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INDICATORS OF THE PROCESS OF RELIGIOLIZATION

Varieties of diverse factors and conditions have determined a complex process of religiousization. Its features in Kazakhstan are synchronized with the societal shifts of modernity. The substantive basis of the process is religiosity as an integral state of mental culture, which has various projections and determinations for individuals, social groups and society as a whole. The essence and dynamics of religiosity, its scale, vectors, and influences are presented as a process of religiousization and are the subject of research. Religiolization is not always an obvious phenomenon, and it requires the actualization of interdisciplinary capabilities (methodologies, methods, and practices) in specific socio-cultural country contexts. In order to identify the factors and indicators of religiousization, the manifestation of specificity, the detection of trends, and the analysis of trends, a factual basis of specific social dimensions is needed. These include monitoring the religious situation, the study of religious identification, assessment of the perception of the institution of religion, its role and functions, and analysis of the influence of significant political actors on the religious process. The analysis of social dimensions, theoretical reconstruction, and conceptualization by means of modern socio-humanitarian studies contribute to the institutionalization of the sociology of religion. The practical orientation is related to the understanding of the modern religious process as significant for the formation of the Kazakh mentality in the conditions of the postsecularity.

Key words: indicators of religiousization, postsecularity, religion, religiosity, the functions of religion.

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Діндарлану үдерісінің индикаторлары

Діндарлану күрделі процесін әр түрлі факторлар мен жағдайлар анықтайды. Оның Қазақстандағы ерекшеліктері қазіргі заманның әлеуметтік өзгерістермен үндестірілген. Бұл процестің субстантивті негізі менталды мәдениеттің интегралды күйі ретіндегі діндарлық болып табылады, ол индивидтер, әлеуметтік топтар, жалпы қоғам үшін әртүрлі проекциялар мен детерминацияларға ие. Діндарлықтың мәні, динамикасы, оның ауқымы, векторлығы, әсері діндарландыру процесі ретінде көрінеді және зерттеу нысаны ретінде әрекет етеді. Діндарландыру – әрдайым айқын құбылыс емес, ол нақты әлеуметтік-мәдени елдік жағдайларда пәнаралық мүмкіндіктерді (әдіснамалар, әдістер, практикалар) өзектендіруді талап етеді. Діндарлану факторларын анықтау және индикаторларын, ерекшеліктерін көрсету, тенденцияларды анықтау, трендтерді талдау үшін нақты әлеуметтік өлшемдердің фактологиялық базасы қажет. Олардың ішінде: діни жағдайға мониторинг жүргізу, діни сәйкестендіруді зерттеу, дін институтының қабылдауды бағалау, оның рөлі мен функцияларын көрсету, саясаттың маңызды субъектілерінің діни процестерге әсерін талдау. Әлеуметтік өлшемдерді талдау, теориялық тұрғыдан қайта құру, тұжырымдамалау қазіргі социогуманитаристиканың көмегімен дін әлеуметтануының институционализациясына ықпал етеді. Зерттеудің практикалық маңыздылығы заманауи діни процесті постсекулярлық жағдайда қазақстандық менталитетті қалыптастыру үшін маңызды құрал ретінде түсінуге байланысты.

Түйін сөздер: дінтану индикаторлары, постсекулярлық, дін, діндарлық, дін функциялары.

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Индикаторы процесса религиолизации

Многообразие разнопорядковых факторов и условий определили сложный процесс религиолизации. Его особенности в Казахстане синхронизированы с социетальными сдвигами современности. Субстантивным основанием процесса выступает религиозность как интегральное состояние ментальной культуры, имеющее различные проекции и детерминации для индивидов, социальных групп и для общества в целом. Сущность, динамика религиозности, ее масштабность, векторность, влияния предстают как процесс религиолизации и выступают предметом исследования. Религиолизация – не всегда очевидный феномен, он требует актуализации междисциплинарных возможностей (методологий, методов, практик) в конкретных социокультурных страновых условиях. Для опредмечивания факторов и выделения индикаторов религиолизации, проявления специфики, обнаружения тенденций, анализа трендов необходима фактологическая база конкретных социальных измерений. В их числе: мониторинг религиозной ситуации, исследования религиозной идентификации, оценка восприятия института религии, ее роли и функций, анализ влияний на религиозный процесс значимых субъектов политики. Анализ социальных измерений, теоретическая реконструкция, концептуализация средствами современной социогуманитаристики способствуют институционализации социологии религии. Практическая направленность связана с пониманием современного религиозного процесса как значимого для формирования казахстанской ментальности в условиях постсекулярности.

Ключевые слова: индикаторы религиолизации, постсекулярность, религия, религиозность, функции религии.

Introduction

The processes of religiousization of Kazakhstani society have been intensively developing since the 1990s under the influence of multidirectional global trends, on the one hand, and are acquiring a special specificity, on the other. Deideologization and deideologization have initiated a redefinition of the status, role and possibilities of the institution of religion in the life of Kazakhstani society. Religion and religiosity have become the defining coordinates of the worldview and way of life for a significant number of citizens. Religious self-identification turned out to be significant in the structure of identity. The transformation of the worldview mentality of Kazakhstanis acts as a matrix for the reconstruction of the process of religiousization of society. In public and political discourse, the issue of religion is constantly present, and the influence of religion is scaled up in everyday practices. This is the specificity of the post secular period of religion in modern conditions. Contextually relevant for scientific reflection were the areas of religious studies related to the analysis of Kazakhstan's perception of the institution of religion, religious self-identification, religious choice, and involvement in the modern religious process.

During the period of sovereignty, there was a fundamental change in the methodological and axiological paradigms in different spheres of influence

on the worldview mentality, including in socio-humanitarian science and in education, in ideology. The role and influence of institutions and actors influencing the formation of worldviews has changed (the family, the system of upbringing, education, education, the media, the Internet, etc.). The dynamics of attitudinal self-identification (including religious identity) at the level of society, groups, and individuals is relevant because of the high degree of incorporation of religious contexts into everyday practices – on the one hand, and the uncertainty of the role and significance of institutional factors and their impact on the development of society and human capital – on the other. The scientific and practical necessity of studying the process of religiousization lies in the fact that in recent years the state has abdicated its regulatory role in influencing the religious process, and this approach contributes to the increasing influence of religious and quasi-religious institutions as models of socialization, the scaling of religious lifestyle and confrontation with the value regulators.

Justification of the choice of articles and goals and objectives

One can recreate a picture of religiosity in secularly oriented Kazakhstan by applying sociological measurements. Of great importance are their temporal dimension, the unity of methodological

principles, reliability of methodology, and comprehensive verification. Since the religious situation is unique in specific socio-cultural realities, its condition and trends cannot be commensurate with other country-specific analogues. A theoretical reconstruction of the process, based on an inconsistent factual basis, is required. Thus, the study of the process of religiousization has certain methodological conditions. They are determined not only by the choice of a new object of research, but also by the substantiation of its subject specificity, including the determination of the type of research, the choice of methods, the relationship of novelty and practical relevance.

This stage of the study of the process of religiousization is associated with the conceptualization of sociological measurements of 2021 on a representative sample in all regions of Kazakhstan. The study was conducted in the conditions of pandemic associated with the spread of coronavirus infection in the territory of Kazakhstan, but against the background of significantly relaxed quarantine restrictions. The adult population of Kazakhstan, aged 18-65 years, men and women, living in urban and rural areas of Kazakhstan in 14 regions and 3 cities of national importance were the subject of the study.

Scientific research methodology

The research methodology, research program were developed by the authors of the project and the field stage (from August 12 to September 9, 2021) and statistical processing of results was conducted by the Center for Business Information, Sociological and Marketing Research "BISAM Central Asia" (under the scientific supervision of the BISAM President, Dr. Sociology Professor L. Gurevich), on request of the Institute of Philosophy, Political Science and Religious Studies of the Ministry of Education and Science of Kazakhstan. Direct management of the field sociological research was carried out by A. Skuratov, head of BISAM's Integrated Research Department.

The main part

Population survey was conducted in the technique of personal formalized interview, by Face-to-Face method (in Kazakh or Russian, depending on the respondent's preferences) with observance of all sanitary-epidemiological measures. The questionnaire was programmed on specialized platform Survey Studio, designed for public opinion polling

on tablet computers (CAPI method – Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing). The usage of CAPI method excludes the data input stage, which is peculiar to the classical paper survey. Survey Studio software allowed to control the course of fieldwork in the operational mode: to observe the real-time implementation of sampling by regions, to coordinate the work of regional teams, to carry out audio control of the data. The study used a random multi-stage cluster sample, representing regional (oblast), settlement, gender and age, and national characteristics of the general population. The sample size was 1,500 people. Sampling error at the 95% confidence interval did not exceed $\pm 2.5\%$. Representation of the structure of the general population in the sample was ensured by quoting by sex and age and national characteristics, by region (oblast) of residence. The database was processed using specialized software IBM SPSS (version 29). The processing stage of the database included procedures for coding open-ended responses. Based on the hypotheses proposed by the executors of the project, the significance of the dependencies was tested in the process of data analysis. The linear and multifactorial dependencies found to be significant were displayed and interpreted in additional material in the form of linear distributions and cross tabulations.

A mass survey of the population solved the problem of studying indicators of the religiousization process: the perception of the role and significance of the institution of religion in the life of individuals, groups, and society in terms of its functional significance; the dynamics and state of religious self-identification; the influence of religious faith/belief in a religious organization on the realization of civil rights and obligations, etc.

In order to assess the processes of religiousization in Kazakhstan, to identify the specifics and determine the impact on the development of Kazakhstani society and human capital, a formalized survey of three expert cohorts was conducted. The following tasks were addressed: a) to clarify the role and functions of religion in relation to the trends of its involvement in the political context; b) to highlight the most significant conditions and factors that have determined the religious situation in Kazakhstan in the 1990s and at present; c) to demonstrate the positive and negative consequences of religiousization processes in Kazakhstan during the years of independence, etc.

The semi-formalized interview method was used, which was based on filling out a questionnaire using Survey Studio software. Thirty experts

aged 26 and over from Almaty, Nur-Sultan, Shymkent, and 14 oblast capitals (tentative distribution) were interviewed in Kazakh or Russian. Categories of experts: 1) 10 civil servants, concerned with analysis of the religious situation (2-3 representatives of the Committee on Religious Affairs of the Ministry of Information and Social Development, heads of departments/departments or leading specialists); 7-8 representatives of departments/departments of regional akimats or akimats of cities of national status (Almaty, Nur-Sultan, Shymkent), involved in the interaction between the state and religious associations; 2) 10 representatives of secular oriented intelligentsia (7-8 teachers of religious studies).

Thus, the determination of the object, subject, goals, objectives, methods, and research approaches was dictated by the practical need to organize the evidence base of social measurement in order to provide comprehensive verification for subsequent theoretical reconstruction and trend reconstructions of the process under study.

The empirical stage is connected with the field research, processing of the results of mass survey in the program SPSS, presentation of quantitative measurements in the format of tables. The method of visualization is associated with the interpretation of quantitative data in charts, comparative tables, diagrams. The methods of event analysis, content analysis, discourse analysis are applied in connection with the interpretation of the factual basis of the research on the basis of qualitative measurements. Theoretical stage is connected with application of methods of theoretical description, interpretation, comparison, generalization, conceptualization, reconstruction in the model. All methods act mutually complementary, their use provides subjectivity and concreteness of scientific and practical results.

The choice of the research topic was dictated by its unexplored in Kazakhstan's scientific discourse, and the practical relevance for the development of approaches in the implementation of public policy with regard to the religious process and its impact on the identification tactics and development strategies of both society and the individual.

Stages of the research included: organizational (development of research methodology, sociological research program, thematic rubric of the problem); field stage of social measurements; stage of empirical interpretation of sociological research

data; theoretical stage in the format of desk research (theoretical reconstruction).

Hypotheses of the study:

- The religious process in modern Kazakhstan is synchronized with global and regional trends in the functioning of religiosity, but, at the same time, has its own specifics.

- The mass and specialized (expert) perception of the religious process have discrepancies in determining the role, meaning, and functions of religion in the lives of Kazakhstan's citizens.

- The expert community lacks a methodological and axiological consensus on the functioning of religiosity, which is determined by the involvement of religion as a way of life.

- The process of religiousization of Kazakh society is characterized by dynamic changeability, which confirms its contradictory impact on the development of society and human capital.

Results and discussion

1. The study captures the specific phenomenon of religious self-identification, which points to the impressive scale of nonconfessional believers, the hidden atheist commitment. When determining their current world-view status, 12.5% say they are believers, participate in the life of the religious community, consistently follow religious norms, and lead a religious life; 36.1% also describe themselves as religious, try to observe religious norms, visit mosques, churches, and houses of worship rarely, only on holidays, etc. 34.7% of respondents identify themselves as believers, but do not participate in the religious life of the community, observing certain religious norms and having their own ideas about religion and faith. The cohort of non-believers is represented by 8.1% of non-believers who respect believers, 4.1% of those who are indifferent to religion, 2.3% of those who are opposed to religion (atheists), and 2.2% of respondents who sometimes visit prayer houses and places of worship. Analyzing changes in their religiosity, 69.3% of the respondents indicated that they had not changed their attitude to faith and consider themselves believers, 16.7% – have not changed their beliefs, were and are atheists, 7% – have changed their world view to religious views and became believers, 1.9% – have changed their religious beliefs to atheistic views, 4% found it difficult to answer.

In the country rating of religiosity (the interval rankings were conducted in 2008, 2009, and 2015) Kazakhstan ranked 43rd out of 152 countries surveyed (Uzbekistan ranked 36th, Russia 50th, Kyrgyzstan 56th, Turkey 70th, and Turkmenistan 71st) (<https://nonews.co/directory/lists/countries/religiosity>). The indicator was the number of nominally religious people. Foreign discourse on religiosity views Kazakhstan as a moderately religious state. According to WIN/Gallup International (2017) surveys of the religious beliefs of over 66,000 people in 68 countries, it was found that 6 in 10 people worldwide (62%) consider themselves religious, while less than a quarter (25%) consider themselves non-religious and 9% consider themselves atheists. (<https://www.gallup-international.bg/en/36009/religion-prevails-in-the-world/>). Interval surveys conducted by the IFPRI of the RK Ministry of Education and Science (2007-2021) note that 52% to 83% of respondents identify themselves as believers (in various connotations). Including 13%-17% call themselves practicing believers, leading religious way of life.

2. The role of religion in Kazakhstani society was assessed by both the population and experts. A deterministic analysis of the conditions and factors for the unfolding of religiousization from the perspective of experts revealed that the state and dynamics of the religious process in Kazakhstan are evident and are captured not only by statistical reporting regarding the number of places of worship, the increase in religious sites, the expansion of opportunities for citizens to receive religious education and enlightenment, but also by the ambivalent attitude of different cohorts of people to these phenomena due to the ambivalent influence of religion.

The assessment of the changing role of religion by the population revealed that for the whole mass of Kazakhstan respondents, almost every second (46.6%) respondent positively and every seventh (14.1%) respondent negatively assessed the growing influence of religion. The stagnation of the role of religion is perceived positively almost ten times more often (21.5% – "the role of religion is not changing and that is good") than negatively (2.5% – "the role of religion is not changing and that is bad"). Every sixth respondent (15.3%) finds it difficult to assess the changing role of religion in society.

In the context of self-identification by worldview the most prominent position is that of true believers, or believers with a religious way of life (hereafter referred to as RoL): 69% of this cohort, as well as 58.8% of nominal believers and 37.4% of non-believers have a positive assessment of the growing influence of religion. The positions of non-believers are as follows: almost one in three (30.3%) are non-believers who participate in ritualism, one in four (25.6%) are non-believers who respect believers, one in six (16.4%) are indifferent to religion, and 14.7% of atheists are positive about the growing influence of religion. 35.3% of atheists, 32.8% of indifferent to religion, 24.3% of non-believers participating in ritualism, 20.5% of non-believers respecting believers, 14.4% of non-confessional believers, 10.9% of nominal believers, 5.4% of true believers assess the growth of influence of religion in society negatively.

Assessment of the role of religion in Kazakh society is ambivalent, indicating its ambivalent impact from the perspective of development goals, and requires an objective, comprehensive and unbiased analysis.

3. The positions of experts belonging to different socio-professional groups: 1) government officials responsible for implementing policies in the sphere of interaction with religions), 2) secularly oriented intellectuals (journalists, teachers of religious studies, religious scholars, NGO representatives, etc.), and 3) representatives of religious associations and theologians have demonstrated a variety of positions, based on their world-view preferences.

The experts – representatives of traditional and new religious associations (hereafter ROs) – up to 70% certainly support the increasing role of religion in society. Every second secularly oriented expert (50%) and every fifth state employee (20%) agree with them. Every fifth expert – both state officials and secularly oriented intellectuals – sees the increasing role of religion in society as a negative trend. Civil servants are the most ambivalent: they equally regard the stable role of religion in society as a positive (20%) and negative (20%) trend. It is noteworthy that in all three expert cohorts 10%-20% find it difficult to answer the question, indicating a situation of uncertainty in assessing the role of religion in the development of Kazakhstani society. (Figure 1).

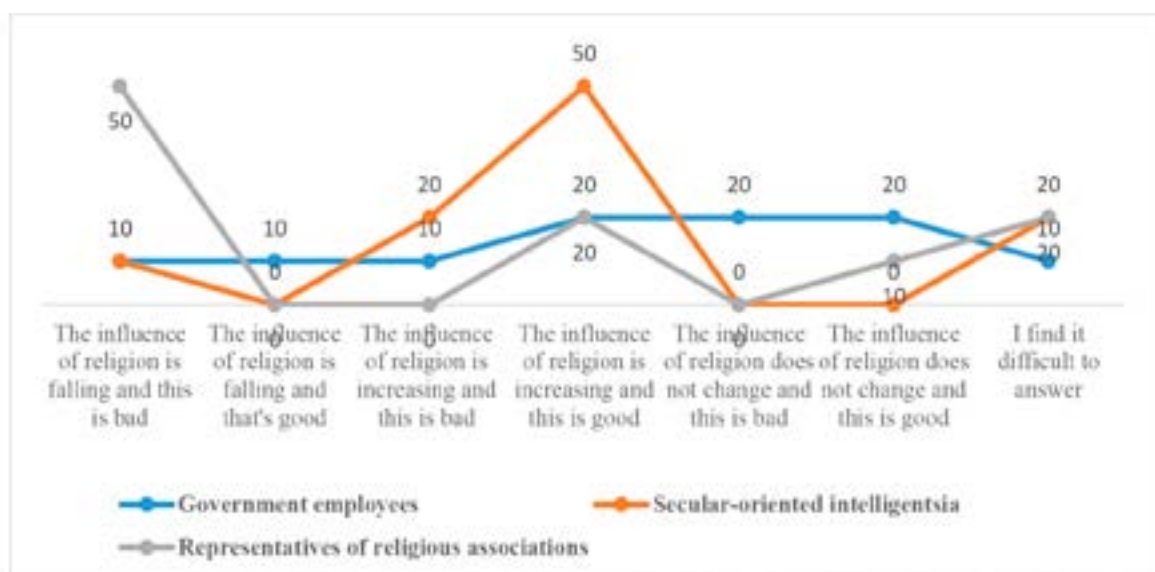


Figure 1 – Experts' evaluation of the impact of religion on the life of Kazakhstani society (by cohort, %)

4. A comparative analysis of the state and dynamics of the religious situation, taking into account changes in the role and place of religion in the Central Asian region and in Kazakhstan by the experts showed that their dynamics are not synchronized, including:

- the situation is seen as complicated by the risks of a spontaneous process, but at the same time it is not yet critical, subject to the influence of the vector of stability and therefore requiring special policies, said 56.7% of experts in relation to Central Asia and 23.3% in relation to Kazakhstan;

- the situation is developing in line with objective processes, with favorable forecasts for the preservation of stability for Central Asia 10% of the experts and for Kazakhstan – 53.3%;

- the situation is developing spontaneously, the process cannot be controlled, the result is unpredictable and contributes to instability for Central Asia 10% of the experts and for Kazakhstan – 3.3%;

- the situation has no relevant measurements, the processes are hidden and their intensity stipulates a pessimistic development forecast, which will lead to chaos for Central Asia, which is noted by 3.3% of the experts and 6.7% for Kazakhstan.

An analysis of expert positions indicates the underestimation of the factor of religiosity in Kazakhstan as an essential feature of the functioning of not only the cultural but also the social, economic and political landscape. The processes of religiousiza-

tion in Kazakhstan are not clearly visible, and their mediated effect must be studied systematically.

5. The analysis of the conditions for the development of the religious situation in Kazakhstan in the 1990s and in the present, based on expert assessments, has shown that religious aspirations both previously and now are determined by general socio-cultural and political factors of development, and were prompted by the need to seek value and meaningful pillars of life in the format of ideology, morality, psychology of behavior, and ethnic self-identification.

If in the 1990s the accentuated preconditions for turning to religiosity were the absence of ideology as a significant consolidating basis of society (43.3%) and the desire to preserve the traditional family structure (43.3%), nowadays the factor of maintaining the traditional family structure with an appeal to religion is significantly increasing (56.7%). There is a significant increase:

- the need of fellow citizens to structure their lives by religious institutions with the help of appropriate norms, regulations, traditions, etc. (from 33.3% in the 1990s to 53.3% currently);

- the desire to achieve religious identity as a significant component of ethnic culture and mentality (from 23.3% in the 1990s to 43.3% currently).

These accentuations signal the risks and pressures on traditional structures and forms of the family institution, the lack of mechanisms for socialization, regulation and normalization of everyday life

by secular institutions, and the need for traditional ethno-confessional self-identification.

6. An analysis of the motivations for changing the worldview and converting Kazakhstanis to religiosity revealed their priority in public opinion. Respondents were offered social, existential, psychological, gnoseological factors, as well as religious motivations themselves.

The first group of factors contributing to turning to religion included personal motivations: concern for the family – 50.2%, personal growth – 28.8%, death of a loved one – 21.9%, realization of free time – 17.3%, lack of prospects and confidence in the future – 15.2%, and experiencing clinical death – 7.7%.

The second most significant group included religious and quasi-religious aspirations: gratitude to God for success – 32.9%, striving to find spirituality – 26.3%, need to think about the meaning of life – 25.5%, increase of need to be closer to God with age – 19.7%, desire to atone for sins – 17.5%, active activities of religious organizations to attract new members – 10.9%.

The third group of factors included social motives, determined by the situation of economic, moral development of society: social injustice – 25.0%, the deterioration of the material situation – 20.5%, the decline of public morality – 19.3%, the growth of crime, drug addiction – 13.7%.

The fourth group of factors formed cognitive intensions: desire to understand unexplainable phenomena – 12.7%, information vacuum – 9.1%.

In the motivational structure of orientation to religiosity the population demonstrates the prevalence of needs related to the search for morally stable bases of meaningfulness of own life and its immediate surroundings in a situation of transformation of the social order and weakening of the supporting role

of institutions of socialization. Motivations to turn to religiosity due to the deterioration of the moral life of society are quite significant, which form the disposition of immoral non-religious and moral religious way of life.

7. A comparative analysis of the functions of religion in the perception of the population (as a whole for the mass) and experts (without dividing into cohorts) reveals peculiarities:

- experts place greater emphasis on existential-psychological (in the connotation "contributes to the relief of mental experience and pain"), religious and worldview functions, while the population places greater emphasis on normative-regulative (in the connotation "educates morality, deters from immoral actions"), cultural-retranslational, spiritual-moral, existential-psychological, and religious and worldview functions;

- the integrative function (in the connotation "contributes to the unification of society") is evaluated similarly in status (5-6 places in the hierarchy of functions), but higher by the experts (70.0%) than by the population (51.6%);

- the religious and worldview function in different connotations ("promotes purification of the soul, repentance," "clarifies the meaning of reconciliation with death," "shows the way to save the soul to eternal life"), and the existential and psychological function (in the connotation "helps to find the meaning of life") are evaluated by experts higher than the population both in status hierarchy and in large-scale embodiment;

- the value-motivational function in the connotation "religion, contributing to the mythologizing of life, tunes up the positive perception of reality" is assessed similarly by the population (8th place) and experts (8th place) (Table 1).

Table 1 – Perception and ranking of the functions of religion by the population and experts (in % of the number of respondents)

Functions of religion	Population		Experts		Status
	%	place	%	place	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Educates morality, deters from immoral actions	68,1	1	73,3	4	Educational-regulative
Contributes to the preservation of national culture and traditions	66,5	2	53,3	7	Cultural and Relational
Spiritually enriches people	66,2		86,7	2	Spiritual and Moral
Brings peace of mind and helps to overcome difficulties	65,4	3	86,7		Existential and Psychological
Contributes to purification of the soul and repentance	61,5	4	86,7		Religious and Outlook

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1	2	3	4	5	6
Unites with co-religionists	59,9	5	66,7	6	Integrative
Combines spiritual feelings and pain	59,2		96,7	1	Existential-Psychological
Prescribes rules of conduct in everyday life	59,0		66,7	6	Regulative
Fosters social cohesion	51,6	6	70,0	5	Integrative
Helps find the meaning of life	51,3		76,7	3	Existential-Psychological
Clarifies the meaning of reconciliation with death	47,6	7	70,0	5	Religious and Outlook
Shows the way to the salvation of the soul to the eternal life	46,8		70,0	5	
Contributing to the mythologisation of life, tuning in a positive perception of reality	34,8	8	50,0	8	Value-Motivational
Illusory notions of life, do not contribute to the proper socialization of the person, predetermining the decline of human potential	31,2	9	16,7	10	Worldview-prescriptive
Replaces the functions of secular institutions (educational, educational, cultural, ideological, etc.)	29,6		33,3	9	Compensatory-Activity

The analysis of expert opinions and respondents' assessments of the functions of religion reconstructs the following hierarchy: 1) religion is predominantly recognized as a method of spiritual and moral influence on individuals and society; 2) followed by the existential and psychological function of the institution of religion, which helps to overcome the difficulties of life; 3) in the middle of the hierarchy is the educational and regulatory function, associated with the norming of behavior by religious prescriptions; 4) then the religious and ideological function, associated with the metaphysics of spiritual and moral life, is chosen.

8. The transformation of Kazakh society since independence appears as a permanent process that has covered all spheres of life, including moral and spiritual. To a greater extent, it reflected the growth of heterogeneity and became an indicator of societal shifts. In the successive stages of deideologization

and re-ideologization, the former institutions of influence on the worldview were deformed, and new technological capabilities, interested subjects and actors influencing the mentality emerged. According to the population's assessment of the influence of various actors on changing the role of religion in modern Kazakh society, not only the subjects of religious activity, but also government agencies (Agency for Religious Affairs) and political actors (President of the RK, Parliament of RK) make major efforts to increase the number of believers (in the range of values from 26.7% to 66.7%). The second significant position is the activity that contributes to the growth of importance of religion in society, in politics (in the range of values from 3.3% to 33.3%). In the third position is the promotion of the rights of citizens to freedom of religion (in the range of values from 6.7% to 36.7%) (Figure 2).

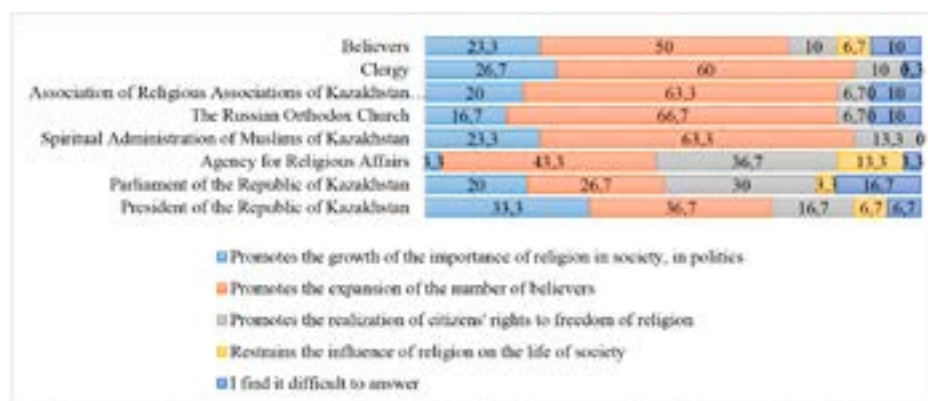


Figure 2 – People's assessment of the activities of various actors in relation to the religious process (as a whole for the massif, in

%)

9. The experts' evaluation of the positive and negative results of the religious process during the years of independence has revealed that the positions are ambivalent in the overwhelming majority of the selected criteria: one and the same consequence is equally assessed as positive and negative for Kazakhstani society.

A slight advantage of positive consequences is noted for such factors as

- Increase in the activity of believing Kazakhs (11.6%);
- Growth of young people's religiosity (11.1%);
- Improvement of moral well-being in the process of following a religious way of life for an increasing number of Kazakhstanis (11.1%);
- growth in the number of families, which lead a religious way of life (10.6%);
- the emergence and development of infrastruc-

ture related to religiosity (halal industry, religious tourism, labor collectives organized by religious affiliation, etc.) (10.6%);

- achievement of religious diversity (10.6%).

The experts considered the fact that Kazakhstan is losing its positions as a secular state and drifting toward the status of a religious state (9.1% in the negative evaluation, compared to 3.4% in the positive evaluation) to be a significant negative factor (compared to the assessment of the same indicator as positive). Among the moderately negative consequences, experts consider two indicators: 1) religiosity has become a marker of everyday culture (clothing, symbols of religious affiliation, prayer practices, etc.), and 2) Kazakhstan is becoming a more secular state. – 9.4%, and 2) Kazakhstan is becoming part of the Islamic world – 9.3%.

10. Indicators of the process of the religiousization of Kazakhstani society received a scale of priorities, depending on the experts' self-identification

with professional activities (Table 2).

Table 2 – Experts' assessment of the significance of indicators of the process of religiousization of Kazakhstani society (by expert cohorts, place in the hierarchy)

Estimated indicator of religiousization	Civil servants	Civil servants Secularly oriented intelligentsia	Representatives of tradi- tional and new religious communities
Both traditional and non-traditional religiosity are on the rise	1	1	1
Religious situation is stabilized, manifested obviously, predictable	2	1	2
The intensity of increase in the number of believers in traditional religions is the same as in non-traditional religions	3	1	2
Young people are more often converted to non-traditional religions	2	2	3
The religious situation remains dynamic, hidden and unpredictable	3	2	2
The peak of non-traditional religions' activity is over, and the population prefers the traditional religious choice that coincides with ethno-cultural identity	3	2	2
Prescribed ethno-cultural religiosity ceases to be an algorithm for religious choice. Ethnic diversity is represented in all traditional confessions and in the new RCs.	3	1	3
A constructed religiosity (synthesis of fragments from different religions, cults, and traditions) develops dynamically.	3	3	2
Religiosity (nominal) has become an element of everyday culture of the masses and elite	3	3	3
Missionary, proselytizing work is more intense in non-traditional RCs than in traditional RCs	-	4	-

10. The assessment of the conformity of Kazakhstan's policy in the sphere of religion with today's needs showed that 46.7% of experts believe it is necessary to constantly improve state policy in order to influence religious processes and prevent the risks of instability. One in five experts (20%) believe the state should not implement a policy on religion. Every tenth expert (10%) notes that state policy in the sphere of religion meets needs because it contributes to the process of Islamization of society. Every tenth expert believes that the state policy does not correspond to world experience because it does not coincide with the principle of secularism. 6.7% of experts said that state policy does not correspond to needs because it restrains the development of the religious process.

11. A discourse analysis of expert opinions on the key tasks of interaction between the state and religions in modern Kazakhstan has revealed the range of opinion-recommendations.

With regard to traditional religions. In Kazakhstan, the state must perform the regulatory function in relation to the sphere of religious activity. For this purpose it is necessary to control the activities of all the ROs, including the traditional religions in the country, to respond and, if necessary, regulate the religious process. It is necessary to follow the principles of secularism and respect the religious traditions of all peoples. Experts advocate relations based on democratic principles and human rights. A person has the right to choose how to live his life, what to believe in, and the state should protect these rights.

The need to develop state policy in the sphere of religion taking into account the real situation (global, regional, national) was noted. To this end, the state must constantly analyze the current religious situation and identify trends in its development and analyze threats and risks.

The state and religions should not compete, it is necessary to interact. Joint programs for the development of morality, education of children and youth on the basis of universal human values are important.

Experts insist on controlling and monitoring the dissemination of information with religious content. Along with controlling the situation in the development of youth movements with regard to the religious component, it is necessary to create conditions for informational support of youth on religious issues.

Experts believe that the state must help the people in general and believers in particular with religious definition, to increase the number of believers and to return to traditional religions. The state, ensuring control over the activities of ROs, supports the positive social impact of ROs on society and the flock.

The national security of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the state of protection of the national interests of the Republic of Kazakhstan from real and potential threats from the impact of religion on the Republic and the people should be a priority. Modernization of the action plan for an operational response to potential threats is required.

On relations with non-traditional religions, experts formulated the following key tasks of interaction with the state. The state should control but not in any way infringe upon the rights of non-traditional religions. That is why the state regulates the sphere of religious activity and assists the population of Kazakhstan in freedom of choice of religion in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the law.

Restrictions on activity, strict control and religious analysis must be based on the law. It is necessary to adopt the experience of neighboring states to control religious communities that are non-traditional for the culture of the people of Kazakhstan: to monitor their activities, control the work of missionaries, not to infringe on the rights of non-traditional ROs.

It is necessary interaction between non-traditional religions and the state. In order to adapt non-traditional religions to traditional values, work must be done to develop such qualities as religious tolerance.

The determining factor in the relationship with non-traditional religions should be the "do no harm" principle. It is important for the state to support the positive influence of ROs on society as a whole and parishioners in particular. Non-traditional religions must be full-fledged subjects of the religious process in Kazakhstan.

With regard to quasi-religious movements and groups of a destructive nature, experts formulated a range of substantiating judgments. The state must cross the currents of a destructive nature, eradicating the sources of influence and carrying out rehabilitation and re-socialization work on a legal basis. If believers are peaceful, and there is nothing but God in their religious idea, then the state should not

persecute believers. All currents of a destructive nature should be under the control of the state, it is important to carry out targeted work on religious education.

12. There is no consensus in the expert community regarding the intensity of the vectors of traditional and new religions' influence on society (Table 3). Quantitative analysis shows that the positive assessments of the influence of traditional religions are two times higher (73.4%) than those of new religions (36.7%). In contrast, assessments of the negative impact of traditional religions (13.3%) are half as high as those of new religions (26.7%). The data indicate an ambiguous perception of the role of religion in the life of society, of the need to improve the interaction between the state and religions, and of a balanced and constructive position regarding religion as a social institution.

Table 3 – Experts' evaluation of the influence of traditional and new religions on the life of Kazakhstani society (in total, in %)

Impact Assessment	Traditional Religions	New Religions
Effect Significant positive	66,7	16,7
Influence is negligible positive	6,7	20,0
No effective impact	6,7	16,7
Influence is insignificant and rather negative	3,3	6,7
Significant negative impact	10,0	20,0

The experts' comparative evaluation of the manifestation of personal qualities depending on the religious/non-religious identification of Kazakhstan's citizens revealed that

- Religiously-involved citizens have less social and civic initiative than care and responsibility for the family microcosm;
- Non-religiously oriented individuals have lower indicators of responsibility for the immediate environment (care for the younger generation, responsibility for the family);
- Insufficiently high indicators of involvement in labor relations, in understanding the goals of society development were noted both for religiously motivated and religiously indifferent individuals;
- the reduced position of active citizenship and patriotism of religiously committed Kazakhstanis require special attention. (Table 4).

Table 4 – Manifestation of personal characteristics depending on the religious/non-religious identification of individuals (experts in general, in %)

Personal characteristics	Religious affiliation	Non-religious Identity
Love for loved ones	76,7	23,3
Care for the younger and older generation	70,0	40,0
Responsibility for ourselves	53,3	53,3
Responsibility for the family	66,7	43,3
Critical thinking	20,0	83,3
Tolerance for dissent	53,3	56,7
Inclusion in labor relations	40,0	56,7
Indifference and negativism to the objectives of social development	40,0	53,3
Active citizenship	23,3	73,3
Patriotism	23,3	76,7

Thus, the indication of basic civic qualities in the projection on the religious commitment of individuals reveals the problems of improving the multi-level socialization of individuals for the purposes of development of society and achieving the objectives of a competitive Kazakhstan.

Overview

Kazakhstan's studies of religiosity are not yet distinguished by their systematicity and sufficiency, which is due to the stage of formation of domestic theoretical religious studies and the sociology of religion. Theoretical and methodological and problematic contexts of the substantiation of our problems reveal that research discourses are based on a reading of world experience, when religion in post-modernity is seen as an essential factor of sociability (Parsons, 1966: 5-29).

The predominant axiological matrix in Kazakhstan has been the perception of religion as a means of sacralizing basic social bonds (Durkheim, 1960: 647). Complimentarity in the attitude toward religion as a social institution is based on the paradigm of its ability to create social constructions with a higher order of "sacred being" and contribute to the stabilization of society (Berger, 1967).

Meanwhile, there is no unified and consistent understanding in assessing the place and role of religion in the societal structure of secular societies. Since the 1990s, the sociology of religion has been experiencing a crisis of epistemes. It has been recognized that the explanatory resources of classical

theories created by O. Comte, H. Spencer, and E. Durkheim with respect to religion and its institutional manifestations are not sufficient to explain the phenomenon of the new religiosity, its dynamics, and its essential characteristics (Taylor, 2007: 896). The increasing complexity of world-relationship interactions and the reevaluation of traditional and new institutions required the development of concepts that would consider the institution of religion in context with other forms of sociality. The existence of religion and its transformations in modernity are interpreted in the context of secularization/desecularization and counter-secularization.

In the theoretical reconstruction of modern sociality M. Eliade defined the sacred and the secular as two independent modes of existence, as two ways of being in the world, two situations of existence accepted by man in the course of history (Eliade, 1994: 144). Their coexistence is conditioned by a complex process of secularization, desecularization and countersecularization. P. Berger pointed to the secularization/desecularization pendulum (Berger, 1969: 132; Berger, 1997: 974). P. Stark linked secularization with modernization and concluded that the contemporary religious process is carried out under conditions of pluralization, rationalization, technologization, informatization, urbanization, which are the mainstream of postsecular society (Stark, <https://indexarticles.com/reference/sociology-of-religion/secularization-r-i-p/>).

Habermas urges Western society to recognize the advent of the postsecular era, in which a new type of communication – "a two-way process of learning" – is significant, as a result of which secular society is enriched with religious values and "cares about the continued existence of religious communities in a relentlessly secularizing environment" (Habermas, 2008). Casanova rethinks theoretical conceptions of secularization (Casanova, 2006: 7-22).

The transformation of religious traditions and the multiplication of the "market of religious meanings" require a reconsideration of epistemological attitudes toward the diversity of worldviews, the ability to acquire one's own religious identities, and tolerance for other beliefs. The imperatives of faith transmission in accordance with ethno-cultural tradition are crumbling, and the need to interpret the newest religiosity is growing in the context of pluralistic worldviews. The sociology of secularization and desecularization, and the phenomenon of countersecularization, are mutually complementary and therefore require combining the explanatory re-

sources of classical sociology with modern concepts that describe the vector dynamics of religion and religiosity (Habermas, 2011).

T. Asad conceptualizes the genealogical perspective of the formation of "religion" and its modern binary "other" – "secular", developing the concept of religious-secular binarity. (Asad, 2003).

Monica Wohlrab-Sahr and Marian Burchardt formulated the concept of multiple secularity, defining it as forms of difference between religious and other societal (non-religious) spheres with their institutional incarnations and referent problems (Wohlrab-Sahr, Burchardt, 2012: 857-909).

Markus Dreßler, defining religiousization as a heuristic term, notes that although not all scholars use it, the phenomenon itself is a relevant subject of research in the academic literature. In the current context, religiousization can be defined as "the designation of certain spaces, practices, narratives, and languages as religious" (Dreßler, 2019).

In Russian religious studies, the stage of post-secularity is seen as "a new ambiguity concerning the relation "religious – secular" (Kyrlezhev, 2011: 100-101). Post-secularity implies a dialogue between the secular-secular and religious consciousness in modern society and is described in terms of "extra-churchliness, multiconfessionalism, profanity, charisma, neospiritualism, neognosticism, transcendentalism, non-institutionalism, privacy, syncretism, de-confessionalism, pantheism," etc. (Karpov, 2012: 136).

Sociologists of religion explore the paradoxes of post-secular society (Belova, 2013: 36-40), noting the contradictory characteristics of the religious and secular for the new, post-secular stage. It is postulated as an axiom that we live in a post-secular society and in a postsecular world. And this is the point of departure for any reflection on secularism and clericalism, on the discourses of secularism in modernity (Uzlaner, 2013). A comparative analysis of secularism and postsecularism in Russia and in the world (Kyrlezhev, 2013). Russian researchers, in the context of sociological theory's explanatory mechanisms, study the religious process by matching the theoretical concepts of Western science with their own situation. Moreover, there are no analogous models (Sineлина, 2009).

Thus the concept of secularization is considered in international scientific discourse as a basic paradigm for investigating the specifics of the religiousization of societies.

Conclusion

The trajectory in understanding the specificity and identifying indicators of the religious process is reconstructed on the basis of public opinion and expert assessments, and presents itself as a social religiosity determined by the context of life. The refrain of the demand for religiosity since the sovereign development is the absence of ideology; the need of fellow citizens in structuring individual and family life by meaningful goals, meanings, and norms; and the unflagging desire for ethnic and religious self-identity.

Religiosity in Kazakhstan is formed with a greater degree of uncertainty of the final result, which is manifested in the ambivalence of assessments of the influence of religion by both experts and the population. The constant transformation of the state body responsible for interaction with the sphere of religion does not contribute to the consistency of the policy, therefore it does not form its consistency and reduces the effectiveness. In managerial activity it is important to commensurate the interrelation of strategic goals and tactical tasks, to proceed from the understanding that the processes of formation, development, and functioning of worldview culture have the properties of continuity, duration, evolution, and succession. In this process, the role of religion as a social institution must be critically reconsidered. Including starting with the definition of its status in the system of institutions.

The needs of the modern stage of development of Kazakhstani society should be reflected in a modernized model of secularism, which in its turn should cover the whole range of interests of the subjects of religious life in order to find and express their consensus, to mark the fault lines. Only under these prerequisites will it meet the goals, values, and ideals of a secular state, and ensure harmonization of the interests of believing and non-believing citizens and the state.

It is necessary to revise the basic ideologemes regarding the state policy in the sphere of religion, it is necessary to improve state regulation of the legal

sphere of relations with religious associations. For the state regulation and prevention of risks related to the fracture of mentality, for achieving consensus and harmonization of divergent worldview positions it is necessary to develop a Concept of Spiritual and Cultural Security of society with the analysis of the state, risks, threats and opportunities, development of measures that should be practically implemented and take into account the interests of different target groups in all regions.

Prolonged interdisciplinary research with the monitoring of a volatile and little predictable religious situation, with the study of trends in religious and secular worldviews, with the commensuration of confessional and nonconfessional religiosity, with multidirectional trends and trends in the process should become permanent. The reconstruction of Kazakhstan's model of religiousization requires the mapping of the religious palette, which is not achieved by means of social statistics or accounting, but is reproduced in scientific research. Interdisciplinary fundamental and applied research on religiousization needs to be strengthened.

The process of religiousization of Kazakhstani society is becoming a significant factor in influencing social institutions, intellectualization processes and the state of human capital in Kazakhstani society. The further research search problematizes the realization of the possibilities and prospects of a secular state; reduces the risks of unstable balance between the secular and religious content of society; forms a demand for practical tools to influence the worldview culture of Kazakhstan's citizens; and contributes to identifying the tasks of proper socialization of the population, with an emphasis on young people.

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