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## URBAN FAMILY IN THE CONTEXT OF STUDYING THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF NORTH KAZAKHSTAN CITIES IN 1920-1930s

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**Abstract.** The paper analyzes the everyday life of urban population of North Kazakhstan in 1920-1930s via analysis of family and social relations of these people. The article provides analysis of scientific literature covering specifics of the studying the everyday life of Soviet Union cities. The author used file copies, museum collections of written documents, statistic materials as sources. Changes in consciousness of citizens of Soviet Union that had led to modernization of social relations on an example of city population of this region are shown in the paper. There were several ways of interference of authorities in family affairs: community participation in family affairs via people courts that conducted divorce proceedings; ban on marriage registration in religious institutions; fight against vestiges in Kazakh society: elimination of bride price (*kalym*) and plural marriage. Breakup of family relations and distortion of family values were attributes of the period of Great Terror of 1937-1938s. During the years of Stalin repressions thousands of families were destroyed, children of “public enemies” were persecuted more and more widely, people changed surnames and marks of national identity in personal documents. The author came to the conclusion that new forms of political organization of society had impacted modernization of private life, family, marriage and had caused new problems, that manifested themselves in loss of former family values.

**Key words:** Soviet society, city family, civil marriage, divorce, reproduction of population, death rate of population, “party purges”, political repressions, “public enemy”.

**Introduction.** Social history allows understanding specifics of everyday life of ordinary people in the period of totalitarian state when state represented by Communist Party and the Party authorities had thorough impact on society. Study of history of everyday life through the prism of social relations is topical issue of historical science. Modernization of family relations in Soviet society was the result of direct impact of the state. Analysis of social relations in regional aspect on an example of city population of North Kazakhstan allows applying micro-historical approaches in the study of this problem.

The aim of the article is to study of specifics and main transformations of everyday life of city population of North Kazakhstan in the period of development and maturing of totalitarian system in 1920-1930s in particular revealing specifics of forming of family-marriage relations in Soviet society and deformation of those in the period of mass political repressions of 1937-1938s. The research covers the territory of North Kazakhstan including cities with various administrative statuses: from district scope cities to regional centers Akmolinsk, Petropavlovsk, Kustanai, Pavlodar, Kokshetav, Atbasar.

**Discussion.** It is worth noting that study of everyday city life in XX century became one of topical directions in historical science. At that time habitation and the way of living of people had undergone dramatic changes as people moved in cities, changed occupations. So, Soviet everyday life became an object of research of many scientists. S. Fitzpatrick (Fitzpatrick, 1999) was the first to make complex analysis of everyday city life in 1930s. K. Kaier and A. Naiman studied everyday life in Russia in first years of Soviet government (Kaier and Naiman, 2006). N.B. Lebina, N.N. Kozlova, G.G. Kornouhova, M.S. Juleva and others had made important contribution in study of social and cultural image of city and rural population of Soviet period, of public feeling, way of life on the base of analysis of wide complex of sources (Lebina, 1999), (Kozlova, 1996), (Kornouhova, 2004), (Juleva, 2004).

It should be noted that during first post-revolution years criticism of patriarchal family had radical character and turned into denial of archaic, old forms of family and principles of family relation but an institution of a family as is it. But in the end of 1920s pendulum moved in another direction. Orientation on development of military-industrial complex, stimulation of industrial development and city growth and thus development of urban way of life, strengthening of women independence and education level were incompatible with preservation of traditional family values. Interference of government into family life manifested itself in different ways: abortion prohibition, divorce limitation, non-recognition of marriages not registered officially, increased attention to “moral image” in assigning on “important” posts, interference of “community” into family affairs, increased chastity of official art.

Number of urban families grew rapidly due to the growth of city population that in turn was the result of movement of most part of workforce from agriculture, spreading of industrial and other types of occupations. Rapid growth of education level of men and women had also affected family and distribution of family roles. Even ordinary literacy, reading and writing skills was a problem in the USSR even in 1920s. Starting from generations born in second half of 1930s the share of men and women going into higher or secondary education had been growing. 333 men of one thousand and 294 women of one thousand born in first half of 1930s had been going in higher or secondary education (Vishnevski, 2008).

**Materials and methods.** Research is based on interdisciplinary approach that allows to study everyday life as a cross-section of history, sociology, anthropology, study of culture, philosophy, economy, etc. General scientific methods: analysis, synthesis, mathematical and statistical approach were applied. Authors also applied special methods, namely comparative analysis, historical and typological, problematic and chronological, historical and systematic methods.

Works of American and Russian historians that made important contribution to study of history of everyday life made the foundation of the research. General theoretical works of everyday history by F. Braudel (Braudel, 1992) and A. Ludtke (Ludtke, 1995) were especially important for study of the object of research. Methodological approaches to study of a person in society and family were reflected in works of such scientists as Yu. A. Polyakov (Polyakov, 2000), V.B. Zyromskya (Zyromskya, 2012), Z. Siegelbaum and A.K. Sokolov (Siegelbaum and Sokolov, 2000), I.M. Savelyeva and A.V. Poletayev (Savelyeva and Poletayev, 2008) and others.

Synthesis of macro and micro-historical approaches was used in the research. While macro-historical approach reflects changes in social and economic, political, spiritual development of society, micro-historical approach allows tracing impact of numerous macro-affairs on the way of everyday life, i.e. the way of life, interpersonal relations and others.

Documents provided by State Archive of Russian Federation (Moscow), by archives of the Republic of Kazakhstan: State Archive of North Kazakhstan region (Petropavlovsk) and State Archive of Pavlodar Region (Pavlodar), documents of the funds of regional museums of local history were used as sources of research.

Materials of central and local periodicals were important sources for study of everyday city life. We used such newspapers as “Mir Truda” (1921-1925), Pavlodar periodical “Bolshevistskii Put” (1936-1939) and others. The most topical problems of everyday city life may be revealed from materials of periodic press. But one should keep in mind those periodicals were powerful ideological lever of state and Communist Party so everyday life was often embellished in them.

Sources of personal origin analyzed in the research are represented by memoirs of citizens and sources of personal origin. Memoirs of old-timers recorded during interviews and talks were important addition to the picture of everyday city life in North Kazakhstan. “The Books of Sorrow” (lists of victims of political repression) of North Kazakhstan region, issued collected memoirs of victims of mass political repression “Pages of Tragic Destiny” (Almaty, 2002), “Tragedy and Enlightening” (Almaty, 2002) and others were especially important sources. These books contain subjective assessments of these or that political event, demonstrate the view from below on the whole era. In general, memoirs of eyewitnesses allowed fully studying everyday life of population in this period.

So, relatively wide complex of sources was used in the work that allowed us to study city family in the context of study of everyday life of North Kazakhstan in 1920-1930s fully and objectively.

## Research results.

### *1 Sex education and principles of marriage*

New approaches of the state to education of youth affected Soviet family. Researcher S. Shevchenko wrote that the booklet by A. Zalkind “Twenty sex commandments of revolutionary proletariat” was published in 1924. This book gave the following advice on esteem of elders “Only such father worth respect who share revolutionary and proletariat point of view”. The problem of so called love is also clarified “Sex selection should be based on class revolutionary and proletariat reasonability... Feeble delicacy of woman is useless economically and politically, that means that a woman of today proletariat should be almost like a man also physiologically” (Shevchanko, 2000). Wide distribution of such literature was aimed on separation of youth from Muslim and Christian commandments. The Party regulated relations of man and woman trying to eliminate any sex differences to get uncomplaining work force.

Decrease of death rate and growth of birth rate questioned the necessity of conjugal sex behavior as well as behavior aimed on child-bearing. Union of man and woman became more superficial and it did not always require official registration. Existence of premarital relations may be proved by application of Kotlyarova M. the citizen of Pavlodar to The Chairman of Women Department of Pavlodar Regional Committee of Communist Party dated 15 January, 1929, that is kept in Pavlodar regional museum of local history. The woman asked to urge citizen Shishlov A.T. to responsibility who had seduced her and left with a child. Kotlyakova wrote that comrade Shishlov “should not be a member of Communist Party, there is no place for such persons in the line of fighters for proletarian dictatorship who accomplish and lead correct path to socialism and equality of man and woman in all dimensions”. We should note that there are only a few words in the letter about feelings and personal characteristic of defendant that proves unacceptance of expressing any feelings. Unfortunately, the result of this appeal is unknown but there is a note on the document of the necessity to call for Shishlov for response that may mean that the complaint was granted.

Civil marriages were widely spread. These were marriages registered without official authorities. Function of marriage registration was transferred from church (mosque) to executive agencies. The age of consent was 18, although there were exceptions. According archived sources, there were also early marriages in cities of North Kazakhstan. For example, in one of outgoing directives on the problem of organization of registration of civil state acts of Regional Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers, Peasants and Red Army Deputies of Akmolinsk dated 28 December, 1922 it was written that “there are many requests to regional department of registration of civil state acts from people about appeals of citizens for permission of marriage before the age of consent... solely for reasons of gaining new workforce (daughter-in-law or son-in-law) to farm”. Such permission might be given only in case of “total distortion of the farm (for example, in case of death or disability of parents or other older family members when under age person is the only relevant owner of a farm)” (State Archive of North Kazakhstan region, 176;1-2).

Information of marriages by nationality on an example of the city of Kustanai is contained in State Archive of North Kazakhstan region. Marriages of representatives of one ethnos were more frequent. Great Russians were tolerant to representatives of other nationalities. There were 205 marriages of the same ethnos, 22 with Ukrainians, 1 with Byelorussian, and Tatar (26 marriages of the same ethnos, 1 with Uzbek, 2 with Persians). Kazakhs, Germans, Poles, Hebrews in this period married only representatives of their ethnoses. As we can see, cross-ethnic marriages are rather rare (State Archive of Russian Federation, 102:17).

### *2 Family ceremonies*

Some wedding ceremonies had also changed. First “Red wedding” in Pavlodar was described in one of the issues of city newspaper “Steppe plowman”, 1922. It was organized as ceremonial meeting in club where representatives of different rural organizations greeted the newlyweds and presented them *samovar* and tea set. In his speech the bridegroom pledges to eliminate illiteracy of his future wife in a year. After that members of a panel issued the document of wedding and asked the audience for its approval. The document contained command for bridegroom and bride to arrange their family life according new Soviet laws. The meeting was closed with signing “International” and then the audience viewed a performance.



Next day a family evening was organized with declamations, signing. Guests had a discussion about new and old way of life (Mironov, 1922:3).

Family ceremonies related to birth and education was also followed with participation of community. The new ceremony that got symbolic name “*oktyabriny*” (from October, the month of revolution) was introduced instead of church baptism that was widely spread among Slav population. First *oktyabriny* took place in August 1923 in the city of Petropavlovsk in former Mariinskaya church that was reconstructed by Komsomol members as a club. The first son of the regional committee of communist party Fedor Ruzaev was “baptized” in the new manner. All Komsomol members and pioneers of Petropavlovsk came to the party. Child lied on the table covered with red cloth in the middle of the former church. Member of the ceremony read greetings and then voted the name of the newborn. Unanimous decision was to call the child Kim in honour of the Communist International of the Youth. Organizing *oktyabriny* of his child the secretary of regional committee tried to draw followers for the new ceremony. But *oktyabriny* were not supported by young parents, were rare and was organized mainly as an act of opposition to church baptizing (Maksimova, 2014:4-5).

*Oktyabriny* were organized at work with colleagues. The following order of the “real working party” of *oktyabriny* in Petropavlovsk by bakers was described in the newspaper “*Mir Truda*” No 7, 1925. “The daughter of one of the workers, comrade Ezhov had an *oktyabriny*. She was called Lena. One of the workers said in his greeting that this *oktyabriny* are not the last because the workers of this collective would not go with their child to priest”. In his speech the father, comrade Ezhov said “I am proud to take my daughter to *oktyabriny* and I will try to educate her in new communist spirit”. But this tradition did not last for long because it is rarely mentioned in sources (Ivanov, 1925:2).

### 3 Death rate and birth rate

Let us see the table that characterizes birth rate and death rate in the cities of North Kazakhstan in 1928

Table 1. Birth rate and death rate in the cities of North Kazakhstan in 1928 (State Archive of Russian Federation, 12: 49-58, 66-67).

City	Total population	Number of born (without stillborns)			Number of stillborns			Number of dead			Includ iunder 1 y.o. total
		mal e	femal e	total	mal e	femal e	total	mal e	femal e	total	
Kustanai	25416	586	599	1185	9	2	11	372	359	731	314
Petropavlovsk	47357	1257	1215	2472	17	10	27	653	557	1210	539
Akmolinsk	12781	306	293	599	2	3	5	203	255	458	120

According to the table death rate of newborns was high (1 to 100) as well as of babies before 1 year (about 5% of all fixed deaths). Let us turn to data for second half of 1928 in small towns of North Kazakhstan.

Table 2. Birth rate and death rate in small towns of North Kazakhstan in 1928 (State Archive of Russian Federation. 12: 49-58, 66-67).

City	Total population	Number of births			Number of deaths			Number of born (without stillborns)	
		male	female	total	male	female	total	male	female
Kokchetav	11060	79	74	153	44	55	99	34	
Atbasar	6746	59	43	102	34	22	56	23	
Cherlak	2862	14	11	25	3	12	15	5	

According to the table large share of deaths in towns of North Kazakhstan was deaths of babies: in Kokchetav – 34 cases of 99, in Atbasar – 23 of 56. Deaths were mainly the results of diseases of ingestion



system (including those caused by insufficient feeding or eating low quality food), pneumonia, virus infections (typhus, tuberculosis, others).

Even in the situation of high babies' death rate city families still had many children – 5-7 in average and even more. The state promoted this trend that may be proved by Order of Central Committee and the Sous of Peoples Commissars of the Union of SSR dated 27 June, 1936 and 14 November, 1936 about grants to mothers having many children. Regional Executive Committee of Pavlodar in its appeal dated 20 September, 1937 gave the following explanation: “mothers having 7 and more children with the junior not elder than 5 should get 3000 Rubles grant annually (irrespective of the number of children until junior is 5)”. Grant for each new child according Ch. 10 of this law was 2000 Rubles annually from the date of birth provided the number of all children did not decrease lower than 7 (State Archive of Pavlodar Region, 141:87).

According to the case “Certificate of family situation for 1937” of State Archive of Pavlodar Region Baidilova Kapriza (9 children), Tumentseva Maria Fedorovna (7 children), Murenkova Varvara Exdokimovna (7 children) and others were acknowledged having many children. But only living children were accounted and those depending on their parents (in this case mother). At the same time death rate among children was above all possible limits (State Archive of Pavlodar Region, 141:87).

#### *4 Changes in Kazakh traditional family*

Kazakh families had undergone substantial changes. Great attention was paid to legal status of Kazakh woman. The trend on elimination of illiteracy of Kazakh women had been developing. “Education and cultural and enlightening activity is very poor in Kirhiz regions: there are no text-books and stationery. Almost only boys are studying, girls are rare exception. At the same time Kirhiz woman is more interested in the problems of woman movement than Russian woman” (Samarkin, 2010:44). Kazakh women were actively engaged in active political process, promoting ideas of equal rights both in social life and in political area. «Woman is equal to man in Soviet Republic... Central Executive Committee of Kirhizes made a holiday the day when Kirhiz woman was made free from *kalym* – 1 of January» (Samarkin, 2010:44). Women executive committees of *auls* and regions were organized in Petropavlovsk with mandatory participation of Kazakh women. Here the women learned about elimination of *kalym*, plural marriage and marriage of juveniles.

There was also the movement of women-delegates who helped orphanages, acted as patrons of pioneers, participated in the work of peasants committees. Khisamutdinova Nagar Khairutdinovna (born August 18, 1902 in Kokchetav of Kokchetav district of Akmolinsk Region) was one of such woman-delegates. In 1926-1928 she worked as instructor of women's department of *Kokchetav* district committee. During one of the meetings in the school of Schuchinsk she received the letter of a girl Khusnia with words “Save me”. After the meeting she visited home of her husband, comrade Adilbekov. Khusnia was a pupil of 6th grade who was given to marriage with a boy of 16 for big *kalym*. She recalled that «when we entered the room, mother-in-law called daughter-in-law in closet were *baursak* was fried, seized the dipper with hot oil and splashed a girl in face» (State Archive of Akmolinsk region, 19b: 2-5). A statement had been drawn, husband's parents were taken into custody, the marriage was cancelled by court decision and a girl went to boarding school. The practice of solving family problems as well as divorces as a result of interference of community represented by women departments and people courts was widely introduced in the years of Soviet power.

#### *5 Marriages and divorces*

At the same time women's emancipation, prosecution of plural marriages and *kalym* payers led to divorces that were relatively widely spread in cities. Married couples were divorces both by mutual agreement and by decisions of people's courts. Although rate of marriage was high, of S marriages were cancelled.

Table 3. Marriages and divorces in cities of North Kazakhstan in 1927 (State Archive of Russian Federation, 12: 49-58, 66-67).

City	Total population	Number of marriages	Number of divorces		
			total	By mutual agreement	By court decision
Kustanai	25416	335	137	108	27
Petropavlovsk	47357	522	173	91	82
Akmolinsk	12781	55	24	12	12

According to the table in Kustanai in 1927 people appealed to people's court less frequently, marriages were canceled by mutual agreement (108 of 137 divorces). Number of divorces was lower in Petropavlovsk due to high population but almost 50% of divorces were made by court decision (82 of 173). The same situation was in Akmolinsk: the same number of appeals to court and divorces by mutual agreement.

Let us consider the data about marriages and divorces in small towns of North Kazakhstan – in Kokchetav, Atbasar and Cherlak (urban-type community since 1925) in second half of 1927.

Table 4. Marriages and divorces in small towns of North Kazakhstan in 1927 (State Archive of Russian Federation, 12: 49-58, 66-67).

City	Total population	Number of marriages	Number of divorces		
			total	By mutual agreement	By court decision
Kustanai	11060	25	16	5	11
Atbasar	6746	12	6	6	-
Cherlak	2862	2	1	1	-

Table shows relatively low activity in marriage and divorce in second half (July-December) of 1927 that may be caused mainly with seasonal character of marriage (most marriages were in spring and summer period). But still divorces took place and were related to marriages as S. In Kokchetav most divorces were settled via people's courts and in Atbasar and Cherlak by mutual agreement. The same trend was in 1930s. According to data of Petropavlovsk there were 134 divorces per 302 registered marriages (State Archive of North Kazakhstan, 1:53).

#### *6 Effect of Great Terror of 1937-1938 on family relations*

The period of Great Terror of 1937-1938 was marked by loss of family relations and family values. 140 members were excluded from the Communist Party and arrested in 1936 and first four months of 1937 only in North Kazakhstan region and 629 members were excluded from May 1 1937 till May 1938 and 567 were called «public enemies» that was extremely serious accusation (State Archive of North Kazakhstan, 794:11). More than four thousand people were repressed in the territory of Pavlodar region according to data of Committee of National Security from 1930 till 1941 (Insebaev, 2003: 133). 3360 people were arrested in 1930-1940 in Akmolinsk region.

Children of many illegally arrested subjects of political repression had to keep in secret what family they were from. Citizen of Petropavlovsk Grishkova P.D. born in 1930 recalling her repressed father Perfiliev Dmitrii Sergeevich noted that orphanage, war and starvation and humiliation followed her all her childhood and youth. “They took our father and we were called children of public enemy and left alone, alone with our grief” she said. “What could our mother and we see? But we survived. Each fought for oneself as he could”. Even many years later when she was 20-21 and worked as cook in cafeteria of the Ministry of Internal Affairs she was interrogated by secretary of the trust of cafeterias and restaurants Fisiuk D.T and specialist of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Nikishko. She recalled: “They made cross interrogation immediately: who was I, where I was born, where baptized? I lied about my father, said that

he died, that I did not know when and what from. I understood that I might share father's destiny". She was fired and went to work on munition-factory № 239 (Tragedy and enlightening, 2002: 235–237).

We may mention only a few histories of families from North Kazakhstan of the years of Stalin repressions because unfortunately the scope of the work does not allow listing them all. Seitov and Turlubaev families were vivid examples of families suffered in these dreadful years. All four brothers Seitov from Akmolinsk were repressed: Assylbek, Muratbek, Musylmanbek and Murat. Daughter of Assylbek Seitov many years collected grains of truth about her father and her family. Aldan Berdenov in his book of memoirs «Experience» wrote about his grandfather Turlubaev Aidarkhan who was outstanding representative of *alash movement*, public figure, lawyer who hold important positions in the Soviet time too and was arrested in 1937, and about his father Berdenov Taizhan who was editor-in-chief of publishing house Kazizdat and was arrested in 1937, about his wife Berdenova Sofia who had been in *ALZHIR* for 8 years. Berdenov's family lived for a long time in Petropavlovsk and Kokchetav where Taizhan Berdenov hold important positions: he was authorized representative of Petropavlovsk District Committee, Kokchetav and Irtysh regional committees of All-Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) and Sofia worked as an editor of regional newspaper of Kokchetav «Kolkhoz Zholy» and taught Russian and Mathematics in 7-grade Kazakh school (Pages of Tragic Destiny, 2002: 57-61).

Not less mournful was the faith of the family of Zhambolov. Zhambolov Aburashman was elected second secretary of Petropavlovsk City Committee of the Party in 1930. His wife Rabiga worked as deskwoman in local newspaper. Family of Zhambolov carried out important social work, they promoted Kazakh literature and arts. They had two children: daughter Luiza and son Dias. On September 9, 1937 Zhambolov was excluded from the Party by the order of the bureau of regional committee of the party as public enemy and imprisoned. Rabiga was later fired and arrested: in 1938 she was put in *ALZHIR* without preset term. She was back in Petropavlovsk only 3 years later. She found daughter Luiza in Sandyktau orphanage, but traces of her son were lost. Being under the surveillance of District People Commissariat of Internal Affairs Rabiga could not get work and was hired only as a worker on tannery. Director of tannery helped to find Dias and get him back to family via an order of court because he was adopted by a family without children. Tragic faith of Zhambolova Rabiga was the faith of many women of this dreadful time who went through all the horrors of *ALZHIR* but kept maternal love (Aktalghan esimder, 2008: 319-323).

Thousands of homes were destroyed during the years of Stalin repressions and faiths of children of «public enemies» were ruined. They were humiliated even by close relatives embittered by the time. Azalia Akhmetova from Petropavlovsk recalled her severe hardships as a child after arrest of her parents in 1937. She lived some time with mother's relatives. After arrest of her uncle and death of her grandfather her life changed dramatically. “I shudder when I recall my childhood. They bet me, humiliated. They treated me as a slave. Once they wanted to fetch a blow on my head by handle of big steak knife and made a deep wound in sinciput with sharp side. Even now... I can feel for the scar that reminds me sadism toward the daughter of public enemy”. (Pages of Tragic Destiny, 2002: 251-261). After discharging from the hospital the girl run away from her relatives and lived as a tramp for some time. In this way the number of homeless children grew.

Many relatives of public enemies changed families under unbearable pressure. For example, next public enemy the notary of Irtysh district Kireev was exposed in Pavlodar newspaper “Bolshevistskii Put” dated November 10, 1938 in the article “Political Blindness”. “This Kireev is not at all Kireev but Dzholdasbekov. He had changed family to keep in secret his social origin. Dzholdasbekov-Kirrev is a son of rich *bay* (landowner) that was dispossessed in 1928. One of his brothers Alebai was arrested last year as public enemy”. (Davydov, 1938:1). There are numerous examples of the kind.

In general the atmosphere of that time was vividly pictured by Iraida Suleimanova, daughter of repressed Garifulla Iskakov who was politician, scientist, journalist and public person. “Faiths of our parents and us are pages of tragic history of the country... Families, names, even nationality was changed. Brother did not recognized brother, relatives did not contacted with each other... Mutual distrust and slyness were often a matter of everyday life. The reason was mass repressions in the country that was called the Soviet Union” (Pages of Tragic Destiny, 2002: 251-261).

**Conclusion.** Analysis of the sources revealed the problem of modernization of family and marriage in Soviet time on an example of city population of North Kazakhstan; public consciousness had undergone substantial changes, attitude to family relations and family values changed. Small mobile family of two and rarely three generations was highlighted. Processes of woman emancipation and women's work in “male professions” in the situation of comprehensive employment affected the number of born children. Freeing of social relations and the institution of marriage from ethic frames of religious allowed premarital relations, simplified the procedure of divorce and caused growth of divorce proceedings. Traditional Kazakh families were paid much attention from authorities. These families had undergone dramatic changes due to the crash of social and economic lifestyle of nomads. Great Terror of 1937-1938 had caused the institution of Soviet family irreversible damage, destroyed existing kinship relations originating in pre-revolutionary period.

Scientific and practical importance of this research is that materials of the paper and conclusions may be used in studying problems of everyday city life in Soviet period. Absence of the study of this problem in Eurasian historiography and great potential of sources of different kinds not yet analyzed provide wide perspectives for researchers who study the history of everyday city life. Results of research may be also used in working out and reading courses of general and local history, the history of everyday life and the history of cities, sociological and politology researches.

There are still a number of problems that require studying: family ethics, gender problem, impact of religion (despite official limitation by Soviet authorities), psychological aspects of behavior of Soviet person, pedagogical approaches to education of youth, tradition of oral knowledge transfer, folklore, everyday folklore and others. There are many aspects of city family research that made research landscape complete. But this problem should be solved in complex engaging specialists of different branches of science with cross-disciplinary approaches.

Women emancipation, destroying of generic traditions like kalym and plural marriage, interference of social organizations in family relations caused loss of family values that manifested itself most vividly in the period of famine and mass political repressions. The practice of divorce was widely spread in cities, children's homelessness and prostitution were frequent phenomena. People changed families during the period of repressions to avoid prosecution for being relatives of public enemy, torn kindred relationships. So, intentionally or not, individual course of life of people including its family component should have match completely new frames that were created in the country by ongoing deep multifaceted social shifts. Changing demographic, economic, psychological conditions of life of city family more and more drew people away from traditional models of behavior and required seeking new ones. The only unquestioned advantage of these new models was that they better than former ones fitted requirements of life. But that did not mean that new forms of organization of private life, family, marriage that complied with new conditions did not cause new tensions and problems. Moreover there are problems of transitional states when former family forms are fading and new ones have not yet matured. That was exactly the situation Soviet city family was in 1920-1930s.

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## ГОРОДСКАЯ СЕМЬЯ В КОНТЕКСТЕ ИЗУЧЕНИЯ ИСТОРИИ ПОВСЕДНЕВНОСТИ ГОРОДОВ СЕВЕРНОГО КАЗАХСТАНА В 1920-1930-Е ГГ.

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**Аннотация.** Статья посвящена изучению повседневности через семейные и общественные отношения городского населения Северного Казахстана в 1920-1930-е гг. В статье дается анализ научной литературе, посвященной специфике изучения повседневной жизни советских городов. Автор в статье в качестве источников приводят архивные материалы, музейные коллекции письменных источников, статистические материалы. Авторы на примере городского населения данного региона показывают изменения в сознании советского гражданина, приведшие к модернизации социальных отношений. Вмешательство власти в дела семьи проявлялось разными способами: участие общественности в семейных вопросах посредством практики народных судов, осуществлявших бракоразводные процессы; отмена регистрации брака в религиозных учреждениях; борьба с пережитками в казахской среде: отмена калыма и многоженства. Разрывом родства и потерей семейных ценностей ознаменовалась эпоха Великого террора 1937-1938 гг. За годы сталинских репрессий тысячи семей были разрушены, получили распространение гонения на детей «врагов народа», имела место практика изменений фамилий и национальностей в личных документах. Автор приходит к выводу, что новые формы политической организации общества повлияли на модернизацию личной жизни, семьи, брака и принесли с собой новые проблемы, которые выражались в потере прежних семейных ценностей.

**Ключевые слова:** советское общество, городская семья, гражданский брак, развод, воспроизводство населения, смертность населения, “партийные чистки”, политические репрессии, «враг народа».

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## СОЛТҮСТІК ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ 1920-1930 ЖЫЛДАРДАҒЫ КҮНДЕЛІКТІ ҚАЛАЛАР ТАРИХЫН ЗЕРТТЕУ ЖАҒДАЙЫНДАҒЫ ҚАЛА ОТБАСЫ

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**Аңдатпа.** Мақала 1920-1930 жылдардағы Солтүстік Қазақстандағы қала тұрғындарының отбасылық-әлеуметтік қатынастары арқылы күнделікті өмірін зерттеуге арналған. Мақалада кеңестік қалалардың күнделікті өмірін зерттеу ерекшеліктеріне арналған ғылыми әдебиеттерге талдау жасалған. Автор мақалада дереккөз ретінде мұрағат материалдарын, жазба деректердің мұражайлық жинақтарын, статистикалық материалдарды келтіреді. Авторлар осы өлкенің қала тұрғындарын мысалға ала отырып, қоғамдық қатынастардың жаңаруына әкелген кеңес азаматының санасындағы өзгерістерді көрсетеді. Биліктің отбасы ісіне араласуы әр түрлі көрініс тапты: некені бұзу туралы істерді жүргізген халық соттарының тәжірибесі арқылы отбасы мәселелеріне қоғамның қатысуы; діни мекемелерде некені тіркеудің күшін жою; қазақ ортасындағы қалдықтармен күрес: қалымды және көп әйел алуды жою. Туыстық қатынастың үзілуі және отбасылық құндылықтардың жоғалуы 1937-1938 жылдардағы Ұлы террор дәуірін белгіледі. Сталиндік қуғын-сүргін жылдарында мыңдаған отбасылар ойрандалып, «халық жауларының» балаларын қудалау өрістеді, жеке құжаттардағы тегі мен ұлтын ауыстыру тәжірибесі орын алды. Автор қоғамды саяси ұйымдастырудың жаңа формалары жеке өмірдің, отбасының, некенің модернизациясына әсер етті және олармен бірге ескі отбасылық құндылықтарды жоғалтудан көрінетін жаңа проблемаларды әкелді деген қорытындыға келеді.

**Түйін сөздер:** Кеңес қоғамы, қалалық отбасы, азаматтық неке, ажырасу, халықтың көбеюі, халықтың өлімі, «партиялық тазартулар», саяси қуғын-сүргін, «халық жауы».

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