IRSTI 21.31.35 https://doi.org/10.48010/2026.4/1999-5911.13

MULTIPLE RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES: BETWEEN BELONGING AND SELF-DEFINITION

[1]L. Toktarbekova[*], [2]N. Pirnazarov
[1]Institute of Philosophy, Political Science and Religious Studies CS MSHE RK (Almaty, Kazakhstan)
[2] TIIAME National Research University; Sarbon University (Tashkent, Uzbekistan)
[1]lauratoktarbekova@gmail.com; [2]n_pirnazarov@tiiame.uz

[1]Л.Н. Токтарбекова[*], [2]Н. Пірназаров
[1]ҚР ҒЖБМ ҒК Философия, саясаттану және дінтану институты (Алматы, Қазақстан)
[2]«Ташкент ирригация және ауыл шаруашылығын механикаландыру инженерлері институты» ұлттық зерттеу университеті; Сарбон университеті (Ташкент, Өзбекстан)
[1]lauratoktarbekova@gmail.com , [2]n_pirnazarov@tiiame.uz

Citation: L. Toktarbekova, N. Pirnazarov. Multiple Religious Identities: Between Belonging And Self-Definition // *Al-Farabi.* – 2026. – Vol. 24. № 4(96). – P. 182-194 .

Abstract. This article examines women's religious identity as a multiple configuration shaped by gender, everyday religious practices, family relationships, ethnocultural continuity, and digital communication. It asks how women negotiate religious belonging and self-identification in contemporary Kazakhstan. Drawing on lived religion, social identification, doing gender, and religious agency, the article brings the work of Nancy Ammerman, Richard Jenkins, Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman, Linda Woodhead, and Birgit Meyer into dialogue with published studies of women's religiosity.

The article employs conceptual analysis and a comparative interpretation of published empirical findings. It distinguishes multiple religious belonging, understood as engagement with more than one religious tradition, from the multiple character of identity within a single tradition. The Kazakhstani material primarily illuminates the latter: the negotiation of Islamic norms, family expectations, cultural affiliations, individual agency, and online self-presentation.

The analysis suggests that tactical and consolidating gender strategies can coexist. Women may sustain religious and family commitments while using education, professional activity, and digital media to expand their scope for action. Digital platforms create opportunities for self-representation while also exposing users to overlapping audiences and social scrutiny. These conclusions constitute a contextual interpretation of existing research rather than findings from a new, nationally representative empirical study.

Keywords: Multiple Religious Identities, Religious Belonging, Lived Religion, Doing Gender, Women's Agency, Digital Religiosity, Kazakhstan.

* Author-correspondent: L. Toktarbekova, lauratoktarbekova@gmail.com

Introduction

Contemporary religious studies and the sociology of religion increasingly examine religion as an everyday, embodied experience alongside its doctrines, institutions, and prescriptions. The concept of lived religion is central to this approach. Ammerman's account directs attention to the material and embodied dimensions of everyday religious life [1]. It makes it possible to examine religiosity through practices, bodily disciplines, moral choices, visual self-presentation, and everyday experiences of faith, as well as through formal affiliation and doctrinal commitments.

Research on multiple religious belonging challenges the assumption that religious affiliation is necessarily exclusive. It examines engagement with the communities and practices of more than one religious tradition [2]. This phenomenon must, however, be distinguished from a multiple religious identity: the intersection of religious commitment with gender, family, ethnicity, professional life, and digital participation. Such intersections do not in themselves establish belonging to multiple religions. This distinction guides the present analysis of women's religious identity in Kazakhstan.

Gender is one of the key factors shaping multiple religious identity. Here, gender should be understood not merely as a social characteristic of an individual, but also as a system of power relations, cultural expectations, bodily norms, and modes of self-presentation. Religious identity does not take shape in an abstract realm of "pure faith"; rather, it develops within specific social contexts in which men and women are assigned different roles, forms of piety, patterns of behavior, and socially acceptable ways of expressing their religiosity.

Richard Jenkins's theory of social identity makes it possible to approach identity as a process involving the interplay between self-identification and external identification. Candace West and Don Zimmerman's concept of "doing gender" explains gender as practical activity reproduced through the body, speech, clothing, and social interaction. Linda Woodhead links religion and gender as interdependent systems of power distribution and proposes a typology of gender strategies in religion. The studies of M. Voss Roberts, J. Berghuijs, Novak and colleagues, B. Meyer, S. Mohamad, E. Baulch, and A. Pramiyanti illuminate different dimensions of religious plurality, materiality, embodiment, and digital religiosity.

The article addresses the relationship between gender expectations, family practices, ethnocultural continuity, and digital self-representation in women's religious identity in Kazakhstan. It brings these dimensions together through a conceptual interpretation of published research. Its contribution is to distinguish the layering of identity within a religious tradition from multiple religious belonging and to explore how tactical and consolidating gender strategies may coexist.

Methodology

This article presents a conceptual analysis informed by published empirical studies. It compares accounts of lived religion, social identification, doing gender,

religious plurality, material mediation, and gender strategies developed by Ammerman, Jenkins, West and Zimmerman, Woodhead, Voss Roberts, Meyer, and other scholars. The cited literature is interpreted in relation to three analytical questions: how belonging is recognised and negotiated; how gender norms shape religious agency; and how family and digital settings mediate self-representation. The article does not report new interviews, observations, survey data, or a reanalysis of participant-level datasets.

Published studies of Kazakhstani provide a contextual case for examining the interaction of the post-Soviet legacy, Islamic religiosity, ethnocultural practices, and digital communication. Studies from other settings supply comparative concepts rather than direct evidence about Kazakhstan. The analysis is an interpretive synthesis, not a systematic review or a representative account of all women in the country. Findings are considered within the family, institutional, geographical, and media contexts of the studies from which they derive.

Religious Identity, Gender, and Multiple Belonging

To understand the factors through which gender influences religious identity, it is necessary to consider Richard Jenkins's social theory. He argues that "identity is the human capacity rooted in language – to know "who's who" (and hence "what's what")" [3, p. 5]. This definition is important because it treats identity not as something given once and for all, but as a process of social recognition, self-identification, and identification by others. In other words, people define who they are while continually encountering the ways in which they are defined by their families, religious communities, institutions, the state, digital audiences, and the broader cultural environment.

According to R. Jenkins, identification is not a static thing. It is an ongoing process shaped by the dialectic between internal self-identification and external identification. This dialectic is particularly visible in the religious sphere: a person may regard themselves as a believer, while the legitimacy of their faith is often assessed through institutional norms, gender expectations, and collective ideas about "proper" religiosity. A woman, for example, may consider herself deeply religious, yet society may evaluate her religiosity through her clothing, family conduct, public modesty, attitudes towards marriage and motherhood, or relationship to religious authority.

Jenkins identifies selfhood, humanness, and gender among primary identities and emphasises the far-reaching consequences of gender classification for people's life chances and experiences [3]. Gender is consequently relevant to religious experience, socialisation, and identification, rather than merely an additional demographic variable.

Moreover, as Richard Jenkins notes, "Primary identities such as gender, rooted in very early experience, are massively implicated in the embodied point of view of selfhood" [3, p. 172]. This means that an individual's religious choices are always mediated through a gendered and embodied perspective. Women and men may belong to the same religious tradition, yet their experiences of belonging are rarely identical. They differ in relation to dress codes, bodily discipline, public presence, family responsibilities, access to religious knowledge, and the right to interpret sacred texts.

ISSN 1999-5911 (Print)
ISSN 2960-2173 (Online)

West and Zimmerman's concept of doing gender treats gender as an accomplishment of everyday social interaction [4]. Extending this interactional perspective to religious identity, the present article considers how believers enact belonging through bodies, speech, clothing, rituals, digital images, and moral choices. This extension is an analytical interpretation rather than a direct quotation from West and Zimmerman about identity in general.

Woodhead approaches religion and gender as interrelated systems through which power is represented and distributed [5]. This perspective draws attention to how religious arrangements can reinforce or contest gender relations and shape access to authority, public visibility, and interpretation.

L. Woodhead identifies four gender strategies in religion: consolidating, tactical, questing, and counter-cultural. The consolidating strategy reinforces the traditional gender order, in which male leadership and women's domestic roles receive sacred justification. The tactical strategy is characteristic of groups with limited power: women may use the resources of the dominant religion to improve their position from within. The questing strategy involves turning to marginal, alternative, or new spiritual practices in pursuit of personal transformation. The counter-cultural strategy entails openly challenging the existing gender order by creating alternative sacred systems [5].

The tactical and questing strategies are particularly relevant to the analysis of multiple religious identities. When women encounter patriarchal restrictions within their own religious traditions, they do not always abandon those traditions entirely. More often, they seek ways to reinterpret them, manoeuvre within them, selectively borrow from other sources, and broaden their religious horizons. In this sense, multiple religious belonging need not indicate an "unstable" faith; it may instead be a way of retaining religious rootedness while overcoming the limitations of institutional structures.

As M. Voss Roberts observes, "women have been more willing to cross boundaries" [6, p. 43]. This claim is relevant not only to individual spiritual quests but also to understanding women's religious agency. In some cases, crossing confessional, ritual, or spiritual boundaries becomes a way of seeking resources that are absent from, or insufficiently represented in, one's "native" religious tradition. These may include bodily healing practices, meditation, women's solidarity, feminist theology, or alternative forms of spiritual authority.

In this regard, the observation that "the idea that persons belong to institutions... echoes with the ideology that women and subordinate men 'belong' to fathers, husbands, and masters" is telling [7, p. 21]. For a woman, rejecting exclusive belonging to a single church, denomination, or institutional form of religion may therefore carry significance not only as a spiritual choice but also as a form of social emancipation. This is not simply a matter of abandoning tradition, but of seeking to move beyond forms of religiosity that reinforce women's subordinate position.

M. Voss Roberts also argues that "the mingling of multiple traditions also can be a means of affirming otherwise marginalized identities" [6, p. 44]. For example, a Christian woman who turns to yoga, meditation, Kabbalistic imagery, or feminist

theology does not necessarily regard these practices as a rejection of her own faith. Rather, she may be seeking languages and practices through which to express experiences of the body, femininity, care, freedom, and spiritual dignity that are insufficiently represented in official doctrine.

In their study "Adapting my religion: How young believers negotiate religious belonging" [8], Novak C., Mattes A., Haselbacher M. and Limacher K. demonstrate the significance of gender in the formation of young people's religious identities. The researchers distinguish two phases: "adoption", or acceptance of the family's faith, and "adaptation", the personal adjustment of that faith. In the first phase, religious identity is often inherited through family, ethnocultural environment, and ritual tradition. In the second, young people begin to relate the religiosity they have inherited to their personal experiences, education, media environment, moral convictions, and social contacts [8].

Research suggests that young people tend to "cleanse" religion of elements they regard as cultural, patriarchal, or unjust. They "positioned themselves against what they considered biased, patriarchal interpretations of their religion" [8, p. 11]. This search for the "true essence" of faith does not necessarily lead to secularisation. On the contrary, it may intensify personal religiosity while making it more reflective and hybrid. A person may remain committed to Islam, Christianity, or another tradition while incorporating into their worldview the language of human rights, gender equality, psychological well-being, bodily autonomy, or social justice.

A material perspective on religion makes a significant contribution to understanding religious identity. The German scholar Birgit Meyer argues that religion is not confined to ideas and beliefs but is materially embodied in "sensational forms" - objects, images, rituals, sounds, smells, gestures, and bodily practices [9, pp. 7, 26]. This approach is particularly relevant to the study of women's religiosity because, in different traditions, the female body becomes a key site where religious norms, social expectations, and power relations intersect.

Clothing, head covering, bodily modesty, ritual purity, reproduction, sexuality, and public visibility can shape religious identity alongside professions of faith and participation in worship. Research on the jilbab in Indonesia illustrates the intersection of clothing, power, gender norms, and religious identity [10]. Such cases inform a comparative understanding of embodied belonging. Combining religious dress with psychological practices, meditation, or feminist ethical commitments does not, without further evidence, establish affiliation with another religious tradition.

Digitalisation has fundamentally transformed the ways in which religious identities are formed. The internet has created "techno-religious spaces" [11, p. 78], where the boundaries between private and public, sacred and secular, and individual and collective become more flexible.

Social media allow believers not only to obtain religious knowledge but also to participate actively in the production of religious meanings, visual representations, and moral interpretations. This is especially important for women, because digital environments can become alternative spaces for religious self-realisation when access

ISSN 1999-5911 (Print)
ISSN 2960-2173 (Online)

to traditional religious institutions, such as churches and mosques, or to authoritative sources is limited.

Nevertheless, digital religiosity is not an entirely free space. On social media, believers encounter "context collapse" [11, p. 76], a situation in which family members, friends, colleagues, religious communities, incidental audiences, and global users are all present within a single digital field. This requires women to develop complex strategies of self-presentation. They use privacy settings, visual codes, and the language of modesty, aesthetic filters, and topic selection as tools for "filtering" their identities. Women decide how much piety, modernity, or independence to display to different audiences.

Baulch and Pramiyanti's study of Indonesian hijabers on Instagram uses the concept of composite habitus to examine the negotiation of distinct social environments [12]. Their analysis connects embodied self-presentation with smartphone use, fashion, piety, and religious communication. This comparative case illustrates intersecting social commitments rather than demonstrating multiple religious affiliation.

In Baulch and Pramiyanti's analysis, the hijabers combine religious self-presentation with consumer practices and the circulation of religious knowledge [12]. Photographs can function as dakwah, or religious communication and preaching. This combination illustrates the interaction of piety, fashion, commercial activity, and digital agency within Muslim self-representation.

Gender Strategies and Multiple Religious Identities among Women in Kazakhstan

In contemporary Kazakhstan, women's identities are shaped by three main value models: the Soviet model, the globalised or Western model, and the religious model. The Soviet model is characterised by high levels of women's education and employment alongside the phenomenon of "two-sided pressure", whereby economic independence coexists with primary responsibility for domestic labour and child-rearing [13, p. 10]. The globalised model emphasises personal autonomy, financial independence, career development, and self-realisation, while the digital environment expands opportunities for public self-presentation. The religious model is based on Islamic ethics, observance of religious prescriptions, and family responsibilities.

These models are not mutually exclusive. Women may combine different normative and value orientations depending on their social context. Analysing women's identities therefore requires examining not only the content of religious norms but also the ways in which they are interpreted, adapted, and used in practice.

The digital transformation of Islamic communication is particularly significant in this regard, having substantially changed the ways in which religious knowledge is acquired, disseminated, and interpreted. Whereas mosques, madrasas, families, and printed literature previously served as the main channels of religious socialisation, Islamic knowledge and discourse now circulate actively through YouTube, Instagram, TikTok, Telegram, and other digital platforms. The internet not only expands the

space for religious communication but also transforms the mechanisms through which religious authority is formed.

In digital environments, religious authority is increasingly personalised and mediatized. Popular online preachers act not only as bearers of theological knowledge but also as public advisers on family, marriage, and child-rearing, as well as commentators on the moral and ethical dimensions of social life. Religious communication thus extends beyond institutional forms and becomes part of audiences' everyday media consumption.

It is noteworthy that issues concerning women's status, family justice, spouses' rights, and gender relations are becoming increasingly prominent in Kazakhstan's digital Islamic sphere. A study by Sh. Kerim and colleagues documents the growing popularity of online preachers who discuss women's rights in Islam. One example considered by the authors is Imam Nurlan Baizhigitov, who responds to audience questions in online sessions using accessible communication and elements of humour. His sermons repeatedly address women's rights, including the status of brides from the perspective of Sharia [14, p. 625].

These observations make it possible to view digital Islamic preaching not only as a new channel for disseminating religious information but also as a space in which gender meanings are formed and articulated. Digitalisation changes not only how religious knowledge is transmitted but also the nature of interaction between religious authorities and audiences. Believers can choose among different interpretations of religious issues, ask preachers questions directly, comment on their positions, and compare different forms of religious argumentation.

The study by Kerim and colleagues reports that 70.3% of the women surveyed identified men as their spiritual mentors [14, p. 635]. This percentage describes the respondents in that study and should not be treated as a population estimate for all women in Kazakhstan. The finding suggests that male religious authorities remain influential within the studied context, even as digital platforms provide additional opportunities to articulate women's concerns and engage with religious interpretations.

It is in this context that the Islamic identity of contemporary Kazakhstani women acquires a multiple character. It is formed at the intersection of religious doctrine, national traditions, the post-Soviet experience, family morality, global Islamic discourses, human-rights perspectives, and digital culture. Religious identity therefore rarely appears as a one-dimensional construct. It simultaneously encompasses faith, ethnocultural belonging, moral normativity, social adaptation, and digital agency. A contemporary Kazakhstani woman may understand herself at once as a Muslim, a representative of Kazakh culture, an educated modern individual, a participant in digital communication, and a subject entitled to interpret her own religious experience.

In this respect, Linda Woodhead's typology of gender strategies in religion [5] offers a productive theoretical framework, allowing women to be considered not merely as objects shaped by religious norms but as agents of religious and social action. In Kazakhstani society, the tactical strategy is particularly visible, alongside elements of the consolidating strategy.

ISSN 1999-5911 (Print)
ISSN 2960-2173 (Online)

The tactical strategy involves using the resources available within a religious tradition to expand autonomy and social influence without directly rejecting the existing religious order. In Kazakhstan, it is evident in the relationship between Islamic feminism, women's religious agency, and digital self-representation. Research into Kazakhstani Muslim women's activity on Instagram shows that they combine religious symbols and principles - such as the hijab, Islamic ethics, modesty, and religious responsibility - with the opportunities offered by digital environments. This enables them to develop commercial and educational projects, participate in charitable activities, build communities, and influence the formation of religious and social values [15].

The tactical strategy is also evident in family life, particularly in the practice of "kelin" (a daughter-in-law's role within the husband's family). As A. Nurtas-Kalikeeva's study shows, contemporary women neither simply accept nor reject traditional norms; rather, they selectively combine them with modern life strategies. As a result, patrilineal values may coexist with higher education, professional activity, economic independence, and the assertion of personal boundaries. In this case, tradition functions as a kind of "toolkit", whose elements are adapted to specific social and family circumstances [16].

Women's agency does not necessarily take the form of open resistance to norms; it may instead be expressed in their ability to manoeuvre within them, reinterpret them, and adapt them. The tactical strategy, however, does not exhaust the diversity of religious practices. The consolidating strategy also remains significant, helping to preserve the traditional gender order and being particularly visible in traditionally oriented and rural ethnocultural communities in southern Kazakhstan.

Within the consolidating strategy, the traditional distribution of gender roles receives religious and ethical justification, while child-rearing, family continuity and the transmission of ethnocultural and religious values play an important role. In Kazakh culture, older women - particularly mothers and grandmothers — are important intermediaries in the transmission of cultural and religious traditions. As Zh. D. Kabidenova and her co-authors observe, "women – mothers and grandmothers were the primary bearers of the national culture through their behaviour, normative principles and values" [17, p. 30].

Contemporary processes of retraditionalisation, however, do not mean a simple return to traditional norms. Sociological research indicates that women selectively adapt traditional principles to modern needs. Alongside the preservation of family values, for example, the education and professional training of daughters are becoming increasingly important, as they are viewed as means of achieving economic independence and reducing financial dependence [18, pp. 55–57].

The tactical and consolidating strategies may therefore coexist within the same social group and even within a single individual. A woman may simultaneously support traditional family relationships, observe religious norms, and use education, professional activity, religious identity, and digital tools to expand her autonomy.

In the studies discussed here, women's identities combine post-Soviet experiences, ethnocultural values, Islamic norms, and digital practices. These intersections can be

understood as ongoing negotiations of social and religious expectations [17]. They should not be reduced to a single personality type or assumed to describe all women in Kazakhstan.

The tactical strategy is most clearly expressed in practices associated with women's religious activism, digital self-presentation, education and entrepreneurship, as well as the selective adaptation of religious norms. The consolidating strategy, by contrast, retains its significance in areas where religion is closely connected with family and ethnocultural continuity and helps preserve the traditional gender order.

Gender Dimensions of Multiple Religious Identities

An analysis of the gender dimensions of multiple religious identities leads to several important conclusions. First, gender should not be treated simply as an external factor added to religious identity. It is a structure through which individuals experience, interpret, and express their religiosity.

The theoretical literature discussed here highlights the historical association of men with formal religious leadership and interpretive authority. The present article does not provide a direct empirical comparison of men's and women's religious identities in Kazakhstan. It therefore treats institutional authority as a contextual dimension of gender relations rather than evidence that men necessarily possess more clearly defined religious identities.

Women's religious identity, by contrast, often develops under conditions that require flexibility. Women may remain committed to traditions while critically assessing interpretations that restrict their individuality.

A multiple religious identities may allow women to relate religious commitments to family life, personal spirituality, bodily autonomy, digital self-expression, and social engagement. These relationships can involve accommodation, tension, or selective reinterpretation; they do not necessarily amount to participation in multiple religious traditions.

To understand this identity, one may turn to the metaphor of the rhizome proposed by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari [19]. Unlike a hierarchical model with a single centre, a rhizome is a network of multiple connections that cannot be reduced to a single line of origin or a single authority.

M. Voss Roberts uses this metaphor to describe religious plurality as a structure in which different traditions, practices, and meanings can coexist without absorbing one another [6, p. 58].

As an analytical metaphor, the rhizome draws attention to connections among Islamic ethics, family morality, self-care, gender-related ethical commitments, and digital self-presentation. These elements need not form a single, internally consistent doctrine. Their coexistence can illuminate the layered character of identity, but it does not establish equal commitment to each element or affiliation with more than one religion.

Digital environments can make these intersections more visible and provide resources for their negotiation. Women may select which elements of religious

ISSN 1999-5911 (Print)
ISSN 2960-2173 (Online)

tradition to foreground, reinterpret, or relate to social and professional practices. The studies discussed suggest that digital media participate in identity formation, although the direction and extent of their influence depend on the users and contexts examined.

Conclusion

This conceptual analysis suggests that gender shapes how religious belonging is embodied, publicly represented, socially recognized, and negotiated. Its central distinction is between multiple religious belonging and a multiple identity within a religious tradition. The Kazakhstan material discussed primarily supports an interpretation of the latter.

Women's agency can operate through selective adaptation and reinterpretation as well as through explicit resistance. Woodhead's tactical and consolidating strategies provide a useful framework for understanding how efforts to expand autonomy can coexist with commitments to family continuity and religious norms. These strategies are analytical categories, not fixed types of women.

Published research on digital religiosity suggests that online platforms offer opportunities to seek religious knowledge, engage with interpretations, and represent piety. They also bring overlapping audiences and forms of scrutiny into the same communicative space. Digital participation therefore cannot automatically be equated with emancipation or the weakening of religious authority.

The article's contribution lies in connecting social identification, embodied religious practice, gender strategies, and digital mediation while keeping distinct forms of plurality analytically separate. The coexistence of Islamic commitment, ethnocultural belonging, professional activity, and digital self-expression should not be treated as sufficient evidence of multiple religious belonging.

The interpretation is limited by the scope and selection of the published studies discussed. Evidence from particular online communities or local samples cannot represent all women in Kazakhstan, and comparative cases from other countries cannot establish the prevalence of the same practices there.

Future research should examine how women themselves describe the relationship between religious affiliation and other dimensions of identity. Interviews and contextual observation could help distinguish participation in multiple traditions from the negotiation of layered commitments within Islam and assess how these patterns vary across age, location, and social circumstances.

List of references

1 Ammerman N. T. Finding Religion in Everyday Life // Sociology of Religion. - 2014. - Vol. 75, №2. - P. 189-207.

2 Rajkumar P. J. R., Dayam J. P. Many Yet One? Multiple Religious Belonging. - Geneva: World Council of Churches Publications, 2015. - 212 p.

3 Jenkins R. Social Identity. - 3rd ed. - London: Routledge, 2008. - 256 p.

4 West C., Zimmerman D. H. Doing Gender // Gender & Society. - 1987. - Vol. 1, № 2. - P. 125–151.

5 Woodhead L. Gender Differences in Religious Practice and Significance // The SAGE Handbook of the Sociology of Religion. - London: SAGE Publications, 2012. - P. 911–948.

6 Voss Roberts M. Religious Belonging and the Multiple // Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion. - 2010. - Vol. 26, №1. - P. 43-62.

7 Berghuijs J. Multiple Religious Belonging in the Netherlands: An Empirical Approach to Hybrid Religiosity // Open Theology. - 2017. - Vol. 3. - P. 19-37.

8 Novak C., Mattes A., Haselbacher M., Limacher K. Adapting my religion: How young believers negotiate religious belonging // Social Compass. - 2024. - Vol. 71, №2. - P. 347-364.

9 Meyer B. Mediation and the Genesis of Presence: Towards a Material Approach to Religion. - Utrecht : Utrecht University, 2012. - 58 p.

10 Rahmawati A., Jamil M. M., Junaidi A. A. The Evolution of the Jilbāb in Indonesia: From Cultural Tradition to Symbol of Religious Identity and Political Resistance // Women, Education, and Social Welfare. - 2026. - Vol. 3, №1. - P. 63-74.

11 Mohamad S. M. Everyday Lived Islam: Malaysian Muslim Women's Performance of Religiosity Online // Journal of Contemporary Religion. - 2013. - P. 75-100.

12 Baulch E., Pramiyanti A. Hijabers on Instagram: Using Visual Social Media to Construct the Ideal Muslim Woman // Social Media + Society. - 2018. - Vol. 4, №4. - P. 1-15.

13 Alimzhanova A. Feminism and Symbolic-Mental Description of Kazakh Women // Central Asian Journal of Art Studies. – 2019. – №4(1). – P. 7-18.

14 Kerim S., Kurmanaliyev M., Ongarov Y., Kaliyeva Y. Digital Transformation of Islamic Preaching in Kazakhstan: Identifying Famous Online Preachers and Their Influence // Millah: Journal of Religious Studies. - 2025. - Vol. 24, №2. - P. 611–644.

15 Toktarbekova L., Zhandossova Sh., Bektenova M. Kazakh Women's Visual Religious Identity and Islamic Agency on Instagram // Pharos Journal of Theology. – 2025. – Vol. 106, No. 3. – P. 1–14. https://doi.org/10.46222/pharosjot.106.3041

16 Nurtas-Kalikeeva A. Transformatsiia instituta kelin: semeinye praktiki gorodskoi molodezhi [Transformation of the kelin institution: Family practices of urban youth]. Tradicii i cennosti kazahov v XXI veke: sbornik statej // Kollektiv avtorov: Bisenova A., Akimbekov S. i dr. Pod red. Bisenovoj A. Zh. - Astana: Foliant, 2025. – 259-296.

17 Kabidenova Zh.D., Zhapekova G.K., Utebaeva D.S., Amirkulova Zh.A., Mussina D.R. Religious conversion through the eyes of women on the example of the religious situation in Kazakhstan // European Journal of Science and Theology. – 2020. – Vol. 16, No. 2. – P. 27-37.

18 Otar E. S., Kim G. N., Sadvokasova A. K., Nakipbaeva Zh. A. and Komirtai A. E. Women of Ethnic Communities as Channels for the Reproduction and Formation of Civic and Ethnic Identity (Based on the Turkestan Region and Shymkent): monograph. – Astana: Institut prikladnyh jetnopoliticheskih issledovanij, 2024. – 284 pp.

19 Deleuze G., Guattari F. A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia. - Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987. - 610 p.

Л.Н. Тоқтарбекова, Н. Пірназаров
Көпқырлы діни бірегейлік: діни тиесілік пен тұлғалық болмыс

Аңдатпа. Мақалада әйелдердің діни бірегейлігі гендерлік факторлар, күнделікті діни практикалар, отбасылық қатынастар, этномәдени сабақтастық және цифрлық коммуникация ықпалымен қалыптасатын көпқырлы құрылым ретінде қарастырылады. Зерттеудің негізгі мақсаты – қазіргі Қазақстан жағдайында әйелдердің діни тиесілілігі мен өзіндік бірегейлігін қалай пайымдап, өзара үйлестіретінін анықтау. Мақалада Нэнси

Аммерманның «күнделікті дін» тұжырымдамасы, Ричард Дженкинстің «әлеуметтік бірегейлік» теориясы, Кэндис Уэст пен Дон Х. Циммерманның «гендерлік іс-әрекеттер» тұжырымы, Линда Вудхедтің діни субъектілік пен гендерлік стратегияларға қатысты көзқарастары және Биргит Мейердің діннің медиатизациясы жөніндегі еңбектері әйелдердің діндарлығына арналған зерттеулермен сабақтастырыла талданады.

Мақалада тұжырымдамалық талдау және эмпирикалық зерттеулер нәтижелерін салыстырмалы тұрғыдан пайымдау әдістері қолданылады. Діни дәстүрлердің бірнешеуіне қатар тиесілікті білдіретін көпқырлы діни тиесілілік пен бір діни дәстүр аясында қалыптасатын бірегейліктің көпқырлылығы ажыратылады. Қазақстандық материалдар негізінен соңғы құбылысты сипаттауға мүмкіндік береді. Бұл үдеріс ислам нормалары, отбасы тарапынан қойылатын талаптар, мәдени тиесілілік, жеке агенттік және цифрлық кеңістіктегі өзін-өзі таныту арасындағы өзара ықпалдастық тұрғысынан қарастырылады.

Талдау гендерлік қатынастарға бейімделудің тактикалық (tactical) және орнықтырушы (consolidating) стратегияларының қатар жүзеге асуы мүмкін екенін көрсетеді. Әйелдер діни ұстанымдары мен отбасылық міндеттемелерін сақтай отырып, білім алу, кәсіби қызмет және цифрлық медианы пайдалану арқылы өз іс-әрекет аясын кеңейте алады. Цифрлық платформалар өзін-өзі танытуға жаңа мүмкіндіктер ашқанымен, пайдаланушыларды әртүрлі аудиториялардың қатар ықпалы мен қоғамдық бақылауына да ұшыратады. Бұл тұжырымдар ұлттық деңгейде репрезентативті жаңа эмпирикалық зерттеу нәтижелеріне емес, қолданыстағы ғылыми еңбектерді контекстік тұрғыдан пайымдауға негізделген.

Түйін сөздер: көпқырлы діни бірегейлік, діни тиесілілік, «күнделікті дін», «гендерлік іс-әрекеттер», әйелдер агенттігі, цифрлық діндарлық, Қазақстан.

Л.Н. Токтарбекова, Н. Пирназаров

Множественная религиозная идентичность: между принадлежностью и самоопределением

Аннотация. В статье религиозная идентичность женщин рассматривается как многомерная конфигурация, формирующаяся под влиянием гендерных факторов, повседневных религиозных практик, семейных отношений, этнокультурной преемственности и цифровой коммуникации. Основной исследовательский вопрос заключается в том, как женщины в современном Казахстане осмысляют и согласуют свою религиозную принадлежность и самоидентификацию. Теоретическую основу исследования составляют концепция «повседневная религия» Нэнси Аммерман, теория социальной идентификации Ричарда Дженкинса, концепция «конструирования гендера» Кэндис Уэст и Дональда Х. Циммермана, подходы Линды Вудхед к религиозной агентности и гендерным стратегиям, а также исследования Биргит Мейер, посвященные медиатизации религии. Эти теоретические подходы рассматриваются во взаимосвязи с исследованиями женской религиозности.

Методологическую основу статьи составляют концептуальный анализ и сравнительная интерпретация результатов эмпирических исследований. Разграничиваются множественная религиозная принадлежность, предполагающая вовлечённость в несколько религиозных традиций, и многомерность идентичности в рамках одной религиозной традиции. Казахстанский материал преимущественно позволяет раскрыть второе явление - согласование исламских норм, семейных ожиданий, культурной принадлежности, индивидуальной субъектности и самопрезентации в цифровом пространстве.

Анализ показывает, что тактические (tactical) и консолидирующие (consolidating) гендерные стратегии могут сосуществовать. Женщины способны сохранять религиозные убеждения и семейные обязательства, одновременно расширяя возможности самостоятельного действия посредством образования, профессиональной деятельности и цифровых медиа. Цифровые платформы создают возможности для самопрезентации, но вместе с тем подвергают пользователей воздействию различных аудиторий и усиливающемуся социальному контролю. Представленные выводы являются контекстуальной интерпретацией существующих исследований, а не результатами нового эмпирического исследования, репрезентативного на национальном уровне.

Ключевые слова: множественная религиозная идентичность, религиозная принадлежность, «повседневная религия», «конструирование гендера», агентность женщин, цифровая религиозность, Казахстан.

Funding. This research has been funded by the Committee of Science of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Grant No. BR31714927 “Multiple Identities and Social Consensus in the Societal Contexts of Kazakhstan’s Dynamics: Exploring Models of Civic Unity under Hybrid Challenges”).

Author Contributions: **L.N. Toktarbekova,** conceptualisation, theoretical development, source analysis, drafting the initial version and editing. **N. Pirnazarov,** analysis of materials, organisation of the literature, translation and editing of the final version.

Received 21.09.2026
Accepted 14.10.2026