

THE ROLE OF NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITY IN THE DISCOURSE OF THE CONCEPT OF “STATE” AND IN FOREIGN POLICY

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Annotation. The article is devoted to the study of the role of national and religious identities in the emergence of statehood and in the formation of the foreign policy of the state as a subject of international relations. A comparative empirical analysis of the foreign policies of various states indicates the presence of a cause-and-effect relationship between norms formed on the basis of national and religious identities in societies within states and the adoption of foreign policy decisions by the leaders of these countries. This article examines the factor of identity as the basis for the emergence of statehood, as well as the role of national and religious identities as social norms that influence the formation of the external agenda of the state.

Key words: national identity, religious identity, statehood, foreign policy, norms, traditions, culture and international relations.

Аннотация. Мақала мемлекеттіліктің пайда болуындағы және халықаралық қатынастардың субъектісі ретінде мемлекеттің сыртқы саясатын қалыптастырудағы ұлттық және діни ерекшеліктердің рөлін зерттеуге арналған. Өртүрлі мемлекеттердің сыртқы саясатына салыстырмалы эмпирикалық талдау жасау мемлекет ішіндегі қоғамдардағы ұлттық және діни ерекшеліктер негізінде қалыптасқан нормалар мен осы елдер басшыларының сыртқы саяси шешімдерді қабылдауы арасында себеп-салдарлық байланыстың бар екендігін көрсетеді. Бұл мақалада мемлекеттіліктің пайда болуының негізі ретінде бірегейлік факторы, сондай-ақ мемлекеттің сыртқы күн тәртібін қалыптастыруға әсер ететін әлеуметтік нормалар ретіндегі ұлттық және діни бірегейліктердің рөлі қарастырылады.

Түйін сөздер: ұлттық бірегейлік, діни бірегейлік, мемлекеттілік, сыртқы саясат, нормалар, дәстүрлер, мәдениет және халықаралық қатынастар.

Аннотация. Статья посвящена изучению роли национальной и религиозной идентичностей в появлении государственности как таковой и в формировании внешней политики государства как субъекта международных отношений. Сравнительно-эмпирический анализ внешней политики различных государств указывает на наличие причинно-следственной связи между нормами, сформированными на основе национальной и религиозной идентичностей в обществах внутри государств и принятием внешнеполитических решений лидерами данных стран. В данной статье рассмотрен фактор идентичности как основы для возникновения государственности, а также роль национальной и религиозной идентичностей как социальных нормативов, влияющих на формирование внешней повестки дня государства.

Ключевые слова: национальная идентичность, религиозная идентичность, государственность, внешняя политика, нормы, традиции, культура и международные отношения.

Introduction

The definition of the term “state” is quite deep in essence, and should cover not only the

dynamics of elements of internal factors in the format of a certain territory, but also the mechanisms that give passionarity to the

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state-forming nation or ethnic group, that is, the core, which is the source around which statehood is built, and so on shapes its foreign policy, which ultimately determines its place in the international architecture of states. In this vein, important aspects are national and religious identities, in other words, traditions, customs, culture, religion, which are extremely important and should definitely be located at the very heart of the concept of “state” [1].

In this regard, today internal political processes in certain countries are acquiring an extremely important role in formatting trends associated with the colossal influence on public institutions of the growth of national or religious identities, for example, the coming to power of forces with a pronounced nationalist bias or political parties with a religious agenda (political Islam), which in turn can significantly change the country’s foreign policy course and then the overall architecture of regional politics.

This article will examine the role of national and religious identities in the formation of statehood as such and the formation of international relations of the state based on this, and will also analyze such significant factors as the influence of identities in the format of social norms on the formation of the external agenda of the state within the framework of current events processes of globalization that call into question the existing concept of the nation state within the framework of the theories of international relations of releaseism and constructivism.

Materials and methods

The methodological basis for the study was the following methods: comparative, empirical, historical, logical, content analysis, event analysis. The study used scientific and analytical books and online publications, as well as scientific articles from periodicals. In particular, textbook books by such authors as A. Toynbee, S. Huntington, B. Buzan and M. J. Shapiro were used. Moreover, materials from famous authors specializing in the study of national and religious identities were used: “The Return of Culture and Identity in International Relations Theory” written by Y. Lapid, F. Kratochwil, “Global Politics: a new introduction”, edited by J. Edkins and M. Zehfuss, “International Relations: The Key Concepts” written by M. Griffiths, T. O’Callaghan, and S. Roach, “Scientific heritage of Hanafi scientists of Central Asia

and Kazakhstan” written by A. Muminov. The books and articles of famous orientalist authors who devoted their research activities to the study of the specific cultural sphere of influence of Islam were also used: “A History of Saudi Arabia” written by M. Al-Rasheed, “Foreign Policy of Iran after Islamic Revolution” written by F. Soltani, R. Amiri, “Jihad: the Trail of Political Islam” written by G. Kepel.

Identity as the basis for state formation

Today, there is a debate in the scientific community regarding what should be understood by the term “state”. The first group, which constitutes the bulk of the literature in describing the “state,” draws on the political sciences on the one hand and the sociological on the other. In summary, analysis of the first group of literature indicates that the cornerstone of this group is based on the dichotomy between “state” and “society” within any country, and on the attempt to understand how these categorical units interact with each other. The watershed separating these two concepts leads directly to the definition of “state” in Weberian terms, where the state and society are considered as completely separate phenomena, and the state is described only in terms of political terminology. If we approach the understanding from this point of view, then the term “state” can be considered directly as a managerial bureaucracy, in other words, a “government” that has a monopoly on violence [2, p. 646].

The second group of debaters comes from the traditional approach of the discipline of International Relations Theory. In this format, the “state” is considered, in general, as a political-territorial entity that exists in an international hostile or friendly environment of similar entities. Accordingly, the state is a subject of international relations, in constant interaction with other subjects of international relations, which is part of a complex international architecture. In the perspective of such a mechanism, everyone is forced to consider the “state” not only as a territorial socio-political entity, but also as a subject that is influenced by other subjects of international relations and international law [3, pp. 66-67].

At the same time, both points of view give us the necessary objective content for ripening the question of identity on which the state as such is built. There must be a foundation - ethnic, religious, cultural,

linguistic, which provides the concept of identity and the right to historically justify its existence and legitimacy in order to carry out actions in its territorial operational space [4, pp. 85-107]. Conceptualization of the identities on which a nation is based occurs at the statehood stage of any nation, and therefore, understanding the “state” requires a comprehensive approach and both the above points of view are important.

In this regard, the research of any state, including its foreign policy, requires a focus that carefully takes into account the nature of the state, social norms emanating from cultural uniformity or diversity, traditions and faiths, their antagonism, hostility or tolerance, and not only the type of government and the ideology of the ruling Political Party. In “The Clash of Civilizations”, Huntington places their civilizational nature as the main determining phenomenon of the politics of states, and his logic is nothing more than a continuation of the logic of A. Toynbee and his thoughts in the work “Civilization before the Judgment of History” [5, pp. 33-48). Toynbee not only legitimizes the global civilizational approach to the consideration of the historical process, including the political logic of states, but also defines the axiom that any state, having reached the apogee of its power and turning into an empire, will always and everywhere strive to impose on the world values of its civilization, since this is essentially the purpose of growing its identity [6, p. 116].

According to Buzan [3, 83-88], the political form of organization of society can be defined as a state if there are certain structural components, the most important of which is the basic ideology, which expresses the spiritual component of the nation. This component can largely determine the goals and objectives of the state. For example, in all the republics that gained independence after the collapse of the USSR, an extremely important task was set - to develop their own ideology, which would be based on national identity. In Kazakhstan, after gaining independence in 1991, attempts were made more than once to form and express its national ideology. The search for identity began with a revision of historical facts and “blind spots.” We can distinguish two main historical stages that were used in search of support for strengthening national identity: the first is the formation of statehood within the framework of acquiring the ethnonym “Kazakh”, the history of the formation of

Kazakh statehood within the Kazakh Khanate; the second is the loss of independence, being part of the Russian Empire and the USSR, in other words, the history of the struggle and long journey of the Kazakh people to their modern independence from the anti-colonial uprisings of the 18th century, further from the idealization of the Alashorda movement to the sacralization of the December 1986 events.

Over the past three decades, Kazakhstani scientists (historians, anthropologists, sociologists, religious scholars, political scientists) have done a tremendous amount of work, each in their own field, in order to restore the historical heritage and develop an adequate national ideology. There are many options and approaches, depending on internal and external factors that put pressure on the formation of ideology, but the main basis is the same: the national identity of Kazakhstan is determined based on its titular nation - the Kazakhs, therefore, from a civilizational perspective, the territories where the Kazakhs lived, and more ancient ethnic groups according to Toynbee are defined as a civilization of nomads; from the point of view of geopolitical history, before the period of colonization by Russia, the Kazakh Khanate is the heir to the ulus of Jochi and the Golden Horde; Ethnically, Kazakhs are identified as Turks; religiously, they are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi madhhab with features of the ethnocultural heritage of Sufi tariqats [7, p. 216]. In historical and economic retrospect, Kazakhstan, trying to comply with the spirit of globalization, positions itself as an important continental port of the world's first transnational trading system - the Great Silk Road, declaring itself a key partner of China in the implementation of the ambitious "One Belt - One Road" program [8, pp. 675-692]. Thus, based on the significant components of ideology, it is possible to determine the open declared goals and objectives of any state.

Accordingly, if we take to account into consideration, for example, at the ideological base of such competing Middle Eastern states as Saudi Arabia and Iran, the following picture emerges. In the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, objectively, attention is drawn to the prominent religious component, where religious identity plays a dominant role over all other ideological aspects. Saudi Arabia, in a civilizational, religious, and historical focus, positions itself as the custodian of two shrines of the Islamic world (the Sacred Mosques in Mecca and Medina), thereby presenting itself as the heir

of Islamic civilization [9, pp. 39-69]. From the point of view of the ethnic and linguistic component – Semites and Arabs. In the historical narrative of the formation of the Kingdom, a serious emphasis is placed on the liberation of the territory of the Arabian Peninsula, and most importantly, Hijaz, from the yoke of the Ottoman Empire and the return of the Arabs to the fold of orthodox Islam through the uprising of the Arabian tribes of the central part of the Najd Peninsula, inspired by the Puritan ideology of Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abd al- Wahhab al-Tamimi - the founder of the Wahhabi movement of the Sunni branch of Islam [9, pp. 39-69].

Considering the above components, despite all the modern reforms of the current government towards the liberalization of the country's citizens, the developed oil industry and the inclusion of Riyadh in the globalization process, it is quite natural that the basic ideology of Saudi Arabia remains, which determines the country's internal policy and influences the external policy throughout the existence of the Kingdom, where religious identity is a fundamental factor.

Regarding Iran: the ideological base after the Islamic Revolution of 1979 was built entirely on the revolutionary agenda of Imam Khomeini, and is consolidating the Shia bloc throughout the region with anti-Sunni propaganda. Regarding Iran: the ideological base after the Islamic Revolution of 1979 was built entirely on the revolutionary agenda of Imam Khomeini, and is consolidating the Shia bloc throughout the region with anti-Sunni propaganda [10]. The main ethnic and linguistic component of Iran is Persian; in terms of geopolitical history, Iran is the heir to the Persian Empire.

At the same time, Iran is a complex multi-ethnic conglomerate where, despite the fact that the Persians are the nation-forming component, the Azerbaijanis and Kurds have potentially enormous influence. Moreover, it should be noted that historically the Persian Empire was ruled for many centuries by the Safavid and Qajar dynasties, who were ethnically Turkic, but by religion Shi'ite Muslims [11, p. 2].

In this regard, Reza Shah Pahlavi failed in building a nationalist path like Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Turkey, due to the ethnic ambiguity of the regions of Iran, and Reza Shah sought to preserve the monarchy with the message of the imperialist past, while Turkey went through a painful transformation

from a monarchy to a republic. The year 1979 revealed the contradictory ideology of monarchical Iran; the Islamic revolution became the vehicle for the transformation of Iran from a monarchy to a republic, but with a shift in emphasis from national to religious identity.

Considering the rich monarchical-imperialist past of the Islamic Republic of Iran, as well as the official ideology of Khomeinism, Iran today is a religious Shiite project with the imperialist ambitions of the Persians under the tyrannical umbrella of which small nations are awakening, beginning to dream of independence, for example, the Kurds [12].

Thus, the ideological component of any state reveals the main basis of the country's foreign policy; identity cannot be deeply veiled. Behind the veil of international declarations, treaties, agreements of intent for eternal friendship or economic unions, behind situational strategic partnerships, it is always possible to determine the deep true genesis of the state, arising from its civilizational factor, cultural layer, ethnic and religious norms and attitudes, which sooner or later or in another form will manifest themselves in the foreign policy of a given state formation. The ideology of any state, formed on the sources of national and religious identity, is a marker of its hidden or open goals and objectives in foreign policy.

Further, according to Buzan, the structural components of the state, without which it cannot be defined as a full-fledged subject of international relations, are management methods [3, pp. 66-67]. That is, if a community is a state, it must have the ability to carry out the functions of ensuring civil order, distributing collective goods and protecting the population from external threats. In other words, the state must have a developed system of bureaucratic apparatus, which should include executive, legislative, administrative and judicial powers, as well as an effective framework of regulatory legal acts regulating public relations between the population and government.

In addition, Buzan necessarily includes in the concept of "state" such physical components as population, natural and artificial resources [3, pp. 66-67]. The first of them, the main one, is a certain number of the population of a specific ethnic, linguistic, cultural (religious) group, since without a specific autochthonous population as such, the existence of a state at a given historical stage is not possible.

This principle is of utmost importance, for example, at different historical stages, some nations tried to carry out physical destruction, ethnic cleansing, forced deportations of other nations or ethnic groups, in order to deprive them of claims to a certain territory due to their physical absence on it or small numbers, as a result of which the nation or ethnic group was unable to organize itself into a political core and then into a state.

In light of this issue, we can mention the genocide of the Armenian population by the military forces of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War [13, pp. 21-52]. Some of the latest striking examples: the ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Muslims (Srebrenica) by Serbian and Croatian militias during the collapse of Yugoslavia 1991-2001. [14, p. 97]. Also in a similar historical period, ethnic cleansing of the Azerbaijani population took place by the military forces of the unrecognized Nagorno-Karabakh Republic of Artsakh, the events went down in history as the "Khojaly Massacre" [15, pp. 233. – 365].

In the modern period, one can note the policy of apartheid and the unrecognized genocide of the Arab population in the Gaza and throughout Palestine, which has been going on for more than half a century during the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict due to territorial claims against each other [16]. At the same time, what makes this age-old conflict unique is the fact that the religious identity of the warring nations plays a key role here. Ideological confessional justification for the claims of the Jewish people to Jerusalem as the historical Old Testament cradle of Judaism and the Temple of Solomon, as well as the Arab Muslim population as the third holiest shrine of the Islamic world - the Al-Aqsa Mosque. In addition, there is also a historical claim by followers of almost all branches of Christianity to Jerusalem as a shrine where the founder of the religion, the prophet Jesus (Holy Sepulcher), is buried. All of these listed claim factors sharpen the religious identity of the opposing nations, and, accordingly, religious groups, making this conflict go far beyond the framework of international law and international relations with all their tools for resolving international conflicts.

Thus, understanding the above components, especially the ideological base, which is formed from sources such as culture, tradition and religion, and the physical component (ethnic component of the population), which should be included in the

concept of "state", implies that despite the presence the vast majority of states have common features in accordance with international law (legislation, government, territory, economy, membership in international organizations, etc.), in essence they are fundamentally different. This conclusion is extremely important for understanding the nature of the contradictory behavior of certain countries, despite their possession of similar international legal external characteristics.

Monopoly in the twentieth century of the school of realism and neorealism in the science of International Relations left its indelible mark in the form of considering the "state" according to the above-mentioned developed legal external characteristics. The schools of liberalism and neoliberalism with an ultra-globalist approach, where economic aspects became the determining factor in international relations, aggravated the marginalization of ethnic, cultural, traditional and religious components.

Definitions of the concept of "state" in its traditional form, imposed by realists, which seem so irreplaceable to us and formed the basis of the science of International Relations, today in the era of postmodernity and the crisis of globalization and the model of neoliberalism, do not correspond to new realities. Some scholars are increasingly opposed to the use of traditional definitions of "state", and, moreover, express doubts as to whether the "state" will remain as a principle source of political power in the near future. As, for example, Bartelson noted, the state is increasingly being challenged by new forms of power and communities that have become capable of transcending the established boundaries between internal and external factors, and therefore the state in its traditional sense will be replaced by other forms of political power, which, for example, will be alien to the concepts of "sovereignty", "territorial affiliation", "state ideology" [17, pp. 1-29].

Today we can observe what colossal political resources transnational corporations can possess, whose power is much more mobile and has tactical maneuverability. States, unlike corporations, where decisions are made only by a board of directors, are burdened by borders, constitutions, parliaments and bureaucratic procedures. The same corporate discretion is observed in international criminal communities, traditional

communities and diaspora systems. A similar system is observed in religious organizations, both legal and terrorist. As a result, today the state as a mechanism is not able to control TNCs, criminal communities (drug cartels, illegal trafficking in drugs, weapons, people, human organs), and terrorist organizations. In a globalized world, cross-border export of radical and destructive ideologies is becoming commonplace.

Thus, components such as the ethnic component (national identity), the confessional component (religious identity), which are traditionally considered to be included in the concept of “state,” today are increasingly becoming de facto supranational components, that is, going beyond its classical understanding. For example, integration processes based on the ethnic component (pan-Turkism, the Turan project, pan-Arabism, the League of Arab States, etc.). Also for example, integration processes based on religious affiliation (Organization of Islamic Cooperation). Moreover, the network and cells of religious organizations, both legal and illegal, since religious identity becomes a supranational factor. For example, the Taliban movement, at present, is no longer, as at the dawn of its formation, only Pashtun in ethnic retrospect; today, after the unification of the Taliban with the Hekmatyarites, this movement is becoming more international and complex (Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Uyghurs, Khorezmians).

In addition, critics of the traditional definition of the “state” argue that the destructive effects of globalization will ultimately lead to the fact that the “state” will collapse and be marginalized, the peoples will again have to, however, in a new capacity, comprehend the classical stages of development: the traditional tribal, urban republic and empires like Rome [17, pp. 1-29]. If this is so, then a reasonable question arises: why is the concept of “state” still used and studied, as well as the factors of “identities” considered as components of the “state”? The answer may be thought on this matter: “the ‘state’ is one of the most abstract components in International Relations, but also the most central concept” [3, p. 74]. In other words, when explaining aspects of international relations, this can only be done by criticizing or defending a particular state, along with all the components included in this concept.

Therefore, despite the elusive and complex nature of the concept of “state,”

researchers, especially from the school of constructivism, making “identities” the central object of analysis for a number of important reasons, study them in the format of a particular state. Since the state, as a behavioral unit, needs to determine the nature of creation, due to anthropomorphic aspects: life cycle, growth, development, extinction, and this is clearly analyzed through the prism of national and religious identities. Also, the state, along with the challenges - new subjects of international relations (TNCs, transnational criminal communities, terrorist organizations, etc.), is still the most powerful unit of international relations and, in the form of political organization, a universal standard of legitimacy, which is built on the ideological basis of the country. In other words, “identity” is an essence, and “state” is a form of essence and an instrument for implementing policy, including managing the population in a specific territory and coercing it.

The role of national and religious identities as social norms influencing the formation of the state’s external agenda.

The state, represented by the state bureaucratic apparatus, can act in adherence to the social norms of the population, or it can act in relative independence from them. It depends on how much norms play an important role, and how much the state apparatus and elite depend on the norms dictated by the cultural aspects of identities.

Thus, social norms are very significant in explaining the foreign policy of countries, especially traditional ones with a high degree of religiosity and conservatism. The state, as discussed above, according to some constructivists, is an abstract concept, therefore, it is difficult to predict its actions, since it is simply a form, not an essence. Therefore, traditional explanations of classical theories do not take into account this essence, which is formed, as mentioned above, from identities that at a certain point in the historical period the population of the country absorbed or developed.

In order to predict the actions of countries that are highly dependent on norms, some scholars resort to role-playing theory [18]. In each individual case, the role-game theory approach in international relations addresses specifically the ontology of countries' foreign policies, focusing on role concepts and social norms common in the

countries analyzed [19, pp 8-10). Roles can be defined as functions within a group of participants, a socially recognized category. The collective expectation regarding behavior for a particular individual, right or wrong, is analyzed. A role is derived as a “repertoire of behavior”, derived from the collective and the individual, which gives a certain response to certain demands or provocations [20, pp. 23-25].

It is necessary to understand that the state consists of individuals bound together in a collective political unit, however, in theoretical discussions regarding the emergence of the state, attempts to conceptualize identities at the state level reach a dead end [3]. It is in such cases that role-playing theory proves its value by offering a model of international interaction based on the influence of norms on fundamental state institutions, as well as on the connections between changes in norms that occur due to transformations of national and religious identities, and, accordingly, foreign policy and interests of the state. In such cases, the state bureaucratic apparatus can only take the form of arbitration and take on certain constituent functions, similar to the powers of international organizations, which, for example, are forced to take into account certain characteristics of different countries when interacting with them.

From the perspective of social role play theory, such identity-based socialization can be viewed as a role-playing process occurring between actors in role-playing relationships in the same ideological stream. Every role an actor attempts to take on generates an opposing role to form a relationship. There are also roles relative to hierarchy in the international structure. In some countries, for example, sovereignties are very formal and limited; other countries have relatively more independence, but must still be as flexible as possible at all times. The theory of role-playing games explains the behavior of countries whose leaders are constantly forced to maneuver at the intersection of factors of internal social normative pressure and external ones. Leveling contradictions, coordinating competing demands, where social standards based on the identities of a given nation collide with external social standards, this is all the normal state of states at the middle level of the world hierarchy, where the bureaucracy tries to maintain the functionality of the state, which is above internal social standards, in order to

have the operating space of an international actor [21].

As constructivists argue, without analyzing norms and clarifying a clear identity of the nation, state actions will be incomprehensible and inexplicable [22, pp. 51-53]. Norms determine the meaning of specific actions, and of course, unwritten rules for a country's foreign policy, which in some cases may be prohibited, and in others, encouraging. Followers of the constructivist approach argue that many states refrain from conflict not only on the basis of such materialistic factors as the balance of power, or economic inexpediency, but because of certain social norms and rules arising from the national identity of the state, for example, the principled adherence to treaties prescribed some religious rules as a postulate, hence the practice of strict adherence to international norms, and this is a key point in explaining the foreign policies of some countries [22, pp. 51-53]. In the identity-based approach, the state is seen as inextricably linked to its national or religious identities, and foreign policy as an extension of a particular identity.

When studying the role of national and religious identities in foreign policy formation, it is important to reflect a theoretical framework that explains the process of public policy change and reveals the causal and determining consequences of identities for foreign policy. It is necessary to focus first on two important normative elements that shape discussions about the possibility of changing identities: socialization and normative evolution.

Identities are social constructs that shape the state as a social actor in foreign policy; states, interacting with each other, create social reality. Each state is concerned about its ontological essence, since this means a conscious explanation of itself, its image, to be understandable to other subjects of international relations. In other words, in international relations there are ontological hypostases that each state operates on, proving its right to exist, answering questions about its content, ideology, values, and moreover, how this state perceives others based on its values.

In such a perspective, national and religious identities become a kind of symbols by which the country and its significance for the outside world are defined, which is nothing more than a manifestation of the state's foreign policy. Identity itself is a historical construct,

developed under the influence of internal and external factors over a period of time, and which became the source of the emergence of the state as a set of public and bureaucratic institutions. Thus, identity can be combined with the state image and positioning of the state in the international arena, and the possession of any status [23, pp. 3-5].

It should also be noted that over time, identities as social norms tend to change, strengthen or weaken. At times, at one time or another in history, the leaders of certain countries have attempted to influence the strengthening, weakening or adjustment of national or religious identities, taking into account a variety of circumstances, economic, technological, international, social, among others, in the context of the changing power structure in dynamic international relations [23, pp. 3-5].

For example, Türkiye can serve as a striking example. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, having come to power, carried out large-scale reforms. In an attempt to strengthen the role of social norms associated with national identity, he weakened the role of religious social norms [24, pp. 77-89]. At the same time, today, a hundred years later, one can observe how the new leader of the Republic of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, on the contrary, is trying to restore and strengthen social norms associated with religious identity, which naturally relegates to the background the role of the social norm of national identity built by Atatürk [25].

Another example is Iran, where until 1979, Shah Pahlavi, whose ideal was Atatürk, tried, based on the experience of Turkey, to strengthen, but unsuccessfully, patriotism based on social norms associated with the national identity of the Persians, and to impose a social standard of secularism on an extremely religious population, causing the opposite effect and rejection of the population from Shahai's policies. However, all this led to a successful Islamic revolution under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini, who radically strengthened the existing religious identity of the population, building an absolute theocratic state [26, pp. 106-135].

Also, social norms built on identities can be a kind of guideline for state policy in the segregation of states into friendly, enemy or partner. For example, in the mid-twentieth century, the social norm of Arab nationalism

played an integration role between Arab countries that took a course towards socialism in the ideological form of the Baathist Party. For Iran, after the Islamic revolution of 1979, the factor of Shiite integration became extremely important, which today involves the Shiite population of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Yemen, Bahrain, the eastern part of Saudi Arabia, some provinces of Afghanistan and the southern regions of Azerbaijan. Accordingly, integration with related countries on the basis of a Turkic national identity with a Sunni religious component has always been important for Turkey. Recently, we can note the facts of special strategic partnership and mutual assistance between countries whose religious or national identity has a common characteristic. One of the striking and relevant examples is the provision of financial and military support by Turkey to Turkic Azerbaijan in the confrontation with Armenia in the Karabakh war of 2020 [27]. Another modern example is Iran's military support for the Bashar al-Assad regime in Syria, where the ruling elite professes Alawism, one of the branches of Shiite Islam [28, pp. 11-29].

The essence of such integration processes lies not only in the strategic justification of their ambitions by the leading countries and in the search for a foothold, but also in the desire to strengthen and preserve the identity to which the powers appeal when pursuing their foreign policy. Such countries, collaborating with countries with related identities, strengthen the influence of their social norm, both religious and national in general, and in some cases even save it if it is in danger of disappearing. In other words, identity with all its social norms, to which the state appeals, can determine strategic relations between countries.

Thus, it becomes clear that states operate within intersecting social norms and historical contexts that shape the national and religious identity of a nation. As a result, their roles are a priori either in a potentially strategic partnership or in a potentially conflicting state.

Conclusion

Thus, when considering the role of national and religious identities in the formation of statehood and the influence of these factors on the formation of the country's foreign policy, it becomes obvious that norms formed on the basis of national and religious identities can be extremely important aspects,

and in some circumstances, key as for both domestic and foreign policy of the state.

The core of a state entity is usually a group of people who essentially represent a particular nation and language, have or aspire to have a certain territory as an historical homeland, share common myths, culture, traditions, religion, historical facts, have common rules, rights or responsibilities for all members groups, and have markers to distinguish them from other nations. Thus, national identity is a set of concepts that arose over the course of a historical period, modified and somewhere adopted due to the changing reality and necessary to determine the collective character, gain sovereignty and common will for the formation of a state with its own internal normative field and concept, which is the identifier of the nation in the external arena.

In this regard, the dependence of state policy on national and religious identities is an important factor not only for the analysis of foreign policy, but also for determining the historical conceptual paradigm of the state, its collective idea of its own political values. In a stable and mature state, where the bureaucracy and elites do not ignore identities,

but always try, through certain social institutions, to analyze the processes associated with them and create the conditions necessary for the self-awareness of the nation, this can play a key role in the adoption of internally verified and beneficial for the country and foreign policy decisions. Elite actions that take national and religious identities into account during periods of regime stability can pay dividends during periods of destabilization. At a certain point, elites must always have an asset that has a consolidating factor for society. In foreign policy, based on the influence of identities, the state will always be a potential opponent for some, and a potential partner for other states.

Thus, national and religious identities sharpen the internal policies and influence the external ones that the state implements. At the same time, foreign policy activities and identities can have the effect of mutual correlation and complementation. Interaction with other states equalizes the balance of influence of identities, provides a maneuverable opportunity both for self-determination of the state in the external arena and for becoming part of any international community.

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«МЕМЛЕКЕТ» ТҮСІНІГІНІҢ ДИСКУРСЫНДАҒЫ ЖӘНЕ СЫРТҚЫ САЯСАТТАҒЫ ҰЛТТЫҚ ЖӘНЕ ДІНИ БІРЕГЕЙЛІКТІҢ РӨЛІ Асқар БАТТАЛОВ*,

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РОЛЬ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ И РЕЛИГИОЗНОЙ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ В ДИСКУРСЕ ПОНЯТИЯ «ГОСУДАРСТВА» И ВО ВНЕШНЕЙ ПОЛИТИКЕ

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