

Resilience: Reimagining Narratives of (Im)mobilities

Resiliencia: reimaginando las narrativas de (in)movilidades

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Abstract

Migration and immobility have long been recognized as strategies of adaptation for communities faced with significant economic, political, social or environmental shocks. In the context of migrating, however, everyday practices of identity and culture allow many migrants to sustain and maintain cultural practices and ethnic identities that tie them back to their home place. Drawing on a longitudinal and multi-sited ethnographic study based on data collected amongst ethnic Kazakhs in Mongolia in 2006-2009 and again in 2015-2016, we argue that migration coupled with everyday practices of cultural traditions and ritual celebrations help strengthen ethnic identities that in turn create avenues for cultural resilience.

Keywords: Cultural resilience, rural women, adaptation, livelihoods, (im)mobilities

Resumen

La migración y la inmovilidad han sido reconocidas desde hace tiempo como estrategias de adaptación para comunidades que enfrentan importantes shocks económicos, políticos, sociales o ambientales. Sin embargo, en el contexto de la migración, las prácticas cotidianas de identidad y cultura permiten a muchos migrantes sostener y mantener prácticas culturales e identidades étnicas que los vinculan con su lugar de origen. A partir de un estudio etnográfico longitudinal y multisituado, basado en datos recolectados entre kazajos étnicos en Mongolia en los períodos 2006–2009 y nuevamente en 2015–2016, sostenemos que la migración, junto con las prácticas cotidianas de tradiciones culturales y celebraciones rituales, contribuye a fortalecer las identidades étnicas, lo que a su vez genera vías para la resiliencia cultural.

Palabras Clave: resiliencia cultural, mujeres rurales, adaptación, medios de vida, (in)movilidades

Introduction and background

Beginning in the early 1990s, Mongolia's social, political and economic systems began a process of transformation from command to capitalist economies, from socialist to democratic governance systems, and from rural pastoral to urban-based livelihoods. Internal migration, particularly towards Ulaanbaatar, the capital of Mongolia, has reshaped livelihoods and opportunities in Mongolia. Simultaneously, Mongolia's land tenure system and pastureland management strategies have co-evolved, and herding, as a livelihood strategy, is becoming increasingly precarious, particularly in higher altitude environments experiencing rapid environmental and climate changes (Chuluun *et al.* 2017). In Mongolia, research related to adaptation and resilience strategies and narratives has largely focused on understanding rangeland management strategies (Xiaoyi and Fernández-Giménez 2012), land use and land tenure changes (Barcus 2018) and managing migration to the capital city (Shugatai *et al.* 2021). Less attention has been focused on the cultural resilience or adaptation strategies. This paper explores gendered practices of cultural resilience in both rural and urban households amongst a small ethnic minority population, specifically the Kazakh population in Mongolia.

The concept of resilience in ecological and social systems continues to evolve. First emerging from ecology (see Folke *et al.* 2002), more recent examinations of resilience explore dimensions including social resilience, environmental resilience, community development resilience (see for example Fischer and McKee 2017 or Beel *et al.* 2017), rural development resilience (Li 2023) and cultural resilience (see for example Holtorf 2018), among other types of resilience. Resilience literatures also illustrate the multi-scalar and varied nature of resilience strategies, inclusive of individual, group, and community scales of resilience.

Following Thiele, Cornelius Holtorf (2016, 36) “define[d] cultural resilience as the capability of a cultural system (consisting of cultural processes in relevant communities) to absorb adversity, deal with change and continue to develop. Cultural resilience thus implies both continuity and change: disturbances that can be absorbed are not an enemy to be avoided but a partner in the dance of cultural sustainability” (Holtorf 2018, 639). The processes of adaptation and resilience are varied and diverse and specific to population and place. Resilience, specifically, is a long-term endeavor in which adaptation to shocks, whether these involve climate change or natural disasters or are centered on social or economic upheaval, becomes central to the continuation of particular communities or ideals.

Cultural resilience also takes a variety of forms. For example, Chandima Dilhani Daskon writes about cultural traditions and their role in rural livelihood sustainability and as a form of cultural resilience in rural Kandyan villages in central Sri Lanka. Glavovic *et al.* argue that “... a sustainable and vibrant livelihood system enables people to pursue robust livelihood strategies that provide, in effect, “layers of resilience” that not only enable people to cope with change, but create the potential to translate adversity into opportunity” (Glavovic *et al.* 2003, 291), which following Glavovic *et al.* (2003) provides “layers of resilience”. Daskon argues that cultural traditions and a vibrant cultural system are part of these layers of resilience (Daskon 2010, 1087). From Holtorf's perspective, cultural heritage contributes to cultural resilience through the maintenance and perpetuation of traditional skills and knowledge, which may have contributed to resilience over a longer time period. This further underscores the importance of cultural heritage in mitigating disaster impacts, specifically because “...heritage values such as a sense of place and belonging [support] people's collective identity and self-esteem” (Holtorf 2018, 640) and promote community capacity for absorbing shocks. In each of these cases, the practice of cultural traditions and sense of identity and belonging produced by the collective participation in these activities, seems to yield higher levels of cultural resilience.

Resilience frameworks and narratives engage ideas of shocks within systems and the ability of communities, and individuals, to absorb these shocks and adapt to changing circumstances. There are a wide range of adaptive strategies that communities and families utilize, based on circumstance, geographic location, economics and climate changes. Amongst these strategies, migration and mobility have long been established as one dimension of adaptation. In this article we argue that migration, coupled with everyday practices of cultural traditions and ritual celebrations help foster ethnic community identities that in turn create avenues for cultural resilience.

Migration and (Im)mobility as Resilience Strategies

Migration plays an important role in community and individual resilience, and is often viewed as an adaptation strategy to changing social, economic and ecological environments (see for example Hunter *et al.* 2015, Gemenne and Blocher 2017, Vinke *et al.* 2020). In many rural communities, families may choose to send one or more family members to an urban center, thereby diversifying potential household incomes through funds sent home to the rural place. In other circumstances, entire families migrate to urban centers to increase access to economic and educational opportunities. Thus migration into and out of rural communities becomes a strategy for economic adaptation. As family members leave and return, permanently or for visits, family members and friends who remain in rural places can become anchors of identity and place-based cultural practices (Barcus and Shugatai 2018). This is increasingly easy with widespread access to social media and mobile phone technologies that now reach even very remote areas. Both the mobile and (im)mobil community members thus play important roles in facilitating cultural resilience.

Mobility and (im)mobility thus play an important role in connecting communities across geographies, fostering social connections that in our modern period, are easily maintained through texting and online social media applications. The flow of information that keeps families and extended kin and friend networks connected, that facilitates various types of temporary or permanent migrations to new locations, can also foster connections to place, local identities, and the perpetuation of traditional practices common in more rural places that might not be easily maintained in an urban location.

Gendered Spaces and Practices

Mobilities are highly gendered and individuals with different gendered identities, as well as different social locations (Pessar and Mahler 2001), engage in mobility and place-making practices differently. A growing literature documents an emerging awareness of the importance of understanding gender and gendered practices as part of the context of rural and resource dependent communities. Several studies (Fernández-Giménez *et al.* 2022, Wilmer and Fernández-Giménez 2016) have noted that much of the literature focusing on Global North resource extractive communities has emphasized the transformation of global economies and specifically rural economies that rely on resource extractive activities and industries (such as mining, agriculture, ranching and pastoral systems), yet failed to pay much attention to the parallel transformation of gender roles in these places). In the Global South, more attention has been paid to women's roles in economic transitions, particularly at the household level (examples for different world regions include Jabeen 2019, Akakpo *et al.* 2025, Malik 2025).

In 1994, Doreen Massey wrote: "The only point I want to make is that space and place, spaces and places, and our senses of them (and such related things as our degrees of mobility) are gendered through and through. Moreover, they are gendered in a myriad of different ways, which vary between cultures and over time. And this gendering of space and place both reflects *and has*

effects back on the ways in which gender is constructed and understood in the societies in which we live.” (Massey 1994, 186).

As Massey notes, gender is ever present in space and place thus making it an imperative dimension of any discussion of culture and cultural resilience. Understanding the more nuanced ways in which space and activities, and by extension traditional or culturally specific activities and spaces are gendered, and how these gendered practices contribute to cultural resilience is essential to understanding how communities foster resilience strategies. Indeed, calls for locally grounded measures of resilience that are culturally aware and based on the community in-place are emerging (see Sterling *et al.* 2017).

Research approach

In previous articles we’ve highlighted the importance of (im)mobile populations as cultural anchors (Barcus and Shugatai 2018), maintaining the rural idyll and creating narratives of place and identity (Barcus and Shugatai 2021), and re-imagining ethnic identities in new locations (Barcus and Werner 2015). In combination with mobility strategies that enhance economic resilience within families in western Mongolia and Ulaanbaatar, strategies for maintaining cultural practices also foster increased resilience. In this paper we explore how everyday practices contribute to socio-cultural resilience amongst and within a minority ethnic community and contextualize the role of migration and (im)mobility as it intersects with gendered framings of household livelihood strategies and the intersection of modern lifestyles with traditional cultural practices. Using data collected between 2006-2009 in remote western Mongolia, and data collected in 2016-2018 in urban households of Ulaanbaatar, we utilize a case study approach to explore these ideas. During our first few field seasons in western Mongolia, we conducted 184 questionnaire-based semi-structured interviews and an additional 28 longer life history interviews. We utilized a nested quota sample that included geography (urban vs. rural), gender, age, and migration status of the household (migrant sending vs. non-migrant). The survey questionnaire included more than 200 questions centered on migration expectations and preferences, household composition and economics. During the second period of data collection, approximately 10 years after the first period, we utilized the same methodology but shifted the focus of the research to Ulaanbaatar, following the dominant flow of migrants from western Mongolia to Ulaanbaatar. In this set of field seasons, we conducted 100 questionnaire-based semi-structured interviews and 36 life history interviews. In addition to the semi-structured and life history interviews in each location and each research period, our understandings were enhanced by participant observation, informal conversations with community members, policy documents, and statistical records. Although a significant wealth of data were collected over the two time periods, we focus specifically on our qualitative data in this paper.

Although we draw on a wide range of data, collected over a 10-year time period, we acknowledge that this is a retrospective look at the changing dynamics of this population and how members of this cultural and ethnic group imagine and practice their identities. We further acknowledge that as scholars from different backgrounds and perspectives we represent both insidership and outsidership and we acknowledge that our own positionalities as women (and for some of us as women from Global North countries) may influence our observations and understandings of these dynamics.

Case Study of Migration and Cultural Resilience Practices

Research Context

The Kazakh population in Mongolia is small, comprising approximately 4.0% of the total population in 2025 and heavily clustered in Mongolia's western provinces (*aimags*) of Bayan Ulgii (76.3%) and Khovd (8.4%) *aimags* and the capital city of Ulaanbaatar (10.1%) (NSOM 2025) (See Figure 1). Beginning in the early 1990s and corresponding with the rapid and dramatic shift to a democratic form of governance and a capitalist economy, a significant portion of Mongolia's Kazakh population migrated to Kazakhstan to escape the ongoing and severe economic crises and food shortages occurring in Mongolia during the transition (Diener 2009). Although many migrants stayed in Kazakhstan, nearly half of the out-migrants returned to Mongolia by the late 1990s and early 2000s (Diener 2009). Between the early 1990s and early 2000s, the flow of migrants between Mongolia and Kazakhstan changed significantly in both total volume of migrants and social and demographic characteristics of migrants (see Barcus and Werner 2010). Migration to Kazakhstan thus allowed many to weather and eventually adapt to the social and economic upheavals of these decades, and adapt to the new market systems and social systems of Mongolia. Although, as noted above, migration is commonly thought of as a strategy for adapting to significant social and economic shocks, it was the members of the population who remained (im)mobile that emerged as key actors in the cultural resilience of this population (Barcus and Shugatai 2018).

Figure 1. Distribution of Ethnic Kazakh Population in Mongolia, 2025.



Source: author's own elaboration

(Im)mobile populations, those who chose not to migrate but rather to remain embedded in rural western Mongolia, continued to engage in a range of traditional practices, including food preparation, textile production, festivals, religious practices and language. As migrants continued to move away from western Mongolia, the (im)mobile population continued on as anchors of rural ethnic identity (Barcus and Shugatai 2018). Using the framework of place elasticity (Barcus and Brunn 2010) and place attachments we argued that migration away from a home community did not necessarily erode place attachments but rather these attachments could be perpetuated through portability, place bonds and permanence. We further argued that place and attachment to place was expressed through narratives of place, material artifacts and practices of place (such

as festivals) (see Barcus and Shugatai 2021). Thus (im)mobile populations play a significant role in perpetuating place attachments and place identities, inclusive of cultural and ethnic identities, for migrants who move away from the home community, temporarily or permanently.

By the mid-2000s, Mongolia's economy was again transforming and transitioning, this time as a rapidly growing economy with significant foreign investment and economic opportunities in Ulaanbaatar and in mining, particularly in the Gobi Desert. An increasing number of Kazakhs moved from western Mongolia to the capital city during this period.

Within rural Kazakh households, particularly in the early 2000s, strong and deeply held gender roles were observed across both herding and non-herding households. As we returned to Mongolia over the following decade, we often observed a softening of these roles, as women, and particularly younger women gained greater levels of education and autonomy from the core household. Evolution of gender roles often coincides with changing economic structures (see O'Shaughnessy and Krogman 2011), and as the Kazakh population in Mongolia has continued to adapt to changing economic conditions, it has also witnessed changes in everyday life, and by extension, everyday cultural practices.

Cultural Resilience Practices

In previous articles we've sought to understand the changing circumstances, challenges and adaptations of this population as they adapted to the rapidly and dramatically changing social and economic conditions in Mongolia (see for example Werner and Barcus 2009, Werner and Barcus 2015, Barcus and Shugatai 2021). We've identified themes that emerged from our data that seem essential to creating and maintaining identities within the Kazakh population as this population sought to adapt to changing social and economic realities in Mongolia and the implications and pressure for various migration strategies as an adaptation measure. We argued that "...the strong place attachments, developed in western Mongolia and perpetuated by Kazakh migrants to Ulaanbaatar, are evolving into a form of rural idyll, which is passed to younger generations through images of bucolic places, material reminders of place and community festivals and celebrations" (Barcus and Shugatai 2021, 105). We further highlighted the importance of strong place attachments and how place-based narratives could enhance home and identity for diasporic communities (Barcus and Shugatai 2021).

In this article, we build on these themes, arguing that in addition to creating place-based narratives of home and identity, re-imagining ethnic identities and seeking to adapt to the rapidly changing social, economic and environmental circumstances in Mongolia, many of these practices foster cultural resilience within the Kazakh community. We argue that migration, coupled with everyday practices of cultural traditions and ritual celebrations help foster ethnic community identities that in turn create avenues for cultural resilience. We further argue that these two domains are often highly gendered. We also recognize that none of these practices are exclusive to men or to women and that participation in everyday and ritual celebrations while often falling within the domain of one or the other gender, often cross-over and compliment.

Cultural resilience as an everyday practice: Textiles, tea making, food production and language

In traditional rural Kazakh households, the domain of women is centered on family care, child raising, food production and material production of textiles and artifacts. These activities and the spaces they inhabit within a home, particularly in western Mongolia denote the importance of the activities to social reproduction and kin keeping. The emphasis placed on these activities varies across household economies and locations. For example, households that spent summer

months in the countryside maintaining herds of sheep and goats, contained more gendered spaces of activities, with women in the household overseeing the production and processing of foods both for daily consumption as well as for longer term preservation, such as cheese production. These *Kigiz Ui*, or felt dwellings, had clearly demarcated areas for the tools utilized by women (cooking, sewing, etc.) and those utilized by men (livestock management, saddles, other tools). Women with whom we spent informal time as well as those we interviewed were perpetually working to maintain the fire, prepare food, and work on various textiles.

In households in town, spaces were less gendered, although the kitchen or cooking areas of homes were largely the domain of women. These in-town homes were more similar to the urban-based apartments in which we conducted interviews during the mid-2000-teens. In these homes, while food production still often fell to the women of the household, textiles and other material artifacts appeared on display, in the form of table coverings, bed coverings, or carpets on the floors. In more urban areas, participation in textile production was limited, but utilization of textiles produced by kin members in rural places was common.

In both household settings, the continued production and use of traditional textiles became a visual symbol of connection to place and ethnic identity (see Barcus and Shugatai 2021). Households of non-Kazakh individuals do not include these particular types of textiles. As Portisch (2009) wrote, the act of sitting on a felted rug, including its aroma of lanolin, and the brightly woven pattern, creates a sense of identity and connection to a larger ethnic group of Kazakh people. Thus, the act of producing and sharing textiles and of displaying and utilizing them within Kazakh households, acts as a form of cultural bolstering – underscoring in subtle ways, a connection to a broader identity and community.

Although both urban and more rural households utilize food and textile production within the households, as a more family-centric or inward-facing practice, Kazakh textiles are also sold by women to support household economies. Several well-known cooperatives sell Kazakh textiles to urban Kazakhs and western tourists. These textiles are largely produced in rural places where women might work at home or in cooperatives and then sell the textiles in Ulaanbaatar or other tourist locations. The shifting of textile production from explicitly family-based and inward-facing to more commercial products for sale provides context for beginning to understand the transformation of gender and gender roles within this community. When migrant women adopt lifestyles where they don't have time to make textiles they might purchase or be gifted textiles produced by members of the community who do not migrate. This practice of maintaining a connection through the visual display of textiles while also embracing lifestyles and work that preclude self-production, allows migrants to maintain connection to their ethnic identities while adapting to more urban life demands.

Language is also an important everyday form of resilience within the Kazakh community. In our early interviews in western Mongolia, all communication within our research was in the Kazakh language. This is the language that all interviewees preferred. Only “official” business (such as banking) or government business was conducted in Mongolian. In this space, the Kazakh language was spoken fluently at home and across the community. Families had the option of sending their children to schools where lessons were taught in Kazakh, Mongolian, or English. Families chose according to the aspirations or expectations of their children, secure in the knowledge that Kazakh was the primary language of everyday life in western Mongolia. In contrast, migration to Ulaanbaatar and the dispersed nature of Kazakh settlement in the city, changed the role of language in everyday life. In Ulaanbaatar, the primary language is Mongolian and children attend schools where they are taught in Mongolian. Speaking Kazakh at home evolved from an expectation to a choice, with many interviewees emphasizing the importance of speaking Kazakh in the home so that children would know the language.

“In my home we always speak in Kazakh...we need to teach our language and culture and traditions to our children” This sentiment was echoed by the majority of our interviewees. Few actively embraced other languages in the home, even if children were taught in Mongolian (or another language) in school or even if the adults in the household were fluent in multiple languages. One respondent noted that “outside of Bayan Ulgii, to be Kazakh is to be an outsider. Kazakhs look different from Mongols and don’t speak Mongolian well – Kazakhs are seen as “other””. This sentiment underscored the importance placed on language as a form of cultural touchpoint of resilience and resistance to what the interviewee considered “integration” into ethnic Khalkh Mongol culture, rather than perpetuating Kazakh culture.

Ritual celebrations: The practice of cultural identities as resilience through festivals and community events

Festivals are another form of cultural practice that bring members of the Kazakh community, and others, together to celebrate distinctive Kazakh ethnic traditions. Kazakh Festivals are unique aspects of Kazakh culture. Two specific festivals are notable, the Eagle Hunting Festivals and Nauryz. Nauryz is known as a distinctly Kazakh practice in Mongolia and is the Kazakh spring celebration of the New Year, typically held in late March and associated with the spring equinox (Amirova 2018). The Eagle Hunting Festivals are a celebration of a “centuries old method of hunting...” utilizing golden eagles that survives within the Kazakh community of western Mongolia (see Soma and Sukhee 2014) and attracts Western tourists. Even if a migrant does not participate, these festivals serve as ethnic markers that help reproduce their ethnic identity (as unique from Khalkh Mongols).

According to Amirova (2018), Nauryz pre-dates the adoption of Islam by the Kazakh khanate in the 15th century and was one of several celebrations and practices that merged traditional “folk” celebrations with Islam. During the Socialist period, Nauryz was not celebrated, but has re-emerged since the 1980s and became an official holiday in Kazakhstan in 1991 (Amirova 2018). Nauryz is gender-inclusive in that all members of the community participate, but men and women have different roles and responsibilities during the festivities (Amirova 2018). In recent years, the Nauryz traditional festival has been celebrated extensively across Mongolia. The participation of the President and Prime Minister and other highest government officials in greeting the Kazakh ethics and attending official festivities reflects state policy aimed at strengthening inter-ethnic unity (See Figure 2). Major organized events in Ulaanbaatar and provinces such as Bayan-Ulgii, Khovd, Darkhan, Erdenet, and Khentii aimags demonstrate the government's focus on preserving national heritage and passing it down to the younger generation (See Figure 3).

Figure 2. Mongolian President U.Khurelsukh congratulates Kazakh people on Nauryz Bayan-Ulgii aimag 22. March 2026.



Source: Photographer Batmunkh Namsarai.

Figure 3. Kazakh family celebrates Nauryz.



Source: Amangul Shugatai, 2026.

Eagle hunting, or falconry, is a traditional practice of hunting foxes with female golden eagles (Soma and Sukhee 2014). The contemporary version of these festivals, according to Soma and Sukhee (2014) were first conceived by two tourist companies in 1998 with the very first festival occurring on October 6, 2000. A second festival was organized in 2002 with a different set of tourism agencies. With successful promotion, the eagle hunters were eventually recognized with national awards in 2008 and in 2011 the practice received “[o]fficial inscription on *The Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* as a ‘living human heritage’” (Soma and Sukhee 2014, 137-138).

Eagle hunting is traditionally a male-centric practice and the public display of the golden eagles and eagle hunters on horseback is an important dimension of promoting Kazakh culture and also delineating Kazakh culture from other ethnic cultures in Mongolia, such as the more dominant Khalkh Mongol ethnicity. McGough frames the relationship between the eagle and the falconer as “co-domesticity,” rather than dominance (McGough 2019), highlighting both the intimate and unique nature of this practice. Not all Kazakhs participate in falconry and the specialized skill set necessary for capturing, taming and training falcons and eagles for hunting are deeply respected within the Kazakh community (Bolat 2016). The historic roots of falconry within the community and the institution of festivals celebrating the practice has become a symbol of Kazakh identity, celebrated officially during the first week of October in western Mongolia (Bolat 2016).

Each of these festivals embraces elements of Kazakh traditions and can trace ties to practices and celebrations that pre-date the 20th century Socialist period. Our 2015-2016 surveys and interviews revealed that many of our respondents were aware of the festivals and attended when they were able to do so. A few respondents noted that these festivals were educational and helped them to learn about their own cultural heritage. The idea of learning or experiencing elements of one's own cultural heritage through the festivals, however, challenges the authenticity of “cultural resilience” through these festivals. On the one hand, the festivals generate excitement around elements of cultural identity and invite a shared sense of ownership of these identities. On the other hand, elements of the festivals, such as noted by Soma and Sukhee (2014) promote the image of cultural processes without adhering to the actual traditions, rather just the image of the traditions.

Concluding thoughts

In this paper we've proposed that socio-cultural resilience is fostered by gendered cultural practices that reaffirm cultural identity and belonging to the Kazakh community. As ethnic minorities in a remote rural community, Kazakh individuals who choose to remain in western Mongolia, rather than migrate to either Kazakhstan or Mongolia, play a key role in fostering such cultural resilience. The ways in which resilience is fostered include everyday cultural practices such as food and textile production and the perpetuation of language fluency at the household level, and ritual celebrations that include festivals that are outward facing but effectively reaffirm cultural identities beyond the home space.

In this paper we explore the linkages between practices of cultural resilience in rural and urban households using two sets of field studies, one in the early 2000s and one in the mid-2000-teens. We continue to explore the role of migration and (im)mobility as it intersects with gendered framings of household livelihood strategies and the intersection of modern lifestyles with traditional cultural practices.

Everyday practices effectively reinforce connections to broader ethnic identities through repetition and participation, and familiarity as they are practiced within more intimate household settings. These practices are highly gendered and oriented to insiders to the community. Ritual

celebrations, in contrast, such as festivals and celebrations, also reinforce connections to ethnic identities, however these practices are marketed equally to insiders and outsiders. These practices have tourist appeal and invite a broader audience to participate in the experience. In doing so, these practices promote ethno-cultural practices amongst co-ethnics and invite participants, regardless of ethnic identity, to participate in the practices.

Cultural resilience has been discussed within the contexts of cultural heritage (Holtorf 2018), cultural traditions (Daskon 2010) and sustainable livelihoods (Glavovic *et al.* 2003). As Holtorf (2018) noted, cultural resilience embodies the ability of a culture to adapt and rebound from significant shocks. The Kazakh population of western Mongolia, through various migration strategies, including short and long-term migrations, continue to foster environments of cultural resilience through their everyday practices and through their outward facing ritual celebrations. Despite critiques about authenticity, specifically around the eagle hunting festivals, both the everyday practices and broader festivals serve to create common experiences and perpetuate cultural practices amongst the Kazakh population. The continued evolution of cultural practices and identification with particular practices of ethnic and cultural identity, foster a sense of belonging and pathway to community resilience through cultural practices.

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