

B.B. Sarsenbayeva^{1*} , Y.A. Jubanov² 

¹ *Almaty Academy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan named after Makana Esbulatov, Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan;*

² *Prosecutor's Office of Karaganda Region, Karaganda city, Republic of Kazakhstan*

(E-mail: hamudok@mail.ru, jubanovyedil@gmail.com)

¹ ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0006-9238-5172>

² ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-6306-8428>

Cyberbullying as a factor in driving minors to suicide: criminal law and criminological analysis

The article examines cyberbullying against minors as a significant factor contributing to suicidal behavior in the context of the digitalization of Kazakhstani society. The authors aim to identify the criminal law, criminological, and victimological characteristics of cyberbullying that lead children and adolescents to suicide, assess the effectiveness of the current legal framework, and outline directions for improving legal responses. The methodological framework of the study is based on dialectical and systemic approaches and includes methods of analysis and synthesis, formal-legal and comparative-legal methods, statistical analysis of official data, content analysis of judicial practice and media materials, as well as case studies of high-profile suicides linked to online harassment. The findings indicate that the prevalence of suicides and suicide attempts among minors in the Republic of Kazakhstan demonstrates the systemic nature of the problem and that cyberbullying poses a qualitatively greater social threat than traditional bullying. The study establishes that the existing regulatory framework creates a multi-level model of protection; however, its implementation is hindered by fragmented regulation, the high level of underreporting of cyberbullying, and weak law enforcement practices. The authors argue for clarifying certain criminal offenses, developing interpretative guidance by higher judicial authorities, strengthening preventive measures—including digital literacy programs and the development of psychological support services for children—and enhancing interagency coordination. The article concludes that effective counteraction to cyberbullying is possible only through a combination of repressive, preventive, and educational mechanisms.

Keywords: cyberbullying, minors, driving to suicide, suicidal behavior, bullying, child rights, digital environment, victimology, prevention.

Introduction

In contemporary scholarly literature, cyberbullying is rightly regarded as one of the most acute and socially significant socio-psychological problems of the digital era, particularly in terms of its impact on the mental well-being of minors and the formation of suicidal behavior. This phenomenon is not limited to isolated acts of aggression; rather, it represents a systematic influence exerted within a virtual environment and directed at the most vulnerable group of users—children and adolescents who are undergoing active personal and emotional development. The advancement of information and communication technologies, along with the widespread use of social networks and messaging platforms, has given rise to new forms of psychological violence specific to the digital environment. In terms of interactivity, intensity of exposure, and destructive consequences, these forms often surpass traditional offline bullying.

A matter of particular concern is the growing frequency with which cyberbullying functions not merely as a background factor but as a significant—and in many cases decisive—contributor to the development of auto-aggressive tendencies among minors, leading them to suicide or suicide attempts. Under such circumstances, an analysis of cyberbullying cannot be limited to a general psychological description of the phenomenon; it objectively requires a comprehensive criminal-law, criminological, and victimological examination. A criminal-law approach makes it possible to determine the boundaries and forms of legal liability for such conduct in the digital environment; a criminological approach reveals the causes, conditions, and patterns of the spread of cyberbullying; and a victimological approach examines the characteristics of victim behavior and the vulnerability of minor victims. The combination of these perspectives forms the theoretical basis

* Corresponding author. E-mail: hamudok@mail.ru

needed for developing effective preventive measures against cyberbullying and mitigating its suicidogenic consequences.

In the theory and methodology of cyberbullying research, several fundamental conflicts persist. First, there is a divergence between socio-psychological models—which interpret cyberbullying primarily as a form of communicative deviance and a school-environmental phenomenon—and the criminal law approach, which emphasizes criteria such as social danger, culpability, and the provability of a causal link to suicide. Second, the scope of criminalization remains a subject of debate: while some scholars argue that existing legal provisions (in particular, those related to incitement to suicide, insult, defamation, and violation of privacy) are sufficient, others stress the qualitatively distinct threat posed by digital harassment and the need for more detailed regulatory frameworks. Third, at the level of evidentiary methodology, challenges arise in assessing the “systematic” nature of online humiliation and in determining the contribution of each participant in group harassment to the formation of a suicidal decision in an adolescent.

Practice also reveals a clear mismatch between regulatory provisions and the actual mechanisms of protection. The high latency of cyberbullying, the absence of consistent and publicly documented judicial practice in cases where online harassment is a significant factor in driving a person to suicide, as well as the insufficient interagency coordination between schools, psychological services, and law enforcement agencies, create a “response gap”. This gap is further exacerbated by the lack of unified statistics and standardized criteria for classifying digital harassment in relation to suicidal outcomes.

Given the aforementioned issues, the purpose of this study is to identify the criminal law, criminological, and victimological characteristics of cyberbullying that can act as a contributing factor in driving minors to suicide. It also aims to assess the adequacy and effectiveness of the current legal framework and to develop proposals for its improvement. To achieve this goal, the following objectives are pursued:

1) to analyse the scale and dynamics of suicidal behaviour among minors in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2023–2025, highlighting consistent trends (the ratio of completed suicides to attempts, signs of risk transformation);

2) to reveal the criminological significance of cyberbullying as a factor in suicide risk among children and adolescents, identifying its place among other causes (family, school, individual psychological and social);

3) to identify the causes and conditions for the spread of cyberbullying at the macro, meso and micro levels, including the role of digitalisation, the lack of digital competence among adults, institutional gaps in response and the age characteristics of adolescents;

4) to conduct a criminal law analysis of Article 105 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the context of cyberbullying as a means of driving someone to suicide, revealing the content of objective and subjective signs, as well as aggravating circumstances;

5) to distinguish between criminal and administrative responses. Compare the application of Article 105 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan with the provisions on bullying/cyberbullying in special legislation and Article 127-2 of the Code of Administrative Offences of the Republic of Kazakhstan, and determine the criteria for the transition from formal composition to criminal liability;

6) to formulate practical recommendations for improving interagency responses.

The authors’ position in reviewing the literature is that productive research into cyberbullying as a factor in driving minors to suicide is only possible through interdisciplinary synthesis. On the one hand, purely psychological explanations cannot be taken as absolute, ignoring the legal construct of responsibility and the requirements of provability. On the other hand, formal-normative analysis without taking into account the digital specifics of bullying, the adolescent environment, and the mechanisms of victimization leads to an underestimation of the real public danger. In our opinion, it is the combination of criminal law analysis with criminological and victimological data that allows us to identify gaps in regulation, determine areas for strengthening prevention, and propose a more realistic model for protecting minors in the digital environment.

Methods and materials

To achieve the stated aim and to address the formulated tasks, a combined methodology was employed, based on the interpenetration of general scientific and specialized legal methods. The dialectical approach ensured the consideration of cyberbullying in dynamics and in relation to changes in digital communication, the adolescent environment, and mechanisms of legal response; it made it possible to identify and conceptually explain the contradictions between the normative protection model and its actual implementation. The

systemic approach was used to construct a holistic view of the multi-level protection of minors (criminal-law, administrative-law, and preventive instruments) and to analyze their interactions, including problems of regulatory fragmentation and interagency coordination.

Methods of analysis and synthesis, as well as induction and deduction, were employed to clarify the conceptual framework and to operationalize the key features of cyberbullying (systematic nature, aim to humiliate, publicity, and use of information and communication technologies), to identify typical forms of online harassment, and to derive generalizations from particular empirical observations. The formal-legal method and the techniques of legal interpretation (grammatical, systematic, and teleological) allowed revealing the content and limits of applicability of existing norms, formulating legally significant criteria for distinguishing administrative liability for bullying and cyberbullying, and criminal liability for instigation/abetment to suicide, as well as delineating the legal-technical characteristics of offense constructions and qualifying signs. The comparative-law method was used to juxtapose approaches to regulating cyberbullying and responses to suicide-linked forms of online harassment reflected in contemporary scientific literature and enforcement-oriented guidelines; this enabled clarifying directions for improving the national model and avoiding the mixing of “definitional” and “qualifying” criteria.

The statistical method was implemented as a secondary analysis of official data and used to describe the dynamics of suicidal behavior among minors and to substantiate the systemic nature of the problem. Content analysis of materials from open sources and media publications was applied to identify recurring cyberbullying scenarios, typologies of aggressive practices, and typical evidentiary difficulties (identification of participants, documentation/retention of digital traces, establishing causal links). Qualitative case-study analysis allowed reconstructing the mechanism of suicidogenic escalation in high-profile situations and linking the identified regularities to the requirements of criminal-law evaluation and practical preventive tasks.

The materials of the study included:

- 1) normative legal acts of the Republic of Kazakhstan relevant to criminal- and administrative-law assessment of cyberbullying and to the protection of children’s rights in the digital environment;
- 2) doctrinal sources on the problem of instigation/abetment to suicide, ICT-enabled crimes, victimology, and child online safety;
- 3) empirically gathered materials specifically selected by the authors for the preparation of the present article.

The latter encompassed official statistical data on minors’ suicidal behavior and related indicators (data from the Committee on Legal Statistics and Special Registers of the General Prosecutor’s Office of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2023-2024 and information disclosed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan for January–September 2025), a corpus of media reports and open internet sources on cyberbullying cases, positions of authorized bodies and public reactions, and a set of cases of high-profile situations used as qualitative exemplars for analysis (including events covered in Almaty in September 2024 and September 2025). The triangulation of these material groups enabled: the statistical data to substantiate the scale of the problem; the normative analysis to delineate the boundaries of legal qualification and the “ladder” of response; and content- and case-analysis to demonstrate the mechanisms of escalation of online harassment and practical obstacles to law enforcement.

Results

The research has yielded results that allow for a more precise understanding of the suicide risk potential of cyberbullying towards minors and the identification of legal enforcement “bottlenecks” in its criminal law assessment. Based on the triangulation of sources (official statistics, normative analysis, content and case analysis of publicly available materials), the systemic nature of the issue and the reproducibility of typical scenarios of digital harassment leading to psychotraumatizing escalation have been confirmed.

In accordance with the objectives of the study, the criminal law, criminological, and victimological features of cyberbullying as a factor contributing to the suicide of minors were identified and summarized. This was done based on the triangulation of statistical data, content analysis of open sources, and case studies of high-profile situations.

It was found that the dynamics of suicidal behavior among minors in Kazakhstan remains at a high level of tension: while the number of completed suicides in 2024 decreased compared to 2023, there was an increase in suicide attempts, which reflects not a “reduction” of the problem, but its transformation towards a wider group of children and adolescents at sustained suicide risk. Additionally, it was shown that for the period from January to September 2025, the combined statistics on completed suicides and attempts remain

high, with the number of completed suicides nearing the total annual level of 2024, indicating a risk of unfavorable final dynamics.

A qualitative analysis of high-profile cases allowed for the reconstruction of a typical mechanism of suicidogenic escalation in online harassment: the duration and systematic nature of the impact, the public humiliation, and the involvement of a wider audience form a state of chronic psychotraumatic pressure on the victim that “does not switch off” when the physical space changes. Based on materials from situations in Almaty, it was demonstrated that cyberbullying is not an abstract backdrop, but a sequential chain of humiliating actions (distribution of compromising materials, offensive comments, derogatory messages), with the perpetrators being either the immediate social circle (peers) or external participants in digital communication, which exacerbates the sense of “hopelessness” and social maladjustment.

The systematization of the characteristics of cyberbullying confirmed its qualitatively increased social danger compared to offline bullying. It was recorded that the “amplifiers of harm” are: anonymity/pseudo-anonymity of the aggressor, 24/7 impact, virtually unlimited audience of observers, and the durability (reproducibility) of digital content; collectively, they create a constant psychological pressure and hinder the rapid cessation of victimization.

The multilevel nature of the causes and conditions for the spread of cyberbullying was uncovered: at the macro level, the digitalization and widespread availability of online services as a socialization environment; at the meso level, the lack of digital competence among adults and the weakness of response procedures in schools and inter-agency frameworks; at the micro level, age dependency on peer judgment and intensified competition for “digital status”.

Additionally, it was found that the architecture of platforms (ease of account creation, engagement algorithms, and “crowd effect”) contributes to the normalization of participation in harassment and the blurring of individual responsibility, which increases the repeatability and “collective” nature of online aggression.

In the criminal law section, it was established that the use of telecommunication networks in the context of bringing someone to suicide (Article 105 of the Criminal Code of Kazakhstan) should not be regarded merely as a formal “technical shell”, but as a means of committing the act, in which the digital channel significantly influences the creation of a psychotraumatic situation. It was shown that for qualification, it is important to establish the role of digital actions in creating an unbearable situation, including when there is a combination of online and offline impact.

A distinction was made between criminal and administrative approaches to response: the administrative offense of bullying and cyberbullying is formal in nature and does not require the occurrence of severe consequences, whereas criminal law evaluation under Article 105 of the Criminal Code of Kazakhstan requires proof of the result and causality, as well as other object-oriented protection targets.

Finally, key practical barriers to law enforcement were identified: anonymity and the collective nature of cyberbullying complicate the identification of participants and the individualization of each person’s contribution, increasing the requirements for the operational preservation of digital data and correct documentation of electronic evidence. In total, the findings confirm the conclusions drawn.

Discussion

The scale of suicidal behavior among minors in the Republic of Kazakhstan highlights the acute nature of the issue under consideration. According to data from the Committee on Legal Statistics and Special Records of the General Prosecutor’s Office of the Republic of Kazakhstan, in 2023, a total of 204 completed suicides and 376 suicide attempts among minors were registered, while in 2024, 175 cases of completed suicides and 453 attempts were recorded. Thus, against the backdrop of a reduction in the number of completed suicides by approximately 14-15 % compared to 2023, there is a nearly 20 % increase in suicide attempts, indicating not so much a mitigation of the problem, but its transformation and the continued high level of suicide risk in the child and adolescent environment [1].

Preliminary data from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan show that for January–September 2025, 432 suicidal cases among minors were registered, including 139 completed suicides and 293 attempts. Even with the incomplete reporting period, it is evident that the number of completed suicides in the first nine months of 2025 has nearly reached the total for 2024 (175), and the total number of suicide attempts and completions remains high, indicating the persistence of an extremely tense situation and the risk of further increases by the end of the year [2]. These statistical data suggest that suicidal behavior among minors is a systemic issue and call for immediate, comprehensive, and inter-agency responses from the state and civil society institutions.

An illustration of the tragic consequences of cyberbullying is a high-profile case that occurred in September 2024 in the city of Almaty, when two minor girls committed suicide by jumping from the roof of a nine-story building. According to law enforcement agencies, one of the key factors contributing to the tragic outcome was prolonged and systematic harassment on social media, including the dissemination of compromising materials, offensive comments, and derogatory messages. The investigation revealed that the minors had been subjected to cyberbullying for several months, with both classmates and unfamiliar social media users acting as aggressors, thereby creating a persistent atmosphere of constant psychological pressure and social maladjustment [3]. Another case of bullying and suicidal behavior among minors, which caused a wide public outcry in Almaty in September 2025, involves the death of a schoolgirl, which law enforcement classified as suicide. According to media reports, the death occurred at one of the city's schools. One of the versions, voiced in the public domain, suggests that the decisive factor in the girl's suicide could have been harassment by a parent on social media and by representatives of the school administration [4].

Cyberbullying as a form of psychological violence possesses a set of specific characteristics that significantly increase its social danger compared to traditional forms of bullying. Among these features are the anonymity or pseudo-anonymity of the aggressor; the possibility of continuous (round-the-clock) exposure to the victim; an almost unlimited size and composition of the audience witnessing acts of humiliation; and the high persistence and replicability of compromising content in the digital environment. Taken together, these factors create conditions for constant and difficult-to-mitigate psychological pressure on a minor. Unlike classical bullying, which is typically confined to the physical space of an educational institution or other organization and bounded by time, cyberbullying follows the victim everywhere, penetrating their personal space through mobile devices, social networks, and various online platforms.

The causes and conditions facilitating the spread of cyberbullying among adolescents are multi-level in nature and encompass both macro-social and micro-environmental factors. At the macro level, a key role is played by the rapid digitalization of society, accompanied by the near-ubiquitous availability of smartphones and mobile internet. For a significant proportion of minors, the online space becomes not merely a supplement to offline life, but an independent realm of social activity where identity, status, and group affiliation are formed. Under these conditions, any conflicts, competition for attention and recognition, as well as stereotypes and prejudices, are readily transferred into the digital environment, where they gain additional potential for scaling and amplification.

At the meso-level (encompassing family and educational institutions), significant factors include a deficit in digital literacy among adults and an intergenerational gap in understanding the nature of online communication. Parents and educators frequently underestimate the intensity and psychological significance of interactions on social networks, perceiving online conflicts as "trivial" or "virtual" and, consequently, not warranting intervention. This creates fertile ground for the latent existence of cyberbullying: aggression can develop over an extended period without formal documentation or the activation of protective mechanisms. An additional contributing condition is the insufficient development of intra-school and interdepartmental procedures for responding to reports of online harassment, where responsibility for the "digital sphere" becomes diffused among various entities tasked with prevention.

At the micro-level, the specific characteristics of adolescence play a crucial role: high dependence on peer evaluation, the need for recognition and group belonging, and heightened emotional reactivity. The digital environment, built upon likes, comments, and the public display of personal information, amplifies the significance of symbolic "popularity capital" and fosters competitive, and at times, aggressive behavior. Furthermore, adolescents often lack sufficient self-regulation and critical thinking skills to resist group pressure or assess the long-term consequences of their digital actions (e.g., posting, sharing, participating in harassment).

Separately, it is necessary to highlight the patterns of cyberbullying proliferation associated with the technical and communicative features of online platforms. Firstly, anonymity and pseudo-anonymity, coupled with the ability to quickly create and delete accounts, foster a sense of impunity and diminished responsibility in the aggressor. Secondly, the recommendation algorithms and "feeds" of social networks, designed to maximize user engagement, indirectly promote the circulation of conflictual and provocative content, as it frequently elicits emotional responses and generates user activity. Thirdly, the "online mob effect" and the diffusion of individual responsibility in group chats and communities lead participants in harassment to underestimate their own contribution to causing harm to the victim.

Finally, among the significant contributing conditions is the low likelihood of prompt legal response and adolescents' poor awareness of the potential legal consequences of online aggression. The absence of

clear signals to participants about the boundaries of permissible behavior, the rarity of actual cases holding individuals accountable for cyberbullying, and the complexities of evidence collection foster a persistent perception of the “invisibility” and impunity of digital violence. Collectively, these causes and conditions not only facilitate the widespread prevalence of cyberbullying but also entrench it as a relatively stable practice of adolescent interaction. This underscores the particular importance of criminal and administrative legal assessments of such acts, which will be examined next.

The criminal legal assessment of cyberbullying in the context of instigation to suicide is indeed characterized by a high degree of complexity. This stems from both the specific nature of the *actus reus* of the relevant acts and the particularities of the digital environment in which they are committed. In the current criminal legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the primary norm is Article 105 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan, which establishes liability for driving a person to suicide or to an attempted suicide through threats, cruel treatment, or systematic humiliation of the victim’s human dignity [5]. Thus, the legislator proceeds from the premise that persistent, repeated psychological pressure, expressed as harassment and degradation of the individual, can serve as the direct cause for the formation and realization of suicidal intentions in the victim.

Part Two of Article 105 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan establishes a qualifying feature consisting of the commission of the aforementioned acts using telecommunications networks, including the Internet [5]. Through this provision, the legislator explicitly acknowledges that the digital environment (social networks, messengers, online platforms) is not merely a space for communication but also a channel for the perpetration of systematic psychological violence in the form of cyberbullying. The use of information and communication technologies significantly transforms the nature of the socially dangerous act: the audience expands, the intensity of the impact increases, and the victim’s ability to “escape” the traumatizing interaction diminishes. Establishing a punishment in the form of restriction of liberty or imprisonment for up to five years reflects an increased assessment of the public danger posed by such forms of instigation to suicide, where the aggressive behavior of “digital stalkers” is carried out publicly, replicated, preserved in the online space, and can be reproduced repeatedly.

The especially qualified offense, enshrined in Part Three of Article 105 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan, stipulates enhanced liability for similar acts committed against a minor—in the form of imprisonment for a term of five to nine years [5]. This legislative construction is based on the recognition of the heightened victimization of minors, their psychological and social immaturity, as well as their high dependence on the opinions of their reference group. In the digital environment, a minor subjected to systematic online harassment finds themselves in a situation where traumatizing information pursues them regardless of time and space, accompanying virtually any online activity. This amplifies the risk of developing depressive states, feelings of hopelessness, and, consequently, suicidal actions.

An analysis of related regulatory acts governing the protection of children from violence and harmful information is crucial for understanding the place of cyberbullying within the system of Kazakhstan’s legislation. The Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On the Rights of the Child in the Republic of Kazakhstan” was amended, as per the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated May 3, 2022, No. 118-VII LRK, to include a legal definition of child bullying as systematic actions (or inaction) aimed at humiliating honor and dignity, and instilling feelings of fear, tension, or oppression, including through the use of information and communication technologies [5; 6]. Thus, at the level of a special law, a foundational definition of bullying is established, encompassing both traditional and digital forms of violence.

Concurrently, the Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Administrative Offenses provides for liability for bullying and cyberbullying in the form of administrative penalties. This creates a kind of “legal response ladder”: from pedagogical and educational measures, to administrative sanctions, and, in the most severe cases with a proven causal link to instigation to suicide, to criminal liability under Article 105 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan [6]. This model essentially reflects the principle of a differentiated response based on the severity of the consequences and the degree of social danger posed by the behavior.

International experience shows that when pursuing a similar goal (protecting minors from psychological abuse), the focus of regulation often shifts from post-factum classification and punishment to preventive obligations of platforms, rapid “civil law” termination of harm (takedown/restraining orders) and procedural guarantees that make it easier for victims to go to court.

In recent years, the European Union and the United Kingdom have been strengthening a risk-based model of service liability. Thus, the pan-European approach under the Digital Services Act is based on the need to reduce risks to users, including the risks of online harassment and bullying, through notification,

moderation and risk assessment mechanisms, and in relation to minors, through “safety by design” and special measures to protect children [7]. The British Online Safety Act establishes a system of regulated responsibilities for online services, including risk assessment and measures to reduce the spread of illegal content and content that could harm children; a key feature is the institutionalisation of oversight and subsequent enforcement by the regulator (Ofcom) [8]. Compared to Kazakhstan’s “ladder”, this is a different regulatory focus: not only the responsibility of the specific aggressor, but also the obligation of the environment (platform) to manage the risk of systemic reproduction of bullying through the architecture of the service.

Australia demonstrates a separate model, where, along with criminal and administrative mechanisms, an extrajudicial (administrative-regulatory) framework for the rapid cessation of harm has been developed. A practically significant element is the activity of the eSafety Commissioner, who reviews complaints and ensures measures to stop/remove harmful content, including cyberbullying of children and other forms of online abuse [9]. The comparative legal conclusion here is that the effectiveness of protecting minors increases when the system has a “fast channel” for stopping digital impact before it accumulates a critical psychotraumatic mass, — that is, when the law works not only as a reaction to the consequences that have already occurred, but also as a tool for quickly breaking traumatic communication.

The New Zealand approach (Harmful Digital Communications Act 2015) is interesting in that it combines civil law remedies (court orders to cease distribution/remove material, other restrictions) and criminal liability in cases of significant harm [10]. Thus, the “middle ground” between prevention and criminal prosecution is filled by a legally formalised mechanism for rapid judicial intervention aimed at preventing further damage.

The approach of the Supreme Court of Canada in the case of *A.B. v. Bragg Communications Inc.* (2012 SCC 46), which arose from a situation of online bullying of a teenager (creation of a fake profile and humiliating posts), is indicative. The court allowed procedural anonymity for the minor applicant, noting that public disclosure of the child’s identity could exacerbate the harm and effectively prevent the victim from accessing justice; in doing so, the judicial system recognised the need for special procedural safeguards for children who are victims of cyberbullying when seeking legal protection [11]. For the Kazakhstani context, this case is valuable not for the “transfer” of the result, but for the logic: protecting children in the digital environment requires not only substantive law (criminal/administrative) norms, but also procedural decisions that reduce secondary victimisation and increase the actual availability of protection.

Within criminal law doctrine, it has been repeatedly emphasized that instigation to suicide constitutes a complex, multi-factorial phenomenon in which external unlawful influence intertwines with the individual psychological characteristics of the victim, their life situation, and prior traumatic experiences. N.A. Safonova, examining the social and criminal legal aspects of instigation to suicide, correctly notes that to deem an act socially dangerous and criminally punishable, it is necessary to prove precisely the causal link between systematic psychological violence and the victim’s decision to commit suicide, not merely the existence of an adverse emotional context [12]. In her interpretation, instigation to suicide represents the “final link” in a prolonged conflict, in which the perpetrator of psychological violence consciously, or at the very least negligently, creates an unbearable environment for the victim [12; 18–20].

The above-mentioned approach becomes particularly significant when applied to cyberbullying, where the form and intensity of the impact are qualitatively different. P.I. Fetisov, analyzing crimes against the individual committed through the use of information and telecommunication technologies (including the Internet), emphasizes that the virtual environment in many cases “straightens” the causal links between aggressive behavior and its consequences, since information becomes widespread, easily replicated, and almost impossible to fully remove. In his view, digital communication amplifies the asymmetry between the aggressor and the victim: the former often relies on perceived anonymity and impunity, whereas the latter finds themselves in a state of constant “information harassment” [13; 119–120].

Particular attention to the interrelation between cyberbullying and the instigation to suicide among minors is paid in works dedicated to analyzing internet communities and suicidal online practices. For instance, A.M. Bychkova and E.L. Radnaeva, investigating instigation to suicide via internet technologies, demonstrate how cyberbullying, encompassing elements of public humiliation, dissemination of compromising information, and the establishment of toxic group norms, can serve not only as a risk factor but as the immediate trigger for suicidal behavior among adolescents. According to their observations, specific subcultures form in virtual space where suicidal practices are romanticized or normalized, and cyberbullying becomes a mechanism for “pushing” the most vulnerable participants beyond the boundaries of the social communi-

ty [14; 103–105]. In such cases, instigation to suicide acquires characteristics of collective activity, implemented by multiple actors through network platforms.

Kazakhstan's legal and criminological scholarship in recent years has also increasingly addressed the issue of cyberbullying and its connection to suicidal behavior among minors. In a comparative legal analysis of legislation aimed at counteracting cyberbullying among school-age children, A.A. Nukesheva and co-authors highlight a rise in bullying cases, including those involving digital technologies, and note that the lack of unified statistics and a consistent definition complicates both the assessment of the scale of the phenomenon and the criminological analysis of the causes of suicide among minors. The researchers emphasize that cyberbullying differs from traditional school bullying primarily in the "totality" of its impact: digital attacks accompany a child regardless of their physical location—at home, at school, or in public spaces [15; 249–252]. In such circumstances, any offensive message, meme, photograph, or video is reproduced repeatedly, "locking" the adolescent into the role of the victim and intensifying feelings of hopelessness.

From the perspective of protecting children's rights in the digital environment, an interdisciplinary approach combining criminal-law, administrative, and information-law mechanisms is essential. K. Zhumabekova and her co-authors, analyzing the current state and prospects of ensuring online safety for children in Kazakhstan, demonstrate that the spread of harmful content—including materials promoting suicide, hate, and discrimination—requires the state not only to criminalize the most dangerous forms of cyberbullying but also to implement preventive mechanisms, ranging from digital literacy educational programs to specific obligations for internet platforms to respond promptly to complaints. The authors emphasize that many children subjected to cyberbullying do not report incidents to adults and thus remain effectively "invisible" to the protection system, increasing the risk of latent cases of inducement to suicide [16; 10–12].

However, within the doctrine of criminal and administrative law, debates persist regarding the necessity of establishing cyberbullying as an independent criminal offense. D.A. Karanova, analyzing the socio-legal assessment of cyberbullying, proceeds from the premise that, to date, a significant portion of cyberbullying manifestations are already covered by existing norms of criminal and administrative legislation (insult, defamation, violation of privacy, instigation to suicide, incitement to suicide, etc.). Therefore, the problem lies not so much in the absence of a specific norm but in the insufficient effectiveness of law enforcement and prevention [17; 120–122]. In other words, the criminalization of cyberbullying as an independent offense could lead to duplication of existing norms and complicate legal qualification, whereas the emphasis should be placed on clarifying the elements of existing offenses and developing judicial practice.

On the other hand, the position of proponents of more detailed criminal legal regulation of cyberbullying relies on an important practical argument: the digital environment paradoxically both amplifies the harm and facilitates the documentation of the humiliation mechanism itself. Unlike offline bullying, where a significant portion of incidents remain "without witnesses" or are only reproduced in subjective testimonies, online aggression leaves persistent digital traces. Screenshots, correspondence, voice messages, publications, edit histories, timestamps, connection data, and other elements of the digital footprint allow for the reconstruction of the dynamics of pressure on the victim and the escalation of threats. This, according to advocates of this approach, potentially enhances the provability of the causal link between systematic humiliation online and the formation of suicidal intentions, thereby shifting the problem from the realm of conjecture to a more verifiable plane of analysis.

In substance, the qualifying feature in Part 2 of Article 105 of the Criminal Code of the RK—"by means of using telecommunications networks, informatization objects, including the Internet"—reflects not a change in the object of the offense but a specific method of committing the act. It refers to the fact that threats, cruel treatment, or systematic humiliation of human dignity are carried out predominantly through remote communication channels: mobile and landline telephony, messengers, social networks, gaming platforms, email, specialized online services. The inclusion of "informatization objects" in the feature's formulation allows coverage of not only interpersonal communication but also situations where traumatizing information is placed in information systems (databases, websites, educational platforms), access to which for the victim and their significant audience is provided in real time.

A significant position holds that for recognizing this qualifying feature, it is sufficient not that the form is purely digital, but that it is established that the use of telecommunications networks played a substantial role in forming the psychotraumatic environment unbearable for the victim. In practice, this means that a combination of offline and online impact does not preclude qualification under Part 2 of Article 105 of the Criminal Code of the RK, if the totality of digital actions (publications, messages, "leaks" of personal data,

etc.) constitutes an independent, significant component of psychological violence, closely connected with the resulting outcome.

This qualifying feature must be clearly distinguished from the administrative legal concept of “cyberbullying” enshrined in Article 127-2 of the Code of Administrative Offenses of the RK as a form of bullying a minor. Firstly, the administrative offense is formal in nature: bullying (bullying, cyberbullying) entails liability regardless of the occurrence of grave consequences, including irrespective of suicide attempts. Secondly, its object is the rights and legal interests of the child, the honor and dignity of a minor, whereas Article 105 of the Criminal Code of the RK primarily protects life, as well as the mental health of an individual as an element of a broader personal status. Thirdly, the administrative feature “cyberbullying” structurally describes the phenomenon of bullying itself (repetitiveness, intent to humiliate, creation of fear and oppression), whereas the criminal legal feature “by means of using telecommunications networks...” merely indicates the technological channel for implementing already-known forms of psychological violence (threats, cruel treatment, systematic humiliation) [18].

Hence, the spheres of application are delineated. In the absence of a proven causal link between cyberbullying and instigation to suicide or an attempted suicide, law enforcement must limit itself to measures of administrative and educational impact under Article 127-2 of the Code of Administrative Offenses of the RK and related norms. Only in cases where the fact of suicide (attempt) is established, and it is proven that precisely systematic psychological violence, also implemented through digital channels, was the immediate cause for the formation of the suicidal decision, does the basis arise for qualification under Article 105 of the Criminal Code of the RK, taking into account the considered qualifying feature.

However, the very features of the digital environment also create new obstacles for effective proof. Cyberbullying is often carried out anonymously or semi-anonymously, and collectively—via group chats, closed communities, temporary accounts, coordinated “raids”, and the distribution of roles among multiple participants. This complicates not only the identification of the perpetrator but also the assessment of each individual’s contribution to the overall traumatic impact. A proper legal evaluation must take into account the dynamics of group interactions online, where the severity of harm can result from a cumulative effect of numerous messages and actions by different individuals, and where the “organizer” or most active participant is not always obvious upon a surface-level examination of the content. This highlights the need for special procedural and forensic tools: timely preservation of digital data, proper documentation of electronic evidence, retrieval of information from platforms and service providers, and the delineation of each participant’s role within the context of a coordinated campaign of abuse.

In this context, the qualifying element “committed using telecommunications networks” in Part 2 of Article 105 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan should be understood not merely as a formal reference to a technical channel, but as reflecting a qualitatively different level of social danger of the act. Rather, it should be seen as a normative recognition of a qualitatively distinct public danger. Digital forms of humiliation are characterized by the rapid and wide dissemination of information, the extended “lifespan” of harmful content, the difficulty of complete deletion, and the ongoing psychological harm caused by repeated exposure to such materials. These factors can intensify the victim’s distress, broaden the audience of witnesses, and create an effect of constant public stigmatization. Therefore, this qualifying element should logically be understood as the legislature’s acknowledgment of the distinct criminological nature of online violence and the need for more refined legal mechanisms to protect individuals in the digital environment.

Conclusion

Based on the results of the conducted research, it can be concluded that cyberbullying and the associated risks of suicidal behavior among minors constitute a complex interdisciplinary issue, lying at the intersection of the digital environment, mental health, and criminal law protection of individuals. The facts established in this study and the patterns identified reveal that digital communication not only transposes traditional bullying into the online space but also qualitatively transforms it, amplifying the scale of its impact, lowering the barriers for aggression, and complicating early detection and response mechanisms. In these conditions, the coherence of preventive, institutional, and legal measures becomes particularly significant, as well as the precise assessment of causal links in situations where external psychological violence is integrated into the multifactorial structure of suicidal risk.

Building on the aforementioned, the following conclusions can be formulated:

1. Cyberbullying constitutes an autonomous, more dangerous form of psychological violence compared to traditional bullying. Its specificity is conditioned by the aggressor’s anonymity (pseudo-anonymity),

around-the-clock exposure, unlimited audience of observers, and high resilience of digital content. Collectively, these properties qualitatively intensify the social danger of the act and the potential to cause severe psychological harm to a minor.

2. The causes and conditions of the spread of cyberbullying have a multi-level structure. At the macro level, digitalization and ubiquitous access to online services transform the network into a key space of adolescent socialization. At the meso level, significant factors include a deficit of digital competence among parents and teachers, generational gaps, and weakness of institutional response mechanisms. At the micro level, age-related emotional instability, reliance on peer opinion, and competition for “digital status”, amplified by the logic of social networks, play a crucial role.

3. The patterns of cyberbullying dissemination are largely determined by the architecture of online platforms. Anonymity, ease of creating/deleting accounts, recommendation algorithms that encourage conflict content, and the “online mob” effect lead to the blurring of individual responsibility and normalize participation in harassment. This reinforces cyberbullying as a widespread practice of adolescent interaction.

4. Statistical data on suicidal behavior among minors in the Republic of Kazakhstan permit speaking about a systemic nature of the problem. The dynamics of completed suicides and attempts in 2023–2025 demonstrate a combination of a decline in completed cases with a rise in attempts, indicating not a softening of the phenomenon but its transformation and a persistently high level of suicide risk in the child–adolescent milieu. At the same time, the digital environment acts as an important risk factor and channel of victimization, enhancing the vulnerability of minors.

5. The act of driving to suicide in the conditions of the digital environment retains a multifactorial character. Cyberbullying cannot be regarded as the sole cause of suicidal behavior; however, in a number of cases it becomes a central link in a complex causal chain in which external psychological violence is superimposed on the individual characteristics of the child, family conflicts, school difficulties, and prior trauma experiences.

6. Criminal-legal regulation in Kazakhstan is founded on a multi-level protection framework. Article 105 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan establishes the basic liability for incitement to suicide; Part 2 and Part 3 delineate aggravated forms, including those involving telecommunication networks and those affecting a minor. The interconnected provisions of the Law on the Rights of the Child and Article 127-2 of the Code of Administrative Offences constitute a “ladder” of responses—from educational and administrative measures to criminal liability in the most severe cases.

7. The effectiveness of counteracting cyberbullying in the law enforcement practice of the Republic of Kazakhstan should be assessed and ensured not primarily through the intensification of sanctions but by implementing a standardized operational framework for the cessation and documentation of digital impacts. It is substantiated that the introduction of an interagency response algorithm, functioning within **24–48 hours**, which includes mandatory registration of complaints, immediate preservation of digital evidence, prompt implementation of provisional measures to cease harmful communication through interaction with platforms and service providers, as well as the parallel provision of psychological support to the minor, effectively reduces the risk of escalation of bullying, enhances the provability of legally significant facts, and minimizes secondary victimization. Thus, this algorithm should be regarded as an essential organizational and legal standard that bridges prevention with subsequent administrative and criminal law procedures.

Finally, in our opinion, the further development of scientific research in the areas of cyberbullying and suicidal behavior among minors is not an optional but a necessary prerequisite for formulating a balanced state policy. Kazakhstan faces trends similar to global patterns but possesses its own socio-cultural specifics, which shape the perception of bullying, the structure of adolescent communities, and the mechanisms for seeking assistance.

References

1 Как изменилось число детских суицидов в Казахстане // Центр журналистских расследований «Свидетель.kz». — [Электронный ресурс.] — 2025. — Режим доступа: <https://www.czhr.kz/post/%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%BA-%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%BC%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%BB%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%8C-%D1%87%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%BE-%D0%B4%D0%B5%D1%82%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B8%D1%85-%D1%81%D1%83%D0%B8%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%B2-%D0%B2-%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B7%D0%B0%D1%85%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B5> (Дата обращения: 20.11.2025).

- 2 С начала года в Казахстане зарегистрировано 432 случая суицида среди несовершеннолетних. Со ссылкой на выступление заместителя министра внутренних дел РК С. Адилова // Kazakhstan Today / Kursiv / Orda.kz. — [Электронный ресурс]. — 2025. — Режим доступа: https://www.kt.kz/rus/society/vysokim_urovnem_detskih_samoubiystv_obespokoen_mvd_1377983039.html; <https://kz.kursiv.media/2025-10-30/aisk-u-minzdrava-do-sih-por-net-protokola-po-suicidu/>; Orda.kz: <https://orda.kz/prichiny-detskih-suicidov-nazvali-v-mvd-407871/> (Дата обращения: 20.11.2025).
- 3 Смертельные игры и буллинг? Что могло довести до суицида школьниц из Алматы // Orda.kz. — 2024. — Режим доступа: <https://orda.kz/smertelnye-igrы-i-bulling-chto-moglo-dovesti-do-suicida-shkolnic-iz-almaty-392027/> (Дата обращения: 21.11.2025).
- 4 Кутубаева А. Руководство школы проверяет после смерти подростка в Алматы [Электронный ресурс]. / А. Кутубаева // Kursiv.kz. — 2025. — Режим доступа <https://kz.kursiv.media/2025-09-08/aisk-rukovodstvo-shkoly-proveryat-posle-smerti-podrostka-v-almaty/> (Дата обращения: 21.11.2025).
- 5 Уголовный кодекс Республики Казахстан от 3 июля 2014 года № 226-V ЗПК (с изм. и доп.). — 2014. — [Электронный ресурс]. — Режим доступа <https://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/K1400000226> (Дата обращения: 21.11.2025).
- 6 Кодекс Республики Казахстан об административных правонарушениях от 5 июля 2014 года № 235-V ЗПК (с изм. и доп.). — Астана, 2014. — Режим доступа <https://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/K1400000235>. — Дата обращения: 21.11.2025.
- 7 Закон Республики Казахстан от 3 мая 2022 года № 118-VII ЗПК О внесении изменений и дополнений в некоторые законодательные акты Республики Казахстан по вопросам защиты прав ребёнка, образования, информации и информатизации. — Астана, 2022. — Режим доступа <https://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/Z2200000118/> — Дата обращения: 21.11.2025.
- 8 Сафонова Н. А. Доведение до самоубийства: социальный и уголовно-правовой аспекты: автореф. дис. ... канд. юрид. наук. — Екатеринбург, 2002. — 26 с.
- 9 Фетисов П. И. Преступления против личности, совершаемые с использованием информационно-телекоммуникационных технологий (включая сеть Интернет) / П. И. Фетисов // Известия Юго-Западного государственного университета. Серия: История и право. — 2024. — Т. 14, № 2. — С. 119–130.
- 10 Harmful Digital Communications Act 2015 No 63 // New Zealand Legislation. — Public Act, July 2, 2015. — [Electronic resource]. — Access mode: <https://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2015/0063/latest/whole.html> (Date of request date of request: 21.11.2025).
- 11 A.B. v. Bragg Communications Inc., 2012 SCC 37 [2012] 2 S.C.R. 345 — [Electronic resource]. — Access mode: <https://decisions.scc-csc.ca/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/10007/index.do> (Date of request: 22.11.2025).
- 12 Сафонова Н.А. Доведение до самоубийства: социальный и уголовно-правовой аспекты: автореф. дис. ... канд. юрид. наук / Н.А. Сафонова. — Екатеринбург, 2002. — 26 с.
- 13 Фетисов П.И. Преступления против личности, совершаемые с использованием информационно-телекоммуникационных технологий (включая сеть Интернет) / П.И. Фетисов // Известия Юго-Западного государственного университета. Серия: История и право. — 2024. — Т. 14, № 2. — С. 119–130.
- 14 Бычкова А.М. Доведение до самоубийства посредством использования интернет-технологий: социально-психологические и уголовно-правовые аспекты / А.М. Бычкова, Э.Л. Раднаева // Всероссийский криминологический журнал. — 2018. — Т. 12, № 1. — С. 101–115.
- 15 Нукешева А.А. [и др.]. Сравнительно-правовой анализ законодательства по противодействию кибербуллингу среди детей школьного возраста [Электронный ресурс] / А.А. Нукешева [и др.] // Вестник Института законодательства и правовой информации Республики Казахстан. — 2024. — № 2 (77). — Режим доступа: <https://vestnik.zqai.kz/index.php/vestnik/article/download/1425/1417/11469> (Дата обращения: 21.11.2025).
- 16 Zhumabekova K. Ensuring children's online safety in Kazakhstan: balancing protection from harm with rights to information access [Electronic resource] / K. Zhumabekova, Zh. Kegembayeva, A. Otarbayeva et al. // Security and Human Rights Monitor. — 2024. — Access mode: <https://www.shrmonitor.org/ensuring-childrens-online-safety-in-kazakhstan-balancing-protection-from-harm-with-rights-to-information-access/> (Date of request: 21.11.2025).
- 17 Каранова Д.А. Социально-правовая оценка кибербуллинга [Электронный ресурс] / Д.А. Каранова // Гуманитарные, социально-экономические и общественные науки. — 2024. — № 8. — Режим доступа: https://online-science.ru/userfiles/file/karanovad_a_2024_8_xlbwuwczpr.pdf (Дата обращения: 21.11.2025).
- 18 Кодекс Республики Казахстан об административных правонарушениях от 5 июля 2014 года № 235-V ЗПК (с изм. и доп.). — Астана, 2014. — [Электронный ресурс]. — Режим доступа: <https://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/K1400000235> (Дата обращения: 21.11.2025).

Б.Б. Сарсенбаева, Е.А. Джубанов

Кибербуллинг кәмелетке толмағандарды өз-өзіне қол жұмсауға итермелейтін фактор ретінде: қылмыстық-құқықтық және криминологиялық талдау

Мақалада Қазақстан қоғамының цифрлануы жағдайында кәмелетке толмағандарға қатысты кибербуллингтің суицидтік мінез-құлқтың қалыптасуына ықпал ететін маңызды фактор ретінде қарастырылуы сипатталған. Авторлар балалар мен жасөспірімдерді өз-өзіне қол жұмсауға

итермелейтін кибербуллингтің қылмыстық-құқықтық, криминологиялық және виктимологиялық ерекшеліктерін анықтауды, қолданыстағы құқықтық реттеудің тиімділігін бағалауды және құқықтық ықпал студі жетілдіру бағыттарын айқындауды мақсат еткен. Зерттеудің әдіснамалық негізін диалектикалық және жүйелі тәсілдер, талдау мен синтез әдістері, формальды-құқықтық және салыстырмалы-құқықтық әдістер, ресми деректердің статистикалық талдауы, сот практикасы мен БАҚ материалдарының контент-талдауы, сондай-ақ онлайн-қорлауға байланысты резонанстық суицид оқиғаларының кейс-стади тәсілі құрайды. Кәмелетке толмағандар арасындағы суицидтер мен өз-өзіне қол жұмсау әрекеттерінің ауқымы бұл мәселесінің жүйелі сипатқа ие екенін көрсететіні атап өтілген. Сонымен қатар кибербуллинг дәстүрлі қорлауға қарағанда елеулі түрде жоғары қоғамдық қауіптілікке ие екені анықталған. Қолданыстағы нормативтік база көпдеңгейлі қорғау моделін қалыптастырғанымен, оны іске асыруды құқықтық реттеудің фрагментарлығы, кибербуллингтің жоғары латенттілігі және құқық қолдану практикасының әлсіз екендігі анықталды. Авторлар жекелеген қылмыс құрамдарын нақтылау, жоғары сот органдарының түсіндірмелерін әзірлеу, алдын алу шараларын, оның ішінде цифрлық сауаттылық бағдарламаларын және балаларға психологиялық көмек көрсету қызметтерін дамыту, сондай-ақ ведомствоаралық үйлестіруді күшейту қажеттігін негіздейді. Кибербуллингке тиімді қарсы іс-қимыл тек репрессивтік, профилактикалық және білім беру тетіктерінің үйлесімі арқылы мүмкін болатыны туралы қорытынды жасалған.

Кілт сөздер: кибербуллинг, кәмелетке толмағандар, өзін-өзі өлтіруге дейін жеткізу, суицидтік мінез-құлық, буллинг, баланың құқықтары, цифрлық орта, виктимология, алдын алу.

Б.Б. Сарсенбаева, Е.А. Джубанов

Кибербуллинг как фактор доведения несовершеннолетних до самоубийства: уголовно-правовой и криминологический анализ

В статье рассматривается кибербуллинг в отношении несовершеннолетних как значимый фактор формирования суицидального поведения в условиях цифровизации казахстанского общества. Авторами поставлена цель выявить уголовно-правовые, криминологические и виктимологические особенности кибербуллинга, доводящего детей и подростков до самоубийства, оценить эффективность действующего регулирования и определить направления совершенствования правового реагирования. Методологическую основу составили диалектический и системный подходы, методы анализа и синтеза, формально-юридический и сравнительно-правовой методы, статистический анализ официальных данных, контент-анализ судебной практики и материалов СМИ, а также кейс-стади резонансных суицидов, связанных с онлайн-травлей. Отмечено, что масштабы суицидов и попыток самоубийства среди несовершеннолетних в Республике Казахстан свидетельствуют о системном характере проблемы, а кибербуллинг обладает качественно более высокой общественной опасностью по сравнению с традиционной травлей. Установлено, что существующая нормативная база формирует многоуровневую модель защиты, однако её реализация затруднена фрагментарностью регулирования, высокой латентностью кибербуллинга и слабой правоприменительной практикой. Авторами обосновывается необходимость уточнения отдельных составов преступлений, разработки разъяснений высших судебных органов, усиления превентивных мер, включая программы цифровой грамотности и развитие служб психологической помощи детям, а также межведомственной координации. Сделан вывод о том, что эффективное противодействие кибербуллингу возможно лишь при сочетании репрессивных, профилактических и образовательных механизмов.

Ключевые слова: кибербуллинг, несовершеннолетние, доведение до самоубийства, суицидальное поведение, буллинг, права ребёнка, цифровая среда, виктимология, профилактика.

References

- 1 (2025). Kak izmenilos chislo detskikh suitsidov v Kazakhstane [How the number of child suicides in Kazakhstan has changed]. *Tsentr zhurnalistskikh rassledovaniy «Svidetel.kz» — Center for Investigative Journalism “Svidetel.kz”*. Retrieved from <https://www.czhr.kz/post/%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%BA-%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%BC%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%BB%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%8C-%D1%87%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%BE-%D0%B4%D0%B5%D1%82%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B8%D1%85-%D1%81%D1%83%D0%B8%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%B2-%D0%B2-%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B7%D0%B0%D1%85%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B5> (Date of request: 11/20/2025) [in Russian].
- 2 (2025). S nachala goda v Kazakhstane zaregistrovano 432 sluchaia suitsida sredi nesovershennoletnikh. So ssylkoi na vystuplenie zamestitelia ministra vnutrennikh del RK S. Adilova [Since the beginning of the year, 432 cases of suicide among minors have been registered in Kazakhstan. With reference to the speech of the Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan S. Adilova]. *Kazakhstan Today / Kursiv / Orda.kz*. Retrieved from https://www.kt.kz/rus/society/vysokim_urovнем_detskih_samoubiystv_obespekono_mvд_1377983039.html; Kursiv:

<https://kz.kursiv.media/2025-10-30/aisk-u-minzdrava-do-sih-por-net-protokola-po-suicidu/>; Orda.kz: <https://orda.kz/prichiny-detskih-suicidov-nazvali-v-mvd-407871/> (Date of request: 20.11.2025) [in Russian].

3 (2024). Smertelnye igry i bulling? Chto moglo dovesti do suitsida shkolnits iz Almaty [Death games and bullying? What could drive schoolgirls from Almaty to suicide]. *Orda.kz*. Retrieved from <https://orda.kz/smertelnye-igry-i-bulling-chto-moglo-dovesti-do-suicida-shkolnic-iz-almaty-392027/>. Date of request: 21.11.2025 [in Russian].

4 Kutubaeva, A. (2025). Rukovodstvo shkoly proveriat posle smerti podrostka v Almaty [The school management will be checked after the death of a teenager in Almaty]. *Kursiv.kz*. Retrieved from <https://kz.kursiv.media/2025-09-08/aisk-rukovodstvo-shkoly-proveryat-posle-smerti-podrostka-v-almaty/>. Date of request: 21.11.2025 [in Russian].

5 (2014). Ugolovnyi kodeks Respubliki Kazakhstan ot 3 iuulia 2014 goda № 226-V ZRK (s izmeneniami i dopolneniami) [The Criminal Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated July 3, 2014 No. 226-V the law of the Republic of Kazakhstan (as amended and supplemented)]. *adilet.zan.kz*. Retrieved from <https://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/K1400000226> (Date of request: 21.11.2025) [in Russian].

6 (2014). Kodeks Respubliki Kazakhstan ob administrativnykh pravonarusheniakh ot 5 iuulia 2014 goda № 235-V ZRK (s izmeneniami i dopolneniami). Astana. Retrieved from <https://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/K1400000235>. — Data obrashcheniya: 21.11.2025.

7 (2022). Zakon Respubliki Kazakhstan ot 3 maia 2022 goda № 118-VII ZRK O vnesenii izmenenii i dopolnenii v nekotorye zakonodatelnye akty Respubliki Kazakhstan po voprosam zashchity prav rebenka, obrazovaniia, informatsii i informatizatsii. Astana. Retrieved from <https://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/Z2200000118/> — Data obrashcheniya: 21.11.2025.

8 Safonova N. A. (2002). Dovedenie do samoubiistva: sotsialnyi i ugovolno-pravovoi aspekty. *Extended abstract of the candidate's thesis*. Yekaterinburg.

9 Fetisov P. I. (2024). Prestupleniia protiv lichnosti, sovershaemye s ispolzovaniem informatsionno-telekommunikatsionnykh tekhnologii (vkluchaia set Internet). *Izvestiia Yugo-Zapadnogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya: Istorii i pravo — Proceedings of the Southwest State University. Series: History and Law* 14(2), 119–130.

10 Harmful Digital Communications Act 2015 No 63 // New Zealand Legislation. Public Act, July 2, 2015. *legislation.govt.nz*. Retrieved from <https://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2015/0063/latest/whole.html> (Date of request: 21.11.2025).

11 A.B. v. Bragg Communications Inc., 2012 SCC 37, [2012]. 2 S.C.R. 345. Retrieved from <https://decisions.scc.csc.ca/scc/csc/scc/csc/en/item/10007/index.do> (Date of request: 22.11.2025).

12 Safonova, N.A. (2002). Dovedenie do samoubiistva: sotsialnyi i ugovolno-pravovoi aspekty [Driving to suicide: social and criminal-legal aspects]. *Extended abstract of candidate's thesis*. Yekaterinburg [in Russian].

13 Fetisov, P.I. (2024). Prestupleniia protiv lichnosti, sovershaemye s ispolzovaniem informatsionno-telekommunikatsionnykh tekhnologii (vkluchaia set Internet) [Crimes against the person committed using information and telecommunication technologies (including the Internet)]. *Izvestiia Yugo-Zapadnogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya: Istorii i pravo — Proceedings of the Southwestern State University. Series: History and Law*, 14(2), 119–130 [in Russian].

14 Bychkova, A.M., & Radnaeva, E.L. (2018). Dovedenie do samoubiistva posredstvom ispolzovaniia internet-tekhnologii: sotsialno-psikhologicheskie i ugovolno-pravovye aspekty [Driving someone to suicide through the use of internet technologies: socio-psychological and criminal law aspects]. *Vserossiiskii kriminologicheskii zhurnal — All-Russian Criminological Journal*, 12(1), 101–115 [in Russian].

15 Nukesheva, A.A. et al. Sravnitelno-pravovoi analiz zakonodatelstva po protivodeistviu kiberbullingu sredi detei shkolnogo vozrasta [Comparative legal analysis of legislation on combating cyberbullying among school-age children]. *Vestnik Instituta zakonodatelstva i pravovoi informatsii Respubliki Kazakhstan — Bulletin of the Institute of Legislation and Legal Information of the Republic of Kazakhstan*, 2 (77). Retrieved from <https://vestnik.zqai.kz/index.php/vestnik/article/download/1425/1417/11469> (Date of request: 21.11.2025) [in Russian].

16 Zhumabekova, K., Kegembayeva, Zh., & Otarbayeva, A. et al. (2024). Ensuring children's online safety in Kazakhstan: balancing protection from harm with rights to information access. *Security and Human Rights Monitor*. Retrieved from <https://www.shrmonitor.org/ensuring-childrens-online-safety-in-kazakhstan-balancing-protection-from-harm-with-rights-to-information-access/> (Date of request: 21.11.2025).

17 Karanova, D.A. (2024). Sotsialno-pravovaia otsenka kiberbullinga [Social and legal assessment of cyberbullying]. *Gumanitarnye, sotsialno-ekonomicheskie i obshchestvennye nauki — Humanities, social and economic sciences, and public sciences*, 8. Retrieved from https://online-science.ru/userfiles/file/karanovad_a_2024_8_xlbwuwczpr.pdf. (Date of request: 21.11.2025 [in Russian].

18 (2014). Kodeks Respubliki Kazakhstan ob administrativnykh pravonarusheniakh ot 5 iuulia 2014 goda № 235-V ZRK (s izmeneniami i dopolneniami) [Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Administrative Offences dated 5 July 2014 No. 235-V The law of the Republic of Kazakhstan (as amended and supplemented)]. *adilet.zan.kz*. Astana. Retrieved from <https://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/K1400000235> (Date of request 21.11.2025 [in Russian].

Information about the authors

Sarsenbayeva Botagoz Bulatovna — Professor of the Department of Criminal Procedure and Criministics, Almaty Academy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan named after M. Esbulatov, Candidate of Law, Almaty, Kazakhstan; e-mail: hamudok@mail.ru

Jubanov Yedil Ayazbayevich — Deputy Prosecutor of the Karaganda region, Candidate of Law, Senior Adviser to Justice, Karaganda, Kazakhstan; e-mail: jubanovyedil@gmail.com