

**THESIS APPROVAL FORM**

NAZARBAYEV UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

GENDER ORDER AND HEGEMONIC FEMININITY: HOW THE DIGITAL  
CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER PERPETUATES THE NORMALIZATION OF GENDER-  
BASED VIOLENCE IN KAZAKHSTAN

ГЕНДЕРЛІК ТӘРТІП ЖӘНЕ ГЕГЕМОНИЯЛЫҚ ӘЙЕЛДІК: ГЕНДЕРДІҢ ЦИФРЛІК  
ҚҰРЫЛЫСЫ ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ ГЕНДЕРЛІК ЗОРЛЫҚ-ЗОМБЫЛЫҚТЫҢ  
НОРМАЛИЗАЦИЯЛАУЫНА ҚАЛАЙ ӘСЕР ЕТЕДІ

ГЕНДЕРНЫЙ ПОРЯДОК И ГЕГЕМОНИСТКАЯ ЖЕНСТВЕННОСТЬ: КАК  
ВОСПРОИЗВЕДЕНИЕ ГЕНДЕРА ОНЛАЙН ВЛИЯЕТ НА НОРМАЛИЗАЦИЮ  
ГЕНДЕРНОГО НАСИЛИЯ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ

BY

Damira Kazhenova

NU Student Number: 201448199

**APPROVED**

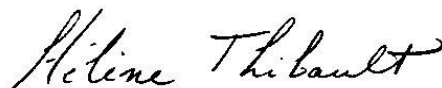
BY

Dr. H el ene Thibault

ON

10 May, 2022

Signature of Principal Thesis Adviser



In Agreement with Thesis Advisory Committee

Second Adviser: Dr. Neil Collins

External Reader: Dr. Jasmin Dall'Agnola

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MA PROGRAMS AT NAZARBAYEV UNIVERSITY:

GENDER ORDER AND HEGEMONIC FEMININITY: HOW THE  
DIGITAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER PERPETUATES THE  
NORMALIZATION OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN  
KAZAKHSTAN

ГЕНДЕРЛІК ТӘРТІП ЖӘНЕ ГЕГЕМОНИЯЛЫҚ ӘЙЕЛДІК:  
ГЕНДЕРДІҢ ЦИФРЛІК ҚҰРЫЛЫСЫ ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ  
ГЕНДЕРЛІК ЗОРЛЫҚ-ЗОМБЫЛЫҚТЫҢ  
НОРМАЛИЗАЦИЯЛАУЫНА ҚАЛАЙ ӘСЕР ЕТЕДІ

ГЕНДЕРНЫЙ ПОРЯДОК И ГЕГЕМОНИСТКАЯ ЖЕНСТВЕННОСТЬ:  
КАК ВОСПРОИЗВЕДЕНИЕ ГЕНДЕРА ОНЛАЙН ВЛИЯЕТ  
НА НОРМАЛИЗАЦИЮ ГЕНДЕРНОГО НАСИЛИЯ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ

by

Damira Kazhenova

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in

Political Science and International relations

at

NAZARBAYEV UNIVERSITY -  
SCHOOL OF SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

2022

## **Abstract**

This study is aimed to explore how gender order becomes hegemonic by enforcing the standards of hegemonic femininity on women in social media spaces that makes them question their bodily autonomy and behavior. In particular, the thesis explores how standards of hegemonic femininity is extensively utilized by the public in order to glorify national culture and traditions that allows the public to come up with the definition behind what it means to be a Kazakh woman, thereby, normalizing punishing those women whose behavior does not align with these standards. By relying on discourse analysis to analyze the content of the available comments found on Instagram, this study represents an attempt to research modern Kazakh nationalism from a critical gendered perspective with a focus on gender-based violence. Thereby, I argue that the diffusion of gender discourses that takes place online contributes to the construction of hegemonic standards of femininity that perpetuates the normalization of gender-based violence as culturally appropriate as well as negative attitudes towards the members of LGBTQ communities as alien to the national identity.

## Contents:

Chapter 1: Introduction .....	6
Chapter 2: Literature Review/Theoretical Framework.....	12
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	37
Chapter 4: Discussion.....	48
Chapter 5: Conclusion.....	62
Appendix 1.....	64
References .....	113

## **Acknowledgements**

Looking back at my seven years at Nazarbayev University both as an undergraduate and graduate student, I would say that my last two years as a graduate student were the hardest. However, despite everything that was going on in the world, I had some exceptional people by my side to help me get through it. Thereby, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my primary adviser Dr. H  l  ne Thibault for her valuable feedback and constant support. I am especially grateful for her never-ending enthusiasm and concern for my well-being which kept me on track throughout the hardest moments of writing my thesis and kept me motivated to finish it. I am also very thankful to Dr. Neil Collins who provided me with guidance and always stayed positive throughout the thesis writing process. I would also like to thank my external adviser Dr. Jasmin Dall'Agnola for her comments and feedback that helped me to write a better thesis.

I am also thankful to my parents who provided the necessary environment for me to work on my thesis without any distractions. I would also like to thank my friends for making sure that my social life would not be forgotten and abandoned. Also, to all my groupmates, I want to say thank you for sharing the hardest and happiest moments of the program and making it till the end. I am proud of us!

## 1. Introduction

Over the decades, the amount of content being generated on the topic of how to be a good woman, a good daughter, and a good wife has signaled the important role that is being attributed to the gender order in our communities. Particularly in Central Asia, the prevalence of the existing gender order that is deeply rooted into traditional patriarchal norms has resulted in the normalization of domestic violence and gender-based violence in regards to such practices like bride-kidnapping in Kyrgyzstan, female suicide in Tajikistan, and emphasis on the purity of brides in Uzbekistan. In Kazakhstan, according to UN Women, 17% of women who were ever-married aged 18-75 had suffered from physical or sexual partner violence while 21% had experienced psychological abuse (UN Women n.d.).

States have also been actively utilizing gender as a part of their governing toolkit in various state processes, such as nation-building or war agitation. As an example, the construction of women as ‘beautiful souls’ that need protection is what usually serves as moral justification for war that further reinforces gender subordination (Sjoberg 2008, 5). As a result, such a stereotypical portrayal of women “excludes women by definition from the class of decision-makers and fighters in war” (Sjoberg 2008, 6). Consequently, over the last decade, there has been a significant increase in the feminist literature that examines the exploitation of gender and feminist thought in the mainstream state narratives focusing on the concept of hegemonic femininity and how it establishes and legitimates a hierarchical relationship to hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic femininity prescribes the qualities or rather defines the role that the ideal woman would have to perform in society in order to be accepted as one. Thereby, the ideal woman based on the

concept of hegemonic femininity would be white (in a Western context), heterosexual, gentle, mainly involved in unpaid labor, caretaker to her husband and children, and submissive to her husband.

In Kazakhstan, the instances of state-endorsed hegemonic femininity include the publication of a book in December of 2019 written by Karakat Abden, the former deputy of maslikhat (local representative body) of Nur-Sultan city, titled “You are the Kazakh woman. Be proud of it! 160 life hacks for a young woman” that is intended to serve as a moral guide for young Kazakh women. On her Facebook page, Abden wrote, “I wanted to tell girls that we have things to be proud of, to show our uniqueness and to encourage the girls to feel proud in any country of the world. Kazakh girls have never wanted to be in front of or contrary to a man, as it is in the west, and have never been feminists. We don’t need it.” (Sultan 2020). In addition, Abden is also a founder of the women’s institute of cultural and moral education called ‘Kazak Kyzy’ (Kazak Daughter) that is intended to provide practical training for girls between the ages of 8 and 18 that she defines as the formative years for the girls (Sultan 2020). The curriculum includes but is not limited to national and secular etiquette, hospitality, literature, and traditional arts and crafts (Sultan 2020). “... the future of the nation depends on how we raise our girls”, is the quote from Abden that is featured on the official ‘Strategy-2050’ webpage as a part of the political development course of the country. Additionally, as Sultan (2020) writes, the institute received 17 million 544 thousand tenge (approximately 46.4 thousand dollars at the time) from the national budget as indicated on the public procurement website.

A notorious case of the state’s interaction with the concept of hegemonic femininity represents a viral short film “A girl in a miniskirt” that provides a moral lesson on how

Kazakh women should dress modestly in order to avoid harassment. In the video sponsored by the local akimat (the local branch of government), in particular, by the Department for Family, Children and Youth Affairs of Shymkent, a man in a black Mercedes car stops near the young woman to pick her up but once she gets into the car, the man starts to ask her how much per hour she charges. The young woman gets offended by his implication and demands to stop the car or she will report him to the police officer who happens to be parked ahead of them. To that, the man responds by saying that the same way she understood that the person parked in front of them was a police officer, judging by the way he was dressed, the man had the right to assume that she is a prostitute because of the way she was dressed. The man concludes by saying that if she is a true Kazakh woman, she should dress like one and look after her honor and dignity the same way she takes care of her phone by putting it in a protective phone case. Despite causing a huge resonance in society and eventually being taken down from the government web page, the moral lesson that the akimat signals in the video remains clear: in order to avoid harassment and violence, a Kazakh woman should dress modestly (Dyusengulova 2020).

The growing relevance of social media in day-to-day interactions represents another opportunity for the reinforcement and legitimation of the standards of hegemonic femininity where women find themselves burdened by the standards of acceptable behavior and heavily experience policing of their bodies. In other words, mirroring the gendered discourses on masculine and feminine attributes and patterns of behavior, digital media spaces are able to create similar restrictions and expectations regarding women and their behavior as they experience in their offline activities. In the research, I concentrate on the way femininity is reinterpreted by the public as an inferior counterpart

to masculinity justifying the existing gender order. However, I do recognize that there is a growing number of feminist scholars and activists who work to redefine the concept of femininity outside of hegemonic standards. The main research question addressed in the study is how the gender order becomes hegemonic? In particular, I will be analyzing the way popular discourses on gender that echo the state narratives perpetuate the normalization of certain practices based on gender order. By relying on the case of Kazakhstan, the focus of my study, therefore, becomes the burden of national representation that Kazakh women and members of the sexual minority groups have to live under and experience in their daily life by being exposed to online discourses surrounding nationalist narratives regarding gender.

The research represents a case study of Kazakhstan as a post-colonial state where nationalist discourses are actively employed by the state in the nation-building process by reimagination and re-traditionalization practices. In other words, there is an official dominant gender narrative that affects people's understanding of gender in Kazakhstan that is in part due to the limited freedom of media in the country. Edward Schatz (2009) attributes a huge role to Kazakhstani government's ability to effectively manage information flows with the intention to guide the media to project images that strengthen the position of its leaders (207). Similarly, Lewis (2016, 425-26) suggests that the maintenance of the official state discourses is based on active suppression of opposition media outlets through legal restraint and coercion. Apart from the limited freedom of traditional media outlets, internet freedom in Kazakhstan also remains restricted. According to Freedom House (2021), Kazakhstan's score on the freedom of the net index constitutes 33 points out of 100 that is categorized as not free. Freedom House (2021) reports that the government in Kazakhstan exercises extensive authority in blocking

online content; an authority that has only expanded in recent years with extralegal blocking remaining a common practice. All website blocking and content removal practices remain unattainable to the general public due to the lack of transparency. As the nontechnical means to enforce the removal of certain content generated online, the authorities use methods such as direct pressure on outlets to remove certain material and sometimes even addressing their request at international social media platforms (Freedom House 2021). Even self-censorship in the media remains as a common practice, including independent online news outlets, due to ambiguity in the existing legislation (Freedom House 2021). However, there has been an increase in the number of users who became more outspoken in online discussions, albeit preferring to avoid a range of taboo topics, after the resignation of the first president Nazarbayev in 2019 (Freedom House 2021). Overall, in comparison with print and broadcast media, Freedom House report (2021) identifies the online media landscape in Kazakhstan as more vulnerable to less “over forms of restrictions on the free flow of information, such as progovernment propaganda and pressure to self-censor. Despite being named the most liberal setting for the public exchange of news and opinions, it is not surprising to know that online discourses are easily manipulated, including by commentators who are usually paid by the government, dubbed Nurbots, -a service that is utilized in the times of crisis in order to serve as the distraction and to emphasize the state’s successes (Freedom House 2021). While gender issues might not represent an area where the service of Nurbots is utilized by the state, there is enough public reaction regarding gender issues in Kazakhstan as it is. As a result, adherence to traditions and patriarchal values of the society are being constantly imposed and reinforced on women in different spaces and contexts that include the digital construction of gender as well in these public discourses. Consequently, I argue that the diffusion of gender discourses that takes place online contributes to the construction of

hegemonic standards of femininity that perpetuates the normalization of gender-based violence as culturally appropriate as well as negative attitudes towards the members of LGBTQ communities as alien to the national identity. I define gender-based violence as a harmful act or behavior directed at a person based on their gender identity (UNHCR n.d.). I also distinguish between sexual harassment that represents a sexually charged unwanted, offensive, or unreciprocated behavior that is either verbal or non-verbal, and violence, or harassing behavior, that includes unwanted sexual advances, stalking, and whistling as well as direct verbal sexual assaults that can take place in any social setting (Dall’Agnola 2022, 121).

This thesis is divided into two major parts. First of all, I will provide the literature review on the subject of gendered nationalism explaining the existing gender order and the role of digital media in constructing popular narratives about gender with the emphasis on hegemonic femininity that is embedded in Kazakh national culture. In the chapter, I will provide a historical context with an analysis of how the post-Soviet context contributed to the reimagination and re-traditionalization of the image of a modern Kazakh woman in society. I will demonstrate how and why the constraints around identity were formed and interpreted the way they are in Kazakhstan. In addition, I will elaborate on how the ideas and beliefs about gender order are further reinforced with the social construction and interpretation of multiple factors, including the Soviet legacy, the influence of Islam and society that favors patriarchal norms and behaviors. I will also explore the literature about LGBTQ+ people in Kazakhstan and demonstrate how their presence and visibility on social media is received by the Kazakhstani public.

In the following empirical chapter, I will describe the results of the critical discourse analysis that I conducted on the topic of hegemonic femininity in online discussions from Instagram. In this chapter, I present the data collected from the online comments on Instagram that were posted on the hot topics of domestic violence and LGBTQ themes in the period between 2019 and 2022. The chapter will demonstrate how online discussions about domestic violence and discourses about sexual minorities are informed by a hegemonic gender order in Kazakhstan. In particular by examining the most notorious cases of domestic violence against women and sexual minorities in the last three years, I will demonstrate how hegemonic femininity encourages subordination to men by placing women within the stereotypical thinking of them as mothers, wives, and daughters. The comments that I will be analyzing tend to juxtapose Kazakh culture to Eastern/Western values, thereby, resulting in the prevalence of the sentiments that call for the preservation of the nation that encourages public shaming of women who do not act in accordance to the morally right behavior defined by the standards of hegemonic femininity.

## **2. Literature Review/Theoretical Framework**

This chapter reviews literature written on the topic of gendered nationalism explaining the existing gender order and the role of digital media in constructing popular narratives about gender with the emphasis on hegemonic femininity that is embedded in Kazakh national culture. The aim of this literature review is to present the existing theoretical approaches on the topic of gendered nationalism, in Kazakhstan in particular, and point out the existing gap in the literature that addresses the lack of studies done on the bottom-up responses to nationalist projects in Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

I begin the chapter by looking at the literature that emphasizes the symbolic position of women in nationalist culture where dominant masculine discourse dictates the standards of hegemonic femininity. Following that, I will provide a relevant historical background of gender relations in Kazakhstan with the aim to analyze the historical and religious context behind the formation of an image of a modern Kazakh woman. In this chapter, I intend to explain how and why the constraints around identity were formed and interpreted the way they are in Kazakhstan. While so many politicians and citizens support the existing gender order that regulates the expression of hegemonic masculinity and hegemonic femininity, including the identity of the contemporary Kazakh woman, the ideas and beliefs about identity are further reinforced with the way the population interacts and interprets multiple factors, including Soviet legacy, the influence of Islam and society that favors patriarchal norms and behaviors.

As a result, when it comes to gendered nationalism in Kazakhstan, the following part will provide a valuable insight into the state's and society's essentialized perception of gender roles starting with the promotion of gendered power relations in the school curriculum material and ending with the state's political development strategy, dubbed "Kazakhstan-2050". Thereby, the section is aimed to demonstrate the state of gender relations in post-independence Kazakhstan where intersecting roles of labor, sexuality, and religion dictate the appropriate norms of behavior and make Kazakh women vulnerable to the standards of sexuality and morality in contemporary society.

Lastly, I will focus on the digital media and explain how it has recommended itself as a powerful tool with the ability and potency to contribute to the reproduction of nationalism on day to day basis. As will be discussed further, the Internet is largely

identified as a masculine domain where harassment and censorship of women's bodies coexists with the popular content related to nudity, sex, and sexuality that successfully replicated the male gaze online. Similarly, the chapter reviews the literature that discuss how heteronormative ideology is replicated online, especially when the users engage in the performance of hegemonic femininity, and how the increasing visibility of queer culture in Kazakhstan is received by the public. However, there is literature that will also suggest that despite its limited outreach, social media platforms can be a useful tool in feminist struggles that contributes to the increased awareness and offer educational content for women about LGBTQ people about inequalities and injustices in their respective communities.

### **2.1. Nationalist Projects and Gender Relations**

Nationalist projects are complex, multidimensional, and context-specific but the crucial role of gender and gender relations when constructing notions of femininity and masculinity in order to normalize power relations and to reinvent national identity remains undeniable. Perhaps, Deniz Kandiyoti's definition of nationalism captures the complexity and contradictions of the term itself: [Nationalism] presents itself both as a modern project that melts and transforms traditional attachments in favor of new identities and as a reflection of authentic cultural values culled from the depths of a presumed communal past' (McClintock 1993, 65). Nagel (1998) points out a few reasons why nationalist politics can be described as a "major venue for 'accomplishing' masculinity" (251). First, due to the national state's hierarchical authority structure, the prevalence of men in the decision-making positions, its unequal patterns in the internal division of labor between the sexes, and the male regulation of female rights, labor, and sexuality, the state essentially becomes a masculine institution (Nagel 1998, 251). Second, the cultural dimension of nationalism is constructed in a way that is directly connected with masculine cultural themes (Nagel 1998, 251). Thereby, terms like

patriotism, honor, and duty become associated with both nation and manliness (Nagel 1998, 252). In their research based on the 2016 US presidential elections, Deckman and Cassese (2021) demonstrated the empirical justifications for Nagel's reasoning. The researchers have emphasized that since women are less likely to identify with the nation as nationalism is typically constructed in masculine terms, both women and men tend to list men rather than women as "exemplars of true Americans" that in turn undermines the chances for political success among female political candidates (281-82). Similarly, Van Berkel et. al (2017) find that in accordance with social dominance theory that predicts that dominant groups are more likely to experience greater ownership over national identity, male associated traits and masculinity are perceived to be as more aligned with an American identity compared to the traits associated with women and femininity (41).

Lastly, the symbolic position that women occupy in nationalist culture and discourse reflects "a masculinist definition of femininity and women's proper place in the nation" (Nagel 1998, 252). Perhaps, the most well-known case that represents such a complex relationship between nationalism and gender is the politicization of the Egyptian feminist movement by the state. As an example, Zakarriya (2014) explores the development of the Egyptian feminist movement along with the two sidelines-liberal and Islamist feminism-with its subsequent politicization by the state. The main argument that the author presents in the research paper is focused on feminism as a persistent political discourse that was solidified in the 21st century that the patriarchal political system in Egypt exploits "as a means of fostering their political gains and the socioeconomic hierarchy", and against the Western colonialism and immorality in particular (Zakarriya 2014, 47). Zakarriya (2014, 48) builds her research on Edward Said's argument about how the concepts of culture and nationalism undergo the process of politicization, gendering, and sexualization that contributes to the

authority and exterior framework of the State. In other words, in order to achieve a certain degree of hegemony over its population, the State finds itself constantly involved in the process of differentiating itself from the Other utilizing sex and gender in its nationalist discourses. Consequently, the inferiority of women and their vulnerable position in society cannot be exclusively attributed to the backward cultural practices but can also result from racial oppression and patriarchal discrimination by the State (Zakarriya 2014, 48). Further, in Tajikistan, the female figure has also become the focus of nationalist projects (Thibault 2016). In particular, in order to delegitimize rigid religious practices, the state has centered its efforts on the female clothing as a symbolic representation of “the secular and progressive character of the nation” (Thibault 2016, 4). So instead of wearing all-black burqa-like robes, called *paranja* or *chavran*, the state has encouraged women to return to wearing colorful ‘traditional or national clothes’ that is comprised of “baggy pants worn underneath a long loose dress with short or long sleeves” (Thibault 2016, 5). However, it is problematic to refer to such new apparel as ‘traditional’ since such clothing represents the Soviet style of clothing that came after Bolshevik Revolution in the region (Thibault 2016, 5). Thereby, Thibault (2016) concludes that the distortion of history becomes a prerequisite for the use of pre-colonial legacies in order to accommodate the nationalist secular program promoted by the state (5).

McClintock (1993) writes that despite nationalism’s promotion of the idea of popular unity, all nations historically “amounted to the sanctioned institutionalization of gender difference” (61). As a result, while women are usually portrayed as the symbolic bearers of the nation, they are typically denied any access to a national agency (McClintock 1993, 62). Similarly, according to Yuval-Davis (2003), in the cultural dimension of nationalist projects, the symbolic heritage, as reflected in language, religion, and/or traditions, is constructed as

the ‘essence’ of ‘the nation’ that separates authentic ‘us’ from ‘non-organic’ others (11). This cultural discourse emphasizes gendered bodies and sexuality as reproducers and symbolic bearers of the national narratives where the ‘burden of representation’ falls upon women (Yuval-Davis 2003, 16-17). Moreover, women are also viewed as the bearers of the collective honor meaning that there are cultural breaches of conduct, such as ‘proper’ behavior and ‘proper’ clothing, that characterize other members of the society (Yuval-Davis 2003, 18).

## **2.2. The Soviet Gender Paradox**

The process of nation-building in the Central Asian states can be described as a particular experience to the region due to being a part of the Russian Imperial Empire and later the Soviet Union. Prior to the Russian Imperial rule, the tribes that were living in the region had no conception whatsoever of what modern nation-states look like. However, even prior to the October Revolution of 1917 that resulted in the disintegration of the Russian Empire, the Soviets encountered people who demanded freedom for self-representation that resulted in the creation of an autonomous region Turkestan ASSR (Levin 2017, 269). With this independence, however, the Soviets faced the threat of the emergence of a larger pan-Turkic Muslim state due to the commonalities in traditions and Islamic influence in the region that consequently resulted in the division of the Turkestan ASSR territory along the manufactured ethnic lines “by the stroke of a pen” (Levin 2017, 270). As a result, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic was formed in 1936 following the dissolution of the Turkestan ASSR territory into five new republics (Levin 2017, 270). This artificial construction of the Central Asian nations is what makes their experience particular to the region. As Levin (2017) puts it, “while other nations have created narratives and ideologies

through self-determination, the peoples of Central Asia have had their histories and identities crafted largely by foreign actors” (271).

There are, however, other prevalent opinions within the scholarship that challenge this idea of the national formation in the region as a product of colonization, thereby deemphasizing the colonial past as a single crucial factor in the process of the national formation. As an example, despite admitting that the Soviet rule “was arguably a central force that informed self-understanding” in Central Asia, Esenova (2002) describes the process of national construction as operating within far more complex frameworks that include limited interactions between pre-Soviet and Soviet identities and its imposition on local populations (12-13). Further, instead of describing nation-building as an artificial imposition of national and ethnic identities from the colonial past in the region, Kudaibergenova (2013) identifies the Kazakh national formation as a “semi-colonial product of Soviet modernized versions of nation-building” (4). Nevertheless, under the Soviet system, artificial identity politics continued in the region that would set the cultural dimension for development in the years to come and shape the re-interpretation of Kazakh self-identity in the post-independence years from the perspective of the political elites and the population accordingly. Consequently, the Russian colonial efforts along with the Soviet propaganda system were the most effective in constructing and solidifying local gender order.

### **2.2.1. The Pre-Colonial and Early Colonial Gender Order**

According to Peshkova (2021), the pre-colonial and early colonial gender order was based on “religious sensibilities, communities’ standards of reciprocity (e.g., communal work/building projects/celebrations), respect, exchange, and not equality and/or heterosexual companionship” (367). Religious laws and local traditions ensured the longevity of the

settlement along with the power dynamics in the families and communities. Early settlements in Turkestan were characterized as adhering to strict gender segregation where socialization was mostly achieved in homosocial environments, meaning men and women- as “different beings created by God in different ways and for different purposes”- were able to socialize with the people of the same sex only in public (Peshkova 2021, 366). Consequently, homosocial entertainment was offered by non-binary community individuals, known as ‘bachcha’, who usually performed in a seductive and sensual manner in front of their patrons (Peshkova 2021, 366). With the Russian colonial intervention, the existing gender order only became more hierarchical, state-centric, and binary. For example, the Russian colonial authorities considered ‘bachcha’ as unacceptable, and replaced the ‘bachcha’ with women performers who were considered to be rightfully associated with feminine traits that ‘bachcha’ performers possessed (Peshkova 2021, 367). On top of that, despite outlawing practices such as polygyny, veiling, and child marriage, the Russian Empire reaffirmed ontological differences between the sexes as “fundamental to Central Asian gender structure” by clearly defining what traits and behavior were to be accepted as feminine and for women only, such as preoccupation with beauty and sensuality, and what behavior was to be considered as acceptable for men, and those men who expressed the traits of the opposite sex “came to be labeled as deviant” and same-sex practices were defined “as abhorrent and abnormal” and were continuously criminalized in the Soviet era (Peshkova 2021, 367-68).

### **2.2.2. Women as facilitators of modernity in the Soviet Union**

In Central Asia, the formation of the feminist consciousness is associated with Soviet policies for the emancipation of women due to the contestations around Islam and modernity in the region. For the modernized Moscow, Central Asia represented a barbaric and uncivilized terrain that Soviet Russia as a modernity agent had the responsibility to change.

Consequently, the center envisioned the destruction of traditional family structure and the restructuring of the kinship system as a central means towards their goal of socialist transformation and cultural revolution (Kandiyoti 2007, 604). According to Kandiyoti (2007), gender, or women, in particular, became the main focus of the Soviet policies as they represented the most disadvantaged and oppressed social strata in the region. For the new Soviet leaders of Central Asia, women's daily life was associated with local culture and spirit; thereby, by challenging local ideas of femininity, the Soviet leaders utilized women's liberation as a way to modify social order and promote their anti-religious campaign by disregarding female subordination that was mainly justified by Islamic doctrine in the region (Northrop 2004, 76-77). In order to ensure women's liberation, special organizations, such as women's department (*zhenotdel*) were created, that were designed to ensure the involvement of women in social production and political life, the equality between men and women was written in the Constitution of 1918 (Shurko 2016, 183). However, the gendered effects of the Soviet policies along with the socialist rhetoric of the center resulted in the "Soviet paradox" that Kandiyoti (2007) defines as "high literacy and labor force participation rates against the background of high fertility rates, large families and relatively untransformed domestic divisions of labor" (607). As a result, Kandiyoti (2007) argues that despite the promotion of gender affirmative actions, such as quotas for women, gender equality was not the most thoroughly internalized feature of Soviet policies regarding women, but the rhetoric of social protection by the state was popularized instead (617).

According to Shurko (2016), policing women's bodies is intrinsically intertwined with the Soviet project of emancipation and its unveiling policies. As an example, for women who were aspiring to a better job opportunity and education, taking off their *paranja* was a critical condition (Shurko 2016, 191). This practice was primarily directed at women living in

the urban areas of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan where full-face covering were the most common in the region. The practice of unveiling, or *hujum*, was also perceived by some women as an opportunity to rearrange existing social hierarchies and overcome perceived inequalities (Northrop 2004, 90). Consequently, this practice of unveiling contributed to the increase in the violence against women who violated the established traditions. At the same time, this Soviet rhetoric regarding women's bodies was romanticizing violence as an essential element in the establishment of a new order: “Какие бы ни чинились препятствия, не вернуть женщины на прежний рабский путь. Пусть избивает муж, пусть прокликает в мечетях мулла, пусть отплевываются, как от заразы, старики, когда она идет с собрания, — пусть! Что бы ни было, женщина Средней Азии проснулась” (Shurko 2016, 192). (Translation: “No matter the obstacles, women will not be returned to slavery. Let the husband beat them, let the mullah curse them at the mosques, let the old men spit on them in disgust when she is returning from a meeting, - let them! No matter what happens, the women of Central Asia woke up”)

Overall, while rewarding women's physical labor with wages and their reproductive labor with maternity leaves, free childcare, and monetary compensations, Soviet policies were responsible for ensuring that the state was in control of women and their activities (Peshkova 2021, 368). Spousal and parental responsibilities were clearly established where fathers were viewed as undesirable in the matters concerning parental responsibility towards children and household chores while mothers and motherhood were gloried along with their involvement in the workforce (Peshkova 2021, 369). Due to the rigidity of gender roles, the Soviet system was successful in politicizing women's rights as “markers of national and societal development” (Peshkova 2021, 369). However, it is obvious that the system did not challenge gendered and generational practices associated with family and societal leadership,

thereby male dominance remained undisturbed. As an example, despite being allowed, divorce still remained undesirable and only practiced in extreme cases. On top of that, polygynous marriage was viewed as acceptable when confronted by an economic reality of single mothers and a “persistent perception of an old maidenhood as a failure of humanhood” (Peshkova 2021, 369). What’s more, women were granted with a possibility to continue their education and gain partial independence from their parents if it did not endanger social gendered hierarchy in the family (Peshkova 2021, 369). And while women were granted an opportunity to occupy positions of power, they often were confronted with a double burden in which their moral obligation to the family always came first (Peshkova 2021, 369).

With the collapse of the Soviet system, there is a consensus among feminist scholars that with the liberalization of the states that once were part of the communist bloc, patriarchal and neotraditional gender ideology, where women were reassigned to the private domain and men to the newly empowered public, were fostered instead of women’s movement (Johnson and Saarinen 2013, 546). Former Soviet republics were left with a system where the gender order was state-centered and based on a binary gender structure. As former socialist states embarked on their journey of national revival, re-traditionalization, or selective revival of traditions, became central to their projects along with the revival of religious sensibilities, Islam in particular, that brought back the emphasis on the traditional gender roles and hierarchical structure of society. For Urbaeva (2019, 213), in Central Asian states, women’s opinions about gender roles are shaped by multiple factors that consist of their religious identities, socioeconomic standing, and opportunity structures available to them, and inequality. Similarly, Cleuziou and Direnberger (2015) mention that in post-Soviet states, specific forms of political participation available for women are usually defined by national ideologies where it is usually their characteristics as mothers that they are called upon for

(198). It is best explained by the fact that gender orders under both the Soviet system and post-independence era perceived normative femininity in motherhood as the ultimate expression of female humanhood (Peshkova 2021, 371). While the Soviet-era gender order glorified motherhood as a duty to the state, the post-independence gender order perceives motherhood as a religious duty (as in Muslim woman's duty) and a duty to the nation (Peshkova 2021, 371). Similarly, sexual diversity became a part of the highly regulated discourse on gender in the post-independence era for Central Asian states. Peshkova (2021, 371) rightfully emphasizes that it is interesting to see how, "while criticizing and disavowing Russian colonial and Soviet past, the current gender order replicates and maps onto the Russian colonial and Soviet legacy of defining pre-colonial and early colonial same-sex desires and practices and gender variation as deviant. However, despite the existence of prevalent opinions that adhere to gender binary expression of femininity and masculinity based on narratives about the national revival, the current gender order is continuously being contested by local individuals and communities in post-independence Kazakhstan and most of the confrontations between the two sides occur online due to the popularity of social networks.

### **2.3. Gender Order and Hegemonic Nationalism in Kazakhstan**

In Kazakhstan, the existing gender order is best understood with the concept of hegemonic nationalism. The concept of hegemonic nationalism originates from Gramsci's political thought that is characterized by the combination of force and consent that convinces the oppressed members of the society that the dominant class acts in accordance to their best interest, thereby social authority is established not by the use of force but through consent and social institutions (Paechter 2018, 123). Hegemonic ideologies, therefore, preserve and legitimize the dominance of the powerful groups where the claims of other groups get

marginalized and subordinated (Paechter 2018, 123). Consequently, a state becomes an ideological leader which dictates the correct norms of behavior based on gender (Arystanbek 2020, 15). State Hegemony can be further divided into masculine and feminine, where hegemonic masculinity is defined as a set of gender practices that legitimate patriarchy that “guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (Schippers 2007, 87). Hegemonic femininity prefers the established gender order and male domination and encompasses the characteristics that are usually attributed to women that “establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (Schippers 2007, 94). As a result, hegemonic femininity and masculinity get examined in the context of nationalism where men and women experience different treatment in the nation-building process (Arystanbek 2020, 19).

Consequently, the official state narrative attributes women’s participation in national processes by essentializing their image as obedient and modest women and future child-bearers. As an example, in the new political development strategy, known as “Kazakhstan-2050”, one of the aspects of social policy addresses the protection of the rights of women and children. In the section, titled “Protection of motherhood. Appeal to all the women”, Nursultan Nazarbayev’s words that read as “Just as it is important to me personally so it is also important for Kazakhstan” open the discussion on the topic of gender and family institution in Kazakhstan (Akorda.kz). The article points out the role of women as “a pillar of family, and therefore- a pillar of the State” (Akorda.kz). The article proceeds by saying that it is important that a great amount of attention is devoted towards the upbringing of our daughters as they are “our future wives, mothers, our heart and home keepers” and will remain the priority (Akorda.kz). Consequently, in the post-Soviet Central Asia, nationalist

projects equate womanhood with motherhood where the image of a woman as a mother figure prevails over other - nonetheless existing - identities and representations, such as women-soldiers or businesswomen, and maternity is recognized as an unavoidable social role that only women can inhabit (Cleuziou and Dierenberger 2016, 197). According to Udod (2018), attitudes towards women and gender equality in Kazakhstan reflect the Soviet way of “addressing “the women’s issue” – namely, the state’s and society’s essentialized perception of gender roles, particularly, in the private sphere of family responsibilities, reproduction, and sexuality” (36).

According to Kudaibergenova (2019), in Kazakhstan, authoritarian elites hold on power depends on the protection of ‘national culture’ by invoking heterosexual norms where nationalist discourse and traditional views on gender and female bodies are emphasized (336). As a nationalizing regime, elites in Kazakhstan desire to take control over powerful and meaningful discourses that define social order, and often it means taking control of the female bodies that come to symbolize national unity in the state (Kudaibergenova 2019, 336). Even the textbook material found in the compulsory subjects for schools in Kazakhstan aid the state in disseminating the narratives about gender even further. As an example of state-endorsed hegemonic femininity that operates on a broader system-level, the education system in Kazakhstan in particular, Durrani et.al (2022, 1) study how secondary school textbooks aid in establishing gender power relations along with constructing dominant masculinities in relation to inferior femininities that reinforces the existing gender hierarchies and naturalizes national belonging. Durrani et.al (2022) analyze the school textbook in five compulsory subjects-three languages (English, Russian and Kazakh), history, and algebra-and, thereby, explore the nation-building process through education in the country. The researchers have found that there is gender enactment in the school curriculum materials that “establish

gendered power relations in different ways, including how frequently male and female characters appear in the textbooks, the relative importance given to male and female characters, gender bias in language, and the stereotypical representation of the gender binary” (Durrani et.al 2022, 7). When examining the strategy in which female or male character names appear and in which order, it was found that male character is mentioned first across all six textbooks that were examined which reinforces the dominant position of men in the gender hierarchy and transmits the message of “the inherent superiority of men” to the children (Durrani et.al 2022, 7). Gender hierarchy is further promoted by presenting multiple femininities to girls at school. According to Durrani et.al (2022), such femininities that are emphasized for girls include care work and domestic sphere, “the reproduction of national identity and tradition, vulnerability and finally beauty” (10). Traditionalist discourses on heterosexual norms then become instrumental in the desire of the elites “to keep order enshrined in the discursive understanding of power, nation and gender” (Kudaibergenova 2019, 367).

### **2.3.1. Islamic identity, Femininity and Double Standards**

Following independence, the state has extensively used the Islamic identity as the national reinvention tool in the struggle against Soviet heritage in Kazakhstan. Aydingün (2007) argues that due to the secular nature of state ideology, Islam in Kazakhstan is perceived as “a cultural phenomenon rather than a religious one” and is closely interconnected with national ideology (81). Thereby, Islamic revival in Kazakhstan represents a nationalist reaction where religion serves as one of the basic elements of the cultural material with the intention to “fill the content of the boundary of national identity” that is associated with loyalty to traditions and culture among population (Aydingün 2007, 69). Ex-president Nazarbayev describes Islam as part of the Kazakh culture, traditions, and

customs, and supports cultural revival of spiritual traditions and the reestablishment of ancestral heritage in the country (Aydingün 2007, 75). Similarly, Gunn (2003) describes Islam as an integral part of Kazakh identity and compares it to “how they conceive of their ethnicity, family and mother tongue” (391). Thibault (2021), for example, argues that the practice of polygyny, which has been de-criminalized in 1998 in Kazakhstan, can be regarded not only as a means of strengthening cultural and religious traditions, but also as a way for many women to escape the traditional obligations of marriage. As a result, the Muslim identity performs more of a cultural function that allows the population to separate themselves from the others by identifying with being a Muslim while not being tied up to Islam at the same time.

Consequently, women in Kazakhstan find themselves subjected to the standards of hegemonic femininity that stem from the national identification process based on Muslim identity with specific regional variations. According to Zhussipbek et. al (2020), the pattern of Islamic revival in Central Asia leads to a rise of “conservative Sunni traditionalism, which tended to pose a relativist challenge to human rights and impede the development of an inclusive society” (3). Conservative Islamic discourse is characterized as patriarchal and based on three main pillars: traditional masculinity, gender oppositionality, and patriarchal honor (Zhussipbek et. al 2020, 11). Thereby, there is a strong resistance towards the main idea of women’s right that “a woman is a subject on her own and an active agent possessing equal rights (Zhussipbek et. al 2020, 11). Karimov (2018) characterizes Islam in the region as a paradigm based on “a hybrid ideology of a secular type built on an agglomerate of the state national policies, local ethnic traditions, and certain elements of the classical Islamic Hanafi School disguised as the only historically predetermined local authentic form of the Sunni Islam” (301). Gunn (2003), similarly, emphasizes the influence of Sunni Muslim’s Hanafi

School on the less radical religious practices in Central Asia. According to Gunn (2013), the Hanafi school considers belief in Islam as more important compared to adhering to practices; it is also relatively tolerant in terms of punishment and divorce, and appears to be “less discriminatory towards women” (396). Arystanbek (2020) associates such regional Islam peculiarities with the lack of contradiction between the importance of Islamic identity and rising level of women empowerment in the country, including growing influence of women presence in the workforce (36).

However, there are instances when such distinctive Islamic practices limit the extent of female empowerment and help to antagonize Western feminist movement. It is usually expressed in the form of “selective religiosity”, as Darakchi (2019) calls it, and is based on religious arguments with the intent to justify certain beliefs (1222). It is further reinforced by the concept of the “sins ranking”, a belief that there are some actions that are “more sinful” and more “significant than others” (Darakchi 2019, 1222). Such rhetoric is usually used in relation to gender and sexual minority groups based on the predominant belief that reconfiguration of the traditional gender roles is “the most dangerous sin” that threatens the natural order and leads to “destruction of manhood” (Darakchi 2019, 1222). As a result, sexism, misogyny and homophobia become justifiable from a moral standpoint where betrayal of the national culture is considered to be more sinful compared to sexism, misogyny and homophobia (Arystanbek 2020, 37). This concept will further be explored in the following chapter that looks at the online discourses about domestic violence and LGBTQ groups where the comments are usually focused on victim-blaming of women who threaten the existing gender order. As a result, women end up being trapped within the limits of religious and gender selectivity contributing to the burden of double standards that women in Kazakhstan have to live under.

Consequently, contemporary standards of hegemonic femininity are formed based on the intersection of traditional practices from colonial past and cultural influence based on the Muslim identity where ideas about morally correct and incorrect behavior for women get cultivated. This context provides an opportunity to understand what kind of online culture is being discussed, antagonized, and protected by people on social media. As a result, contemporary discourses on what it means to be the Kazakh woman are based on historical, political, and religious contexts – the combination of these further reinforces nationalistic views on the position of women in Kazakhstani society (Arystanbek 2020, 38).

### **2.3.2. Current State of Gender Equality in Kazakhstan**

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, men and women are considered to be equal in the country. Traditional practices such as kalym and bride-kidnapping are prohibited and punishable by law. To show the statistics of the state of gender equality in Kazakhstan, as of 2022, the gender pay gap is estimated to be between 25 to 27 percent (Satubaldina 2022). Overall, Kazakhstan has scored 0.710 on Global Gender Gap Index (0.00=imparity; 1.00=parity), ranking it 80 out of 156 countries in 2021. In terms of economic participation and opportunity, the country is given a score of 0.728 placing it 47<sup>th</sup>. For educational attainment, the country scored 0.995 placing it 65<sup>th</sup>; for health and survival, Kazakhstan received the score of 0.975, and for political empowerment it has been ranked 106<sup>th</sup> with a score 0.141 (Global Gender Gap Report 2021). According to the data from the National Statistical Bureau, in 2020, women occupied only 12.5 percent of political civil

service positions, 26.5 percent of seats in Parliament, and 22 percent of executive banking positions (Satubaldina 2022). As of 2020 World Bank report, the proportion of seats held by women in the national parliament in Kazakhstan accounts for 27%. From 2021, the percentage of women represented in the parliament in Kazakhstan has been represented via 30% gender quota that they share with youth. In comparison, proportion of seats held by solely women in National Parliaments in the USA, for example, is 27.46% as of 2020, the UK has 33.85% of women, and Uzbekistan has 32% (World Bank 2020). At the same time, out of 20 seats in the new cabinet of ministers, there is only 1 female minister in Kazakhstan who is also a Minister of Health Azhar Giniyat, and no female akims (heads of local administration) as of 2022.

However, despite the measures taken by the government to ensure the rights of women in the country, there have been multiple reports that showcase the difference in the position of women on official documents and everyday reality. The main source of contestation comes from the law “On Combating Domestic Violence” that has resulted in heated debates and divide in society. According to experts, the document is incomplete and terminology is unclear, in particular the definitions of what to be considered as ‘violence’, so that it provides enough space for misinterpretation and the chances for the punishment to be alleviated for the perpetrator (Asautay 2021). In 2019, Dinara Smailova, a founder of the civil movement NeMolchi (Translation: Don’t stay silent), addressed the same concern to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights where she stated that the rights of the victims and survivors of violence against women in the country are usually violated by the state regulations that allow the perpetrators to escape any form of criminal punishment by reconciliation where the victim is usually pressured to do so (4). According to UNDP, in 2018, approximately 60 percent of all registered referrals to crisis centers were

connected to violence against women. Similarly, Union of Crisis Centers reports that about 400 women experience domestic violence yearly (Tabaeva et.al 2021, 14). Such systemic violence further discourages the positive changes in the country to occur in regards to gender-based violence. On the other hand, there are a few people that oppose the new project that deals with combating gender-based violence and justify their opinion by stating that it contradicts the traditions and national values along with criticizing the law as “документ, который подрывает семейные ценности и стирает казахскую идентичность” (Asautay 2021). (Translation: “a document that undermines family values and erases Kazakh identity”) The people who oppose the law are mainly preoccupied with the article on gender equality (*Статья о Гендерном Равенстве*) that they perceive as the first step towards the legalization of same-sex marriage in the country.

Overall, there are some disparities in what gender order in Kazakhstan posits itself to look like on the official documents and the de facto situation on the ground. While there are local activists who are trying to uncover the loopholes and the lack of action and support from the government, there are also some individuals and communities that target any deviant narratives in relation to gender. Despite the growing number of civil initiatives and organizations that openly oppose the gender binary system that normalizes violence against women, the state and its citizens continue to practice myopic discussions that favor the existing gender order as complementary to the discourse on hegemonic femininity (Arystanbek 2020). In the following empirical chapter, I intend to demonstrate the harsh treatment that victims of gender-based violence along with the representatives of the sexual minority communities deal with in the discussions that take place on social networks. But before that, the act of re-traditionalization requires the collective targeting and shaming of

the deviant discourses either online or offline which brings us to the discussion on digital media and gender order.

#### **2.4. Digital Media and Gender Order**

Digital media has proven itself to be a powerful tool that contributes to the reproduction of nationalism on day to day basis. According to Mihelj and Jiménez-Martínez (2019), thanks to three mechanisms embedded in the digital environment - the architecture of top-level internet domains, the bias of algorithms and the formation of national digital ecosystems – such environment contributed to the reproduction of nationalism “or, more precisely, for the promotion and spreading of more visible and exclusive forms of nationalism” (332). According to Are (2020), offline vulnerabilities of women have even further transcended into their online lives thanks to the popularity of digital media and social media platforms in particular. Are (2020) makes emphasis on the internal structure and algorithms of social media platforms, such as Instagram, that besides allowing harassment, tend to censor women’s bodies, nudity, sex, and sexuality related content that in turn replicates the male gaze online (741). Similarly, Tiidenberg (2015) explores how Instagram stories and posts of Russian-speaking pregnant women aid in celebrating “heterosexual traditional family, their own appearances, and romantic relationships between opposite-sex partner” (1746). Tiidenberg (2015) writes, “by employing visual (and) narrative practices that assert the status of their femininity, they [pregnant women] can transform pregnancy into something unproblematic”, a sentiment that receives a strong political push where reproduction of heteronormativity is emphasized in Russia (1754). By posting photos celebrating their pregnant bodies and using the hashtags that thanks to Instagram algorithm would attract attention from the users interested in this particular content, those women were engaged in

the performance of hegemonic femininity at the service of heteronormative ideology (Tiidenberg 2015, 1754).

Some digital spaces, despite being created by people, tend to be necessarily couched in political, economic, and cultural powers, thereby compelling users to adhere to heteronormative expectations (Cirucci 2017, 4). As an example, in Azerbaijan, where its sociocultural structure creates an environment where one's honor should be maintained, the deviation from behavioral norms becomes increasingly difficult thanks to the visibility and increased surveillance opportunities provided by social media (Pearce and Vitak 2016, 2596). As a result, the researchers have found that young female Azerbaijani social media users out of the concern for demonstrating chastity and fear of being punished engage in significant self-monitoring and self-censorship behavior (Pearce and Vitak 2016, 2604). In Kazakhstan, the *uyat* (shame) discourse is considered to be the most powerful tool of norm-setting online (Kudaibergenova 2019, 375). According to Thibault and Caron (2022), these norms are based on an adherence to heteronormative conservative gender order, kinship solidarity as well as hierarchical family relations with tremendous respect towards elders and recognition of their position in power in the family. In regards to gender, the shame discourse is usually used to regulate female behavior by emphasizing the dominant position of men, thereby, reinforcing conservative values and promoting hegemonic masculinity and femininity models (Thibault and Caron 2022). The uniqueness of the discourse comes from the fact that it is usually employed by non-state actors, also known as *uyat-man* (shaming man) who specifically target Kazakh women who do not adhere to the cultural and social norms on their social media, thereby representing traditionalization as a "bottom-up process in which elites do not necessarily dictate the course of events, let alone the outcomes" (Beyer and Finke 2019, 310).

Mihelj and Jiménez-Martínez (2019) also acknowledge that digital media does not exclusively foster a selected and hegemonic form of nationalism but in some cases, digital media actually helps to undermine socially dominant discourses or is actively used to promote alternative and sometimes competing forms of national imagination (337). Kudaibergenova (2019) specifically points out such contradictions in social media in Kazakhstan as a tool that simultaneously helps to shape norms and perception of women's bodies by framing them under the 'uyat' (shame) discourse and at the same time allows women to focus on "bodily liberation and open sexualization" (375). Further, Thibault (2022) explores the growing phenomenon of online male sex-work in Kazakhstan and how it is shifting the existing gender norms that are based on the Soviet project of female emancipation that "favored monogamy and a conservative approach to sexuality" (25). Thibault (2022) argues that the popularity of online male sex-work is best explained by the combination of conservative views surrounding female sexuality and women's desire for sexual emancipation. Duffy and Hund (2015) explore how social media female entrepreneurs negotiate codes of heteronormative femininity with discourses and practices of masculine entrepreneurialism (8). Bloggers from the study were able to transform their careers and utilize social media to demonstrate the post-feminist ideal of "having it all" that focuses on women "just like us" (Duffy and Hund 2015, 8).

In Russia, women increasingly utilize online social networking in order to make themselves more visible, in particular by using femininity (feminitives)- special suffixes in Russian language that are usually added to the words that are typically masculine making them feminine instead (e.g. doctor (doctor) usually means a male doctor and by adding suffix -ka, it becomes doktorka meaning a female doctor)- in their posts as a way to fight against the invisibility of professional women in public discourses (Andreevskikh and Muravyeva 2020).

Similarly, another researcher from Russia, Elena Arbatskaya (2019), explores hashtag feminism, specifically the hashtag #ЭТОНЕПОВОДУБИТЬ (#notareason tokill) in the Russian digital spaces as an example of the participants' attempts to delegitimize old traditional behavior and to legitimize "new rules of the game in direct confrontation with bearers of patriarchal culture" (254). Clark (2016) explores a case study of #WhyIStayed, a hashtag that gained popularity on Twitter in response to a 2014 NFL domestic violence controversy, and further argues that the hashtag's narrative logic allows the survivors to take ownership over their own stories that challenged the dominant discourse on victim-blaming and domestic and sexual violence (798). While we are on the topic of sexual and domestic violence, in the article "Tell Me Sister:" Social Media, a Tool for Women Activists in Tajikistan, Dall'Agnola's (2022, 25) findings suggest that women in Tajikistan who frequently consume information from social media networks tend to be better informed on the subject of sexual violence and harassment in the community that in turn reinforces the already established argument that even in the authoritarian setting, social media platforms represent an important tool in feminist struggles that increases awareness and provides educational content for women about inequalities and injustices in their respective communities. However, it should not be disregarded that the audience that those messages are more likely to reach is usually women with education and from middle-class, or as Dall'Agnola's (2022) writes, "feminist awareness-raising activities on Instagram sway only a very marginal part of Tajikistan's society; the urban, university-educated, Russian-speaking middle class of female Tajiks" (22).

## **2.5. Social media and Queer Culture in Kazakhstan**

On the post-Soviet space, the efforts to suppress and stigmatize homosexuality and gender variance as a phenomena alien to national thinking have resulted in the increased attention to the discussions of LGBTQ issues (Wilkinson 2019). While a larger part of those discussions is intended to justify restrictions and maintain the stigmatization of same-sex attraction and gender variance, the community has been able to benefit from such heightened public attention and awareness that provided them with opportunities to speak publicly about the challenges faced by LGBTQ people and challenge the public and political homophobia (Wilkinson 2019, 2). Buelow (2012), for example, has identified the Internet as one of the most vibrant outlets of sexual politics in Kazakhstan in terms of LGBTQ activism and presence. According to the researcher, Kazakhstan's ambiguous position as simultaneously a Eurasian state, a European state, or an Asian state allows Kazakhstan's LGBT cultural producers to utilize many directions beyond the dominant Westernized models of activism, one of which includes publishing posts in either Kazakh, Russian or English languages (Buelow 2012, 100).

However, the growing online visibility of queer culture in Kazakhstan has been gaining some negative attention from the public. As an example, Dall'Agnola (2020) finds that the growing visibility of sexuality and queer-themed content on social media generates negative attitude among Kazakhstan's heterosexual population, especially in their 30+ and mid-40s, who regard non-heterosexual practices on social media as the main transmitter of Western LGBTQ propaganda that harm "the existing cultures, values and traditions of Kazakhstan" (112-13). Moreover, despite of a study by Lavitanus (2022) that suggests that the ability to regulate one's visibility represents one of the most crucial expressions of queer agency and resistance in Kazakhstan, in such actions like anonymous commenting and online dating where digital identities can be curated so that not to harm a person in real life, greater recognition and visibility can also be leveraged to "encourage exclusion and strengthen

opposition to acceptance of LGBT people” (Wilkinson 2019, 10). As an example, there was an instance when a parliament member and entrepreneur Kairat Kudaibergen stated a boycott campaign against Qantar, an illustrator from Aktobe, a city in the west of Kazakhstan, who posted on Instagram a drawing of the same-sex couple kissing while wearing traditional Kazakh attire (Sorbello 2021). The artist commented by saying that “it was just a sketch, not fully developed art” indicating how almost any pretext could be used to attack LGBTQ community (Sorbello 2021). Similarly, Shoshanova (2021) discusses how contemporary art in Kazakhstan exists within two opposing ideological and political narratives. On the one hand, same-sex relationships are framed as foreign and related to West/Europe. On the other hand, ideas of progress and modernity are utilized to “extend the power of Western/European nations over the rest of the world by declaring ‘tolerance’ and liberal democracy as universal goals” (Shoshanova 2021, 127). One of the case studies where an artist depicted the kiss between Kurmangazy, a very respected Kazakh poet, and Pushkin, a Russian poet, and posted it on Facebook, thereby, stirring a public scandal on social media, indicates “the relentless coherence with which the politicization of the idea of the ‘national’ transpires and that even imaginary scenarios of queering the Kazakh past could lead to real legal consequences and the loss of one’s citizenship” as was the case with the artist of the poster (Shoshanova 2021, 118).

As this chapter has demonstrated, I base my research on a number of relevant and interconnected fields of study in order to explore the relationship between gendered nationalism and gender-issue debates that took place online among the people. In Kazakhstan, while it is evident that gendered nationalism is actively promoted by the state either in the form of the school curriculum textbooks where the existing gender order is

extensively utilized in the content of the school material or in the new development strategies and policy actions where the image of motherhood is equated with the image of womanhood - the sentiment that is largely supported by users on the Internet as will be demonstrated later - social media platforms represent another domain where these narratives on hegemonic femininity can be either successfully replicated or contested by the general public in particular. By bringing back the focus to the ordinary people and their role in the way their behavior online reinforces the concepts of hegemonic masculinity and femininity, I draw attention to the literature gap that fails to address the bottom-up approach to the construction of the gender-related discourse in Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

### **3. Methodology**

Discourse analysis focuses on the exploration of the interplay between discourse, text, and context in the situation network (Gee 1999, 85; Bondarouk and Ruël 2004, 5). Texts-that may come in a variety of forms-are considered to be depositories of discourses that carry complex social meanings produced by an individual in a specific historical situation and social surrounding (Bondarouk and Ruël 2004, 5). There are multiple approaches to discourse analysis but this thesis is focused on carrying out critical discourse analysis that provides an opportunity to investigate and analyze power relations in society (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002, 76). This approach is defined as ‘critical’ because it is used to uncover the role of discursive practices in the maintenance of the social order, in particular those social relations that are based on the unequal distribution of power (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002, 63). According to Jorgensen and Phillips (2002), critical discourse analysis is useful for investigating “the linguistic-discursive dimension of social and cultural phenomena and processes of change in late modernity” (61). This approach involves concrete linguistic textual analysis of language that is used in social interactions (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002,

62). Arystanbek (2022, 5), thereby, wrote, “Language is a powerful tool of oppression that carries distinctive power to uniform, censor, and stigmatize”. Indeed, linguistic oppression represents a powerful tool in a dominant group’s arsenal when it comes down to non-violent expression of power and superiority.

This thesis uses a qualitative approach and is based on critical discourse analysis technique that is intended to uncover how language used in casual interactions on various online platforms reinforces the standards of hegemonic femininity and places modern Kazakh women within the confined spaces where they are either stigmatized as survivors of gender-based violence or encouraged to denounce feminism as a perpetrator of morally corrupting behavior that threaten the existing gender roles. Teun A. van Dijk (2015, 466) defines such approach as “discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.” That is, critical discourse analysis offers an opportunity to research cultural hegemony perpetuated by dominant groups who desire to stay in power not by the use of force but through mundane actions, and language in particular. Consequently, critical discourse analysis is able to provide a bigger picture of how nationalist rhetoric is manifested through daily activities and is able to shape everyday socialization. However, it is typically considered that manipulation within the discourse is a function specifically controlled by “dominant political, bureaucratic, media, academic or corporate elites” that reinforce “a discursive form of elite power reproduction” and use the power of language to “(re)produces social inequality.” (Van Dijk 2006, 364). In other words, discourse analysis is normally utilized when analyzing how members of a dominant collectivity, i.e. people in power, adopt language in order to maintain their power and status in the society. Nationalism, however, is not limited to the way the elites convey national ideals, it is also manifested in the daily

interactions between ordinary citizens, and social networks as a public space where unfiltered interactions can take place offer this opportunity to study bottom-up approach to nationalism. For this reason, I limit my analysis to online public discourse analysis, i.e. the discourse reproduced by the public in the online spaces, as the main method for this study due to the lack of studies that investigate how language and social interactions that take place between general public in digital settings perpetuate nationalist sexist rhetoric in Kazakhstan. This analysis is designed to contribute to the study of the bottom-up approach to nation-building in a post-Soviet country that intends to investigate nationalism by shifting agency back to the people using language as a medium. As an example, the notable studies on the bottom-up approach to nation-building in Kazakhstan include: Davenel and Yim's (2016) research on nation-building processes in Kazakhstan where the researchers demonstrate that the process is not only a top-down process but also includes reproduction of discourses and practices of nation-building by two-minority groups, Korean and Tatar, for their own communities that excludes them from the position of the passive receivers of the discourse promoted by the Kazakhstani State (62). Further, Dall'Agnola's (2021) explores how increased exposure to globalization may have influenced the wider Kazakhstani public's perception of their national identity since 1991. In relation to gendered effects of globalization, the researcher finds that while young female Kazakhs "seem to embrace this global celebration of female empowerment and non-heterosexual gender norms", young Kazakh men perceive the "portrayal of independent and self-confident women and queer culture online" as a "threat against which the uniqueness of their Kazakh culture and mentality must be protected" (Dall'Agnola's 2021, 185). Kudaibergenova's (2019) research on the popularity of the re-traditionalization discourses pertaining women's bodies in the Kazakhstani digital settings represents another example of the increasing relevance of the bottom-up approach to nation-building in the country. Similarly, Sharipova (2020) investigates national identity and nation-

building process in Kazakhstan by utilizing bottom-up identity-related trends emphasizing the prominence of ethnic and religious identities among population.

Social media represents a form of social networking that provides an unprecedented level of connectivity among people as well as the space where different segments of public are able to present their opinion while being exposed to a multitude of other views at the same time. In the thesis, I chose to focus primarily on Instagram as it is one of the major platforms that represents the most popular social networks in Kazakhstan as of 2021 (Informburo.kz). As of January 2022, Instagram represents the most popular social media platform in the country with approximately 11,75 million Kazakhstanis (82.7 percent of the population aged 13 and above) registered on the platform (Dall’Agnola and Wood 2022). The easiest way to engage in conversations on these platforms is by commenting under the posts of interest, thereby, the comment section under public posts of the users with a sufficient number of followers is the primary focus of this discourse analysis. Social networks, such as Facebook and Instagram, not only facilitate interaction and exchange of opinions between different users, but also add to the authenticity of the experience by shielding its users’ private information, such as sex, ethnicity and class, that otherwise might have served as a barrier to their participation in the conversations. On top of that, such level of anonymity and protection on social media networks allow people to present their bold and sometimes controversial opinions to the public scrutiny that would not be possible to trace by utilizing more intimate research settings such as observations and/or interviews. Such barrier that social networks provide between the users allows them to “dehumanize” each other resulting in a more confident form of self-expression (Arystanbek 2020, 8). Therefore, Instagram offers a unique opportunity for the researchers to study controversial and uncensored opinions from every strata of the population with access to the Internet.

I base my choice of methodology on feminist studies that emphasize the role of social media in the normalization of gender-based violence and promote the idea of hegemonic femininity as a whole. In particular, Andreevskikh and Muravyeva (2020) describe the Internet as a “patriarchal digital space” and stress the role of the Internet and online spaces as predominantly male activity dominated by male opinions and where male users usually prescribe the patriarchal standards of behavior onto women in the online discussions that usually concern only female users and their gendered experience (206). Therefore, in the communities fueled by state-sponsored ideology of ‘traditional values’, it is not surprising to find anti-feminist and masculinist movements in online, digital spaces (Andreevskikh and Muravyeva 2020, 207). In digital settings, male users usually create their own communities, reaffirm their gender identities, and/or engage in the public display of their stance on the issues regarding gender and gender norms by policing women/female users and/or those who do not comply with the traditional values propagated by the state rhetoric. Consequently, social networks could act as double-edged sword; on the one hand, it provides a space for men and women to contest standards of hegemonic masculinity and femininity, on the other hand, online spaces also cultivate an environment where traditional gender roles are emphasized and confront any resistance to the order.

I also base my methodology on Kudaibergenova’s (2019) research about the ‘Kelin’ (daughter-in-law) application for mobile phones where the researcher conducts her virtual online fieldwork and analyzes the internet-based mobile applications along with popular social media in creating the new “appropriate behavior” of daughters-in-law within Kazakh culture (380). On top of that, Kudaibergenova (2019) also looks at how bodies exposed on Instagram become a place of contestation for varying discourses and controlling practices by

external agents (365-66). In her online ethnography, the researcher demonstrates how re-traditionalization discourses push for the marginalized roles of kelins and essentialize the women's bodies as commodities while attributing them to the impossibly high standards of a good daughter-in-law, a wife and a mother, thereby making them vulnerable to the standards of hegemonic femininity (Kudaibergenova 2019). Kudaibergenova's (2019) work demonstrates how the re-traditionalization of the Kazakh identity and reinvention of certain traditions in favor of the new neo-patrimonial and patriarchal post-Soviet system in Kazakhstan serve as a part of gender politics where female bodies become focus of the controlling mechanisms that is further socialized and validated in digital settings.

Another study that heavily informs my methodology is Aizada Arystanbek's (2022) research about hegemonic femininity in Kazakhstan's online discourses. The author demonstrates how the gendered aspect of modern Kazakh nationalism is reinforced in the online public discourse where Kazakh women are forced to "perform according to the standards of hegemonic femininity and to represent the nation's honor even when they fall victim to sexual violence at the hands of their countrymen", thereby contributing to the normalization of gender-based violence in the country (2). Arystanbek's work is focused on the online discussions regarding the subject of rape by a stranger and the cases of domestic violence committed by a husband. The results demonstrate how women's bodily autonomy becomes contested both in online and state discourses that contributes to the perpetuation of standards of hegemonic masculinity and femininity in the country (Arystanbek 2022). In my thesis, I take one step further and analyze how public discourse that is encountered in digital settings also acts as the space where collective re-imagination of the nation imposes heteronormativity on women's bodies that is controlled through discourses of 'appropriate behavior', thereby upholding the standards of hegemonic femininity once again.

In order to ensure ethical considerations behind access to data on Instagram and to protect the rights of its users, I rely on Facebook's Data Policy and Terms of Use. According to the information provided on the website of the company that owns Instagram, "public information can be seen by anyone ... including if they don't have an account. This includes ... Instagram username; any information shared with a public audience; information in a public profile; and content shared on a Facebook Page, public Instagram account, or any other public forum, such as Facebook Marketplace. You, other people using Facebook and Instagram, and we can provide access to or send public information to anyone on or off our Products, [...] Public information can also be seen, accessed, reshared, or downloaded through third-party services [...]." In regards to the comment section, the policy on privacy states that "anyone who can see a certain post will also be able to see any reactions or comments people have made on it, including if you've reacted or commented." It is important to mention that I utilize the comments posted by online users on public posts without making any assumptions about their personality, except for their gender, since it is the only marker that I rely on when analyzing the extent of their participation in a discourse regarding gender. The comments will be stored in screenshots and available upon request for anyone interested in the research. In order to avoid public shaming, I will not be naming all commenters mentioned in the study, except for the names of the online users whose posts are analyzed since their pages are publicly archived and they are actively engaged in voicing their opinions. While I realize the importance of anonymity in digital ethnography in order to minimize the risks for the participants as an ethically correct choice, Bruckman et.al (2016) deem such traditional research practice as colonial where the research subjects are unable to respond to the researcher's representation of them due to anonymity and argue that it is better to keep real names and pseudonyms used in online spaces of certain public figures so that not to take away credit from their work and the dialogue that public online users generate on their

social media platforms. Therefore, I make sure that I credit the work of the public online posters while also making sure that any additional information apart from the publicly available one does not get reported in my study.

On Instagram, I searched for posts that attracted significant public attention and generated significant discourse among commenters, resulting in at least 100 comments under a post in the last three years. My analysis is focused on six case studies of the most discussed incidents in the last three years on Instagram made by either personal accounts or independent groups as well as the posts displayed on Kazakhstani news outlets' Instagram accounts. When choosing personal accounts, I have paid attention to the number of followers that the individual has and the posts were chosen if the author has had at least a following of 2000 people at the time and expressed a general view either supporting gender-based violence or violence against minority groups or expressing their disagreement on the subject matters. Similarly, news outlets and independent media groups were selected due to having wide public outreach while representing a more neutral position that generates a discussion in the comments sections. At the same time, posts by local activists and communities demonstrate a clear political stance of the author(s) of the posts, thereby generating responses both confirming and contesting hegemonic standards of femininity.

Overall, there are six case studies that I will be analyzing: three of them on the case of gender-based violence and the other free on the topic of violence towards minority groups. The first one is the Instagram post made by a local activist Fariza Ospan, @ospanfariza (6507 followers), in 2019. In her post, the author condemns the local TV channel, HitTV, which has produced a mini-series where in one of the episodes a university teacher arrives at the lecture hall with a bruised eye, and when asked by the students what happened to her she responds

by saying that she deserved some beating from her husband. The students respond by saying that she is a golden wife, an expression in Kazakh language used in relation to a woman who conforms to the standards of a 'good' Kazakh woman, for admitting her wrongdoings and so on. As of April 2022, the post has 527 comments. The second case of gender-based violence that generated polemic among the internet users is the murder case of a 19-year-old Ayazhan Edilova that happened in Almaty in March 2021. However, the context behind her decision to follow the man remains unclear and is greatly disputed, the most recent one being her working for a local tailor and being sent there to take the measurements of a man who murdered her in his apartment as was reported by her attorney (Sputnik.kz 2021). As will be demonstrated in the following discussion chapter, the case represents a poignant example of victim-blaming in which it is the victim that is blamed for her actions even after death. On Instagram, the greatest number of views and comments was left under an Informburo31 (835K followers), a state-owned news account, that covers the case in detail. The third case is the most recent case of harassment that happened to a local film producer @aknietiyar (3841 followers) who posts about the incident in details on her Instagram account on March 25<sup>th</sup> 2022. According to the user, she became the victim of harassment from her uncle who tried to force himself on her. When she told her relatives about the incident, they encouraged her to forget about it since her uncle is an influential man. The post has generated 1148 comments as of April 2022.

As for the three posts on the topic of violence against LGBTQ members, the first case involves the infamous assault and consequent arrest of activists from Feminita (9761 followers), an initiative that supports the rights of women and LGBTQ members, leaders, Zhanar Sekerbayeva and Gulzada Serzhan, in Shymkent during their Kazakhstani tour in 2021. Upon their arrival to Shymkent, where they were supposed to have a mini-conference

on the topic of activism in support of women and sexual minority groups, the activists were harassed and physically assaulted by a group of men who waited for them at the location where the conference was supposed to be held. After the police got involved, instead of detaining the aggressors, both women were detained by the officers and taken to the police station. The post about their detention in Shymkent on their official Instagram account has generated 1310 comments. The second case to be analyzed is the notorious case where a popular male blogger in Kazakhstan with a following of 1,5 million people publicly burns the LGBTQ flag along with the rainbow-colored “pop-it” toys. The video that was posted on his Instagram account, @merai\_zholshi, has collected almost 19 thousand comments and represents a staged performance. In the video, while throwing the toys and the flag into a bonfire and replacing it with the flag of Kazakhstan, Merai says that actions such as men loving men and women loving women go against religion. While getting rid of the LGBTQ flag, the blogger says, “The strength of Kazakh people is in its nobility. Only the Kazakh flag should be here”. In addition to the flag, the blogger is also setting on fire "pop-it" button toys, which are supposed to be considered as propaganda of the LGBTQ community due to it being the same color as their flag. Lastly, the most recent case of open dissatisfaction with the members of LGBTQ members in the online spaces is the case of the North Kazakhstan State University, named after M. Kozybaev, being transferred to the management of Arizona State University. According to Anar Kairbekova, a woman who for three years headed the Department of Administrative Work and Public Procurement of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan until 2019, Arizona State University is considered to be “the hub of LGBTQ propaganda where tolerance is valued instead of the quality education. The students are taught to be accepting of gay people, and homosexual couples are given accommodation among other benefits. As a result, about 20% of students are identified as a part of the sexual minority groups. Do you want the same thing to happen in

Kazakhstan? Thanks, but no”, - says Kairbekova. On the official account of the Kazakhstani parent’s union, @kazsouzrod (76,500 followers), who are the first ones to bring attention to the transfer, the post has gathered 635 comments. Since all the posts and comments are written either in Russian or Kazakh, I provide English translation and make slight alterations to the comments for the sake of clarity. The comments will be provided in the form of the screenshots in an Appendix section. In order to ensure legitimacy of my examples, I also include some of the posts and comments that might carry a distinct linguistic style in their original language with the author’s grammar, spelling and punctuation.

During my analysis, I am analyzing the contents of the posts and comments and classify them into type of messages reflected in the public discourse regarding hegemonic femininity. My preliminary analysis, indicates that comments usually fall into a few categories: (1) appeal to the image of mothers, wife and daughters as vulnerable subjects that need protection; (2) appeal to the authentic national culture that normalizes gender-based violence; (3) appeal to the religious identity; (4) general distaste of the West and their perverted influence on the society. As my theory attributes Kazakhstan to be overly dependent on the hegemonic construction of gender order by enacting standards of hegemonic femininity, I expect to find a strong appeal towards the promotion of an authentic Kazakh culture and traditions in the public discourse echoing the state narratives on gender that will only support the marginal position of women and sexual minorities in Kazakhstan.

That being discussed, I have to acknowledge that my way of conducting research using social networks and online posts and comments have some obvious and latent limitations. The obvious limitation is that I can only analyze a certain number of online users and posters and the popular ones at that, thus limiting my analysis of the multitude of other nonetheless significant opinions on the topic on the web. Moreover, there is also a high

possibility that the analysis will be missing some data due to the lack of participation of the people from rural areas or strata of the population with the lack of access to the Internet and social media in particular. However, the biggest limitation concerning the research based on the online spaces is a frequent misinformation that occurs on the Internet with no real possibility of confirming the credibility of each user, and whether they are a real person with real views on the subject matter. Consequently, while social media offers an opportunity to study diverse and often uncensored opinion of different social groups, it is important to remember that in online discourse analysis validity of the results might be significantly lower compared to the more intimate settings such as interviews and surveys.

#### **4. Discussion**

This chapter presents the empirical findings with a focus on the digital representation of Kazakh women in nationalist discourses observed in social media that explain how the construction of womanhood in the digital settings influences the perseverance of the standards of hegemonic femininity in the society today. The main objective of this thesis is to examine public narratives towards women and LGBTQ community on Instagram. My analysis is based on the online discourses in the form of comments left by the individuals on the publicly available social media platforms, primarily under the posts on Instagram on the most viral incidents of violence or propaganda against women and sexual minorities in the country. The analysis does not include content posted in the private chat rooms, private forums, and private Instagram accounts for ethical reasons. It is my contention that the comments left in the digital spaces demonstrate the adherence to gendering notions of nationalism in casual interactions, and show how these collective understandings further reinforce the standards of hegemonic femininity that is generally

placed upon women and their bodily autonomy. As mentioned prior, hegemonic femininity encourages subordination to men by placing women within the stereotypical thinking of themselves as mothers, wives, and daughters. In my study, the selected comments represent various manifestations of nationalist standards of hegemonic femininity that are being imposed online in the context of gender-based violence and violence against minority groups.

Hegemonic femininity represents a broad terrain for analysis that I limit to the discussions of violence against women and violence against LGBTQ communities as a part of public discourse on gender. While violence is not the only manifestation of hegemonic femininity in the society, the topics regarding gender-based violence usually attract more attention, and generate polemic among people that represents an opportunity to clearly articulate through a discourse on violence how gendered norms of behavior are placed upon women by emphasizing the important role of Kazakh womanhood in those discourses. These two forms of violence are represented in the form of six case studies involving the events that were the most avidly discussed on social media in Kazakhstan and attracting the high level of controversy in the last three years contributing to an extensive discourse on women's place in the society. The events, such as sexual harassment and LGBTQ propaganda have been gaining momentum in the news and among general public in the last few years, thereby, becoming the perfect primary subjects of analysis in the study.

According to Arystanbek (2020), the level of violence against women and the way the public reacts to it serve as conspicuous signs of how protected women are in any given nation-state (40). While physical safety constitutes one of the basic human rights, as

noted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, gender-based violence remains a global problem with no working solutions due to the deeply rooted patriarchal culture and structure of power that favors imbalance between genders. The problem is further reinforced through the increasing prominence of the processes such as victim-blaming, public shaming, and shielding perpetrators from responsibility. On top of that, local norms and practices usually interact with these processes reinforcing them further and increasing their effectiveness, thus, exacerbating the problem of gender-based violence depending on the location. Thereby, the image of women as gentle souls that require protection as well as the emphasis placed on their roles as bearers of the future of the nation paint the picture of the lack of women's bodily autonomy and put women themselves at the frontlines of the nation-building processes (Yuval-Davis 2003; Arystanbek 2020).

Taking into account that “a peculiar form of masculinity grows out of nationalism, one which celebrates violence and sacrifice, heterosexual conquest and the protection of women and children by external force” in which national identities become “gendered through fundamental human relationships founded in socialization and gender relations”, this chapter aims to investigate the way representation of Kazakh women in online discussions in the settings of gender-based violence is not only reductive to their humanity but also facilitates further preservation of sexist norms and stereotypes in the society (Eriksen 2017, 1439). Thereby, the victims of gender-based violence usually become the victims of gaslighting and victim-blaming and are expected to demonstrate high moral standings due to Kazakh Muslim identity that is rooted in the standards of hegemonic femininity. First, I explore the cases of victim-blaming and the rigid moral standards of behavior that can be mostly observed in the discourse on victims of gender-

based violence. Second, I demonstrate how violence towards sexual minority groups is justified on the grounds of it being alien to Kazakh traditions that is also rooted in reductive view of women being subordinate to men.

#### **4.1. The Case of HitTV's Mini-Series**

In 2019, a popular feminist activist and blogger in Kazakhstan Fariza Ospan shared an excerpt from the sitcom "Serial emes" ("Not a series"), a comedic show which used to air every Saturday on a popular national TV channel, HitTV, on her Instagram account. The posted excerpt depicts the following scene: a student asks their university teacher, who is sitting with a bruised eye, why did her husband raise his hand on her? To this question the woman replies: "I am myself to blame for it. In any situation, a woman should be one step lower than a man." (Original: "Қателік өзімнен болды. Кез келген сәтте әйел адам еркек кісіден бір саты төмен тұрады.") The unexpected answer of the teacher finds strong support among the students who unanimously praise her worth as a "golden wife", an expression in Kazakh that is used to distinguish a good woman who acts in accordance to the standards of hegemonic femininity by being a submissive wife and nurturing mother (Original: "Алтын келіншек"). The post where Ospan openly condemns the national TV channel as well as the content that the channel approves as being family-friendly has since collected 41 698 views and 527 comments.

While the majority of comments align with Ospan's sentiment in denouncing such overt normalization and justification of domestic abuse, some commenters were very adamant about either agreeing with the message of the video or engaging in the act of

victim-blaming, thereby justifying the actions of the husband. For example, one woman brought attention to the general culture of domestic power structures by stating that “it is true” that every woman who “cannot hold her tongue” is the one who “gets beaten” (Original: *Ну это же правда, получает всегда та женщина, которая за языком своим не следит!*) This opinion, according to the local news, is popular among 15% of Kazakhstani women who believe that a husband has the right to beat his wife and, in the rural areas, every fifth woman considers violence to be the norm (KazInform 2019). One man got involved in the heated debate in the comments sections with other users by first commenting under the original post that “it is her choice if a woman ties her life to a man who culturally approves beating his wife” and goes on to compare such kind of relationship with the Bondage Discipline Sado-Masochism (BDSM) games, the type of sexual relationship where partners engage in “consensual sexual, physical and/or psychological domination” (Thibault 2022, 17). (Original: *Зачем лезть со своим уставом в чужой монастырь? Вы к паре практикующей садо-мазо игры тоже с ментами домой вломитесь? Если женщина связала свою жизнь с мужиком в культурной традиции которого бить жену, значит она приемлет такие отношения. Кого-то это заводит.*)

While some users were quick to point out the consensual aspect of the BDSM relationships, the man responds by saying that “it is a woman’s choice to endure beatings” and there are plenty of cases in which it is women who “not so often kill and harm their husbands for cheating.” (Original: *Если женщины терпят побои, это их выбор... Жены тоже не редко убивают и калечат мужей, на пример за измену.*) The user further engages in the act of victim-blaming by stating that “when a woman fully supports patriarchal traditions, religiosity and fully accepts that particular social role...she is either too stupid... or has nothing to be offended by... It

is impossible to get married to a strong hot dzhigit (a word of Turkic origin used in the Caucasus and Central Asia to describe a skillful horseman but in daily life usually used to describe a brave young man) who is in favor of archaic traditions and not get beaten.” (Original: *...Но когда женщина сначала поддерживает патриархальные традиции, религиозность и полностью приемлет такую социальную роль...то либо она слишком тупа...либо ей не на что обижаться... Получить в мужья сильного горячего жигита, сторонника архаичных традиций и не получать при этом вполне предсказуемых пиздюлей.*) These two commenters reflect the general sentiment that supports the traditional argument for justification of gender-based violence based on a woman’s fulfillment of her role as a good wife. On top of that, these comments do not seem to perceive gender-based violence as a general phenomenon but rather shows that there is a tendency to ethnicize this type of violence by appealing to the archaic culture of the national past.

Some commenters pointed out the humor in the video and encouraged other people to not take the mini-series seriously. As an example, a user @aigera\_mir comments by saying that “it is normal when couples argue by blaming themselves, at the end it was just a joke...” (Original: *Когда пары ссорятся говорят же я виновата нет я, это был просто легкий юмор...*) Another user says that the series does not encourage domestic violence, on the contrary, it shows that these men are “*bad characters*” that people should not try to imitate. Other people say that it was done for “*the hype of it*”, meaning to gain attention and popularity. Other commenters go on saying that it is just an excerpt from the series, and at the end of the series the husband actually asks for forgiveness and showers his wife with presents while she keeps on arguing with him for nothing. As an example, the comments say that “he

always gives her presents and shows attention, don't generalize based on the excerpt" (Original: *...он всегда ей подарки делает ухаживает, нельзя из за отрывка делать суть сериала*), "...in other episodes he admits that he is a fool", and "he (the husband) is repenting, it is the fault of the make-up artist that exaggerated everything" (Original: *...здесь он кается, здесь просто гримерша с синяком переборщила.*)

Based on these comments, there is a tendency to downplay the severity of the cases of domestic-violence either as a joke or justifying the actions of the abuser by pointing out their positive character traits and talking in accusatory manner about the victim. This usually comes from the desire to support the patriarchal model of masculinities that "gives certain women the power and privilege to position themselves higher than other women" and allows them to "identify themselves via the power and the privilege of the successful masculinities" (Darakchi 2019, 1225). This argument by Darakchi (2019) might provide some explanation as for why some women partake in normalization of gender-based violence, particularly in the context of domestic violence, since it allows them to benefit socially from adhering to the image of a 'golden' Kazakh wife.

#### **4.2. The Murder Case of Ayazhan Edilova**

Another event that shook the nation was the murder of a 19-year-old Ayazhan Edilova that happened in Almaty in March 2021. While the reason behind the girl's decision to follow the man into his apartment was not mentioned in the post, which became a great source of contention, the girl ends up following the man into his apartment where she gets brutally murdered and her body ends up being dismembered, some parts ending up in the freezer. The case went viral on social media due to the brutality of the murder along with the problems of the mishandling

of the case by the police that prompted avid discussions of the event on the Internet. The details of the case, including the intentions of the girl to follow a man she did not know whether as a part of her job as a tailor into his apartment or as a part of her sexual relationship with that person, have been debated and extensively used to shame the victim. Under the Instagram post on a page of a local news outlet *Informburo* that has collected 256 627 views, an overwhelming majority of 743 comments while focusing on the perpetrator of the violence, mainly wishing death penalties upon him, there are commenters who scrutinize the victim's actions. These commenters were especially active when deriving moral lesson for the girls to not engage with men online and pointing out the victim's poor decision-making skills. Under the post, there are various comments primarily from men who engage in victim-blaming by painting women as the ones responsible for the outcome. One man's comment says in all capital letters, "Women, when are you going to start using your head, why would you go out with the first person you have met on the Internet, visit their houses or travel with them outside the city." (Original: *ДЕВУШКИ КОГДА ОПОМНИТЕСЬ, ЗАЧЕМ С ПЕРВЫМ ВСТРЕЧНЫМ С ИНТЕРНЕТА, ХОДИТЕ НА СВИДАНИЯ НА КВ ИЛИ ВЫЕЗДАЕТЕ ЗА ГОРОД...*). Other men commented that this 19-year-old girl might have entered his apartment as a part of her "job" or "on her own legs". (The original posts use the words *заказбен келсин* that can be translated from Kazakh as by being ordered implying that the victim was offering sexual services to the man and *өз аяғымен пәтерге жігітпен кіріп кетті* meaning entered the apartment on her own) Even some women are actively engaging in the act of victim-blaming by commenting that "she was the one to enter his apartment" (Original: *Кыздын өзі барғанғой*) Some women in the comments even engage in the act of extracting moral lesson for other women by commenting "dear ladies, it should be a lesson to all of

you” or saying “you should be wary of men” (Original: *Аяулы кыздар бул сиздерге сабак болсынышы*), while others shame the girls that “she should not have gone to his house like a slut”. (Original: *...СПАЗУ ПӘТЕРГЕ ЖЕТИП БАРМАЙ ШЛЮХА ҚҰСАП*) Even some men comment by saying that “girls, stop uploading your pictures to various social media platforms” or “girls should learn from this”. What is more, there are some commenters who further blame the man’s parents for his actions: “where were his parents looking” “who birthed him” “does he have parents”. (Original: *әке шешесі не қарап отыр; кім тапты кім ақелді оны дүниеге; ата анасы бар адам ба*) Thereby, women are represented as air-headed and overly sexualized who blindly follow men, often for sexual favors, whereas men are usually absolved from any responsibility or, in that case, the focus of the story shifts from his actions to how the victim could have been the one who allowed such fate to happen or the blame is put upon the murderer’s parents, usually mother as it is mother who is responsible for children education in Kazakh household. These comments suggest that it is a woman’s responsibility if anything bad happens to her or because of her while also implying that women are supposed to endure any manifestations of gender-based violence.

#### **4.3. The case of sexual harassment**

On March 25<sup>th</sup> 2022, the user @aknietiyar (3841 followers) posted a lengthy text on her Instagram account that details the sexual harassment that the user experienced. In the post, titled “A story not for hype, fame or pity” (Original: *История не для хайпжорства, известности и жалости*), the author of the post begins by saying that comments such as “it’s your fault”, “stop lying” and “you were the one who provoked him” despite being fully expected are not welcomed. The author then

proceeds to tell the story of her stay with her aunt's family where her husband, i.e. her uncle, forced himself on her but she was saved by his little daughter calling for him during which she managed to escape from the house before he was actually able to rape her. She then proceeds by saying that when she communicated the incident to her relatives and parents who encouraged her to forget about the incident on the basis that it must stay within the family because the uncle is an influential man in politics. The post has collected 1150 comments who generally express admiration towards the author's courage to publicly speak about the incident and leave words of encouragement. What's interesting about the case is that the post has also generated a great number of commenters who shared their own stories of being sexually harassed either as children or as adults by family members. Among the commenters who shared their stories about being sexually harassed, the common justification that the users provide for not speaking up sooner is the fear of public shaming and victim-blaming. As an example, one user comments, "I was scared that I will be blamed", "You shouldn't have dressed or looked a certain way", "You obviously wanted it yourself", and, of course, "I kept silent because of the uyat" (Original: *...Потому что боялась что обвинят МЕНЯ!!!...; ...Не надо было краситься, не надо было одеваться так...; ...Наверно сама же этого хотела...; ...Я в свое время промолчала из за такого ұят...*) Thereby, the women in the comment section demonstrate a great sense of awareness of the victim-blaming tendency in the public discourse that stems from the popularity of the uyat (shame) discourse that discourages them to publicly denounce their abusers.

Moreover, another set of commenters, put the stress on individual behavior of men in the family and the responsibility of the criminal justice system to protect

women that aligns with Sjoberg's (2008) argument about the construction of women as 'beautiful souls' that need protection (5). Under the post, one man commented by saying that "if your uncle is in Astana, I could face him for you", "there should be a man in the Kazakh family who tells such a "man" that his actions are wrong" (Original: *...Я за других говорить не могу но когда буду в Астане могу ему сказать в лицо если надо...; ...Должен быть мужчина в казахской семье который должен сказать такому "мужчине" что это не правильно...*), other commenters agreed by saying "where is their understanding of protecting honor and status, they are men after all" (Original: *...Где же понятия защиты чести и достоинства они ведь мужчины...*). One woman commented, "how is that possible that your father and brother did not say anything. It means that our fathers and brothers will not protect us in any situation. How should women and children sleep peacefully now if there is no protection and help from those men who are close to us." (Original: *... Как ваш отец и брат ничего не сказали. Это значит, что наши отцы и братья нас не могут защитить в любой ситуации. Как нашим женщинам и детям жить и спокойно спать, если нет защиты и помощи со стороны близких нам мужчин*). These comments reinforce the idea of a woman's body being a responsibility of a man and an extension of a man's honor which is a common concept in Islam that equates a woman's honor with the family's honor.

#### **4.4. Hegemonic Femininity and LGBTQ: The cases of Feminita, the Burning of the Pride Flag and Arizona University**

These cases represent the manifestation of hegemonic femininity in relation to the representatives of the sexual minority groups in Kazakhstan. I have decided to present my finding on these three cases in one section due to the similarity of the sentiments

that I found online in all three cases. First, I will briefly describe the events and provide some comments that reflect the general sentiment under the posts, followed by the analysis of these comments. First, in 2021, the leaders of the Feminita initiative, an organization that supports the rights of women and LGBTQ women in Kazakhstan, visited Shymkent, a major city in the south of Kazakhstan, as a part of their country wide tour aimed to conduct information sessions for feminist women and members of the LGBTQ community and allies. However, upon their arrival to Shymkent, the activists were harassed and physically assaulted by a group of men who waited for them at the location where the gathering was supposed to be held. After the police got involved, instead of detaining the aggressors, both women were detained by the officers and taken to the police station. The post about their detention in Shymkent on their official Instagram account has generated 1310 comments. While it was expected to find that the majority of the comments on Feminita official Instagram account to be positive and showing support for the detained activists, there are some commenters who engage in perpetuating violence towards LGBTQ members by appealing to nationalist and religious sentiments. As an example, some users comment, “they have to be banished”, “make them leave to Europe with their LGBT”, “There is no place for LGBT on KAZAKH land” “They are supporting the Western influence” “Kazakh men did a great job. They have to be kicked out of the country”. Interestingly, one user points out that being a part of LGBTQ and a woman is mutually exclusive. The poster writes, “It is awful that women are dealt that way (referring to the brutality of the public and the police) but how can we get rid of LGBTQ communities.” (Original: *Это конечно ужасно то что так поступили с женщинами, но как бороться с лгбт сообществами*)

The second case is the post made by popular blogger in Kazakhstan made in July 2021 that has since collected 913 796 views. In the video, the man is shown burning the LGBTQ flag along with the rainbow-colored “pop-it” toys. The poster narrates his actions by saying that men loving men and women loving women go against religion. While getting rid of the LGBTQ flag, the blogger says, “The strength of Kazakh people is in its nobility. Only the Kazakh flag should be here”. In addition to the flag, the blogger is also setting on fire “pop-it” button children toys that he believes is also a type of LGBTQ propaganda due to its rainbow-colored design. Some of the commenters make fun of his actions and write, “Are you going to burn a rainbow next?” or “I like rainbows. Does it mean I am gay now?”. However, there are commenters who fully support his actions. One man writes, “You are doing great, brother! If all of us prideful Kazakh men unite, we will eradicate LGBTQ one day”. *(Original: Жарайсын, бауырым! Бүкіл намысшыл қазақ жігіттері өстіп біріксе, лгбт сияқты азғындарды қуып шығатын күн де келер)* Some commenters antagonize the western influence by writing that it is the “politics” of those who want to diminish “our purity of blood” and “our unity” and those who do not know “the history of Kazakh lands” become their victims. Similar sentiments can be observed from the case of the state university located in the North Kazakhstan region being transferred to the management of Arizona State University. On the official account of the Kazakhstani parent’s union, @kazsouzrod (76,500 followers) who represent conservative views of the population and who are the first ones to bring attention to the transfer on February 2<sup>nd</sup> 2022, the post has gathered 636 comments. Similar to the other cases, the comment section is not unanimous in denouncing LGBTQ community but still negative comments towards LGBTQ communities prevail. One comment reads as “Gayropa’s diploma is guaranteed” (Original: *И Гејронскиј*

*диплом в кармане*) in which *Gayropa* is a phrase that originates from the combination of the words *Gay* and *Europa* popularized by Russian conservatives that is used to signify the difference in the values between East and West. Some other comments that align with the negative sentiment in relation to the news include: “We do not need ministers who support Western education system”, “How can the minister with Kazakh last name propagate values that are not Kazakh”, “It will destroy Kazakh traditions”, “perverts”, and “Family traditions are deliberately destroyed”.

These comments juxtapose Kazakh culture to Eastern/Western values, since the majority of the comments demonstrate the sentiment that preservation of the nation depends on the preservation of the morally right behavior, or heterosexuality in the above-mentioned cases, that fully aligns with the standards of hegemonic femininity and masculinity. There is an active denial of anything that is not Kazakh in the public discourse, thereby, the shifting of the blame for any deviant practices that do not align with national culture and traditions, such as homosexuality, on the West provides justification grounds for the gender-based violence as we have seen in the *Feminita* case.

In conclusion, by looking at some online discussions that have attracted a lot of attention, this chapter has explored how Kazakh women and minority communities are represented in online discourses involving gender-based violence, and the way this representation ends up contributing to the rigid standards of hegemonic femininity in the country. While observing online comments under the posts on the most notorious cases of gender-based violence that occurred in the last three years, it becomes clear that women’s bodily autonomy is heavily policed in public discourses

in the cases when they do not act in accordance to the standards of hegemonic femininity. By establishing how online users tend to fuse together common gender stereotypes with their ideas of Kazakhness, which stems from their Muslim identity and their fulfillment of the traditional gender roles, such as good mothers, wives, and daughters, along with uncorrupted moral behavior, the research demonstrates how gender-based violence, such as sexual harassment or domestic violence, becomes normalized on the grounds of women's adherence to the standards of hegemonic femininity where women are usually reduced to their relations with men.

## **5. Conclusion**

The research has investigated the way the existing gender order supported by popular discourses is perpetuated in digital media by relying on the concepts of hegemonic femininity and masculinity that ends up contributing to the normalization of gender-based violence in contemporary Kazakhstan. Building on the previous study by Arystanbek (2022) where the researcher points out the precarious position that Kazakh women occupy in the society where they are expected to live in accordance with the standards of hegemonic femininity even as victims of gender-based violence, this research expands on that argument by simultaneously looking at the members of LGBTQ community and what expectations does the society have from them. Since the state represents a powerful discourse producing enterprise, I have looked at how the general public echoes the state-endorsed discourses on hegemonic femininity by examining the historical context behind the construction of the state's ideas on gender and national identity and making connection with the digital construction of these ideas on gender in online community spaces. Thereby, I argue that the diffusion of gender discourses that takes place online contributes to the construction of hegemonic standards of femininity that perpetuates the

normalization of gender-based violence as culturally appropriate where blame is placed upon women themselves as well as negative attitudes towards the members of LGBTQ communities that are regarded as the consequence of the corrupt moral behavior of the West that is incompatible with the national identity.

While this thesis is an attempt at establishing the mechanisms behind the hegemonic nature of the existing gender order, the scope of the research is limited to Kazakhstan and the way its nationalist projects interact with the construction of gender. My research offers an analysis of the interaction between multiple nationalist projects in the context of Kazakhstan as a non-Western setting and social networks that represents a rapidly growing form of modern communication. However, this research is solely based on my contention that the comments that I observe in the digital spaces demonstrate the adherence to gendering notions of nationalism in casual interactions, and show how these collective understandings further facilitate the standards of hegemonic femininity that is generally placed upon women in relation to their bodily autonomy and behavior expectations by the public. As a result, I encourage quantitative analysis to empirically prove the connection between public opinion on gender-based violence found online and state rhetoric. On top of that, the limited number of research that deals with the similar topic using the same methodology and level of analysis has significantly affected my ability to organize my finding of the primary sources.

However, the implication of my research includes attributing more attention to the way gender order is constructed online that is deeply rooted in the topic of gendered nationalism in Kazakhstan. Further investigation of the regional and linguistic differences in the process of the digital construction of gender as well as the nationalist aspect by the

commenters is encouraged. A more in-depth study of the online conversations may represent a broader future for the research on the future of feminism and LGBTQ communities in Kazakhstan. Similarly, by looking more closely at the local Islamic practices and how they interact with the existing gender order may uncover some relationships that may be applicable to the regions beyond Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

## Appendix 1

(For the full scope of the comments please follow the links provided below)

### Case 1. HitTV mini-series

<https://www.instagram.com/p/B5mpWsaHE18/?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=>

gabitbekbosinov Это уже показали по тв! И вы еще больше пиарите серию, если бы вы не опубликовали то его никто бы и не увидел, и не заметил бы!! Я считаю что ненадо поднимать шумиху, его уже показали и не отменишь!! Мы должны просто не обращать внимание !

ospanfariza @gabitbekbosinov серьезно?

dalagakettik @gabitbekbosinov итак то уже столько лет говяный контент терпим, пусть хоть бояться негативных мнений

azharka\_mag @gabitbekbosinov если не поднимать шумиху, так все и будет, женщины должны шуметь и отстаивать свои права, хотя бы права на то, что они не груши для битья

azharka\_mag @gabitbekbosinov давайте не обратим внимания, что кто-то плачет окровавленный там за углом, побитый своим же суженным, или что у близкого человека проблема и она молчит, чтобы просто не поднимать шумиху

irzhanovakh Какой ужас..

yerzhigit\_uzak Обидно что живём в стране которая навязывает мнение что у мужчин якобы больше прав и то что он на ступень выше чем женщины. Из-за чего и вырастает поколение насильников и всяких мерзких убанов, а ещё больше удивляют девушки которые также возвышают мужчин тем что "ну он же парень" тем самым поощряя насилие с его стороны 🤔🤔

818ske Что блеать ..?!

kaeminerys Безумие какое

\_thebrucewayne\_ феминизм вперёд

ospanfariza @\_thebrucewayne\_ 😊

gaiarai Пипец, когда вот так вот думающие динозавры уже вымрут

124w 8 likes Reply See translation

**aigera\_mir @eler\_ophelia** вы же не смотрели))) я смотрела, поэтому уверенно могу сказать что сериал не о насилии, говорят же не суди книгу по обложке, это просто отрывок, вы же говорите что сериал пропагандует насилию над женщинами, если бы такое был то просил бы он прощение! он бы нагло ушёл вот тогда можно было поднимать шум! А здесь он кается, здесь просто гримерша с синяком переборщила 😊 извините если не правильно пишу, я по русски плохо говорю просто))) и повторяю я тоже против насилие но вы не на того нападаете

124w Reply See translation

**aigera\_mir @ospanfariza** он же неговорить что это нормально ,он говорит что он дурак то есть этот сериал не пропагандует насилие над женщинами, тут гримёр просто переборщила

124w Reply See translation

**eler\_ophelia @zhanelya1223** ну тогда конечно, надо простить))) сначала он бьёт и остаётся безнаказанным, потом ещё что похуже будет. Когда ребенок бьёт другого ребенка взрослые это пресекают сразу же , проводят беседу, кто то наказывает. Но когда взрослый мужчина бьёт свою жену, то эти же самые взрослые закрывают глаза, а некоторые говорят что " сама виновата", просто прекрасно) Неважно что до/после насилия он/она дарил друг другу подарки, сам факт насилия, вот что важно.

124w 10 likes Reply See translation

**aigera\_mir @eler\_ophelia** суть сериала совсем другой) когда пары ссорятся говорят же я виновата нет я, это был просто легкий юмор, лично я так поняла, но с гримом конечно переборщили гримеры, лично я смотрела этот сериал там в других сериях женщины были властнее, в комментарях мужики возмущались 😊 а тут женщины)

124w Reply See translation

**eler\_ophelia @baltabaevich** это пропаганда того что ходить женщине избитой мужем(!) это есть норма

124w 11 likes Reply See translation

**aigera\_mir @eler\_ophelia** этот студент ее муж, он же в конце этого видео говорит что он дурак и хочет просить прощение, вы же в целом не видели, просто тут гример переборщила, но в остальных сериях он ей подарки делает ухаживает она кричит на него,

124w Reply See translation

**ospanfariza @zhanelya1223** я смотрела.

124w Reply See translation

**ospanfariza @zhanelya1223** просить прощения? Он должен отвечать перед законом.

124w 9 likes Reply See translation

**aigera\_mir @ospanfariza** извините можно спросить вы феминистка?

124w Reply See translation

**aigera\_mir @ospanfariza** он же неговорить что это нормально ,он говорит что он дурак то есть этот сериал не пропагандует насилие над женщинами, тут гримёр просто переборщила

124w Reply See translation

**ayah.kz @aina\_doskyzy** одной из причин того, что казахоязычные женщины чаще становятся жертвами бытового насилия может являться то, что казахоязычному контингенту «впихивают» такое :(

124w 13 likes Reply See translation

**shkrebkokatya** Что за ерунда 🤔😂

124w 4 likes Reply See translation


**baltabaevich** С другой стороны, этот эпизод не пропагандирует насилие. А как раз таки наоборот, нам, зрителям понятно что эти парни из видео - отрицательные персонажи и им не стоит уподобляться.

124w 1 like Reply See translation

— View 8 previous replies

**ospanfariza @zhanelya1223** это ужасно и это не юмор.


— View 4 more replies

 **aigera\_mir** @ok.alita но я не думаю что канал пропагандует насилию, я против насилию над женщинами, но не натога нападаете

124w Reply See translation

 **mt\_valeria** @zhanelya1223 понимаете, тысячи людей смотрят сериал и будут думать, что силой можно решить вопросы, что женщины "ниже на ступень" мужчины. Что если жена делает что-то не так как того хочет он, можно ей влить чтобы она поняла, а потом просто извиниться и забыть


124w 5 likes Reply See translation

 **aigera\_mir** @mt\_valeria а вы понимаете что если человек то мужчина тупой его не изменишь, а если мужчина умен то на него никакой сериал не подействует!!!

124w Reply See translation

 **mt\_valeria** @zhanelya1223 если человеку каждый день говорить, что он баран, он забекает. А сериал также показывают на ютубе, где аудитория в основном молодёжь и у них отчасти формируется представление о жизни сериалами, фильмами, кумирами

124w 4 likes Reply See translation

 **aigera\_mir** Здравствуйте вы наверное в целом не смотрели да ?? Там в других сериях он всегда к ней с уважением относился, и она всегда кричит на него!!! Даже в конце этого видео он же говорит что он дурак и хочет просить прощение за свой поступок, этот студент ее муж!!

124w Reply See translation

— View 11 more replies

- правовом государстве. А выдавать частные случаи за общую практику - манипулятивный приём. Жены тоже не редко убивают и калечат мужей, например за измену.  
123w Reply See translation
- ryzhaya\_best @antonjha Окей. А куда идут женщины, которые не терпят побои? Что с ними случается? И второй вопрос. А сколько в Казахстане ежегодно таких "частных случаев"?  
123w 4 likes Reply See translation
- zhanuzac @ryzhaya\_best По официальной статистике из бытового насилия ежегодно умирают 400 женщин  
123w 10 likes Reply See translation
- antonjha @ryzhaya\_best я не сторонник victim blaming когда речь идёт об изнасилованиях или домогательствах. Но когда женщина сначала поддерживает патриархальные традиции, религиозность и полностью приемлет такую социальную роль, выходя замуж за такого средневекового дикаря, то либо она слишком тупа, чтобы не ожидать от него всей сопутствующей мерзости, либо ей не на что обижаться. Нельзя и рыбку съесть и в воду не лезть. Получить в мужа сильного горячего жигита, сторонника архаичных традиций и не получать при этом вполне предсказуемых пиздюлей.

antonjha Зачем лезть со своим уставом в чужой монастырь? Вы к паре, практикующей садо-мазо игры тоже с ментами домой вломитесь? Если женщина связала свою жизнь с мужиком в культурной традиции которого бить жену, значит она приемлет такие отношения. Кого-то это заводит.  
123w Reply See translation


ryzhaya\_best @antonjha при чем тут садо-мазо и насилие? На садо-мазо люди соглашаются оба и делают это осознанно. А бить человека, особенно любимого это НЕ НОРМАЛЬНО! Приемлет такие отношения? Что? То есть по вашему она может уйти и муж за ней не придет и не будет избивать дальше? Одной из таких женщин, которая ушла от избивавшего ее мужа, отрубили руки. И угадайте кто  
123w 14 likes Reply See translation

antonjha @ryzhaya\_best и опять вы по себе судите. Если женщины терпят побои, это их выбор. Мы живём в правовом государстве. А выдавать частные случаи за общую практику - манипулятивный приём. Жены тоже не редко убивают и калечат мужей, например за измену.  
123w Reply See translation

- Comments
- через 3 месяца и депортация пожизненно. И это настоящий закон, который защищает женщин и всех вообще. И да, это не в Казахстане 😞  
122w 16 likes Reply See translation
- View 3 more
- dytaeva\_ai Мамбичи снимали такое, нормальный человек не будет такое показывать, в советских фильмах такого не было, в них глубокий смысл всего было.  
122w 1 like Reply See translation
- dinara\_lilqueen\_ Что за юмор 🤔🤔  
123w 1 like Reply See translation
- lyazzat\_iman Ну это же правда, получает всегда та женщина, которая за языком своим следит!  
123w 1 like Reply See translation
- lImagineus Кто такое снимает и выпускает на тв сам себя так ведёт - для него это норма. Будет у него дочь - посмотрит потом...  
123w 6 likes Reply See translation
- indira\_tugushi 😞ужас(((как можно спасти семью, где изначально такое отношение мужа к жене, вообще о чем она говорит(((и нафига такое снимать, чтобы это стало нормой? откройте глаза руководство @hittvkz  
123w 7 likes Reply See translation

## Case 2. Ayazhan's murder


<https://www.instagram.com/tv/CM6UmlpFoXi/?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=>

 nuridinjoldikojayev @\_aiikk\_ Қыздың дәрежесі төмен еркектің алдында сүмірейіп жүруі керек қыз малдан сал ақылды болса жетеді түсіндіңба сендей қызды көрсем басқаша сөйлесер едім еркекке сойлеу былай тұрсын бетіне қарай алмайтындай қылар едім


57w Reply See translation

 \_aiikk\_ @nuridinjoldikojayev сонда сенин уйндегі шешен қарындастарын апкелерин уйнде сумирип журема қыздын ақылы сал малдан ақылды болса болашақта сен сияқты санасы таян психикасы бузылган улдар дуниеге келеди ата анан кандай болса баланда солай болат деушеди Кудай сактасын дуниеде сенен баска еркек жок деседе сен сияқты еркекти Аллам маган жолктырмасын!

57w Reply See translation

 nuridinjoldikojayev @\_aiikk\_ Дәл мендей жолықсын көзбен жүгіртетін 😊

57w Reply See translation

 \_aiikk\_ @nuridinjoldikojayev саганда озин сияқты биреу жолықсын психикасы орнында емес акыратка соқырат бастарын бир казанга симай отыратын шгарсындар бир бирлеринди олтирип 🤔🤔🤔🤔


57w 1 like Reply See translation

Hide replies


 meirambekdauletjarov Ақымак неси барады әке шешеси не карап отыр

58w 1 like Reply See translation


View 2 replies

 doskabylbek Зонада озин солай олтуру кереккои


58w Reply See translation

 baha\_n1v1 Неге осындай адам емес жауыз малдарды халық алдында азаптап олтырсе басқаларға сабак болар еды. Қазыр енды ол жауызды турмеге камайды оларды тағыда халықтың ақшаларына сонда асырайды. Быздын зан теккана турмысы нашарларға гана колданылытыны раской.


58w 7 likes Reply See translation

 kozahmetovaigera Естип шок болдык.Маняк кой мынау таза .кудай сактасын.бети аримен.әке шешесине сабыр берсин қыздын.


58w 2 likes Reply

 sezimarsen Халық алдына шығарып алу керекко малды

58w Reply See translation

 paz\_akkulieva Олим жазасын бермей ма ондай адам мына когамға не ушин керек Не ушин оны емдеп жатыр

58w 1 like Reply See translation

 nuridinjoldikojayev Осылай бөтен еркектің үйіне баратын қыздардың обалы жоқ

58w 10 likes Reply See translation


 zhanar\_mamilina7 @nuridinjoldikojayev обал жоқ дейсиз бе? Жүрегим ауырып тур мына созинизге. Кундиз, тапа тал түсте Денис Тенди де пышақтап кеткен жоқпа? Ажал айтып келмес. Сактанып журу керек,иа. 19 жастагы анкау қыз кайдан билсин бундай канишерлер боларын.

58w 1 like Reply See translation

 aizhamal180289 @nuridinjoldikojayev Дұрыс айтасын бірақ Еркек сымақ ауру болып тұрғои Өлім жазасына кесу керек Еркектіде өйткені бұндаиларға сенім жоқ жай кетіп баражатқан адамғада шабуыл жасауы мүмкін



























58w Reply See translation
























 \_aiikk\_ @nuridinjoldikojayev осындай сен сияқты еркектердин кесиринен зорлық зомбылық азаймайды елде уйнде жатып алып қыздын ози кинали деп ауздарына келгенди копирип алатын кейн зорлық кобисе елимизди киналайтын даже элементарно митинг болган шгар осы зорлық зомбылыкка карсы 3, 4 еркектен баска ер бала шыкканын кормеппин қыздарды коргап ертен елимизге жау жапса қыз бала аналарынды барин лактырып биринши боп сендер сияқтылар кашат бул елден даже зомбисе барулан кашатын қаша
























 sassa4w4 @zheksenova.moldir негизи айтканы да дурыс шығар озге қыздарға сабак болар кадам жасарда танысарда сети жоқ ауылдагыларға через теле кореди гои





























58w 10 likes Reply See translation








Hide replies






-  aikosh.jaslan9193 Атып тастасын лучше сол лайықты жаза не керек ондай адам жер бетин басуга лайықты емес сосын интернетпен таныспау керек каз турли адамдар бар маркум болган кыз бекер барган екен 😞😞😞  
58w Reply See translation
-  arturbimashev Органдарын сатып жеберген шығар  
58w 2 likes Reply See translation
-  amankos19862208 Атып тастау оған жеңіл жаза асықпай қорлау керек азғынды.....  
58w 2 likes Reply See translation
-  lulyi001 Халықтың алдына шығарып әр бір тісін, тырнағын ,басын жұлып өлтіру керек хайуанды басқалары на сабақ болсын  
58w Reply See translation
-  zhainagulkhalidullina Халық алдына шығарып асу керек ондай ханішерді  
58w 7 likes Reply See translation
-  zakaz.kartin71 Хайуанның тырнақтарын биртиндеп жулып,тистерин биртиндеп қағып тастау керек,жауыз  
58w Reply See translation
-  mekebaevakulziia Жүрегимиз ауырды табылса екен деп тиледик.  
58w Reply See translation
-  zhayna\_ongarkyzy Қыздарыңызға мұқият болып телефондарын тексеріп отырыңдаршы ата аналар не деген сұмдық қазір интернеттен тауып жатыр барлық бәле. 🤖  
58w 3 likes Reply See translation
-  saltanat\_110887 Бір байдын баласығой, жай адам жалғыз өзі Алматыда әдемі үй жалдап турмайдығой, ағасы шет елде дәрігер болып жұмыс жасайды деп айтып жатыр  
58w 2 likes Reply See translation
-  zannazanna780 Халыққа корстсин турин сосын атсын  
58w Reply See translation
-  zannazanna780 Емдеп не истейд, ату керек  
58w 3 likes Reply See translation
-  shynar.shokanovna Азаптап онбағанды ату керек  
58w Reply See translation
-  kulash.hsaluk иманды болсын ! жанашыр жақындарына сабыр берсін ! бұндай жауыздықтар мүлдем болмасын .  
58w Reply See translation
-  yu.barni Маньяқтың түрін көрсетпегенине қарағанда бир жоғарыдағылардың жалмауызы емеспекен?оны еңе мақтадығой жақсы отбасынан шыққан деп  
58w Reply See translation
-  sandugash2331 Қыздар абайландаршы курсын беті аулак өзімізде кыз өсіріп отырмаз заман өзгерді деп қоямыз заман емес осындай хайуандарды көріп адамдар өзгеріп жатыр АЛЛА ешкімнің басына бермесін.Жүрегім ауырып кетті гой 😞😞  
58w Reply See translation
-  gulzi\_1010 Алла жазасын берсин ондай адам кеипінде жүрген хайуаннын  
58w Reply See translation
-  sandugash2331 Бұндайларды өлім жазасына кесу керек хайуан гой мынау маньяк таза курту керек бұндайларды больницадан кашып кетпесін. КАРАНДАР ЕНДІ БІР МАНЯККА ШАМАЛАРЫН ЖЕТЕТІН ШЫҒАР АЛБАСТЫНЫ ОЛІМ ЖАЗАСЫНА КЕСУ КЕРЕК  
58w Reply See translation
-  mairaberdiybai Қыздың өзі барған екен ғо. Алла сақтасын сеніп қалған шығар, бір атақтының баласы шығар.  
58w Reply See translation
-  aidaergalikyzy 😞😞😞ужас не болып барады заман? Адам емес айуанғой мынау  
58w Reply See translation
-  almahan\_argzuova Жас кыздар патерде не бар еди сендерге,патерге жақсы ой мен бармайдығой еркекдер.  
58w Reply See translation
-  anargulsakhipova Занды қайтып қарастыру керек, жоғалғаннан киин жедел түрде арыз қабылданып,издестиреу амалдары басталатындай  
58w Reply See translation
-  sarparkbekva Алламау, жатқан жерин жайлы болсын  
58w Reply See translation
-  baxti\_kami Олым жазасын неге колданбайды осындайларга  
58w Reply See translation
-  erkebulan.shalbaev олым жазасын берсын кылмыскерге  
58w Reply See translation
-  mahabbat.71 Әлібек журналист мұндай қайғылы уақиғаны кулімсіремей айту керек.Туысқандарына ауыр тиеді.Алла сабыр берсін туыстарына.  
58w Reply See translation
-  esilbaevagulz Журналист мәз ғои күлкісі келіп тұр ,осы материалды алғанына. 😞  
58w Reply See translation





-  **aibek300981** Көрінген жерге суреттеріңді тықпалай бермеңдер қыздар. Инста вк т.б жерлерге сала бермеңдер. Сақтансаң сақтаймын деген.  
58w Reply See translation
-  **aidana\_kalzhanbai** Надо требоваться МВД РК пересмотреть и вести изменение в закон, если поступила информация о пропаже сразу же искать, а не сидеть. За три сутки что угодно могут сделать  
58w Reply See translation
-  **dikolass** ПОЛИЦИЯ - ПОЗОР НАЦИИ 🙄🙄 ЗНАЮТ КАК НАБИВАТЬ БРЮХО И ЛИЗАТЬ НАЧАЛЬСТВУ. ЖАН ЖАКТАН ЖИНАЛГАН TRASH  
58w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **aibek300981** Несіне жарысып жан жақтан хабарлай бересіңдер. Бір ақ түйенің қарны жарылып қуанып жатқандай. Жараға тұз себелеп.  
58w Reply See translation
-  **tamiris\_businka** Почему лицо скрываете??? Пусть убудка видят вся страна  
58w Reply See translation
-  **taldybayeva.gulnura** Олим ондай адамға укимет неге асырау керек ондай адамды  
58w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **dauysbaevazulpiia** 50ге келсекта артымыздан бейтаныс еріп келе жатса қорқамыз.Лифтіге , пәтерге кірмек түгіл.Қыздар таксиге спокойно мініп кете береді қазір .Қыздарға абай болайықшы таныс емес адамдардан қорқу керек.Ол түгіл тумағада сенім жоқ мына заманда.  
58w 2 likes Reply See translation
-  **zhan.kalykova** 😞😞😞😞😞 журегим ауырып кетти осыны естип  
58w Reply See translation
-  **akmaral\_ahmadiyeva** Ол адам емес шайтанды неге халыққа көрсетпейсіңдер! Неге аты жөнін айтып жария жасамайсыздар білсін халық жауыздың кім екенін ата тегін Алла сақтасын соншама аюандық жасап не көрінді екен  
58w Reply See translation
-  **erkresultann** Біздің мемлекетте дәрігермен полицияға күнің түспесін Алла сақтасын не заман не ел болдық мына аты өшкір интернетке Турциядағыдай шектеу жасау керек не маскарад Алла сақтасын болашақты болжаудың өзі қорқынышты 😞😞😞😞😞  
58w 2 likes Reply See translation
-  **midwife\_ayaguz** Кыздын өзи баргангои сонда кызга не керек  
58w Reply See translation
-  **sabina.\_1111** Ужас 😞  
58w Reply
-  **botakoz\_erbolovna** Ол жауызды неге больницага алып барып емдейди. Кесилген жеригине тұз салып түрмеге қамап қою керек оны  
58w Reply See translation
-  **tolganaismailova** 😞😞😞  
58w Reply
-  **rakhmetova2262** Акымактар ай неменеге кайта кайта жарысып айтады ,өте өте кийн жағдай,айтпаныздаршы  
58w Reply See translation
-  **serikalimbaev14** АСТАФИРУЛЛАХ АЛЛАХ САКТАСЫН  
58w Reply See translation
-  **namazbaeva\_damira** 100 түрлі версия айтқанша, ана маньяктан сұрамайма мән жайды  
58w Reply See translation
-  **dosanova.\_I** Кыздар ешкиммен кездеспейңдер  
58w Reply
-  **botakansultan** Оганда тура осылай истеу керек мал ма немене естип журегим ауырып отыр маняк сиякты го сондай негизи жайдан жай суйтема не хайуан неме 😞😞  
58w Reply
-  **moldyrsailau\_** Өлім жазасы да жеңіл оған, өзін солаи кинап олтиру керек  
58w Reply See translation
-  **nu.rzhan680** Бұны істеп отырған адам опыты бар адам ғой  
58w Reply See translation
-  **kulshashkhandae** 😞😞😞 құдай сақтасын  
58w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **zhabagievaainara** кім болса да осындай тексіз еркектерді ату жазамына кесетін неге заң жоқ.Қай қайдағы болмайтын заң қабылдағанша қыз зорлау адам өлтіру ауыр қылмыстарға неге дұрыс заң жоқ оны соттағаннан не пайда бұндай қанышерлер жер бастырып неге жүргізеді.  
58w Reply See translation

-  **naiabu** ҚызДАДА МИ ЖОҚ 3 АҚ КҮН СӨЙЛЕСКЕН АДАМНЫҢ СРАЗУ ҮЙІНЕ БАРУ ДЕГЕН БОМАЙДЫҒОЙ, КЕЗДЕСЕТІН БОЛСА АДАМ КӨП ЖЕРДЕ КЕЗДЕСПИМА, СРАЗУ ПӘТЕРГЕ ЖЕТІП БАРМАЙ ШЛЮХА ҚҰСАП  
58w Reply See translation
-  **tatti\_buketastana** Өлім жазасы кесілсін.Бұлай жалғаса береді.Халыққа берсін өздері ақ өлтіреді оны.Балаларымыз үшін уайымдаймыз.  
58w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **asylbekovsultanbek** Малдарсыңдар ғой не болыпты өлді кетті не шешіп бердіңді сукалар 😂😂😂  
58w Reply See translation
-  **botagobzabdildaeva** Больницадан кашап шығып тағы қылмысқа баратын щығар қурып кеткір маньяк.  
58w Reply
-  **asylbekovsultanbek** 😂😂😂😂😂😂 малдар сол өлікті эфирге көрсеткендей айттыңдар ғой қот.қ.р  
58w Reply See translation
-  **dosanova\_I** Қыздар ешкіммен кездеспендер  
58w Reply
-  **mukhitovbola** такчто сақ болындар қыздар неше түрлі сұмдық жағдайлар көп моньяктар шыға бастады кім көрінгенмен танысып тартыспандар интернет деген адамнын жауы естерынде болсың  
58w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **kulipash.03.10** Аты жөнін түрін салыңдар халық көрсін  
58w Reply See translation
-  **shinka\_gul** Сумдық жпгдай кудай сақтасын 😂  
58w Reply See translation
-  **kaldybetov.ulan** Қатаң жазамен отырғызып отырғанына өкінетіндей өмір бақыиға соттау керек аиамадыма адам баласын оғанда аиаушылық бермеу керек  
58w Reply See translation
-  **makhabbat\_727** Еее, сұмпайы қылмыскердің заманы болды ғой, барлық жағдайлары "жасалып" тұр, адам жоғалу фактісін 3 күннен кейін тіркейміз деп, жайбарақат отырады, не сұмдық, еш ақылға сыймайды, аман алып қалуға қанша жағдай туып тұр десеңізші, осындайдан кейін қылмыскер құтырмай ше? 😂  
58w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **naziradelmuhambetova** Всё правильно, люди должны знать, что интернет это в большой мере Зло. Берегите себя и своих близких и детей. Будьте всегда бдительны.  
58w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **ramazan.suleimen** @naziradelmuhambetova Пришёл злой Интернет и убил  
58w Reply See translation
-  **purekeeee** Қазақстанда хайуандарға заң әлсіз! Кінәсіз халыққа заң қатал 😡  
58w Reply See translation
-  **zhanar.elemanova** Ата-анасына сабыр берсін.Алла баламен сынамамын.Шет елдің каналдарын құрту керек.Керек емесін.  
58w Reply See translation
-  **yunusova.fatima** nege korsetpeyt el jurтка tur alpetyн aty jonin 🤔  
58w Reply See translation
-  **liza\_83\_2801** Екі жақтың туыстарын жинап солардың көзінше жәймендеп денесін кесіп бөлшектеп азаптап тістерін қағып құлағын кесіп артынан кол аяқтарын кесіп басын алу керек , Қинап өлтіру керек. Бірақ олай жасамайды тек апарып қамайды болды. Бізде заң жок ондай 😂 Өкінішті  
58w Reply See translation
-  **gurkar8458** Қызбен сөйлескен смстері тұр ғой, қыз өзі барып тұр ғой жігіті бола тұра.. Жігіті байғұс ең бірінші болып дабыл қағып іздеген. Ал қыз ешқандай интернет сату емес, 3-күн сөйлесіп, танымайтын жігіттің пәтеріне барған. Пәтерде оған кім көмектеседі.. неге осы қыздар жеңілтек болып кеткен. Жігіті бар - деп туыстары шырылдап жүр, қызға тіл тигіздірмей. Өзі, өз аяғымен пәтерге жігітпен кіріп кетті 😂  
58w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **ekashumov** Смертный казни.  
58w Reply See translation
-  **baizhumanova.dariga** Кудай сақтасын адам емеской муны жасаган тырнактарымен тисин сындырганы сумдыкко ещә варил голову это вообще ужас  
58w Reply See translation
-  **seidalievamika** Алматыда болғанымда больницаға барып, тығылып кирип, азаптар едим 😂😂😂😂😂😂  
58w Reply See translation
-  **safinkaharman** Сол малды неге корсетпейсиндер  
58w Reply
-  **nurshat13.02** Биринши рет барган деп актап алгысы келедима?!  
58w Reply See translation








-  **medet.barisbek** Кв неге барды екен .  
58w Reply See translation
-  **gnb\_89** Асыл арнаны немене алып тастады?!?!Сонда көп пайдалы нәрмелер айтылатын еді. Үйде жолдасым жоқта қорқып түнімен сол каналдан құрантыңдап ұйқыға кететін едік. Не саясат бұл?!
-  **bagila.shanzharovna** Аяулы қыздар бұл сиздирге сабақ болсыншы абай болыңыздар  
58w Reply See translation
-  **batyrhanovna1504** ер жигит деп танысып сеніп барған шығар басқа сөзім жоқ қорқынышты 😊  
58w Reply
-  **gnb\_89** Аллах перзенттерімізді барлық жақындарымызды шайтанның уәсәсінен сақтасын  
58w Reply See translation
-  **gulzhamal987** Турин халыққа көрсетпейма? Кандай адам екенін, ел корсин!  
58w Reply See translation
-  **gnb\_89** Қызды қырық үйден тыю!!!  
58w Reply See translation
-  **zepter2021shym** Оны емдеп не істейді қлтіре салмайма қоғамға өте қауіпті маньяккой.  
58w Reply See translation
-  **umit.sarsekova** Халыққа бериндер бир бирлеп жулсын тистерин  
58w Reply
-  **ariadna\_kiz\_jasau** Бұндайды жаңалық демейді қазақ қаралы хабар дейді  
58w Reply See translation
-  **\_mdnvab\_** Аштан катырып азаптап олтиру керек  
58w Reply See translation
-  **sun123321123** 2күн болды осы жаңалықты көргеннен, ұйықтайда алмаймын,еркын жүреде алмаймын,Алла сабыр берсын отбасысына,күш-қуат берсын. Ана Адам емес аюанды ОМЫРЛЫК БАС БОСТАНДЫГЫНАН АЙЫРУЫН СУРАЙМЫЗ жанеде СУРЕТЫН КОРСЕТСЫН ЕЛГЕ . 🙏  
58w Reply See translation
-  **sarsenbaeva\_4** 😞😞😞😞😞 айуандар ай өлім жазасы берилсин жаним жап жас қыз қыршын кетти ау 😞😞  
58w Reply See translation
-  **elmira.merki** Қинап, азаптап ату жазасын  
 **gnomfrance** Как можно с незнакомцем заходить в квартиру 😞  
58w Reply See translation
-  **\_guika\_** Алдап апарып түр гой қанішер. оны неге емдемек эле қалсын, осы заңдар қуады несің тергемек не дәлел керек ұсталып түр гой жауыздықпен атылсын халық алдында қанышер. жазықсыз қызды зорлап түр өлтіріп түр жауыздық пен не масқара адам емес аяуанғада олай істемейді. бәрине заң кінәлі ауыр қылмыстарды парамен жабады. ақшаға құнықан сот практир адвокат полиция ақша үшін жұмыс жасайды. болмас нәрсе адамы жоқ ақшасы жоқтарды оң оңай сотай салады. бұл шындық. өлген адамды мынарада адамның жүрегін ауыртып көрсете бергенше. жауыз аяуанды атып көрсетіндер. әділ болсаңдар.  
58w Reply See translation
-  **farkhat.tk** Бир жерде той болып жатыр деп айтса камерасын кушақтап жетип баратын еді штраф салуга, адам жоғалды деп арыз жазса қабылдамайды. Адамгершиликтерин кайда?  
58w Reply See translation
-  **qwerte\_7775** Үй жексурун кандай карапайы сулу казак кызды омирды алды. Сумырай.  
58w Reply See translation
-  **marzhan\_ayazbaeva** 🔥  
58w Reply
-  **islamalia2004** Өлтіру керек қой! 😞  
58w Reply See translation
-  **ulbolsynkalzhanbaeva** Ата анасына сабыр берсин  
58w Reply See translation
-  **belasarova1971** Кешіресіздер, негізі осындай оқыс оқиғаларды айтуды тоқтату керек. Айтылған сайын неше түрі көбейіп барады  
58w Reply See translation
-  **ulbolsynkalzhanbaeva** Алла жазасын берсин  
58w Reply See translation
-  **juldzashimova** 😞😞😞😞😞😞😞  
58w Reply
-  **ulbolsynkalzhanbaeva** Жоқ атпасын қыйналып өлсин.  
58w Reply See translation
-  **bazilova\_2365** Иманды болсын Ата анасы на сабыр берсин қорқынышты омир боладыгой 😞  
58w Reply See translation
-  **tutkushbaevjandos** Людоед па бирдеме гой морозильникке етин салып коиган Дейди гой
-  **dosian.nurseitov** Алам емес жамызгой ана

-  zanka\_yasin Екі дүниеде өмірі тозақ болғыр қанішер маньяк.Кыз,келіншектер аман болыңдар.Ешкімге сенбендер.  
58w 1 like Reply See translation
-  lana\_kasymovna Бул не деген сұмдық 😭 кыздар енді интернеттен таныспау керек , неше түрлі жындылар бар .  
58w Reply See translation
-  the.handmade.queen Журналист, который рассказывает о происшедшем (2:30 минута) слишком возбуждённо рассказывает, глаза такие радостные, как будто не о трагедии, а о чем-то удивительном говорит.  
58w 1 like Reply See translation
-  arman\_mebel\_almaty\_ Иманды болсын 😊  
58w Reply See translation
-  gnomfrance Как можно с незнакомцем заходить в квартиру 🤔  
58w Reply See translation
-  farkhat.tk Бир жерде той болып жатыр деп айтса камерасын куштап жетип баратын еді штраф салуга, адам жоғалды деп арыз жазса кабылдамайды. Адамгершіліктерин кайда?  
58w Reply See translation
-  qwerte\_7775 Уй жексурун кандай карапайы сулу казак кызды омирды алды. Сумырай.  
58w Reply See translation

-  aitmatov628 Тунги сағат 21:55 те лифтке кирген,түнде жалғыз ози квартирага мейли заказбен келсин 3 кун танитын адамга киреме квартирасына тусиниксиз 19 жасар кыз  
58w 1 like Reply See translation
-  karabaevaps Оны сауықтыруға ақша жұмсағанша, керек науқастарға бермеиди ма? Негизи биликти тусинип болмаиды?! Сразу ен катал турмеге тыгу керек емеспе, ондай жауызды, Ким биледи, тагы каншама адамды олтирген шгар!  
58w Reply See translation
-  ahmetova\_bekzhamal БІР ДӨКЕЙДІҢ ЕРКЕСІ БОЛЫП ТҮР ҒОЙ .ЕНДІ ҚАНЫШЕРДІ ЖЫНДЫ ДЕП ЖЫНДЫХАНАҒА САЛАДЫ.СОСЫН БІРЕР ЖЫЛДА ҚАЙТА ШЫҒАДЫ.БІРІНШІ ҚЫЛМЫСЫ ДЕП ҚОЯДЫ,МЫНАУ ЖАУЫЗДЫҚТЫ ІСТЕГЕН ХАЙУАН МҮМҚІН ЕМЕС ҚОЙ.СҰМДЫҚ.ҚЫЗДАРДА ҚӘЗІР ҚОРЫҚПАЙДЫ ИНТЕРНЕТПЕН ТАНЫСЫП ҚАЛАЙ БАРАДЫ?ЕНДІ ҚЫЗДАРҒА ҮЛКЕН САБАҚ БОЛАР МЫНАУ ОҚИҒА.  
58w Reply See translation
-  madina\_hanim91 Ата-анасына,туысына сабыр берсин ,иманды болсын 🙏🙏  
58w Reply See translation
-  madina\_hanim91 Алла сактасын  
58w Reply See translation

-  zulyasalimova9 Жиналып барып емханаға озин кинасагой . Точно так же. Дай Аллах терпения родителям и близким девушки. Покойся с миром девочка прекрасная. 😊 а этого людоеда покажите народу. Сол "badoo" деген программаны удалить вообще нахрен нужно, оттуда всё и началось. Девочки милые берегите себя, впервые очередь думайте о своих родителях . Люди сейчас поноехали с других стран и городов .. жестоко убивают женщин ,девушек и маленьких детей. Не общайтесь с кем попало 😞😞😞 Алларим барин корип тур. Каждый получит то что заслуживает. (((  
58w Reply See translation
-  anarasharipova\_7 Девочки, девушки берегите себя. 😊  
58w 2 likes Reply See translation
-  ramazanov.1281 ДЕВУШКИ КОГДА ОПОМНИТЕСЬ, ЗАЧЕМ С ПЕРВЫМ ВСТРЕЧНЫМ С ИНТЕРНЕТА, ХОДИТЕ НА СВИДАНИЕ НА КВ ИЛИ ВЫЕЗДАЕТЕ ЗА ГОРОД. В САЙТАХ ЗНАКОМСТВ МНОГО МАЛОЛЕТОК СИДЯТ, КУДА РОДИТЕЛИ ИЛИ ОРГАНЫ СМОТРЯТ.  
58w Reply See translation
-  \_aknzzz ЖАЛПЫ ИНФОРУМБИРО ТІЛШЛЕРІ ЖҮРГІЗУШІЛЕРІ,СІЗДЕРДЕН СОЛ ҚАНЫШЕРДІҢ АТЫ ЖӨНІН ТҰРАТЫН ЖЕРІН КӨРСЕТУЛЕРІҢІЗЖІ СҰРАМЫЗ. БІЗДЕ ЕРТЕНГІ БОЛАШАК СТУДЕНТ БОЛАМЫЗ.  
58w Reply See translation

## Comments


-  tooj7890 Сұмдық ай, қандай қорқынышты.ол үйге не үшін барды екен.аңғал қпзағым ай, интернет те жау болды ау.сақ болыңдаршы ағайын балалардың құлағына ешкімге сенбе деп құйып отыру керек.  
58w Reply See translation
-  nur\_ai\_123 Журналист маз гой  
58w 1 like Reply See translation
-  nurjamal.777 Орган сататын болғаным,холодильникке салған болса  
58w Reply See translation
-  kamilauteulieva62 Айуанға ату жазасын берсин.  
58w Reply
-  ta1gatovaa\_@oryn\_0408 @just\_ham1da @tut\_riskaliev1 @tut\_agisov1  
58w Reply  
View 5 more replies
-  yerzhantlegenov Они обязаны будут обнародовать личность убийцы.  
58w 1 like Reply See translation
-  galya8187 Құдай сақтасын осындайларды естіп балдарымды далаға шығарғым келмейді 😊  
58w Reply See translation

### Case 3. Sexual Harassment


<https://www.instagram.com/p/CbiCCNst81F/?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=>

 aidrissova Меня так же домогался дедушка (!) моей сводной двоюродной сестры, два моих двоюродных брата, коллеги по работе, сосед по лестничной площадке.... Говорить об этом очень тяжело, почти невозможно, но очень и очень надо. Но я так и не смогла сказать своей тётё, что её сыновья меня едва не изнасиловали.


6w Reply See translation

 sandykz Держись, Акниет. Я с тобой. Ты молодец, что не молчишь! Пусть в дальнейшем тебя оберегают ангелы! Желаю тебе поддержки всех близких и равнодушных людей!


6w Reply See translation

 euphoria\_fan28 мне очень жаль..ведь иногда трясёт от простых слов, а тут такое 😞

6w Reply See translation

 klubni4noe\_varenie У меня была похожая ситуация только в детстве, я уже тогда понимала что происходит, но не знала как отреагировать и решила «не заметить»


6w Reply See translation

 домогался мой родной дедушка , везде лапал меня , а мне было страшно что то сказать , закрывала глаза что бы не было страшно и никому не рассказывала об этом

6w Reply See translation

 hxles.z Не удивлюсь если та тетя скажет что ты сама виновата, и как то поддержит её. Сил тебя не знаю как тебя поддержать 🤔❤️

6w Reply See translation

 marina\_mtrs Спасибо что не молчите! Сил вам пережить это! Вы большая молодец что сразу пресекли это!!!

6w Reply See translation

 oli\_muranbayeva 🙌🙌


6w Reply


 aikon5128 Онбаган еркек 😞

6w Reply See translation


 alyaseraya у меня нет слов. спасибо за смелость.

6w Reply See translation


 miss\_dior\_0901 Акниет, молодец. Не опускайте руки, пусть он получит по заслугам. Из-за таких сколько хрупкие судьбы были ранены, боюсь представить. Терпение, сил, понимания и поддержки вам!

 aray\_gtc Я вас очень хорошо понимаю. Когда нибудь я расскажу свою историю. Но сейчас я морально не готова .

6w Reply See translation

 samal.taimbetova Қыз - ұлттың айнасы. Қаракөз қыздарыңды қорғай алмайтын не деген ерлері ЕЗ елміз біз?! @tokayev\_online Қашанғы жалғасады бұл?! Бір қызды зорлау, бір әулетті қорлау, бір елдің болашағын жою емес па? Біз қой емеспіз ғой! Занды күшейтіп, қызды зорлаған хайуанды дарға асыңдар! Қор болған қанша қыздардың өтеуін беретін кез келді! Әлде тағы 1045 қыз құрбан болу керек па?















6w Reply See translation



 viktor.kosianenko Попахивает хорошо проплаченной постановой. Ничего личного.

6w Reply See translation


 moonlight.akh У меня тоже была подобная история, только мне было 12 лет, "друг" семьи, ровесник моих родителей, к тому же милиционер, я никому не могла ничего рассказать.

6w Reply See translation



-  **chanel\_\_chanel\_\_chanel** Если бы вы на весь интернет не засветили эту историю, решили бы внутри своей семьи эту проблему .  
6w Reply See translation
-  **chanel\_\_chanel\_\_chanel** Вопрос нахера вы молодая девушка живёте у тётки? У которой есть семья , муж . Я не оправдываю мужчину , но вы там какого хрена делаете...  
6w Reply See translation
-  **alynaivanova** Очень смело! Вы большая молодец! 🙌 надеюсь вас поддержат близкие и родные!  
6w Reply See translation
-  **kasenova\_indira\_kazakhstan** Почему ссорились? прощения просил говорите  
6w Reply See translation
-  **perizatdairova** Лучше всего наверное не жить совместно с дядями и тетями, братьями и сёстрами. Сколько историй от племянниц, сестрёнок и дальних родственников. У каждого человека есть какие то психические отклонения, которые он пытается скрывать даже от самого себя. И проходящая каждый день мимо комнат молодая девчонка полная энергии по сравнению уже с немолодой женой думаю вызывает хоть какой то но интерес 🤔... как-то так(((  
6w Reply See translation
-  **miss\_anya\_lee** Очень жаль, что вам пришлось это пережить и очень вам сочувствую. Самой пришлось столкнуться с очень похожей ситуацией 30 лет назад и тоже в казахстане. Незнание и нежелание знать, от того и отрицание, увы. Чем больше общество будет знать о таких случаях, тем, возможно, это окрепнет в сознании и уже не будет так страшно осознавать, признавать и делиться, а впоследствии наконец и наказывать за такие преступления. Желаю вам принять это и жить дальше, непросто это, тем более без поддержки, но сейчас оч много информации, и желаю вам найти для себя нужное и важное. 🙏  
6w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **korpe\_astana\_01** Доброй ночи всем читателям и автору в числе! много прочитала комментариев в ответ на вашу историю. Но ответьте пожалуйста, это случилось в первый раз? И почему то это случилось после того как он получил орден и квартиру и не плохую! Обычно как не мало известно домогательство начинается не сразу и не так резко! Вы конечно извините меня, Аллах вас простит, у него семья прекрасная и он человек хороший! Перед народом вы молодец хорошо сыграли! Вас тоже нужно наградить! В данный момент вы жертва! Но помните, правда всегда выйдет! Жизнь бумеранг. Бог вам судья, мне жаль Вас!  
6w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **aikyn.916548** Правильно написали и таких уродов много! А обвиняют жертву!  
6w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **dumnx\_** спасибо за вашу смелость и откровенность поделиться вашей историей и информировать/помочь многим казахстанкам/цам. Вы молодец, спасибо вам за этот пост!  
6w 4 likes Reply See translation
-  **ttaburettka** ужасно, ужасно, ужасно.нету слов  
6w 3 likes Reply See translation
-  **ainura\_\_st** Ты молодец! Пусть он получит по заслугам и по полной!!  
6w Reply See translation
-  **loonlyrain** мне было так больно читать это..  
6w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **danaserkhill** Мықты болыңыз.  
6w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **\_aaidana14** Спасибо вам что не молчите! Сил вам и терпения!!  
6w 1 like Reply See translation

 **nazarov.nnn** Незнаю почему, но мне кажется что она все это выдумала. Может между ними была какая то ссора или еще что то, и она решила так сделать! Про орден Курмет написала еще, как это целовал и показывал свой орден? В голове не укладывается! Я знаю что щас налетят, но все таки это мое мнение! Не говорю что это 100% выдумка, но мне так кажется 

6w 2 likes Reply See translation

 **\_koodik\_** Плачу, вы сделали то что я не смогла сделать несколько лет назад! Тоже предлагали забыть и тд . Боялась и тряслась при виде него и вспоминая бывший инцидент. Надеюсь в обществе будет больше таких смелых девушек 🙌💕.



6w 2 likes Reply See translation

 **aknietiyar** @\_koodik\_ надеюсь общество изменит свое отношение к насилию и изменится закон 🙏❤️ 















6w 1 like Reply


 **mirgul\_a** У меня была подобная ситуация. И приходится притворяться что ничего не было 😞 

6w 1 like Reply See translation

 **aknietiyar** @mirgul\_a как и очень большое количество девушек, но мы в силах это изменить 🙏 

6w Reply

-  **lana\_dikanchieva** Благодарю вас за пост и таких как вы, за мужество! Я понимаю тебя, пока не могу открыться сама, не выросла из своих комплексов((((
- 6w 2 likes Reply See translation
-  **jgegjn @aknietiyar** Бұған 1-2 адам кінәлі емес, бұған тұтас мемлекет, билік, қоғам кінәлі... Бұған мен де кінәлімін... Осындай малғұндардың қоғамда емін еркін кесіліп жүргені үшін тізерлеп отырып кешірім сұраймын!❤️
- 6w 2 likes Reply See translation
-  **madina\_2248** Сил вам пережить это!! И спасибо, что не молчите!🙏
- 6w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **makhabbat\_ibragim** Не молчи 🙊 - правильно, что поделилась и пытаешься выйти из этого состояния Сил тебе
- 6w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **keep\_looking\_at\_me @tokayev\_online** лишите этого человека всех почестей! Такой человек не может быть заслуженным поэтом. @aknietiyar спасибо что поделились и 🙏🙏🙏
-  **ominkova** Об этом нужно говорить, сил вам и вашей семье! Такого просто не должно быть! У меня был только один такой случай, когда пожилой родственник начал распускать руки, мне было лет 13, он пришёл в гости, когда родителей не было. Прошло больше 30 лет, но я до сих пор помню это ужасное ощущение((
- 6w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **aminatashen** И это тот кто получил құрмет 🙏
- 6w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **dana.tleubayeva** Акниет, вы большая молодец 🙌 очень смелая девушка 🔥 о таком действительно нельзя молчать, но ко мне очень часто приходят женщины молодые и взрослые, которые когда-то пережили насилие или домогательства и большинство из них помолчали и не рассказали никому, потому что боятся, что их не примут, обвинят и часто они сами чувствуют вину за это. Чем больше женщин будет говорить об этом, тем меньше будет такого. С нашего молчаливого согласия насилуют и домогаются других девочек и женщин 🙄
- 6w 2 likes Reply See translation
-  **tiamaopb** Молодец! Все будет у тебя 🙏🙏🙏
-  **gulzhan\_ks** Очень смело! Я в свое время промолчала из-за такого "уят". Попытки поговорить с родными, начинались с: молчи, он же родственник. Сейчас уже много лет прошло, человека уже нет. Но знаете, при воспоминаниях, мысль: Ты промолчала, и скольких ещё это позволило ему обидеть. Обидеть - мягкое слово, сломать жизнь. Поэтому важно не молчать не только в свою защиту, в защиту всех кто может пострадать.
- 6w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **kaliya\_kz** Какой кошмар! И самое ужасное, что жертвы насилия в 80% случаях знали своих насильников! Это не кто-то посторонний! Это те, кто вокруг нас!
- 6w 14 likes Reply See translation
-  **dinara.ashimovna** Держитесь, это ужасно 😞
- 6w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **gumi.aktau** Мықты екенсіз!!! Ал, мен болсам, айта алмадым 😞😞😞 Сізді қолдаймын! Қазақты осы "уят" құртатын..
- 6w 1 like Reply See translation
- View 1 more reply
-  **imdancho** Бәрі жақсы болады деп сенемін, бұл жануар жазасын алсын!
- 6w 2 likes Reply See translation


 **alina.kz18** Вы будто рассказали мою историю... меня так же домогался муж моей тёти. Только мне было всего 5 лет! Вспоминать мерзко. Он уже умер давно, а я всё ещё ненавижу его. Надеюсь горит в аду. Девушки - мамы, не оставляйте дочек своих ни у каких родственников без присмотра ради Всевышнего прошу 🙏

6w 7 likes Reply See translation


 **aknietiyar @alina.kz18** берегите пожалуйста себя и своих близких от этого ада 🙏😭

6w 2 likes Reply

— View 1 more reply

 **ittin.balasy** Спасибо что поделились! Вы очень смелая! Держитесь!

6w 17 likes Reply See translation

 **mariarhat** Вы очень смело поступили, что тогда, когда происходила эта мерзость. Что сейчас, когда храбро освещаете эту огромную, для нашего поколения, проблему. Благодаря вам, девочки при таких случаях не будут бояться. Берегите себя 🍀


6w 8 likes Reply See translation

 **abn1011** Ты молодец 🙌 держись!

6w 1 like Reply See translation


 **anna\_redviking** Держись 🙌 я очень тебя понимаю. Я сама подверглась нападению когда мне было 15, но я долго не могла рассказать об этом широкому кругу людей, потому что в голове прочно засели установки с чувством вины за произошедшее. Боялась осуждения, типа сама, дура, виновата, сама за ним пошла, наверно сама же этого и хотела. И буквально недавно написала пост на эту тему...и получила в ответ столько поддержки, столько слов благодарности за то, что решилась не молчать. И самое страшное, разные девушки мне стали писать что они тоже через это прошли. Нас много. Наверно каждая девушка хоть раз в жизни сталкивалась с нежелательным проявлением сексуального интереса к ней. Начиная от "безобидного" кэтколлинга от гопников и дикпиков в личку и заканчивая вот такими отвратительными приставаниями от родственников или начальства, а то и вещами похуже 😞 И им все сходило с рук, потому что мы молчали, боясь осуждения и порицания в обществе. Давайте не будем больше молчать! Девочки, мы сильные! Мы справимся с этим! Давайте поддерживать друг друга. Пора прекращать виктимблейминг. Мы не виноваты что они насилуют! Нам нечего стыдиться. Это им должно быть стыдно, это они должны испытывать чувство вины! #тынеодна #немолчи #мненестыдно #яНеБоюсьСказать @nemolchi.kz @tineodna\_ru

6w 6 likes Reply See translation









 **zhannet\_and\_pet** Глубоко сочувствую. Понимаю. Подобная ситуация была в юности. Пришла к репетитору, готовиться к вступительным. Оцепенение, да. Ужас, растерянность, настолько неправдоподобно гротескная ситуация, что это кажется, что не с тобой происходит. Хотя второй половиной разума погимаешь- это с тобой, это ты.... И это он- взрослый дядька, поддатый и принимающий твое оцепенение от ужаса происходящего за согласие. Только через почти 27 лет я рассказала об этом психологу и рыдала так, что стала захлёбываться слезами. Взрослая, самостоятельная тетка... Хотя не было изнасилования, просто пьяный мужик навалился с поцелуями и хватаниями за руки- ноги-:грудь и т.д. И все эти годы Я молчала. Поэтому что боялась, что обвинят МЕНЯ!!!" Сама виновата, не надо было краситься, не надо было одеваться ТАК, не надо было..." Ну и так далее. Короче говоря, я вас понимаю,. Я вам глубоко сочувствую, я с вами!! Конечно, если бы проговорить ещё все с хорошим спецом-было бы вообще отлично..Моя реквизиты 🙌. Правильно все сделали 🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌

6w 11 likes Reply See translation

— Hide replies

 **zhannet\_and\_pet @zhannet\_and\_pet** моя рекомендация ( писала , торопилась)


6w 1 like Reply See translation


-  **mekebayeva.assel** Как я вас понимаю, я сама прошла через это в детстве 😞😞 Это ужасно и отвратительно!! Особенно, когда родные не верят, не поддерживают и тебе стыдно говорить об этом. Причем такие гадкие вещи в основном делают те люди, на которых ну никогда не подумаешь и которые сейчас занимают высокие должности! Я сама снимала видео о насилии и какое-то время писала об этом посты, была тревогу во время карантина 2020. Тогда вообще случаи еще больше участились вплоть до убийств(( и ввели в итоге закон, создали группы поддержки пострадавшим. Но, один фиг, все идет из семьи! Если собственная родня совершает эти гадости, то закон не поможет
- 6w 34 likes Reply See translation
-  **aknietiyar** @mekebayeva.assel да, все идёт из семьи, из воспитания, из того что нормально, а что нет. Будем менять это вместе
- 6w 7 likes Reply
-  **ttokkozhina** Я требую его фотку распечатать и подписать как есть.
- 6w 7 likes Reply See translation
-  **aknietiyar** @ttokkozhina все вернётся само этому человеку.
- 6w 3 likes Reply
-  **erkh.djva** @aknietiyar а пока дочь дяди его не окликнула ,вы молча отвечали на поцелуй ? А если бы она не позвала бы отца,вы бы молча переспали бы да 😂. Вы сами хоть верите в то что написали
- 6w Reply See translation
-  **lukmanova.sholpan** @saltanatkabdykeshovna ❤️
- 6w Reply
-  **erkh.djva** @altynkyz123 я ответила на ее пост ,по крайней мере она так описывает . Молчала пока не позвала дочь . Это ещё как понять
- 6w Reply See translation
-  **saltanatkabdykeshovna** @altynkyz123 человек, который не пережил, не поймёт, поэтому это бесполезно объяснять.
- 6w Reply See translation

- saltanatkabdykeshovna** Молодец 🙌 что не молчишь!!! Ты очень смелая, зная что тебя ждёт, ты рассказала!!! Меня убивают- едены уят болады...
- 6w 104 likes Reply See translation
- Hide replies
- aknietiyar @saltanatkabdykeshovna** делать вид что все нормально кажется уже укоренилась в нашем мозгу.
- 6w 16 likes Reply See translation
- saltanatkabdykeshovna @aknietiyar** я сама мама 17 летней дочери, тётя своих племяшек, пережила сама нечто страшное в свои 19 лет, и тогда я молчала, потому что тётя сказала- молчи, уят болады 😭
- 6w 17 likes Reply See translation
- aknietiyar @saltanatkabdykeshovna** уят болмайды. Нельзя в суверенному государству быть таким! Нельзя посягать на жизнь, свободу и ценность человека.
- 6w 62 likes Reply
- saltanatkabdykeshovna @aknietiyar** 🙌🙌
- 6w 4 likes Reply
- erkh.djva @aknietiyar** а пока дочь дяди его не окликнула ,вы молча отвечали
- 05:33
- Comments
- bakytname @aknietiyar** Здравствуйте! Извините, но как ваш отец и брат ничего не сказали 😊, это значит что наши отцы и братья нас не могут защитить в любой ситуации 😭 как нашим женщинам и детям жить и спокойно спать если нет защиты и помощи со стороны близких нам мужчин 😭 это позор, позор вашему отцу и тем более брату
- 5w 2 likes Reply See translation
- aknietiyar @bakytname** каждый живёт как может. наш в первую очередь должен защищать закон.
- 5w Reply See translation
- bakytname @aknietiyar** в КЗ закон бездействует, все продажные аферисты
- 5w 1 like Reply See translation
- aknietiyar @bakytname** значит пора это исправлять. мы в ответе за то, в чем живём.
- 5w Reply See translation
- istina\_krisstina @aknietiyar** вы молодец! Мне страшно за их дочь. Не позволяет ли он себе нечто подобное в адрес девочки? Всё ли с ней в порядке? Возможно, с девочкой нужно поговорить и задать некоторые вопросы, чтобы убедиться, что она не стала его жертвой.
- kyz.bala2021 @gainisha\_t** Во первых ещё нужно доказать: что был "такой ужасный поступок"? "Перечеркнуть все регалии" не возможно, априори. Тут странная, запутанная история, нельзя судить однобоко и играть в одни ворота!? А ближе "родни" у человека никого нет! Родителей и Руководителей не выбирают! P.S. Спрашивается зачем жить у родственников, если вокруг полно Хостелов и Гостиниц? Зачем приходиться в квартиру в которой находится только один мужчина без своей половинки? Нужно предварительно позвонить тому человеку, которому приходишься родственником и предупредить о предстоящем визите к ним! Тем более речь идёт о совершеннолетнем человеке и самодостаточной личности, которая может сама себя обеспечить?! Тут много нюансов!?! 🙌🙌🙌
- 5w 1 like Reply See translation
- ankusheva.k.a @kyz.bala2021** легко говорить, когда с вами такого не происходило. Все такие умные, знают что делать.
- 5w 1 like Reply See translation
- gainisha\_t @kyz.bala2021** В том-то и дело что в таких ситуациях чаще всего ничего не докажешь! Но если девушка решилась рассказать о приставаниях, не смотря на кучу перессудов и даже обвинений в ее адрес, то это ведь не просто так?! Вот и вы сейчас
- 15\_рек\_07 @aknietiyar** в голове не укладывается, надеюсь кто-то из них хотя бы поговорил с ним и Вы просто не в курсе...где же понятие защиты чести и достоинства, они ведь мужчины.
- 6w 5 likes Reply See translation
- olga\_i\_y @aknietiyar** тогда мы все скажем! Вместе! Держитесь 🙌
- 6w 2 likes Reply See translation
- aknietiyar @olga\_i\_y** обязательно 🙌
- 6w 2 likes Reply See translation
- alina\_toksic @aknietiyar** это очень очень печально. А если вы не первая, и не последняя?!?! Ему сейчас все сойдет с рук, а дальше??? Он пойдет и продолжит свои злые деяния 😭😭😭😭 ведь безнаказанность порождает насилие
- 6w 2 likes Reply See translation
- aknietiyar @alina\_toksic** благодаря огласке я узнала, что не первая, и не вторая, и даже не третья. Но точно последняя.
- 6w 1 like Reply See translation
- bakytname @aknietiyar** Здравствуйте! Извините, но как ваш отец и брат ничего не сказали 😊, это значит что наши отцы и братья нас не могут


 **abyibars** @aknietiyar да, понимаю. Но должен же быть ещё один мужчина в казахской семье, который должен сказать такому "мужчине" что это не правильно как минимум и как минимум надо извиниться. И если такого мужчины в своей родне нет, звать из друзей или дальних родственников. Как бы если мы говорим о традициях, то и честь родовая имеет место быть и нехер её порочить похотливыми желаниями с молодыми племянницами. Иначе они же подадут пример молодым.


6w 23 likes Reply See translation 


 **altynlive** Всегда поражаюсь смелости девушек выносить такие истории. В итоге чем закончилось, как отреагировала на все это сама тетя и родители?


6w 19 likes Reply See translation 


— Hide replies


 **aknietiyar** @altynlive сказала что разочарована, как и родители. И все мы переживаем это горе. Но никто так и не смог это человеку сказать в лицо, какой ужас он сотворил. Я не могу сказать ему это в лицо, трясёт от одной мысли об этом.

6w 3 likes Reply See translation 


 **abyibars** @aknietiyar дядя этот в Астане? Я за других говорить не могу, но когда буду в Астане, могу ему сказать в лицо если надо. Хотя конечно лучше чтоб близкие об этом сказали ему.

6w 9 likes Reply See translation 

 **aknietiyar** @abyibars в Астане. Ты же понимаешь как устроена казахская семья, легче прятать, отмолчаться, сделать вид что ничего не было.


6w 5 likes Reply See translation 

 **abyibars** @aknietiyar да, понимаю. Но должен же быть ещё один мужчина в казахской семье, который должен сказать такому "мужчине" что это не правильно как минимум и как минимум




## Case 4. Feminita

<https://www.instagram.com/p/CPdgzsnHPgF/?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=>

 **\_shk.zh\_ Халқымыз недеген надан болып кеткен... Бұл мемлекетте болашақ жоқ ағайындар оданша надан, қараңғы халықты өздерінің елдерінде қалдырайық) Уходить отсюда надо**

46w 74 likes Reply See translation

 **daurennb @\_\_shaidykarymova\_\_ мұндай ЛГБТ идеологиялары барлар-ақ дамыған бола берсін, кететіндер болса тіпті керемет 🙌🙌**

46w 11 likes Reply See translation


 **mam\_ia @\_\_shaidykarymova\_\_ дұрыс айттыңыз кошениздер 🙌🙌🙌**

46w 3 likes Reply See translation


 **just\_aida @mam\_ia сами решат**

46w 5 likes Reply


 **kuanish\_1981 @\_\_shaidykarymova\_\_ ухади пашелнахуй**

 **\_\_ermekbaev\_\_ Респект Чимкентским уважухааа 🔥🔥 Алла разы болсын сендергее .Меня тошнит от них и от тех кто поддерживают этих ненормальных людей.Подумайте когда вы родились,как обрадовались ваши родители на то что у них дочь или сын**


46w 33 likes Reply See translation

 **kosciuzko озинди мусылман деп айтуға уяласн,осындай 20 шақты ер адам айелди ур согып карап турганына,**


46w 10 likes Reply See translation

 **aablack5026 @kosciuzko даже таспен урп оллтреды тек уру былай тұрсын неге уялу керек екен жастардын болашагна уаимдаганы ушын уялсна**


46w 1 like Reply

 **kosciuzko @aablack5026 олардин истеринде ешкандай зиянын корп турган жокпын,бир кателиги болса да тас гасырыдын адамы уксап урып согудын кажети жок**


46w 3 likes Reply See translation

 **kosciuzko @aldabek.tiyshov озинди мусылман деп,баскаларга олимди тилеген катего 🤔**

46w Reply See translation

 **aablack5026 @kosciuzko еркек пен аиел болп жаратылган сон солай калу керек ер ер болып аиел аиел болып жасап жаткан амалдыры ерсы жағымсыз амалдар енды соны дұрыс деп тұрсынба? Ориентациясы болек болса отырсын уинде ар жерды аралап жар салып аркымды тартпаи оздерыне !**


46w Reply See translation

 **qyle.ruh @\_tsykiko** айналайын тұрғың келмесе біреу қинап ұстап тұрма? Сендер кетсеңдер той жасап қуанатын шығармыз, жай жүрген жоқ олар лгбт деген балеге тартп жур ля


46w Reply See translation

 **happyhappyoks @\_tsykiko** Олар не істесе де, оздері білсін, бірақ елге журтка жарияламай жайына карап журсін! Біз балдарымызды коргаймыз мынадай жеркенішті заттан














46w Reply See translation














 **\_kadras\_** Я сама из Шымкента,люди тут готовы их разорвать за то,что они феминистки,да ещё и представительницы ЛГБТ сообщества.Под постом одного человека,на эту тему,многие пишут якобы "Их надо посадить/убить" ведь "феминистки тут не нужны".Самое страшное что там пишут не только "мужчины" но и женщины...


46w 1 like Reply See translation

 **kalambaevanurzhamal** Жарайсыңдар қазақтың жігіттері.Аулақ кетсін Қазақстаннан.Көттерінен теуіп құрту керек бұларды.

46w 1 like Reply See translation


-  **yernar1\_95** Ол қатындар Шымкентте неғып жүр   
46w Reply See translation
-  **aknur\_** Почитайте историю про пророка Лута, если смелости хватит   
46w Reply See translation
-  **yernar1\_95** Почему эти тетки похожи на мужиков   
46w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **altynaymaybe** мы с вами! все будет хорошо    
46w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **kerimbaeva\_aliya\_1982** ЛГБТ болмаса неге туын желбіретіп мақтан тұтады!!!!   
46w 2 likes Reply See translation
-  **aligator\_west** К сожалению, подобным дамам не понятна традиция и культура, что они невзирая на то, что являются частью Востока — поддерживают явления Запада.   
46w Reply See translation


-  **advertisement.kzz** Пусть пойдут со своими лгбт в европу. Нам такие не нужны   
46w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **itscurrant** ЛГБТ қолдайтындар ҚАЗАҚ жерінен кете берсеңіздер болады ! 😞 Көріп тұрғандарыңыздай сіздер жойылғандарыңызша олар тыным таппайды ! 🙏  
46w Reply See translation
-  **itscurrant** ЛГБТға кіретін адамдарға ҚАЗАҚ жерінде орын жоқ! Олар бұл аманатқа лайық емес !   
46w 2 likes Reply See translation
-  **muslim\_0308** Расстрел без суда следствия   
46w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **dontlookathimlookatme** Дін арқылы өз қатыгездиктерінды көрсету, сырттарынан жаман сөз айтып, лағынет ату, ұрып-соғу- бұл жақсы іс, ал бір-бірін жақсы көретін екі адамдарды, әйелдер құқығын қорғау, зорлық-зомбылықтың алдын алу жаман іс пе?Қазақстан зайырлы ел.Және де белгілі бір дінді ұстану барлығына міндет емес.  
46w Reply See translation
-  **koreansklad\_esil** Это конечно ужасно то что так поступили с женщинами, но как борются с лгбт сообществами   
46w Reply See translation
-  **kanat.muratbayev** Изгонять надо отбросок общества!   
46w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **tworfog** любишь гранты отрабатывать , люби и шапалы ловить 🙏🙏  
46w 2 likes Reply See translation

 **nikto\_no\_chelovekk** Шайтандар курындар ары. Казактын жерин ластамай. Онбагандар. Туп тамырларынмен жою керек 🙏🙏🙏🙏🙏🙏🙏  
46w 5 likes Reply See translation

 **samal08.08** И әйел құқығын қорғаймыз еркектермен теңбіз деп қателеспендер арулар біз ер адамның қабырғасынан жаралдық ер адамда әйелін жайдан жай ұрмайды тілге егеболайық күйуілеріңізді әкелеріңізді силағандай силайық  
46w 1 like Reply See translation


 **samal08.08** Мына ұсталып отырған Әпкелерма кімдер мен еркекдеп ойлап қалдым бұларды ұрыпдатқан жоқ өздері жұлқынып шу шығарып жіберген  
46w Reply See translation

 **samal08.08** Алла қызға ұқсаған еркек және еркекке ұқсаған қызды жеккөрем деген жәннәттық болалмайды онда адамдар қанша жерден жақсы адам болсада адам өзгеруге болады емделсін психикасы  
46w Reply See translation

 **zhanibekryn** Көзіңді аш, оян қазақ, көтер басты,  
Өткізбей қараңғыда бекер жасты.  
Жер кетті, дін нашарлап, хал арам боп,  
Қарағым, енді жату жарамас-ты.  
46w 3 likes Reply See translation

## Case 5. Flag Burning


<https://www.instagram.com/p/CRRKVWIFvrG/?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=>

 rozaabduraimova7gmail.com1 Буйтип заманауи болған заманы құрсын, европаға қызыққан салты құрсын оданда қала салынбайақ кенинен көшпелі халық болып жүрген жақсы еді баяғы ата бабамыз сияқты болып қала боламыз европаға еліктейміз деп ұрғашы мен еркек тин бир бірінен ажырамай қалғаны кімге керек....

42w Reply See translation

 muhan\_eshakhan\_ Өте дұрыс


42w Reply See translation

 allakulova.aikowa Дұрысқой осындай батыр,иманды жигиттер қарсы шықпаса. Ертен болашақ не болады. Осылай барлығы жасаса азаяр мүмкін. Сондай жолға түсемин деп жүргендер ойланар. Алла қолдасын.

42w Reply See translation

 muhan\_eshakhan\_ Красавчик


42w Reply See translation

 kuralai\_esenzholova Сен жақанмен бзде магазине толып тұр балалар алып жатыр

42w Reply See translation

 aigerimnyr Өте дұрыс

42w Reply See translation

 zhenis.sarseeva Жарайсың балам,қарсылығымызды қалай болса да білдіру,біздің мақсатымыз болу керек.

42w Reply See translation

 gumka.712 КАЗАК ЕЛИНДЕ 🇰🇿🇰🇿.КАЗАК ЖЕРИНДЕ 🇰🇿🇰🇿.КАЗАК ХАЛҚЫ ❤️❤️🔥🔥🔥,ЛГБТ га жол бермеуимиз керек ❌❌❌❌👊👊

42w Reply See translation

 kanysh Эм ете престо ралуга 🙄


 gulzat0894 Еркек еркек болып,әйел Әйел болып қалу керек!!  
Выборы жоқ!Алла солай қалады!

42w Reply See translation


 ai.gerim2047 Дұрыс әрине. Ата бабамыздың аманатын сақтауымыз керек. Лгбт деген бәлеге жол жоқ.

42w Reply See translation


 yxwaursee 🙄🙄🙄🙄

 **ruskul\_2906** Алла разы болсын сізге @merei\_zholshi 🙌 Өте дұрыс нәрсе сана сезімі бар адам осы видеоға қарап отырыпта түсінеді 🙌🙌 Ақылы таяз адам болса жеткен жері сол болар қайтеміз 🙌 Ата бабамыз жоңғарданда немістенде жеңілмеген халықпыз 🙌🙌🙌 Ал мына ЛГБТ не теңіміз 🙌 Біріксек қана бәрін жеңеміз 🙌🙌


42w Reply See translation

 **avisevazanar** Дұрыс айтасыз. Қазағым аман бол.Аллам өзін жар бола көр.Жарайсын


42w Reply See translation

 **iliasova\_simbat** Қазақстанның туы желбіри берсін. Еліміз тыныш болсын 🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌


42w Reply See translation

 **azatzhum** Молодец...ерлик жасадын..баска блогерлер ундемегенде

42w Reply See translation

 **nnnurim.007** Харош Мерей ага


42w Reply See translation

 **jarkunai.92** Еее молодецц осындай кісілер тұрғанда коркудың керегі жоққой Бірінші Алла екінші намысшыл аға інілеріміз корғасын бізді

42w Reply See translation

 **diko\_rai\_fan1** Нағыз қазақ деп осыны айтады жарайсыз 🙌🙌🙌

42w Reply See translation

 **nazira\_aidarovna92** Еркек еркек болып калу керек!!! 🙌

42w Reply See translation

 **diko\_rai\_fan1** 🙌🙌🙌


42w Reply

 **kussainov\_nurtas** 🙌🙌🙌


42w Reply

 **\_xqwx\_08** 🙌🙌

42w Reply

 **ttemirbek89** Алла саған разы болсын!

42w Reply See translation

 **sarsenbaevaz** Өте мағыналы сөздер бауырым, сіздерге мың алғыс,қанша адамның көзін ашып,қазақты түзу жолдан тайдырған мына сопит,попит деген қандалаша жабысып әр дүниеге келген жас балалардың миың ұлап, дүкенде шулап қаптап тұрған мына бір стресске жақсы деп аитып жатқан, ұлап жатқан оны бала түсине мен?!Бирак ол маңызды емес,оны алып беріп конилин баланың алдап жатқан ата аналарға Алла сабыр берсін 🙌 себебі Биз Бул заттың түп тамыры кайдан пайда болғаннан биледік.Сондықтан сиз мына биздерге себепші болдыңыз.алла разы болсын сізге. Алланың назарында бақыттың базарында жүре бериніз 🙌 өте дұрыс,сіздей азаматтардың барына шүкір,басында түсинбедим неге деп ,казир шатасып билместікпен алып,сатып жатқандар түсинер,балада стрес болмайды,ол бала,бул заттың қазақстандықтарға түк пайдасы жоқ,оданда дүкендерде мағыналы заттардың кобирек болғаны жақсы.биз сизбег биргемиз.сорелерде кітап және тағы баска балаға керек психикалық дамуында кедергі болмайтын қазақстандық онимдерінз көп болсын.Алла сіздин Биздин шын ниетимізди қабыл етсін.Жолын ашық, болсын! Бакытты болыңыз! Келешек ұрпақ Биздин колымызда,саналы ұрпақ Насип етсін.ауимин

42w 6 likes Reply See translation



**arma.turganbaev** Қазақтар жасасын ❤️🥰  
👊 оларды жоққылу керек



42w Reply See translation



**zhanaiymbilda** 🇰🇷 ондай нәрсе бізде болмаған Құдай сақтасын не ол шетелге тым қатты беріліп Құдайымызды ұмытқандықау сірә Құдайдың қаһарынан қорқайық 🥰 қазақ қазақ болғалы мұндай жайт болмаған Алладан қорқайық мұсылмандығымызды сақтайық



42w Reply See translation



**orazynbaevanazym** Курметти акылды да кози ашық қауым. Осындай касирет кез келген отбасыда болуы мумкин Алла сактасын. Ер мен ер айел мен айел жуп болсын деп Алла омир берген жок. Ел болып журт болып бул касиретти колга алмасак балашагамыз не болады? Урпак кутип казак санын кобейтемиз деп отканда не сумдык? Тыныш омир суралмайсын дал осы болса. Биздер суреримизди сурип кетермиз ал болашак урпак не болады? Ене болып келин кутип отканда күйеу бала кутип отканда кызын катынды улын еркекти келин кылып акелгенде тыныш омирди корерсиндер...ойланындар



42w Reply See translation



**shara\_ablezova** Дурыс казак аркашанда казак болып калу керек. Ата аналар туыстарыңызда сондаи адам болса комектесыңыздер. Оз калпына келу ушын. Психолог . Психиатр. Т.б дегендер бар .солардын комегыне жугыну керек.



42w Reply See translation



**pirzhanovan** Не болып бара жатыр Аллам өзі сақтай көр 🥰 Ер-ер болмаса кім болад? Ер-ермен деген не сұмдық. Аллам Қазағымды сақтасын 🙌🇰🇷🇰🇷🇰🇷



42w Reply See translation





**my\_dear\_children123** Аллаһым барша мұсылман қауымын өзі жамандық атаулыдан сақтасын иншаллаһ. Бұл деген өте қорқынышты нәрсе бізге білінбегенімен перзенттеріміз ұл қыздарымыз бар ғой олардың келешегіне қауып. Аллаһым баршамызға саналы ұрпақ берсін. Сондай жандарды құптай көрсеңіздер айналайындар- ау Аллаһтан қорқу керек. Бұл өмір өтіп кетеді, баршамыз ақыретке көшеміз. Алланың алдында есеп береміз емес пе? Аллаһтың қақарын келтіретін нәрселерден аулақ болайық. Ата-бабамыз соғысып азғантай халық болып осы жерді біздерге аманат еткен оларда кім көрінге елді беріп отырғанда қазақ деген халық жер бетінде болмас еді. Олар көреген болған, дана болған. Біздер ғой отырмыз балақтағы бит басқа шыққан заманда адам құқықтары деп. Олардың құқықтары жоқ Аллаһтың бұйырғанына қарсы шығуға сондайларды да, соларды қолдап жатқандарға да Аллаһтың лағынеті болсын.



42w Reply See translation



**shopi\_9322** Неге сонша ауыр сөздер жазасыздар. Дурыс молодец 🙌 ЛГБТ деген болмаған. Казирги жастар тоқтыктан кутырып жур баска ештене емес. Қазагымнын жигиттери намысты, Елим, жерим дейтин еди. Казиргилер кимге еликтеп жатсыздар???? Катындаргама? Еркек еркек болып калу керек.

42w Reply See translation



















**nurbol\_mukashev** Хейтерлердин бәри почти кыздарго иё 😊

42w 1 like Reply See translation

















**\_eldanaa\_** Ои адемнің барлық попиттерн ортегендеи сосн біріншіден сен ауаны ластап отсн екшніден ол попитттың дым катысы жох ол әр түсті түстермен жасалған маска артқ ештенке жох онда төбеден шғатын радуганы өрте барп 🙌 😊 🙌

42w Reply See translation

-  **srailerasil** Ол ойыншық арқылы балардың мыйын улайды дұрыс түсініңіздер олда ерігіп түсірген жоқ неге ол ойыншық десеңіздер түсі транстардың туының түсі әдейі солай шығарған   
42w Reply See translation
-  **kazakhstan\_137** Адам болмайтн азгндарды елден тазалау керек   
42w Reply See translation
-  **kazakhstan\_137** Олтирип тастаитын иттерди   
42w Reply See translation
-  **bokhanovva** Расыменде, осыларды жою керек! Қазақ батырларымыз осылар үшін жерімізді қорғап келді ме? Бұлардан не шығады болашақта? Осыларды қорғап келсек жауымыз біздерді бас салады ғой?! Бұлардың үйлерді еркек болмаған ба сонда ? ' Ей, ұлым, бұның не ?!'дейтін?! Масқара ғой. Қазақ елдің тарихын, салт-дәстүрін білмеген адам, осылай өзге елдің жемі болады!!! 🙌🙌🙌🙌   
42w Reply See translation
-  **inzhu\_altynkhankyzy** 🙌🙌🙌🙌   
42w Reply
-  **gu.lzhan8835** 🙌🙌🙌 жарайсын   
42w Reply See translation
-  **bekaidarkaz** Еркек   
42w Reply
-  **shastiemoidetiwiki** Попиттин катысы не деп не деген ақымақ қазақ халқы 21 ғасыр карасандарш, именно бұл ойыншық бала психикасына қауіпті , жай ғана ойыншық деп оттамай,,,, шет жактан келген ойыншық , тик токта дәл сондай қауіпті программа   
42w Reply See translation
















- parviziasina** 🍌🍌🍌🍌  
42w Reply
- kuandukovagulbanu82** Не деген сөздер коментария. Біз қазақ сорлымыз ғой. Бір бірімізді мазақ қылып отырамыз. Қайта қолдаудың орнына. Сорлысыңдар ғой. Жалауымызды таптап жатсада. Қорқып өте шығасындар. Осындай МЕРЕЙдей жігіттер санаулы ғана ғой. Осы жерге коментария жазып жатқан жігіттер. Үйден шықпай шешесінің етегінде тығылып жатқан жігіттер ғой. Молодес. Мерей. Жазған коментария мән берме! Жасай бер жаса! Алла разы болсын!
- 42w Reply See translation
- 42w Reply See translation
- aiinurbakut** попит ойыншығы баланы кішкентайынан миын улап жатырған ойыншық дегісі келді. балаларыңыздың осындай болғанын қалайсызба. бір жыныстыға үйленгенін қалайсызба. қаламасаңыз қазірден бастап балаңызға мән беріп дұрыс қараңыз.
- 42w Reply See translation
- sandugash6599** Дұрыс 🔥🔥🔥🍌🍌  
**good\_kuksh1\_** Ол ойыншық баланың миына катты әсер етеді сіздер ата анасыздар дұрыс ойыншық таңдаңыздар бұл попит баланың санасын улайды бір жерде отырып шұқылай беру ол балаға зиян психологиясы соны шұқылағысы келіп тұратын болады сосын ол ойыншық зависимость болып кетуі мүмкін ойланыңыздар ол ойыншықты әдейі шығарып жатыр ғой
- 42w Reply See translation
- beknuribragimov90** Ассаламағалейкум жамагат бұл жигиттин тусиндирейн дегени, ойыншықтың тусин кординдер ма? И ЛГБТнын флағын туси бир ғой, казирги уакытта санамызды сол ойыншыкпен алдап жатыр емес па? Видеонын мағынасына карасандаршы ,жай коринисин кормей
- 42w Reply See translation
- batyrbekovva\_0011** Нечего нет интересного
- 42w Reply See translation
- karazhanova72** 🍌🍌🍌🍌
- 42w Reply
- sss\_sabina06** Басын какпаиды сенин осы
- 42w Reply See translation
- alinka\_9527** 🍌🍌🍌🍌🇺🇸🇺🇸🇺🇸
- 42w Reply
- good\_kuksh1\_** Осы ойыншық бала шағаның санасына зиян дұрыс өзі қолдамаған дүниені бала шағасынада жолатпайды елдің болашағы отбасынан баласының болашағын ойламайтындар өзі қолдамаған нәрсені бала шағасына ойнатсын ертең тәрбиесі үшін өзі жауапты
- 42w Reply See translation
- bbbaturkhan06** Жаман пықыр жазған адамдарға мән берменіз олар әлі тусынген жоқ,кейбірі. Попитті ойнағысы келеді тусынемейн брак естерыңызде сактаныздар оскенде улдарыңыз транс болса вот сол кезде естерыңызге тусырыңыздер осы кезде попитті ойнатқан,ата бабамыз ешкашанда бундай аллахтын лагынетиңе ушырагандар ушын бул жерді аманат етіп калдырган жоқ мен кішкентай болсамда бәрін угып тусынып отырмын мысалыга адамдарга осы мерей агам сиякты адамдар тусындырмесе онда жаман соз жазудын дым катысы жоқ казакка гана емес баскада улттарга кенесім осы 🇺🇸🇺🇸🇺🇸
- 42w Reply See translation
- khairulla\_** Дұрыс жасадың. Қолдаймын 🍌🍌
- 42w Reply See translation
- asylzhanaq** 🍌🍌🍌🍌
- 42w Reply

-  **Bayzak\_Tanzira** Политтин не катысы бар дейтіндерге еврейлер бир жыныстылар кобейсин деп лгбт жалауын ойыншыкка тусирип отыр осип келе жаткан баланын миын улау ушин!егер бир жыныстылар кобейсе Алланын лагынетине ушыраймыз! жеттима
- 42w 1 like Reply See translation 
-  **togushakovm** Алла разы болсың
- 42w Reply See translation 
-  **balzhan.erezhepova** Попиттар
- 42w Reply 
-  **balzhan.erezhepova** Popit
- 42w Reply See translation 
-  **beknuribragimov90** Ассаламагалейкум жамагат бул жигиттин тусиндирейн дегени, ойыншыктын тусин кординдер ма? И ЛГБТнын флагын туси бир гой, казирги уакытта санамызды сол ойыншыкпен алдап жатыр емес па? Видеонун магынасына карасандаршы ,жай коринисин кормей
- 42w Reply See translation 
-  **karazhanova72** 🙌🙌🙌🙌
- 42w Reply 
-  **alinka\_9527** 🙌🙌🙌🙌🇺🇸🇺🇸🇺🇸
- 42w Reply 



## Case 6. University Transfer

[https://www.instagram.com/p/CZdeQ\\_PN3wC/?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=](https://www.instagram.com/p/CZdeQ_PN3wC/?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=)

-  **musirali.adilov** что за министр.пуст своих детей учать на этом учебном заведении. надо противостоят этому.  
13w 48 likes Reply See translation
-  **romadansamira** 🤔🤔🤔 какой кошмар  
13w 18 likes Reply See translation
-  **veramik77** Откуда у нашего министерства такое направление в воспитании? Неужно из личного опыта?  
13w 59 likes Reply See translation
- View 3 more replies
-  **selfies\_pvl** Жесть за жестью  
13w 27 likes Reply See translation
- View 1 more reply
-  **ali2312bek** 🔥🔥🔥 а вы дальше молчите ...взялись за будущее семьи...деградировать ...развращать и тд  
13w 20 likes Reply See translation
-  **akhmetzhanov\_27** Разрушение образования в стране ,приводит к деградации всех остальных сфер в государстве. Будь то экономика, здравоохранение и все остальное. Тут нужно тогда в суд подавать на такие действия.  
13w 63 likes Reply See translation
-  **sergey.rise** Нам неприятно такое лоббирование и пропихивание ЛГБТ идей. @tokayev\_online  
13w 44 likes Reply See translation
- View 1 more reply
-  **elenazhankenova** Продать уже нечего, все ресурсы распроданы, мы нищие! 😞 Теперь взялись за нашу молодежь....с.и, когда же вы уже нажретесь....  
13w 101 likes Reply See translation
- ... ..
-  **svetlana2405911gma** Это вот так они решили открыть филиалы престижных вузов в РК? Если им все это нравится, пусть едут туда и живут,кто против то! Наши устои семьи не трогайте,не навязывание нашей молодёжи их взгляды на жизнь  
13w 19 likes Reply See translation
-  **akla2409** Мына бастық қазақтар не өздерін құртайындегенбе? Қайтеміз американы жастарды бұзып жастардың көбі өз тілін дінін білмейді енді тіпті манкүрт болады 😞  
13w 29 likes Reply See translation
-  **ekaterina.tsishetskaya** Вообще напрочь мозги у правительства Казахстана ошиблись 🤡  
13w 30 likes Reply See translation
-  **eduard\_konrad** Не нужны нам эти педес.ты в Казахстане! Кому нужны, пусть к ним сами едут!  
13w 10 likes Reply See translation
-  **bibi\_tulegenovna** "Естімеген елде көп"- деген... 😞 енді қалғаны Аризонадан бірдеңе үйрену ме 😞 елімізге неше түрлі жобалар мен бағдарламаларды енгізіп, ұрпақты надандандыру процесі ғой бұл... 😞  
13w 5 likes Reply See translation
-  **gulzadakarimova** Дожились! 🤡  
13w 39 likes Reply
-  **frau.rau** А как можно вообще продать или передать управления института в другую страну? Что есть такие законы? Вставать на защиту должны преподаватели родители и студенты. Ужас что творится . 😞  
13w 25 likes Reply See translation



**aloe\_nursultan\_tata** ЯСНО ДЕЛО ЗАЧЕМ 🤔  
растлевать нашу молодёжь. РУКИ  
ПРОЧЬ!



13w 67 likes Reply See translation



**beliaeva680** Может в МОНЕ сидят  
большинство с нетрадиционной ориентацией



13w 195 likes Reply See translation

— View 12 more replies



**helga\_sham\_inst** Своих детей министр не  
будет обучать в таком ВУЗе. Как же можно  
так не уважать свой народ?



13w 5 likes Reply See translation



**dominica24041982** 🙄🤔



13w Reply

— View 1 more reply



**s.medkova** Не могу понять зачем вы  
постоянно коверкаете слова? Если пишете  
их правильно вас банят?



13w 3 likes Reply See translation

— View 1 more reply



**68\_natali\_** Легли под США 🤔



13w 34 likes Reply See translation
























— View 5 more replies



**aloe\_nursultan\_tata** Столько сменили  
кадров. Почему этот главный „учитель“,  
остался 🤔



13w 67 likes Reply See translation

-  **tatyqwo** Это возмутительно! Расшатываются традиционные ценности, ослабляется образовательная система, идёт подрыв культуры внутри страны  
- 13w 207 likes Reply See translation
- View 5 more replies
-  **noname071071** Да там все правительство надо в отставку, всех министров, вред только от них государству, народу, детям 
- 13w 9 likes Reply See translation
-  **nina8611**   
- 13w Reply
-  **d.a.s.h.a.2.0.0.5\_** Запустить надо петицию на требование убрать с поста этого "засланного казачка" 
- 13w 9 likes Reply See translation
-  **sadykova1346** Ужас. Куда смотрит президент. 
- 13w 4 likes Reply See translation
-  **foto\_julija\_bara** Прекрасное было учебное заведение со своей историей, с сильным преподавательским составом! Когда-то его заканчивала моя мама, потом я сама. Надеюсь, что и мои дети смогут получить образование в стенах этого учебного заведения. А что теперь?...Если эта информация достоверная, то это самое настоящее предательство своей Родины, своего народа, своей истории! 
- 13w 69 likes Reply See translation
- View 19 more replies
-  **mariabelonosova** Не мытьём, так катанием.... Растление молодежи вошло уже в программу???? Давно уже этот министр не вызывает доверия... 
- 13w 23 likes Reply See translation
-  **dr.mkadirov** Кошмар какой-то, слов нет, какое будущее ждет нашу страну 
- 13w 8 likes Reply See translation
-  **medina\_navsegda\_ksa** Разгромим пойдём тот ВУЗ, который начнёт пропаганду того, что против здравого смысла!!! Не дадим извращать нашу страну!!! 
- 13w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **sommer\_solnechnaya\_@Tokaeв\_online** уберите этого министра! 
- 13w 8 likes Reply See translation



**miasoet.kz** с этим надо что-то делать

13w 2 likes Reply See translation



**podpi\_si** @miasoet.kz как минимум оставить комментарий до 4.02 под нпа, ссылка в шапке профиля

13w 1 like Reply See translation



**irina2021new** @podpi\_si блокируют

13w Reply See translation



**podpi\_si** @irina2021new перезайдите, комментарии оставляют

13w Reply See translation





— Hide replies



**dankesh.pie** Когда прочитала эту инфу, в голову пришла сразу эта мысль ЛГБТ 😊, я читала книгу про Мекеланджела Буанаратти он жил в 15 веке середине книги чё то скучно стала и решила конец прочитать там он влюбляется в молодого художника своего ученика 😂 вот хочется сказать у Европы это началась уже в 15-16 веке а наши предки тогда только создавали Казахское ханства и наши предки знали что такое честь, что такое мужество и достоинство 😊, так что надо наших детей учить к истории, познавать своих предков, тогда они никогда не сделают глупых ошибок

13w 7 likes Reply See translation





 **kayrat.89** Біздің болашағымызды   
13w Reply See translation



 **kayrat.89** @kayrat.89 ойлап жүрген адамдар емес   
13w Reply See translation



 **aigul\_pm\_kokshetau** @kayrat.89   
13w Reply



— Hide replies



 **krasotashahtinsk** 🤔 🤔   
13w Reply



 **74safi74** Всех уволили, почему минобр оставили на посту с его внедрением пустых правил в образования детец   
13w 17 likes Reply See translation


 **miras.020613** @74safi74 значит он главнее всех раз он остался на месте.   
13w Reply See translation

 **74safi74** @miras.020613 ну да и придумывать чушь всякую касательное образования детей   
13w Reply See translation


 **gulnaraige** @74safi74 надо петицию создать на увольнение министра образования! 

 **qwertyuiopppp89** Растление молодежи, Американдық оқу үлгісін мүлдем жолатпау керек біздің елімізге ,   
13w Reply See translation


 **ranatbek** Да там после Назарбаева одни ЛГБТшники остались .   
13w 2 likes Reply See translation

 **lu\_ita** Вот запихнуть туда детей тех кто принимает такие законы, чтобы они там переняли всю эту грязь, создали на радость своим родителям однополые парочки и тупо перестали плодиться , чтобы не было даже их продолжения в будущем!


13w 1 like Reply See translation

 **kenchinbaevasandugash** Создается впечатление.что нашему горе м....у так и надо в открытую дать добро определенной категории людей.может есть личный интерес😂


13w Reply See translation

 **larisa300774** Лучше бы оплату за обучение снизили,в стране такой кризис!!!

13w Reply See translation


 **kalmuratovazhaksygul** Бірінші рет естіп тұрмын атын университеттің.Неге мықты аты әйгілі университетпен отырмайды.5 оқу орны кімге керек сапасы болмаса.Оданда сол 5 орнына 1 мықты университетпен сөйлеспей ма

13w Reply See translation

 **agentmama29** Енді осы жетпей тұр еді, болашаққа қол салдындар ма 😞 құртсын көзін, министрмен қоса

13w 1 like Reply See translation


 **qwertyuiopppp89** Растление молодежи, Американдық оқу үлгісін мүлдем жолатпау керек біздің елімізге

 **aliya\_sunshain** Идёт целенаправленное уничтожения нации Казахстана, разрушения семейных традиций

13w 4 likes Reply See translation

 **zamzagul\_255** Кошмар





























13w Reply See translation














 **man\_prezent** гнать поганой метлой из Казахстана. цирк нам не нужен















13w Reply See translation












— View 1 more reply






































-  **olgapetrova3686** Видимо наше руководство устраивает поколение „тупое нетрадиционной ориентации" раз потакают ему и не трагоют  
13w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **oksanashara14** Срочно в отставку такого министра и близко не подпускать к деятельности в сфере образования!  
13w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **almagulmukhambetovna** Вот, больше в Казахстане нет никаких проблем. Это может сделать только ИЗМЕННИК Родины.  
13w Reply See translation
-  **zhanatnaryzbae** 🙄🙄🙄🙄🙄🙄 нельзя это допустить. Наше внутренние традиции и наше молодёжь в опасности. Я сама мать не хотела бы чтобы завтра пришла моя дочка и сказала извени мама я люблю девочек. Нет я против этого всего наше молодёжь это наше будущее не забываете об этом.  
13w Reply See translation
-  **shnaras** Сколько мы писали в публиках СКО, с лета, как первый раз объявили, против этого Американского университета, что не с добром идут. У нас даже не спросят.  
13w Reply See translation
-  **anaiatova\_indira** Отставки такого министра  
13w Reply See translation
-  **0483bek** Онбагандар, букул ластыктн барин казакстанга акелип жатыр.  
13w Reply See translation
-  **aisha.silur** 🙄🙄🙄  
13w Reply
-  **kulyandakarimbaeva** Ужас ! Этого не хватало  
13w Reply See translation
-  **sbaituev** Что попахивает гомосяминой и коррупцией ....  
13w Reply See translation
-  **ksu\_z666** Вот так поворот. Слов нет просто. И это в нашей мусульманской стране 🙄 интересно сам айманбетов традиционной ориентации?? Ну думаю нормальному адекватному чиновнику такое не придёт на ум.  
13w Reply See translation
-  **knigolybka** Бардак ! Извращения ! Позорники.  
13w 2 likes Reply See translation
-  **gulichka0101** После таких обвинений в нормальной стране сразу начали бы расследование и отстранение а у нас молчат и никакой реакции.  
13w Reply See translation
-  **katyshkurmangaliev** Жас ұрпақ осип келе жатқан біздің болашағымыз. Мынау деген сумдыккой  
13w Reply See translation
-  **gulbakhyt888** @tokayev\_life @kasymzhomart.tokayev ПРИМИТЕ СРОЧНЫЕ МЕРЫ!  
13w Reply See translation
-  **kuanyshkalievagu** А зачем к этому министру обращаться, надо на Токаева выходить!!  
13w Reply See translation
-  **forlady\_0620** Ну и позор, деградация, некогда пытавшаяся процветать страна откатывается назад комом со скоростью света...  
13w Reply See translation
-  **zhan\_azat** 🙄🙄  
13w Reply
-  **zakira\_flowartist** Капец 🙄🙄🙄🙄 я в шоке  
13w Reply See translation
-  **galamagina2289** Я то и правда подумала сначала, что хотят повысить уровень образования, но чувство что есть здесь где-то подвох, меня не покидало! И гранты то они увеличили и двойной диплом. Тфу 100500 раз на такое образование  
13w Reply See translation
-  **omorozinskaya** Нужно и нам запретить на пропаганду узаконить  
13w Reply See translation
-  **diusembekovaaknur** Карсымын!!!  
13w Reply See translation
-  **tsygotga** Это просто беспредел, гнать в шею таких руководителей, нет слов.  
13w Reply See translation
-  **abilgulmira** Маскара 🙄🙄  
13w Reply See translation
-  **ksu\_z666** И последнее смените горе министра образования!!!!!!!!!!!!  
13w Reply See translation
-  **i\_zasorin** Министр тоже из этих 🙄  
13w Reply See translation
-  **abilgulmira** Он же получил 15милл , откуда сказывается....  
13w Reply See translation
-  **ksu\_z666** @tokayev\_online @tokayev\_life вы как гарант нашей страны ну посмотрите уже что творится в Мон. Хватит уже молчать, верните нормальное образование, уберите эти соры Сочи, балы, пусть будут оценки. Нормальные контрольные. Обратите внимания на школьные книги,











-  **oksana\_oriflame.uralsk** Что они лезут сюда к нам со своей толерантностью и сексменьшинствами?! Достали и еще агитируют под это дело. Господи, спаси и сохрани наших детей от этого совращения 🙏🙏🙏🙏🙏🙏🙏🙏🙏🙏🙏🙏  
13w Reply See translation
-  **gulima\_1989** 🙄🙄🙄  
13w Reply
-  **karimovabib** В отставку министра. Не нужен нам такой министр который расшатал образование и культурные ценности. Интересно родители у него казахи???? Или он воспитывался в Европе!!!! что не знает культуру Казахстана, культуру народа???, или министр хочет чтоб у нас будущие мужчины были женщинами, а девушки мужиками.??? @aimagambetov  
13w Reply See translation
-  **ainur201471** Прекратить этот беспредел! Прекратить и принудительную факцинацию! Руки прочь от наших детей! МОН собственными руками губит будущее наших детей!  
13w Reply See translation
-  **saulenaaurizbaeva43** Верните образование СССР.! Министра нужно СНЯТЬ...  
13w Reply See translation
-  **kety34.18** Нет слов, мы против . Уволить всех кто в курсе и дал согласие  
13w Reply See translation
-  **asem9803** Бул сұмдық қой 🙄🙄🙄 Біз қазақпыз. Қазақстанда турамыз, не үшің олар осылай істейді. Біздің студенттер мен оқушылар қашықтан оқығанда олар осыны істепжатыр 🙄🙄🙄. Не үшің? Масқара .....  
13w Reply See translation
-  **zhanatbekbulatova** Министр случайно сам не из меньшинств? 🙄🙄  
13w Reply See translation
-  **shekeevaai** Бұның бәріне кім жауапты? Неге қазақтың балаларына ұрпағына көз салып отыр? Бұл барып тұрған пропаганда қазақтың балалары құрбандыққа кетеді егерде жол берсек қазақ халқы және қазақ деген ұлты жойылады 10жылға да аспайды бұл сұмдық бүкіл Қазақстанды жаулап барады сатқындарды сол Америкаға қуып жіберу керек.  
13w Reply See translation
-  **kal.jn\_** Баленбай депутатты неменге ақы төлеп ұстап отырмыз осындай заңдар қабылданса министрлер қандай қужатқа қол қойып отыргандарын билмейди ме? қоздери соқыр ма? Ал енди тузетулер жасасын шамалары келсе.қол қойған адамды таппайды енди.Қанбақ сияқты орындарында турмайдығой!! 🙄  
13w Reply See translation
-  **keremetomyr** Почему президент не видит этого министра , почему пускают на самотёк этот беспредел  
13w Reply See translation
-  **oolga\_7921** Слов нет, чтобы описать то, что чувствую... Что за мразоты... Провались пропадом все эти вузы со своим "образованием" и толерантностью. Я бы на месте родителей просто послала бы на х.. ер и оставила подобные заведения без студентов в следующем учебном году. Это всё, что они заслуживают  
13w Reply See translation
-  **kal.jn\_** Ата аналарға жеткізу қажет неге тв 📺 дан жаңалықтан айтпайды  
13w Reply See translation













-  **guleke8482** Маскара олар быздын балдарымызды тарбиелейтындей кым еды, курып кетсын 🤔🤔🤔  
13w Reply See translation
-  **ainur\_nurekeshova** Развращают  
13w Reply See translation
-  **ianbukhtinakulzat** Это что я прочитала ? по чьей указке отдали ?  
13w Reply See translation
-  **rgsaolga** Ахренеть не встать  
13w Reply See translation
-  **ludmila\_61k** Какой толк с этого министра образования??? Какой????? Только вред, разве никто не видит. Может хватит молчать родителя, пора защищать. Не смогли от вакцинации защитить, теперь хотят чтобы дети стали лесбиянками, педиками т е геями и т, д. Вообще удивляет народ Казахстана. И буквально все. Сегодня Петропавловск, завтра возьмется за другие города. А правительство наше, господин Президент куда смотрит, это должно было взволновать впервую очередь. Или хотят превратить Казахстан в лесбиянок и геев????????вообще как можно даже думать о том не то что дать разрешении этим извращенцам.  
13w Reply See translation
-  **candle\_flame.kz** Нет, нет и ещё раз нет! Родители студентов этом о ВУЗа в первую очередь должны обратить на это внимание. Прошу об отставке министра образования.  
13w Reply See translation
-  **loka\_lyoka** @aimagambetov @tokayev\_online  
13w Reply
-  **zhanibekkuanbekov** Он ставленник РФ, также как остальные, типы, которые сидят там в правительстве...  
13w Reply See translation
-  **flowers\_mari.kz** То что раньше называли предательством, сейчас норма... Вот так они разрушают добрые нравы, наши ценности и свободы.. Через наших детей заходят.. Через буквально одно поколение,  
13w Reply See translation
-  **yaroslavceva987** @tokayev\_life @knbgovkz @prokuratura.gov.kz Разберитесь, пожалуйста, с данной ситуацией! Прямая пропаганда ЛГБТ сообщества в Казахстане! И за этим стоит министр образования Айтмагамбетов! Хватит его зад покрывать, который выходец с запада и туда же и смотрит! Требую его отставки!  
13w Reply See translation
-  **kosmoenergokorolevavodi** Мы требуем, господин Токаев отнеситесь со всей ответственностью к просьбам нашего народа  
13w Reply See translation
-  **vedeneeva167** Нам не нужен такой министр. Гнать извращенцев из образования!  
13w Reply See translation
-  **abdullina.baglan** Нельзя допускать этого!  
13w Reply See translation
-  **hereistemirlan** Люди, а это ваши догадки, мнение или что? Была какая то информация о том, что ваших детей там будут растлевать? И вообще шо за слово такое, они не растлевать собрались, а УЧИТЬ ПРАВИЛЬНОМУ И ДОСТОЙНОМУ ПОВЕДЕНИЮ граждане.  
13w 1 like Reply See translation



















-  **wondergirl000** **Басшы** еркектер қыздарына, қарындастарына воля беріп қойған, и вообще тұр десе тұрып, отыр десе отыра бермеу керек. Қайда біздің кезіндегі батырламыздың рухындай, нағыз ер азаматтарымыз!?
- 13w Reply See translation
-  **kosmoenergokorolevavodi** Это куда мы катимся🔥🔥🔥
- 13w Reply See translation
-  **kosmoenergokorolevavodi** Зачем нам Вуз голубых и розовых,и так в Астане в одном из вузов декан женщина биссексуалка
- 13w Reply See translation
-  **sholpan\_ip** Уже вообще с ума сходят!😞
- 13w Reply See translation
-  **peppilota08** Если такие проекты утверждает правительство , то теперь понятно какой они там ориентации !!!!! Где традиции казахского народа ? Нет чтобы поощрять молодежь за соблюдение их . Они пытаются продать самое святое , культуру и традиции . 5194P4\$15.....!!!!
- 13w Reply See translation
-  **dianasafutdinova** Вы чем там вообще думаете?! @aimagambetov @tokayev\_online
- 13w Reply See translation
-  **aragvi\_sh** Это беспредел! Почему Токаев не вмешивается? А всё потому, что зависимы от них!👊
- 13w Reply See translation
-  **dana\_kurmaniaz** @ordakazakhstan
- 13w Reply
-  **dana\_kurmaniaz** @ordakazakhstan
- 13w Reply
-  **irina.myagkova.80** Не поступайте в этот университет и они долго не продержаться,дайте им полный игнор,сами уйдут.
- 13w Reply See translation
-  **gul\_zhaukhar** Наше воспитание, традиции веками оттачивались нашими великими предками, , за это боролись отдавали























-  **gu.Imira8789** Басқадан күдер үзсем де Аймағанбетовке сеніп жүр едім... Масқара! Аймағанбетов мырза, жауап беріңіз! Қуыңыз елдеріне ана арамамақтарды!  
13w Reply See translation
-  **27raushan @tokayev\_online** И это министр образования КАЗАХСТАНА! В отставку такого министра.  
13w Reply See translation
-  **omarova.rufiia** Зачем растлевать нашу молодежь?  
13w Reply See translation
-  **omarova.rufiia** Поддерживаю  
13w Reply See translation
-  **27raushan @tokayev\_life** Просим в отставку такого министра образования@bilim\_jane\_gylym  
13w Reply See translation
-  **zhannagazinur7** Аллах сактасын!!!  
13w Reply See translation
-  **zagirabaibullina** Центр сатанистов передали по указке президента наверное, потомушто министр не решает такие вопросы без решала  
13w Reply See translation
-  **umkn\_zhks** Мен өзiм осы Солтүстік Қазақстан университетінде оқимын. Енді естіп тұрмын сіздерден 😊 Бұл не деген масқара! Біз қарсымыз! Өзге елдің құсығын бізге қызық етіп көрсетпей-ақ қойсын!  
@tokayev\_online @kairatzholdybaiuly @kudaibergen\_kairat @berikuali @aimagambetov !  
13w Reply See translation
-  **kerimmukhtar** Небоп кетты  
13w Reply See translation
-  **kate.chernobay** Как обычно, пробуют в небольшом регионе РК продвинуть, если получится, потом переходят на крупные города! Как создать петицию?  
13w Reply See translation
-  **baltabekova\_gulnara** Министр болмай ақ қойыңыз осы азғындыққа жол берсеңіз, сұмдық қой... намыс қайда?  
13w Reply See translation
-  **cbilevagalina** Уничтожили все самое лучшее,теперь молодежи вообще нет места в Казахстане. Всю грязь и пошлость внедряют нашим детям...  
13w Reply See translation
-  **rushani\_avon** Жесть.. Тупость..Зачем?  
13w Reply See translation
-  **zhakanov\_aslan** Напрашивается вопрос: Айтмагамбетов может он тоже из клана «радужных»???  
13w Reply See translation
-  **shishova5508** Пусть министр свою жену в управление отдаст в США.  
13w Reply See translation
-  **andreiarke** Наши чиновники за зелёные готовы отдать свои жопы  
13w Reply See translation
-  **okhanaprkh** Просто бойкотировать этот университет и не учиться там, не поступать в него. Все равно сейчас ничему хорошему не учат. Дипломы не котируются. Можно в других местах поучиться пока. Кто сейчас там учится - переводитесь в другие учебные заведения. Новые студенты на новые наборы не приходите. И все!!! Лавочка не заработает.  
13w Reply See translation

-  **aigul.j78** Гнать из страны такого министра, убивающего нашу молодёжь 😡. Ужас. Пусть его дети станут такими. может поймет  
13w Reply See translation
-  **bktmrvbrzhnvn** Her!  
13w Reply See translation
-  **askh\_n @aimagambetov**  
13w Reply
-  **aytkul.kobeysinova @aimagambetov**  
13w Reply
-  **maliutina476** Министра в этот университет зачислить студентом, пусть на своей пятой точке прочувствует американскую самоуничтожающую хейпропанду 😂😂😂  
13w Reply See translation
-  **aytkul.kobeysinova @aimagambetov**  
13w Reply
-  **seydaliev t @ermekovmilan** ну наконец то жаным ❤️  
13w Reply See translation
-  **lucem\_za** Тот, чьим именем назван Университет в могиле перевернется...  
13w Reply See translation
-  **renat.natfullin** Значить министр сам из этой категории  
13w Reply See translation
-  **natalya.g.man** Посадить министра образования по терроризм, он своими действиями ,возможно с целью личного обогащения способствует растлению молодёжи страны, подрыву моральных устоев нашего общества. Запретить законодательно, действие всех групп ведущих пропаганду нетрадиционных взглядов, вплоть до уголовного преследования.  
13w Reply See translation
-  **yasin.a.d18 @dauletten**  
@dauletten\_resmi\_rezerv @tokayev\_life @tokayev\_online @akordapress @gulmir\_ktk  
13w Reply
-  **aydos.kz @muftiyatkz @tokayev\_online**  
13w Reply
-  **olyermakova** Самое ужасное - это отдать своих детей на воспитание врагам. Чпокались бы как хотели вместе с Аймагамбетовым в своей Аризоне тихонько, нет, надо к нам залезть! 🤔🤔  
13w Reply See translation
-  **gelvykhlubov** Им в своей стране стало места мало ,так они к нам этих блядей завести хотят.  
13w Reply See translation
-  **marzhan\_azima @kktv @akordapress @tengrinews.kz** прошу обратить внимание! Почему наших студентов должны обучать люди с либеральными ценностями? Лучше создавайте условия, курсы для повышения квалификации для наших преподавателей  
13w Reply See translation
-  **kumisaiseit** 🙄🙄🙄🙄🙄  
13w Reply
-  **friendanisa** Нужно начинать с своих семей тоже, в наших фильмах, уже смеются на то, что мужчина хочет жениться на мужчине, и на все подобные шутки, это окно овертона, понятно, сегодня смеются, завтра будут практиковать. Грустно это всё. Приход одноглого не за горами. Аллаху Алим.  
13w Reply See translation
-  **xamit\_777** В городе алма-ата во всех училищах, общежитиях наших детей подсаживают на трамадол, зато дети спокойные тихие  
13w Reply See translation

-  **aiagozkalizhanova** Ққазақ жастарың жаман жолға түсіруге болмайды.Ұлттық құндылықтарымызды көтеру керек  
13w Reply See translation 
-  **irairinadeva** Ни в какие ворота уже вообще!!! Куда это годится.Что будет с нашими детьми,в смысле ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ)))КТО БУДЕТ ОТВЕЧАТЬ ЗА КАЧЕСТВО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ,ВЕДЬ за это все платятся деньги родителями 😞😞  
13w Reply See translation 
-  **nur1ksapargaliev** Я вах...е  
13w Reply 
-  **sveta\_\_.\_s** Пусть ответит министр для чего нам ЭТО? Окончательно убить образование? Для растления молодёжи? @aimagambetov Обратите внимание @tokayev\_online  
13w Reply See translation 
-  **ayanatika77** Да что это такое, вместо того чтоб поднять образование, решил наше будущее уничтожить, гнать Айтмагамбетова  
13w Reply See translation 

-  **kazan\_bas\_1** Бұған бүкіл халық болып жол бермеу керек.   
13w Reply See translation
-  **yelena\_gaida** Этот министр мб агент? И продвигает намеренно развращение нашей молодежи?   
13w Reply See translation
-  **gulsim\_tolegen** Алла сактасын!!!!Алла жол бермисин осындайларга!   
13w Reply
-  **\_20071999\_\_z** По ходу да там одни с нетрадиционной ориентацией сидят все депутаты как могло прийти такое в голову тольк раненаму в голову   
13w Reply See translation
-  **gulbanu\_\_ospanova** Зачем вообще учиться нам всему у запада, мы живем в КАЗАХСТАНЕ и должны развивать свои обычаи и традиции.Это наша страна, наша молодежь, наши дети   
13w Reply See translation
-  **pyakhina\_ella** Сатанисты,которые стоят во власти во всех странах разрушают институт семьи и все семейные ценности.Зарплат как на Западе нам почему то не платят,а все нравственные извращения тащат к нам в страну!А хорошее что-то взять как пример для своего народа?Вам слабо?   
13w Reply See translation

-  **irinaesirkep** Где Мужчины , где Аксакалы ?????!!!! Где разум у нас ?????   
13w Reply See translation
-  **irinaesirkep** Уберите это .   
13w Reply See translation
-  **imarkhamad** Мы родители против заморских универов!!!!   
13w Reply See translation
-  **alialihandro\_cher** Любовь это любовь, и она всегда побеждает, мне очень жаль вас, ведь ваши старания уйдут напрасно, сколько бы вы не старались   
13w 9 likes Reply See translation
-  **therealtraash** Шіріп, бықсып кеткен білімді одан әрі шіріте беріңдер осындай посттармен. Масқара, баланың болашақ білімін ойлағанның орнына, мүлдем басқа затқа көңіл аударып отырғаны нес. Әр қарсы адамды лағынет атсын, қазақтың болашағына балта шапқандарың үшін!   
13w Reply See translation
-  **irishka872007** @aimagambetov своих детей отправь туда учится 🙏   
13w Reply See translation
-  **nurmagambetovairina** начали вузы раздавать, а завтра страну отдаст, не патриот, не за Казахстан!!! 
- 
-  **vseleonnaya\_6** Это днооо 😞 разрушают уничтожают все традиций казахов и всего народа Казахстана 😞🔥   
13w Reply See translation
-  **akhatova.kalamkas** Ужасно все это, просто нет слов,   
13w Reply See translation

-  **elenaelena8725** Гнать всех этих министров с западным образованием, которые только и делают, что разваливается страну! Прочь руки от нашего универа!!!   
13w Reply See translation
-  **phytorisekzo** В КАЗАХСТАНЕ ИДЁТ ПОЛНОЕ РАЗРУШЕНИЕ ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ! АЙТМАГАНБЕТОВ ДОЛЖЕН ОТВЕТИТЬ ПЕРЕД НАРОДОМ!   
13w Reply See translation
-  **oksana\_020173** В отставку Айтмагамбетова! Зарплату учителям поднял, чтобы молчали и закрывали на всё глаза, тем временем убивает образование всякими способами.   
13w Reply See translation
-  **diana\_jmatweewa** Отличный университет! Очень рада, что в нашей стране наконец-то появится университет с действительно толерантной политикой ко всем! Любовь – она для всех, а не только для гетеро-пар! Никто не будет обучать ваших детей "гейству", успокойтесь, просто для ЛГБТК+ людей будет безопасное получение образования!!   
13w 22 likes Reply See translation
-  **gulnara\_berkutovna** Странно, что министр образования -казах, судя по фамилии, но почему-то ратует за неказахские ценности в этом вопросе: интересно, причина в чём?   
13w Reply See translation
-  **kiritanya** К чёртовой матери из страны.....!!!!  
🔥🔥🔥 Пусть у себя это все пропагандируют.. решили руки запустить в нашу страну....👏👏   
13w Reply See translation
-  **izbaevavena** Ужас   
13w Reply
-  **goldnokidding** испанский стыд, они даже грамотно написать пост не могут, в котором борются с тем, чего нет :) (пропагандой 🏳️‍🌈). love is love. <3   
13w 1 like Reply See translation
-  **bekbolatova59** Никаких западных воспитаний   
13w Reply See translation
-  **de\_la\_view** Потом беременеют от кого попало и рожают оставляет детей а то УЯТ, пусть лучше грамотность в этой области будут как защищаться и тд   
13w Reply See translation
-  **eliseyeva\_elena** И Гейропский диплом в кармане😂   
13w Reply See translation

## References

- “Address by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Leader of the Nation, N.Nazarbayev “Strategy Kazakhstan-2050”: new political course of the established state,” *Akorda.kz*.  
[https://www.akorda.kz/en/addresses/addresses\\_of\\_president/address-by-the-president-of-the-republic-of-kazakhstan-leader-of-the-nation-nnazarbayev-strategy-kazakhstan-2050-new-political-course-of-the-established-state](https://www.akorda.kz/en/addresses/addresses_of_president/address-by-the-president-of-the-republic-of-kazakhstan-leader-of-the-nation-nnazarbayev-strategy-kazakhstan-2050-new-political-course-of-the-established-state) (Accessed November 30, 2021)
- Andreevskikh, Olga, and Marianna Muravyeva. 2021. “Doing Gender Online: Digital Spaces for Identity Politics.” In *The Palgrave Handbook of Digital Russia Studies*. edited by Daria Gritsenko, Marielle Wijermars, and Mikhail Kopotev. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan. 205-220.
- Arbatskaya, Elena. 2019. “Discursive Activism in the Russian Feminist Hashtag Campaign: The # ItIsNotAReasonToKill Case.” *Russian Journal of Communication* 11 (3): 253–273.
- Are, Carolina. 2020. “How Instagram’s Algorithm is Censoring Women and Vulnerable Users but Helping Online Abusers,” *Feminist Media Studies* 20(5): 741-744.
- Arystanbek, Aizada. 2020. “Trapped Between East and West: A Study of Hegemonic Femininity in Kazakhstan’s Online and State Discourses.” (*Thesis*), Central European University, Hungary.
- Arystanbek, Aizada. 2022. ““Can You Beat Your Wife, Yes or No?”: a Study of Hegemonic Femininity in Kazakhstan’s Online Discourses.” *East European Politics*. DOI:10.1080/21599165.2021.2024516
- Aydingün, Ayşegül. 2007. “Islam as a Symbolic Element of National Identity Used by the Nationalist Ideology in the Nation and State Building Process in Post-soviet Kazakhstan,” *Journal for the study of Religions and Ideologies* 6(17): 69-83.
- Beyer, Judith, and Peter Finke. 2019. “Practices of Traditionalization in Central Asia,” *Central Asian Survey* 38 (3): 310–328.
- Bondarouk, Tatyana., & Ruël, Huub. 2004. “Discourse Analysis: Making Complex Methodology Simple.” Presented at the *12th European Conference on Information Systems (ECIS)*, Finland.  
<https://ris.utwente.nl/ws/portalfiles/portal/5405415/ECIS2004-1.pdf>
- Bruckman, Amy, Luther, Kurt, and Casey Fiesler. 2016. “When Should We Use Real Names in Published Accounts of Internet Research?” In *Digital Research Confidential: The Secrets of Studying Behavior Online*. edited by Eszter Hargittai, and Christian Sandvig. Cambridge: MIT Press. 243-258.
- Buelow, Samuel. 2012. “Locating Kazakhstan: The role of LGBT voices in the Asia/Europe debate,” *Lambda Nordica* 17(4): 99-125.

- Clark, Rosemary. 2016. ““Hope in a hashtag”: the discursive activism of #WhyIStayed.” *Feminist Media Studies* 16(5): 788-804.
- Cirucci, Angela M. 2017. “Normative Interfaces: Affordances, Gender, and Race in Facebook,” *Social Media+Society*: 1-10.
- Cleuziou, Juliette, and Lucia Direnberger. 2015. “Gender and nation in post-Soviet Central Asia: From National Narratives to Women’s Practices.” *Nationalities Papers* 44 (2): 195-206.
- Darakchi, Shaban. 2019. “The Western Feminists Want to Make Us Gay”: Nationalism, Heteronormativity, and Violence Against Women in Bulgaria in Times of “Anti-gender Campaigns,” *Sexuality & Culture* 23:1208–1229.
- Davenel, Yves-Marie, and Eunsil Yim. “Minority Assimilation and Nation-Building in Kazakhstan.” In *Nation-Building and Identity in the Post-Soviet Space: New Tools and Approaches*, edited by Rico Isaacs, and Abel Polese, London: Routledge: 46-64.
- Deckman, Melissa, and Erin Cassese. 2021. “Gendered Nationalism and the 2016 US Presidential Election: How Party, Class, and Beliefs about Masculinity Shaped Voting Behavior,” *Politics & Gender* 17: 277-300.
- Duffy, Brooke E., and Emily Hund. 2015. “Having it All on Social Media: Entrepreneurial Femininity and Self-Branding Among Fashion Bloggers,” *Social Media+Society*: 1-11.
- Durrani, Naureen, CohenMiller, Anna, Kataeva, Zumrad, Bekzhanova, Zhazira, Seitkhadyrova, Assem, and Aisulu Badanova. 2022. “The Fearful Khan and the Delightful Beauties’: The Construction of Gender in Secondary School Textbooks in Kazakhstan,” *International Journal of Education Development* 88: 1-17.
- Dall’Agnola, Jasmin. 2020. “Queer Culture and Tolerance in Kazakhstan.” Retrieved from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/348163529\\_Dall'Agnola\\_Jasmin\\_2020\\_'Queer\\_Culture\\_and\\_Tolerance\\_in\\_Kazakhstan'](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/348163529_Dall'Agnola_Jasmin_2020_'Queer_Culture_and_Tolerance_in_Kazakhstan')
- Dall’Agnola, Jasmin. 2022. ““Tell Me Sister:” Social Media, a Tool for Women Activists in Tajikistan,” *Central Asian Affairs*: 1-34.
- Dall’Agnola, Jasmin, and Colleen Wood. 2022. “The Mobilizing Potential of Communication Networks in Central Asia,” *Central Asian Affairs* 9 (1): 1-15.
- Dall’Agnola, Jasmin. 2021. “The Impact of Globalization on National Identities in Post-Soviet Societies,” (*Ph.D. Dissertation*), Oxford Brookes University.
- Dyusengulova, Rabiga. 2020. “Видео о девушке в мини-юбке вызвало споры в Казнете.” *Tengrinews*, June 5. [https://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan\\_news/video-o-devushke-v-mini-yubke-vyizvalo-sporyi-v-kaznete-404548/](https://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/video-o-devushke-v-mini-yubke-vyizvalo-sporyi-v-kaznete-404548/) (October 8, 2021).

- “Ending Violence against Women,” *UN Women*. Retrieved from <https://eca.unwomen.org/en/where-we-are/kazakhstan/ending-violence-against-women>
- Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 2017. “Sex, Violence and Nationalism,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(9): 1438-1449.
- Esenova, Saulesh. 2002. “Soviet Nationality, Identity, and Ethnicity in Central Asia: Historic Narratives and Kazakh Ethnic Identity.” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 22 (1): 11 –38.
- Facebook. “Data Policy” Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/policy.php>
- Gee, James Paul. 1999. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- “Gender Based Violence,” *UNHCR*. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/gender-based-violence.html>
- “Gender Equality,” *UNDP*. Retrieved from <https://www.kz.undp.org/content/kazakhstan/en/home/gender-equality.html>
- “Global Gender Gap Report 2021,” *World Economic Forum*. Retrieved from [https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF\\_GGGR\\_2021.pdf](https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2021.pdf)
- Gunn, T. Jeremy. 2003. “Shaping an Islamic Identity: Religion, Islamism, and the State in Central Asia,” *Sociology of Religion* 64(3): 389–410.
- Hunt, Jacqui, Smailova, Dinara, and Evgeniya Kozyreva. 2019. “Re:Information on Kazakhstan for Consideration by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women at its 74th Session.” Retrieved from [https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/equalitynow/pages/2048/attachments/original/1570011594/Kazakhstan\\_CEDAW.pdf?1570011594](https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/equalitynow/pages/2048/attachments/original/1570011594/Kazakhstan_CEDAW.pdf?1570011594)
- Informburo.kz. 2021. “Twitter стал самой популярной соцсетью в Казахстане,” Retrieved from <https://informburo.kz/novosti/twitter-stal-samoi-populyarnoi-socsetyu-v-kazaxstane>
- Johnson, Janet Elise, and Aino Saarinen. 2013. “Twenty-First-Century Feminisms under Repression: Gender Regime Change and the Women’s Crisis Center Movement in Russia.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society* 38(3):543-567.
- Jorgensen, Marianne, and Phillips, Louise J. 2002. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London, United Kingdom: SAGE Publications, Ltd.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz. 2007. “The politics of gender and the Soviet paradox: neither colonized, nor modern?” *Central Asian Survey* 26(4): 601–623.
- Karimov, Nodar. 2018. “A Contested Muslim Identity in Kazakhstan: Between Liberal Islam and the Hanafi Project,” *Cultural and Religious Studies* 6(5): 300-312.

- “Kazakhstan: Freedom on the Net 2021 Country Report,” *Freedom House*.  
<https://freedomhouse.org/country/kazakhstan/freedom-net/2021> (April 6, 2022).
- Kudaibergenova, Diana T. 2013. ““Imagining community” in Soviet Kazakhstan. An Historical Analysis of Narrative on Nationalism in Kazakh-Soviet Literature.” *Nationalities Papers*: 1-16.
- Kudaibergenova, Diana T. 2016. “The Archaeology of Nationalizing Regimes in the Post-Soviet Space,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 64 (6): 342–355.
- Kudaibergenova, Diana T. 2019. “The Body Global and the Body Traditional: A Digital Ethnography of Instagram and Nationalism in Kazakhstan and Russia.” *Central Asian Survey* 38 (3): 363–380.
- Kudaibergenova, Diana T. 2019. “Marriage, Women, and Re-Traditionalization in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan.” In *Women of Asia: Globalization, Development, and Gender Equity*. edited by Mehrangiz Najafizadeh, and Linda Lindsey. London: Routledge. 379–389.
- Levin, Jonathan. 2017. “From Nomad to Nation: On the Construction of National Identity through Contested Cultural Heritage in the Former Soviet Republics of Central Asia.” *International Law and Politics* 50: 265- 296.
- Levitanus, Mariya. 2022. “Agency and Resistance Amongst Queer People in Kazakhstan,” *Central Asian Survey*, DOI: 10.1080/02634937.2021.2008874
- Lewis, David. 2016. “Blogging Zhanaozen: Hegemonic Discourse and Authoritarian Resilience in Kazakhstan,” *Central Asian Survey* 35(3): 421-438.
- McClintock, Anne. 1993. “Family feuds: Gender, nationalism, and the family,” *Feminist Review* 44(1): 61–80.
- Mihelj, Sabina, and Cesar Jimenez-Martinez. 2021. “Digital Nationalism: Understanding the Role of Digital Media in the Rise of ‘New’ Nationalism,” *Nations and Nationalism* 27:331–346.
- Nagel, Joane. 1998. “Masculinity and nationalism: Gender and sexuality in the making of nations,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21(2): 242–269.
- Northrop, Douglas T.. 2014. *Veiled Empire: Gender and Power in Stalinist Central Asia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Pearce, Katy E., and Jessica Vitak. 2016. “Performing Honor Online: The Affordances of Social Media for Surveillance and Impression Management in an Honor Culture,” *New Media & Society* 18(11): 2595-2612.
- Paechter, Carrie. 2018. “Rethinking the possibilities for hegemonic femininity: Exploring Gramscian framework,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 68: 121-128.

- Peshkova, Svetlana. 2021. "Thinking with Gender About Central Asia." In *Routledge Handbook of Central Asia*. edited by Rico Isaacs and Erica Marat. Routledge. 362-376.
- "Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliament (%)- Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyz Republic," *World Bank*. Retrieved from [https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS?locations=KZ-UZ-TM-TJ-KG&most\\_recent\\_year\\_desc=false](https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS?locations=KZ-UZ-TM-TJ-KG&most_recent_year_desc=false)
- "Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliament (%)" *World Bank*. Retrieved from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS>
- Satubaldina, Assel. 2022. "Gender Pay Gap in Kazakhstan Reaches 25 percent, says Researcher," *KazInform*. Retrieved from [https://www.inform.kz/en/gender-pay-gap-in-kazakhstan-reaches-25-percent-says-researcher\\_a3907926](https://www.inform.kz/en/gender-pay-gap-in-kazakhstan-reaches-25-percent-says-researcher_a3907926)
- Schatz, Edward. 2009. "The Soft Authoritarian Tool Kit: Agenda-Setting Power in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan," *Comparative Politics* 41(2): 203-222.
- Schippers, Mimi. 2007. "Recovering the feminine other: masculinity, femininity, and gender hegemony." *Theory and Society* 36: 85-102.
- Sharipova, Dina. 2020. "Perceptions of National Identity in Kazakhstan: Pride, Languages, and Religion," *The Muslim World* 110(1): 89-106.
- Shoshanova, Saltanat. 2021. "Queer Identity in the Contemporary Art of Kazakhstan," *Central Asian Survey* 40(1): 113-131.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2008. "Why Just War Needs Feminism Now More Than Ever," *International Politics* 45: 1-18.
- Sorbello, Paolo. 2021. "New Homophobic Attacks in Kazakhstan Rally Support Behind Activists. Conservative Groups Target LGBTQ+ Activists and Artists across the Country." *GlobalVoices*. Retrieved from <https://globalvoices.org/2021/08/15/new-homophobic-attacks-in-kazakhstan-rally-support-behind-activists/>
- Sultan, Asel. 2020. "What's Wrong with Women's Crisis Centers in Kazakhstan?" *CABAR*. Retrieved from <https://cabar.asia/en/what-s-wrong-with-women-s-crisis-centres-in-kazakhstan>
- Shurko, Tatyana. 2016. "«Женщина Востока»: советский гендерный порядок в Центральной Азии между колонизацией и эмансипацией." In *Понятия о Советском в Центральной Азии*. edited by Georgyi Mamedov and Oksana Shatalova. Bishkek: Штаб-Press. 178-209.
- Tabaeva, Almira, Ozawa, Vanessa, Durrani, Naureen, and Hélène Thibault. 2021. "The Political Economy of Society and Education in Central Asia: A Scoping Literature Review," (*Working Paper 2*), The PEER Network. Retrieved from [https://peernetworkgcrf.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Scoping-Review\\_Final\\_23-June-2021.pdf](https://peernetworkgcrf.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Scoping-Review_Final_23-June-2021.pdf)

- Thibault, H el ene and Jean-Fran ois Caron. 2022. *Uyat and the Culture of Shame in Central Asia*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Thibault, H el ene. 2016. "Female Virtue, Religion, and State ideology in Tajikistan," *CERIA Brief* 10: 1–9.
- Thibault, H el ene. 2022. "Male sex work in Kazakhstan: A distinct market?" *Central Asian Affairs* 2(3): 1-40.
- Tiidenberg, Katrin. 2015. "Odes to Heteronormativity: Presentations of Femininity in Russian-Speaking Pregnant Women's Instagram Accounts," *International Journal of Communication* 9: 1746-1758.
- Udod, Xeniya. 2018. "Feminisms in Kazakhstan: On the intersection of global influences and local contexts" (*Thesis*), Nazarbayev University, Astana, Kazakhstan.
- Urbaeva, Jildyz. 2019. "Opportunity, Social Mobility, and Women's Views on Gender Roles in Central Asia." *Social Work* 64(3): 207-215.
- Van Berkel, Laura, Molina, Ludwin E., and Sahana Mukherjee. 2017. "Gender Asymmetry in the Construction of American National Identity," *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 41(3): 352-367.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 2006. "Discourse and Manipulation." *Discourse & Society* 17(2): 359-383.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 2015. "Critical Discourse Analysis." In *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, edited by Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton, Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd:466–486.
- Wilkinson, Cai. 2019. "LGBT Rights in the Former Soviet Union: The Evolution of Hypervisibility." In *The Oxford Handbook of Global LGBT and Sexual Diversity Politics*, edited by M. Bosia, S. McEvoy, and M. Rahman. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190673741.013.12.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2003. "Nationalist Projects and Gender Relations," *Narodna Umjetnost* 40(1): 9-36.
- Zakarriya, Jihan. 2014. "Sexuality, Religion and Nationalism: A Contrapuntal Reading of the History of Female Activism and Political Change in Egypt," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 16(1): 47-61.
- Zhussipbek, Galym, Achilov, Dilshod, and Zhanar Nagayeva. 2020. "Some Common Patterns of Islamic Revival in Post-Soviet Central Asia and Challenges to Develop Human Rights and Inclusive Society," *Religions* 11(548): 1-18.
- Асфутай, Маншук. 2021. "Проект о противодействии семейному насилию. Чем вызваны споры?" Retrieved from <https://rus.azattyq.org/a/kazakhstan-new-draft-domestic-violence/31062716.html>

“К.Абден: Культурно-Нравственное Воспитание Девочек Важно Для Будущего Казахстана,” *Strategy-2050*, November 23. <https://strategy2050.kz/ru/news/28716/>

Сыздыкбаев, Азамат. 2019. “15% казахстанских женщин считают, что муж вправе бить жену.” Retrieved from [https://www.inform.kz/ru/15-kazahstanskih-zhenschin-schitayut-cto-muzh-vprave-bit-zhenu\\_a3592162](https://www.inform.kz/ru/15-kazahstanskih-zhenschin-schitayut-cto-muzh-vprave-bit-zhenu_a3592162)

“Плакала и говорила, что не хочет умирать – какой была Аяжан Едилова,” *Sputnik.kz*. Retrieved from <https://ru.sputnik.kz/amp/20210622/Zverskoe-ubiystvo-Ayazhan-Edilovoy-rodstvennitsa-pogibshey-i-advokat-dali-intervyu-17409128.html>

Элен, Тибо. 2021. “Многоженство в Казахстане.” Retrieved from <https://edu.e-history.kz/en/publications/view/1701>