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Socio-economic impact of divorces on the households of divorced women

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Abstract

Relevance. The relevance of the study lies in the special interest in changing the gender role of a woman in running her own household and is also explained by the fact that over the past few years the number of divorce proceedings has increased. The article identifies not only the main socio-economic consequences, but also analyses the new position of women in Kazakh society in its dynamic historical development, analyses the features and differences of these consequences for men and women in Kazakhstan in various types of the region: in the city and in rural areas.

Purpose. The purpose of the article, therefore, is to study the impact of divorce on the households of women in Kazakhstan in social and economic terms.

Methodology. To achieve the goal, statistical data analysis methods were used to identify the main trends in divorce proceedings and their consequences. To identify the features of changes in the socio-economic status of women, the method of pair comparison was used.

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Results. As a result, it was possible to come to conclusions that in previous years the impact of divorces on the status of women was much more serious, nevertheless, the support of the state, as well as more persistent trends towards gender emancipation in modern Kazakh society help women feel more confident after divorces.

Conclusions. The current stage is characterised by a tendency towards retraditionalisation of Kazakhstani society, despite the fact that the rhetoric of traditional models of women's role is used to build a new Kazakhstani ideology. However, compared to the consequences for men, women's issues remain more serious, with longer-term consequences. Due to the proven increase in divorce proceedings during the economic crisis caused by the pandemic, further research may be aimed at studying the consequences of this event on women's households.

Keywords: family; child; gender roles; income; institution of marriage.

Introduction

The family is always interconnected with the economy, the connecting factor of these two concepts is the household. Households are institutional agents and react to market conditions in the financial sector through changes in income from the sale of resources, consumption and savings. Today, Kazakhstanians are individuals who own households, they run their own economy, and most often within the family. The general trend for households in Kazakhstan today is the crisis state of the economy, which was initially caused by a sharp devaluation of the tenge, and at this stage is experiencing a sharp decline due to the COVID-2019 pandemic (Coronavirus Disease 2019) [1]. In sociological theories, the household is studied as a specifically historical institution within which decision-making takes place by an individual, including as a "*homo economicus*".

The household determines the way of inclusion, integration of the individual into the household community itself: a place in the system of organisation of domestic work, and in a community of another level: in a rural community, in a class, in a work organisation and eventually in a state [2]. There are studies examining various types of economic systems and the peculiarities of the situation of households in them, there is also a significant layer of research on divorce issues, but the problem of household management by a woman after divorce has not yet been considered [3-5]. There is no such household category in the studies, or it can be included in the "one-person household" type, but the situation may change if a woman has a child [6]. The subject of study for a sociologist is also the consideration of the special features of household behaviour in various types of socio-economic structure. A household can also be run by one person, one's activities to provide for oneself within their household can also be attributed to the concept of a household [7].

Recent studies on divorce show an increasing trend in the number of divorce proceedings for numerous reasons: among the common causes of divorce – lack of housing conditions, unfavourable social conditions, incompatibility of the characters of the spouses. 90% of divorcing couples are spouses between the ages of 20 and 40 [8]. The common thing in the list of these problems is that more and more often women are the initiators. Women are more aware of family problems and invest more in a joint marriage. At the same time, women are more likely to initiate a divorce after admitting that their efforts are hopeless. Women's emancipation in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) led to a paradox. On the one hand, women have become part of the labour force, but on

the other hand, they are praised for their feminine, maternal qualities and, most importantly, they face an unchanging division of domestic labour at home. A new stage of changing the status of women began after 1991, after Kazakhstan gained independence [9].

The collapse of the USSR entailed various changes and consequences not only in the political, economic, and social spheres of independent Kazakhstan, but also in the sphere of family and marital relations. The displacement of the family from the system of production of goods and services in the process of industrialisation, the entry of women into the labour market, as well as a decrease in the number of children in the family negatively affect the stability of the family. Because of such changes, the mutual dependence of family members on each other disappears. This, in turn, may be one of the reasons for the increasing share of unmarried people and the increasing number of divorces [10]. Single mothers, for various reasons, almost inevitably lose part of their earnings after divorce; some divorced mothers do not receive any help from their ex-spouse, the other part receives payments only from official earnings, which in today's conditions may differ significantly from unofficial wages; a decrease in income may lead to an increase in working hours for parents and even a change of residence [8].

The purpose of the article, therefore, is to study the impact of divorce on the households of women in Kazakhstan in social and economic terms.

Materials and Methods

The achievement of this goal, that is, the study of the social and economic consequences of divorce, requires a whole range of interdisciplinary methods and approaches that will allow considering and analysing this phenomenon. To begin with, a study was conducted on the use of the conceptual apparatus and the correctness of its application to study the social and economic side of the consequences of divorce proceedings in Kazakhstan. The main methods used to clarify the main consequences and trends in divorce proceedings were the method of analysing statistical data for the last 10 years and for the last 3 years. In sociology, there are studies that reveal the impact of divorce processes on men in general and the features characteristic of Kazakhstan, special attention should be paid to comparing the consequences for men and women, and also consider the possibility of identifying the alleged gender transformation of Kazakh society in the areas of family life under consideration. To implement the task, the method of paired comparison was used.

A systematic approach made it possible to consider the relationship of the current economic situation to various

consequences in the management of households by women after divorce. The analysis of state policy made it possible to assess the impact of state aid on the economic situation of women. In addition, an attempt was made to comprehensively analyse and correlate the processes of emancipation and re-traditionalisation in Kazakhstan in the 21st century and changes in the gender status of women in modern Kazakh society, in connection with the trends towards a return to traditional foundations in the search for a national idea over the past 30 years. For a deep and detailed analysis, the study was divided into several stages, at each of which a special method or approach was applied, which made it possible to perform the tasks in a more integrated manner. The stages of the study correspond to the structure of this article and will be presented in sequential order. The first stage was devoted to the analysis of literature and the history of the use of household concepts, theories and concepts of studying the influence of family type on household management in Kazakhstan.

At the second stage, the analysis of the main trends in divorce processes and family processes in general was carried out, what data statistics give about their number, the main causes, and the age at which divorces are most common. In addition, the main effects of divorce on former spouses were analysed, including a particular focus on men, in order to use the results later for a comparative analysis of the effects on both spouses as well as on children. The final stage identified the impact, socio-economic, to which special attention was paid, of divorce on women's status and on household management and maintenance practices. Attention was also paid to the specifics of Kazakhstan's state social policy to support single-parent families with a single mother and child. Thus, the implementation of all these stages and the use of the methods mentioned earlier made it possible to comprehensively consider all aspects of the consequences of divorces on household management for a woman, as well as to give some assessment of the situation of a divorced woman in Kazakhstan and trends in her social status.

Results and Discussion

The study of the household should be based on knowledge of both sociological and economic concepts. Household management can be attributed to the economic function of the family, which consists in maintaining its vital activity: the economic system in society supports the possibilities for the existence of all other systems in society, and household management allows the family to physically exist. The other side of the household and family is socialisation, which supports the stability of the social system, supports the system of rules adopted in society. The principles of the division of responsibilities between spouses are also socialised within the family. Established principles do not change so easily, and if they do, they threaten the stability of the entire social system. Cultural traditions, ideas, beliefs, and value patterns are created by society and are often beyond the individual understanding of the logic of their functioning. Thus, a violation in the functioning of the family causes some imbalance in the performance of social and economic functions of the household [7]. To begin with, it is necessary to understand the specifics of the position of a modern woman in

Kazakhstan. An important point to address is the transformation of the role of women in modern society in Kazakhstan, the trends in which are the re-traditionalisation or rethinking of certain traditions in favour of a new order of power in the direction of the neo-patrimonial and patriarchal post-Soviet system, which has changed the positions of previously emancipated women.

The post-Soviet shift in social and economic relations has marginalised the position of "emancipated women" in society, economy and politics. Kazakhstan's culture and society historically stem from the nomadic lifestyle of numerous tribes that made up the Kazakh Khanate, formed around the fifteenth century. Women in this nomadic society have traditionally been considered equal members of society. The nomadic women of Central Asia were involved in constant movement and cattle breeding, as well as in household chores. This entailed a completely different lifestyle and different gender roles than in sedentary societies, where the division of labour was strongly gendered and where women occupied mainly work and roles in private rather than public spheres. The Soviet campaign for the liberation of women, in turn, became an ideological tool and an unfinished project of emancipation, since the state did not ensure the full involvement of women in leading political positions, but used them as a labour force in its development projects. Although Soviet women gained more rights and access to education and some labour markets after liberation, they experienced a "double burden" working in "traditionally female" and low-paid industries such as clothing and textiles, taking care of their families.

The family has assigned women the role of caregivers for their husbands and children. However, in the Soviet discourse, the roles of women were positioned not within the framework of tradition, but rather within the framework of ideology; that is, women had to be active and working citizens, as well as "producers" of the nation. Under these conditions and pressure, many women choose marriage as one of the ways to preserve their economic status, as well as as a means of protecting their body and their honour from accusations and violence [11]. The Soviet project of female emancipation was based on rigid heteronormative norms that supported monogamy and a conservative approach to sexuality. Formal gender equality was achieved in the sense that women had almost equal rights and were active in the public sphere, but the workforce and social dynamics remained generally very gender specific. Kinship ties, which relate to kinship relationships, usually play an important role in regulating Central Asian communities and may continue to play a coercive role in choosing a spouse today [9].

The issue of the problem of divorce is widely covered in numerous studies in Kazakhstan. Starting with the issue of the problem of divorce in modern Kazakhstan, it can be stated that over the past ten years there have been quite noticeable changes, both in the marital status and in the structure of families in Kazakhstan, both in the city and in the village. One of the main changes is a decrease in the proportion of married people, both among men and women. The composition of Kazakh families has also changed; the share of extended families has increased. In modern society, a typical family does not always coincide with this ideal concept, there are different families,

therefore, in addition to the ideal nuclear family, children are brought up in single-parent families, as well as in extended families, some of which are foster families [10]. Since gaining independence thirty years ago, Kazakhstan's society has experienced long and extensive socio-political changes associated with the reorganisation of political power, the advent of capitalism and the growing influence of globalisation. Thus, an important trend in the cultural and spiritual sphere is the search for a national ideology, in particular the traditional propaganda of heteronormative family values, which should contribute to strengthening the institution of marriage.

The family, nuclear and extended, remains a very strong institution. In a 2020 survey conducted in all regions of Kazakhstan, 73.1% of respondents said that they consider family to be the meaning of life. According to a 2020 survey conducted among 3,000 respondents by the Institute of Equal Rights and Equal Opportunities of Kazakhstan [12] and Civil Initiatives Support Center [13], respondents were asked what, in their opinion, was the reason for the divorce. Primary was: the intervention of relatives, followed by permissiveness (41%), the crisis of family values (36%), selfishness (28%), the influence of social networks (28%) and the ease of the divorce procedure (25%). Divorce laws are fair on paper and recognise the obligations of both spouses, including alimony payments, but a significant number of men seem to shirk this obligation, and many single mothers are experiencing financial difficulties. Since marriage is a social as well as an economic institution, the COVID-19 pandemic has greatly affected the divorce rate, which has dropped sharply in one year [9]. Thus, it can be said that the problem of divorces, their consequences or their prevention is relevant for modern Kazakhstan and concerns both researchers and state structures of social support of the population.

The consequences of divorce concern both spouses who have decided to stop running a joint household, therefore, in order to clarify the specifics of a woman's situation, it is also necessary to touch on the consequences of running a household for men. Researchers find correlations between economic stability and marital status of male workers. An increase in income leads to a decrease in the number of divorces, and an increase in the number of families in need of housing leads to an increase in the number of divorces. The study showed that marriage is a key factor contributing to the development of human capital. Married people show higher rates of income growth than single people. It was also revealed that when the divorce rate has increased in recent decades, men's labour productivity and wages have decreased. Some researchers suggest that men are unable to run their own household, having been taught other methods and other roles (earning money). The time for a man to adapt to a new role in running a household takes quite a long time, and causes stress, which leads to the emergence of bad habits and the development of depressive psychological states. The number of divorces in recent decades has increased the number of households with fewer people around the world [14].

When couples are divorced, more housing and resources are required, which consequently leads to an increase in water and electricity consumption. Such a view

also exists, but it is not a key problem. Sociologists note that it is easier for married people, in particular men, to find a job when for a woman having a family even in the future causes huge difficulties in finding a job [15]. After researching the implications of divorce on men and the way they manage their household, it is necessary to turn to the main topic and move on to the implications for women. The most acute of them include such as a drop in the birth rate, family instability, a high percentage of divorces, a growing number of incomplete and childless families, and a decrease in the size of the nuclear family. Another group of problems concerns the socio-psychological and spiritual sphere, the possibilities of a woman's self-realisation. Unemployment among women is already several times higher than among men. It is no secret that the collapse of economic ties, the bankruptcy of unprofitable enterprises, the privatisation of service sector enterprises, the reduction in the number of scientific and pedagogical personnel, entail the dismissal of women, especially mothers, since the use of their labour is associated with the need to provide them with certain social benefits and compliance with social protection measures. Housework, which is traditionally performed by women, is mostly unpaid. Homemaking has always been considered a woman's "natural" destiny.

The massive participation of women in professional work under capitalism led to the fact that a woman, along with a man, began to participate in the economic support of the family. Domestic work is one of the most difficult forms of labour, which fulfils the main task of society - the reproduction of human capital. In domestic work, or reproductive activity, the main functions can be distinguished – reproductive (birth and upbringing of children), servicing and supporting. Women devote much more time to unpaid household-related activities, while men devote much more time to paid activities in public production. Horizontal occupational segregation in the labour market, when traditionally "female" occupations are paid much less and lack prestige in society. Vertical occupational segregation, when men, as a rule, are more likely to occupy the highest places in the official hierarchy than women. Everyday sexism is discrimination against women on the basis of gender. The increase in poverty among women is related to their position in the labour market, social status in society and family. There is limited access for women to financial loans. The unemployment rate is higher among women than among men, and its duration is longer; the phenomenon of the "glass ceiling", as a result of which women, for example, are less represented in politics than men. The formation of a two-sector employment model and the displacement of women to the secondary sector [16].

Researchers look for causes of divorce in changes and transformations in existing gender roles. In modern society, the existing modern socio-economic conditions have helped a woman to turn from a domestic servant into a competitive unit in the labour market. Through professional activity, through a career, she strives for self-sufficiency, ensuring her own income, avoiding dependence on her spouse. The phenomenon of "double employment" and "double workload" still mostly affects women and, according to studies, women's domestic work significantly exceeds men's. But the problem also lies in

the fact that modern men, often out of habit, still claim to be the head of the family. This increases the risk of conflicts in the family, and as a result, increases the risk of divorce, especially in families where a woman's contribution to the family economy is higher or proportional to a man's contribution. Thus, it can be assumed that the transformation of gender roles in family and marriage relations is the result of a number of socio-economic factors and is an inevitable consequence of the specifics of industrial society [17].

Some studies have noted negative effects on demographic indicators, since women after divorce in many cases no longer give birth. It turns out that divorces in families have a negative impact on the demographic situation. In addition, children in many cases stay with their mother, which reduces the likelihood of starting a new family and having another child with this woman, while divorced men start new families faster [8]. Children are particularly affected by divorce, for whom it is a potential factor of de-socialisation and a source of numerous psychological, pedagogical, medical, socio-legal, material and household and other problems. The increase in the proportion of single-parent families with children, even in economically prosperous developed countries, is negatively assessed, since the educational function of the family in this case is deformed and children in them are more prone to antisocial behaviour and find it more difficult to navigate gender relations in society and create a fully viable family in the future. Often, a woman remains single after a divorce, and in the "run-up" to divorce refrains from having children. At the same time, it should be remembered that after the parents' divorce, most of the children permanently or temporarily live with their mothers, whose financial situation worsens significantly, since the income of divorced women sharply decreases compared to full families.

In eliminating these problems, much depends on the mother, on her ability to establish relationships constructively and correctly with underage adolescents, to involve their loved ones in their socialisation, including the former spouse in terms of controlling unresolved or difficult issues. Therefore, the adaptive relationship of a mother and a teenager in the family after a divorce is a reaction to each other's behaviour when the form, content and intensity of the reaction are adequate to the problem and contribute to the resolution of the conflict situation [18]. An important factor in economic and social assistance to women is the support of the state. To date, Kazakhstan has formed a comprehensive state model of support for households with children, which includes a system of social benefits and payments, as well as measures to promote employment and tax benefits. The main characteristics of the welfare level of households in the country are monetary incomes, their structure and size, indicators of differentiation of their distribution [19-21]. Studies show that the incomes of the urban population exceed the incomes of the rural population. As the analysis of the structure of household income shows, the main source of income for the urban and rural population is income from work, which accounts for 75% of total income. Today in Kazakhstan, social support is provided to five categories of households (families): mothers and families with children under one year of age, large

families, households with disabled children, low-income families, as well as families who have lost a breadwinner and have taken children under guardianship or custody. The fee for childcare under one year of age is 40% of the average monthly income of a woman over the past two years [22].

For women who find themselves in a similar situation, there are various channels of support for obtaining economic assistance, both state, such as allowances and benefits, and non-state private organisations that provide assistance in finding housing and work, as well as psychological assistance to women and children. Over the past decade, such crisis centres have become increasingly widespread in many countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), including Kazakhstan, but this trend is not so much related to divorce as to the situation of domestic violence [23; 24]. Nevertheless, the centres provide support to all women, provide housing, help in obtaining benefits and in court proceedings. As for state support, it has recently caused more and more discontent among single mothers, there have been cases of demands from the government to increase social benefits and simplify the procedure for obtaining certificates of need for social assistance [25-27]. Parents without custody, usually fathers, face the problem of maintaining contact with their children. Parents-guardians, usually mothers, face the problem of single parenting and finding child care. As a result, it is expected that the divorce will negatively affect the quality of family life of both spouses. Studies have shown that fathers can suffer more in this area than mothers, especially when they lose (or are afraid of losing) contact with children.

The second topic is related to the chances of remarriage after divorce, which are usually higher among men. Firstly, people with permanent children are less likely to remarry, and women are more likely to receive custody. Secondly, older people are less attractive in the remarriage market, and this age effect is stronger for women. Thirdly, people who have fewer opportunities to meet are less likely to change partners, and women may be at a disadvantage in terms of opportunities to meet in conditions such as the workplace. The third topic includes the consequences of divorce for social integration, going beyond relationships with partners and children. These effects were measured by the number of friends; the frequency of social participation; and the frequency of contacts with friends, relatives and neighbours. Moreover, divorce can increase the need for social contacts in order to compensate for the loss of the main partner for communication and to receive social support that helps to cope with the divorce process [28; 29]. According to the isolation hypothesis, divorce entails not only the loss of a partner, but also the disruption of a common social network and joint activities, as well as the loss of ties with neighbours in the event of moving to another place [30]. Moreover, these losses are not easy to compensate for, given that communication partners, as well as social settings that allow one to establish new connections, are inaccessible to many divorced people. The study did not show significant gender differences in the consequences of divorce, although the impact on women seems to be more mediated by changes in resources [25; 31].

Divorce affects various aspects of health and psychological well-being, as well as economic, social and family life. Men experienced a greater drop in life satisfaction, especially family life satisfaction, in the year of divorce, but in subsequent years the gender gap in these results disappeared. The same pattern was observed with respect to a more significant decrease in women's satisfaction with household income, which suggests that gender differences in the consequences of divorce tend to be greater in the short term than in the medium term. In the case of relocation, for example, women may be more likely to leave the joint household for economic reasons, while men may be more likely to leave the joint household for family reasons related to child custody [32-35]. Similarly, if a woman copes with difficulties to a greater extent, and men to a lesser extent, the negative impact of both stress reactions on overall health indicators on average may not differ much. Another potential reason for the lack of medium-term gender differences in many outcomes is adaptation. This tendency to return to the pre-divorce level after a few years, smoothing out gender differences in the process, is considered a universal force that does not differ by gender, except in special circumstances such as unemployment [36; 37].

It is also worth noting the influence of the geographical environment on changes in socio-economic indicators of the level of household management. The gap in living standards between urban and rural populations has increased over the past two decades due to market transformations that have occurred in Kazakhstan over the same period. Most of the population living in the country faces various problems related to the growth of unemployment and poverty, deterioration of living conditions and socio-economic infrastructure [38]. The population also faces problems adapting to market institutions. Profound changes in the economic, political and social structures of Kazakhstan's society have occurred over the past twenty years in the context of market transformations [39]. This has led to the formation of a new profile of social stratification of society, divided by regions, which is one of the important parameters of social inequality in Kazakhstan. The population of the country has faced various problems related to the need to adapt to market institutions, such as competition for work [40].

These problems also include the "monetisation" of social services; an increase in unemployment and poverty; deterioration of housing conditions and socio-economic infrastructure of settlements; increased migration of rural residents to cities in search of work and other evils of a market society. These problems have worsened for rural residents. For women in such environments, the same problems of having to combine work, or finding work, are common. However, most often in a rural environment, a woman with a child has to return to her parents and entrust the function of caring for children to an older generation. This trend is not typical for urbanised regions and large cities, where women must show more independence [41]. One can observe the rejection of marriage as a lifelong commitment, an increase in the number of divorces and annulments, the rejection of stereotypes in the upbringing of children, an increase in the number of single-parent families and families with foster parents, as well as a

widespread increase in the number of abortions and out-of-wedlock births.

Demographic science considers the family according to the importance of its reproductive function: the reproductive function is the most important for any family. Until now, the family has been considered as the only source of reproduction of the population. However, there is a wide variety of family types. They can be classified according to the structure of the family, the type of dominance in the family, lifestyle, social, economic and geographical location, state of psychological health and even the degree of cooperation in joint activities. All of them eventually make the same conclusion that the family is a social group with a historically defined organisation, whose members are connected by marriage or blood ties (including children under guardianship), community of family life, mutual moral responsibility, and whose social need is conditioned by the need of society for physical and spiritual reproduction of the population. In addition, it is appropriate to distinguish between family functions, which differ according to different data and by different researchers [42].

Conclusions

In modern Kazakhstan, a special feature for a woman is her unique gender position, which is explained by the long processes of emancipation in Soviet times and attempts to appeal traditional foundations at this stage. Emancipation made it possible to achieve more economic independence and self-assessment as an independent individual in the management of the household and in the upbringing of children, so women have become less vulnerable to the consequences of divorce than it was before. The tendency to complicate life and household management methods for women remains a serious problem, which the state is working to solve through the development of effective social policy and private initiatives designed to help women survive difficult periods in their lives. The tendency for women to take the initiative in divorce may also indicate a developed sense of security and a sense of being able to continue to run their own household independently among women in Kazakhstan.

The urban environment is characterised by the continuation of an independent household by a woman with a child, whereas for rural areas, the option of returning to the parents' home to help with the upbringing of a child is more often chosen. Such women enter into a joint household with their parents, their standard of living will not necessarily be worse than the level and methods of household management in marriage. The problems of the modern family are among the most important and urgent, since the modern young family is very significantly different from the family of the past, not only by a different economic function, but also by a radical change in its emotional and psychological functions. Double standards towards women are still strong in society, so in a marriage, a woman has to combine both housework and her paid job. After divorce, women are more likely to feel liberated from the responsibility of running the household for the whole family, and depending on their age, a child, if any, may also become an actor in running the household.

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Conflict of Interest

None.

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Соціально-економічний вплив розлучень на домогосподарства розлучених жінок

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Анотація

Актуальність. Актуальність дослідження зумовлена особливим інтересом до зміни гендерної ролі жінки у веденні власного домогосподарства, а також тим, що за останні кілька років збільшилася кількість шлюбнорозлучних процесів. У статті визначаються не тільки основні соціально-економічні наслідки, а й аналізується нове становище жінки в казахстанському суспільстві в його динамічному історичному розвитку, аналізуються особливості та відмінності цих наслідків для чоловіків і жінок в Казахстані в різних типах регіону: в місті і в сільській місцевості.

Мета. Метою статті є дослідження впливу розлучень на домогосподарства жінок у Казахстані в соціальному та економічному плані.

Методологія. Для досягнення мети було використано методи статистичного аналізу даних для виявлення основних тенденцій у шлюбнорозлучних процесах та їхніх наслідків. Для виявлення особливостей змін у соціально-економічному становищі жінок використано метод парних порівнянь.

Результати. У результаті можна зробити висновки, що в попередні роки вплив розлучень на становище жінок був набагато серйознішим, проте підтримка держави, а також більш стійкі тенденції до гендерної емансипації в сучасному казахстанському суспільстві допомагають жінкам відчувати себе більш впевнено після розлучень.

Висновки. Сучасний етап характеризується тенденцією до ретрадиціоналізації казахстанського суспільства, попри те, що риторика традиційних моделей жіночої ролі використовується для побудови нової казахстанської ідеології. Однак, порівняно з наслідками для чоловіків, проблеми жінок залишаються більш серйозними і мають більш довгострокові наслідки. З огляду на доведене збільшення кількості розлучень під час економічної кризи, спричиненої пандемією, подальші дослідження можуть бути спрямовані на вивчення наслідків цієї події для жіночих домогосподарств.

Ключові слова: сім'я; дитина; гендерні ролі; дохід; інститут шлюбу.