

ARCHITECTURAL IMAGERY IN CHILDREN'S BOOKS CIRCULATING IN KAZAKHSTAN: CULTURAL MEMORY, PLACE IDENTITY, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY

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Abstract.

This study examines how the built environment is represented in illustrated children's books circulating in Kazakhstan and how recurring architectural images may function as carriers of cultural memory, place identity, and cultural sustainability. The purposive corpus comprises 42 illustrated publications from the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, including Kazakhstan-produced titles and translated or international books present in the local reading repertoire. The analysis combines Mallan's approach to visual narrative with Assmann's concept of cultural memory, Nora's concept of lieux de mémoire, and place-based interpretation. A nine-parameter visual coding scheme was applied to composition, human-space relations, scale, visual routes, colour, realism/abstraction, narrative agency of space, schematic representation, and ecological-social context. Six recurrent architectural-environment types were identified, with three publications coded as mixed/transitional. Everyday social environments were the most frequent (12/42; 28.6%), followed by mythical-epic environments (10/42; 23.8%). Recognisable urban environments, including depictions of Astana and Almaty, linked civic landmarks with belonging and place recognition, while functional-ecological environments foregrounded relationships among infrastructure, nature, and people. The study proposes the interpretive concept of a "visualised place of memory" to describe the way architectural landmarks and spatial narratives can mediate cultural meanings in children's books. The findings are relevant to heritage education, graphic-design pedagogy, children's publishing, and place-based cultural policy, but they do not establish how children actually interpret these images; reception studies are therefore required.

Keywords: architectural imagery; children's book illustration; cultural memory; place identity; cultural sustainability; Kazakhstan.

1. INTRODUCTION

Globalisation, urban standardisation, and the rapid circulation of transnational visual media make the representation of place an increasingly important issue in children's culture. Illustrated books do more than accompany verbal narratives: they organise space, establish relations between people and their surroundings, and repeatedly expose young readers to visual models of home, city, landscape, monument, infrastructure, and heritage. In this sense, architecture in children's illustration can operate as a visual mediator between everyday experience and wider cultural narratives.

Research on contemporary children's literature in Kazakhstan has increasingly addres-

sed identity, imagined community, and the relationship between national and world literature (Frieß, 2025; Seisenbiyeva et al., 2024). International scholarship has also shown that picturebooks and illustrated nonfiction can organise knowledge through the interaction of text, image, layout, and spatial representation (Campagnaro, 2021; Farrar et al., 2024; Shimek, 2019). What remains less developed is a systematic account of the architectural environment itself: not simply which buildings appear, but how scale, colour, composition, routes, interiors, landmarks, and environmental systems are used to construct meaning.

The source manuscript initially described the material as “Kazakhstani children’s book illustration”. The corpus, however, includes both Kazakhstan-produced publications and translated or international titles. The present revision therefore uses the more precise formulation “children’s books circulating in Kazakhstan”. This distinction matters methodologically: the study analyses a reading repertoire available within Kazakhstan rather than claiming that all 42 publications were produced by Kazakhstani illustrators. When specifically Kazakhstani visual tendencies are discussed below, the argument is restricted to clearly local titles and settings.

The topic is also relevant to cultural sustainability. UNESCO’s Culture|2030 framework treats cultural heritage, education, knowledge and skills, and sustainable places as interconnected dimensions of sustainable development (UNESCO, 2019). The MONDIACULT 2022 Declaration similarly frames culture as a public good and as a contributor to resilience, social cohesion, and sustainable development (UNESCO, 2022). Children’s illustration is not itself a governance mechanism, and this article does not evaluate cultural policy. It can, however, provide evidence about which spatial and heritage images are made visible to children and how those images are organised. Such evidence can inform heritage education, publishing policy, library curation, and place-based cultural programmes.

The aim of this article is to identify and categorise recurring images of the architectural environment in a corpus of 42 illustrated children’s publications circulating in Kazakhstan and to examine the visual mechanisms through which these images communicate cultural meanings and a sense of place.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What types of architectural environment predominate in the analysed corpus?
- Through which visual techniques—especially scale, colour, composition, spatial routes, and narrative positioning—are cultural meanings and place identity communicated?
- What implications can the identified patterns have for cultural sustainability, heritage education, and visual-design pedagogy?

The contribution is interpretive rather than causal. The study identifies visual patterns and proposes a typology, but it does not test how children receive, remember, or emotionally respond to the images. Claims about educational or cultural effects are therefore framed as plausible functions and implications to be examined in future reception research.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. CULTURAL MEMORY, PLACE, AND ARCHITECTURAL REPRESENTATION

Assmann (2011) conceptualises cultural memory as a socially organised form of remembrance sustained through texts, symbols, rituals, and material forms. Nora's (1984–1992) concept of *lieux de mémoire* draws attention to sites and symbolic entities in which collective memory becomes concentrated. Although Nora developed the concept in relation to historically and institutionally recognised sites of memory, it is useful here as an interpretive lens for understanding repeated visual representations of landmarks, domestic forms, and mythic spaces in children's books.

Relph (1976) distinguishes meaningful place from placelessness by emphasising lived attachment, familiarity, and identity. Architectural illustration can participate in this process symbolically: a yurt, a skyline, a square, a bridge, or a domestic interior may condense multiple associations into a recognisable spatial sign. Chukova's (2020) analysis of monuments and national identity in Macedonia and post-Soviet Central Asian republics further demonstrates that architecture and monumental imagery can be mobilised within broader narratives of collective identity. The present study does not equate children's books with state memory policy; rather, it asks whether recurring illustrated places act as small-scale visual carriers of cultural remembrance.

2.2. VISUAL NARRATIVE AND MEANING-MAKING IN CHILDREN'S BOOKS

Mallan (2008) shows how picturebooks can imagine identity, community, and historical memory through the interaction of visual and narrative devices. This study follows that orientation by analysing not only what is depicted but how it is depicted: whether the viewer encounters an open panorama or a compressed frame, whether a building dominates or supports the human figure, whether colour indicates security or estrangement, and whether routes invite movement through space.

Recent work on visual literacy reinforces the need to treat images as structured meaning-making systems rather than decorative supplements. Farrar et al. (2024) synthesise research on visual literacy and children's reading, while Eckhoff (2025) demonstrates the value of critical content analysis for revealing how professional and material environments are represented in children's literature. Studies of architecture and nonfiction picturebooks similarly show that illustrated spatial environments can support observation, comparison, and spatial reasoning (Campagnaro, 2021; Luigini, 2019; Schmiedeknecht et al., 2023). Olver's (2025) ecocritical analysis is relevant to the functional-ecological category identified below because it highlights how illustrated activities can position human and non-human systems in relation to one another.

2.3. CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY AND HERITAGE EDUCATION

The concept of cultural sustainability extends the analysis beyond preservation of individual monuments. It concerns the continued capacity of communities to transmit, reinterpret, and use cultural meanings across generations. In the UNESCO Culture|2030 framework, heritage, education, participation, and sustainable places are treated as interconnected policy

domains (UNESCO, 2019). From this perspective, children’s books can be examined as part of the wider cultural ecosystem through which place-based knowledge is reproduced. The article therefore treats architectural illustration as a cultural-educational resource whose governance relevance lies in visibility, representation, and access rather than in direct regulatory power.

3. MATERIALS AND METHODS

3.1. RESEARCH DESIGN AND CORPUS

The study uses qualitative visual content analysis supported by descriptive frequency counts. The empirical corpus comprises 42 illustrated children’s publications from the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries that were selected because architectural or spatial imagery is materially present in the narrative or informational content. The corpus includes folk tales, everyday-life stories, city-oriented books, environmental nonfiction, architecture-related publications, and picturebooks. It also includes both Kazakhstan-produced titles and translated or international titles available in the local reading repertoire.

The sampling strategy is purposive rather than statistically representative. The study therefore does not estimate the prevalence of particular architectural images in all children’s publishing in Kazakhstan. Instead, it constructs an analytically diverse corpus capable of supporting a typology of recurrent spatial representations. The titles included in the corpus are listed in Appendix A

. Edition-level bibliographic metadata were not consistently recorded in the source manuscript; this limits historical comparison and should be strengthened in future corpus construction.

3.2. CODING FRAMEWORK

A nine-parameter coding scheme was developed from the source manuscript’s adaptation of Mallan’s visual-narrative approach and from the research questions. Each publication was read as a visual-spatial unit, with attention to recurrent settings rather than isolated single illustrations. The coding dimensions are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1. Coding dimensions

Parameter	Analytical focus	Examples of coded features
Spatial composition	Overall spatial organisation	Panorama; vertical composition; fragment; map-like view
Human–space relation	Position of characters in relation to the environment	Active exploration; containment; suppression; support
Scale and proportion	Relative size and hierarchy of elements	Realistic scale; symbolic enlargement; hierarchical scale
Visual routes	Directions structuring movement through space	Roads; paths; boundaries; axes; gaze lines
Colour scheme	Use of colour to organise affect or spatial zones	Warm/cool palette; contrast; symbolic colour; zoning
Realism / abstraction	Degree of visual stylisation	Realistic; semi-realistic; schematic; symbolic

Parameter	Analytical focus	Examples of coded features
Narrative agency of space	Whether the environment functions as background or narrative actor	Passive setting; obstacle; guide; destination; memory cue
Infographic representation	Use of explanatory graphic systems	Labels; diagrams; cross-sections; arrows
Ecological-social context	Relationship between built, natural, technological, and social systems	Infrastructure; climate; household practices; public space

For the descriptive distribution, each publication was assigned to one predominant architectural-environment type when that type accounted for more than half of the publication's relevant spatial imagery. Where no single type met that threshold, the publication was coded as mixed/transitional. The original study was conducted by a single researcher, and no formal inter-rater reliability statistic was calculated. This is an important limitation because category boundaries—especially between recognisable urban, cultural-exploratory, and everyday social environments—depend on interpretive judgement.

4. RESULTS

4.1. TYPOLOGY OF ARCHITECTURAL ENVIRONMENTS

The analysis identified six recurrent architectural-environment types. The labels below refine the wording of the source manuscript for clarity while preserving its underlying categories. Table 2 summarises the defining visual cues, representative titles, and interpretive cultural function. Representative titles illustrate salient examples and should not be read as the exclusive category assignment for every secondary setting within a book.

Table 2. Summary of defining visual characteristics, typical names, and interpretive cultural functions

Type	Representative titles	Visual cues	Interpretive cultural function
1. Dominant / constraining urban environment	The Grey City; So How Do I Tell the Truth Now?	Monochrome or cool palette; strong verticals; buildings larger than people; compressed perspectives; limited sky	Makes the built environment visible as a problem or pressure; may invite critical reflection on monotonous or alienating urban space.
2. Functional-ecological system	Everyone Needs Water!; Waste Paper: Why Are the Trees Withering?; Qadam; A Great Book of Snow and Ice	Diagrams; cross-sections; flow lines; hazard/safety colour coding; people shown within a process	Connects infrastructure, natural systems, resources, and everyday human action; supports an environmental-systems reading of space.
3. Cultural and exploratory environment	A Trip to Italy; Look at that Building!; A Trip to Almaty; The Kingdom of Books; The World: Questions and Answers	Open vistas; warm/bright palette; legible scale; movement and exploration through settings	Frames architecture as an object of discovery, learning, cultural encounter, and spatial orientation.
4. Recognisable civic urban environment	Salem, Astana!; Salem, Almaty!; A Trip to Almaty; Astana Coloring Book; Legends of a Magical Land: Atameken	Landmarks; bridges; squares; routes; signage; stylised iconic features; vibrant palette	Links landmark recognition with urban belonging and place identity; can function as a visual introduction to civic space.

Type	Representative titles	Visual cues	Interpretive cultural function
5. Mythical-epic architectural environment	Eer Tostik; Ancient Kazakhstan; Kazakh fairy-tale collections; Aladdin; Cinderella	Yurt, palace, fortress, sacred or heroic site; hierarchical composition; ornament; symbolic scale; paths of trial	Connects architecture to myth, historical imagination, traditional symbols, and intergenerational cultural memory.
6. Everyday social environment	My Name Is Kozha; Connie Helps Her Mother; Brother; It's Time for Bed; Miras and Diaz; Miras and Dimash	Realistic or semi-realistic interiors; familiar scale; warm local colours; home, school, playground, market	Normalises everyday spatial practices and relationships; represents family and social life through familiar settings.

4.2. DESCRIPTIVE DISTRIBUTION

The predominant-type distribution is shown in Table 3. Percentages are reported to one decimal place to avoid the rounding distortion present in the source version. The everyday social environment is the largest category (28.6%), followed by the mythical-epic environment (23.8%). Together these two types account for slightly more than half of the corpus. The recognisable urban environment accounts for 14.3%, while cultural-exploratory and functional-ecological settings are less frequent. Only 4.8% of the corpus was assigned to the constraining urban type. Three publications (7.1%) were coded as mixed/transitional because no single environment exceeded the 50% threshold.

Table 3. The predominant-type distribution

Coding outcome	Books (n)	Share of corpus
Everyday social environment	12	28.6%
Mythical-epic architectural environment	10	23.8%
Recognisable civic urban environment	6	14.3%
Cultural and exploratory environment	5	11.9%
Functional-ecological system	4	9.5%
Dominant / constraining urban environment	2	4.8%
Mixed / transitional	3	7.1%

The low frequency of the constraining urban type should not be interpreted as proof of a general “humanistic orientation” of children’s publishing, as stated in the source manuscript. The sample is purposive and relatively small. A more defensible interpretation is that explicitly oppressive or alienating urban imagery is uncommon within this particular corpus, while familiar social space and mythic-historical space are more prominent.

4.3. REPRESENTATIVE VISUAL MECHANISMS

Several recurrent mechanisms illustrate how the typology operates. In *The Grey City*, large-scale buildings, grey and cool tones, and the diminished child figure create a visual relation of spatial pressure. The environment is not neutral background; it structures the emotional reading of the scene. By contrast, functional-ecological books such as *Everyone Needs Water!*, *A Great Book of Snow and Ice*, and *Qadam* use diagrams, process sequences, and cause-and-effect relations to connect built systems with climate, resources, and every-

day behaviour. This mode is compatible with the ecological questions identified in recent ecocritical work on children's activity and informational books (Olver, 2025).

Recognisable civic urban imagery is especially visible in Salem, Astana!, Salem, Almaty!, A Trip to Almaty, and the Astana Coloring Book. Panoramic views, routes through the city, and landmark buildings such as Baiterek and Khan Shatyr make the city readable through a small number of iconic spatial cues. In the colouring-book format, the reader is also invited to participate visually by supplying colour. These examples suggest a mechanism of place recognition rather than demonstrating a measured effect on civic identity.

Mythical-epic settings use a different spatial logic. In Eer Tostik, the steppe, underworld, heavenly realm, yurt, and palace are organised as a hierarchy of narrative worlds. In Kazakh fairy-tale collections, the yurt, palace, fortress, and caravanserai operate as compact visual signs of historical or mythic space. Everyday social environments, by contrast, depend on recognisable scale, warm colour, and functional zoning of domestic, school, market, and play spaces. Across these types, the architectural environment can act as a narrative participant by constraining, guiding, sheltering, or orienting characters.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1. ARCHITECTURAL IMAGERY AS CULTURAL MEMORY

The corpus demonstrates that children's spatial imagery is heterogeneous rather than organised around a single national visual code. Traditional and mythic forms coexist with contemporary urban landmarks, environmental systems, international fairy-tale architecture, and ordinary domestic settings. This coexistence is important because cultural memory is not transmitted only through officially monumental heritage. It is also reproduced through familiar interiors, routes, repeated symbols, and narrative settings that connect personal experience with wider cultural references (Assmann, 2011; Nora, 1984–1992).

Within clearly Kazakhstan-specific titles, recognisable representations of Astana and Almaty can be interpreted as emerging visual places of memory: images that condense civic recognition, narrative movement, and cultural identification. The concept proposed here—"visualised place of memory"—does not claim that every illustrated landmark becomes a collective memory site. Rather, it describes a representational mechanism through which a built form is repeatedly simplified, stylised, and embedded in a narrative so that it becomes available as a memory cue. This proposition requires testing through longitudinal and reception-based research.

5.2. SCALE, COLOUR, ROUTE, AND NARRATIVE AGENCY

Four mechanisms recur across the typology. First, relations of scale organise power: oversized buildings can diminish the human figure, while familiar scale can make space appear inhabitable. Second, colour creates affective and symbolic zoning: cool monochrome palettes are associated in the analysed examples with distance or constraint, while warm palettes frequently accompany domestic security and exploration. Third, compositional routes—roads, paths, bridges, panoramic viewpoints, and sequences—structure how readers are invited to move mentally through the depicted environment. Fourth, narrative agency

determines whether architecture merely frames action or becomes part of the problem, destination, memory cue, or learning process.

These mechanisms correspond with research that treats picturebooks as multimodal systems in which meaning is generated through the interaction of verbal and visual structures (Campagnaro, 2021; Farrar et al., 2024; Shimek, 2019). The present contribution is to focus that multimodal analysis on architectural space and to differentiate recurring spatial functions across a Kazakhstan-based reading corpus.

5.3. “NOMADIC MINIMALISM” AND ETHNO-FUTURIST SYNTHESIS AS PROVISIONAL ANALYTICAL LABELS

The source manuscript proposed the terms “nomadic minimalism” and “ethno-futurism” to describe local visual tendencies. These terms are retained here only as provisional analytical labels, not as established art-historical categories. In *Eer Tostik* and *Ancient Kazakhstan*, certain architectural forms are reduced to geometric outlines and ornamental details; the yurt, for example, may be represented through a small set of recognisable lines and circular forms. “Nomadic minimalism” is used here to describe this economy of visual coding. In *Salem, Astana!* and *Never Satisfied with Art*, traditional ornament and culturally familiar motifs are combined with modern or futuristic urban forms; the term “ethno-futurist synthesis” is used to describe that juxtaposition.

These tendencies should not be generalised to all Kazakhstani illustration without a larger, production-based corpus. They are best understood as hypotheses generated from specific local titles. Their significance lies in the possibility that cultural continuity is communicated through transformation rather than through literal replication of historical architecture. Frieß (2025) similarly shows that contemporary children’s literature in Kazakhstan can negotiate identity through open and imaginative forms, while Seisenbiyeva et al. (2024) position children’s literature within broader processes of national-cultural representation.

5.4. IMPLICATIONS FOR CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY AND GOVERNANCE

The results have a limited but meaningful connection to sustainable governance. Sustainable cultural governance concerns not only the protection of monuments but also the institutions and educational practices through which cultural knowledge, diversity, and place-based meanings are maintained and reinterpreted. UNESCO’s Culture|2030 Indicators explicitly connect heritage with education, knowledge, participation, and sustainable places (UNESCO, 2019). In that context, the typology developed here can function as a diagnostic tool for reviewing the visual environments presented in children’s publishing and educational materials.

Four practical implications follow. First, heritage-education programmes can use recognisable civic landmarks and mythic-historical forms as prompts for discussing how cities and cultural identities change over time. Second, publishers and illustrators can use the coding framework to assess whether a book presents children only with monumental and touristic images or also with everyday, ecological, and socially inclusive spaces. Third, graphic-design education can use the typology to connect visual composition with cultural responsibility, asking how scale, colour, routes, and symbols shape the imagined relationship between the

child and the built environment. Fourth, public libraries, museums, and local cultural programmes can use children's illustration as a supplementary medium for place-based learning.

These are governance implications rather than measured outcomes. The study does not show that any particular image produces pride, environmental responsibility, or social cohesion. A policy or educational programme should therefore treat the typology as an analytical and design resource, not as evidence of causal effects on children.

Table 4. Finding and Potential

Finding	Potential cultural-governance use	Required safeguard
Recognisable civic landmarks	Heritage education; city orientation; place-based cultural programmes	Avoid reducing urban identity to a small set of iconic monuments; include diverse neighbourhoods and everyday spaces.
Mythical-epic environments	Intergenerational heritage communication; folklore-based learning	Avoid presenting a single essentialised version of national identity; contextualise traditions historically.
Functional-ecological systems	Education for sustainable development; infrastructure and resource literacy	Verify scientific accuracy and distinguish environmental explanation from symbolic interpretation.
Everyday social environments	Inclusive design education; discussion of home, school, market, and public space	Consider social diversity, accessibility, gender, disability, and different family or community experiences.
Visual coding framework	Publisher review; design pedagogy; research coding	Use as an interpretive tool; do not infer child reception without empirical evidence.

5.5. LIMITATIONS

The study has five principal limitations. First, the corpus is purposive and cannot be treated as representative of all children's publishing in Kazakhstan. Second, the corpus mixes domestically produced and translated or international titles; this is appropriate for studying the local reading repertoire but limits claims about the distinctive characteristics of Kazakhstani illustration as a production field. Third, edition-level metadata were not consistently available in the source manuscript, which restricts precise historical comparison across the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Fourth, the coding was conducted by a single researcher and no inter-rater reliability measure was calculated. Fifth, the study analyses visual content rather than reader reception; it therefore cannot determine how children of different ages, genders, linguistic backgrounds, or places of residence interpret the architectural imagery. Digital picturebooks, comics, educational textbooks, and interactive media were not included.

6. CONCLUSION

This study developed a visual-spatial typology of architectural environments in a purposive corpus of 42 illustrated children's publications circulating in Kazakhstan. Six recurrent types were identified, together with a mixed/transitional category. Everyday social environ-

ments were most frequent (28.6%), followed by mythical–epic environments (23.8%). Recognisable civic urban environments accounted for 14.3% of the corpus, while functional-ecological representations made infrastructure and environmental processes visually explicit.

The analysis indicates that architecture can perform several narrative functions in children’s illustration: it can constrain the character, organise exploration, provide cultural landmarks, connect people with ecological systems, or locate social life in familiar everyday settings. Scale, colour, routes, level of realism, and the narrative agency of space are the main visual mechanisms through which these functions are expressed.

The theoretical contribution is the proposal of the “visualised place of memory” as an interpretive concept for describing how architectural forms may become condensed visual cues of cultural memory when repeatedly stylised and embedded in narrative. The concepts of “nomadic minimalism” and “ethno-futurist synthesis” are retained as provisional labels for patterns visible in a limited group of Kazakhstan-specific titles and require validation in a larger production-based corpus.

For the purposes of the present conference issue, the practical significance lies in cultural sustainability and heritage governance. The typology can support critical review of children’s publishing, heritage-education materials, library and museum programmes, and graphic-design curricula by making visible which kinds of places, infrastructures, and cultural symbols are presented to children and how they are framed. Future research should combine content analysis with empirical studies of children aged 5–9, compare clearly defined historical periods using edition-level metadata, and examine how digital and interactive media transform architectural imagery and place-based cultural memory.

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This research received no external funding.

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

DATA AVAILABILITY

The titles included in the analysed corpus and the aggregate coding categories and counts are reported in this article. No separate dataset has been deposited.

ETHICS STATEMENT

This study analyses published children’s books and does not involve human participants or personal data; institutional ethics approval was therefore not required.

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APPENDIX A. CORPUS OF 42 ANALYSED PUBLICATIONS

1. Aladdin. The Magic Lamp	22. Look at that Building!
2. Grandfather's Sweet Bun	23. Waste Paper: Why Are the Trees Withering?
3. Everyone Needs Water!	24. My Name Is Kozha
4. A Great Book of Snow and Ice	25. Miras and Diaz: Inesaut
5. Brother	26. Miras and Dimash
6. Magic Words: Sorry	27. The World: Questions and Answers
7. Magic Words: Thank You	28. Never Satisfied with Art
8. Ancient Kazakhstan	29. It's Time for Bed
9. Eer Tostik	30. The Adventures of Marco Polo
10. Sound and Rhythm: A Note Seeking Its Place	31. A Trip to Almaty
11. Cinderella	32. A Trip to Italy
12. The Magic Pies of Inju	33. Qadam (Step)
13. So How Do I Tell the Truth Now?	34. Salem, Almaty!
14. How to Behave in the Market	35. Salem, Astana!
15. Kazakh Fairy Tales	36. The Grey City
16. Kazakhstan Fairy Tales	37. Fairy Tales from Around the World
17. Connie Helps Her Mother	38. The Curious Garden
18. The Kingdom of Books	39. The Star Who Lost Its Sleep
19. A Collection of Fairy Tales from Kazakh and World Peoples	40. Find It in the Big Book
20. The Friendship of the Sheep and the Wolf	41. Astana Coloring Book
21. Legends of a Magical Land: Atameken	42. Jacob Is Playing Football