



URBAN FAMILY AND FEATURES OF MARRIAGE IN KARAKALPAKSTAN IN 1960-1980

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ABSTRACT

The work is devoted to one of the important issues of studying the everyday life of the urban population - the urban family and the characteristics of marriage. The types of marriages and families of city residents in general, issues of family and marriage were analyzed urban family in the conditions of Karakalpakstan, their features during the period under study. In the second half of the 20th century, new traditions and rituals associated with Soviet ideology appeared in the daily life of the population of the Central Asian region. A description of the transformation of traditions and rituals during the period under study is given. The work methodology is based on local material.

KEYWORDS

City, family, marriage, Komsomol wedding, new traditions, Soviet rituals.

INTRODUCTION

Today, family and marriage exist in all corners of the globe, and its history goes back many millennia. The importance of family and marriage in the life of a person and society cannot be overestimated. But each generation realizes this truth in a new way.

The urban family is not homogeneous; it is characterized depending on the concentration of population in the city, on the ethnic structure, on the

geographical location of the city, on the activities and employment of the population. In small towns, the way of family life is close to the rural one: there are strong family ties, including marriage, social control over family life, and the presence of a subsidiary plot in almost every house. For a resident of a small town, family means a lot.



The urban lifestyle had its own characteristics, which were reflected in the forms and characteristics of marriage. Such transformations were caused by a number of reasons, primarily, intense involvement in the labor process, social activities, and broad social connections.

The urban family in the conditions of Karakalpakstan during the period under study was represented by two forms - the so-called large (ethnographers use the term “undivided”) and small. In the cities, small families predominated, consisting mainly of young couples who had married relatively recently.

Increased professional, social and territorial mobility of the urban population contributed to the expansion of contacts and social ties. The majority of urban married couples met in various higher and secondary specialized educational institutions (38%), in places of cultural entertainment (33%), with friends and relatives (24%), a small part - in amateur clubs and sports organizations (Esbergenov, 1975. P. 49). The desire of young people to get an education has influenced changes in the age of marriage. This is confirmed by the words of Kh. Esbergenov, “the growth of education and acquisition of a certain specialty by the youth of the cities of Karakalpakstan has led to an increase in the marriageable age from 15-17 years to 20-22, sometimes later marriages occur” (Esbergenov, 1975, p. 99).

Each family creates its own way of life. Relationships in the family depend on the traditions of communication, the economic and social state of society, the dependence of the family on society, the participation of spouses in running the household, in social production, on the type of family: large, childless, who dominates on the personal qualities, character of relatives.

A. Bekmuratova, who studied the family of the Karakalpaks, notes that under the influence of the urban environment, new traditions appeared (Bekmuratova, 1970. pp. 107-109). The transformations affected both the forms of creating families and the very rituals associated with marriage. In the 1960s, cases of abduction (abduction, abduction) of girls without parental consent became more frequent. This practice, a form of marriage, according to field materials, was not previously typical for the Karakalpaks” (Kurbanova, 2020. P. 125), notes Z. Kurbanova. However, in rare cases they resorted to it, more often when the parents of the young people were against their marriage. In the 1960s, kidnappings of girls became more common, even in cases with parental consent. Popularly, this practice was called “alyp kashyp ketiŷ” (literally – to kidnap) (PMA, 2017).

After bringing the girl to the house of her parents or one of her close relatives, the groom’s parents sent “zhaushy” or “khabarshy, elshi” (messengers, ambassadors) to the house of the parents of the future bride. With the mutual consent of the two parties, the main traditional forms of matchmaking were subsequently carried out - “kuda tusiŷ” (matchmaking), etc. At the end of the 1970s, the tradition of “kuŷyp baryŷ” (literally catching up) became part of the wedding ritual. Usually, several “zhenge” (elder daughters-in-law), immediately after receiving the news of the kidnapping, came to the groom’s house with the following goals: “irge koriŷ” (literally - to see the household, house), to talk with the girl (whether she is here by consent or not). Then the volume of the bride price was agreed upon (despite the assertion of some experts that this tradition has disappeared, they were discussed between future matchmakers in a private conversation and still take place), the timing of the matchmaking, and the holding of the wedding.



In the new urban environment, in addition to the traditional wedding, a new ritual began to appear - a celebration for young people, which was called "Komsomol toy" (literally Komsomol wedding). Such practices were especially popular in the cities of Nukus, Takhiatash, and Khojeyli. The first experience of holding a "Komsomol" wedding occurred in the 1970s. This event was preceded by the solemn registration of marriage in the registry office. In the 1970s, only 26% of those getting married underwent a formal marriage registration, and in 1984 - already 54% (Seidametova, 2020. P. 37). In most cases, newlyweds in the cities of Nukus, Takhiatash, Khojeyli, Beruni, Chimbay, and Kungrad went through a similar procedure. Then the celebrations moved to the canteen-buffets of city institutions, often in the house or in the yard (in the summer). Mostly young people gathered, so propagandists called them "Komsomol". For this purpose, the premises or courtyard were colorfully decorated, tables and benches were placed, and the so-called. "zhurgiziysi" (toastmaster, he could be one of his own or invited).

In the 1980s, "Komsomol" weddings became ubiquitous. Due to a lack of space and funds, most began to conduct them at home. Usually the place chosen was, if in the summer, a large courtyard, where tables and wooden benches were placed, at other times - in large rooms ("halls"). I. Khozhanov, born 1960, Takhiatash, recalled that the "Komsomol" wedding took place in the house, in a large room (hall) with the participation of friends, neighbors and classmates, and in the other they danced (PMA, 2019).

Despite the innovations that took place in the urban environment in wedding rituals, some traditional elements remained stable. Soviet propaganda was unable to influence the conduct of Muslim weddings. According to the information we received, the majority of those who got married in the 1960-1980s entered

into a union according to the norms of Islam "nikah", and this was done before official registration in the registry office, literally, in the first few days after the bride entered the house the groom or on the wedding day. "The Muslim neke was read on the wedding day in the groom's house. We went to the registry office after the third child," says Saatdinova Khamzakhan (PMA, 2019). The same is stated by Takhiatash resident Aitzhanova O. "In 1977, he married a maternal relative. I stole her right from the house, I was waiting for her near the house. When I brought him home, they showed me a neke. In 1978, a son was born, in order to obtain a birth certificate, our marriage was registered at the registry office" (PMA, 2019).

During this period, changes also appear in the composition of the family. Young urban couples did not strive to have many children, since in the conditions of the city, where they lived separately from their parents, they could not count on help from them. In addition, our analysis of the composition of families in the city of Nukus during the period under study shows that the higher the social status of the spouses, the fewer children they have. Typically, such families in Karakalpakstan had an average of 4-5 children. The Karakalpaks, like most Central Asian peoples, were distinguished by their love of children. Therefore, traditionally, a family had 7-10 children. Women's employment in production also affected the reduction in children in the city. While rural women were mainly engaged in housework. If on average in the USSR each woman spent 40 hours on housekeeping, then in our country a woman was busy with housework almost all the time. First of all, because of the traditional way of life: even in cities, each family had a household yard (in addition to those who lived in communal apartments and houses, but they were a minority), especially in those cities that lived in cities - regional centers. Secondly, traditional kinship and other forms of



communication: numerous relatives organized weddings, funerals, and other celebrations, which also required mandatory attendance, in addition to certain material costs. In many cases, both spouses participated in these celebrations.

Characterizing the period of the 1960-1970s, many ethnographers did not ignore the fact of transformation of traditional relationships in the family. Ethnographer A. Bekmuratova once stated that "... in the modern Karakalpak family, new relationships were gradually established, overcoming former prejudices, customs, and religious norms of the old way of life" (Bekmuratova, 1970. P. 92). Indeed, in the families of young people living without parents, there were more features of a new, modern way of life. Promoting (or wishing for wishful thinking) the new and modern, the above-mentioned author complains about the existing "negative phenomena". In particular, she draws attention to the relationship between spouses, between the parents of the groom and the bride: "The older generation does not like it when their son's wife went somewhere with her husband," that in some families "the husband and wife do not greet each other at a meeting, if one of the spouses left somewhere for a long time" and calls such a situation "a relic of the past" (Bekmuratova, 1970, p. 93).

One cannot but agree with the opinion of U. Tashtemirov that "... the family as a specific phenomenon is in dialectical unity and interaction with all spheres of the structure of society. The state of the family, its internal processes and development trends are determined by changes occurring in the economy, culture, social relations, etc." (Tashtemirov, 1982. P.18).

Thus, in the period 1960-1980 in the urban environment, the most common form of family was a

small family. Soviet ideology introduced innovations to wedding rituals - in addition to the obligatory traditional wedding, young people began to organize an evening wedding for their peers and friends, which was popularly called "Toi Komsomol." The urban lifestyle influenced the composition of the family; working young women did not strive to have many children.

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