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THE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER ROLES PERCEPTIONS AMONG YOUNG ADULTS IN KAZAKHSTAN

ҚАЗАҚСТАН ЖАСТАРЫНЫҢ ГЕНДЕРЛІК РОЛДЫҢ ҚҰРЫЛЫСЫ

ВЫРАБОТКА ВОСПРИЯТИЯ ГЕНДЕРНЫХ РОЛЕЙ СРЕДИ МОЛОДЕЖИ КАЗАХСТАНА

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by

ZHANAR TATKEYEVA

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Abstract

This research analyzes the construction of gender roles perceptions among youth in the Kazakhstani context. The study applies Inglehart's modernization theory that argues that socioeconomic development will lead to the change of values in the society (Inglehart 1990, 1997, 2000, Inglehart & Welzel 2005, 2010). Considering that Kazakhstan is experiencing multiple nation-building processes mostly driven by the state, three narratives appear as a result: traditional, modern and postmodern narratives. These narratives result in the superposition of three gender roles models: Model 1 "woman=mother, man=breadwinner", Model 2 "woman = mother& breadwinner, man = breadwinner", and Model 3 "woman = breadwinner and/or mother, man = breadwinner and/or father".

The study tests the following hypotheses to understand how the construction of gender roles perceptions operates: 1) given that Kazakhstan is experiencing multiple processes of nation-building, there will be multiple narratives in the Kazakhstani society; 2) if a gender role perception is constructed through the traditional, modern and postmodern narratives, the gender roles perception should also be mixed of three gender roles models.

The existing literature is Western oriented, mostly applies quantitative methodology and explores causality, rather than causal mechanisms. However, because of the nature of the question, the methodology applied to this study was qualitative. The sample was 30 participants, most of whom were from Nazarbayev University. Six focus groups with five participants in each were conducted in Russian language and lasted for 53 minutes on average. The focus groups were gender-neutral, meaning that half of them were-male, and another half-female. The data was analyzed based on constant comparison analysis (Onwuegbuzie et al 2009) and framework analysis (Krueger & Casey 2000, Rabiee 2004) techniques. The key steps of the analysis were: open coding, axial coding, selective coding, frequency, extensiveness, TIC (total importance of the code) and big picture.

The findings demonstrate that all three narratives were identified in almost equal shares. The dominant narrative was postmodern (40%), which means that students valued quality of life, human rights, gender equality more than values such as material security. Regarding the gender roles models, the dominant model was Model 2 – 50%. These findings confirm the first hypothesis. The second hypothesis was partially confirmed because there is a discrepancy between the dominant narrative and the gender roles model. It can happen because the narrative's pace of development would be quicker than of gender roles.

The study also shows the findings can be observed in people's real lives. The top down narratives find echo within the population. In addition, postmodernization provokes a conservative backlash in the population. People with more conservative values clearly demonstrate that they are against postmodern values. The study is important because 1) it applies Inglehart's modernization theory in a society that is in transformation, 2) it identifies significant social dynamics, 3) it opens the doors for further research. The key limitations are the sample and its generalizability.

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Chapter 1 Introduction: Why Study Gender Roles in the Modern Kazakhstani Context?

Kazakhstan is a post-Soviet country which stated its intention to modernize politically, economically and culturally after gaining independence in 1991. 'Mengilik Eli' ("Eternal Country") is an official patriotic act or document that represents common values that serve to unite Kazakhstani people: independence, a secular and highly spiritual society, economic development, national security, international participation and peace and harmony. At the same time, Kazakhstan is going through nation-building processes and construction of national identity (Cummings 2005, Dave 2007). Within that context of multiple changes happening in modern Kazakhstan, people's values and corresponding perceptions of gender roles are changing as well. Strategy for Gender Equality in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2006-2016 was developed on the basis of the Kazakhstan 2050 Strategy and "100 Concrete Steps". The key goal of this Strategy is to achieve gender equality in all life spheres (Smailova 2017). The research focuses on studying how gender roles are constructed among young adults in modern Kazakhstan. Gender roles attitudes are related to what people believe about appropriate roles and responsibilities for men and women (Frieze et al 2003, 256).

One of the most significant cultural changes in human development during the past few decades is the change toward gender equality (Inglehart & Welzel 2005, 54). For a long time, women's role in the society was mostly limited to the "functions of reproduction and caretaking" (Inglehart & Welzel 2005, 272). Women's social position was always viewed as inferior to men's in a majority of societies. Despite having "same talents" as men and abilities to develop beyond "traditionally limited roles", women had to accept these gender roles historically (Inglehart & Welzel 2005, 273). "Gender equality has become a central element in the definition of human development, for it is an essential aspect of human equality, like

civil and political liberties and human rights" (Inglehart & Welzel 2005, 273).

One of possible main explanations of this modern change in gender roles perceptions and gender equality is modernization theory. The main idea of the modernization theory is that socioeconomic development causes important changes in social, cultural and political areas (Inglehart & Welzel 2005). The main consequences of these changes include individual autonomy, gender equality and democratic freedom (Inglehart & Welzel 2005, 1-2). Modernization theory is based on processes, which describe how the societies experience development and changes. During modernization process, a society transitions from traditional to modern society, whereas during post-modernization process, the modern society transitions into postmodern. The two most important dimensions of values that describe each society are: 'survival vs. self-expression' and 'traditional vs. secular-rational' (Inglehart & Welzel 2010). In traditional societies, people possess survival and traditional values, where they value family ties, religion, and material wealth the most. In modern societies, people possess either survival and secular-rational values or self-expression and traditional values, where they mostly value material security, family relationships, and human rights. In postmodern societies, people in most cases have secular-rational and self-expression values, where they emphasize self-expression, human rights, put less emphasis on authority and religion (Inglehart 1997).

However, sometimes societies experience different stages of modernization processes simultaneously, which results in contradicting gender roles perceptions. If Inglehart's theory of modernization is applied to Kazakhstan, it should have transitioned from traditional to modern and then in the future it would have become postmodern. Thus, gender roles were supposed to become less traditional. However, in the case of Kazakhstan, Inglehart's modernization theory might not fully work. In Kazakhstan it is possible to observe three competing narratives that explain how gender roles are constructed in contemporary post-Soviet Ka-

zakhstan because of nation-building processes. Since contemporary Kazakhstan is a young state, one of the key objectives is to help people with identifying and strengthening their values. Consequently, state discourses could affect the formation of people's gender roles perceptions to a great extent.

Three key narratives which appear as a result of state efforts and influence youth's gender roles perceptions are traditional, modern and postmodern narratives. The traditional and modern narratives are mostly influenced by state efforts, which can also be named as a top down approach. In turn, a postmodern narrative is mostly influenced by the citizens' initiatives, which makes it a bottom up approach. However, which narrative has the strongest influence on young adults' perceptions of gender roles remains understudied. This is how the current situation can be described in Kazakhstan. My main focus is to solve this puzzle of gender roles construction within the context of multiple changes in Kazakhstan. To tackle this puzzle, I will use the concepts from Inglehart's modernization theory. However, in order to observe which gender roles perceptions Kazakhstani young adults possess in Kazakhstan, three competing narratives in the Kazakhstani context were studied: traditional, modern and postmodern.

Chapter 2 presents the literature review focusing on two main blocks of literature: the literature on gender roles and modernization theory. It also includes explanations of the key concepts and definitions. These two areas of literature are crucial to further explore the research question. The following chapter discusses the theoretical framework of the study. The theoretical framework I use to study young adults' gender roles perceptions is Inglehart's modernization theory. The three main competing explanations are: traditional, modern and postmodern narratives. It also includes the main hunches connected with gender roles perceptions, based on three Kazakhstani narratives. Chapter 4 discusses the research design that was applied to study the research question. It also explains the process of conducting focus

groups. Chapter 5 explains which methods and analytical tools were used to analyze the data. Chapter 6 analyzes the findings. Chapter 7 concludes with elaborating on the importance of the study as well as short recommendations.

Chapter 2 Literature Review: The Construction of Gender Roles Perceptions

2.1 Concepts and Definitions

In my literature review, I use two major blocks of literature: literature on modernization theories and literature on gender roles. The literature on modernization theories describes how societies develop and change. It also explains how as a result of modernization processes and changes in the society, people's perceptions of gender roles change as well. Consequently, these theories need to be included in order to explain gender roles perceptions. The second block of literature is directly connected to the research question itself and includes international studies of gender roles perceptions. It helps to understand how other scholars have approached gender roles in Western societies. Evaluating how gender roles were studied in Western societies will help me to understand how gender roles perceptions were studied in Western context, and allow me to adapt it to non-Western context.

Since there are many terms involved in this study, the main concepts and their definitions will be discussed first. In order to ensure that meanings of all terms will be clear, I will provide brief definitions as well. The main concepts in my project are: ***gender roles, traditionalization, modernization, postmodernization, , traditional narrative, modern narrative, postmodern narrative, traditional society, modern society, postmodern society, 'survival vs self-expression', ' traditional vs secular-rational'***.

Gender roles are referred to the roles and behavior that women and men are supposed to occupy based on their sex (Blackstone 2003, 337). Gender roles are based on different expectations of individuals in different societies based on the values and beliefs about gender in these societies (Blackstone 2003, 336). Thus, "appropriate gender roles are defined according to a society's beliefs about differences between the sexes." (Blackstone 2003, 336).

Traditionalization is a process where the society is captured in a status-quo position and where changes from one generation to another are almost nonexistent (Inglehart & Welzel 2005, 15). The central points in people's lives are religion, respect of authority and there is only a small part of the population that participates in the political life (Inglehart & Welzel 2005, 43). **Modernization** according to Inglehart (1997, 5) is a process, where the main processes of changes are connected to increasing levels of urbanization, bureaucratization, education and technology. The main outcomes of modernization are economic growth and wealth (Inglehart 1997, 24, 36). After the society has undergone modernization, it then goes through post modernization. **Postmodernization** can be described as a process, where the society shifts from being religious and traditional with high respect of authority to a society which is less religious, liberal with complete de-emphasis on authority and focus on individuals (Inglehart 1997, 14, 39).

'Survival vs self-expression' values is the first set of values which explain how people's perceptions change during modernization and postmodernization processes. According to Inglehart's theory, in many countries there was and still is a change in people's values from 'survival to 'self-expression' (Inglehart & Welzel 2010, 553-54). **Survival values** include people's needs for food and shelter because people's main priority is to survive. *Survival values are usually a feature of traditional societies.* Societies with survival values concentrate mostly on distribution of resources in the society. ***Self-expression values*** *are a feature of postmodern societies and several examples of such values include*: environmental protection, participation in politics, gender equality (Inglehart & Welzel 2010, 553-54). Societies with self-expression values concentrate on issues of self-realization and quality of life. Self-expression set of values can only be achieved after people acquired material security and because they achieved it, they can move on and focus on post material values (Inglehart 2000,

223). “When survival is insecure, it tends to dominate people’s life strategies” (Inglehart & Welzel 2010, 553).

The second main domain of values in Inglehart’s theories, which explain how people’s perceptions change during modernization and postmodernization, is the **‘traditional vs secular-rational’** values dimension. It implies people’s change of religious attitudes from religious towards more secular over time (Inglehart 1997, pp.80-86). Thus, societies with **traditional values** focus on religion, national pride, respecting for authority (Inglehart & Welzel 2010, 553). In turn, societies with **secular-rational** values focus on secularism, cosmopolitanism, and autonomy (Inglehart & Welzel 2010, 553). Therefore, the two main blocks or dimensions of values in Inglehart’s theory are: ‘survival vs self-expression’ (I set of values) and ‘traditional vs secular-rational’ (II set of values) dimension (WVS 2017). The table 1 below demonstrates key features that describe both sets of values.

Table 1. 'Survival vs Self-Expression' and 'Traditional vs Secular-Rational' values

I	Survival	Economic & physical security - main priority Focus on financial prosperity
	Self-expression	Environmental protection LGBT & gender equality -main priority Active political & economic participation
II	Traditional	Religion Parent-Child ties Respect & need of authority Traditional family values (strongly against abortion, divorce, suicide, same sex marriage)
	Secular-Rational	Less emphasis on Religion Weaker Parent-Child ties Weaker need of authority Secular-Rational Family values (abortion, divorce, suicide & same sex marriage is seen as relatively acceptable)

It is also important to note that as societies shift from modern to postmodern, it does not mean that **postmodern societies** do not value or place negative meaning on physical and material safety; in fact, they also value it as modern societies, but they just give a higher preference to quality of life and self-expression because they have already achieved physical and material security (Inglehart 1997, 35). In turn, in **traditional and modern societies** people are insecure about their future, own finances and the economy of the country, they are willing to accept authoritarian government and choose material security above lifestyle and self-expression, that will ensure their survival and safety (Inglehart 1997, 39).

Based on modernization theory and Inglehart's (1997, Inglehart & Welzel 2010) concepts, I propose to use his theory and concepts but with some modification to apply them in the Kazakhstani context. It is crucial to modify Inglehart's theory and concepts because in Kazakhstan, as mentioned above, it is possible to observe three narratives simultaneously that are connected to gender roles construction theory: traditional narrative, modern narrative and postmodern narrative. These definitions will be described in more detail in chapter II on theoretical framework but here I will provide key definitions of these concepts.

Firstly, what is a narrative? **A narrative** is basically a story that connects to the ways "in which we construct disparate facts in our own worlds and weave them together cognitively in order to make sense of our reality" (Patterson & Monroe 1998, 315). It helps people to understand themselves, influences the perceptions of reality and behavior, thus becoming an extremely important tool in everyday lives. In political science, when narratives are interpreted, an analysis that concentrates on grammar, lexical usages and "counting types of structures" (Patterson & Monroe 1998, 317). Interpretation of narratives can also be less technical and focus on how people perceive themselves as well as other people. As a result, usage of narrative is extremely valuable in political science if such issues "as identity—group or individual—influence behavior" (Patterson & Monroe 1998, 317).

With my study I want to demonstrate that in case of gender roles construction, it relates to ideas and beliefs about gender roles that are conveyed by people. Thus, in the case of gender roles construction theory in Kazakhstan, a narrative is defined by Inglehart's two sets of values: 'survival vs self-expression' and 'traditional vs secular-rational' values and also three processes that co-exist in Kazakhstan: traditionalization, modernization and postmodernization.

The traditional narrative is described as: young adults' perceptions of gender roles are *traditional* and they possess survival & traditional values. The traditional narrative implies that people emphasize parent-child and family relationships, as well as economic and physical security. People with such views are typically strongly against abortion, same sex marriage and divorce (Inglehart & Welzel 2010). **The modern narrative** can be defined as such: young adults' perceptions of gender roles are *modern* and they possess survival & secular-rational or traditional & self-expression values. The modern narrative implies that people place strongest emphasis on physical and economic security and some emphasis on religion (Inglehart & Welzel 2010). **The postmodern narrative** can be described the following way: young adults' perceptions of gender roles are *postmodern* and they possess secular-rational and self-expression values (Inglehart & Welzel 2010). The postmodern narrative implies that people emphasize personal development, self-expression and human rights. These people support abortion, same sex marriage and divorce because every choice is up to every individual. In my thesis I argue that these competing narratives are influencing the process of how youth's gender roles perceptions are formed.

2.2 Modernization Theory Literature

Starting with the literature on modernization, Adam Smith suggested that innovation in technology and corresponding changes in social and economic spheres would change cultural

and political institutions (Inglehart & Welzel 2005, 16). Thus, people would no longer define themselves according to their social classes. Another proponent of modernization theory is Lipset (1959), who argued that the level of democratization of a country depends on its economic development level. According to Lipset's (1959, 82) findings education, urbanization and industrialization levels were higher in democratic than non-democratic countries.

Bueno de Mesquita & Downs (2005), Przeworski and Limongi (1997) do not support Lipset's (1959) argument. Przeworski and Limongi (1997) and Bueno de Mesquita & Downs (2005) claim that there is no relationship between economic development and political change. Przeworski and Limongi (1997, 156) argue that democratic regimes appear even without any economic growth, whereas Bueno de Mesquita & Downs (2005, 78) claim that suppression of "coordination goods" such as political rights and media, can cause economic development with corresponding changes in political spheres. Nevertheless, the main idea of modernization theory remains similar across most studies: as the society experiences modernization, social and cultural changes take place and cause many significant changes, including education, people's values and gender roles perceptions (Inglehart & Baker 2000, Inglehart & Welzel 2005).

If we concentrate more specifically on the construction of gender roles, Inglehart's theory will be used as the major exemplary work for my theory of the construction of gender roles perceptions. Ronald Inglehart's modernization theory argument on posmaterialism has become one of the most influential ideas over the last two decades (Bean & Papadakis 1994, 264). There were several critiques of Inglehart's approach. For instance, Bergh (2006, 7) evaluates and compares the theories of Wilensky (2002) and Inglehart (1990, 1970) and claims that Wilensky (2002) offers a 'structural' explanation, whereas Inglehart (1990,1997) suggests the explanation based on 'values' to account for gender attitudes (Bergh 2006, 5). Bergh (2006, 6) argues that Wilensky (2002) accounts for the effect of economic develop-

ment on gender attitudes, whereas Inglehart (1990, 1997) does not. Thus, Wilensky (2002) argues that as a country's economic development increases, people's attitudes become more liberal (Bergh 2006, 6). However, if we closely evaluate Inglehart's (1990, 1997) theory, it is strongly connected to the state's level of economic development. As mentioned above, if people do not possess material security, they cannot possess self-expression values and still concentrate on ensuring material safety (Inglehart 2000, 223; Inglehart & Welzel 2010, 553). In addition, Bergh (2006) might also be wrong in claiming that Wilensky and Inglehart possess partially contradicting theories and approaches. Both Wilensky (2002) and Inglehart (1990, 1997) focus on structure and use similar approaches. Another critique was offered by Bean & Papadakis (1994) who argue that it is not necessary to accept all claims in Ingelart's theory. One of such concerns is that Inglehart does not account for spheres of social life that are not political nor economic (Bean & Papadakis 1994, 268). For instance, values which are relevant to religion, family and unemployment. Later Inglehart added these dimensions when he designed the World Values Survey. Another concern was that causal relationships between values and social changes "will vary from context to context" and that Inglehart does not account for specific institutions (Bean & Papadakis 1994, 265). These concerns still remain legitimate today. To address these concerns I have used the narratives, which will help to adapt Inglehart's theory in the Kazakhstani context. I will use Inglehart's approach in my theoretical framework because firstly, his theory is still one of the most influential theories explaining people's attitudes, and secondly, because I also use a structural explanation of construction of gender roles attitudes among Kazakhstani young adults.

Moving on to explaining Ingelhart's theory, the two most important dimensions of values used by Inglehart & Welzel (2010) to study their theory are 'survival-self-expression' and 'traditional vs secular-rational' set of values. The theory developed by Inglehart concerning gender attitudes is that dominant values of people living in advanced industrial societies fur-

ther promotes acceptance among people of women's self-realization and of women's equality with men (Bergh 2006, 9). Values serve as the main tool in Inglehart's theory. He argues that gender attitudes of people are explained by their values (Bergh 2006, 17). Inglehart claims that the main causal factor that leads to more liberal gender attitudes of people in advanced industrial societies is values, or change in values (Bergh 2006, 9). When the society becomes more developed, people's gender attitudes become more liberal and their values of postmaterialism and secularism become stronger (Bergh 2006, 9).

Inglehart (1997) conducted a longitudinal study of 43 societies across the world based on the World Values Survey. The World Values Survey 'explores the hypothesis that mass belief systems are changing in ways that have important economic, political, and social consequences' (Inglehart 1997). Economic development, cultural and political changes are all mutually connected and one system would not exist without another (Inglehart 1997, 10-11). In terms of economics, modernization strengthens the economy through industrialization, urbanization, education and many other areas since economic growth becomes the main goal of a society (Inglehart 1997,8). At the same time, modernization strengthens political institutions through bureaucratization, causing increased level of political participation, higher life expectancies and many other political and cultural changes (Inglehart 1997, 9). Therefore, modernization helps the society to develop in all spheres, which implies that values of a society also change. Consequently, Inglehart (1997, 11) argues that as societies change and develop economically, politically and culturally, "history tends to move in coherent and to some extent predictable patterns". On the other hand, there are disadvantages of modernization due to its high costs: "It dismantles a traditional world in which the meaning of life is clear; warm, personal communal ties give way to an impersonal competitive society geared to individual achievement".

Still, one of Inglehart's key arguments is that different societies transition into different

stages of modernization. All societies cannot experience the same levels of development, and even within developed societies the paces of transitioning are different (Inglehart & Welzel 2010). In turn, in Kazakhstan there are three processes simultaneously, including a shift from a traditional to modern (modernization) and a shift from a modern to postmodern society (postmodernization). Therefore, Inglehart (1997) claims that it is important to revisit modernization. There are several important factors that need to be mentioned.

Firstly, although socioeconomic development is most likely going to transform societies in a predictable way, making people more secure, tolerant, emphasizing self-expression and quality of life, this process is still not deterministic (Inglehart & Welzel 2005, 46). There can be other factors apart from the economic development that could also influential, such as religion and culture. This leads to the next point.

A strong socio-cultural path dependency is expected. It means that even though economic development contributes to changing people's perceptions, historical and religious background still have their lasting effect on people (Inglehart & Welzel 2010, 552). Religion and cultural traditions have a tendency to remain and 'live' for a long time in a society. Even between current postmodern societies there are different values because these societies experienced different religions (Inglehart & Welzel 2010). As modernization takes place, religion and other traditional cultural heritage will not completely disappear: "A society's cultural heritage is remarkably enduring" (Inglehart & Welzel 2005, 46).

Thirdly, the modernization process is not linear and cultural modernization is not irreversible. Modernization is not a linear process that moves just in one direction all the time (Inglehart & Welzel 2010, 552). It is important to notice that there is no clear-cut transition between different stages of modernization process. Therefore, it is more similar to gradation, than a stepwise change. While industrialization is bringing bureaucratization, hierarchy, centralization of authority, secularization, and also a change from traditional to secular-rational

values, the post-industrial stage of modernization introduces increased focus on self-expression values and individual autonomy, which in turn help to diminish legitimacy of authoritarian regime and increase likelihood of democracy (Inglehart & Welzel 2010, 552). Societies modernize gradually, rather than jump from one stage to another. They can also transition back and forth between modernization stages.

2.3 Gender Roles Perceptions

Moving on to the second block of literature, which is the literature on gender roles perceptions, it is possible to argue that such literature and studies in Kazakhstan are close to non-existent. *S*ince I could not find any literature on gender roles construction in the Kazakhstani context, this section will provide findings of international cases and how Western scholars studied gender roles perceptions.

There are many studies conducted on gender roles perceptions (Mason & Lu 1988, Frieze et al 2003, Khalid &Frieze 2004, Brown & Gladstone 2012). Mason & Lu (1988) studied gender role attitudes changes and political views in the United States. The findings of the study demonstrate that starting from 1977 until 1985 there was an increase in profeminist views among both males and females (Mason & Lu 1988, 44). In addition, the overall trend was that women possessed more liberal views in comparison to men (Mason & Lu 1988, 46,48).

Similar results are obtained later by Frieze et al (2003). The study included 1,544 US, 912 Slovene and 996 Croatian students in the period of 1991-2000 (Frieze et al 2003). The results confirmed two main hypotheses: firstly, women had more egalitarian (less sexist) views than men; secondly, more religious people had less egalitarian (more sexist) views (Frieze et al 2003, 256, 259).

Even in the case of Muslim communities, the results also confirmed previous studies' findings (Khalid &Frieze 2004). A study conducted by Khalid & Frieze (2004, 293) consisted of 195 Pakistani adults and 140 Muslim immigrants in the US also found that men were more conservative than women (Khalid &Frieze 2004, 299). When comparing conservatives' and liberals' opinions conservatives argued that a man is superior, whereas liberal claimed that men and women are equal (Khalid &Frieze 2004, 29). The main weakness of the study would be that the authors did not clearly state how they divided the sample into liberals and conservatives, which is a very important factor in this study (Khalid &Frieze 2004, 294).

It has also been argued that there is a gender gap between men and women in their political attitudes and social dominance orientation (Pratto & Stallworth 1997). Social dominance orientation (SDO) is a general social orientation that supposedly should affect any behavior that is related to intergroup relations (Pratto & Stallworth 1997, 50). The study results showed that men were higher in SDO, more conservative and supportive of social inequality, whereas women were lower in SDO, less conservative and more supportive of social equality (Pratto & Stallworth 1997).

Similar to Kazakhstan, gender roles are currently undergoing transformation in Russia. White (2005) conducted a survey among female students in Russia to study their gender roles attitudes. The results demonstrate that 51% agreed that women should be mothers, but 49% disagreed (White, 2005, 450-51). In addition, most students agreed that changes in gender roles are happening. The majority claimed that women need to be financially independent of men and strive towards careers, but at the same time, most of them also believed that the state should support mothers and that there still unequal access to opportunities in the labor market. Most importantly, it demonstrates that the direction of change shift towards more gender equality.

Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework: Applying and Adapting Inglehart's Modernization Theory to the Kazakhstani context

3.1 Inglehart's Modernization Theory in the Kazakhstani Context: Traditional, Modern and Postmodern Narratives

Chapter 2 discussed how studies explain perceptions of gender and gender roles in terms of their political, religious, cultural and social values. In turn, my study concentrates on studying gender roles' perceptions construction mechanism through the lens of modernization theory. I employ Inglehart's modernization theory but adapt it to the Kazakhstani context of mixed narratives co-existing at the same time. Transitions across modernization stages explained by Inglehart's second sets of values are **not clear cut**: 1) it is not always traditional-modern-postmodern. The society can move back and forth between the modernization stages. Still, societies can transition and become postmodern, only once they have gained economic and physical safety. Once they gain confidence physically and materially, they can focus on other issues, thus becoming postmodern. Once the process of post modernization starts to happen, people's values and perceptions of gender roles change, leading to more gender equal perceptions in both public and private spaces. However, a society and people's values can also transition backwards: postmodern-modern-traditional. 2) Societies and individuals can hold mixed sets of values and experience different stages of modernization simultaneously. To provide an example, a Professor at my University told the students the following story. When she was travelling by train, she met a couple. The couple had one daughter and one son. During the discussion, the professor found out that this couple wanted to send their son to a Kazakh public school, whereas they wanted to send their daughter to a private English school. The couple explained their decision by claiming that they want their daughter to get married to a foreigner, whereas they wanted their son to get married to a Kazakh girl. Because of the current situation in Kazakhstan, they made this rational decision to help their children in the future. They explained that a traditional Kazakh girl would be a good support-

ive wife and mother, whereas a foreigner would be more supportive of his wife and less traditional than a Kazakh guy. This example captures the Kazakhstani context, where the society experiences three processes at the same time which can be explained by traditional narrative, modern and postmodern narratives. As a result of these three narratives occurring at the same time, the society starts to develop mixed gender roles perceptions.

The first narrative is called traditional. In the Kazakhstani context, traditionalization is a revival of old Kazakh traditions, such as polygamy, patriarchy, religion, early marriage and bride kidnapping (Musabalina 2016). From 1970s to 1990s a percentage of non-consensual bride kidnapping increased from 0 to 18%. This practice might be connected with increased rates of domestic violence and sexual abuse in Kazakhstan (Kazakhstan's new plan to end domestic violence demonstrates multi-Disciplinary action 2017). People who construct their gender roles based on traditional narrative possess survival and traditional values, as do the members of Inglehart's traditional society. By applying Inglehart's theory, it can be argued that these Kazakhstani citizens who construct their gender roles based on traditional narrative possess high level of national pride, mostly religious, have strong family ties, are against abortion, support authoritarian government, do not participate in politics and have economic struggles (Inglehart 2010, 42-43, Inglehart & Welzel 2010, 553). It is important to note that similar to modernization narrative, both traditional and modern narratives are top down approaches in the Kazakhstani context. This means that they are mostly driven by government decisions and policies that then affect citizens. Postmodern narrative is also encouraged by the state, but it is mostly driven by people themselves. Firstly, how can traditional narrative be described in Kazakhstan?

In the context of Inglehart's modernization/postmodernization processes, the Kazakhstani government is actually trying to achieve two goals at the same time: become modern and also strengthen the Kazakh ethnic core and identity. Therefore, the traditional narrative is

also the result of the nation-building process in Kazakhstan. For instance, it has been argued that there was a strengthening of ethnic Kazakh core and laws on Kazakh language are part of it (Fierman 2006). Knowledge of Kazakh language can serve as a benefit when a person seeks a governmental position. The government is also trying to contribute to more traditional values in the society through media. For instance, the TV series called «Kazakh Khanate» was aired in March, 2016. It was very popular in Kazakhstan. Ministry of Culture and Sports of Kazakhstan ordered to make this historical Kazakh TV series (kazpravda.kz). In addition, for the first time after gaining independence in 1991, Kazakhstan celebrated 550 years of Kazakh khanate in 2015. This holiday has never been celebrated before in sovereign Kazakhstan. These are all signs that demonstrate that the government is trying to strengthen Kazakh ethnic identity and that the process of revival of old Kazakh traditions is happening. As a result of these nation building processes, which directly affect people and their perceptions about the society and about what men and women should do, individuals can develop gender roles perceptions, which are more conservative and relevant to our historical past.

Moving onto how the traditional narrative affects gender role perceptions in the society, if we go back to the history of the Kazakh society in 18-19th centuries, family relationships were based on patriarchal relationships (Musabalina 2016, Naberuchkina & Uzakova 2015). Kazakh men's main responsibilities were to protect the family and land, and their rights included: possessing several wives, having a decision-making voice in the family and many other rights (Musabalina 2016, 231). Women were responsible for cooking, clothing, raising the children and looking after a husband's parents (Musabalina, 232).

Currently Kazakhstan could potentially be experiencing the revival of these old Kazakh traditions: polygamy and strong hierarchy. For instance, during the 2011 elections, one of the candidates. Amantay Asilbek, said: "In Kazakhstan, there are a lot of single women, and it is a national tragedy, because we lose potential mothers...I think polygamy would solve this

problem." (Hays, 2016). Kazakh lawmakers have also made several attempts to legalize polygamy in 2001 and 2008 (Ferdman, 2013). In addition, when the population was asked of whether they would favor polygamy or not, 40% of men said yes, whereas 70% of women said no (Ferdman, 2013). Moreover, senator Ali Bektayev claims that loss of respect towards parents can be viewed as a sign of worsening of family values (Lugovskaya, 2017). He suggested creating a governmental institution to preserve family values and introduce a new class called 'Spiritual Foundations of the Family Life' in the school program to increase the role of the family in children's upbringing (Lugovskaya, 2017). He also suggested introducing an increased fee for divorces in order to save families.

The second competing narrative is modern. This narrative is also the result of a top-down approach, which explains Kazakhstani development and that also influences how people construct their gender roles perceptions. If we apply Inglehart's theory, people who construct their gender roles based on modern narrative possess Inglehart's modern society characteristics. Kazakhstan's 'Modernization 3.0' program demonstrates that one of the main goals Kazakhstan needs to achieve is economic development (kazakhstan2050.com). President Nazarbayev declared 'Modernization 3.0' as a strategy to achieve development and become one of the top 30 most developed countries in the world. Top 5 priorities of modernization include: accelerating technological modernization, improving small businesses, providing macroeconomic stability, improving quality of human capital and implementing institutional reforms, ensuring anti-corruption measures and security (kazakhstan2050.com). These are all of the goals Kazakhstan should achieve by 2050. This narrative is also a result of the top-down approach because this strategy was developed by the state efforts to directly affect and improve the quality of citizens' lives. As a result of such modernization processes, people's perceptions of gender roles can also be affected. For instance, regardless of gender, both women and men can concentrate on building careers and ensuring economic growth and sta-

bility over building families. They would also focus on being educated and move in urban areas, rather than in rural.

In comparison to traditional and modern narratives, it seems that the post-modern narrative is not completely driven by the government. On the one hand, the state introduced the Strategy for Gender Equality in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2006-2016 and conducted the international exhibition EXPO 2017 where the theme was Future Energy. Since Kazakhstan is a modernizing country, it aims to integrate in the international community (Smailova 2017). The seven priorities of the Gender Equality Strategy are: “gender equality in the public and political spheres, gender equality in the economic sphere, gender education, improving reproductive health of men and women, prevention of gender-based violence, strengthening of the family, raising public awareness on gender equality” (OECD 2017).

On the other hand, postmodern narrative can also be viewed as a bottom up approach, where citizens’ gender roles perceptions tend to become more individualistic despite the state’s traditional and modern narratives. There are social indicators that show that Kazakhstan is becoming more postmodern: a high degree of female education and employment, an increase in divorce rates and increase by 26% during the last 5 years of the number of elderly people in homes for the elderly (Lugovskaya, 2017). In addition, the number of divorces comprised 51775 for the last 5 years, which is more by 4000 than before (Lugovskaya, 2017). In August 2017 according to official statistics, the number of marriages comprised 75701, whereas the number of divorces was 31469 (Azhigaliyev, 2017). If we take into account the ratio of marriages and divorces, the Akmola region where the capital Astana is situated, is a leader with the highest percentage (2771 marriages and 1508 divorces) (Azhigaliyev, 2017). All of this statistical information reflects that the post modernization is also present in Kazakhstan alongside with traditional and modern narratives. It is argued that one of the possible reasons for increased divorce rates is that family has become a secondary value now

(Azhigaliyev, 2017). People tend to concentrate more on career and material wellbeing, rather than on family (Azhigaliyev, 2017). Senator Ali Bektayev claims that loss of respect towards parents can be viewed as a sign of worsening of family values (Lugovskaya, 2017). He suggested creating a governmental institution to preserve family values and introduce a new class called 'Spiritual Foundations of the Family Life' in the school program to increase the role of the family in children's upbringing (Lugovskaya, 2017).

Therefore, it is unclear which narrative (traditional, modern or postmodern) has the strongest influence on young adults' perceptions of gender roles. I will apply two main dimensions of Inglehart's theory: 'survival vs self-expression' and 'traditional vs secular-rational' values. Since these theories were developed for non-Kazakhstani context, I also need to account for current trends in Kazakhstani society. Thus, I include competing narratives of processes happening in Kazakhstan to properly assess which of these narratives is the most present in Kazakhstani young adults' gender roles perceptions: traditional, modern or postmodern. This will help me to analyze how young Kazakhstanis construct their gender roles perceptions and whether their values correspond with traditional, modern or postmodern societies. One of the fundamental assumptions is that construction of gender roles perceptions is influenced by three main narratives, or values held by the society. Inglehart's theory provided a more universal explanation, but I want to make it more realistic for the Kazakhstani context by adopting the concept of the narrative. This will allow me to unpack the process of construction of gender roles perceptions. Since Kazakhstan reveals multiple narratives, I expect that there will be multiple constructions of gender roles perceptions. Therefore, unlike Inglehart, who tries to capture a long term value change, my study will explain what values youth has and how these values are formed at a deep-root level. My theoretical framework allows unpacking the process of construction of gender roles perceptions within a specific society's context.

I will employ Inglehart's definitions of values to observe which perceptions Kazakhstani students hold. Moreover, I will add certain indicators based on the Kazakhstani context. Thus, I will evaluate whether narratives correspond to a certain type of gender roles perceptions. If students possess material and religious values, it implies that they place the strongest emphasis on physical and economic security and some emphasis on religion (Inglehart & Welzel 2010, 553). This means that students' perceptions of gender roles are *modern* and they possess survival & secular-rational or traditional & self-expression values (see table 2). The examples of countries could be Latin America, Russia, Ireland, US, Bulgaria, Ukraine (WVS 2017). In turn, if they emphasize more parent-child and family relationships, as well as economic and physical security, their perceptions are *traditional* and they possess survival &traditional values (see Table 2 below). These people are strongly against abortion, same sex marriage and divorce. The examples of countries could be Zimbabwe, Morocco, Bangladesh, Jordan (WVS 2017). Finally, if they emphasize personal development, self-expression, human rights and not religious, it means that they are *postmodern* with secular-rational and self-expression values (see table 2). These people support abortion, same sex marriage and divorce because every choice is up to every individual. The following countries possess these values: Sweden, Germany, Norway, Japan, and Switzerland (WVS 2017). As a result, it is also possible to summarize these values and corresponding sets of values in table 2.

Table 2. Inglehart's Two Key Domains of Values and Corresponding Kazakhstani Narratives

	Survival (II)	**Self-expression (II)**
Traditional (I)	Traditional narrative	Modern narrative
Secular-Rational (I)	Modern narrative	Postmodern narrative

3.2 Kazakhstani Narratives and Gender Roles Models

Based on the theoretical framework provided in Chapter III, the expected models representing youth's gender roles perceptions are provided. The first hunch is that young adults, who will be mostly influenced by the *traditional narrative*, will have *traditional gender roles perceptions*. This model of traditional gender roles perceptions is called **Model 1: "woman=mother, man=breadwinner".** If the participants argue that a woman: should marry early, should take care of children's upbringing, it is okay when a man provides for the family and she does not work, then the traditional narrative is the strongest in constructing young adults' gender roles perceptions. This model puts emphasis on the difference between women and men, and believes that a traditional feminine woman nurtures children, whereas a man makes important decisions and is the main source of financial stability (Blackstone 2003, 337).

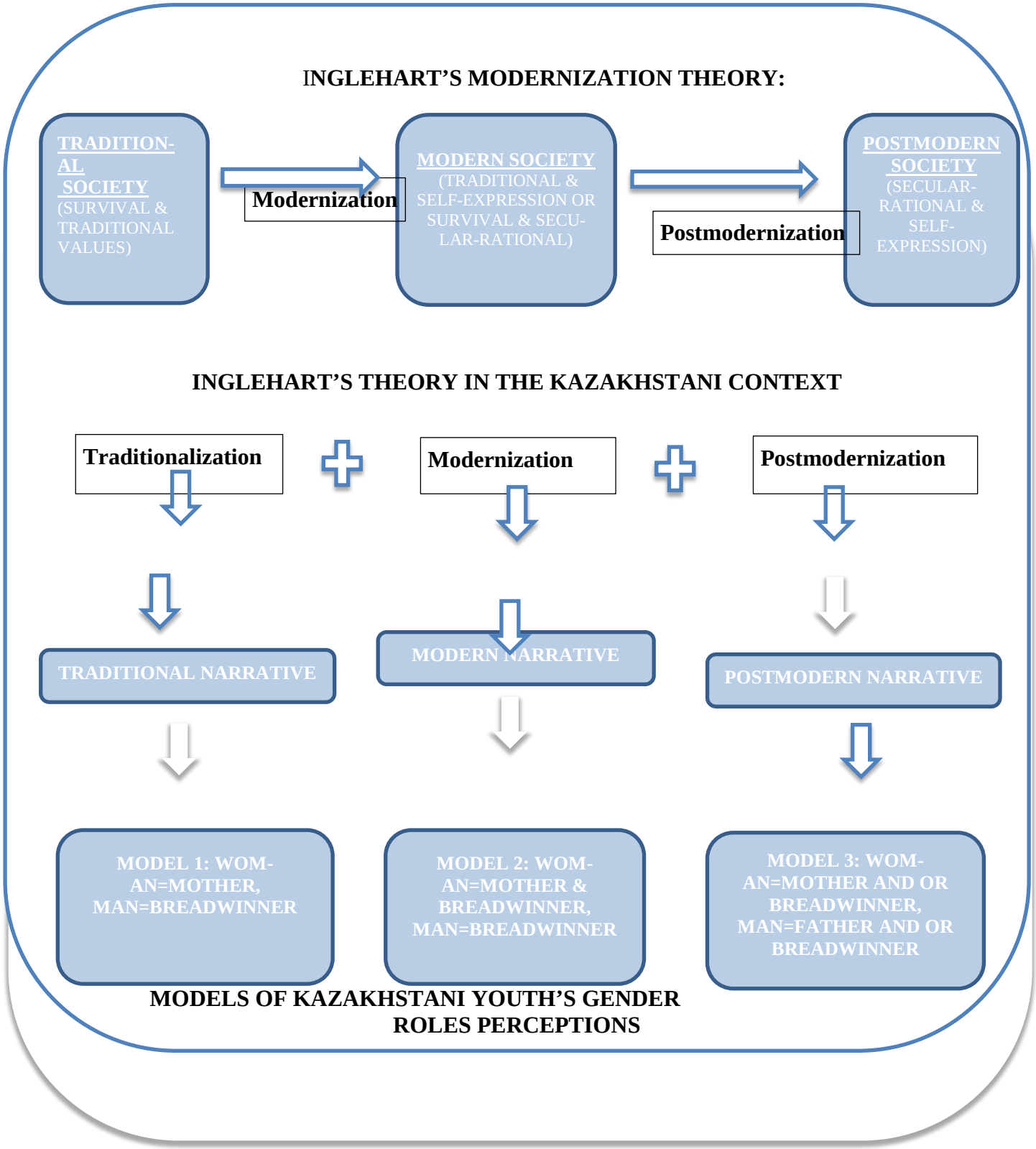
The second hunch is that young adults who will be mostly influenced by the modern narrative will have modern gender roles perceptions. This model of modern gender roles perceptions is called **Model 2 "woman = mother& breadwinner, man = breadwinner".** If the participants argue that a woman should work and combine it with domestic responsibilities and bringing up children, then *modern* narrative is the strongest in constructing young adults' gender roles perceptions. In this model, a woman both works and is still the one responsible for nurturing children, whereas a man is responsible for decision-making and financial provision. Although Blackstone (2003, 337) would classify this model as traditional, in the Kazakhstani context it still can be viewed as modern, because the gender roles are closer to post modernization than traditionalization. The main difference between this model and the first model, is that a woman works in this case.

The third hunch is that young adults who will be mostly influenced by the postmodern narrative, will have postmodern gender roles perceptions. This model of postmodern gender

roles perceptions is called **Model 3 "woman = breadwinner and/or mother, man = breadwinner and/or father".** In this model, a woman's or man's responsibilities and behavior is not determined by one's sex (Blackstone 2003, 338). The model is based on complete gender equality. If the participants argue that a woman and man should split household labor 50/50, both partners should have paid employment and be equally involved in household labor and taking care of children (if they have them), then the *postmodern* narrative is the strongest in constructing young adults' gender roles perceptions. A woman or man can share household labor equally and both partners would work. The model also allows that a woman can be a breadwinner, whereas a man will raise children and take care of household responsibilities.

Figure 1 below demonstrates how all of the concepts are interconnected. It includes all main concepts included in the theoretical framework, necessary to explain the construction of gender roles perceptions process: Inglehart's modernization theory, two domains of values 'survival & secular-rational' and 'self-expression & traditional', three Kazakhstani narratives (traditional, modern, postmodern), three gender roles perceptions models. Thus, it is possible to observe how Inglehart's modernization theory is applied in the Kazakhstani context and how it contributes to the process of the construction of gender roles perceptions among young adults in Kazakhstan.

Figure 1. Theoretical Framework: Narratives and the Expected Gender Roles Perceptions Models



Chapter 4 Research Design: Qualitative Research Methodology

4.1 Conducting Focus Groups to Study the Construction of Gender Roles Perceptions

This chapter explains the research methodology chosen to study the construction of gender roles perceptions, sampling procedures and recruitment process. The subsection on ethical issues summarizes subject risks and benefits, and safety monitoring plan is included in the appendix.

A majority of Western scholars applied quantitative methodologies to study gender roles. Different measurement scales were developed to study how conservative/liberal, religious/non-religious, traditional/non-traditional a person is in terms of gender roles perceptions. Kazakhstani scholars have also applied a quantitative approach using surveys to measure a person's gender roles attitudes. For instance, a sociological survey of Kazakhstani youth called "Youth in Central Asia: Kazakhstan" produced by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation was conducted in 2014. It focused on understanding youth's values and attitudes. However, my research question of how university students construct their gender roles attitudes in private and public domains has still not been addressed by neither Western nor local scholars. Therefore, my research topic remains understudied, thus ensuring that it is unique and significant.

The main research method I chose for exploring the construction of gender roles perceptions was focus groups. The two main goals when conducting focus groups are: firstly, to capture the responses of people within a real space and time face-to-face framework; secondly, focus group moderators need to be strategic and concentrate on topics, which are crucial to the researchers through these interactions (Onwuegbuzie et al 2009, 4). The methodology of focus group to study the process of the construction of gender roles was chosen for several reasons. Focus groups were chosen for three main reasons. Firstly, the three key narratives, or

what people believe, think and experience when they convey the message to other people, can only be observed when interactions between people happen. Secondly, in order to be able to understand the process of construction of gender roles perceptions on a deep level, rather than a surface level, "perhaps the most unique characteristic of focus group research is the interactive discussion through which data are generated, which leads to a different type of data not accessible through individual interviews" (Merriam & Tisdell 2016, 114). Finally, since the nature of the question itself is such that it is interesting, yet not too personal and too sensitive, and is not talked on a daily basis, this serves as another reason for choosing to conduct focus groups instead of other research methods (Merriam & Tisdell 2016, 114).

Regarding the number of focus groups and the number of participants, the study conducted six focus groups with five participants in each focus group. The sample size was 30 participants. It is argued that the number of focus groups is determined by either data saturation point and/or theoretical saturation (Onwuegbuzie et al 2009, 4). Three to six focus groups allow achieving data saturation and/or theoretical saturation point when groups meet one to several times (Krueger 1994, Morgan (1997). Data saturation happens when the information repeats itself to the point, where the researcher can expect it and where there is no need in conducting any new focus groups (Sandelowski, 2008; Saumure & Given, 2008). In turn, theoretical saturation happens when "her/his emergent theory is adequately developed to fit any future data collected" (Onwuegbuzie et al 2009, 4). In order to ensure that data and or theoretical saturation points are achieved, six focus groups were conducted.

It is advised for focus group sizes to have between 6 and 8 participants (Ritchie et al 2003, 233). Still, there are no strict rules on the number of participants, and it can range anywhere from 6 to 12 (Merriam & Tisdell 2016, Onwuegbuzie et al 2009). The number of participants in focus groups depends on the aim of the study, but usually, the focus group should encourage "diversity in information provided and allow participants to feel comfortable shar-

ing their beliefs, thoughts and opinions (Onwuegbuzie et al 2009, 3). It is even suggested that using “mini-focus groups”, where the number of participants is three or four, allows to ensure that all participants will be available on a certain day and time (Onwuegbuzie et al 2009, 3). To ensure that every person would be able to express their opinion during 1 hour as well as to understand the process of the construction of gender roles on a deeper level, I have decreased the number of participants in each focus group to five individuals per group. Thus, there were 6 focus groups with 5 participants in each focus group.

4.2 Sampling Procedures and Recruitment of the Participants

Moving on to how focus groups were constructed and which participants were chosen, this subsection discusses the sampling procedures and recruitment of participants. The sample was purposeful as it is recommended when conducting focus group studies (Merriam & Tisdell 2016, 114). The sample consisted of university students. The majority of the participants were from Nazarbayev University, a flagship university with Western education system which is located in the capital Astana. The sample was diversified by the following indicators: age (18-28), geographical location (students from all four regions of the country), major, school of education (School of Humanities and Social Sciences, School of Engineering, School of Science and Technology, Zero Year of Master’s Programs), ethnicity. The main selection criteria for the study was gender. One half of the participants was male and the other half - female.

I recruited study participants through social media, including Instagram and VKontakte. I also included an announcement to all Nazarbayev University students through the corporate mail. In addition, some participants were recruited with the help of my friends and random acquaintances. After gaining a response from these social networks, I contacted the students who had responded positively. Then, all of the participants were assigned randomly into their

groups. Since the study focuses on young adults, the age of the participants ranged between 18-28 years old. Officially, youth in Kazakhstan lies within the range of 14-29 years old (Kuramysova 2014). The only exclusion criterion was if the participant refused to participate in the study. Two participants refused to participate in the study at the last moment, and I had to ask random strangers to participate in the study. There were no cases when a participant decided to stop participating during the course of this research. If that would be the case, all data collected from him/her would have been excluded from the analysis and destroyed immediately.

4.3 Conducting Focus Groups: Procedures

In order to understand which narrative (postmodern, modern or traditional) has the strongest influence on the process of formation of youth's perceptions of gender roles, I am going to employ a set of different questions to evaluate which values are strongest among students' perceptions of gender roles. The previous studies, as shown in Chapter 2 are 1) Western-oriented in terms of empirical data domains, 2) quantitative- oriented, rather than qualitative, 3) explore causal relationship, rather than causal mechanism. Therefore, most of these studies are quantitative and apply measurement scales. There has also been an increase in the number of these measurement scales because different scholars create their own scales for different countries, cultures and contexts (McHugh& Frieze 1997). Since the study aims at identifying how the process of formation of youth's gender roles perceptions operates, rather than finding a causal relationship, a quantitative approach is not plausible for studying the 'construction' of gender perceptions. Therefore, my research will help to address the missing gaps in the literature of non-Western studies with a qualitative methodology.

Based on the provided definitions, explanations and hunches I will now discuss the process of conducting focus groups to evaluate the perceptions of gender roles among stu-

dents. The list of questions, which focus groups participants discussed can be found in the appendix. The questions helped to identify which narrative is the strongest in the group, as well as how young adults construct gender roles perceptions. The questions were divided into two parts: the first part of questions helped to identify which narrative is the strongest among study participants, whereas a second group of questions helped to understand how youth views their ideal families, distributions of responsibilities in their ideal families as well as the preferred model of gender roles in their ideal families. The questions can be found in the appendix part.

The stages of focus groups are as following: Firstly, there should be a scene-setting and setting ground rules stage (Ritchie et al 2003). The second part is introductions where the participants introduce themselves briefly. Giving their names is not necessary. The third part is the opening topic where the moderator needs to explain the topic. The fourth part includes the discussion itself. This is the key part of the focus groups. The final stage includes a brief overview by the moderator and thanking the participants for their participation.

The focus groups were conducted at Nazarbayev University classrooms. This place was chosen by the participants as the most comfortable. There were no participants who disagreed with this place. Moving on to describing the process of focus groups, during the first part I introduced myself and my research project, explained to the participants that participation is completely voluntary and asked for written consent and recording permission. During the second part of introductions every participant introduced themselves briefly. I offered to let tell other participants any information they wanted to, but as a sample, said that they could start introductions with their name, major and school of study, age and hometown. It helped me to identify the participants and also allowed each participant to connect with other focus group members. This part was also important because it allowed for the participants to build a group cohesiveness, making sure that they feel safe sharing their own information

(Onwuegbuzie et al 2009, 2). During the first part I also explained that all real identities of people will be changed one more time. In the third part I explained to the participants the topics for the discussion and that there were several questions they would discuss during one hour. After that I turned my recorder on and started to record the discussion. It is strongly recommended to record focus group discussions to be fully devoted to listening, responding to questions as well as following the dynamics of the discussions (Ritchie et al 2003, 172). The fourth and the main part was the discussion itself. During this part the key issues of the topic were discussed. Before starting this part of the focus group, I warned the participants that I would start recording them now. The first part of the discussion was aimed to identify what narrative is the strongest in the group: traditional, modern or postmodern. The second part of the discussion was aimed to identify which model of gender roles perceptions young adults desired the most: “woman = mother, man = breadwinner” (based on traditional narrative), “woman = mother, breadwinner, man = breadwinner” (based on modern narrative), “woman = breadwinner and/or mother, man = breadwinner and/or father” (based on postmodern narrative). During the second part of the discussion, the students were asked questions to understand the process of the construction their gender roles perception. It was necessary to identify in the first part which narrative the students are influenced by the most, in order to understand whether the model of gender roles perceptions would fit with theoretical framework of the Kazakhstani modernization theory. It was also important to remember about probable biases during the discussions and always reflect on focus groups, since my gender identity and marital status could affect the answers of the participants. Therefore, I put my efforts into ensuring that the questions were free of bias and were open ended to allow for the flow of discussion. The results of the focus groups and interpretation of data is provided in the next chapter. Finally, there was the ending of the discussion with thanking participants for the participation and letting them know that they could contact me for any inquiries while

the study was in the process. This helped to leave a pleasant feeling and experience after the discussion is over (Ritchie et al 2003, 218). In addition to that, after each focus group there was a coffee break. After the discussion was over, the study participants kept discussing the topics. This showed that the issues raised during the focus groups were truly meaningful and interesting for the participants. All focus group discussions were recorded and notes were also taken during the focus groups to account for nonverbal communication.

Chapter 5 Data Interpretation: 7 Tools to Evaluate the Data

5.1 Open Coding, Axial Coding and Selective Coding

There are two main ways to analyze data of focus groups: whole group analysis and participant-based group analysis (Ritchie et al 2003, 340). The whole group analysis uses one group as a unit of analysis and evaluates the whole group, whereas participant-based group analysis evaluates each participant separately (Ritchie et al 2003, 340). Since the sample includes only young adults who were students, the whole group analysis was employed. Moreover, my study aims at understanding how young adults construct gender roles perceptions overall, rather than individually. In addition, when conducting participant-based group analysis, group dynamics and context is not given enough attention because the whole focus is on evaluating each individual, rather than group dynamic.

Now that it is established that the unit of analysis was a group, the methodology used to evaluate data was mixed. Because the nature of the research is unique and complex, I decided to adapt and mix the existing qualitative approaches of evaluating focus groups data. The first stage of the analysis was transcribing the audios of all six focus groups which was done to break the data into small units. The process began when the data was collected by facilitating the focus group discussion, adding observational notes taken during the discussions, and transcribing all audios. After completing all of the focus groups, audios were transcribed into text. All of the discussions were held in Russian based on participants' choice of language. As a result, the interviews were transcribed in Russian. During the familiarization stage it was necessary to read the transcript and notes several times. The goal was to understand the sense of the discussion and its details before dividing the discussion into several parts (Rabiee 2004, 657). After finishing transcribing the texts, I reread the transcribed data

and notes several times. I was able to understand that there were many contrasting opinions and no single answer to all questions in neither groups. That being said, consensus was achieved on certain topics in several groups. Therefore, there were both points of agreements and disagreements.

After familiarizing myself with the data, I applied constant comparison analysis to evaluate the data itself. Constant comparison analysis is especially used when there are several focus groups on the same topic of study (Onwuegbuzie et al 2009, 6). This method allows evaluating general and across-group saturation, as well as comparing themes that emerge from the focus groups. The three main stages were *open coding, axial coding and selective coding* (Onwuegbuzie et al 2009, 5). During the open coding stage, a code was assigned to each sentence in the transcribed data of each focus group. The code included the key idea or message of the sentence. During the axial coding I grouped the codes from the first stage into categories. This helped to group the data into small chunks of information. The 19 main categories appeared as a result of the axial coding (table 7 in the appendix). After grouping the codes into the 19 categories, the next stage was selective coding. During the selective coding stage 5 key themes were created that expressed the content of each of the categories. Consequently, each of the themes included 3 to 7 of the key categories, which in turn each included 2 to 7 of the key codes. Therefore, the key themes of the focus group discussions were:

1) western influence
2) Kazakh society, mentality and culture
3) interethnic marriage
4) job preference
5) ideal family: gender roles.

5.2 Frequency, Extensiveness, Total Importance of Code (TIC) and Big picture

After completing the constant comparison analysis, which allowed identifying main

issues that were discussed in the group, it was necessary to identify how themes and categories correspond with the theoretical framework developed. For this purpose, further interpretation was based on Krueger & Casey's (2000) five steps of 'framework analysis'. The key analysis steps included from this framework were *Frequency, Extensiveness and Big picture.* These analysis steps were chosen as the most important ones because they will allow ensuring that the level of analysis ensures both quality and quantity. Frequency is referred to "how often a comment or a view is made", whereas extensiveness implies how many participants express that viewpoint (Rabiee 2004, 659). Since the unit of analysis in this study is a group, rather than an individual, as stated above, extensiveness will imply how many focus groups discussed this certain topic. Big picture relates to larger trends or concepts that appear across different discussions (Rabiee 2004, 659). Finally, Total Importance of the Code was an indicator created for this study to be able to capture both Extensiveness and Frequency simultaneously. The TIC is computed by multiplying frequency and extensiveness. Therefore, by using these analytical tools, the study was able to identify which topics were discussed the most and were of the highest importance, what were the points of agreement and disagreement, and most importantly, how the process of the construction of young adults' gender roles perceptions occurs.

Frequency

To identify which comments or viewpoints were made the most often, I have calculated the percentage of how much each key theme and key category contributed to the whole discussion. Evaluating Frequency was crucial to understand what factors, concepts and viewpoints go into thinking processes, when young adults constructed gender roles perceptions. Since the study aims at understanding how the construction of gender roles perceptions of youth occurs, rather than simply perceptions, it was crucial to identify frequency.

The Frequency was calculated in percentage by counting how often a certain code was

repeated throughout all six focus groups. The total number of words that were assigned to a specific code for all six focus groups was 20138 words. Thus, 20138 words comprised 100 %. To calculate how much words one code had in total for all six groups, I have calculated the number of words expressed on this code in all focus groups where this view was expressed. The number of words for the specific code was divided by the total number of words (20138) and then multiplied by 100% to identify the percentage of this code. See table 7 and specifically column *Frequency (%)* to observe the percentages each of the key codes contributed to the discussion.

Extensiveness

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the unit of analysis in this study is a group, not an individual. Consequently, the number of focus groups which discussed a certain idea demonstrates whether this topic is truly important or not. It is possible that the topic might seem important and a group focuses a significant amount of time on discussing this issues, but as the data from other groups demonstrate, that issue may be not as important in other focus groups. For instance, one of the reasons of a significant level of freedom of speech at Nazarbayev University was international Professors. Although initially I thought this reason would be discussed in many focus groups, it was discussed just in one focus group. Therefore, in order to ensure that Frequency will not create results which will not necessarily reflect a true picture of focus groups, it was important to account for Extensiveness as well.

Some codes were repeated across all groups, whereas other codes were mentioned only in one focus group. To account for the importance of the category, the system of rating was developed. Thus, if a viewpoint (code) was discussed in just one group, the values of the extensiveness of that code is 1/6 as I use the relative measure to the maximum values of the extensiveness.

These two dimensions, frequency and extensiveness, measure how important each code it to the overall discussion. For example, the code “Parents would be against” in the category of ‘Negative view of interethnic marriage’ is important for the participants, because its frequency is 3.2% and the value of extensiveness is 5/6, which implies that it was discussed by five out of six focus groups.

Total Importance of the Code (TIC)

When Extensiveness and Frequency are combined together, it allows capturing how important the code is on both dimensions and identifies *the Total Importance of the Code (TIC)*. Accounting for either frequency or extensiveness would not be enough. However, if both are taken into consideration to evaluate how important the topic is, it allows to objectively measure which narrative is the dominant one.

TIC was calculated by multiplying Frequency in the percentages by the Extensiveness in ratio. For instance, the “Ethnicity does not matter, key is common values and mutual understanding” code contributes to the positive view of interethnic marriage category. It has Frequency of 1.9% and Extensiveness of 3/6 because this code was discussed in 3 out of 6 focus groups. In this case, TIC = 1.9% * (3/6) = 0.95 %. Therefore, this code contributed in total 0.95% to the whole 52.58 % of all codes. To simplify the TIC for all codes, each TIC was then divided by the total 52.58% and multiplied by 100%, to calculate TIC out of total 100%, rather than 52.58%. Complete table with frequency, extensiveness and total importance of the codes (TIC) can be found in the table 7 in the appendix.

Big picture

The big picture implies the main trends and concepts that were discussed by the participants. The big picture consisted of questions on: western influence, interethnic marriage, job preference, Kazakh society and the model of gender roles in an ideal family. The big picture is strongly connected to the theoretical framework developed. In order to observe which

narrative was the strongest (modern, traditional or postmodern), the questions on influence from the West, view of interethnic marriage and job preference were asked. As a result, these key questions serve as the big picture of this study. Based on whether they viewed these questions positively, neutrally or negatively, implied whether they were mostly influenced by the postmodern, modern or traditional narrative respectively. In addition, during the discussions an additional theme appeared: Kazakh society. This theme relates to how participants viewed Kazakh society, culture and mentality. If they viewed it negatively, claiming that they do not like it because of hierarchy, traditions and said that it needed to change to become less traditional, then they were related to postmodern narrative. In turn, if they argued that Kazakh mentality and culture is something that we need to preserve, they were connected to the traditional narrative. Finally, if they were neutral, argued that Kazakh society is different from other societies and it is neither positive nor negative, they were related to the modern narrative. Regarding the other three key themes, if a group viewed interethnic marriage positively, claimed that the effect of Western influence in Kazakhstan is mostly positive, preferred to work in the international organization, meant that the participants are mostly influenced by the postmodern narrative. In turn, if they thought that there are more cons than pros from the Western influence in Kazakhstan, preferred to work in the government and thought that interethnic marriage would be problematic, then they were mostly influenced by traditional narrative. Finally, if they viewed it Western influence, interethnic marriage as neutral, and preferred to work in the private organization, then they were mostly influenced by the modern narrative. The results and findings of which narrative was the strongest among focus groups will be discussed in the next chapter on findings.

In addition to narratives, the big picture includes the three gender roles models. The first model is called “woman=mother, man=breadwinner”, which according to the theoretical framework is influenced by traditional narrative. The second gender role model called “wom-

an = mother& breadwinner, man = breadwinner" should be constructed based on the modern narrative. The third model called "woman = breadwinner and/or mother, man = breadwinner and/or father" should be constructed based on the postmodern narrative. In the next chapter on findings it is possible to find out the preferred gender roles models, whether the theoretical framework works and how young adults are affected by the narratives.

Chapter 6 Analysis of the Key Findings: Understanding the Narratives and Gender Roles

As discussed in chapter 4, there were three questions designed to understand which narrative was the strongest in the group: Western influence; interethnic marriage and job preference. However, during the focus group discussions, an additional key theme appeared: the view of Kazakh society, culture and mentality. When young adults answered either of the three key questions, they also constantly referred to the Kazakh culture and mentality. As a result, 'Kazakh society' was also added as the fourth key theme. For each of the key themes, there were correspondingly three common answers: positive, neutral and negative. Each of the three narratives had a certain answer that fit within that narrative. For instance, if a person thought that there were more advantages from Western influence in Kazakhstan, supported interethnic marriage and wanted to join an international organization, that person was influenced by postmodern narrative. Each narrative and the categories that fit within that narrative can be found in table 3 below. In total, 65.7% of the discussion was dedicated to discussing 4 key categories (see table 3), while 34.6% of the discussion was spent on gender roles models (see table 4). The TIC of each category is written below the category. The total TIC for four key themes and three gender roles models comprises 100%. However, I have distinguished gender roles separately, to be able to observe which narrative is the strongest. Therefore, the four key themes that contribute to TIC of 65.7% comprised 100% to identify the narratives, whereas 34.6% of the total TIC comprised 100% of the gender roles models. Traditional narrative's TIC was calculated by summing the TICs of the following categories: Negative Western Influence (8.4%), Negative View of Interethnic Marriage (7.1%), Reasons to work for the Government (1.7%), Reasons not to work in an International Organization (0.2%) and Positive View of Kazakh Society (2.1%). These specific categories contribute to the

Table 3. TIC for the Discussion of four Key Themes (Total TIC = 65.7%)

Narrative/Category	Western Influence	Interethnic Marriage	Job Preference	Kazakh society
Traditional	Negative Western Influence 8.4%	Negative View of Interethnic Marriage 7.1%	Reasons to work for the Government 1.7% Reasons not to work in International Organization 0.2%	Positive View of Kazakh Society 2.1%
Modern	Neutral Western Influence 6.6%	Neutral view of Interethnic Marriage 7.8%	Reasons to work in a Private Organization 3.6%	Neutral View of Kazakh Society 2.2%
Postmodern	Positive Western Influence 11.7%	Positive view of Interethnic Marriage 3.4%	Reasons to Work in an International Organization 2.6% Reasons not to Work for the Government 2.2% Reasons Not to Work in the Private Sector 0.2%	Negative View of Kazakh Society 5.9%

Table 4. TIC of the Gender Roles Models Across the Groups (Total TIC = 34.6 %)

GR Model	TIC
Model 1 “woman=mother, man=breadwinner”	8.6%
Model 2 “woman = mother& breadwinner, man = breadwinner”	17.3%
Model 3 “woman = breadwinner and/or mother, man = breadwinner and/or father”	8.7%

traditional narrative because the codes from these categories correspond with traditional and

survival values (see tables 1, 2). The total TIC for traditional narrative thus equal to 19.9%. Since the total TIC for all three narratives equals to 65.7%, the total representation of the traditional narrative can be calculated as following: (19.5% /65.7% * 100%)= 29.7% (see table 5).

To calculate the representation of the modern narrative across all six groups, the total TIC for all six groups is based on the sum of TIC of the following categories: Neutral Western Influence (6.6%), Neutral view of Interethnic Marriage (7.8%), Reasons to work in a Private Organization (3.6%), Neutral View of Kazakh Society (2.2%). These categories contribute to the modern narrative because they correspond with survival & secular-rational or traditional & self-expression values (see table 5). The total TIC for the modern narrative equals to the sum of these categories and is equal to 20.2%. Since the total TIC for all three narratives equals to 65.7%, the total representation of the modern narrative can be calculated as following: (20.2% /65.7% * 100%)= 30.1% (see table 5).

To calculate the representation of the postmodern narrative across all six groups, the total TIC for all six groups is based on the sum of TIC of the following categories: Positive Western Influence (11.7%), Positive view of Interethnic Marriage (3.4%), Reasons to Work in an International Organization (2.9%), Reasons not to Work for the Government (2.2%), Reasons Not to Work in the Private Sector (0.2%), Negative View of Kazakh Society (5.9%). These categories contributed to the postmodern narrative because they correspond with self-expression and secular-rational values (see tables 1, 2). The total TIC for the postmodern narrative equals to the sum of these categories and is equal to 26.3%. %. Since the total TIC for all three narratives equals to 65.7%, the total representation of the postmodern narrative can be calculated as following: (26.3% /65.7% * 100%)= 40% (see Table 5 below).

Table 5. Representation of the Three Key Narratives Across the Groups

Narrative	Representation across groups
Traditional	29.7%
Modern	30.1%
Postmodern	40%

To calculate the representation of each of the three gender roles models, each model's TIC was divided by the total TIC for the gender roles perceptions (34.61%). Thus, those participants who chose Model 1 "woman=mother, man=breadwinner| accounted for 8.6% TIC of the total 34.61%. Therefore, the first model's representation across the groups can be calculated as such: (8.6% / 34.61% * 100%). Thus, representation of Model 1 "woman=mother, man=breadwinner" across the focus groups equals to 24.8% (see table 6). The participants who chose Model 2 "woman = mother& breadwinner, man = breadwinner" accounted for TIC = 17.3% out of the total TIC (34.61%). Therefore, the second model's representation across the groups can be calculated as such: (17.3% / 34.61% * 100%). Thus, the representation of Model 2 "woman=mother & breadwinner, man=breadwinner" across the focus groups equals to 50% (see table 6). The participants who chose Model 3 "woman = breadwinner and/or mother, man = breadwinner and/or father" accounted for TIC = 8.7% out of the total 34.61%. Therefore, the third model's representation across the groups can be calculated as such: (8.7% / 34.61% * 100%). Thus, the representation of Model 3 "woman = breadwinner and/or mother, man = breadwinner and/or father" across the focus groups equals to 25.2% (see Table 6 below).

So what exactly do the findings demonstrate? Firstly, the big picture demonstrates that all three of the narratives were present across all six focus groups. More importantly, all three of the narratives were present in approximately equal shares. This finding clearly demonstrates that there are young adults who are influenced by modern, postmodern and traditional

Table 6. Representation of gender roles models across the groups

GR Model	Representation across groups
Model 1“woman=mother, man=breadwinner”	24.8%
Model 2 “woman = mother& breadwinner, man = breadwinner”	50%
Model 3 “woman = breadwinner and/or mother, man = breadwinner and/or father”	25.2%

narratives even within Nazarbayev University. The dominant narrative is the postmodern narrative which contributes to 40% and that emphasizes the self-expression and secular-rational values (see table 5). Most importantly, modern and traditional narratives were present in almost exactly the same amount: 30%. It is most likely that the main reason behind Nazarbayev University student’s postmodern values is the fact that there is a Western education system with English as the main language of instruction. In addition, in order to be accepted to Nazarbayev University, students need to take the entry exams which are also held in English. Therefore, the students who enter Nazarbayev University are more likely to have postmodern values not only because they study in a Westernized university, but also because prior to entering this university they already chose a University with a Western system voluntarily. Another factor could be that most students receive a state scholarship where they do not need to worry about material insecurity. However, the study demonstrates that even when students study at the Westernized education system and are secure financially, they will not automatically possess postmodern values. 30 % of the students were influenced by the traditional narrative and 30% were influenced by the modern narrative. Consequently, traditional and survival values are still important to many students. As mentioned by some students, even though they care about gender equality and environmental problems, they would put their own interests of material security first, and then think about those issues.

Moving on to discussing the gender roles perceptions, it is possible to argue that the

most influential gender role model was the Model 2 called “woman = mother& breadwinner, man = breadwinner” which accounted for 50%. The other two models had almost equal shares: 24.8% (Model 1) and 25.2% (Model 3 This finding demonstrates that there is a partial relationship between the narrative an individual possessed and the gender roles model he/she preferred. The representation across the narratives is as following: postmodern narrative - 40%, traditional narrative – 29.7%, modern narrative – 30.1%. The representation across the gender roles models is as following: Model 2 “woman = mother& breadwinner, man = breadwinner” - 50%, Model 3 “woman = breadwinner and/or mother, man = breadwinner and/or father” – 25.2%, Model 1 “woman=mother, man=breadwinner” - 24.8%. Although the strongest narrative is the postmodern one and the strongest gender role model is Model 2, which should correspond with the modern narrative, the other two narratives as well as gender roles models have almost the same representations. This finding demonstrates that even though young adults may be influenced by the postmodern values in their worldviews, still their preferred gender role model is not Model 3, where there is an equal distribution of responsibilities in the family.

How can the discrepancy between the narratives and the preferred gender roles models be explained? How does the construction of gender roles happen? Why is the majority of students influenced by the postmodern narrative, but still the preferred gender role model is the second model, not the third? It is possible that the speed of change of the values related to narratives is quicker than the speed of change of gender roles perceptions. Thus, the change in narratives outlook would precede the change of the preferred gender roles model.

Why would the narratives progress quicker than gender roles perceptions? This could happen because narratives are related to the values connected with both private and public spheres, whereas gender roles perceptions are mostly connected to the private sphere. The issues that are relevant to the private sphere do not get as much recognition and channels of

exposure as the topics relevant to the public sphere. Therefore, a narrative receives a large exposure and awareness in the society. Because of such large exposure, people are influenced by numerous student clubs, different organizations and public talks that promote environmental protection, women empowerment and other self-expression values at the local level. Such organizations influence young adults and increase their self-expression and secular-rational values in public spheres. At the national level, Strategy for Gender Equality in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2006-2016, '100 Concrete Steps', EXPO 2017 Astana Future Energy Exhibition also contribute to the postmodern values among the population. Therefore, people are both exposed to the new ideas constantly, and they are also under the constant societal pressure, so they can change the narrative outlook quickly. This could result in the postmodern narrative being the strongest among the participants.

In turn, the issues that are relevant to the private sphere do not get as much recognition and channels of exposure as the topics relevant to the public sphere, and when they do, it creates controversies. One of the possible strongest influences of gender roles perceptions in the private sphere is family. In the Kazakhstani context, youth would mostly be exposed to the older Kazakhstani generation, which was raised under the influence of traditional gender roles. Many Kazakhstani families are still organized along conservative lines. One of the examples would be the notion of 'kelin' or the daughter-in-law. This term comes from the Kazakh words 'kelgen bala' which have the following meaning: 'a baby that just came to the new family' (Kamziyeva 2015). Because of the parents' constant involvement, daughter-in-laws and mother-in-laws do not have good relationship. Therefore, it is argued that the society needs to concentrate on bringing up parents who are not as involved with their children's lives (Kamziyeva 2015). Gender roles are not given much attention in the public sphere, which ensures that young adults use their own families as the example of how gender roles should look like in their future families. Therefore, people remain in their safe zones and a

change in gender roles perceptions would be slower. Since narratives are promoted both in public and private spheres, whereas gender roles are mostly observed in private sphere, young adults' gender roles perceptions would not coincide with the narratives they were exposed to the most. Therefore, gender roles' speed of development would be slower than that of the narratives. Thus, it could take several other generations to observe both postmodern narrative and Model 3 as the strongest gender roles model among the youth.

The participants' answers also reflect that the questions related to the narratives, were connected to both private and public areas. When the participants discussed the gender roles models, they mostly discussed their personal preferences and how family their backgrounds impacted their choices. The fact that the strongest narrative was postmodern, whereas the preferred gender role was not, does not mean that the preferred gender roles model will not become postmodern in the future and that there is no relationship between the narrative and the gender roles perceptions. Narratives can partially influence young adults' gender roles perceptions, but because narratives are built on both private and public spheres, whereas gender roles are mostly on private sphere, the narratives would progress first, and then the change in gender roles perceptions would take place.

This would partially fit within Inglehart's theoretical framework, where he argues that values change gradually as generational replacement takes place: "First, prevailing value orientations reflect prevailing existential conditions. Second, if existential conditions change, value orientations are likely to change correspondingly – but only after a significant time lag that is needed to react to the impact of existential changes and to experiment with new life strategies that fit the new conditions better. Moreover, new life strategies are more likely to be adopted by the young than by the old, who find it more difficult to abandon deeply inculcated habits and worldviews. But once a new life-style has emerged, succeeding generations have a choice between different role models and will adopt those that best fit their existential

experiences." (Inglehart & Welzel 2005, 23). This framework does not fully account for the differentiation in public and private spheres, but it clearly implies that the change of perceptions would be gradual and would take time, rather than happen quickly. Therefore, Inglehart's modernization theory framework is expanded by adding an additional layer: "public & private spheres". This layer accounts for the speed of the transformation of narratives and gender roles perceptions, which helps to explain how youth's gender roles perceptions are constructed.

The fact that it is possible to observe all three narratives and all three gender roles among the study participants implies that significant social and cultural changes are happening among the Kazakhstani youth. It is also possible that all three narratives and gender roles models can be observed among the study participants because they are in the conditions, where there is financial security and they can concentrate on personal growth and development. As mentioned above, in addition to the Western education system, a significant majority of Nazarbayev University students are provided with state scholarships, which allows them to develop self-expression and secular-rational values, rather than survival and traditional values. It is also possible that the whole Kazakhstani society is experiencing all three narratives simultaneously with a shift towards more modern and postmodern narratives as generations change.

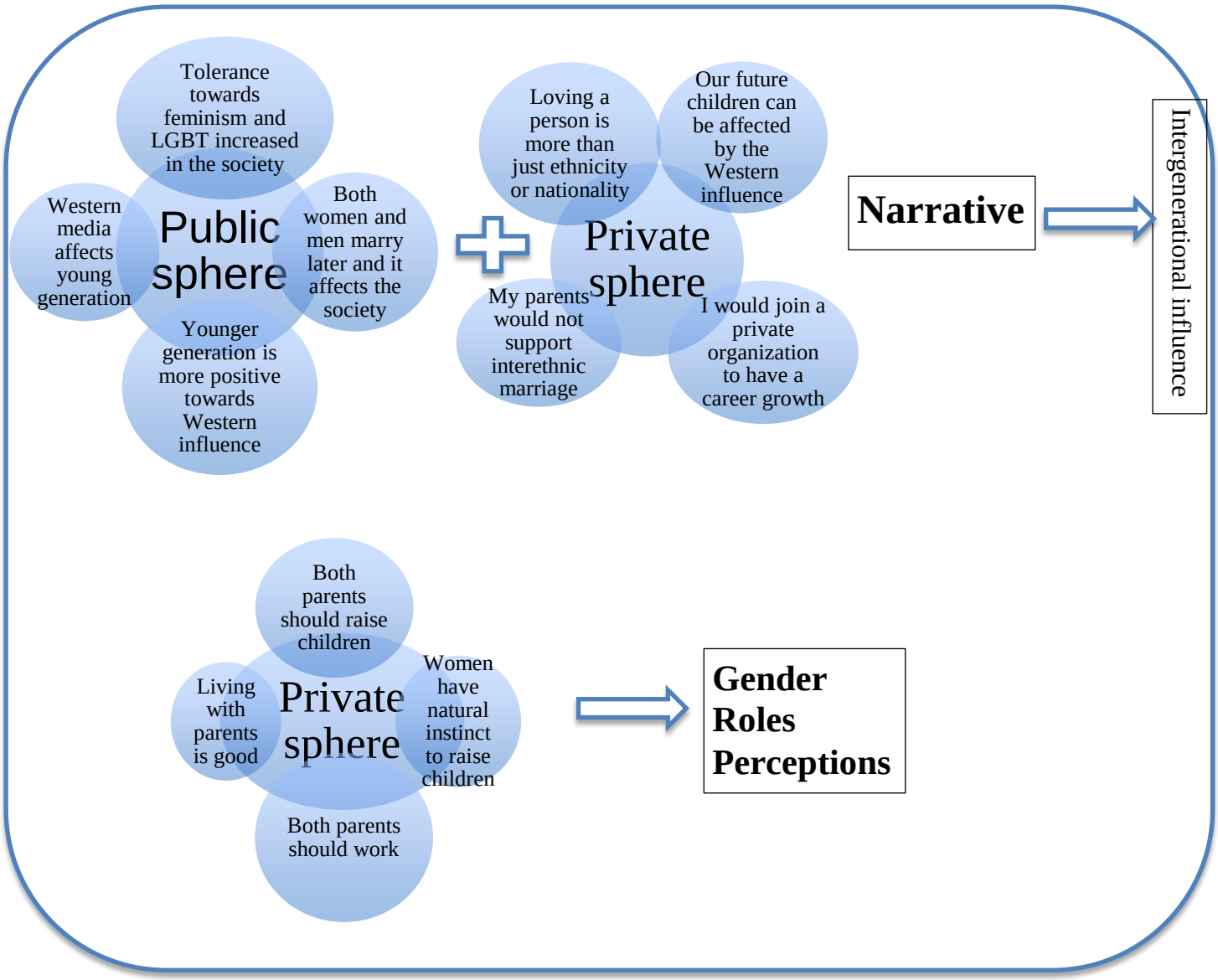
According to the results of a survey conducted by Institute of the World Economics and Politics (IWEP) located in Almaty, the intergenerational change in values is also taking place at the country level. The IWEP conducted a survey of 2223 people across 14 regions in Kazakhstan in November, 2017 (IWEP.KZ)[1]. The sampling was random with participants varying by age, gender and ethnicity. The results of the survey demonstrate that self-realization was chosen over meeting the expectations of the family members by 56.5 % of the

[1] The survey results have not been published. One of the IWEP representatives shared the results with me.

participants aged 18-24, 50.3 % of the participants aged 25-34, 48.2 % of the participants aged 35-44, 42 % of the participants aged 45-54, 37.4% of the participants aged 55-64, and 27.3% of the participants aged over 65 years old (IWEP.KZ). Moreover, the participants were offered two gender roles models, where the first model was that women should take care of children and household labor, and a man should be a breadwinner, whereas the second model implied that women should work and focus on the careers just as men. The results demonstrate that the tendency to prefer the second model decreases as people get older, as 63.2% of people aged 18-24 think that women and men should concentrate on the work equally, whereas just 39.5% of people aged 65 years and older agree with that (IWEP.KZ). As a result, it becomes more obvious that the intergenerational change from more traditional and survival values towards more self-expression and secular-rational values is taking place.

Although the survey conducted by the IWEP provides a useful insight into the current trends of value change, it does not explain why it is possible to observe all three narratives and gender roles models, as well as how the narratives affect the construction of gender roles perceptions on a deep level. Figure 2 below captures the process of construction of gender roles perceptions among the study participants. It demonstrates that although narratives do not immediately change the gender roles perceptions, they are still interconnected through intergenerational change. Gender roles are mostly formed in the private sphere, whereas narratives are formed by the combination of private and public spheres. As a result, even though narratives affect gender roles perceptions, the progress in values connected to narratives happens quicker than in gender roles perceptions. The Figure 2 also includes some of the codes that relate to either private or public sphere. These codes were identified during the analysis part.

Figure 2. The Process of the Construction of Gender Roles Perceptions



Chapter 7 Conclusion: Implication of the Results, Importance of the Study and Its Limitations

The modernization theory implies that as societies develop and modernize, political, economic and cultural changes take place. The changes in these spheres affect people's values and perceptions. Consequently, as societies modernize from traditional, to modern and postmodern, people's values become more postmodern and less traditional. As a result of changes in the values, gender equality becomes more significant. Previously, the traditional societies had a strong division of labor, where a woman's main role was mostly limited to the household labor and taking care of children, whereas a man's key role was a breadwinner. As societies modernize, it is possible to observe more equality in gender roles, where there is an equal share of responsibilities in a family regardless of the gender.

This study aimed at testing how gender roles perceptions are constructed among Kazakhstani young adults by creating a theoretical framework based on Inglehart's modernization theory. The research questions were: Is it possible to apply Inglehart's modernization theory in the Kazakhstani context? How do Kazakhstani young adults construct gender roles perceptions? Which narratives can be observed in Kazakhstan and which narrative is the strongest in affecting young adults' gender roles perceptions?

Ingelhart's modernization theory was applied in the Kazakhstani context by adapting adopting the three competing narratives: traditional, modern and postmodern. Ingelhart's modernization theory implies that a society should gradually transition from a traditional society with survival and traditional values, to a modern society with survival and secular-rational or traditional and self-expression values, and finally become postmodern with secular-rational and self-expression values. Inglehart & Welzel (2005, 90) predicted that Kazakhstan would be an outlier with predominantly secular-rational and survival values. This would

happen because secularism was imposed during the Soviet Union and it had a lasting impact on today's society.

Focus groups were chosen as a research method for two main reasons: 1) a narrative can mostly be observed through focus groups, 2) the study aimed at breadth, rather than depth analysis. The findings demonstrate that the strongest narrative was postmodern based on 4 indicators: 1) young adults viewed the Western influence positively, 2) participants preferred to work in international organizations rather than for government institutions because it would allow them to express themselves and avoid hierarchy and strong authority that are prevalent in government institutions, 3) they viewed interethnic marriage positively, arguing that a key to a successful relationship is common values and viewpoints, rather than ethnicity and 4) they argued that Kazakh society and culture needed to change, eliminate the notion of 'kelin', that people should not be afraid of expressing their opinions and feel ashamed for anything. At the same time, 30.1% of the focus group participants were influenced by the traditional and 29.7% by the modern narratives respectively. The modern narrative was identified based on 4 indicators: 1) young adults viewed the Western influence neutrally, 2) participants preferred to work in private organizations because it would allow them to gain experience and have career growth, 3) they viewed interethnic marriage neutrally or argued that it would be acceptable if the cultures were similar, and 4) claimed that the Kazakh society had both positive and negative sides. The traditional narrative was identified based the following indicators: 1) young adults viewed the Western influence negatively, 2) participants preferred to work for the government because joining the government or the private sector would help to grow career-wise and also help the country, 3) they viewed interethnic marriage negatively because it would cause many problems because of people's different cultural backgrounds, and 4) argued that family relationships were very important for the Kazakh culture and that it was important to preserve Kazakh traditions and Kazakh language.

Regarding the gender roles models, the findings demonstrate that the majority of participants (50%) preferred the second gender roles model where the man is a breadwinner, whereas a woman's main role is to raise children, complete household tasks and also work to partially help with finances in the family. The other 50% were shared almost equally between the traditional gender role model and the total 50/50 equality gender role model. This happens because the speed of change of gender roles perceptions is slower than of the narratives. Although the modernization in Kazakhstan does not happen as it was predicted by Inglehart's theoretical framework, the findings partially fit and even expand the modernization theory framework by including an additional layer of the "private and public" domain. This additional layer argues that because narrative is influenced in both public and private spheres, whereas gender roles are mostly influenced by the private sphere (family), the speed of the transformation of the narratives would be quicker than of gender roles. As a result, an intergenerational change would be necessary to observe both postmodern narrative as well as the Model 3 of gender roles perceptions which should coincide with it.

What could be another explanation, apart from the expanded Inglehart's modernization theory, that would explain the construction of gender roles perceptions of Kazakhstani young adults? One of the possible explanations is education. According to Baimuratova (2017), Nazarbayev University students have more postmodern values rather than students of other universities. The findings of this study partially coincide because 40% were influenced by the postmodern narrative, 30% by modern and 30% and traditional narratives. Therefore, it is possible that the type of education results in a certain gender roles model. Since Nazarbayev University students are exposed to the Western education environment, they possess more self-expression and secular-rational values than students of other Kazakhstani universities (Baimuratova 2017). However, it is also possible to observe that even though the sample consisted mostly of Nazarbayev University students who should have more postmodern val-

ues, 60% still had values which corresponded with modern or traditional narratives. This finding demonstrates that the education system has a strong influence on people's gender roles perceptions, but there could be other factors that are more significant.

In the light of these social transformations in the Kazakhstani society, how do the findings manifest themselves in the real lives of Kazakhstani people? Firstly, because all three competing narratives are present in the modern Kazakhstan, it is possible to observe many tensions in the society that may overlap. It also shows the conflicting state discourses about gender roles. According to the World Values Survey, when asked about whether men should have more rights for a job when jobs are scares, 45.3% agreed that men should have more right, 27.5% disagreed and 27.2% said neither. (worldvaluessurvey.org). In addition, 60% of the participants believe that men make better politicians than women. There is almost a complete consensus on the importance of the family, since 92.4% of the sample believes that family is very important. However, only 23.5% think that following the family or religious customs is very much like them, 27.8% believe that it is like them, 21.6% view it as somewhat like them. With the case of the LGBT community, 66.9% of the sample population thinks that homosexuality is never justifiable. Moreover, 53.9% believe that protection of environment should be prioritized over economic growth, whereas 43% think the opposite. This statistical information contributes to the idea that there is a backlash between people's perceptions and that social and cultural transformations are occurring in the modern Kazakhstani society.

Apart from the statistical data, there are also real life examples which clearly demonstrate that there are many overlapping perceptions in the Kazakhstani society. On the one hand, there are organizations which aim to encourage feminism and the protection of LGBT rights. On the other hand, the LGBT community has to operate in a legal framework which is not favorable of them (Kamalova 2015). To be more precise, the Kazakhstani Criminal Code

does not have a clear definition of hate or discrimination against LGBT people. Article 19 of the UK's human rights organization suggested to introduce an anti-LGBT crime to the Kazakhstani Criminal Code. It is argued that because there is no clear definition of hate towards LGBT in Kazakhstani law, it encourages negativity towards the LGBT community in Kazakhstan (Kamalova 2015). The Soros Foundation also noted this and argued that there are no "legal mechanisms of protection from discrimination in various spheres of life leading to violation and abuse of the law enforcement practice in cases concerning LGBT people" (Kamalova 2015).

Still, even within such legal framework the Kazakhstani LGBT community is brave and proactive. An example would be an open letter from the Kazakhstani LGBT community sent to the President of Uzbekistan. In the letter the Kazakhstani LGBT Community, which comprises a half a million Kazakhstani citizens, asked the Uzbekistani President to change the Criminal Code so that homosexuality would not be viewed as a crime (Kok.team). Since Uzbekistan is a member of the World Health Organization since 1992, they should take into consideration that the WHO excluded homosexuality as a disease in 1990. They argued that by introducing these changes, Uzbekistan could prove that it is a truly a humane and modern country (Kok.team). This demonstrates that in the modern Kazakhstani context where the legal framework is not favorable of the LGBT people, LGBT community is brave enough not only to protect their own rights, but even to fight for the rights of the members of their community in another country.

In addition, feminism has also developed in Kazakhstan. For instance, on the March 8th in 2017, on International Women's Day, Kazakhstani feminists from the KazFem organization were marching in Almaty (Dyussembekova 2017). This organization has a platform on the vk.com social network, where there are more than 1700 members. One of the key ideas of the march was to show that 8th of March is not just a holiday of flowers and femininity, but

that it is a historical tradition of women marching to fight for equal rights. Women argued that there are social issues in Kazakhstan such as domestic violence, issues connected to Kelin (daughter-in-law) and polygamy. One of the women argued the following: “We think there are lots of women’s issues that remain in Kazakhstan. Of course, they have changed. We can vote, we have the right to work and the right to have a higher education, but some things still need to be changed, both legally and in the minds of people” (Dyussembekova 2017). Therefore, even though there are positive changes towards increased gender equality in the society, there remain certain important issues which still need to be resolved.

On the other hand, there are also real life events which clearly reveal a conservative backlash in the Kazakhstani society. For instance, in one of the Kazakhstani Mosques, imam Rizabek Battaluly preached that men have a right to domestically abuse their wives (Sputniknews.kz). The imam argued that Islam allows husbands to hit their wives, so that they would be more obedient. He suggested to have a whip at home, which would scare wives. He went further to argue that there is such a hadeeth, where if a wife does not listen to her husband, he can hit her in a light form, without breaking the bones (Sputniknews.kz). He finished his preaching by saying that a husband is responsible for a wife’s actions, which he should provide for the family, and try not to get to the point where he should use physical force (Sputniknews.kz). Still, when this speech was published on Facebook, people did not just blindly accept the words of that Imam, but rather accused him of lies. Another example connected to violence against women would be of a Kazakh rapper, who went out to the streets to hit prostitutes with a whip. Zhan Akhmadiyev is a Kazakh rapper who published a video where he encouraged other Kazakh men to hit prostitutes with a whip at the end of March 2018 in Almaty (today.kz). He said that other Kazakh men should follow his example, go to the streets and punish Kazakh girls who are involved in prostitution. More importantly, none of the three women who were hurt, filed a criminal report with the police (Today.kz). It

is also possible to observe among the comments above the video supportive comments who believe that Zhan did a right thing when he brutalized women.

Another example would be the creation of an online national hero called “Uyatman” (Shameman). Uyatman is a conservative superhero, whose super power is to throw a shawl on a woman’s body (Nur.kz, accessed April 14, 2018). This super power reminds how a Kazakh guy from Astana put a shawl on a statue of a woman, whose curves needed to be covered up. One of the caricatures portrays a fight between Uyatman with his shawl and Asel Bayandarova, a local social media celebrity, who wrote a post about Kazakh women and included naked photos of herself alongside (Nur.kz, accessed April 14, 2018). Bayandarova argued that people view sexual awareness as a negative phenomenon and that Kazakh women have too many restrictions. For instance, a Kazakh woman should not know her own body anatomy and physiology, cannot discuss sex topics, cannot be sexually experienced because she should marry as a virgin, cannot say that she enjoys sex because Kazakh women were supposedly not born for it (Nur.kz, accessed April 17, 2018). Even though there were many negative judgmental comments, there were also people who were inspired by Asel and also posted revealing photos on their social networks to support her (Nur.kz, accessed April 17, 2018).

A real Uyatman named Zhanibek Imanazir also appeared in Almaty, whose main goal was to prohibit interethnic marriages (Nur.kz, accessed April 16, 2018). Zhanibek claimed that there are just few Kazakh girls to begin with, and if they marry foreigners, it means that Kazakh guys will have no one to marry. As a result, he offered to introduce a law, that would not allow Kazakh women to marry men of other ethnicities. He thinks that women who marry foreigners should be denied of their citizenship. He believes that this is a moral crime, which destroys the national pride of Kazakh men (Nur.kz, accessed April 16, 2018). There were many supporters of Zhanibek who believe that this is an act of patriotism (Irgaliyev 2018).

However, there were also people who were against his vision and one of them was Rasul Zhumaly, a famous Kazakh political scientist. According to Zhumaly, such vision destroys the image of Kazakhstan and discredits the idea of patriotism (Irgaliyev 2018). He argued that this is against human rights and the Kazakhstani Constitution, and every citizen in Kazakhstan should have the right to date or marry the person of their choice. These life stories and real data demonstrate how the tensions between the competing narratives and gender roles perceptions manifest themselves in the modern Kazakhstani context.

There are three main reasons why conducting this research is significant not only for the Kazakhstani society, but for the international society as well. Firstly, as far as I know, such deep level qualitative study has not been conducted in Kazakhstan yet. The conduct of this research fills in the missing gaps in the scholarly literature as well as sparks the debates on gender and social transformations of values in Kazakhstan. The study serves as the basis on how Kazakhstani youth's gender roles perceptions are constructed in the modern Kazakhstani context. By accounting for the group level, the study produced a truly diverse, rich and thick data. Therefore, the proposed research contributes to knowledge building on both modernization theory and gender roles literature.

Secondly, this research expands the original modernization theory framework of Inglehart and explains how the construction of gender roles operates in a unique case of the Kazakhstani society. It allows to observe that the suggested theoretical framework partially fits and needs to be adapted to be able to explain how the construction of gender roles perceptions operates. The original theoretical framework was expanded to account for the speed of the change of narratives and gender roles models. Thus, because the narratives are related to both private and public spheres, it takes less time to affect values and perceptions which are connected with them. Increased efforts in the public sphere, such as campaigns, introduction of Westernized education systems, NGOs and media promotion aimed at improving gender

equality, tolerance and environmental issues and other self-expression and secular-rational values can help to encourage and fasten the process of modernization. However, this would not be enough to change gender roles perceptions. The construction of gender roles perceptions among young adults in Kazakhstan is a complex process, which might involve several intergenerational changes. Since gender roles perceptions are mostly influenced by the private sphere, it would take a generational change as well as increased awareness in the society about the importance of gender equality and other postmodern values to shift the gender roles preference from Model 1 to Model 2 to Model 3.

Thirdly, this research demonstrates that top down approaches reflected in the modern and traditional narratives have an echo within youth's perceptions. Therefore, the study demonstrates that the top down narratives find echo within the population. Moreover, it also shows that postmodernization provokes a conservative backlash in the society. Finally, it also helps to understand that a conservative voice can also receive support from the local authorities as well. Because all three of the narratives as well as all three gender roles perceptions models were observed among study participants, it demonstrates that there is no single source of information that would affect the majority of the population. The study demonstrated that there can be found all three narratives simultaneously: traditional, modern and postmodern. The main reason behind the presence of all three competing narratives and gender roles models would be the modernization processes happening in Kazakhstan. According to Burkhanov & Sharipova (2015, 31), Kazakhstani nation building policies are top down and ethno-centric. This leads to the poor and contradictory policies. For instance, on the one side, trilingualism (knowledge of Russian, Kazakh and English languages) is strongly promoted in the education system, but on the other side, the government also set the goal that all Kazakhstani citizens should be able to speak Kazakh language by 2020 (Burkhanov & Sharipova 2015, 30). These contradictory policies can partially correlate with all three narratives (traditional, modern and

postmodern). Thus, these contradictory nation-building policies can affect not only the education system, but can also result in the contradictory gender roles perceptions. It is argued that one of the key explanations behind the nationalizing policies in Central Asian countries would be the effect of the Soviet past (Burkhanov & Sharipova 2015, Khazanov 2006). Central Asian countries justify the policies connected with strengthening of ethnic core with the Soviet past, where were suppressed by the regime. Consequently, now these regimes need to strengthen their ethnic identity. However, considering that Kazakhstan is a multiethnic country, it is more careful with its policies that relate to the traditionalization process. This can result in the appearance of the three competing narratives (traditional, modern and postmodern) and three competing gender roles models. Therefore, the research captures the essence of how the modern youth in the Kazakhstani society is changing and transforming under the multiple regulations of the young country.

There are several limitations and recommendations for further expanding and improving the study. Firstly, due to time and budget constraints, the sample was 30 participants, most of whom study at Nazarbayev University. In order to test the developed theoretical framework further, it is possible to increase and diversify the sample with young adults from various universities from the Kazakhstan. This will allow to observe whether the results will be similar on a national level.

Secondly, the questions can be further improved to better capture the essence of the narratives. Increasing the number of questions could allow to observe the narratives with a better precision. For instance, the questions could be developed to account for top down and bottom up approaches more effectively. Even though the goal of the study was to identify how the causal mechanism of gender roles perceptions operates, rather than finding the causal relationship between the narratives and gender roles models, still the latter remains a topic

for further investigation. This way, I would also be capable to capture the causality between the narratives and gender roles perceptions.

Another limitation would be that it was difficult to identify whether the narratives were influenced mostly be the government or individual-level narratives. One of the key explanations of why narratives would progress quicker than gender roles perceptions was that narratives would be influenced by both public and private domains, whereas gender roles perceptions would be mostly affected by private sphere only. In order to account for this explanation in the future, it would be possible to develop such questions that would target both public and private spheres questions clearly. Otherwise, it is difficult to conclude that this is the only and the most influential explanation of the discrepancy between the narratives and gender roles perceptions.

Appendix

Subject Risks and Benefits

There were minimal risks for study participants, but as in every research, there were some ethical concerns. The main ethical issues in case of focus groups were emotional risks. There was a risk that other participants would not respect confidentiality of what has been discussed and would not treat each other respectfully. However, I was able to ensure that real names of young people are concealed so that confidentiality of information would be ensured. In addition, the discussion went in a very civilized manner, so there were no conflicts between participants. Another potential risk was embarrassment. It was possible that some participants might have disagreed during discussions thus leaving unpleasant research experience (Ritchie et al 2003, 86). However, I was able to minimize this issue by controlling the flow of the conversation with questions that were prepared beforehand. In addition, the participants were aware that they could stop their participation at any point and it helped them to feel comfortable. I also asked them whether there were certain topics they were not willing to discuss prior to starting focus group discussions.

Safety Monitoring Plan

I informed the participants of the study that I was the only person who would be able to record the process. After reading and voluntarily singing the consent forms, the participants agreed with audio recordings. I recorded the discussions on my personal phone and then copied the data onto my personal computer. As soon as the study will be finished, I will immediately destroy all of the recordings.

Questions

To identify which narrative is the strongest: Traditional-Modern-Postmodern

1. What do you think about Western influence in Kazakhstan? What are the main influences of the West you can observe in Kazakhstan? What are its pros and cons? Do you think the effect of Western values is more beneficial or detrimental for our country?

2. What do you think about interethnic marriages? Can you say that you support interethnic couples? Would you consider getting married to a person of a different ethnicity? What would be your relationship towards your closest relative/friend getting married to a person of a different ethnicity?

3. Which organization would you like to work at the most based on your interests, given that the salary is equal everywhere?

A) governmental organization

B) any private organization

C) international organization

To identify Gender Roles:

1. How would you describe your ideal family? What is the fair division of labor at home? What is the fair division of labor in terms of: parenting, work and household?
2. How is your vision of ideal family different from traditional Kazakh family? How would you describe traditional Kazakh family?
3. Which statement do you agree with the most?

A) A woman should take care of children's upbringing and work, while a man should still be the main source of financial support

B) Both a woman and a man should be equally involved in children's upbringing, and it is up to a both partners to decide who is the main source of financial support

Table 7. Frequency, Extensiveness and Total Importance of the Codes

Table 7 below represents the key codes, categories and themes that were identified based on the open coding, axial coding and selective coding respectively. *Themes* include 5 key topics which represent the key codes and categories that were discussed the most by the study participants. Each theme has several *Categories* which combine key codes on that specific topic. *Code* represents the key issues and opinions raised during the discussion. The codes were grouped into 19 categories during the axial coding stage. *Frequency(words)* demonstrates how many words were spent talking on a certain code across all focus groups. *Frequency (%)* demonstrates how many percent this specific code comprises out of total 100% (20138 words). To calculate the percentage of each code, the number of the words spent on mentioning this code across all groups was divided by the total number of words (20138 words) and multiplied by 100%. For instance, 789 words were spent talking on the code "Children and youth are negatively affected by Western media and TV series" across all groups. The total number of words is 20138 words, which comprises 100 %. Therefore, to calculate how many percent this code has: 789 was divided by 20138 and then multiplied by 100%. The result is 3.9%. This simple equation allowed to calculate that "Children and youth are negatively affected by Western media and TV series" code contributed 3.9% to the whole discussion.

Total Importance Code for each category was equal to the sum of TIC of all codes present in that category. Moreover, in the brackets next to TIC is written how much this TIC represents out of total 100%. For instance, TIC for the code 'negative Western influence' was calculated by summing all eight codes' TICs and was equal to 4.78%. Since the total TIC for all codes across all categories equals to 57%, TIC for this category out of 100% was calculated as such: (4.78%/57% * 100%) = 8.4%. As a result, the TIC for this category was equal to

8.4%, out of 100%. Therefore, TICs written at the end of the column are related to the total TIC of 57%, whereas in the brackets it is related to 57% which comprised 100% of all TICs.

Theme	**Category**	**Code/Frequency(words)**	**Frequency (%)**	**Extensiveness**	**Total Importance of the Code (57%)**
Western influence In Kazakhstan	negative Western influence	1- Children and youth are negatively affected by Western media and TV series (789) 2- Women's image became more revealing (238) 3- LGBT Propaganda (468) 4- We are losing our national identity (147) 5- Women getting married later may have negative consequences (140) 6- People want to move abroad (123) 7- LGBT community strives to NU (80) 8- Number of divorces increased (62)	1. (789/20138) *100% =3.9% 2. (238/20138) *100=1.2% 3. (468/20138) *100=2.3% 4. (147/20138) *100=0.7% 5. (140/20138)*100=0.7% 6. (123/20138) *100=0.6% 7. (80/20138) *100=0.4% 8. (62/20138)*100=0.3%	4/6 3/6 3/6 3/6 2/6 3/6 1/6 1/6	2.6% 0.6% 0.58 0.35% 0.23% 0.3% 0.07% 0.05% TIC =4.78% (8.4% of 100%)
	neutral western	1- Kazakhstan is influenced by both East	1- 2.1%	4/6 2/6	1.4% 0.4%

	Influence	and Soviet also (423) 2- There are different types of feminism(238) 3- Makeup, clothes, brands, food (187) 4- Younger people view Western influence more positively than older (162) 5- People change at NU(163) 6- It is the process of globalization, not necessarily Western influence(137) 7- We become more aware of LGBT and have to accept them (244) 8- Don't care about LGBT as long as they don't interfere (157) 9- Strongest Western influence at NU(83)	2- 1.2% 3- 0.9% 4- 0.8% 5- 0.8% 6- 0.7% 7- 1.2% 8- 0.8% 9- 0.4%	3/6 3/6 2/6 2/6 1/6 1/6 1/6 1/6	0.45% 0.4% 0.27% 0.23% 0.2% 0.13% 0.03% 0.23% TIC =3.74 % (6.56 % of 100%)
	positive western influence	1- Increased tolerance to LGBT and feminism (539) 2- People get married later (456) 3- People become more individualistic rather than collectivist (435) 4- Increased freedom of speech (320) 5- Empowerment of Kazakhstani women and more gender equality (269) 6- Internet is a source of information (129) 7- NU Freedom should exist everywhere (101)	1- 2.7% 2- 2.3% 3- 2.2% 4- 1.6% 5- 1.3% 6- 0.7% 7- 0.5% 8- 0.3% 9- 0.3% 10- 0.2% 11- 0.2% 12- 0.1%	3/6 3/6 4/6 5/6 4/6 2/6 1/6 1/6 1/6 1/6 1/6 1/6	1.35% 1.15% 1.47% 1.33% 0.87% 0.23% 0.08% 0.05% 0.05% 0.03% 0.03% 0.02% TIC =6.66%

		8- NU students strive to achieve self-realization (95) 9- More work opportunities for women (63) 10- People become more liberal, start respecting everyone, independent of gender, age, religion (57) 11- Freedom and no judgement (46) 12- Self-realization became more important than marriage (23)			(11.7% out of 100%)
Kazakh society, mentality and culture	Negative View of Kazakh society	1. A woman is *kelin* , a man is a breadwinner (571) 2. People do not talk openly about problems (307) 3. Don't want to live with parents (325) 4. Societal opinion is too important/shaming (252) 5. People do not express emotions and there is tension in the family (107) 6. Wedding and everything in debt (80) In rural areas traditions survive because people live in closed communities (65)	2.8% 1.6% 1.6% 1.3% 0.5% 0.4% 0.3%	3/6 3/6 2/6 2/6 1/6 1/6 1/6	1.4% 0.8% 0.53% 0.43% 0.08 % 0.07% 0.05% TIC = 3.36% (5.9% out of 100%)
	Neutral view of Kazakh society	1. The population is divided into two parts: conservative and liberal (323) 2. Liberal people are from urban areas, conservative - from rural and Southern	1.6% 0.5% 0.4% 0.3%	4/6 1/6 1/6 1/6	1.07% 0.08% 0.07% 0.05%

		areas (104) 3. Kazakhs value family, West: public or society (75) 4. Would like to marry Kazakhs, but do not want to become kelins (53)			TIC=1.27% (2.2% out of 100%)
	Positive view of Kazakh society	1. Family and homeland are very important (300) 2. The biggest benefit of Kazakh traditional society is respect of elderly, women and children (204) 3. Family and parents is the most important in life (76)	1.5% 1% 0.4%	3/6 2/6 2/6	0.75% 0.33% 0.1% TIC=1.18% (2.1 % out of 100%)
Inter-ethnic Marriage	positive view of inter-ethnic marriage	1. Ethnicity does not matter, key is common values and mutual understanding (383) 2. It is beneficial from genetics' perspective (251) 3. Loving a person is more than nationality/ ethnicity (154) 4. Most importantly, a person needs to be good and adequate (58)	1. 1.9% 2. 1.2% 3. 0.8% 4. 0.3%	3/6 3/6 2/6 2/6	0.95% 0.6% 0.27% 0.1% TIC =1.92% (3.4% out of 100%)
	neutral view of inter-ethnic marriage	1. Any family model is good if partners have mutual care and understanding (879) 2. If cultures are similar, then support interethnic marriage (Russians, Tatars in Kz) (270) 3. Men are allowed to marry other ethnici-	1. 4.4% 2. 1.3% 3. 0.7% 4. 0.4%	5/6 2/6 2/6 2/6	3.67% 0.43% 0.23% 0.13%

		ties, women are not (131) 4. People are more tolerant towards inter-ethnic marriages if they have Russian or European people in their environment (80)			TIC=4.46% (7.8% out of 100%)
	negative view of inter-ethnic marriage	1. Parents would be against (652) 2. Differences in culture, religious beliefs and mentality will cause conflicts (416)	1. 3.2% 2. 2.1%	5/6 4/6	2.67% 1.4% TIC =4.07% (7.1% out of 100%)
Job Preference	reasons to work for the government	1. Would join government to help the country and change the system (243) 2. Would join government because there is career growth (228)	1. 1.2% 2. 1.1%	3/6 2/6	0.6% 0.37% TIC =1% (1.7% out of 100%)
	reasons not to work in the government	1. Strong hierarchy and difficult to change the system (330) 2. There is a strong bureaucracy (199) 3. It is difficult to achieve career growth (69)	1. 1.6% 2. 1% 3. 0.3%	3/6 2/6 2/6	0.8% 0.33% 0.1% TIC =1.23% (2.2% out of 100%)
	reasons to work in a private organization	1. Would join private to gain experience and contribute to change (351) 2. If environment and boss is pleasant and good, then any job is amazing (142) 3. There are career growth opportunities (90)	1. 1.7% 2. 0.7% 3. 0.4% 4. 2%	4/6 2/6 3/6 1/6	1.13% 0.37% 0.2% 0.33% TIC =2.03% (3.6% out of

		4. Would join because of Kazakhstan's struggling economic situation (409)			100%)
	reasons not to work in the private organization	1. There is a Kazakh mentality of networking (65) 2. There is no personal life (45)	1. 0.3% 2. 0.2%	2/6 1/6	0.1% 0.03% TIC =0.13% (0.2% out of 100%)
Gender Roles Models	reasons to work in the international organization	1. There are career opportunities (210) 2. To help locally and internationally(194) 3. To have freedom of expression (98) 4. To be treated equally unlike Kazakhs who have a strong sense of hierarchy (150) 5. It is more structured and less chaotic than other organizations (9)	1. 1% 2. 1% 3. 0.5% 4. 0.7% 5. 0.1%	4/6 3/6 2/6 1/6 1/6	0.67% 0.5% 0.17% 0.12% 0.02% TIC = 1.48% (2.6% out of 100%)
	reasons not to work in an international organization	1. No interest in any international problems (1: 82) 2. It would be difficult to adapt to international interethnic environment (6: 63)	1. 0.4% 2. 0.3%	1/6 1/6	0.07% 0.05% TIC =0.12% (0.2% out of 100%)
	Model 1 "woman=mother, man=breadwinner"	1. Historically and biologically, men do 'difficult' household tasks, while women work, raise children and do household labor (807) 2. It's normal when	1. 4% 2. 2.4% 3. 1.6% 4. 0.5% 5. 0.3% 6. 0.3%	5/6 2/6 2/6 1/6 2/6 1/6	3.3% 0.8% 0.53% 0.13% 0.1% 0.05%

		woman doesn't work, man-works (484) 3. A couple should live with parents to help them (330) 4. There will be conflicts if women earn more (103) 5. A husband's mother should help to raise children (64) 6. Gender-based raising of children (67)			TIC = 4.91% (8.61 % out of 100%)
	Model 2 "woman = mother& bread-winner, man = bread-winner"	1. Man is responsible for providing for family, woman for cooking &children and can work if she wants (1065) 2. Both partners still should work (389)	1. 5.3% 2. 4% 3. 1.9%	6/6 5/6 4/6	5.3% 3.3% 1.27% TIC =9.87% (17.3% out of 100%)
	Model 3 "woman = bread-winner and/or mother, man = bread-winner and/or father"	1. There should be equal distribution of responsibilities (1040) 2. Both should raise children: (203) 3. It's ok if women earn more(181) 4. Mother's instinct doesn't exist (164)	1. 5.2% 2. 1% 3. 0.8%	5/6 3/6 1/6	4.33% 0.5% 0.13% TIC = 4.96% (8.7% out of 100%)

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