflicts may occur due to a whole range of factors ending in divorce. Childlessness and unfaithfulness of a woman are considered by the majority of respondents of all ethnic groups as the main reason for divorces. According to Uzbek

respondents, unfaithfulness of a man is not unusual, and it can be a reason for divorce as well.

Alcoholism of one of the spouses is also a serious reason. A respondent from the Bashkir ethnic group noted that there were very few divorces in her youth (the 80s), only due to the extremely strong reasons. "In most cases, divorces occurred due to alcohol consumption. Alcohol always leads to violence and suffering. I left my husband at the age of 27 with four children due to this reason. I suffered a lot for the sake of children. It was impossible to raise them alone. After some time, my children asked me to leave him. Immediately, I left him and went far away from him with my children. All my relatives supported me. Everyone knew the situation. However, the divorces were sharply blamed in Bashkir society".

Most respondents have noted that in traditional Central Asian families of the 20th century, there are not so many situations when a woman asks for a divorce. Since the childhood, the women have been inculcated with the ability to endure and try to save a marriage at all costs.

As respondents of the Bashkir ethnic group say, today young people have become less patient. If they have problems (financial, domestic) they leave the family and file for divorce.

However, the Uzbek society still has a negative attitude towards divorce. Most Uzbeks living in the Southern Kazakhstan preserve their traditions and live mainly in small towns. It is believed that if a girl gets married and then leaves her husband, she is "spoiled" and cannot marry again.

As per the family conflicts classification, the conflict of "husband-wife" category is followed by the "daughter-in-law and mother-in-law" conflict category. Most of the respondents surveyed confirm the existence of strained relations between daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law in the families.

Respondents of Uzbek and Tatar ethnic groups say that as soon as the daughter-in-law crosses the threshold of the husband's family home, she has to behave herself as maidenly as possible, dress strictly, and in some cases, she does not even have the right to name her husband's relatives by name.

Hidden conflicts with no outward appearances are a specific feature of the peoples studied. According to respondents, property and financial issues are the main reason for the family conflicts. This reason "leads" both in the answers of men and women, and in urban and rural families. The financial issue is one of the basic conditions for the functioning and development of the family. Troubles in the economic life of the country lead to tense intra-family relations. Particularly financial distress is closely interconnected with the housing problem ranking the second among the marital conflicts. It is housing difficulties that underlie conflicts with relatives which affect relations between spouses especially for young families.

The analysis findings confirm the unconditional leadership of men in the families where a man managed to realize his intellectual and creative potential. If a woman earns more than her man, the man is still a head of the family, however, when deciding or during conflicts, the key positions are shared between man and woman.

Childlessness in a young family is the reason for the family crisis. Among the peoples of Central Asian ethnic groups, a poor but large family is considered happier than a rich and childless. The families of Caucasian ethnic groups consider the same. The childlessness can still become an official cause of divorce, as well as bad relations of relatives.

The peoples have certain traditions whereby the degree of conflict may decrease.

The main factor is the pregnancy of a woman. A pregnant woman or a woman who has recently given birth is a reason for the other side to end the conflict. According to the custom of the Central Asian peoples, all the whims of a pregnant woman must be performed until a baby is born and becomes independent in a way.

Basic methods and perspectives of traditions in solving family conflicts among the peoples of Central Asia in Kazakhstan

It is obvious that the methods for resolving family conflicts vary depending on the types of conflicts (dispute, quarrel, scandal, violence). Peoples of Central Asia living in Kazakhstan have similar ways of conflict resolving. Depending on the conflict

causes and the conflict behavior, a conflict can have the following types of outcome: smoothing out the contradictions - when one of the parties agrees with the claims; compromise - mutual concessions on both parties.

Defending one's opinion is especially popular among the Kyrgyz, and is used by the peoples of the Central Asia. This method is used when the spouses have approximately equal opportunities, or it can be associated with the woman's emancipation, her struggle for her own rights. In the context of the national feature, this method is not specific for other ethnic groups. Mostly, it is used by urban residents than rural.

The Tatar ethnic group respondents noted their commitment to resolve large family conflicts due to modern methods resorting to legal procedures. Respondents with children and grandchildren note that the generation after them no longer practice the traditions of their ancestors. The new generation considers an institution of elders as obsolete.

The urban environment respondents state that traditions of resolving family conflicts are more preserved in rural areas than in urban ones.

Modern families of the Central Asian ethnic groups of Kazakhstan prefer to use modern methods for resolving family conflicts based on the law rather than the traditional ones. And they understand that it is no longer possible to return to a traditional model of family relations and there is no even a desire. Modernization has affected all areas of family life, giving rise to a wide variety of family models and, therefore, it may exist.

Asian peoples. When studying the Asian ethnic groups in Kazakhstan, the authors refer to Koreans and Chinese as well.

The respondents of both ethnic groups describe themselves as restrained peoples, that make a conflicting nature and the way of solving them quite different from the previous ethnic groups.

As the Korean respondent says, the Koreans of Kazakhstan are characterized by behavior demonstrating no conflict.

Chinese respondents also consider their people to be conflict-free, both in

general and in families due to the small number of ethnic groups in Kazakhstan and the need to remain friendly, preserving their traditions.

(1) The peoples of both ethnic groups never talk about family problems outside the family. Traditional Korean and Chinese cultures deprecate public discussion of family problems. Nevertheless, one of the Korean ethnic group respondents has noted that mediation is practiced sometimes in case of especially large family conflicts. Usually, if a conflict concerns the spouses, then a close respected relative may act as a third party. Usually it is a respected woman on the part of the husband. According to the respondent, the parties cannot show hostility towards each other while negotiations are ongoing.

- "The parties do not contact each other while a mediator is performing its duty so that not to incite more hostility. In this regard, a person specially invited by relatives (usually the most respected by this family) meets with one party and then with the other, and then gives a compromise solution"

(2) As the respondent says, the role of women in the family originates in the ancient specific Korean tradition, when women took younger men to be their husbands. This allowed the woman to raise her husband from childhood. However, Korean women never show their privileges over men in the family.

(3) From the very childhood, the boys are told about their dominant role in the family. According to respondents, if a sister is elder her brother, she must obey her brother. In a Korean family, a mother will never say her children that their father is wrong. If a man is wrong, a woman does not tell him about it immediately. She will wait for a suitable case for this.

(4) Both peoples widely practice expressing respect and reverence for elders in the family. One of the Chinese respondents noted that two types of relationships are clearly visible in the Chinese family: horizontal - means relationships at the same level as between brothers and sisters, and vertical - means parents-children relationships. "Parents-children" relationships are always respectful relationships. Chinese proverbs say: "you have been raising children for a hundred

years, and you have been worried about them for ninety-nine years." Parents always help their children, even in adulthood. Quarrels are extremely rare. Everyone always tries to keep silent so that not to say unnecessary offensive words. After some time, everything is adjusted by itself."

Children share their troubles with mother as they have more distant relations with their fathers. A Korean woman named as Z.Tsoi has noted that children are very independent, but they always ask for their mother's advice, even if they have their own opinion.

The conflicts between spouses are more popular than between parents and children.

Divorce

The adult generation of Koreans and Chinese has a negative attitude towards divorce. One Korean respondent has noted that they still continue to instruct young people on the importance to preserve a family in any circumstances.

As respondents say, the interethnic marriages among Koreans break up more often than those with both spouses are Koreans. As to Chinese families, the respondents note that the majority marriages are made with other nations and such marriages are usually stable.

The representatives of the Korean ethnic group consider the socio-economic conditions of especially young families as the main cause of family conflicts.

In respondent's opinion, young people have significantly reduced responsibility for themselves, for their families and for parents as compared to the older generation. They easily choose a spouse and divorce with the same ease.

Indeed, when analyzing the causes of conflicts in modern Kazakhstan families, regardless of ethnicity, it is important to consider the social factors of the micro and macro environment. The micro environment factors include: deterioration of the financial standing of the family; prolonged lack of own housing; inability to arrange children in a child care institution, etc.

Describing the macro environment factors, it should be noted that the socio-economic stability in the world and in the country, assists reducing the level of intra-family conflict (Yemeljanov S., 2009. p. 143).

Basic methods and perspectives of traditions in solving family conflicts among the peoples of Asia in Kazakhstan

According to the interviewers, the traditions and patterns of family life have remained stronger in small towns and villages.

According to respondents, the state is interested in conservation of traditions, and it is remarkable due to the institutions and conditions created to preserve traditions. Joint celebrations of national holidays are held, for example, a New Year as per the Eastern calendar.

In view of the authors, the paucity of ethnic groups is one of the possible reasons for the tradition's disappearance. Subsequently this leads to frequent cases of mixing marriages with representatives of other ethnic groups.

However, according to a respondent, the younger generation is becoming more and more interested in family traditions as they grow older.

Thus, the traditional ways to resolve the family conflicts are still practiced among the peoples of Asia living in Kazakhstan. However, they gradually losing their popularity. Today, the basic methods of conflict resolution are the circumvent a problem (when one of the parties tries not to pay attention to the contradictions occurred), consent with the claims and compromise (mutual concessions on both parties).

Conclusion

This study contributes to family conflict resolution literature. The authors made an attempt to describe the most common traditional ways for resolving family conflicts among the ethnic groups from the Caucasus, Central Asia and Asia domiciled in Kazakhstan.

The study includes the basic practices of traditional ways for resolving family conflicts among the peoples listed. It was found out that many practiced traditions have partially lost and transformed over the past decades. The ongoing socio-economic progress in the world as a whole and in Kazakhstan in particular is the main reason for such changes. The emancipation of women, predominance of equal intergender relations, process of globalization has somehow influenced the dynamics of the family as a social institution and its traditions.

The study found out that the ethnic groups of the Caucasus and Asia domiciled in Kazakhstan resort to mediation, avoiding problems, agreeing with claims, compromise, defending one's position, and forcing methods when solving the family conflicts. It was revealed that the above methods are used both in aggregate and individually, depending on the specific situation.

The ways for resolving marital conflicts is very diverse. To a certain extent, the mediation is applied during the conflict's solution by all the ethnic groups studied. Such methods as avoiding a problem, agreeing with the claims are more specific for the Caucasian families; smoothing out contradictions and defending one's opinion is more typical for the peoples of Central Asia; avoiding problems and compromise - for the peoples of Asia. These methods vary depending on the family situation but sometimes the methods are used in aggregate.

A gradual separation from traditional conflict resolution methods is the general trend whereat the public opinion and close relatives play a major role. By making resort to legal conflict resolution methods, the parties are deprived of the reconciliation possibility resulting an increase in divorced families in the country. This issue was developed in Kazakhstan, and in this regard, the institution of family mediation was established. However, due to its novelty, it is still not popular among the Kazakhstan society.

Thereat, many families of the nations studied still continue to reserve the patriarchy, while, according to the Western scientists, the European family had moved from a patriarchal to an egalitarian system of family relations during the 17th and 18th centuries.

The study showed that the level of the traditional values preservation is higher in rural areas with the low level of divorce. The modern life urbanization in Kazakhstan displaces old models of relationships.

Moreover, the factors facilitating the growth of the conflict atmosphere in families have increased in recent decades. Such factors as the ongoing economic crisis, difficulties of entering into market relations, lack of confidence in the future, poor housing

conditions, insufficient social support for the family, motherhood and childhood have a destabilizing effect on the family, and the traditional methods are not successful. At the same time, the family harmony is the basis of social stability. The loss of traditional methods to resolve the family conflicts will have a negative impact on the state of the family sphere in Kazakhstan.

A family is of particular interest as a social institution, ensuring stability of society and evolving with it, adapting to innovations and changes. It is obvious that the Kazakh family is experiencing changes under the influence of social processes taking place in society. It is going through a difficult stage of evolution - the transition from a traditional model to a new one. The traditional methods for resolving family conflicts concentrate the wisdom of generations transferred from fathers to children who resolved the problems basing on traditional right and

existing ethical standards. The younger generation of the ethnic groups from the Caucasus and Asia prefer to resort to modern methods. Divorce, as an efficient way to resolve marital conflicts, is no longer something shameful as it was at the end of the 20th century. Appeal of spouses to divorce means a disbalance between the forces that destroy the marriage and the forces that develop the marriage. The latter include the interest of the spouses in each other, as well as social standards, values.

The authors found that all ethnic groups retained their traditional methods for resolving conflicts, consider them as part of their cultural identity. Most of all, the traditional conflict resolution methods are supported by the Chechen and Uzbek ethnic groups.

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