The ethnic identity specificity of modern Kazakhstani youth in the context of cultural globalization

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Abstract

The article examines the processes of formation, transformation, and expression of ethnic identity among contemporary Kazakhstani youth under conditions of cultural globalization and identifies the key external and internal factors that support its preservation and development. The research is grounded in a narrative approach to ethnic identity, wherein any phenomenon is conceptualized as "a story of …," an account (not necessarily phenomenological) of a sequence of events that presupposes a particular mode of interpretation. The study finds that youth in Kazakhstan's regional areas tend to adhere to a traditionalist model of ethnic identity with a strong emphasis on language as a primary marker whereas urban youth regard ethnic identity merely as one facet of personal identity, freely self-constructed through narrative practices. The principal conclusion is that the specificity of Kazakhstani youth ethnic identity manifests as a complex and ambiguous configuration, characterized by an underlying tension between traditionalist and modernist orientations. The practical significance of this research lies in its potential to inform the integration of case studies and project-based assignments into social studies and humanities curricula, thereby facilitating critical engagement with ethnic identity and its transformation under the influence of global trends.

1. Introduction

The reality of the 21st century is marked by large-scale trends such as globalization, post-industrialism, the information society, and post-modernization, which affect not only culture but also politics and economics.

The structure of the global economy is changing, which inevitably leads to a revision of the nature of sociopolitical relations between countries. This, in turn, influences the configuration of sociocultural rules: from the high level of official decision-making to the micro level of everyday communication.

In other words, the integration of economic processes induces similar changes in politics, culture, and even religion (which is traditionally considered the most conservative, unaltered social institution).

However, in practice, integration, through reduction mechanisms, turns into unification, which threatens the disappearance of the individual features of difference that define the specifics of a particular phenomenon (such as an artifact, history, or social group; more broadly, society and culture).

The cultivation of the theme of identity, which brings together various parameters of social positioning, arises as a natural reaction in such conditions. Often, the most prominent markers of identity are nationality and religion, that is, ethnic and confessional affiliation.

Modernization processes implicitly carry the code of Western culture, suggesting the Western model of societal development as the normative one. This inevitably gives rise to the problem of latent Eurocentrism, which becomes even more acute in the face of growing decolonial tendencies.

The historical practice of interaction between different societies demonstrates the impossibility and sometimes even the malignancy of cultural imports or direct unmediated borrowing, without considering local specifics, the authority of established traditions, or the complementarity of the mentality to new trends.

However, the accelerated pace of social change leaves no hope for a smooth transition and gradual reforms. In the modern world, events occur suddenly, and changes happen rapidly, requiring people to adapt instantly.

In such a situation, there is a direct threat to established ethnic identities, and the need to reconfigure their parameters in order to preserve authenticity in new conditions becomes apparent. The ways to preserve one's ethnic identity can vary. For example, Berger writes that "the inroad of Western-based fast food chains in India and Japan has led to the development of fast food outlets for traditional foods, and the invasion of Western fashions in Japan has led to the development of an indigenous fashion industry marked by distinctively Japanese aesthetics" [1]. According to another researcher, Malcolm Waters, there is a "deterritorialization of the social" [2].

The erasure of boundaries between different cultures triggers a natural reaction to restore what has been lost. Since a direct backward movement is impossible, the question arises of reorganizing the demarcation lines between cultures, considering the context of globalization.

One can describe the situation of affairs differently and argue that, for quite objective reasons, there is a need to complicate the cultural code of communication (both internal and external).

If the political and social aspects of modernity are characterized by the concept of globalization, then post-industrialism is no less significant a trend affecting the technological sphere, and, accordingly, the nature of labor organization.

Most experts assess this phenomenon as a massive transition to a knowledge economy, in which the main source of production ceases to be physical labor (the proletariat) and instead becomes intellectual labor. In the words of the famous American futurologist Alvin Toffler, this new class is referred to as the "cognitariat."[3].

It is important to note that knowledge has become a constitutive principle of sociality as such. Since knowledge is realized as discourses (in the sense of systemicity) and as narratives (in the sense of fragmentation), those conceptions of identity that insist on its constructive (i.e., socially constructed) nature are the most relevant means of studying it.

Postmodernization, in a broad sense, as a strategy for the textualization of social reality, differentiating it according to the laws of rhetoric, stylistics, narratology, and other genre specifications, becomes a response to the challenges of globalization and post-industrialization.

Thus, the complication of the cultural code is realized as a complication of communicative practices, consisting of certain types of statements (propositions), complexes of statements (narratives), and paradigmatically fixed complexes of statements (discourses). Accordingly, social identity (and all its components) becomes a semiotic and textological phenomenon. This does not mean that identity should be studied by philological disciplines, but rather that the fabric of social reality, as Derrida [4] noted, is almost literally like the fabric of a text. Therefore, it is quite heuristic to conceptualize identity as a story about identity.

2. Literature Review

Recent scholarship emphasizes the dynamic nature of Kazakhstani youth's ethnic identity in a globalizing, multilingual environment. Sh. Zharkynbekova conducted a large-scale sociolinguistic survey among 823 university students and showed that, despite state initiatives to strengthen Kazakh, youth identities continue to shift under extralinguistic influences such as peer groups and media exposure [5]. Similarly, A. Baimyrza demonstrates that bilingualism and the uptake of foreign languages not only coexist with the native tongue but also reshape self-identification patterns, underscoring that linguistic choice is both a marker and driver of ethnic identity among young Kazakhs [6].

Beyond language, value systems and exposure to global media shape young people's ethnic self-understanding. A study on value priorities reports that Kazakhstani student youth place high importance on both traditional family values and modern career aspirations; this dual orientation reflects tensions between local heritage and global norms [7]. Meanwhile, research into Turkic cultural identities under Soviet and post-Soviet globalization highlights how ideological legacies interact with

contemporary digital and market forces to produce hybrid identity models that blend collective tradition with individual innovation [8].

Central Asian researchers advocate a "layered" conception of identity, where individuals simultaneously inhabit multiple ethnic, regional, and civic identities. K. Czuba argues that Kazakhstani youth often navigate overlapping allegiances to their ethnic group, to a pan-Turkic culture, and to a global youth culture, each layer carrying its own norms and political stakes [9]. This approach helps explain why some young Kazakhs might feel a strong attachment to local rites of passage while also embracing global youth subcultures on social media.

Finally, patterns of media consumption in border regions and online communities contribute to identity negotiation. B. Petrov shows that Kazakhstani youth's engagement with domestic and foreign digital platforms creates new spaces for identity performance, where language choice in comments, the sharing of cultural content, and virtual peer networks become arenas for both affirming and re-imagining ethnic belonging [10]. Such digitally mediated practices often accelerate hybridization, as young people selectively adopt global cultural elements while reinterpreting local traditions.

Taken together, this body of research paints ethnic identity among modern Kazakhstani youth as processual, multifaceted, and context-dependent, shaped by language policies, family practices, value orientations, ideological legacies, and digital media flows. Future studies may build on these findings by examining longitudinal shifts or by exploring interventions in education that support balanced, pluralistic identity development.

3. Research Methodology

Thus, the methodology of our research was not chosen arbitrarily, but was dictated by the very nature of modern social reality, which is increasingly spreading in the media space and sinking deeper and deeper into the networks of communication.

In this article, we relied on a narrative approach to the study of the ethnic identity phenomenon, in which any object is conceptualized as a "tale about...", a "story about...", a description (not necessarily phenomenological) of a series of events, implying a certain way of their interpretation.

The way of understanding embedded in the description can be explicit, that is, directly testifying to itself, or it can act by implication, leaving space for the reconstruction of meaning on the part of the recipient. In any case, the narrative approach requires active cognitive participation in order to decipher the meaning, which tends to hide itself or articulate itself in an indirect way, but it is by this emphasis on its concealment that it indicates its presence.

Among the numerous authors who share the position of the narrative approach, we have focused on the concept of narrative identity by the French philosopher [11], which according to Jean-Marc Tetaz, may well be regarded as a concept of practical subjectivity [12].

Additionally, we found productive ideas from the American psychologist [13] who noted that the sense of identity is based on the narrative structure of this experience, that is, narrativity as a quality is inherent not only in the cognitive sphere, but also in the psycho-emotional area.

We also used the methodological setting of the sociologists [14] who pointed out that "theoretical cognition is only a small and by no means the most important part of what is considered knowledge in society ... primary knowledge about the institutional order is the knowledge of the total sum of 'what everyone knows' about the social world, the totality of maxims, morality, proverbial bits of wisdom, values and beliefs, myths, and so on. All of the above can be generalized by the concept of 'narrative,' and then we get the opportunity to formulate an intermediate brief conclusion: social reality is constructed through narratives."

Since ethnic identity is an inalienable part of any modern society, it, as all social identities, has a narrative origin and a narrative nature.

The logic of this article's research was unfolded within the framework of a comparative analysis. The technique of presentation and explication, in one way or another, was based on a comparison of various factors and phenomena in order to ultimately reveal the specifics of the ethnic identity of Kazakhstani youth. Therefore, the study was carried out using the method of comparing contrasting objects, which, considering the parallel use of the narrative approach, can be defined as a method of comparing different genres and different ways of narrating ethnic identity in different societies.

The subject of ethnic identity is a research field that is claimed by representatives of various fields of disciplinary knowledge: psychologists, sociologists and political scientists.

In our opinion, the most productive examination focus of this topic is culturology. This focus, meeting the requirements of the interdisciplinarity of modern humanitarian research, combines both aspects of individual psychology and macro-generalizations of sociology.

Also, comparativism as a research model suits perfectly because it has the ability to combine (contain) both empirical and theoretical levels of reflection. According to the exact remark of J. Sartori, "Data are information that is distributed among the 'conceptual containers' and processed inside them. And since non-experimental sciences depend to a great extent on the accumulation of factual material, that is, on external (non-laboratory) observations, the empirical question is what exactly turns the concept into a useful and truly reliable 'container' for collecting facts"[15].

Altogether, in the studies of Kazakh culturologists devoted to issues and problems of ethnic identity, there is a positive shift from primordial approaches to the methodology of social constructivism.

4. Results

4.1. Diachrony and Inversion of Historical Processes in Europe and the USSR

Within the framework of the narrative approach, one should take into consideration not only what the carriers of ethnic identity say about themselves, but also what mechanisms of ethnically oriented rhetoric are used by the state (official discourse).

In other words, ethnicity or, more broadly, ethnic identity is autonomously self-organizing through cultural practices and, at the same time, heteronomously constituted by politics and ideology. The latter, in turn, is determined by the logic and nature of historical objectives that time itself presents to the society of certain countries.

Here, it is important to consider the experience of the fundamental diachrony of the social development of various geographic and, more significantly, sociocultural areas. By the example of habitual macro-formations, textbook accepted as the initial measurement unit in comparative culturological analysis, the thought of the Kazakhstani sociologist Bekturganova B. seems quite reasonable: "Liberal European anti-ethnocracy is based on a solid ethnic foundation of already long-existing nations, and Kazakhstan, like other CIS countries, is taking the opposite route to that which Europe took a hundred years ago, solving the problems of national self-determination, which the Europeans simply forgot about" [16].

Comparing the processes of European states' social self-identification with the recent political past of modern Kazakhstan, namely the USSR, one can note a curious asymmetry, which consists in the pursuit of directly opposite goals in different historical periods.

The main pathos of socialism building consisted in erasing interethnic borders, creating the so-called "International" that was based on the value of universal labor (i.e., the emphasis prevailed on professional, not ethnic identity). While European countries, starting from 1870, strove for just the opposite, that is, the creation of nation-states.

What we are witnessing today is a diametrically opposite disposition: countries that were part of the USSR are embarking on the path of state nationalization, while the countries of Europe are focused on achieving supranational unity, and the agenda of the CIS countries, according to Nurgalieva, "looks like a return to the archaic" for them [17]. Let's summarize the above in the form of a comparative Table 1.

Table 1.
Comparative table of the USSR and European countries.

Criterion	USSR/CIS	European countries
Historical context (pre-1991)	Building an international society, erasing interethnic borders	Creation of nation-states since the end of the nineteenth century
Main Idea	Internationalism	Nationalism
Personal identity	Professional, related to labor and contribution to a common cause	Ethnic and national
Current trend (after 1991)	State nationalization, strengthening of ethnic identity	Moving away from national isolation, moving towards supranational unity (EU, globalization)
Assessing contemporary policy	"A return to the archaic	Progressive development through integration and supranational structures
The purpose of social identity today	Formation of the nation-state, strengthening of cultural identity	Formation of a common European space with a common identity

4.2. Ethnic Identity as a Retroactive Narrative

It is noteworthy that the ethnic identity formation strategies, which are actively used by the countries of the former USSR, are almost completely identical to those that were used by European states in the recent past.

We are talking about creating a retroactive narrative that tells about a glorious past that never really existed, but whose purely virtual reality acts as a constitutive moment in the formation of ethnic identity.

This issue has been thoroughly explored in the works of Eric Hobsbawm and Anderson [18]. Both Hobsbawm and Anderson use the concept of "nation," which is quite relevant for our study, since ethnic identity denotes the subject's cognitive-emotional attribution of themselves to such a social community as a nation. Anderson defines a nation as an imaginary political community that is imagined to be both limited and sovereign.

Here, it is principal for us to note that Anderson places the concept of the nation in the realm of imagination, completely rejecting any possibility of a substantialist interpretation of this phenomenon. The nation, according to Anderson, exists purely conventionally, in the space of intersubjective communication among participants. Anderson associates the possibility of such a powerful activation of imagination resources with the emergence and spread of typographic activity, which increased the volume of information produced thousands of times.

It is not difficult to draw analogies between the New Age and the 21st century in terms of how information functions in society. The innovative invention of the printing press at one time, in the words of McLuhan [19], gave rise to "the Gutenberg galaxy." Currently, the internet (mass media and social networks) plays a similar role. The moral issue of communication virtualization, expressed in the reduced level of personal responsibility for actions on the internet, because, unlike actions in the real world, they "do not impose an obligation to take responsibility for the consequences of their actions," we leave aside, but we refer to the work on relevant topics [20].

One of Anderson's main arguments in favor of the nation's imaginary status is the impossibility of direct interaction. People know about each other and about each other's opinions exclusively by hearsay. At the same time, their information is

not supported by any empirical experience; it is not legitimized by the position of an observer or a participant. In the context of globalization, this argument repeatedly intensifies itself. Since it is impossible to interact live with some people due to their geographical remoteness, as well as to make personal contacts with a large number of interlocutors due to limited human resources, almost all significant communication is transferred to media space, which significantly increases the speed of communication and its quantitative metrics.

Aside from that, the modern way of communication involves the exchange of understandable images rather than complexly coded text messages, which directly refers us to the term "imagination." Unlike the text, the image does not appeal to the rational-discursive but rather to the emotional-intuitive sphere, and in this respect, it is more attractive, impressive, invoking response and, most importantly, has a greater integrative power in communication.

In this context, it is quite reasonable to raise the question of the mythological dimension in the construction of ethnic identity, as a natural consequence of the increase in imagery (instead of textuality) in communication.

As an example, we can consider a number of quasi-historical films that have been released in Kazakhstan over the past 5-7 years: The Army of Myn Bala, Batyrs, and Tomiris. All of them are dedicated to outstanding events of the past. In each of them, historical characters are presented in an exaggerated heroic (epic) perspective, which, of course, immediately blurs the genre boundary of historical cinema, bringing the artistic image closer to figures of a mythopoetic scale. At the same time, the function of critical reception or any kind of ironic distance is often absent among young viewers. Judging by the comments and reviews of the above films, many people perceived the directors' free interpretations as historical factual knowledge.

The reason for the low level of critical perception, and even more so the high level of local success of such works, in our opinion, should be sought precisely in the direction of the request for ethnic identity, in which these films act as embodied role models, if not for imitation, then at least for oriented behavioral measures. Also, this kind of media content satisfies the fantasmatic demand of the ethnic identity carriers that has not been fully formed (in the historical, not psychological horizon) in a sense of belonging to something great, or, in the terminology of the Romanian religious scholar Eliade [21] "sacred," that is, exceeding the strength and capabilities of an individual.

As another (latent, and therefore probably more genuine) reason that exacerbates the demand for the formation of clear boundaries of Kazakhstanis' ethnic identity in the context of modernity, one can name the awareness of the impossibility of eliminating the technological gap between developed countries and the countries of the former Soviet bloc, and, as a consequence, an attempt to achieve parity in the virtual dimensions of culture, which, given the recognition of the fact of its narrative nature, can be attributed to ethnic identity.

4.3. Kazakhstani Youth Ethnic Identity as an Aspect of the Narrative Self-Construction Practice

If we single out the social group of modern Kazakhstani youth as a separate category, then we should note the heterogeneous nature of the ethnic identity distribution as a set of stable markers within this group. For convenience, we can introduce a system of dichotomies according to the basic features of social and cultural differences for the endemic differentiation of Kazakhstani youth. For example: center - periphery; religious - secular worldview; monopoly - national family, etc.

Depending on belonging to one or another pole of the dichotomy, the combination and, consequently, the configuration of ethnic identity will change.

Unfortunately, at the moment, there are not enough reliable empirical data to make any specific, meaningful theoretical generalizations and conclusions.

The construction of ethnic identity is a variable process that depends on many factors, often of a variable nature. In order to facilitate the solution of epistemological problems, the ethnic identity of modern Kazakhstanis can be represented as a multi-level model that includes different types of relationships and forms a non-linear structure of internal differentiation.

Alongside the above criteria for comparison and correlation, we can also highlight the factors of oral man's repatriation (Kazakhs who lived outside the country and returned to their homeland), the conflict between modus vivendi and modus operandi (a villager who moved to the city, and vice versa), the difference between intra-Islamic ceremonial traditions (cultural deformation of religion), and tribal identification (belonging to "zhuz" and "ru").

On the basis of the foregoing, it is possible to introduce the factor of intra-ethnic borders into the concept of modern Kazakhstani youth ethnic identity. Thus, on the one hand, we complicate the model of ethnic identity, and on the other hand, we clarify its dynamic positional character. It is more accurate to understand identity not as a static set of stable indicators, but rather as a changing state, within which there is a constant interaction of normative prescriptions and individual reactions, collective and personal symbols, a change in the priority of one or another disposition, and the sporadic dominance of one or another factor, significant both from the society's point of view and from the perspective of the individual.

The reported results of a survey of young people from 2016, prepared by the Association of Sociologists and Political Scientists of Kazakhstan, showed "that civic identity (citizen of Kazakhstan, Kazakhstani) turned out to be more significant than ethnic or religious identity for more than half of the respondents (52.9%). Whereas ethnicity as identity was chosen by 26.6% of respondents. Religious affiliation was the most significant for 1/10 of the respondents (10.2%). 10.3% of respondents found it difficult to determine which of the types of identity, civil, ethnic, or religious is more important for them" [22] (Figure 1).
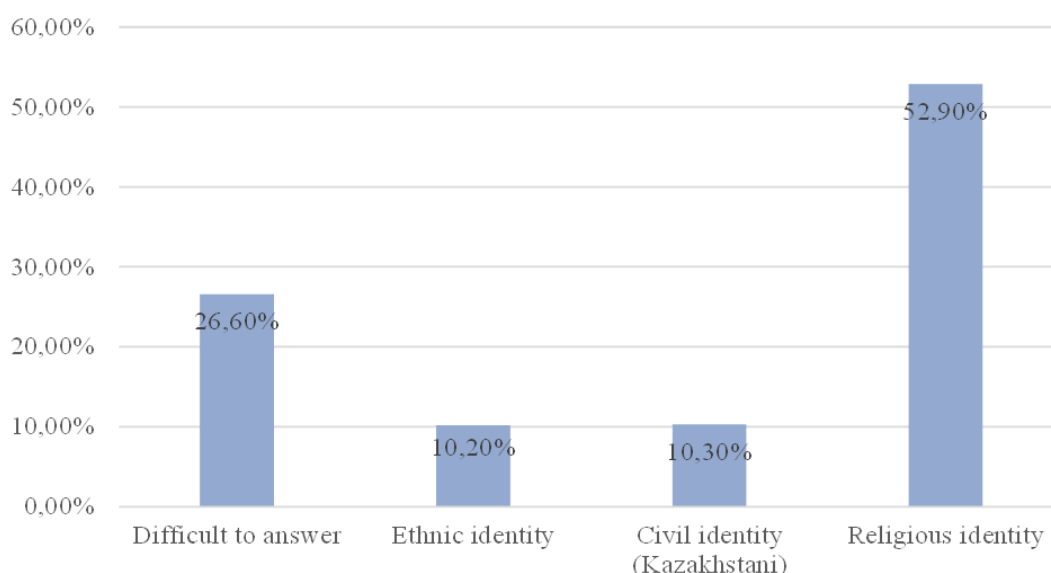
Figure 1.
Identity priorities among young people in Kazakhstan.

In general, the situation has not changed over the past 8 years. This is due to the strong influence of a consistent political course aimed at creating a sense of unity among the population of the country as one people.

Therefore, one of the conclusions of our research is as follows: the ethnic identity of modern Kazakhstani youth has a weak aspect of politicization and is mostly formed as an attachment to certain cultural practices that have a fairly wide range of origins, from family traditions to fashion trends. The latter are appropriated by young people as personal identity parameters, including ethnic identity, intricately fitting in and intertwining with some elements of the traditional Kazakh cultural code. This is reflected in ambivalent Kazakh-Russian and Russian-Kazakh linguistic constructions, which differ from bilingualism in the conventional sense.

The development of modern world trends by Kazakhstani youth and their specific ethnicization in a cultural (and not political) context can be found at various levels of the information field: from the paintings of Kazakhstani postmodernists (G. Tryakin-Bukharov, R. Khalfin, the Green Triangle, and the "Kyzyl Tractor" art groups) to the specific phenomenon of the so-called "Kazakh humor" (Evgeny Chebatkov, Nurlan Saburov, Azamat Musagaliev).

Regarding the possibility of two ways of ethnic identity construction, we can quote the words of the Russian ethnologist V. Tishkov: "There are, as it were, two competing forms of group identity: one in terms of culture, the other in terms of political loyalty, which reflect the existence of the most powerful forms of social groupings of people ethnic communities and state formations. There is a complex dialogue between these two identities, and each of them is also a multidimensional phenomenon" [23].

5. Discussion

Problematization factors of modern Kazakhstani youth ethnic identity

There are a number of decisions taken by the government of the Republic of Kazakhstan that, following the imperative of creating a national state, significantly influence the linguistic aspect of ethnic identity, predetermining the orientation of Kazakhstani youth towards speaking Kazakh.

Under the conditions of the information society, where keeping up with advanced trends requires knowledge of foreign languages (since most texts are generated in English), insularity in a monolingual perspective threatens prejudice towards the content of information, especially when it is not presented in the native language.

The hypertrophy of the linguistic aspect of ethnic identity leads to the emergence of "provincialism" (locality of thinking) in the worldview of Kazakhstani youth (especially in the regions), which in reality is a serious problem, as it can easily become an object for manipulation by forces aimed at destabilizing Kazakhstan.

Recent sociological studies demonstrate the deep-rootedness of traditionalist thinking and, accordingly, the lifestyle. At the same time, we distinguish between the concepts of "traditionality" and "traditionalism." The latter term, albeit implicitly, has a negative connotation, implying a negative attitude towards innovations and the absolutization of obsolete forms of lifestyle.

The traditionalist system of values, with its patriarchal foundations, the primacy of consanguinity, and a focus on the past as a paradigmatic example of a correct life, comes into direct conflict with the modern agenda. More specifically, it conflicts with the trends of globalization: the growth of feminist movements, the strengthening of the sexual minorities' lobby, inverse racial politics (e.g., Black Lives Matter), etc.

All this obstructs the fulfillment of Kazakhstan's goal to enter the list of 30 developed countries.

Thus, it can be stated that the model of Kazakhstani youth ethnic identity existing in the regions is based mainly on the linguistic component, which implies many traditionalist patterns of thinking and behavior.

The situation is somewhat different in the cities. Urban youth are building their identity by actively participating in the process of world cultural communication through mass media and social networks. Ethnic identity here manifests itself as an authentic comprehension (mastery) of globalization trends within the formats of local cultural practices, fully fitting into the logic of the so-called "glocality" [24].

The question is how to level the boundaries between the center and the periphery, pursuing the goal of reconfiguring the Kazakhstani youth ethnic identity model in the regions in terms of modernization, that is, anti- or detraditionalization?

The issue of modern Kazakhstani youth ethnic identity, therefore, becomes not just a subject of abstract speculation but a pressing problem that needs to be solved in the near future.

In the majority of Kazakhstan citizens' minds, there is still no clear distinction between the concepts of "ethnos," "nation," "nationality," and "people." Such a confusion of terms makes it difficult to design ethnic identity as something generally understood and, more importantly, generally accepted.

From the perspective of world political processes, modern Kazakhstan is a nationalizing state. The process of the formation of what can be denoted by the concept of "Kazakh people" that is, the actual political nation is slow. Kazakh and Russian nationalities predominate in this nation from an ethno-historical point of view. At the same time, the nationalities themselves consist of smaller, more pointed subgroups, which relate more to historical habits than to the current practice of micro-ethnic identifications. However, ethnic identity does not mean the opposition of local self-determination to the global one. It does not imply isolation and divergence. Ethnic identity, while fully claiming its own space, nevertheless organically fits into broader contexts of identity.

In addition, since ethnic identity is amenable to remodeling (including through narrative practices), the reconfiguration of its parameters in response to changing time requirements is more than feasible.

A reactionary environment is an inevitable consequence of rapidly changing modern civilization, which is becoming global. The constructivist approach to ethnic identity research reveals the possibility of not only descriptive but also projective actions that directly affect the construction of social reality in the spirit of complication, innovation, and modernization, rather than segregation, conservation, and separation.

6. Conclusions

Modernity is marked by globalization, and countries burdened by the Soviet legacy are faced with the task of overcoming the inertia of the post-Soviet period, as well as creatively responding to the challenges of the times.

The attempt to create a nationalizing state becomes one of the most powerful reactions, which immediately mobilizes the entire set of issues involved in this project, and the formation of ethnic identity in new conditions, in the context of cultural globalization, is no exception.

Ethnic identity is constructed along two main vectors: politics and culture the heteronomous rhetoric of official ideology and the autonomous practices of everyday life.

The regional youth of modern Kazakhstan adhere to the traditionalist model of ethnic identity, with a strong emphasis on the language marker. This greatly complicates Kazakhstan's modernization process and its entry into the realm of world civilization, with its neoliberal ultra-humanist agenda.

The urban youth of modern Kazakhstan are more progressive in this regard. For them, ethnic identity is nothing more than an aspect of personal identity, which is freely self-constructed by the individual on a personal basis, mainly through narrative practices.

Thus, the specificity of ethnic identity among modern Kazakhstani youth is revealed as a complex and ambiguous picture, marked by internal tension, which implicitly unfolds as a struggle between traditionalist and modernist attitudes.

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