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Types of Social Orientations of Young People in the System of Interethnic Interaction in Multiethnic Cities (On the Example of Bishkek)

Abstract

The relevance of the study of types of social identity in Bishkek is conditioned by the need to eliminate social stereotypes regarding different ethnic groups and demonstrate possible productive behaviours to avoid interethnic conflicts. The purpose of this study was to investigate the productive and unproductive types of social orientations within the multiethnic city of Bishkek. The following methods were used: the method of analysing sociological information, statistical, comparative, analytical and synthetic methods. According to the 2022 Census, Bishkek is home to many nationalities, including Kyrgyz, Russians, Uzbeks, Tatars, Dungans, Kazakhs, Turks. The primary focus of this study is on the youth aged 18–29. This paper can be used to investigate the experience of interethnic interaction on the example of different countries of the world, to consider conflict-causing factors and stereotypes in multiethnic structures.

Keywords

Kyrgyz society, statistical data, population census, surveys, conflicts

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1. Introduction

The consideration of ethnic interaction in Kyrgyzstan with the study of types of social identity is relevant, since there is still some tension in the country related to the ethnic factor. Despite the fact that there are already many studies that consider the nature of interethnic interaction in Kyrgyz cities and rural areas, the sociological personality types have not been investigated. Understanding the different types of social identity helps us understand not only how society thinks as a whole, but also how each type of identity is linked to being tolerant or intolerant of ethnic minorities (Damkier & Ozer 2024).

Studying the types of social identification allows assessing the problems that exist in a particular society. In the context of ethnic interaction in Kyrgyzstan, the relevance of the study is quite high, since tension is still felt in society and there are a significant number of stereotypes about different ethnic groups. It is necessary to qualitatively analyse the nature and models of relationships in communication in a multiethnic society, for example, in Bishkek. Social identity is a person's sense of belonging to a particular social group based on shared characteristics, values, and experiences. Thus, the types of social identities reflect the relations between ethnic groups as fully as possible, so they were used to investigate the interdependence between ethnic origin and attitude towards a person.

Interethnic interaction refers to the social, cultural, and political exchanges and relationships between different ethnic groups within a society (Volkov & Poleshchuk 2019). It includes how ethnic groups negotiate their identity, resources, and social space in relation to one another, as well as the cooperative and conflictual elements of these interactions. In the context of this study, interethnic interaction is explored through the lens of how various ethnic groups in Kyrgyzstan, particularly the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks, engage with each other in areas such as politics, economics, language, and cultural practices. Historical, social, and political factors can influence these relationships, affecting whether they promote harmony, understanding, or conflict. A more thorough investigation of this idea will yield a more sophisticated comprehension of the ways in which interethnic dynamics impact national identity and social cohesiveness in multiethnic nations such as Kyrgyzstan.

Tolerance and intolerance indicate a willingness (or unwillingness) to accept or respect people with different backgrounds, beliefs, or behaviours without discrimination. The features of these terms within the Kazakh society were investigated by Aimaganbetova et al. (2023).

The study was based on a survey of students in Almaty using Google Forms. The results of the analysis showed a high degree of extremism, in particular, the cult of power, aggressive manifestations, coercion, and conformism. The main theses presented in the work correlated with the concept of tolerance and its perception in society, but the types of social identities of Kazakhs were not considered. Kazakbaeva (2021) emphasised the need to investigate youth policy. In particular, issues related to technical support, the quality of education and student academic performance, socio-political activities of youth, crime, and security were considered. However, the issue of interethnic communication in the structure of a multiethnic city has not been considered.

Communication, whether in-person or digital, is essential in influencing social relationships, identity development, and civic engagement, especially among youth. Dzisah et al. (2024) examined the influence of social media on youth socialisation, political engagement, and employment in Ghana, revealing that, although digital platforms facilitate freedom of expression and participation, they simultaneously create contradictions in youth involvement in socio-political matters. Nonetheless, their research, derived from an extensive survey, lacks qualitative profundity, potentially reducing the intricacies of digital activism to a simplistic framework. Schwartz et al. (2024) investigated inter-brain synchrony in face-to-face versus texting communication among youth through hyperscanning EEG. The authors revealed that although texting facilitates some degree of neural synchronisation, in-person interaction cultivates markedly stronger fronto-temporal connections. They highlighted the superiority of in-person contacts for profound social connections, albeit they did not adequately consider contextual characteristics such as emotional tone and social intent in digital communications.

Equality is the basis for cross-border integration, as indicated in the paper by Parmanasova et al. (2022), the main purpose of which was to investigate the current state of intercultural communication in the European Union and Ukraine. This paper presented a mechanism for communication between representatives of different social types with government agencies but did not pay attention to ethnic diversity. Kamchybekova and Abdullaeva (2021) studied the concept of civil identity in Kyrgyzstan, taking into account ethnic specifics. The authors identified it as an individual's sense of belonging to a nation-state, integrating both ethnic self-identification and shared civic values, norms, and responsibilities, fostering patriotism and national unity. The survey results showed that among ethnic minorities, 23.8% of Tajiks, 20.2% of Uzbeks, and 14.4% of Russians consider Kyrgyzstan their homeland.

The study is based on the analysis of centuries-old experience of interaction between different ethnic groups in Kyrgyzstan, but it does not focus on productive and unproductive behaviours in interethnic communication. Yaban and Sayil (2021) studied the similarities in the socio-value orientations of adolescents using a personality-oriented approach. After the analysis, it was determined that the similarity in value positions between children and parents was lower than between father and mother. The researchers focused on the prosocial behaviour of descendants, but the study did not actualise ethnic differences between socio-value orientations.

The purpose of this study was to consider the manifestations of types of social identity (productive and unproductive: receptive, exploitative, hoarding, marketing) in the context of interethnic communication in Kyrgyzstan using the example of the multiethnic city of Bishkek. Based on the outlined purpose, the tasks were set to study statistical data on interethnic interaction in Kyrgyzstan, in particular Bishkek, and analyse the main types of social identity in Kyrgyz society. The subject of the study is statistical data related to communication between representatives of different ethnic groups in Kyrgyzstan. The study focuses on youth aged 18–29 years.

The paper consists of five sections, which include Introduction, Materials and Methods, Results, Discussion, and Conclusions. At the end of the paper, the Reference list is presented.

2. Materials and Methods

This paper used data from the Population Censuses of 1989, 1999, 2009, and 2022 (Goskomstat SSSR 1992; NSC 1999; NSC 2009; NSC 2023b). Statistical data obtained during the analysis of the ethnic situation in Kyrgyzstan were also used. The study of ethnic interaction between Kyrgyz and ethnic minorities was based on the concept of personality by Fromm (1994). This theory fits best for the study as it categorises social orientations, explaining how youth engage in interethnic interactions. This typology helps to clarify patterns of tolerance, conflict, and identity formation in Bishkek, linking social structures to individual behaviour in a multiethnic context.

The method of analysing sociological information was used to transform empirical data obtained in the course of various sociological studies for their differentiation, selection, and further study. In particular, data were provided on changes in the ethnic composition in a multiethnic city, the influence of ethnicity and religion on the choice of a

candidate in elections using the example of Bishkek, the influence on the political choice of voters, and the distribution of interethnic conflicts in 2011–2015 by region in Kyrgyzstan. The data obtained during the analysis were presented in tables and charts for better visualisation of information.

The statistical method was used to analyse the sociological data provided in papers that examined the ethnic situation in Kyrgyzstan, in particular, the level of conflict and tolerance in communication between different ethnic groups. Thus, quantitative data were presented confirming the changes in the ethnic structure and mentality of Kyrgyz society over the past 30 years. Based on the statistical data obtained, conclusions were drawn about the types of social orientation of young people.

Comparative analysis in this study was used to compare different types of social identity manifested in conditions of ethnic interaction on the example of Bishkek city and Kyrgyz society in general. In particular, such identities as productive and unproductive (receptive, exploitative, hoarding, marketing) were considered. The study of these types emphasised the most striking features of this group. The analytical and synthetic method was used to consider theoretical aspects related to the ethnic structure of different countries of the world, socio-value orientations, the level of social cohesion and adaptability, the idea of ethnic boundaries, global identity, and the foundations of cultural exchange between representatives of different ethnic groups within the same multiethnic space. Using the analytical and synthetic method, the main problems actively studied by sociologists, psychologists, and linguists in the context of ethnicity were outlined.

Thus, this paper applied the main methods that contribute to the presentation of statistical data of sociological surveys and observations in Kyrgyz society, particularly in Bishkek city (method of analysis of sociological information, statistical, and comparative methods), and an additional analytical and synthetic method used to investigate theoretical information in different ethnic contexts. Notably, only with the help of all these methods was it possible to study in depth the topic related to the types of social identity in Bishkek.

3. Results

Interethnic relations in Kyrgyzstan's capital, Bishkek, have a long and complicated background that has been influenced by numerous historical, social, and political elements. Like many other Central Asian towns,

Bishkek became a multiethnic centre during the Soviet era as a result of migration programs that attracted people from many ethnic backgrounds to urban areas. The city became home to a diverse population, including Russians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, and other ethnic minorities, which established a unique sociopolitical fabric characterised by a mixture of cultures, languages, and traditions. A centralised Soviet identity was also imposed during this time, which did not eliminate the underlying tensions between various groups even though it did repress some ethnic distinctions (Nasritdinov 2023). These interethnic dynamics started to change when Kyrgyzstan attained independence in 1991, with ethnic Kyrgyz being the largest group. This resulted in new patterns of interaction between the different ethnic groupings, both cooperative and conflictual.

The ethnic makeup of Bishkek continued to change in the post-Soviet era, reflecting the influx of native Kyrgyz people as well as the movement of ethnic Russians (Nasritdinov 2023). A growing sense of Kyrgyz nationalism during the early years of independence occasionally exacerbated tensions with ethnic minorities, particularly Uzbeks and Russians. Political unpredictability, economic hardship, and the lack of a strong sense of national identity all contributed to these conflicts. Over the years, however, there has been a shift towards greater interethnic cooperation, driven by economic necessity and the increasing recognition of the value of diversity in shaping Kyrgyzstan's future (Leupold 2021). Interethnic relations in Bishkek are still complicated, though, with some ethnic groups still being marginalised and conflicts arising over things like political representation, language rights, and cultural recognition. Therefore, the historical development of interethnic relations in Bishkek illustrates how migration, nationalism, and the changing processes of ethnic identity construction interact dynamically within a post-Soviet society.

Due to interethnic contacts and a high degree of migration during the Soviet period and during the period of independence of Kyrgyzstan, Bishkek was established as a multiethnic city. Based on the Population Censuses of 1989, 1999, 2009, and 2022 (Goskomstat SSSR 1992; NSC 1999; NSC 2009; NSC 2023b), it is possible to trace how the percentage ratio between the peoples living in the city changed. The most numerous ethnic groups in Bishkek in 2022 are presented in Table 1. Comparing the modern ethnic composition of the population of Bishkek with 1989, a significant increase in Kyrgyz (from 22.88% to 85.1%) and a decrease in Russians (from 55.72% to 10%) can be noted. Despite the global changes that have occurred over the past 30 years, ethnic groups

such as Uzbeks, Kazakhs, and Tajiks have shown slight fluctuations in the population from 1989 to 2022 (less than 1%). This relative stability suggests that some minority groups are more structurally embedded in Bishkek compared to Russians, whose migration patterns are more influenced by post-Soviet geopolitical shifts. The ethnic core of Bishkek consists of indigenous peoples (Kyrgyz), peoples belonging to the post-Soviet space (Russians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Tajiks, Ukrainians), and other peoples of Central Asia (Uighurs, Dungans, Turks). Germans represent the largest group among European peoples (0.1%). Other ethnic groups are represented by 0.4% (Goskomstat SSSR 1992; NSC 2023b).

Table 1: Changes in the ethnic composition of the multiethnic city of Bishkek

Year	Ethnic group									
	Kyrgyz people	%	Russians	%	Uzbeks	%	Uighurs	%	Kazakhs	%
1989	141,841	22.88	345,387	55.72	10,390	1.68	10,977	1.77	8,943	1.44
1999	398,000	52.21	252,831	33.17	12,393	1.63	13,143	1.72	12,064	1.6
2009	552,957	66.16	192,080	22.98	11,801	1.41	13,380	1.60	9,013	1.1
2022	953,399	85.1	112,120	10	14,429	1.3	7,442	0.7	7,001	0.6
Year	Ethnic group									
	Tatars	%	Koreans	%	Dungans	%	Turks	%	Tajiks	%
1989	16,984	2.74	10,043	1.62	2,618	0.42	908	0.15	709	0.11
1999	15,817	2.1	12,710	1.67	3,558	0.5	2,277	0.3	1,828	0.2
2009	12,712	1.5	12,014	1.44	4,040	0.5	3,149	0.4	817	0.1
2022	4,264	0.4	4,165	0.4	2,779	0.2	1,784	0.2	1,699	0.1

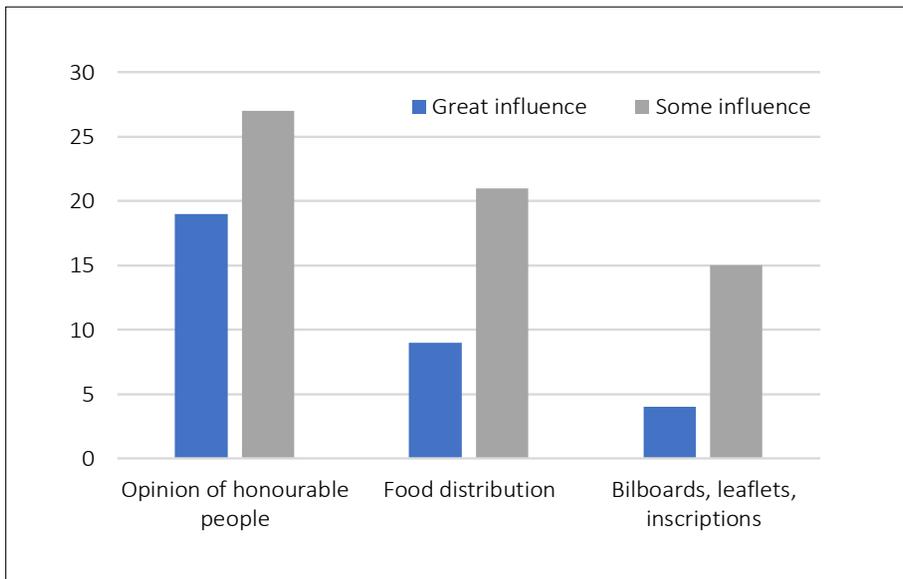
Source: Compiled based on the results of the Population Censuses (Goskomstat SSSR 1992; NSC 1999; NSC 2009; NSC 2023b).

In a broad sense, social orientation refers to a person's awareness of their position at the level of social relations, in particular, intergroup and interethnic; in a narrower sense, social orientation refers to a person's choice of a model of their own behaviour and ways to achieve their goals (Geisler & Allwood 2018; Seberger & Patil 2021; Larsen et al. 2021). Fromm (1994) identified two main categories of social orientation: unproductive and productive. Unproductive social orientations, in turn, include the following: receptive, exploitative, hoarding, and marketing orientations (Foster 2017; Hanif 2023).

The basis of receptive orientation is individuals' awareness that the source of all goods is outside them. In particular, it is associated not

with the production of ideas but with their absorption. They also differ in dependence and passivity and often require outside help to solve problems (Fromm 1994; Ho et al. 2012; Nikkola et al. 2022). A passive attitude towards the political situation may indicate a receptive orientation in Kyrgyzstan. Many voters, for example, rely on the opinion of respected people (19% – great influence, 27% – some influence), food distribution (9% – great influence, 21% – some influence), billboards, booklets, inscriptions on vehicles (4% – great influence, 11–15% – a certain influence) when choosing a candidate (Chart 1). Moreover, about 15% of voters could not name the political parties known in their region (CISR 2020). In Bishkek, about 30% of voters were not ready to vote in the 2020 elections. In the system of relations between ethnic groups, a third of Bishkek residents (34%) recognised that internal conflicts were the most serious problem in Kyrgyzstan. Such a high indicator suggests a certain passivity among a large part of the residents in relation to this issue. In particular, they are confident that the problems associated with interethnic conflicts should be solved by the authorities, thus relieving themselves of responsibility for maintaining the necessary level of tolerance in the region.

Chart 1: Influence on the political choice of voters in Kyrgyzstan

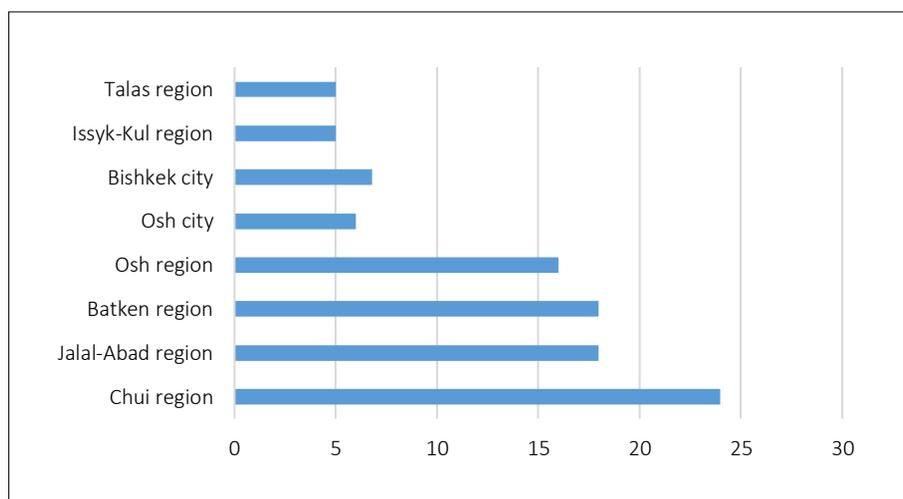


Source: Compiled based on data from the CISR (2020).

Exploitative orientation is characterised by obtaining all the necessary benefits through strength or ingenuity in various spheres of life. These

individuals have a habit of taking advantage of others' accomplishments in both professional and interpersonal contexts. The tendency towards an exploitative orientation confirms the existence of interethnic conflicts due to the activation of extremist groups with a radical attitude (Fromm 1994; Davis et al. 2018; Sun & Liu 2022). According to the data presented in the 8th, 9th, and 10th periodic reports of the Kyrgyz Republic for the period from 2011 to 2015 (United Nations 2016), 160 interethnic conflicts were recorded (Chart 2). The distribution of interethnic conflicts across regions could suggest that some of these conflicts could stem from resource competition, economic inequalities, and political representation issues, rather than individual social orientations alone.

Chart 2: Distribution of interethnic conflicts in Kyrgyzstan in 2011–2015 by region



Source: Compiled based on the materials of the United Nations (2016).

In general, crime among the age groups of 18–24 and 25–29 years has significantly decreased (NSC 2023a) (Table 2). The potential for conflict is accumulating due to the stigmatisation of traditional values and conservatism in society (Niu et al. 2025). Everyday violence among young people arises from the inability to resolve conflicts in a non-violent way and the lack of non-violent behaviours among adults (Yang et al. 2025).

Youth is the stage of life between childhood and adulthood, which is typically defined by cultural, social, and legal factors and often refers to individuals aged 15–29 (Larsen et al. 2021). In this study, the focus was on the age group of 18–29, as this demographic is actively shaping their

civic identity while navigating social, political, and cultural integration within a multiethnic society.

Table 2: Crime rates among young people in Kyrgyzstan

Age	Year						
	1994	2005	2015	2019	2020	2021	2022
18–24 years old	4,258	3,458	1,467	794	892	967	830
25–29 years old	3,196	2,343	1,412	783	865	1,062	885

Source: Compiled based on the materials of the NSC (2023a).

Individuals with hoarding orientation are characterised by special thrift and even avarice in both material and spiritual goods; therefore, they have a great desire to get as much as possible, but at the same time, any spending on their part poses a great threat to them (Fromm 1994; Liu et al. 2022; Benko 2023). Thus, people with this type of social orientation gravitate towards the past and are afraid of anything new. According to a study by Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH (Möller-Slawinski & Calmbach 2015), some young people aged 18–24 would like to go back to the past and become children to get a sense of greater freedom. This is likely due to abrupt growing up, where the person has no time to learn about themselves and is orientated towards others' expectations. In addition, the young generation with a hoarding character type lacks aspirations for an individual path and a desire to observe traditional values in everything (Malul & Sokar 2025).

The hoarding type of social orientation can manifest itself in the rejection of certain social and religious values (Fromm 1994; Verkuyten & Yogeewaran 2020; Town et al. 2022). Based on the associations of youth with tolerance presented in Table 3, it can be concluded that there is a lack of acceptance of certain groups, particularly punks and homosexuals. Despite the fact that Islam is seen as the predominant religion in Kyrgyzstan, there is a desire for maximum isolation from the Arab form of Islam, particularly in urban areas, because contemporary young are afraid of potential radicalisation associated to religious identity. The influence of Islam, as both a personal belief system and a cultural framework, affects how individuals perceive their roles within a multiethnic society. Religious teachings, for instance, place a strong emphasis on moral behaviour, communal ideals, and the virtue of tolerance (Lee & Chung 2025; Kim & Chung 2025). These teachings can promote positive social orientations, including interethnic cooperation

and respect. However, religion can also be used to draw boundaries. For example, some interpretations of Islam may cause people to be sceptical about or even hostile towards religious behaviours that are seen as radical or alien, such as wearing the hijab (Bañales et al. 2024). In Bishkek, where there is a clear separation between more conventional and contemporary religious expressions, this dynamic is especially apparent among the youth. The increasing religiosity among young Kyrgyz, especially in urban areas, can foster a stronger sense of community, but it can also contribute to the exclusion or marginalisation of individuals who do not conform to these religious norms, affecting overall social cohesion (Sestito 2025). Young people may be sceptical of people who have changed Islam to other religions and may even show intolerance in everyday life (Podoprigrora et al. 2019). Ethnicity, as a rule, is not the basis for discrimination, but on a subconscious level, there is some tension due to interethnic clashes in the south of Kyrgyzstan, in Bishkek and its suburbs (Möller-Slawinski & Calmbach 2015; Kogan et al. 2020). The data might also indicate generational shifts in moral and social attitudes, where youth distinguish between different forms of tolerance (political, cultural, religious). The association of tolerance with disability rights and equality suggests a growing awareness of human rights, even if some conservative social attitudes persist.

Table 3: The associative series correlated with the word tolerance among the youth of Kyrgyzstan

Positive		Negative
Compassion	Different peoples live together	Discrimination based on social status
Respect	Equal rights	Gender discrimination
People with disabilities	Everyone is equal	Against homosexual relations
Homeless people	Against racism	Against punks

Source: Compiled based on the materials of Möller-Slawinski and Calmbach (2015).

Individuals with a marketing type of social orientation value everything in the world as a commodity that needs to be sold for profit; therefore, at every opportunity, they try to impress and show their advantages, increasing the chances of success (Fromm 1994; Funk 2010; Jian 2017). A manifestation of this type of social orientation may be a sense of superiority of the Kyrgyz over other ethnic groups. For example, there is a widespread perception among the younger generation that traits such as smoking and alcohol consumption or disrespect for elders are

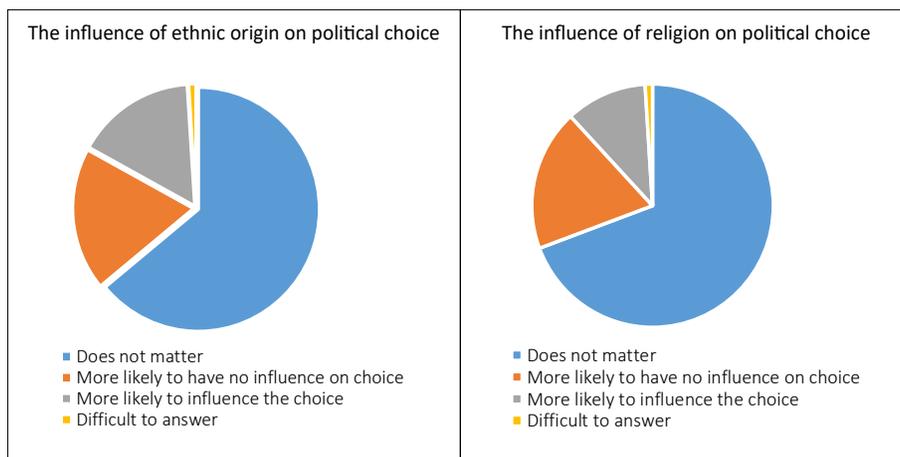
more associated with other ethnic groups, in particular Slavic ones. The younger the age group, the higher the level of tolerance towards other nationalities (Möller-Slawinski & Calmbach 2015).

The level of discrimination is also influenced by the experience of informal communication with representatives of other ethnic groups (Sestito 2025). In the border areas and Bishkek, there is a negative attitude towards Uzbeks living in Kyrgyzstan. This is directly related to the interethnic clashes between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in southern Kyrgyzstan in June 2010 in Osh. These conflicts arose from historical grievances, specifically around competition for resources, territory, and political authority. The prolonged political and economic marginalisation of ethnic Uzbeks in southern Kyrgyzstan intensified tensions. The riots were brought on by a complicated interplay of regional politics, economic inequality, and outside factors; the political unrest that followed President Bakiyev's removal exacerbated pre-existing ethnic prejudices and mistrust between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks (Hager et al. 2019). It is also argued that the Osh riots were not only the product of ethnic hatred but also of social and economic divisions, where interethnic relations were frequently strained due to competition for resources (Reeves 2023). The growing influence of Islamic identity in the region further exacerbated ethnic divisions, creating a sense of us vs. them among various communities. The state's failure to mediate fairly between ethnic groups, combined with a lack of social cohesion, led to the eruption of violence. Moreover, the aftermath of the violence left a lasting legacy of mistrust between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks, with ongoing difficulties in rebuilding interethnic relationships. Discrimination against Uzbeks is also carried out at the educational level; in particular, from 2000 to 2022, the number of schools with the Uzbek language of instruction decreased from 141 to 43 (by almost 70%) (NSC 2023b). Thus, the marketing type of social orientation is aimed at reducing the status of the languages of ethnic groups and restrictions in education in their native language, which leads to difficulties in admission and further professional development.

Productive orientation represents a type of character that demonstrates the need to develop all the capabilities of an individual, which is their main goal. Thus, all actions aim to implement future plans. This type of social orientation is characterised by independence, honesty, calmness, creativity, and a tendency towards productive logical thinking (Fromm 1994; Turhan & Ayataç 2021; Cudowska 2023). Kyrgyz youth with a productive type of social orientation are characterised by the need for self-realisation, individualism, personal growth, as well as the desire to distance themselves from social expectations.

Tolerance towards different ethnic groups can be judged by the survey Public Opinion Poll: Residents of Kyrgyzstan, August 6 – August 15, 2020, which was conducted by SIAR Research and Consulting at the request of the Center for Insights in Survey Research (CISR 2020) International Republican Institute. The results were presented in the Demographic Yearbook of the Kyrgyz Republic and sorted by regions and cities. Citizens aged 18 and over participated in the survey. The margin of error is approximately ± 2.8 points. To the question “Will the ethnic origin of the candidate influence your choice?” in Bishkek, the following results were obtained: 64% answered that ethnic origin does not matter, 19% – rather will not affect the choice, 16% – rather will affect the choice, 1% had difficulties answering this question. To the question “Will religion influence your choice?” 70% of Bishkek residents answered it does not matter, 19% – the probability is less, 11% – the probability is more, less than 1% did not answer this question (Chart 3).

Chart 3: The influence of ethnicity and religion on the choice of a candidate in the elections (Bishkek)



Source: Compiled based on data from the CISR (2020).

Social media and technology have played a bigger part in influencing young people’s social orientations in recent years. Social media platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram, and TikTok, have transformed how youth interact with each other, access information, and form their views on various social, political, and cultural issues (Ronzhes 2023). These platforms give young people a place to express their own identities and perspectives in addition to keeping them up to date on global trends and ideas. Social media’s ability to make a variety of viewpoints

accessible has the potential to extend young people's perspectives by raising their knowledge of multicultural values and encouraging a sense of global interconnectedness (Mialkovska et al. 2024). But there are negative aspects as well, like the possibility of being exposed to divisive materials and the strengthening of echo chambers, which can mould conservative or extreme viewpoints and possibly sow discord in society.

Beyond typical social media, the influence of technology on young people's social orientations also extends to the larger digital environment, which includes online forums, gaming groups, and digital news sources (Lewinski et al. 2016). These forums give young people a chance to participate in conversations on a range of social topics, frequently supporting international causes like gender equality, human rights, and climate change advocacy. More social interaction has resulted from the growth of online communities and digital activism, as young people use these platforms to organise protests, campaigns, and advocacy efforts (Pluzhnyk et al. 2024). However, there are drawbacks to social media's influence as well, like the dissemination of false information, cyberbullying, and the temptation to project an idealised online persona (Kenard et al. 2025). Thus, even though social media and technology might enable young people to question established conventions and promote social change, it is essential to understand the nuances of its impact and weigh the advantages of the digital era against any potential hazards.

This study's findings reveal the complex relationships of social orientations among youth in Bishkek associated with interethnic interactions. The findings reveal that over 70% of youth demonstrate a productive social orientation, prioritising self-development, individuality, and rational thought, hence fostering more tolerant interethnic relations. Approximately 30% exhibit unproductive orientations, classified as receptive, exploitative, hoarding, and marketing kinds. The receptive orientation is characterised by political apathy and an expectation that authorities would address interethnic problems, whereas the exploiting orientation is linked to violent behaviours that exacerbate interethnic tensions. The hoarding approach cultivates scepticism towards different ethnic groups, frequently resulting in religious and cultural intolerance, while the marketing orientation is associated with a perceived superiority of indigenous Kyrgyz over minority groups, thereby fostering linguistic and educational prejudice. The trends indicate that although most young individuals in Bishkek pursue personal development and interethnic harmony, a notable segment continues to engage in exclusionary and conflictual behaviours, influenced by historical grievances, socio-political instability, and cultural prejudices.

4. Discussion

By looking at the multiethnic city of Bishkek as an example of different types of social orientations, it was discovered that most of the people who live there are tolerant of non-indigenous people, but there is still some tension in society and stereotypical thinking. Over the past 10 years, the situation in the interethnic cities of Kyrgyzstan has changed in favour of productive interethnic cooperation. The following problems remain in Kyrgyzstan's multiethnic cities: the unwillingness of residents to take an active part in resolving interethnic conflicts, the use of violent communication, a fairly high crime rate, an unfriendly attitude towards some religious communities and their traditions, and restrictions on rights in the educational and cultural spheres.

In multiethnic societies, there remains a need for positive interaction between different multiethnic groups (Volkov 2017). Hashim et al. (2016) identified five main models of social interaction. These include such things as exchange, conflict, competition, collaboration, and non-verbal communication. It is important to note that the causes of conflicts were not directly caused by racial problems; at the same time, stereotypes were present when communicating with representatives of different ethnic groups. When analysing Kyrgyz society, the study also focused on the fact that, as a rule, conflicts are of a social or religious nature and are not related to interethnic interaction, although some disagreements and stereotypes regarding other ethnic groups still occur. This aligns with the study's findings, where youth exhibiting productive social orientations contribute to collaboration and exchange, while those with unproductive orientations, particularly exploitative and marketing types, reinforce competition and conflict. The value of the researchers' paper lies in analysing the interaction between students and developing strategies to respond to possible conflicts.

The concept of intergroup prosocial behaviour is introduced by Xiao et al. (2023), linking it to the construction of social identity and intergroup relations in the student's age. The study aimed to examine social dominance, social positions, belonging to social groups, and prosocial obligations. During the survey conducted at the multiethnic public South-western University, four profiles of intergroup prosocial behaviour were identified: self-serving, altruistic, egoistic, and reverse ethnic racial bias, and their correlates were analysed. These characteristics correspond to the youth of Bishkek, where constructive social orientations coincide with altruistic and cooperative inclinations, promoting tolerance. In contrast, unproductive orientations, especially the hoarding variety, may foster scepticism and discriminatory attitudes. The researchers

highlighted possible ways to reduce the number of intergroup conflicts and build a just and equitable society. The method of forming prosocial behaviour between representatives of different ethnic groups can also be used as an example of Kyrgyz society, in particular, through fostering tolerance and considering the interests of different ethnic groups.

For young people in a crisis, for example, the coronavirus pandemic, socio-value orientations play a huge role. Research by Moosa et al. (2021) is a survey on the personal values of young people in Maldivian society; in particular, attention is paid to such parameters as openness to change, self-improvement, and self-excellence. Based on the survey results, the Maldivian community tends to be pro-social, which provides for openness to change, reflection of collectivism in social structures, and self-improvement. The study of Kyrgyz social orientations has shown that representatives of the younger generation, on the contrary, perceive changes as something radical and negative. This suggests that promoting flexible socio-value orientations, particularly through education and intercultural dialogue, could be instrumental in reducing interethnic conflicts and fostering long-term social cohesion. The researchers' idea of the need to develop socio-value orientations that allow maintaining balance in a crisis can be used to eliminate or prevent interethnic conflicts.

The study of the cohabitation of ethnic residents and migrants in multinational cities and their interethnic relations is emphasised by Pratsinakis et al. (2017). The results of the author's research confirmed that close interethnic relations have been established in many European cities; that is, the stereotype of the negative impact of migrants on the level of social cohesion has not been confirmed. Neighbourhood relations, as a rule, develop in informal social conditions and play an important role in the socio-spatial development of the urban network. The researcher's approach to understanding the interaction between indigenous people and migrants has dispelled stereotypes about communication in multiethnic European cities, which are important in the context of modern processes of globalisation. A study of social identities in Kyrgyzstan found that one-third of the people there have negative ideas about people of other ethnicities. Implementing strategies to strengthen social cohesion, such as encouraging informal interethnic interactions and community-based initiatives, could help mitigate these negative perceptions and foster a more integrated multiethnic society in Kyrgyzstan.

A conceptual diagram of the factors influencing the level of social cohesion was presented in the paper by Clarke et al. (2023). By social

cohesion, the researchers meant a certain number of reasons that contribute to staying in a certain social group. Based on the results of the study, the most effective ways necessary to strengthen social cohesion are the following: crime reduction, provision of maintenance services for public gatherings, and accessibility of cultural events. The study of social cohesion did not pay attention to ethnic factors of interaction, which may become a subject for further study in this area. Because Kyrgyzstan has problems with social cohesion, especially in Osh and Bishkek, the above research methods can be very helpful in making it easier for different ethnic groups to live together in one cultural space.

Experimental data presented by Grimalda et al. (2023) and collected in countries such as the USA, Italy, Argentina, and South Africa showed that global identity increases the level of social cooperation, while local or national identities may show a negative trend in cooperative relations. Thus, this study is important in relation to the development of international relations, as it demonstrated a wide sample of countries around the world. Researchers also noted that communities with a global social identity can yield greater benefits at both local and national levels. In the context of studying social identities in Bishkek, it can be said that the Asian experience of cooperation and awareness of global identity is much lower than in European countries. Therefore, it is imperative to implement international initiatives to foster collaboration among diverse ethnic groups and cultivate a global identity alongside national and local identities.

The legal framework governing interethnic relations significantly shapes the social dynamics and integration of ethnic groupings in Kyrgyzstan. The Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic (2010) enshrines the principle of equality before the law for all citizens, regardless of their ethnic background, which is fundamental for ensuring equal treatment and opportunities in a multiethnic society. The Concept of Strengthening the Unity of the People and Inter-Ethnic Relations in the Kyrgyz Republic (MOJ 2013) serves to strengthen this constitutional guarantee. Its goal is to address the difficulties of interethnic relations by advocating for policies that safeguard minority groups' rights and guarantee their participation in all facets of public life. These legal mechanisms are vital for building a sense of national unity since they provide a framework for the protection of minority rights and the elimination of discrimination based on ethnicity. The actualisation of these legal concepts may be hampered by issues like social tensions, economic inequality, and political instability that frequently impede the practical application of these policies. To make these legal measures work to promote social cohesion

and interethnic peace, the government must remain committed and all ethnic groups must actively take part.

200

The study of ethnic boundaries and adaptive features of different ethnic groups in interaction occupies an important place in the study by Bunce and McElreath (2017). The researchers demonstrated five key mechanisms indicating the dynamics of cultural differences. In particular, among the options for adaptation in an interethnic society are the following: bargaining, acceptance of social norms and their choice, social education, and socialisation in childhood. According to the researcher, bargaining is one of the best ways to interact in a multiethnic society. The study of Kyrgyz society has demonstrated that the marketing type of social identity is an unproductive mechanism for establishing multiethnic contacts. The mechanisms of adaptation of researchers are not suitable for all ethnographic contexts, since bargaining leads to the destruction of interethnic interactions and not to their development in Kyrgyzstan.

Thus, after studying modern research, it is possible to identify key issues in the global scientific discourse. Among them are the following: social cohesion, adaptability of different ethnic groups, the development of an understanding of ethnic boundaries, the level of global and national identity, the foundations of cultural exchange between ethnic groups, socio-value orientations, and their impact on building relations between ethnic groups. Many concepts are considered based on the European experience or a comparison of European and Asian or African experiences. At the same time, the presented models of socio-value orientations, social cohesion, and global identity can be implemented based on the Kyrgyz experience, in particular, for establishing ties in a multiethnic society.

5. Conclusions

According to the statistics of 2022, the most numerous ethnic groups in Bishkek are Kyrgyz, Russians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Tatars, Koreans, Dungsans, Turks, and Tajiks. Based on this, it is important for Kyrgyzstan to maintain a balance between ethnic groups, ensure their effective interaction, combat ethnic conflicts, and promote tolerance.

The receptive type of social orientation of youth in Kyrgyz society is characterised by the following: awareness that everything depends on the outside world, dependence and passivity, absorption of ideas rather than their production. Using the example of a passive position in relation to the political situation, one can trace the manifestation

of this social orientation. Kyrgyz people are ready to make a political choice based on the position of other people and commercials. Opinion polls have confirmed that about a third of Bishkek residents recognise interethnic conflicts as one of the important problems of society that the authorities must deal with, but they are not ready to take direct part in this. Exploitative orientation is associated with the use of violent patterns of behaviour and communication within Kyrgyz society. This is evidenced by a fairly high crime rate, in particular, in the cities of Osh and Bishkek. Conflicts, as a rule, arise based on the stigmatisation of traditional ways of life and conservatism, as well as the inheritance of adult behaviour patterns.

The hoarding type of social orientation in Kyrgyzstan manifests itself at the level of attraction to the past and unwillingness to build a future in a multiethnic society. This pattern of behaviour may also be associated with the rapid maturation of young people, the lack of time for internal searches, which is why there is no desire for individualism. At the interethnic level, the hoarding type of social orientation manifests itself through scepticism, hostility to other nations, and Islamophobic sentiments due to the radicalisation of the religious component by some ethnic groups.

The manifestation of the marketing type of social orientation is characterised by an effort to make an impression, to rise, to take advantage of all possible chances, but at the same time, individuals perceive all the benefits (both material and spiritual) as a commodity. Thus, at the level of interethnic relations, there is a sense of superiority of indigenous people over other ethnic groups, in particular, disrespect for elders or a tendency to alcohol are often regarded by Kyrgyz as traits characteristic of Slavs. Because of this, linguistic and cultural discrimination may arise, the manifestations of which can be observed on the example of relations between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in the border area. Productive orientation allows maximising individual character traits and demonstrating growth and development. Such individuals are characterised by calmness, honesty, hard work, productivity at work, and analytical thinking. Opinion polls have confirmed that approximately 60–70% of Kyrgyz youth have a productive orientation.

Priority tasks in further research may include the following: developing a system for assessing the type of social identity, comparing personality types according to sociological surveys, studying the nature and nature of interethnic stereotypes and conflicts. It should be pointed out that when studying multiethnic spaces, it is necessary to conduct new surveys, but also consider the already available statistical results.

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202

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207

Socialne usmeritve mladih v medetničnih interakcijah v multietničnih mestih: primer Biškeka

Izveček

Preučevanje tipov socialnih identitet v Biškeku izhaja iz potrebe po preseganju družbenih stereotipov o posameznih etničnih skupinah ter opredelitvi možnih produktivnih vedenj, ki bi lahko preprečevala medetnične spore. Namen študije, ki se osredotoča predvsem na mlade, stare od 18 do 29 let, je raziskati produktivne in neproduktivne socialne usmeritve v multietničnem mestu Biškek. Metodologija vključuje analizo socioloških podatkov ter statistične, primerjalne, analitične in sintetične metode. Po podatkih popisa iz leta 2022 v Biškeku živi več narodnosti, vključno s Kirgizi, Rusi, Uzbeki, Tatari, Dungani, Kazahstanci in Turki. Študija lahko služi kot referenca za preučevanje medetničnih interakcij v drugih državah ter za opredelitev stereotipov in vzrokov za spore v multietničnih okoljih.

Ključne besede

kirgiška družba, statistični podatki, popis prebivalstva, raziskave, spori