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## Mothers as nation-building agents in Kazakhstan: the effect of neoliberalism

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**Abstract.** With one-third of the population being children, Kazakhstan is a young state that now has a life-turning moment. High share of children may be both a curse and an opportunity for the country to strive and flourish, and it depends highly on the interaction of the many actors that influence development of children. In Kazakhstan, traditional perception of gender roles in family led to the disbalanced and increased role of mothers in raising children, and, thus, making them the primary and the main agents of national code and values transmission. Simultaneously, global neoliberalization of all spheres of life led to the responsabilization of mothers not only for moral upbringing, but also for most of strategically important decisions that shape their future lives. Eventually, it is mothers who create and define the new citizens.

In my study, I focused on 3 generations of mothers in 3 families to see the transforming perceptions of their role in nation-building processes, what values they believe necessary for developing in their children, how neoliberalism affected their engagement in the children's lives, and whether social class has an influence on nation-building in Kazakhstan. The results showed that the perception of a mother's role is changing through generations, and now raising children is considered totally a private matter. Mothers of the last generation are primary and only decision-makers about their kids – sometimes sharing this only with their husband. This may be beneficial for government in short terms, because such mothers don't expect any support from state, but in the long run this may lead to the decreased sense of belonging to a country in their children.

**Keywords:** nation-building, national spirit, national code, class reproduction, citizenship, gender, motherhood.

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## **Introduction**

The being who discharges the duties of its station is independent; and, speaking of women at large, their first duty is to themselves as rational creatures, and the next, in point of importance, as citizens, is that, which includes so many, of a mother. Mary Wollstoncraft [1].

Children comprise around 30% of all Kazakhstani population, which makes our nation relatively young. Much attention needs to be given to the issues of raising and educating these children. But when we discuss the process of children's upbringing, we usually mean mothering not fathering. According to MICS survey conducted in 2015, fathers of only 6.6% of children at the preschool age in Kazakhstan were engaged in their upbringing [2]. They were involved in four or more activities to promote learning and school readiness in the last 3 days. Of course, preparation for school is not the only indicator of parental involvement, but to compare, mothers of around 51% of children were involved in 4 or more activities to promote learning. Such a status-quo can be explained in a simple way: Kazakhstan is on its track of re-traditionalization with strict gender role division when man is a breadwinner and woman is a hearth keeper. Even though, legally men are allowed to take a child-care leave a few of them use this possibility: in 2022, more than 400 thousand children were born, and only 3.5 thousand men applied for childcare leave [3]. In many cases, they are not even going to stay there and really take care of children, and do it for bigger allowance.

Simultaneously, Kazakhstani citizens are encouraged to participate highly in the demographic revival of Kazakhstan. Until recent times Kazakhstani people's fertility was a matter of a state level. In 2003, in his address to people of Kazakhstan, president Nazarbayev gave a task to his government to develop a program to increase fertility, decrease mortality rates, and attract more returnees (oralmans or kandas) [4]. This gave an impulse to the development of the whole state system of support of motherhood and marriage. In 2005, the National Commission on Women and Family, Demographic Policy under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan was established to control the respective spheres of state policies. In her volumetric work, Iskakova reviews Kazakhstani strategic documents to conclude that since 2012 a steady and continuous interest in supporting motherhood, childhood, family and marriage has been expressed there. [5] Strategy-2050, for example, was included the tasks on reviewing and revision of the legislation on protection of mothers and children, tightening of the punishment for the crimes in this sphere, and on the increase of fertility rates and support of mothers of many children. A system of targeted social assistance was constructed to support the latter group. In the Strategy 2025 adopted in 2018 it was stated that family plays a crucial role on the development of human capital that will in turn participate in the state-building.

But role of a mother in raising children cannot be reduced to taking care for children. There is a Kazakh saying: "raise a son and you will raise a man; raise a daughter and you will raise a whole nation". Just like Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Kazakh people consider a mother responsible for not just caring for a child, but for raising a citizen, a patriot. Rezvushkina and Kariybayev [6] also suppose that "Kazakh women construct and reproduce the collective identity of an ethnic community through giving birth to a large number of children and indirectly participating in the national revival of independent Kazakhstan". In this article, I want to elaborate on how

motherhood and mothering practices are closely associated with nation-building process in Kazakhstan shaping it in various ways.

### **Problem statement and article purpose**

As it was discussed above, children comprise the one-third of the whole Kazakhstani population and this could be considered both a curse and an opportunity. On one hand, high share of child population creates a pressure on social infrastructure including primary healthcare facilities and schools. On the other hand, given the adequate measures and policies are conducted by the government and society as a whole the children could contribute to the country's development and flourishing. In my article, I want to focus on the ideological, cultural side of the children's upbringing – in particular, how the national code is encrypted in them through mothering practices.

The main research question of my study: do Kazakhstani mothers act as agents of nation-building and if yes in what ways. I consider mothering from several perspectives: mothering as a form of citizenship, the interplay between intensification of mothering and neoliberalism, and mothering as a channel for class reproduction.

### **Literature review**

A lot of academic papers are focused on the relation between motherhood and nation-building. Though historically women were excluded from all public domains including nation-building and civic participation and located into a private domain only, as Nira Yuval [7] states it, still it is difficult to challenge the notion that women are mostly responsible for raising children and, thus, new citizens. Introduced by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, this notion contributed to an understanding that at least some women need to receive education because it is they who transmit values and ideas to their children. Wollstonecraft [1] argued that girls and women should be educated because they will further in their life perform mother role, and through it they may shape future citizens. The three ways how mothers can affect the building of nation: 1. Raising children as patriots of their country; 2. Instilling in them national code or national spirit (traditions, norms, etc.); and 3. Teaching them the lessons of humanity which will eventually add to the sense of camaraderie and co-citizenship.

Contemporary studies connect the gender and motherhood to the nation-building in many various ways. Some argue that economic empowerment of women including mothers is a key driver for a country's development as a whole and development of communities in particular [8, 9, 10, 11]. Some authors consider the contribution of mothers to the state development from perspective of providing new citizens and demographic improvements – such motherhood is named reproductive citizenship [12, 13, 14]. This type of studies is usually focused on the health of mothers. Another cluster of studies on association between motherhood and nation-building is focused on the process of cultural and value transmission from mothers to children as future actors of the societies [15, 16, 17, 18]. A number of studies are focused on the association between motherhood and nation-building processes in new emergent countries

that were undergoing post-colonial processes in 1950-s and later. Frequently, the ideological tools to persuade women to prioritize their motherly role for a country's better future. Stoller-Liss [19] argues that Israeli women were indoctrinated by educational institutions and parental manuals that they are the mothers of nation and how they should proceed with this. Pacino [20] also describes how mothers in Bolivia were encouraged by ideologemes of "revolutionary motherhood".

At the same time, mothering practices and expectations of mothers change through generations and are influenced by the contexts and even political regimes. According to Hays [21], intensive mothering has become a dominant ideology in North America in 1990-s. That ideology included several points:

1. Mothers were considered the primary and main caregivers;
2. Intensive mothering is "child-centered, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labor-intensive, and financially expensive", and mothers need to put all their resources to development of a child;
3. Children are priceless and a miracle.

While in US this mothering revolution happened in 1990-s already it is safe to say that in Kazakhstan it started to take its place only in the late 2010, and we can trace it even through my study. Intensification of mothering goes hand in hand with the process of global neoliberalization of all the spheres of life. This is manifested through the responsabilization of mothers for not only raising a child, but also making strategic and optimal decisions on formal education, informal education, psychological services, etc. "Mothers must be neoliberal self-optimizing economic agents in the "public" realm and maternalist self-sacrificing mothers in the "private" realm." [22] Parents and mothers, in particular, are expected to participate in school and extracurricular activities [23]. This creates high pressure on mothers and future mothers, and sometimes even leads to the rejection of mothering at all [24].

## **Methods**

To address my research question, I conducted desk research and in-depth interviews. Desk research was conducted to look at the existing theories of mothering and motherhood, relevant studies about Kazakhstan, reports of international organizations on relevant topics, etc. In-depth interviews were conducted with mothers of 3 generations in 3 families from Kazakhstan, so total number of respondents is 9. All of the respondents were found within my surrounding, so there is a serious *limitation* – all the respondents could be from my information "bubble" and thus their experience could not be in any case generalized for many Kazakhstani citizens. Another limitation is that I don't speak Kazakh, while mothers of 1st generation in most Kazakhstani families speak only Kazakh, so I could not include such families into my research.

### **Social profiles of respondents. Family №1. Totally urban**

Respondent №1. Mother of 1<sup>st</sup> generation is 72 years, she was born into a North Kazakhstan urban family, both of her parents had higher education. She herself got higher education and married a high-status official who was 11 years older than her. She has two children: a son and a daughter.

Respondent №2. Mother of 2<sup>nd</sup> generation is 53 years old. She was born into an Almaty urban family. Both parents had higher education. She herself got higher education, and married after graduating from university. She has 5 children: 2 daughters, and 3 sons.

Respondent №3. Mother of 3<sup>rd</sup> generation is 31 years old. She was born into an Almaty urban family. All her life lived in cities, mostly Almaty and Astana. For some period of time, she stayed abroad: in US, Hong Cong. Both parents have higher education. She has 2 children: a daughter and a son.

*Family №2. Urban in last two generations*

Respondent №4. Mother of 1<sup>st</sup> generation is 88 years old was born in Kuban. From 1942 till 1952, she was raised in an orphanage. She was considered a child of the war. She had only 7 classes of school education, after which she studied in a technical college (technikum). She was recruited forcedly to work in the Far East, and after that she moved. She had 2 children: a son, and a daughter.

Respondent №5. Mother of 2<sup>nd</sup> generation is 61 years old. She was born in Pavlodar. Got a higher education in pre-school sphere and worked as a tutor through all her life. She has 2 children: a daughter and a son.

Respondent №6. Mother of 3<sup>rd</sup> generation is 35 years old. She was born in Pavlodar. Both her parents had higher education. She herself got higher education, too. She has a son and currently doesn't work.

*Family №3. Urban in last generation*

Respondent №7. Mother of 1<sup>st</sup> generation is 67 years old who was born in a village in Pavlodar oblast. She didn't have education other than school and got married at 19. She has 5 children.

Respondent №8. Mother of 2<sup>nd</sup> generation is 47 years old; she was born into a village family in Kazakhstan on the border with Russia. Married her classmate when she was 20 years, they lived in the village almost 30 years. She has 3 children: 2 daughters, and a son. Got higher education distantly (заочно). Almost all her life worked as a librarian.

Respondent №9. Mother of 3<sup>rd</sup> generation is 25 years old, was born into a village family, most of her childhood she was raised in a small town Ekibastuz. Has a small son.

## Results

*Nation-building and mothering.* To address the question on how mothering affects nation-building processes, I asked mothers how they see their role in nurturing children and what is the role of the state here. It appeared no surprise for me that most of the respondents consider raising children as parental responsibility, and almost no one considered it as shared responsibility of parents, state, and society. Some of my respondents also admit that educational institutions and peers may affect the development of children, but still consider themselves as primary source of influence. In a certain way, it is an advancement from Soviet total policy which was interfering into all spheres of people's lives when interpersonal in-family issues could have brought to discussion of a court of comrades. As Dugarova [25] explains it was an expected result of the transformation of social contract on family after the collapse of the Soviet Union. At the same time, now family policies reduced their focus on support of socially vulnerable families

only, and even then are not efficient enough [26]. Its weakest direction is “preventing family ill-being” which is quite a broad definition, however, in my opinion it may include the prevention of domestic violence. Though in Kazakhstan, there is a law on domestic violence it proves to be inefficient in terms of law enforcement. But when it comes to protection of children’s rights as separate citizens, state excludes itself totally. There is no juvenile legislation at all, and even the institution of children ombudsmen is introduced now, there are no clear regulation of their functions and powers.

Among parents there is a gender-based difference in responsibilities, it is especially more salient during the interviews with mothers of first and second generation. They are sure that father’s mandate is to provide for family while the spiritual, cultural, and I may add, ideological part is the domain of mothers.

When it comes to particular values that my respondents want to raise in their children, most of them talked about “decent” (порядочный) which taking into account the context means “kind”, “responsible”, “good enough”. It is difficult to make far-fetched conclusions out of this answer, but it looks like a “safe” option to name. A decent person is someone who is good, but not outstanding (“не высовывается”), not better and not worse than everybody. In my opinion, it is a demonstration of Kazakhstan’s place on the WVS map, according to which our society is still more conservative and in the mode of survival. The results of survey that was conducted by Kazakhstani Institute for Public Development (KIPD) in 2022 [27] show that the most valuable quality in their children parents consider their “industriousness” (трудолюбие) – each third respondent chose that option, and what is most important – it holds leadership through the years. Unlike “respect for elders” which lost its position of a leader in 2021 and got only the 4th place in ranking in 2022. People started to value more “self-respect” and “integrity” in their children.

However, when not asked directly mothers have more various answers on what they wanted to see in their children. Respondent №8, for example, mentioned that while she herself grew up shy and in a subordinate position she wanted her daughter to be different: more self-confident, active, lively and “not shy to perform”. For that purpose, she signed her up for artistic performance and dance classes and encouraged to participate in school events. Interestingly, later in her interview the respondent complained that unlike herself her daughter doesn’t want to live with the mother-in-law because she is not ready to tolerate other person’s character. The respondent didn’t notice the inconsistency of expecting subordinate behavior from her daughter when she herself was promoting independence and agency.

Another finding I had during the study is that mothers of 3rd generation tend to be more modest in considering their role as educators that may shape their children. As respondent №3 described it, she rather thinks of herself as a researcher or a gardener that is observing children’s personal traits and needs and tries to guide them. She is sure that each child is born with their own plan and, thus, parents are there for only providing conditions to live in.

*“The main role of a parent is not to clip a child’s wings, instill in them confidence, self-love, awareness of their rights, to make them full. Not to raise, but guide, make conditions”.* Respondent №6.

Respondent №6 also noticed that in the process of children’s raising she is trying to do the opposite to what her parents did to her. What she meant is that her parents were expecting from

her to be obedient and to nurture in her certain qualities while she tries just to follow her child's needs and desires.

*How neoliberalism shapes mothering in regard to nation-building.* One of the most intriguing questions for me was how mothering and its understanding transformed through generations and is affected by the neoliberal idea. As it was discussed earlier, neoliberalism shapes mothering through responsabilization them for more and more spheres of children's lives including upbringing, making decisions on food, clothes, using devices, education, and psychological and emotional discharge. Though it is not possible to control for all other possible external factors, at least the fact that groups of respondents are from one family gave a chance to look at generational peculiarities of perception of mothering.

Respondents of the first generation seem to be the most "careless" mothers. As I supposed before the study, they don't consider mothering as something requiring special attention, or discussion at all. Respondent №4, an 88-year-old woman didn't have parents herself, but she without any doubt gave birth to two children. When I asked her how she managed to raise them she laughed and told that somehow raised them. It is worth noting that her daughter respondent №5 in her interview revealed that remembers mother preparing food for them and taking care for their physical state, but not emotional.

Respondent №7, a 67-year-old woman – tells that she didn't pay special attention to raising her children (five of them), and that they raised one another themselves. Respondent №1, a 72-year-old woman – says she was busy studying at the university, so at least her first child was under the care of a mother-in-law. She also confesses that she did not provide her children with emotional support, but that she did ensure their education and instilled in them the values of a proper upbringing.

Lacking many information sources, first generation mothers almost fully relied on the experience of the women in the surrounding. Usually, they were mothers-in-law who were primary helpers in terms of childcare, especially, during the first year.

Mothers of second generation had slightly different experience – not all of them were seeking information on parenting or childcare in the first years, but they all were taught how to care for a child in hospitals. In the high peak of Soviet Union, mothers as all other citizens were perceived primarily as labor force. Because of the necessity for women to return to their working places as soon as possible, breastfeeding by schedule was encouraged. My respondents said that they were directed to feed children every three hours but some of them could not follow this requirement. Scheduled breastfeeding, early introduction of additional food, and sometimes poor health of mothers led that many Soviet women didn't have enough milk and stopped breastfeeding earlier than it is now considered healthy.

Breastfeeding, while fully endorsed and valued in the traditional Russian setting, and initiated by most mothers at some time after delivery, was often unsuccessful. Most mothers introduced alternate liquid feeds shortly after delivery and solid foods within the first month of life in accordance with Russian infant nutritional recommendations. Routine supplementing of all babies with water, glucose or locally produced breast milk-substitute formulas from the first day of life contributed to the decline in breast milk production [28].

This generation of mothers already talk about more involvement of fathers in their everyday childcare routine though still men are considered as breadwinners.

The third-generation mothers, expectedly, unlike their mothers and grandmothers start their mothering process from the moment they learnt about their pregnancy. As respondent №9 put it, pregnancy period was an information “gathering” stage. They read, browse internet and talk to acquaintances and friends with children, and tried to prepare themselves physically. Some of them do this together with their husbands. Respondent №9 visited parental courses, bought children’s things, and read a lot not only about childcare, but also upbringing. Respondent №3 said that she learnt to do Chinese massage, she bought special materials to stimulate the child’s early development (special developing mats, musical toys, cards with pictures, etc.)

Together with the internet, comes the belief that children should not be raised but rather guided, and this is what actually requires most of the resources. Respondent №6 says that one the difficult things is to restrain herself when she wants to yell at her child. Respondent №9 confessed that though she read and talked a lot about mothering before, she was unprepared for the shift in her worldview that came with the realisation that she was now responsible for another human being, and that her anxiety for them would persist indefinitely. This confession is interesting if to compare with her grandmother’s attitude to children’s upbringing – she just gave birth to 4 children one by one, and they “raised each other themselves”.

Another sign of mothering intensification is that mother becomes main and central caregiver. All of the respondents of the third generations say that they had to take care of children themselves, because their mothers and mothers-in-law work or live far. In some cases, it is a period of relationship testing. Respondent №3 said that at one point she had to have a serious conversation about the distribution of roles, and she needs support. Respondent №9 says that her husband was engaged in the childcare so much that there is some kind of special bond between the child and her husband. Respondent №6 divorced her husband after the child was born and suffers the biggest pressure to cover all parental functions.

*Class reproduction and nation-building.* Last but not the least – I was interested in how class reproduction may influence the nation-building processes. Though from the very beginning, I wanted to look how perceptions of raising children may differ from family to family, it was during the first interview when I observed signs of what Bourdieu [29] called habitus in my interviewee and I realized that it may have a huge influence on the citizenship formation, and national code. Adeeb Khaleed [30] in his work on jadids showed that cultural capital and habitus played essential role in the formation of new Muslim intelligentsia in Central Asia.

#### *Three generations of urban mothers*

Respondent №1, as it was mentioned earlier, comes from an urban family – both of her parents received higher education and she gets married for a party official. Though we talked through Zoom, I could see her posture, mannerisms, her whole appearance and stayed surprised up to the end of the interview how well-spoken she was. By her own confession, she cannot consider herself a successful mother because she was assisted a lot by her mother-in-law. As I mentioned earlier, she didn’t pay much attention to emotional side of upbringing, and could be named a cold mother. Because of this, she confessed that she was very much surprised how her daughter managed to become emotional and supportive mother for five children.



Her daughter though also received higher education almost never worked, and has become a “professional” mother. This family in the second generation can be named very child-centered: almost every child-bearing was difficult, with four out of five children respondent №2 had to spend time in a hospital to save her pregnancy. It can also be considered as a sign of a higher class – they paid more attention to saving pregnancy and had a chance (and may be network) to enroll her to hospital. She was studying at a graduate school but then – left university.

Respondent №3 also had higher education, but she already moved to the US for that.

All respondents in this family have experience with relocation, whether to other countries or within Kazakhstan. The Mother of the third generation lived not only in Kazakhstan, and the United States, but also in Hong Kong. It seems like in this family, intensive mothering started already in the second generation.

In this family, conservative values are very strong. Women in all generations are marrying men who are wealthier or with a higher social position. Among the activities were reading, going to the countryside, theaters, and so forth.

#### *Family urban in two generations*

Respondent №4 was born in Kuban and didn't have her parents, she received only school education and some kind of vocational education. Almost all her life, they lived in a village, this is why they had a big household to look for including livestock, poultry and garden. As her daughter revealed, her mother was emotionally unavailable (but most probably too busy), and for support – her daughter approached to her father. Her daughter received vocational education in pedagogical uchilishe and all her life worked as a tutor in kindergarten. Some time ago, she divorced and now lives with her daughter and a grandson. Though they parted, she considers her husband a good father who took care of his children even after divorce. Respondent №6 got higher education, but she doesn't work now, after divorce she focused all her attention to raising her child.

In the family, strict mothering is persistent in two first generations. Respondent №5 – mother of second generation – confessed that sometimes she used to beat her children when they fought with each other. She said that she was beaten severely by her father (not mother). The only difference was in the reasons for punishment: mother of 2 generation was beaten for grades, while she herself beat children for misbehaving. Mother of 3 generation in this family tries to avoid physical punishment at all, but sometimes may yell at her son.

The main activity for children was to go to child camps, and together with parents to Bayuanauyl (Kazakhstani Switzerland).

#### *Family urban in the first generation*

Respondent №7 lived in a village all her life, didn't have any education apart from school, and marriage a man from another village. She had four children, and as she noted herself – they raised them themselves. Her daughter also said that she was never open with her mother, and preferred not to tell some important things (sometimes she talked to her teacher instead). Respondent №8 almost all her life lived in a village and married her classmate. She managed to get higher education in absentia (заочно) only because she loved reading and worked in a local library. In their family, apparently higher education was considered a value, because as mother of the first generation said with pride: all of her children received higher education. This and

the desire of the second-generation mother to make her daughter more confident shaped the path of the third-generation mother. She is a journalist who raises important for Kazakhstan and married a journalist who does the same.

Respondents from this family said that they never use physical punishment, but sometimes may yell at children on the peak of emotions. Among the activities they preferred, was looking after livestock, reading, and telling tales.

Overall, the differences in the third generation are not that obvious: third-generation mothers all have higher education and have more or less equalized opportunities and more or less similar views on the children's upbringing. However, children from the urban family looks more advanced in their opportunities. They also look like they paid more attention to saving pregnancies and raising children.

One of the reasons why class reproduction is not that salient may be that mothers of first generation were influenced highly not only by their mothers, but also mothers-in-law. The latter actually affected the way their second-generation-mothers were raised because they were information-providers and a support system for their daughters-in-law.

## **Discussion**

The results of the study show that mothers in Kazakhstan don't perceive their role as "mothers of nation", they consider the process of raising children as totally private, and this perception becomes more salient in the third generation. Considering it a private their own matter such mothers would not like their children to be influenced by ideological tools, and don't consider state a monopolist in this regard. It may mean that children would not have strong connection to Kazakhstan, at least they will not get this from their mothers. My respondents, though freely and voluntarily take their total responsibility for their children's lives and future success, at the same time limit the possible influence of the state because they make crucial decisions on both formal and informal education, and will not bear those institutions that will have the agenda contrary to their own. It may sound a bit alarmist from one point, but considering that my respondents are of a certain sort – Russified, mostly urban, and from my bubble, their experience probably cannot be generalized to a bigger part of Kazakhstani mothers.

My study also shows that there is no clear vision of a future Kazakhstani citizen among mothers. When they are asked about the core values they want to transmit and core traits they want to see in their kids, they are becoming vague. Kind and decent – the main traits they want to see in their children, and such traits may not become the fundamentals for a national idea. Mothers of third generation expect their children to be free and creative, limiting their own role in raising kids to soft and observant gardeners.

Finally, I didn't find clear signs of class reproduction in Kazakhstani families through mothers' generation. It was more salient in the family urban in three generations whose first generation already was powerful during Soviet times. No class division may not be noticed because of the equalizing policies in Soviet Union when most of the population could get vocational education. There could be a strong effect of the systemic collapse that happened in Kazakhstan in 1990-s. The mass exodus of non-Kazakhs in 1990-s led to depopulation of cities and repopulation of

them by rural citizens. This is why the vast majority of Kazakhstani people are urban in first generation, and the class division is only to emerge. However, we already see the signs of its start that manifests itself in the privatization of education sphere.

## Conclusion

My study showed that raising children is considered mostly a private matter, they are not perceived as future citizens and mothers are not perceived as transmitters of citizenship values. Most of the respondents wish their children to be decent, kind, heartfelt people. Mothers of third generation don't have illusions that they are capable of raising something particular in their children, but rather guide them and focus on what they already have at their birth.

After looking at the stories of my respondents from three perspectives, I see that the biggest effect and the most obvious separation line between different types of mothering lies in the generation gap. Mothers were influenced by the corresponding to their period discourse (because of their responsibility for a new human and their life) that they unconsciously repeat and replicate this discourse and, thus, the type of citizens they will try to raise will depend a lot on the information noise and prevalence of topics in public sphere.

Mothering started to intensify now, mostly because of the perception of 3-generation mothers of heavier responsibility. While mothers of previous generations gave birth to children because it was a social norm, the last generation feels responsible for the choice to give birth.

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#### **Аналар Қазақстандағы мемлекет құрушы агент ретінде: неолиберализмнің әсері**

**Андатпа.** Халқының үштен бірін балалар құрайтын Қазақстан – қазір өмірлік бетбұрыс сәтіне қадам басқан жас мемлекет. Балалардың жоғары үлесі ел үшін өз қиындығымен бірге, күш-қуат және гүлдену мүмкіндігі болуы мүмкін және бұл балалардың дамуына әсер ететін көптеген субъектілердің өзара әрекеттестігіне байланысты. Қазақстанда отбасындағы гендерлік рөлдерді дәстүрлі қабылдау бала тәрбиесіндегі ана рөлінің теңгерімсіздігіне және артуына әкеліп соқты, сөйтіп оларды ұлттық код пен құндылықтарды жеткізудің негізгі және басты агентіне айналдырды. Сонымен қатар өмірдің барлық салаларын жаһандық неолиберализациялау аналарды балалардың тек адамгершілік тәрбиесіне ғана емес, сонымен бірге олардың болашақ өмірін қалыптастыратын стратегиялық маңызды шешімдердің көпшілігі үшін де жауапкершілікке әкелді. Ақырында, жаңа азаматтарды жасайтын да, айқындайтын да аналар.

Мақалада 3 жанұядағы аналардың 3 ұрпағының мемлекет құру үдерістеріндегі рөлі, балаларында қандай құндылықтарды дамыту қажет деп санайды, неолиберализм олардың балалар өміріне қатысуына қалай әсер етті және Қазақстандағы мемлекет құрылысына әлеуметтік таптың ықпалы барына назар аударылды. Нәтижелер көрсеткендей, ананың рөлін түсіну ұрпақтан-ұрпаққа өзгеріп отырады, ал қазір балаларды тәрбиелеу жеке мәселе болып саналады. Соңғы ұрпақтың аналары балалары туралы негізгі және жалғыз шешім қабылдаушы – кейде бұны тек күйеуімен бөліседі. Бұл қысқа мерзімде үкімет үшін тиімді болуы мүмкін, өйткені мұндай аналар мемлекеттен ешқандай қолдау күтпейді, бірақ ұзақ мерзімді болашақта олардың балаларының өз еліне деген сезімнің төмендеуіне әкелуі мүмкін.

**Түйін сөздер:** мемлекет құру, ұлттық рух, ұлттық код, таптық репродукция, азаматтық, гендерлік, аналық.

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### **Матери как агенты нациестроительства в Казахстане: эффект неолиберализма**

**Аннотация.** Поскольку треть населения составляют дети, Казахстан является молодым государством, в жизни которого наступает переломный момент. Высокая доля детей может быть как проклятием, так и возможностью для страны стремиться и процветать, и это во многом зависит от взаимодействия многих действующих лиц, влияющих на развитие детей. В Казахстане традиционное восприятие гендерных ролей в семье привело к несбалансированно высокой роли матери в воспитании детей и, тем самым, делает их первоочередными и главными агентами передачи национального кода и ценностей. Одновременно глобальные процессы неолиберализации всех сфер жизни привела к возложению на матерей ответственности не только за нравственное воспитание, но и за большинство стратегически важных решений, определяющих их дальнейшую жизнь. Таким образом, именно матери создают и определяют новых граждан.

В своем исследовании я сосредоточилась на трех поколениях матерей в трех семьях, чтобы увидеть, как меняется восприятие их роли в процессах национального строительства, какие ценности они считают необходимыми для развития у своих детей, как неолиберализм повлиял на их участие в жизни детей и имеет ли социальный класс влияние на национальное строительство в Казахстане. Результаты показали, что восприятие роли матери меняется из поколения в поколение, и теперь воспитание детей считается полностью частным делом. Матери последнего поколения являются главными и единственными лицами, принимающими решения о своих детях, разделяя эту ответственность только со своим мужем. В краткосрочной перспективе это может быть выгодно правительству, поскольку такие матери не ждут никакой поддержки со стороны государства, но в долгосрочной перспективе это может привести к снижению чувства принадлежности к стране у их детей.

**Ключевые слова:** нациестроительство, национальный дух, национальный код, классовое воспроизводство, гражданство, гендер, материнство.

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