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https://doi.org/10.51943/2710-3994_2022_32_4_4-14

IRSTI 03.20.00

COVER OF THE KAZAKH CHILDREN'S MAGAZINE "BALDYRGAN" AS A REFLECTION OF GENDER STEREOTYPES IN SOVIET SOCIETY

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Abstract. The research interest in studying the history of childhood, and in particular the history of Soviet childhood in the twentieth century, nowadays is due to increased attention to the problems of children in the modern world. The article presents the results of a comparative and content analysis of illustrations on the covers of the Kazakh children's magazine "Baldyrgan" from 1958 to 1979, based on which it was concluded how the prevailing gender views in the USSR were reflected on the pages of the periodical press. We turned our research interest specifically to children's magazines because in modern realities there is no doubt that childhood is an important stage in the socialization of a person. Analysis of the illustrations on the cover of a children's magazine gives us the opportunity to better understand those values and behavioral patterns, including those related to gender, which were formed in the younger generation by the state ideology. Because the illustration on the cover of the magazine carries the general message of the entire text content, and symbolically reflects gender, moral, ethical and social principles, attitudes and stereotypes that have developed in society.

Key words: History of Soviet childhood, gender stereotypes, children's magazines, Kazakh SSR.

ҚАЗАҚ БАЛАЛАРЫНА АРНАЛҒАН «БАЛДЫРҒАН» ЖУРНАЛЫНЫҢ МҰҚАБАСЫ КЕҢЕСТІК ҚОҒАМДАҒЫ ГЕНДЕРЛІК СТЕРЕОТИПТЕРДІҢ КӨРІНІСІ РЕТІНДЕ

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Андатпа. XX ғасырдағы кеңестік балалық шақтың тарихын зерттеуге деген қызығушылық қазіргі әлемдегі балалардың проблемаларына көбірек көңіл бөлумен байланысты. Мақалада 1958–1979 жылдардағы қазақ балалар журналы «Балдырғанның» мұқабасындағы суреттерінің компаративті және контент-талдау нәтижелері берілген. Нәтижелер негізінде КСРО-да қалыптасқан гендерлік тәртіп мерзімді баспасөз беттерінде қалай көрініс тапқаны туралы қорытынды жасалды. Біз зерттеуге қызығушылығымызды балалар журналдарына аудардық, өйткені балалық шақ жеке тұлғаны әлеуметтендірудегі маңызды кезең екендігі белгілі. Балалар журналының мұқабасындағы суреттерді талдау бізге өскелең ұрпақтың мемлекеттік идеологиясын қалыптастырған құндылықтар мен мінез-құлық үлгілерін, оның ішінде гендерлік үлгілерді тереңірек түсінуге мүмкіндік береді. Журналдың мұқабасындағы иллюстрация барлық мәтіндік мазмұнның жалпы хабарын орындайды

және символдық түрде қоғамда қалыптасқан гендерлік, моральдық, этикалық және әлеуметтік принциптерді, көзқарастар мен стереотиптерді көрсетеді.

Түйін сөздер: кеңестік балалық шақ тарихы, гендерлік стереотиптер, балалар журналдары, Қазақ КСР.

ОБЛОЖКА КАЗАХСКОГО ДЕТСКОГО ЖУРНАЛА «БАЛДЫРГАН» КАК ОТРАЖЕНИЕ ГЕНДЕРНЫХ СТЕРЕОТИПОВ СОВЕТСКОГО ОБЩЕСТВА

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Аннотация. Исследовательский интерес к изучению истории детства и, в частности, к истории советского детства XX века в наши дни обусловлен повышенным вниманием к проблемам детей в современном мире. В статье представлены результаты компаративного и контент-анализа иллюстраций на обложках казахского детского журнала «Балдырган» с 1958 по 1979 годы, на основании которых сделан вывод о том, как отражался сложившийся гендерный порядок в СССР на страницах периодической печати. Мы обратили свой исследовательский интерес именно на детские журналы в связи с тем, что в современных реалиях не вызывает сомнения, что детство – это важный этап в социализации личности. Анализ иллюстраций на обложке детского журнала дает нам возможность глубже понять те ценности и поведенческие образцы, в том числе и гендерные, которые формировала у подрастающего поколения государственная идеология, ведь иллюстрация на обложке журнала несет общий посыл всего текстового содержания, и в символическом виде отражает гендерные, морально-этические и социальные принципы, установки и стереотипы, сложившиеся в обществе.

Ключевые слова: история советского детства, гендерные стереотипы, детские журналы, Казахская ССР.

Introduction. Since the independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan, first of all, there were political and economic events of the 20th century, that appeared in the field of view of domestic researchers, while the appeal to the social history of the Soviet period was developed only in the 21st century. Today's research interest in the study of the history of childhood and, in particular, the history of Soviet childhood of the twentieth century is due to increased attention to the problems of children in the modern world, and the study of historical experience can provide answers to many questions that concern us. In Kazakhstani society, the need to transform the concept of raising children is now being actively discussed, taking into account modern sociocultural processes, and 2022 has been declared the Year of Children by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev. In his New Year's address, he noted: "Special attention should be paid to children. Their well-being is a reliable guarantee of the successful future of our state" (Tokaev, 2021). The study and rethinking of the historical past of our state in solving problematic "children's" issues will allow our society to build a more effective strategy for the development of state policy in the field of childhood.

Methods and materials. In the course of the study, we analyzed the illustrations on the covers of the Kazakh children's magazine Baldyrgan. In total, 240 issues of the journal published from 1958 to 1979 were taken into account for the study, which were carefully scanned and categorized for subsequent comparative analysis. The materials of the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (AP RK) were used, in particular, these are the minutes of the editor's meetings of the Baldyrgan magazine from the 878 fund. An important component of the study was the method of semiotic interpretation of illustrations. As the researcher N.V. Shalyutina notes, the semiotic interpretation takes into account that the creator of the image and his characters are people who exist in a certain socio-cultural context, with their own visual

canons, stereotypes, and ideology (Shalyutina, 2016). We are inclined to the conclusion that the formation of plots was influenced not only by external factors, such as direct instructions from party bodies and chief editors of the magazine, but also by the inner world and values of the artist himself. The analysis of gender roles in the study was based on the ideals of masculinity and femininity generally accepted in Soviet society.

Discussion. In the historiographic review of modern literature on the problem under study, several directions can be conventionally distinguished: first, these are scientific works directly related to the study of the phenomenon of “childhood history”; secondly, these are works based on the methodology of visual anthropology in the study of historical processes, and the third group is studies related to gender history.

In modern Kazakh historiography, the problems of childhood history are not studied as a separate scientific direction; only in the last decade, separate articles on the problems of childhood history have been published. These are articles by Z. G. Saktaganova and Zh.K. Abdukarimova on child homelessness and children of war in Central Kazakhstan (Saktaganova, Abdukarimova 2021a, Saktaganova, Abdukarimova, 2021b). An article by M.T. Mukasheva (Mukasheva, 2019). The work of S.K. Tulbasieva (Tulbasieva, 2021) is devoted to the history of the creation of orphanages in Kazakhstan.

Great merits in the study of the history of Soviet childhood of the XX century belong to foreign researchers. The history of childhood in the USSR is one of the directions of research by the English historian of culture K. Kelly, who in her works traces the dependence of childhood history on the sharp turns of Soviet ideology and politics. She concludes that the history of Soviet childhood does not contradict the general processes of modernization (globalization) of childhood in the West, which took place according to universal and transnational principles (Kelly, 2007; Kelly, 2003). In Russian science, the study of "Soviet childhood" is associated with the study of various problems of history, anthropology, sociology and ethnography of childhood, constructing images of childhood in literature, art, pedagogy and other sociocultural areas. The authors explore Soviet children's literature, the culture of children's everyday life, Soviet children's cinema and many other areas. These are the works of M.V. Romashova (Romashova, 2013), A.V. Kudryasheva (Kudryashev, 2020), E.V. Abashkina (Abashkina, 2016). A.A. Salnikova (Salnikova, 2020).

As for research based on the methodology of visual anthropology in the study of historical processes, the topic “Visual Anthropology and the History of Images of Kazakhstani Culture in the 19th – early 19th century”. XXI centuries: evolution and acquisition of subjectivity” (within the framework of the project under the grant of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan) is developing at the Kazakh National Pedagogical University under the leadership of T.T. Dalaeva.

In the context of this study, it is necessary to note the works of M.A. Sazonenko, who, based on the visual materials of children's magazines of the Soviet period, considers such issues as the cultural content of Soviet childhood, gender aspects in children's play culture (Sazonenko, 2021a, Sazonenko, 2020, Sazonenko, 2021b). The matter of great interest is the work of G. Seksenbayeva in collaboration with John Clarke, which explores the emergence, development and role of newsreels in the Soviet period in the history of Kazakhstan (Clarke, 2018).

In the post-Soviet space, the circle of researchers in gender history is still small and has its own distinctive features, in contrast to those countries where this trend originated. As I.V. Pinchukova noted: “For example, many works are devoted specifically to the history of women, and not to the history of men and the study of the relationship between the sexes. But there is a quite simple explanation for this - Russian historical science needs to fill in the gap in knowledge that has formed due to the small amount of research on women conducted by women themselves. For the science created by men, other objects of study were much more important, and women and their non-public (as it was previously considered to be less socially significant) activities for a long time remained in the shadow of scientific interest” (Pinchukova, 2007). This statement is also relevant for Kazakhstani historical science, that is proved by the works of Z.G. Saktaganova dedicated to the women (Saktaganova, 2016; Saktaganova, 2020).

Results. This study is at an intersection of several areas of modern historiography, firstly, it is the history of childhood, secondly, it is a gender history, and finally, it is a visual history. First of all, it is necessary to clarify what was the official position of the Soviet leadership on the gender issue. Article 122 was introduced in the USSR constitution of 1936: “Women in the USSR are granted equal rights with men in all areas of economic, state, cultural and socio-political life” (Constitution, 1936). However, as

L.N. Zavadskaya notes: “This constitutional provision equalized the status of one (female - A.B.) sex with the status of the other – male. Therefore, there is hardly any reason to talk about the gender idea of equality between the two sexes, since the standards laid down in the Constitution were one-sided – masculine. This is not a standard in the modern sense, which is based on the idea of respect for human rights regardless of gender, be it a man or a woman” [Gender Expertise, 2001: 94].

In the Constitution of the USSR of 1977, in Article 35, the wording on the equality of the rights of women and men in the USSR is already different: “Women and men in the USSR have equal rights. The exercise of these rights is ensured by providing women with equal opportunities with men in obtaining education and training, in work, remuneration for it and promotion at work, in socio-political and cultural activities, as well as by special measures for the protection of labor and women's health; creating conditions that allow women to combine work with motherhood; legal protection, material and moral support for motherhood and childhood, including the provision of paid leave and other benefits to pregnant women and mothers, the gradual reduction of working hours for women with young children” (Constitution, 1977). According to L.N. Zavadskaya: “Behind the formula about ensuring equal opportunities, creating equal conditions, there was a recognition that there is no equality between the two sexes in society. It has not been achieved” (Gender Expertise, 2001). O.A. Khasbulatova also holds the opinion that in the USSR, the propaganda machine and the mass media, persistently introduced into the minds of people the gender myth about the allegedly achieved gender equality in the USSR, which should have been taken without critical reflection, on faith (Khasbulatova, 2018).

That is, the real position of women in Soviet society was much more complicated. In this society, one role was predetermined for men - to be a worker, a builder of communism! While a woman had to be a good wife, a caring mother, an active worker and a builder of communism at the same time. Yes, formally women and men had equal opportunities and rights in the sphere of public activity, however, as practice shows, the main leading government positions in Kazakhstan, as well as throughout the Soviet Union as a whole, were occupied by men. The intra-family household sphere was not regulated by normative acts, and in most families women, who at the same time were involved in social production, did all household work. As O.V. Bolshakova notes: “Soviet propaganda actively created and imposed on society the image of a female worker, a devoted member of the Communist party and at the same time a caring mother, a diligent housewife, whose house sparkles with cleanliness. She not only worked hard at her workplace, but also sewed, cooked and spent a lot of time with her children, and in her spare time she read the classics, went to the theater, went in for sports” (Bolshakova, 2009: 109).

In this work, we tried (through the analysis of illustrations on the covers of the children's magazine Baldyrgan) to determine whether the prevailing gender order in the USSR was reflected in the pages of the periodical press. The journal has been published since 1958 and was the only journal edition in the Kazakh language. Children's periodicals of the republic were not particularly diverse. During the period under study, the newspapers “Kazakhstan pioneers”, “Friendly guys” were published. The first editor of the magazine was the famous Kazakh poet Muzafar Alimbaev. According to him, there was no such magazine in the republic before. Baldyrgan objectively became the center of the formation and development of Kazakh preschool literature. The evidence was the ever-increasing circulation, from ten thousand in the first year of publication to one hundred thousand in 1965, and in 1977 it exceeded 200 thousand. (AP RK, 23: 1). The editorial staff of the journal had a large team of authors. Writers and poets of the republic, laureates of the Abai State Prize A. Tazhibayev, S. Maulenov, as well as G. Ormanov, S. Begalin, Kh. Ergaliev, laureates of the Lenin Komsomol of Kazakhstan T. Moldagaliev, K. Murzaliev (AP RK, 2: 8).

The analysis of the illustrations on the cover of the magazine gives us the opportunity to better understand the values and behavioral patterns, including gender ones, that the state ideology formed in the younger generation, because the illustration on the cover of the magazine carries the general message of the entire text content, and symbolically reflects gender, morally -ethical and social principles, attitudes and stereotypes that have developed in society. Based on the time of publication of the Baldyrgan magazine since 1958 and based on the periodization of the Soviet gender order proposed by the Russian sociologist Igor Kon and the American researcher Gail Lapidus, we consider the third stage – the mid-1950s - the end

of the 80s – which falls on the period of political thaw, and then the Brezhnev stagnation (Kon, 2018; Lapidus, 1977).

We turned our research interest specifically to children's magazines due to the fact that in modern realities there is no doubt that childhood is an important stage in the socialization of the individual. If we turn to the definition of the term “childhood”, we will see that in all definitions, one way or another, attention is drawn to the fact that childhood is a period of development, socialization, inculturation of that part of society that is in a state of “before adulthood”. The textbook "Pedagogical Anthropology" gives the following definition: "Childhood is a dynamic social state within the age period from birth to adulthood, which is characterized by specific features, a special subculture and specific social ties and relationships" (Kodzhaspirova, 2005).

We were able to find only 242 journals out of the 258 journals published between 1958 and 1979. The design of the magazine was one of the main problems for the editorial team. They coped with this task successfully, so the magazine was regularly awarded diplomas at the inter-republican competition of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, in artistic and technical design and printing performance. For example, at the 4th competition in 1964 in Ashgabat, at the 5th competition held in Frunze for the back cover No. 5 for 1964, the artist Baltabai Tabyldiev received a diploma (AP RK, 23: 4), in 1976 in Dushanbe at the 13th inter-republican competition (AP RK, 23: 59). Thematically we identified the following groups of illustrations on the cover of the magazine "Baldyrgan", which are presented below in table 1.

Table 1– Thematic plots of the cover of the children's magazine "Baldyrgan"

Thematic plot of the cover of the magazine	Q-ty
Covers of the magazine with children	197
Covers of the magazine with the main character of the “Baldyrgan”	24
Magazine covers featuring animals or natural scenery	13
Covers of the magazine with the image of V.I. Lenin	5
Covers dedicated to the anniversaries of the publication of the magazine	3

Comparative analysis was carried out directly on the covers, in which the main characters were children. Out of the 197 magazine covers that featured children, 74 featured boys and girls, and their number was equal. On the covers of 91 magazines, the main character was a boy or there were more boys than girls. Only on the covers of 32 magazines, the main characters were girls or there were more girls than boys. We see that the image of girls occurs three times less than the images of boys, what is the reason for this? On the one hand, as researcher Irina Gevinner notes, in the key countries of the social bloc, the media in general and print magazines in particular were called upon to shape attitudes, behavior patterns, cultural norms and consumption practices (Gevinner, 2014: 26). Based on this, we can conclude that such a distribution of male and female characters was purposeful. On the other hand, we believe that this was generally influenced by gender stereotypes established in Soviet society, which I. Gevinner writes about: “The media in general and print magazines, in particular, reproduce what is in a particular society considered typically feminine and typically male, what gender roles are expected of the sexes, what behavior is considered conforming and what is unacceptable” (Gevinner, 2014: 26).

Although in the Soviet Union, the equality of women and men in all spheres of life was declared from high tribunes, in reality, men dominated almost in most spheres of life, during the existence of the state-party management structure in the Kazakh SSR, there was no female leader among the secretaries of the regional committees of the Communist Party, and in the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh USSR (the Supreme executive and administrative body of state administration of the Kazakh SSR, which operated from 1936 to 1990 – A.B.). There were very few deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR - women and ministers - women, we found only seven representatives.

If we talk about the semiotic interpretation of the illustrations on the covers of the Baldyrgan magazine, then first of all it is necessary to analyze the February and March issues of the Baldyrgan

magazine. Traditionally there were magazine issues when a picture of boys or men was expected. This is, of course, the February issue of the magazine, as we know, in the Soviet Union every year on February 23, the state holiday "Day of the Soviet Army and Navy" was celebrated. There were official ritual celebration ceremonies: military parades were held in the central squares of cities, army and navy veterans were awarded orders and medals. In the initial period, only those who were related to military service were honored, but since during the Soviet era youngest men served in the army, the holiday gradually became more widespread. The tradition migrated from the official stands and into ordinary families. In addition, every year on February 23, festive tables were laid, gifts were prepared, and men in work teams were congratulated on the holiday of the Soviet Army and Navy. Gradually, this day began to turn into a universal men's holiday.

Out of the 17 issues of the magazine's February issue featuring children on the cover, 12 of the covers feature boys, displaying heroic male masculinity. Almost all illustrations contain paramilitary paraphernalia (Figure 1), most often these are military headdresses with a red star, toys in the form of military weapons or military equipment (male image of masculinity – A.B.).



Figure 1 – “Baldyrgan”magazin’s covers

As noted by I.N. Tartakovskaya: “The Soviet type of hegemony of masculinity took shape under the strongest influence of the policy of a hypermasculine militarized state. This policy was aimed at ensuring that a man could fulfill himself as such only “in the service of the Motherland”, which meant unconditional and selfless participation in the implementation of any state projects. The main property of a “real man” was the implied constant readiness to give his life for the Motherland or for the values supported by the official ideology” (Tartakovskaya, 2002: 115).

As for the holiday on March 8, on May 8, 1965, by decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, International Women's Day on March 8 was declared a non-working day "in commemoration of the outstanding merits of Soviet women in communist construction, in defending the Motherland during the Great Patriotic War, their heroism and dedication at the front and in the rear, as well as noting the great contribution of women to strengthening friendship between peoples and the struggle for peace” (Kozlova, 2011: 41).

According to N.N. Kozlova in the 1970s-1980s there are new accents in the celebration of March 8. The demonstration of women's readiness for the next congress has already been accompanied by the liberalization and privatization of discourse, the depoliticization of the holiday. Newspaper editorials, agitation, appeals, postcards were decorated with images of flowers, and women were wished for private values - good health, great happiness, etc. (Kozlova, 2011: 42). O.A. Voronina, who notes that in the second half of the 1950s, along with maintaining the official status of this holiday as a “review of the achievements of Soviet women,” another process begins. International Women's Day of Working Women is being transformed into Women's Day - a celebration of all women, regardless of age and employment status. And although the official ceremony of the holiday still retains a bureaucratic scenario, including

congratulations on behalf of the party and government, rewarding women for their production achievements, nevertheless, warm, more personal words are increasingly appearing in official addresses, in the repertoire of official concerts on the occasion of the holiday lyrical songs begin to replace the patriotic repertoire (Voronina, 2017: 10).

Out of the 15 covers of the March issues of the Baldyrgan magazine depicting children that we discovered, only five of them had girls as the main character, in other cases boys and girls or only boys were depicted. We see that even in the expected “women's month of March”, the main characters are boys: a boy hugs his mother, a boy brings a gift to his grandmother (Figure 2).



Figure 2 – “Baldyrgan”magazin’s covers

There are gender stereotypes regarding male and female images and male and female occupations and professions in society. Of course, we cannot fully speak about the chosen profession, since we are talking about children, but as psychologists and sociologists note, children copy adults in their games. If we look at the illustrations on the magazine covers, we see that girls are often engaged in activities such as embroidery, sewing or music, which, based on prevailing stereotypes, are typically female activities (Figure 3).



Figure 3 – “Baldyrgan”magazin’s covers

If we analyze what boys are doing on the covers of the magazine, then the image of boys riding a horse, driving some kind of equipment or working with tools is quite common (Figure 4)

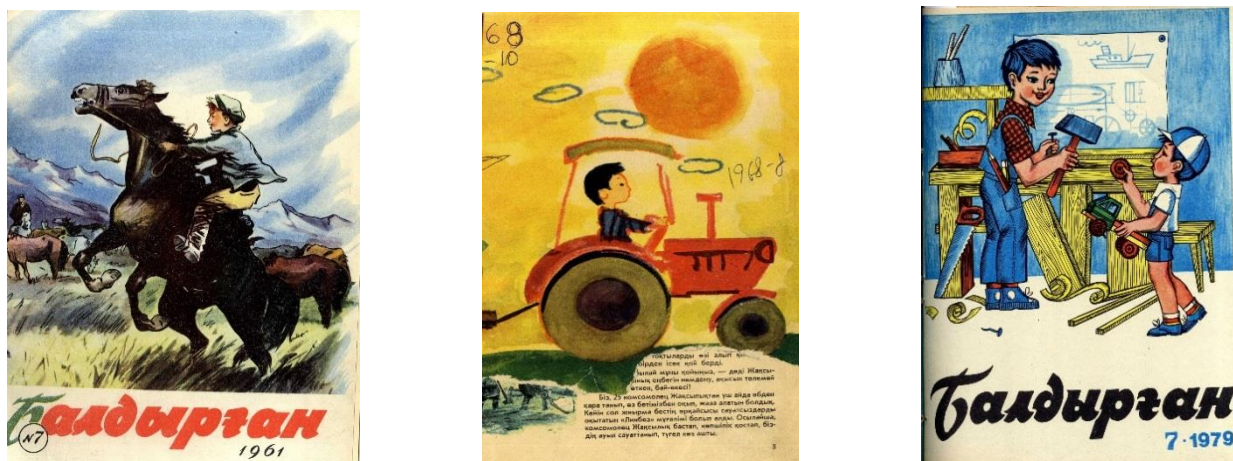


Figure 4 – “Baldyrgan”magazin’s covers

If we consider the illustrations where both boys and girls are depicted, then we see that the leading role belongs to the boys in the storyline, for example, on the cover of No. 11 from 1959, the boy is repairing the sled, and the girl is watching. On the cover of #11 from 1960, a boy hangs a red banner, and a girl serves tools. On the cover of No. 2 from 1969, a boy gives a girl a mined stone (Figure 5).



Figure 5 – “Baldyrgan”magazin’s covers

Conclusion. Summing up our review, we can say that, despite the declarative statements about gender equality, gender stereotypes about the higher social status of men continued to exist in Soviet society, and were transferred to the next generations, including through periodicals, and the covers of the Kazakh children's magazine of those times serve as a clear reflection of this state of affairs.

This also corresponded to the traditional mental attitudes of the Kazakh society. Men were personified as the successors of the clan, respectively, had a special status. Of course, in the magazine, in texts, captions under illustrations, on the covers there are practically no words denoting gender: boy or girl. But, as the analysis showed, the presence of gender asymmetry is obvious. It is expressed in a non-verbal form, in the predominance of the images of boys. All of them are presented as creators and protectors and more active in the actions than girls.

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Зикирбаева В.С.

Редакцияның мекен-жайы:
050010, Қазақстан Республикасы
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Журнал 2013 жылдан бастап шығады.

Қазақстан Республикасы Инвестициялар және даму министрлігінің Байланыс, ақпараттандыру және ақпарат комитетінде 2014 ж. 29 қазанында тіркеліп, № 14602-ИА куәлігіне ие болды.